

3. Maluku and North Maluku

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Anomie, in the sense of a breakdown of the settled rules of the political game, is evident in our two Malukan cases of civil conflict, especially as it affects the security sector. A security dilemma for Malukan villages became more acute with the arrival of thousands of Laskar Jihad and other jihadist fighters. Persuading these fighters to return home was a remarkable accomplishment. These cases describe a rich multidimensionality of reconciliation processes that we come to describe as an Indonesian pattern of non-truth and reconciliation and *gotong royong*.

Part I: Maluku

Background to the conflict: Maluku

The colonial legacy in contemporary schisms

Maluku is the group of islands in eastern Indonesia that became known as the Spice Islands to early modern European explorers. The main spices it traded were nutmeg, cloves and mace. The Javanese Buddhist–Hindu Majapahit Empire had considerable naval capability. It established a vast trading empire encompassing much of contemporary Indonesia, including Maluku, from 1294 to the late fifteenth century. Like all the pre-colonial empires of Indonesia, it was founded on superior military power (Ricklefs 1993:27). The Majapahit trading empire was probably a royal monopoly that declined from the late fourteenth century in the face of a more competitive, less monopolistic trading system coordinated by refugees from Majapahit military campaigns at the entrepot of Malacca. The Malaccans enrolled military protection from their Chinese trading partners. Malacca’s Arab trading partners also brought Islam to Indonesia at the end of the fourteenth century. By then, the Malaccan trading system had become the greatest of the world—linking Indonesia westward to India, Persia, Arabia, Syria, East Africa and the Mediterranean and northward from Siam to perhaps as far as Japan (Ricklefs 1993:20–1). While bulk items such as Javanese rice and

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Indian textiles were the bread and butter of the system, the great prize of the Malaccan system was Moluccan spice. The Malaccan trading system declined rapidly under the dead hand of Portuguese attempts to monopolise its trade after Portugal conquered Malacca in 1511. In Maluku, Christian and Muslim villagers worked together to resist Portuguese and later Dutch enforcement of a spice monopoly (Bartels 1977).

Portuguese colonialism left little enduring mark on Indonesia, except in Maluku. At Ambon, the Spanish co-founder of the Jesuit order, Francis Xavier, in 1546 laid the foundation for a permanent mission that by late in the century had converted some 60 000 people to Catholicism. The first Dutch East Indies Company conquest in Indonesia was at Ambon in 1605, targeting the spice trade and opening the door to Protestant missionaries who had even more success in Maluku than the Portuguese Catholic missions. The Dutch East Indies Company was established in 1602 with the primary aim of securing an absolute monopoly in spices by expelling all other traders. The first three Dutch governors-general of the Netherlands East Indies ruled from Ambon until 1619, at which time it was decided that coordination of the empire depended on trade and Ambon was insufficiently nodal to crisscrossing trade routes. Thenceforth colonial and post-colonial governance of the archipelago was undertaken from Java.

Maluku was a classic case of European colonialism enforcing economic and political institutions that hindered long-run development (Acemoglu et al. 2004).² The Dutch ceded tyrannical power to local rulers such as the Sultans of Ternate and Tidore as long as they sustained a Dutch East Indies Company spice monopoly and crushed smuggling that competed with it. Village rajas received 4 per cent of sales of the spice monopoly from their village as long as they enforced the monopoly, ending traditional trading with Malays and others, and purchased imports through more expensive Dutch suppliers. The Dutch forced the Ambonese out of their mountain villages down to the coast, 'where they and the clove cultivation could be more easily controlled' (Chauvel 1990:4). They also created separate Christian and Muslim villages, ending the pre-colonial tradition of cohabitation based on kinship. In the process, the Dutch destroyed the previous *uli* system of federations of settlements (Chauvel 1990:7), making villages rely more heavily on *pela* traditions for religious coexistence and mutual help. *Pela* will be discussed later. As elsewhere in the Indies, colonial village reforms were designed to make Moluccan society more legible and taxable for the Dutch state (Scott 1998). Similarly, the village governance reforms of the 1970s allowed the New Order to concentrate and socially re-simplify Maluku

2 Ellen (1983:10) muses that '[i]t is often said that the Moluccas were colonized in a different way from the rest of Indonesia, and I think that this is largely true...The desire of the Dutch to maintain their spice monopoly explains why the Moluccas were subject so early to radical programmes of social and cultural change. But as the spice trade became less important in the economy of the Dutch East Indies so the Moluccas became neglected and correspondingly poverty-stricken.'

through the prism of a Javanese state. The demand for plantation labour that came with European colonialism increased the slave trade in Maluku and North Maluku. Demand for slaves also increased the incidence of inter-village warfare (Pannell 2003:15).

North Maluku was especially devastated by the stipulations of the Dutch East Indies Company that Moluccans 'were forbidden to have trade or political relations with each other, except with the consent' of the company (Kiem 1993, citing from vol. 2, p. 692, of C. F. van Fraassen's 1987 PhD in Dutch). They 'inflicted a deadly blow on the further economic and political development of the North Moluccas' (Kiem 1993:50):

The interdiction of clove production and allied trade resulted in a drastic economic decline for the sultanates, and at the same time in an absolute dependency on the Dutch, in cultural isolation and in an internal social and political ossification. (van Fraassen 1984:780)

Cash-crop production seemed to cease during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the sultanates were a shadow of their former glory and Ternate, the capital of North Maluku, was largely depopulated and decayed (van Fraassen 1987:86–7).

British naval power and British interest in a stake in the spice trade forced concessions from the Dutch to give the British trading footholds in Maluku from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. There were periods of British rule of Ambon from 1796 to 1803 and 1810–17. Once the Dutch regulation of a spice monopoly was broken and production of spices in new agricultural areas exceeded demand, colonial interest in Maluku receded and Britain withdrew entirely from the area.

North Maluku was the far extremity of Muslim civilisation. Ternate and Ambon were 'centers on the periphery' (Ellen 1983). We will conclude that their wars at the end of the millennium were partly about their marginalisation, but also partly about Ternate and Ambon being centres of the margin. Provincial control was up for grabs when the focus of state elites (and checks on the state's security apparatus) was concentrated on the centre to the neglect of the periphery. While political focus was centripetal into solving Jakarta's problems during *reformasi*, the decentralisation reforms of 1999 meant that the flow of resources became more centrifugal. An inward flow of scrutiny and outward flow of resources created opportunities for predatory moves to capture the resource nodes of the periphery.

A positive side of colonialism in Ambon was that mission education equipped Christian but not Muslim Ambonese to become favoured in the Dutch colonial civil service and army. Consequently, Christian South Maluku had by far the

highest literacy of the colony in the 1930 Census: 50 per cent compared with a national rate of 7 per cent (Ricklefs 1993:160). The role of these loyal Ambonese servants of the Dutch across Indonesia, combined with their Christianity, made them a target of great suspicion among twentieth-century Indonesian nationalists. Dutch colonial policy therefore segregated and opened divisions between Christian Moluccans who were provided opportunities in the colonial army and civil service all over Indonesia and Muslim Moluccans who were left in desperate poverty once the spice monopoly collapsed. As the Dutch sought to widen and consolidate control over the archipelago, the combination of Dutch distrust of Javanese and the Christian education of Ambonese created increased demand for Ambonese as soldiers and civil servants, especially in the war to colonise Aceh.

Moluccans fought on both sides during the war for independence from the Dutch from 1945. When The Netherlands formally recognised Indonesian independence in 1949, Ambonese officers in the Dutch colonial army supported by some prominent Ambonese Christian leaders declared the Republic of South Maluku (Republik Maluku Selatan, RMS) independent of Indonesia. The Indonesian military crushed them in only a few months of fighting. A legacy of that short war would be that for the next six decades any Moluccans attacking Jakarta's policies would be discredited with the allegation that they were separatists. For decades, an RMS government in exile in The Netherlands was a worry to Indonesia and their hosts as they were early movers into late twentieth-century terrorism in Europe. The era of hijacking trains and hostage-taking in a Dutch school by Moluccans drawing attention to their cause ended in the 1970s largely as a result of reintegration efforts to embrace the Moluccan exiles into Dutch society.

From Sukarno to Suharto

In President Sukarno's 'guided democracy' of the 1950s and 1960s there were three powerful political forces he had to balance: a variety of Muslim constituencies who preferred an Islamic to a secular state, the Communist Party (PKI) who preferred a communist to a capitalist state, and the military who preferred military to democratic influence. Each group was internally divided and more concerned to strengthen itself vis-a-vis the others than to set up their preferred kind of state. When the military felt Sukarno was becoming too heavily influenced by the PKI, it moved against alleged communists in 1965 in a rather genocidal fashion. Sukarno was then displaced by Major General Suharto. The CIA's role in these events is still not clear. In particular, we do not know to what extent Suharto's group was using the CIA to advance its own objectives, or the CIA was using Suharto to advance theirs. It is the case, however, that they were supportive of Suharto and had on their payroll players as senior as Adam Malik, who turned away from Sukarno and became Suharto's Foreign Minister.

The level of sustained tyranny in the mid-1960s was sufficient for the Communist Party never to re-emerge as a significant political force in Indonesia. Suharto was continuously concerned that radical Islamic politics could become a threat to his moderate Islam and his unitary state that embraced Christians, Hindus and Chinese Buddhists. His solution during the 1970s and 1980s was to suppress radical Islamic politics while providing enormous state support to the social, cultural and religious educational activities of Muslim organisations, partly through his Department of Religious Affairs. The paradox of this approach was that the financial support for Muslim organisations and religious education sustained expanding enclaves of advocacy for an Islamic state and Sharia law. In the 1990s, when Suharto's control over the military weakened a little, he sought to balance that by cultivating support from politicised Islamic leaders. He made military appointments that created factional division between the longstanding ascendancy of a nationalist ('red and white') military faction of predominantly *abangan* Muslim and Christian senior officers and a 'green' faction more networked with radical Islamist elements in civil society. The latter ultimately came to be led by his son-in-law Prabowo Subianto, though he was hardly a radical Islamist. The red and white versus green struggle was much more about positions, posturing and patronage than about ideology. Mietzner (2009:112) saw Prabowo as having a political strategy for shoring up the Suharto regime that happened to involve alliance with radical Islamic groups in support of kidnapping and violence against pro-democracy enemies. In contrast, General Wiranto and his faction were to align with Muslim moderates such as Abdurrahman Wahid as part of a network that might work to calm the unrest.

In 1998, Suharto could no longer sustain this balancing act managing the splits in the military elite, the student-led demonstrations and then anti-Chinese rioting that devastated a large section of the capital. The Asian financial crisis of 1997 and 1998 increasingly wobbled the tightrope on which he balanced. He fell. Suharto was seen as mismanaging the International Monetary Fund (IMF) terms for saving the collapsed Indonesian rupiah. He had mishandled a sequence of different kinds of demonstrations across Indonesia since the mid-1990s. He had stumbled in handling corruption scandals involving himself and his children and another corruption scandal in 1995 that set cabinet ministers against one another in a way that showed that elites 'were beginning to jockey for the post-Suharto period' (van Klinken 2007:23). A group of cabinet ministers threatened to resign if he did not step down. The new president, Habibie, was a protégé of Suharto who wanted to demonstrate that he would be very different from his mentor, a democratic reformer who would respond to what the students were demanding on the streets. The further debates and demonstrations that *reformasi* engendered about institutional reform also opened new fronts of negotiation over ethnic and religious group claims to representation and access to resources (Bertrand 2004:5). Bertrand's (2004:10) historical institutionalist analysis points

out that 'when institutions are weakened during transition periods, allocations of power and resources become open for competition'. In some contexts, violence becomes an effective form of competition—or is believed to be so by certain groups. At critical junctures, the implicit and explicit ethnic inclusions and exclusions can be contested to 'renegotiate the concept of the nation' (Bertrand 2004:10).

The context of religious group renegotiation of claims was quite different in Maluku to that in North Maluku. Because the context was so different, a long campaign for North Maluku to become a separate province from Maluku finally succeeded in 1999. In North Maluku, there was not the politics of separatism from Indonesia that there was on Ambon, but there was a politics of separation from Maluku. These separatisms were important to the north and south conflicts, but they were different separatisms with different consequences. North Maluku was overwhelmingly Muslim; Maluku, as its boundaries lie today, had a majority Christian population, but with the Muslim minority quickly closing the gap on them. Laskar Jihad was a decisive player in the Maluku conflict but not in North Maluku. The North Maluku conflict was not fought with modern weapons, but was more deadly for its short eruption. In Maluku, automatic weapons were widely used, partly reflecting military involvement, and the conflict was longer. We found it impossible to code the Maluku and North Maluku conflicts in the same way on a large number of variables. Hence the two provinces are coded as having separate conflicts.

Describing the conflict

Maluku ignites

The Maluku story starts in Ketapang (Jakarta) on 22 November 1998 in a quarrel over parking at an entertainment and gambling centre controlled by a Christian Ambonese gang. The quarrel became a minor Muslim–Christian fight. The next morning, it was widely reported that the Christian Ambonese gang beat and harassed Muslims and damaged a mosque. Aditjondro (2001:111) concluded they were in fact hired to do so. An inter-religious riot ensued and Muslim Ambonese gangs were bussed in to retaliate by attacking the Christian Ambonese gang, destroying or seriously damaging 21 churches and some Christian schools. The gambling casino was also destroyed. It was possible this was the financial motive for paying the gangsters to start the riot; it handed a gambling monopoly in the area to Tommy Winata, a business partner of the Suharto family. Thirteen people were killed.

In the next two months, there was considerable violence and property destruction in various parts of Indonesia where Christian and Muslim communities were

both strong, such as Kupang, West Timor. Contagion can thus be interpreted as a factor in both the conflicts that were to start in Maluku, then North Maluku, as is common in the history of riots since the French Revolution (Rudé 1964:29). In Ambon, as systematic a documenter of newspaper stories in the Christian media as Father Böhm (2005:11) believed that 500 churches and several mosques had already been destroyed across Indonesia before the carnage started in Maluku, North Maluku and Central Sulawesi when even larger (and more equal) numbers of mosques and churches were destroyed. Father Böhm's number, 500, seemed too high for the 1990s, and often the 'churches' were private homes where small fundamentalist groups held services. In retrospect, however, large numbers of church burnings and bombings came to light that were not recorded by the Jakarta or international media at the time. This is clear from Böhm's (2005, 2006) *Brief Chronicle of the Unrest in the Moluccas* and its supplement, which together are in fact 397 densely packed large pages of violent incidents! One recent Christian statement cited 991 attacks on churches in Indonesia since independence in 1949 (ICG 2008c:3).

There was a more direct link between Maluku and the Ketapang riots. Jakarta police shipped more than 100 gang members arrested in the riots on passenger and navy vessels back to Ambon. Muslim and Christian informants widely believed they were released and given encouragement to continue their Muslim–Christian conflict back in Ambon and were given payment to enrol locals to it as 'provocateurs'. Ambon police investigations found some provocateurs to be 'preman' (career criminals) from Jakarta, others were locals who were recruited in Ambon, taken to Java to be trained together, then returned to their own communities—be they Christian or Muslim—to cause trouble in collaboration with others in their communication network. We were given many reports of Christian 'provocateurs' arriving on motorbikes to shout false or exaggerated rumours of Muslim carnage, urging Christians not to be cowards, and many reports of Muslim provocateurs arriving on motorcycles to shout false rumours (such as that a mosque was on fire, when in fact a pile of tyres had been lit behind it to give the appearance of it being alight). We were given enough such stories in enough triangulated detail to believe there was more than a grain of truth to the provocateur theory (see Box 3.1). Multiple sightings of God, Jesus and the Virgin Mary on the Christian side and millennial sightings of angels on battle horses on the Muslim side (Bubandt 2001) on different islands of Maluku were probably not the work of provocateurs, but they certainly caused mass movements of people experiencing high religious fervour that frightened those of the opposite faith. Bubandt (2004b) also showed that millennial revelation testimonies were actively spread audiovisually on the Christian side in Maluku and North Maluku and argued that they did promote conflict—for example,

when they revealed Maluku would be the site of a massive Christian–Muslim moment of truth that would ultimately be resolved by the intervention of ‘America’.

Box 3.1 Provocation at Poka

From January to 23 July 1999, the large village of Poka near Pattimura University, a middle-class area where many academics lived, had successfully avoided violence. The raja arranged regular meetings of Muslims and Christians to discuss common needs and fears. A joint Muslim–Christian night watch of 10 patrolled each night, all night, to head off escalation from any minor disagreements. There was much goodwill between Christians and Muslims in Poka and belief that they could hold off the violence so many other villages had been unable to avoid.

At 8pm on 23 July 1999, a simple fight broke out between Christian and Muslim youths, some of whom seemed drunk. Suddenly, many were involved. Almost as suddenly, within five to seven minutes of the fight starting, the military was there. They pretended to try to stop the fight by firing many rounds in the air. This caused panic. All Christians fled to their church. A Christian pastor claimed ‘[i]t was not a coincidence—neither the fight nor the speedy overreaction of the military to cause panic’. His view was that the military made things a lot worse, in circumstances in which it would not have been hard for a contingent of armed soldiers to stop a group of drunken youths from fighting without firing live rounds.

A young Ambonese man from Jakarta, whom we will call Tommy, was noticed to play a recurrent role in escalating conflict in the days that followed. When conflict arose, ‘Tommy would immediately run there and shout to young people to do something, to attack them. He would stand in front whenever there was trouble, stirring it up.’ Poka residents learnt of a similar pattern of behaviour by Tommy in surrounding villages. He would move his activities to whichever village had a rising temperature at a particular time. Tommy was very clever at making bombs, and quickly. He took bombs to people in the village and urged them to use them.

A local Christian pastor caught him after one incident of provocation. In his wallet he had many ATM cards and business cards from important Muslim leaders. The pastor interviewed him about his activities and then took him to the police. Within two or three days, the police released Tommy. A week later, members of the pastor's congregation captured Tommy again provoking violence. The congregation wanted to kill him. The pastor forbade this, taking him instead to a more senior police commander. Again, he was soon released.

It is possible that only a small proportion of the triggering events were the work of provocateurs, while most of it was just contagion that plugged into longstanding local resentments. We see the provocateur script as part of a widespread Indonesian pattern of non-truth and reconciliation. An extreme example was a leading Islamic cleric we interviewed who had been a hardline supporter of Laskar Jihad offensives until late in the peace process. He said today he did not believe the mosques were burnt by Christians but by provocateurs: 'Both sides, praise God, we came to realise that we were being used.' The one thing both sides comfortably agree on as they seek to reconcile after this conflict is that all this destruction was ultimately the work of outside provocateurs. Provocateurs imported from Jakarta were part of the causal fabric of this conflict, but only part of it, and utterly insufficient to explain the bellicosity of 1999–2000.

The young toughs shipped to Ambon after Ketapang had worked for the military-controlled youth movement Pemuda Pancasila, who were specialists in intimidating political enemies of the New Order, especially the students who were demanding the end of the New Order (Aditjondro 2001). *Reformasi* had seen the youth movement break into separate predominantly Muslim and Christian branches (van Klinken 2007:97), both of which had strong links to different Suharto family members (HRW 1999:9). There was also some self-fulfilling prophecy during December 1998 and January 1999 in the belief across Ambon that boatloads of thugs were arriving to cause trouble. This put the Muslim and Christian communities in a 'security dilemma' whereby their youth were girded with courage to defend their communities. The security dilemma thesis is that war can occur when neither side intends to harm the other but both feel they must defend aggressively against their worst suspicions of what the other might do in circumstances of anarchy.

The Ketapang repatriation of gang members also triggered valiant efforts by the Governor of Maluku to organise religious leaders to be on the lookout for provocateurs. Mosques without telephones were assisted to acquire them so they could be in touch with a communications network from the central Ambon

Al Fatah Mosque to scotch false rumours. Plans were in hand for community night watches, but these had not been implemented when the trouble started. Too little was done too late to foil the agents of violence.

The first riotous slaughter in Maluku was on 13 January 1999 in the tiny town of Dobo in the Aru Islands, far south-east of Ambon. Like most of the outbreaks in the next five years, it was a minor incident between young people that escalated Muslim–Christian resentment. On Böhm’s (2005:11) account: ‘Immediately some provocateur misused the loudspeaker of the mosque to incite the Muslims to wage war on the Christians.’ While about a dozen people were killed over the next four days, Brimob police deployment and local reconciliation efforts meant this violence ended and never recurred at Dobo.

While the Brimob unit was away at Dobo and while most other police were with their families for a religious holiday, on 19 January 1999, the last day of Ramadan, a day when there was a lot of inter-religious conflict across Indonesia, a fight broke out between an Ambonese Christian bus driver and a migrant Bugis Muslim passenger. The conflict was initially conceived more in terms of a migrant–Ambonese conflict than an inter-religious one. Most locals believed the opportunity of the fight was seized by provocateurs to spark and inflame Christian–Muslim violence for the next two months in and around Ambon City. This initial round of fighting probably cost 1000 lives. Van Klinken (2007:98) saw as ‘patchy’ the evidence that provocateurs imported from Java were on the streets of Ambon on 19 January 1999. What was clear was that the rioting was sudden, with both sides going in hard from the beginning. Both sides were ready—the Christian fighters wearing red headbands, the Muslim fighters white headbands—from the start. Some informants reported that headbands were distributed by the same provocateurs, who, whether they were Christian or Muslim, shouted similar things to urge fighting. While fighting between youth from the initial combatant communities—predominantly Muslim Baturerah and Christian Mardika—was a common rivalry over many years, this was more violent and deadly than ever before and was distinguished by repeated attacks on religious symbols. It also spread relatively quickly beyond the traditional rivals from Ambon City across the whole of Ambon Island and to at least 14 other islands/island groups in Maluku (Aru, Arvis, Babar, Buru, Haruku, Kasuai, Kei, Manipa, Sanana, Saparua, Seram, Tanimbar, Teor, Tual). On Baru, where 117 Christians were killed in one incident, the religious repertoire was extended to offering members of the church council the alternatives of seeing their families butchered or converting to Islam, being circumcised or burning their own church to the ground (Böhm 2005:22). Seventeen Catholic churches and an unknown number of Protestant churches were destroyed and the island

was virtually cleansed of anyone who would claim to be Christian by mid-2000. This forced conversion approach was pushed by Laskar Jihad fighters in a number of the outer islands (ICG 2002b:9–10).

From 30 March to 3 May 1999, a large number of Muslim villages and two Christian villages were destroyed in the Kei Islands (on the west coast of Kei-Kecil). Böhm (2005:14) records 37 Christian deaths but has no knowledge of the presumably much larger number of Muslim deaths. As at Dobo, here numerous traditional reconciliation efforts based on *adat* rituals of shared 'ethnic brotherhood' were held in May 2005 and, according to our interview informants, secured a permanent peace. This was the pattern in many other islands that were able to reconcile their own peace without help from the Malino II peace accord of 2002. On the Kei Islands, as elsewhere in Maluku and North Maluku, religious majorities in mixed villages banded together to protect their minority (of both kinds) from attack (Thorburn 2008:136). Thorburn (2008:139) found that across the Kei Islands, the villages that experienced most violence were those with the greatest numbers of government officials and civil servants. Thorburn's (2008:139) account was that *adat* worked in securing peace on the principle of 'once a matter has been settled, we do not bring it up again'. Law enforcement officials agreed with this *adat* philosophy and no-one on the Kei Islands was prosecuted for any of the violence on the basis that 'we were all wrong'.

Ambon split into exclusively Christian (60 per cent) and exclusively Muslim (40 per cent) zones of the city. The central mosque and the central Protestant church in Ambon became command centres for a religious war, dispatching reinforcements to villages that reported they were at risk of being overrun. Fighting resumed and intensified in July 1999 after an outbreak of horrific violence at the large village of Poka (Box 3.1), which spread to many parts of Maluku, remaining at its peak until January 2000, by which time the death toll exceeded 3000. Destruction of mosques and churches generated tumultuous rejoicing on one side and resolve for revenge on the other, especially when terrified innocents seeking refuge in the religious sanctuary were cut down during prayer. Van Klinken (2007:100) reports on a video of young Christians moving towards the battlefield supported by the church choir singing *Onward Christian Soldiers* accompanied by trumpets.

Laskar Jihad lands

To a degree, Christian forces might have had the better of the fighting by January 2000. Then 4000 armed Laskar Jihad fighters departed from Java and Sulawesi with the encouragement of elements of the military, with at least 2000 destined for Ambon in April–May 2000 (probably increasing to 3000 in the

field in Maluku at its peak,³ though some Christian sources claimed 5000). This eventually tipped the balance to Muslim fighters. Another smaller force of 100–200 Muslim fighters called Laskar Mujahidin had arrived before Laskar Jihad in December 1999. This militia was established as an initiative of the most prominent sponsor of terrorism in Indonesia, the then unknown Jemaah Islamiyah (JI). They wore masks and were often called ninjas. The leader of Laskar Jihad asserted that while he had been offered financial aid at his meeting with Osama bin Laden and had refused it, Laskar Mujahidin had accepted such aid (ICG 2002b:20) and also foreign fighters from Afghanistan and Pakistan. JI also seems to have had only a minimal presence in North Maluku, with most of the handful of its members who were keen to participate arriving, to their disappointment, after the fighting had stopped.

While there were some horrific single incidents during the remainder of 2000, the death rate when Laskar Jihad was the lead combatant might have been no greater than in 1999. This was because some Laskar Jihad had automatic weapons and even the odd machine gun, mortar and rocket-propelled grenades. A consequence of this superior weaponry was that Christian lookouts and intelligence very often completely evacuated villages in advance of the arrival of Laskar Jihad fighters. Laskar Jihad centralised command of most fighting against Christians, integrating local militias under its authority. On 21 June, Laskar Jihad demonstrated its capacity to organise large numbers of well-armed fighters with military support when, in a spectacular battle during several days, Laskar Jihad overran the heavily armed headquarters of Brimob, causing the president to declare a state of civil emergency. Perhaps it is more accurate to say that the Brimob battle demonstrates the military's capacity to organise Laskar Jihad. At the end of 2000, approximately one-third of the population of Maluku had been chased from their homes, a large proportion of which were burnt to the ground. By the end of the conflict, the proportion of the population who were refugees was between one-third and one-half (Brown et al. 2005:xii). Footloose refugee children joined the battle as Pasagan Agas ('sandfly troops'). There could have been 2000–4000 seven to twelve-year-old combatants who could perform tasks such as wedging their bodies through tiny gaps in buildings to light fires (Aditjondro 2001:191).

The rule of law was an early casualty of the conflict. In the months after the first spark in Ambon, the two men involved in the initial fight were sentenced to jail terms of six and five months. By July 2000, police had arrested 855 suspects for various acts of inter-religious violence. Trials could not be held, however, because prosecutors, judges and court clerks had fled and prisons had also broken down (ICG 2002b:14). When police tried to arrest Laskar Jihad members, they

³ Laskar Jihad could have had a pool of 10 000 fighters to rotate in and out of various conflict areas (Hasan 2002:159).

were surrounded by hundreds of protestors who forced their release. By May 2001, some symbolic arrests became possible against some prominent Christian and Muslim leaders to signify that the rule of law was returning.

The first wave of fighting was almost entirely with traditional weapons such as machetes, spears and arrows; the second with large numbers of homemade guns and bombs on both sides; the third with Laskar Jihad dominating with some modern firepower. The period 2001–03 was much more peaceful as changes were made in local military leadership and the security sector increasingly withdrew from participation in the fighting. Indeed in the course of 2001, the military started to put pressure on Laskar Jihad to withdraw. The period 2001–03 was, however, punctuated by many more minor disruptions of the peace, as the most radical elements of Laskar Jihad sought to reignite the conflict. There was also some politically significant violence in this period, such as the killing of Laskar Kristus chief commander, Agus Wattimena. Maluku Police Chief, Firman Gani, expressed concern during the first lull of peace that some undisciplined police and military were ‘disappointed’ at their reduced income from escorting speedboats and allowing passage through checkpoints (Böhm 2005:69). Indeed police and military profiteering could have been an important driver of residual conflict for several years after 2000.

April 2004 saw a major upsurge in conflict in which not many more than 40 lives were lost, but in which property destruction on both sides was massive. Many people in Poka lost their homes for the second time and perhaps as many as 200 000 people were forced into refugee camps. Notable targets of total destruction were four UN cars and the UN building that housed the UNDP, UNICEF and the Save the Children Fund. While at the height of the conflict Christian leaders had called for UN peacekeeping intervention, Laskar Jihad saw the United Nations through an East Timor lens as part of a Christian conspiracy to break up Indonesia. They saw international NGOs as Christian spy networks moving around collecting information.

A trigger for the 2004 violence was raising the Republic of South Maluku (RMS) flag at the home of Alex Manuputty, a Christian leader of the Maluku Sovereignty Front (Front Kedaulatan Maluku, FKM). Sniper fire was another trigger. Violence broke out in quick succession on a number of other Maluku islands in April 2004. Members of the FKM were convicted over the sniper attacks—verdicts that attracted some cynicism from monitoring groups over whether the real guilty parties were convicted, especially since the sophisticated high-powered rifles used were known to be available only to the security forces (Project Ploughshares 2004). FKM is not a military organisation but an advocacy group for Moluccan independence. One popular theory of the origins of the violence in our interviews was that local military officers instigated ‘separatist’ mobilisation to cause a Muslim backlash. They believed conflict would benefit

the financial and political position of the military (see also HRW 1999:6). Other members from the Malino II delegations on both sides alleged that Manuputty, who was one of the original nine members of the reconciliation board in 1999, was bought off by elements of the military to destabilise the peace by playing the separatist card from the Christian side. By 2004, at least 5000 people had been killed in the fighting (Brown et al. 2005:17), though a peace journalism expert from the University of Indonesia, Dr Ichsan Malik, had a late-2001 count of 10 187 (Böhm 2005:201), *The Jakarta Post* counted 9753 to September 2001 (Tunny 2006e) and the ICG (2002b:i) estimated in the range 5000–10 000.

Since 2004, Maluku has been comparatively peaceful and in the past few years the no-go zones in Ambon have begun to break down to a considerable degree. Real estate market dynamics mean, however, that Ambon will for a long time be more segregated than it was before—for example, one Catholic priest bought many houses from Muslims fleeing predominantly Christian areas at very low prices then sold them to Christians fleeing Muslim areas. In 2006, the police reported only two bomb explosions in Ambon, but four in 2007. Some of these were believed by the police to be the work of a small number of Islamic militants based in Poso; in May 2007, a Javanese man was prosecuted in Ambon for a number of bombings under the 2003 law on terrorism (Tunny 2007a).

Conflict between the police and the military remained a more live issue in Ambon than inter-religious violence, with low-level fighting resulting in small numbers of police and military deaths each year. In February 2008, military personnel destroyed the home of the Central Maluku Police Chief and 56 other police houses. Eleven police cars were also destroyed or badly damaged. Two police officers and one soldier were killed in the fighting that started over a police officer catching a soldier in bed with his sister (Tunny 2008b). By 2004, only one village on the island of Ambon had not suffered considerable devastation and loss of life: Wayame (Box 3. 2).

Box 3.2 The Wayame peace

On first sight, a researcher has a hypothesis on why Wayame is the only village of hundreds on Ambon Island not to experience fighting and burning. As you look across the harbour from Ambon city to Wayame on the other side, you notice on the shore a large cluster of oil storage tanks. Villagers agree the oil depot is what saved them.

When the conflict started, Wayame had village meetings on how to stay out of the conflict. They established a joint Muslim–Christian night watch. They also had a reconciliation team of 10 Muslims and 10 Christians (Team 20). It banned alcohol and all weapons (Panggabean 2004:429). All rumours of religious conflict had to be reported to Team 20 for investigation. Christian and Muslim women also had regular meetings together. The women’s priority was to keep the shared Christian–Muslim market going to keep up interaction and trust. Whenever a big bomb went off in nearby Poka, villagers would get together and reassure each other—that was Poka, not Wayame. There were many false rumours of impending attacks, but ‘communication, communication, communication’ saw them through.

One of the leaders of the village explained to us that it was not true that the village was totally free of conflict. On one occasion, eight bombs went off on the same day in the village. They were ignited not by a jihadist, a Christian separatist or a *preman* sent from Jakarta to provoke trouble. The culprits turned out to be a couple of amateur criminals from a nearby village. Their idea was to exploit the anxiety about this being the only village that had not experienced religious slaughter and motivate everyone to flee by setting off a lot of bombs in quick succession. As families fled, the criminals were organised with trucks to clean out their houses. Unfortunately for the criminals, they were noticed while they were casing the village. Community members passed information to the military, who arrested them. Because courts were not operating during the crisis, the military punished the felons publicly in front of the whole village to give the message that people did not have to start shooting in any such future situation to protect themselves. They beat the criminals and tortured them in the village square with electric shocks.

The village of 200 households had a company of 100 soldiers protecting them because of the oil depot. Most of the time, they were bored, with little to do. Just being there was a signal to provocateurs or any other troublemakers, such as the amateur criminals above, that they had better stay away from Wayame. Laskar Jihad tried to set up a post in the village but the military moved them on.

Wayame shows that however bad the structural circumstances, the proximate causes and the occurrence of precipitating factors, disciplined security forces in sufficient numbers on the spot can prevent ethnic or religious violence of the kind that occurred in Ambon. As Wilkinson (2004:5) puts it: 'Abundant comparative evidence shows that large-scale ethnic rioting does not take place where a state's army or police force is ordered to stop it using all means necessary.' Oil was not a highly principled basis for a commitment to peace, but security sector commitment worked. It was also said that Jakarta wanted to be able to say that not all villages in Ambon were riven by religious violence.

Wayame became what Mary Kaldor (1999) would call an 'island of civility' from which peace could spread. It became a node for peacebuilding activity. This was particularly so for Muslim and Christian women from all over Maluku who wanted a space where they could meet in security without fear of Laskar Jihad or any other spoiler attacking them. Wayame was a civil space from which peace did spread. Religious residential integration, however, has not spread from it. At the time of our 2007 fieldwork, it remained one of only two subdistricts on Ambon that were religiously mixed.

We have not found any reporting on the question of rape in this conflict, nor did it come up in our interviews. Perhaps we did not push our questions hard enough to break through resistance to discussing the topic. There is evidence that the leadership of Laskar Jihad enforced a strict code of Islamic sexual propriety. While in Böhm's (2005, 2006) 400 pages of atrocities against Christians there are a number of stories of abductions of women (as there are of men), it is striking that there is not a single allegation of a Muslim fighter committing rape in those tomes. We took photos of graffiti in a burnt-out village that said 'Christians are rapists'. When we asked local Christian combatants about this, they said there had been no rape by Christians. There had been incidents of fighters having their penises cut off, but they did not connect this to retribution for rape. The main finding of the UNDP's consultations with women on violence was concern about intensified domestic violence since the conflict started and sexual harassment and rape by the security forces, particularly in refugee camps (Brown et al. 2005:47).

In these waves of violence, the three major higher education institutions on Ambon Island were attacked twice; one university was totally destroyed, rebuilt and destroyed a second time in 2004. We interviewed the principal of one Islamic school that was burnt and rebuilt three times. The Islamic University was not attacked, but jihadists viewed the other universities on Ambon, even though

they had large numbers of Muslim students, as centres of Christian power. In 1997, Christian leaders had lobbied fiercely to overturn an attempt to have a Muslim appointed as rector of Pattimura University, arguing this was a Christian privilege (van Klinken 2007:94). When the Protestant UKIM University was razed, its rector pleaded with military commanders for protection for his students, who stood in front of their university to protect it from the expected jihadist attack. The military responded by placing tanks in the midst of the students. When the jihadists arrived, however, the turrets of the tanks were turned towards the university and fired at the buildings. As in the Papuan case, in Maluku, one cannot but be struck by the courage and leadership of the students in standing up for more than just the ideal of the university. They were the same brave Ambon students who, 7000 strong, had protested in front of the Maluku military headquarters on 18 November 1998 to link arms with students in Jakarta protesting against violence by the military, demanding democracy and suffering many terrible injuries.

Conflict dynamics

Van Klinken (2007:89) applies a 'dynamics of contention' framework to understanding the process whereby 'normally apathetic, frightened or disorganized people explode onto the streets, put down their tools, or mount the barricades' (McAdam et al. 2001). One aspect of this is that fighting rises and falls in waves and new factors (such as Laskar Jihad) are constituted, enter and exit in the dynamics of the conflict. The dynamics of contention framework is also about perceptions of threat and opportunity and organisations that respond to contain threats and realise opportunities. The repertoire of mobilisation by those organisations feeds back into perceptions of threat to induce new waves of violence. The five key processes of the dynamics of contention are: 1) identity formation (in this case, religious); 2) escalation; 3) polarisation; 4) mobilisation; and 5) actor constitution (dynamics of the previously unorganised becoming a unified political actor).

We can see the appeal van Klinken finds in this model as an explanation of violence in Maluku. We also see a 'dynamics of contrition' as an explanation of peacebuilding in Maluku: 1) a redefining of an inter-religious identity of Moluccan brotherhood and sisterhood as syncretically Christian–Muslim; 2) de-escalation; 3) depolarisation; 4) demobilisation for war and mobilisation for reconciliation; and 5) de-constitution of Laskar Jihad and Laskar Kristus as organisations, and constitution of reconciliation organisations such as the Concerned Women's Movement and Bacu Bae. To put some flesh on the dynamics of contention model, we must first consider what there was to contend about.

Contests for public offices

Van Klinken (2007:90) points out that Maluku has always enjoyed extraordinarily high levels of public sector employment. This could be partly because of Ambon's historic role as a capital, partly its highly educated population and because of a desire in the decades after the short South Moluccan independence war of 1950 to consolidate Christian support for the unitary republic. This public sector employment declined by one-third between 1990 and 1998, promoting insecurity among disproportionately Christian beneficiaries of the public sector largesse. Even after this decline, only the conflict-ridden provinces of Papua and East Timor had higher public sector employment in 1998 (van Klinken 2007:90). This reveals one of the dilemmas of containing conflict: a history of it leaves more public sector jobs to fight over in poor regions where private sector opportunities are not as lucrative as elsewhere. Conflict drives private sector opportunities down and public sector (and NGO sector) rent-seeking opportunities up.

Budgets from 1998 were sharply reduced as part of the response to the Asian financial crisis, further retrenching public sector jobs. The decentralisation policies of the Habibie government discussed in Chapter 2 increased financial incentives for corrupt local elites to grab control of key positions that could open up corruption opportunities. Public sector jobs therefore simultaneously became more scarce, more lucrative for those who won them and more contested through democratic mobilisation. This was a dangerous cocktail of increased opportunity on both sides (especially for Muslims) and increased threat (especially for Christians).

Local politicians were learning to be democratic. They were used to securing office by currying favour with Jakarta elites. What were they to do now to mobilise popular support in the new democratic Indonesia? In circumstances of Christian anxiety that the 1990s had seen some Islamisation of the New Order state, a decline in Christians' considerable relative advantage in public sector employment compared with Muslims, and immigration eating away their small majority of the population of Maluku (50.2 per cent at the 2000 Census) (Brown et al. 2005:9), local Christian politicians saw potential in mobilising support by appeals to a Christian identity and threats to Christians. On the Muslim side, there was resentment in what became the ignition point of the conflict of predominantly Muslim Batumerah on the fringe of Ambon City that only 8 per cent of employment was in the public sector, while in many nearby Christian areas of Ambon as many as 70 per cent of jobs were in the public sector. Non-migrant Muslims in communities such as Batumerah also resented the employment success of migrant Muslims, which was well above the province average. Non-migrant Muslims were the only large religious group who were disadvantaged in employment opportunities (Brown et al. 2005:26).

Muslim local strength and national support were on the rise, so their local leaders also saw prospects for mobilising democratic support along religious lines. In the mid-1990s, the first non-military Maluku Governor of the New Order, Akib Latuconsina, was aggressively pro-Muslim in appointments, such that all the *bupatis* (district regents) in the province were Muslim—even in overwhelmingly Christian areas—by 1996 (Brown et al. 2005:24). Latuconsina was Secretary of the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals' Association (Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia, ICMI) in Maluku, the state-sponsored political patronage network for Muslims. Both Latuconsina and his Christian rival for the governorship in 1992 and 1997 mobilised criminal gangs in Ambon to coerce support and threaten opponents. They poisoned the minds of ordinary people and sermon-givers in churches and mosques that immigrant takeovers of public offices or markets or areas of villages, or assertive defence of them, were part of a conspiracy of Islamisation or Christianisation that threatened their very existence as a religious community. On the Christian side, Megawati's party, PDI-P, was a Christian challenger party in Maluku (in a way it was not elsewhere in Indonesia) because the old Protestan Parkindo party in effect became PDI-P in Ambon. Christian political elites hoped for a future Megawati regime that would reverse their decline in return for support against the Muslim parties and Golkar (that had long been dominant in Maluku). Political ambition of specific candidates of both religions for the offices of governor and mayor of Ambon were thus important proximate causes of the violence. Van Klinken (1999:16) concluded that each contender was supported by 'increasingly anxious communication networks...Each had prepared contingency plans for an attack from the other. When a trivial incident occurred at the city's bus terminal, the word flew around each side that "it had started".' Crucial to van Klinken's analysis is seeing little people's gripes and big-men's ambitions as having reciprocally causal roles in the violence.

Van Klinken (2007:91) found that Maluku had more of a youth bulge of those under twenty-five than the rest of Indonesia—comparatively well-educated young people chasing fewer and fewer public sector jobs. In van Klinken's (2001:20) analysis, the youth bulge and an impending election in 1999 were part of a volatile mix: 'numerous unemployed young men who socialized along religious lines, local elites who felt this election could make or break them, and personalized, weakly institutionalised links between the elites and those dependent young men.'

The security forces: part of the problem, part of the solution

In Maluku, the province and most districts were run by active or retired military officers, especially districts in Maluku's outer islands, as in most of Indonesia, until quite late in Suharto's New Order. After the fall of the New Order, political leaders in Maluku continued to see themselves—and to be seen—as clients

of particular members of the military class. Notwithstanding growing green faction influence in the military in the late 1990s, at the end of the decade in Ambon there were more influential Christian generals and retired generals than Muslim. These men, van Klinken (2007:93) argued, were in the background providing resources to different sides of the conflict depending on their loyalties and their business and political agendas. They are also part of the context for understanding why the security sector split to become as much partisans of the Christian or Muslim sides as peace enforcers.

The most devastatingly negative contribution of the military was as a sponsor of Laskar Jihad. These imported fighters were trained in Bogor near Jakarta by several current and former members of the military, and were allowed to travel to Maluku despite orders from President Wahid to the military to prevent them from boarding ships to Ambon. Worst of all, the military sometimes fought alongside Laskar Jihad—and in large numbers, not just a handful of deserters here or there. This was a repeated allegation of Christian fighters we interviewed. In a number of cases, when they took the white robes off jihadist fighters, they were wearing an army uniform under them. In fact, both sides received support from military and police ‘deserters’, with Christians getting more police fighters (especially from Brimob) and Muslims more military fighters (especially from Kostrad infantry).⁴ While the security forces provided a minority of the fighters, they were better trained and armed than other fighters, and by some accounts caused as many as 70 per cent of the deaths and injuries (Aditjondro 2001:117).

Our interviews supported some of George Aditjondro’s (2001) interview findings that a network of serving and retired military leaders associated with the then-dominant faction of General Wiranto made key decisions that allowed or encouraged the fighting to escalate. One of these decisions was nurturing links with Ambonese Muslim gang leaders to maintain the rage and spread the poison from the Ketapang riots to Maluku. Colonel Budiarmo nurtured links with Christian Ambonese gang leaders—most notably Agus Wattimena, who became the overall commander of Laskar Kristus. Others cited by Aditjondro (2001) were the roles of Major General Silalahi and Police Major General Bachtiar in allowing Laskar Jihad to embark for Ambon with their weapons being shipped on separate vessels. Another kind of decision taken by certain members of this network was to allow the security forces to become a major source of weapons and particularly ammunition for both sides.⁵ Of course, evidence of a set of decisions like this by officers who share certain factional networks is not evidence of a conspiracy to cause the conflagration. Perhaps it was just a set of

4 On 8 July 2000, ‘the chief military commander, I Made Yasa, acknowledges that about “only” 5% of the military is “contaminated” as collaborator of the Muslim fighters (which means he concedes at least 350 military to be on the side of the Muslim attackers!)’ (Böhm 2005:40).

5 In February 2000, General Rusdihardjo, the national police chief, estimated that 80 per cent of the ammunition fired in the conflict came from the security forces (ICG 2002b:5).

decisions by officers who saw one or more of the advantages we list below in destabilising new institutional arrangements that were clearly less advantageous to them than the old. Perhaps they also saw that this was a time when allowing the angry Muslim card to be played in Indonesia was decidedly good politics, and defending Christians when Muslims were being killed was decidedly not.

In retrospect, members of the Jakarta elite might agree that it was a mistake to allow Laskar Jihad to train in Java, to go to Ambon and to fairly openly acquire and carry weapons. At the time, however, to do so would have appeared anti-Muslim—siding with murderous Christian militias. Laskar Jihad was initially mobilised in Java, with others joining from Sulawesi, and, as the fighting progressed, with increasing sprinklings of fighters from Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Mindanao and elsewhere in the mujahidin diaspora (Böhm 2005:71, 81, 188, 266). They mobilised in response to massacres of innocent Muslims in North Maluku mosques, though in the event they never landed in North Maluku in militarily significant numbers. The North Maluku massacres were the trigger for huge rallies in Jakarta and many other major cities in central Indonesia organised by militant Islamic groups calling for jihad. Laskar Jihad was formed in the crucible of these rallies from the bottom up, particularly with support from Islamic youth organisations, for the military infrastructure established by Ja'far Umar Thalib, a follower of the Salafi tradition and Wahhabi movement of Islam. Various informants and authors such as murdered rights advocate Munir (2001) alleged, however, that it was quickly seized on by elements in the military who wanted to destabilise Wahid's bid for the presidency. These military leaders also wanted to hit back at Wahid for his resolve to call the military to account for the crimes of East Timor and to reform the military generally. The bottom-up mobilisation of Laskar Jihad was probably also seized on by radical Arab and other international funders (Hasan 2002:159), as well as military business cronies who were willing to assist with paying for fighters. Sadly, landmines were also paid for, causing another little piece of the suffering in the Maluku conflict to this day. Landmines were never brought into the more severe conflicts in Aceh and Papua.

The military also wanted a distraction from the East Timor trials issue and the military reform agenda, particularly the abolition of the military's 'dual function' (security and political). And they wanted to demonstrate that taking responsibility for provincial security away from the military and making it a responsibility of the police, who had recently been separated from the military, was a fatal error. The most extreme supporters of this multidimensional factional agenda wanted to demonstrate that democratic reform meant disorder—indeed, chaos—that must be reversed by a return to strong military leadership of the nation. After President Wahid was elected, for some, the agenda changed to destabilising him by showing he could not bring violence under control.

While there is no hard evidence that any Indonesian leader planned to create mass slaughter in Maluku, and perhaps none did, there were almost certainly elements in the military, up to Wiranto and the top leadership, who at least at certain points saw advantages, or 'little harm', in letting the situation escalate or deteriorate. In the end, violent religious rioting of the kind we have seen in Maluku is highly preventable—long before it gets so out of hand—by a committed, adequately resourced security sector. It was not the resources that were lacking here but the commitment. It was not the rapidity of deployment that was the problem; it was the deployment of so many who wilfully made things worse.

Ultimately, however, that commitment was found. By the back half of 2000, a new military commander was transferring partisan military units back to their home islands and by early 2001 the new police commander was able to report that 600 police officers had been transferred, 16 dishonourably discharged and 87 sanctioned (ICG 2002b:10–11). Rotations were being used more effectively and police and military units began to desist from firing on each other! While the security sector performance in 1999–2000 was more part of the problem than part of the solution, ultimately the police, the navy and the army played important roles in a multidimensional approach that secured a peaceful future for Maluku. Without their contribution in the final few years of the conflict, Maluku might have morphed into something much worse. That worse scenario is illustrated by Umar Al-Farouq, a Kuwait national⁶ in possession of Ambon identity documents, who has been involved in multiple terrorist actions including Ambon bombings and training of others in Maluku in 2002 and has admitted to being connected with the Al-Qaeda network (Böhm 2005:277, 2006:381). He escaped from his US prison in Bagram, Afghanistan, in July 2004.

In November 2005, anti-terror police, acting on information from arrested militants, discovered a recently abandoned training and transit camp for terrorists that had been operating for several years on the island of Seram in Maluku (Böhm 2006:381, 383). They also arrested 21 suspected terrorists (10 from Java), including one police officer, still in the vicinity. Terrorists from all over Indonesia were drawn to remote Seram to be trained in how to create terror elsewhere, including Imam Samudera, the Bali bombing initiator. They were attracted by a combination of trainers at Seram with experience in Afghanistan and the Philippines and the opportunity for on-the-job training in detonating bombs demanded by hardline efforts to destabilise the Malino peace accord. In May 2005 in Seram, another man was arrested in relation to a fire-fight in which five police were killed; he and several colleagues had been trained in Moro in the Philippines to undertake the attack on the police (Böhm 2006:371). Police prosecutorial efforts post-conflict have concentrated on bringing post-Malino

6 Viewed 28 May 2008, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/security/profiles/omar_al-farouq.htm>

bombers to justice. No attempt is being made to rake over attacks on villages that chased out members of the other religion because such an impossibly large proportion of the population was involved. It was not an option to put half of Maluku in prison.

As in Iraq and Afghanistan, in Indonesia, loose global networks of violent jihadists were given the message that the chaos the security forces had failed to nip in the bud created an opportunity for advancing Islam by killing Christians. Some foreign journalists relying on American intelligence sources were reporting suspicions of this by late 2001, though the ICG (2002b:18–19) view was that there were only a few dozen foreign fighters. The porous maritime border that the military allowed to let in fighters and weapons from Java also allowed in fighters from as far afield as Saudi Arabia and deepened the connections Laskar Jihad had forged with the Taliban and Abu Sayyaf (Schulze 2002). During mid-2000, the navy became effective in cutting off the supply of arms, ammunition and fresh fighters to both sides, ultimately intercepting no fewer than 1000 vessels with munitions onboard (Böhm 2005:51, 63). In the end, military efforts were part of a mix of punitive and persuasive strategies that enticed most Laskar Jihad fighters to return home voluntarily, while most of those who did not, including their leader, were arrested. One account of why Laskar Jihad was declining rapidly by mid-2001 was that once President Wahid had been deposed, the military withdrew financial support for them. The arrests and raids in which many Laskar Jihad fighters were killed by the security forces widened divisions that had already opened up within Laskar Jihad over alleged straying of the leadership from Salafi doctrine (Hasan 2006). We will see in the next section that the path to ridding Maluku of its active bomb-makers and assassins was a tortuous one. When one looks back at the thousands of Laskar Jihad fighters who were in the field in eastern Indonesia, at the speeches of their leader that were at the time no less extreme than those of Osama Bin Laden, at their international networking and funding, at how well armed and well trained some of them were, at how successfully they had coopted support from within a faction-ridden Indonesian military, the ultimate contribution the military and the police made to cleaning up the mess they had helped create is something one has to admire.

The multidimensional nature of the peace processes

The first effort at peacemaking by the Habibie government in March 1999 was to send a delegation of prominent military officers to talk to both sides and reconcile differences. 'These efforts were met with more bombs and violent outbreaks, in part because of the local population's growing resentment of the armed forces' role in killings of the previous months' (Bertrand 2004:128). A May 1999 attempt to bring Christians and Muslims together for a reintegration ritual to celebrate Pattimura Day was also a disaster when fighting broke out

and the military fired on the crowd, killing seven (Pannell 2003:26). The event was scheduled three days after the signing of a peace pledge by religious, *adat* and political leaders, witnessed by General Wiranto.

Before this, religious leaders on both sides were secretly reaching out to each other. While many religious leaders were preaching war from their pulpits, others were from the beginning preaching of a God of peace and reconciliation. This required courage, but it was the latter message that ultimately prevailed to become the near-universal message of sermons today in Maluku, and we should not underestimate how the courage of the early 1999 sermons for peace laid a foundation for reconciliation even at the height of the conflict. At that high-water mark of violence, on 4 September 1999, Christians of the Concerned Women's Movement held a peace demonstration in front of the governor's office building, drawing out Governor Latuconsina and his senior civil servants, the police, judiciary and military leadership to listen to a 'Women's Voice Declaration'. Not long after, the Muslim Concerned Women's Movement held a similar demonstration. The two Concerned Women's Movements were afraid to demonstrate openly together, but they were secretly meeting to share peacebuilding intelligence. One of the Muslim Concerned Women had her house burned down after a phone call warning this would happen because of her peace activism. The Christian and Muslim Concerned Women also shared 'Stop the Violence' ribbons for women to wear. They had a program to persuade child fighters to get back to school. On 7 December 1999, the governor in a sense followed the women by reading aloud his 'Declaration of Refraining from Violence and Ending the Conflict', which was signed by senior leaders of all faiths, but not the top religious leaders. Also in December 1999, President Wahid invited exiled RMS leaders from The Netherlands to contribute their voices to a call for peace.

January 2000 saw the National Commission on Human Rights conduct a course on mediation for 30 Muslims and 30 Christians on Bali. On the first day, they split bitterly and had to conduct the training in separate groups and different hotels (ICG 2002b:22).

Muslim leaders, including the MUI, pleaded with all outside fighters to return to their home villages (Böhm 2005:50). Their commander, Ja'far Umar Thalib, was arguing for the opposite course. In a widely broadcast address from Ambon's Al Fatah Mosque on 3 September 2000, he had gone close to advocating ethnic cleansing of Ambon:

Keep on fighting the Christians until all their potential to pester the Muslim community will be obliterated...The war will only be over as

soon as the Muslims control the town of Ambon...I am sure we can end the conflict by means of war. There is no other way to pave the way to a bright future for our children and grandchildren. (Böhm 2005:70)

By mid-2001, however, approximately half the Laskar Jihad fighters responded to the appeals to return to their homes voluntarily (Böhm 2005:60). When voluntary return began in October 2000, it put the Christian leadership under pressure from EU and US delegations to drop their precondition for peace talks of a return of all Laskar Jihad fighters. On 25 October 2000, momentum for peace took another step with the arrest of a dozen Laskar Jihad fighters for further attacks.

Christian and Muslim NGOs in Jakarta had established a peace movement and process called *Baku Bae* (meaning reconciliation) from early 2000. Three reconciliation meetings of progressively larger groups of Moluccan Muslim and Christian leaders were held in Jakarta in August, Bali in September and Yogyakarta in December 2000, supported by the Sultan of Yogyakarta. The last was disrupted when Laskar Jihad members, some armed, marched in demanding the end of the talks. It was agreed to expand the inter-faith dialogue in Maluku from these beginnings and to establish two neutral zones in Ambon for trade and education patrolled by a peacekeeping force of local residents of both faiths. Though bombs were detonated to destabilise them, these peace zones succeeded, and a third was spontaneously established following their lead. At one of them, the destroyed Pattimura University was able to restart in temporary premises, taking students of both faiths, and an army hospital was able to serve both. In March 2001, *Baku Bae* worked with the Alliance of Independent Journalists to bring Christian and Muslim journalists together in Bogor. They established a media centre to promote inter-faith peace journalism in one of the neutral zones. It sought to end 'war by media' and to promote journalism that was an inspiration for finding paths to peace. In a sense, however, some critics argued that what the media did was move from a simplistic pro-war analysis of the conflict as a project of either Islamisation or Christianisation to a pro-peace, simplistic analysis of the conflict as the work of Javanese provocateurs. Subsequent peace meetings were held for many other professions across the religious divide. Also in March 2001, *Baku Bae* organised a meeting of 1500 leaders, including many who had been involved in fighting on both sides, in the Kei Islands of Maluku, far from Ambon. It was decided that henceforth reconciliation would involve local *adat* processes that would guarantee security for migrants and refugees.

On 17 January 2001, a children's prayer meeting of 1000 schoolchildren (500 Muslim, 500 Christian) was organised by the Police Chief of Maluku, Firman Gani, with the message that 'their parents should be ashamed. Why cannot they make peace where the children have already?' (Böhm 2005:131). Mosques and

churches, often with support from donors, organised many activities such as camps that brought Muslim and Christian youth together. An inter-faith dialogue was energised during the conflict and continues in post-conflict Maluku to promote peace sermons, learning about each other's religions—not just their religious symbols and rituals but to comprehend the inner religious life of the other (for example, through praying, fasting and breaking fast together; though they fast in different ways, they share the spirit of fasting). The dialogue also sought to quash rumour mongering on Islamisation and Christianisation and to quash the stereotype of Muslims as terrorists and Christians as separatists. During the conflict, Muslims often focused on the black garments of Christian preachers, calling them 'devils in black'. By 2007, this had become part of the humour of the inter-faith dialogue to have *ulamas* laughingly refer to their brother preachers as 'devils in black'. The inter-faith dialogue was described by one participant as discussing the desirability of 'having Moluccan Muslims as opposed to Arab Muslims, Moluccan Christians as opposed to Dutch Christians'. In the conflict they said many young Muslims adopted a Palestinian mentality or way of dressing, while many Christians adopted a Western mode. The inter-faith dialogue has established special networks for youth, children and women. They also network internationally with, for example, the Uniting Church Australia Ambassadors for Peace Program. They have pro-peace inter-faith stickers and T-shirts.

Several reconciliation meetings for adults followed the children in the centre of Ambon, attended by thousands of Christians and Muslims, *adat* and religious leaders, who stood on the platform and prayed together for peace. Collaboration on Christian and Muslim art, music and dance was an important part of these events. They would teach each other their dance and music, then do it together, discovering shared symbols of love, trust and kindness in their art. Other reintegration rituals involved large traditional canoes paddled by 15 Muslims and 15 Christians.

One of the reasons given by many informants for the way the conflict in Ambon escalated was the erosion of *adat* traditions for de-escalating conflict (see also Bartels 1977). Many of them also said during our 2007 interviews that the shock of the violence had led to a renaissance of these traditions today. An Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation survey in 2002 found 58 per cent of Moluccans to believe that for reconciliation to work it must come from below (*dari bawah*) (Brown et al. 2005:xv). Moreover, these traditions did work well in many places outside Ambon (see Laksono 2002), especially in south-eastern Maluku. While peace in Ambon was widely believed to have depended on the Malino peace agreement, permanent peace was secured on all the other islands of Maluku without Malino, and well in advance of it, in most cases at the hands of local reconciliation following local traditions. The contrast between the other islands and Ambon

was even sharper because there were at least two efforts at reconciliation on Ambon that led to violence—for example, a reconciliation meeting between Kudamati (Christian) and Waihaong (Muslim) youth after which eight Christian young men were abducted and killed returning from the reconciliation (Böhm 2005:25).

So what is the nature of these reconciliation traditions that Moluccans consider so crucial to understanding where peacemaking succeeds and fails? '*Pela-gandong*' or '*pela*' consists of oaths of allegiance that bind two villages, or sometimes two clans, to mutual help and defence. It might be two Christian villages or Christian and Muslim villages in relationships that transcend these faiths. Historically, *pela* was used in both offensive and defensive cooperation and was often formed as a peace pact at the end of a war (Bartels 1977:41). In the ritual of sealing a 'hard *pela*' oath (Bartels 2003:134), participants immerse weapons in a mixture of palm wine and blood from the leaders of the two groups. All then drink it. Violation of the brotherhood invokes a curse; the weapons dipped in shared blood kill those who breach the oath. There are, however, also soft versions of *pela* oaths that are just friendship pacts sealed by sitting together to chew betel-nut. Anthropologist Dieter Bartels (1977:325) conceives *pela* as the heart of a distinctively Ambonese religious ontology that ties Islam and Christianity together as different branches of the same 'religion of Nunsaka', though some *pela* relationships exist in parts of Maluku beyond Ambon (Pannell 2003:25). Today the concept of *pela* or *pela-gandong* ('*gandong*' meaning born of the same root, a bond based on blood or clan ancestry) as some sort of shared Moluccan brotherhood of Christians and Muslims is perhaps more important than the real inter-village pacts. Most villages on the islands of Ambon, Haruku, Saparua, Nusalaut and West Seram have a *pela* relationship with at least one other village (Bartels 2003:133).

No villages in a *pela* relationship fought against one another during the conflict. There were cases of Christian soldiers saving Muslim villages from destruction by units in which they served because of a *pela* alliance of their home village with that Muslim village (Bartels 2003:132). On the one hand, *pela* relationships might not have been seen as particularly effective for violence prevention because there was little integration of migrant communities into *pela* pacts, and while villages tended to be attacked by nearby villages, their *pela* partners tended to be far away. On the other hand, for reconciliation, a *pela* partner from some distance could open a path to inter-religious reconciliation that was more difficult for neighbours. For example, the community of Batumerah that launched the first major attacks of the battle of Ambon in January 1999 enjoyed a ceremony during our 2007 fieldwork in which its Christian *gandong* partner village, Paso, built and erected the *arif* pole at the centre of its huge new mosque

to replace the one burnt down by Christians.⁷ After such assistance of *pela* partners with building a mosque or church, devotees of the two faiths enter the building for a shared service. This affirms the Ambonese belief that Islam and Christianity are basically 'only variations of the same faith' (Bartels 2003:135).

What we must do is take the values of *pela* into the public arena, beyond *pela* villages. Some migrants have learnt to understand and value *pela* and participate in *pela* activities in their areas. So we can revitalise a multicultural *pela* that was always multi-religious. (Protestant minister)

The inter-faith dialogue is one vehicle for this. One prominent Muslim cleric said in 2007 that 'cultural beliefs rather than religious beliefs created the peace'. While religious leaders felt that *pela* was important for peacebuilding, in the inter-faith dialogue, they sometimes criticised it for not having enough religious meaning. So one of the projects of the inter-faith dialogue was to give *pela* more shared Muslim-Christian spiritual content. One way they settled on was to connect *pela-gandong* traditions to stories from Muslim and Christian holy texts. A number of informants said *pela* remained a living cultural reality in urban Ambon. Ambon police told us it was local government policy in urban Ambon to facilitate *pela-gandong* as part of their community policing philosophy, though the police also said it was much easier to rely on elders enforcing *adat* to deal with violence and other crime in rural Ambon.

In several villages we visited, including Poka, where the second wave of conflict began, Muslims had helped Christians rebuild churches or Christians had helped Muslims rebuild mosques, or both. We also saw a lot of mutual help with cleaning up the grounds of churches and mosques, with the *ulama* lending the church a mower that the mosque owned on a regular basis. As in Papua (Chapter 2), this was reconciliation through working together on shared projects (*gotong royong*).

Hohe and Ramijsen (2004) point out that *pela* often traditionally means a unity between two parties bound in a pact of opposition to a third party, hence amplifying rather than reducing conflict. Post-conflict, there is a tendency to romanticise *pela*, when, as Brown et al. (2005:22) point out: 'Even at its height, *pela-gandong* did not, and was never meant to, ensure cohesion between broad social groups across the region.' On the other hand, recovery from the worst armed conflict a society has ever experienced is a time when romantic reconfiguring of traditions to make them more ambitious traditions of peacebuilding do occur. We see the same ratcheting up of the geographical scope of more local peacebuilding traditions in a case such as Bougainville, for example (Peacebuilding Compared, Working Paper 6). In the West, just because

⁷ A senior Muslim combatant from Batumerah on why they would never fight Christians from Paso: we 'would be ashamed if we attacked our own brother.'

there is a long tradition of diplomacy amplifying conflict through alliances does not mean that romantic visions of 'preventive diplomacy' to deal with the heightened threats of modern conflict are something to shun. So when a *ulama* tells us he is persuading his faithful to help rebuild the nearby church with the words 'we must return to the old ways now and learn from our mistakes', does it matter if what is going on is more learning of new ways and only a little learning from custom? The *ulama* returned to his theme by saying that in the old days when a clove tree ripened, Christians and Muslims would share and prepare the crop together. Now he says they must aim to be 'even more like family than we were before'. And they will get there by preaching the brotherhood of the past and of the future in mosques and churches and schools. The *ulama* summed up with a syncretic Christian–Muslim theology: 'If we do not have good fellowship with humankind, we will not have good fellowship with God.'

As in the rest of Indonesia, in Maluku, traditional intra and inter-communal conflict resolution was set back by the 1970s centralising and homogenising reforms to replace traditional Maluku village governance based on *negeri* geographical units (with a hereditary raja as leader) with the more democratic Javanese system of a *desa* (village) with an elected *kepala desa* (headman) (Brown et al. 2005:21). When violence broke out, in many villages, the New Order local governance regime meant there was often no-one with the local authority and legitimacy to stop it (HRW 1999:5). On the one hand, elections gave immigrants from elsewhere in Indonesia a voice in village politics. We were also told of cases where coming together to choose informally, then elect a new village leader had caused Muslims and Christians to return to collaborative exchange. On the other hand, in circumstances in which Muslim migrants and Christian Ambonese tended to live either in separate villages or separate *kampung*s within the same village, it was divisive to allow village elections to be dominated by whichever ethnicity had the majority. Power sharing was less divisive for villages that had a Christian Ambonese *kampung* with hereditary traditions of governance and an immigrant Muslim *kampung*. On the other hand, an important part of informal reconciliation in some villages occurred when elders from one faith group approached an outstanding person of the other faith to lead them. In November 2006, 627 traditional chiefs of Maluku formed a council with the principal objective of inter-religious and inter-community reconciliation led by chiefs (Tunny 2006d).

Post-conflict, the international NGO Mercy Corps and the UNDP have been key players in fostering peacebuilding through local NGOs. The Jesuit Refugee Service in East Seram helped reconciliation between people who had fled their island and those who had chased them away by exchanges of video messages in which both sides expressed their hopes, fears and regrets. UNESCO has also had a program on developing a culture of peace—for example, through peace

journalism. Many grassroots reconciliation teams and initiatives and networks have been set up at a local level, often with encouragement or backing from the military or local government. The teams mostly consist of equal numbers of religious, *adat*, community and youth leaders from both sides. They promote local reconciliation encounters and work at giving assurance to refugees that it is safe for them to return.

When we were in Ambon in 2007, new initiatives continued, such as one of the Interfaith Council in which Christian and Muslim clerics stayed overnight in villages of the other faith, living in a religious boarding school or the home of a cleric of the other faith or just a normal family. In one case, a Christian cleric stayed in the home of a Laskar Jihad leader. There were lots of jokes about their differences, but the stay was extended because such warm bonds were established, gifts exchanged and Christian support organised for poor Muslims in the village. As was also true in North Maluku, a brake on local reconciliation efforts was often that communities would refuse to take the initiative themselves, waiting for the lead of government officials (Jesuit Refugee Service 2006:126). Where we found initiative to be at its best was at the most micro-level. For example, old men explained how the young were still 'hot' and would lose their temper. Older men were assigned to watch out and moderate the temper of particular young men, especially if they were drinking. If an angry incident did occur, the older man sometimes took the younger man to the mosque for dialogue and healing for many days after. If a significant incident of inter-religious violence occurred, these old men brought their younger charges to reconciliation meetings with the other side. Even very simple things such as the Muslim villager who owned a car stopping to offer Christian villagers a ride were regarded as important reconciliation work.

One thing we learnt to be wary of from our fieldwork was the view that the kinds of reconciliation that mattered were state or NGO initiated. Beyond the statist and NGO-ist bias in reconciliation research, there can also be a ritualist bias that sees formal rituals of reconciliation as the important stuff. In contrast, what the villagers we met felt was more important was the respected Muslim businessman who bothered to stop to pick up 'a poor Christian farmer like me'. Another reason why informal reconciliation could be more important was that Laskar Jihad regularly stopped formal reconciliations. Another micro-practice of reconciliation that rural villagers viewed as central to local reconciliation was attending funerals and weddings of neighbours of the opposite faith, for Muslims to offer salutations at Christmas and Christians to visit and say *salamat* on Mohammed's birthday. When Christian reconciliation leader John Mylock died, not only did huge numbers of Muslims attend to honour his role in building the peace, all classes at the Islamic University opened with a minute's silence in his honour. Often reported as particularly important both here and in North

Maluku was for Christians to go to Muslim homes at the ritual of *halal bi halal* and to ask for forgiveness for any (non-specified) thing they had done to treat their Muslim neighbour badly in the past. It is common to read in the Jakarta press how *halal bi halal*—this ritual of mutual asking for forgiveness that is unique to Indonesia—has lost all meaning. People ask forgiveness ritualistically, with no depth of feeling, from people whom they do not feel need to forgive them for anything. After these terrible inter-village wars, the ritual acquired a new depth of meaning. People would hug each other for long periods, weeping, after forgiveness was offered. Both parties would know of the acts of arson or violence for which forgiveness was very much needed, but these specific acts would not be mentioned in the context of the *halal bi halal* ritual.

Hence, there had been a variety of mediation attempts locally at many levels and with outside support that started soon after the fighting began. Even the police held reconciliation rituals between Muslim and Christian police. All this work finally bore fruit with an agreement signed at Malino, South Sulawesi, on 12 February 2002. When we asked Ambonese informants what the turning point in the conflict was, Malino was the near-universal nominee. Jakarta ministers Jusuf Kalla and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono rode into this Malino II reconciliation meeting with the momentum of a successful peace for Poso recently negotiated at Malino I. While Malino II was a turning point, it was a process that did only a small part of the sustained, detailed work of peacebuilding. The most organised perpetrator of killing, Laskar Jihad, was not present. It was a very short process, announced as a proposed meeting by Kalla on 11 January 2002, signed one month later and with poor follow-through, with some initiatives agreed as part of Malino II simply not materialising.

The UNDP concluded from its stakeholder consultations that ‘frequent complaints are made about the unwillingness of the government to publish the findings of the Independent National Investigation Team’ (UNDP interview). It had been intended to provide the truth part of truth and reconciliation. At the preparatory meetings and at Malino, participants decided they would not discuss grievances about specific incidents because it would be the job of the Independent National Investigation Team to get to the truth (Brown et al. 2005:xiii). Malino delegates from both sides told us they felt confident it would reveal the role of certain factions of the military in provoking conflict. Journalists believed the report did name specific military leaders as responsible, as well as Christian and Muslim leaders, and President Megawati felt this would engender anti-military feeling that the military might blame her for. The UNDP stakeholder consultations also concluded that ‘Malino Working Groups (Pokja) set up to monitor and enhance actions in support of the agreement were not

empowered by authorities and lack accountability to the people' (Brown et al. 2005:xiii). Basically the government took over and completed the agreed Malino work plan without involving the *pokja*.

While Malino I and Malino II were important contributions that stamped Kalla and Yudhoyono as the men who, as Vice-President and President, respectively, were capable of restoring peace to Indonesia, we must be careful not to fall prey to the front-stage account of politics often too readily accepted by journalists and the kind of political scientist who attends to newspapers more than backstage players who lead reconciliation from behind. First, the Malino II meeting did not start with the initiative of Kalla. A number of the Christian and Muslim leaders who became Malino delegates had been meeting in secret 'three or four times a week' for a couple of months, often in Governor Latuconsina's house. They then started working with Kalla's office. Second, Malino II can be criticised as a top-down process in which 'selected leaders' were whisked off to talks that failed to work at connecting to bottom-up peacebuilding efforts that touched the hearts of ordinary people (Brown et al. 2005:xvi). It eschewed community-driven planning. Some we interviewed said Indonesians looked up to the leaders they accepted as leaders, so reconciliation tended to come from them from the top down. The special contribution of Malino II was that it was more front-stage, involving more high-profile leaders, than in the past. The entire two days of the meeting were televised, causing everyone in Maluku to be glued to their television sets, thereby also causing a total pause in fighting! As one of the delegation leaders said, Malino put central government leaders on television being a party to the peace process: 'up till then they did not take responsibility as a state.' Many Moluccans were critical of the 'it's your local problem', hands-off approach to the violence, but tended to have a lot of praise for Kalla's hands-on role and Yudhoyono's support.

The confidence that a turning point to peace had been reached at Malino allowed some other positive things to occur. The Malino reconciliation team visited every mosque and church in Maluku, socialising the agreement. The governor announced an amnesty for weapons surrendered from 1 to 31 March 2002. We do not know that it was very successful in destroying a large proportion of the weapons, but it was given some appearance of being successful and enabled the governor to announce that from 1 April there would be intensive sweeps in which anyone found illegally in possession of weapons would be prosecuted. We know that on the island of Seram there was a ceremony in which 1752 weapons were destroyed (Böhm 2005:261), but we also know now that training for bombing campaigns across Indonesia continued to occur on Seram. A first step to the enforcement-swamping problem of almost all males and many females being armed was at least to deter the brandishing of weapons in the open. Weapons were still being voluntarily surrendered in 2006, when 636

handmade rifles and guns, 68 military or police weapons (mostly M16s) and 7000 pieces of ammunition, including explosives, were voluntarily surrendered (Tunny 2006c). Most were surrendered for destruction on the occasion of the Independence Day celebration.

On 2 May 2002, the governor ordered the arrest of Laskar Jihad leader, Ja'far Umar Thalib, after he gave yet another provocative speech urging continued war against Christians and denouncing the Malino agreement. Ja'far was arrested at Surabaya airport on 4 May. His 1 May broadcast included some heady stuff: 'The second Afghanistan war will take place in Maluku' (Böhm 2005:245). Ja'far was arrested on two occasions for two crimes. One was this call to armed insurrection; the second was execution of one his fighters by burying him up to his waist and stoning him for adultery. On both occasions, he was quickly transferred to house arrest after protests and then released back into the community. The fact that he could be arrested affirmed, however, that the peace process had passed a turning point. And while he was under arrest in Jakarta on 20 May 2002, Ja'far issued an order for Laskar Jihad to leave Maluku. Perhaps this was part of a deal for his release. Jihadist spoilers were active in the weeks after Ja'far's arrest. On 12 May 2002, the wife and child of Thamrin Ely, the leader of the Muslim delegation to Malino, were chased from their house by gunfire and the house burnt to the ground. Two other Muslim delegates had their houses bombed and/or burned and threats were made and stones thrown at other Muslim Malino delegates, just as threats had been made against peacemakers on both sides at all stages of peace negotiations. Laskar Jihad launched attacks on Christians in Ambon in the months after Malino in an attempt to derail the peace (Project Ploughshares 2004).

Another critical factor in the return of Laskar Jihad fighters to their villages in Java and Sulawesi during 2002 was that their financial backers stopped paying them. Laskar Jihad was disbanded in October 2002 and its headquarters closed on 15 October, days after the Bali bombing cost 202 lives, though its web site was still active in December 2002, at which point it was blocked by Indosite. There is a debate about whether Bali led to Laskar Jihad being disbanded, or another release from prison of Ja'far or whether it was international diplomacy that led to meetings between Saudi Arabian *ulamas* and the Laskar Jihad leadership and an authoritative fatwa issued by Rabi ibn Hadi al-Madkhali (Hasan 2006:225) from Saudi Arabia stating that the jihad in the Moluccas was now over. Ambon *ulamas* we interviewed who were supporters of Ja'far and the most radical spoilers of Laskar Jihad viewed this fatwa as authoritative throughout Indonesia and Maluku. For them, the fatwa was the important reason why it was right for all Laskar Jihad fighters to return to their homes. Most of the remaining Laskar Jihad fighters (800–1000) left Ambon on the *Dorondola* on 15 October 2002 (Böhm 2005:277). The remaining few hundred were expected to board

other ships to return home over the next few weeks. Some estimates, however, suggest about 100 never returned (Böhm 2005:322), some for reasons of local romantic attachments, but others because, as also happened in Poso, they were hardliners—some of them non-Indonesian hardliners.

One leading *ulama* said Laskar Jihad was in fact 'easy to persuade. They were not stubborn. So long as you appealed to them in religious terms, in terms of what is right for the faithful to do.' He continued: 'All the religious leaders in Maluku at many different levels, from the greatest Muslim leaders down to the Muslim clerics in the smallest villages were involved in persuading all elements of Laskar Jihad to stop fighting and return to their homes.' When 'all' was queried, he agreed that yes, there were some dissenters who wanted the fight to continue, but they were small in number in the end.

We went house to house, talking to them. There were many jihad checkpoints in villages. We would go to those jihadists [local leaders] first and persuade them it was time for peace. Then we would go house to house doing the same. We went to Seram, all over, to talk to *ulamas* at the local level about the time for peace. Then we would go to shops to talk with local people about why it was the time for peace with their local *ulama*.

Friday prayers, he continued, were also important in this peace socialisation process. For women, Ma'jlis Ta'lim, the women's branch of MUI, was used to socialise the peace process. The organisation of wives of Muhammadiyah members was also used. Schools were important to show the young that now was the time to 'break the sword and replace it with the pen' (Ambon *ulama*).

The slow conversion of almost all of Laskar Jihad to non-violence was impressive in the way it used a combination of: 1) persuasive overtures from religious leaders they respected in Ambon, Java and Saudi Arabia; 2) elders in the Muslim villages they were protecting thanking them, but saying now it was time for locals to build their own peace; 3) diplomacy that led to an authoritative fatwa to withdraw, withdrawing the financial carrots and political and military support that were inducing them to fight; 4) shutting down the organisation that supported them; 5) shutting down the web site that attracted and indoctrinated many of them; 6) cutting off much of the plentiful supply of ammunition they had enjoyed in previous years; 7) surprise night-time arrests of sleeping hold-outs and death in fire-fights for others. Their leader, who was so vitriolic in his advocacy of holy war and ethnic cleansing and who supported the 11 September 2001 attack on New York, is no longer an outspoken advocate of violence against Christians. He was always critical of Osama bin Laden as someone from a different *Salafi* stream, but he became increasingly vitriolic in regular denunciations of Al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden. In January 2006,

the Deputy Laskar Jihad War Commander spoke at the Al Fatah Mosque in Ambon, which was once the centre of violent jihad in Maluku, to an audience of 500 on why jihad should not mean terrorism (Böhm 2006:388). Indonesian Islamic leaders can take pride in how their religious reasoning with such former fighters has persuaded them to give talks in which the Koran is repeatedly used as an authority for non-violent jihad. More broadly, the Indonesian state and Indonesian civil society can take pride in how they have worked together to craft a multidimensional strategy that has prevented the leader of Laskar Jihad from taking Maluku in the direction of Afghanistan, as he had said he wanted to in the same Al Fatah Mosque.

Most Muslim leaders who we interviewed had only kind words for Laskar Jihad. They believed that without their help Muslims would have been driven out of Maluku and that the Christian militant leaders would never have been driven to peace negotiations. In fairness, Laskar Jihad fighters were deployed mostly to Muslim villages in defensive positions to deter Christian attack—and that was the reality many villagers saw. Hasan's (2006:193) interviews with more than 100 Laskar Jihad indicated that very few of them fought in battles.

In this section, we have perhaps laboured a description of the many types of reconciliation—particularly bottom-up efforts—that occurred. In future chapters, we will not do so in as much detail. We want to make the point, however, that in published work on the conflict there is a neglect of the forms micro-reconciliation has taken. The iterated attempts at reconciliation were not always effective, but they were persistent and the diversity of modalities of reconciliation was broad.

Interpreting the conflict

What structural factors were at the root of this conflict?

Colonialism was a structural factor in the Maluku conflict, though in a very different way from that revealed in Chapter 2 for Papua. Just as colonialism in Rwanda constructed the separateness and privilege of the Tutsi ethnic group above Hutus, so in Maluku colonialism separated Christians from Muslims residentially and placed them above Muslims in terms of educational, occupational and political opportunities. Immigrant Muslims, from many of the same communities that created an advantaged group in Papua, constituted a disadvantaged group in Maluku that was resented for their competition for jobs with poor Moluccans of both faiths. The Christian advantage remained in place during the early decades after independence, but began to be sharply reversed in the 1990s, especially in terms of political offices and the civil service jobs flowing from this. Dutch colonialism and Suharto's re-engineering of

the governance of local communities dissolved much of the cultural glue that helped hold communities together and prevented anomie in the face of religious conflicts until the end of the twentieth century.

Dutch colonialism also shunted the Moluccas towards economic backwardness by terminating the competitive trading traditions, practices and networks that made it one of the wealthiest parts of the world pre-colonialism. That vibrant trading system was replaced with a colonial corporate monopoly for imports and for spice exports. As van Klinken's (2007) analysis showed, Maluku was left with a thin structure of legitimate opportunities through commerce, compounded by decisions to physically dismantle industries such as shipbuilding in Maluku and reassemble them in Java. It was also left with an unusually deep structure (compared with most of Indonesia) of illegitimate opportunities through corrupt abuse of large numbers of public sector posts. Closing legitimate opportunities and opening illegitimate opportunities is a formula for widespread criminal exploitation by those who grab the illegitimate opportunities. This, as criminologists have long known (Cloward and Ohlin 1960; Braithwaite 1979), is also a structural condition conducive to violence.

Muslim immigration also pushed Christians right up to the verge of becoming a minority of the Maluku population for the first time in centuries. Indian research on Muslim–Hindu riots found that a town approaching a 50/50 religious divide was a structural predictor of the violence of religious riots across 167 towns (Wilkinson 2004:44–5). Little has been done to ameliorate these underlying structural factors in the conflict, though economic growth in Maluku has resumed for most of the 2000s to a very healthy level by any international standard, increasing the number of private sector legitimate opportunities for rich and poor, Christian and Muslim alike.

What have been the proximate factors in the conflict?

The Asian economic crisis was the most obvious proximate factor in the conflict in Maluku. It increased competition for scarce resources, just as the ending of the Asian economic crisis reduced it and supported a return to peace. Especially important was competition for scarcer public sector jobs between Christians and Muslims and between migrants and native Moluccans. It was also a proximate cause of the collapse of the New Order, which meant transition to a new institutional order in which new claims could be made in new ways (Bertrand 2004). Decentralisation increased patronage and corruption opportunities in controlling district government offices, which again fuelled competition between Christians and Muslims, migrants and non-migrants. Democratisation increased perceived opportunities from mobilising popular support along religious lines.

Failure of the security forces to take control at the first sign of conflict was critical. Worse than mere paralysis in the face of surprisingly fast escalation of conflict, many members of the security forces deserted their duty to the constitution, fighting alongside combatants who sought to cleanse either Christians or Muslims. This worsened the security dilemma ordinary people felt and forced them to seek protection from militias and to encourage their young people to join them as fighters. At meetings of Christian and Muslim women of the Caring Women's Movement, Christian women would report that they had been told that intelligence indicated Muslims were planning an attack on a certain day. Then the Muslim women would report they had been told that on the same date Christians were planning to attack them. Since both sides knew there was no plan for an assault from their side, the women were able to play a role in defusing the security dilemma. It did not always work; sometimes the explosion of violence did occur on that day despite their efforts.

A conclusion of George Rudé's classic study of the large number of riots that occurred in France and England between 1730 and 1848, *The Crowd in History*, was that crowds could foment historical change as profound as the French Revolution, but only if an important faction of the military defected to the crowd. '[T]he key factor in determining the outcome of popular rebellion and disturbance is the loyalty or disaffection of the armed forces at the government's disposal' (Rudé 1964:266). From France (1789) and the Philippines (1986) to Romania (1989) and Serbia (2000), people power produces dramatic change only when it enjoys some military support. Because people power in Tiananmen Square could stop the tank, but could not cause the tank crew to stand with the people, regime change did not occur in China.

Van Klinken (2007) perceptively describes the Moluccan conflicts in the subtitle of his book as 'small town wars'. 'Villages' such as Poka are in fact quite large small towns, with thousands as opposed to hundreds of buildings. This is a different context from the 'villages' of the Papuan highlands, which are dispersed, clustered hamlets of a dozen or so small buildings. Wilkinson's (2004:43–7) regressions on 138 Muslim–Hindu riots in 167 Indian towns show that the larger the town, the more likely and the more severe is the religious riot. His conclusion is that

town-level electoral incentives account for where Hindu–Muslim violence breaks out and state-level electoral incentives account for where and when state governments use their police forces to prevent riots...In virtually all the empirical cases I have examined, whether violence is bloody or ends quickly depends not on the local factors that caused violence to break out but primarily on the will and capacity of the government that controls the forces of law and order. (Wilkinson 2004:5–6)

Maluku fits the pattern of Wilkinson's Indian data. By the end of the 1990s, local politics was increasingly polarised. It was about Muslim politicians being supported by Muslims (and favouring Muslims for public sector jobs) and Christian politicians supported by Christians to get them public sector jobs. Fighting between Christian and Muslim youth gangs, even escalating to a few buildings being torched, had been common in the 1990s. This also fits the pattern of Wilkinson's data, which find that Hindu–Muslim riots in India mostly led to no deaths and, where deaths did occur, the toll in 80 per cent of riots was in the range one to nine. The Ambon fighting never escalated into wars that embraced all Ambon island and beyond until the disintegration of the New Order left Maluku unprotected by a police and a military who were often more interested in adding fuel to the fire than putting it out.

The interesting question then becomes why the security forces choose to allow or fuel disorder instead of extinguishing it. In Wilkinson's data, the answer was that Indian police were very much under the political control of elected state governments and in cases where that state government did not depend on minority votes, they sometimes found it politically expedient to allow minorities to be attacked and to attack (rallying disengaged members of their majority ethnic group back to commitment to ethnic voting). Conversely, when state governments did rely on minority votes, they insisted that their police use all means necessary to protect them. Political and military elites in Jakarta in 1999–2000 were concerned about losing Muslim support but not greatly concerned about losing Christian support. Worse, military leaders up to General Wiranto saw the military as having a political interest in instability, indeed in 'renegotiating the concept of the nation' (Bertrand 2004:10). Laskar Jihad was therefore allowed to sweep across to escalate the war and at first the military experienced impunity when it took sides. As a result, it is worth noting that the number killed in Maluku between 1999 and 2004 was about the same as all the Indians killed in the many thousands of Hindu–Muslim riots that occurred in India from 1950 to the period of the Maluku conflict (Wilkinson 2004:12). Bertrand's (2004:10) historical institutionalist analysis that 'when institutions are weakened during transition periods, allocations of power and resources become open for competition' seems apt.

Wilkinson's (2004:58) findings are summarised elegantly in Table 3.1. Maluku has moved from the highest violence to the lowest violence quadrant since 2004. Electoral success in Maluku today depends on attracting support from both the Muslim and Christian communities and we have documented the high levels of civic engagement, *gotong royong*, inter-faith dialogue and *pela-gandong* that have been mobilised during the present decade to remedy the collapse of civic engagement that occurred in the decade before. Today Maluku satisfies the condition of having an 'institutionalized peace system' (Varshney 2002). Before

2000, it did not. One might say that Maluku does not meet the condition of ‘no previous violence’ in Table 3.1. Intersubjectively, in the sense that matters, it does. Most people on both sides believed it was outside provocateurs and the military that caused the slaughter of 1999–2004. So today Moluccans do not see themselves in a security dilemma whereby an outbreak of violence is best dealt with by a ‘defensive’ attack before the other side gets the better of you.

Table 3.1 The effect of town and state politics on violence in India

	<i>State government determined to prevent riots</i>	<i>State government not determined to prevent riots</i>
<i>Local precipitants of violence present</i> (for example, high electoral competition, previous violence, low level of civic engagement)	Second-lowest level of violence More riots break out but they are quickly contained by the state	Highest level of violence More riots break out, and these are prolonged and bloody because they are unrestrained by either the state or the local community
<i>Local precipitants of violence absent</i> (for example, low levels of electoral competition, no previous violence, high levels of civic engagement)	Lowest level of violence Fewer riots break out and those that do are contained by the state	Second-highest level of violence Fewer riots break out but they continue because they are not contained by the state

Source: From Wilkinson (2004:58).

Media reporting often made things worse—in Ambon and Java—sensationalising atrocity in a way that inflamed one side or both. The Maluku media during the conflict split into outlets with wholly Christian and wholly Muslim staffs basically reporting only from their own side. The ‘Australian Peace Committee’ did little for the cause of constructively engaging the United Nations with the conflict with a wildly exaggerated Internet petition to the UN Secretary-General and the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights that said that ‘23,000 Indonesian soldiers backed by 30,000 Laskar Jihad mercenaries and some hundreds of Taliban mercenaries are waging a full-scale war against the innocent Moluccan people...Moluccans report that 40,000 of their people have been killed’ (quoted in Böhm 2005:119). Even the office of a senior Indonesian Government minister issued the literally inflammatory statement that 1382 mosques compared with 18 churches had been burned between June and October 2000. The governor corrected the figures with a statement that only 87 mosques had been burned during these three months and 127 churches (Brown et al. 2005:34). Peace journalism made only a late contribution to peacebuilding. In the past few years, the Maluku Media Centre has made an important effort at educating journalists for a conflict-sensitive media that avoids innuendo and corrects false rumours. Ironically, the jihadist radio station Radio Suara Perjuangan Muslim Maluku (Voice of the Maluku Muslims’ Struggle), which

inflamed so much warlike sentiment during the conflict, when the fatwa was issued for the conflict in Maluku to end, was used to persuade fighters that peace was God's will.

At a more micro-level, more particular proximate factors can be identified. Governor Saleh Latuconsina worked hard at convening reconciliations between Christian and Muslim leaders from before the outbreak of violence, but he made mistakes as well. He gave a speech at one village urging citizens to hold out against the violence and refuse to flee. Further, he said if violence broke out here and they failed to stop it, he would resign as governor. His female vice-governor was a retired police general and lent on her experience to say to him to never make that kind of claim again because it created a risk that militias would go all out to destroy the village to try to force his resignation. And that was exactly what they did.

Illegal logging is a significant problem on the islands of Seram, Buru and Wetar. While there was a lot of conflict on the first two of these islands, there was not the kind of evidence there was for the conflicts of Papua, Kalimantan and Aceh of illegal logging being important to the fabric of greed and grievance that led to violence on those islands. Nevertheless, the military has had significant investments in illegal logging and also makes a lot of money by providing security for it.

What were the key triggering incidents?

Minor fights started many conflicts in Ambon city, villages on Ambon island and in towns and villages on outer islands. Flag raisings by alleged Christian separatists were also a trigger on some occasions, notably in the final flare-up of the conflict in May 2004. Our conclusion is that the belief that provocateurs were responsible for it all is part of a fabric of non-truth and reconciliation in Maluku. Provocateurs were also dispatched to Manado, another large town in Sulawesi with a tense political balance of Muslims and Christians who were favoured sons of Dutch colonialism. The sparks they lit were extinguished rather well without escalating to anything like what happened in Maluku. Our conclusion is that in Maluku provocateurs were able to play into a set of structural and proximate political factors, community resentments and community capabilities to organise for violence that was kindling for their sparks. We do conclude, however, that provocateurs were paid and trained to cause violence in Maluku, and they did. That is not to say that outside provocateurs bear most of the responsibility for the slaughter. They do not.

Who were the key war-making and peacebuilding actors?

Some local political leaders played the religious card in divisive and provocative ways to rally polarised support around themselves. Others were leaders of the peace and all ultimately became devotees of a new politics that eschewed religious division. Religious leaders were key organisers of both the war and the peace from command centres in larger churches and mosques. Likewise, the military and the police were key organisers of both the war and the peace.

Gangs that were available for hire by elites of the New Order had become a prominent part of Ambon life during Suharto's reign. While many of these gangs had innocent beginnings in all parts of urban Indonesia, because they could be useful politically and commercially in threatening and organising people, they increasingly became agents of political, commercial and organised crime. Like all semi-organised crime, they are more than just a reason why many of the cities of low-crime Indonesia have become sites of escalating crime rates; they are also a threat to democracy. They can be coercers and corrupters of democracy. The Maluku case shows they can become something even worse than that: they can be causally implicated in the onset of a war. Agus Wattimena, the overall commander of Christian forces in Maluku, was revered as a war hero when he was shot, but he in fact got the job because he was the most powerful of the violent Christian gangland figures in Ambon. Such greater and lesser gang leaders could call on collective organisation for violence that was formed before the Maluku conflict was ever imagined. Constituting a dynamics of contention is not as difficult when an organisational command structure of collective violence is already on the ground waiting to be either enrolled or payrolled. Laskar Jihad was obviously the most consequential war-making actor in this regard.

FKP was not an actor of major import though it suited pro-war elements on the Muslim side in Jakarta and Ambon to exaggerate its military capability and militancy. FKP certainly did have a political agenda of threats of separatism as a tool to lever support for political emancipation of Christians in the development process. Christian peace leaders who went around to them to ask them not to provoke more conflict through activities such as flag raisings found, however, that in few districts did they have more than 50 supporters. And they were not well armed in the way Laskar Jihad sometimes was; indeed FKP and the separatist movement more broadly had been an underground non-violent movement for decades.

Security concerns severely truncated international NGO activity in Maluku while Laskar Jihad was dominant. ICMC and Mercy Corps supported peacebuilding work though local NGOs. Mercy Corps estimates that there are 400–500 NGOs operating in Maluku today, compared with 30 or 40 in 1999 (see also Panggabean 2004:429). Baku Bae was the local NGO that made the most

decisive peacebuilding intervention in convening meetings between leaders of both sides and organising neutral zones where markets could restart and foster reintegration.

The women's peacebuilding NGO Concerned Women's Movement was a key peacebuilding actor. During the height of the fighting, Sister Bridgetta of the Catholic Church was able to go into areas where male pastors would not dare in attempts that were sometimes successful to broker local peace. Women were not only in peacemaking roles: on the Muslim side, there were women fighters, and some women in command roles. One woman was famous for supposedly being bulletproof until finally she was shot. Rituals to make fighters bulletproof and machete-proof were performed before battles. We were told that on the Christian side, some 'tomboys' fought—women who dressed and acted like men.

Motivational postures of key actors

In the previous chapter, we described Valerie Braithwaite's (2009) five motivational postures formulated from factor analytic research in different regulatory governance contexts.

- *Commitment* means willingly embracing the mission of an authority.
- *Capitulation* means surrender to the will of an authority, to the letter of its law without fully embracing its spirit.
- *Resistance* means vocal opposition to the power the authority has and how it uses it. Resistance is about grievance.
- *Disengagement* means psychological dissociation that renders an actor immune to attempts by an authority to steer their actions.
- *Game playing* is a more imaginative and bold practice for escaping constraint by redefining rules, moving goalposts or repositioning the self. It implies keen engagement with the rules of the game and analysing regulatory and governance systems with disarming acuity and clarity of purpose. Authorities are not resented; they are playing the game too, just on a different team. More often than not, gaming is about greed.

Resistance is a motivational posture about grievance, while *game playing* tends to be a motivational posture about greed. Was this conflict more about greed or grievance, or neither—mostly just a security dilemma in which inexperienced fighters thought pre-emption would fend off defeat? It is impossible in this case to reach a conclusion on which of these is more important because there is good evidence of all three. The rhetoric of battle was of grievance, of threat to their faith from Islamisation or Christianisation or threat to Indonesian unity from Christian separatism. There was also Christian greed in driving migrant Muslims from markets they had come to dominate and out of domination of other sectors of business such as transport within Christian areas. At the political elite level,

there was greed for the spoils of political office by promising more public sector jobs and contracts for their own faith group, and even greed to harness conflict between Christian and Muslim Ambonese gangs to shut down a competing gambling casino in Ketapang, Jakarta. On the Protestant side, driving Muslim refugees from Ambon was seen as helpful in securing future electoral success for a PDI-P that was a Protestant-dominated party within Maluku.

In the first few weeks of the conflict, many shops owned by Chinese in Maluku's regional centres were looted and burned (Pannell 2003:24). On 27 July 1999, a large number of Chinese stores on the A. J. Patty Road were methodically looted, then burned. Chinese businesspeople who had suffered great economic loss were remarkably resilient and pleased that they did not suffer more, with one even joking in an interview that there was an old Chinese saying: 'Where there's smoke, there're Chinese.' Chinese businesspeople rarely came under physical attack; however, many Chinese who lost their homes and businesses and fled to other parts of Indonesia did not return until 2006 (Tunny 2006b). The rhetoric of the conflict did not include anti-Chinese resentment, so we can interpret the looting of Chinatown as about greed within a security vacuum, as we can the shaking down of Chinese businessmen and women for protection money in Muslim and Christian areas. Our interviews with Chinese men and women suggested that the military demanded much higher payments from them for secure passage to the airport compared with other ethnic groups.

The environment of collapse of the social order allowed villages to attack each other to pursue contested claims over scarce land, with Muslim villages even attacking other Muslim villages (ICG 2002b:10; Jesuit Refugee Service 2006:107).

After 2000, security forces wanting to maintain their elevated incomes were major drivers of continued conflict. By then most combatants, including most jihadists, were ready to put down their arms and return to tending their fields to feed hungry families. At all stages of the conflict there were members of the security forces who used the opportunity structure of impunity to offer their skills as marksmen to whoever would pay the highest fee. That is, there were members of the military and police who accepted payment to murder Christians and Muslims and who shook down Muslims and Christians for protection services. There were also many selling ammunition and renting, even selling, military or police rifles.

The most important shift in motivational postures in this conflict was of the military and police from predominantly *game playing* to predominantly *commitment* to the constitution and to the security of the Indonesian state and its people. *Game playing* local politicians, who gamed a politics of religious division, have now *capitulated* to the will of the democracy and of the Jakarta elite to practice a politics inclusive of all religions. *Game playing* provocateurs

are no longer a factor and are no longer on anyone's payroll. Another critical shift was of Laskar Jihad and all other militias from *resistance* to Indonesian state authority to at least *capitulation* and in some cases *commitment*. Quite unlike the situation in Papua (Chapter 2), where most of the Papuan population retains a degree of *commitment* to the Free Papua Movement and little *commitment* to the central state, very few in Maluku sustain any *commitment* to militias or to separatist movements. *Commitments* to the authority of religious and *adat* leaders and binding of villages to each other through *pela* have strengthened post-conflict. Engagement down to very micro-levels characterises civil society in Maluku rather than the motivational posture of *disengagement* we found to be so widespread in Papua. *Gotong royong* in rebuilding neighbourhoods has been widespread and peacebuilding through trustful engagement at markets in peace zones has characterised the development of peace. There remains in Ambon city a large problem of youth gangs *disengaged* from the traditional authority of village elders and the authority of the state. They remain a risk factor for future violence in Ambon bequeathed by the coercive youth gang politics of the Suharto era.

Peacebuilding strengths and weaknesses

Seven years after the initial eruption of violence in Ambon, there were still 15 788 families living in IDP camps in the city (Böhm 2006:391) and two years later there were still 12 080 in Maluku (Tunny 2008a). Solving the refugee problem was slower in Maluku than in North Maluku because of the segregation of Ambon into totally Christian and totally Muslim zones and no-go areas through 2006. In the circumstances of so much to be done and continuing insecurity, by 2002 the Department of Social Affairs had achieved the impressive accomplishment of rehabilitating 22 000 of the 49 000 homes that had been destroyed. Payment of R3.75 million (US\$375) per IDP family was, however, often delayed for years (Brown et al. 2005:54). Corruption in managing funds for IDPs and humanitarian assistance generally has been a major problem. Coordination between humanitarian agencies has also been wanting. Trauma counselling has not been very widely available and permanently disabled victims have received little help. Christians told us their disabled relatives received some help from the Church to cope with their disabilities, but none from the state. Compared with cases such as Aceh, Papua, Central Sulawesi and Bougainville, in Maluku, the reintegration assistance for combatants was minimal.

Limiting international NGO access to Maluku until so late in the peacebuilding process did not help economic recovery. Maluku's GDP per capita fell to 75 per cent of its 1995 level at the end of 2002 and in 2003 a once-wealthy province had one of the highest poverty rates in Indonesia, driven by a conflict-induced 400 per cent inflation rate in food prices, including rice (Brown et al. 2005:xii). It was affected economically by the millennial conflicts far more than any other

part of Indonesia (Wilson 2005:68). Investment is, however, returning in the face of what is seen as a secure peace; economic growth has improved almost every year since 2002. Women's leadership in peacebuilding has enabled a relative increase in female participation in senior government positions and in commercial activities from which they were formerly excluded (Brown et al. 2005:xiii).

One strength of the Maluku case was the diversity of reconciliation attempted from the highest level of the Indonesian state at Malino down to very local village reconciliation. Maluku is a case of peacebuilding about which John Paul Lederach (2008) might say the 'interdependence gap'—though hardly the 'justice gap'—has been closed through building horizontal capacity. Reconciliation work has involved not only top leaders and the grassroots at village level, but middle-range leaders as well—as commended by Lederach.

This strength was a multi-stranded fabric of dialogue, mutual humanitarian and reconstruction help, inter-faith night watches and reconciliation in local civil society. Many elements of the post-Wiranto leadership of the military and the police were also critical in flipping the security sector from being the problem to the solution. Just as the game playing of the security sector was a peacebuilding weakness before 2001, after then its increasing discipline, political neutrality and the sophisticated responsiveness of how it went about re-establishing order helped it become a peacebuilding strength.

International pressure was not hugely important in this case, though the Saudi Arabian fatwa for Laskar Jihad to withdraw and the US/EU pressuring of Christian negotiators to drop the withdrawal of Laskar Jihad as a condition for peace talks were both significant contributions. The pressures for peace that enticed Laskar Jihad to retire were a combination of persuasion by religious and village leaders, withdrawal of financial carrots and arrests.

One could not say Maluku was a case of impunity. First the leaders of FKP, then of Laskar Jihad were arrested, though the latter was not convicted. Other Muslim provocateurs of conflict were convicted, mainly in Makassar and Jakarta rather than Ambon. For this reason, police leaders in Ambon were not sure how many Muslim provocateurs had been convicted, but they were confident 18 provocateurs and leaders of rioting on the Christian side had been convicted. These investigations, the police said, provided clear proof that provocateurs were being trained and paid. One Christian was convicted of bombing a Christian church. When prosecutions occurred there was tension, with large numbers of protestors from both sides massing outside the court.

Contests of principles

The key principle that was in contest in Maluku was between the 'dual function' of the military as both a regional political guiding hand and a guarantor of security and the new democratic separation of powers of *reformasi* that separated the military from local politics but left it firmly accountable for the security of the people. The processes of *bacu bae* (reconciliation) and inter-faith dialogue embodied principles of deep commitment post-conflict, displacing the prominence during the conflict of principles such as jihad (distorted in a violent way) and 'Onward Christian Soldier' reinterpretations of Christian theological principles.

Towards a conclusion for Maluku

Even though the fundamentals of the structural factors in this conflict are still in place, Maluku has excellent prospects for a long peace. Democracy seems alive and civil in Maluku, with 85 per cent of eligible voters casting a ballot in the 2008 election of Karel Ralalahu as governor. Maluku is a good example of how proximate factors in the conflict can be reversed and determination to smother new sparks of conflict institutionalised. The military and the police are now committed to doing their jobs in Maluku. Indeed they seem to be doing it with some finesse, relying heavily on *adat* justice where they can, firmly enforcing the criminal law against violence in other cases, and even prosecuting significant numbers of ringleaders of the violence of a decade ago as evidence becomes available. Laskar Jihad was persuaded to return through a sophisticated multidimensional public-private mix of religious authority and education, carrots and sticks that helped widen internal divisions and disenchantment with their leadership (Hasan 2006). The police in Maluku seem to work effectively with youth leaders today, steering some of the once-violent gangs into becoming community educators and watchdogs against violence.

There is no inevitability that 50/50 demographic splits will lead to conflict even when compounded with structural injustice. Women rarely go to war against men. We must remember that the first of the five steps in the dynamics of contention model is identity formation. What we have seen since 2000 is a redefining of an inter-religious identity of Moluccan brotherhood and sisterhood as syncretically Christian-Muslim. It is a case that reveals a drawback of consociational political resolutions to conflicts that would guarantee both groups minimum levels of political representation or veto capabilities. The trouble with consociational politics is that it freezes identities, missing the constructivist insight that identities can be deconstructed and reconstructed, as has happened in a determinedly wilful feat of Moluccan civil society. It was

not a matter of retrieving a traditional identity that gathered dust on the shelf during the conflict; a new post-conflict synthesis of identity was still under construction from new and old spiritualities, rituals and peace pacts.

The Maluku case also supports Wilkinson's (2004) conclusion that state obligation to provide security to local minorities often quickly moves from being a 'positional issue' in politics (in which candidates are free to select from alternative positions about which voters have varying views) to a 'valence issue' on which almost all voters concur and from which no politically ambitious player can dissent (Wilkinson 2004:239). Christian voters in Maluku today are genuinely committed to being governed by leaders who will guarantee the security of Muslims, and vice versa with Muslim voters. Most indigenous members of both groups, and even many established migrants, are also committed to being governed by both Muslims and Christians who value the syncretism of the shared Moluccan spiritual journey.

Even during the conflict, we saw that there was no inevitability that resource politics would aggravate conflict. Indeed, at the height of the conflict, the politics of oil secured Wayame as an island of civility in which seeds of peace could be planted and spread, especially by women. The logging issue was not the driver of conflict that it was in most of the conflicts in our first two volumes on Indonesia and Oceania. We also have seen how the NGO initiatives of Bacu Bae reconstituted a media that was religiously segregated and was fuelling panic and revenge into the inter-faith peace journalism of today's Maluku.

Recall that the five key processes of the dynamics of contention are identity formation, escalation, polarisation, mobilisation and actor constitution (McAdam et al. 2001). In Maluku, we have seen reformation of a syncretic Christian–Muslim identity, de-escalation, depolarisation, demobilisation for war and mobilisation for reconciliation (an institutionalised peace system), de-constitution of Laskar Jihad and Laskar Kristus as organisations, peaceful reconstitution of violent street gangs and constitution of new organisations such as the Concerned Women's Movement, Bacu Bae and the inter-faith dialogue.

Malino II was a turning point in achieving central state ownership of responsibility for security, albeit with limitations as a top-down process. Malino, even more importantly, gave legitimacy to a multidimensional local leadership (from local religious and *adat* leaders, politicians and women) that was not quite bottom-up because local elites did most of the leading. It was, however, quite inclusive, down to soliciting the contributions of children.

Maluku is the first of a number of Indonesian cases that are challenging our starting theory that reconciliation without truth is not possible. As we will next see in North Maluku, then Central Sulawesi (Poso), meaningful and practical

levels of reconciliation can be grounded in a formidably dishonest analysis of the drivers of the conflict, at least temporarily. Hardly any of the countless thousands of crimes against people and property committed under cover of the conflict have led to an apology for that specific crime. It is more comfortable to blame it all on outside provocateurs. The findings of the Independent National Investigation Team that were supposed to lay a foundation in truth for reconciliation were never published. Professor Harold Crouch, in commenting on a draft of this chapter, pondered that it was not obvious to him that publication of the names would not have provoked further violence. That might not, however, be a strong argument against publishing the report today in the interests of accountable government and learning lessons from history. Another response might be that violence might have been averted even in 2002 by testing the investigation team's allegations of responsibility before the courts. On the other hand, in Chapter 4, on Central Sulawesi, trials that were not seen as even-handedly administered at times had the effect of increasing conflict in Poso. For now, we will not rush to any final judgments on the virtues of truth and reconciliation versus non-truth and reconciliation. We simply conclude that considerable reconciliation has been accomplished in Maluku without much local or national truth.

Table 3.2 Summary of some codes, Maluku: 650 other variables are coded

Structural factors at root of conflict	Is this a 'consensus' factor among analysts or 'contested but credible' as a possible factor?
Colonialism of long duration stunts institutions and privileges one religious community over another	Contested but credible
Closed opportunities for Muslims and immigrants especially in public sector	Contested but credible
High proportion of jobs are in urban public sector, fostering competition to control patronage (van Klinken 2007)	Contested but credible
Transmigration/immigration	Consensus
Competitive politics based on religious identity as a 50/50 religious divide approached	Consensus
Unemployed under-twenty-five 'youth bulge'	Contested but credible
Proximate factors	
Asian financial crisis exacerbates religious-group competition for scares legitimate opportunities	Consensus
Collapse of New Order opens power allocations and the institutional order for religious competition (Bertrand 2004)	Contested but credible
Political decentralisation increases religiously based patronage opportunities, further increasing politico-religious competition	Contested but credible
Military and police sometimes choose to join conflict rather than control it when it breaks out	Consensus

Security vacuum fuels a security dilemma, driving both communities into the hands of militias for protection	Consensus
Youth gangs, already organised for violence on both sides, ready-made to morph into militias	Contested but credible
Inflammatory, religiously segregated media	Consensus
Key triggering incidents	
Minor fights in public space	Consensus
Paid provocateurs trained in Java	Contested but credible
Flag raisings by alleged Christian separatists	Consensus
Key war-making actors	
Ambonese Christian and Muslim youth gangs in Jakarta and Ambon	Contested but credible
Indonesian military	Consensus
Indonesian police, especially Brimob	Consensus
Laskar Jihad, Laskar Mujahidin, Laskar Kristus and other militias	Consensus
Moluccan politicians playing the religion card	Consensus
Key peacemaking actors	
Religious leaders and inter-faith dialogue	Consensus
Concerned Women's Movement	Consensus
Moluccan politicians building reputations as conciliators	Consensus
Ministers Kalla and Yudhoyono	Consensus
Bacu Bae	Consensus
Adat village reconciliation leaders	Contested but credible
Peacebuilding strengths	
Transcending religious identity with reconfigured syncretism	Contested but credible
Multi-stranded fabric of dialogue, mutual humanitarian and reconstruction help, inter-faith night watches and reconciliation in local civil society	Contested but credible
Sophisticated multidimensional strategy of religious persuasion; carrots and sticks for Laskar Jihad to withdraw	Consensus
Combatants tired of fighting	Consensus
Community values of religious tolerance and spiritual oneness promoted by inter-faith dialogue	Contested but credible
Peace journalism	Contested but credible
Central state owning responsibility for security by leading Malino II peace agreement	Consensus
Military and police discipline, neutrality and responsiveness reforms from 2001	Contested but credible
Growing women's empowerment	Contested but credible
Trust building through exchange at markets in peace zones	Consensus
Wayame island of civility	Consensus
Peacebuilding weaknesses	
Military and police game playing, taking sides in fighting	Consensus
Slow return of refugees	Consensus

International organisations and NGOs excluded from contributing to the peace until late in process	Consensus
Reconciliation but no truth	Consensus
Malino peace process top-down and lacking in participatory follow-through	Consensus
Corruption in humanitarian assistance for refugees and in governance generally	Consensus
Limited access to reintegration and trauma counselling for victims and combatants	Consensus
Key contested principles in peacebuilding	
Dual function of military versus separation of military from politics	Consensus
Inter-faith dialogue	Consensus
<i>Bacu bae</i> (reconciliation)	Consensus

Part II: North Maluku

Background to the conflict: North Maluku

The conflicts in Maluku and North Maluku are often seen as part of the same struggle. We will see that their dynamics are quite different. Each, however, had effects on the other. The conflict in Maluku signalled to certain political actors in North Maluku that in circumstances of political transition and military fragmentation, playing the religious violence card was an option. Angry refugees escaping the violence in Maluku by flooding into North Maluku did not help. Video footage of the bodies of hundreds of Muslims being bulldozed into a mass grave after being slaughtered while sheltering in a mosque in North Maluku did more to motivate the arrival of Laskar Jihad in Maluku than the violence in Maluku itself. Yet none of the groups that did most of the killing in Maluku—the military, the police or Laskar Jihad—was among the most significant combatants in North Maluku.

While Maluku is a province where half the population and more than half the elites are Christian, North Maluku in contrast is 85 per cent Muslim and almost all the elite is Muslim. The ultimate result of Christian–Muslim conflict in North Maluku was always much more inevitable. That was why Laskar Jihad never became a significant force in North Maluku; they just weren't needed.⁸ While the Christian side was accused of separatism in a certain phase of the conflict,

8 The local Muslim militia that ran the campaign was Pasukan Jihad, commanded by a Tidorese, Abubakar Wahid. A Laskar Jihad 'exploratory mission' visited North Maluku in February 2000. This mission was convinced that its forces were needed more in Maluku (ICG 2002b:7). Christians argued, however, that some Laskar Jihad arrived in January 2000 on the *Lambelu* and, after having killed Christians on the ship during the journey, landed and fought.

this was not the discourse of schism that it was in Maluku. The RMS rebellion of 1950 in Ambon did not attract significant support or fuel significant conflict in North Maluku; RMS was after all a push for a republic of the southern Moluccas.

The original and underlying drivers of the conflict were not religious, but political. Some of the many roots of the political divides went back to early colonial times. There were many factors, but an important part of the conflict was about the struggle for political control in Ternate, the capital of North Maluku. Ternate is a beautiful volcano rising out of an azure ocean. The way the Portuguese went about their efforts to Christianise North Maluku was deeply resented. After the Portuguese were expelled in the late sixteenth century, along with their ambitions to monopolise the spice trade, Spain invaded Ternate in 1606 in alliance with Tidore. The Sultan of Ternate asked the Dutch to expel the Spanish, but the Dutch managed to seize only the northern half of the island in 1607. For the next 56 years, the Spanish sustained control of the southern half of Ternate and the nearby volcanic island of Tidore, ruling collaboratively with the Sultan of Tidore. Enmity between the two sultanates was partly grounded in the fact that one was a Spanish client, the other a Dutch client. For centuries before and after the arrival of Europeans, the tiny islands of Tidore and Ternate were both major regional powers with influence that spread west to Sulawesi, south-east to Papua and north to the Philippines. That power was based on the fact that the two sultans controlled the only parts of the globe where cloves were grown. While they did not monopolise nutmeg, mace and other spices, these were also economically important. The power of the Sultan of Tidore waned when the Spanish departed in 1663. From then the Dutch ruled southern Ternate and Tidore directly. Northern Ternate, however, continued to be ruled indirectly through the Sultan of Ternate. Realising that Muslim power was entrenched through the sultanates, the Dutch never advantaged Christians over Muslims in North Maluku in the way they did in Ambon. The collapse of the New Order from 1998 created an opportunity for Tidorese, four centuries on, to scuttle the political power of the Sultan of Ternate. This was not, however, the main political divide that prised open the conflict of 1999.

The main divide was between one faction of the late twentieth-century Ternate elite in which the current Sultan of Ternate (Mudaffar Syah) was the key player and a faction opposed to him. The Sultan of Tidore was not an influential twentieth-century political player. The second faction, associated with the *bupati* of Central Halmahera and the Islamic PPP (United Development Party) harnessed Tidore's historic enmity towards the Sultan of Ternate. These two factions in Suharto's time had worked cooperatively together to rule Ternate in a grand coalition under Suharto's party, Golkar. The collapse of the Suharto regime provided threats and opportunities to these two factions, so they started to compete to control Ternate. They worked together for long enough in 1998–

99, however, to secure a new province of North Maluku. Then began the real competition to control the new province unshackled from Ambon. At the time the violence broke out, the Sultan of Ternate enjoyed military support and was in a promising position to secure the main prize of the governorship of the new province. His main rival was the District Head of Central Halmahera, Bahar Andily, though there were others. Part of van Klinken's (2007:109) analysis is that a risk factor for conflict shared between Maluku and North Maluku is that their economies both depend on public monies more than in other parts of Indonesia. In both, the absence of a vibrant export sector meant economic opportunity depended on controlling the public purse. This was the underlying prize that motivated the strategists of the conflict—not fear of Islamisation or Christianisation. As in so many islands of Maluku and our next case, Poso, in North Maluku, conflicts started small, then escalated and in the process had their meaning transformed.

Describing the conflict

Makian–Kao fighting breaks out

As in Ambon, in North Maluku, the conflict was not initially defined as religious. It was between Makian Islanders, who were Muslim, and ethnic Kao people, who were a mixture of Christians and Muslims. The Kao community lived on Halmahera Island across the strait from Ternate. Within those Kao lands, at a place called Malifut, the Makians had been forcibly moved for their safety from 1975 after the volcano on their island threatened to erupt. The Kao and the Makians are among 30 geographically based ethnic groups in North Maluku who speak distinct languages (Papuan languages in the north, Austronesian in the south). The largest of these are the Makians, the Ternates and Tidores. Makians in Ternate were economically successful and at the heart of the anti-sultan faction there; Kao villages were among those that traditionally had been most loyal to the sultan. Alignment with the two political factions in the capital was only one of a complex of local inter-village disputes over land, boundaries, a goldmine, custom and religion. Across the North Maluku conflicts, Wilson's (2008:25) analysis follows that of Kalyvas (2003) in concluding that events on the ground often connect to local and private issues more than to the war's 'driving (or master) cleavage' and of Thomas (2001:18), who says of the fighting in Barcelona in 1909: 'On each street they shouted different things and fought for different purposes.' Interestingly, Wilson (2006:35) identified excitement spreading among young men across these North Maluku conflicts (see also Horowitz 2001:73; Verkaaik 2004), especially when they realised they could enjoy impunity because the security forces were not arresting rioters.

The Kao tended to view the Makians as guests who had overstayed their welcome. Makians in Malifut appealed for support from Makians in the political faction in Ternate that we crudely characterised as the anti-sultan coalition.⁹ By April 1999, the Makian farmers of Malifut felt under threat from the Kao. When the Makians were forced against their will to leave their island in 1975, they were told the land in Malifut belonged to the government, not the Kao, and that Malifut would become Makian land. At the same time, the district government was convincing the Kao to allow them to settle by saying that the temporary arrival of victims of a natural disaster would not alienate their traditional lands permanently (Wilson 2008:54). The Kao viewed the Makians as guests on their land, while the Makians viewed themselves as legal titleholders. The anti-sultan faction in Ternate was keen to connect up with local concerns that would build bridges to a wider coalition of support to become a more effective challenger coalition (van Klinken 2007). At that time, the sultan was in the driver's seat of Ternate's levers of power.

The Makians in positions of influence in government in Ternate worked with Malifut Makians to get support from Jakarta to create a new subdistrict of Makian-Malifut. The new subdistrict would comprise the land occupied by the 1970s immigrants to Malifut (16 villages), but also five Kao villages and six Jailolo villages (Tomagola 2000:22). The Jailolonese also opposed being incorporated into the new subdistrict. The name Makian-Malifut was obviously a provocation to them and the traditional Kao landowners of Malifut. The anti-sultan challenger coalition had an agenda of creating a new district in this area that they would control and that might possibly host a new capital of North Maluku; the creation of the Makian-Malifut subdistrict was a strategic move in that bigger game (Wilson 2008:67). Part of the game was also to capture within the new subdistrict wealth that would flow from a new goldmine due to be opened in 1999 by PT Nusa Halmahera Minerals. An Australian company Newcrest, as majority owner, with an Indonesian joint-venture partner, had been working nearby deposits since June 1999. Makians dominated initial employment at the mine. Makians were the most educated and economically and politically successful of all the ethnic groups in North Maluku. While the company set out with a policy of 50 per cent employment from the Kao and Makian communities, within a year of the establishment of the mine, the workforce was 90 per cent Makian (Wilson 2008:56). The company constructed schools in Makian and Kao villages and, according to Chris Wilson's interview with an Australian employee at the mine, paid 'honorariums' to various local officials, including leaders of the Kao community as well as the Makian. It was not just jobs, schools and honorariums that local leaders believed would flow

9 It was a crude characterisation because there were ideological divides over the direction Indonesia, North Maluku and Islam should go post-Suharto. For an account of them, see van Klinken (2007:Ch. 7) and Wilson (2008).

in greater measure for the people of the subdistrict that encompassed the mine. An implication of President Habibie's decentralisation laws, specifically Law 25/1999 on Fiscal Balance Between the Centre and the Regions, was that the government of the district within which the mine was located would receive approximately 32 per cent of the tax collected from the mine (Wilson 2008:58). It should also be noted that there had long been Muslim Javanese transmigrants in Kao who had good relations with the Kao and who were not seen as playing games to expand the area of land initially allocated to them. The army later evacuated them after being told they might be attacked (Duncan 2005a:73).

When the new subdistrict head arrived to take up his office in Malifut on 18 August 1999, the North Maluku violence started. On some accounts, stones were first thrown at the Kao village of Sosol after a dispute at a party. Ten minutes later, there was significant fighting between Sosol residents and a neighbouring Makian village (Wilson 2008:123). Sosol was overrun. Student leaders of Makian ethnicity from Ternate were involved in the attack. It was likely they provoked and organised the attacks that day and the next (Wilson 2008:63).¹⁰ All residents of Sosol fled in boats and the entire village, including the church and school, was destroyed. The next morning, the Kao village of Wangeotak was likewise overrun and completely destroyed. These were the two villages that were most outspoken in their opposition to integration into the new subdistrict. The small contingent of security personnel in the vicinity felt they could not stop the violence, though they did shoot in the air in an attempt to do so. They concentrated on assisting the evacuation of the refugees.

The North Maluku District chief then asked the Sultan of Ternate to go to Malifut to calm the angry Kao. According to van Klinken (2007:119), far from calming the situation, the sultan saw an opportunity to expand his support base by aligning himself as a Muslim with the predominantly Christian Kao. Van Klinken (2007:119) alleges he gave an inflammatory speech in which he is reported saying, 'I have a black dog, and now someone has woken it.' Soon after, when thousands of Makian IDPs would flood into Ternate, the sultan did reconstitute his traditional customary army of palace guards under a Christian commander. It was not done in a small way; ultimately the palace guard swelled to perhaps 7000 (Bubandt 2004a:18). Wilson's (2008:63) interview with the sultan suggested, however, he did try and succeeded initially in pacifying the Kao. They did then seek to resolve the conflict through diplomacy by establishing a 'Team of Nine' leaders to negotiate peace. The Team of Nine failed to secure any stepping back from the new subdistrict, failed to get any commitment for funds to rebuild the destroyed villages or for an investigation into the violence, and no-one was charged over it.

¹⁰ In one interview with a Makian student leader, it was claimed they were there only to help get their families out.

Wilson (2008:180) believes that '[h]ad the North Maluku District government responded impartially to this first incident, it is likely the conflict would have ended at this point'. Instead it succumbed to Makian influence to ignore needed assistance with compensation and rebuilding that would be normal in Indonesia. More generally, it might be argued that it was at this point that opportunities were missed for peacebuilding through preventive diplomacy working with the Team of Nine that the district government, the religious leadership, civil society and the Newcrest mine management might have seized. Tomagola (2000:22) agreed that North Maluku elites were 'negligent' in allowing their jockeying in establishing the new province to crowd out concern for compensation, reconciliation and preventive diplomacy against escalated violence. Because they did not listen, they underestimated the anger and resolve of the Kao. Chris Wilson (2008:68) concluded that not only was inequality between a disenfranchised Kao and well-networked Makians a root cause, the sense of impunity from prosecution that Makians believed their political networks conferred on them was another. When we asked the Kao Christian commander in 2007 if he would have attacked Malifut had he known it would lead to the huge escalation it did, he said, 'Of course not'. He 'did not imagine' it would go this far and was 'surprised' that it did. He still felt in retrospect that the Kao had been in the right to assert themselves after previous Makian attacks and the resources grab for the goldmine. When the Makian refugees finally returned to Malifut, the Kao leadership and ordinary people welcomed them warmly and the Kao subdistrict head expressed sorrow in his welcoming speech, saying this did not need to happen and should not have happened, and he wept.

Believing they would get support from the sultan, the Kao leadership decided in October 1999 that they would act to resist the new subdistrict by diplomacy or the courts preferably, but if that failed, by force. While the first two methods were attempted, it quickly became apparent they would not work. Two months after the attacks on the two Kao villages, possibly 5000 Kao, armed with machetes, spears, bows and arrows and some homemade guns and bombs, massed and counterattacked, driving all 17 000 Makian settlers in Malifut across the strait to southern Ternate and Tidore. The Kao army consisted basically of all the men of Kao plus 200–500 women fighters, according to their commander. All Makian houses were burnt to the ground, but not mosques and schools. While the property destruction was on a massive scale, only three Makians were killed (Wilson 2008:65–6). Kao military commanders told us that ethnic cleansing was their intent, not murder. In each village, the commanders ensured that mosques were unharmed because Muslim Kao were part of their army and because they wanted the world to see that religion was not what this conflict was about.

Transformation into religious conflict

The arrival of such large numbers of desperate refugees triggered anger in Ternate and Tidore. The Makian and anti-sultan challenger coalition seized the opportunity to expand its reach by appealing to radical Muslim activists. This was the point at which the conflict was redefined as a Christian attack on Muslims. Capture of the conflict by the discourse of jihad was perverse as this was most fundamentally a political dispute between ethnic Makians and Kao and an important actor behind the scenes was the Muslim sultan. Soon after the expulsion of the Makians from Malifut, a forged letter was widely distributed in the Muslim community of North Maluku, purportedly signed by Reverend Sammy Titaley, head of the Protestant Synod in Ambon, addressed to the Protestant Church in North Maluku. The letter was headed 'Bloody Sosol', the name of one of the Christian villages destroyed in Malifut. It appeared to plan the Christian attack on Malifut and suggested the attack was part of a wider Christianisation strategy for North Maluku (Wilson 2008:84). Muslims are described as 'ignorant' in the letter. Most analysts think this letter is an important trigger for transforming an ethnic into a religious conflict. Note also how even if there are quite different provincial political dynamics that drive the Maluku and North Maluku conflict, in the 'Bloody Sosol' letter an unknown actor seeks to establish a link in the minds of the Muslim community. Wilson's (2008:85) interviews suggested that the letter had very little propaganda impact in motivating Muslim violence in Ternate. Bubandt's (2001, 2004a, 2004b) work sees the letter and the spreading of rumours more generally, including Internet rumour-mongering and even apocalyptic narratives, as important in fuelling the conflict. It is always hard to judge whether rumours create opportunities for political opportunists or whether opportunists spread rumours to cover the tracks of their opportunism. In this case it is likely more of the latter is occurring.

Van Klinken (2007) interpreted what happened in terms of a dynamics of contention. There was polarisation away from discourses of moderation, 'from adat to armed conflict on one side, from democracy to jihad on the other' (p. 123). He noted the rapidity with which categorisation shifted: 'So the challenger side defined its enemy now as the sultan's feudalism, now as primitive Kao ethnicity, now as a fanatical Christian religion' (van Klinken 2007:123). In this, their ideological work had a 'calculating pragmatism' for evoking a 'dramaturgy of anger'.

Christians began to suffer mob violence first in Tidore on 3 November 1999, then in southern Ternate three days later (van Klinken 2007:119). The Tidore riot started when all community leaders in the ethnically mixed suburb of Indonesiana were called together to discuss concerns about the 'Bloody Sosol' letter. No Christians attended out of fear. Police then escorted the local Protestant

pastor to the meeting to read the letter. Abuse was shouted and a member of the angry crowd punched the pastor. He ran from the meeting and was pursued by some of the crowd who hacked him to pieces and set his body alight (Wilson 2008:86). Immediately the destruction of the churches and all the Christian homes of Tidore began. A Christian militia leader whose job was to listen in on the white forces' radio frequency at the time learned that it was seen as part of the duties of employment for Tidore government employees to put on the white headband and fight.

Ternate as well as Tidore was cleansed of Christians as totally as Malifut had been cleansed of Makian Muslims. At the time, van Klinken (2007:119) reported, it was often said that driving the Christians out would help defeat the sultan's group at the planned June 2000 local elections. Makian political leaders in Ternate in fact led the 6 November 1999 riots. Muslim forces attacked the police headquarters in Ternate and the police fled. On Wilson's (2006:11) analysis, from that time on, Christian and Muslim communities throughout North Maluku found themselves in a 'security dilemma'—preparing to defend themselves or launch pre-emptive attacks. The problem was that any defensive preparation by the ethnic other was at risk of being interpreted in the worst light.

Two days after the Ternate riots, attacks on Christians increased in Central Halmahera and belligerent incidents increased in Tobelo, North Halmahera, the largest town on the province's largest island. Word reached Tobelo that the security forces had done nothing to protect Christians in Tidore and Ternate, so Christians began to arm themselves and this naturally fuelled anxiety among Muslims in Tobelo (Wilson 2008:104–5). Meetings were held between Christian and Muslim leaders in Tobelo in an effort to maintain calm. The interim governor and the Sultan of Ternate also attended a public meeting on 7 December 1999 in an effort to maintain dialogue.

Trigger in Tobelo

The already tense situation in Tobelo was exacerbated through November and December by rumours of an impending 'bloody Christmas'. On 24 December, Pastor Charles Kaya decided it would be wise to secure the main Protestant compound in central Tobelo that included the central church, synod office and the Bethesda Hospital (Wilson 2008:107). The compound was the obvious central target of any Muslim attack, so it was reasonable and prudent in the circumstances for Pastor Kaya to request military security for it over the Christmas period. When he received no reply, the pastor asked surrounding churches to supply 40 men to guard the compound overnight. Regrettably, they arrived, carrying spears and wearing red headbands, in a large truck that passed through the Muslim area of the city. This sight terrorised the Muslim community and was probably a trigger for the violence that would ensue two

days later (Wilson 2008:108). On 26 December, some Muslim youth engaged in a stone-throwing incident that escalated to hundreds of men wearing white or red headbands fighting with swords, homemade bazookas and other weapons. The violence spread to adjacent villages. Muslim forces prevailed in these battles. The victory was reversed when Christian forces from around the district supported by Benny Bitjara's (Doro's) Kao army arrived on the outskirts of the city the next day.

During the two days from 26 December 1999, Muslim minorities were driven from many parts of Halmahera, the large island that made up most of North Maluku. War raged across the countryside of the islands of Halmahera, Morotai, Bacan, Obi and other islands for the next two months. Muslim IDPs fleeing to Morotai were important in fomenting the spread of conflict there (Duncan 2008:211). The Moslem Relief Organization estimated that 800 Muslims were killed in the worst two days of the fighting. The effect of the many battles in this period was to create purely Christian and purely Muslim parts of Halmahera. Refugees were moving in all directions, fuelling the security dilemma with horrific stories of what could happen if you did not prepare for the worst.

Eerily, in North Maluku, there was a resource-driven replication of the island of civility in Wayame, Ambon island (see Box 3.1), at Weda Bay (Box 3.3).

While Weda Bay stood apart from the majority of North Maluku that was consumed by conflict, Chris Duncan pointed out in a comment on an earlier draft of this chapter that there were several parts of the province that avoided violence, one being 'almost all of Kecamatan Maba' on the eastern coast of Halmahera, where Duncan did fieldwork in 1995–96 and which he visited in 2002.¹¹ He continued that

depending on how you define 'Weda Bay', violence did in fact take place in that region. Although it may have not occurred in the villages directly surrounding the mine...the villages of Tilope and Going, and possibly others in Kecamatan Weda were attacked during the conflict.

11 Chris Duncan elaborated: 'Only one village of Kecamatan Maba (Jara-Jara) experienced violence directly related to the larger conflict, although there was some displacement as people moved around to avoid violence (people from the villages of Dorosago, Lolasita, etc.), but there was no communal violence outside of Jara-Jara. There was some violence in the village of Patlean during that time period; several Christians were killed by Muslims and there was a mission for a Christian counter-attack that missed its target. Kecamatan Patani in southeast Halmahera also largely escaped the violence, with the possible exception of one village. Outside of Halmahera, the Sula archipelago remained peaceful throughout the entire conflict, with the exception of a brief outburst of violence in the town of Sanana on the island of Mangole in January 1999, but the rest of the archipelago, which includes both Christian and Muslim communities, stayed violence free. The same could be said for a large section of northern Morotai, and the island of Gebe.'

Box 3.3 Weda Bay

'The importance of the security dilemma to the outbreak of violence can further be illustrated by a brief examination of the one area in North Maluku in which violence did not occur, that of Weda Bay in Central Halmahera District. Weda Bay has been the site of a large Nickel exploration activity since 1998 by PT Weda Bay Nickel, whose main shareholder at the time was a Canadian company. In November and December 1999, as tensions reached very high levels throughout the province and at the request of local villagers, the directors of the mining operation asked the military command for approximately 12 Indonesian Marines from Surabaya to be sent to the area to provide security. The marines were dispersed among the four Christian and Muslim villages that surrounded the mine and supplied with two-way radios. This provided not only comfort to the villagers regarding the possibility of external agitation or direct attacks, but also allowed them to stay in constant contact with the surrounding villages and the mine. The primary benefit of this increased communications capacity was the ability to quash the rumours that constantly reached the villages. Remarkably no violence occurred in the area throughout the duration of the conflict elsewhere in North Maluku.'

Source: Quoted from Chris Wilson (2008:124).

The Muslim versus Muslim battle for Ternate

Meanwhile, after the 6 November attacks on Christians in Ternate, the police and military leadership there encouraged the sultan to 'bring out his people' (his palace guard). Soon, no police or military were to be found on the streets, while the palace guard was everywhere maintaining order, clumsily, with brutality and partiality. Opponents of the sultan worried about the implications his control of the streets would have as the gubernatorial elections approached. The violence, torture of political opponents and torching of houses by the sultan's guards inflicted on ordinary Muslim people from south Ternate in this period, combined with revulsion at the ethnic cleansing perpetrated by the sultan's Christian allies in Tobelo, Galela and elsewhere in Halmahera, steeled the anti-sultan white forces to mount a decisive attack on the yellow forces of the sultan's guards. Fighters were recruited from the mosques of southern Ternate and thousands came to Ternate from Tidore villages with long histories of militant resentment of the Sultan of Ternate. The Sultan of Tidore did not in fact lend his support to the invasion from Tidore (Duncan 2005a:74).

The conflict began to shift some of the control of the challenger coalition towards violent jihadists and away from predominantly Makian students with ideals of transcending both feudal and New Order elites in favour of democracy. This was a paradox too as this chapter of the conflict was the most politically decisive one, yet it was one fought between Muslims and Muslims in the capital. The foundation of this partial shift was laid earlier in the 1990s as Suharto cultivated an Islamic turn in Indonesia to counterbalance the forces that might topple him. Conservative Islamic schools were established in many parts of North Maluku in the 1990s, especially in Ternate, and their graduates provided many of the shock troops with ambitions of turning the conflict into a jihad. This ambition was not widely realised. Again, fighters fought for different reasons. Some fought with Tidore against Ternate, some for a homeland for dispossessed Makians, some to assert the resentments of other more marginalised ethnic groups than Ternates/Tidores/Makians, some for jihad against Muslim defenders of Christianisation, some out of disgust at the sultan's alleged poor character¹² and the feudal power he represented, and others to avenge brutality and indignity the palace guard had inflicted on their families or their alleged destruction of the Kampung of Pisang in southern Ternate. These rivers of resentment did not converge spontaneously. Wilson (2008:142) has argued that the conflict between north and south Ternate required planning. The planners were the political support teams of competitors of the sultan to assume the governorship of the new province. Their objective was to harness all these rivers of resentment to defeat the palace guard militarily and humiliate the sultan in such a way that he could never be the dominant political force in North Maluku again.

In street battles that pitted the white jihadist anti-sultan forces against the yellow forces of the sultan for three days, the sultan's traditional soldiers were finally forced to retreat to the palace. The military and the police stayed in their barracks and let them fight it out after a Brimob officer was injured in one of the earlier skirmishes. Interim Governor of North Maluku, Surasmin, asked the Sultan of Tidore to discipline the thousands of Tidore fighters in the city inflicting the violence on Ternate. The Sultan of Tidore responded by arriving at the Sultan of Ternate's palace with his own palace guards. Fighting stopped when he arrived. He told the white forces to put their weapons down and sit down on the road outside the Ternate palace. After a short meeting between the leaders of the Tidore and Ternate palace guards, the yellow forces likewise sat down as the Sultan of Tidore walked through them into the palace in a moment of unique political drama. It is hard to be certain exactly what happened inside the palace. Wilson (2008:139) concludes on the basis of interviews with senior Tidore informants that the Sultan of Tidore and the Tidore military commanders forced the Sultan of Ternate to sign a document taking responsibility for the

¹² Drinking alcohol, having Christian wives or having multiple wives were prominent in descriptions of this alleged poor character.

yellow–white battle for Ternate and accepting an obligation to rebuild homes destroyed. In our interview with the Sultan of Ternate, he denied being forced to leave the palace, saying he went on a business trip to Jakarta and returned soon after. On the Tidore side, it is argued that the peace agreement stipulated that the sultan relinquish all authority in Ternate and depart. Bubandt (2004a:21) said it was rumoured the sultan was forced to remove and burn his ceremonial clothes before being allowed to flee. In our interview with the sultan back in his palace in 2007, he denied all of this, saying nothing had been signed or burned. On the Sultan of Ternate's account, the two sultans had simply agreed that further fighting was futile and should stop and that the state security forces should take full responsibility for peace enforcement, which was what happened.¹³ Vice-President Megawati called him to confirm that he was honouring the cease-fire and disbanding and disarming his army.

It was certainly a devastating turning point in the political fortunes of the Sultan of Ternate. The police and military leadership in Ternate, which had expected the sultan's forces to win the battle for the city against the white forces, turned their backs on the sultan from that point, as did his power base within the Golkar Party and his supporters in Jakarta. With all Christian Members of Parliament having fled, it was easy in January to unseat the sultan as the North Maluku District Parliamentary Chairman. He was, for the time being, a spent political force (Wilson 2008:139). Indonesia's National Commission for Human Rights (Komnas-Ham), in a peculiar gesture of justice on behalf of the victors, conducted an investigation specifically into accusations of human rights abuses ordered by the sultan on the yellow side. No charges were ever brought as a result of this investigation, nor was any report published.

The victorious white forces paraded through Ternate, burning churches and enemy houses. The arrival of thousands of Muslim IDPs had also provided the militia with a new goal. The group then set about preparing for the invasion across the strait to defeat the Christian forces on Halmahera.

The Halmahera campaign

The arrival of thousands of refugees from Tobelo and Galela in Ternate in the days after the sultan's departure motivated many Ternateans from the yellow forces to join the predominantly Tidores, Sananas and Makians of the white forces to counterattack the Christians in Halmahera. They joined to form the Pasukan Jihad ('Holy War Force'). Many were refugees motivated by a desire to retake their home villages (Wilson 2008:152). As there were Christian pastors who resisted war and demanded protection of women and children, so there

13 A hybrid account of what happened came from a staff member of the Sultan of Tidore we interviewed who was present. He said the Sultan of Ternate did sign a document in which he said he would not do certain things again, but he did not recall him taking responsibility for any attacks or for the damage done.

were imams who took this position. They were threatened when they showed the courage to do this. While as in most conflicts, males dominated the violence, several male transvestites participated in the jihad (Wilson 2008:153) as did dozens of women (Interviews with commanders). The script that the jihad was fighting for the Republic of Indonesia and in opposition to Christian supporters of a resurgent RMS became prominent by this late stage of the conflict. Abu Bakar Wahid, the commander of Pasukan Jihad, actively promoted this. The presence of small numbers of Ambonese Christian refugees in Halmahera was apparently evidence of this. The leadership hoped that projecting a mission of defeating devotees of a separatist Christian state would help prevent the military from standing in the way of the revenge they intended (Wilson 2008:153). In all of our interviews and Wilson's (2006) interviews with Muslim leaders, including top military commanders, it was denied that Laskar Jihad was involved in the fighting at this or any other stage. In a number of interviews we and Wilson (2006) did with Christians, however, including with the top military commanders on the Christian side, it was claimed that they found many identity cards from other parts of Indonesia on the bodies of dead jihadists.¹⁴ An October 2001 interview by Professor Harold Crouch with a Laskar Jihad leader indicated that they concluded from their early mission that there was no need to send forces to North Maluku. A senior intelligence officer we interviewed in North Maluku felt fairly sure that Laskar Jihad had become involved in the fighting, but that none of the players wanted them there, so they might have been present in quite small numbers. Duncan (2005a:77) also reached a conclusion of a presence in modest numbers. In commenting on a draft of this chapter, Professor Crouch pointed out that there was 'evidence of a small number of JI-linked people in North Maluku, including a photo of a prominent leader wielding a sword in a mosque' and he wondered whether there might have been some confusing of JI-linked fighters with Laskar Jihad.

Halmahera was invaded by a 10 000-strong unpaid volunteer private jihad army (which enjoyed some logistical support from the provincial and district governments and a lot of sympathy from elements in the army, who rented some weapons to them). By this point, both sides had been buying or hiring weapons in the southern Philippines. Money was flowing in from supporters in Java, and two of Abu Bakar Wahid's deputies accused him of stealing donations (Wilson 2008:154).

On Halmahera, quite near the Newcrest goldmine, a Kao army massed and moved forward to the inspiration of Pastor Sospelissa on the roof of a vehicle

14 One Christian leader, for example, was specific and very sure that Laskar Jihad had travelled to Ternate on 31 December and 1 January on the *Lambelu*, because he had been involved in making a post-conflict prosecution complaint on behalf of seven Christians who were beheaded and had their heads thrown into Ternate Harbour by Laskar Jihad fighters on the vessel. This case was targeted by the Christians for investigation because of the comparative ease of proving who was on the ship. Their complaint went nowhere.

singing *Onward Christian Soldiers* (Wilson 2008:170) to meet the advancing Pasukan Jihad. The Muslims had several thousand more fighters than the Kao. The two armies were in sight of each other when the military and police worked together to push back the smaller Kao force of about only 1000 by that stage, on Wilson's account. While there is great reason to be critical of police and military disengagement as a cause of the loss of life from August 1999, on 22 January 2000, 100–200 military and police forced a battle-hardened Kao army to withdraw by firing repeatedly into the ground around them (Wilson 2008:161). This prevented a battle that could have been the worst bloodbath of the conflict. Note that it was possible only because after the ethnic cleansing of Malifut, the security forces put substantial reinforcements into Malifut to protect the mine, some funded by the company. The mine provided trucks and helicopters for the movement of troops as well as other logistical support and funding. Australian mine staffers were constantly in touch with not only the military commander in Ternate, but Acting Governor Surasmin and other political leaders pushing the imperatives of keeping the mine open. This created political will to prevent further violence near the mine (Wilson 2008:172). The Muslim commander claimed that while the military was cajoling and coercing the Christian forces to pull back, the governor flew in by helicopter and negotiated a pullback of the Muslim forces, on condition that the military maintained security and that the secure return of Makian refugees to Malifut was expedited promptly. It was.

At this point, the Kao leadership revived the peacemaking efforts of its Team of Nine, indicating to the security forces that they wanted a negotiated peace, but that if the Pasukan Jihad advanced, they would attack them. While this was happening, the Kao army was being reinforced by Tobelos and the Pasukan Jihad forces in the area had grown to 5000. When thousands more attempted to embark from Ternate, the military again stood its ground to prevent their embarkation, killing five jihadists (Wilson 2006:317). Frustrated by this new twin resolve of the security forces, Abu Bakar Wahid agreed to negotiations with the Kao leadership mediated by the military. While this bloodbath was prevented, more blood was yet to be shed on a second, far-northern front in Galela.

After an initial smaller battle that was repelled by the Christians on 5 March and on 25 May 2000, on 19 June, a larger force of 10 000 Pasukan Jihad attacked Duma and surrounding villages in Galela. As happened elsewhere, here the military retired from the battlefield rather than confront the massed jihad troops. The Christians were soon in a desperate situation. All of the women and children were huddled in and around the Duma church with their men and the strongest women fighting off the final assault. Three soldiers arrived and fired at the advancing Pasuka Jihad forces to defend the sanctuary against the final advance. With Duma almost overrun, the assault ceased, probably, according to

Wilson (2006:324), because of the arrival of a unit of Indonesian marines. The marines used trucks to evacuate the surviving Christians and allowed Pasukan Jihad to take the village without further bloodshed. While the military failed to prevent the battle in the way it did at Malifut, in the final analysis, these marines prevented much more massive losses than the hundreds that did die on both sides in Duma. Still, it was a disappointing performance by the military because by this time there were four battalions on Halmahera (Brown et al. 2005:50).

Peace

Wilson (2008:166–8) provides several reasons for the cessation of fighting in July 2000. After the tough campaign that led to the fall of Duma, both groups of unpaid fighters were exhausted by months of fighting and were mostly longing to return to their homes. Pasukan Jihad was also suffering divisions in its leadership over many issues, including how grim would be the cost of attacks on the two remaining Christian strongholds in Kao and Tobelo. That human cost would certainly be much higher than in a Duma that was cut off from Christian reinforcements. The costs were further increased by evidence from the Kao campaign that the military was now willing to stand in their way. Larger military forces stood between Pasukan Jihad and the remaining Christian strongholds than had been the case in previous campaigns. There were no mixed Christian–Muslim locales left standing. Only domains totally under the control of Christian or Muslim militias remained, with security forces positioned between them. As in Maluku, here the navy had cut off the entry of weapons and ammunition. After Duma, President Wahid declared a civil emergency in Maluku and North Maluku. This placated military concerns/excuses that they might suffer human rights prosecutions for robust peace enforcement.

After the further heavy losses on both sides in Duma, provincial authorities were no longer giving tacit support to Pasukan Jihad; the caretaker governor was now pushing hard for a negotiated peace. So was Jakarta. Pragmatic Makian and Tidore provincial leaders had by then achieved their first objective of eliminating the Sultan of Ternate as a credible political rival. As a result, the further objectives of moving the capital from Ternate to Tidore's geographical realm and resecuring a Makian homeland to which IDPs could return in Malifut were now easily within reach through negotiations with the Kao, who had been seeking such negotiations for months.

Pushing on with violence would only erode their credit with Jakarta elites. The large loss of life in Duma had already attracted concerned media coverage in Jakarta. Then on 28 June 2000, the ship *Cahaya Bahari*, licensed to transport 500, left Tobelo loaded with 750 people fleeing the conflict. It sank with the loss of 492 lives. Many victims were women and children, including the family

of the Christian military commander, Benny Bitijara, and people who had been wounded. Some survivors believed the ship was deliberately sunk. However unlikely this was, it contributed to the feeling of 'enough is enough' in a wider Indonesian opinion that Pasukan Jihad leaders would have been unwise to ignore. At the beginning of the Pasukan Jihad campaign, joining it tended to confer prestige in the Muslim community; continuing it to Tobelo might have conferred a loss of status in many of those same circles of opinion.

Before all the Christians were chased from Ternate, the senior Muslim leader of Tobelo went to Ternate and said: 'Please don't kill Christians in Ternate. If you do they will kill us Muslims here in Tobelo.' That argument was ignored then; but by the carnage at Duma, the bitter experience of the truth of such warnings meant that those kinds of arguments of the peacemakers held the high ground. Many people we interviewed also pointed out that everyone could see the huge economic costs of the war by then.

Three peace agreement meetings were held with the commanders from both sides, the military, Acting Governor Surasmin and leaders from Jakarta including Vice-President Megawati. There was no emotion of reconciliation at these meetings. They were practical meetings for negotiating terms of the peace and how to hand over to the military to make it stick. After the state of emergency, Pasukan Jihad disbanded even more totally than Laskar Jihad did in 2002. An amnesty in the first week of July 2000 seemed to be hugely successful in persuading militias to hand in weapons (Wilson 2006:327, footnote 689).

Duncan (2005a:79) found there were minor outbreaks of violence in Loloda in 2001 and in Tobelo, Galela and Morotai in 2002. He interprets these as attempts by the military to prolong the civil emergency and profit from the insecurity. During Ramadan in 2003, there were 20 bombings in Tobelo, also suspected by Cutura and Watanabe (2004:16) to have been ignited by Brimob to justify its continuing presence in the area.

The cost

Van Klinken (2007:122) concluded that most of the leading protagonists of the conflict gained little, or lost, from it. He concluded that, as in Poso, none of the most militant figures was rewarded with a post-conflict senior government appointment. Many of the leading protagonists were, however, already leading politicians and bureaucrats who retained their jobs. The 2000 local elections for which the militant factions were jockeying were cancelled by Jakarta as too much of a security risk. The biggest loser was the Sultan of Ternate. Political instability began to subside only during the time of writing on Thaib Armaiyn returning as the Governor of North Maluku. Golkar's Abdul Gafur was declared elected in the 2003 and 2007 gubernatorial elections, but on both occasions

various combinations of local and national electoral commissions, the Supreme Court and the Minister for Home Affairs struck down his declared victory on the grounds that he had used 'money politics'. At the time of our 2007 fieldwork, while the regulation declaring Makian-Malifut still stood, legal and political battles raged over district and subdistrict boundaries on Halmahera, in particular over how they encompassed villages around the Newcrest goldmine. There was therefore still no certainty that the mine would sit within the Makians' political sphere, and no certainty that conflict would not reignite. Brimob shot dead one person and wounded four when it fired on hundreds of protestors demanding the closure of the mine in 2004 (*The Jakarta Post*, 9 January 2004). The fighting had destroyed much but resolved little beyond the political demise of the Sultan of Ternate. On the other hand, none of the militia leaders was prosecuted for crimes against humanity and they did get government positions in post-conflict North Maluku. Leaders of militias on both sides said one of the terms in their peace negotiations with Vice-President Megawati was that no combatants would be prosecuted. The government has honoured this. We asked the Christian military leader if refusal of the amnesty would have been a deal breaker. He definitely did not think so on the Christian side and could not speak for the Muslim side but thought it would not have been a deal breaker for them either.

The final toll of the North Maluku conflict included at least 3000–3500 dead, according to Wilson (2006:13). An NGO count conducted from 32 North Maluku locations in August 2000 was of 3931 dead (Böhm 2005:65). Peace journalism researcher Ichsan Malik counted 3241. Some 200 000 people were displaced, according to the Norwegian Refugee Council (van Klinken 2007:107). According to the UNDP, the peak number of IDPs exceeded 250 000 in mid-2000 (Brown et al. 2005:39). Wilson (2006:14) reported that 18 022 houses, 97 mosques, 106 churches and 110 schools were destroyed,¹⁵ plus bridges and a great deal of other infrastructure. Böhm's (2005:66) reported count from local NGO investigations was similar: 206 churches and mosques, 14 217 homes and 115 schools destroyed. Infant mortality in the combined province before the separation of North Maluku from Maluku was 40 per 1000 live births before the conflict and 57 in the first year of peace, 2002 (Brown et al. 2005:40). School drop-out rates among children in the refugee camps of Maluku and North Maluku could have been as high as 44 per cent (Brown et al. 2005:42). A lot of the violence targeted defenceless women and children; bodies were mutilated, disembowelled and beheaded, especially as evident in the photographic record for North Halmahera, and sometimes there was consumption of body parts, especially hearts, of the vanquished (Wilson 2008:113). There were also stories of rape and forced conversion of Muslims to Christianity. As with the ethnic

15 The head of the North Maluku Education Office reported in 2004 that 300 primary school buildings had been damaged or destroyed during the conflict and that they had the capability to renovate only 50 schools a year, with 600 schools at that time still on the waiting list for renovation (Agustiana and Pakpahan 2004:11).

violence in Kalimantan to be discussed in Chapter 5, this millennial violence was associated with a cultural re-engagement by some fighters with practices of warfare not seen since colonial pacification ended practices such as headhunting. Fighters brought many diverse scripts to the conflict beyond the media's master narratives—about land, gold, district boundaries, disrespect, payback for fallen kin, manly bravery, political control, religion, ethnic hatred and loot as soldiers' pay. Yet another of those scripts was about reviving traditional war practices seen in the past as succeeding in protecting the group, its ways and its homeland from the other.

The security sector: part of the problem, part of the solution again

In some cases, the military failed to back up the police, and some informants alleged this was because the military wanted to demonstrate that the police could not handle security in the way the military was able to in times past. In the aftermath of being called to account for the deaths and rape in the 1998 destruction of Chinese businesses and the violence of student demonstrations, military officers also increasingly defiantly refused to deploy force against rioters, arguing that if they did so they might be charged with human rights abuses. Military resistance to fulfilling their duty to prevent civil war was, however, more than just defiance of the encroachment of global human rights discourses on their traditional prerogatives; it was also resentment against the brass in Jakarta and the province, who in the aftermath of the collapse of so many military businesses were no longer able to provide for them as generously as before the financial crisis. Facing massed militias in this conflict, the security forces were often simply afraid to act as peace enforcers.

The failure of the security forces to offer protection when it was requested and needed stoked the security dilemma, leading the defenceless to the conclusion that they had no alternative other than to arm themselves.

One moment of police and military effectiveness occurred soon after the ethnic cleansing of Malifut and before the cleansing of Christians from Tidore and Ternate. Hundreds of Makians on 28 October 1999 assembled at the port in Ternate ready to invade the Kao lands. A large group of military and police prevented them from embarking and confiscated their weapons. Once dispersed, many of the Makians rioted in Ternate, attacking Christian homes and Chinese businesses. The arrest of some of them resulted in a delegation of the highest-ranking Makian public officials in Ternate, including the mayor, visiting the police station to appeal for their release on the grounds that locking them up would increase tension and cause more rioting. Eventually the police commander surrendered to that request. No arrests thenceforth were made of rioting Makians (Wilson 2008:83). No arrests were made of the sultan's palace guards who were terrorising Makians and Tidores. The security forces seemed

to decide that a clash of political titans was about to occur and they were not going to make the mistake of getting caught up in it. That was the mistake their colleagues in Ambon had made, as they saw it. From then on they were going to sit on their hands and let the mightiest prevail. They did not want to risk shooting at folk who might be the future rulers of the province. While decisions about promoting senior officers are made in Jakarta, local political leaders have considerable influence (Wilson 2008:92).

During the cleansing of Ternate of Christians in November 1999, while the sultan's guard in fact stood between attackers and Christians, the police and the military did not. A number of Christian victims we interviewed believed were it not for the palace guards, they would have perished. What unarmed police and military did do was offer a great deal of assistance in evacuating beleaguered Christian communities to safety. Manado in the province of North Sulawesi was the most popular destination to which Christian refugees fled.

One of the Makian student leaders said to us that the military did some very useful peacemaking mediation between the two sides. His most telling point was that only the military could do it because only the military could get safe access to both sides. In these not uncommon circumstances of conflict, the only diplomats on hand can be military officers. The implication is that training of senior military personnel in diplomacy is vital because that can be an inescapable part of their role, which they will do more or less badly or well. Moreover, when the enemy surrounded survivors, only the military could get them out and safely extract them to a refugee camp. One journalist who regularly went behind the battlelines under the protection of the military insisted that the military was often 'persuasive in advising people to think twice before fighting'.

On Wilson's (2006:178) account, Muslims in Ternate initially did not have great sympathy for the Makian refugees arriving from Malifut. Their motivational posture was one of disengagement initially, when engagement with peacebuilding was needed. Many felt the Makians caused their own problems by destroying the two Kao villages, and were reaping the consequences of their expansionary, gold-grabbing political manipulations. In the weeks immediately after the ethnic cleansing of Malifut, the security forces and the sultan's guards between them were able to avert a major counterattack on Christians in Halmahera. According to Wilson, however, the Makian political leadership then decided to do two things: first, to immobilise the security forces; second, to redefine Islam as facing the same battle for survival in North Maluku as it had been facing in Ambon. Non-Makian Muslims in North Maluku were not persuaded, mostly viewing Malifut as ethnic cleansing of Makians, not of Muslims in general; however, 'efforts to immobilise the security forces were more successful in allowing the rioting to take place' (Wilson 2008:82). Makians led and executed most of the early violence and destruction motivated mainly by revenge over

the apparent loss of their dream of a Makian homeland that would become host to a new provincial capital, complete with goldmine, in Malifut. On Wilson's account, as the violence developed, some non-Makian Muslims were attracted by the opportunity to manifest violent jihad against Christian churches, by the opportunity to loot or just to indulge youthful excitement¹⁶ within the mob of the faithful. All this helped the wider project of uniting diverse Muslims against the sultan and his push to become governor.

Two of our informants, and several of Wilson's (2008:125), asserted that military and police provoked violence—for example, by warning Christians on 26 December that Muslims were planning to attack and Muslims that Christians were planning to attack. A top Christian militia commander said that he had promised a senior military mediator that he would protect the Christians; that officer then told the Muslims that he was going to attack and kill them. Christian informants in both studies also alleged that the military fired on them. Others said the military allowed Pasukan Jihad to chase them out of their village so that the military could follow in behind and participate in the looting of the village. Soldiers often charged cash or higher equivalent payment with goods or livestock to transport refugees out of harm's way. The evidence of all of these practices is, however, less than what we found for Maluku. Disengagement of the military was a bigger problem in North Maluku than participatory game playing with the conflict. Unfortunately, one of many reasons for this disengagement that Christians often alleged, probably with some truth, was that some of the considerable monies Pasukan Jihad attracted from across Indonesia for their campaign was used to bribe the security forces to stand aside to allow them to attack civilians. One might have expected major deployments of extra security forces on Halmahera as soon as the first two Kao villages were burnt to the ground, but this did not happen in a serious way until after the next major escalation of the conflict.

As in Ambon, in North Maluku, a legacy of bad blood between the police and the military persisted for years after the end of the conflict, though we did not know if there was a connection between these conflicts, which occasionally resulted in the death of police officers (The Jakarta Post 2007), and what happened between the police and military in their turf battles to cash in on the conflict.

16 Wilson (2006:277) says of the yellow–white three-day battle for Ternate in December 1999: 'Several interviews with participants reflected the "rush" involved in large-scale battles along the main streets of Ternate and the sense of power in finally opposing the Pasukan Kuning [sultan's palace guards]'. It was interesting to go over our fieldwork notes for 22 August 2007, the day the electoral commission ruled the Sultan of Ternate ineligible to contest the next election for governor. When the sultan's palace guards rioted at the electoral commission office that day (Tunny 2007b), the police fired on them with live rounds, wounding nine, two critically: 'Interesting to see the city in this state. Many young people quite excited by it, enjoying the spectacle, fun, whatever. This included the young men of the police who I spoke to. They were clearly enjoying an adrenalin rush preparing for what was about to happen' (J. Braithwaite, fieldwork notes). They were forming up with riot shields to defend the electoral commission office at the time.

Reconciliation

As in Maluku, in North Maluku, there were many community gatherings, inter-faith meetings, youth forums and inter-village forums aimed at reconciliation. Governor Thaib Armaiyn (2006) reported the results of a survey conducted by the Ministry of Social Affairs in five places that had the worst intra-communal conflict in Indonesia: North Maluku, Ambon, Poso, Sampit and Sambas. Seventy-three per cent of the victims of the conflicts in these areas 'wanted to have the conflict settled by local people in relevant villages by involving religious, customary, ethnic and competent community leaders' (Armaiyn 2006). Another 13 per cent preferred conflict resolution in places of worship with religious leaders as facilitators. Solving conflict through the courts was the least popular option, with 6 per cent support, with solving conflict in police stations only slightly more preferred, with 8 per cent.¹⁷ Seventy-two per cent were opposed to any plan to separate community settlements along ethnic or religious lines—something many victims had experienced in all of these conflict areas. A particularly interesting measure of practical reconciliation was that 84 per cent of conflict victims sanctioned marriages between people of different ethnic groups. A consistent result was obtained in the UNDP's (2004:11) Provincial Peace and Development Workshop, where a wide range of stakeholders concluded that the key reconciliation 'Factor Contributing to Success' of peacebuilding was widespread '[a]cknowledged responsibility for reconciliation and willingness to live together'. Reconciliation has not been achieved only among most ordinary people. Even among the top militia leaders they said they now had many good friends today who had fought against them in 1999 and 2000.

Muslim and Christian *kapita* (traditional leaders) from across North Maluku attended three peace dialogues in Manado in August 2000, November 2000 and March 2001. These meetings built momentum for trust and peace and 100–200 traditional leaders attended the last one. During 2001 there was a follow-up process of Christian refugees going to Christian communities to urge them to take Muslim refugees back and vice versa. Only after this was it possible for IDPs to begin to return to their homes in most of Halmahera. Duncan (2005a:79) found that the first serious efforts at reconciliation on the ground in the conflict areas began in Tobelo in October 2000 and were led by locals. When Muslim refugees returned to Tobelo, they saw their first priority as rebuilding the main mosque. The *bupati* worried about what a huge setback it would be to have it rebuilt then have radical elements or the security forces burn it again, so he persuaded Muslims and Christians that the first priority was support for the

17 The UNDP's (2004) Provincial Peace and Development Workshop among a diverse range of stakeholders in Ternate came to a different conclusion at least with respect to 'provocateurs'. Part of the 'Best Case Scenario' for the future of North Maluku was that 'Provocateurs are arrested' (UNDP 2004:3). Though perhaps there was not inconsistency as the purpose of the workshop was to be forward looking. This could mean the arrest of any future provocateurs rather than provocateurs of 1999–2000.

reintegration of Muslims. 'First we must build better relationships and better hearts for each other before we rebuild the mosque.' The *bupati* had a staged theory of ripeness for different levels of reintegration. At peace meetings in Tobelo, government officials would speak followed by *adat* leaders from different religious communities, then prayers from all religious leaders. They then ate together and enjoyed traditional dances.

Most regions of North Maluku sent grassroots leaders, religious and *adat* leaders, women's leaders, youth leaders and village heads to make a collective declaration of peace that they all signed in front of the Sultan of Ternate's palace.

Among all these positive moves towards reconciliation, a negative was some fear, particularly on the Christian side in Ternate, to show bottom-up initiative for reconciliation. There was a philosophy among some leaders of hanging back and waiting for the government to show leadership if it decided to. Then civil society leaders would fall in behind and give strong support to the government reconciliation initiative. Christian leaders in Ternate were afraid to make a mistake, that they might cause conflict by doing it badly, and were afraid that the government could get angry with them if they overstepped some line or got in the way of government initiatives. This Ternate tentativeness was very different from the bottom-up initiative we saw in Gorua and elsewhere away from the capital. Cutura and Watanabe (2004:24) also report unwillingness to initiate reconciliations after minor post-conflict flare-ups of violence because, in the words of a village head, that is 'the responsibility of the higher government'. Duncan (2008:223) reports that there have been many short government or military-sponsored reconciliations, 'often with *adat*-themed communal meals', with speeches that simply declare that reconciliation has taken place. In other locales, victims were simply told to forget about the violence and not worry about reconciliation: 'We were shocked that the government says we cannot blame anyone, and that we have to look at this as the work of God' (Christian refugee in Galea quoted in Duncan 2008:223).

One of the objectives for reconciliation of the Inter-Religious Forum sponsored by the Department of Religious Affairs has been to encourage villages to reinvigorate the traditional practice of giving unsolicited gifts, usually of food, to other villages. These gifts tend to be reciprocated. The Department of Education and Khairun University are also working together to build on this tradition in a new way of promoting livelihoods and economic skills. So if a Christian village is renowned for making traditional bags, they teach a Muslim village this skill. In return, the Muslim village might share their special skill in making mats.

Gorua–Popilo: case study of reconciliation

In addition to visiting Tobelo to interview locals about the reconciliation, we were able to interview Christian and Muslim leaders of the adjacent villages of Gorua and Popilo, 20 kilometres north of Tobelo. Two hundred and fifty people died in a five-day battle there—a large proportion of the population of the villages. Perhaps no automatic weapons were used in the fighting. Most victims were killed by arrows, spears, swords, bombs and some homemade guns. Gorua and Popilo were mixed villages. In the first phase of the conflict, the Christian minority was driven out on 27 December 1999 with little loss of life (Wilson 2008:109). Their churches and all but 13 Christian homes were destroyed. On 29 December, the Christians returned to Gorua with supporters from other Christian communities, driving the Muslims out and in the process committing terrible atrocities. This was one of the places where bodies were disembowelled and hearts cut out and eaten. According to local pre-Christian belief, eating the hearts of those vanquished in battle increased bravery and invincibility for future fighting. About 90 people were killed in the battle for Gorua—overwhelmingly Muslim villagers (Wilson 2008:113). The surviving Muslims then retreated along the road to the neighbouring village of Popilo as the Christian forces burnt their mosques and every Muslim home behind them. In Popilo, the surviving Muslim fighters were quickly overrun again. Many escaped into the surrounding forest, but a few retreated to the main mosque in Popilo where those who were too weak to fight—mostly children and women—were huddled. The surviving Muslim fighters fired some arrows from the mosque at the advancing Christians. Christians returned fire into the mosque throughout the night until the resistance stopped. When they went in, the floor of the mosque was covered with many dead and wounded. They discovered a pit beneath the pulpit where many survivors huddled. A Christian militia leader dropped a bomb into the pit. According to Wilson (2008:114), 160 people died in Popilo. Tomagola (2000:24) said 200 were killed in the mosque, including survivors of the assault who were burnt alive after the mosque was torched. Some more could have died in what one Christian militia member described to Wilson (2008:114) as a ‘cleansing operation’ chasing the Muslim escapees into the forest.

The Christian and Muslim leaders we interviewed in 2007 told a similar story both about what happened during the conflict and about the reconciliation process. We also spoke with a group of surviving Muslim children as they were departing from religious instruction at the mosque; they said they were happy to be back in the village and felt safe with the Christian children in their school and were good friends with them. Like the children, the adult leaders and some common people gathered at the local store where we had a drink; all spoke of a high degree of Christian–Muslim trust today. As in Ambon, there was a tendency to blame outside ‘provocateurs’ for the tragedies they had suffered—

only here the provocateurs were seen as refugees (some born in Tobelo) who had fled to Tobelo from Ambon after the fighting there. So while Ambonese blame provocateurs from Jakarta for their woes, North Malukans blame provocateurs from Ambon for theirs. Because there was trust now, they said any threatening rumours were immediately tested through trusting relationships.

Until 2003 the Christians feared and resisted approaches from leaders of the Muslim majority (which had been 85 per cent before the slaughter) to return because they had killed so many Christians. The Christian Bupati of North Halmahera District, Hein Namotemo, appealed to them to take the risk, saying that 40 members of his clan had been killed by the Muslims, but he knew he had to live in peace with Muslims now. Confidence building began. Survivors from the Muslim majority returned to Gorua in four stages: first, 10 brave households, then 20, then 50, then all, including all the Makians and Tidorese. After such atrocities, the return of all refugees seemed a remarkable feat in itself. The first two groups of returnees were all natives of the village. Muslims whose ancestors were from outside Halmahera were not allowed to return at first. They especially did not want the considerable number of Makian and Tidorese Muslims to return. One family with a father from Tidore who had been rejected for return in the first group of 10 families was allowed to return in the second group. Their return was successful and broke the ice. In fact, the son of the man from Tidore was the one who all Christians voted for to succeed the Christian head as soon as Muslims had become the majority again in the village. Christians continued in other important leadership positions in the village, working with the new Muslim head. The IDPs did not return to the totally integrated Gorua that had existed before. The village was divided into three precincts: segregated Christian and Muslim precincts for families who felt a need for the support of immediate neighbours who were of their faith and a mixed precinct where Muslim and Christian families lived side by side.

The *bupati* played an important role as a catalyst of reconciliation. He established a reconciliation team of Christian and Muslim leaders from the village.¹⁸ Trust built out from this team. The reconciliation process from then on came from the people themselves. Families based on Christian–Muslim intermarriage were key bridge builders, as were Christians and Muslims from the same clan. A Christian reconciliation leader told us they organised welcoming parties when Muslims returned. Muslims from the district helped the Christians to put up the tent and all the other work that needed to be done for the welcome. This working together was as important a part of the initial reconciliation as was the welcome celebration itself. They also did *gotong royong* together with Christians helping rebuild the mosques and Muslims working together with Christians to

18 Such reconciliation teams were established in many parts of North Maluku, generally with little or no resource support from the government (Huber et al. 2004:31). Many were all male.

rebuild the churches. The government funded all expenses for this rebuilding. A number of the rebuilt churches we saw around North Maluku employed peaceful imagery, such as a serene Jesus with a lamb portrayed above the altar.

Gorua had lots of joint Christian–Muslim village meetings: three a month. At the district level, leaders of the village attended a district *hibua lamo* for reconciliation. Many immigrants from outside Halmahera attended the peacebuilding *hibua lamo*, though only natives generally spoke. *Hibua lamo* is a cultural tradition in North Maluku of binding Christian and Muslim villages together in pacts of peace and mutual help that is similar to the *pela-gandong* described earlier for Maluku. It is seen as a pluralist *adat* pre-dating the arrival of Islam and Christianity that involves ‘equality among the differences’ (Gorua interview). It was believed that when Islam arrived, *hibua lamo* meetings were held to agree that ‘this religion will be welcomed, but some will accept it and others will not. But we will still all be brothers together in spite of this.’ Exactly the same kind of meeting was believed to have occurred when the Christian missionaries arrived in Duma. It was widely believed that in the decades leading up to the conflict the bonds of *hibua lamo* had weakened across North Maluku. At the early reconciliation meetings, the *bupati* told the story of our friend Pak Edu’s grandfather, a famous historical figure of the district. He was a wealthy man with a big home and, in the spirit of *hibua lamo*, he allowed his home to be used for both Sunday Christian services and Friday Muslim prayers. In the *hibua lamo* ritual itself, one side gives sri fruit and the other panang fruit placed on swords and exchanged to indicate they are friends. Sugarcane juice (representing sweet, happy things) combined with traditional cooking oil (representing sincerity, peace, kindness and justice) is then poured over swords, shields, arrows and other weapons. Then there is an agreement called *koboto*, a sacred declaration to maintain peace. Anyone who tries to destroy it will never succeed in life and will live in misery. Part of the agreement in Tobelo was to hand over weapons to the military. The fact that some who failed to do so later found themselves in trouble with the military for this was interpreted as evidence that the sacred power of the declaration worked.

The Christian leader of Gorua until the Muslims returned said he felt like a member of the Muslim community when he first visited Muslim homes for *halal bi halal*. He experienced a spirit of forgiveness. There was a great deal of crying as forgiveness was asked for and offered in accordance with this uniquely Indonesian Muslim ritual. Everyone present they said felt deep sympathy for the other. Likewise, the Muslim who succeeded him as leader of the village put his hand on his heart and trembled when he spoke of the hugs and crying with Christians in the embrace of *halal bi halal*. And this has happened every year since the conflict. He said that funerals and wedding feasts were very important for reconciliation. It was not just the gesture of large numbers of members

of one religious community attending the funeral to show their respect for a member of the other community, it was also the practical work of men from both communities helping each other to put tents up and women cooking together. Christians being invited to *Idul Fitri* and Muslims into Christian homes for Christmas celebrations were also important, especially on the Muslim side because it involved defiance of fatwas that had been issued by some Muslim *ulamas* forbidding this.

As the leader of the village pointed out into the front garden of his home where his son had been cut down defending the escape of the rest of the family, his wife softly wept. They said they knew who killed him. They tried to forget but could not forgive the one who struck the fatal blow. They forgive all the others but must honour their son. But the couple do not want prosecution for the murderer of their son. No-one in the village, they tell us, wants prosecutions for the crimes of 1999–2000. ‘What’s the point of justice? It won’t bring back our son.’ They want peace rather than justice. They think a return to the true meanings of their two religions is what is needed now and what will honour the sacrifice of their son. They say many others in the village still have anger in their hearts. They work to reintegrate angry youth who remind them of the love of their son through volleyball and football. They dealt with their own anger by focusing on the kindness that the Christian Church showed them when they returned. And when they lived in the refugee camp, there were Christians who came every Sunday for three months with gifts of rice and other food. Today they reciprocate by inviting Christians to their house for the celebration of Mohammed’s birthday. The man pointed to his children who had come into the room and said they mixed with the Christian children at school and got on very well with them.

The couple said that it never happened that anyone went up to someone else in the village and said ‘I killed your son’, or ‘I burnt your house and I am sorry’. ‘Both sides understand no-one is expected to speak in that way. Maybe if someone did, the pressure on others to admit would not be welcomed.’ Non-truth and reconciliation again.

We asked why the fighting stopped. They said because everyone was war weary and suffering. They wanted to stop and for that reason wanted to embrace *hibua lamo*. ‘In the end, everyone realised they were part of the same culture. That was why the *hibua lamo* rituals were important.’ Note that this comes from a family of Tidorese descent.

Refugee reintegration

Refugees ended up in many places. In the case of North Maluku, they came to see rather more quickly than with refugees in other cases in our research such

as Maluku and Timor-Leste that paths to reintegration were open to them. Most returned to their homes quickly by any international standard of post-conflict speed of resettlement. Many of them could find work in refugee camps located in cities. Some Christian refugees stayed in Manado because they liked their jobs and the new homes they were able to build there. On the other hand, Duncan's (2005b:32) research on the 35 000 North Maluku refugees in North Sulawesi found most struggled to get work and competed with the poorest among the local community for low-skill jobs. Their vulnerability also enabled a great deal of exploitation by local employers who would pay less than the agreed rates or not at all (Duncan 2005b:34). A repeated refugee complaint was: 'The Muslims burned our homes and stole all of our possessions in North Maluku, now the Christians are stealing everything from us here in North Sulawesi' (Duncan 2005b:39). Refugees received financial assistance to rebuild their homes, which was not enough to cover everything, but enough to get construction well under way, even though this was delayed in coming in the case of the first Kao victims of the conflict. North Maluku learnt from the fact that the initial denial of rebuilding assistance to the Kao was a factor in the escalation of the conflict. Duncan (2008:214) reported that corruption and mismanagement so depleted the available aid that in some areas most refugees learned to survive without it. Much of the corruption was in the form of fees to government officials for 'handling costs' for their assistance. There were refugees who also rorted the aid, moving back and forth between North Sulawesi and North Maluku several times to collect aid, justifying this by saying that if they did not rip off the money, government officials would (Duncan 2008:215). Some refugee camps we visited had Christian and Muslim sections, seemingly without causing significant conflicts, and enabling many friendships. There have been complaints about rape and humiliation of women by the security forces in the Syoan refugee camp in North Halmahera and this seems to have been part of a pattern of sexual violence, harassment and leaving unwed mothers behind on the part of the security forces across the province (Brown et al. 2005:47). One women's NGO took complaints to the military commander in North Maluku relating to 28 women allegedly pregnant to soldiers, three rapes in refugee camps and 23 other alleged sexual abuses by soldiers. Some soldiers agreed to marry women to get rid of the complaint, but then just returned home to their original wife.

During our 2007 fieldwork, we were told that 90 per cent of refugees had returned in North Halmahera, but only 65 per cent in Ternate. The Christian churches have been heavily involved in trauma counselling, often with assistance from international Christian NGOs such as Action by Churches Together or World Vision International. Médecins sans Frontières and other international NGOs also provided some emergency trauma counselling in the Moluccas. Government support for trauma counselling has, however, been extremely limited.

In 2007 there were still many refugees, particularly in Ternate, who had not permanently settled back in their home villages. One Tobelo government official said there still were about 50 families from the district who had become permanent refugees. For years, they had been moving back and forth between the district, Manado and Ternate. His allegation is not that they keep returning to collect repeat refugee payments, but that they return to their refugee hovels in Ternate and Manado to make money for a while from paid employment in the city, then return home to spend it. We wondered if this was what an attractive young woman in expensive clothes was doing, who, while moving between the street and her makeshift downtown home in a Ternate refugee camp, seemed to be working as a prostitute. The government official said some of these permanent refugees worked as *ojek* (motorcycle taxi) drivers and even as shopkeepers.

The Chinese factor

Anti-Chinese sentiment was not part of the grand narrative of this conflict, yet as in most of the first 11 conflicts to be considered in Indonesia and the South Pacific for the Peacebuilding Compared project, the conflict created an opportunity for a great deal of anti-Chinese resentment and property destruction. As in every case we have studied so far, the Chinese fled without fighting. Some did some creative things to save their businesses, such as handing it over to a respected *ulama* to run. Most Chinese businesses in North Halmahera were destroyed. Most in the main commercial centre of Ternate were not destroyed as a result of local leadership by the Mayor of Ternate and Yusuf Abdurrahman, the Makian former Rector of Khairun University and former Chairman of the MUI for North Maluku. They asked the security forces to block the street leading to Chinese businesses that triumphant white forces were planning to destroy. These two leaders asked the crowd to stop and listen. They said they advised the crowd, 'Don't destroy these businesses. If you do, you kill us economically.' So, the torching of Chinese investment in Ternate did not continue.

As of 2007 only about 60 per cent of the Chinese business families who had fled North Maluku had returned. Many chose to stay to explore new business opportunities in Manado, while some rebuilt their business in North Maluku based on a company with a head office in Manado and a branch in North Maluku. There could therefore be a semi-permanent cost of the conflict to North Maluku here, notwithstanding the successful intervention of leaders to preserve most Chinese businesses in the capital.

Interpreting the conflict

What structural factors were at the root of this conflict?

Colonialism transformed North Maluku from one of the richest to one of the poorest parts of the world between 1600 and 1900. The once-stable division of power between the Sultanates of Ternate and Tidore, traditionally sealed by the marriage of the Sultan of Ternate to the daughter of the Sultan of Tidore, was permanently ruptured when they became clients of competing colonial powers (The Netherlands and Spain). This fissure was only one that split wide open to drive North Maluku's millennial conflict over the edge.

The conflict might not have escalated beyond the loss of three lives had the Group of Nine Kao leaders been granted access to either a negotiated settlement of their grievances by the district government or the courts. They also tried to chase the Makians away with magic before they resorted to the only option they believed they had left, which was violent ethnic cleansing. Structurally, when the security forces leave the violence option open to people with an acute grievance and when the doors of the executive, the legislature and the courts are slammed in their faces, violence is likely. So the structural factor at the root of the conflict here was access to justice, access to compensation and a failure to be heard by government.

Barbara Walter's (2004) empirical analysis of all civil wars ending between 1945 and 1996 found that war was least likely in societies where citizens had access to an open political system and to economic opportunities.

In the Political Instability Task Force model, 'State-led Discrimination' is one of the four key predictors of political instability (Goldstone 2008:5). Ethnic groups such as the Kao felt there was discrimination in giving government jobs to Makians and one or two other ethnic groups that effectively excluded them. More broadly, there was a sense of injustice causing jealousy, especially towards Makians among one part of the population, and the Sultan of Ternate and his inner circle among another part of the population.

At the very root of this conflict was an environmental structural cause: the volcano that drove the Makians from their island in the 1970s. The transmigration solution to that crisis then became a social structural factor driving conflict in Malifut.

Non-agricultural and non-governmental employment opportunities are even fewer in North Maluku than in Maluku, so van Klinken's (2007:Ch. 3) analysis about competition for the prize of patrimonial control of public sector jobs as a motive for conflict applies to both the provinces studied in this chapter.

Many would say a resource curse was one of the roots of this conflict: the political and violent struggle to capture wealth flowing from the Newcrest goldmine. This was really a proximate factor in the conflict as well as the setting of subdistrict and district boundaries and the capture of jobs; 'honorariums' and tax revenue from the mine within them were strategic political moves that opened wounds.

What have been the proximate factors in the conflict?

As in Maluku, in North Maluku, the Asian economic crisis was an obvious proximate cause of the conflict in increasing competition for scarce resources, especially scarcer public sector jobs. It was also a proximate cause of the collapse of the New Order and transition to a new institutional order where new claims could be made in new ways (Bertrand 2004). Decentralisation increased patronage and corruption opportunities in controlling provincial and district government offices. Democratisation increased perceived opportunities from mobilising popular support along ethnic and religious lines.

As in Maluku, in North Maluku, failure of the security forces to take control at the first sign of conflict was critical. In North Maluku, however, the security sector problem was much more one of disengagement than of the defiance we saw in Maluku. Handing over the control of the streets of Ternate to the sultan's palace guards created the conditions for the street battles between their yellow forces and the white forces. There was not the widespread effective desertion from the security forces to fight with one or the other side that we saw in Maluku. Timidity in North Maluku was born of a fear by security sector leaders that they might be seen as backing the losing side, that they might be accused of abusing human rights and that they might be killed if they stood up to forces that were massed in larger numbers in one place than perhaps were seen in any of the other Indonesian conflicts of this period. Some military officers almost certainly took bribes to disengage. The clear evidence that the security forces were disengaged from protecting defenceless civilians created the conditions for a security dilemma becoming a proximate factor. Without security forces to guarantee their security, groups at risk armed themselves before the other side armed, and attacked before they were attacked.

The most important proximate cause was the competition to control the new province of North Maluku. There were a number of aspects of this. One was competition between powerful individuals to become governor and a consensus among all the other potential future governors that there was a need to disrupt the circuits of power controlled by the Sultan of Ternate. There was political party competition and competition between regions, including between the old

Sultanates of Ternate and Tidore, to capture the site of a new capital that might replace Ternate. And there was competition for middle-ranking government offices.

Youth gangs that were in effect organised crime groups and media sensationalism and partisanship were not the important proximate factors that they were in the Maluku conflict.

What were the key triggering incidents?

As in Maluku, in North Maluku, there was a widespread belief on all sides—or at least a desire to believe—that provocateurs from outside North Maluku (especially from Ambon!) started the conflict. Perhaps most people knew full well that the conflict was internal to North Maluku, yet they used claims of outside provocation as a way of ‘moving on’. We have seen that at some stages of some conflicts, and especially post-conflict, the military might have provoked some trouble, though not to the extent that it did in Maluku. The military is really the only ‘provocateur’ that can be fingered as an occasional trigger of conflict, but it is certainly not among the more important triggers. The key initial triggers were the attacks by the Makians on the Kao in Malifut and then vice versa. These seemed to be planned and politically motivated.

As in many other conflicts of Peacebuilding Compared, in North Maluku, for some phases, youthful exuberance in stone-throwing and drunken fighting was a trigger of wider conflict. Most of the conflict in Ternate was executed by young people, with many Makian (Huber et al. 2004:16), Ternatean and Tidorese adults, including the Sultan of Tidore, disapproving.

The sight of a truckload of armed Christian villagers going through the Muslim part of Tobelo to guard the central church compound for Christmas seemed to be a trigger there, when it was misread as preparations for attack.

The most famous trigger in this conflict was the fraudulent ‘Bloody Sosol’ letter that supposedly revealed a Christianisation strategy. The role of this letter in triggering violence is, however, a matter of debate, with Wilson (2008) claiming that imputing too much of a role to it perhaps overestimates the suggestibility of North Malukan Muslims (Wilson 2008:132). Obviously, regardless of its impact, this trigger was not a misunderstanding, but intentional provocation through misrepresentation.

Who were the key war-making and peacebuilding actors?

Ambitious politicians vying for control of the new province who recruited leaders of citizen militias—white (Muslim), red (Christian), yellow (sultan’s) and Kao—were key war-making actors. Then there were village militia leaders who

had little political motivation, who showed military leadership because they felt the political game players had put them in a security dilemma from which there was no escape. Many of these local war-makers cared little about who would become governor and where the new capital would be located, but they felt that unless their village armed and organised to attack first, it would be they who would be attacked and lose their homes.

Radio peace journalism played a positive role. The media also played a role in generating mass concern across Indonesia. On the debit side, this led to the mobilisation of Laskar Jihad in Maluku; on the credit side, it created a climate of public opinion that would have censured persistence with the conflict after the fall of Duma. North Maluku was just that bit more remote than Ambon and lacked the large Dutch interest in Maluku engendered by 50 000 refugees who settled there. Also the North Maluku conflict was much shorter, so the international media never woke up to it. This was an amazing missed opportunity given how filmic and unique some of the medieval-style battles were, with thousands of massed combatants armed with swords, arrows and spears facing off against each other, and the likes of Pastor Sospelissa leading the singing of *Onward Christian Soldiers* from the roof of a vehicle. The comparative silence of the international media was one reason why there were not key international players in the peace process.

There were no international peacebuilding actors who played any kind of significant role, or even national actors such as the government ministers who led the Malino I and II peace talks. In both these respects, North Maluku is a most unusual case. Local military commanders had their moments when they led a local peace or averted local carnage by evacuating cornered civilians. The key peacemakers and post-conflict peacebuilders were local: the two governors who served between 1999 and the present, the Sultan of Tidore, *bupatis* such as the Bupati of North Halmahera, Hein Namotemo, and village leaders such as the Christian and Muslim leaders of Gorua. Religious leaders at the provincial level were not as important in North Maluku as in Maluku. At every level, the key peacebuilders were even more local in North Maluku than in Maluku.

Youth gangs and NGOs were not important players in these events in the way they were in other parts of Indonesia. Student organisations were rather more important.

The whole fabric of peacebuilding was very different in North Maluku from Maluku. In Maluku, the leadership of Ambon elites—especially religious leaders, but also women's leaders, intellectuals and NGO leaders—was much more important. Such elites in Ternate were less important; the fabric of

peacebuilding was woven more quickly and tightly in the heartland of the province and where the conflict was most deadly on rural Halmahera among village and *adat* leaders working with subdistrict and district leaders.

Motivational postures of key actors

There was a lot of evidence of grievance as a motive for violence, as with the grievances of the Kao against the Makians for seeking to occupy then dominate their traditional lands. There was also evidence of greed, as with Kao and Makians seeking advantage from the Newcrest goldmine. There is also evidence of leaders being motivated by neither grievance nor greed, but because they saw their village as confronting a security dilemma in which pre-emption might fend off defeat.

An arresting comment that several informants made when we asked about root causes of the conflict was that people became dehumanised. As a Catholic priest put it: 'They stopped putting humanity as the main point in their lives.' It is arresting because it causes us to ponder whether this is part of the dynamic in all conflicts—indeed, such a common factor in conflict that we cease to notice its importance in motivation. It is made so visible in this case because the Christian forces started out with a practice of warfare concerned to minimise loss of human life and maximise respect for the religious symbols of the other. The Kao commander told us that he warned his fighters that if a Makian surrendered and they killed him, the commander would kill them. In this first phase, it was an accomplishment to ethnically cleanse 17 000 using a large, untrained army with the loss of only three lives. And it was an accomplishment that no mosques or schools were harmed, though apparently there was at least one incident of burning a copy of the Koran. Less than a year later, the cycle of revenge and atrocity had so fed on itself that the kind of Christian atrocities described above in Tobelo, Gorua and Popilo became possible. Perhaps the motivational-posture point is that *commitment* to the rules of war and to humanity always erodes in war—a process of erosion that is acutely visible here. North Maluku was characterised by a total absence of *commitment* to the rule of law and to security for the community as a national policy objective on the part of the security forces. *Disengagement* was the motivational posture of most of the security forces until the final stages of the conflict, when they finally showed *commitment* to peace enforcement. One Christian leader in Ternate said of the military: 'Their priority was how to get maximum money from both sides.' While the evidence of *game playing* by the security forces might not have been as overwhelming as in Maluku, evidence of it there certainly was. Political *game playing* was also a prominent motivational posture of the Sultan of Ternate and his rivals. *Game playing* with subdistrict boundaries in Malifut epitomised this posture.

Disengagement was not only the posture of the military after the Makians had levelled the two Kao villages in the first actions of the war and after the Kao retaliated by ethnically cleansing the Makians. *Disengagement* was also the general reaction of elites in Ternate, at a time when engagement with a peace process was sorely needed from them. Many were in fear of the Makians and uncaring towards the Kao at first, and then felt the Makians got their comeuppance when the Kao struck back.

The militia leaders on both sides moved from defiant *resistance* to *capitulation* when they found themselves relieved to be in a situation in which the military was positioned between stabilised wholly Christian and wholly Muslim areas. They then quickly moved to *commitment* to a new unified province in a united Indonesia. There was no partial quality about either the *capitulation* or the *commitment*. It was total *capitulation* followed by firm *commitment* to peaceful civil authority.

Peacebuilding strengths and weaknesses

Getting the military more engaged with separating the two militias was a key to peace, as was the security forces standing in the way of the embarkation of more Muslim fighters for Halmahera and a naval blockade on the importation of automatic weapons from the Philippines that was beginning to take off. Increased numbers of security forces were necessary for that. The declaration of the civil emergency by President Wahid also seemed to be a signal of commitment that mattered. The proactive separation of the two militias after the Muslim re-invasion of Malifut was a big step up in commitment to enforcing peace on the part of the security forces, even if it was only political resolve to keep the goldmine open that allowed it to happen. It was the first turning of the tide, which up to that point was a swelling tide of escalating conflict. In North Maluku, disengagement of the security forces was a causal factor in the war; their re-engagement was a causal factor in the peace. Maluku was more about the wrong kind of engagement (taking sides and doing most of the killing) as a causal factor in the war.

Local peacemaking and reconciliation were key pressures for peace, including the use of *adat* such as *habua limo* and normal rituals of village life such as funerals, weddings and *halal bi halal*.

There was no top-down Malino turning point as there was in Maluku and Poso. There was no challenge of persuading thousands of Laskar Jihad fighters to return home. Provincial political stability and democratic legitimacy have been much slower coming to North Maluku than to Maluku. One factor in this has been the Sultan of Ternate retaining the cultural power associated with his title, such as magical power to protect the people from their volcano, and continuing

unsuccessfully to fight a rearguard action to convert this into political power. The interference of Jakarta politicians in twice annulling the announced election of Abdul Gafur—however true it was that he had engaged in ‘money politics’—destabilised the fragile provincial democracy.

As one moves further to the periphery of Indonesia, the NGO sector becomes weaker, an important exception being Banda Aceh, which is an NGO haven for special reasons. As one moves from Jakarta and Ambon to Ternate and more remote parts of Halmahera and Morotai, however, NGOs become less active at each move. In most of the places where the slaughter was worst in North Maluku, active engagement of NGOs in peacebuilding was thin or non-existent. Where there is a presence, NGOs are often not respected by villagers, often being seen as extensions of international NGOs without depth of commitment and competence and as having a *raison d’être* of extracting funds from donors (Huber et al. 2004:29). One of many areas of neglect as a result of thin government and thin NGOs was limited access to trauma counselling for survivors.

In spite of this, bottom-up reconciliation that locals often refer to as ‘natural reconciliation’ has been active and generously executed by volunteers. It is not quite accurate to call it ‘bottom-up’ because it has tended to be led by very local elites. For example, in one interview, we were told that Kao–Malifut reconciliation in 2001 was led on one side by a former university rector who gathered Muslim village heads together in Malifut, and on the other by a subdistrict head who gathered Christian village heads together in Kao. These two men worked to bring the two groups of heads together in peacebuilding dialogue. Respected leaders with networks on both the Christian and Muslim sides moving about local areas to mobilise those networks for peace were critical in many areas—or so we were told. Many Christians were protected or hidden by Muslims during the fighting and vice versa. These practical legacies of help combined with *adat* traditions of mutual help, especially *hibua lamo*, to make reconciliation work surprisingly well.

Impunity for the events of 1999–2000 was total in North Maluku. Amnesties were requested by both sides in the peace negotiations with Vice-President Megawati, and honoured. We did not encounter any constituency who wanted it otherwise. The Catholic Church leadership contrasted the Church’s support for prosecution of war criminals in East Timor with the absolute consensus within their congregation and their agreement with the Protestants and Muslims that there should not be prosecutions. Many informants said ‘nobody wants that’ or, at most, ‘only some refugees who spent a long time in Manado want that’. We asked the police in the major towns of Ternate and Tobelo if there was a problem of revenge attacks for crimes that occurred during the conflict. They said not at all.

The marginalised status of women is a peacebuilding weakness in North Maluku. Post-conflict, in 2004, only two women had been elected as provincial parliamentary representatives, one from the PPP with very conservative views on women's equality, the other the wife of the Sultan of Ternate (Agustiana and Pakpahan 2004:13). North Maluku has the worst development indicators for women of any province in Indonesia (Brown et al. 2005:46). Women and women's organisations played only minor roles in comparison with Maluku and other cases in *Peacebuilding Compared*, though some local contributions have been notable (see Agustiana and Pakpahan 2004:20).

Peace journalism was a strength to North Maluku. With only weekly newspapers, radio was the key medium. One peace journalist with Radio Republic Indonesia explained that if he were interviewing a priest, for example, off-air he would ask him if he thought the scriptures supported killing. If he said no, the journalist would then ask him to say that was what he thought on air. The key, another journalist said, was to be proactive in searching out pro-peace messages. In a battle, if one side lost 10 fighters and the other five, he would not report this, lest it cause a desire to even the tally. It would just be reported that there were losses on both sides. Then he would get complaints from the side that got the better of the fighting that he failed to communicate their magnificent victory. He had been trained by the BBC/British Counsel/UNDP peace journalism program. On the other hand, the media was part of the elite line of non-truth and reconciliation according to which outside agitators were the problem in causing the conflict.

One of the things that was quite surprising about the desperately marginalised plight of the Christian minority in North Maluku after their protection by the sultan was withdrawn was that they did not seem to get support from Western churches to rebuild in the way that churches in Ambon did, especially from the Moluccan diaspora in The Netherlands. We were told of a Christian church in Korea that had provided some support to a church in North Maluku. Perhaps this reflected the fact that the North Maluku story did not find its way into the Western media in the way Ambon did. Many Christians also spoke highly of the peacebuilding work and support for refugees of USAID. The UNDP also played a positive role in the early post-conflict period with rebuilding infrastructure, programs to help resettle refugees and sporting activities to increase interaction across communities formerly in conflict. Since 2005, the emphasis under the UNDP Peace Through Development Program has shifted to capacity building for NGOs (to address one of the weaknesses identified above), capacity building for government (another capacity weakness), building livelihoods through assistance with farming equipment, fisheries and the like, and building social integration and social capital through more bottom-up planning via the *Musrenbang*. *Musrenbang* is as multi-stakeholder consultation

forum for development planning, whereby development planning and setting budget priorities should occur first at the village level, then at the subdistrict, then the district, then the province level, and should be participatory at each stage. The ideal is to integrate from the top down with bottom-up planning. This potentially exciting program had only begun to get down to village level at the time of our 2007 fieldwork and would not start in all villages until 2008 (USAID 2008).

While student organisations dominated by Makians were significant irritants of conflict, asking for and receiving payment from politicians to organise protests, North Maluku did not have the problem that Maluku had and still has of youth groups morphing into organised crime groups.

Contests of principles

Like the war, peacebuilding in North Maluku was pragmatic and not deeply infused with animating principles. Jihad and 'onward Christian soldiers' were certainly principles of holy war, though hardly experienced with the fervour Laskar Jihad and JI delivered to the conflicts in Maluku and Poso. Localism was perhaps a master principle. In a particular locality, people tended to believe that people in that area had always got on well together. What caused division was politics that came from Jakarta or for central control of the new province or, most commonly of all, religious extremists who came from Ambon, transplanting their southern conflicts in the north. Locals did not want to lean on Jakarta or Ternate for building their local peace; they wanted their trusted local leaders to lead their local peace process.

Towards a conclusion for North Maluku

Fighting in North Maluku was at first between two ethnic groups—the Kao and Makians—over a change in subdistrict boundaries and over a marginalised group (the Kao) feeling it was discriminated against by the government. There were elements of opportunistic grabs for power during a period of anomie that unsettled the opportunity structure and elements of legitimate opportunities being closed (in a Mertonian sense). The most important of these was that the Kao felt there was no opportunity for them to be heard.

In time, conflict erupted across the fault lines of a number of more enduring ethnic divides, such as between Tidorese and Ternateans, between the Ternatean ethnic traditionalism of North Ternate and the multicultural Muslim modernism of South Ternate, and many other ethnic tensions and land disputes that might or might not have been connected to ethnicity in different parts of the province. There was conflict between the military and the stirrings of democracy among the people, between the police and the military, between

the sultan's palace guards and people who felt they had been threatened or tortured by them because of their political opposition to the sultan. There was levelling rioting directed by disparate mobs at the Chinese business community. There was conflict between Golkar (whose office was burnt down) and PPP (and other parties). There were rioting university students and other youth who believed in democracy/*reformasi* railing against what they saw as a feudal order harnessed by Golkar and epitomised by the sultan. There was the movement for a jihadist Islamic turn that expanded throughout Indonesia in the 1990s versus local syncretic Islam that incorporated magical *adat* beliefs—again, epitomised by a sultan whose magical powers supposedly could protect the community from their volcano.

At the individual level, there were people who joined the conflict to settle scores on any number of idiosyncratic humiliations or slights that someone on the other side had inflicted on them. There were some who became highly motivated for more 'rational' reasons, such as the desire for a good job at a goldmine or a 'honorarium' from its managers. There is increasing evidence from the literature on modern conflict that fights that start for even the most noble ideal attract psychopaths to the front line who enjoy rape, torture and mutilation (for example, Collier 2007:29–30). Especially on the Christian side, a progressive yet rapid shift from capture of the conflict by a sometimes ethical idealism of pastors to capture by psychopaths is all too evident in this conflict. This is not to deny that a great deal, even most, of the human rights abuses are 'good people doing bad things'; it is just to say that psychopaths join conflicts and over time increasing numbers of traumatised and vengeful fighters model psychopathic scripts rather than follow the ethical compass that launched their struggle. A special contribution of Wilson's (2006) work is to show the importance of also seeing the conflict as an opportunity to test youthful masculinities. John Braithwaite too saw the evidence of excitement attracting young men with makeshift weapons onto the street. Alcohol was often part of that motivational cocktail. Perhaps the most common motive of all for fighting involved none of the above. It was mature adults who thought that the young had lost their senses, that the world had gone mad. Nevertheless, when the invaders arrived to try to burn their homes and threaten their children, they grabbed their machetes and organised to defend them. That was a difference between what happened on the streets of Ternate, which was almost totally the work of young males, and what happened in so much of Halmahera and other islands, where every single male in the village became a fighter, plus large numbers of the strongest women who were not preoccupied with sheltering the very old and very young.

Finally, there was the master narrative of the conflict: Christianity versus Islam. There is certainly insight in Christopher Duncan (2005a) applying Stanley

Tambiah's notions of focalisation and transvaluation to this master narrative. Focalisation progressively denudes understandings of local conflicts of their contextual particulars; transvaluation then 'distorts, abstracts and aggregates those incidents into larger collective issues' (Tambiah 1996:81). In this case, aggregation is to an increasingly shared understanding that the conflict is about Islamisation versus Christianisation. This insight, however, is itself too focalising. The detailed narrative of the conflict we have sought to provide shows that disaggregation dynamics persist alongside the aggregation dynamics of the master narrative. For example, rioting aimed at shutting down the goldmine is there, reinvigorated, at the death, as is conflict over the particularities of how the boundaries for Makian-Malifut include and exclude this village versus that. When it suited their purposes, even the propagandists of the master narrative dabbled more than a little in alternative transvaluations and particularisations, such as that this was a conflict to defeat separatists, to defend the unitary state of Indonesia, that it was a conflict caused by provocateurs from Ambon and not really by the folk they were killing.

Why this point matters is that there is too much impulse to aggregate within the study of armed conflict, especially from the dominant disciplines in the field: political science, international relations and international law. So the master narrative of what needs to be done must be somehow about the state for the political scientist and about international diplomacy or international law for the other two disciplines. Let's take the example of the diplomacy that is needed. For two decades, international relations has taken a promising turn towards preventive diplomacy: what do foreign ministers need to do to prevent conflict before it begins, to shift some energy away from the diplomacy of crisis management when it is too late (Evans 1993)? The multiplicity of the schisms that impelled killing in North Maluku points to a need for a preventive diplomacy that is radically disaggregated and local. There was not much the Foreign Minister of Indonesia or the US Secretary of State could have done to prevent this war in early 1999. There was, however, valuable preventive diplomacy the Australian goldminer Newcrest might have done. It had staff on the ground among the Kao and the Makians of Malifut. It had the clout with district political leaders to be a catalyst of the preventive reconciliation based on honest dialogue and equitable treatment for the Kao that almost everyone can see now was needed at that point. It had a commercial interest in that preventive diplomacy, but lacked the diplomatic imagination to undertake it. The fact that the mine could be a catalyst of peace was demonstrated by the fact that it enrolled (Latour 1986, 1987) the police and military to work together with an effectiveness they had not manifested at any earlier point in the conflict to prevent a Malifut conflagration in early 2000. The mine-induced

island of civility at Weba Bay also confirms the capability that the Australian and Canadian mines on Halmahera are able to lever for local peace when the chips are down.

Our narrative showed that even at the point when the conflict was white hot, the preventive diplomacy of local wise men did prevent a dreadful situation from getting much worse. An example was the leadership of the chairman of the *ulamas'* council (MUI) and the Mayor of Ternate in causing the Muslim mob to pause, then persuading them that torching the Chinese businesses in the heart of the capital would be an economic-development disaster for the new province and for their future job prospects. There are in fact dozens of stories of preventive diplomacy—by the governor, by village *adat* leaders, religious leaders, local military and police officers on the ground, by the Sultan of Tidore, and, yes, by most commentators' villain, the Sultan of Ternate. Military commanders and sultans have multiple selves just as there are multiple sides of the conflict. Soldiers and sultans alike have war-making selves and peacemaking selves. The trick of local peacemaking diplomacy could be to get them to put their best self forward more of the time. This is a local enterprise requiring local knowledge and contextual wisdom. That is why foreign ministers are not competent to do this kind of preventive diplomacy. Nevertheless, there is an international role here that is well illustrated by the ambitions of the UNDP's Peace Through Development Program in North Maluku. It seeks to strengthen leadership for peace from the lowest level of the village to the subdistrict level of government to district and provincial government. It also seeks to build NGO capacity, which our research finds to be a capability that is especially weak, particularly in empowering women's voices for peace in this province. We have not studied the UNDP program enough to know how well executed it has proved to date, but our analysis does lead to the conclusion that it is well conceived and strategically connected to an understanding of the many fissures and injustices that have contributed to the conflict. An obscure reconciliation over a village boundary or over a church that encroaches onto land that traditionally belongs to Muslim farmers is the sort of micro-issue that needs to be constantly worked at in poor communities because it might spark the next conflict or inflame and spread it. This is about building positive peace through reconciliation, justice and development throughout all the minutiae and sinews that shape feelings of injustice in ordinary lives.

That is why community policing is a front line of preventive diplomacy for peace when it is responsive to even the most ridiculous minutiae that aggravate in the social order of village societies—the cow that wanders where it should not. Again, international donors have a role here: they need to stop current practices of security sector reform that train developing-country police in Western paramilitary models of urban policing that are myopically concentrated

on crime control (Dinnen and Braithwaite 2009). This pluralised way of seeing the narratives of 'small town wars' (van Klinken 2007) is also why we have the hypothesis that the global movement for restorative justice has a role to play in sensitising people in schools and villages throughout the world to reconciliatory competence (Braithwaite 2002). The idea that ten-year-olds can learn how to deal with episodes of school bullying, and through that learn how to be democratic in a way that equips them as adult peacemakers, is a different frame for peacebuilding than is found in international relations journals. Hard-headed international relations realists might see it as a frame for the soft-headed. That is a matter for evidence in the decades ahead, as we have said to hard-headed police and criminologists who thought restorative justice a romantic approach to reducing crime. Perhaps it is only a tiny part of the fabric of peacebuilding the world needs, but it is at least a thread that does not depend on a fallacy of misplaced aggregation. This leads to the methodological point of our hope that our Peacebuilding Compared method can simultaneously ask 'what's the big story here' and 'what are some of the little stories' to help us see both with greater clarity.

Conflict in North Maluku provides a good illustration of why the ambition of the Peacebuilding Compared project might make some sense. Traditional quantitative research on the causes of civil war tends to code civil wars in terms of their master narrative. West Papua will be coded as a separatist war (Chapter 2), Kalimantan (Chapter 5) as an ethnic conflict (Dayaks versus Madurese) and North Maluku as a religious civil war. While the Peacebuilding Compared coding still essentialises the conflict, at least we code North Maluku 'yes' to religious conflict and 'yes' to ethnic conflict, and we code many, many other things as well in a manner enabled by a methodology that is more qualitatively fine grained than the international comparative methods of the quantitative political scientists, though less fine grained than the work of the best regional specialists from whom we try to learn as we move on to our next case. We code 'no' to separatist conflict for North Maluku because separatism is a motive imputed by leaders of the white forces to the red forces, when the red forces did not in fact hold to that motive.

A danger in interpreting both Maluku cases

We are in the era of security sector reform in UN and international engagement with armed conflict. While the security forces behaved in very different ways in Maluku and North Maluku, they were both conflicts that could have been prevented had the security forces performed well. They were conflicts that did end when the security forces began to do their job. Wilkinson (2004:5) could be right that '[a]bundant comparative evidence shows that large-scale ethnic rioting does not take place where a state's army or police force is ordered to stop

it using all means necessary'. Does this mean that our friends in the police and the military could be justified in concluding that if only reform and resources were focused on security sector reform, effectiveness in preventing conflict might be maximised? A second strand of this argument is that there are always ethnic and religious conflicts and there is always racism, prejudice and hatred under the surface in every society. Ethnic fractionalisation is not even a strong predictor of conflict in quantitative studies (Collier 2007; Fearon and Laitin 2003).¹⁹ You cannot stop war by eliminating ethnic and religious divides, but you can prevent ethnic/religious riots from ever escalating into wars by making your security sector work.

One problem with this prescription is that—as these two cases have plentifully illustrated—there are many reasons why the security sector fails to do its job. As Wilson (2008:188–9) argued, in the case of North Maluku, the actions of military personnel and commanders varied from place to place and over time. Sometimes personnel fail to stop violence because they want to support the winner and they really don't know which side is going to win (yellow or white in the pitched battle for Ternate). Sometimes they move to the side to allow civilians to be slaughtered because their commander has taken a bribe to look away. Sometimes they do so because the attacking forces are huge and they fear for their own safety. Sometimes rank-and-file soldiers join one side because of their own faith in what they see as that moment of millennial showdown between good and evil. Sometimes they fail to do their job because they are annoyed about being hungry and not getting their pay. Sometimes conflict between different factions within the security sector paralyses it. Sometimes they fail to protect civilians on one side because the political elite gives them clear signals that they want this to end by the other side prevailing. Sometimes they fail to do their job because they want chaos on the streets to destabilise a government that they see as hostile to the military. Sometimes they manage these tensions by delegating security to a militia, and then the militia gets out of hand to the point where they can no longer control it. Between them, the Moluccas includes elements of every one of these, mostly highly anomic, things happening.

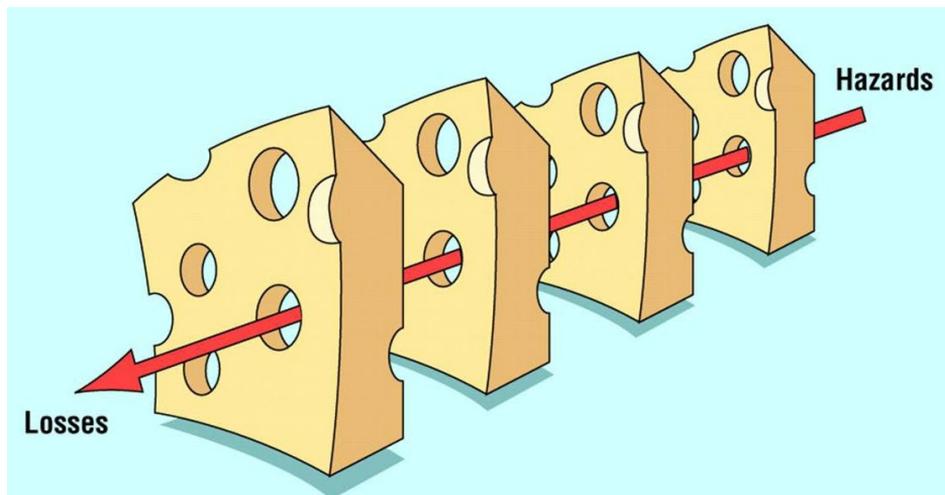
Because empirically there are many reasons why security forces fail under pressure, it is best we limit the frequency with which they have to face down mobs throwing bombs. Western security forces look good in terms of their capacity to maintain domestic order only because they have never tried to stop a phalanx of 5000 angry people carrying machetes and hurling the odd bomb.

¹⁹ Though state-led discrimination is a good quantitative predictor (Goldstone 2008) and Collier (2007) himself concludes that civil war is more likely in conditions of 'ethnic dominance', defined as societies with one group large enough to form a majority of the population, but where other groups are still significant.

They look good because they are rarely put under serious pressure domestically, but when armed civilians in places such as Iraq and Vietnam put them under serious pressure, we see them differently.

In the case of North Maluku, we have argued that preventive diplomacy could have saved the security forces from being put to the test in the aftermath of the initial attack by the Makians on two Kao villages. The argument is, why rely on a fallible last line of defence when earlier lines of social defence are available? James Reason (1990) is the pre-eminent theorist of this way of thinking about risk. Redundant defence will not work if it has just any old strings to its bow. Very different kinds of strings are needed to cover the weak spots of one intervention with the strengths of another. Reason (1990) developed the Swiss-cheese model (Figure 3.1) in application to domains such as aircraft accident prevention. A multitude of different types of controls is needed to cover weak spots of one barrier with other barriers that have their weak spots in other places. Covering a pilot with a co-pilot, or a computer with a back-up computer, might be less effective than covering a pilot with a computer and a computer with a co-pilot. Two pilots flying over snow can both suffer the same white-out; two computers can be simultaneously attacked by the same virus.

Figure 3.1 Swiss-cheese model of risk prevention



Source: James Reason (1990).

Societies should therefore invest in resolving root causes of conflict such as discrimination against an ethnic group, as well as proximate causes, and in addition they need effective community policing that smothers sparks that could ignite conflicts. As a last resort, they need the capability to halt riots and out-gun rampaging militias. The theory is that societies that are strong at all these capabilities are unlikely to experience civil war.

Even if it were true that security sector reform could patch all the holes and cracks in the security sector so it never failed, criminologists point to another reason why a social problem such as systematic discrimination against an ethnic minority requires a remedy. It is unthinkable that African-Americans could mount a civil war against their white majority, or Aboriginal against white Australians. When they do riot—as happened in Los Angeles and other cities in the 1960s and after the Rodney King incident in 1991—the capabilities of the security forces are so overwhelming that escalation to civil war does not occur. Urban riots are a tiny cost of structural inequality and discrimination in violence compared with a continuing high crime rate (Braithwaite 1979). Indeed, Australia probably bears a bigger continuing cost in violence, especially domestic violence, murder and sexual assault (especially of children), as a result of its racial discrimination than the one-off cost of the 1999–2000 violence in North Maluku.²⁰ Where resistance through warfare is not an option for an oppressed group, disengagement becomes the problem—disengagement from the oppressed people’s own traditions, from education, from employment and entrepreneurship, even from care and responsibility for children. Because the Moluccas are better societies than Australia in the sense that minorities such as the Christians in North Maluku suffer nothing like the structural inequality of the economic gap between Aboriginal and white Australians,²¹ Indonesia’s costs of discrimination in continuing disengagement and personalised violent defiance are much less. The streets of Ternate are so much safer today than those of towns in central Australia or of South Central Los Angeles. The kind of structural factors, proximate factors and ignition points analysed in the Peacebuilding Compared project might be seen as warning signs of disengagement from the social order that can disrupt domestic peace, as well as warnings of resistant defiance that might lead to riots and warfare to overturn the social order. Perhaps Australia has a more profound need for the UNDP’s Peace Through Development Program than the Moluccas.

20 The Australian Aboriginal population has numbers not much greater than the Christian minority in North Maluku. Of course, the violence that results from racial inequality in Australia is much less in any one year than happened in North Maluku in 1999–2000. That is, however, the point: the costs accrue every single year.

21 This was not always so. Papuan slaves were widespread in the Moluccas before colonialism and early colonial plantation agriculture increased slavery.

Appendix 3.1

Table A3.1 Summary of some codes, North Maluku: 650 other variables are coded

Structural factors at root of conflict	Is this a 'consensus' factor among analysts or 'contested but credible' as a possible factor?
Colonialism of long duration stunts institutions	Contested but credible
Legitimate opportunities for Kao to influence government (through legislature, executive, courts) are blocked	Contested but credible
High proportion of jobs are in urban public sector, fostering competition to control patronage (van Klinken 2007)	Contested but credible
Volcanic eruption leads to transmigration/immigration	Consensus
Disputed boundaries and the control of a 'resource curse': a goldmine	Contested but credible
Proximate factors	
Asian financial crisis exacerbates competition for scarce legitimate opportunities	Consensus
Collapse of New Order opens power allocations and the institutional order to competition (Bertrand 2004), especially a successor to Golkar for control of the new province	Consensus
Political decentralisation increases boundary disputes and patronage opportunities, further increasing politico-religious competition	Consensus
Military and police disengage from conflict rather than control it when it breaks out	Consensus
Security vacuum fuels a security dilemma, driving both communities into the hands of militias for protection	Consensus
Key triggering incidents	
Makians attack two Kao villages	Consensus
Minor fights and stone-throwing in public space`	Consensus
Truck of armed Christians to guard church misinterpreted as mobilisation for attack	Contested but credible
The 'Bloody Sosol' letter	Contested but credible
North Malukan politicians gaming subdistrict boundaries and playing the religious card	Contested but credible
Yellow, white, red and Kao militia leaders	Consensus
Village-level leaders responding to security dilemma	Consensus
Psychopaths who capture many local conflicts, flipping ideals of pacification and respectful treatment of the other into mutilation and desecration of the other	Consensus
Young people, sometimes affected by alcohol, seeking excitement; youthful masculinities	Consensus
Key peacemaking actors	

3. Maluku and North Maluku

Interim Governor Surasmin	Contested but credible
Some bupati	Consensus
Many village leaders and adat leaders	Consensus
Peace journalists	Consensus
Peacebuilding strengths	
Village-level welcoming of IDP return; village-level humanitarian and reconstruction help and reconciliation through natural rituals such as funerals	Consensus
UNDP Peace Through Development Program	Contested but credible
Comparatively rapid return, reintegration and rebuilding for most IDPs	Contested but credible
Peace journalism	Contested but credible
Security forces separate combatants who are weary of fighting	Contested but credible
Local dialogue and reconciliation using adat; normal rituals of everyday life; mutual humanitarian and reconstruction help	Consensus
Weda Bay island of civility	Consensus
Peacebuilding weaknesses	
Military and police disengagement and game playing until mid-2000	Consensus
Thin international and national engagement with peacebuilding	Consensus
Thin NGO engagement with peacebuilding	Consensus
Reconciliation but no truth	Consensus
Top-to-bottom impunity for war criminals	Consensus
Marginalisation of women in peacebuilding	Consensus
Limited access to trauma counselling	Consensus
Key contested principles of peacebuilding	
Holy war versus holy peace	Contested but credible
Localism; village-up triumphs over metropole-down	Consensus

Table A3.2 Numbers and types of people interviewed, Maluku and North Maluku

Elected official, legislator/MPR/bupati	2
Civil servant	4
Political leader of oppositional group	1
Military	2
Police	5
Combatant	11
Adat/indigenous/village leader	4
Religious leader	16
Women's NGO	6
Environmental NGO	2
Development NGO	2
Human rights/peacebuilding NGO	4
Other NGO	0
Journalist	4
Business leader	5
Student/youth leader	2
Foreign government (ambassador, foreign minister of another country, USAID, etc.)	1
International organisations	7
Researcher/university academic	2
Victim/refugee	8
Other	0
Total interviews	68
Total people interviewed	88

This text is taken from *Anomie and Violence: Non-truth and Reconciliation in Indonesian Peacebuilding*, by John Braithwaite, Valerie Braithwaite, Michael Cookson and Leah Dunn, published 2010 by ANU E Press, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.