

TENSIONS ON FLORES: LOCAL SYMPTOMS OF NATIONAL PROBLEMS

I. OVERVIEW

Maumere, a town of some 40,000 people on the island of Flores in eastern Indonesia, is to all appearances the model of tranquillity, noted primarily for its poverty and Catholicism. But since July 2002, three incidents that are symptomatic of many problems facing Indonesia more generally have shaken the town. On 14 July, a riot erupted after a crew member of a visiting ship committed what locals considered sacrilege during a Catholic mass. The perpetrator happened to be a Protestant, but the mob marched on the local mosque, and serious violence was only narrowly averted. At the end of the month, a well-known public official with ties to the local government and army went on trial for smuggling wood. On 18 August 2002, a fight broke out between the police and military that revealed the hostility between the two agencies, the depth of local animosity towards the police; and the ongoing impact of the East Timor conflict on Flores. The July and August eruptions have left the business community, mostly ethnic Chinese, frightened and uncertain of its future, although no Chinese was targeted.

The unrest on Flores raises questions that every corner of Indonesia is facing:

- ❑ how to reduce the influence of the military over local politics when the military's territorial structure allows scope for extensive political and economic involvement at a very local level;
- ❑ how to reduce predatory practices of both the military and the police;
- ❑ how to upgrade police capacity at the local level and reduce the rationale for military involvement in quelling social and political conflict;
- ❑ how to use the decentralisation process to strengthen local capacity to reduce the potential for conflict before it breaks out; and
- ❑ how to prevent communal conflict elsewhere in Indonesia from worsening communal tensions locally.

Flores must additionally manage the unaddressed problem of demobilisation of troops who served in East Timor.

The incidents described in this briefing have taken place against the backdrop of a decentralisation policy that is transforming the political landscape of Indonesia. That policy, which devolves substantial economic and political authority from the central government down to the district level, has raised the stakes of local political contests, particularly for the position of *bupati* or district head. Maumere is the seat of Sikka district, whose *bupati*, Paulus Moa, has strong links to the military. His term ends in 2003, and manoeuvring to extend or replace him is already well underway.¹ This could well exacerbate existing military-police rivalry, lead to new promises to the

¹ Moa came into his post in 1998 backed by the army, after having served close to twenty years in East Timor. In three different districts of East Timor – Dili, Same, and Liquisa – he held the post of district secretary, a position that was often the Indonesian operational overseer of an East Timorese *bupati*. Moa's role in the 1965-66 killings in Flores has become an issue in his efforts to get re-appointed. At the time, he was the subdistrict head of Bola in Sikka district. In February-March 1966, over 100 people were killed in Bola alone, on suspicion of ties to the Indonesian Communist Party and its peasant affiliate, *Barisan Tani Indonesia* (Indonesian Peasant Front or BTI). Moa was reported to have been in charge of the purge, and the bodies, some beheaded, were turned over to him. A local political rival is now accusing him of failing to account for who was killed or to return the bodies to the families. One reason Moa left Flores shortly thereafter, according to a Maumere resident, was that he had become so unpopular after the killings that no one wanted him around. He served in what is now Papua before proceeding to East Timor.

military of economic returns from projects licensed by the central government, or give different parties an incentive to play on existing frictions.

Decentralisation has also resulted in a process of administrative fragmentation known as *pemekaran*, literally “blossoming”, by which new and smaller provinces and districts are carved out of larger ones, supposedly based on criteria set by the Ministry of Home Affairs but often based on how much those in favour of the new units are able to pay in bribes.²

A campaign is underway to make the island of Flores, together with the nearby island of Lembata, a separate province that would be carved out of the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT). There are strong arguments for and against. Administrative services would be within easier reach. The provincial capital of NTT is Kupang, in West Timor; if Flores became a province in its own right, the town of Maumere would be a strong contender to become the capital. This would facilitate local recruitment of police, for example, since at present, anyone wishing to take the recruitment exam has to travel to Kupang. (Until recently, the exam was only held in Denpasar, Bali, with the result that many of the police in Flores are Balinese.)

Land values in Maumere would likely skyrocket, benefiting the local elite but also perhaps generating more land speculation and disputes. More trade would be directed to Makassar, in South Sulawesi, instead of Kupang.³ The Maumere-Makassar route

makes far more geographic and economic sense, but it could result in an increase in migration to Flores by ethnic Bugis traders and a heightening of communal tensions. Establishing the province of Flores could also lead to an increased military presence, for reasons discussed below.

The problems that produced the July and August outbreaks in Maumere are unlikely to be solved at a local level alone, in part because most of the parties are tainted. Members of the Catholic clergy in Flores are growing weary of being called on to prevent conflict and are in any case concerned that their ability to do so is waning.⁴ The communal tensions on Flores, and in particular the suspicions of the Catholic majority about the intentions of the tiny Muslim minority, have less to do with reality on the ground and much more with national developments as played out in the print and broadcast media. “If Laskar Jihad [a militant Muslim militia now operating in several conflict areas] comes to Flores, we’re ready for them”, one parishioner told a local priest grimly.⁵

All this underscores the fact that the problem of managing conflict in Indonesia is not simply one of crafting better policies for Aceh, Maluku, Poso, Papua and other hotspots. The potential for violence exists throughout much of the country. The solutions go back in many cases to police and military reform.⁶ An analysis of the three incidents in Flores is followed by a concluding section drawing together some of the wider lessons to be learned from them.

II. THE DESECRATION OF THE HOST

On 14 July 2002, Frans Manumpil, a crew member of a tourist ship based in Bali, wandered into St. Joseph’s Catholic church in the centre of Maumere during Sunday morning mass. According to his own account as given to the police and a priest who interviewed him, Manumpil, a Protestant from North Sulawesi, thought it was a Protestant church and only realised his error when he was already in the communion line. He took the communion

² The architects of the decentralisation policy chose the district, rather than the larger unit of the province, as the focus of devolution efforts in part because there was concern that devolving major economic power to the provinces could encourage separatism in resource-rich areas. There are currently 30 provinces in Indonesia and over 360 districts, and applications to the Minister of Home Affairs for a further sixteen provinces and 71 districts are pending. The two laws that form the basis of the decentralisation program, Laws 22 and 25, contain major ambiguities, and it is not always clear where the powers of the district leave off and the powers of the province begin. But because the laws allow the district to retain substantial percentages of locally-generated revenue, local officials have a strong economic incentive to create new districts. The incentive for forming new provinces is less clear, but it appears to be a combination of historical, cultural, and political factors, including the ability to influence central government policy.

³ As long as Flores is part of NTT, it is required by provincial decree to buy certain goods, such as cement, from Kupang, as a way of protecting provincial industries. Makassar-produced cement is of much higher quality; the leading

company is Basowa Cement, owned by Coordinating Minister for People’s Welfare Jusuf Kalla.

⁴ ICG interview, Maumere, 29 August 2002.

⁵ ICG interview, Maumere, 27 August 2002.

⁶ ICG Asia Report N°9, *Indonesia: Keeping the Military Under Control*, 5 September 2000, and ICG Asia Report N°13, *Indonesia: National Police Reform*, 20 February 2001.

wafer but then did not know what to do with it, and instead of putting it in his mouth, he walked out of the church holding it in his hand.

Communicants considered this a desecration of the host, and policemen who were also attending mass quickly arrested him and brought him to the district police command, about 800 metres from the church. He was detained there about 10:30 a.m., and the anger of the parishioners seemed to die down. Shortly thereafter, however, seemingly out of nowhere, truckloads of angry men, some 8,000 according to one estimate, arrived at the police command demanding action.⁷ The crowd included many who were clearly drunk, and when the police refused to produce Manupil, the men, egged on by two or three “commanders”, got angrier.⁸

Sometime in the late afternoon, a group of men ripped down cloth banners advertising Gudang Garam cigarettes that were flying in front of the police command. The men tore up the banners and covered their faces as if to hide their identities, then marched toward the local mosque, Mesjid Perumnas. According to a priest who tried to stop them, the “commanders”, who wore military (TNI) shirts but looked like gang leaders (*preman*), tried to keep emotions high when some of their followers seemed ready to leave.

The police were left to handle the situation until it became clear that an attack on the mosque was imminent. At that point, some navy personnel from the local military command joined forces with the mobile police brigade, a few priests, and a Muslim leader, whose relations with the church are excellent. The priest at one point confronted one of the “commanders”, who was leading a group of about 100 men, and asked where he was going. “To burn the mosque!” the man replied. The priest broke down in tears, apparently shocking the group. He explained that he admired the strength of their faith but this was the wrong way to express it. The men eventually turned around. By 10:00 p.m., when the streets were finally clear, the mosque had a few broken windows but major damage had been averted.⁹

Manupil went on trial in early September 2002, charged with offending a religion. On 12

September, the district court of Maumere sentenced him to eight years in prison. While some observers viewed the punishment as extraordinarily harsh, the local press suggested that justice had been done.¹⁰

Views differed in Maumere as to whether Manupil’s action at the church had been deliberate or accidental, but no one interviewed by ICG believed the mob action afterwards was spontaneous. Suspicions were voiced in the press about Manupil because police found he had two identification cards, one as a Muslim from the island of Sumbawa, one as a Protestant from North Sulawesi. He explained, perfectly plausibly, that he got the first to facilitate opening a bank account where the tourist ship was based. Some Catholics interviewed by ICG found it hard to believe that a Protestant could wander into a Catholic church and not know instantly that he was in the wrong place, particularly when St. Joseph’s has a large statue of the Virgin Mary inside. Their suspicions were intensified when police found that Manupil had been treated sometime earlier at the Maumere hospital, meaning this was not the first time he was in the town.

The incident was the fourth since March 2002. On 17 March, a perceived desecration of the host by one Slamet Hariyadi in the town of Bajawa, Flores led to a riot in which stalls and kiosks owned by local Sumatran traders were burned. On 28 March, in the town of Ende, a nineteen year-old woman who followed the indigenous Merapu belief system of Sumba went to church with a friend for the first time, dropped the host, and had to be evacuated out a back window to prevent an attack from the angry churchgoers.¹¹ A major riot was narrowly averted, especially after rumours spread that she had deliberately stepped on the host. The third incident took place in Watubalu, about 30 km from Maumere, and the alleged perpetrator was also a woman. The rash of incidents convinced some Florenese that outside elements were deliberately trying to provoke communal unrest, although many such incidents occurred in the past, long before

⁷ “Hosti Memantik Api”, *Gatra*, 27 Juli 2000.

⁸ ICG interview, Maumere, 28 August 2002.

⁹ ICG interviews, Maumere, 28-29 August 2002.

¹⁰ “Vonis 8 Tahun Penjara Francisco Manupil Dinilai Memenuhi Rasa Keadilan Masyarakat”, *Flores Pos*, 14 September 2002.

¹¹ “Cemari hosti kudus di Cathedral Ende, Nona Eni langsung dibekuk Tim Polres”, *Flores Pos*, 2 April 2002.

sectarian violence in Indonesia became so prominent.¹²

The sudden appearance of the mob in the Manumpil case was more difficult to explain. The rioters were not the parishioners who had witnessed the incident. They came on trucks from outside Maumere. One priest called out to help disperse the mob said that in the evening, after the attack on the mosque had been averted, police offered to take the rioters home on Brimob trucks. The men eventually agreed, as long they were accompanied by priests rather than police. From taking them home, the priest could confirm that none lived inside the town limits.

Maumere in July 2002 had no mobile phone network and no Internet provider. Most of the men on the trucks would not have telephones in their homes. Unconfirmed information suggested that many were displaced (and unemployed) Florenese who had fled Ambon as a result of the communal violence there as well as some who had fled East Timor in 1999. How then did they learn of the incident so quickly, let alone arrange transportation to the Maumere police command?

Maumere residents interviewed by ICG assumed the rioters had been paid but had no evidence. They offered several suggestions that have become commonplace – and occasionally true – assumptions in outbreaks of communal violence: that the army wanted to prove the incapacity of the police to handle security disturbances; that the army wanted an excuse to extort more money from the local business community (although the police are at least as involved in such extortion); and that the *bupati* wanted to appear as a hero in the face of local violence.

The most worrisome aspect of the incident is less the near-universal assumption that the mob action was organised than what it reveals about communal relations in Maumere. The district of Sikka is 80 per cent Catholic and only about 8 per cent Muslim. Haji Rashid, the leader of the Muslim community, is a Bugis who happens to be a fourth-generation resident of Flores. He is widely liked and respected by the Catholic leadership in Maumere. But Flores, like everywhere else in Indonesia, is bombarded

with information about communal conflict in Ambon, Poso, and elsewhere, in a way that has engendered deep suspicion of the intentions of “Islam”, even among well-educated Catholics.

It does not matter that almost every recent incident of desecration has been committed by a non-Muslim; the targets of local wrath still tend to be Bugis, Javanese, and Sumatran Muslims. The instant assumption is that a local incident is part of a broader national conspiracy. That assumption was reinforced when a major national television network, in reporting the incident, used footage from the much worse 1998 riot in Kupang during which buildings in a Muslim neighbourhood were levelled and several mosques seriously damaged.

There may be other reasons why the Muslim community is targeted, including Florenese frustration at the economic success of migrants and the feeling that they are becoming an underclass in their own territory. There is also a perception among Florenese Catholics that the government finds subtle ways to discriminate against Christians and in favor of Muslims.¹³

While the dominance of the Catholic Church has been strong enough to prevent serious violence until now, the gravity of the underlying tension should not be underestimated.

III. THE TRIAL OF HAJI KASIM

Shortly after the incident at St. Joseph’s Church, a prominent Muslim businessman named Haji Kasim went on trial in Maumere district court for smuggling wood. The case was at least as high profile as that of Frans Manumpil because Haji Kasim was known to have close ties to both the army and Paulus Moa. In addition to being the largest lumber dealer in Sikka district, he also happened to be the harbourmaster at the port of Maumere who, together with his political allies, strictly controlled access to port-related business activities. Smuggling was rampant, ICG was told, although small-scale by national standards. The police commander in charge of the arrest was

¹² Philipus Tule, “Religious Conflicts and a Culture of Tolerance: Paving the Way for Reconciliation in Indonesia”, *Antropologi Indonesia* XXIV(63), September-December 2000, pp. 92-108.

¹³ Personal communication, 9 October 2002. One example cited was the relative ease with which local Muslims can get permits to build mosques as opposed to the difficulties facing those who wish to build churches. ICG was unable to assess how accurate this perception of discrimination is.

considered to have broken a code of non-interference in local corruption by daring to move against such a public figure.

The case began in April 2002 when a ship owned by Haji Kasim's wife foundered off the coast of Flores. It was found to be carrying 63 cubic metres of lumber from Maluku without documentation certifying the wood had been legally felled.¹⁴ The Butonese crew had been paid Rp.5 million (approximately U.S.\$500) by Haji Kasim, who was subsequently arrested.

The district police commander, F.X. Bagus Wahyono, immediately became the target of threatening telephone calls.¹⁵ One source told ICG that Da'i Bachtiar, the national police commander, called him to ask about the case after a senior military officer in Jakarta complained about the arrest.

Haji Kasim, clearly furious about his arrest, immediately began trying to drag in senior officials. At the end of May 2002, he threatened to sue Paulus Moa, the *bupati*, because, he said, Moa had initiated an agreement in September 2001 that local lumber companies bringing logs or lumber into Maumere harbour would not need documentation as long as they paid fees to the local forestry office (*dinas kehutanan*). If the agreement was no longer valid, Haji Kasim asked, why was the forestry office still collecting fees from companies like his?¹⁶ At his trial in August 2002, an outraged Haji Kasim forced a witness from the forestry office to admit he was collecting fees from illegal logging and produced a document with the witness's signature to prove it.

The arrest and prosecution served to worsen already bad relations between the local police and military. It did not help that the district police commander was a Catholic and the district military commander, said to be one of Haji Kasim's protectors, a Muslim.

The case also revealed one more instance of the woeful shortcomings of the legal system in Indonesia. Maumere has a hardworking prosecutor,

Simon Mudamakin, who happens to be from eastern Flores and has been assigned to the district court in Maumere for just over a year. He has two extremely high profile matters to contend with, the desecration case and the Kasim case, which are fraught with political and social frictions that if not properly handled could spill over into the street. In addition, about 30 cases of rape, murder, and other violent crimes come to his desk every month, plus the occasional case of corruption.

Mudamakin has four junior prosecutors working under him, one of whom has just been transferred away. If a case requires specialised knowledge, he has to apply to Kupang, the provincial capital, for assistance. He requested such assistance earlier in the year in an embezzlement case. There was no answer from Kupang after eight months, and the suspect has long since been released. Mudamakin is overwhelmed by too many cases and too few staff. At the same time, he sees a critical role for the courts in reducing social tension and freely acknowledges taking public sentiment into account when charging Fransisco Manumpil. If he had not threatened a heavy sentence, he said, violence could have erupted all over again. On the other hand, he also has to face political realities: in early October, he requested a sentence of only three months for Haji Kasim.¹⁷

IV. VIOLENCE BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND POLICE

The most serious of the three incidents took place in August 2002 when a brawl involving navy personnel and police turned into a confrontation between fully armed police and fully armed soldiers. Many of the latter were East Timorese who had been transferred in 1999 to the district command (KODIM) in Maumere from the East Timor regional command in Dili. More than any other incident, this confrontation has caused deep concern in the Chinese business community.

The incident started in the early hours of 18 August in front of the Flamboyan pub in Maumere when a few policemen got into a fight with Indonesian navy sailors whose ship had stopped in Maumere to bring home illegal migrant workers expelled from

¹⁴ As a safeguard against illegal logging, any shipment of logs or sawed wood has to be accompanied by a document called *Surat Keterangan Sahnya Hasil Hutan* or SKSHH.

¹⁵ "Penahanan Tersangka HMK Kapolres Sikka Ditekan Sejumlah Oknum", *Flores Pos*, 7 May 2002.

¹⁶ "Kepala Adpel Akan Gugat Bupati Moa", *Flores Pos*, 20 May 2002.

¹⁷ The verdict had not yet been handed down when this briefing went to press.

Malaysia. The owner of the night-club called the subdistrict military commander, Simon Iwi, and the subdistrict police commander to help break up the fight. Iwi, a Florenese, who for years had been stationed in KOREM 164 in Dili, was one of many officers who returned after the post-referendum violence there and had a reputation for toughness. He succeeded in dispersing the sailors but then directed some harsh words toward the police. One of them hit Iwi.

When news of a police assault on Iwi reached the subdistrict and district military commands by early the following morning, members of Iwi's family and his neighbours, many of them military families who had returned to Flores from East Timor in 1999, gathered in front of the Maumere police station (*polsek*). They demanded that the man who had punched Iwi be produced immediately. As the crowd got more unruly, a policeman named Joseph Tukan, one of the few Florenese on the force, was dragged down and beaten to a pulp. According to an observer, local sympathies were clearly with the military on this one because the police are loathed for petty extortion that touches everyone. Some bystanders took their turns in kicking the unfortunate Tukan.¹⁸

Unfounded rumours then reached the district police command (*polres*) about 9:00 a.m. that Tukan had been killed by the military. A soldier, Sgt. Damanhuri, happened to be riding by the police command on his motorbike as the rumour was circulating. Angry policemen dragged him off his bike and beat him with rifle butts until he was taken to the hospital with a serious head injury.

News of the attack on Damanhuri quickly reached the district military command (KODIM), and a truck full of armed soldiers arrived at the police command, followed by a large crowd eager to see the action. The soldiers occupied the courtyard of the police command and demanded to see the policemen responsible for the attack on Damanhuri. When their request was not met, they began shooting into the air.¹⁹ (At one point, reportedly, a group of East Timorese soldiers tried to break into the KODIM weapons depot to get additional arms to fight the police and were only restrained when

Iwi, the subdistrict commander at the centre of the original dispute, spoke to them in Tetun.)²⁰

Military occupation of the police command ended more or less peacefully at about 3:00 p.m. when Lt. Colonel Abdurrahman, the district commander, using a megaphone, ordered his men to empty their rifles and go home. While the occupation was still underway, the *bupati*, who was generally given high marks for his handling of the crisis, called an emergency meeting of the police and military commanders, the prosecutor, the deputy head of the district council, and a senior Catholic priest to try and restore order. The provincial police and military commanders in Kupang were kept informed of developments, and press reports noted that the provincial police commander had ordered that all police involved in the beating of Iwi be disciplined. There was no word on any orders to discipline the soldiers.

As angry soldiers were gathering at the police command, another drama was taking place in the business district. In what an observer who happened to be in a shop at the time called a well-rehearsed drill, shopkeepers immediately alerted each other by telephone, the iron shutters of the shops were pulled down, and family members ran to gather buckets of water and station themselves at pre-assigned locations, ready to extinguish flames if anyone attempted arson.²¹ One businessman told ICG, "If the police and the army start fighting, what hope do we have that they'll protect us?"²²

The episode intensified police-military hostility in a way that may have implications for the local government's ability to avert violence the next time another desecration of the host incident takes place or some minor squabble erupts. If the political situation was volatile in July 2002 to the point that Maumere residents suspected provocation, what will happen now that tensions are even higher?

The clash also suggests major unresolved problems from East Timor. Following the referendum there in September 1999, the Indonesian government was faced with the problem of how to absorb the large number of soldiers who had been stationed in KOREM 164, the Dili-based command, and the various territorial commands at the district and

¹⁸ ICG interview, Maumere, 29 August 2002.

¹⁹ "Tentara dan polisi nyaris baku tembak", *Flores Pos*, 20 August 2002.

²⁰ ICG interview, Maumere, 29 August 2002.

²¹ ICG interview, Maumere, 28 August 2002.

²² ICG interview, Maumere, 28 August 2002.

subdistrict level. Initially, military headquarters in Jakarta proposed that KOREM 164 be reconstituted in Flores. The local outcry was immediate and overwhelming. A study conducted by the Catholic seminary in Maumere found 91.6 per cent of the close to 2000 respondents opposed to moving. The main reason cited was fear that a KOREM presence would disrupt public order and bring violence of the kind that had wracked East Timor, Aceh, and Ambon.²³

The government and military headquarters bowed slightly to local pressure. Instead of shifting the KOREM wholesale, they simply transferred Dili-based soldiers to territorial units in Flores, including the KODIMs in Maumere and Larantuka, in eastern Flores. The net result was a sharp increase in the number of soldiers, most of them underpaid, underemployed, and angry, stationed in Flores. (Many non-military Florenese also returned to Flores after 1999 to no jobs and no land. They provide a ready-made recruiting pool for rent-a-mob operations.) Some Florenese told ICG they were worried that if the campaign to make Flores a province succeeds, the military will have a stronger rationale for establishing a KOREM since it would be appropriate in strictly administrative terms.

V. CONCLUSION

Several concrete steps could be taken to reduce the likelihood of conflict in Maumere. At the local level, officials could redirect the resources they are putting into the campaign to make Flores a province to finding jobs for particular pools of unemployed. The latter include Florenese displaced by the East Timor conflict and an earlier group displaced by the 1992 earthquake.²⁴

The army appears to be deeply involved in local politics in Maumere, both because of the proximity to East Timor and spillover to Flores of the conflict there and because of the protection that the *bupati* offers to local military economic interests. Getting

the military out of politics in Indonesia is not a simple matter of ending its representation in the national parliament; indeed, the decentralisation process offers new opportunities and incentives for involvement. The only way this problem can be effectively addressed is to eliminate the system of territorial control and the presence of military commands at the subdistrict, district, and supradistrict levels. As ICG has noted before, the territorial system cannot be abolished overnight, but at the same time, "the form, scope and timetable for reform of the territorial system and structure should not be left to the TNI. It should be one of the central elements of an overall defence and security review initiated by the government."²⁵

Under its present leadership, the TNI is deeply resistant to structural changes. Both the July and August incidents in Maumere underscore the lack of public confidence in the police and the urgent need for reform. Whether or not Flores becomes a province, it is essential to find a way to recruit and train police locally. Corruption in securing places in police academies also needs to be addressed; sources in Flores said incoming recruits can pay as much as Rp.15 million (approximately U.S.\$1,700) to be accepted, an amount regarded as an investment that can be returned through various forms of extortion once in service. If the kind of anger demonstrated by the crowd joining in the kicking of a policeman in Maumere is to be prevented, the entire system of police recruitment and training will have to be overhauled.

The predatory practices of both police and army are an argument for raising salaries to the point that no one can try to justify in economic terms involvement in smuggling, protection rackets and other rent-seeking. But some Florenese point out that senior officers often use the issue of low pay for the lowest ranks of both forces as an excuse for indulging in their own corruption. If salaries are to be raised, there must also be full and transparent auditing of military and police finances.

The depth of the police-army hostility in Maumere mirrors a larger national problem, as evidenced by the army attack on a police post in Binjai, North Sumatra, in late September 2002 in which eight people were killed. Maumere is not the only place in Indonesia where allegations have surfaced that

²³ SEMA SFTK Ledalero, *Pembentukan KOREM di Flores: Antara Menerima dan Menolak*, Maumere, Flores, 30 October 1999.

²⁴ Many migrant workers expelled from Malaysia are Florenese, but most are from eastern Flores, not the Maumere area. While many will return to Malaysia, there is concern that those who do return to Flores will also find themselves without work.

²⁵ ICG Asia Report N°24, *Indonesia: Next Steps in Military Reform*, 11 October 2001.

the army has sparked unrest in order to show up the lack of capacity of police to handle it. Despite laws giving primary responsibility to the police for internal security, that responsibility remains poorly defined in practice, and there has been little leadership from the Megawati government in stressing the importance of civilian supremacy. Indeed, in its restructuring of the security command in Maluku, which subordinated the police to a military commander, the signals from the government have been precisely the opposite. If the police-army rivalry is to be addressed, the government in Jakarta must do far more to reaffirm the primary role of the police in addressing internal security issues and define more precisely the boundary between police and army roles.

The way in which communal conflict elsewhere in Indonesia has affected Maumere also needs to be addressed. Among highly educated Catholics, there is some residual anger and suspicion of the organisation *Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia* (ICMI, Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association), created in the late Soeharto years. In the eyes of many non-Muslims, it served as a vehicle for the Islamicisation of the government. ICMI has lost much influence since B.J. Habibie, President Soeharto's immediate successor, left office, but in Maumere (as in some other largely Christian communities in eastern Indonesia), suspicions of a central government plot to promote Islam has produced a kind of siege mentality.²⁶ Since television is the main medium through which Florenese receive and interpret national news, it would probably be worth developing programs that address some of these fears.

Finally, as noted, Indonesia has not yet effectively addressed the problem of demobilisation of troops who served in East Timor. This has had particularly acute ramifications for Flores and West Timor. The social impact should not be left to local governments to handle: this is a national issue that needs national attention.

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²⁶ One Catholic scholar, in a conversation with ICG about the trials of officials accused of human rights violations in East Timor, suggested that the only individual convicted was a Christian, while all those acquitted were Muslim. In fact, several of the Indonesian officers acquitted were Christian but the assumption of discrimination on religious grounds was revealing.

APPENDIX A

MAP OF INDONESIA



APPENDIX B

ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP

The International Crisis Group (ICG) is a private, multinational organisation, with over 80 staff members on five continents, working through field-based analysis and high-level advocacy to prevent and resolve deadly conflict.

ICG's approach is grounded in field research. Teams of political analysts are located within or close by countries at risk of outbreak, escalation or recurrence of violent conflict. Based on information and assessments from the field, ICG produces regular analytical reports containing practical recommendations targeted at key international decision-takers.

ICG's reports and briefing papers are distributed widely by email and printed copy to officials in foreign ministries and international organisations and made generally available at the same time via the organisation's Internet site, www.crisisweb.org. ICG works closely with governments and those who influence them, including the media, to highlight its crisis analyses and to generate support for its policy prescriptions.

The ICG Board – which includes prominent figures from the fields of politics, diplomacy, business and the media – is directly involved in helping to bring ICG reports and recommendations to the attention of senior policy-makers around the world. ICG is chaired by former Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari; and its President and Chief Executive since January 2000 has been former Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans.

ICG's international headquarters are in Brussels, with advocacy offices in Washington DC, New York and Paris and a media liaison office in

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In *Africa*, those locations include Burundi, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone-Liberia-Guinea, Somalia, Sudan and Zimbabwe; in *Asia*, Indonesia, Myanmar, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Kashmir; in *Europe*, Albania, Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia; in the *Middle East*, the whole region from North Africa to Iran; and in *Latin America*, Colombia.

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