

INTERPRETATION OF INDONESIAN POLITICAL MOVEMENT WITH DRAMA THEORY

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ABSTRACT

A huge tsunami, tidal wave hit Aceh Province in Indonesia in 2004. A lot of lives were lost because of this tidal wave. Moreover, most of the communal facilities were destroyed because of this disaster. A lot of people still remember this as an extensive first natural damage of this century.

On the other hand, this region was known as the dispute for many years. This region prospered as an Aceh kingdom in the 15th century. But after World War II, this region was treated as a part of Indonesia. Then, Free Aceh Movement (GAM) kept resisting to Indonesian government over many years for its independence.

However, peace was approved just after year when the tidal wave hit this region. In addition, state gubernatorial election for autonomy was carried out in 2006. It was paid attention internationally that peace had advanced rapidly.

The author also pays attention to the relation to the peacemaking process and revival from the disaster. Therefore the author interprets this situation with the Drama Theory.

The Drama Theory is a framework of the Game Theory which is added emotion to solve complex conflicts.

In this paper, GAM and Indonesian government are treated as characters of the drama. The situation is described as a matrix. And interpretation is given about the changes of both sides before and after the tidal wave.

The author tries to clarify the following points.

1. Why did both keep disputing?
2. Why did the peacemaking process progress rapidly after damage of the tidal wave?
3. Does this region return to the state of the dispute again after it revives from the tidal wave damage?

In Indonesian government, there are three alternatives. A)the Aceh province annexation, B)Aceh province independent, and C)the Aceh province autonomy. And in GAM, there are four choices. a)the Aceh province annexation, b)Aceh province independent, c)the Aceh province autonomy and d)the armed struggle to Indonesian government.

Indonesian government was declaring the standpoint at first as follows. "GAM must grant autonomy because Indonesian government admits it. Otherwise, Aceh province is

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annexed. ". One side, at this point GAM was declaring the standpoint as follows. "GAM requests independence, and Indonesian government also must admit it. Otherwise, the armed struggle is done. ". Consequentially, the combat had happened between Indonesian government and GAM.

However, the standpoint of both changed after having hit this region by the huge tidal wave. Both recognized that the revival in single was difficult because damage was too extensive. For Indonesian government, the gain of the admission of the autonomy of Aceh province has grown more than the gain in which Aceh province is annexed. For GAM, the gain of the independence became less than the gain of the autonomy. Moreover, the gain of the armed struggle has decreased more than gains of autonomy. The armed struggles became no attractive for GAM.

The frame of the new situation will be described as a simple game. In this game, the Aceh province autonomy becomes Nash equilibrium, the dramatic solution. In the real world, Indonesian government admitted advanced autonomy in Aceh province and GAM disarmed.

The threat doesn't have the effectiveness in the frame of this game. Moreover, the paradox of trust is solved. Therefore, it is thought that it doesn't return to the state of the dispute again after the revival is completed.

In this paper, the author showed the dispute situation of Aceh province had solved starting with the revival from the tidal wave damage using the Drama Theoretical framework.

Keywords:drama theory, conflict, Aceh, Indonesia

BACKGROUND

The tidal wave hit Aceh province in Indonesia in 2004. A lot of lives were lost because of this tidal wave. Moreover, most of the communal facilities were destroyed because of this disaster. A lot of people still remember this as an extensive first natural damage of this century.

Aceh province is located in the north end of Sumatra Island, near Malaysia. On 26th December 2004, 9.2 magnitude earthquakes occurred in Indian Ocean. After this earthquake, about 15 meters-high tidal wave hit Aceh province. About 131,000 people killed by this tidal wave in this region. By the earthquake and the tidal wave, the coastline has changed. Basic social infrastructures had broken (Figure1).

Since Just after the disaster, many international organizations sent money and goods to help people and government. But at the beginning, these care packages were not delivered to the people. The reason is the political and historical background of the region.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Internationally, Aceh is thought a part of Indonesia country now. But historically, Aceh has long history of one independent kingdom. In the late 15 century, there was Aceh

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<http://www.magellanresorts.co.jp/whatsnew/041227.html>

Figure 1: The Disaster of Tidal Wave

kingdom. In 1873, The Netherlands visited this kingdom and tried to make this country their colony. The war had finished in 1904. The Netherlands finally made Aceh as their colony (Figure2).

In 1942, during the World War II, Japanese army liberated this colony. But this did not mean that Aceh could establish their independence. And after World War II, instead of Japanese army, The Indonesian government declared Aceh was annexed to Indonesia.

One of the reasons why many countries hoped to keep this region is its natural resources. Not only abundant woods but also the oil and LPG resources are rich.

But in this region, there were many people who hoped to get independence again. They are called Free Aceh Movement (GAM). They kept resisting to Indonesian government over many years. The civil war continued. In 1976, GAM declared Aceh's independence. But no peace was covered this region. Another thirty years, Aceh is known as dispute region. The entering to this region was strictly prohibited to foreign people.

Many countries have been trying to achieve peace to this region(Veenstra, 1989).

In 2002, the peace accord was established between the Indonesia government and GAM. But it was broken. Both parties started civil war again. Aceh was known as one of the most dangerous region in the world.

The huge earthquake and tidal wave hit this region. Aceh region made annihilation by the natural disaster.

RAPID PEACEMAKING PROCESS

However, peace was approved just after year when the tidal wave hit this region. In addition, state gubernatorial election for autonomy was carried out in 2006.

In 2005, the new peace accord was established between the Indonesia government and GAM. GAM agreed disarmament and stopped insisting independence from Indonesia. And the Indonesia government promised the military withdrawal and high level autonomy

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<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sumatra>

Figure 2: Place of Aceh and Sumatra Island

to Aceh province.

No one could imagine this rapid revival. Many newspapers, non government organizations, people from academic background analyzed this situation. But most of them insisted how to help people in this region, how to watch whether the agreement is observed.

On 11th September 2006, a public symposium was held in Tokyo Institute of Technology. The main topic of this symposium was “Reconstruction of Aceh after Tsunami”. Representatives from the both side, the Indonesian government and GAM attended to this. Their presentations were so impressive for the author as to pay attention to the relation to the peacemaking process and revival from the disaster.

Mr. Heru Prasetyo from the Indonesia government emphasized that “resolving problems must always be achieved through dialogue”. And Mr. Teuku Kamaruzaman, who was arrested by the Indonesian government many years, from GAM said that “GAM had strong belief that negotiation was the way to reach its goal”.

I felt that the trust-building process was the basic part of solving conflicts. And I was interested in why this trust-building process was processed rapidly. Therefore the author interprets this situation by the Drama Theory.

Because the Drama Theory is widely used to interpret and to solve international political conflicts(Brown, 1999).

THE DRAMA THEORY

The Drama Theory is a framework of the Game Theory which is added emotion to solve a complex conflicts(Howard, 1998), (Howard, 1990), (Howard, 2004).

The History of Drama Theory was written by N.Howard and J. Bryant in 1993. They

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realized that the Game Theory could solve limited situation. In many real situations, people often consider not only the value of expectation but also their emotion. They tried to implement emotion to the Game Theory. This is the reason why the Drama Theory's characteristics is said "Game Theory with emotion".

The Drama theory is a framework to handle poli-agent system problem. So it can be suitable for emotionally complex situation. Many international conflicts and relatively small size of organizational conflicts were interpreted and solved by the Drama Theory.

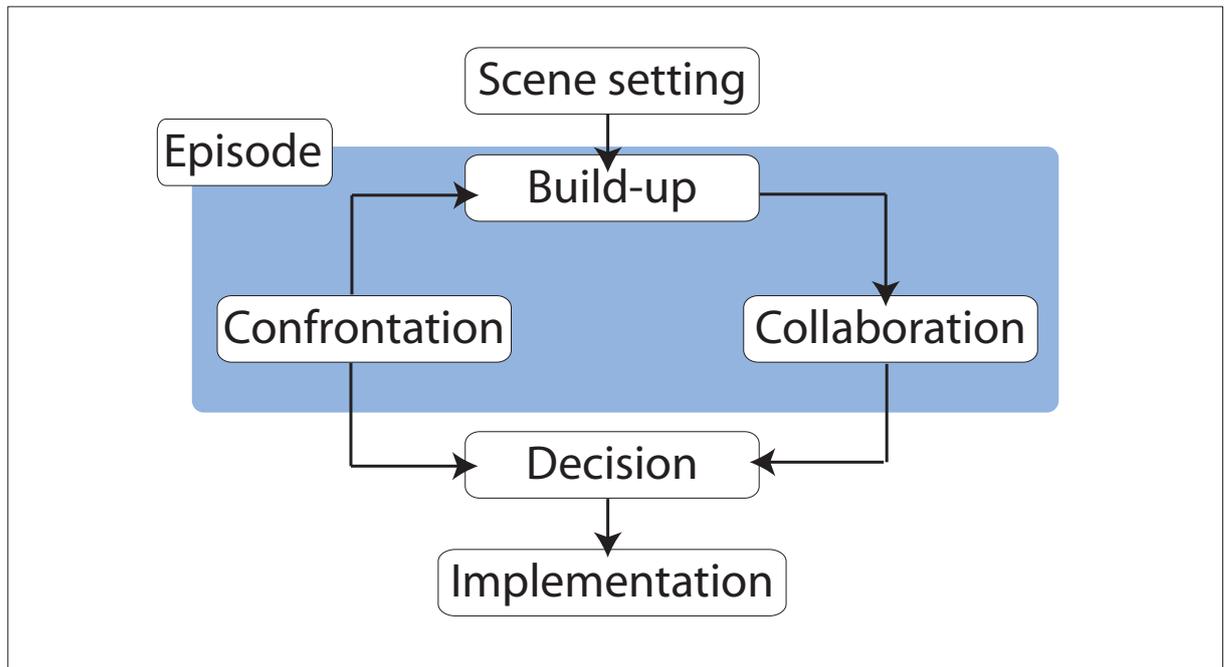


Figure 3: The Drama Theory

The process of Drama Theory is shown in figure 3.

Scene setting

At first, we need to clarify who is the character of this drama situation. *Character* is the word used in Drama Theory. Character sometimes has sub character. In this stage, the *goal* is also need to clarify.

Character is identified as the following aspects,

- Options
- Preferences
- Positions
- Threat
- Threatened Future

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- Outcomes

Option is the alternative of character. Each character has its option to act. Preferences are expected value of options. And *threatened future* is the feature of Drama Theory. Each character expresses its threaded future to control another characters.

Build-up

At the next stage, each character express their *position* and *threat* to the other characters. Position is the selected option of each character. And threat is the option to control other characters.

The pair of threat is called *threatened future*.

Characters will assess their position's compatibility. They will try to make coalitions. Through this stage, dilemmas are clarified. Some change would be needed to agree one solution.

Confrontation

At the confrontation stage, characters will make strategies to manage their dilemmas. The plan is composed with sequences of action. Each action is communication with message or interaction.

This stage is the main part of Drama Theory. *Confrontation analysis* is discussed in the next section.

Decision

After confrontation, each character will decide their action. Some will change their action or threat. They can make negotiations again if they need.

The cycle form build-up to decision is called *episode* as one unit of game.

Implementation

Once characters agree to move to next stage, the stage is called implementation. Each character will take irreversible action. No one knows the result of their actions. After this stage, new scene setting will be performed if necessary.

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Confrontation Analysis

Confrontation and dilemmas are indispensable concept of Drama Theory (Bennett, 1998). There are six (and only six) dilemmas in the Drama Theoretical situation (Bryant, 2003). Understanding each dilemmas' characteristic will help understand Drama Theory.

Six dilemmas

As I mentioned below, there are six dilemmas in Drama Theoretical situation as following.

1. dilemma of threat
2. dilemma of persuasion
3. dilemma of rejection
4. dilemma of positioning
5. dilemma of co-operation
6. dilemma of trust

Dilemma of threat is happening when one's threatened future can not brings low expectation of the other.

Dilemma of persuasion is generated when one can not give any pressure to the others. Under this dilemma, one's threatened future is accepted the others.

Dilemma of rejection is the situation for the one when he/she faces the others' threatened future is preferred than his/her position.

Dilemma of positioning will occur when he/she faces the others' position is preferred than his/her position.

Dilemma of co-operation is the situation that one can not make the others believe one will co-operation.

Dilemma of trust is the opposite side of dilemma of co-operation.

To manage these dilemmas, we need to introduce confrontation analysis. This can be said that pre-play communication and its result.

THE DRAMA THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the main part of this paper, the author will apply the Drama Theoretical framework to the problem of Aceh's peace making process. The Drama Theoretical framework needs characters, options, preferences, positions and threatened futures.

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The author chooses GAM and Indonesian government as characters of the drama. The situation is described on a matrix. And interpretation is given about the changes of both sides before and after the tidal wave.

The situation before the tidal wave will be described as the episode 1, and the situation after the tidal wave will be described as the episode 2. Between the episode 1 and the episode 2, the preferences of both characters will change dramatically.

THE OBJECTIVES

Before entering the detail descriptions and interpretations, the objectives are shared in this section.

Clarification of structure of disputing

Their disputes continued over 30 years. Before analyzing the rapid progress of peace process in Aceh, our first objective is to clarify the structure of this. The Drama Theoretical analysis will clarify the reason of civil war in episode 1.

Change of structure of both characters

After the earthquake and the tidal wave hit this province, the peacemaking process progressed rapidly. Our second objective is to clarify what had occurred behind the revival from this disaster.

The main reason will be shown that both characters had changed their strategy against this problem. I will change the matrix carefully following the statements they said. And analyze why their decisions were changed in episode 2.

Future status expectation

The author expects that the Drama Theoretical framework can suggest the future. Can they keep this desirable status? Or they will return disputing? We will discuss how to keep peace in Aceh as implementation with the Drama Theoretical analysis.

EPISODE 1 — AN INITIAL STATE

Before the disaster, the two characters, Gov (Indonesia government) and GAM (Free Aceh Movement), were conflicting violently. Gov hoped to make Aceh region as a part of

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Indonesia. And GAM hoped to get independence from Gov. They had peace talks several times. The description with the Drama Theory can be the following.

Gov's options

For Gov, they had three alternatives. 1) Aceh province annexation, 2) Admit Aceh province independence, and 3) Admit Aceh province autonomy.

Aceh province annexation was the option that Gov controlled Aceh province totally. Aceh province is just a part of Indonesia, like other provinces. Gov hoped to take this option. Because of Aceh's rich natural resources. Aceh region was so valuable for Gov to hold. Gov hoped to dominate the profit from these natural resources. Also Gov had another civil war in another region of the country. To avoid division of the country, Gov needed to keep the unification.

When Gov admit Aceh province independence, Gov would really realize that Aceh had its own original culture, people and customs. Historically, Aceh region had been different country. This could make Gov to take this option. But the reason that I described before, this option could be hard to take.

At the moment, Gov admit Aceh province autonomy. Because it was the most realistic choice. But Gov hoped to control this region as possible as they could. According to this background, the range of autonomy is strictly limited.

Historically, Gov took the third options superficially. But their real hope was to take the first option. And Gov would not take the second option. They felt to take the second, it meant that they lost the game.

GAM's options

For GAM, there are four options. 1) the Aceh province annexation, 2) Aceh province independence, 3) the Aceh province autonomy and 4) the armed struggle to Indonesian government.

Admit Aceh province annexation was possibly one of the options but which was not the one that GAM would like to take. For GAM, there was no acceptable reason to take this option. They felt to take this option, it meant that they lost the game.

GAM really hoped to get Aceh province independence. This option was GAM's the first and the last hope. But hundreds years past, did Aceh people remember how to manage their own country? As for rash choices, the understanding of surroundings was not gotten easily. Gov always opposed GAM's request.

GAM can admit Aceh province autonomy. At that time, Gov had given "a certain of" autonomy to Aceh people. But GAM felt it was not enough. Gov did not admit GAM to organize their political party and freedom. GAM could not allow managing Aceh's natural resources. GAM would admit "real" autonomy.

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GAM had to choose armed struggle to Gov to change the situation. Because GAM was relatively small to Gov. So this option was effective. But GAM realized this is not a permanent option to take.

Preferences

Describing this situation into a matrix, we would have the table 1.

For Gov, Annexation was the most preferred option to take. But annexation was the worst option for GAM. So the preference of this option was (10, 0). When Gov took this option, GAM could take armed struggle. In this case, the author set its preference (5,7).

When both took independence, it would be (3, 10). For GAM, it was the best option. But for Gov, this would worse option.

When Gov admit autonomy, GAM could take admit autonomy and armed struggle. The preferences would be (5, 5) and (2, 7). The preference of (Autonomy, Autonomy) would be relatively low. For both sides, autonomy was not satisfied.

Table 1: Episode 1:Initial state

A(Gov) B(GAM)	Annexation	Admit independence	Admit autonomy
Admit annexation	10, 0	N/A	N/A
Get independence	N/A	3, 10	N/A
Admit autonomy	N/A	N/A	5, 5
Armed struggle	5, 7	N/A	2, 7

N/A:Not available

Strategies

Gov(Indonesian government) was declaring the standpoint at first as follows. “GAM must grant autonomy because Indonesian government admits it. Otherwise, Aceh province is annexed. ”. In this statement, the position of Gov (P_A) is (autonomy, autonomy). And its threaten future (t_A) is annexation.

On the other side, At this point GAM was declaring the standpoint as follows. “GAM requests independence, and Indonesian government also must admit it. Otherwise, the armed struggle is done. ”. In this statement, the position of GAM (P_B) is (independence, independence). And its threatened future (t_B) is armed struggle (table 2).

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Table 2: Episode 1:Initial state

A(Gov) B(GAM)	Annexation (t_A)	Admit independence	Admit autonomy
Admit annexation	10, 0	N/A	N/A
Get independence	N/A	3, 10 (P_B)	N/A
Admit autonomy	N/A	N/A	5, 5 (P_A)
Armed struggle (t_B)	5, 7 [T/F]	N/A	2, 7

N/A:Not available, T/F:Threatened Future

What would happen in this situation? For GAM, though Gov insisted they would take autonomy, GAM knew Gov's expectation of annexation was high. This is a dilemma of trust. So GAM could not accept autonomy. For Gov, they could not accept Aceh's independence. So Gov would accept armed struggle by GAM.

Consequentially, the combat had happened between Indonesian government and GAM.

In real situation, many peace talks had held between them. But all the peace talks had impact during the initial period but sustainable. The fundamental political issues, the independence, were not discussed. And about autonomy, the interpretation was different among both sides. And monitoring team, who would monitor each side's activities was weak. And the worse, the contents of autonomy, proposed by Gov was against government policy.

EPISODE 2 — AFTER THE TIDAL WAVE

However, during this situation, a huge earthquake and tidal wave hit this province. All had changed. The standpoint of both changed after having hit this region by the huge tidal wave. Because many believed that it was an opportunity for progressing peace. The president of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono said, "Tsunami produced an overwhelming moral, political, economic, and social imperative to end the conflict". And the secretary general of United nations, Kofi Annan said, "The president and the leaders of GAM turned the tragedy of the tsunami into an opportunity - an opportunity to build peace in Aceh."

As Annan's statement, GAM and Gov did very important activities. Before discussing each side's options, I need to clarify what had changed.

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The changing points

Both Gov and GAM had changed their interest from their own to Aceh people. And they re-thought each other as partners.

Behind them, both recognized that the revival in their own power was difficult or impossible because damage was too extensive. And they had limited time to accept international assistance to start revival.

GAM agreed that Aceh should be a part of Indonesia. The previous peacemaking processes always failed because of avoiding discussing this fundamental point. Finally GAM expressed their standpoint officially. And GAM undertook the decommissioning of armaments and demobilization of troops. So not only Gov but also UN could believe GAM's real intention.

Gov granted amnesty to GAM members and political prisoners. Gov withdraw non-organic military and police forces. And Promulgation of law on governing of Aceh had done by Gov. Before that, Gov's statements were not believable because they were often against its law. Now those contradictions could not happen.

And both had established of Aceh Monitoring Mission. This organization would monitor the activities of both GAM and Gov. This had strong right to check and force both GAM and Gov to keep their statements.

As a result, the matrix would change as the following.

Preferences

Gov would change their preference of annexation less than before. So I set the value of annexation 7 from 10. Gov would have strong intention of autonomy. So I set the value of autonomy 10 from 5. As a result, the gain of the admission of the autonomy of Aceh province has grown more than the gain in which Aceh province is annexed.

For GAM, the gain of the independence would be less than before. I set the value of independence 7 from 10. And the gain of the armed struggle could be less than before. I set it 5 from 7. As a result, the gain of the independence became less than the gain of the autonomy. And the gain of the armed struggle has decreased less than gains of autonomy (table 3).

On the matrix, armed struggles became no attractive for GAM. It was natural that GAM accepted disarmament.

Strategies

On the new matrix, both side's positions are the same, autonomy. And for GAM, they could believe Gov's position, because their threatened future, annexation did not have credibility. For Gov, GAM's threatened future also had no credibility. They had belief

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Table 3: Episode 2:After the tidal wave

A(Gov) B(GAM)	Annexation	Admit independence	Admit autonomy
Admit annexation	7, 0	N/A	N/A
Get independence	N/A	3, 7	N/A
Admit autonomy	N/A	N/A	10, 10
Armed struggle	5, 5	N/A	2, 5

N/A:Not available

each other. So the autonomy would carry out. The frame of the new situation can be described as a simple game. In this game, the Aceh province autonomy becomes Nash equilibrium, the dramatic solution (table 4).

Table 4: Episode 2:After the tidal wave

A(Gov) B(GAM)	Annexation (t_A)	Admit independence	Admit autonomy
Admit annexation	7, 0	N/A	N/A
Get independence	N/A	3, 7	N/A
Admit autonomy	N/A	N/A	10, 10 (P_A) (P_B) [Dramatic Solution]
Armed struggle (t_B)	5, 5	N/A	2, 5

N/A:Not available

In the real world, they agreed the autonomy and promised to cooperate each other.

IMPLEMENTATION — FUTURE EXPECTATION

In the Drama Theory, after the agreement, implementation carried out rapidly. And in the real world, the same options had carried out. Gov admitted human security first. They included,

- Freedom from fear
- Freedom from want
- Political, civil, and cultural right
- Other human right covenants.

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And both Gov and GAM made political reconciliation. Gov admitted establishment of local political parties, and in 2005, election of governor, district chiefs, and mayors carried out.

Natural resources would manage jointly by provincial and central government. And Gov admitted greater autonomy in economic sector.

Everything seems to become as they want. But the roles of monitoring team become important in future. Because injustice becomes the origin of the doubt. The doubt could break the belief. Without belief, it is hard to build peace.

So the monitoring team should monitor that the content of autonomy which is showed by Gov is acceptable for GAM? And whether GAM has unified opinion? Is there any radical faction?

Actually, small terror attack occurred in this region. We should not forget the agreement is based on trust-building each other.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, the author showed the dispute situation of Aceh province had solved starting with the revival from the tidal wave damage using the Drama Theoretical framework.

And through the analysis, there are lessons learned from Aceh can potentially be applied in other peace efforts.

The Role of third party facilitation is imperative. Only both sides, the discussion often brings no conclusion. The neutral third party is needed. The disaster would change the situation neutrally. UN would take this role. The neutrality is the most important condition for this role.

Even it is disaster, we should use it for progress peace. It often made both sides to realize the importance of cooperation.

We should focus the core problem first. The detailed conditions could be set later. But the most fundamental problems are needed to be discussed and to be solved first. In the Aceh problem, whether GAM would insist its independence is the fundamental problem to solve first.

Focus permanently onto the interest of people. We should not forget the interest of people. If leaders of both sides think their people important, peace is the only strategy to take.

Parties to the conflict should focus on trust-building first. Without trust, we would fall into dilemma. This prevents us to take right options. Trust-building is important.

Political support at national level is a mandatory basis. The representatives should be supported by its government or its leader. Or ensure high level contact / communication between two parties.

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