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2006

## The effects of the Indian ocean tsunami on peace in Sri Lanka and Aceh

Meredith Melecki  
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**THE EFFECTS OF THE INDIAN OCEAN TSUNAMI ON PEACE IN  
SRI LANKA AND ACEH**

\*A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the  
requirements for the award of the degree

**MASTER OF ARTS (RESEARCH)**

**from**

**UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG**

**by**

**MEREDITH MELECKI, BA, MA (COURSEWORK)**

**FACULTY OF ARTS  
2006**

## CERTIFICATION

I, Meredith L. Melecki, declare that this thesis, submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts (Research), in the Department of History and Politics, University of Wollongong, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. The document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

Meredith L. Melecki

10 July 2006

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## LIST OF SPECIAL NAMES AND ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ABC</b>	Australian Broadcasting Cooperation
<b>Accord</b>	refers to the Indo-Lanka Peace Accord
<b>Aceh</b>	Nanggroe Aceh Darusslam
<b>AMM</b>	Aceh Monitoring Mission
<b>ANU</b>	Australian National University
<b>BPKI</b>	Badan Penyelidik Kemerdekaan Indonesia or Committee for the Investigation of Indonesian Independence
<b>BRR</b>	Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency for Aceh and Nias
<b>CARE</b>	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere
<b>CMI</b>	Crisis Management Initiative
<b>COHA</b>	Cessation of Hostilities Agreement
<b>Darul Islam</b>	House of Islam uprising
<b>DOM</b>	Military Operations Region
<b>EPDP</b>	Eelam People's Democratic Party
<b>EPRLF-V</b>	Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front – Varathar
<b>FDI</b>	Foreign Direct Investment
<b>FPI</b>	Islamic Defenders Front
<b>GAM</b>	Gerakan Aceh Merdeka or the Free Aceh Movement
<b>GDP</b>	Gross Domestic Product
<b>GoSL</b>	Government of Sri Lanka
<b>GRDP</b>	Gross Regional Domestic Product
<b>HD Centre</b>	Henry Dunant Centre
<b>HRW</b>	Human Rights Watch
<b>ICG</b>	International Crisis Group
<b>ICISS</b>	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
<b>ICRC</b>	International Committee of the Red Cross
<b>IDP</b>	Internally Displaced Person
<b>ILRF</b>	International Labor Rights Fund
<b>IMF</b>	International Monetary Fund
<b>INGO</b>	International Non-Governmental Organisation
<b>IOM</b>	International Organization for Migration
<b>IPKF</b>	Indian Peace-Keeping Force
<b>JI</b>	Jemaah Islamiyah
<b>JVP</b>	Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna
<b>LNGO</b>	Local Non-governmental Organisation
<b>LTTE</b>	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
<b>MER-C</b>	Medical Emergency Relief Charity
<b>MILF</b>	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
<b>MMI</b>	Indonesian Mujahideen Council
<b>MoU</b>	Memorandum of Understanding
<b>MPR</b>	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat or People's Consultative Assembly – Indonesia's highest state institution; equivalent to Parliament or Congress
<b>New Order</b>	Orde Baru
<b>NGO</b>	Non-Governmental Organisation
<b>OPEC</b>	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
<b>PLOTE</b>	People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam
<b>PULO</b>	Pattani United Liberation Organization

<b>SAP</b>	Structural Adjustment Program
<b>SLFP</b>	Sri Lanka Freedom Party
<b>SLMM</b>	Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission
<b>Sri Lanka</b>	The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka
<b>TAFREN</b>	Task Force for Rebuilding the Nation
<b>TNI</b>	Tentara Nasional Indonesia – National Army of Indonesia
<b>TRO</b>	Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation
<b>TULF</b>	Tamil United Liberation Front
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Programme
<b>UNHCR</b>	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
<b>UNP</b>	United National Party
<b>USD</b>	United States Dollar
<b>WB</b>	World Bank
<b>WFP</b>	World Food Program
<b>WHO</b>	World Health Organisation

## **Abstract**

The 26 December 2004 tsunami was far reaching in its effects but the two areas most devastated by the tidal wave were the Indonesian province of Aceh and the country of Sri Lanka. These areas have much more than the impact of the tsunami disaster in common. They have both also been sites of decades-long violent conflicts that have compounded many of the problems caused by the tsunami.

One result of the tsunami was an influx of NGOs into these two areas. NGOs, as promoters of development, have increasingly been associated with activities deemed necessary to the creation of peace. This stems from an understanding in the fields of development and peace and conflict resolution that not only does war undermine development, but that the cause of internal wars can be linked to failures of development. Therefore, the role of NGOs is important when examining efforts at peace creation in Sri Lanka and Aceh since the occurrence of the tsunami.

In this thesis I have focused on Oxfam International and CARE International which are two of the largest international NGOs acting in both Sri Lanka and Aceh. In undertaking this assessment I aim to consider the ways in which NGOs may have impacted the resumption or resolution of conflict in Sri Lanka and Aceh, and whether or not NGOs have played a role in the differing outcomes of the wars in these areas.

To undertake this investigation I first present an overview of the conflicts in Sri Lanka and Aceh. This includes an inspection of the historical, economic, and political elements that have been contributed to the origination of each conflict. This is followed by an exploration of development theories and theories of peace and conflict resolution, focusing on the ways in which the situations of Sri Lanka and Aceh support or contradict arguments from these fields. I then examine the literature concerned with NGOs in order to present a thorough consideration of the pros and cons associated with

NGOs in both conflict situations and the creation of peace before I review and evaluate NGO activities in Sri Lanka and Aceh subsequent to the tsunami disaster.

In the course of writing this thesis I have found that many of the advantages and disadvantages emblematic of NGO involvement in conflict and post-conflict situations are currently present in Sri Lanka and Aceh. However, NGOs in Sri Lanka have been associated with fewer of the drawbacks identified with non-governmental organisations in conflict situations than NGOs in Aceh. If the proposition that NGOs can aid in peacemaking and peacebuilding is correct, we could therefore expect that in this situation NGOs have been more effective in Sri Lanka than Aceh. This highlights one of my primary findings which is that NGO activities addressing problems associated with underdevelopment cannot in themselves lead to the creation of peace. In fact, it seems that NGO efforts are merely an adjunct to endeavours to create peace.

I wish to thank the numerous people who have helped me throughout the process of creating this thesis. It could not have been completed without the countless supporters who helped me in a multitude of ways. I would especially like to thank my supervisor's - Dr. Kate Hannan and Dr. Ruchira Ganguly-Scrase - who read through many drafts, provided rich insights, and supplied a great deal of direction when it was needed. I am also grateful to the postgraduate students and staff of the University of Wollongong's Faculty of Arts who gave me academic and moral support and supplied me with many appreciated and rich educational opportunities. Thank you to my parents who provided me with inspiration and the backing to complete this project, and always did their best to help me in whatever way they could. The rest of my family, who have been a fantastically supportive and caring group of people, cannot be excluded from this either. Finally, thank you to all of my friends who helped me in their own ways – through listening, helping me to maintain some balance, or providing me with laughs throughout many stressful moments.