

MEMORIA PASSIONIS

***The Historical Sketch Of
The Paniai's Resistance And Suffering
At Tiga Danau Besar
In Paniai Regency, Papua***

Compiled by:
Office for Justice and Peace
Diocese of Jayapura
Papua Indonesia

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OFFICE FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE-DIOCESE OF JAYAPURA

No : 139/BD/00/3.4.10
Subject : Paniai report
ATTN : Pangdam XVII/Trikora
Major General TNI Tonny A. Rompis
At Jayapura

Dear Sir,

Perceiving your proposal to inform about our people's situation, we give you a report of the situation of our people in the report whose title is: *The historical sketch of the Paniai's resistance & suffering in around Tiga Danau Besar at Paniai residency.*

The essence of the report is an analysis of the incidents, which occurred to the Paniai people, particularly after the raising of Tadeus Yogi's band & Military Operations. Those incidents were put in the historical frame of Paniai especially in the Relation to the Ogano affair in 1956, Paniai in 1969, and Madi affair in 1981. It is clear that the incidents were not coincidental, if we put those incidents in the history of the Paniai resistance and suffering. Similar incidents have been a part of the people's life on one side and military presence on the other side.

We have reported this situation to Pangdam XVII/Trikora in October 1998 in the report of human rights situation in Paniai and Tigi, Irian Jaya using the data and the related history together with their disappointment, suffering, struggles and hopes.

This situation, as we report now, will disturb the Paniai's daily life, particularly and Papuans generally. Moreover there is a hot situation rising of Papua independence.

We ask for your attention and your open heart for the people's situation, which we have been serving together, so they could live in a human condition.

Thank you for your attention.

Jayapura, 25 November 2000

Warm regards,

Mgr. Leo Laba Ladjar, OFM

Bishop of Jayapura

Reference:

Rev. Herman Saud, M.Th

Chairman GKI Synod in Papua

Rev. John Gobay, S.Th

Chairman of GKII Synod

Courtesy copies to:

1. The Governor of Irian Jaya province
2. Head of the provincial police
3. Chairman of provincial assembly Irian Jaya
4. Parish priest of St. Yusup Enarotali
5. Parish priest of St. Yohanes Pemandi Waghete
6. Vicariate priest of west region
7. Papua Bishops
8. Chairman of Indonesian Bishops Conference
9. All Churches in Papua
10. Jayapura Diocese secretariat for justice and peace networking

*THE HISTORICAL SKETCH OF
THE PANIAI'S RESISTANCE & SUFFERING
AT AROUND TIGA DANAU BESAR IN PANIAI
RESIDENCY*

The collective memory of the people in around Danau Besar: Paniai, Tage, Tigi in Paniai residence keeps the suffering (anguish): Obano war in 1956, the Paniai resistance in 1969, and Madi war in 1981. These three bloody incidents have claimed casualties and are traumatically etched in people's memory. Besides, those incidents become deeply rooted in the Paniai life. It affects two different condition, the people's conflict and the people movement all at once. Furthermore, the people's movement provided the basis for resistance movement that is: Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM). This movement which is led by Simon Kogoya, has been active mostly in Moni area. The other movement which is led by Goo, has been active mostly in Lembah Kamu; and Tadeus Johny Maga (called Yogi) led around Tiga Danau Besar. The response of the Indonesia government has been to carry out the "Daerah Operasi Militer (DOM)/Military Operation Area (MOA)" wherever OPM operated. The conflict, people's resistance, OPM movement, DOM status, military operation have been creating insecure and anxious circumstances for people.

For more than three decades the DOM influenced people's lives. For example, 1998, Justice and Peace Secretariat¹ reported a pattern of military violation on the

¹ The report is "Situational report on Human Rights in Paniai and Tigi", written by Justice and Peace Secretariat, Jayapura Diocese, on October 1998. This report was presented to Pangdam VIII/Trikora, Mayjen TNI Amir Sembiring.

pretext of chasing after the OPM band led by Yogi. Besides, in 1982 it was known that village people have been carried out some actions which were very oppressive and deepened the trauma. This situation has been oppressing the people since 2000.

That is why, The Justice and Peace Secretariat held a restricted investigation about Memoria Passionis of the Paniai and the result is written in this report.

This report has an intends to describe the actual situation in the past frame of the important incidents, which caused the present situation. This report consists of 4 parts:

- I. Some culminating points of the Paniais' suffering since 1950: the Obanos resistance 1956, the Paniais resistance 1969 and Madi War 1981. This part will briefly explain the three historical incidents of the Paniais' suffering.
- II. The Paniai situation in 1998: this part will shortly explain the Justice and Peace report of October 1998 and the repercussions of the reported case.
- III. The Paniai situation in 1999 – early 2000: this part will explain about present cases which happed to village people in Paniai Timur and Tigi sub district.
- IV. Analysis and conclusion: this part will analyze the whole

PART I

THE INCIDENTS:

OBANO IN 1956, PANIAI IN 1969,

AND MADI IN 1981

I.1. 1956: OBANO INCIDENT

The Obano Incident is one of three incidents as the core of the people resistance movement. The incident (1956) was preceded by refusal of “anything from outside”: (Dutch) government, police officer, missionary. The main thing is refusal of anything are not of the Ekagi/Mee. Commonly, the people’s way of life was obstructed by outside influences and they were treated as the audiences of extravagant, luxurious, and snobbish show while they have no benefit from it.² So, the socio-cultural conflict a rose. Not only the Obanos faced this situation, the neighbors experienced the same situation. In 1954, the Komopas preceded the Obanos to rebel. Moreover, in 1954 to 1955 there were many epidemics resulting many casualties. The elders said that the epidemics were caused by white pigs sent by the invaders. The Obanos were dissatisfied and angry particularly with a police officer named Rumbiak who inflicted many calamities on people such as torturing, stealing and shooting the livestock, and most of all raping against women. The police officers (the majority are Papuan) were deemed as the representatives of the rulers that is the white man. So they become special targets. The

people also got angry with the missionaries who proselytized in the wrong way such as despising the tribe's totems, damaging the custom and tradition, and forbidding traditional ceremonies. On 4 November 1956 the angry climate climaxed in the mass riot by killing Rumbiak, two teacher families who lived in Obano, damaging 1 Cessna aircraft that belonged to MAF and burning up buildings and dwellings. The riot went on one and half months and claimed 10-20 victims. The rulers ended the riot on 17 December 1956.

1.2. 1969: PANIAI INCIDENT

In 1968-1969 the rebellion seethed in Paniai to resist the Indonesian army surveying out the polling (Penentuan Pendapat Rakyat: PEPERA) in 1969. The people already knew about the PEPERA and knew that all over Papua there was resistance to this plan. Their objection showed in their "anti all Indonesian especially the army" action, that's why many people were evacuated out of Papua, especially the teachers. The people demanded the rulers to withdraw the army from Enarotali. Mr. Karel Gobay (the vice of Paniai Residence) conveyed this message and the consequences if the Commander didn't fulfill the demand. The Commander didn't fulfill the demand and the result was the battle between the people against the Indonesian army.³ The majority people's movement was led by two police officers, Mr. Senin Mote and Mappia Mote from Moanemani. It would take a long time to defend Moanemani; They evacuated to Timeepa/Epomani and the people continued the battle with the Army. The Mote brothers realized that they wouldn't win the battle, above all they got no support from other regions in Papua. Then they asked support from Catholic Church to mediate a

² Alfons van Nunen OFM, Nota omtrent de Obano-opstand, Enarotali 1957.

³ Catholic Church Intern Report by P. A. Soemandar, SJ in Djajapura, 30 May 1969.

reconciliation with General Sarwo Edhie Wibowo.⁴ This battle claimed many victims (that is Natalis Adii, a Catholic mission activator) and from the army (that is Corporal La Tjeleng). Besides, the army looted the inventories of churches and refugee teachers, homes..⁵

1.3. 1981 : MADI INCIDENT

In 1981 Madi became the next target of violation. The OPM (led by Tadeus Yogi) appeared on KRO, Dutch television⁶. The action of Papenal (Pasukan Pembela National Defender Troops) under Yogi's leadership with hundreds of followers made the Indonesian army furious. So, on 20 October 1981 the army responded by adjust with a military operation in Madi and the surrounding area. The Papenal took the central command in Madi and the army took the central command in Tuaratoli. In the beginning, the army restrained its attack and intimidated by dropping smoke bombs for three days in early November 1981 and by blowing the bazookas. However, the continuously clash, for almost a year, created a turbulent situation and the people became the victims as usual.

The army has burned out the Madi village. In one report it was written that everything was burnt out in Madi, Timida, Bibida, and Pugo, except a couple of church

⁴ Joop Sierat, " Rapadabu Mensen aan de Wisselmeren Irian Jaya", Bonneville, 1999, pg. 355-378

⁵ The riot in Enarotali and the consequences was reported by P. Haripranata S.J (the Director of Catholic center in Sukarnopura – West Irian) to Brigjend Sarwo Edhi Wibowo as comander operation Wibawa in the letter no 526, on 9 June 1969.

⁶ The unexpected performance of Yogi's band have been reported to Danrem 173, Biak (Commander of army in residency) P.E Bruinsma, ofm (who accompanied the team of Dutch television) was summoned and interrogated by first administrative section head of military command intelligence 173/PVB on 17 Dec. 1981

buildings ⁷. The target was not the buildings only, but also the people as some reports said that it was dangerous to do the daily activities. They could be shot deadly while they worked in the farm without any reason ⁸.

In the report in the middle of August 1982, a priest concluded:

1. Since October 1981- August 1982, the situation was getting worse, not only for the church but for the people also;
2. The most suffering ones were the common people in Madi, Timida, Bibida, Pugo and Enaro. They didn't have any dwellings, farm, livestock anymore because those were burnt out or stolen. They were really pauperized and in anxious situation. It was an insecure situation for people who had been longing for peace⁹.

The common people were hemmed in by the difficult situation. They felt there was no progress therefore the followers withdrew. The best was still under Yogi's leadership along the Madi incident, the place at Indonesian army established military posts in some place in Tiga Danau area; although the Madi incident took the end in 1982, the army still launched a the military operation to destroy the Yogi's band. DOM status and military operation caused the nasty situation to the Paniai.

⁷ Reported by Catholic Church, 27 June 1982.

⁸ Reported by Catholic Church, 5 May and 8 July 1982. On 5 may 1982. A youth was shot to death in Enaro; the slaughtering of an elder who worked in the farm near Madi on 18 June; the slaughter of Teneituma Gobai (Timika) who worked in the farm; the kidnapping and slaughtering of three youths (Yusuf Bunai, Pius Magai and Yulianus Yeimo) without any reason on 6 July 1982.

⁹ Reported by Catholic Church, 18 August 1982.

1.4 THE CONCLUSION:

We can take some conclusions from three incidents:

1. The Paniai people has rebellion tradition against all that threatens from outside.
2. Although the memoria passionis is painful to remember, becomes a spirit to survive.

PART II

THE SITUATION IN 1998

II.1. JUSTICE AND PEACE SECRETARIAT REPORT OCTOBER 1998.

This report is one indicator of the social situation in Paniai after DOM status for about three decades. The report described the situation was influenced by Tadeus Yogi's band which was used by the army to behave very arrogantly. The people resented made such cruel deeds as adjusting unfair rules and obligations, adjusting body sanctions imposing some fines, looting livestock (pigs) and harvests. These kept the situation tense, which were the Violations against human rights got worse.

The Jayapura Diocese had already conveyed the situation to Pangdam VIII/Trikora (Territorial Military Commander), General Major TNI Amir Sembiring on March 1998; and furthermore gave a complete report on October 1998¹⁰. Although the Justice and Peace Secretariat did not get the complete information from the army, however we could make a kind of conclude that the army heard the accusation from Jayapura Diocese. The situation changed for the better condition for one year in Enarotali, but not in Tigi.

II. 2. ENAROTALI REPERCUSSIONS

¹⁰ "The situational report": Human Rights in Paniai and Tigi, Irian Jaya, written by Justice and Peace Secretariat, Jayapura Diocese, October 1998.

We could see some repercussions in Enarotali based on Enarotali Catholic Church Internal Report:¹¹

The Yonif (Infantry battalion) 712 Rajawali troops had been dismissed from Enarotali.

There wasn't any addition of combat troops/security guards in Enarotali, except troop turnover every 6 or 10 months of a Special Team (Timsus 753 Nabire) and the permanent troops Koramil Enarotali (Military Headquarter at the ward level). Our evaluation about their presence was pretty fair, moreover there were no complaints from the people. In fact they worked out some closer cooperative activities with the people such as: visiting the Catholic Church, giving a hand to renovating Enarotali Church building. And they also visited the post in Uwibutu.

People's hopes: the people didn't ask for reparations and compensations from the army. They hoped the the troops such as Yonif 712 Rajawali, particularly in Enarotali, would be dismissed.

II. 3. TIGI REPERCUSSIONS:

Yet, there was no fundamental change in Tigi. We made conclude from Internal Report in March 1999:¹²

There were no additional troops in Waghete, but there was a special team that was always changing as usual. Here! They always made social disorder such as: getting drunk and acting out of army discipline. Their doctrine: creating an enemy so that they were like on duty. As a consequence, their presence made the situation worse.

¹¹ Catholic Church Internal Report on 22 March 1999.

¹² Catholic Church Internal Report: The Principal, on 3 March 1999

Unfortunately, the victims remained silent. Probably they were afraid to speak out about the truthlest they would get into a worse situation.

People's reaction: People resisted the rulers with the military approach. For example: people resisted working out a cooperative program in a bridge construction in Okomokebo. The terms of cooperation were perceived had a different by people and army. In the army's perception, cooperation is working under the repression and violence. And the army usually used their power to push the people into participation in army activities. Probably, the army asked a favor from people. However people couldn't be cheated with the same trick twice.

Some people found out that the government in Jayapura had known already about the incident one year earlier. But they doubted the government's concern on their case. The situation was calm and quiet. But it is like a volcano that could explode at any time.

The latest incident:

1. People almost lose their trust to the army.
2. The army invades through education by teaching although they do not have any teaching certification.
3. The army required a french NGO for water purification and nutrition to report their schedules in Papua, so that the army could guard them.
4. The response to the incidents: the schools resisted the army being involved in social and education part. Because Education is not under military command but in the intellectual and argumentation line where spirit of learning meet the progress. The French NGO (Action Fight Hungry) would stop their project if the army still kept their eyes on them.

PART III

ACTUAL SITUATION 1999 - NOW

III. 1. THE YOGI'S BAND IN THE RECENT TWO YEARS

It is clear that the Paniai's suffering was caused by army and the OPM band for three decades. So, it is important to carefully examine Yogi's band in the last two years (1999 – now) and the invasion of Indonesian army at the same time.

The army has been using the Yogi's band constantly creating much disorder actions. So that t The army used that to the justify for their existence in Papua. This pseudo-relationship between army and Yogi's band made social unrest for people around Tiga Danau. The army, in fact, could have settled Yogi's case, in 1985 if only they had a will. (As reported in Justice and Peace report, October 1998). The army has been doing a kind of violation by omission over Yogi's case until now.

III.1.1. THE CONNECTION BETWEEN YOGI'S BAND AND FREEPORT COMPANY

In September 1999 a rumor spread that Yogi and 24 followers would surrender to the military. In fact, they would fight for Papua freedom in the diplomatic line as their friends in town. The military (in Yogi's vision the military is the Freeport henchman) made a serious responce.

This plan spread over the area after some Yogi members pressed the Freeport workers in Exploration Camp B location in Komopa to help them (25 August 1999). The pressure and threat made Freeport worried and they felt that their work would be hampered.

Therefore Freeport was willing to pay various between Yogi's band, army and Freeport. The deals were housing, supplying foodstuff for a year, constructing school, public health service, and church. These facilities were placed in Badauwo village, where Yogi would be a permanent resident.

Although the military had settled the time, people around Badauwo village, including the elders and the Church did not have any idea about this plan. Even less, people in Madi village where Yogi came from, could not receive this plan. Otherwise, Yogi paid some fines as compensation to the Madi for sufferings and damages caused by his band. The point is the Madi could not accept that all the facilities were given to the Badauwo. The Madi expected that after Yogi's surrender the military would be withdrawn from Madi and others village.

In a way, this plan was not realized for various reasons. Yogi's band appeared in public on the hill in Badauwo. Some information said that Yogi's band stayed in lodges and camps equipped with SSB radio and walkie-talkies. And they made appeared in military uniform equipped with the badge. Both sides used the existence of Yogi's band for their own interests.

III. 1. 2. THE VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT MEGAWATI

On 13 May 2000 before the visit of vice president Megawati to Enarotali, four intelligence agencies led by Colonel Darmin Torri, Chief of region military Biak – Numfor, visited Yogi in Badauwo. The team introduced themselves as a special messenger from Jakarta bringing a message from Megawati to Yogi. Megawati invited Yogi and asked them to express their aspirations in a public meeting. The team

interviewed Yogi about his opinion of Papua Merdeka (The Freedom of Papua). On 18 May 2000 they left Enarotali.

On 20 May 2000, Yogi's band made a performance in front of the vice President, dancing a traditional dance, Waita, in Enarotali stadium. They brought "Bintang Kejora" flag (Morning Star) and some banners written with some demands for the Freedom of Papua. Their performance surprised the local government because they had refused Yogi's band to meet with the Vice President. The local government said that Megawati came to Papua on a development monitoring visit, not in political interests. Yogi's band was anxious to meet with her but the local government hampered them.

On 21 May 2000 the army troops from Yonif 753 Nabire repeatedly fired on the street along Etenidimi to Uwibutu police station, in Madi. At 6.00 – 7.00 p.m. The Police Commander called Bosco Gebi, Madi county security force, and Martinus Mote, a civilian defense unit, were charged with being involved in the riots on 20 May 2000. They were soaked in the water as a punishment. The army claimed some fines from people through Jan Mote, an army assistant in Uwibutu. People interpreted the claim as a military way of demanding their lives. That night, they planned to escape from their village by boat. They sent Jan Mote to find out whether the army claimed the fine of all the villages or Madi only. In fact, the fine was claimed from all villages, from Madi to Bibida, so they canceled the plan to escape from Madi.

On 22 May 2000, they collected Rp. 300.000,00 as fine, however the army rejected and kept claiming goats or dogs as a fine. The people bought a goat from Jan Mote. On 23 May 2000, the army ordered all the people to gather in Madi public hall and looked for

people involved in the demonstration. The Police Commander gave a morality speech to people.

On 24 May 2000, The Enarotali subdistrict head ordered all Madi people to gather in Enarotali. The Sub district head and Danramil (army administrative commander at sub district level) gave a morality talk to people. The ceremony was ended with

Still, it is clear enough that the army used the existence of Yogi's band to legitimate their military operation in Tiga Danau.

III. 2. THE ARMY EXISTENCE IN THE LAST TWO YEARS

After the end of Madi War (1981-1982), the army settled in guard posts around Tiga Danau and kept patrolling and carrying out military operations. The aim of those was to curtail Yogi's band. The first guard post was in Pugo was initial military presence in the villages and the beginning of the oppression and violence over the people. Below is the chronology of the incidents:

III. 2. 1. PANIAI TIMUR INCIDENT

The violence and transgression in Paniai Timur took place in Pugo I, Pugo II, Pugo III, Papato, Timida, Madi, Uwibutu, Kopo and Ipayake. The military applied **three requirements** which were unresisted by the people.

1. *The obligation to voluntary labor* every Wednesday, all men, except teachers were obliged to do work around the guard post. Their presence was controlled by absence list. If there were one absentee, the whole village would get collective

punishment. They must pay some fine in the form of money, harvest and pigs, but worst of all was physical punishment like being beaten and soaked in the water.

2. *The obligation to night watch*: every night people were obliged to make the rounds and patrol in all villages. The army strictly controlled the implementation in every village. If there was a village derelict in patrolling or night watch, so they would get some fine.
3. *The obligation to pick up the army ration from Enaratoli to guard post* : the youth were obliged to pick up the ration for free. The rejection of this obligation resulted in the same punishment.

These obligations were still applied when guard post was removed from Pugo to Uwibutu on 1990s. At last, the obligation to patrol/night watch stopped in 1999. But, other obligations are still applied until now. The punishment of work assignment was abolished since 1 December 1999.

These obligation and results creates anxious circumstances for the people In the recent condition, this situation brought people into conflict with the army. Because of that, people demanded

1. Abrogation of three obligations.
2. Withdrawal of troops from villages.
3. Disbursing the proper payment for of ration transportation, Rp. 10.000 – Rp. 35.000 (depending on weight).

III. 2. 2. TIGI INCIDENT

The existence of troops from Batalyon Infantri 753 Paniai at Waghete made a restless situation. The troops often acted arrogantly, such as:

- Carelessly spraying of bullets in public (market).
- Claiming improper fines if a pig got in the post yard.
- Intervening in country and sub district government affairs.
- Moreover, the latest case was intimidating some Waghete villagers and the sub district head on 13 – 17 August 1999. The chronology is below:

Thursday, 13 August 1999

On Independence Day, there was a marathon as a part of series of competition series in Waghete. Many villagers took part in this competition on the route surrounding Waghete. There was card competition (*yoker*) in the hall. Some members of Yonif 753 took part in it. All at once, a police officer threw a stone up to the roof. This action made a soldier outside search for the and perpetrator was ready to hit him. Fortunately, the commander could hold on his man.

Friday, 14 August 1999

At the market, four members of Yonif 753 (*Prada Jalil, Praka Jefri, Prada Tera, and Pratu Suldin*¹³) intercepted the police officer (who threw the stone) and pushed him to apologize. He did what they asked him. Suddenly, Prada Jalil, Praka Jefri and Prada Tera hit him again and again. Then Pratu Suldin fired his rifle to chase the people away. Alas, one shot struck Hendrikus Pekei's foot (Ugiya villagers) who was participating in the marathon competition, and Pakage was grazed his forehead. The sub district head

of Tigi (Yan Giyai) ordered to take Hendrikus Pekei by flight to Nabire right away. The sub district head reported this incident to Dandim Paniai in Nabire and the regent of Paniai. While Pakage got his treatment in Waghete.

Monday, 17 August 1999

While Yan Giyai was in his house after celebrating Independence Day, two members of Yonif 753 Waghete came and asked to come along to guard post. Still in his uniform, he came along with them. In fact, they did not go to post guard, but they directly went to the market place where there were Danton 753 (Platoon Commander), Letda Tija and several other members. He pointed his gun at Yan Giyai's head and charged him for giving a false report to Dandim about the number of victims in last incident. They said there was one victim only. Yang Giyai explained there were really two victims in that incident, one was flown to Nabire, and the other was treated in Waghete. However, they could not accept it. They wanted to torture him, when the Waghete Danramil (Captain Wandessy) all at once emerged and held Danton for taking strong measures. After being interrogated for one hour in public, they continued the negotiation at Koramil Waghete and made a deal that Yan Giyai would hold a reconciliation ceremony. He chose that way for he discerned Tigi's people got ready for *waita*¹⁴. If he persisted in his stand against the army, there would be victims from the people's side.

¹³ Prada: Private (lowest rank), Pratu: Private first class, Praka: highest rank of private.

24 August 1999

Yang Giyai held a reconciliation ceremony at Koramil Waghete by slaughtering goats, chickens and pigs. Therefore, the disagreement between Yan Giyai and Yonif 753 of Waghete post guard was considered finished.

25 August 1999

The Yan Giyais family was attending the inauguration in Enarotali and they stayed there by the permission of Paniai Regent until the withdrawal of Yonif 753 troops from Waghete. Yan Giyai took that policy because several village headmen believed in a rumor that Yan Giyai and the sub district treasurer had corrupted 30% of JPS fund (*Jaring Pengaman Sosial/Social Safety Networking*). The reality was the JPS fund had not been cleared yet.

October 1999

A meeting was held between Paniai Regent and people talking about JPS fund. Paniai Regent, Yan Douw, explained that the 30% JPS fund had not been cleared yet. This phenomenon was valid throughout Indonesia.

November 1999

Danton Letda Judin Tija came to Yan Giyai and asked compensation money Rp 1,5 million.

¹⁴ *Waita* is a special characteristic feeling expression of the Mee that own meaning of happiness, joyful, game (dance), greeting, but anger also. In this related event, they wanted to express their anger.

17 February 2000

Yonif 753 troops of Waghete guard post led by Danton Letda Judin Tija was replaced by other troops from the same battalion. And Yan Giyai and his family came back to Waghete in the following week.

PART IV

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

IV. 1.

If we look at the actual cases as separate stories, we find them little incidents only. However, if we connect all the stories from past and present, we get the real story about the memories of Paniai people.

IV. 2.

The Paniai's history was not or could not (for exactly) be recovered for a long time. It was because the Paniai's history made the people resentful, i.e.:

1. The deep trauma that caused the anxiety
2. The unfinished conflict
3. No freedom for doing activity and moving
4. No working reward
5. The authority of civil government was not acknowledged

1. THE DEEP TRAUMA THAT CAUSE THE ANXIETY

For three decades, the villagers in Paniai Timur and Tigi sub district lived in anxious traumatic circumstances. It was caused by having no power to refuse the arbitrary obligations of 753 troops of Uwibutu guard post. At the same time, in Waghete, villagers were intimidated with the arrogant troops' action over the sub district head. To save people from arbitrary action of troops, the sub district head did the right thing: making a report to Dandim and Regent. However, why was the sub district head charged with making a false report by the troops? Isn't this a kind of violation or covering the truth?

2. THE UNFINISHED CONFLICT

Paniai's people have two histories, i.e. *memoria passionis* and fight against arbitrary outsiders: police officers, troops, government and missionaries. The existence of military and Yogi's band as the sources of primary conflict were kept in people's life. It means there is no guarantee of security in daily life. Moreover, the result is a conflict situation will easily create violent acts from three sides: the army, Yogi's band and people themselves. As though the horizontal conflict was expressly created against "*Aspirasi M*" movement¹⁵ amongst people.

3. NO FREEDOM FOR DOING ACTIVING AND MOVING

For two decades (since the end of Madi War 1981-1982), the army obliged people to bring letters of permit as a part of DOM application. The system hampered the communication and relation among people. Although the system was canceled since DOM removal in 1998, yet people still experience three obligations by the army. Three obligations (work assignment, patrolling/night watch and picking up the army's ration) have been hampered their daily activities and brought the heavy consequences: physical punishment and fines.

4. NO WORKING REWARD

Every worker has a right to wages. This is the normal rule. Nevertheless, some villagers in Paniai Timur must do forced labor. They must pick up the troops' ration from Enaratoli and bring them to Yonif 753 guard post in Uwibutu. They have no power to avoid this rule although they have the right to wages around Rp. 10.000 – Rp. 35.000 (depending on the weight).

5. THE AUTHORITY OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT WAS NOT ACKNOWLEDGED

The authority of the civil government was not acknowledged by military as a result of DOM system. Although the DOM status has formally remove since 1998, but the influence does not disappear from daily life. We can see very clearly that Yonif 753

¹⁵ *Aspirasi M* is a term for Freedom aspiration (M=*Merdeka*/Freedom)

troops from Waghete guard post intimidated the Tigi sub district head in front of the people. This action almost created physical conflict between people and the army.

We need a serious response from the related sides.
