

Inter Religions Conflict
and
Christian Radical Movement
in Poso and Ambon

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I Introduction

I.1 Background

Conflicts that had occurred in East of Indonesia since the year of 1998, at a glance seemed to be an inter religion or inter ethnic conflict. It can be known by the yel of *Allahu Akbar* for the Moslem group and *Haleluya* for the Christian group as well as the presence of radical and militant movement using the name or symbols of some religions such as Laskar Jihad and *sorban* (head cover) for the Moslem and Laskar Kristus (Christum Legion) and cross necklaces for Christian. In the name of defending one certain religion group, these paramilitary movements created or have been come from other areas to Poso (Central Sulawesi) or Ambon (Moluccas) to get involved in these conflicts.

Different to other cities in Indonesia that mostly inhabited by Moslem people, Poso (Central Sulawesi) and Ambon (Moluccas) are some cities that had great number of Christian population in their area at the beginning. However, after the government built roads and other facilities that connected these regents to other cities that close to them during 1970's, then many people from other cities came and lived there as well. They are usually from Buton, Bugis and Makasar (South Sulawesi). Not only have these people different ethnics, but also religions and traditions. This made Poso and Moluccas have been divided into some communities group naturally based on ethnic and religion that lived in separated areas/villages.

For example in Moluccas; North and Central of Moluccas are being occupied by Moslem people while South Moluccas is being inhabited by the Christian. However they have a specific characteristic. Although, Moslem and Christian are very obedient

to their religions, but they always think that other people who come from different group as strangers. This characteristic more or less makes a small conflict relating to religion issue easily to spread out and increased to a big riot.¹

According to some sources, the conflict in Ambon at 1999 came up because a small quarrel between a driver of public transportation with a young and drunk man that tried to get some money from him. This problem then became a big fight when people knew that they were from different religious group (Moslem and Christian). It made the religious sentiment between the people that lived in different Moluccas areas strengthened. Besides, the quarrel itself happened exactly on the Idul Fitri day, on 19 January 1999 that made the Moslem people came up with anger. Since that day, the riots between two different religious groups occurred and escalated. They hit each others as they destroyed and burnt many houses, schools, other buildings, mosques and churches.²

Almost the same story, the tragedy in Poso also occurred simply because of a fight between two young men that came from different religions in Sayo, Poso Kota. It happened on 25 December 1998 while the Moslem people were doing their fasting traditions and the Christian were celebrating the Christmas day.

There are two versions regarding this quarrel. According to Moslem group, a young Christian man had tortured a young Moslem man by using a sharp weapon in a Mosque at Darussalam Sayo, Poso Kota. While the Christian group said that the fight did not happen in the Mosque but outside of it; actually in the motor workshop and caused by a screwdriver borrowing. But, just because the Moslem man ran into the mosque with the bloodshed, then the people in the Mosque concluded the quarrel did

¹ Look John Pieris, *Tragedi Maluku: Sebuah Krisis Peradaban – Analisis Kritis Aspek Politik, Ekonomi, Sosial-Budaya dan Keamanan –*, (*Tragedy in Maluku: A Civilized Crisis – Critical Analyses of Political, Economic, Socio-Culture and Security Aspects*) Jakarta, Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2004, pp 73-82.

² *Ibid*, pp 116-120.

happen in the Mosque, a place that is really honored and sacred by the Moslem people. This fight then spread out and became a conflict between Moslem and Christian groups that caused a riot in Poso.³

The conflict itself then triggered the creation of radical and militant movement on behalf defending the people from one religious group or caused the movement came from the other town to the conflict area. For example, a small group that named Pasukan Kelelawar Hitam (Black Bat Troops) or Pasukan Merah (Red Troops) by the Moslem group and mass media. At the beginning, this group only consists of 13 Christian people who came to Poso and then created a riot on 23 Mei 2000.⁴ They came to Poso in order to seek the designer and the actor of the riot in Poso on 25-28 December 1998 and 17-19 April 2000. They did this because they think the government and the police or military (TNI) did neither stop the riots nor took a strict action to the actor and the designer of those riots.⁵

This group then developed quickly and had lots of follower. The leader of this group was Ir. Adven L. Lateka. However, he was killed at the riot on 2 June 2000 in Kanyamanya, Poso. One week after his death, Pastor Renaldy Damanik from Crisis Center Gereja Kristen Sulawesi Tengah (CC-GKST) read Lateka's letter written before his death which directed to Komnas HAM (National Commission on Human Rights). He read this letter in front of the Deputy Chief of Center Sulawesi Regional Police and Chief of Poso Precinct Police. This letter actually mentioned the goals of his movement, such as to strive for the reconstruction of human rights that have been well planned scattered and to free the people of Poso from the suppression of rioters.⁶

³ Rinaldy Damanik, *Tragedi Kemanusiaan di Poso (Humanity Tragedy in Poso)*, Poso, PBHI & LPS HAM Sulteng, 2003, pp 14-15.

⁴ "Don't Forget Poso: A Flashback to Remember 9 Year of Poso Riot" accessed from <http://www.swaramuslim.net/gallery/poso/index.php?page=A3> on 25 May 2009.

⁵ Rinaldy Damanik, *op.cit.*, pp 61.

⁶ *Ibid*, pp 29-33.

Furthermore, the came of this militant movement triggered another radical movement came to Poso, such as Komando Jihad, Pasukan Putih (White Troop) and Laskar Jihad that consisted of Moslem people. They made a counter attack to Red Troops. For example one day after the attack from Red Troop on 23 Mei 2000 at Kayamanya, the Moslem people from Kayamanya came to Lombogia and another Christian Kampongs and made riots there. And on 26 Mei 2000, the White Troops met the Red Troops at the suburb of Poso, and they fought each other that caused a lot of loss. The riots went on until January 2001. But this time, the police officer and the army involved in it and made the riots became bigger.⁷

I.2 Question Research

From the above descriptions, then we will look at some questions such as what was the root cause of conflict in Poso and Moluccas. How could a small quarrel between two young men (in Poso and Moluccas), having two different religion, make such a riot? Many people became victims and died futile, many houses and places were burnt at that time, was it only because of a quarrel between two young men with a different religion? Was there any Christian-Moslem conflict actually in Poso and Ambon that exacerbated the conflict? What was the root causes of the Christian-Moslem bitterness there?

Another questions are, was there any terrorism group or any other radical movement triggering a small quarrel escalated into a big riot and spread out to other villages in Central Sulawesi and Moluccas? How did this terrorism group or radical movement influent to the riot and what specifically religious denomination of the radical movement that involved in this conflict? What were their motives? Were they

⁷ *"Don't Forget Poso: A Flashback to Remember 9 Year of Poso Riot"* accessed from <http://www.swaramuslim.net/galery/poso/index.php?page=A3> on 25 May 2009.

supported by foreign sources, such as from foreign missionaries, or were there any other triggers such as political strategy used by the government to divide and to control their people? And why did the government and POLRI (Indonesian Police) and TNI (Indonesian National Army Forces) seem to let all of these conflicts happen? And what did the government do to resolve this problem and what should they do to avoid the same conflict happen again in the future?

I.3 Limitation of Research

All above questions will be answered through this research. However, related to the inter-religion conflict, this research will only analyze the Christian radical movement that existed in Poso, Manado (North Sulawesi) or Moluccas. The research is conducted to look at the role of some Christian radical movements in triggering the conflict of Poso and Moluccas. Manado is also chosen because it is a Christian village that its people frequently supported the movement by organizing their people and sent them to Poso and Moluccas. Besides, Manado is an area that Poso's refugees usually came to, during the conflict in 1998 - 2001.

I.4 Goals and Purposes of Research

The result of this research is expected to give a clear description about the conflict in Poso and Moluccas. It also attempted to figure out the root causes of the conflict itself, the causes of Christian and Moslem friction and to explain the involvement of some Christian radical movements in this conflict. This research also conducted to give explanations about the government's role in this conflict and their efforts to resolve the conflict. Eventually, this research is expected to give some suggestions and recommendations to government and churches as well regarding

conflict management and or peace building in some provinces in Indonesia that has ethnic and religion conflict or potential conflict, and to avoid the same conflict in the future as well.

1.5 Theories

Some people think that the conflict which happened in Poso and Moluccas, related to terrorist group or some religion radical movements. Terror itself has been used since thousand years ago. Xenophon (430 – 349 BC) tried to use the psychological warfare as a tool to weaken the enemy. Zealot group (66 – 73 AD), who against the Roma occupation in Jewish land, fought for Jewish's purity in religious aspect and refused any behavior that considered against to the Jewish Law. Zealot's member group usually joined the people in the market and whenever they saw a violation, they took out their dagger from their robe and stabbed the transgressor.⁸

During this time, Zealot had become the political party that opposed to Herodes regime as well. For many people the attacks done by this group carried out randomly and caused terror to them, but according to the member group this action was motivated by the religious teaching that supported by their holy book. But then terror developed into a way to against one's regime. After the civilian war in America (1861 – 1865), some reactionaries in South of America created a terrorist group *Ku Klux Klan* to intimidate the government supporter.⁹

However since the 20th centuries, the terrorism has been changed, not only in their motivation but also in the networks and weapon they used. Terrorism has

⁸ Adjie. S, *Terorisme (Terrorism)*, Jakarta, Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 2005, pp 1-3, read also Jack Douglas and Frances Chaput Waksler, "Kekerasan" ("The Violence") in Thomas Santoso (ed.) *Teori-teori Kekerasan (Violence Theories)*, Jakarta, PT Ghalia Indonesia, 2002, p 18.

⁹ Jack Douglas and Frances Chaput Waksler, *Ibid*.

become a part and characteristic of social and political movement in one country. And now, terrorism actions involved not only one country solely but also many countries. A terrorist group in one country usually funded by second country, training in third country, weapon provided by fourth country, and operated in fifth country. For example the terrorist group that killed many people in Lod Airport in Israeli, came from Japan, trained in Korea, weapon provided by Italy and funded by West Germany and its action has attracted the sympathy of some Arab countries.¹⁰

Adjie defined terrorism as an ideology that through force tries to express a message, by using illegal actions such as harshness, cruelty and murdering. And the actor individually or group who use those illegal actions is named terrorist. As a terrorist group, its movement should have an effective leadership and strongly supported by its member and also the people who support fund for the group and the people that has the same ideology with them.¹¹

As quoted in Hendropriyono, Walter Reich defined terrorism as a strategy of violence designed to promote desired outcomes by instilling fear in the public at large. Besides, Brian Jenkins interprets terrorism as the use of force designed to bring about political change. Paul Johnson says terrorism as a deliberate, systematic murder, maiming and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear in order to gain political ends... terrorism is politically evil, necessarily evil and wholly evil.¹²

From many definitions of terrorism he showed in his book, Hendropriyono than concluded that terrorism has no value. There are no ethic values about good or bad, morality norms about right or wrong, and aesthetic values about beauty or not beauty. The only language that shown in terrorism is how to bring fear and panic in public,

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p 4. Read also Rohan Gunaratna, "Introduction: Change of Continuity" in *The Changing Face of Terrorism*, Singapore, Eastern Univerities Press, 2004, pp 1-15.

¹¹ Adjie, *Ibid*, p 11

¹² A.M. Hendropriyono, *Terorisme: Fundamentalis Kristen, Yahudi, Islam* (Terrorism: Fundamentalist Christian, Jewish, Islam), Jakarta, Kompas, 2009, pp 25-28.

that is universal. They use force and threat, physically or mentally to anybody without exception. And this fear is used to be a public support to his goals. Therefore, according to Hendropriyono, terrorism is a criminal shown by some parties whose values lie on their own mind.¹³

Terrorism usually carries out by a group of people trying to force public or public authority to fulfill their demand. However, Jack Douglas and Frances C. Waksler differentiate terrorism and revenge activities. They look similar in ideas and actions but they actually different in motivation. Although terrorism and revenge action both can cause terror to public through their force actions, but revenge related to fault in the past while terrorism was aimed to arouse fear and anxiety about any danger that can happen in the future.¹⁴

Furthermore, Ted Robert Gurr mentioned that in many force actions and cruelty, the actor has their own purpose. These purposes could be expecting to increase up their position in the public through their actions. Some leaders also use their supporters' anger to enlarge their power, some rioters take benefit through the chaos to steal and some demonstrators expect to influence the ruler.¹⁵

In many cases terrorists use religion as their major attraction. Justification through violence in the name of following God's truth enables the member to suicide and cause terror to others. They considered themselves as the defender of their religion that has been threatened. The threat itself can be a lifestyle to protect what they think as a truth and against whoever that tries to damage it. They can even murder whoever come from their own group that considered no longer maintains the pureness of their religion teachings. The point is that they worried about the

¹³ *Ibid.*, p 38

¹⁴ Jack Douglas and Frances Chaput Waksler, *op. cit*, p 17.

¹⁵ Ted Robert Gurr, "Relative Deprivation and Forces," in Thomas Santoso (ed.) *Force Theories*, Jakarta, PT Ghalia Indonesia, 2002, pp 70-73.

spirituality degradation amongst their societies. However this anxiousness causes a new problem. It creates a cruelty and terror to others.¹⁶

Sirry as quoted in Silaen said that religion has both hard elements and soft elements. It is a reason that in every religion there is always a group or some groups who understand the teachings so stiff and radical that they show their fundamentalism and radicalism attitude that reflected on cruelty and terror actions. As an additional, Silaen said that a certain religion group capable to perform terror or force actions to reach their goals and driven by certain motives by exploiting people's fear, while the terrorist group itself hiding somewhere else.¹⁷

Furthermore, Silaen concluded that not every force actions can be classified as terrorism activities because there are some criterions that need to be fulfilled, such as.¹⁸

1. The actor is a non state actor and usually concealed.
2. The terror action is not directed to civil societies, except the civil servant, and if there are civil societies being murdered, it is not on purpose but simply an accident.
3. The quantity of the terrorist is only a few compares to the number of societies in the area that experience the terror activities, but their networking can be very large and transnational bordering.

¹⁶ Viktor Silaen, "Berperang demi Allah, Menguak Tali Temali Agama dan Kekerasan" ("Fight in the Name of Allah, Unveiling the Relation between Religion and Cruelty"), in *Jurnal Sociae Polites*, Vol. 24

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Read also Viktor Silaen, "AS, Indonesia dan Koalisi Global Memerangi Jejaring Terorisme Internasional" ("USA, Indonesia and Global Coalition to Fight the Networking of International Terrorism") in paper presented on International Relations Department Discussion, 22 March 2002.

I.6 Methodology

To figure out the Christian radical movement activities related to Poso and Moluccas tragedy, this research will be conducted by using the qualitative approaches, particularly a field research and literature study. Field research is also chosen because the research question involves learning about, understanding and describing a group of interacting people.¹⁹

This field research will be made by interviewing some members of certain Christian radical movement and or the people who knew about this movement. I will also interview some people that lived in the conflict areas and experienced the conflict to know about the real situation due to the conflict itself has been settled. In some cases, I interview this people by phone or e-mail due to distances between the place I stay and Poso and Moluccas is quite far away. Besides, I decided to use this telecommunication way in consideration of time efficiency.

And since the conflict itself has been ended and some written references has been made, I will also use some data in the form of text, written word, phrases or symbol describing or representing people and actions.²⁰ Through these data, I try to explain in detail about the root causes of conflict both in Poso and Moluccas, and the causes of Christian and Moslem quarrel that considered exacerbating and making the conflict escalated and spread out to other areas. These data is also used to show the complex process that link each other and interlock some sequences in Poso and Moluccas tragedy and eventually to describe the efforts that government has done to settle this conflict.

¹⁹ W. Lawrence Neuman, *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, 3rd Edition, Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1997, p 343-377.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p 418

I.7 Writing Arrangement

- Chapter 1 : is contained the introduction of conflict in Poso and Moluccas, the research questions that will be answered by the end of this research, the limitation of research to avoid spreading explanation, and some theories that will be used to answer the questions. This chapter also contained the goals and purposes of this research, the methodology that conducted to gain data needed to answer the research questions and the writing arrangement as well.
- Chapter 2 : is describing the historical and geographic condition, socio-economic and socio-cultural condition of Poso and Moluccas. Then it will be continued by the explanation why these two areas become a place of conflict, and also the explanation about the root causes of Christian and Moslem conflict.
- Chapter 3 : will explain about the background of the conflict in Poso and Moluccas and the involvement of Christian Radical movements triggering the conflict into a riot in Poso and in Moluccas. This chapter will also explain about the motives of these paramilitary movements, the activities, the leader and the supporters, both in financial and human resources. At the end of this chapter, I will explain the involvement of other actors using religions conflict and took benefit from it and caused the conflict itself escalated.

Chapter 4 : will explain about the role of central and local government as well as police and military in these conflicts, both in Poso and Moluccas, and the efforts they do to resolve the conflicts.

Chapter 5 : containing the summary and conclusion from the previous chapter. Furthermore, this chapter will also give some recommendations avoiding the same conflict in the next time.

II

Poso and Moluccas, the Areas of Conflict

Both Poso and Ambon, at the beginning were cities that had lots of Christian people that lived in these two cities. But after the construction of roads in 1970's in both cities and when the government under Soeharto's regime programmed transmigration as a way to distribute the economic welfare, then people from other cities can reach these two cities easily. It was the time when the local people met with foreigner from other cities.

At one side, this rendezvous created a pluralist territory that inhabited by many people that come from various area, religion, culture, economic and political view. But in the other side, when there was too much political interest in these two cities, Poso and Moluccas then became easily to experience conflict especially when some parties using the symbol of certain religion or culture for their own interest.

Through this chapter, I will analyze the historical condition, socio-economic as well as socio-cultural condition in Poso and Moluccas. From this description, then we will know the background of conflict in Poso and Ambon.

I. Poso

I.1 Historical and Geographic Condition

Poso is one of nine regencies in Central Sulawesi Province of Indonesia, located exactly in the middle of the province on the shore of the gulf of Tomini, right in the central part of Sulawesi island. It is also the main port and transportation hub for the northeastern coast of Sulawesi as well. With the total of population about more than

200.000 and 29.923 km² of its territory, Poso becomes one of the biggest towns in this province.²¹

Since its position right in the middle of Central Sulawesi Province and Sulawesi Island, Poso has become a stopover either from the north to the south or from west to the east of Sulawesi. For this reason, the population of Poso consists of various ethnic, religion and background. People living in Poso arrived from the coastal area to the mountainous region, causing their main source of income is to be farming and fishing. Clove, pepper, coffee, and kapok are some of its agricultural products.

At the beginning, people of Poso were governed by fifteen kings. Some of them were King Poso, King Napu, King Mori, King Tojo, King Una Una and King Bungku, which has no relationship one another. These kingdoms were controlled by three big kingdoms, which is, Raja Luwu at Palopo for the southern area, Raja Sigi at Donggala for the northern area, and Raja Ternate for the eastern area of Poso. But when the Dutch Colonial came to Indonesia, particularly in 1880 to North Sulawesi, these kings later became lesser in influence to the people in Poso.²²

In 1892, Dutch missionaries, Kruyt and Adriani came to Poso and used an ethnography approach to spread out the Christianity. However they still could not separated from the label of colonizer. After a bloody campaign on 1905, many indigenous people from mountainous area embraced this new religion.²³

At the same time, the Dutch Colonial started creating the civilian government and divided Poso into two regions of power. One was for the civilian government which included Manado residence and another one was for the kings using the law

²¹ H.M. Iwan Gayo, *Atlas Indonesia Baru*, Jakarta, Upaya Warga Negara, 2001, pp 87-89.

²² History of Central Sulawesi, accessed from http://www.sulteng.go.id/pub2/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=26&Itemid=37, on 20 July 2009.

²³ Gerry Van Klinken, *Perang Kota Kecil: Kekerasan Komunal dan Demokratisasi di Indonesia*, Jakarta, Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2007, pp 121-122.

made by the Dutch Colonial. But in 1919, all of Poso territory was united and moved to Manado residence. And since the Indonesian's independence, precisely in 1948, Central Sulawesi has been divided into two regions, Donggala and Poso, which led by the Assistance of Residence. In the following year, Central Sulawesi decided to be an autonomous or self-government district. And it was decided by kings of Central Sulawesi that Mr. Rajwali Pusadan, the Leader of Kings Council in Central Sulawesi, became the first regent in Central Sulawesi.

In 1952, A.Y Binol, the chairman of Central Sulawesi legislative Central Sulawesi autonomy district issued the Law No. 33, 1952, explaining the territory of Central Sulawesi involved Poso, Luwuk Banggai and Kolonodale with Poso as the capital and Donggala, Palu, Parigi and Toli Toli with Palu as the capital. But then in 1959, based on the Law No. 29, 1959, Poso was divided again into two regencies; they are Poso with Poso as its capital and Banggai with Luwuk as its capital.

And since the year of 2000, due to the development of government as well as political system and society demands - where the society desires to develop some territories to become regencies - then the government of Central Sulawesi has created nine regencies in Central Sulawesi. They are:²⁴

1. Banggai (with Luwuk as its capital),
2. Banggai Kepulauan (Banggai),
3. Buol (Buol),
4. Donggala (Donggala),
5. Morowali (Kolonodale),
6. Palu (Palu),
7. Poso (Poso),

²⁴ History of Central Sulawesi, accessed from http://www.sulteng.go.id/pub2/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=26&Itemid=37, on 20 July 2009.

8. Parigi Moutong (Parigi) and.
9. Toli Toli (Toli Toli).

I.2 Socio-Cultural Conditions

As mentioned above, Poso lies right in the middle of Central Sulawesi and in the middle of Sulawesi Island. It makes Poso become a stopover for people either from the north to the south or from the west to the east of Sulawesi. For this reason, the population of Poso consists of various ethnic, religion and background. This condition is also supported by the availability of Trans Sulawesi that has been completed built by the government since early 1990's.

This Trans Sulawesi quickened the people migration particularly from South Sulawesi to Poso. The migrants mostly come from Bugis and Makasar and stay in some villages in lowland in Poso like Lage, Poso Pesisir and Tojo. They chose these areas because the lands are fertile, accessed easily, and most of the people are Moslem just like themselves. Some migrants also come from Toraja, South Sulawesi that are Christian. In contrast to migrants from Bugis and Makasar, they prefer to live in highland in Poso, close to Lake Poso.²⁵

Not only come the migrants from South Sulawesi to Poso but also the migrants from North Sulawesi, such as Gorontalo and Minahasa. Most of Gorontalo people are Moslem but Minahasa people are Christian. Migrants from Gorontalo usually live in Lawanga, Kayamanya and Bonesompe, while migrants from Minahasa mostly live in Kasintuwu and Sayo, where mostly of local Christian people of Poso lived. The other ethnics groups that came to Poso are Javanese, Arabian and Chinese as well. The migrants from Java usually stay in village Gebangrejo.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

The migration from other cities to Poso makes the population in Poso various in ethnic, religions, cultural and traditions. These migrants have been lived in Poso for years and even for hundred years. It is obviously that they gave a great influence on the socio-cultural in Poso. Before the year of 1930, Poso was inhabited by native people in Pamona, Lore, Napu, Behoa, Bada and Mori, who embraced Christian. However, it did not remain any longer. After the Indonesian's independence, many migrants, particularly from Sulawesi and Java, came to Poso and increased up in number continuously. According to the Central Sulawesi Statistic Bureau (BPS), the local Christian population in Poso regency decreased from 38% on 1980 to 32% on 2000.²⁶

In general, before the conflict occurred in Poso, the people of Poso live in peace and harmony though they are different in religions. They have motto "*Sintuwu Maroso*" which means openly accept and acknowledge others without fear or felt being threatened. That is one reason why they were never suspicious to people who has different religions with them or to outsider. They never think that people from different religions are mean or cruel. They trust and help each other in their daily life. Even, they have relation by marriage one another.²⁷

Furthermore the people's migration to Poso not only gives impact to the socio-cultural situation in Poso societies but also increases the economic, social and political competition between the local and the foreigner. Some outsiders started to possess some lands that considered by local people as their property but by the law actually considered as an empty land because the local people can't give any proof to perform their belongings. These outsiders then planted commercial crops in this land

²⁶ Gerry Van Klinken, *op. cit.*, p 123.

²⁷ Lian Gogali, *Konflik Poso, Suara Perempuan dan Anak Menuju Rekonsiliasi Ingatan* (Conflict Poso, Women and Children's Voice to Memory Reconciliation), Yogyakarta, Galangpress, 2009, pp 75-93.

such as cacao tree and they successfully managed their business there. Eventually they become richer and richer; richer than the local people. And this made the economic gap of people in Poso seen very clear.²⁸

I.3 Socio-Economic Conditions

In general, society in Poso can be included into four groups of economic classes. They are:²⁹

- (1) lower class group,
- (2) old middle class group,
- (3) new middle class group, and
- (4) old upper class group.

The lower class group in Poso is commonly the descendant of the migrants coming from Gorontalo (North Sulawesi). They mostly live in Lawanga, Kayamanya and Bonesompe. Their parents used to be the laborer at Poso port that in Soekarno's regime (1945 – 1966) usually became the member of Port Labor Union (SBPP) which affiliated to Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI).

But then, when Soeharto became the President of Indonesia (1966 – 1998) and announced the PKI as a forbidden party, this people got many difficulties to work. They had to make a report every Monday to Poso district Army Office. And this problem is inherited to their descendants. If they are known as one of the descendant of the member of PKI, then they will not get any jobs. That is why they can only be either port laborer as their parent or fishermen. It is obviously they still can not afford a good income for themselves and their families.

²⁸ Gerry Van Klinken, *op. cit.*, p 124.

²⁹ George Junus Aditjondro, "Renungan buat Papa Nanda, Anak Domba Paskah dari Tentena" (*Reflection for the father of Nanda, the Lamb from Tentena*), in *Tragedi Kemanusiaan in Poso (Humanity Tragedy in Poso)*, Poso, PBHI & LPS HAM Sulteng, 2003, pp xvi - xlvii.

Besides, this people have to face another problem. After the government finished the Trans-Sulawesi (highway that connected Palopo, Tentena, Poso and Palu) project on 1990's, practically not many vessels anchored to Poso Port anymore. Many people from those areas prefer to use Trans-Sulawesi than Poso Port to carry things to trade. Therefore, it added more burden to them. They are jobless and getting poorer because of it.

The old middle class in Poso is the people from Pamona and Mori, the native people of Poso. Before the riot in Poso happened in 1998, these native had big lands in the place they lived. They planted clove to add their income as they have a very low salary as a government officer. They commonly live in Kawua, Kasintuwu, and Lambogia. This class also included some people from Minahasa (North Sulawesi) the descendant of evangelist and officer from Dutch government who lives in Kasintuwu and Sayo.

The new middle socio-economic class in Poso is usually traders that migrate from Bugis, Buton and Makasar (South Sulawesi) to Poso. They usually lived in Lage, Poso Pesisir and Tojo. They started running their business from the very beginning and then developed that way so they could fill the middle class in Poso. Some migrants from Javanese lived in Gebangrejo can also be identified as the middle class in Poso. They usually work as farmers and or government officers.

And the last, the old upper class in Poso is filled by the descendant traders of Arabian and Chinese that continued and developed their business. Some of them got their business from their parents or ancestor and they just have to go on with it. They have lived in Poso since hundreds years ago and had contact with the local people of Poso for centuries.

II. Moluccas

II.1 Historical and Geographic Condition

Moluccas is an archipelagic territory that consists of 632 islands, large and small islands. The biggest island is Seram Island (18.625 km²), and some other big islands are such as Buru Island (9.000 km²), Yamdena Island (5.085 km²) and Wetar Island (3.624 km²). Those islands can be classified into two groups, the first one is volcanic island and the second one is coral island that created when the Pacific orogenetic system met with Sunda orogenetic system.³⁰

Its total wide is 712.479 km² with the land wide 54.185 km² and sea wide 658.294 km². Nowadays, its population is more than 1.200.000 and most of which lives in rural areas (more than 70%) and the rest lives in the town. Although Moluccas has several big islands as mentioned above but the distribution of the population is not spread equally. In general, the people live in small islands such as Ambon, Lease Island, and Kei Kecil but it is very rare in big and medium islands.

Moluccas produces agricultural spices, mostly clove. It is one reason for the traders from China in 7th centuries, Arab in 9th centuries, Sumatera in 12th centuries, Middle East in 14th centuries, Portuguese in 16th centuries and Dutch in 17th centuries came to Maluku to get its spices. Some traders from Middle East did the commerce as they spread out the Islam teachings in Maluku during 13th -14th centuries. Similar to it, the Portuguese traders spread the Christian teachings out in Moluccas in earlier of 16th centuries. One of the most famous missionary who came to Ambon is Francis Xavier in 1546 and then went on to Ternate on the next year.

When Portuguese arrived in Moluccas in 1512, there were two armadas landed in Banda Island and Penyu Island. These armada led by Anthony d'Abreu and

³⁰ Provinsi Maluku, <http://www.malukuprov.go.id/?pilih=hal&id=3> accessed in 20 July 2009.

Fransisco Serau. Not so long from that time, Portuguese also landed in Ternate. They tied a good relationship with the dweller and kings in those areas at the beginning. Furthermore, King of Ternate granted the Portuguese a monopoly over its clove trade in return to help them against Tidore.³¹

Not only a right to monopolize, the king also allowed Portuguese to build their first fortress on Ternate in the following year. However this relationship was no long endured since the relations with the Muslim King were strained and they began fighting each other. The friendship and commerce between Portuguese and the kings in this island ended in 1570, and caused war for 5 years (1570-1575). Therefore, Portuguese tried to make a good relationship with Tidore king, and built another fort on that Island.

Dutch saw this opportunity and used the quarrel between Portuguese and Ternate to come to Moluccas by the end of 16th century. They helped the king of Ternate and the people to fight with the Portuguese by giving them their better guns, better ships and better financial backing. This of course made, the Dutch were welcomed very well by the king and the people as well. In 1602, Dutch established VOC (Dutch Trade Company) with Jan Pieterzoon Coen as the leader. Afterwards, VOC had become the only one controller of spices commerce in Moluccas for the next 350 years.³²

This VOC rule was centralized in Ambon. Intensive schooling and missionary activity resulted in high standard of education among the Ambon people. A large number of them worked for the Dutch in civil service as missionaries or as soldiers of the Royal Netherlands Indies Army (KNIL).³³

³¹ Peter Tuner, *Indonesia*, Victoria, Lonely Planet Publications, 1995, pp. 901-926.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

In the earlier of year 1800, England came to Ternate and Banda and then attacked VOC. They succeeded to occupy some areas in Maluku from Dutch. But then, London Convention in 1814 decided England had to surrender all of Dutch colony to Dutch government. Therefore, since 1817 the Dutch government has become the ruler in Moluccas.³⁴

The re-arrival of Dutch government in 1817 experienced opposition from the inhabitants. They didn't want to be controlled by Dutch government because of the sufferings they had for more than two centuries. There were some figures such as Thomas Matulesy or known as Kapitan Pattimura, Paulus Tiahahu and his daughter Christina Martha Tiahahu raised their weapons to fight with the Dutch government. But they were failed to chase Dutch from their territory because of the tricky strategy used by Dutch government to beat them. On 16 December 1817, Kapitan Pattimura was hung till death in Fort Nieuw Victoria, while Christina Martha Tiahahu died in the way to her exile in Java Island.³⁵

In the Second World War, Japan army took some islands in Indonesia easily from Dutch, including Moluccas Island. But when Japan was beaten by allied forces and Indonesia proclaimed her independence day on 17 August 1945, Moluccas was announced to be part of Indonesia. However the creation of Moluccas Province was delayed because the Dutch army (NICA) came again to Moluccas straightly after Japan surrendered.

The Dutch army tried to reset up the colonial system in Moluccas and wanted to control Moluccas due to its spices. But then the Dutch government had been forced to recognize the Indonesian sovereignty in 1949 by allied forces. Moluccas became the

³⁴ Provinsi Maluku, <http://www.malukuprov.go.id/?pilih=hal&id=3> accessed in 20 July 2009.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

province of Indonesia officially 12 years later, based on the Law No. 22, 1957 and then altered by the Law no. 20, 1958.

II.2 Socio-Cultural Conditions

Since 7th – 17th century, traders came from China, Arab, Middle East, Portuguese and Dutch to Maluku. It has made Maluku as a place where those all cultures met. The people from many culture lives together, interacts each other and finally creates a pluralism society in Moluccas. For example, there are at least 28 sub ethnics and 29 different languages in North Moluccas Province.³⁶

Although the society lives in various kinds of ethnic, religion and culture, before conflict in Moluccas happened, generally they lived in peace and harmony situation with the strong family tied amongst them. It can be seen for example by the motto that held by the government of North Moluccas, “*Marimoi Ngone Futura Masidika Ngone Foruru*” or “*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*” (Unity in diversity).³⁷

However, there is one characteristic in Moluccas society that rarely found in other city. There is a natural segregation between people based on their religions in the territory they live. Generally, the northern islands of Ambon that face to Seram Island (Central Moluccas) are inhabited and dominated by Moslem people, while the southern of Ambon Islands are inhabited and dominated by Christian people.

In Kota Ambon itself (Capital of Moluccas), where the government placed, the people comes from these two areas, north and south of Moluccas. Moslem and Christian people live together in this town and added by some Chinese, Arabian and mix descendant European-Ambon people that had been lived there for centuries. But,

³⁶ http://www.indonesia.go.id/id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=6101&Itemid=1827, accessed on 20 July 2009.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

then the arrival of Moslem foreigner from Buton, Bugis and Makasar (Sulawesi) in the year 1970's exceeded the indigenous Moslem people who lived in Kota Ambon.

However this migration caused a new problem. The people from Buton, Bugis and Makasar are usually economical and hard worker. They mostly do their own business and only a few of them work for the civil government and military. Although the Chinese and some Arabian still dominate the upper economic class, but the presence of Buton, Bugis and Makasar people becomes a threat for the native people of Ambon. They work harder than the Moslem and Christian Ambon people. Mostly of Christian Ambon people works for the government or becomes army forces, police and politician, while the Moslem Ambon people oriented to commerce, though in a small scale.³⁸

II.3 Socio-Economic Conditions

When Soeharto led Indonesia after an internal economic, social and political problem during Soekarno's regime, he tried hard to achieve an improvement economic in every territory in Indonesia, including Moluccas. But without any law enforcement and transparency in economic development, on the contrary it might cause many people in some areas, including Moluccas, still live in poverty. Only can a few of them experience good economic conditions.

Besides, the development itself according to Bambang B. Soetjipto as quoted in John Pieris, *Tragedy in Moluccas: A Civilized Crisis – Critical Analyses of Political, Economic, Socio-Culture and Security Aspects*, still could not handle the gap between areas. In the first to second decade of Soeharto's regime, the development only focused in Java Island.

³⁸ John Pieris, *op cit.* p 76.

For example in 1991, the distribution Gross Domestic Regional Product (GDRP) from eastern of Indonesia is only 16.5% while GDRP from western of Indonesia is 83.5%. From this number 16.5%, Maluku only contributes 0.8%. And another example, the Gross Fixed Investment (GFI) in eastern Indonesia is only Rp. 7.591 billion compared to western Indonesia that achieved 55.567 billion. From that GFI, Moluccas only got Rp. 236 billion, which is only 0.4% from total investment in Indonesia or 3.1% from total investment in eastern Indonesia. That is one reason why the gap between development in western of Indonesia and eastern of Indonesia is very big.³⁹

There are 812 villages from 1805 villages (45%) in Moluccas whose dwellers still live in poverty, and 341 of them are in Halmahera (North Moluccas) province. It is really ironic since Moluccas actually has a big potential in natural resources. The main problem is that many projects in mining, sea, fishery, and breeding are not managed very well by the government. According to John Pieris, the regional government has no political will to run the strategy or concept to expand their resources. They don't approach the central power in Jakarta seriously, particularly with the Sea and Forestry Department.⁴⁰

Another problem is, when the regional government gave access to the local or foreign investor to manage the sea resources that is very rich in Moluccas, they did not provide the local fisher with the capabilities or funds to survive and develop their business and compete with the others. This made not only economic but also social and cultural gap between the societies in Moluccas. Only a few people live in a good

³⁹ John Pieris, *op cit.* pp 46 – 50.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 57.

condition and they are usually closed to the official government and have the privilege to run their business.⁴¹

III. Background of Conflict in Ambon and Poso

From the above description, we know that Poso as well as Ambon is a rendezvous for people from different economic classes, cultures, religions, traditions, and ethnics. In one side, it can make a pluralism community in which the people can maintain a big tolerance and respect to each other. Besides, they can make an acculturation process between themselves. But in other side, it brings a potential conflict in these areas, particularly if there is any political motives and interest from some people or some groups using this situation.

The former Governor of Moluccas province, Karel Ralahalu, said that the conflict in Maluku potentially comes from the combination of socio-economic gap between the societies, the implementation of religious traditions in the closed and heterogeneous villages, the high number of unemployment, the broken of family tied between the societies, the socio-economic gap between the big fishing industrialist and the local fishermen and the polarization between the religious groups in Moluccas.⁴²

As an additional to what Ralahalu explained above, John Pieris said the conflict that continuously occurred in Kota Ambon since January 1999 was related to political interest. According to him, some elites in national or local level force or use their power to fulfill their interest here. And there is such a patron-client connection between the elite in national and local level as well. Not only in political interest but

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 59.

⁴² <http://indonesiametro.com/index.php?view=article&catid=37:negarawan&id=52:mayjen-karel-ralahalu&format=pdf>, accessed on 20 July 2009.

also in economic interest would cooperate they each other. And in some cases the religious people in Ambon are being used by some elites to reach their own interest.⁴³

As mentioned earlier that the area of Moluccas is divided into two territories naturally based on dominating religions, and this is one reason that in the election of the governor in Maluku, the regent in North Maluku, Central Halmahera and South East Maluku, the winner will always be them who come from Moslem communities. But, on the other side, the winner in the election of regent in Ambon (South Maluku) and Central Maluku is usually from Christian group. And this chosen leader continues to their staffs. The Moslem officials choose the Moslem people to be their staffs as well as Christian do.

Therefore, according to the Team Work of Moluccas Conflict who looked for the source of the conflict in Ambon and the solution, the conflict was not really an inter religion conflict itself but as an effort to exploit the symbols of religion for political interest of some persons or some groups that wanted to rule in certain areas. Not only they wanted to rule but also tried to destroy and to eliminate the other religion groups. Even, to legitimate their effort to rule and to win the political campaign, they used some verses of Bible or Al Quran.⁴⁴

Another factor triggering the conflict is the nature of the Christian and Moslem as an expansive religion. Both teach their followers to spread out their teachings and have as much follower as they can get, as they want to save other people from the hell. However this spreading caused envy, suspicion and anxiety of each side. And it gradually caused conflict in Moluccas.⁴⁵

⁴³ Pieris, op. cit., pp 92-93.

⁴⁴ Team Work of Moluccas Conflict, Ed: Suaidi Marasabessy, S.IP, *Maluku Baru: Satu Wujud Ideal Masyarakat Maluku Pasca Konflik (New Maluccas: An Ideal Form of People of Moluccas After Conflict)*, Jakarta, PT Abadi, 2002, pp 29-32.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

Similar to the tragedy in Moluccas, the conflict in Poso in 1998 more or less also triggered by the socio-economic gap between the societies. Geroge Aditjondro said that most communal conflicts which occurred in Indonesia basically reflect the breakdown of social order that created actually by fear and intimidation in Soeharto's regime.⁴⁶ That is one reason when Soeharto stepped down from his reign on 1998, horizontal conflicts occurred in some provinces in Indonesia, such as in Poso and Moluccas.

Still according to Aditjondro, the differences of social classes, ethnic groups, religious groups or combination of all three categories between conflicting parties caused the communal conflicts lasted longer and escalated. This overlap between class, ethnic, and religion acted as the fuel that made the conflict last longer and more violently.⁴⁷

There are some factors that made the socio-economic gap in Poso occurred, one of which is corruption, collusion and nepotism tradition in the government during Soeharto's regime, both in legislative and executive board. The corruption, collusion, and nepotism, in Poso government reached their top when Arief Patanga became the regent of Poso (1989 – 1999). During his reign, his wife, Rahmah Patanga-Malewa was promoted to be the Head of Human Resources at Regent Office in Poso (1994-1996) and his brother, Drs Agfar Patanga promoted to be the Head of Development/Program Arrangement in Regent Office (1997-1998).⁴⁸

These two positions are obviously very strategic. The main job description for Head of Human Resources is to hire and fire staffs, so it is easy for the regent to

⁴⁶ Paper of George Aditjondro, in International Workshop on "Religion and Violence", organized by *Sinar Harapan* Daily and the Media Project of the Oxford Centre for Religion and Public Life (OCRPL) in Hotel Cemara, Jakarta, August 17-21, 2009.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ George Junus Aditjondro, "Renungan buat Papa Nanda, Anak Domba Paskah dari Tentena" (*Reflection for the father of Nanda, the Lamb from Tentena*), *op.cit.*, p. xxviii

promote or to dismiss they who he or she wanted or rejected to work with. Besides, the Head of Development Program is important to carry out the development project in this region and the project itself is very potential to be corrupted by his families or his relatives. This condition can also open an opportunity to collusion between the ruler and the entrepreneur as well.

Eventually, another triggering factor in Poso conflict is the disappearance of balancing socio-cultural group in Poso. It is once again occurred because of political interest of the elite. Before the conflict happened, there is such an unwritten law that the majority group based on religious group in Poso – Christian and Moslem – must be represented in the highest level of legislative or executive official in Poso. If the regent is a Moslem then his/her deputy or general secretary supposed to be from Christian group. And if the executive official is dominated by Christian, then the legislative official must come from the Moslem group.⁴⁹

However this balance was destroyed when Arief Patanga became the regent in 1989 and also by his successor, Abdul Muin Pasadan. They appointed the legislative and executive officials not only from Moslem group but also from the same ethnic group with them. Therefore the native people of Poso – Lore, Pamona and Mori, who are Christian - felt unrepresented in legislative as well as in executive committee.

Besides, these local people were also marginalized in economic, social and political aspect. The economic marginalization of these people was caused such as by the evangelism strategy of the Dutch missionaries then continued by the GKST (Christian Church of Central Sulawesi). One of their strategies is to block the middle class to have an entrepreneur spirit. The strategy is to make the people transforming their profession from farmers to church or government officer. Therefore they can't

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

compete with the outsiders who come to Poso after the Trans Sulawesi road construction.⁵⁰

As the economic marginalization happened, the political limitation heightened. There were many educated and young generation of outsiders demanding more position in government to reach their interests. While the local people themselves became rivals to each other without any anticipation, these outsiders joined the political party such as Golkar (Golongan Karya) and ICMI (Association for Moslem Scholars), the party of Soeharto and group of Habibie (the former Presidents of Indonesia) that made access to them to reach their political interest easily. The absence of unity in local people weakened their bargaining position and brought loss to them eventually.

In the social-cultural, these local people also marginalized when Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian Islamic Theologian Boards) declared some prohibitions that obeyed and run by the Moslem people in Poso. These prohibitions such as not to shake hands with the different gender, not to greet “Merry Christmas” to Christian families, friends and relatives, and not to celebrate Christmas events in government offices.⁵¹

All of this marginalization obviously made the gap between different ethnic-religions getting larger. Hence, this gap potentially triggered ethnic-religions conflict occurring in Poso and Moluccas and any other places in Indonesia that face almost the same problem.

⁵⁰ George Junus Aditjondro, “*Kerusuhan Poso dan Morowali, Akar Permasalahan dan Jalan Keluarnya*” (The Morowali and Poso Riots, Source of Conflict and Solutions), accessed from <http://dongants.wordpress.com/2009/04/06/akar-masalah-konflik-poso-dan-morowali/> pada tanggal 27 Agustus 2009.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

III

Inter Religions Conflict in Poso and Moluccas and The Christian Radical Movement

The earlier conflict occurred in Poso (25 December 1998 and 17 April 2000) and in Ambon (19 January 1999), both were caused by a simple problem; a quarrel between two young men that came from different religious and ethnic groups. However, as mentioned in the previous chapter, it was not what it looked like. There are also some other factors triggering the conflict itself. It can be both socio-economic gap and the socio-cultural gap based on religious group, which is being political by the elite group.

Ethnic and religion are very sensitive issues in this country. These two things can be used as a source of violence and cause of a conflict. The fanaticism and radicalism of a certain religion has been proven as a source to the conflict escalation, particularly if it is connected to the political interest and using certain religion as the ideological of the country. For example, FPI (Islam Defenders Front) have mobilized large demonstration into many places, e.g. Playboy magazine office due to their publication, US embassy to against their intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq, and also when they drove away the Ahmadiyah and Wahidiyah sects from their own home just because according to FPI, their teachings are different.⁵²

For the above reason, this chapter will examine the involvement of some religious movement, particularly from Christian side, as they said they were

⁵² Ian Douglas Wilson, "As Long as It's Halal: Islamic Preman in Jakarta," *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia*, Ed: Greg Feally and Sally White, accessed from http://books.google.com/books?id=_HYiqv333C8C&pg=PA199&lpg=PA199&dq=Front+Pembela+Islam&source=bl&ots=SLnLjhyhO0&sig=eAOeaIXNEekXH8R_HDp928uzYyk&hl=en&ei=k1GRSqHqNjU7AOkm7zeCg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=10#v=onepage&q=Front%20Pembela%20Islam&f=false, on 23 August 2009.

marginalized in these two regions and become victims in both conflicts. This chapter will also explain their motives, their efforts, their actions, their participants and supporters, both financial and human resources in these conflicts. But before explaining the involvement of some Christian radical movement, I will explain the triggering factors and causation of the conflict in Poso and Ambon at first.

I. Inter Religions Conflict in Poso

I.1 Triggering Factors of Conflict

The first riot in Poso occurred in the end of 1998. It happened when Christian people were celebrating the Christmas and Moslem people were doing their fasting tradition, which was on 25 – 28 December 1998. Many people believed that the riot was simply due to a quarrel between two young men, in Sayo, Poso Kota.

According to Moslem informant, this fight started by Roy Bisalemba (Christian), a drunken young man who stabbed Akhmad Ridwan (Moslem) in a Mosque at Darussalam Sayo, Poso Kota. On the other side, according to Christian informant, the fight occurred due to screwdriver borrowing in a motor workshop in Sayo Poso. Then Roy stabbed Ridwan, who ran into Darussalam Sayo Mosque. These two young men then told their own stories to their groups that made the first conflict in Poso happened.⁵³

Rev. Rinaldy Damanik, the leader of Crisis Center in Poso who helped the evacuation process in Poso during conflicts, as well as the head of GKST (Christian Church of Central Sulawesi) said that local people in Poso get used to drink but they never fight continuously. They accept the diversity actually. Hence, it is very uncommon for them to have conflict continued and escalated. They have their own

⁵³ Rinaldy Damanik, *op. cit*, pp 14-15.

motto “Sintuwu Maroso”, which means to live in harmony. It can be shown by accepting and acknowledging other people openly without any feeling of being threatened. Therefore, Rev. Damanik believes, “It must be another factor triggering the fight between two young men into a big riot.”⁵⁴

In his book, *Humanity Tragedy in Poso*, Rev. Damanik explained that there was a political intention behind the fight itself. Two weeks before the riot, exactly on 13 December 1998, the Regent of Poso, Arief Patanga proposed a letter of retirement as his period as the Regent for 2 periods had been ended. Afterwards, the political situation in Poso was getting critical. There were struggle between Moslem, Christian and Military figure to win the Regent position at that time, such as Abdul Malik Syahadat, Damsyik Ladjalani, Akram Kamarudin, Abdul Muin Pusadan, Mas’ud Kasim and Ismail Kasim from Moslem group; Eddy F. Bungkundapu, and Yahya Patiro from Christian group; and Kolonel Muljadi from military.⁵⁵

The process of regent election in Poso was dragging on and escalating until the next year. This condition made the Governor of Central Sulawesi appointed the Vice Governor of Central Sulawesi, Haryono (from military) to be the temporary Regent of Poso until the end of October 1999. Eventually, on 30 October 1999, the district government carried out an election in Poso District Parliament House. From this election, Abdul Muin Pusadan got 16 voters, Mas’ud Kasim got 13 voters and Eddy F. Bungkundapu got 10 voters from the legislative members.⁵⁶

However, Rev. Rinaldy said that it was actually a dishonesty election process. Some candidates used money politic to win the election. According to *Surya* Newspaper (local newspaper), one of the candidates promised to give Rp. 35 millions to every legislative member who choose him to become the regent. As an advance

⁵⁴ Interview with Rev. Rinaldy Damanik, Jakarta, 9 October 2009.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, pp 11-12.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*.

payment he gave Rp. 5 millions to each member and the rest will be paid if he had been chosen as the regent. Not only money politic was used in this election process but some candidates also intimidated the legislative members.⁵⁷

This fraud election had been reported in written to the Minister of State and Minister of Region Autonomy in Jakarta on 4 November 1999. The letter was signed by six witnesses who attended the election directly. In this letter mentioned also about public mass that came to the District Parliament House and unfolded some banners imposing the legislative members to choose Abdul Muis Pusadan to become the Regent of Poso as they shouted some statements related to ethnic, religion and race as well. However there was no strict action from the central government regarding this matter.⁵⁸

Afterwards, in the trial session about Poso riot in District Court of Justice in Palu, on 15, 18, 22 and 29 September 1999, some witnesses as well as Chief of Poso Precinct Police, Lieutenant Colonel Deddy Woeryantono admitted that Moslem people from Parigi and Ampana came to Kota Poso at 10.00 in the morning. They used three trucks, five minibuses and some motorcycles to reach Kota Poso and arrived at 14.00 p.m.

However according to other source, Yahya Patiro, the Secretary of Poso District, not only people from Parigi and Ampana came to Kota Poso but also people from Tokorondo and local people of Kota Poso did. And they altogether used sixteen trucks to reach Kota Poso. These groups of people then used their sharp weapon to injure and to kill Christian people, burnt Christian's house and made commotions in Kota Poso.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 12-13.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p 16.

According to Herman Parimo, one of youth figures in Central Sulawesi and congregation of Christian Church of Central Sulawesi (GKST), hearing that their Christian friends were being attacked by outsider, people from Christian village near Kota Poso, such as Kasintuwu, Lombugia, Sayo, Sepe and Silanca came to Kota Poso. They came there to help their friends, families and colleagues. But, this made chaos in Kota Poso and the situation became messy.

Many witnesses, as told by Lieutenant Colonel Deddy Woeryantono, also admitted that they saw Damsyik Ladjalani, Head of Poso District Planning Development Department and as one of the candidates for Poso Regent from Moslem group was in the area of riot. He was also predicted as one of the actors that mobilized the mass on the riot as well as the creator of attacking Hotel Wisata Poso, where Yahya Patiro, the Secretary of Poso District, stayed.⁶⁰

On 20 March 1999, Damsyik Ladjalani as the temporary Secretary of Poso District had been ordered by the previous Regent, Arief Patanga, to report the visit of Yahya Patiro to Poso to the Precinct Police, for his security. But he did not report it until 8 p.m, after some Moslem people attacked the hotel. In opposite, Ladjalani called his wife that was in Tentena for wedding party and prohibited her to come back to Poso as there would be a riot.

From those assumptions, the police had investigated Damsyik Ladjalani for 9 hours, on 29 May 1999. But then it stopped without any further actions. On the contrary, after the investigation, Lieutenant Colonel Deddy Woeryantono, was moved to other place while Damsyik Ladjalani got promoted to become the Vice Director of Central Sulawesi District Planning Development Department.⁶¹

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p 17

⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 18

During 1999, some people in Christian villages still covered by fear and some others were fed up with some young men that came to their villages frequently and yelled bad statements such as, “*You, Christian people are coward!*” However they kept building their houses and some other buildings like school and churches that have been crushed on the 1998 riot. They made this reconstruction with their own financial without any assistance from the government.⁶²

On August 1999, when the people were still building their houses, they were told that would be another riot made by certain group to make Poso unsafe again. According to Rev. Damanik, it was related to Agfar Patanga, brother of Arief Patanga (the previous Poso Regent) who held the position of Head of Social and Culture in Planning and Development Department in Poso. He was accused as one of the actors of 1998 riot in Poso and sent to prison by the police. Therefore some supporters of Agfar Patanga planned to make a riot to push the Precinct Police to release Agfar Patanga. And on 10 August, Patanga was released under the police supervision to fulfill their demanding.⁶³

Eventually, the second riot happened in Poso on 17 April 2000. Almost like the earlier happening, the second riot in Poso happened in a bus station at Poso Kota. Two drunken young men from Lambogia (Christian village) and Lawanga (Moslem village) without any clear reason got into fight. Afterwards, these two villagers attacked each other and then spread out to some areas within Poso. Three people died, four people got injured, more than two hundred houses, six cars and five motorcycles

⁶² Interview with Frangky Karundeng, one of the volunteers who helped the evacuation process during Poso Conflict, and his parents who moved to Manado on 2001 to look for security. Interview was held in Manado, 5 June 2009.

⁶³ *Surya* Newspaper, 15 August 1999.

burnt, three churches and five police boarding houses damaged and one police office got burnt in the second riot on 17-19 April 2000.⁶⁴

At that time the police acted very strict when they shot the provocateurs of this riot. They killed three people from Moslem group who did the riot but it appeared the anger from Moslem group. Their action made Moslem people pressed government to withdraw all police from Kota Poso. However after their demand was fulfilled, many provocateurs came to Christian village and then again ruined people's houses, churches, and schools there. It caused many Christian people migrate to Manado and other town out of Poso.⁶⁵

According to Rev. Rinaldi Damanik this riot occurred coincidentally with some events, such as:⁶⁶

1. transition period of Secretary of Poso District selection,
2. Easter day for the Christian people,
3. the coming of MTQ (Musabaqqah Tillawatil Quran), a national competition for Quran reading in Palu,
4. the announcement of verdict to Agfar Patanga that charged as one of provocateurs in first Poso Riot, on December 1998. His trial was very time consuming and full of intimidation from his supporters, and the result itself was finally decided on 20 November 2000,
5. the coming of aid from Japan to the Poso district government, about Rp. 2,5 trillion that would be used for reconstruction of the victim's houses, but actually never be accepted by the victims,
6. the money politic issues was rolled over, and

⁶⁴ "Poso, Enam Tahun Dirundung Duka" (Poso, Six Years in Grievance), accessed from <http://www.tempointeraktif.com/hg/timeline/2004/05/12/tml,20040512-03,id.html>, on 30 Sept 2009.

⁶⁵ Interview with Frangky Karundeng, Manado, 5 June 2009

⁶⁶ Rinaldy Damanik, *op.cit.*, p. 25

7. manipulation case of Kredit Usaha Tani (KUT), fund for farmers,

From the above explanation we know that there were some similar patterns from the first and second conflict. At least there are three aspects following the riots. They are:

1. Political aspect; the December and April riots, both were beginning with the succession on political leader.
2. Religious aspect; both riots happened in the meantime of religious days, such as Christmas and Easter for the Christian and fasting days and Al Quran national competition for the Moslem.
3. Law aspect; there were some violations to law before the riots happened. There were money politic issues in the December riot and fund manipulation the April riots.

I.2 Involvement of Christian Radical Movement in Poso

Five weeks after the second riot (17 April 2000), there was suddenly another attack at Poso Kota. In 23 May 2000, early in the morning, some people using ninja clothing came to Moslem villages (Kayamanya) and destroyed those villages. The people from Kayamanya called this rioter “*Pasukan Kelelawar Hitam*” (Black Bat Troops) or Red Troops because they used black clothes, cross necklace, and red turban. It was recorded more than 300 people died at this attack.⁶⁷

One week later, Ir. Advent Lindo Lateka openly admitted to the police that he was the leader of this group who financed all of this group’s operation. To the press (Jawa Post, 30 May 2000) he said that he did this with some reasons, one of which was to chase the provocateur and the engineer of the Poso riots on 1998 and April

⁶⁷ Interview with Frangky Karundeng, Manado, 5 June 2009.

2000 since he saw nothing could the government or police do to settle this chaos and to catch the actors.⁶⁸

Lateka used to be a government officer at Agriculture Department but then he quitted from his work and created this group as he felt responsible to maintain justice in Poso and cared for his Christian friends who became victims in the first and second riot. This group was created spontaneously and many Christian people such as Fabianus Tibo, Marinus Riwu and Dominggus Da Silva (those who had death punishment by the government on 22 September 2006 since they were accused as the provocateurs and conflict engineer in Poso) associated with this group to support, to defend, and to protect their families and friends, as well as their solidarity to their Christian friends.

However, after his recognition to the police and the press, Lateka was killed on 2 June 2000 riot in Kota Poso, with his dead body cut off into several pieces. Five days after his death, exactly on 7 June 2000, in front of Chief of Poso Precinct Police and Deputy Chief of Center Sulawesi Regional Police, Pastor Rinaldy Damanik read the written statement from Ir. Advent. L. Lateka. In his letter, mentioned the aims of this group, such as:⁶⁹

1. to strive for the restoration of the human rights of Poso's people that has been scattered and well planed by certain person/group,
2. to free the people of Poso from the repression of the riots engineer, and
3. to arrest the provocateurs protected by the government.

Beside the aims of this group, the letter also mentioned about their demands, as follows:⁷⁰

1. freed Poso from provocateurs that has been identified by the police

⁶⁸ Damanik, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, pp 29-32.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*.

2. it's time for Poso's people to express that they are the native people of Poso that should live independently in their own homeland
3. since Lambogia, Kasintuwu, (Christian villages) and some churches have been burnt and ruined by the Moslem provocateur/actor then it is our struggle to destroy all villages of the provocateurs (Moengko, Kayamanya, Bone Sompe and Lawanga) (Moslem villages)
4. the police has to stop supporting only on one side, since they always block us and let the provocateur burnt Christian people's houses and buildings
5. give us the opportunities and freedom to help the government arresting the provocateurs/actors and doing some action as a part of national security
6. it is very regretful that the security officer could not handle the cruelty of provocateur and let them looted and burnt people's houses and churches
7. We need support from the government to achieve the aims of this struggle.

After reciting this statement, Poso had been restful from any conflict for at least one year. Another riot happened again in the following year. But this time the riot was getting more dangerous as some actors had been using assembled fire arm. Dislike December 1999 and April 2000 riots where people used only conventional tools such as small straight knife, dagger, crowbar and cleaver as their weapon, some people had used assembled fire arm on June 2001 attack and afterwards.

On 20 June 2001, Anto (39 years old) and Sudirman (35 years old), two people from Tokorondo village, near Poso seashore, was shot by some people using ninja clothing in Pinedapa village. After that incident there were some more fire arm attack used by some mysterious people. On 3 September 2001, the Rector of University of Sinutuwu Maroso Poso, Drs Kogego was shot by mysterious shooter in Poso Bridge. On 17 September 2001, two people from Betania village, near Poso seashore, were

shot by some mysterious shooter. On 14 October 2001, public bus from Palu to Tentena was fired without stopping by some people in the road near Sausu, Donggala, 150 km eastern from Palu, Central Sulawesi.⁷¹

Not only fire arm attack but also fire arm clash happened in conflicts after the year 2001. On 9 November 2001, the fire arm clash happened in the border between Lembomawo and Sayo, Poso Kota. As the result, one people death, two people injured, six houses and one police barrack were burnt. And in the following day, there were some people from Kota Poso and outsider shot each other.⁷²

The conflict escalated in short time as the provocateur used bombs as their weapon to terror the people. When some Moslem people demonstrated in front of Central Sulawesi Police office there was a bomb explosion near the police office. This bombing action did not stop. There were another bomb attacks such as on 26 November 2001 in Bethany Church, one of the biggest churches in Poso; on 4 April 2002, two assembled bombs exploded in drinking water enterprise in Ratulene village; three assembled bombs exploded in three different areas on 28 May 2002. They were at beach on Jl. Ahmad Yani, near the Hotel Wisata, at Poso central market, and at the forked road in terminal Poso.

On 5 June 2002, there was a bomb put on the public bus, Palu to Tentena route, and exploded near the Tomini subdistrict, four passengers death and 16 others injured. On 1 July 2002, a low explosive bomb exploded in Tagolu village, Lege. And once again on 12 July 2002, a high explosive bomb struck into public bus, Palu to Tentena Route, in Ronoruncu village. And two bombs exploded almost in the same time on 26

⁷¹ "Poso, Enam Tahun Dirundung Duka" (Poso, Six Years in Grievance), accessed from <http://www.tempointeraktif.com/hg/timeline/2004/05/12/tml,20040512-03,id.html>, on 30 Sept 2009.

⁷² *Ibid*

August 2002, but in different places, one in Morotai road and the other one in Yos Sudarso road.

The next year, on 7 August 2003, a low explosive bomb exploded in a house in Rayamanya, Poso, and on 11 September 2003, a high explosive bomb exploded in front of Kasiguncu village head office. And many others bomb explosion, low and high explosive exploded in Poso until the end of December 2003. However in January – April 2004, the police could prevent more bomb explosions as they found some bombs in some area in Poso, such as Tabalu village, Moengko Lama, Kayamanya, Poso Kota and Poso seashore. Most of those bombs were found close to dweller's residences.⁷³

From this explanation, we know that there must be assembled fire arm or bomb supplier from both side (Moslem and Christian). But according to Rev. Renaldy, the supplier for these different groups was actually the same person/group. It can be seen through the label of their weapons. They have similarities. Besides, at this time, many people from both Moslem and Christian groups had documents explaining how to assemble fire arm. Not only they had it, but also they learnt about it and made it by themselves. These made the conflict escalated as the two groups now could meet and shoot each other anywhere.⁷⁴

The attack did not stop although Declaration of Malino had been signed on 20 December 2001. Declaration of Malino is a peace declaration between Moslem and Christian group in Poso in which Mr. Jusuf Kalla (Coordinator Minister of Social Welfare at that time) involved as the leader of mediator. The essential point from this declaration is that both Christian dan Moslem groups agreed to stop all conflicts and disputes between them. They also agreed to support law enforcement in conflict area

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Interview with Pastor Damanik, Jakarta, 9 October 2009.

that can give sanctions to all provocateurs and conflict engineers as well as to respect and to forgive each other, for their peace and harmony sake.

Ironically, after the reconciliation, the riot was even escalated. The two conflicting parties started using fire arms and bombs to attack each other. That was one reason why after the death of Advent Lateka, the activities of Christian group did not stop. The member of this group still assisted, protected, supported and defended their Christian families and relatives. They did not stop since the attack to Christian people still occurred. The people still need them for protection and in return the people support them in financial and foodstuff as well. Even, according to TNI, there were some others Christian group created making the conflict in Poso heightened in tension. At least three similar groups were created, such as Tiger troops, Butterfly troops and Amsimar (Youth Generation of Sintuwu Maroso) that had members nearly 2500 people altogether.⁷⁵

However, Rev. Damanik objected with the labeling of 'Christian movement' with any names. Those labels were mentioned by some certain parties that published by local newspaper. They were actually created spontaneously as a form of support and solidarity to their Christian families and friends that had become the victims of Poso conflict. They had no particularly financial supporters but from their own member or their families. And usually they would only give logistic stuff such as food, water and clothes during they did their activities.

"They only had two choices," Rev. Damanik explained, "keep silent or defend. When they defend and try to protect their families here begins the conflict. From this

⁷⁵ Damanik, *op.cit.*, p. 90.

conflict many people suffered, and the same sufferings made them unite.” It is to explain why then Christian civilian groups were created and help each other.⁷⁶

II. Inter Religions Conflict in Moluccas

II.1 Triggering Factors of Conflict in Moluccas

There are some versions regarding conflict in Ambon. The first version came from Rustam Kastor, former Chief of Staff Military Zone in Papua (Trikor). In his book, *“Konspirasi Politik RMS dan Kristen Menghancurkan Umat Islam di Ambon-Maluku (Political Conspiracy of Christian and South Moluccas Republic to destroy Moslem People in Ambon-Maluku)”*, Kastor said that the conflict began when a soldier was warned because he danced in a wedding party while he was using his hat. This soldier could not accept this warning, and then he fought with some drunken men. And this event continued with a bigger attack to Kampung Wailete (that mostly inhabited by outsider from Bugis, Buton and Makasar who embraced Islam).⁷⁷

But this narrative was not clear enough. We do not know the name and the origin of the soldier and the drunken men and where the party was held. We do not know whether the drunken men came from Kampung Wailete (inhabited by Moslem) or not. Hence, there is no connection between the fight in the wedding party with the attack to Kampung Wailete.

Another version came from Pastor J.M. Pattiasina, the former General Secretary of Union Churches in Indonesia. In his paper, *“Memahami Tragedi Ambon Sehubungan dengan Ancaman dan Tantangan Persatuan Bangsa”* (“Understanding the Ambon Tragedy Relating to the Threat and Challenge of Nation Unity”), he said

⁷⁶ Interview with Rev. Damanik, Jakarta, 9 October 2009.

⁷⁷ Look Rustam Kastor, *Fakta, Data dan Analisa: Konspirasi Politik RMS dan Kristen Menghancurkan Ummat Islam di Ambon, Maluku (Fact, Data and Analyses: Political Conspiracy of Christian and South Moluccas Republic to Destroy Moslem People in Ambon-Maluku)*. Yogyakarta, Wihdah Press, 2000, pp 122-124.

the conflict happened on 19 January 1999, exactly on Idul Fitri day. As quotted in Pieris' book, he explained that it was simply caused by a fight between two young men in a bus station at Batumerah. There was Yopy Leuhery, 37 years old, a public transportation driver, a Christian from Desa Batumerah Dalam that was asked for money by Usman and his friends that are Moslem and come from South Sulawesi.⁷⁸

Yopy rejected Usman's request as he had not got any money yet and then neglected him as he leaved the bus station. Several hours later, when Yopy stopped by at the same bus station for the second time, Usman once again asked some money. But Yopy rejeceted again as he still had not got enough money since it was Idul Fitri day and only a few passengers used his car. This time Usman tried to block Yopy by his small knife and injured Yopy. Yopy was angry because of it, so he decided to go back to his house and took his cleaver and ran after Usman that was still in the bus station with his friends.

Usman then ran to Batumerah Bawah (Moslem village) and cried that he was about to be murdered by a Christian. In only about 10 minutes, this fight became a big riot. Hundreds people then went to Yopy's house and attack his village. They hurt people and destroyed and burnt this people's houses. And almost in the same time, some Christian villages as in Galunggung, Tanah Rata, Kampung Ohiu, Silale and Waihaong were destroyed by Moslem group. Many Christian killed, hundreds houses and a church in Silale were burnt by berserk Moslem people group. And from these villages the riots went on and spread out to other villages.⁷⁹

After hearing that a church in Silale was burnt and Christian people was hurt by Moslem people, then Christian young men from Batu Gantung, Kudamati and its

⁷⁸ John Pieris, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-120, read also The Chronological of Riot in Ambon, <http://www.fica.org/hr/ambon/idKronologisKerusuhanAmbonSept1999.html> accessed on 29 December 2009

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

surroundings was angry and took revenge to the Moslem people that lived near them. They destroyed and burnt Moslem people's houses in Batu Gantung area and in Pohon Beringin housings. They also burnt cars, motorcycles and bicycles. This chaos (between Moslem and Christian groups) then continued until the next days, and even became bigger and spread out to other villages in Ambon such as in Sanana, Papora, Luhu, West Seram Piru, Lokki and Tomalehu in North Moluccas.⁸⁰

The teamwork for Moluccas Conflict that looked for conflict resolution classified the riot in Ambon into three phases. The first riot happened on 19 January – 19 April 1999. And after a peace time for several months, the riot broke again on 24 July – 31 December 1999. The third phase of riot happened on 1 Jan – 4 August 2000. Although there were some efforts done by the local government cooperated with the two conflicting parties to settle the conflict after the first riot, but it could not stop totally the conflict. Therefore, another conflict happened again in few months.

The table shown below will tell us the victims in Moluccas from January 1999 to August 2000.

Table 1

Victims/Buildings destroyed	First Riot (19 Jan – 19 Apr 1999)	Second Riot (24 Jul 1999 – 31 Dec 1999)	Third Riot (1 Jan – 4 Aug 2000)
House destroyed	4.503 units	3.242 units	3.406 units
Shop destroyed	339 units	273 units	100 units
Government building destroyed	16 units	15 units	9 units
Bank destroyed	2 units	2 units	-
School destroyed	13 units	11 units	11 units
Hotel destroyed	-	8 units	5 units
Place of worship destroyed (Churches and Mosques)	151 units	71 units	56 units
Police & Army barrack destroyed	-	3 units	-

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

People died	327	807	512
People seriously wounded	329	1.044	625
People injured	275	587	255
Police/Army died	2	15	9
Police/Army seriously wounded	4	52	15
Police/Army injured	10	37	2

Source: Collecting data from Team Work for Moluccas Conflict

II.2 Christian Radical Movement in Moluccas

After hearing about the conflict in Batumerah on 19 January 1999 and destruction of a Church in Silale, in the following day, some Christian Young Men that called themselves as *Coker* (some people defined this as *Cowok-cowok Keren* / Handsome Boys and some other defined as *Cowok-cowok Kristen* / Christian Boys) came down from Kudamati to the conflict area. They intended to help their Christian friends and families that had become victims due to Moslem group activities. While they walked to some Moslem villages and destroyed houses, cars, motorcycles etc they cried and sang out “*Maju Laskar Kristus*” (Onward, Christian Soldiers) repeatedly. It was one reason why then Moslem group called this Christian militant Group as *Laskar Kristus*. (The Army of Christ)⁸¹

According to Badrus Sholeh, the Leader of this *Coker* was Agus Wattimena.⁸² However, according to Aditjondro, *Coker* was not leaded by Agus Wattimena but Berty Loupati. He founded this group on earlier 1980’s in Kudamati sub-district. In other side, Agus Wattimena created Laskar Kristus after the conflict in Ambon

⁸¹ Interview with Mrs. Mietje Saemima, Chairwoman of Martha Christina Tiahahu Movement and Secretary to Team Work for Moluccas Conflict, Jakarta, 27 October 2009.

⁸² Badrus Sholeh, “Jihad in Maluku”, *A Handbook of Terrorism and Insurgency in South East Asia*, Ed: Andrew TH. Tan, accessed from <http://books.google.com/books?id=ZzMmpCinBYoC&pg=PT183&lpg=PT182&ots=CoolKwML9G&dq=agus+wattimena#v=onepage&q=agus%20wattimena&f=false>, on 29 December 2009

happened. Wattimena created this group in order to fight with the paramilitary group consisted of Moslem Ambon and with the Laskar Jihad that come from Java and Sulawesi to Ambon on May 2000.⁸³

Wattimena himself was a church leader and he openly claimed that he had more than 60.000 followers for his Laskar Kristus. However, many of Wattimena's members were still young boys who were not more than 17 years old. He claimed, "There are 200 child fighters in the *Agas* (the name for Children Warriors), virtually all of them boys." And their parents allowed them to fight as they received this as a calling from God.⁸⁴

As a church leader, Wattimena positively had a big influence to the church members. It was easy for him to get his followers as he asked them to save their Christian relatives from Moslem people's activities. Therefore many Christian felt being called out to help and to save their families and friends in Christian villages that were being murdered and destroyed. And they received it as a calling from God when some church leaders used the Bible verses to justify their request. For this reason, they would have done anything to support the movement, including let their children go into the fighting as well as support the logistics.⁸⁵

Even though *Coker* and *Laskar Kristus* both claimed themselves as groups that saved the Christian Moluccas people by fighting the Moslem group but eventually they were competed each other and became rivals indeed. Using this issue, some eyewitnesses from Laskar Jihad said that Agus Wattimena - who died on 20 March

⁸³ George Aditjondro, "*Orang-orang Jakarta di Balik Tragedi Maluku (I)*" (Jakarta People Behind the Moluccas Tragedy) accessed from http://www.munindo.brd.de/george/george_orang_jakarta_maluku_1.html on 30 December 2009

⁸⁴ Sukidi Mulyadi, "Violence under the Banner of Religion: The Case of Laskar Jihad and Laskar Kristus", *Studia Islamika*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 2003, accessed from <http://oak.cats.ohiou.edu/~ta168000/documents/violence.pdf>, on 29 December 2009.

⁸⁵ Interview with Mrs. Mietje Saemima, Jakarta, 27 October 2009.

2001 at his residence in Kudamati Subdistrict because of gunshot wounds at his head and arm - was killed by Berty Loupati.⁸⁶

This competition started when Berty sided with the government interest from Jakarta. On contrary, Wattimena joined in Front Kedaulatan Maluku (Moluccas Sovereignty Front / FKM) that was founded by Alex Manuputty on 15 June 2000 and declared openly on 18 December 2000. Hence, Aditjondro believed that Wattimena was not killed by Berty and his friends but by a professional sniper as he was murdered after joining a group that fight for the independence of Moluccas and against the government.⁸⁷

III. External Christian Radical Movement

The chaos in Poso and Ambon not only created two different religions paramilitary groups that made up spontaneously but also triggered other groups from outside to get involved with conflict in Poso and Ambon. These groups showed their support to paramilitary groups in Poso and Moluccas that have similarity in ethnic as well as in religion. One of the group that supported Christian people in Poso and Moluccas was Brigade Manguni (BM).

Brigade Manguni was created in Manado (the capital of North Sulawesi) on 1999. At the beginning, BM was founded to maintain security and stability in North Sulawesi coincidentally with riot happened in Poso and Moluccas. BM was also created as a means to avoid any provocation related to inter ethnic or inter religion conflict in Manado. As they know that the conflict in Poso and Moluccas were related to religion and ethnic issues, some young men who concern about the stability in

⁸⁶ Aditjondro, *op.cit.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

Manado then declared the creation of Brigade Manguni to avoid another conflict happened in their place.

These young men were Mayal Rorimpandei, Onal Moseleman, Renata Ticonuwu, Max Togas, Decky Maengkom, dr. Brando Lengkey, Robbyn Sangor, dr. Lumingkewas and Matulandi Supit. And at the same time they declared BM, they also opened registration for their members. During the first couple week, there were approximately 6000 young men registered to be the member of BM. Therefore not difficult for them to run their program as they collected fund from their boards and also support from their members.⁸⁸

The aim of this movement is not only to maintain security and stability in North Sulawesi, but also⁸⁹:

1. to raise up the status and nobility of the people of Minahasa,
2. to support and to maintain the unity of the people of Minahasa and North Sulawesi and other areas that have same ideology,
3. to maintain law and social-culture,
4. to create people that has good quality and professional in every aspect of life,
5. to keep the natural resources everlasting,
6. to be a media to the people, and
7. to carry out democracy.

During the conflict in Poso and Moluccas, Brigade Manguni was one group that concerned with Christian people in Poso as well as in Moluccas. According to Renata Ticonuwu, the General Secretary of BM, this group showed their support by collecting information from their network that lived near Poso and Moluccas. Afterwards they shared this information to police and religion/public leaders as they

⁸⁸ Interview by email with Renata Ticonuwu, S.Th, the General Secretary of Brigade Manguni on 15 April 2010

⁸⁹ Accessed from <http://bmi-btg.blogspot.com/> on 30 December 2009

hoped from this information, the police, local government and religion/public leaders can take right action to handle the conflict and the actors/provocateurs.⁹⁰

Furthermore they pressed the police and military through the press to act proportionally. They did it, because in some tragedies the police seemed to let certain religion group attacked another religion group without any strict action from the police or local government. It was obviously provoked a new conflict that can be seen as a revenge action from other group. Although this group neither came to the conflict areas nor supported directly, but they helped evacuees who came from Poso, Ternate, Halmahera and Ambon to North Sulawesi.

In carrying out their program, Brigade Manguni uses two approaches to keep Manado secure from any inter religion or inter ethnic conflict. First, they use their own culture (Minahasa culture) for binding their people and confronting the provocateur or terrorist who comes to their area. And the second, they place security post in every village. They did it during the Poso and Moluccas conflict and it succeeded. Manado became a safe and secure place during that period, and the conflict could not spread out to Manado nor occurred in it although Manado lies close to Poso and Moluccas.

IV. Terrorism and Other Actors in Conflict Poso and Moluccas

After the Declaration Malino II on December 2001, conflict Poso escalated as there were some bombs and assembled fire arms found by the police. Until the year 2002, at least 1.453 assembled fire arms, 660 ammunitions, and 690 assembled bombs found by the police.⁹¹ It means there were outside parties that had come and taken

⁹⁰ Interview by email with Renata Ticonuwu, S.Th, the General Secretary of Brigade Manguni on 15 April 2010.

⁹¹ Damanik, *op.cit*, p. 127.

advantages from this situation since the conflicting parties had used different weapon from the earlier conflict.

Some people believed that it related to Al Qaeda group (led by Osama bin Laden) who took benefits and supported Laskar Jihad to come to Poso in the middle of May 2000 as said by AM. Hendropriyono - the previous Chief of National Intelligent Agent. Some others believed that those weapons had come from Filipina. However, after the arrival of Laskar Jihad, Central Sulawesi District Police seized some fire arms made in PT Pindad (Industry of Army), Bandung, the only company that allowed by Indonesian government to produce weapons. Some witnesses believed that those weapons were sent and traded to conflicting parties.⁹²

Rev. Damanik admitted that weapon trading happened during the conflict Poso. Some persons traded weapons to earn money so they could support their family's life. Since riots happened on 1998, practically the economy in Poso was paralyzed. Many people then lost their job and income. This obviously made the unemployment in Poso increased in number. Hence some persons would do anything to earn money for their own sake, such as to take care of their family and to rebuild their houses, including by trading weapons.⁹³

But, who sent those weapons to Poso actually? And directed to what reason? Was it because of terrorism group in Poso, particularly from Christian side, that made this possible happened? And how could those weapons and ammunitions get into Poso since many security posts in Poso?

Aditjondro said in his article, Pindad supposed to take all the responsibilities regarding these matters. Most of weapons and ammunitions used in Poso were made

⁹² Geroge J. Aditjondro, *Al-Qaeda, Atau Permainan Tentara? Kepentingan Militer Di Balik 'Konflik Antar Agama'di Poso, Sulawesi Tengah* (Al Qaeda or Army Forces Games? Military Interest behind the Inter Religions Conflict in Poso, Central Sulawesi), accessed from www.geocities.com/kariu67/gja110402.htm on 20 July 2009.

⁹³ Interview with Rev. Damanik, Jakarta, 9 October 2009.

in Pindad and only a few of them made in USA, such as M-16. Some of these Pindad productions were new and some others were old ones, as those were found by Central Sulawesi District Police on 2nd December 2001. One day after the attack to Sepe village, they found one box full of Pindad ammunitions that were made on March 1989, as it was written in the box.⁹⁴

It seems that Pindad tried to pass on her old and over production weapons and ammunitions to some areas, particularly in conflict areas, by trading them. In fact, what the police found in Sepe village was not the only caught. These Pindad weapons and ammunitions had been several times tried to enter illegally to Poso.

Some weapons could be escaped from security posts and got into Poso easily but some others could not. For example, Farihin Ibnu Ahmad and Siswanto Ibrahim were caught by police on 2nd October 2002, Pantoloan Port, Palu, Central Sulawesi. The police seized a box with 2.846 bullets for different kinds of weapons and 12.945 fire-crackers from them. Not only weapons and ammunitions, but people of Poso also got guide books to assemble weapon type SS-1 before the second and third riots in the year 2000 happened in Poso. It was one reason then, why both Moslem and Christian groups mobilized their engine workshops as a place to assemble these weapons.⁹⁵

According to Hasan Nazer who lived in Poso and has business relationship with Pindad, when he was interviewed by Aditjondro on October 2003, he and his relatives convinced that they would have never supplied the Pindad weapons or amunitions to

⁹⁴ George Junus Aditjondro, "*Kerusuhan Poso dan Morowali, Akar Permasalahan dan Jalan Keluarnya*" (Poso and Morowali Riots, the Source of Conflicts and the Solution), accessed from <http://dongants.wordpress.com/2009/04/06/akar-masalah-konflik-poso-dan-morowali/> on 27 August 2009

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

Poso. He only had a small contract with Pindad to supply the component for SS-1, such as its trigger and hammer.

However, not only Pindad has to be responsible regarding these weapons spread to Poso, but also the police and the military. They seemed to let those weapons come to Central Sulawesi and Poso. Some of them were even involved in weapons trading that caused the conflict escalated. Some military and police officers were also got involved in the riot, and some of them were captain in military rank in fact.⁹⁶

Aditjondro believed that conflicts in Poso, Ambon and other areas that seemed to be caused by ethnical or religion reason were actually created in purpose by military. They used their paramilitary groups to make the conflict escalated, open and massive. It is one reason to let military intervention enter these areas. In other words, some military chief intended to open some militaries regional command that had been closed by General L. Benny Murdani on 1983 – 1986. For example, Sub-Regional Military Command 174 Pattimura under the command of Military Regional Command VII Trikora, became a new Military Regional Command in only 3 (three) months after the first conflict in Moluccas.

The presence of military or military command in conflict areas, gave them access to the local people as well as to the government and to the entrepreneur. This access also gave them facilities to do their own business, from protection business to illegal weapon and ammunitions trading. There were 48 security posts stretched out from Parimo in the west to Watumaeta in the south and everyday they could collect average 20 – 30 million in a day.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Aditjondro, *“Al-Qaeda, Atau Permainan Tentara? Kepentingan Militer Di Balik 'Konflik Antar Agama'di Poso, Sulawesi Tengah.... op. cit*

⁹⁷ Aditjondro, *“Kerusuhan Poso dan Morowali, Akar Permasalahan dan Jalan Keluarnya” (Poso and Morowali Riots, the Source of Conflicts and the Solution), op cit.*

What happened in Ambon is almost the same like in Poso. During the first riot, on January 1999 until April 2000, two conflicting parties (Moslem and Christian) were using traditional weapons and assembled bombs that made by themselves. But after the coming of Laskar Jihad from Java, Sulawesi and Sumatera on Mei 2000 that intended to help Moslem people in Maluku, the type of weapons were changed. They brought and used modern weapons that destroyed the balancing between two conflicting groups.⁹⁸

When Laskar Jihad came to Maluku, they were allowed to bring weapons. They sent some weapons hidden in 200 containers by using vessel Tanto Sakti that came after their visit in Ambon. The army let these containers unloaded at Yos Sudarso port, that controlled by Moslem community. It indicated that military knew about this and in fact they supported this activity.⁹⁹ Besides, on 13 December 2000, at Lanal Halong wharf found 6.142 ammunitions from various weapon in vessel Dobonsolo.¹⁰⁰

From the above description then we can see that it seemed the government, military and police had something to do with the conflict. Therefore, we arrived at one question, what did the government do to resolve the conflict in Poso and Moluccas? In the next chapter, I will answer these questions.

⁹⁸ Aditjondro, "*Orang-orang Jakarta di Balik Tragedi Maluku (I)*", *op. cit.*

⁹⁹ George Aditjondro, "*Orang-orang Jakarta di Balik Tragedi Maluku (III)*" (Jakarta People Behind the Moluccas Tragedy) accessed from http://www.munindo.brd.de/george/george_orang_jakarta_maluku_3.html on 30 December 2009

¹⁰⁰ Report from Governor of Moluccas (Dr. Ir. MS. Latuconsina) Regarding the Situation and Evaluation of the Implementation of Activity Plan Civil Emergency Controller in Moluccas Province, December 2000.

IV

The Role of Government

Both conflict in Poso (25 December 1998) and Maluku (19 January 1999) simply occurred because of fight between two young men. However this fight became escalated and bigger when there were symbols of religion used. Conflict between Christian and Muslim then sounded in everywhere. Not only both sides became victims in these conflicts but they were also performers of cruelty. Therefore, this chapter will analyze the response of the government regarding Christian – Muslim conflict in Poso and Moluccas and the efforts taken by local and national government as well as military and security officer to end the chaos.

I. Role of Government in Handling Conflict Poso

Conflict in Poso on 25 December 1998 simply happened because of a fight between two young men in Sayo, and one of them was drunk. Many young men in Poso like to drink alcohol and get drunk, and when it happened, fighting between drunken men can't be avoided. Therefore, they get used to it.¹⁰¹ But this time, it was different. The fight became escalated, and in several days, this fight became riot in Poso. The riot indeed caused a big loss, not only material but also people's life.

However, knowing that the quarrel became riot, the local government and some religious leader acted quickly and attentively. Soon after the quarrel happened on 25 December 1998, some local government officers, religious leaders and public leaders had a meeting in Poso. They were discussing about closing some stores that sold alcohol beverages and some adultery places. They did involve Moslem and Christian

¹⁰¹ Interview with Rev. Damanik, Jakarta, 9 October 2009.

young men to sweep the store selling alcohol beverages. Afterwards, they talked about driving back all of the people that come from out of Poso and caused riot in Poso.¹⁰²

Couple days after this meeting, they held another meeting to discuss about ending the conflict. And they decided to give sanction to anybody who started the attack. Later, they held another meeting early in the year 1999, on 8 January precisely, and decided to stop all of quarrel and to try the provocateur in the riot.¹⁰³ Since then, the riot stopped and Poso became a safety place for several months.

However, another riot happened again when there was a quarrel between two young men in a motorcycle workshop, on 17 April 2000. But this time, the police started to act very strict. They shot some provocateurs that come from Moslem group, and caused three people died. This action made Moslem people angry and caused a bigger riot. One week after the riot, there was a meeting held by Poso district government on 23 April 2000 with some public leader discussing about withdrawal the police from Poso.¹⁰⁴

The police withdrawal from Poso district caused another problem. It gave a condition in which Moslem people could do more brutal attacks to some Christian houses and places for pray. But then, on 23 May 2000, a group named *Pasukan Kelelawar* (Bat Troops) took revenge by attacking Moslem houses. The public and religious leader then once again took action attentively by performing a meeting on 25 May 2000. They made an agreement to stop all attacks from external group of Poso together.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Rinaldy Damanik, *op. cit*, pp 66-67

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid* and interview with Frangky Karundeng, Manado, 5 June 2009..

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Frangky.

Since the second riot both Moslem and Christian groups had used fire arms and assembled bombs, then on 12 June 2000, Poso district government with some religious leader met and discussed about pulling all fire arms and bombs from both group by 15 June 2000. After the meeting, all people ordered to give their weapon to police or government otherwise the police or government would check their houses and took out all of their weapons. During 9 – 21 June 2000, the troops of Wirabuana military area seized thousand of weapons and ammunitions from many rioters in some villages and forests in Poso.¹⁰⁶

As a continued action from the above meetings, 4 (four) governors from Sulawesi (North, Central, South and South East Sulawesi) held a meeting in Manado on 28 July 2000 to discuss about fund request to Central government of Indonesia and international organization to reconstruct all badly damaged villages in Poso and its surroundings. Beside, they started to discuss about making reconciliation from national level to sub district and villages level and to give psychic rehabilitation to evacuees that have been suffered because of the conflict.

On 21 August 2000, Abdurrahman Wahid, the 4th President of Indonesia, came to Poso and had a discussion with the public leader in Poso. Before the President, public leaders of Poso district expressed their support to government's effort to build peace in Poso and they agreed to enforce law in their district and to take strict action to provocateurs from any side that started the conflict in Poso. They realized that the security and the peace of their villages were their own responsibilities.¹⁰⁷

Although the local and national government had performed many efforts to build peace in Poso and reconciliation has been made, but in fact the chaos still

¹⁰⁶ Damanik, *op.cit.* and read also "Bara Tiada Akhir" (Never Ending Chaos) accessed from <http://majalah.tempointeraktif.com/id/arsip/2003/10/27/LU/mbm.20031027.LU91107.id.html>, 13 January 2010.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

occurred. Some were even more brutal as said by Pastor Damanik. However, the army and police could not do their duty very well. In some tragedy, they seemed to let the conflict happened, such as on 12 November 2001, when there was a fight between Moslem and Christian groups.

The chaos occurred on 07.15 am. At that time, moslem group came unto Christian villages such as Rananoncu, Lembomawo and its surroundings. They used fire arms and attacked the people of this village. When Pastor Damanik heard this news from his friends in this area, he called Poso precinct police and the commander of Poso district military as soon as possible. And at 08.05 am, he could talk to the commander. However, they answered to Pastor Damanik thay they did not know how to handle this problem. Eventually the police and the army came to this conflict area at 12.15 pm, after many victims in both sides felt down.¹⁰⁸

Two weeks after this attack, there was another attack from Moslem group to Christian villages near the seashore, such as Betalemba, Patiwunga, Tangkura, Dewua and Sangginora, at 27-29 November 2001. The aggressor used fire arms and bombs to attack those villages and made big destruction. But once again the police and the army came too late to save these villages and to help their people. Even, no one was being processed by law due to their actions in these villages.

After those attacks, the central government kept trying to carry out a meeting between two conflicting parties at Malino, Poso. During December 2001, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (Coordinator Minister of Political and Security at that time), Yusuf Kala (Coordinator Minister of Social Welfare), Matori Abdul Jalil (Minister of Security and Defence), A.M. Hendropriyono (Chief of National Intelligent) and Da'i Bachtiar (Chief of Indonesian Police) made some separate meetings with the local

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Pastor Damanik

government of Central Sulawesi, Commander of Wirabuana Military district, Moslem Leaders and Christian Leaders. They tried to set peace agreement between two conflicting parties. Eventually on 19 December 2001, the Moslem and Christian groups sat together in the same meeting and agreed to make a peace declaration regarding conflict in Poso.

As the result of this meeting, Declaration of Malino II was signed on 20 December 2001 and both parties agreed to:

1. Stop all conflicts and disputes in every form.
2. Obey every form and effort of law enforcement in order to support sanction imposition to them who break the rules.
3. Ask government officer to act fair and strictly to maintain the security in Poso.
4. Keep the peace condition in Poso, refused to carry out the civil emergency in Poso as well as the intervention from external side.
5. To eliminate all slanders and untrustworthy towards every party, to respect each other, and to forgive one another for the harmony sake.
6. Poso is integrally part of Indonesia, therefore every member of this country has right to alive, to come, and to stay in peacefully and to respect the tradition of this local area.
7. Every rights and properties have to be returned to their legally owner, as they have had it before the conflict and dispute happened.
8. To return all evacuees to their own area.
9. Cooperate with the government to rehabilitate all of the facilities that have been damaged.

10. To carry out the religious law respectively by honoring each other, and to obey all regulation that have been agreed, both in laws or government regulations and any others form of rules.

After the Malino II Declaration, Indonesian Police (Polri) tried hard to build peaceful and safe condition in Poso as their commitment to fulfill the law no. 2/2002, article 4. It gave authority to Polri as the organizer of internal security after its separation from TNI. But the chaos did not stop and it even went on until the year 2005. That is one reason then the later Presiden (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) provided The President Decision no. 13/2005 about the Settlement and Protection Process in Poso. He gave the authority to keep peace and security not only to the police but also to the military.

This deployment, made the situation in Poso more conducive for its people than before. The police and military not only kept the security in Poso but also helped the reconstruction and rehabilitation process in Poso as their military duties except war. The people have already carried out their life as usual, though some (Christian) evacuees still preferred to stay in Manado or other places out of Poso for security reason.¹⁰⁹

However there were some problems regarding this deployment:

(1) Coordination between Polri and TNI seemed to be very poor. Polri found difficulties when they have to build coordination with TNI as their supporter in maintaining security in Poso. There was no cooperation between them and in fact there was no positively regulation that arranged the cooperation between TNI and Polri. It also reflected the unwillingness of military to give the authority to carry out internal security to police, particularly in Poso.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Frangky Karundeng.

- (2) Police special force, the Mobile Brigade (Brimob) took over many of the riot control techniques they had acquired for three decades from the military, which contradict standard police riot control techniques and procedures. And the militaristic ways used by the security apparatus have turned communal conflicts into more violent.
- (3) Some parties believed that the deployment of armed forces in Poso was an effort to maintain their political and economic role in Indonesia. As mentioned before, the weapons trading that supplied by PT Pindad is one example, as well as protection businesses, money collections from security posts, and forwarding businesses by using their operational vehicles. This deployment was also considered as their effort to open the old regional military commands in Indonesia - particularly in Central Sulawesi and Moluccas - which has been squeezed by previous Armed Forces Commander and Minister of Defense, Gen. Benny Murdani, from sixteen to ten regional military commands.¹¹⁰

II. Role of Government in Handling Conflict Moluccas

The teamwork for Moluccas Conflict grouped the riot in Moluccas into three phases. The first phase was on 19 January – 19 April 1999. The second phase was on 24 July – 31 December 1999 and continued until August 2000. From these phases, there was a different dispute settlement between the conflict happened in Poso with the one that occurred in Moluccas.

¹¹⁰ Read also George Aditjondro, “Learning from Communal Conflicts in Poso, Central Sulawesi”, conveyed in International Workshop on “Religion and Violence”, organized by *Sinar Harapan* Daily and the Media Project of the Oxford Centre for Religion and Public Life (OCRPL) in Hotel Cemara, Jakarta, August 17-21, 2009.

After a quarrel between two young different religions men in Poso on 25 December 1998, the local government arranged a meeting with some public and religious leaders very soon. In the evening on the same day, they discussed about the root of the quarrel. Eventually they decided to repeal all permit of alcohol beverages selling and close adultery places in Poso. They also decided to drive back all mass that came from out of Poso and ignited the fight into riot back to their own places. And furthermore, they agreed to take all rioters to justice. This simple action made Poso back to peaceful place to its people, only in few days after the riot.

Opposite to Poso, the conflict settlement in Ambon, took longer. After taking almost 2 months of inter-religion groups fighting, eventually in the earlier March 1999, a special mission from military (TNI) met with reconciliation team created by local government to discuss some steps about reconciliation process in Moluccas. Here, the military promised to create secure and peaceful in the conflict areas.

According to John Pieris, there were some factors causing the delay of conflict settlement in Ambon. *First*, the topography of Moluccas that is mountainous, hilly, has lots of wavy sea and long distance between one island to another, made the settlement of many conflicts occurred in Moluccas were difficult to handle. *Second*, the limitation of transportation and telecommunication tools that belonged to local government and military causes their efforts to settle the conflict very slow. *Third*, inadequate of fund and number of security apparatus also makes a fast conflict settlement and reconciliation process difficult to bear.¹¹¹

However, according to Lieutenant General Suaidi Marasabessy, former chief commander of Wirabuana Military District (Sulawesi area), the Moluccas conflict took longer to be settled since there was no religious and public leader approach as

¹¹¹ Pieris, *op. cit.*, pp 181-182

there was in Poso. Marasabessy consider the conflict itself as an effort to destroy unity of Ambon communities as that have been created since the Dutch colonialism. Although both conflicts, in Poso and Moluccas, were caused (one of which) by elite's political interest using different religions parties, but the absence of religious and public leaders to calm down their people could make the conflict escalated and furthermore difficult to handle.¹¹²

The religious and public leaders were finally being involved after the chaos became bigger and the conflict spread out to out of Ambon Island. A peace pledge between two conflicting parties that represented by their religious leaders and some public leaders were signed on 12 May 1999. In this pledge they promised to build a new relationship between them who love, appreciate and respect each other based on humanity, family ties and friendship values.

However, this pledge could not stop the fighting between two religion groups. When former vice President, Megawati Soekarnoputri, visited Ambon on 25 January 2000, she said that the government took all the responsibility to all chaos in Moluccas however the two conflicting parties should have willingness to stop the conflict and they must do something together to stop it.

Furthermore, the government asked assistance from the government of Netherland. The government of Netherland then had shown their good intention, by allocating 35 billion rupiah as an emergency fund for the victims, and the former Netherland Prime Minister, Ruud Lubbers, led a meeting of reconciliation presented by Moslem, group, Catholic and Protestant Church that held on 22 February 2000. But, the conflict went on until former President, Abdurrahman Wahid, put a civil emergency regulation into force in Moluccas Province and North Moluccas, on 27

¹¹² Interview with Suaidi Marasabessy, in Central Jakarta, 30 October 2009

June 2000, by *Keputusan Presiden* (Decision of President) No. 88/2000. After this decision, many security apparatus did patrol in every dangerous area.¹¹³

However, the government's effort to deploy police and military to conflict areas still could not stop the conflict. Even according to the report of Governor of Moluccas as well as civil emergency controller on December 2000, some security apparatus got involved to the conflict.¹¹⁴ George Aditjondro strictly appointed this involvement in form of supporting certain group based on religion similarities. According to Aditjondro, this involvement included financial and weapon assistance.¹¹⁵

Knowing that the conflict still went on, although the military have been deployed in Moluccas, one year later, Yusuf Kala (Coordinator Minister of Social Welfare at that time) together with Bambang Yudhoyono (Coordinator Minister of Political and Security at that time) made some approaches to conflicting parties. He made a team to reconcile both parties and arrange a meeting so they could meet and talk together to find out best solution for Moluccas conflict.

Eventually, the meeting of conflicting parties could be held in Malino, 11-12 February 2002, after a pre-meeting in Makasar on 30 January 2002. This meeting ended by signing Declaration of Malino I. Here, both parties agreed to:

1. Finish all conflict and violence.
2. Set up law supremacy that is fair, strict, honest, and neutral with support from all community. Therefore the law institution should work professionally.

¹¹³ *Conflict Chronologist in Moluccas*, accessed from http://www.tempinteraktif.com/hg/timeline/2004/04/29/tml,20040429-01_id.html, on 5 April 2010

¹¹⁴ Report from Governor of Moluccas (Dr. Ir. MS. Latuconsina) Regarding the Situation and Evaluation of the Implementation of Activity Plan Civil Emergency Controller in Moluccas Province, December 2000.

¹¹⁵ George Aditjondro, "*Orang-orang Jakarta di Balik Tragedi Maluku (II)*" (Jakarta People Behind the Moluccas Tragedy) accessed from http://www.munindo.brd.de/george/george_orang_jakarta_maluku_3.html on 30 December 2009

3. Reject, against and take action to any separatism that threat the stability and sovereignty of Indonesia, such as RMS (South Moluccas Republic).
4. As a part of Indonesia, people of Moluccas has right to live, to work and to do business in Indonesia territory, as the other people of Indonesia can live, work and do business in Moluccas province, legally and fairly with respect to the local culture and keep the orderliness and security.
5. Any organizations, units, groups or illegal armed troops is forbidden in Moluccas and should surrender their arms and any external party who disturbs Moluccas, must leave Moluccas.
6. Create National Investigation Team to investigate thoroughly the incident of 19 January 1999, including FKM (Moluccas Sovereignty Front), RMS (South Moluccas Republic), Laskar Jihad, Laskar Kristus etc.
7. Return all evacuees to their homeland without any force and return their properties right step by step in accordance with the situation and condition.
8. Government will help the people to rehabilitate their mental, social, economic, and public facilities, such as schools, hospitals, mosques, churches and houses so all people of Moluccas can go out from their difficulties.
9. Keep orderliness and security of all territory and society by keeping the unity and strictly of military and police in accordance with their duties. Besides, many facilities needed by military and police should be built, completed and be functionalized again.
10. Maintain relation and harmonization between all religious people in Moluccas, therefore any efforts of religion mission should obey and respect local culture.

11. Support the rehabilitation of University of Pattimura for their own progress, therefore the recruitment system and other policies should run openly with fair and fulfill the quality standard.

Eventually, the regulation of civil emergency ended by the government on 15 September 2003, after Karel Albert Ralahalu and Mohammad Abdullah Latuconsina were chosen as Governor and Vice Governor of Maluku (2003 – 2009) one month before.

V

Conclusion & Recommendation

The conflict occurred in East of Indonesia from the end of 90's until mid of 2000 showed us that this country still has potential conflicts that should be ended or prevented. The horizontal conflict in Poso as well as in Moluccas was started simply because a fight between two young different religion men and in short time escalated to be an inter-religion conflict. Soon, in the name of defending their families, friends and colleagues, some groups identified with religion symbols created spontaneously. Two different religion groups, face to face, Moslem and Christian, confronted one another with their own symbols. While the Moslem group said "*Allahu Akbar*" in the other side Christian group yelled "*Go Onward Troop of Christ*" and they had murdered one another.

Actually, there was no religion conflict before, neither in Poso nor Moluccas. Though many quarrels happened because of drunken young men, but it never escalated that way and became bigger conflict. In fact, Moslem and Christian people lived together, side by side and peacefully. The seed of conflict arouse when government entered into force their transmigration policy and built up many transportation facilities during 70's. This policy eased people from other areas came to Poso and Moluccas and lived there together with the local people. They mostly came from Java and Sulawesi, particularly from, Buton, Bugis and Makasar who embraced Islam but have different culture, socio economic, education level and background with the local Moslem people.

The problem was begun when foreigners managed their business very well. As foreigner they run their business tougher than local people and this attitude obviously

made them success and richer. Gradually, it created economic gap between local people and foreigner. Furthermore, this gap created potential conflict between them.

Besides it, political interest added some more problems in these two territories. Some political leader used the sensitivity of religion from their constituents for their interest sake. To win the political campaign they even used some verses from their Holy Book. Furthermore, this made religion believers became divided and easily to pit against each other. This situation was ever more complicated when some religious leaders forbid their followers to congratulate other religion followers. Therefore, when there was an issue of two young different religions men got fights, inter-religion conflict spread out very fast.

Afterwards, two different religion groups, Moslem and Christian, got into fight. Several times later, Lasykar Jihad came from Java to these conflict areas in order to help their Moslem friends. Since that time, the weapon used by both groups changed from traditional weapons into assembled weapons and bombs. Therefore some observers were sure that terrorism group was involved in conflict at Poso and Moluccas. Some of them even believed that this terrorist not only came from Moslem radical group but also from Christian side.

Although some Christians united together, they did not create one certain group in purpose that has structural committee nor have particular mission to do destruction as terrorist did. And though the media labeled some Christian groups with particular names but in fact they grouped spontaneously. Contrary to terrorist group, these Christian groups did their action openly and directed to civil societies. These actions could be identified as actions of defending themselves as well as protecting their properties and helping their friends, families and relatives.

Furthermore, these groups had lots of followers that recruited from the terror activities victims, relatives of the victims and church members. Therefore they got fund and logistic from their own members that collected money, food, drink and clothes together. These groups started to use the collected fund to buy fire weapons and bombs when the conflict spread out and escalated and when the fire arms seemed to be let into these conflict areas and begun to use during conflict. Ironically both groups, Moslem and Christian, used the same label of weapon made by Pindad, the Indonesian army industry.

However, there was a different between conflict in Poso and Moluccas in the way of government, both local and central, handling the conflict. Soon after the quarrel between two different religious young men, one of which was drunk, the Poso local government had a meeting and discussed about this matter with public and religious leaders. They took a fast action by involving young men to clean up every store selling alcohol beverages and drove back every people that came from out of Poso to their own villages.

Contrary to it, the conflict settlement in Moluccas took times longer. It was because of (1) difficult topography of Moluccas, (2) limitation of transportation and telecommunication tools, (3) inadequate of fund and number of security apparatus, and (4) the absence of religious and public leader to make an approach to each side and cooperate with local or central government as there was in Poso.

When eventually the central government decided to deploy police and military to the conflict areas, another problem came up. The militaristic way they used to handle terror actors increased the anger of people and obviously escalated the conflict itself. And sometimes the side-with feelings of police and military to conflicting parties because of religion sensitivity could not be avoided. They showed their

support not only by securing some villages inhabited by one certain religion group but also by supplying fund and weapons to conflicting parties.

Although the police and military helped the victims to rebuild their damaged housings, schools and places to pray as one of their military operations besides war, but the absence of positive regulation to arrange the cooperation between police and military made the coordination between them very low. It seemed that military was still unwilling to give the authority to run internal security and to keep order to police officer.

From the above explanations, then I would give some recommendations to avoid another horizontal conflict and the way to settle it:

1. Central government should give authority to local government to arrange their own program to develop their territories by looking at their greatest potential and figuring out their natural and human resources. However central government still has to monitor and evaluate any program that carried out by local government.
2. Religion leaders, public leaders and young men should be involved in arranging development program in their territories. Since they know their people very much and their needs, so they can give lots of contribution to local government. They could be involved also to create the sense of religion and ethnic tolerance to build cooperation amongst various ethnics, cultures and religions of people who lived in same areas.
3. Local government has to provide their people's need by creating job opportunities and giving these opportunities to their people fairly so the economic gap that potentially developed into horizontal conflict and disguised as religion conflict, can be reduced and or avoided.

4. Religion leaders should avoid any biblical teaching to ask their people to use violence in the name of defending their religions or in spreading out their teachings. On the contrary they must teach values of respecting, loving, caring, helping and cooperating with others especially in some areas in Indonesia, in which lived many people with various ethnics, cultures and religions.
5. In the time of conflict, the religion leaders, public leaders and young men can also be involved as a partner of local and central government to settle it.
6. Never should political party use religion issue and any biblical verses forsake their own interest and arouse people's intense dislike to other religion followers.
7. Police and military should leave the militaristic way to handle horizontal conflict and change it into the appropriate approach otherwise a new conflict will come up.
8. There should be a regulation to arrange the coordination between police and military when handling conflict and keeping internal security in some potential conflict territories in Indonesia.

And eventually, I hope this research will not only give details description about inter religion conflict in Poso and Moluccas and the radical movement that involved in it, but also some thought contributions to local and central government as well as religious leader and public leader to avoid and or to settle horizontal conflict in any areas in Indonesia, in which people from various ethnics, religions, and cultures live together, side by side.

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2. Pastor Damanik, head of GKST and Christian Center in Poso, Jakarta, 9 October 2009.
3. Letjen. Suaidy Marasabessy, Former Commander of Military District Wirabuana (Sulawesi Area), Jakarta, 30 October 2009
4. Mrs. Mietje Saemima, Chairwoman of Martha Christina Tiahahu Movement and Secretary to Team Work for Moluccas Conflict, Jakarta, 27 October 2009.
5. Renata Tekonuwu, S.Th, General Secretary of Brigade Manguni, by phone and email.