

The Contradiction of Customary War in the Perspective of the Amungme Tribe in the Papua Region

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Abstract— The war between tribes in Mimika Regency has a deeper meaning and has historical values that cannot be separated from their lives, so that the war has been continuously maintained and guarded from generation to generation to this day. The purpose of this research is to understand the process of inter-tribal war and conflict resolution in Mimika Regency. While the research procedures in this study are research methods, research focus, research subjects, data sources, time and place of research, data collection techniques, data analysis techniques, and data validity checking techniques. War is the most important part of their life, regarding war, parents usually invite young children to participate in war, so that young people can understand the meaning of war between tribes contained in it. These meanings include (1) being a dominant and strong tribe among other tribes; (2) exercise courage in war to be brave; (3) training leadership; (4) war strategy exercises; (5) became popular among his tribes; (6) faster physical growth, especially teenagers; and so forth.

Keywords— Contradiction, attitude, behavior and customary war.

I. INTRODUCTION

The traditions of the tribes around Mimika are still firmly held to maintain their existence as well as efforts to become the dominant tribe among other tribes. Collectivity within the tribe is closely guarded by tradition, so that collective consciousness remains embedded. A tribe that wants to be a dominant and strong tribe against other tribes, with the aim that these tribes are afraid of them, because they already have special powers and other tribes do not have these powers. Strong tribes have been a choice since birth or have been hereditary. The number is large or small is not an important measure of having strength so that other tribes fear and want to be respected, so that usually strong tribes dominate weak tribes or tribes that lose in war battles. In connection with the behavior of the conflict, the war between tribes in Mimika is a fierce competition between tribes, where one tribe wants to dominate another tribe, especially in terms of tribal strength. In that war they showed their respective strengths and did not want to lose in the war but had to win and be strong, so that the other tribes feared them (a strong tribe and won in war). By looking at the phenomenon on the ground that one tribe with another never relented, but instead defended their argument by saying that we are men the same as you, we have the same equipment of war. So we are not afraid to fight or be antagonistic, unless we go forward with weapons then we are afraid.

II. RESEARCH METHOD

The research approach that has been used to achieve the research objectives is qualitative with the type of phenomenological research. The researcher chose the type of phenomenological research, because he wanted to examine public awareness both individually and in groups towards the attitudes and behavior of inter-tribal wars and also the understanding of the community in interpreting tribal wars themselves. In this writing, the author tries to collect data from

various sources, including conducting interviews with the community, library books, reports, results of previous research, statements, experiences both seen, heard, and felt, print and electronic media, and other sources related to inter-tribal wars and conflict resolution in Mimika Regency, Papua Province. Qualitative data collection is by focusing on the actual types of data and the collection procedures. However, data collection involves much more than that. Data collection includes seeking permission, implementing sound qualitative sampling strategies, developing ways to record information, both digitally and on paper, storing data, and anticipating ethical issues that may arise. In this study, the researcher also used an unstructured interview technique, because according to the researcher this technique was very easy and free or not strict in conducting a dialogue between the researcher and the key informants and the subjects, then writing things related to the research problem and analyzing the data. By using an interview guide like this, it is possible to find out the way of thinking of the actor or key informant and the subjects and the underlying reasons according to the problem of inter-tribal wars that often occur in Mimika Regency.

III. RESEARCH RESULTS

1. High Value Tribal War

In understanding the life of the Amungme tribe and the tribes in the Central Mountains of Papua, they believe that tribal war is something of high value or has a deep meaning, not the same as the values of other social life in people's lives. The Amungme people believe that tribal war is something that positions or places the top as high as the sky. Why is that because tribal wars or customary wars are something natural and involve human lives or can dare to take the lives of fellow humans, because of that tribal wars are considered as something natural. Therefore, it is God who is allowed to take human lives as the owner and creator, humans do not have the right to take human lives but this has happened by means of war. In this

regard, there is a question that is why the Amungme people understand that war is a separate path or is as high as the sky? Felix Jawame, said that war is something natural. Therefore, to set a war strategy, one must establish a communication relationship between ordinary humans and humans in the outside world and then call out mantras or say prayers according to customs so that the process of monitoring and maintaining war goes well in accordance with the expectations of the belligerent groups. Another thing in traditional wars, any words, whether bad or good, from generation to generation cannot just disappear, even though the person has died, but the words are still in their lives for generations. People who died or died on the battlefield had their names written down even though they were in oral form but could not be forgotten. Thus, in the course of war, be careful to talk about war, you must consider carefully, especially words that make other people hurt. Human life cannot be separated from problems or wars, whether in families, groups, communities and even nations and countries. Therefore, tribal wars are a phenomenon that exists in social life and as a result society is always in constant change, because it cannot avoid or avoid human life, but is always attached to human life itself. Thus, historically we see together in the perspective of the scriptures or the Bible which has been explained in the Old Testament book of Genesis that after God created the first humans, namely Adam and Eve, then they gave birth to Cain and Abel. In the life of Cain and Abel there was a murder, his brother Cain killed Abel's younger brother. It reads as follows:

God said to Cain: "Why is your heart hot and your face gloomy? Will your face not glow, if you do good? But if you do not do good, sin is already peeking at the door; it tempts you very much, but you must have dominion over it." Cain said to his brother Abel, "Let us go out into the field." While they were in the field, Cain suddenly struck his younger brother Abel and killed him. God said to Cain: "Where is Abel, your brother?" His answer: "I don't know! Am I my sister's keeper?" His Word: "What have you done? Your sister's blood cries out to Me from the ground. So now, cursed are you, cast away from the ground which opened its mouth to receive your brother's blood from your hands. If you cultivate the land, then the land will not give you full results anymore; you become a fugitive and a wanderer on earth (Genesis 4:6-12). This is where the war started, until now the problem of war has always been inherent in human life throughout the ages. People always say that war is at the top, it cannot be compared with other social life or it cannot be compared with other things in human life, because this is a matter of life. Regarding the problem of wars that often occur in Mimika, those who are experienced in war or traditional elders say that war is not something new, but since the creation of man there has been war, so we only continue or pass on what has already happened. Therefore, this then becomes a fundamental understanding for the warring people that according to them war must be guarded and maintained properly. To take care of everything related to the attributes of war, including a place to say a prayer or to call out spells, the place in the Amungme language is called hibo. Hibo is one of the honai or houses devoted to dealing with war attributes or storing war tools, hibo is only temporary during war, not

forever. In hibo it is forbidden for anyone to enter and stay or do activities in hibo, because hibo is devoted to the perpetrators or organizers or the subject of war in the Amungme language called woemum. Woemum who can do activities and say prayers or spells to call woem negelin. Woem negelin describes as a woman or women who protect and direct the woemum during war. Because of that, woem negelin guarded the course of the war from the beginning to the end of the war. Apart from woemum there is nimitim nek. Nimitim nek are people outside of woemum, be it the same tribe or other tribes who come to help to join woemum to fight. The director of the war (woem negelin), namely the people who fought each must have a woem negelin (director of the war). Then, woem negelin is actually the spirit that is owned by each side, traditionally, it has been arranged in such a way and people believe that woem negelin is a woman figure who always accompanies during the war until it ends.

War actors (woemum), namely the main or core actors in the war. There must be a war, because of his treatment or actions; For example: two people fight between A and B and then A dies, then B is definitely defined as the main actor and is ready to act as the perpetrator and then takes responsibility for the war until it ends. Spokesperson in war (woemkal ame) means spokesperson (spokesperson) in the course of inter-tribal war, woemkal ame can be from woemum or from nimitim nek depending on the trust or appointment of the war participants in deliberation. Brave in war (woem wang). In this regard, he is called the woem wang predicate, because he alone dares to enter a war location and then shoots or kills his enemy and also he is always a pioneer or vanguard to advance towards the opponent. Woem wang who shoots arrows at the opponent then hits the target or can be said to be sharp archers, so that then all the participants in the war scare him. Even though he alone had taken the strategy first, because of that neither the opponent nor the enemy dared to advance even though there were a lot of them. People outside of the war actors (nimitim nek), are people who decide to support and divide the perpetrators of war, nimitim nek are either from the same tribe or other tribes who help the war until the war ends. And the enemy (woemme) is an enemy or opponent who is not friendly or friendly is a term for something that is seen as being detrimental or a threat to others. In tribal wars usually before the enemy comes prepare themselves with the tools of war. If suddenly the enemy comes to attack, then they can fight because they have prepared themselves before the enemy comes. Regarding the spokesperson (woemkal ame) who is the spokesperson (spokesperson) in the course of inter-tribal wars, the woemkal ame can be from woemum or from nimitim nek depending on being entrusted or appointed by the war participants in deliberation. If you are trusted as a spokesman to talk about anything related to war, you have to be careful. Speech must always be neutral and honest, and must not take sides, let alone utter betrayal or hate speech. This is not only from the spokesperson but applies to all war participants. Saying betrayal in the Amungme language is called (mejim or mejim kal.) One example of mejim is already a friend but soon becomes an enemy or foe. How did it happen? Because in the custom of war as nimitim nek or woemum, some people from the beginning

had been sent to join the opposing or enemy side, over time the brothers who had previously joined the opposing side turned out to have been hit by arrows and died in the war. Seeing this condition, he also secretly went to join the opposing party and attacked his friends back. Such attitudes are called *mejim*, because according to them it is very unlawful. From *woemum* or *nimitim nek*, in that war usually the younger brother joins on the other side and the older brother on the other side, father and son are the same and so on. If that's not the case, then according to the tribes that are there, there is no sense of social or solidarity that exists in fact perpetual hostility, so that in order to maintain it, they are forced to do so. In fact, things like this have a very deep meaning. In this regard, Amungme believes that people who die or die in tribal wars are the choice of the *woem negelin*, and vice versa it is not the choice of the *woem negelin* not to die even though 20 to 25 arrows are pierced or stuck all over a person's body in the war. Pierced or stuck in the Amungme local language is called *koeng puagawin* or *karugum tagawin*. But still alive because *woem negelin* was not the only one who took the lives of others in tribal wars. Even if the person who has become the choice of *woem negelin* that this person must die in the war, has automatically died or died in the war, even though the person is in another place far from the location of the war but suddenly is at the site of the war and joins the war in the end. arrow and died. Actually taking people's lives is entirely in the hands of God as the creator of humans, but this is only a myth or belief of the Amungme tribe, more specifically in the context of tribal wars as their socio-cultural values. This is a meaning in tribal wars that adhere to or are embedded in the lives of the Amungme people in Mimika Regency and the Central Mountains in general.

2. Looking for Evidence

Tribal wars or customary wars that often occur in Mimika Regency and traditional wars in the Central Mountains in general, there has never been an agreement between the two warring parties, because they defend each other's arguments and their egos are high, so they don't want to fight. give up on one of them. Therefore, they say that to determine or find evidence of who is guilty and who is right, we should just fight in the field, this is called *mang namogayak ukanwotie* in Amungme language. That is, arrows with arrows that will fight in the field, to find evidence of which party is at fault and which party is right, it turns out that many of those who have fallen victim are guilty according to them. The hospital or doctors and the police explained that based on the results of the examination it was difficult to understand or understand, because the community thought that everything that happened was a lie, so people preferred to look for evidence in the field according to what they wanted because of that there was a war between tribes. or traditional war.

3. Strong and Dominant Tribe

In war there are strong tribes and weak tribes, the fight is stronger because the strong tribes want to dominate the weak tribes and the weak tribes want to be equal to the strong tribes, so the values of customs like this continue to strengthen. Similar to the conflict theory of Karl Marx, the conflict becomes unavoidable because on the one hand the capitalists want to get

the maximum profit. On the other hand, the workers also demand the highest wages at the risk of reducing the profits of the capitalists. Since profits and wages come from the same source, conflict is inevitable. In addition, Ralf Dahrendorf's theory of conflict, sees that in every association there will only be two opposing groups, namely those in the upper group who want to remain while those at the bottom want change.

On July 30, 2015, the researcher conducted an interview with Mr. Yakob Takimai, he explained:

that there are often wars between tribes in this district, because large tribes dominate small tribes or large tribes want to dominate the area where they live, so then small tribes want to be the same as large tribes or want to compete with large tribes, this is where conflicts often occur tribal wars in this area. On October 1, 2016, several traditional leaders were just discussing the customary war, in that discussion one of the traditional leaders said that If someone takes the arrow first and then shoots at me, I'll definitely retaliate, there's no way I can just ignore it. If I don't reply, it means I'm not masculine or manly, and I also don't reply, then they are the dominant or strong ones, and we are considered not strong so we have to show our strength so that other people are afraid of us too. In fact, the traditional wars or tribal wars that often occur in Mimika show their superiority, the strength that exists in the tribes in Mimika, so that other tribes are afraid of strong tribes.

4. Land and Women as Tribal Pride

The pride of their tribe is not understanding, knowing, and understanding the role of the police in creating security and public order. They not infrequently also report to the police a number of cases of abuse, theft, and the like, but the issue of women and land for them is non-negotiable because these two points are tribal pride, even though the perpetrators are elders in their own environment. Land is represented as *mama* (mother), so *mama* is a symbol of human life which in Amungme language *te aro neweak iye* (land is me or *mama*). Women are understood not only as the fulfillment of biological reproductive needs to produce genealogical offspring, but also as the backbone and guardian of the establishment of a household, but also mothers. For this reason, it is very well understood in a traditional agrarian society that includes more than 270 tribes in West Papua, women and land as symbols of tribal pride. Of course, the consequence is that if self-esteem is damaged, especially by indecent means, they will not immediately report to the police, but (agreed) to wage war with various forms of traditional weapons they have. they are still classified as simple people whose lives are clustered so that the law that is effectively used is of course their law. Indeed, in everyday social life, both in simple and complex societies, there are always problems of conflict, dispute, with various causes, weights, and escalations following a series of social interactions between members of the community itself. However, at each level, the community itself has actually produced conflict resolution mechanisms so that the settlement model at one level of society is not necessarily effectively applied to another level of society. This means that the police as a product of modern society will not be effective and at best in overcoming customary wars to the extent of maintaining, eliminating,

reducing the escalation of conflict so that it does not spread everywhere.

On August 18, 2015, the researcher conducted an interview with Mr. Yulius Miagoni, he explained regarding the background of the tribal wars in this area that:

In fact, there was a tribal war because it involved the sovereignty of the customary rights area. This country also has sovereignty, so other countries should not interfere with this country. Similar to our ulayat land, this ulayat land cannot be contested by anyone. We created tribal wars in this area, one of the backgrounds is to defend our sovereignty or other people interfere or take forcibly without permission what is the territorial area as our defense area. Other people enter the area without our permission as the owner of this ulayat right. However, they entered under duress, even though they were not customary owners. This is where the tribal war between the Moni and Dani tribes took place in Djayanti, Kuala Kencana District, Mimika Regency.

5. *Be Courageous or a Place to Practice Courage*

Tribal wars become something important in their lives, especially for those who are involved in war, because of the understanding and belief of the community that tribal wars are positive values and a place or place to educate, cultivate and train courage or a place to form courage. Courage is meant to be without being afraid to face an enemy or opponent, even though the opponent is large or many in number. And also a place to form and train leadership, not everyone who dares to enter the battlefield or approach the enemy but only one to two people who dare to enter the battlefield. In war there are those who direct, manage war strategies, spokespersons, make the right decisions and so on are leaders in war. Being alert is the main thing in their lives, whether there is a war or not. For them war is a very valuable thing, therefore they must be ready at all times to take their bows and arrows to fend off the attacking group. Warfare is a part of everyday life. In people's lives individually or in groups; both at home, in the garden and traveling anywhere must carry a bow and arrow. Mountain people carry bows and arrows all the time, it is a habit of mountain people, it is not surprising that people carry arrows and bows every time because it is part of the tradition of mountain people. Men, young and old, are required to have a bow and arrow, except for women, and they must carry it everywhere, not even at home when traveling. Because war equipment is part of their strength (mountain people) and if suddenly there is an obstacle or attack, they must repel the attack. In this regard, parents usually advise young people or young boys in the local language (Amungme) saying that: "Eneno enongo oraga niwinop son, ham tagan niwinop son, teniwinop son, friend niwinop son. Mangiyo ageaganak jong-peing ilengamo, enongo in tagan panerek im aten. Enongayop tagamutak nunga taganewino ungo". (That is, if children go to the garden, to the fields, go everywhere, and visit other villages. Must bring arrows and bows, if you don't bring them, the enemy will kill you without retaliating like women who are weak and have no possessions. the means of war should not occur, therefore when suddenly the enemy confronts and attacks you, at least you must also fight and retaliate). Therefore, bows and

arrows serve as a shield to ward off, fend off and fight attacks that come anytime and anywhere, so you must be prepared. In special wars for young children or teenagers who have been hit by arrows or injured, of course, courage is formed naturally, because the more courageous it is with the spirit it has. When he heard the information that in a certain village there was a war going on. When I heard that, the enthusiasm to be involved in the war was extraordinary. I was hungry, but when I heard that, the hunger disappeared because I was so excited. Not only were there emotional feelings and some were sad. Then the physical growth is getting faster. However, for young people who are not hit by arrows, of course there is fear, although slowly will build up courage.

IV. DISCUSSION

In this study, temporarily selected a theory that can understand and analyze according to social phenomena that often occur in Mimika Regency, in this case the war between tribes. The theory is the Johan Galtung Conflict Triangle. One of Galtung's contributions to the sociology of conflict shows that various individuals, groups and organizations carry their respective points of interest. Interests can be in the form of economic or political. Two social groups with economic interests in the same environment, for example two groups of traders in the market, will each create a perception of the interests of groups outside them. This process will lead to certain forms of behavior that create contradictions and tension situations. This conflict triangle is an analysis of causal relationships or interactions that allow the creation of social conflict. There are three dimensions in the Galtung conflict triangle, namely attitudes, behavior and contradictions. Attitudes are perceptions of ethnic members about certain issues relating to other groups. Behavior can be in the form of cooperation, competition or coercion, a hand and body gesture that shows friendship or hostility. Contradiction is the emergence of situations involving problems and behavior as a process, meaning that contradictions are created by the elements of perception and movement of ethnic groups living in a social environment. In simple terms, attitude breeds behavior, and in turn gives birth to a contradiction or situation. On the other hand, situations can produce attitudes and behaviors (Rombostham, Wood, and Miall, 2003; 10). For example, the perception of ethnic A towards ethnic B is negative, then ethnic A's behavior that is uncooperative towards ethnic B arises, causing an unfavorable situation or contradiction. On the other hand, the attitude of ethnic A will be rewarded with attitudes and behavior of ethnic B in an antagonistic/against context (Susan, 2009: 82-84). Galtung offers a triangular model. He said that conflict can be a triangle, namely contradictions, attitudes and behavior (Miall, et al, 2000 in Liliweri, 2005: 314-315). First, the contradiction that refers to the basis of the conflict situation, including the incompatibility of goals that exist or are perceived by the conflicting parties, caused by the so-called incompatibility between social values and social structures. In an asymmetric conflict, the contradictions are determined by the conflicting parties, their relationship, and the conflict of interest inherent in them.

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In connection with the war between clans, the victim's family together with the police from the traffic police (polantas) investigated the case of Ronny's death. Police from the Traffic Police said it was purely an accident, but the victim's family did

not accept it because there were no signs of abrasions or torn parts of the victim's body. On May 29, 2012, the victim's family accused and invited all figures and parents of Aroki Komangal to go directly to the traffic police department and ask for as clear a statement as possible. So the traffic police said that the accident was pure, there were no perpetrators, but the victim's family was not satisfied with the police statement. As a result of this dissatisfaction, the victim's family accused Aroki Komangal of being a murderer without clear evidence. Although Atimus Komangal and Benjamin Kiwak, the head of the Damal tribe, apologized to the victim's family, the victim's family refused to apologize from the accused, and the victim's family stated that they wanted to find evidence in the field by physical combat or a tribal war ensued. Looking at the case, it was known that there was a discrepancy or discrepancy in terms of understanding, behavior, attitudes, perceptions and so on, resulting in a war between the Komangal clan and the Ongomang clan in Kwamki Lama District, Mimika Regency. In this regard, Ongomang's side (the victim) maintains that Komangal is accused and determined as the sole perpetrator of the murder, even though the police and doctors say that it was a pure accident. But the Victims still insisted and defended their position by saying we would prove it in the field, so that a war broke out between Ongomang and Komangal. Maintaining a stand that can be seen from the perspective of Englander thought is called instrumental aggression. Second, the attitude in question includes the perceptions of the conflicting parties and the misperceptions between them and within themselves. This attitude can be positive or negative. But in violent conflict, warring parties tend to develop stereotypes that demean one another. This attitude is often influenced by emotions such as fear, anger, bitterness, and hatred. These attitudes include emotive (feeling), cognitive (belief) and conative (will) elements. Analysts who emphasize this subjective aspect are said to have an expressive view of the sources of conflict.

In terms of attitudes, especially emotive (feelings), this is closely guarded by people who are at war or in their lives for generations. A war between tribe A and tribe B, for example, there are two brothers and sisters. In that war, his brother joined tribe A and his younger brother joined tribe B, then fought each other, one day the younger brother who joined tribe B was hit by an arrow from tribe A as an opposing or enemy tribe and then died, seeing such conditions his brother took the decision to moved to tribe B with the reason to avenge his sister who died in the war earlier. Therefore, in inter-tribal wars, both actions and words related to inter-tribal wars must be careful. Speech must be neutral and honest, and must not take sides, especially utterances that are betrayal or hate speech. Saying betrayal in the Amungme language is called mejim. Therefore, in war, the attitude of the mejim is prohibited because the mejim is the damage to the order of their lives from generation to generation. According to the belief or understanding or custom in tribal wars that such an attitude should not occur, because it must have an attitude of integrity and solidity. The subjective aspect occurs because they have the same experience with different emotions, for example the war between the Dani tribe and the Moni tribe, the war took place in 2014. The Moni tribe is the owner of the land in Djayanti, Kuala Kencana District,

Mimika Regency. But the Dani tribe insisted that the same land belonged to the owner on the grounds that when they first came to Djayanti no one lived in that place and they (the Dani) occupied it first, but they did not own the land. However, they admitted that the vacant land here has no owner, so we cut down the trees and then built a house and occupied it here. While the Moni tribe said that even though the forest is wide no one occupies it, but there is an owner if anyone who wants to occupy it must first give us permission as the owner of this land. Thus, they have different attitudes and views, which is what led to a war between the Dani tribe and the Moni tribe.

Third, behavior includes cooperation, competition or coercion, hand or body gestures that show friendship or hostility. Violent conflict behavior is characterized by threats, coercion, and destructive attacks. Analysts who emphasize objective aspects such as structural relationships, material interests or conflicting behavior, are said to have sources of conflict. By knowing expressions like this that automatically competition or coercion occurs by making certain efforts to defend and defeat other tribes, so that later they want to dominate other tribes as well. In addition, in war one must be

brave, dare to make decisions, exercise courage, be a strong and respected leader, learn strategies in making things and so on.

V. CONCLUSION

According to the warring tribes that tribal wars are natural so it can't be avoided from any problems in human life in the world including the tribes that fight in Mimika. For the sake of war between tribes is to dominate other tribes, just a fight between tribes to determine who is strong and who is weak or who wins and who loses in the war. On the other hand, looking for evidence of who is right and who is wrong, then also more tribal wars because they still hold grudges.

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