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GLOSSARY

Concession: Permit to open mining pit, clear forest, etc. from the Government to private parties based on the applicable laws and regulations.

Extractive Industry: Any industrial activities that directly extract natural resources such as mineral, coal, oil, and gas from the earth.

IUPK: Izin Usaha Pertambangan Khusus (Special Mining Business Permit). A permit to run Mining Business in a Special Mining Business Area (WIUPK). IUPK is a Contract Operation Successor and granted in replacement of Mineral Work Contract (KK) or Coal Mining Business Work Contract (PKP2B) upon their expiries.


KKB: Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata (Armed Criminal Group). A term from POLRI for the group of West Papua National Liberation Army (TPNPB). This serves as the basis to the launching of ‘Social Security and Order Operation and Military Operation’. The task to enforce the law is born by the Police as regulated under §13 point a and b of Law 2 of 2002 on the Police of the Republic of Indonesia.

KKSB: Kelompok Kriminal Separatis Bersenjata (Armed Separatist Criminal Group). A term from TNI for TPNPB. This enables TNI to launch Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW) to deal with their separatist movement in accordance with TNI tasks under §7.2 point b number 1 of Law 34 of 2004 on Indonesia National Army (TNI Law).

Nemangkawi Operation: Operation for social security and order under the Police of the Republic of Indonesia, starting from 2018 in nine Papua districts.

Non-Organic Military/Police: Military or Police personnel under a joint military operation with own leadership structure.

Serious Human Rights Violation: Human rights violation that include the crimes of genocide and/or against humanity.

TPNPB: Tentara Pembebasan Nasional Papua Barat (West Papua National Liberation Army). A military faction of Free Papua Movement (OPM); often referred to as TPNPB-OPM.

Trans-Papua Highway: A project of construction of nine road segments connecting Sorong and Merauke.

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Ever since Indonesia Coordinating Minister of Political, Law and Security Affairs, Mahfud MD, officially labelled TPNPB with ‘terrorist group’, hostile armed conflict between the group and TNI got escalated. Non-organic military members have been deployed many times, even before the labelling. Despite Mahfud saying that the presence of military in Papua has been meant to chase down TPNPB instead of harming civilians, 1 innocent Papua civilians are often subjected to military’s repressive violence. This is what has happened to at least 24 civilians in Intan Jaya for the past one year, who have fallen victim of violence and shootings by both TNI/POLRI and TPNPB.

Association of Human Rights Advocates (PAHAM) and Commission for Missing Persons and Victims of Violence (KontraS) Papua documented that from January to December 2020, there have been 63 events of military violence (TNI/POLRI), victimising 304 civilians in Papua and West Papua Provinces. 2 Policemen and military have been involved in the most cases of violence, i.e., respectively 33 and 22 cases, in addition to another 8 cases involved both of them combined.

**Series of violence involving TNI-POLRI throughout 2020 may be fuelled by three motives, i.e., political, economic and arrogance motives.** Politically motivated violence happens the most (35 cases), followed by others motivated by arrogance (25 cases) and economic motives (3 cases).

Human rights violations in the Land of Papua are normally triggered by various development policies that lead to economic, social, and cultural conflicts. Military deployment in many spots in Papua often bears conflict as their fruits, ending up in violence against civilians. In addition, other than for securing development of extractive industrial activities, military deployment is also used to suppress armed resistance by Free Papua Movement (OPM) or, more specifically, the TPNPB. According to POLRI, deployment of its members to Papua and West Papua is concerned with securing KKB operations. Furthermore, security is also carried out in the country’s largest gold mining, which is a vital object, PT Freeport Indonesia.

**This rapid assessment finds that the military operation in Papua is illegal. That is, because the military deployment has no instructional basis that should have been issued by the President and approved by the Senate.** In addition, hitherto, there is no telling of how many military members have been deployed to Papua. A reply from TNI HQ to KontraS states that information on the data of the deployed TNI/POLRI personnel in Papua is classified as ‘excluded’ (not publicly accessible by law).

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As for POLRI HQ, they gave information on the number of POLRI personnel deployed under the Operation of Nemangkawi (8 February to 31 August 2021).

Through the economic and political lenses, this rapid assessment attempts to demonstrate the relation between company concessions and military in Papua. For this early publication, the study picks one case in Intan Jaya which is one of the districts in the Central Papua Mountains. The district has witnessed a wide range of military violence conflicts under many justifications, from chasing down KKB to securing specific company concessions.

In the past two years, armed conflicts between TNI/POLRI and TPNPB has left at least 34 dead and injured casualties. The escalating conflict also creates trauma among local community members, displacing them from their homes and forcing them to move out to safer locations. Instead of bringing about peace, TNI/POLRI deployment in Intan Jaya spreads anxiety and fear to the local community. This study, citing a statement by Melianus Duwitau, Team Coordinator of Mining Rejection Movement in Wabu Block, indicates that this terror has been purposely created to remove people to pave the way for the plans of extractive companies to occupy the areas.

With the help of George Junus Aditjondro’s study on soldiers’ business from economic and political standpoints in the Land of Papua, this study identifies the likely military involvement in extractive mining businesses in Intan Jaya. Through spatial analysis, there have been found four companies that may potentially profit from the presence of TNI/POLRI guard posts by their concessions, i.e., PT Freeport Indonesia and/or PT ANTAM, PT Madinah Qurrata ‘Ain, PT Nusapati Satria and PT Kotabara Mitratama. Behind the important managements of the two of them, PT ANTAM dan PT Madinah Qurrata ‘Ain, there are names of retired and active soldiers on the boards of commissioner or in the list of shareholders. Some of the military retirees have been identified as members of the campaign team of the incumbent President, Joko Widodo. Both companies have also been recorded for various human rights and environmental violations that harm Papuan natives. For this reason, the planned mining activities in Wabu Block in Intan Jaya are rejected by many Papuan community groups.

Given the situation, this rapid assessment recommends that the Central Government withdraw all non-organically deployed TNI/POLRI personnel, take firm actions against any personnel committing human rights violation and revoke permits of companies that fail to have approval from Papuan communities. Along with local governments, the Central Government must prioritise safety and peace in Intan Jaya through good social service and, definitely, by avoiding constant use of sheer militaristic approach in all policies.
Earlier in April, the Government officially labelled OPM-affiliated armed groups as terrorists. This statement was made by Coordinating Minister of Political, Legal, and Security Affairs, Mahfud MD. The status rose from ‘armed criminal group’ to ‘terrorist’ following the death of Chief of State Intelligence Agency for Papua Province, Maj. Gen. I Gusti Putu Danny Karya Nugraha (Posthumous). In response to the incident, the Government is planning to send more troops to Papua and run a military operation.

Terrorist labelling becomes a new chapter in the long history of operation by state apparatus (police and army) in the Land of Papua. Even without such label, the presence of non-organic military and policemen in this area has already been too much. For this reason, the Government’s plan would instead raise the likelihood of conflict escalation, worsen the terror against civilians and make addition to the list of State violence in Papua.

According to TEMPO and KontraS documentation, in this year alone, at least 2,032 personnel (TNI and POLRI) have been and will be stationed in several points in Papua for many purposes. Most of them joined the Operation of Nemangkawi from 1 January to 30 June 2021, while the rest joined subdistrict police stations force and secure PT Freeport Indonesia and local elections. Such number excludes some number of TNI soldiers sent to the Island for many purposes. For illustration, 1,350 soldiers were purposefully transported to secure Indonesia-Papua New Guinea borders in one single deployment.

Victor Yeimo, the International Spokesman of Central KNPB who is now under arrest by Nemangkawi Taskforce, disclosed even the higher number. According to him, in the first three months of 2021 alone, 3,609 non-organic TNI soldiers have been sent to the Land of Papua. According to calculation, about 21,609 TNI personnel have been sent to the island, in the past three years. Such number is gained from media data, in addition to the States’ official and public statements.

The Government has always argued that sending troops to or running military operations in the Land of Papua is part of the efforts to defend the Unitary State of Republic of Indonesia and combat the ‘Armed Criminal Groups’. In fact, many civilians fall victim to the military violence.
Advocates (PAHAM) and Commission for Missing Persons and Victims of Violence (KontraS) Papua documented that from January to December 2020, there have been 63 events of military violence (TNI/POLRI), victimising 304 civilians in Papua and West Papua Provinces.  

Policemen and military have been involved in the most cases of violence, i.e., respectively 33 and 22 cases, in addition to another 8 cases involved both of them combined. Series of violence involving TNI-POLRI throughout 2020 may be fuelled by three motives, i.e., political, economic and arrogance motives. Politically motivated violence happens the most (35 cases), followed by others motivated by arrogance (25 cases) and economic motives (3 cases).

There is no doubt that these facts force public to ask, is that true that the Government’s objective to send security forces to Papua is meant for civil security or amplify the terror of violence instead? If so, is there any military business interest involved behind every military operation? This study attempts to analyse these questions through the following rapid assessment and spatial data analysis.

1. WORK METHOD

Since the beginning, this rapid assessment is admittedly built upon a basic assumption that economic interests can be invariably found behind series of military violence. This assumption, however, has come in mind not from pure imagination; but rather, from the reflection of similar experiences in the past in other areas. For an example, Otto Syamsuddin Ishak documented that many soldiers profited from marijuana trade amidst the military violence in Aceh War period (1989-2003). Similarly, PT Perindustrian Angkatan Darat (PT Pindad) turned out to significantly profit from bullet trade during Ambon conflict. Both cases are just the tip of the iceberg.

Further, to help understand and clarify the said ‘military business’, the three legs of military business once introduced by George Junus Aditjondro could be referred to. The first leg is military institutional business that takes form of companies under the wings of many military or police organization-founded foundations and cooperatives. The second leg is military non-institutional business in which military retirees and active officials are hired and manned in various companies owned by the families of officials or civilian tycoons. The third leg is military grey business with quite large scope that includes extortion, demanding protection fee from companies, arms trafficking, illegal drug trade, sex trafficking, and rare flora and fauna species trade. The three military business legs may get connected to, affect, and simultaneously take place with one another in an area or specific companies.

This rapid assessment examines the basic assumptions through the three following phases.

1. Identification of military (TNI-POLRI) posts in Papua and company concessions around them
2. Online data searches from a variety of relevant publications and news.
3. Spatial data-based analysis and preparation of narrative reports based on it. Such reports will prove whether the basic assumptions remain a pure assumption or has become facts instead.

9 ‘Military Business’ here refers to and includes State–supported policemen and paramilitary businesses.
In the first phase, the team studied the presence of large-scaled land-based corporations in five districts. There are four sectors to identify, namely timber harvest (Natural Forest Concession/HPH), monoculture plantation (Rights to Cultivation/HGU), timber plantation (Industrial Plantation Forest/HTI), and mining (mining business permit) companies. This phase also disclosed the profiles of the identified companies to reveal their relation to the military (TNI-POLRI) in Indonesia.

The outputs from identifying the distribution of the military posts and company concessions are overlaid with each other to identify the proximity between the locations. This rapid assessment only identifies company concessions in subdistricts where military posts are found. Therefore, it is possible that some companies are located in the relevant districts but not assessed because no military posts are present around their sub-districts.

Furthermore, this rapid assessment also takes into account the presence of access of Trans Papua Highway that may potentially accelerate and facilitate mobility. For example, many military posts are located by the highway. This paves the way for the military to approach and ambush locations where TPNPB hides. It is no surprising fact that in certain cases, Trans Papua Highway has proven its more readiness to serve the needs of TNI.13

Furthermore, WALHI research (2021) also indicates that the presence of the highway may potentially be more in favour of large-scaled corporations than Papuan community themselves.14

The first series of this rapid assessment focuses on Intan Jaya, given that armed conflicts has been quite intense in the area within the past three years.

2. SOURCE OF DATA AND INFORMATION COMPLETION

This rapid assessment is prepared based on secondary data available on the Internet and accessible reports from a range of institutions. Military Deployment data in this study is developed based on two categories. First, the data is based on information on military office/post distribution, and second, the data is built on military deployment information. In the first category, data on military base/post distribution information is developed through searching on the Internet process (electronic media or official website), e.g., https://polri.go.id/ and https://tniad.mil.id/, as well as Google maps.

In the second category, data on military (operation/OPS or security/PAM-related) deployment is developed based on POLRI HQ letter in reply to the data request from KontraS. Data from both categories are compiled into Military Deployment Post Data. Development of the data, particularly sources of military deployment data, still refers to the subdistricts.

Concession information used in this study is sourced from data collected by the Mining Advocacy Network (JATAM) in 2018. Such information depicts the distribution of mining concessions in Papua. In addition, this study also uses the map of Wabu Block concession in Hitadipa Subdistrict which has been collected by PUSAKA.15

3. THE STANDING OF ‘ILLEGAL’ MILITARY OPERATION IN PAPUA

This rapid assessment finds that the military operation in Papua is illegal. This argument is based on analysis of documentation of serious human rights violations in Papua published by LBH Papua. In principle, based on international law, TPNPB group is categorised as ‘combatant’, while according to the national law it is seen by the police as an ‘Armed Criminal Group’ (KKB), against which ‘Social Security and Order Operation and Military Operation’ are launched. The task to enforce the law is born by the Police as regulated under §13 point a and b of Law 2 of 2002 on the Police of the Republic of Indonesia. However, TNI considers them an Armed Separatist Criminal Group (KKSB) to allow launching Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW) to deal with their separatist movement in accordance with TNI.

tasks under §7.2 point b number 1 of Law 34 of 2004 on Indonesia National Army (TNI Law).\(^\text{16}\)

What one should know is MOOTW is an exertion of military force to exercise operations for purposes of other than war against other countries, such as humanitarian acts, dealing with disaster damages and other national interests. Based on §1 point 11 of Presidential Regulation No. 66/2019 on Organisational Structure of Indonesia National Army, MOOTW also includes combat duties to fight off armed rebellion, separatist movement and transnational crime, as well as help in peacekeeping missions.\(^\text{17}\)

Concerning TNI power exertion, TNI Law rules that: “The authority and responsibility for TNI exertion of power shall be vested in the President” (§17.1); “In the event of TNI power exertion under paragraph 1 of this article hereof, the President shall obtain approval from the Senate” (§17.2); “In the event of emergency to face military and/or armed threats, the President may directly exert TNI power” (§18.1); “In case of the direct exertion of TNI power under paragraph 1 of this article hereof, the President shall, within 2x24 hours as of the issuance of power exertion decision, report to the Senate” (§18.2); and “Where the Senate does not approve the military exertion under paragraph 1 and 2 of this article hereof, the President shall halt the said TNI power exertion”.\(^\text{18}\)

As a matter of fact, to date, neither Legal Enforcement Operation nor Military Operation in Papua has been backed by Presidential Decree which has been approved by the Senate concerning the exertion and use of TNI power based on §17, §18, §19 and §20 of TNI Law. For this reason, the military operation in Papua should be considered illegal,\(^\text{19}\) leading to the question: why would not the President halt the exertion of TNI power in Papua?

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17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
19 Ibid.
4. DISTRIBUTION OF TNI-POLRI SECURITY POSTS IN CENTRAL PAPUA MOUNTAINS

This rapid assessment identifies five military posts (TNI-POLRI) in five districts of Central Papua Mountains in Papua Province, i.e., Intan Jaya, Mimika, Nduga, Puncak and Puncak Jaya. There are two main reasons why this rapid assessment selected the five districts as its spatial analysis units. First, this rapid assessment documented that in the past few years these areas have had a relatively high conflict escalation. Second, it finds that the deployment of TNI-POLRI from outside Papua is much concentrated on these areas.

There are two models of military deployment in the Land of Papua, namely organic and non-organic. Organic unit model has structures such as Subdistrict Military Base (KORAMIL) and others, while the non-organic one is sourced from joint military operations, has particular leadership structure, and comes from outside Papua, i.e., Operation Control Assistance (BKO) to Regional Military Base (KODAM) XVII. Serving a specific ad hoc purpose, a BKO service period is limited, normally up to one year.

This study spatially identifies how many military security posts in the five districts of Central Mountains. In a glance observation, it appears that the majority of these posts are found by Trans Papua Highway. See the map of these military posts.

Based on the identification, it is known that district police stations have been established in all districts. Nduga and Puncak District Police Stations are known to have been established in 2020. Earlier, Puncak Jaya and Intan Jaya District Police Stations were established in respectively 2013 and 2019. As for Mimika District Police Station, its establishment year remains unknown (see Annex 1). Concerning District Military Base (KODIM) bases, two districts already have KODIM bases that have quite long been established. KODIM 1714 in Puncak Jaya is identified to have been established in 2013, while the establishment year of KODIM 1710 in Mimika remains unknown. Referring to both numeric codes, it is possible that Mimika KODIM military base was established earlier than that of Puncak Jaya. The other two districts, Intan Jaya and Puncak, have Preparatory KODIM Military Bases, while Nduga currently has no KODIM Military Base.

Number of both organic and non-organic military personnel in Papua, particularly in Central Mountains, remains unknown. Papua Province People’s Representatives itself finds it difficult to collect data and information concerning number of non-organic personnel deployed to many locations in Papua every year. Even it is possible that Papua Governor himself, Lukas Enembe, has no idea about this number.

So as to obtain official information on the number of troops deployed in Papua, KontraS sent a letter to

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TNI HQ. However, they failed to have the requested data because it was classified as ‘excluded public information’ (not publicly accessible by law).

According to the International Spokesman of KNPB, Victor Yeimo, data from various media and the State’s official (open) statement suggests that the number of non-organic TNI personnel sent to the Land of Papua in the past three years (2019-2021) is 21,609. This number is yet to take into account organic TNI and POLRI personnel at each location. According to I Made Supriatma in his research, Papua has population-to-security personnel ratio of 97:1. In other word, there is one policemen or soldier for every ninety-seven people in Papua. At national level, such ratio becomes 1:296, meaning that there is one security personnel for every 296 people. This suggests that the concentration of security personnel in Papua is much higher than that for the people in the rest of Indonesian area.

A Brimob personnel who are members of the National Vital Object Security Task Force (Satgas Obvitnas) in the PT Freeport mining work area at Ridg Camp Tembagapura, Timika, Papua, are in a situation of tension between the two employee camps in the road blocking action leading to the mining area. Photo: Muhammad Yamin.

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WHAT IS THE ILLEGAL MILITARY OPERATION FOR?

This section reveals the economic-political aspects behind the illegal military deployment and positioning in Intan Jaya. Section one of this document elaborates how armed conflicts have got heatened in the past three years, while section two describes the identification as to which companies may potentially benefit from the presence of military force, along with potential military businesses in the area and the last section elaborates the victims of such military interest.
1. ARMED CONFLICTS BETWEEN TNI-POLRI AND TPNPB IN INTAN JAYA

A series of events of violence and killing reportedly took place in 2020 by both Indonesia military force (TNI-POLRI) and TPNPB in Intan Jaya District of Papua. According to KontraS record processed from various sources, from January 2020 to March 2021, there have been a number of shootings and violence in which at least 34 people have fallen victim, 24 out of whom have died. Out of the 24 fatalities, 7 are TNI members, 2 TPNPB members and 15 civilians including Zanambani brothers. Luther Zanambani and Apinus Zanambani were reportedly tortured during interrogation and eventually died. Their bodies were burnt by TNI troops on their individual account. Both were taken and interrogated when the soldiers were combing the area on 21 April 2020. Both civilians were initially suspected as the members of Armed Criminal Group (KKB), TNI term for TPNPB OPM.25

Yeremia Zanambani, a priest who is a relative of the Zanambani brothers, was also killed out of nothing in his pig sty in Hitadipa on 19 September 2020. To date, no personnel has been tried for this homicide26 and both TNI and OPM are accusing each other.27

Head of Public Relations of the Joint Command of Defence Region III, Col. (Combat Support Group) IGN Suriastawa made a statement that Priest Yeremia was shot by TPNPB. “They are seeking a moment to draw the attention of the UN General Assembly in the end of this month,” he said to the media.28 Such claim has been disputed by tirto.id investigation report (22 September 2020), mentioning that before his death, Yeremia said that he suspected to have been shot by TNI troops. Citing the investigation report, it was initially said, “That TNI troop accused Yeremia of killing his comrade. Yeremia said he never killed anyone.” Other articles also mention what happened that time. “I raised my hand but still they shot my hand and then stabbed my back near my neck,” said Yeremia to his wife, Miriam.29

Yeremia shooting took place at the same time as the arson of Health Office housing in Hitadipa Subdistrict, Intan Jaya. This event relates to the incident of shooting to TNI troops en route from Sugapa subdistrict to Hitadipa Subdistrict KORAMIL Military Base, by TPNPB. In the incident on Friday, 17 September 2020, one of the TNI military members, Lead Sgt. Sahlan, died. TPNPB also seized Lead Sgt. Sahlan’s SS1 rifle.30 Two days after, TNI was fortified at Hitadipa Preparatory KORAMIL Military Base and occupied an Integrated School of Hitadipa Evangelical Education and School Foundation.

In their action on 19 September 2020, TNI force gathered Hitadipa civilians twice. First, at 9 a.m. in the yard of the Preparatory KORAMIL Military Base, where they were given two days to return the rifle seized by TPNPB. Second, at 12 p.m. in Imanuel Hitadipa Churchyard, civilians were gathered and warned of the threat of killing to TNI enemies, including Priest Yeremia who was absent because he already went to his farms in a small village of Bomba earlier in the morning.

An hour after the civilians were gathered, TPNPB stormed Hitadipa Preparatory KORAMIL Military Base, leading to the death of a TNI personnel, Pvt.

Second Class (PSC) Dwi Akbar Utomo. TNI combed the village to hunt down TPNPB and set fire to two out of four Health Office housing in which civilians lived. On this account, eight TNI military members have been named suspects.31

After the killing of Zanambani brothers, Agustinus Duwitau, a Catholic evangelist in Sugapa Subdistrict also fell victim of shooting by Indonesian force on 7 October 2020.32 He got suspected as a TPNPB member because he brought an air rifle on his way to Emondii.

Several days after (26 October 2020), Rufinus Tigau, a Catholic catechist under Bilogai Parish was shot to death by TNI military members in Jalai Village, Intan Jaya.33 He was also accused of being a TPNPB member by Indonesian force. Pastor Marten Kuayo, Administrator of Timika Diocesan stated that Rufinus is a catechist of Stase Jalae, St. Mikael Bilogai, Intan Jaya.34 He had nothing to do with TPNPB activities in Intan Jaya. Other than Rufinus, Megianus Kobagubau, a 12-year-old student of elementary school YPPK St. Fransiskus Jalai was also shot by TNI-POLRI joint force.

To add the list, shootings continued on towards civilians in Intan Jaya in 2021. According to jubi.co.id (16 February 2021), three Intan Jaya community members died out of the violence and shootings by TNI personnel.35 Starting from TNI combing activity in search for the perpetrator of shooting of Pvt. Ginanjar Arianda, a TNI military member, a local named Janius Bagau was shot at his left arm, crushing his bone. He was brought to Bilogal Health Centre in Yokatapa, Sugapa, Intan Jaya by his two brothers, Justinus Bagau and Soni Bagau. In the evening they were visited by TNI personnel who then torture and beat them to death. Again, what came out to the media is that they are KKB members.

Armed conflict between Indonesia security force and TPNPB started to heaten since October 2019 when TPNPB shot and killed three ojek (bike taxi) riders, i.e., Rizal (31 y.o.), Herianto (31 y.o.) and La Soni, in Pugisiga, Hitadipa District.36 They, were suspected as spies to security forces. Their killing accelerated the making of TNI new territorial command in Intan Jaya.37

In two armed conflicts between TPNPB and TNI on 7 November 2020 and 22 January 2021, four TNI members fell.38 Other than from TNI side, casualties often fall from civilians, as we can see in the previous three objects. Humanitarian team report published by jubi.co.id also mentions several events of shooting towards civilians. On 22 May 2020, TPNPB shot two medical staff of Intan Jaya Health Office, i.e., Heniko Somou and Alemek Bagau in Kititapa Village, Wandai Subdistrict. On 14 September 2020, TPNPB shot La Ode Anas, a civilian who was undergoing a medical treatment on his gunshot wounds in Yokatapa Health Centre in Sugapa. On the same day, Fathur Rahman, a bike taxi rider, was also shot by TPNPB after taking his passenger from Titigi Village to Sugapa Subdistrict.39 In 2021, a kiosk keeper in Tigamajigi, Sugapa Subdistrict, was shot by TPNPB soldiers operating in Intan Jaya, Papua.40

39 Jubi.co.id, “Konflik Intan Jaya (6): Kronik Kekerasan di Intan Jaya”, op. cit
A road cuts straight through a patch of isolated rainforest surrounded by rows of logs in the palm oil concession of PT Internusa Jaya Sejahtera (PT IJS), part of the Internusa group April 1, 2018. Photo: Ulet Ifansasti/Greenpeace
2. MOTIVE OF MILITARY DEPLOYMENT IN INTAN JAYA

Intan Jaya is one of the four districts in Central Papua Mountains in which a new District Military Base (KODIM) was established. The other three districts are Deiyai, Paniai, and Puncak. The new KODIM of Intan Jaya is located in the district capital, i.e., Sugapa Subdistrict. Other than KODIM military base, based on satellite image, it is known that Sugapa also has two police stations, i.e., Intan Jaya District Police Station and Sugapa Subdistrict Police Station. In Hitadipa, TNI also started to establish a Preparatory KORAMIL Military Base using the buildings of YPPGI Elementary School and Integrated Junior High School of Hitadipa.

In November 2019, troops started to be frequently deployed in a large number to Intan Jaya. Additional forces have been sent to the district in a significant scale since mid-December 2019, along with three units of helicopter fortified at Soko Paki airfield, Bilogai. Sugapa community witnessed a helicopter flying around over the sky of Yokatapa and Bilogai in Sugapa on 14 December 2019 at 06.00 p.m. Eastern Indonesia Time.

Based on the POLRI reply to KontraS, it is known that the police have deployed 100 policemen to secure Sugapa from 18 February to 31 August 2021. Their written purpose is security against social conflict, although the conflict details remain unclear. It turns out that such additional force fortified in Intan Jaya has triggered the heated armed conflict between TNI-POLRI and TPNPB. Following such increasingly escalated conflict, Intan Jaya District Head, Natalis Tabuni, and his staff have reportedly sought refuge to Nabire District, leaving behind their offices in Boligai, Sugapa, Intan Jaya. They also left 655 people who take refuge in the pastoral complex of Bilogai Catholic Church.

Nonetheless, the Central Government through Deputy V of Presidential Staff Office (KSP), Jaleswari Pramowardhani, insists on militaristic approach to protect Papua from KKB. Such confirmation would fuel the suspicion that violent or militaristic approach in an area of conflict is not a solution to a problem, but a pure economic interest instead. Moreover, in many places, the trend of KODAMisation, which in Sugapa context is KORAMILisation, often admittedly exists for the sake of natural resource assets-related military business. Furthermore, it is even possible that this is also another form of a military plan to preserve conflicts in areas rich with natural resources. For this reason, it is increasingly important to take into account the presence of natural resources or company concessions around the area of conflict: Intan Jaya District.

A. Company Concessions in Intan Jaya

Four companies have been identified in this rapid assessment. First, PT Freeport Indonesia (mining business permit). While its main concessions are actually located in Mimika District, it has long carried out gold exploration in Sugapa, Intan Jaya District. Being covered by its 1991 Work Contract II (KK), this location is more commonly known as Wabu Block. In 2015, PTFI handed back the block to the Central Government as part of their negotiation of Special Mining Business Concession (IUPK). Today, 51.23% of the shares in the company are held by MIND ID, Indonesia’s mining industry holding company. Other than PTFI, companies that are also part of MIND ID include PT ANTAM, Tbk., PT Bukit Asam, Tbk., PT Inalum (Persero) and PT Timah, Tbk.

On 22 September 2020, Minister of State-Owned Enterprise, Erick Thohir, wrote a letter to Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources to hand over the management of Wabu Block to PT ANTAM, Tbk. It did not take too long after that for the Governor of Papua to request that Wabu Block mining activities involve Local Government-Owned Enterprise. This

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41 Anon, op.cit.
43 Taher, Andrian Pratama, op.cit.
44 Ibid
45 Malik, Ichsan, op.cit.
is confirmed by a copy of letter with his signature on it, stating his support and recommendation that Wabu Block, a Special Mining Business Concession (WIUPK) covering an area of 40 thousand ha, be given to MIND ID. Wabu Block concession is near Hitadipa Preparatory KORAMIL Military Base.

PTFI exploration in Wabu Block revealed a gold deposit of more than 116 million tonnes of gold ores. Each ore's mineral content is 2.16 gr of gold and 1.76 gr of silver in average. In other words, potential gold that the block has underneath is equal to 8.1 million tonnes of gold. Since the beginning, TPNPB has stated its position to reject the plan of mining in Wabu Block. They also demanded Papua Governor to withdraw his letter of recommendation for the WIUPK No. 540/11625/SET issued in Jayapura on 24 July 2020.47

The second company is PT Madinah Qurrata ‘Ain (Mining Business Concession). Holding a concession of 23,150 ha, this company is still at the phase of gold exploration. It was previously owned by two people, i.e., Hj. Dasril and H. Ason. The company then stepped into an agreement with an Australian company, West Wits Mining48 that ended up holding 64% of shares in PT Madinah Qurrata ‘Ain.49 In 2016, West Wits Mining also gave 30% of its shares to Tobacom Del Mandiri (PT Tambang Raya Sejahtera), a Toba Sejahtera Group subsidiary, as a token of a business alliance agreement.50 PTMQ concessions are near several military posts such as Sugapa Subdistrict Police Station, Intan Jaya District Police Station and Intan Jaya Preparatory KODIM Military Base.

The third is PT Nusapati Satra (Mining Business Permit). The company’s concession was issued in 2011, covering an area of 25,170 ha. It is still at the phase of gold exploration and located completely near local village settlements in Sugapa. It is even located near Sugapa Subdistrict Police Station, Intan Jaya District Police Station and Intan Jaya Preparatory KODIM Military Base.

The fourth is PT Kotabara Mitratama (Mining Business Concession). Although administratively located in Paniai District, Papua Province, the concessions of the company that controls a total area of 40,116 ha are located precisely at the boundary of Intan Jaya and directly passed through by Trans Papua Highway. Its business permit was issued in 2010 through Paniai District Head Decree No. 017.51

49 See, for instance, the following article: Adeeb, Maryam, “West Wits to Dilute Derewo River Gold Project Stake to 10%”, accessed on 10 July 2021 from https://www.spglobal.com/marketintelligence/en/news-insights/trending/hB33KV_dBIYmCuvtxor71Sw2.
B. Military Business

Not all companies identified in Intan Jaya have links to the military personnel (TNI/POLRI). Two companies that are not related to them are PT Nusapati Satria (NS) and PT Kotabara Mitratama (KM). As a mining company, KM is owned by an ex Civil State Employee who used to work at the Directorate General of General Mining under the Ministry of Mining and Energy (now Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources) from 1983–1992, Sahat Parulian Pasaribu.51 He also recorded to become the President Director of PT Bona Mitra Property and Commissioner of PT Indexim Coalindo.52 As for NS, not much data has been collected about this company.

Two other companies, namely PT Freeport Indonesia (PTFI) and PT Madinah Qurrata ‘Ain (MQ) are alleged to have links to the military. In the latter’s case, this rapid assessment documents that there are at least three names of personnel who are in contact with it, namely Rudiard Tampubolon (RT, a retired policeman), Paulus Prananto (a retired TNI member), and another retired TNI member who now holds office of Coordinating Minister of Maritime and Investment Affairs, Luhut Binsar Panjaitan (LBP). RT is a commissioner at MQ. Even West Wits (MQ shareholder) believes that his leadership and experience have successfully paved the way towards the commencement of the mining operation.53 Other than holding the commissioner position, another company that he leads, PT Intan Angkasa Aviation, also holds the other 20% of shares in MQ.54

![Image 2. Map of Distribution of Military Posts with Company Concessions in Intan Jaya District](image.png)

In Darewo River Gold Project, West Wits Mining also shared 30% of the shares with PT Tobacom Del Mandiri (TDM) whose president director is Paulus Prananto, a retired member of TNI. In one of its publications, West Wits mining explicitly mentioned that TDM was responsible for forestry permits and safe access to project locations. TDM itself is part of PT Toba Sejahtra Group, in which Luhut Binsar Panjaitan, a retired member of TNI, becomes a minority shareholder. Both retired TNI members, Paulus Prananto and Luhut Binsar Panjaitan were the voluntary members of President Joko Widodo’s 2014 and 2019 campaign teams (Bravo Lima).

Concerning the planned gold mining in Wabu Block, this rapid assessment documents five military (TNI/POLRI) members. They are from three different company entities but under the same holding by an Indonesian mining company, MIND ID. Name of Hinsar Siburian (HS; a retired TNI member) is listed within PTFI which is the previous owner of the concession in Wabu Block. In 2015-2017, HS held office of Commander of Regional Military Base XVII/Cenderawasih Papua. He is also recorded to have joined President Joko Widodo’s 2019 campaign team as voluntary members (Cakra 19).58

PT ANTAM was appointed to operate PTFI concession in Wabu Block after handed back to the Indonesian Government. This rapid assessment recorded two names of military members in PT ANTAM, i.e., Agus Surya Bakti (retired member) and Bambang Sunarwibowo (Police Commissioner General). In ANTAM, Agus Surya Bakti holds the position of President Commissioner, while Bambang Sunarwibowo is a Commissioner. In addition, Bambang is recorded to currently hold the position of Main Secretary of National Intelligence Agency (BIN). In MIND ID, there are names including Doni Monardo (retired TNI member) as the President Commissioner and Muhammad Munir (also a retired TNI member) as the Independent Commissioner. Muhammad Munir is, to date, still holding position as the Head of Strategic Analysis Board of BIN.

The presence of both active and retired members of TNI/POLRI in the companies is the second-leg of military business. Therefore, it is difficult not to assume there are economic interests behind a series of illegal military operations in Intan Jaya. Names of those who appear are not ordinary people. Some of them were trained in KOPASSUS, TNI’s elite troop, while some others have background or experience in BIN, in addition to those who, once got retired, joined the campaign team of the incumbent president, Joko Widodo.

Therefore, it can be said that it is no coincidence that they are now sitting on important chairs in these companies. It is very likely that they have been prepared all along to secure and guarantee economic interests behind the series of State’s violence parade in Intan Jaya. This is in line with Erick Thohir, Minister of State-Owned Enterprise, answer when asked why many military members are placed in State-Owned Enterprises. Here is his reply, “Conflicts are found in mining business. Sometimes it goes to land conflict, sometimes to permit issuance, not to mention overlapping issues and social issues in our people.”59

This can be seen, for instance, in deployment of hundreds of additional POLRI personnel to Papua from 8 March to 6 September 2021. The reason behind it is completely specific: to secure vital objects of PT Freeport Indonesia. It appears that security was also the reason why West Wits Mining shared 30% of shares in MQ with Tobacom Del Mandiri, as well as the reason why PTFI positioned Hinsar Siburian as its commissioner. Hinsar is an ex-Commander of Regional Military Base XVII/Cenderawasih. He has a perfectly deep understanding on security issues in the Land of Papua. Moreover, Ganip Warsito, an ex-Commander of Joint Defence Regions (KOGABWILHAN) III that covers Maluku and Papua, was his friend back to his days in Military Academy (Class of 1986). Because they shared the same class in Military Academy, they might have the better way to get close to each other, hence good coordination. KOGABWILHAN III is a unit of operational main command, a new unit directly controlled by the Commander of TNI. This unit almost always takes the responsibility for becoming the mouthpiece when it comes to violence conflict in the Land of Papua, including around PTFI concession.

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55 Information concerning commissioners of PT MIND ID, PT ANTAM and PTFI is collected from the companies’ official websites, https://mind.id; https://www.antam.com/en; and https://ptfi.co.id/.
58 Ibid.
3. WHO ARE THE VICTIMS OF MILITARY INTEREST?

The direct victims out of the armed conflict between TNI/POLRI military force and TPNPB are undoubtedly civilians. Shootings and abuse towards them are often committed by TNI/POLRI accusing them of KKB members, or by TPNPB believing they are spies. No wonder, fatalities of the armed conflicts in Intan Jaya come from the side of civilians. Even children are often mistargeted. Naturally, fear and trauma are haunting all communities of Intan Jaya, forcing them to seek refuge. According to Intan Jaya District Government, 1,237 civilians are listed as Internally Displaced Persons (IDP), 331 out of whom are women and children. They escaped to Nabire out of the fear of mistargeting during the armed conflict between TNI/POLRI and TPNPB-OPM.

What is happening in Intan Jaya – violence, shooting, killing, land grabbing, and environmental damage – can be perceived as the excess of military interests. Such interests comprise two spectrums: economics and politics. In economic aspect, military interests can be seen in its regard to the presence of large-scaled investment using security service or placing certain people from military in the company structure; while in political aspects, Indonesian military has the interest to keep their territory intact in Papua, which is the part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, by eradicating TPNPB.

Two gold mining companies that hold exploration permit in Intan Jaya, PT MQ and PT ANTAM (Wabu Block) are an example of companies that are strongly indicated to benefit from security facilities from TNI and POLRI. Referring to the record from Organisation for Development of Swalani, Mee and Moni Indigenous Peoples (LPMA SWAMEMO), impacts from the presence of this gold-looting company (PT MQ) include: (1) human rights violation (shooting); (2) environmental destruction; (3) extraction and looting of natural resources, particularly gold; (4) and rampant social problems and sexually transmitted disease (HIV/AIDS). In the context of the increased cases of HIV/AIDS, many other factors contribute as the trigger. That being said, mining activities have admittedly much been linked to the presence of prostitutes who becomes one of the factors behind such increased cases, including in Papua. LPMA SWAMEMO is an organisation of indigenous peoples along River Degeuwo and, in general, Meepago area that include Nabire, Paniai, Dogiyai, Deiyai and Intan Jaya Districts that are jointly striving for justice.

While local indigenous peoples find that the presence of PT MQ is illegal, they often involve police to secure their mining sites. According to a local named Natalia Kobogau, they once prevented her from urging the halt of the mining company activities. That time, Natalia and Paitua Welly Magai came up to location 45 and 99 to halt PT MQ activities. At the same time, however, the company management and a group led by Nabire District Police Chief also came up and prohibited them from halting the company activities in Degeuwo. Because the gold thieves’ practice is often backed by security personnel, those who dare to speak up are often intimidated, discriminated, and even tortured. It is concerned that the securing of the gold mining sites in Wabu Block would bring about the same impacts, or even worse. That is, because Wabu Block is an ex-PTFI concession whose management is handed
Engaging TNI/POLRI force, they seem to have no qualm to take lives of anyone who is deemed to be interfering with its business.

From environmental standpoint, the activities of the company that started operation in 1967 have brought about severe damages. Moreover, the company’s tailing was reportedly not appropriately managed. Based on finding from Indonesia’s Financial Audit Board (BPK) released in 2017, the environmental damage out of PTFI mining activities is due to its inappropriate settling ponds along River Ajkwa, Mimika District, Papua, for accommodating its tailings. Environmental losses were estimated to reach IDR10.7 trillion in its upstream areas, IDR8.2 trillion in its downstream, and IDR166 trillion in Arafura Sea. The serious violation took place because the tailing accommodation area had actually been limited only to 230 sq. km in the downstream area, but the tailing leaked up to the estuary.66

Public definitely knows the story on the removal of Kamoro and Amungme communities who populate the area of Timika, especially Tembagapura. However, as though no lessons had been learned, the same is also threatening Belau, Japugau and Sondegau Clan. The

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“Actually the large-scaled military deployment that leads to many cases of violence and rape towards civilians and servants of God are designed to bring fear to the people’s door and pave the way for the investors to extract the gold. Every eye is watching. The State must withdraw the troops from Intan Jaya”

three clans are Papuan native communities who live in Wabu Block, Intan Jaya. According to P. Marthen E. Kuayo, Administrator of Timika Diocesan, if the company gets into Wabu, where should the natives in Intan Jaya go? That is, because this is the area where they can survive such as through farming and hunting. For this reason, the Diocese of Timika urges the Government to revoke the Special Mining Business Permit (IUPK) that has already been issued to PT MIND ID.

The Diocese of Timika is not the only one who rejects the mining plan in Wabu Block. Victor Yeimo, the International Spokesman of KNPB, also stated that Papua people are against the mining (7 November 2020). Previously, Melianus Duwitau, Coordinator of Team to Reject Mining in Blok Wabu, mentioned that the prolonged conflict in Intan Jaya is the State’s structured process to secure capitalist’s interests and pave the way for investor to come in. Through the media of suarapapua.com, Melianus said, “Actually the large-scaled military deployment that leads to many cases of violence and rape towards civilians and servants of God are designed to bring fear to the people’s door and pave the way for the investors to extract the gold. Every eye is watching. The State must withdraw the troops from Intan Jaya”.

This way, the refuge, as the logical consequence to the heatening military conflict in Intan Jaya is also perceived as the effort to remove community to pave the way for the extractive company’s plan to occupy the area.

The voice of rejection also comes from the Centre for Control of Central Papua Mountains Indigenous Peoples (P2MA-PTP) as the holder of traditional land rights over the locations of gold mining in Wabu Block. Agustinus Somau, head of P2MA-PTP tribe, mentions that as the traditional land rights holders, they were never involved in the mining permit process. In addition, to the people, Hitadipa is a holy land, the land of church missions, where no practices of violence should not have happened. “They deeply expect that TNI, along with its organic and non-organic troops, be no more in Hitadipa,” said the Head of KPKC Affairs of Evangelical Church Synod (GKI) of the Land of Papua, Priest Dora Balubu to the media. It is most unfortunate that both Papua Provincial and Central Governments insist on progressing following the plan.

69 Adyatama, Egi, op.cit.
70 You, Abeth, op.cit.
One of the corners of PT Freeport’s open pit mine site in Grasberg Tembagapura which is above an altitude of 4000 meters stretches wide and depths up to tens of kilometers, so that every day mining waste sand (tailings) is discharged through rivers to the southern coast of Papua.

Photo: Muhammad Yamin.
CONCLUSION

This rapid assessment aims to test the basic assumption, whether it is true that behind every and each series of military violence, there lies an economic interest? This assumption is verified through three ways, i.e.,

1. Identify the military deployment in Papua based on the presence of military posts/offices;
2. Identify the distribution of concession around the military posts; and
3. Find out the connection between the presence of company concessions and Indonesia’s military (TNI-POLRI).

The spatial scope of this rapid assessment is Intan Jaya, a district located in Central Papua Mountains. In the past few years, the escalation of conflict between TNI and TPNPB in Intan Jaya has increased. Correspondingly, the Government is planning to add the troops and launch military operations. The Government argues that this is necessary to defend the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and eradicate the armed criminal group.

Concerning military deployment, this rapid assessment records there are four military posts (TNI-POLRI) in Intan Jaya, namely Sugapa Subdistrict Police Station, Intan Jaya District Police Station, Intan Jaya Preparatory KODIM Military Base and Hitadipa Preparatory KORAMIL Military Base. Intan Jaya District Police was just established in 2019, while Hitadipa Preparatory KORAMIL was in 2020. The presence of military troops in Intan Jaya is represented by these posts. The organic troops in these posts were reinforced by additional 100 POLRI troops coming under Social Conflict Security Operation (18 February-31 August 2021). This rapid assessment could not detail the actual number of military (TNI-POLRI) personnel in these posts and how many additional troops have been deployed to Intan Jaya for various purposes. The biggest factor is because the military covers up the information.

This rapid assessment also identifies four company concessions situated in local subdistricts where military posts are present. Running mining operations, they include PT Freeport Indonesia and/or PT ANTAM; PT Madinah Qurrata ‘Ain; PT Nusapati Satria; and PT Kotabara Mitratama. Other than Trans Papua Highway, the military posts in Intan Jaya are also near the four company concessions.

Two other mining companies are not indicated to have relationship with military force, while the other two as mentioned, PT Freeport Indonesia and/or PT ANTAM (Wabu Block) and PT Madinah Qurrata ‘Ain, are identified to have a close relation with military. Many active and retired members of TNI-POLRI are found filling in their company positions as commissioners or shareholders.
The presence of active and retired members of military in the company represents the second leg of military business. Their presence may potentially secure the position of the natural resources extraction activities that have been and/or will be carried out by the companies. The community around the companies’ concessions becomes silent out of fear of directly opposing the military members as the guardian of the companies. On top of that, several names of retired military members are identified to have joined the campaign team of the incumbent president, Joko Widodo. This relationship has the potential to make the company’s licensing affairs easier.

The finding of the second leg of military business practice in Intan Jaya revealed the potential economic interests behind the series of ‘illegal military operation’ in Intan Jaya. This rapid assessment finds that all operations or deployment are illegal because to date, the President is yet to issue a decree for this, which requires the Senate’s approval as governed by Law 34 of 2004 on TNI. In this context, the absence of official instruction sharpens the indications that the deployment of troops and launching of military operations to Intan Jaya is not all about eradicating the armed group; but rather, about economic interests instead.

Therefore, it can be said that on the one hand, the companies have economic interests accompanied by military interests behind the series of violence in Intan Jaya. On the other hand, it is Papuan civilians who become the casualty in an increasing number where (1) they fall casualty to the armed conflict between Indonesia military forces and TPNPB, in which they have to take refuge or even die; and (2) they also fall victim to the extractive mining industry who squeezes off the natural resources in the land where they were born. Therefore, once again, is it true that the (illegal) military operations in the Land of Papua are an effort to defend the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia?

RECOMMENDATION

Findings in this rapid assessment implies several matters as follow:
1. The Central Government needs to withdraw all TNI/POLRI members who have been non-organically deployed in the Land of Papua.
2. The Government must take firm actions against military members who commit human rights violations.
3. The Government must revoke the business permits of the companies that fail to obtain approval from local communities.
4. The Central and Local Governments must prioritise safety and peace in Intan Jaya by endeavouring good social services.
5. The Government must immediately leave behind militaristic approaches in every policy concerned with the Land of Papua.
6. The Government, which in this case is State-Owned Enterprises, must reconsider options to appoint military members as commissioners as this could potentially worsen the practice of military business and compound the escalation of violence conflict that are genuinely rooted from social, economic and political injustice in the Land of Papua.
REFERENCES


### Annex 1

**Table of Distribution of Security Posts in Central Mountains of Papua**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MILITARY OFFICE</th>
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<th>SUBDISTRICT</th>
<th>DISTRICT/CITY</th>
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### Annex 2

Data of Shooting and Abuse Casualties out of Armed Conflict between TNI/POLRI and TPNPB in Intan Jaya from January 2020 to March 2021

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<td>Soni Bagau</td>
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<td>Melianus Nayagau</td>
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</table>
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