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Peace Systems and Peacemaking – The Long Jawe Peacemaking

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ABSTRACT

One of the earliest and most critical attacks during the period of Confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia was when some 200 Kenyah Indonesians from Long Nawang led by Indonesian army commandos went to attack Long Jawe on 28 September 1963. Two Gurkhas were killed in the attack and ten Kenyah Border Scouts. In the follow-up operation some 32 Indonesians were killed. The incident had a devastating impact on previously cordial ties between villages on each side of the border. After the official signing of peace in August 1966, there was a peacemaking in Long Jawe on 20 August 1967. However, the story of how this came about is only just beginning to unfold. This article outlines events that led to this peacemaking and how certain aspects of the process demonstrate features of peace systems and characteristics of indigenous peacemaking.

Keywords: confrontation, Long Jawe, Kenyah peacemaking, peace systems

INTRODUCTION

The formation of Malaysia in 1963 was deemed a threat by President Sukarno of Indonesia who led a border war of Confrontation against the Borneo states of Sabah and Sarawak. One of the earliest and most critical attacks during the Confrontation was when some 200 Kenyah Indonesians from Long Nawang led by Indonesian army commandos went to attack Long Jawe on 28 September 1963 [1]. Many Kenyah were forced to join this force at gunpoint. The Kenyah believed their role was to "liberate Brunei from the English colonizers," and they only understood that their target was Long Jawe when they were approaching the settlement. The Indonesian leaders told the Kenyah force that the target was the Gurkha outpost and Indonesian Kenyah scouts succeeded in sending warnings to the longhouse of impending action, sparing the lives of the villagers (Lumenta, 2011, p.136). Two Gurkhas were killed in the attack and ten Kenyah Border Scouts. In the follow-up operation, some 32 Indonesians were killed (Burlison, 2005, p. 61). Many of the

families of the bereaved Border Scouts[2] from both Long Jawe and the neighbouring village of Long Bulan grieved for years after this event. The incident affected certain families very deeply. For example, there is a story that a Kenyah man saw his uncle *(mpe')* among the Indonesian soldiers at Long Jawe. He called to him "*mpe*'" and shot at him. It is said he was decorated for his bravery, by the Malaysian forces, but he became a recluse - he didn't talk to people in his village and people said he was "mad." [3]

Nearly forty years earlier, in 1924, there was a peacemaking in Kapit which established peace between the Kenyah and other groups from Dutch Borneo and groups on the Sarawak frontier, particularly the Iban. This peacemaking ensured successful trading partnerships for both people from Dutch Borneo and their Sarawakian counterparts. Trading journeys (*peselai*) were important rites of passage for young Kenyah men who travelled to Sarawak in large groups to sell jungle produce. During these journeys they demonstrated their courage and resilience as future husbands and they learned about the world beyond the longhouse, ethnohistory and dealing with other ethnic groups (Lumenta, 2010, p.196). In the years after the Japanese occupation, Indonesian Kenyah also came to Sarawak, not just to trade but also to work as temporary labourers, in the spirit of *peselai.*

Prior to the Confrontation, in peacetime, relationships between villages ignored the existence of the transnational border. People intermarried, forming heterogenous settlements, adopted each other's children, farmed cooperatively, traded goods, and travelled on trading journeys together *(peselai).*

Intermarriage, adoption and trade are features of peace systems as will be outlined below. The attack at Long Jawe had a devastating impact on families as people got stuck on one side or the other of the border and certain families experienced severing of relationships due to the attack. Peace between Indonesia and Malaysia was declared in August 1966, ending Confrontation. However, cross-border relationships became normalized, when a peacemaking took place at Long Jawe on 20 August 1967. However, the story of how this came about is only just beginning to unfold. This article outlines events that led to this peacemaking and how certain aspects of the peacemaking process, share features with peace systems at a universal level.

THE KENYAH SETTLEMENTS

This essay will focus on the peacemaking after an incident which struck the inhabitants of Long Jawe, a Kenyah Lepo Kulit settlement on the Balui river in Sarawak, Malaysian Borneo. The Kenyah Lepo Kulit are one of the twenty or so different dialect groups which are culturally affiliated and known as Kenyah. This settlement was the last longhouse on the Balui river, about fifty kilometres from the border area, which was reached by river and jungle paths across mountainous country. The other settlement that was affected was the neighbouring Kenyah Uma Baha community at Long Bulan, as several of the Border Scouts killed in the incident came from there. The nearest centre in Kalimantan was Long Nawang, a collection of villages making up the largest centre for the Kenyah populations. It was the centre for the Indonesian provincial government and the home of the long established leader the *paren bio*, a Lepo Tau Kenyah, whose jurisdiction covered all the different Kenyah sub-groups on the Apo Kayan, including the Kenyah Badeng. The location of Long Nawang was close to the route into Sarawak, making it a strategic base for the Indonesian army during Confrontation. Since before the arrival of the Dutch, the

Indonesian Kenyah travelled frequently to Sarawak to trade *peselai* and to work and would stop off at Long Jawe. The border made little difference to their lives. There were also close relationships with their Kayan neighbours who also straddled the border. Kenyah and Kayan had close historical and cultural relationships with each other, extending across the border and were linked by trade, alliances and intermarriage.

SOURCES

In Sarawak there is a broad literature on warfare and headhunting, mainly with a focus on the Iban: Vadya, (1969); Pringle, [1970] (2010); Wagner, (1972); Wadley, (2001) (2004); Masing, (1981) and Helbing, (2021). Accounts of peacemaking are mentioned in relation to the making of the Brooke state and often from the perspectives of Brooke officials and other protagonists: for example, Hose and McDougall, [1912] (1993); Douglas, (1912); Haddon, (1901) and Appell, (1968). Narratives from indigenous perspectives are limited: Conley, (1976); Lawai, (2003) and Lumenta, (2011) detail Kenyah perspectives from Indonesian Borneo. Sutlive touches on peacemaking at Long Jawe from the point of view of his Iban subject, Temenggong Jugah, (Sutlive, 1992). Clayre and Usat (1997) document a short Sa'ban oral history which provides insights into processes of peacemaking. Mashman (2020) looks at the subject of peacemaking through the figure of a notable Kenyah leader, Tama Bulan and the *adat*. This essay draws on the material mentioned above dealing with indigenous perspectives and also interviews conducted between 2021 and 2024 with Kenyah and Kayan groups in the upper Baram, Miri, Kuching, Sungai Koyan Asap, and Data Kakus.

INDIGENOUS PEACEMAKING AND PEACE SYSTEMS

There are a number of recent studies of indigenous peacemaking and peace systems under the discipline of peace studies (Gregor, 1994; Sponsel and Gregor, 1994; MacGinty, 2008; Tuso and Flaherty, 2016; Fry, 2012; Souillac, and Fry 2014; Fry and Souillac, 2022). These researchers note a contradiction, which is based on the notion that for any community, however aggressive, to survive, there have to be mechanisms which foster cooperation and exchange (Sponsel and Gregor, 1994, p.xv). Indigenous peacemaking is particularly significant as it focusses on reestablishing relationships, restoring balance, on upholding common values and connections, and acknowledging the wisdom and skills of elders in mediating between parties. For many indigenous groups, conflict resolution is obligatory (Fry and Souillac, 2022, p.2). In addition, rituals and ceremonies are a means to convey difficult messages in safe spaces (Gohar and Schirch, 2016, p.457). Ceremonies also bring people together and can direct competitiveness in economic directions, instead of military pursuits (Fry, 2012, p.554). Another important factor is inter-community trade: good trading partnerships are "antithetical to war" (Fry 2012, p.553). Relationships are supported by acts of pardoning, which are often followed by the giving of compensation or exchanging gifts (McGinty 2008, p.148). Communities are led by respected elders who are appreciated for their experience, impartiality and wisdom (Fry and Souillac, 2022, p.3). They are charged with maintaining harmony within the community (Stobbe 2016, p.108), and practise self-control to prevent conflict and violence (Fry and Souillac, 2022, p.5). Finally, indigenous peacemaking involves entire communities, instead of individuals, as conflict results in "disunity and disharmony between human beings and between humans and nature" (Tuso, 2016, p.18).

Peace systems are defined as "groups of neighboring societies that do not make war on each other" (Fry, 2012, p.551). Such societies demonstrate features that foster peace and prevent violence from escalating (Souillac and Fry, 2014, p.618). Moreover, Fry highlights the significance of inclusive heterogenous identities which expand the *us* to include the *them,* rather than fostering *them* versus *us* relationships (Fry, 2012, p.551). For these communities, genealogies, wide kinship networks and alliances are important (Fry, 2012, p.553).

INCLUSIVE COMMUNITIES

A characteristic of a peace system is the ability to create heterogenous identities as belonging to one people, or being kin, Researchers have discovered that identifying as "one people" lessens hostile and prejudicial feelings and encourages positive attitudes towards people working together (Fry et al., 2021, p.6). The Kenyah demonstrate features of creating kin and becoming "of the same heart" when they make kin, *oyen panek.* For example, when the Kenyah Badeng were welcomed at Long Nawang in 1909, it was said by the headman, Peingan Surang, "We share the same ancestor, we have the same heart (*kyemet*)" (Armstrong, 1991, p.8). Further to this, the Kenyah Badeng formed relationships o*yen panek,* of "making kin", between themselves and their trading partners such as the Lepo Kulit, visiting and helping at harvest time. These relationships would hold people in good stead in times of need. When a harvest failed, they could rely on the Kenyah Lepo Kulit as fictitious kin to help replenish supplies in exchange for beads, game, tools or other goods (Armstrong, 1991, p. 6). On the Balui river, Long Jawe, a Kenyah Lepo Kulit village would be a place for the Indonesian Kenyah to stop and rest for the night, relying on their ties of fictitious kin. Child adoption was a means of ensuring there was someone to nurture children, given the high mortality rate of women in the past. Siblings often adopted each other's children. In some areas, adoptions take place between families of different ethnic groups. For example, at Long Mejawah in the Balui River there have been adoptions of children of the incoming Kenyah and the long established Kayan families over the last thirty years (Tan, 2024, p.9).

The notion of people "of the same heart" recalls peace systems practiced by ten neighboring tribes of four different language groups from the Upper Xingu River region of Brazil. Like the Kenyah, who have different dialects, they have their own distinct languages but have "a larger social framework of common institutions and values" (Gregor, 1994, p.244). For the Kenyah, their culture, rituals and ceremonies can unify different dialect groups. People can see themselves as belonging to more than one dialect group, through relationships of intermarriage, adoption or fictitious kin.The capacity of being able to create heterogenous identities as being "of the same heart" or belonging to "one country" or being "kin" is described as a characteristic of many peace systems and psychologists have found that identifying as "one people" reduces hostile behaviour and prejudicial attitudes and promotes positive mindsets towards more cooperation (Fry et al., 2021, p.6).

THE IMPORTANCE OF *ADET*

Many of the features of indigenous peacemaking and peace systems described above are based on the *adet* [4] among the Kenyah. *Adet* refers to the social norms and customs that guide relationships within a community. These customs are important for peacemaking to take place. "Peacemaking processes do not exist *sui generis*, but are embedded in the cultural settings in which they develop and operate" (Fry and Souillac, 2022, p.6). These processes are based on common consent and

with consistent usage and practice over time, they gain the authority that demands that they are kept. If the *adet* is violated, there are sanctions imposed by the community. As Ramy Bulan, a Sarawakian scholar has noted, "Underpinning these traditions is the need to settle conflicts and controversies to ensure social cohesion and harmonious existence" (Bulan, 2014, p.319).

Thus, adherence to the *adet* is the means for communities to live together (Bulan, 2008, p.156) and it follows that the *adet* is the key to understanding how peace systems work. In the words of one observer, referring to the Kenyah: "When everything is acting according to its proper *adat*, there is harmony and balance. Wrong action, then, leads to an imbalance and sickness, death, crop failure and so on" (Whittier, 1978, p.117). Harmony through community consensus is the end goal, as it is crucial to diffuse disputes to keep the community together and prevent the longhouse or settlement from splitting up. This is very much in keeping with the maxim that peacemaking involves whole communities rather than individuals (Tuso, 2016, p.18).

The chief is expected to uphold the values of the community. In Kenyah culture, chiefs are often praised in song for their virtues, reinforcing the values that they promote which build on their relationships within the community. The desired characteristics of a good leader are qualities that enhance relationships. For example, the Kenyah ideal leader is expected to be compassionate and socially responsible ('*un lesau*); polite in speaking and able to think rationally (*tiga tira' ngan kenep*); effective at uniting and advising people (*mencam pebeka' ngan mencam pekatok dulu ngeleppo'*); to possess great determination and a sense of responsibility in leadership (*bawa'*) and he should refrain from vilifying others (*abe' uba' pejaat dulu*) (Lawai, 2003, p.179). These core values provide an impetus for leaders to take action to maintain and strengthen the community by uniting people and to maintain their status. The value system promotes peace and unity. At the same time, the desirable qualities of Kenyah leaders coincide with the universal qualities of indigenous peacemakers, who should demonstrate "wisdom, honesty, patience, communication skills, eloquence (and) extensive knowledge about custom." (Nawal Al-Jawhari, 2012, p.94, quoted in Tuso, 2016, p.516).

EVENTS LEADING TO THE LONG JAWE PEACEMAKING

Peace was signed between Indonesia and Malaysia in Jakarta on 16 August 1966 ending Confrontation. Tun Jugah, as the Federal Minister for Sarawak Affairs, wanted a local peacemaking to take place as many of the Iban, Kajang, Kayan and Kenyah on both sides of the border had had their lives disrupted by Confrontation and had been unable to travel for trading or for work (*peselai*) or for keeping in touch with their relatives. However, in Kuching there was not a lot of support for Tun Jugah's plan. For example, Gerunsin Lembat, the State Secretary, was reluctant for such a ceremony to go ahead as he knew there would be a mass influx of people from over the border (Sutlive, 1992, p.216).

Nonetheless, Tun Jugah understood that a local peacemaking was important, as only this would restore broken relationships. He obtained RM 10,000 to arrange a peacemaking celebration from the Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman (Sutlive, 1992, p.215). After a Cabinet meeting in Kuching, it was agreed that Tajang Laing as Minister for State in the State Cabinet should initiate the peace-making. Tun Jugah, summoned Tajang Laing to his office in Kuching. He was considered the right person for the task as he had the highest stature in the community and had many relatives, both Kayan and Kenyah, over the border. He was cast in the role of a leader who

would act as a mediator. Such emissaries are important in Borneo as they initiate the peace process at the local level (Conley, 1976, p.118). There were certain expectations of Tajang Laing as an Orang Ulu leader: his relationships with people should not be divisive but create unity and he should be able to mobilize people to come for a peacemaking.

THE LONG JAWE PEACE – MAKING: PRELIMINARY MEETING

Tajang Laing travelled back to his longhouse at Rumah Nyaveng to consult with his community as to how to plan the journey to set up a preliminary meeting with the Indonesian side and to discuss the proposed programme for the peacemaking ceremony. In an interview conducted in 2003, he explained his mission:

> "We wanted to arrange peace following our Kayan-Kenyah traditions. After all, we all originated from *Indon.* My own Kayan ancestors came from the Apokayan. I was maybe the only Sarawak official who personally knew many people from Long Nawang" (Lumenta, 2011, p.138).

It is possible to note that peacemaking was not conducted on an individual basis but involved the whole community, resonating with features of indigenous peacemaking identified at a universal level (Tuso, 2016, p.18). Tajang Laing assembled a peace mission team of about ten men. Among the men in his team were two headmen, Maren Uma Lake' Kulleh Imang and Maren Uma Wan Kilah. They took a well-worn trading route to the border travelling by boat and on foot.

His group travelled for the first two days of the journey in two longboats powered by an outboard engine and on the third day, they had to punt and paddle up the rapids as they entered the Aput River. By evening of the third day, they arrived at the Sai River where they had to go through to Batu Betamen, an important landmark. This consisted of a stone gate featuring two natural stone outcrops, one on each side of the riverbank. Once they had entered through the stone gate, they spent the night in a makeshift camp by the riverbank.

That night they all agreed that they would split up into two groups. Tajang Laing would stay back at the camp, while Maren Uma Wan Kilah would lead the others to go to Long Nawang and invite leaders to come to Batu Betamen to meet Tajang Laing. Wan Kilah was to convey the message from Tajang Laing about the Sarawak government's intention to organise a peacemaking ceremony at Long Jawe, and to invite the legitimate leaders and representatives to come and meet Tajang Laing at Batu Betamen, to discuss how a peace-celebration might take place. Batu Betamen was a suitable location for such discussions, as it was in neutral territory. This was an important factor for peacemakings among the Kenyah (Conley 1976, p. 118). Wan Kilah and his group trekked across the border to the first village of Long Penawan, then by longboat down to Long Nawang on the Apau Kayan, in Kalimantan. After a week, the group returned with Pelik Lenjau, the paramount chief of Long Nawang with his men.[5]

TRANSNATIONAL MEETING AT BATU BETAMEN

The Kenyah from Indonesia were apprehensive that those from Sarawak might seek further revenge (Sutlive, 1992, p. 216). However, one witness from Kalimantan, Belare Asa, who was present at Batu Betamen said that he had full confidence and trust in the presence of Tajang Laing that everything would work out because he was leading the peacemaking.[6] All in all, there were a

total of around a hundred people at this preliminary meeting at Batu Betamen. They discussed what had happened and how they all wanted to make peace, as there were so many families with relatives on each side of the border. This is a characteristic of the practice of the *adat* in Borneo that people want to end conflict, live at peace with each other (Bulan, 2014, p.319). In order to smooth discussions, the leaders took tiger teeth and dipped them in spring water and sprinkled it over the gathering. They swore on tiger teeth that they would no longer be enemies.

People looked after their tiger teeth carefully which were considered very ritually powerful. Only pure aristocrats (*maren*) can use the tiger tooth, and if someone swears on a tiger's tooth there is a severe penalty from the supernatural world for breaking the oath. Tiger teeth are only used in the most serious situations. It is said that tiger teeth were passed down through generations and were likely to be obtained by trade across the Indonesian archipelago. Tigers were regarded as very high spiritual entities in Borneo cosmologies and were held in fear and awe (Sellato, 2019). Sometimes tiger claws were used or the teeth of other animals. Oath taking is an important peacemaking ritual, which creates a recognized structure for people to interact and make promises with each other, facilitating communication. In addition to oath taking, there was an exchange of gifts, something which was done according to custom (*adat)*. Belare Asa brought a parang to Batu Betamen, which represented his village in Kalimantan, to the ceremony. He gave his parang to Tajang Laing. He received salt, a prized commodity, in exchange. The exchange of gifts is a common practice during traditional peace makings to affirm what has taken place through promises and rituals (McGinty, 2008, p.148).

After the oath taking had taken place, they sat down to plan the peacemaking ceremony. The day after this meeting, everyone dispersed and Tajang Laing and his party stopped at Long Jawe to discuss with the Maren Uma Pasan Abok the plans for the forthcoming peacemaking at Long Jawe. After that, he went back to Kuching to brief Tun Jugah on what had taken place at Long Jawe and at Batu Betamen.[5]

According to recollections by Tajang Laing, invitations were sent to all the Iban, Kayan, Kenyah and Kajang in Belaga and Kapit and from the Baram. Among the leaders who attended were Tun Jugah; Temenggong Lawai Jau; Temenggong Baya Malang; Nawan Lawai; Pengulu Jallong; Lake Kebing Aran; Ului Jok from Uma Belor and Penghulu Kebing Nyipa. In addition, there were Kayan leaders from Data Dian led by Jelau Lenjau and Pelik Lenjau, Kenyah son of Bo Lejau, the paramount chief from Long Nawang.[5]

THE MEETING AT LONG JAWE

The day of the peacemaking at Long Jawe was August 20 1967.[9] The arrival of the Indonesian group at Long Jawe triggered wailing and crying from women still grieving the memory of those killed (Sutlive 1991, p. 216). One eyewitness from Long Jawe, Luri Erong remembers an initial mood of uncertainty and tension: "At that time people were still anxious about being attacked by enemies."[8]

The event was difficult for some villagers, as they remembered the pain caused by the deaths of their relatives as testified by Ebon Chaw, who was from the neighbouring village of Long Bulan:

> "I felt very emotional and upset because many of the men who were killed at Long Jawe had wives or relatives from Long Bulan. The Indonesian Kenyah came to ask for pardon. When the visitors arrived, the police had to restrain me because I felt very angry." [9]

According Ta'a Erung from Long Jawe, who remembers the occasion as a young teenage girl, there was a formal welcome as they lined up to greet the visitors. "Our group of performers of young women waited in line, alongside the young men. We sang a welcome song for the visitors to greet them." The tense atmosphere dispelled by singing and music on arrival of the visitors. There was a song specially composed for the event, which was sung by school students, there was also a comedian who made people laugh.[8]

PEACEMAKING RITUALS

Figure 1. Tajang Laing Minister of State at the Long Jawe Peacemaking with Pelik' Lenjau from Long Nawang. (Photo courtesy of Dato Sri Tajang Laing).

According to Dato Sri Tajang Laing, the ceremony was held on the veranda of the longhouse, with the performance of the customary *adat* rituals performed by *dayung* ritual specialists. As Long Jawe was a Christian village, the shamans were invited from other longhouses, including Kebing Aren from Uma Nyaveng and Uloi Jok from Uma Belor.[10] The guest of honour, Tun Jugah, and all invited chiefs and elders assembled at midday in the middle of the veranda where a number of kampong pigs were tied up. Standing in front, the ritual specialist *dayung* chanted and the leading parties swore oaths. The pigs were considered the conduit for carrying the wishes of the gathering to the world of the spirits. The invocation went something like this: "Now we are all here assembled for peacemaking. If anyone breaks the spirit of this peacemaking he will die; if he maintains this peacemaking, he will be blessed with a long life of good health and prosperity."[11] Dato Sri Tajang Laing went onto describe the rituals of peacemaking as follows:

> *"Na petame' urip* means peacemaking. *Na tengaran urip* means to hold peacemaking negotiations. During a peacemaking, people would exchange hats and knives. They would eat and drink together and swear oaths. The rituals were performed by a ritual specialist (*dayung*), who chanted prayers to evoke auspicious blessings from the spirits. They would proclaim that they were all brothers that they could eat and sleep together."[5]

The important factor was the belief that the spirit world sanctioned the peacemaking and there would be penalties from the spirit world, if the oaths were broken. Such rituals also help to reinforce relationships on a spiritual plane which is very significant in peacemakings in traditional cultures (Gohar and Schirch, 2016, p.456-8).

He explained further that there was a cleansing ritual. The rim of a gong was filled with the blood of a pig that had been slaughtered. Water was added. A ceremonial stick, decorated with wood shavings (*penghut)* was dipped in the mixture of blood mixed and water; and holding this together with an unsheathed parang blade, the mixture was sprinkled over the gathering crowd. Four important powerful elements were present in this ritual: water; blood; wood and iron. The *dayung* would address the gathering invoking the spirits as the rituals took place. The invocation went something like this: "Now we are all here assembled for peacemaking. If anyone breaks the spirit of this peacemaking he will die; if he maintains this peacemaking, he will be blessed with a long-life of good health and prosperity." They swore *(pelamai)* on tiger teeth that they would no longer be enemies. Such an invocation was made to seek protection from the spirit world through the slaughter of the pig. Pigs were believed to mediate between humans and the spirit world, through the anointing power of their blood and the power of their livers to deliver augers (Janowski, 2021, p.177).

Alan Udau explained what peacemaking means to the Kenyah, as it is deeply rooted in the custom, the *adat*:

> *"Petutung* means to make peace. It also means to take an oath. You cannot resume hostilities anymore. It's very deep rooted in Kenyah culture. It's handed down over generations. *Petutung* is carried out between both parties where they swear to have peace among them. There must be no more incidents where blood is to be shed between them. This ceremony seals the oaths for peace between them."[9]

The symbolism of the rituals was further explained by Alan Udau: "the ceremonial sword, the *parang ilang* – this is not used for killing or harm, it signifies the respect for peace; the gong full of blood represents the bond of unity, the meaning of peace is together with the blood." He also explained the meaning of the oath-taking:

> "You cannot break the oath of a peacemaking when blood is shed – it's very strict- it's non-negotiable. This meaning is understood among all the Dayak tribes who stay on Borneo Island – anyone of a tribe who breaks an oath, faces the consequence of punishment incurring death."[9]

So the symbolism of the rituals would have been understood by all present and the ceremonies enabled people to move on from their initial feelings of tension and mistrust. After the rituals with the pigs were completed, the pigs were slaughtered and cooked for the ceremonial lunch. In the meantime, Tun Jugah, Temenggong Lawai Jau and other leaders present spoke; and this was followed by speeches from representatives of all those present.

According to another witness, Luri Erong who was a young girl at the time, after the rituals, and speeches the mood changed:

> "The *datun julut* was performed to the sape music accompanied by the harmonica. After that, people settled down and had their lunch. People were very happy - an atmosphere of peace prevailed. Eventually, there was peace for us in Sarawak. In the end, we all danced in a circle and Temenggong Jugah joined in and he was in the centre."[8]

For everyone to sit and eat together is an important feature of a Kenyah peacemaking as it reinforces feelings of trust and camaraderie, as noted by Conley, "After the ritual proceedings the men of both sides joined in a feast together to indicate their good will and removal of suspicion about the threat of poisoning from their erstwhile enemies" (Conley,1976, p.119). It is also noted at a more universal level that eating and drinking during a peacemaking symbolizes a shared humanity (Gohar and Schirch, 2016, p.457).

A reflection from another witness, Ebon Chaw, summarizes the process of peacemaking and also indicates how there was a transition of belief systems at that time. Although the peacemaking followed traditional custom, Long Jawe was a Christian settlement and the singing of Christian hymns lightened the gathering:

> "There was a *petutung* ceremony, a pig was slaughtered, we ate pig together. We exchanged parangs. We sang Christian songs, praise songs in Kenyah. We praised the Lord. We threw away our cares everything was lifted to the Lord." [9]

CONCLUSION

The Long Jawe peacemaking was the last major peacemaking involving indigenous groups from Sarawak and Indonesia, held at the local level. The parties involved had established mechanisms through their *adat* for making peace at the community level. The role of leaders was crucial for the early stages of mediation in order to bring these groups together. Another factor that can be attributed to the success of this peacemaking was the inclusive nature of the parties involved. This meant that the barriers which the conflict had imposed, became easily broken by the rituals and ceremonies and Christian fellowship. After this peacemaking, the Indonesians living in the Belaga, Kapit and Baram districts were able to travel back to their villages without the fear of repercussions. As anticipated, there were large-scale migrations of people, who had ancestral ties with Sarawak, into the Belaga and Kapit districts and the incoming border people decided to settle in Sarawak and obtained identity cards. Some of the Kenyah from Indonesia settled at Long Busang and their children were welcomed at the school at Long Jawe, without feeling any repercussions from the Long Jawe incident.

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anonymous reviewer made useful comments on an earlier version of the paper. I am very grateful to them. However, I am solely responsible for any errors in this work.

Notes

[1] Commandos have been identified as *Regimen Pasukan Komando Angkatan Darat* RPKAD (van der Bijl, 2014, p.81). The record of the strength of this force varies. Both Lumenta (2011, p.136) and Burlison (2005, p.61) agree on this number. Gabriel Tan (2008, p.83) suggests the force was half this number. It is possible that the number of 200 includes boatmen, scouts and guides.
[2] Number of Border Scouts killed varies according to the account. Lumenta's informant (2011, p.136) suggests two were killed after being captured, Tan states eight were killed (Tan, 2008, p.83).
[3] Source: Tan Chee Beng personal communication.
[4] The word *adet* is the Kenyah term. The more general word used in Bahasa Malaysia is *adat.*
[5] Interview with Dato Sri and Puan Sri Tajang Laing on 16 April 2023.
[6] Belare Asa interviewed at Data Kakus May 2023. He was 16 years old at the time of the peacemaking and he was the son of a headman. He stayed two nights at Batu Betamen. After peacemaking he and his kinsmen were free to travel and work in Sarawak.
[7] Alan Udau of Uma Kulit Sungai Koyan Asap noted this date in his journal. Interview 30 May 2023.
[8] Luri Erong and Ta'a Erung two sisters interviewed at Uma Kulit Sungai Koyan Asap, June 2, 2024.
[9] Ebon Chaw at Uma Baha Sungai Koyan Asap, 29 May 2023.
[10] Jayl Langub managed to recall these names.
[11] Differs slightly from the recollections of Gerunsin Lembat who suggests the traditional rituals were performed only by a few (Sutlive 1992, p. 217).

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