

The Dynamics of Ethnonationalism and Conflict Resolution in Papua

Abdul Hadi

Universitas Islam Jember

Email: habdulhadi.uj@gmail.com

Received: Agt 14, 2021 | Revised: Sept 19, 2021 | Approved: Oct 22, 2021

Abstract: The dynamics of the conflict in Papua which is often volatile and take a long way are the impact of the complexity of the problem since it was integrated with the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Differences in perspective from the history of integration, discrimination, economic inequality, and human rights violations encourage indigenous Papuans to give birth to an ethnonationalism movement. On the other hand, the dual strategic approach that has been implemented in Papua is both in welfare and security. The Government seeks to improve and facilitate access to the fundamental rights of the Papuan people within the framework of development in line with local wisdom or known as ethno-development. In order to contribute to previous studies, this article attempts to critically analyze the ethnonationalism movement in Papua and the factors that drive the emergence of conflicts and strategic efforts to resolve conflicts through ethnodevelopment. The ethnodevelopment approach is based on the cultural integrity of the local population who play an essential role in actively participating in social change. Ethno-development is also a parameter for the implementation of space for freedom of expression in Papua to acknowledge local culture and wisdom.

Keywords: Ethnonationalism, Conflict Resolution, Papua, Ethno-development

Abstrak: *Dinamika konflik di Papua yang sering berkejolak dan menempuh jalan panjang merupakan imbas dari kompleksitas persoalan semenjak terintegrasi dengan Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia. Perbedaan cara pandang dari sejarah integrasi, diskriminasi, ketimpangan ekonomi dan pelanggaran hak asasi mendorong pribumi Papua melahirkan gerakan etnonasionalisme. Disisi lain, pendekatan strategis ganda yang telah dijalankan di Papua baik dalam kesejahteraan dan keamanan. Pemerintah berupaya untuk melakukan peningkatan dan kemudahan akses terhadap hak-hak dasar masyarakat Papua dalam kerangka pembangunan yang selaras dengan kearifan lokal atau yang dikenal sebagai ethno-development. Untuk berkontribusi atas kajian yang telah ada sebelumnya, artikel ini berupaya untuk menganalisis secara kritis gerakan etnonasionalisme di Papua dan faktor-faktor yang mendorong munculnya konflik serta upaya strategis untuk menyelesaikan konflik melalui ethno-development. Pendekatan ethno-development berbasis pada integritas kebudayaan dari penduduk lokal yang memainkan peran penting untuk berpartisipasi aktif dalam perubahan sosial. Ethno-development juga menjadi parameter untuk pelaksanaan ruang kebebasan berekspresi di Papua sebagai bentuk pengakuan atas kebudayaan dan kearifan lokal.*

Kata Kunci : *Etnonasionalisme, Resolusi Konflik, Papua, Ethno-development*

Introduction

By enacting the Regional Autonomy Law in 1999, the Reformation Era was marked by the formation of a regional government that had more authority than in previous periods. Concerning the position and model of the Government, recent developments show a new awareness of the Government, both central and local, to pay more attention to the fate of the community, including those in Papua who have been marginalized (Mukhtadi, 2021). Concrete forms that the Government has taken include the rules of the game for the development of structures and infrastructure, strengthening of various political and democratic institutions, creation of quality human resources, law enforcement and regulation of fund allocation, all of which are increasingly showing partiality to the community (Noor, 2019).

The Papuan separatist conflict has a relatively complicated and severe background. Starting in 1945, namely at the beginning of independence, the struggle for the territory of Papua began to surface by involving the Indonesian Government which had just declared its independence. The problem was that the Indonesian Government wanted Papua to be part of Indonesia's sovereign territory. Meanwhile, the Dutch Government feels that it still has power in the Papua region and considers that Papua belongs to the Dutch, not Indonesia. The Dutch Government has even prepared to make Papua a Dutch commonwealth by building a government area and related services (Bhakti & Pigay, 2016).

Papua's desire to separate from the sovereign territory of the Republic of Indonesia is also exacerbated by the discrimination and injustice experienced by the Papuan people when compared to other Indonesians. Mainly related to the welfare and prosperity of the community and development in Papua. This condition further strengthens or enlarges Papua's desire to separate itself from Indonesia's sovereign territory (Muntaha et al., 2019). In the Reformation era, it was realized by many parties including the Government, NGOs, observers of Papuan issues both at home and abroad. However, the efforts to improve it still encountered many obstacles, but this did not mean an intention and concern. The Government's efforts together with the Papuan people to build Papua towards a better direction. much better (Sugandi, 2008).

The movement of the Papuan people to determine their destiny has occurred since the Japanese occupation of Papua in 1942-1946. The twists and turns The journey of the Papuan people in determining their destiny and journey of life began to enter a

new era when Indonesia began to prepare for its independence. In the BPUPKI session on July 10 and 11, 1945, the certainty of the status of Papua as part of the territory of Indonesia became a topic of intense debate among the leaders of the struggle for Indonesian independence at that time. In the view of several prominent figures in Indonesia, the strategy of the Indonesian nation in achieving independence requires that Papua is still included in the territorial sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, even though the territory of the Papuan nation is different from the Indonesian nation (Wospakrik, 2016).

Papua in this context is West Papua or Irian Jaya. It is one of the areas that have experienced turmoil until now and still cannot be solved. The resistance started with the attack of Battalion 751 Brawijaya in Manokwari which killed 3 TNI soldiers. Negative views by the general public towards the OPM gave birth to the opinion that there were deviations from the Soekarno government to Suharto which seemed to cause the OPM to issue skewed issues regarding its emergence in the mass media time (Sugandi, 2008).

In 1964 the people of Papua tried themselves to the United Nations to declare that they were free from the Netherlands and Indonesia. Departing from this, the OPM developed as one of the more organized separatist organizations at that time. All organizational structures in the OPM are arranged as neatly as possible starting from the authorities to the members. Such conditions can undoubtedly threaten the sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Various efforts were made by the Indonesian armed forces, to prevent movements that could threaten the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. Over time, rumors about the issue began to disappear until finally at the beginning of the Reformation Order the issue reappeared (MUTAQIN, 2013).

Since the emergence of the New Order, namely in 1998, the movement's activities demanding and fighting for the independence of Papua from the sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) have re-emerged. The rise of military actions of the Papuan separatist movement was also followed by a campaign for Papuan independence from Indonesia internationally, starting from the nearest regional environment, namely the South Pacific to more distant countries such as western countries, as well as in international union organizations such as the United Nations (Paramitha, 2019).

These armed actions and international campaigns for the Papuan separatist movement are an illustration of the reality that there are still groups in Papuan society who have not and cannot accept the results of the 1959 Act of Free Choice, these results are considered to have been engineered by the Suharto military government for the political interests of national integration. The international campaign of Papuan separatism through the diplomatic arena itself is a continuation of the limitations of the separatist movement in carrying out physical resistance through various military actions. Like the armed struggle, the international campaign and diplomatic struggle of the Papuan separatist movement also experienced ups and downs, in line with the condition of the capacity of the actors and the support of their sympathizers in influencing international opinion and decision-making at the multilateral negotiating table (Kholilurrachman, 2016). However, just like the overlapping Horizontal status conflicts, the international campaign of the Papuan separatist movement through government and public diplomacy lines one to three, which the Government carries out, and the mass media does not mean it has run out or disappeared altogether, as long as the echo of the campaign has not disappeared at all. once out of circulation, including those that appear through public media facilities, especially the internet and other mass media (MEGANTARA, 2013).

The efforts to internationalize the Papuan separatist movement do not stop here. OPM's initiatives and activities are increasingly diverse, creative, and innovative. Finally, they organize international campaign efforts to attract the attention of the world community, by provoking their emotions, imitating activists and sympathizers from various ethnic groups in other countries and also using small boats, using the same name, not only that, they also do several shipping that includes other countries. The shipping activities and the campaign have drawn the attention of the world community to various human rights violations in the past, which were alleged to have been carried out by the Indonesian armed security forces against the indigenous Papuan population (Adam et al., 2019). Seeing the increasing intensity of international campaigns and various diplomatic steps carried out in world forums by the Papuan separatist movement, the question then arises as to why international campaigns and diplomacy are a choice in the struggle for Papuan separatism and independence movements. Therefore, it is essential to research and discuss why the international campaign and diplomacy of the Papuan separatism movement carried out by individual Papuan

leaders and NGOs has become a severe problem. These questions are logical, because outside the OPM, human rights organizations and activists are also intensively conducting international campaigns and diplomacy to pressure the Indonesian Government in its subsequent attitudes and policies towards Papua (Wospakrik, 2016).

For supporters of the Papuan separatist movement themselves, OPM international diplomacy provides an alternative arena to increase their leverage before the community or the international community in fighting for their aspirations and interests for independence from Indonesia. In other words, through international diplomatic actions, the OPM can increase its bargaining power against the central Government (Indonesia) which is anti-separatist (Sinaga, n.d.). In this case, Papuan separatist groups can use international diplomacy as a vehicle and a way (tactics and part of strategy) to break away from the Republic of Indonesia. Through international diplomacy, they can find friends and sympathy, which can broaden support for the physical struggle carried out by the military wing of this Papuan separatism movement. So, it can be said that the arena and diplomatic struggle are another way, as a complement to the struggle of the military movement, as a total or overall effort to achieve optimal results in achieving their goal of gaining independence and releasing themselves from the territory of the Republic of Indonesia (Karim, 2012).

Communication skills in the use of an essential or central role at the negotiating tables to win as much support as possible, opponents and friends, and many sympathizers. The utilization of communication tools with advanced technology is beneficial in achieving the targets and goals set previously. With the increasingly sophisticated and widespread flow of globalization, it is easier to carry out campaigns for separatism movements due to rapid and responsive technological advances and gain international attention and support and sympathy. Mass media, electronic and non-electronic, and even other social media such as Facebook, Twitter, and others, play an active role in influencing the world's assumptions to win, both individual, group and national interests, and broader than that. Likewise, war in cyberspace or war using electronic media cannot be separated from diplomatic efforts that have been previously planned (Aryowiloto, 2019).

Result and Discussion

Ethno-Nationalisme Movement in Papua

The struggle carried out by the armed movement (OPM) did not necessarily comply with their desire for independence and independence from the Indonesian Government. The way they do it is by guerrilla means, but over time when their wishes are not immediately realized, finally starting in the early 2000s they decided to carry out attacks by non-violent means. OPM decided to change its strategy of struggle by holding a General Conference (Mubes) and the Papuan Congress in 2000. This moment changed the strategy into political lobbying or non-violence that might be recognized and tolerated. Among them with the formation of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) abroad (Ondawame, 2000).

The birth of the OPM turned out to have a significant impact on the Indonesian Government. One of them impacts friction between military forces and police officers who are on duty in Papua. Since OPM was founded they have carried out many militant activities to achieve their desires and desires. their actions resulted in a series of prolonged conflicts and caused many casualties. The Papua Merdeka Organization (OPM) is an organization formed out of dissatisfaction after determining the results of the People's Opinion Determination (PEPERA) in 1969. They rated the results as invalid or not following their wishes. This is reinforced by the results of the voting that has been done. By only recording as many as 1025 Papuan people who voted with a total population of 809 thousand. The action violated what was mandated in the 1962 New York agreement on the one man one vote mechanism. Indonesia was considered to have violated and not followed its rules (Viartasiwi, 2018).

As a result of the above incident, in early 1965, the OPM group started an attack during the Kebar incident, namely Johannis Djambuani's troops attacked the Prasetya Oath activities which resulted in 3 deaths and the loss of 9 weapons. In addition, the attack on Infantry Battalion 641 Cenderawasih I in Arfai was the beginning of the emergence of the OPM group. As a result of this incident, 3 TNI members were killed and as many as 30 people from the OPM died. For the last time in 1977-1978, the OPM again attacked military posts. Then the OPM changed its strategy by taking hostages, one of which was the Arso sub-district head, Billy W. In 1987 the OPM again took 5 civilians hostage with a ransom of 2 billion rupiah. Moreover, for 1995-1996, the OPM group again took 3 researchers hostage from Paniai, 12 residents, 10 researchers from the

Lorens Expedition Team, 3 WWF and UNESCO researchers, of which 7 were foreign nationals (Gault-Williams, 1987);(Ondawame, 2000).

OPM's radical actions had subsided when a meeting between the 3rd President of the Republic of Indonesia, namely B.J. Habibie, involved 100 Papuan figures, including from the OPM group, Theys Hiyo Eluay. However, the peace efforts involving Papuan leaders were challenging and did not produce any results and were continued in 2000. Then, in the leadership of the 4th Indonesian president Abdurrahman Wahid, in commemoration of the 38th independence of Papua, they were given permission to fly the Papuan flag and the song "Hai Tanahku" side by side with the Indonesian flag and the Indonesian national anthem. This incident was a factor that prompted the holding of the Second Papuan Congress (Mubes) and Papuan Congress in 2000. After the Second Papuan Congress and Mubes were held, the OPM's intensity of attacks carried out decreased. This fact is reinforced by the absence of data regarding violent attacks by the OPM in various areas of Papua (Muntaha et al., 2019); (Sugandi, 2008).

OPM tends to reduce the intensity of its attacks by using non-violent means and reducing violent activities. Although not wholly abandoning the strategy, it can be seen from how they implement their strategy in carrying out the struggle. Therefore, by using this concept, it can be used to explain what happened so that OPM is trying to shift its original strategy by using violent (militaristic) methods to a more non-violent (political) way (Noor, 2019).

Freedom and Diversity

In following the developments that will occur in their territory, the Papuan people are like other Indonesian people, they have different views about what is happening in their place of residence. It is natural for this difference of opinion to occur, some think and are critical of the Government. They even ask for a referendum on fate determination as a form of dissatisfaction with the Government and a strong urge to immediately leave the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Although at the UN session in Geneva, Switzerland in 2019, the Indonesian Ambassador, Jasan Kelib, had emphasized that the Indonesian Government was unlikely to repeat the Papuan referendum. Apart from this affirmation, the Government's view from the eyes of the Papuan people also cannot be claimed that all Papuans have the same view. Because Papua is a unique region, has many cultures and extraordinary diversity (Upton, 2009).

The Dynamics of Ethnonationalism...
Hadi, 2021

The Papuan people are divided into seven customary areas and consist of hundreds of sub-ethnics covering 321 ethnic groups, this data is obtained from the results of the population census in 2000. The ethnic group that has the least number of members is Nalca, while Biak Numfor is an ethnic group that has members at most about 148,000 people. There are over 200 different languages with different pronunciations that cannot understand each other. It is because they want to show that their ethnicities are the most superior and difficult to unite. Among the tribes they will not submit to other tribes, because they are a unique and independent tribe and consider themselves the rulers of where they are. (Singh, 2017)

This then has an impact on socio-political life. Diversity of opinion often arises and causes fragmentation, even when they are from the same group and fight for the same interests they will have different directions even though they come from the OPM group itself. It is undeniable that until now, the political orientation of the Papuan people cannot be united. This condition is further supported by the absence of a group leader or agency among them. The growth of a solid collective idea, to present the same thoughts and be able to move the Papuan people in the same direction, stems from the absence of unifying beliefs, values and ideologies (Adam et al., 2019). If these values exist, but these values are only shared collectively and are limited in nature, in the sense that the entire Papuan population does not share these values. Then the differences in historical experiences that they understand also affect their understanding of voicing the Papuan people's opinions and aspirations. The unpleasant experience of the Dutch colonial era will impact their thinking to provide support for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. On the other hand, the unpleasant experience of the Indonesian Government will have an impact on generating ideas of separatism (Putra et al., 2019).

The most influential impact is the determination of who can represent and voice the real wishes of the Papuan people, because this problem will be challenging to find an answer. However, based on the Schumpeterian theory of democracy, elections are the essence of democracy which proves the majority's freedom in a group or community. The people have directly elected the existence of local Government. With this, any agency or organization on behalf of representatives of the Papuan people such as KNPB or UMLWP does not have strong legitimacy. More specifically, the Regional Governments of Papua and West Papua Provinces are led directly by indigenous Papuans based on direct election of the Papuan people through the local election (Pilkada) (Karim, 2012).

On the other hand, the events that occurred in the Papuan people during the historical period need attention, intending to understand the thoughts of the Papuan people towards the existence of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. For a long time, it has been known that the Dutch in maintaining their presence in their colonized country have provided much knowledge, including to Papua and formed the Papuan community into an independent entity. Giving a stamp or identity to all Papuan people makes it easier for the Dutch to communicate with their Government in Papua. The Dutch Indonesian government took advantage of this momentum to approach the Papuan people by complicating or complicating the situation. In the Dutch's efforts, they finally succeeded in forming the idea of nationalism of the Papuan people as "Dual Nationalism of the Papuan People" (Hasirun et al., 2018).

However, based on the existing history, the Dutch Government has not fully succeeded in changing the thoughts of the Papuan people by conducting isolation which aims to get out of the direction or ranks of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia and provide rejection of Indonesian nationalism. This fact is also reinforced by the joining of Papuan figures whom Indonesians successfully influenced in defending Indonesia's national interests through an extended interaction. Finally, several Papuan leaders accepted Indonesian nationalism without any long interaction (Singh, 2017).

However, it must be realized together that the seeds of Papuan nationalism have indeed been spread and grown in various places. Socialization of awareness as a Papuan unrelated to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is continuously voiced and carried out by various separatist groups. This situation certainly cannot be tolerated. Underestimating, or even ignoring reality, is not a wise attitude. Instead, all parties must develop strategic steps in responding to this so that the land of Papua can be much more dignified, civilized and aspirational (Hasirun et al., 2018).

Legitimacy and Supremacy

Regarding legitimacy, the Government puts pressure on legitimacy for informal things in the sense that it is not about Government. This is done to prevent separatist groups from carrying out their actions, because they feel they have the right to act based on the support and power provided by the people. Therefore, even though the separatist group does not have democratic legitimacy, the people's support and trust become their powerful weapon as a form of defense and justification for their actions. In addition, the

support they provide is also in the form of financial and provocative thoughts by community groups that have spread under the auspices of separatist groups. Understanding the legitimacy received by the OPM can be seen from two sides, namely internal and external legitimacy, which can strengthen and weaken the position held by OPM (Kusumawardhani & Afriansyah, 2020).

In general, the legitimacy of the OPM was born from the presence of supporters from tribal groups, the middle class and the military who had betrayed them. The existence of the Papuan people was increasingly above the sky when the issuance of Law No. 21 of 2001 concerning the Special Autonomy of Papua. The law provides flexibility for the Papuan people in carrying out their Government with the formation of the Papuan People's Council (MRP) which functions as a representative of the Papuan people and a place to accommodate aspirations and resolve conflicts related to customs and culture. In addition, the most crucial issue is granting rights to the Papuan people to fly the Campari flag and sing the song "Hai Tanahku, Papua" after the raising of the Red and White flag and the anthem Indonesia Raya. Even though the Government grants special autonomy, Papua is not allowed to form a security apparatus. So that the TNI/POLRI apparatus are still their stumbling block when they refuse to submit to the Indonesian Government (Paramitha, 2019).

OPM's legitimacy is starting to fade because Indonesia is carrying out development in Papua quickly. Although not entirely successful, it had the effect of weakening the pro-independence spirit. The pros and cons of the actions taken by the OPM then became a conflict in achieving legitimacy. When many Papuans have important positions in Government, the legitimacy of the OPM and the people who are against Indonesia diminishes. OPM came up with an idea by creating a new strategy abroad. This effort was carried out by bringing together anti-Indonesian organizations since the 1960s (Trajano, 2010).

Conflict Resolution and Separatism in Papua

Suppose the Government is wrong in taking action for Papua. In that case, it can strengthen separatism and there is a possibility that Papua will be separated from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Physically, this turmoil has subsided, but psychologically, it is still burning and turbulent. In some areas such as Surabaya, Malang and Semarang, many Papuan students feel racially persecuted. In mid-August,

demonstrations took place in several areas in Papua, such as in the cities of Jayapura, Fakfak, Merauke, Nabire, Yaukimo Sorong, Timika, Biak and Deiya District (Noor, 2019).

On Tuesday (10/9/2019) President Jokowi stated that as many as 1,000 graduates from Papua would be accepted into State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN) or private companies. Furthermore, decided to build a presidential palace in Papua. This policy was conveyed by President Jokowi when Papuan figures were received at the State Palace. This illustrates one of the good policies in dealing with Papuan separatism. However, this cannot be a guide that the root of the problem is solved. This can make the sentiments of the Papuan people increasingly overflow towards the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The reason is that the Government handled the riots that occurred in Papua without in-depth studies and handled them in a reactionary manner. To prevent the spread of riots and demonstrations, the ministry of communication and information closed internet access throughout Papua. However, these efforts proved ineffective because there was a big riot in Jayapura, which left several civilians after this. In addition, the policy also makes it challenging to access communication between Papuans and people outside Papua to obtain facts about what happened. It is considered that the policy does not provide benefits and even causes losses (Putra et al., 2019).

In terms of defense, TNI/POLRI troops have their calculations of how many personnel are needed and how many are needed in Papua. However, this effort to add troops gives the impression that the Government prioritizes repressive measures (social control measures taken after the incident) that cannot be avoided. Increasing the number of troops on each riot front will risk increasing the chances of clashes with civilians so that they have the potential to be accused of human rights violations. For the separatist movement, human rights violations are used as ammunition (weapons) to hit the Government in international diplomacy forums (Supriatma, 2013).

Since the establishment of the Free Papua Organization (OPM) in 1965, there have been many movements to fight for Papuan independence or rebellions aimed at separating themselves from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). The Government also recognizes the existence of the Free Papua Organization (OPM) as an organization or movement of rebellion against the Government. If this rebellion continues and is not immediately extinguished, they will control and occupy a large area and will create their Government, then in international law literature the rebellion can be recognized as Belligerent. Belligerent is a group of rebels who have reached a

stronger and more established level, both politically, organizationally, and militarily, to appear as an independent political unit (MEGANTARA, 2013).

The Free Papua Movement (OPM) has fulfilled several requirements as a rebel movement. However, this movement cannot be considered as a subject of international law. The Free Papua Movement (OPM) has not been able to fulfill all of Belligerent's requirements. For example, the movement does not openly carry weapons and cannot even distinguish the civilian population as a habit of war in carrying out its operations. So the rebel qualification for the OPM is Insurgent. In principle, Insurgent is a qualification for rebellion in a country but de facto has not yet reached the order level as an integrated organization in carrying out resistance (Gault-Williams, 1987).

National Security Challenges in Indonesia

National security or national security is defined as the ability of a country to maintain the country's internal values from external threats. It can also be interpreted as a form or condition of protection, where the government and state apparatus try to maintain and protect their Government from internal and external threats. Although national security is not static, national security can change according to changes in the context that causes the threat. In terms of national security, news about efforts for Papuan independence can impact the emergence of threats to the sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). The efforts of separatist groups and the Papuan independence movement to disseminate the Papuan independence campaign through social media and networks have led to international support from several countries for Indonesia to release Papua immediately. International organizations show some support such as the International Parliamentarians for West Papua (IPWP) which was formed in the UK, West Papua Action in Ireland, West Papua Action Network or Westpac in Canada. In addition, several countries also provide support for Papuan independence, such as Vanuatu, Nauru, and Cook Island (Kaisupy & Maing, 2021).

The struggle of these movement groups through online media and networks is a challenge for the Indonesian Government. This is because the challenges or threats given are not military threats as armed conflicts occur. However, it can significantly impact the stability and sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Therefore, the Government needs a strategy through soft power and diplomacy to the

international community which seems to have not been able to be maximized by the Indonesian Government. It can be understood that the separatist movement by using the benefits of networks and online media is part of the challenge of national security in Indonesia (Sugandi, 2008).

By implementing Papua's Special Autonomy (Otsus), the struggle for the Free Papua Organization (OPM) has reduced its struggle through better and more dignified diplomacy. This role is assigned to the Presidium of the Papuan Council which participates in fighting for the status of Papuan independence. After the fall of the New Order regime, the Free Papua Movement Organization (OPM) was carried out by forming the National Coalition (national coordination) and the United Fronts. Among the things that have been done in forming the National Liberation Council (NLC), this council is in charge of organizing the forces that have been established since the 1960s, such as the Spirit of the Anti-Republic of Indonesia Papuan Youth (SAMPURI), the Papuan National Movement (GNP) and also the Papuan Operations Organization. It can be seen that there is a shift or change like the separatist movement in Papua. From the beginning it was more of an armed movement by the Free Papuan Organization (OPM). However, after implementing the Papua Special Autonomy (Otsus), the movement shifted to international lobbies and diplomacy (Kusumawardhani & Afriansyah, 2020).

Strategic Steps for Conflict Resolution in Papua

In making Papua more civilized and dignified, of course, will not be easy and requires many efforts to be made. All parties must try better and earnestly in carrying out their duties and commitments to monitor and evaluate improvements. It must get extra attention from all parties. Among the strategic steps that must be taken are:

1. Consolidating change with the aim of justice and welfare.
2. Prioritizing and accelerating improvements to the quality of life of Human Resources (HR).
3. Provide opportunities and places for the Papuan people to be able to take part. Both for the Papua region itself and the homeland of Indonesia. As well as giving complete trust to the people of Papua to regulate and manage their interests and develop their potential.
4. Expand and strengthen networks from various circles, both from within and from abroad.

The Dynamics of Ethnonationalism...

Hadi, 2021

5. Many Papuans involve the people of Papua in making important decisions or policies that they will receive.
6. Establish a body that will link the interests of all elements which will play a role in Papua.
7. Balancing legal policies for the Papuan people as well as for the existing Papuan government apparatus.
8. Protection of Human Rights (HAM) is prioritized and carried out correctly and given in total. Both social, economic, political and cultural rights.
9. Recognize and respect existing customary rights and the freedom to exercise and express these rights according to existing rules and regulations.
10. Able to create social engagement for all groups and elements in Papua, both between the Papuan community itself and between the Papuan community and the non-Papuan community (Sugandi, 2008).

Conclusion

Papua is one of the areas that have experienced upheaval until now and still cannot be solved. Papua's desire to separate itself from the sovereign territory of the Republic of Indonesia is also exacerbated by the discrimination and injustice experienced by the Papuan people compared to other Indonesians. Mainly related to the welfare and prosperity of the community and development in Papua. This condition further strengthens or enlarges Papua's desire to separate itself from Indonesia's sovereign territory. In making Papua more civilized and dignified, of course, it will not be easy and requires many efforts to be made. All parties must try better and earnestly in carrying out their duties and commitments to monitor and evaluate improvements. Steps that must be taken such as Consolidating changes with the aim of justice and welfare, Protection of Human Rights (HAM) is prioritized and carried out correctly and given in total. Both social, economic, political and cultural rights.

References

- Adam, A. F., Jusuf, A. P., & Saragih, D. P. (2019). The power of identity and communal networks of Papua. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 343(1), 12209.

- Aryowiloto, J. (2019). Ethnic Diversities as Development Capital in Southeast Asia Region. *Global Local Interactions: Journal of International Relations*, 1(1), 27–44.
- Bhakti, I. N., & Pigay, N. (2016). Menemukan Akar Masalah dan Solusi Atas Konflik Papua: Supenakah? (Finding the Root of Problems and Solutions to Papuan Conflict: Is it important?). *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, 9(1), 18.
- Gault-Williams, M. (1987). Organisasi Papua Merdeka: The Free Papua Movement Lives. *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, 19(4), 32–43.
- Hasirun, L., Suryo, D., & Wulandari, T. (2018). From Papua Ethnonationalism to Indonesian Nationalism: A Historical Study. *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Science and Technology for an Internet of Things*.
- Kaisupy, D. A., & Maing, S. G. (2021). PROSES NEGOSIASI KONFLIK PAPUA: DIALOG JAKARTA-PAPUA. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Humaniora*, 10(1), 82–98.
- Karim, D. B. (2012). Whose development? the need for conflict-sensitive development in Papua, Indonesia. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 7(1), 95–100.
- Kholilurrachman, H. (2016). *Kebijakan Politik dan Militer Pemerintah Republik Indonesia terhadap Gerakan Pengacau Keamanan (GPK) Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM) 1996-2002*.
- Kusumawardhani, I., & Afriansyah, A. (2020). Free Papua Organization: Belligerent, Combatant, or Separatist? *3rd International Conference on Law and Governance (ICLAVE 2019)*, 311–319.
- MEGANTARA, S. (2013). *Upaya Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM) Dalam Menggalang Dukungan Internasional Untuk Kemerdekaan Papua*. UPN" Veteran" Yogyakarta.
- Mukhtadi, M. (2021). STRATEGI PEMERINTAH DALAM PENANGANAN GERAKAN SEPARATIS PAPUA DAN IMPLIKASINYA TERHADAP DIPLOMASI PERTAHANAN INDONESIA (GOVERNMENT STRATEGIES IN MANAGING PAPUA SEPARATIST MOVEMENT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON DEFENSE DIPLOMACY). *Jurnal Diplomasi Pertahanan*, 7(2).
- Muntaha, P. Z., Kharisma, V. D., & Hanita, M. (2019). INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT APPROACHES AND POLICIES FOR RESOLVING PAPUA CONFLICTS. *International Journal of Research-Granthaalayah*, 7(12), 123–132.
- MUTAQIN, A. (2013). Otonomi Khusus Papua Sebuah Upaya Merespon Konflik Dan Aspirasi Kemerdekaan Papua. *Politika: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, 4(1), 5–18.
- Noor, F. (2019). Analisis Terhadap Kebijakan Pemerintah Tentang Separatisme Papua

The Dynamics of Ethnonationalism...

Hadi, 2021

- Analysis of Government Policy on Separatism of Papua. *Jurnal Pertahanan*, 7(3), 83–100.
- Ondawame, O. (2000). “ *One People, One Soul*”: West Papuan Nationalism and the Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM)/Free Papua Movement.
- Paramitha, N. P. T. (2019). *PERALIHAN MODEL PERGERAKAN SEPARATISME ORGANISASI PAPUA MERDEKA (OPM) DENGAN PEMANFAATAN STRATEGI NON-KEKERASAN PASCA TAHUN 2000*. Universitas Airlangga.
- Putra, G. N. S., Legionosuko, T., & Madjid, A. (2019). Strategi Pemerintah Indonesia terhadap Negara-Negara Anggota Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) dalam Menghadapi Propaganda Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM): Studi Kasus Negara Republik Vanuatu. *Peperangan Asimetris*, 5(2).
- Sinaga, M. (n.d.). *Dampak Pelabelan Teroris OPM (Organisasi Papua Merdeka) terhadap Prospek Perdamaian Papua*.
- Singh, B. (2017). *Papua: Geopolitics and the quest for nationhood*. Routledge.
- Sugandi, Y. (2008). *Analisis konflik dan rekomendasi kebijakan mengenai Papua*. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.
- Supriatma, A. M. T. (2013). TNI/POLRI in West Papua: how security reforms work in the conflict region. *Indonesia*, 95, 93–124.
- Trajano, J. C. I. (2010). Ethnic nationalism and separatism in West Papua, Indonesia. *Journal of Peace, Conflict and Development*, 16, 12–35.
- Upton, S. (2009). The impact of migration on the people of Papua, Indonesia. *Disertasi, University of New South Wales*.
- Viartasiwi, N. (2018). The politics of history in West Papua-Indonesia conflict. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 26(1), 141–159.
- Wospakrik, D. (2016). *Gerakan Separatisme di Papua mengurai konflik dan solusi penyelesaian Papua-Jakarta*.