

## **Resolving the Papua Conflict: A Multidimensional Approach and the Role of Interagency Cooperation**

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### **Abstract**

*The conflict in Papua is the longest-running conflict in Indonesia. It began when Indonesia claimed the entire Dutch East Indies territory, including West Papua, on August 17, 1945, leading to prolonged escalation of the conflict. This research aims to analyze conflict resolution in Papua through a multidimensional approach and the role of interagency cooperation to achieve peace in Papua. The methodology used in this research is qualitative method to discover new understandings and provide recommendations for conflict resolution using the concept of interagency cooperation. Findings indicate that the conflict in Papua involves various dimensions, including social, economic, political, cultural, and security aspects. Despite being granted special autonomy, economic disparities and human rights violations continue to persist. Conflict resolution requires coordinated interagency cooperation, involving the government, military, police, NGOs, and international organizations to achieve sustainable peaceful resolution.*

**Keyword : Conflict Resolution, Multidimensional Approach, Interagency Cooperation.**

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Indonesia is known as a country rich in diversity, both in terms of ethnicity and religion. While this diversity is a national asset, the potential for disintegration is significant if not managed properly (Wahyudi et al., 2019). Various conflicts, ranging from small to large scale, simple to complex, are familiar phenomena in Indonesian life, nationality, and governance, particularly in its easternmost region, Papua, where separatist movements remain a relevant issue that has disrupted stability for a considerable period, resulting in numerous casualties (Nugroho et al., 2023).

The conflict in Papua is the longest-running conflict in Indonesia (Indonesia, 2023). It began when Indonesia claimed the entire Dutch East Indies territory, including West Papua, on August 17, 1945. The Netherlands rejected this claim, arguing that the people of West Papua have different racial and ethnic identities compared to Indonesians. The competition over this claim between Indonesia and the Netherlands continued into the 1960s (Adryamarthanino & Nailufar, 2021)

In 1965, the Free Papua Movement (OPM) was formed as a resistance movement against the Indonesian government with the goal of liberating Papua from its control. OPM engaged in resistance efforts to achieve Papua's independence, which became a focal point for Indonesian government policies aimed at addressing this movement (Kurnianto et al., 2022). Subsequently, in 1969, the Act of Free Choice (Pepera) was conducted in West Papua to determine whether the region would join Indonesia or the Netherlands. Although the results of Pepera were endorsed by the United Nations, its implementation remains controversial as a result of allegations of coercion (Adryamarthanino & Nailufar, 2021).

The struggle for independence in Papua has been a major concern for the Indonesian government, reflected in a series of specific policies over time. Under President Abdurrahman Wahid's leadership, the government permitted the raising of the West Papua independence flag.

Later, under President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the Papuan People's Assembly was established as a step toward implementing Special Autonomy Law. Furthermore, under the administration of President Joko Widodo, measures such as the release of political prisoners and opening access to foreign journalists in Papua were implemented (Kurnianto et al., 2022). However, the phenomenon of resolving the Papua conflict remains unresolved, and has even evolved with political statements by the Minister of Political, Legal, and Security Affairs changing the KKB to a separatist terrorist group and the incident in which the Nabire District Military Command died, then the TNI Commander declared the organization as OPM (Firmansyah, 2024).

Political statements issued by the Minister of Political, Legal, and Security Affairs that change the term Armed Criminal Group (KKB) to separatist terrorist group, and the statement by the TNI Commander calling KKB the Free Papua Movement (OPM) can influence the dynamics of conflict in Papua. This has significant impacts on public perception and stakeholders involved in the conflict, and can influence the direction of negotiations and conflict resolution in the future. Decisions or statements from government institutions such as the Minister of Political, Legal, and Security Affairs and the TNI Commander have broad implications (Nurani, 2024).

The complexity of the conflict in Papua involves various aspects that need to be considered to achieve peace. With the involvement of numerous aspects, it can be predicted that parties involved in conflict resolution efforts must come from various groups or institutions to form a coordination that can address every issue or cause of conflict. Therefore, this paper aims to unravel and provide recommendations for conflict resolution using the concept of interagency cooperation to achieve the goal of peace in Papua.

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

This research employs a qualitative method to explore new understandings and to unravel and provide recommendations for conflict resolution, utilizing the concept of interagency cooperation to achieve the goal of peace in Papua. Qualitative research methods are known to focus on social construction, involving variables that cannot be measured quantitatively. This approach has an internal perspective, where the researcher plays a decisive role in the research process. The reasoning employed is contextual, aiming to produce interpretations of the phenomena being studied. Additionally, this research seeks to provide an in-depth explanation of the study's content to understand the perspectives of sources or actors providing the information (Widana et al., 2022). Data analysis involves reviewing literature from books, research journals, and documentation from relevant websites concerning Indonesia's efforts to resolve the Papua conflict using the concept of interagency cooperation.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Dynamics of the Papua Conflict**

The Papua conflict is the longest-running conflict in Indonesia's history. It began when Indonesia claimed the entire Dutch East Indies territory, including West Papua, on August 17, 1945. The Netherlands rejected this claim on the grounds that the people of West Papua have different racial and ethnic identities compared to Indonesians. The competition over claims between Indonesia and the Netherlands continued into the 1960s (Adryamarthanino & Nailufar, 2021).

Due to the ongoing unresolved conflict in Papua, in 1969, the Act of Free Choice (Pepera) was held in West Papua to determine whether the region would join Indonesia or the Netherlands. Although the results of the Pepera were endorsed by the United Nations, its implementation

remains controversial as it was perceived as a Forced Free Opinion by some segments of the population in the region. Pepera was a significant moment in Papua's history where the region now known as West Papua chose to integrate with Indonesia. The Pepera event was attended by 1,025 members of the Papuan People's Council, followed by the establishment of the West Irian Province and several autonomous districts under Law Number 12 of 1969 (Adryamarthanino & Nailufar, 2021).

On November 19, 1969, Papua officially became the easternmost region of Indonesia to be recognized as part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) through UN Resolution No. 2504/XXIV/1696 (Ahmad, 2020). This legal recognition affirmed Papua's integration into Indonesia. In the same year, under Law No. 12 of 1969, Papua was established as an autonomous region within the formation of the West Irian Autonomous Region and Autonomous Districts in West Irian Province. Special autonomy refers to distinct rights, authorities, and obligations for a region, determined based on unique conditions that differ from other areas (Mahkamah Konstitusi R.I., n.d.).

The grant of special autonomy to Papua was based on Law Number 21 of 2001. The general explanation in the law underscores the state's acknowledgment of two crucial aspects. Firstly, the government acknowledges that at the time of the law's formation, Papua faced unresolved issues encompassing political, governance, economic, social, and cultural aspects. Secondly, it clearly acknowledges that past policies in addressing issues in Papua were deemed inadequate. This acknowledgment includes the fact that previous actions failed to achieve justice, welfare, law enforcement, and respect for human rights, especially for the Papuan people (Priyosantoso, 2022)

Despite Papua being part of NKRI, some residents feel dissatisfied due to perceived injustices and lack of welfare. Mismanagement and underutilization of natural resources have led to inequalities between Papua's population and other regions in Indonesia (Alfiansyah & Prasetya, 2021). Despite being four times the size of Java and rich in natural resources, approximately 74% of Papua's population live in isolated conditions with limited access to transportation to economic centers, governance, and social services (Barri, 2019). Furthermore, Military Operations to handle separatism are deemed to be responsible for violating human rights (HAM), and in some cases it's even strengthened the desire of the Papuan people for freedom from NKRI (Shahab & Setiawan, 2021).

Economic dissatisfaction has sparked the spirit for independence, with the view that the central government has failed to build prosperity in Papua (Alfiansyah & Prasetya, 2021). In other words, the conflict in Papua results from economic and social justice disparities. The failure of the government to address this conflict highlights the need for interagency intervention to promptly formulate or establish policies toward the conflict in Papua, so that Indonesia can realize and carry out its role as a state defense and subsequently to create a safe and peaceful nation. The Indonesian government as the country's largest organization has the obligation to safeguard the integrity of regions but in this conflict it has faced with the United Nations declaration that said the people have the right to choose life.

### **Conflict Resolution in Papua**

The conflict in Papua requires comprehensive consideration involving various elements, potentially leading to significant changes, both on a small and large scale (Chairil & Sadi, 2020). Finding solutions to the Papua conflict is a complex task, necessitating astute leadership in designing strategies and decision-making to avoid potential threats to national security (Suropati, 2020). Therefore, achieving peace in Papua is crucial for a government in making decisions to effectively manage it. This conflict originates fr

Handling the Papua conflict demands a multidimensional approach encompassing security and humanitarian aspects outlined in Presidential Regulation Number 18 of 2020 concerning the National Medium-Term Development Plan 2020-2024, where the seventh

national priority is maintaining national security stability, and the fifth priority program is strengthening domestic security (Kemenko Polhukam R.I., 2023). Conflict resolution efforts include a series of steps, such as Special Autonomy Policy, Handling Separatism, and Leadership Complexity in Decision

#### 1. Special Autonomy Policy: Politics and Community Empowerment

The political decision to integrate Papua into Indonesia's territory is part of the national defense strategy to maintain territorial integrity. However, the implementation of government policies in governance and development in Papua is perceived as not reflecting fairness. Deficiencies in policy formulation by the government have been cited as a trigger for continued conflict (Al Azhar et al., 2024). This awareness emerged with the end of the New Order regime and the beginning of the Post-Reform Era, reflected in Law No. 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for Papua. This law is considered a commitment of the Indonesian government and people to adopt a new approach, shifting from a focus on security and stability to a social and welfare approach in addressing issues and conflicts in Papua (Rohim, 2015). Despite criticisms, it cannot be denied that the approximately 12 years of special autonomy have had a positive impact on the development of Papuan communities, particularly in education, health, economy, and socio-cultural sectors. Special autonomy funds have successfully created jobs, reduced unemployment rates, and supported the development of road infrastructure and transportation that were previously difficult to accommodate by regional budgets. Such success demonstrates effective decision-making by leaders who have developed more integrated policy-making mechanisms related to Papua at both national and provincial levels. This aims to ensure the sustainability of designed programs, providing tangible benefits to Papua's people and building trust without being weakened by government decisions or actions (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, 2021). Therefore, to achieve peace in Papua, it is important for a leader to make decisions to manage it well. It takes strategic leadership and strategic decisions to resolve this conflict carefully, building motivation among governments to achieve sustainable solutions. Thus, wise decision-making for a leader will take options from the most maximum alternatives to minimize conflict potential (Dewantara, 2022).

#### 2. Government Policy in Maintaining Sovereignty

In 1962, Indonesia successfully acquired the territory of West Papua through United Nations mediation represented by the United States. In 1969, a plebiscite or Pepera was conducted, which is considered controversial. Its result stated that West Papua was integrated into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, gaining recognition from 84 countries through United Nations Resolution No. 2504/XXIV/1969 (Adryamarthanino & Nailufar, 2021). The plebiscite was controversial due to perceived injustices and high pressures on the local population. Since then, separatist groups opposing Indonesian rule in Papua have emerged, feeling their rights are neglected and seeking independence for West Papua (Nugroho et al., 2023). The separatist group known as the Free Papua Movement (OPM) or Armed Criminal Group (KKB) has been active since the Japanese occupation of Papua from 1942-1946. Until today, the KKB continues efforts to achieve independence from Indonesia. The Indonesian government views the KKB as a terrorist threat involved in various human rights violations in Papua (Adryamarthanino & Ningsih, 2022). Violations committed by the KKB have resulted in casualties among members of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), Indonesian National Police (Polri), and civilians. Over a ten-year period (2010-2020), the KKB accounted for the highest number of violent incidents in Papua with 118 cases, while the TNI and Polri had 15 and 13 cases, respectively. Of the total 356 fatalities, 93% were civilians, TNI, and Polri, with 7% being KKB members (Wartakota, 2021). The government endeavors to address separatism in Papua to uphold Indonesian sovereignty, garnering international attention. Although the government has designated the Armed Criminal Group (KKB) as terrorists, this has sparked debates concerning national security issues. The designation as terrorists is expected to grant

greater authority to the government in halting violent actions perpetrated by groups in Papua against civilians and TNI-Polri members (Sinaga & Saeri, 2021). Additionally, efforts to enforce the law against the Armed Criminal Group have faced criticism from the international community, citing human rights violations in the process. Therefore, in managing conflict in the region, it is crucial to consider defense diplomacy aspects. President Joko Widodo addressed this issue by prioritizing the national infrastructure development agenda in Papua (Elisabeth, 2018). Through the construction of roads and other infrastructure, it is hoped to mitigate separatist movements and enhance trust among Papua's people and the international community towards the government (Alfiansyah & Prasetya, 2021).

### **Interagency Approach as Conflict Resolution in Papua**

The issue in Papua is one of the most complex and challenging faced by Indonesia since its independence. The conflict in Papua involves various dimensions, including social, economic, political, cultural, and security aspects (Chairil & Sadi, 2020). It is rooted not only in dissatisfaction with central government rule and ethnic identity issues but also in economic injustice, human rights violations, and developmental disparities. The diversity of these factors indicates that there is no single solution capable of addressing all issues (Baiquni & Rijanta, 2024). Therefore, a comprehensive and coordinated approach involving cooperation among various institutions is essential.

In this context, an effective approach must accommodate various aspects that need improvement, such as enhancing community welfare, protecting human rights, and resolving security issues (IBLAM, 2023). This requires close cooperation among central and regional government agencies, the military, police, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and international organizations. Each institution has specific roles and responsibilities that, if well-coordinated, can strengthen conflict resolution efforts (Rampai, 2019). For example, government agencies can focus on development and policy aspects, while security agencies can ensure stability and security, and NGOs can advocate for human rights and provide humanitarian assistance.

One concept that can explain and guide interagency cooperation in conflict resolution efforts is the concept of interagency (Ward et al., 2018). This concept refers to the coordination and cooperation among various agencies or entities that have different mandates and functions but share common goals. In the context of conflict resolution, interagency aims to integrate efforts from various parties to be more coordinated, effective, and efficient. Interagency is not just about sharing information and resources but also about aligning strategies, policies, and operational actions (Muhaemin et al., 2022).

This is crucial to ensure that there are no overlaps or gaps in conflict resolution efforts. Thus, the concept of interagency allows for a more holistic approach to addressing complex issues such as the conflict in Papua. In the context of conflict resolution, interagency can be defined as structured and systematic cooperation between various agencies or institutions to achieve common goals, namely peaceful and sustainable conflict resolution (Putri, 2022). This includes cross-sectoral and interdisciplinary coordination, where each institution contributes according to its capacity and mandate. In its application, interagency involves various stages from planning, implementation, to evaluation. This definition emphasizes the importance of synergy among different institutions to maximize outcomes (Ward et al., 2018).

In conflict resolution, this synergy extends beyond administrative coordination to include harmonizing operational strategies and policies (Helmi, 2019). Through interagency, involved parties can work more effectively, minimize internal conflicts, and ensure that all actions taken are within an agreed framework. To achieve effective cooperation, interagency must be based on several key principles. First, strong leadership is crucial to guide and direct interagency cooperation. Leaders must facilitate communication, address internal conflicts, and ensure that all parties are committed to common goals. Second, effective communication is key to ensuring

good coordination. Communication should be open, transparent, and regular among the involved institutions. Information should be accessible to all relevant parties and conveyed in an easily understandable manner. Third, building trust and understanding among the involved institutions through constructive dialogue and interaction is crucial. This trust is important to create a collaborative working environment and reduce the risk of internal conflicts. Fourth, clear and fair division of responsibilities based on expertise and capacity of each institution is crucial. Each institution should know what is expected of them and how they can contribute to common goals. Fifth, the ability to adapt to changing situations and needs, as well as flexibility in approaches and strategies, is essential (Choliq, 2020).

Conflicts are often dynamic, so rigid approaches can be ineffective. To implement interagency in conflict resolution in Papua, the first step is to establish a clear coordination structure (Suropati, 2020). This structure could be in the form of a committee or special task force comprising representatives from various agencies involved in conflict resolution in Papua. This committee would be responsible for coordinating conflict resolution efforts, drafting joint action plans, and ensuring that all actions taken are within an agreed framework.

The agencies that should be involved in interagency in Papua include central and regional governments, the military and police, local and international NGOs, and international organizations. The central and regional governments, through the Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Defense, and local governments in Papua, should play a role in policy formulation and development programs that can reduce disparities and improve the welfare of the community (Rampai, 2019). The Indonesian National Army (TNI) and the Indonesian National Police (Polri) must ensure security and stability in Papua. They should also cooperate with other institutions to carry out security operations that do not violate human rights (Gumelar & Nachrawi, 2022). Local and international NGOs can play a role in advocating for human rights, empowering communities, and providing humanitarian assistance. They can also help facilitate dialogue between the government and separatist groups. The United Nations (UN) and other international organizations can provide technical and financial support and monitor the implementation of programs (Gabel & Yang, 2022).

Aspects that need to be addressed through interagency include economic welfare, human rights, security and stability, as well as dialogue and reconciliation. Inclusive and sustainable economic development programs are essential to reduce economic disparities and improve the living standards of the Papua community (Alfiansyah & Prasetya, n.d.). Enforcement of human rights and resolution of human rights violation cases, whether committed by security forces or separatist groups, must be prioritized. Professional and non-repressive security operations are needed to ensure stability in Papua and provide protection for civilians. Moreover, facilitating dialogue between the government and separatist groups is crucial to achieving a peaceful solution acceptable to all parties (Suropati, 2020).

To ensure that interagency runs smoothly and effectively, strong political decisions from the government are necessary. These political decisions should include a commitment to supporting interagency cooperation, adequate budget allocation, and efficient resource utilization. Without strong political support, interagency efforts can be hindered by various issues, such as lack of coordination, overlapping responsibilities, and inter-agency competition (Ward et al., 2018). The government should issue policies that support interagency cooperation, including regulations that govern coordination mechanisms and division of responsibilities. Additionally, the government should provide adequate funding to support interagency efforts, including funding for training, security operations, and development programs (Gumelar & Nachrawi, 2022).

Regular monitoring and evaluation of interagency implementation are also important to ensure that all actions taken are within an agreed framework and achieve expected outcomes. With strong political decisions, interagency can be more effective and efficient. This will ensure

that efforts to resolve conflicts in Papua can be conducted in a holistic and coordinated manner, and achieve sustainable results. Strong political decisions will also ensure that all institutions involved have the same commitment to cooperation and achieving common goals, namely peaceful and sustainable conflict resolution in Papua.

## CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this research highlights the complex conflict in Papua, rooted in Indonesia's territorial claim over West Papua since 1945, which conflicted with the Netherlands. Although the Act of Free Choice (Pepera) in 1969 internationally recognized Papua as part of Indonesia, it remains controversial among some Papuan communities. Despite the government granting special autonomy to Papua through Law Number 21 of 2001, economic and social disparities continue to exacerbate conditions, fueling separatist aspirations for independence. Military operations aimed at addressing separatist movements have instead increased human rights violations and strengthened the resolve of Papuans to resist integration with Indonesia. There is a crucial need for coordinated intervention among various groups and institutions to resolve this conflict, not only for peace in Papua but also to ensure that human rights and justice are upheld.

This intervention involves various social, economic, political, and security dimensions, demanding close coordination among central and regional governments, the military, police, NGOs, and international organizations. Interagency cooperation enables the integration of cross-sectoral strategies and policies to address issues such as economic inequality, human rights violations, and security stability in Papua. With strong leadership, effective communication, clear division of responsibilities, and the ability to adapt to changing situations, interagency efforts can minimize overlap and enhance efficiency in conflict resolution. Strong policy support from the government is crucial to maintaining consistency and effectiveness in interagency cooperation. Through this approach, it is hoped that the resolution of the conflict in Papua can be achieved peacefully, sustainably, and in accordance with the aspirations of the Papuan people and international humanitarian values.

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