

## **Conflict Resolution in Papua Using a Social Reconstruction Approach**

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### **Abstract**

*The problem of High Social Gap in Papua is an indication of the causes of marginalization and discrimination against the Papuan people. The difference in perceptions of some Indonesian people at home and abroad regarding the armed separatist conflict is a push factor to corner the Indonesian government. Apart from that, the issue of the internationalization of the 1969 referendum mechanism, violations of Human Rights (HAM), and the management of Natural Resources (SDA) by multinational companies which did not have an impact on improving the welfare of the Papuan people also complement the opinion of the government's failure. Based on the background of the problem, this research uses qualitative research methods and a descriptive approach. The research results show that conflict resolution in Papua can be implemented through (three) things, namely the first, the gradual development of an Integrated Food Estate (IFE) according to traditional areas in Papua, which will indirectly support the realization of Territorial Resilience and the Universal Defense System (Sishanta). Furthermore, to ensure that all these processes are carried out well and continuously, it is necessary to form an Integrated Solution Center (ISC). To eliminate the issue of internationalization of Papua, it is necessary to implement International Defense Diplomacy (IDD) carried out by Indonesian government agents abroad to socialize International Laws which are the juridical basis that Papua is part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). By implementing all these recommendations, it is hoped that a peaceful and prosperous Papuan society will soon be realized.*

**Keywords:** *Conflict, Resolution, Papua, OPM, marginalization, discrimination, Integrated Food Estate, Territorial Resilience, Integrated Solution Center.*

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## **INTRODUCTION**

The period of Dutch East Indies colonial rule in Indonesia for almost 350 years has made all Indonesian people aware of the struggle to free themselves from the shackles of poverty, backwardness and backwardness. The struggle of various elements of society is carried out not only at home, but also abroad through diplomatic strategies so that all regions in Indonesia can be united within the framework of the Republic of Indonesia. This is what underlies the thinking of national figures to fight at the UN, that after the proclamation of Independence on August 17 1945, the Dutch East Indies should recognize and hand over the Papua region (which at that time was called West Irian) to the Indonesian government as a result of the Round Table Conference (KMB). in 1949, in reality it did not make the Dutch want to hand over West Irian (Papua). The reasons why there are racial differences between the Papuan people and Indonesian people in other areas and that there is still the problem of poverty which the Indonesian government considers cannot be handled are reasons that do not make sense. The Indonesian government's efforts through diplomacy continued to be pursued until finally, mediated by the UN, the New York Agreement was signed on August 15 1962. This agreement was the momentum for handing over sovereignty of the Papua region from the Dutch East Indies colonial government to Indonesia, and for its implementation the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority, (UNTEA) which is a Special Agency under the supervision of the UN Secretary General (Secretary General) to supervise the handover of the Papua region within a certain period of time. To obtain approval from 62 all Papuan people and in accordance with the mandate in

the New York Agreement, namely the Act of Self Determination through the act of free choice, from 14 July to 2 August 1969 the Indonesian government held a Determination of People's Opinion (Pepera) on 8 (eight) districts, and in each district a Pepera Deliberative Council (DMP) is formed whose members are regional representatives who have been elected by the people (Pamungkas, 2015: 101).

From the results of the implementation of the Pepera, the majority of all DMP members voted to join the NKRI and the results of the Pepera were ratified in the UN General Assembly on December 19, 1969 through Resolution Number 2504 (XXIV). The implementation of Pepera, which is carried out as a form of the Act of Free Choice for the Papuan people in determining their own destiny, in fact received rejection from Papuan separatist groups who consider that the Act of Free Choice mechanism is not a technical implementation of the Act of Self Determination as stated in the New York Agreement. Separatism as defined by Ryabinin (2017: 7) is an attempt or movement to secede from a territory that is already sovereign and internationally recognized, with the aim of wanting to establish its own state or become part of another country. Ryabinin added that the occurrence of separatism stems from the emergence of a sense of injustice as a result of discrimination, marginalization, and racism. The use of these patterns is in line with the opinion expressed by Sefriani (2003:41) even according to him, the demands desired by separatist groups can be said to be demands for greater autonomy.

These groups demanded a mechanism through one man one vote and they united themselves in the OPM which always stated that the Pepera was engineered by the Indonesian government and had created injustice, inequality, poverty and ignorance, resulting in a high social gap among the Papuan people. To eliminate the problems that occur in Papua, this research recommends that there is a need for an approach in the form of social engineering, namely in the form of restructuring social conditions (social arrangement), building social resilience and increasing self-confidence (self-actualization). All of these processes must be carried out by deliberation to reach a consensus involving various elements of society including government, traditional leaders, religious leaders, women, the younger generation and academics.

## RESEARCH METHODS

The research method used in this journal article research is descriptive qualitative. According to Bogdan & Taylor, qualitative research is a research procedure that obtains descriptive data in the form of written words or narratives obtained from collecting oral data through interviewing the observed person (Gunawan, 2016). The research method used in this journal article research is descriptive qualitative. In order to obtain the required research data, this research did not conduct a direct visit to the Papua region, however, in the process of collecting data to complete the research results, efforts were still made to conduct Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and conduct face-to-face in-depth interviews or video conferences with resource persons. relevant sources. Through a series of data collection processes, the data needed to conduct this research using qualitative methods with a descriptive approach can be fulfilled.

The data sources used by researchers to obtain information were primary data and secondary data. Data collection techniques were through interviews, observations, and documentation. The researcher used qualitative data analysis techniques as suggested by Miles and Dan Huberman, namely:

1. Data reduction refers to the process in which a researcher summarized, sharpened, selected, focused, eliminated, and organized data so that the final conclusions could be described and verified.

2. Data presentation refers to the process after the data had been reduced, the researcher presented it in a systematically arranged text format, where the selected information had been simplified into a narrative form
3. Drawing conclusions refers to the researcher wrote the conclusions from the data obtained. Drawing conclusions can be done by comparing the conformity between the statements of the research subjects with the meaning contained in the basic concepts of the study.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

The interpretation of the inter-tribal conflict that occurred in Papua must be addressed wisely by the entire community and the Indonesian government. The conflict that occurred cannot be interpreted as the root of the separatist conflict, because the separatist conflict was characterized by the political interests and ambition of a group, and even disturbed public order and security. The conflict that occurred in Papua during its development could also be caused by social jealousy, especially in communities around the exploration areas of multinational companies. Apart from that, sometimes they are provoked by immigrants who prioritize personal or group interests. In the context of building community welfare in Papua, social conflict cannot be taken lightly because it is closely related to building social resilience. This is something that deserves special attention for the government at both central and regional levels in finding solutions to each case of social conflict. Cultural and traditional elements color the conflict.

The tribes in Papua are a multicultural society as stated by LeBaron and Piley (2006:54) and although the conflict between tribes in Papua is a reflection of strengthening identity, dignity and culture, it is necessary to pay close attention to the opinion expressed by Cornelis Van Vollenhoven ( Jason, et.al. 2005:431) Control of an area that is a residence, source of life and social status is the full right of the local indigenous community. The presence of the government in finding solutions to inter-ethnic conflicts is important to prevent the conflict from spreading to other aspects which are the root of the problem of national disintegration.

The condition of security and insecurity in an area that is not conducive and uncontrolled can mean that the region has degraded the security aspects of its people and if this is allowed then it does not rule out the possibility of inter-tribal conflict can be widespread and national scale. Given that the conflict in Papua does not only involve separatist groups, but there is community involvement, there needs to be community empowerment efforts by the Central and local governments. Sadan (2004:144) states that Empowerment is a process of transition from a state of powerlessness to a state of relative control over one's life, destiny, and environment. Powerlessness is the inability of a community group to accept incitement, invitation, and action against the government from separatist groups that are sometimes accompanied by violence and crime. Such a dilemma situation must be addressed by the Central and local governments in building education and socialization with a persuasive approach so that no one tribe or community group in Papua feels unsafe, and can lead to mutual suspicion and polarization. If that happens, it is possible that the insecure tribes will form alliances so that the conflict caused will be more anarchic and destructive.

The conflict between separatist groups and law enforcement officials has been going on for years, especially after the referendum (Pepera) was held in 1969, and the impact of this conflict has resulted in casualties not only from the two conflicting parties but also the Papuan people. In line with the government's program to realize welfare development in Papua, security disturbances from separatist groups are currently not only expressing a desire for separation from the Republic of Indonesia but have developed into violent and armed criminal acts. Since the founding of the Free Papua Organization (OPM) in 1965, this organization has continued to

experience several changes in status or designation by the government. Initially, OPM was a separatist activity because it wanted to separate itself from the Republic of Indonesia by establishing its own state. Since OPM declared its presence in Papua, OPM has carried out various threats and various types of damage, especially to PT facilities. Freeport by cutting slurry and fuel pipelines, cutting telephone and electricity cables, burning warehouses and exploding bombs at a number of company facilities so that this destruction caused material losses and tense conditions for workers in the PT area. Freeport (Bishop et al., 2014).

This activity continued until 2017, until finally, from every crime incident that had occurred, in 2017 OPM was named the Armed Separatist Criminal Group (KKSBB) by the Indonesian government, then on April 29 2021 it was given terrorist status through Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning Terrorism in Indonesia. Along with this status, OPM activities, which were initially separatist activities, criminal activities, became terrorist activities. Every terrorist activity or act carried out will also apply the provisions as intended by the laws and regulations relating to terrorism.

However, this condition is not enough to reduce the activities of the Free Papua Organization Movement or KKB. The actions taken by the government so far through the National Police and TNI Tinombala Task Force have only limited OPM movements in the city center, but threats, terror and killings still occur in development areas, places of worship and government facilities (Billiocta, 2022; Chairullah, 2022a, 2022d; CNN Indonesia, 2023; Maniani, 2022; Mediaindonesia, 2022b;

Actions of threats and violence carried out by the KKB have created governmental conflict in the life of the nation and state. It is recorded that in the period 2022 to 2023, acts of violence by the KKB showed increasing intensity, as reported by various national media as follows:

**Table 1. Violence by the KKB in 2022-2023**

No	Time	Description	Sources
1	28 January 2022	The KKB attacked a TNI post on Bukit Tepuk, Jenggernok Village, Gome District, Puncak Regency, Papua, causing two TNI soldiers to die. One of them, Serda Posthumous Miskel Rumbiak from Yon Zipur 20/PPA, died after armed contact with KKB Maybrat.	(Billiocta, 2022)
2	2 March 2022	The separatist terrorist group (KST) killed eight employees of PT Palapa Timur Telematics. The incident occurred at the camp site for the construction of the Telkonsel 3 base transceiver station (BTS) tower in Kago Village, Beoga District, Puncak Regency, Papua.	(Mulyana, 2022)
3	26 March 2022	The Armed Criminal Group (KKB) attacked the Indonesian Navy's Mupe Task Force Post in Lower Kware, Traslala Village, Kenyam, Nduga, Papua. This attack left one soldier dead and nine marines from the 3rd Marine Battalion injured.	(Widhoroso, 2022)
4	31 March 2022	The Papua Regional Police (Polda) received reports of actions carried out by the armed criminal group (KKB) under the leadership of Undius Kogoya and Aibon Kogoya. KKB burned down the one-roof	(Mediaindonesia, 2022a) (Rohman, 2022)

No	Time	Description	Sources
		elementary-middle school building and abused teachers in Hitadipa District, Intan Jaya Regency, Papua.	
5	31 Maret 2022	The armed criminal group (KKB) shot Yalimo Koramil member Sertu Eko. The TNI member died in Elelim, Yalimo Regency, Papua.	(Mediaindonesia, 2022b)
6	22 April 2022	Indonesian Navy Marine member Praka Dwi died in an attack by the KKB at the Mupe Yonif Military Command Task Force Post on March 3 in Kaikote, Kenyam District, Nduga Regency.	(Puspen TNI, 2022)
7	May 2022	One Polri and TNI personnel suffered a gunshot wound while attending Sunday worship at the Okbibab Protestant Church, Okbibab District, Bintang Mountains Regency, Papua.	(Suwandi, 2022)
8	14 May 2022	KKB burned down the housing of SMA Negeri 1 teachers in Wako Village, Ilaga District, Puncak Regency, Papua, but in this incident it was reported that there were no casualties.	(Aditra, 2022)
9	16 July 2022	Armed Criminal Group (KKB) terrorists attacked civilians in Nogolaid, Nduga Regency, Papua, killing three civilians. This incident of attacking civilians occurred at around 09.45 WIT, Saturday (16/7/2022). A total of 12 people became victims of the attack, 10 of whom died. Some of the victims who died suffered gunshot wounds and others suffered sharp weapon wounds as a result of the attack by KKB terrorists suspected to be led by Egianus Kogoya.	(Mangihot, 2022)
10	4 August 2022	West Papua National Liberation Army (TPNPB)-OPM troops have threatened to shoot indigenous Papuans (OAP) and immigrants who are installing telecommunications networks in Papua. TPNPB also threatened to burn all telecommunications facilities built by the Indonesian government in Papua.	(Charirullah, 2022)
11	8 August 2022	Police arrested one of three village heads suspected of being suppliers of funds to buy ammunition for the armed criminal group (KKB) in Kenyam, Nduga Regency, Papua.	(Antaranews, 2022; Merdeka.com, 8 C.E.)
12	17 August 2022	The West Papua National Liberation Army (TPNPB)-OPM has again carried out an attack on a military post in Sugapa, Intan Jaya Regency, Papua. In the attack which took place on Tuesday (16/8), TPNPB KODAP VIII Kemabu Intan Jaya troops under the leadership of Undius Kogeya managed to shoot three members of the TNI and Polri.	(Chairullah, 2022a)

No	Time	Description	Sources
13	19 August 2022	The West Papua National Liberation Army (TPNPB)-OPM has threatened to attack various development activities carried out in the Nduga area, Papua. The leader of Kodap III Ndugama Darakma, Egianus Kogeya, emphasized that the main enemy of the Papuan people in the Nduga area is development that is killing indigenous residents.	(Chairullah, 2022b)
14	14 Sep 2022	The West Papua National Liberation Army (TPNPB)-OPM claims responsibility for burning heavy equipment for the Trans Papua road project in the Bintang Mountains area, Papua. According to TPNPB spokesperson Sebby Sambom, based on reports from Oksibil, Bintang Mountains, TPNPB troops succeeded in burning all heavy equipment such as bulldozers, excavators, etc.	(Chairullah, 2022c; Maniani, 2022)
15	30 Sep 2022	TPNPB burned down the North Paniai district office in Kebo, Paniai Regency. The action carried out by Kodap XIII soldiers was carried out a day after the shooting that killed 4 Trans Papua project workers in Sorong, West Papua.	(Chairullah, 2022d)
16	12 Des 2022	Danrem 172/PWY Brigadier General TNI J.O. Sembiring confirmed that three civilians who died after being shot by an armed criminal group led by Nason Mirin in the Bintang Mountains, Papua Mountains, worked as motorbike taxi drivers.	(Raharjo, 2022)
17	7 Februari 2023	Captain Philip was held hostage by the Armed Criminal Group (KKB) led by Egianus Kogoya in Papua after the plane he was flying was attacked and burned by the Free Papua Organization (OPM) at Paro Airport, Nduga, Papua	(CNN Indonesia, 2023; Pryatama, 2023)

Source: Data processing results, 2023

From the results of searches carried out through policy analysis and previous research literature studies, there is an overlap in determining the status or labeling of independent Papuan organizations, so that this hampers the strategy that will be chosen to overcome this movement. The facts of the violent actions in 2022-2023 by the KKB show that law enforcement carried out by the government, in this case the National Police, does not seem to be working according to the function of the National Police to take action against criminal acts against criminals. Even though the National Police had responded to the KKB's actions with Operation Nemangkawi and later changed to Operation Peace Cartenz. The acts of violence carried out by the KKB or (TPNPB)-OPM actually cannot be categorized as ordinary criminal or terrorist acts that are handled using a legal approach, because apart from causing fear, destruction and murder in the community, they have also focused attacks on TNI and Polri officers. as a representative of the country.

President Joko Widodo even assigned the Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law and Security to coordinate with Komnas HAM regarding efforts to resolve a peace. Next, Komnas HAM held a meeting with other parties who would later become the main actors in the

humanitarian dialogue: the Papuan Church Council, the Papuan People's Council (MRP), and the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP). The meeting was held at the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in Geneva and resulted in a memorandum of understanding (MoU) for the Humanitarian Pause. However, TPNBP-OPM rejected the memorandum of understanding because it did not involve them. As a manifestation of the seriousness of this rejection, TPNBP-OPM carried out pilot hostage-taking and burned the Susi Air plane. This indicates that the acts of violence carried out by the TPNBP-OPM are still continuing despite the dialogue efforts that have formulated a Humanitarian Pause.

Looking at the formulation of the Special Autonomy policy carried out by the government, it can be said that this policy has gone through quite a long process and according to Menufandu (2020:5), there are 4 (four) main pillars of the Special Autonomy Law, namely: partiality (affirmative), protection (protection), participation (participation), and empowerment (empowerment), all of which must be guided by the Central and Regional governments. To make efforts to accelerate development in Papua, the government must continue to be guided by community entities and the Papua region which still adhere to local wisdom values, especially customs and culture. In realizing sustainable welfare development in Papua, this research recommends the need for social engineering, which is a series of actions carried out systematically aimed at bringing about social change in people's lives. As stated by Rakhmat (2000:3). To be able to realize sustainable welfare development in Papua, which has 7 (seven) traditional territories and has 3 (three) ecological zones where the community lives, it is necessary to have an "Integrated Food Estate" (Integrated Logistics Barn) that can support the community's living needs. . This needs to be done so that the logistics supply chain can directly fulfill and help the Papuan people and eliminate dependence on logistics supplies from outside the Papua region.

Bearing in mind that building an "Integrated Food Estate" is synonymous with regional availability and support, it is necessary to build "territorial resilience" which is supported by the Regional Government, traditional, religious, women, young generation and academic leaders. To ensure the implementation of these programs, the Indonesian Ministry of Defense needs to be the leading sector of all related ministries and institutions. This is because the output of this activity is not only to meet the logistics consumption of the Papuan people, but it is also hoped that it can build Sishankamrata to face and ward off every form of threat. The TNI Commander was appointed as the organizer of the activity, because up to now there are still disturbances in security and order from armed separatist groups. On the other hand, there are already a number of TNI members in Papua and they are spread across residential areas, so a more effective range of command is needed between implementers in the field or regions and leaders at the central level; d. As a forum for coordination, advocacy, assistance, socialization and reporting on the sustainability of the integrated food estate program, it is necessary to build an "Integrated Solution Center" in each province in Papua consisting of 266 representatives from the Regional Government, traditional, religious and young generation leaders. , academics, and the TNI. This agency is needed so that all activities can be conveyed directly to the President and conversely he can also provide direct directives if there are special matters that need to be followed up directly regarding welfare development in Papua.

The issue of internationalization of Papua still cannot be eliminated, as separatist groups still exist at home and abroad. Therefore, it is necessary to have International Defense Diplomacy at every international forum to narrow the space for Papuan separatists to move. The support of the international community's trust in development in Papua to create a peaceful and prosperous Papuan society must be maintained by showing facts and data on reducing the poverty index of the population in Papua through improving facilities and infrastructure for education, health, people's economy, a conducive social situation, and creating security stability. and politics. This

will be possible if every government agent abroad can provide outreach on every development of the welfare of the Papuan people.

The Indonesian government needs to carry out propaganda containing various physical and non-physical development activities that have been implemented in Papua as an effort to realize sustainable welfare development in addition to building MAP's social resilience. By using the instruments of International Law and National Law, the Indonesian government must immediately issue and enact a political decision to justify that the OPM is truly a separatist movement. If this is allowed to drag on, negative excesses will arise that will continue to grow and weaken national unity and unity. The Indonesian Defense University can form a "Melanesian Studies Center" as a study center to continuously analyze developments in the situation in Papua.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the results of research conducted by the researcher, it is concluded that the conflict in Papua involves complex aspects, namely welfare issues, lack of synergy between ministries/institutions in resolving conflicts, as well as internationalization issues which are a small part of the Papuan conflict. Several recommendations that can be implemented to resolve the conflict in Papua are through the Integrated Food Estate, Integrated Solution Center, and International Defense Diplomacy.

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