

Conflict Resolution: Comparative Analysis of Separatist Conflicts in Papua, Indonesia, and Zulu, South Africa

Alhoma R. Lumban Gaol¹⁾, Pujo Widodo²⁾, Ichsan Malik³⁾
^{1,2,3)}Study Program Peace and conflict resolution, Faculty of National Security,
Republic of Indonesia Defense University

*Corresponding Author

Email: alhomalumbangaol21@gmail.com; pujowidodo78@gmail.com; ichsanmalik@gmail.com

Abstract

The conflicts in Papua, Indonesia, and Zulu, South Africa, present similarities and differences. This article concentrates on the discussion of the separatist conflict in Papua which is then compared with the separatist conflict in Zulu, South Africa. Which ended with a peace agreement between the Zulu separatist movement and the South African government to take lessons from the Zulu Separatist Conflict to support the resolution of the separatist conflict in Papua, Indonesia. This paper is based on the Library Research methodology and comparative method approach.. There is a big difference, namely that in the Zulu conflict there is a window of opportunity which is the way to peace and ends in a peace agreement. Meanwhile, the Papua conflict does not yet have a window of opportunity which is an opportunity to pave the way for peace. So it is hoped that the Indonesian government will be more observant in seeing opportunities in resolving the Papua conflict. Since the democratic elections, there has been no figure from Papua with an Indonesian nationalist spirit who is able to accommodate and bridge between the Papuan separatist groups and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia. Because looking at the Zulu conflict, apart from the election event there were also nationalist and democratic figures who were black in South Africa.

Keywords : Conflict, Papua, Zulu

INTRODUCTION

Every country has domestic conflicts, one of which is the problem of separatist rebellion. Separatists often call themselves a nation that is fighting for its independence so that it is involved in conflicts with the military and the government (Kristanti & Parthiana, 2014) Conflicts are complex and widespread. Globally, more than 125,700 events of political violence occurred in 2022, resulting in more than 145,500 reported deaths. In 2021, the most recent year for which comparable population data is available, The Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) estimates that up to 20% of the world's population – approximately 1.7 billion people – has experienced political violence. These incidents range from mob attacks on supporters of political parties and assassinations of local authorities, to state assassinations, insurgent clashes and cartel violence. Different types of violence often occur in the same country at the same time, exposing the public and the state to multiple threats simultaneously (Raleigh et al., 2023).

Forty-six countries and territories currently meet criteria for at least one of the four indicators. Based on ACLED data for 2022, the country of Indonesia is included in the Limited Severity because there is 1 indicator out of 4 indicators list (Raleigh et al., 2023).

Since independence on August 17, 1945, Indonesia has faced a number of separatist movements, including the PKI in Madiun in 1948, the DI/TII rebellion in 1949, the rebellion of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PRRI), the Permesta rebellion in 1958, the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and The Free Papua Organization (OPM) (Wahyono,

2019), which later became the State Intelligence Agency (BIN), has now labeled the Papuan Armed Criminal Group (KKB) as a Separatist and Terrorist Group (KST) (CNN Indonesia, 2021a). This statement is officially supported by the Government by having declared the Free Papua Organization (OPM) a terrorist organization (CNN Indonesia, 2021b). If you look at its history, from ancient times Indonesia has received many political attacks planted in each region so that it wants its own freedom and independence and can be separated from Indonesia, challenges like this have long been faced by Indonesia but Indonesia does not seem to have the right strategy in channeling understanding of nationalism to Indonesian people (Dewi et al., 2022).

This paper focuses on discussing the separatist conflict in Papua which is then compared to the separatist conflict in Zulu, South Africa which ended with a peace agreement between the Zulu separatist movement and the South African government. So that it can take lessons from the Zulu Separatist Conflict to support the resolution of the Separatist conflict in Papua, Indonesia.

RESEARCH METHODS

This paper is based on the Library Research methodology. Library research is a series of research related to library data collection methods, or research whose research object is explored through various library information. This library research was carried out due to the limitations of the authors to do it in the form of field research (Trygu, 2020). Furthermore, in general the literature review contains 2 (two) parts, namely (1) a review of supporting information and (2) a review of the results of previous research described in the form of a discussion (discussion) that forms a story (story) (Siregar & Harahap, 2019). And according to the title, the comparative method is used in this article which according to (Sugiyono, 2014) is research that compares the state of one or more variables in two or more different samples, or two different times. Then it is applied to find out the comparison between the separatist conflict in Papua, Indonesia and the separatist conflict in Zulu, South Africa.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A Brief History of the Zulu Separatist Movement, South Africa

According to Wilson and Ramphele (1989), the Zulu separatist movement in South Africa began to emerge in the 1970s and demanded autonomy for the areas where the Zulu lived. Guy (1979) adds that the peak of the Zulu separatist movement occurred in 1994, when the leader of the prominent Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Mangosuthu Buthelezi, rejected the election results and demanded autonomy for the Zulu regions. This led to violence and conflict between the IFP and the African National Congress (ANC), the party that won the election.

Saul (1974) stated that the Zulu separatist movement was related to Zulu nationalism and was part of the struggle against racial discrimination by the apartheid government in South Africa. Hamilton (1998) also emphasizes that the Zulu separatist movement is related to the efforts of the Zulus to maintain their identity and culture amidst difficult socio-political conditions.

In the early 1990s, the Zulu separatist movement entered a period of transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa. The conflict between the ANC party which won the election and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) which is mainly supported by the Zulu community reached a fever pitch. Differences in views about the future of the country and the

socio-political tensions that existed between the two parties culminated in the riots that ended loss of life in Zulu areas.

According to a report by Amnesty International (1993), in 1990-1993, more than 10,000 people died and 25,000 people were injured in the conflict between the ANC and IFP parties. Most of the victims were civilians who were not directly involved in the conflict. Acts of violence included burning houses, bombings, assaults with weapons, and rape. Many Zulu communities experienced great suffering and damage as a result of the conflict.

The situation became more stable after South Africa's first general elections in 1994 and the ANC party won a majority of the votes. The IFP later joined the national government and started to play an important role in the country's political and economic development (Fay, 2009). Today, the Zulu region is one of nine provinces in South Africa and the Zulu people are integrated into the country's political system.

Peace Process

The peace process between the Zulu separatist movement and the South African government began in 1992 when the country was transitioning from apartheid to democracy. The government and the Zulu separatist movement eventually agreed to establish a Special Election Commission to administer national elections in 1994 (Worger, 2013). That same year, Nelson Mandela was elected as the first democratic president of South Africa, and Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) was appointed Minister of the Interior.

The peace process between the government and the Zulu separatist movement lasted for several years. According to Fisiy and Arko-Adjei (2012), peace was achieved through a series of negotiations and dialogues held between the government and IFP. In 1995, the Pietermaritzburg Peace Accord was signed by the government, IFP, and other political parties, which contained a commitment to end violence and enter into dialogue to resolve remaining conflicts.

Over the following years, IFP and ANC took steps to build peace and reconciliation between them. In 1997, a peace agreement was signed between the two sides, ending nearly 20 years of violence and political conflict in KwaZulu-Natal (Hamber, 1998). The IFP later joined the national government and started to play an important role in the country's political and economic development (Fay, 2009).

A peace accord between the Zulu separatist movement and the South African government signed in 1997 ended nearly two decades of violence and political conflict in KwaZulu-Natal. The agreement contains several important points, including a commitment to stop political violence and hold dialogue to resolve the remaining conflicts. The agreement also emphasizes the importance of solving basic social and economic problems to prevent future political violence. In addition, the agreement includes the establishment of committees at local and regional levels to facilitate dialogue and build trust between the two sides. Finally, the agreement included the establishment of special units to combat crime and political violence in KwaZulu-Natal (Hamber, 1998).

The peace agreement between the Zulu separatist movement and the South African government in 1994 can be viewed from the perspective of conflict resolution theory. Conflict resolution theory refers to efforts to end conflicts between two or more parties in a peaceful way, and build long-term cooperation. In this regard, the peace agreement between the Zulu separatist movement and the South African government is considered an example of conflict resolution efforts.

The agreement can be explained in three stages of conflict resolution according to the conflict management model developed by John Burton, namely:

1. **Openness Stage:** The first stage is the stage where the conflict is acknowledged and opened up. In the case of the Zulu separatist movement, conflict between the government and the

Zulu separatist movement has occurred for several years, including riots that killed many people in 1994. However, in the end, both parties agreed to open up and acknowledge the existence of conflict.

2. Negotiation Stage: The second stage is the stage where both parties agree to negotiate to resolve the conflict. In the case of the Zulu separatist movement, negotiations were carried out by the South African government and the leader of the Zulu separatist movement, Mangosuthu Buthelezi. During the negotiations, the two sides managed to reach a peace agreement that guaranteed the rights of the Zulu people and strengthened democracy in South Africa.
3. Implementation Phase: The last stage is the stage where the agreements that have been reached are implemented and maintained. In this regard, the South African government has implemented the peace agreement, including giving greater autonomy to the Zulu people and strengthening democratic process in the country.

In the context of conflict resolution theory, the peace agreement between the Zulu separatist movement and the South African government can be seen as a successful example of using effective methods of conflict resolution. The agreement reduces conflict and enhances cooperation between the two sides. In addition, the peace agreement also provides inspiration for conflict resolution around the world through a conflict resolution approach.

A Brief Description of the Conflict in Papua

The Papuan problem has long-standing roots in history. This long period of time has made the Papuan conflict complex (Hasan & Nugroho, 2022, pp.64). To understand the Papuan conflict, Untung Suropati identified that the root causes of the problems in Papua include: 1) the pros and cons of the history of integration, Papua's political status and political identity; 2) Political violence and human rights violations; 3) The failure of Papua's development; 4) Jakarta policy inconsistency (Otsus); 5) The effectiveness of strategies for dealing with security disturbances (Suropati, 2019).

Various policies have also been adopted by the Government of Indonesia to strengthen the status and identity of Papua which have been carried out successively by various regimes in Indonesia, starting with President B.J. Habibie to President Joko Widodo (Anugerah, 2019 pp.51). One of the policies that have been implemented by the government is realized by inaugurating three new autonomous regions (DOB) in Papua, namely South Papua Province, Central Papua Province, and Highlands Papua Province on 11 November 2022 (RI Cabinet Secretariat, 2022). This was followed by the inauguration of the Southwest Papua Province on December 9, 2022. The establishment of 4 provinces as new autonomous regions (DOB) in Papua is part of an effort to accelerate equitable distribution of development and welfare of the Papuan people (Ministry of PANRB, 2022). Of course, this step has not been able to accommodate the 5 roots of the conflict. But at least one way to improve and accelerate development in Papua.

Challenges of conflict resolution in Papua

Every separatist conflict has its own challenges. In this paper to explain the challenges of conflict in Papua, it can be seen from the characteristics of the conflict, maps of conflict areas and maps of armed criminal groups.

Bobby Anderson, an American researcher, made a security topography in Papua based on the characteristics of the conflict. Conflicts over customary rights, conflict between indigenous peoples and migrants, conflict between tribes, conflict between the National Army

for the Liberation of West Papua (TPNPB) as well as OPM and the TNI/Polri (Anderson, 2015).

Judging from the location of the conflict areas in Papua, they occurred in several central mountainous areas, namely Nduga Regency, Intan Jaya Regency, Puncak Jaya Regency and Paniai Regency (Ratana Pugu & Erny Buiney, 2022). According to the report by the Alliance for Democracy for Papua (ALDP) it shows that at least 53 cases of violence and armed conflict occurred in Papua throughout 2022. Of these, 47 cases occurred in Papua Province and 6 cases occurred in West Papua Province (Santika, 2023).

In research conducted by Brata, the Zulu people, South Africa, and the Comoros people, one of the tribes in Papua, Indonesia, have something in common. According to Gluckman, the Zulu people had ambiguous loyalties, namely to the king and the apartheid government. In the Kamoro people there is also a phenomenon with a similar pattern, namely ambiguous loyalty. On the one hand, the Kamoro people are loyal to local institutions or customary institutions which are reflected in the taparu phenomenon and inherent social norms. On the other hand, the Kamoro people are also loyal to the government of the Republic of Indonesia (Brata, 2010). In this study it was explained that the Kamoro community conflict was a conflict over customary rights. One of the characteristics of the conflict in Papua. Of course, each characteristic of conflict requires different resolution steps.

The National Police have mapped more than 150 people who are members of the Armed Criminal Group (KKB) in Papua. Those who are members of these groups are from sympathizers to militant groups. The TNI and Polri mapped out these groups, divided into 7 to 9 groups scattered in various regions (Habibie, 2021b). The seven groups did not stay in one place. They kept moving, setting up bases and moving around. The following are the seven KKB groups that often carry out shootings according to the National Counterterrorist Agency (BNPT), (Habibie, 2021a):

1. The Yambi group, led by Lekagak Telenggen. Located in the Puncak Ilaga Regency area;
2. Tingginambut group, led by Goliath Tabuni. Located in the Puncak Jaya Regency area;
3. The Gome group, led by the Murib Military and Peni Murib. Located in the Puncak Jaya Regency area;
4. The Lani Jaya Group, led by Purom Okiman Wonda. Located in the area of Lani Jaya Regency;
5. The Ndugama group, led by Egianus Kogoya. Located in the area of Nduga Regency;
6. The Tembagapura group, led by Ayub Waker and Sabinus Waker. Located in the Mimika Regency and the Intan Jaya Group, the Intan Jaya Regency area;
7. Kali Kopi Group, led by Joni Botak. Located in Mimika Regency.

It can be seen that the conflict in Papua has its own complexities and complexities. When compared to the conflict in Zulu, South Africa is of course very much different. The Zulu conflict was the dominant ethnic conflict and was later brought into the political sphere. Meanwhile, in Indonesia the Papuan tribe is not the dominant ethnic group. It is therefore necessary to handle it differently from any other conflict in the world.

Table 1. Similarities and Differences in the Papua and Zulu conflicts based on the Policy Conflict Framework (Weible & Heikkila, 2017), (Marzaniar, 2022)

Characteristics	Papua	Zulu
Issues of Conflict (Separatism)	Papuan Nationalism (demanding the right to autonomy for the territory)	Zulu Nationalism (demanding the right to autonomy for the territory where the Zulu tribe lives)

Type of Conflict (Vertical - horizontal)	Papuan Armed Criminal Groups Vs the Government of the Republic of Indonesia Papuan Armed Criminal Groups Vs civil society in Papua	Conflict between the IFP and ANC parties winning the 1994 election Conflict between Zulu separatists and the South African Government
Reasons for the Rebellion	1) the pros and cons of the history of integration, Papua's political status and political identity; 2) Political violence and human rights violations; 3) The failure of Papua's development; 4) Jakarta policy inconsistency (Otsus); 5) Effectiveness of the strategy for dealing with security disturbances	Opposing racial discrimination by the apartheid government in South Africa Maintaining Zulu ethnic identity and culture
The Character of the Conflict	Conflict over customary rights, conflict between indigenous people and migrants, inter-ethnic conflict, conflict between KKB and TNI/Polri	Violent social-political conflict
Form of Conflict	<i>Open participatory (direct and non-direct</i> <i>Direct: Gunfighting</i> <i>Non-direct: Building diplomatic relations to seek international support for Papua's independence</i>	<i>Open participatory (direct and non-direct</i> <i>Direct: Gunfighting</i> <i>Non-direct: Building diplomatic relations to seek support and support through IFP parties</i>
<i>Temporarity</i>	<i>Long term</i>	<i>Long term</i>
Impact of the conflict	Number of victims who died 2018-2020 : 95 people (Irawan, 2021) 2021 : 34 people dan 2022 : 53 people (Costa, 2022)	The conflict's toll was over 10,000 killed and 25,000 injured
<i>Event (window of oppourtinity)</i>		for the 1994 South African election was won by Nelson Mandela
Dinamika Konflik Pasca "oppourtinity"		Post Opportunity Conflict Dynamics The peace process lasted for several years. Peace was achieved through a series of negotiations and dialogue. In 1995 signed a commitment to end violence and resolve remaining conflicts. In 1997, a peace agreement was signed. IFP joins the national government.

Source: Processed by the author from various sources

Table 1. shows that the Papua and Zulu conflicts have similarities. However, the Papuan conflict looks different and more complex in the character of the conflict column or research (Anderson, 2015) divides the Papuan conflict into 4 characteristics. Judging from the form of conflict, Papua built diplomatic relations to seek international support for independence, unlike in Zulu, they supported and joined the IFP political party to influence the political policies of the South African government. Then, if we look at the number of victims who died, the impact of the conflict in Papua is not as big as the conflict in Zulu but has repeatedly claimed lives every year from 2018-2022. In contrast to the conflict in Zulu where at the height of the conflict there were 10,000 people dead.

The next difference is that in the Zulu Conflict there was an event (window of opportunity) when the 1994 South African elections were won by Nelson Mandela to become the first black president in South Africa and to be democratically elected. President Mandela focused all his attention on peace on a national level and tried to forge a single identity for South Africa in a pluralistic society divided by decades of protracted conflict. Mandela's ability to achieve his objectives is clearly evident because after 1994 the country was free from

political conflict (Wikipedia, n.d.). So that the dynamics of the post-opportunity conflict turned into a peace process that lasted several years and achieved peace followed by the signing of a commitment to end violence and resolve remaining conflicts and a peace agreement in 1997.

Discussion Lessons learned for Papua, Indonesia

It must be admitted that the conflict in Papua has been a prolonged conflict in the history of the founding of the Indonesian state until now, and this has made the conflict more complex. The challenge of conflict resolution in Papua starts from the root causes, the characteristics of the conflict, the map of the conflict and the armed criminal groups involved spread and move around in the Papua region. Various policies have been issued by the Government of Indonesia for Papua, but have not had a significant impact on the progress of Papua, especially in the field of security for civil society in Papua.

In the dynamics of the conflict in Zulu, South Africa, there is an event (window of opportunity) which is also a gateway to the peace process between the separatists and the South African government. The election of Nelson Mandela became the first black president from the results of the first democratic elections in South Africa. Nelson was the most influential figure in the peace process by involving the Zulu into the national government and ending with the signing of a peace agreement and commitment. In addition, Nelson's tenure implemented changes on issues that the previous administration had neglected. And it was proven that after 1994, South Africa was free from political conflict.

Of course, the political conditions in Indonesia have undergone democratic elections since 2004. Since then there has not been a figure from Papua with an Indonesian nationalist spirit who is able to accommodate and bridge between the Papuan separatist groups and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia. Because looking at the Zulu, apart from the election event there were also nationalist and democratic figures who were black in South Africa.

CONCLUSION

Zulu conflict, South Africa is a protracted conflict that began in the 1970s and finally managed to become more stable in 1994 when Nelson Mandela was elected as the first president of democratic South Africa and Mangosuthu Buthelezi from the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) was appointed as Minister of Home Affairs. The conflict was motivated by Zulu nationalism which opposed racial discrimination by the Apartheid government in South Africa. In addition, the Zulu separatist movement is related to the efforts of the Zulu tribe to maintain their identity and culture amidst difficult socio-political conditions. The peace process lasted for several years and peace was achieved through a series of negotiations and dialogue between the government and IFP. And in 1995, the IFP and other political parties committed to ending the violence and resolving the remaining conflicts. Then in 1997 a peace agreement between IFP and ANC was signed by both sides ending 20 years of violence and political conflict.

Meanwhile, the conflict in Papua is very different from the conflict in Zulu, South Africa. The two conflicts are indeed prolonged conflicts. The Papua conflict could begin to be seen during Indonesia's independence in 1945 and the separatist movement began in the 1960s. From a historical point of view, it is very different. The Papuan conflict has its own complexities and complexities. The Papua conflict is divided into conflicts over customary rights, conflict between traditional people and migrants, conflict between tribes, conflict between the OPM and the TNI/Polri. So it is necessary to be careful when taking lessons from the conflict in Zulu, South Africa.

The government needs to be more observant in seeing opportunities in resolving the Papua conflict. Since the democratic election there has been no figure from Papua who has an Indonesian nationalist spirit who is able to accommodate and bridge between the Papuan

separatist groups and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia. Because looking at the Zulu conflict, apart from the election event there were also nationalist and democratic figures who were black in South Africa.

In addition, it is necessary for the Indonesian government and the regional government as well as the Papua to be consistent and committed to carrying out sustainable development of the economy, education and welfare of the indigenous Papuan people, taking into account and taking into account local culture and wisdom, the indigenous people and nature of Papua so that it remains sustainable

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