CONFLICT ANALYSIS AND PAPUAN POLICIES FROM A SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND NATIONAL DEFENSE PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

Objective: An analysis of the ongoing conflict and policies in Papua is essential to understand how to combat the current situation effectively. To understand the broader picture, it is necessary to delve into the conflict's background, including cultural differences, armed groups, political agendas, and other factors.

Method: This study will qualitatively to achieve this aim, the conflict and policies will be analysed in two ways, namely macro and micro. The macro analysis will examine the background of the conflict and also look at the methods used by the Indonesian government since the 1969 Act of Free Choice.

Result: Examining past, present, and future policies is also crucial in trying to resolve the conflict and is closely linked to the factors under analysis. The first step is to assess the impact of these factors on the conflict and policies, followed by the results and solutions.

Conclusion: Finally, proposals for implementing these solutions must be developed and tested to demonstrate their effectiveness.

Keywords: conflict, economic, policies, national defense.

ANÁLISE DE CONFLITOS E POLÍTICAS DA PAPUA DE UMA PERSPECTIVA SOCIAL, ECONÔMICA E DE DEFESA NACIONAL

RESUMO

Objetivo: Uma análise do conflito e das políticas em curso na Papua é essencial para compreender como combater a situação atual de forma eficaz. Para se entender o quadro mais amplo é necessário explorar os antecedentes do conflito, incluindo as diferenças culturais, os grupos armados, as agendas políticas e outros fatores.

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Método: Este estudo irá qualitativamente para alcançar este objetivo, o conflito e as políticas serão analisados de duas maneiras, nomeadamente macro e micro. A análise macro examinará os antecedentes do conflito e também examinará os métodos usados pelo governo indonésio desde o Ato de Livre Escolha de 1969.

Resultado: Examinar as políticas passadas, presentes e futuras também é crucial para tentar resolver o conflito e está intimamente ligado aos fatores analisados. O primeiro passo é avaliar o impacto desses fatores no conflito e nas políticas, seguido pelos resultados e soluções.

Conclusão: Finalmente, as propostas de implementação dessas soluções devem ser desenvolvidas e testadas para demonstrar sua eficácia.

Palavras-chave: conflito, economia, políticas, defesa nacional.

1 INTRODUCTION

Papua, a province located in the easternmost part of Indonesia, has been embroiled in a long-standing and complex conflict. The root cause of this conflict can be traced back to the region's tumultuous history of colonization, which began in the 19th century when the Dutch East India Company established its control over the region. The Dutch administration in Papua was characterised by exploitative policies, which included forced labour, discrimination, and resource exploitation, leading to deep resentment among the indigenous population. In order to solve problems with a social conflict backdrop, it is necessary to pay attention to numerous aspects from a holistic approach and from multiple perspectives. This is done in order to implement the social conflict resolution model with a basis in social conflict correctly and successfully, (Saputra, 2022).

After World War II, the Dutch attempted to maintain their control over Papua. The War of Independence between Indonesia and the Netherlands led to the Round Table Conference (KMB) negotiations in Den Haag in 1949 with the main result being the formal recognition by the Kingdom of the Netherlands over the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia on December 27, 1949. One of the resulting points of the KMB agreement stipulates that the West Irian issue will be resolved within a year. But in reality the Netherlands did not keep its promise. Efforts to return West Irian back to Indonesia remains a big agenda to work on.

The struggle for the liberation of West Irian reached its peak in 1962 with the announcement of the Tri Komando Rakyat (Trikora) which was followed by a military campaign by Indonesia. This succeeded in forcing the Dutch to be willing to reopen diplomacy with the Indonesian government in resolving the West Irian case with the signing of the New York Agreement on August 15, 1962.
In 1962, a UN-brokered agreement transferred control of Papua to UN then to Indonesia, but the Papuan people have long disputed the legitimacy of this transfer, arguing that it was made under duress and without their consent.

Since then, the region has been characterised by political, social, and economic issues, which have led to both non-violent and violent clashes between the Indonesian government and Papuan independence groups. The Indonesian government's response to the conflict has been criticised for being heavy-handed and lacking in sensitivity to Papuan cultural values and aspirations. There are various categories of conflict, including time-based conflict, tension-based conflict, and behavior-based conflict, (Notten, 2017).

The aim of this dissertation is to examine the conflict in Papua, its causes, consequences, and possible solutions to bring a peaceful end to the conflict. This dissertation will utilise all available sources to analyse and understand the conflict from a social, economic, and national defence perspective.

To achieve this aim, the conflict and policies will be analysed in two ways, namely macro and micro. The macro analysis will examine the background of the conflict and also look at the methods used by the Indonesian government since the 1969 Act of Free Choice (Pamungkas, 2015), ethnic group politicians, Indonesian Armed Forces, and international stakeholders who have influenced the conflict and policies in Papua. The micro analysis will look at policy clashes and controversies between the Government of Indonesia and ethno-political groups.

Understanding the background of the conflict and policies from both macro and micro perspectives is the first step in finding a solution to alleviate the conflict and improve policies for Papua. This dissertation hopes to contribute to the growing body of research on the Papua conflict and to provide policymakers and stakeholders with insights on how to promote peace and development in the region.

This dissertation aims to answer the following questions:
1. What are the underlying factors that contribute to the Papua conflict and its policies?
2. How do Indonesian and international stakeholders influence the Papua conflict and its policies, and what are their respective roles in shaping the situation?
3. What are the potential solutions and strategies to address the Papua conflict and to promote policy changes, and what evidence supports their effectiveness?
2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 BACKGROUND AND IMPLICATION

The Papua conflict is a very complicated conflict, rooted in the influence of the Dutch East Indies Colonization (Chauve, 2014). They set up a system intent on ensuring long term inequality and conflict, with segregation between tribes and castes still felt strongly in some areas of Papua (Chauve, 2014). Constantly occurring conflicts have an effect on the social and economic changes in people. The development of social capital aims to resolve the numerous disputes that exist in Indonesia, (Ingold, 2017). The conflict, which is have been allegedly manipulated by political powers, has made it difficult for stakeholders to resolve the issue due to political agendas. The conflict, which has claimed many lives in the struggle for the Morning Star flag and the independence of West Papua, has left many residents feeling that militant groups are causing great concern and do not want to engage in reform (Chauve, 2014); They call for peace and for Papuan Independence Organisations to recognize the referendum called the Act of Free Choice (Pepera) (Pamungkas, 2015) that was officially held in 1969 as a reform measure.

At the beginning of 1969, the Indonesian government began to hold the Pepera (Act of Free Choice). The Pepera was conducted in three stages, as follows:

1) The first stage began on March 24, 1969. During this stage, consultations were held with district councils in Jayapura regarding the procedures for conducting the Pepera.
2) The second stage involved the preparation of the Pepera Consultative Council, which was later held in June 1969.
3) The third stage involved the Pepera being held in the district of Merauke, and subsequently on August 4, 1969, in Jayapura (Pamungkas, 2015).

The implementation of Pepera was witnessed by UN representatives, Australian representatives, and Dutch representatives. The results of Pepera showed that the people of West Irian desired to join Indonesia. The results of Pepera were brought to the UN General Assembly, and on November 19, 1969, the UN General Assembly accepted and approved the results of Pepera (Pamungkas, 2015) which states in the UN Resolution 2504 /1969.

After the results of the Pepera were recognized by the United Nations in 1969, West Papua officially joined Indonesia as its 26th province. However, on July 1, 1971, the Free Papua Movement (OPM) issued a declaration of independence for West Papua and rejected the results of the Pepera, claiming it was a manipulation by the Dutch and other external interests.
to take control of the natural resources in the region. The OPM demanded independence for West Papua and has continued to engage in armed struggle until today.

It is difficult to find information about the struggle for Papuan Independence during the New Order era in current Indonesian media. Due to New Order regulations, the strategy used to suppress the conflict was not a democratic method. As a result, many incidents were not recorded in books, and the press suppression made it difficult for national and international journalists to expose the conflict and policies that occurred. There was very little government transparency, (Pamungkas, 2015). Therefore, scholars require a variety of sources concerning Papua in order to study further material. The probit model must be used by researchers to examine the potential outcomes, (Kirakozian, 2016). Because it is voluntary and seeks freedom, this conflict is also categorized as pro-social, (Shai, 2021).

After the New Order era, with the transition from a totalitarian state to a democratic state, the Free Papua Movement (OPM) began to rise again, and several actors emerged in the Papua conflict, including:

2.1.1 The Free Papua Movement (OPM)

An armed group that carried out armed resistance against the legitimacy of the 1969 Pepera, and engaged in terrorism and security disturbances. They reject the legitimacy of the 1969 Pepera and the Second Papua People's Congress, (Sugandi, 2008), and seek to achieve Papua independence without manipulation.

2.1.2 The Papuan presidium council (dewan Papua)

A group with the same goal as the OPM, but with a different approach. In order for the precise policies to be implemented in the local environment, they have in fact been shared with local officials (Grose, 2016). They do not use violence and instead use political means (Sugandi, 2008) to achieve Papuan integrity.

2.1.3 Churches in conflict-affected areas

An institution with emotional ties to the Papuan people. During the independence of Papua, many church figures were involved in politics (Sugandi, 2008), which led to a movement of people supporting the independence cause.
2.1.4 Indonesian armed forces

The exposure of human rights violations allegation committed by the authorities in Papua has caused the military to reduce direct involvement in handling conflicts, and instead work behind the scenes using local people and other human resources to fight against the Papuan independence movement.

2.1.5 Civil bureaucracy

The government's political machine in exercising power in Papua. They have created a situation where their main function is not to serve the community, but to survive the conflict (Sugandi, 2008). The discourse on bureaucracy is an interesting theme, given its significant role in government and its importance to the community. As society develops and progresses, with improved living standards and education, alongside advancements in technology and information technology, there is a need for the empowerment of the community. Consequently, it is crucial for bureaucratic services in the public sector to quickly adapt to the dynamic changes occurring within the community (Tahirs, et all, 2023).

2.1.6 Business groups

The exploitation of natural resources, with companies only implementing policies to buy time. In the end, this group becomes a time bomb in the Papua conflict.

3 METHODOLOGY

The research design in this study will qualitatively analyzing it using methods. This research uses qualitative methods to explore problems and answer research problems. "Qualitative research is scientific research that aims to understand a phenomenon in a natural social context by prioritizing a process of in-depth communication interaction between the researcher and the phenomenon being studied", (Moleong, 2005). Based on the research and literature used, the problems in Papua can be explained as follows:

3.1 TRIGGER FOR ONGOING CONFLICT IN PAPUA

3.1.1 Division into 3 provinces in Papua

The idea of dividing Papua province into several provinces has existed since the time of Dutch colonial rule. During that era, the government divided Papua into six residencies (provinces). This division was based on geographic proximity, the effectiveness of governance, and the kinship among the population in the area (Chauve, 2014). The idea of dividing the
province resurfaced during the New Order era under the leadership of Governor of Irian Jaya Busiri Surowinoto. Based on research conducted by the Ministry of Home Affairs, if the country's economic conditions allowed and the process of appointing government officials from local residents had met the minimum bureaucratic structure, it would become six provinces corresponding to the six residencies during Dutch rule in Irian Jaya. Three systems—an integrative system, a threat system, and an exchange system—can control how people interact with one another in Kenneth Boulding's concept of a peace economy (Caruso, 2017). However, this division plan was not implemented during the Soeharto era. The idea of dividing Papua province resurfaced again during the reform era. Governor's during the reformation era proposed the province of Irian Jaya be divided into three provinces. The Habibie administration believed that this division idea could accelerate economic development in Papua and also help to reduce demands for Papuan independence. People want wealth for a variety of reasons, including economic progress. Habibie issued Law No. 45 of 1999 on the establishment of Central Irian Jaya Province, Irian Jaya Province, West Irian Jaya Province, Paniai Regency, Mimika Regency, Puncak Jaya Regency, and Sorong City. In addition, President Habibie also issued Presidential Decree No. 327/1999 on October 12, 1999, appointing Herman Monim and Bram Atururi as the Governors of Central Irian Jaya and West Irian Jaya, respectively.

### 3.1.2 Special autonomy policy in Papua

After the failure of Papua's division, the existence of the provinces of West Irian Jaya and Central Irian Jaya became uncertain, even though their governors had been inaugurated on October 12, 1999. The numerous flaws with substantive coalitions made this failure worse (Smith, 2020). In the same month, a General Session of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) was held in Jakarta. In this session, the MPR took an important step in order to settle the prolonged conflict between Jakarta, Aceh, and Papua. The MPR established the MPR Decree No. IV/1999 regarding the outlines of the State Policy Guidelines (GBHN) for the period of 1999-2004, and the MPR Decree No. IV/2000 regarding the recommendation of regional autonomy policy implementation. These two MPR decrees marked the beginning of the national policy on a shift from a centralized to a decentralized government system in Indonesia. Specifically for Papua and Aceh, in order to quell the demands for independence in both provinces, they were designated as special autonomous regions (Sugandi, 2008).

Special autonomy provides significant authority to local governments and guarantees cultural and religious rights for residents. It also ensures that 80% of revenue from forests, fisheries, and mining, as well as 70% of revenue from oil and gas, is given to local authorities.
(Pattinasarany, et al. 2021). The Special Autonomy Law also guarantees "Customary Law" and establishes institutions to accommodate Papua's aspirations and guarantee the rights of oppressed tribes (Sugandi, 2008).

In addition, special autonomy also provides the freedom to form political parties, local police, create village representative bodies, and facilitate the settlement of land conflicts through customary negotiations. The Special Autonomy Law introduced the formation of the Papuan People's Assembly (MRP) to protect the interests of indigenous people in the development process. The Special Autonomy Law is even considered very aspirational in protecting Papuan women. Article 19 Paragraph 1 states that one-third of the members of the Papuan People's Assembly (MRP) are female representatives.

3.1.3 Problematic Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 1 of 2003

Granting Special Autonomy to Papua is a correct policy of the Central Government. This is not only because it has a juridical-constitutional basis but also because, more importantly, politically, the presence of the policy shows the Central Government's skill in preventing the Papuan people from separating from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Special Autonomy is a middle way to reunite the nation. Special Autonomy is also a suitable way to accelerate development in Papua. Various circles, both in Jakarta and Papua, are convinced that the implementation of the Special Autonomy policy will be able to calm the upheaval and demands for independence in Papua. In addition to obtaining broad support from within the country, including the Papuan people, the Special Autonomy policy also has broad support from the international community. In the midst of the optimism towards Papua's Special Autonomy, suddenly, on January 27, 2003, President Megawati Soekarnoputri issued Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 1 of 2003 concerning the Acceleration of the Implementation of Law No. 45 of 1999 concerning the Establishment of the Provinces of Central Irian Jaya, West Irian Jaya Province, Paniai Regency, Mimika Regency, Puncak Jaya Regency, and Sorong City (Suryawan, 2014). This new policy was first announced to the public by a member of the DPR, Ahmad Farhan Hamid, when attending a consultation meeting between the President and the DPR. According to Hamid, the reason for the government's issuance of the instruction was that Papua Province was considered too large. If it is split, then there will be government effectiveness, thus accelerating economic development in Papua. Undoubtedly, the quantity and effectiveness of the investments made in distinct places have an impact on the success of economic development (Zaki, 2022). Megawati's government's steps were strongly rejected by Papua. The Chairman of the Papua Provincial DPRD, Drs. John Lbo.
stated that the DPRD did not agree with the plan. "I strongly disagree with the splitting plan. Because the split plan will only disrupt Law No. 21 concerning Special Autonomy." Said John. Papua Governor Jacobus Solossa criticized the central government's policy in a very subtle way. Rejection was also carried out by traditional leaders, students, and grassroots communities. At least 5,000 students from various state and private universities in Jayapura, together with community leaders, religious, traditional, and women's figures, as well as the church, held a demonstration at the Papua Provincial DPRD office. Not only in Papua, Papua students in Java, Bali, and Sulawesi also did the same. Indonesian legal experts also strongly rejected Presidential Instruction No.1/2003 because it violates the principle of lex superiori derogat legi inferiori (higher law overrides lower law). Constitutional law expert Prof. Harun Al Rasid stated that Presidential Instruction No. 1 of 2003 on the splitting of Papua is legally flawed because it contradicts Article 76 of Law No. 21 of 2001 (Person, 2003). In that article, it is clearly stated that the splitting of Papua province must be done with the approval of the Papua DPRD and the Papuan People's Assembly. The strong rejection in Papua of the implementation of this instruction did not reduce Megawati's government's determination to revoke or postpone the idea of splitting. Finally, when the Central Irian Jaya province was declared, horizontal conflict between pro and anti-split groups could not be avoided. One day after Central Irian Jaya Province was declared in Timika, on Sunday (8/24) at 4:10 pm local time, clashes between pro and anti-split groups broke out. The incident occurred at the Governor's office (Person, 2003). However, after the revision of Law No 21 of 2001 becomes Law No 2 of 2021, nowadays, Papua has 4 additional new provinces based on; Law No 14 of 2022 regarding the establishment of South Papua Province, Law No 15 of 2022 regarding the establishment of Central Papua Province, Law No 16 of 2022 regarding the establishment Highland Papua Province and Law No 29 of 2022 regarding the establishment of South West Province. With the establishment of the 4 new provinces, the Island of Papua is now divided into 6 Provinces.

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

To be able to solve very complex problems in Papua, the following steps can be taken:

4.1 STRONG GOVERNMENT POLICIES

To achieve the above general objectives, the city government advocates continuing economic development towards improving the quality of economic growth, rapidly developing economic sectors with high added value; vigorously applying scientific and technological
achievements to increase labor productivity; developing industries with high science-technology content, restructure the industry in the direction of automation, intelligent production processes, prioritizing the use of clean and renewable energy; develop modern and sustainable urban agriculture in association with agricultural restructuring and new rural construction (Thi, 2003).

The accounting disclosure in the financial statements has a positive impact on the profitability of companies or business organizations in general, and disclosure processes require general disclosure and special disclosure on some topics, for example, companies must make a special disclosure on social responsibility with a special report and disclose environmental accounting operations with a special report (Alamro, et all, 2023)

The policy of the Papua Autonomous Region was initially conceived as a significant stride in resolving the decades-long conflict; however, due to poor execution, it has exacerbated certain conditions. Specifically, the dearth of governance and oversight in managing the Papua Special Autonomy Fund, combined with the absence of a comprehensive development plan for Papua under the Special Autonomy, has resulted in ineffective allocation of funds and development resources (Sugandi, 2008). Furthermore, the absence of regulation in Law No. 21 of 2001 pertaining to the evaluation of Special Autonomy implementation has prevented the resolution of issues concerning accountability and transparency in budget allocation.

The unstable and ineffective institutionalization of regulations also includes development programs in Papua by ministries and institutions scattered across provinces/districts/cities, but their effects are not well-coordinated. The Papua Special Autonomy Development Acceleration Steering Board (BP3OKP) was established through Presidential Regulation No. 121/2022 concerning BP3OKP (Perpres No. 121 Tahun 2022 Tentang Badan pengarah percepatan Pembangunan Otonomi khusus Papua). This body is tasked with carrying out synchronization, harmonization, evaluation, and coordination of the acceleration of development and implementation of Special Autonomy in the Papua region in accordance with the provisions of legislation.

Many parties are pessimistic about the existence of the BP3OKP, as it shares similarities with the ineffective UP4B (Khatarina, 2015), which aimed to communicate and accelerate development in Papua. LIPI also suggests that the sustainability of Otsus implementation is challenging, as the substance of Otsus in Law No. 2 of 2021 does not address the root problems in Papua. According to LIPI, these four root problems are failures in development, marginalization and discrimination of indigenous Papuans, state violence and allegations of human rights violations, and the historical and political status of the Papua region. To better
address these issues, a holistic, integral, and comprehensive approach to Papua is necessary, rather than focusing solely on political or ceremonial interests. Therefore, it is suggested that the BP3OKP's work design be reconsidered to involve all national resources, including Polhukam elements, OAP elements, and the participation of elected officials in central and regional governments, MRP, and indigenous communities in the process.

4.2 POLICY THAT IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH LOCAL CULTURE

The statement on the rights of indigenous peoples established by the UN on August 8, 2006, provides space for indigenous peoples to determine their progress freely based on their cultural values and systems. The lack of respect for Papua's unique culture, along with economic injustice and the distribution of national income, are the biggest issues that contradict efforts to achieve true reconciliation. The modern development paradigm focuses on growth, and modern attributes are set as rigid standards for measuring the civilization of local communities in development. This rigid modern paradigm is the result of placing indigenous peoples as objects rather than subjects. The contemporary paradigm also aims to raise people's welfare (Yang, 2022). Modern attributes imposed on indigenous peoples are considered cultural poverty, such as the "Koteka Operation" carried out in Wamena in the late 1970s, which forced indigenous peoples to abandon traditional values and adapt to modern ways of life, including wearing clothes instead of koteka (Sugandi, 2008). We refer to this fast transformation as globalization. The effects may cause society's culture to change. Backward and Stone Age humans are common labels used for indigenous peoples who live in traditional ways. A change in development approach and progress that respects and accommodates local wisdom is urgently needed.

The position and tasks of the Integrated Coordination Team and BP3OKP can be described as follows (Khatarina, 2015):

Selain itu, ada hubungan antara pertumbuhan ekonomi dan lingkungan dalam membuat suatu kebijakan. Sehingga untuk meningkatkan tingkat kepatuhan terhadap kebijakan, pemerintah harus memperhatikan pertumbuhan ekonomi (Mamani, 2023).

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<td>Presidential Decree No. 20 of 2020</td>
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Source: Prepared by authors (2023)

4.3 ATTEMPTED RESOLUTIONS AND POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

The Indonesian government has attempted various measures to resolve the conflict in Papua, ranging from repressive or militaristic actions to non-repressive approaches such as the enactment of the Special Autonomy Law for Papua in 2001. The mechanism of horse-trading has been used as a compromise between the conflicting parties, in which each side gets what they want with the condition that all demands of the other party must also be met and the goals of the other party are also fulfilled. This conflict resolution mechanism results in a new decision after both parties communicate to find a way out together, with both sides putting aside their egos. This conflict requires a good relationship between the two conflicting parties. One side gets all their demands met on one issue, while the other side gets all their demands met on another issue (Febrianti, et all, 2019).
This mechanism is different from a compromise that sacrifices some demands of each party.

The situation in Papua after the fall of the New Order regime saw a significant shift in the form of resistance against the Indonesian government. The National Liberation Council was formed as a result of this change, indicating a shift towards the use of diplomacy alongside armed struggle (Febrianti, et all, 2019). Interestingly, this resistance has primarily focused on economic issues rather than a sense of nationalism amongst Papuans. This is evidenced by the fact that OPM's opposition is not only directed towards the Indonesian military but also towards the economic disparities between Papua and other regions in Indonesia. The numerous activities of "mama Papua," who serves as both the family's matriarch and breadwinner, demonstrate the importance of the economy for welfare (Hamzah, 2023). Francis Annor talked about this phenomena as a problem that results from changes in family structure (Annor, 2016). As a result, there is a caste gap between those who live comfortably and those who have a poor economy (Nocera, 2021). The gender gap that frequently exists in the general population is also related to this (Sritati, 2022). The difficulty of finding a work is occasionally getting worse. The Indonesian government has attempted to address the root causes of this conflict through initiatives such as Special Autonomy, which includes funding for development programs (Febrianti, et all, 2019). The mental foundations of society can be damaged by large-scale wars (Gurgnan, et all, 2017). However, this policy has yet to halt the OPM's efforts for a referendum, and Papua still struggles with poverty, exacerbated by the lack of empowerment among local communities. Despite the importance of dialogue between the government and OPM, such talks have not yet taken place, and it remains a sensitive issue. The government has been reluctant to engage in dialogue due to a lack of trust in OPM's intentions, and OPM has been hesitant to participate due to their perceived status as enemies of the state. To address this issue, Galtung's basic needs theory highlights the importance of addressing the fundamental needs of Papuans, not just in terms of their material needs but also in terms of political representation and self-determination. One possible solution is to reduce the military's involvement in such dialogue and involve a wider range of actors in the process (Febrianti, et all, 2019).

Dialogue is an important means for conflict resolution, and it can be facilitated through the mechanism of horse-trading. By engaging in horse-trading, both parties can openly express their desires and negotiate more effectively. However, to ensure the
success of the dialogue process, various adaptations are necessary. This includes adjusting the level of actors involved and the agenda of the dialogue, which are considered essential components that need to be realigned by the Indonesian government. Both parties must also be committed to fulfilling their obligations in the dialogue to achieve the desired conflict resolution. The Indonesian government needs to play a crucial role in this process by facilitating dialogue and ensuring that both parties remain committed to their objectives. Dialogue is a crucial step towards achieving peace, and it requires the cooperation of all involved parties to achieve a successful outcome. The mechanism of Horse-Trading Dialogue must be deemed as a last resort by the government when all means have been conducted.

4.4 THE PEOPLE OF PAPUA

The national government of Indonesia has been predominantly focused on social and economic development issues, particularly infrastructure projects, instead of addressing political issues. This has led to officials involved in peaceful campaigns, conducted by the Papuan People's Network for Democracy and Justice (PPN) (Pamungkas, 2017), having limited power to implement peace recommendations. The lack of a roadmap for peaceful resolution of the conflict between Jakarta and Papua by the national government has contributed to this issue. The article suggests that while informal communication between the conflicted parties is necessary, it is not sufficient to achieve positive peace. Therefore, an inclusive national dialogue with the Papuan people is strongly recommended to be implemented by the National Government.

The Papuan conflict has its root in several problems, including the differences in the perspectives of the Papuan people and the Indonesian government regarding the history of Papua's integration, human rights abuse, political violence, unsuccessful developments in Papua, and marginalization of Papuan. To achieve positive peace, it is necessary to have a commitment to peace and justice, which can only be achieved through the absence of structural violence and the presence of justice. Scholars have highlighted the asymmetric power relations between Jakarta and Papua as a significant obstacle to peacebuilding. Papuans feel intense hatred due to their exclusion as participants in the decolonization process. The principle of self-determination, which was not fully realized in the 1969 Act of Free Choice, remains at the core of Papuan nationalism. To resolve the
Conflict, a more inclusive national dialogue between the Papuan people and the Indonesian government is necessary.

The implementation of special autonomy in Papua province has resulted in the division of the region into several regencies, which has led to an increase in physical infrastructure projects and the flow of funds from Jakarta to Papua. However, this has also created divisions and fragmentation among Papuan elites due to political contestation, with little economic and social development benefiting the Papuan people (Pamungkas, 2017). Consequently, some groups of Papuan people have intensified their calls for independence, as the failure of special autonomy has not resolved the conflict. The government's emphasis on economic development as the root of the Papuan conflict is not fully accepted by Papuan people, who also identify issues of identity politics and human rights abuses as contributing to the conflict. Actually, the health of the economy can be used to gauge community welfare (Lange, 2022). The failure of special autonomy highlights the gap in understanding between the National Government and Papuan people regarding the root causes of the conflict.

The issue of Papua has been a long-standing challenge for the Indonesian government. Despite the allocation of significant funds towards the region, including infrastructure projects and special autonomy policies, the underlying problems continue to persist. The Papuan people face various issues, including political violence, corruption, inconsistent government policies, and limited access to education and healthcare. Moreover, the Indonesian government's emphasis on economic development as the root cause of the conflict fails to address the underlying issues of identity politics and human rights abuses that Papuan people experience. This lack of understanding has contributed to the Papuan elites' exploitation of the division of local government for their own self-interests, further fragmenting the Papuan people.

The situation is made worse by the increasing political violence and tensions between the government and some groups of Papuan people. The use of force by the Indonesian security forces in the region has resulted in numerous civilian casualties. The reduction of space for Papuan political expression and the restriction of freedom of speech has been observed since 2012, with peaceful demonstrations being cracked down upon and leaders of the West Papua National Committee (KNPB) being prosecuted.

The demand for the right of self-determination by the KNPB should not be met with legal and security approaches but with dialogue. The international community has
expressed its concerns over the situation in Papua, and the Indonesian government needs to take a different approach towards resolving the conflict. The security approach is no longer acceptable, and a more dialogical approach is needed to ensure peace and reconciliation. The government must recognize the significance of cultural values and the rights of indigenous people to natural resources and protect them. Conflict can impact the drop in raw materials on the global market despite the availability of abundant resources (Herzberg and Lorz, 2022). The talks concerning the Papua-Indonesia integration should be conducted in peaceful ways, and efforts must be made to bridge the gap in understanding between the national government and the Papuan people. Ultimately, dialogue is one condition for reconciliation and peace in Papua land, and it must be pursued with a genuine and sincere effort by all stakeholders involved.

5 CONCLUSION

The governance of Papua has been a long-standing challenge since the colonial era. The Dutch East Indies government recognized the difficulty of governing this region due to its vast size, rugged terrain, and cultural differences. The challenge of governance has been compounded by political interests and external factors, which have impeded the empowerment and development of Papua. As a result, separatist groups have emerged, fueled by a sense of injustice and a desire for greater autonomy.

The implementation of the Special Autonomy policy was meant to address these challenges by granting greater autonomy to Papua and accelerating the region's development. However, despite the policy's implementation, many underdeveloped areas in Papua have yet to experience significant progress. There are still numerous unresolved issues in the region, such as social inequality, allegation of human rights violations, and environmental degradation.

To address these challenges, a thorough analysis of the ongoing conflict and policies in Papua is necessary. Examining the historical background, cultural differences, political agendas, and external factors that have contributed to the conflict is crucial to understanding the bigger picture. Additionally, evaluating past, present, and future policies is essential in trying to resolve the conflict and is closely linked to the factors being analyzed.

To move towards a more effective resolution, an assessment of the impact of these factors on the conflict and policies must be conducted, followed by the identification of
potential solutions. These solutions must then be developed and tested to demonstrate their effectiveness in resolving the conflict and promoting the sustainable development of Papua.
REFERENCES


