

The Role of International Defense Diplomacy in Maintaining State Sovereignty Related to the Internationalization of Papuan Separatism

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ABSTRACT

The problem of the High Social Gap in Papua which is the cause of marginalization and discrimination against the Papuan people, as well as the different perceptions of some Indonesians at home and abroad towards armed separatist conflicts are push factors to corner the Indonesian government. The internationalization of Papuan separatism began when the Papuan people voiced independence as a result of the issue of human rights violations which Indonesia claimed had not been resolved. This is then supported by separatist activists who seek support through other countries, where the South Pacific Region countries are the most vocal actors in bringing the issue of Papuan human rights violations to the UN session. On the other hand, Indonesia is doing everything it can to defend Papua as the embodiment of Indonesian sovereignty in accordance with the mandate of Indonesia's national interests. Of course, Indonesia's approach in overcoming the issue of internationalization of Papuan separatism cannot be carried out in a military context. The development of the issue of separatism which has been internationalized has become a consideration for Indonesia to develop Indonesia's strategy in defending Papua. The concept of Defense Diplomacy applied by Indonesia is as a strategy to defend Papua and establish cooperative relations with countries in the South Pacific Region. Against the background of these problems, this study uses a quasi-qualitative research method and an exploratory approach with soft systems methodology (SSM) as a data analysis technique to answer the formulation of the problem and research questions. Research data were collected through Focus Group Discussions (FGD), in-depth interviews, and direct discussions with various informants (academics, practitioners, bureaucracy, and community leaders), plus a literature review as secondary data. The results of this study recommend 3 (three) things, namely the development of an Integrated Food Estate (IFE) in stages according to customary areas in Papua, which will indirectly support the realization of Territorial Resilience and the Universal Defense System (Sishta). To eliminate the issue of internationalization of Papua, this study also recommends the need for International Defense Diplomacy (IDD) carried out by Indonesian government agencies abroad to socialize International Laws which are the juridical basis that Papua is part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).). With the implementation of all these recommendations, it is hoped that a peaceful and prosperous Papuan society will soon be realized.

Keywords: Papua, marginalization, Sishanta, International Law, International Defense Diplomacy

INTRODUCTION

Listening to various writings and opinions that develop among the Indonesian and international community regarding the handling of the conflict in Papua, in the end, creates contradictions and different perceptions and leads to the presupposition of efforts to marginalize and discriminate Papuans amid the life of the nation and state in Indonesia. Historically, the existence of the Papua region has indeed become a Dutch colonial colony as written in Article 1 of the Constitution of the Netherland in 1938, which states that Netherland New Guinea (West Papua) is part of the Dutch East Indies. The claim of the Indonesian government regarding the independence of the entire Indonesian sovereign territory on August 17, 1945, did not necessarily make the Dutch surrender the territory of Papua. The struggle of the Indonesian government to liberate the entire territory from the shackles of colonialism was not only carried out with a hard power approach but also a soft power approach with the involvement of the United Nations as a mediator and it was recorded that there were several meetings between the Indonesian and Dutch governments including the Malino Conference on July 18, 1946, Commission Three-State which was held on August 25, 1947, the Round Table Conference (KMB) which was held from August 23 to November 2, 1949. From the various meetings and negotiations above, it did not dampen the attitude of the Dutch government to immediately surrender the entire territory of Indonesia even though on 17 August 1956 the Indonesian government established the province of Papua and made Soasiu in Tidore the capital which was more a form of protest against the Dutch.

To eliminate the desire of separatist groups in Papua, and to realize an increase in the welfare of all Papuan people, the Indonesian government's development efforts in Papua after the implementation of the Act of Free Choice will continue to be implemented, one of the concrete forms carried out by the government is the transmigration program. This program was started by President Soekarno in 1964 under the name "Pioneer of Development for West Irian" (PPIB), this program was carried out not only to disperse the population living outside the territory of Papua but it is also hoped that the process of acculturation and assimilation of the population will occur. Conflicts that occur in Papua are not only horizontal but also vertical, as is the case with the presence of PT Freeport Indonesia (FI) since 1969 which took a mining location on Mount Ensberg, indirectly eliminating forest land which is a source of livelihood for the Papuan people in particular. The Amungme and the Comoros. Judging from the history of the Indonesian nation, it has never been separated from the emergence of separatist movements in various regions, even from the results of research conducted by Sobandi (2011: 35) which states that Indonesia is one of the countries in Southeast Asia which is often faced with problems of separatist movements. and has similarities in its handling with the governments of Thailand and the Philippines, namely using a militaristic approach. The Indonesian government continues to strive to uphold the sovereignty of the state in this motherland, even though disturbances to security stability still occur. The various factors causing each separatist movement are analyzed by the government for decision making and policy determination to handle it. Efforts to resolve the conflict in Papua by the Indonesian government have always been in the spotlight of the international community, and sometimes they even give support to separatist groups who want complete independence in Papua. The support of the international community mostly comes from the presence of several students from Papua who are studying abroad or groups of Non-Government Organizations (NGOs). One example of dissatisfaction with the treatment of the Indonesian government towards the Papuan people is reflected in the statement conveyed by Karma (2014:8) when he was studying in Manila, that according to him there is no discrimination both in association and social life with residents in Manila against Papuans.

The influence and intervention of some of the international community, both individuals and NGOs against the separatist movement in Papua, is still quite strong, especially with the existence of a group of Papuans who have received protection from several countries and continue to voice Papua's freedom and independence from the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. The existence of social inequality that occurs in Papua causes the Indonesian government to pay more attention to the Papua Province, this is done so that social inequality can be minimized by the government. Due to the ongoing conflict and becoming the center of international attention, researchers are interested in conducting research related to the Role of International Defense Diplomacy in Maintaining State Sovereignty Related to the Internationalization of Papuan Separatism.

LITERATURE REVIEW/ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

To complete the analysis and discussion, this research uses several theories that are relevant to the substance or subject matter, including the concept of Territorial Development considering that the Papua region has a lot of potentials, both natural resources and human resources. The use of theories and concepts is also intended to obtain recommendations as novelties and provide input to the Indonesian Minister of Defense (Menhan) and related stakeholders in building sustainable prosperity in Papua.

- **International Relations Theory**
International relations can be interpreted as relations between countries in the world with various interests by mutually agreed desires and goals, besides that the purpose of establishing international relations is an effort to realize world peace after the occurrence of two World Wars which brought losses and destruction. Discussing the theory of international relations actually cannot be separated from the foreign policy of a country (foreign policy), some countries do not want to open diplomatic relations with several countries, this is more because the foreign policy that is set still views that there are other factors or considerations. government policy that if international relations are opened, there will be negative excesses that have an impact on the stability of domestic security.
- **Diplomacy Theory**
Diplomacy is a way that many countries take in achieving a goal, the success of diplomacy will have a positive impact on society from various aspects of life. In the face of a conflict, especially a prolonged one, defense, and security are the keywords that must be carried out by the government in dealing with threats from other parties or countries using weapons or the deployment of military force. To prevent military intervention and aggression from other countries, a country needs to carry out defense diplomacy.
- **Defense Diplomacy Theory**
Defense diplomacy has become one of the important instruments of a country in the use of military force as a diplomatic effort as well as a balance of power (balance of power), By the statement conveyed by Hills (2007:46-47) that defense diplomacy is an activity in the form of military cooperation. carried out by the Ministry of Defence, which aims to avoid conflict or open war by using military force. On the contrary, this diplomacy is more directed at building and maintaining trust between countries, so that it is hoped that regional security will be realized.
- **Conflict Theory**
To get clarity about conflict, within the framework of this theory, conflict theory is described as one of its foundations. Webel and Galtung (2007:14) state that conflicts that

sometimes lead to physical violence and the use of military force are indications of the failure of the conflict resolution efforts themselves. Therefore, a conflict transformation is needed that puts forward sociological approaches. Conflict resolution using military force leads to more psychological trauma, especially to the younger generation whose parents are victims of treatment and violence from the military.

- **Separatism Theory**
Separatists are defined as people or groups who want to separate themselves from a union or group (nation) to get support from other parties. Another definition states that it is aimed at the actions of a person or group of people or communities who are in one large unit who want to separate themselves from or leave the community or large unit with the intention of standing alone as an independent state or nation.
- **Social Resilience Theory**
This theory is used in research to encourage people to have social resilience or social resilience after social engineering is carried out in the form of social arrangements. These efforts are expected to make the social structure of the community always reliable and always ready to face every crisis period.

RESEARCH METHOD

This type of research uses a quasi-qualitative method. The quasi-qualitative method is considered suitable to be applied in this research because it allows researchers to focus on the process of collecting and analyzing data that is oriented towards obtaining systemic understanding to answer complex research problems regarding social engineering in dealing with conflicts and issues of internationalization of Papua to support the integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. This research was conducted at the Indonesian Defense University Sentul Campus. The subjects in this study were resource persons both during the implementation of FGD 1 and 2 as well as in-depth interviews, while the object of this research was social engineering in dealing with conflicts and issues of internationalization of Papua to support the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The data in this study is divided into two, namely primary data and secondary data. Primary data will be obtained through a series of Focus Group Discussions (FGD) involving various experts and representatives of community groups who study various aspects related to the conflict and issues of internationalization of Papua. Meanwhile, secondary data will be obtained through literature searches. The data obtained through the study of various literature on issues regarding conflict and internationalization issues in Papua as well as the results of two DP and in-depth interviews, then carried out data processing and analysis using SSM as a data analysis technique.

ANALYSIS

Papua Province is the province with the largest area in Indonesia. Its area reaches 315,091.62 km² and is divided into 28 regencies, 1 city, 576 sub-districts, 159 urban villages, and 5,549 villages. The handling of separatism in Papua post-Pepera in 1969 has yet to be completely resolved, either through a hard power approach in the form of military operations or soft power in the form of approaches and dialogues between the government and the leaders. Papua's abundant natural resources have indeed been the target of foreign parties since the Dutch colonial period, the limited educational background of most Papuans at that time gave the Dutch a great opportunity to control and take over the management and utilization of natural resources. The problem of separatism is not only experienced by Indonesia, but occurs in many other countries such as

England, Spain, and Canada. Efforts to deal with separatist groups are carried out by these countries through various methods and efforts, both legally, politically, and historically. The efforts of the separatist groups to gain sympathy from various parties are not only carried out within the country, but they also cooperate with NGO groups abroad. This cooperation even extends to fundraising efforts to support separatist groups in Papua, purchasing illegal weapons, as well as propaganda activities for mass gatherings. This is what needs to be the focus of the Indonesian government through government agencies in all countries that have diplomatic relations to socialize the instruments of International Law which are the juridical basis for the unification of the entire Papua region into the Republic of Indonesia so that the international community can understand more concretely the actual situation in Papua. . On the other hand, with the potential of natural resources in Papua, since around the 1970s, the Indonesian government has invited multinational companies to invest and assist in its management. The presence of these companies is expected to help improve the welfare of the Papuan people, especially those whose settlement areas are in exploration locations, but the reality is that the presence of multinational companies creates a high social gap which is a source of opinion for the separatists to garner sympathy from the international community.

In the view of International Law, the reasons for the secession of a territory or territory from the parent country and wanting to become a state itself can be agreed upon when cases of massive gross human rights violations such as genocide (mass destruction) occur in that area. On the other hand, attempts to secede are illegal and do not have the support of the international community when the facts presented as reasons for secession do not meet the required criteria. The separatist problems that occur in several countries are principally the efforts of a group of people or organizations who have different ideologies and views from the government, as stated by Sefriani (2003:41) that the goals of the separatist movement are, among others, overthrowing the legitimate government and replacing it with a new government. a new government according to the wishes of the rebels, or to join other countries (integration), or another possibility is to demand greater autonomy. The development of various infrastructures carried out by the Indonesian government after the implementation of the Presidential Act in 1969 is clear evidence of the desire to improve the welfare of the Papuan people so that they can be aligned with the people in other regions within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. However, the facts also prove that until now the security disturbances from separatist groups in Papua have not been eliminated. The protracted conflict between law enforcement officers and separatist groups has made people living in parts of Papua filled with anxiety and fear.

Wirayuda (2020) provided 2 (two) notifications of mapping problems that occurred in Papua and became "ammunition" which was exploited by pro-Papuan independence groups abroad in seeking sympathy and campaigning for "diplomacy" (because they were trying to seek support from the state). -other countries). The two things are:

- a. The problem of Otsus that is not implemented properly, with large enough funds but the community cannot manage and enjoy the results; and
- b. The number of multinational companies in Papua that explore natural resources is not synonymous with improving the welfare of the Papuan people themselves, because the profits obtained by these companies are only enjoyed by the Central and Regional Governments as well as some entrepreneurs both at home and abroad.

From these two things, according to Wirayuda, Papuan separatist groups voiced the separation of Papua from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and became a state of its

own. In fact, according to Wirayuda, it was also stated that, in the context of Papua, this does not mean that this region has the right to self-determination. This right can only be owned by a nation or state, not for an ethnic group as is the case with Papua. To be able to minimize and eliminate efforts to politicize development problems in Papua that have not been completed and become an issue that is always brought up by pro-Papuan independence groups abroad, the Indonesian government needs to carry out diplomacy. The diplomacy that has been carried out by the Indonesian government through various negotiations with the Dutch is a fact of efforts to strengthen the sovereignty and integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. Besides, it also aims to build peace, because according to Robert Cooper (Meltssen, 2005: 5) the key to the success of diplomacy is in the existence of openness and well-established international cooperation. The development in Papua is carried out by the Indonesian government in a transparent manner, even the enactment of Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy is legality in realizing this development. In general, the international community understands all the efforts of the Indonesian government in developing Papua and they are also aware that there are still separatist groups both at home and abroad who are trying to hinder the pace of development programs. According to Wibisono (2020), the Papuan problem is an internal problem for the Indonesian nation and even if there is a group of Papuan people abroad who are concerned about uneven development, it is based on emotions that are not supported by authentic data and facts.

Chandra (2020) said that to support the implementation of development programs in Papua, the Indonesian government should build "sovereignty diplomacy and law enforcement". The existence of abundant natural resources in the land of Papua is a gift from the Almighty for the welfare and benefit of the Papuan people themselves, with the hope that their social conditions will be formed and strong in the face of any turmoil of change, especially the influence of separatist groups. The Indonesian government's efforts in building the welfare of the Papuan people in various physical and non-physical sectors are the implementation of the mandate written in UN Resolution 2504 (XXIV) that the Indonesian government must carry out development as a form of upholding the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. Considering that the issue of the internationalization of Papua is still developing by separatist groups who discredit the role of the Indonesian government in Papua, it is necessary to carry out diplomatic efforts which, according to Morgenthau in Hart and Siniver (2019: 3), that diplomacy is an effort of a country as a consequence of expanding, maintaining power and maintain its sovereignty.

Diplomacy is a way to influence other countries through international interactions and relations. In addition, the essence of international relations is largely determined by the character and interests of the country's government actors in conducting diplomacy by requiring good and mutually beneficial communication and negotiations, sometimes it is necessary to have a third party to mediate between the two conflicting parties. Contents in the context of diplomacy that must be conveyed to the international community, one of which is to socialize Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy which is a product of government policies in improving the welfare of the Papuan people. The efforts to manage natural resources in Papua by the regional government can be seen in the Perdasus of Papua Province No. 22 of 2008 which has regulated investors as outsiders (immigrants) in managing natural resources. In several articles, it has been stated that investors are bound by the rules and regulations, especially in the involvement of indigenous peoples and the profit-sharing system. The struggle of the Indonesian people to be free from the shackles of Dutch colonial rule for almost 3.5 centuries was not only carried out through various armed resistance (hard power) but also through negotiations as a diplomatic effort (soft power) by Indonesian diplomats. From the results of the KMB clauses signed on December 27,

1949, all of them marked the transfer of sovereignty from the Dutch to Indonesia, but there is one clause (pending matter) namely for West Irian (which later changed to Papua) which will be submitted after further negotiations are held. within a maximum of 1 year. This shows that the Dutch do not want to hand over Papua which is considered to have a lot of potential natural resources, and in fact, the handover of Papua has been delayed for quite a long time until negotiations are held at the UN headquarters in New York which resulted in the New York Agreement which was signed jointly by J.H. Van Roijen from the Dutch side and Dr. Soebandrio from the Indonesian side.

The agreement contained in the New York Agreement starting from Article I (Ratification of Agreement and Resolution of The General Assembly of The United Nations to Article XXIX (Authentic Text), shows that the Indonesian government wants the Papua region to be part of the integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. Given that from several previous negotiations, the Dutch have always denied the contents of the agreement, then in the New York Agreement, the United Nations appointed the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) which is under the responsibility of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to be the mediator of the transfer of territorial sovereignty from the United Nations. The Netherlands to Indonesia. Based on the dynamics of the development of the situation in Papua, both at home and abroad, in particular the issue of the popular consultation mechanism in the implementation of the 1969 Act of Free Choice in Papua as the implementation of the New York Agreement in 1962, it is necessary to carry out diplomatic and defense diplomacy efforts as a step to socialize the agreement and a statement from United Nations by Resolution No. 2504 (XXIV) concerning the Agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands concerning West New Guinea (West Irian). The description of the history of the struggle for the sovereignty of the Papua region by the Indonesian government in various negotiating forums until the New York Agreement was established, became the basis for providing understanding to all levels of society at home and abroad, especially millennial groups. The existence of diaspora in various countries can also be utilized through coordination and cooperation with Indonesian government agencies in each country, this is to build a common perception and view that Papua has been part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia since 1969 and is legally recognized by the entire international community. . In fact, every issue of internationalization of Papua that is deliberately developed by non-state actors who want independence in Papua can be said to be only an individual or group interest in seeking sympathy. On the other hand, their existence has no support from the Papuan people themselves, especially the people who are victims of their crimes. As a form of resistance to the issue of the internationalization of Papua, the Indonesian government needs to carry out propaganda efforts for various development programs for the welfare of the Papuan people, both physically and non-physically. This propaganda can be carried out in various ways, both in the form of cultural exhibitions, scientific discussions, and other activities that promote the social and cultural progress of the Papuan people.

Defense diplomacy and diplomacy carried out by Indonesian government agencies abroad include socializing the principles of building peace and security between countries and nations around the world as written in the United Nations Charter (UN Charter) Article 1 (The Purpose of the United Nations). Nations), including the need to establish international cooperation with the principle of togetherness and respect and recognize the sovereignty of each country. Diplomacy carried out by the Indonesian government through government agencies abroad in the context of voicing International Laws which juridically underlies the unification of the Papua region into the Republic of Indonesia, besides being able to be used to ensnare separatist actors who are abroad,

it can also be used to justify that the OPM is a separatist organization. In addition, considering the actions that have been taken to achieve the goal of separating themselves from the Republic of Indonesia, these actions can be charged with Articles 104, 106, and 107 of the Criminal Code, which are about acts or attempts of treason. As for articles that can be used to ensnare OPM figures and sympathizers who use armed violence, fight, and kill security forces, including people who are contrary to the objectives of the OPM movement, they can be charged with Articles 108, 110, and 111 of the Criminal Code. about the "Rebellion". It is hoped that these articles will not only be socialized but must be implemented in providing legal sanctions according to the Criminal Code against OPM personnel.

In addition to voicing various international legal instruments that support the legitimacy of the Papua region being part of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia through international forums as a form of socialization and implementation, another thing that is no less important is to always review and analyze the handling of separatist cases both inside and outside the country. country. The hard power approach to handling various military operations against Papuan separatist groups is not always effective if it becomes a public issue developed by them. On the contrary, carrying out propaganda for various successes of sustainable welfare development in Papua is a soft power approach that not only benefits the government but also has an impact on better international relations.

CONCLUSION

The meaning of the Papuan people towards armed conflict between separatist groups and law enforcement officers is a conflict that has an impact on the disruption of stability, security, and public order. Separatist groups which in carrying out their activities have used various types of weapons have brought many victims to civilians who are not involved in the conflict, as well as carrying out acts of terror against the community to deliberately create an unfavorable security situation. These actions are a reflection of dissatisfaction with the New York Agreement, UN Resolution No. 2504 (XXIV), and the implementation of the 1969 Act of Free Choice. Most of the MAP considers that armed conflict between separatist groups and military and law enforcement officers have actually increased the number of victims. and can hinder the pace of welfare development for them.

The resolution of Papuan separatism by the Indonesian government based on historical experience in dealing with the armed insurgency is carried out by prioritizing human rights and legal approaches. The military operations carried out in the New Order era in principle avoided casualties among civilians, although in reality there were still many unwanted excesses. The resolution of separatism in Papua is currently being sought to prioritize the welfare approach by paying attention to local wisdom to calm the hearts and minds of MAP (to win the heart and minds of Papuans) by not ignoring the hard power approach through a legal approach, especially the crime of treason and treason. rebellion, because based on the historical experience of suppressing armed rebellions that have occurred in Indonesia that the use of military force is an option for resolving conflicts against separatist groups who do not heed the soft power approach;

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