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Indonesia Defense Diplomacy: Papua's Problem Perspective

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Abstract. This research is a lesson learned from the resolution of the Timor Leste conflict which is expected to be applied in efforts to resolve the Papua problem. On 30 August 1999 through a referendum held in East Timor. The 27th province of Indonesia was finally separated from Indonesia and obtained its official status as a member of the United Nations on May 20, 2002. Learning from the settlement approach in the Timor Leste case. So the Indonesian government must have more relevant policy formulations so that the same scenario does not repeat itself in solving the Papua problem. The qualitative method is used in this research, with a case study approach. The conclusion obtained is that the Government of Indonesia is obliged to realize policies that focus on the interests of the Papuan people as well as the Indonesian government's diplomatic efforts which firmly state that the Papua problem is a domestic problem whose intervention is a violation of Indonesian law and sovereignty and to end the pressure of internationalization on Papuan cases.

Keywords. Papua, Timor Leste, Diplomacy

Introduction

Since the 1962 New York Agreement (Nations & York, 1962) the Papua region has never been devoid of the frenetic political upheavals of separatist resistance from armed OPM militias to the Government of Indonesia. The Independent Papua Organization (OPM) rebels are very difficult to crush because the terrain in the Papua region is filled with mountainous contours and high valleys. The rebels, when pressed, will hide in dense forests. The condition of the mountainous region of Papua which is very difficult to pass causes the Indonesian government to experience obstacles to quell the resistance of The Independent Papua Organization (OPM) separatism so that it creates a stigma that the Papua problem will never be finished and endless.

The problems that occur in Papua are endless, the latest problem that occurs is the incident that occurred on August 16, 2019, in the Papuan student dormitory in Surabaya has led to a demonstration movement in almost all regions in Indonesia. The problem that began was preceded by the issue of allegations of a mass organization in Surabaya which said that Papuan students living in the dormitory did not want to fly the red and white flag. The conflict has occurred many times even though the students live in the city of Surabaya, the City of Heroes (Katharina, 2019).

This incident caused outrage among mass organizations in Surabaya. There are about 700 people from the various mass organizations in Surabaya including FKPPi, Hipakad, Pancasila Youth, Patriot Garuda, Pagar Jati, and FPI came to the student dormitory. During

the action, there were screams with words that were not polite or even racial to Papuan students (CNN, 2019). The problem in Surabaya has sparked the anger of Papuans in Manokwari and spread to Jayapura, Sorong, Makasar, Fakfak, Mimika, Yahukimo, and Nabire (Kompas, 2019). This incident caused damage to the offices of the House of Representatives of the West Papua area as a result of being burned by the masses and a prison office in Sorong was also not spared being incinerated by the incident and even a market and an Indigenous Council office in Fakfak were burned down and 2 cars and several houses had a broken glass (Detik, 2019). The incident which was originally just a friction of ordinary criminal offenses has turned into a ringleader of riots in various regions in Papua.

So a question arises in the minds of all of us what is happening in Papua so that incidents that seem like ordinary criminal violations bear fruit into riots that have a political impact. The phenomenon of the rise of Papuans simultaneously expressed their protest over the insult as a form of "vent" which has been buried and is like a time bomb that will explode at any time without knowing when the above accumulates because the space for freedom and channels for expressing opinions are limited and sometimes closed every meeting. Massive referendum echoes were heard in almost all regions of the Papuan riots which resulted from the incident at the Papuan student hostel in Surabaya.

This research will review Indonesia's strategy towards solving the Papua problem comprehensively, thoroughly and with dignity and its relation to Indonesia's defense diplomacy strategy towards the Papua problem. In the next chapter, this article will explain the complex problems of Papua, describe the demands of the international world for the internationalization of the Papua problem, and explain things that can be used as lessons from the resolution of the Timor Leste conflict so that the problem of the escape of Timor Leste is not repeated in Papua.

Theoretical Framework.

Diplomacy Theory

One important instrument in the implementation of a country's national interests is diplomacy. Through this diplomacy, a country can build an image of itself or build Confidence-building measures (CBMs) against other countries. In relations between countries, diplomacy is generally carried out from the earliest level of a country wishing to enter into bilateral relations with other countries until both develop further relations. Diplomacy is also defined as the main tool in achieving national interests related to other countries or international organizations.

Explained by Sir Ernest Satow in his book *Guide to Diplomacy Practice* provides characterization related to good diplomatic procedures. Sir Ernest Satow said that diplomacy is "the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the government of independent states (S.L, 1995). Diplomacy is conducted to achieve a country's national interests. Diplomacy is a very important part that is used as a way out for peaceful resolution.

In achieving its diplomatic goals a country can do it in various ways. According to Kautilya, namely in his book *Kautilya's concept of diplomacy* (Chandrasekaran, 2016): a new interpretation that the main purpose of diplomacy is to safeguard the interests of the state itself. It can be said that the purpose of diplomacy is guaranteeing the maximum benefit of the state itself. There are also other interests, such as economy, trade, and commercial interests, protection of citizens residing in other countries, cultural and ideological development, increasing the prestige of being friendly with other countries, etc (Jayanti, 2017).

The Concept of National Interest

National interest according to Hans J. Morgenthau is the ability to lead the country to protect and maintain political and cultural identity from interference from other countries. National interests become very influential for a country to meet political, social and economic needs and for defense and security. In general, countries that carry their national interests tend to intervene in a region. Morgenthau argues that a country's national interests are built on three principles namely (Morgenthau, 1951):

1. Inclusive, is a principle that views national interests as a goal that is realized in the interests of all people (citizens) without prioritizing the interests of certain groups.
2. Exclusive, is a principle that views national interests as not covering areas outside the jurisdiction of the state that has national interests unless certain things that are considered to affect domestic interests.
3. External Relevance, is a principle that views national interests as well as being influenced by the environment and international issues.

According to the above concept, the intervention carried out by Indonesia in resolving conflicts over the Papua problem is to maintain its political identity in the country, where Papua is an integral part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

Methodology

This research uses a qualitative methodology with a case study approach. Data collection is done by library research The research method is a way of data collection and analysis. From this analysis, the researcher will get results whether it is in the form of confirmation of existing theories (confirmation) or discoveries (discovery) (Raco, 2010). Qualitative methods allow researchers to provide comments and reflect on the meaning of a problem.

Results and Discussion.

Defense Diplomacy Perspective

Defense Diplomacy is a cooperative activity of a country both bilaterally and multilaterally played by the military and other actors carried out in peacetime and covers the scope of military cooperation on strategic issues ranging from the role of the military to the role of non-military, such as the presence of troops peace (peacekeeping force), security enforcement (peace enforcement) and promote good governance (good governance). All this is done to achieve the national interests (national interests) of the country concerned, especially in the field of defense and security to prevent war(Winger, 2014). The main roles of defense diplomacy are: (1) a means of strategic involvement between two or more countries that were formerly or potentially hostile to one another; (2) encourage democratic civil-military relations; and (3) support other countries in developing the ability to maintain peace and law enforcement (Cottey & Forster, 2004).

Diplomacy and defense are two forms of design that are interrelated and inseparable from one another. Both of these goals have the aim of creating a peaceful configuration of the system through mechanisms of cooperation, transparency and building trust between countries and the military environment (Pattisina, 2013). Defense diplomacy has long been one of the elementary components integrated into Indonesia's national defense system. Article 2 of law number 3 of 2002 stipulates that the implementation of national defense is based on a belief in one's strength. The phrase belief in one's power can be interpreted as the use of one's strength to promote and realize the interests of defense in interacting in the international

system. In other words, defense diplomacy is one form of the administration of the national defense system.

The Republic of Indonesia's Ministry of Defense emphasized that defense diplomacy is the core of an active defensive model of national defense. The active defensive defense is a defense that is not aggressive and not expansive but still prioritizes national interests. This active defensive defense is realized by prioritizing diplomacy within the framework of an active free foreign policy as a line of national defense (Kementerian Pertahanan, 2015).

Introduction Of Papua Problems

The problem that is currently happening in Papua is an accumulation of problems that started from the end of the roundtable conference on August 23 to November 2, 1949, between representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, the Netherlands, and BFO (*Bijeenkomst Voor Federal Overleg*), representing various countries that invented by the Dutch in the Indonesian archipelago (Artikelsiana, 2014). At the conference, it was agreed that the return of Papuan sovereignty to the Republic of Indonesia be carried out a year after the agreement was agreed between Indonesia and the Netherlands. But "like a thorn in the flesh", it turns out that the Dutch for decades did not carry out these promises and refused to re-negotiate with the Government of Indonesia and continue to control Papua. During the Dutch East Indies occupation, Papua was not a top priority to be considered because if the Dutch East Indies government was established in Papua it would require a very large cost and investment in Papua was considered unprofitable. After all, Papua's nature was still difficult to reach and communities that were still primitive so that it was appointed Sultan Tidore as an intermediary for the Indies government indirectly against Papua (Kompas, 2007).

The Netherlands began to pay attention to the Papua region after losing the round table conference agreement which resulted in the loss of the Dutch East Indies which were so vast and rich in mineral contents. Then the attention was carried out by exploring crude oil in the hope of being able to exploit the natural wealth and make Papua a strategic former colony that could accommodate Dutch interests. The fact that the Netherlands does not care about Papua must be a memory and be written in history and conveyed to the people of Papua. The fact that the people of Papua and the Netherlands who had once collaborated with themselves would be reduced if the Indonesian government was also sincere in conveying the facts and what happened.

The normative approach pattern becomes very important for the Indonesian government to be echoed to the people of Papua that the Papua region is de jure part of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. However, it is important to remember that Indonesian cultural diversity is a journey and is a process of integration into Indonesia so that the spirit to strengthen our identity as the Indonesian nation requires time and process that demands a togetherness and awareness as a big family within the framework of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. The problem of Papua is very closely related to the implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy because it is a part of global politics. The dynamics of international politics greatly affect domestic problems. While in reality the implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy is still more influenced by internal factors than external factors. The domestic factors include social conditions, economic conditions, political conditions and conflict resolution in several turbulent regions including Papua. The main function of Indonesia's foreign policy is to maintain national independence against all possible threats from outside, mobilize external resources for the benefit of economic development and achieve goals related to the implementation of domestic politics (Weinstein, 2011). The main issues in Papua include four aspects (D. A. Elisabeth, 2011), namely:

1. Discrimination and marginalization aimed at indigenous Papuans, both politically, economically, and socio-culturally.
2. Violations of human rights and violence committed by the state, which until now there has been no fair resolution of human rights violations,
3. The existence of historical facts and the political status of Papua which is always debated among the people of Papua, especially relating to the implementation of the Act of Free Choice in 1962 which resulted in integration (reintegration) of Papua into Indonesia.
4. The failure made by the government in the field of development is related to the implementation of the Special Autonomy Law for Papua, especially if seen from the successes or failures in four priority sectors: health education, empowerment of the people's economy, and infrastructure development.

Normative Integration: The Design of Indonesian Indicators.

Normative integration is an integration that occurs due to agreement on values, norms, shared ideals or a sense of solidarity and integration that occurs due to the prevailing norms in the community (Syukur, 2016). In examining the parameters of the problems that occur in Papua, conciliation of the normative integration approach is very rational to be carried out which aims to find and identify the roots of all the problems that occur and then be comprehensively described and then the best solution will be the conclusion end in solving this problem.

Journal of Diplomacy and International Studies The concept of normative integration occurs due to the existence of norms that apply in the community and unite the community so that the integration process will be very easily formed. The concept of normative integration is also a result of a normative expectation (normative expectation) where the conditions of all members of the community agree with the same basic values and expectations. It is also interpreted to have the same meaning as Emile Durkheim's opinion in explaining the theory of solidarity (*The Division of Labor in Society*) which says that an individual who is in a unity of society is united in a collective conscience together (*collective conscience*) (Durkheim, 1993).

The form of an awareness that is intended is a form of desire to collaborate into one with other communities who have agreed on a form of contemporary nationalism that is the Diversity of Indonesia without having to eliminate the distinctive characteristics of ethnicity, customs, and culture that have existed since long ago. This is called Indonesian-ness. The problem of Papua is very closely related to the reflection of Indonesia's foreign policy because it is a part of the current global globalization of politics. Therefore, the dynamics that occur in the world of international politics that greatly influence the interference in the problems that occur in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia strongly influence the political decisions of the Indonesian government in making policies.

According to Weinstein that the formulation and implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy, in general, are still very much influenced by factors that occur within the country or internal factors rather than external factors. What is meant by internal factors include, among others, socio-cultural, political, economic conditions, as well as the territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia as well as the completion of a peace process that achieved success in various turbulent regions in Indonesia? Weinstein dynamically said that Indonesia's foreign policy has a very influential function which is to maintain the territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, maintain Indonesia's independence against all possible threats to try to destroy the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia and act to always be ready to mobilize resources from outside the interests of development in all sectors especially in the

economic field and to achieve all objectives that are always related to interests and domestic political competition (Weinstein, 2011).

Papua Peace Indicator: Policies To Be Adopted By The Indonesian Government

Problems that occur in Papua that do not have a bright spot cause new grudges. All the efforts of the Indonesian government both at the central and regional levels, solving problems in Papua have not been able to reach the root of the problem. Various efforts and policies that are considered capable of solving problems in Papua have been tried to be implemented, one of which is Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for the Province of Papua. However, because it is not serious in the application and political ability of the government to seriously solve the problems of Papua, this has not succeeded in improving the situation in Papua.

Responding to the static efforts to resolve the problems that occurred in Papua, several community leaders, religious leaders, traditional leaders, academics, peace activists who were in Papua agreed to promote dialogue as a bridge connecting to peaceful Papua as expected.

Responding to the initiative formed by some community leaders, religious leaders, traditional leaders, academics, peace activists, it was agreed to formulate an indicator of peaceful Papua which is a conclusion or summary of an agreement or pledge that has been mutually agreed upon to convey the attitude expected by the Papuan people so that the government immediately takes the policy according to what has been agreed (Yayasan TIFA, 2015). The indicators of peaceful Papua are as follows (Jaringan Damai Papua, 2013) :

1. **Political Perspective.** In the political field, the expected indicator is that Papuans have a sense of security and security in their land, and by promoting equal rights to all people living in the land of Papua. The similarity of views on the history of Papua between the Indonesian government and the people of Papua must be in the same view to avoid confusing Papuan historical identity. The people of Papua hope to resolve the root of the problem of Papua completely and comprehensively in a dignified manner and to resolve the problem using dialogue without any manipulation and engineering.
2. **Legal and Human Rights Perspectives.** All Papuans are expected to have broad and free access to the broadest possible range and obtain valid information. Protection of human security for every community in Papua and respect and respect for basic economic, cultural and social aspects. The problem of discrimination against the Papuan people must be followed up to avoid stigmatization of the people of Papua. The application of regulations regarding this matter is felt to be very effective in regulating racial discrimination in all aspects.
3. **Security Perspective.** Security guarantees for the people of Papua to feel safe and free in carrying out their daily activities with the guaranteed welfare of life of the security forces. Professionalism and upholding human rights for the people of Papua are prioritized rather than prioritizing state security (Hama, 2017).
4. **Government Administration Perspective.** There are representatives of the Papuan community in parliament, both the House of Representatives and the House of Representatives at the regional level and in the region's insufficient and significant numbers and create Papua in a peaceful perspective as a shared vision and development platform. Accelerate the dialogue between the Jakarta-Papua dialogue and stop the discussion related to the Draft of the Special Autonomy Plus or the Law on the Government of Papua.

5. Economic and Environmental Perspective. Recognition from the government of the rights of indigenous Papuans to the land owned and to create harmony in the concept of the traditional economy and market economy based on the environment. The development of a scheme that focuses on economic development and the environment is right on target.
6. Socio-Cultural Perspective, Education Perspective, and Health Perspective. The guarantee of basic social and cultural rights for the Papuan people including customs and norms to be recognized, respected and respected. In the field of education, it is hoped that all Papuans will be able to read, write and count and obtain appropriate educational services guaranteed by the government. In the health sector, the availability of health facilities and infrastructure is a major need which is also supported by medical personnel in the health sector.

Separatism Paradigm: Problem Mapping is not on target.

The resistance movement that occurred in Papua was not much different from the problems that occurred in Aceh. The Indonesian government sees the problem in Papua through the perspective of separatism as it did in Aceh. The separatism that occurred in Aceh was waged by the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) to separate from the Unitary Republic of Indonesia and obtain independence. Joint military operations were carried out by the Indonesian National Army and Indonesian Police from 1976 to 2005.

The tsunami disaster that struck most of Aceh resulted in a very large number of fatalities so that the Indonesian government declared a ceasefire and took a stand that was faced with the same need for prolonged conflict resolution (Hamid Awaludin, 2009). Faced with this incident, the stigma of separatist understanding will always be followed by acts of violence by carrying out military operations either openly or formally and in secret or secret. The form of the attitude taken by the Indonesian government when resolving the Aceh problem is currently being repeated in Papua where injustice and insensitivity in implementing a policy whereas it happens that Papua is an area rich in mineral resources and exploitation of natural resources occurs outside ordinary but the people of Papua are not prosperous in the real sense like rats die in the morning granary or become guests in their own homes, even Papuans are labeled as separatists.

The Indonesian government should be sensitive and responsive to this phenomenon. A security approach will only encourage anti-Indonesian sentiment, not by taking a repressive approach that will only hurt the feelings of the people of Papua. The approach taken by the Government should be to prioritize a dialogue and deliberation approach that is always based on a spirit of being solved without having to use stigmatization which is very unfavorable for Indonesia and the time has come for the government to use terms that are more elegant and appropriate, dignified and togetherness (Sugandi, 2008). Initialization of separatism for the people of Papua will only increase their antipasti attitude and increase their antipathy attitude and sense of disintegration towards the Republic of Indonesia. The policy will only be detrimental to the stabilization of Indonesia's domestic politics and affect the international worldview of the problems in Papua. So from these problems, this problem should acceptable to the people of Papua.

The problem in Papua is the non-functioning process of national integration which after more than two decades under the Dutch administration while other regions scattered throughout Indonesia are transforming to form a spirit of diversity and a spirit of being Indonesian, but this is not the case in Papua. The government seems to have forgotten to develop Indonesia, even the government has implemented a very counterproductive policy

that is exploitative, repressive and echoes the paradigm of separatism towards the people of Papua. The policy seemed to break the evolutionary series of development of the spirit of Indonesia in every heart of the people of Papua. Therefore, the intensity of activities that are more uplifting to the spirit of Pancasila and the spirit of Indonesia should be routine and often held by the government rather than just implementing policies that are identical to violence.

Internationalization Of Papua: International World Demands

Internationalization efforts to attract international attention or to support Papuan independence began in 1962 as a form of opposition to the 1962 New York Agreement (Chauvel & Bhakti, 2004) which recognized Papua's accession to the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. The Papuan independence movement has had great opportunities since reform began in Indonesia in mid-1998, where independence groups (*and Papuan pro-democracy groups*) were bolder and more open in expressing their political needs. Especially with the release of the territory of Timor Leste from Indonesia and the fact that Timor Leste had become an independent state in 1999. These political events became a new spirit for the independent Papua organization's struggle for Papuan independence (A. Elisabeth, 2013).

The idea of Papua's internationalization is one of the recommendations of the Second Papuan People's Congress, which is to form a team to pressure the international community, including asking for assistance from the UN Security Council (UN) on the role of the UN Security Council. as guardians of world order and peace. Including maintaining security in Papua until a permanent government is formed. Also, the Papua Pro-Democracy Congress (PDP) sought dialogue with Indonesia, the Netherlands, the United States (US) and the United Nations. The maneuver that was carried out successfully received attention from allied communities, namely Melanesia which consisted of small countries on the Pacific peninsula such as Vanuatu, the Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, and several other countries (Sabir, 2018). These countries assume that Papua is not a race from the Indonesian state but a Melanesian race. So to fight for these interests an organization or Pacific Melanesia Spearhead Group (MSG) forum will be formed which will fight for the rights of the Pacific nation including Papuan independence (Nainggolan, 2014). The issue of Papua continues to be an interesting and warm discussion in the international world, Melanesia Spearhead Group (MSG) often brings the issue of Papuan human rights violations in the international world which ends with the possibility to support self-determination or referendum by the people of Papua.

In the UN General Assembly session, Melanesia Spearhead Group (MSG) through countries in the Pacific Region expressed their opinion that human rights violations committed by the Indonesian government in Papua were so alarming that the Melanesia Spearhead Group (MSG) declared human rights violations and struggles to determine Papua's destiny was two things that are on the same coin (Maclellan, 2015). Melanesia Spearhead Group (MSG) efforts to include Papuan independence agendas such as finding momentum when the discussion to include the West Papua Movement (ULMWP) (Pamungkas, 2017) as a full member in the Melanesia Spearhead Group (MSG) will have an impact if accepted as a member who has full rights then the opportunity to enter the agenda of self-determination through the Melanesia Spearhead Group (MSG) to the United Nations (*unity of nations*) will be very wide open because the Melanesia Spearhead Group (MSG) is an organization recognized under the United Nations.

However, the Free Papua Movement (*United Liberation Movement West Papua / ULMWP*) still gained status only as an Observer in 2015, even though it has been considered a success to gain recognition of the status of Papua in the international world. Not only the

Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) group, the European Parliament at the beginning of the trial in 2017 also threatened human rights violations in Papua and asked Indonesia to drop all charges caused by all Papuan activists who were arrested in a peaceful protest movement that voiced opinions that constituted their constitutional rights (Siadari, 2017).

Global support from the international world for pro-independence groups in Papua creates serious complexity in terms of diplomacy with foreign parties in the international world for the Indonesian government. Although Indonesia has strong political legitimacy over the Papua problem due to the issue of state sovereignty, Indonesia's position in violating human rights is often questioned. Indeed, the problem of human rights violations has become a global problem that is widely used to measure the level of success in resolving problems in Papua (Mery, Nila, & Dewi, 2019).

Internationalization of the Papua problem even though the source of the problem is at the internal level of Indonesia, but the issue of the conflict spreads outside the Indonesian state. due to complicated interdependencies between countries that are increasingly greater. Foreign interventions from the international world both play a role. sponsors, regional allies, friendly countries or whatever, will provide support to the agenda of one of the parties with an interest in Papua, with their agenda and interests.

Diplomacy Of Indonesia And Papua: Spirit Of Resolving The Release Of Timor Leste

Referring to one definition of foreign policy as something that is the same as or parallel with domestic priorities, the handling of conflict and development in Papua must be part of Indonesia's struggle and diplomacy in the long term (Momou, 2018) International support and national recognition are some of the most important foundations of diplomatic relations. Therefore, foreign support for the integration of the Republic of Indonesia will be an important indicator of Papua's international approach. However, this diplomatic step must accurately and respect the development and economic prosperity of Papua. Statements of several Pacific countries in several official international meetings on the Papua problem are a hard slap for the Indonesian government because the issue is a very sensitive matter for Indonesia to be discussed at an international forum that will impact internationalization. The problem of Papua is a domestic problem in Indonesia where any attempt to interfere in our domestic affairs will be considered a violation of the country's sovereignty.

Lesson Learned From The Release Of East Timor.

Reflecting on the release of Timor Leste in 1999 from Indonesia through a Referendum (Indrawan, 2018). For 24 years Timor Leste was under President Suharto's authoritarian regime. At that time all actions considered dangerous to the ruling regime were immediately dealt with firmly by law because all such actions were immediately branded as treasonous, subversive, actions developing in the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Schlicher, 2011). This repressive political system made the East Timorese people finally decide against President Soeharto's regime. Amid a repressive political life, life-supporting resources such as electricity, water, food, and others have become scarce in Timor Leste. Amid scarcity, the potential for conflict to emerge is very high, because people will fight for the remaining resources, by not heeding the rules that apply.

The process of the release of East Timor was not as easy as imagined. There were political tension and physical contact between the pro-independence party and the counter-independence party. Clashes occurred and bloodshed occurred in East Timor. The military presence in Timor Leste did not solve the problem so that Indonesia's position was

increasingly cornered by eight United Nations General Assembly resolutions and seven United Nations Security Council resolutions that did not recognize Timor Leste as part of the Indonesian state.

The fall of President Soeharto's regime for 32 years created a new order that brought fresh air to the people of Timor Leste. The long-awaited referendum was finally carried out, at the request of President BJ Habibie to the UN Secretary-General in Kofianan, on 27 January 1999. On 30 August 1999, Timor Leste conducted a popular consultation by asking two questions in the voting mechanism. First, accept special autonomy for Timor Leste within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. And second, rejecting the special autonomy proposed for East Timor which would separate East Timor from Indonesia (Schulze, 2001). As a result, 344,580 votes or 78.50% of East Timorese out of a total of 438,968 chose the second option. They rejected special autonomy and decided to separate from Indonesia. While the remaining 94,388 votes, or 21.50%, chose to receive special autonomy and access to Timor-Leste to Indonesia. Timor Leste which is the 27th Province of Indonesia finally completely separated from the Republic of Indonesia and gained official status as a member state of the United Nations on May 20, 2002, while the people who chose to become part of the Republic of Indonesia must get ready to evacuate and cross into East Nusa Tenggara which is part of the territory of Indonesia. The Indonesian government certainly does not want the events of Timor Leste to be repeated in Papua so that good intention is needed from all parties concerned to build peace and reconciliation to create an aura of peace in Papua.

Diplomacy Of Indonesia.

Diplomacy by the Indonesian government is not enough to only be carried out on the external environment or the environment outside Indonesia, but also must be accompanied by harmony within the country. Handling and a humanist approach as law enforcement are needed, a solution to reduce the tension of militarism policy in handling Papua is one of the most effective ways militarism will only make more massive and militant armed resistance from armed groups who disagree with central government policy on equitable development and empowerment of the people of Papua that are being implemented by the central government. Equivalent and open participatory dialogue between traditional leaders representing the Papuan people and the central government is very important in finding solutions and strategies for solving problems that occur protracted in Papua and accommodate all the aspirations of all interested groups in Papua

The Indonesian government must be ready to commit and apply human rights enforcement and protection of basic social rights for the people of Papua. The government must leave the political paradigm that places the Papuan people as objects of exploitation of natural resources. In the end, the success of Indonesia's foreign diplomacy carried out by the Ambassador, Military Attache representing Indonesia's foreign interests is largely determined by the stability of the security situation, the political economy that occurs within the country (Kusmanto, 2016). The diplomacy carried out will be in vain if not accompanied by these supporting factors so that it can realize the ideals of Indonesia to actively play an active role in the global political arena.

If the problems of Papua can be solved comprehensively, thoroughly and with dignity (Bustanul Arifin, 2016) the implementation of diplomacy will be accompanied by optimal success. Conflict resolution cannot be resolved through a separatist, repressive and violent approach, it has been proven that the Aceh conflict took more than three decades and the East Timor conflict which caused the release of the 27th province of Indonesia. Settlement by dialogue, deliberation becomes a distinguishing factor because no one wins or loses, all

parties are winners, Changes to the internal security paradigm must be done and apply new methods in resolving domestic conflict into a new spirit to reduce militarism and violence can be minimized.

The approach taken by the Indonesian government in solving the Papua problem can be done with a diplomatic approach. The improvement of Indonesia's foreign policy is a strategy of cooperation between countries both at the regional and global levels to face a threat that comes from within the country and from abroad. Indonesia, in this case, is expected to always play an active role in building a partnership with other countries wrapped in a framework of mutual trust, mutual respect and not intervene or interfere in the internal affairs of each country.

The internationalization of the Papua problem can be reduced by strengthening Indonesia's capacity in regional forums such as the ASEAN Regional Forum and the United Nations, thus Indonesia will directly strengthen the country's defense strategy through foreign policy. Also, other forums such as the ASEAN Defense Ministries Meeting (ADMM) are expected to be able to help formulate a national defense strategy in the Papua problem. That is because one of the missions carried out by the ASEAN Defense Minister Meeting (ADMM) is to jointly maintain political stability that threatens the sovereignty of countries in Southeast Asia. Through this forum, it is expected that state representatives or delegations can formulate a strategy against foreign country intervention in the country in conflict (Nasional & Indonesia, 2017).

Foreign political diplomacy must be able to play a very maximal role to realize Indonesia's national interests, namely to defend Papua within the framework of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia. The role of diplomacy will be able to identify any potential threats that lead to the political dimension that threatens Indonesia's sovereignty and national interests.

The role of diplomacy and the role of national media must be combined. The Indonesian government must actively take a role in the global environment with the support of a free and active foreign policy. This role will directly enhance Indonesia's national defense strategy in dealing with the problem of Papuan disintegration. The diplomacy strategy must be applied in a stimulant and sustainable manner to solve the Papuan problem which is very close to the nuances of its internationalization.

Conclusion

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The role of diplomacy and the role of national media must be combined. The Indonesian government must actively take a role in the global environment with the support of a free and active foreign policy. This role will directly enhance Indonesia's national defense strategy in dealing with the problem of Papuan disintegration. The diplomacy strategy must be applied in a stimulant and sustainable manner to solve the Papuan problem which is very close to the nuances of its internationalization.

This is considered to be very effective if it reflects on the release of Timor Leste in 1999 because the government was wrong in making policies and decisions that resulted in losses for Indonesia. In the end, Indonesia rejected the problem of the detachment of Timor Leste occurring again in Papua. The new volume of Tri Komando Rakyat (*Trikora*)

(Pathfinder, 2011) is the last wall when the diplomacy process is deadlocked. The Indonesian government is obliged to reject any type of self-determination or referendum unless Indonesia regains Papua as part of the State's Sovereignty from the hands of The Independent Papua Organization (OPM) militias who have damaged and poisoned the Papuan people who are part of the interrelation of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

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