

## **Conflict Resolution Efforts in Papua: Reconciliation Approach**

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### **Abstract**

The Papua conflict is still a frequently occurring problem in Indonesia. Although the government has taken numerous steps to address this and even consider resolves to take place, Papua still cannot be considered free from the upheaves that are happening. In this article, the authors present conflict resolution efforts with a sustainable reconciliation approach. Based on the findings of the study, the analysis of actor, factor, and conflict resolution steps need to be conducted as an initial process of reconciliation. Non-violence approach must be prioritized in resolving the Papua conflict to instill trust in actors involved, especially indigenous Papuans. With the right steps and strategy, reconciliation will result in: Truth, which is the disclosure of past events; Mercy, which is forgiveness to rebuild new relationships; Justice, which is restitution or compensation from the perpetrator to the victim and social restructuring; and Peace, which is the realization of a collective future, welfare, and<sup>1</sup> security for all parties who seek a prosperity approach to Papuans.

### **Introduction**

The protracted Papua conflict can disrupt the social condition of the community and the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. The threat of separatism by the Free Papua Movement OPM (Indonesian: Organisasi Papua Merdeka, OPM) in Papua or the Separatism of the National Liberation Army of West Papua-OPM is a threat to the Republic of Indonesia

in relation to the sustainability of a country. In state behavior, this is related to social needs that are contrary to the purpose of the existence of a country. Multi-disciplinary defense views this separatist group from a political perspective (foreign political interests to divide the Republic of Indonesia and primordialism to separate themselves based on a history of identity that is different from the Indonesian nation), economic perspective (where infrastructure development and other facilities have been implemented by the President Jokowi in the last 5 years is deemed adequate), and law and governance perspective (where government policies and law enforcement in Papua are facing obstacles in their implementation). Additionally, from an educational perspective, their level of education is also deemed insufficient for rational, healthy, and tolerant thinking for social welfare and acceptance of Pancasila as the state ideology. Meanwhile, state behavior requires individuals, organizations, and government officials to base their behaviors on Pancasila values, especially in determining state defense mechanisms that are oriented towards Indonesia's national interests.

The rectification of Papuan history is one of the most important stages in conflict resolution in Papua. This will work best when carried out simultaneously with other efforts. It also has to be carried out properly and thoroughly while also touching certain areas to encourage the idea that Papua is part of Indonesia. The biggest challenge in the rectification of Papuan history is its "counter" that aims to free Papua from Indonesia. As stated by Belau (2016), there was a massive fraud from the Dutch colonial era, which is the flawed Act of Free Choice, where many Javanese people support West Papua for its independence. Such belief is the main challenge in the rectification of Papuan history.

The first step in the rectification of Papuan history is the "de-escalation" of the Papua conflict. Afterward, the peaceful dialogue was held at the national level involving the Indonesian government and the Papuan people, in this case, the leaders of the 5 major tribes in Papua. This peaceful dialogue must be preceded by small dialogues that lead to and change the mindset of the pro-independence Papuan. These dialogues can be held in Papua or Kalimantan as other places that are considered to be impartial for "Jakarta" and "Papua". What is needed is a dialogue for the rectification of history and the future from the legal, historical, and political aspects that are studied honestly and fairly between the government and the Papuan people, so that solutions can be found.

Everything must be reunited through a clear dialogue by letting go of differences to find the real root of the problem and not focused on independence and a mere flag.

It is predicted that if the history rectification proves that, socially, culturally, politically, historically, and legally Papua is part of Indonesia, Papuan people will accept it fairly. However, other things can make Papuan "resistance" bigger, that is if the dialogue shows coercion, violation of rights, and policies from both political, historical, and socio-cultural aspects that can wound Papuan people. This needs to be properly anticipated by the Indonesian government by preparing certain strategies. One of the steps that the authors believe not to be as effective is the "special autonomy" which does not have a significant impact on the welfare of Papuan people despite its initial goal of being a sign of good faith from the Indonesian government for Papua.

To break the chain of dark stories from the past, Papuan youths are an important asset in the history rectification. This means that education and the doctrine of nationalism, nation, and state must be well embedded in the minds of Papuan youth. They will later become agents in helping solve the Papua problem. Prabowo (2019) argues that there needs to be a rectification of the history of Papua's political status in Indonesia. This is because the current younger

generation of Papua is considered to be the victim of a historical error demanding that Papua be separated from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Indonesia: Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia, NKRI). In actuality, Papua is within NKRI based on emotional similarity, which is a legacy from the Dutch colonialism. This can be seen from the military figure from Papua, Vice Admiral TNI (Ret.) Freddy Numberi.

The final step in history rectification is to remove distortive collective memory and commit to sustainable reconciliation. This means that there must be an attitude of awareness, heroism, sincerity, and sincerity in carrying out the agreements. Finally, commitment to nation-building is a powerful idea in the rectification of Papuan history.

In other words, it can be emphasized that The Republic of Indonesia and Papua are united in humanity and history. It is hoped that this historical fact can be understood by all Indonesian people. What needs to be built is trust and understanding, so that not only Papuans realize this, but all Indonesian people as one Nation.

## **Research Methodology**

This research uses descriptive-explanative research with a qualitative approach. This method is used to obtain more detailed and accurate information about a research problem. It is stated that qualitative research is research that uses the natural environment to interpret events that occur and are generated by participation (Moleong, 2013). Descriptive research aims to obtain more detailed information to describe events (Sugiyono, 2010).

## **Results and Discussion**

### ***Ensuring Peace in Indonesia***

The authors believe that economic and political development alone is not sufficient to guarantee peace in Indonesia. Considering inevitable conflicts in a diverse society, it takes more than economic and political affairs to ensure peace. Therefore, sustainable economic and political development complemented by an increased understanding and implementation of the values of Pancasila by the Nation will help maintain peace in Indonesia. This means that the values and norms that contain elements of peace, tolerance, and good faith taught by all religions must be implemented properly. In other words, Indonesian human resources must have strong nationalism guided by their respective religious beliefs so that they can maintain the human mentality in diversity.

Moreover, in ensuring peace in Indonesia, law enforcement, justice and an equal position for every nation must still be enforced. Therefore, the human resources of the Indonesian government must have sufficient quality to improve welfare, create equitable justice, and avoid discrimination to build a good image in the eyes of the Indonesian people. This is mainly because deep-rooted disappointments are often used by certain individuals to create riots in Indonesia, and this condition will threaten peace in Indonesia.

Furthermore, in addition to a good understanding of religious values, guaranteeing peace in Indonesia can also be done by improving the factor of education, national defense, and national insights. This is expected to be able to guide and equip human resources in Indonesia in understanding the condition of a nation that lives in harmony within the framework of Pancasila.

Officially, sustainable development has been mentioned in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) set by the United Nations to improve world peace. Gisca (2020) argues that sustainable development is a development process that optimizes the benefits of resources with development. Conceptually, sustainable development is a progressive transformation of social, economic, and political structures. This is to improve people's welfare in fulfilling their interests without sacrificing the capabilities of future generations.

There are 17 sustainable development goals, namely: No Poverty—to end all forms of poverty in all areas; Zero Hunger—to end hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture; Good Health and Well-being—to promote healthy living and support the well-being of people of all ages; Quality Education—to ensure appropriate and inclusive quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all; Gender Equality—to achieve gender equality and empower women; Clean Water and Sanitation—to ensure access to water and sanitation for all; Affordable and Clean Energy—to ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable, and modern energy; Decent Work and Economic Growth—to achieve sustainable and inclusive economic growth and decent work for all; Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure—to build strong infrastructure, promote sustainable industrialization, and encourage innovation; Reducing Inequality—to reduce gaps within and between countries; Sustainable Cities and Communities—to make cities inclusive, safe, strong, and sustainable; Responsible Consumption and Production—to ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns; Climate Action—to take important steps against climate change and its impacts; Life Below Water—for the protection and sustainable use of oceans, seas, and marine resources; Life On Land—to manage forests sustainably, fight land conversion into deserts, and end biodiversity extinctions; Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions—to promote a just, peaceful, and inclusive society; Partnerships for the Goals—to revive global partnerships for sustainable development.

With those in mind, to build and ensure peace in Indonesia, the balance between social and environmental conditions and nature is an important indicator. As the main key in peace itself, the “human” or individual element of all nations must have noble values to maintain a sustainable peace.

However, prejudice on religious and ethnic identities is still one of the sources of conflict in Indonesia. This fundamental difference in identity sometimes makes Indonesian society fragmented and encourages them to give each other negative stereotypes.

Conflicts that arise in society are more influenced by a sense of regional solidarity or primordialism. With a variety of religions, ethnicities, and races, Indonesia is very prone to conflicts because all elements in ethnic, religious, racial, and social groups have different interests. When there are different interests, conflicts of interest are highly likely to take place and can affect all elements of society and disrupt national stability.

It is important to understand that, if conflicts between individuals cannot be resolved fairly and proportionally, it can end up in conflicts between groups in the society. A conflict often starts with a simple little problem. Differences in opinion and attitudes, including an unwillingness to accept other people, can cause conflict between a person and touch other elements of the community's identity.

Harahap (2012) adds that, if a nation or country has socio-cultural diversity, it will have a higher intensity of conflict compared to countries with homogeneous social structures. The heterogeneity of a nation often creates conflicts between ethnic, religious, racial, and social

groups. Besides, social differentiation (social classification) that is not handled wisely will create social conflict vulnerability. On the other hand, the socio-cultural diversity of a nation can also become a national cultural treasure in the international arena, so that socio-cultural diversity also has an impact on economic benefits if managed properly. Apart from socio-cultural diversity, economic inequality also triggers conflicts within society.

Furthermore, Paulus (2012) adds three factors that can cause ethnic conflict, which lead to open conflict. First, changes in the political constellation during the reform era and a social climate in which freedom is held high have become opportunities for several ethnic groups to express concerns. Second, the uneven development in various regions in Indonesia, whether we realize it or not, is polarized based on ethnic groups. Third, ethnic identity is an important factor in the life of Indonesian society, especially in rural areas. Also, there are several causes of inter-ethnic conflict that have occurred in various places and ideas that have developed in society. The first is the security dilemma of ethnic groups; a certain group does everything they can to increase security, causing a backlash from other groups and ultimately making the group feel less secure. It has been theorized that there is a possibility of war authority if a group has a distrust of another ethnic group and this distrust develops into a mobilization of forces that emphasize suspicion between groups that also shows aggressive intent, weak governance conditions, the central government involvement in the conflict, and sudden change. The second is the protection of status; warring groups try to maintain their status so that there is a fear that the values and ways of life and the institutions of certain ethnic groups may become subordinates of other ethnic groups. The third is hegemonic ambition; a ruling group is not satisfied with the survival of their cultural values and institutions but wants to become a dominant group that demands certain treatment from the government. The fourth is the aspirations of the elite; the ambition of certain ethnic group elites to gain and maintain power by using fear, hatred, and ambition.

In many cases, conflicts and violence that break out in society have ethnic and religious nuances and are motivated by social, economic, and political conditions rather than differences in belief. Religion, ethnicity, race, and ethnicity are often used to legitimize emotional movements and primordial solidarity. History has proven that the manipulation of religion, ethnicity, race, and ethnicity for social, economic, and political interests is very dangerous to the life of a nation. Religion, ethnicity, and race are often used as tools for inciting violence. In reality, other factors are always intertwined under religion, ethnicity, race, and ethnicity, so that it seems that they have obtained legitimacy from social identity. This also indicates that there are often “provocateurs” who manipulate the conditions and trigger ethnic or religious conflicts.

In the case of Papua, showing the shift in the authoritarian system towards democracy did not give much hope for a peaceful socio-political life under the umbrella of nationalism. Demonstrations followed by violence and mass upheaval occurred as a form of vertical and horizontal tension. Vertical tensions exist between ethnic Papuans and the central government, which are considered to have failed in bringing justice and socio-economic welfare to Papua. The special autonomy design for Papua, which was followed by some budget transfers, did not work effectively in reducing Papuan dissatisfaction with the government. Meanwhile, horizontal tensions occur between groups with various identities and ethnicities—the dichotomy of indigenous and non-indigenous people in the land of Papua is still a strong basis in the structure of their socio-political life. Apud, M. (2019) explains that the Wamena riot that attacked non-indigenous groups was an empirical fact of identity conflicts.

The concept of plural society is a necessity in reading the Indonesian context. Long before this nation was founded, Indonesian society already had its community and socio-political institutions based on various identities (race, ethnicity, religion, and culture). However, these diverse societies are not united in a larger socio-political order and structure. This is in line with J.S Furnivall (in Lee, 2009) who defines a plural society as a society consisting of two or more elements or social orders that coexist in one political unit without unification.

For Furnivall, this condition triggers a friction between communities because there is no common will that unites them. Therefore, plural societies are difficult to take place. According to Furnivall, societies that differ in identity are not mutually exclusive and can coexist if there is an economic dependence or a marketplace. This marketplace will bring different communities together and become a place for interaction and communication. However, when this balanced marketplace disappears, there will no longer be any interaction between these different communities. In other words, economic factors determine the interaction between different societies and trigger the fluctuating identity-based communal conflicts.

The government has put many efforts to manage the pluralistic society of Indonesia. Various narratives are formed to create a common will. This cannot be separated from the fact that the government regime cannot rely on the logic of the marketplace alone because it is temporal. Therefore, the issue of nationalism is another strategy. This effort was taken by the government regime from the colonial era, the independence era, the New Order, and even the Reformation era, and until now. The nationalism doctrine is massively carried out by the nation so that a pluralistic society does not dissolve in acts of anarchy. The fact that a plural society is inherently unstable justifies the nation to take repressive, centralistic actions. The consequence of this doctrinalization effort is that it can destroy the values of locality. Therefore, there is a shift in the pattern of people's lives from racial to national populations.

Although the doctrine of nationalism is considered effective in managing a pluralistic society by presenting political narratives to create a common will, the character of a scientifically unified society has never completely faded away. The issue of nationalism is only able to cover up the reality of a plural society temporally, but when it collides with other contexts and factors, it causes tension to spread.

For example, nationalism was effective during the colonial era. This plural society has a common will to escape the grip of colonialism in the name of Indonesian independence. Because of that, they inevitably have to unite with each other to gather greater strength against colonizers and gain independence. This means that nationalism works well in facing common enemies.

However, after gaining independence, nationalism was fading along with the many dissatisfactions of the people in various regions over economic uncertainty and unequal distribution of resources. No wonder Anderson (2006) believes that nationalism is an imagined community, where a nation-state (nationalism) is very utopian because it only exists in the imagination of each community which considers that they are part of a community even though the members' daily interactions does not reflect what is imagined.

The identity conflict that occurred in Papua, which illustrates the socio-political tension in Papua, was initially triggered by racist remarks (harassment) and repressive treatment by security forces toward Papuan students in Surabaya. This racial harassment sparked anger

among Papuans and was responded to by protests accompanied by the destruction of several public facilities. This tension, which initially led to demands for security for Papuan students studying in Java and the prosecution for repressive perpetrators by security forces, extended to demands for independence from the Republic of Indonesia. These tensions are becoming increasingly complex and widening with the support of the OPM forces. This was interpreted as other communities (including in Java and other islands) not seeming to appreciate or acknowledge the existence of Papuans as the general public, marked by negative actions against them.

However, this case shows that racial hate speech against Papuan students is not the main factor explaining the outburst of Papuan protests. Political-economic factors characterized by discrimination, marginalization, and economic uncertainty are the dominant factors that have long been the root of the problem in Papua, but the racial issue acts are the trigger. In other words, the problem of economic inequality and socio-political injustice is a latent danger in Papua that awaits triggers. The results of the YAPPIKA institute's research (2001) show that the injustice consists of the exploitation of Papua's natural resources, the domination of immigrant groups, cultural domination and oppression, and violence by military personnel.

The combination of economy and politics produces a logic of distribution of resources—economic resources and political resources. This is considered more appropriate in reading the context of contemporary socio-political conflicts in Indonesia. The premise used is that the more equitable distribution of economic-political resources, the more identity conflicts can be reduced. On the other hand, the more political-economic resources are concentrated in the hands of one or several groups, the more conflict is inevitable. Once again, scientifically speaking, plural society mix but do not combine. That is, they have no desire to unite. This can exacerbate conflict when there are triggering factors. The factors in question are economic and political. Economic inequality, segregation of identity rights in politics, discrimination, and injustice found in different groups are prone to causing division. From here, the role of the marketplace and politics place is important to create a balance as well as to open up equal opportunities for each group to participate and actualize themselves autonomously without any threat from other groups.

If the marketplace is simply represented in the form of a market, then the politics place can be analogized as an institution of power, both formal (parliament and bureaucratic positions) and non-formal (social organizations). This institution of power is a place that allows interactions between various groups to dialogue and articulate public affairs in an inclusive and equal manner. This power institution must guarantee representational ideas that accommodate the interests of different groups without marginalizing any group. When this politics place is only dominated by a certain group of identities, the possibility of social-political tension in the name of identity is difficult to avoid. The ideal political system is one that provides equal opportunities for groups of people to express their identity and interests.

In essence, by upholding and upholding the values of peace in the Religion (religions in Indonesia) itself, a tolerant attitude and peaceful coexistence will occur in an area of Indonesia, especially Papua.

### ***Breakthroughs in conflict resolution in Papua***

In resolving the Papua conflict thoroughly, several things make the most sense. Among others, by regaining the trust of all Papuan people in the Indonesian government and eliminating the distortive painful memory of all Papuan people in the Indonesian government

so that the spirit of reconciliation has a positive impact on the Papua conflict. It is not easy to make this happen, but efforts towards the common good must be pursued.

In addition, foreign influence allegedly takes place in the exacerbation of the Papua conflict. Therefore, Indonesia itself needs to build cooperation with countries that support the integration of Papua within the Republic of Indonesia and act decisively and consistently on all forms of violations that exist, both separatism and other crimes.

To be honest, the “infrastructure” approach has not provided the best solution. In contrast, the non-violence approach still gives hope considering that violence, especially in the nation itself, is not the best way to solve problems. Persada (2019) emphasizes that economic development alone cannot solve racial issues and discrimination against Papuans. If this partial approach is repeated in the second period, the problems in Papua will be difficult to solve. The government cannot work partially with a focus on economic development only while the resolution of socio-political issues is ignored or delayed.

There are at least four root causes of Papua’s problems identified by the Indonesian Institute of Sciences. They include the political status and history of the integration of Papua into Indonesia, the failure of development, allegations of human rights violations, and discrimination-stigma. The most strategic government effort to do is a commitment to dialogue that is carried out seriously; one that is prepared for the “victory” of integration between Papua and the Republic of Indonesia.

In resolving the Papuan conflict, Boscha (2019) adds that the dialogue, in this case, is not just a meeting between the President or the government and Papuan leaders, but a strategic approach to discussing problems, finding common solutions, and building binding agreements between the Papua conflict actors. Several things must be considered in the Papua conflict. First, the Papua conflict is not only about pure criminal acts as it is always reported, but political motives related to aspirations for independence. Second, a comprehensive evaluation of security policies in all regions of Papua. This means that the presence of thousands of security forces has become a source of deep trauma for indigenous Papuans, especially those who live in the central highlands. Third, close monitoring of the illegal distribution of ammunition and weapons, in particular Wamena and Timika as points of contact to the bases of armed separatist criminal groups in the central mountains.

It is understood that the ethnic Papuans are collectively very traumatized by the atrocities during the Military Operation Area during the New Order and the approach of violence by the armed forces. The communal resentment against the existence of the security forces is severe. The collective trauma of the people, which so far has never been healed, has created fear and even communal revenge against the existence of the security forces. The refusal of aids distributed by the authorities and the Ministry of Social Affairs by the internally displaced persons in Wamena is evidence of this deep trauma. In the end, they trusted the Church and the Christian Pastors as their role model. Historically, the cultural and emotional ties between indigenous Papuans and the church have been very strong. In some cases, the community even has more trust in church leaders than formal leaders in terms of conflict resolution or humanitarian problems in Papua.

Theofany (2019) states that the violence in the conflict that is cornering the Papuan people has been protracted and has a recurring pattern from time to time. Amnesty International has recorded 69 cases of alleged murders in Papua from January 2010 to February 2018. Sadly, state officials were the two main perpetrators of violence—34 cases by police officers and 23

cases by the Indonesian National Army. Violence—both direct and structural—must be immediately stopped and the improvement of the relationship between the central government and the Papuan people, which has been imbalanced, must be carried out immediately if the government wants to end the Papua conflict. There are three conditions that can end conflict: the disappearance of negative attitudes and feuds, the non-enforcement of the issues in dispute, and the cessation of coercive and violent behavior.

However, in handling it, the government must be careful in taking steps. Presently, various solutions, such as dialogue offers and cultural approaches, have been attempted, but they still have not had a significant impact because each party in the conflict is still stubborn. Three problems that have become a source of conflict, namely historical distortion, injustice, and repressiveness of the apparatus, should be resolved first. The issue of independence in the current era can be considered outdated and seems difficult to be realized. There are many interests at play in Papua, so realizing independence must be difficult. The difficulty in realizing Papuan independence is also due to the tribal system. A system based on ethnicity, each of which has certain interests.

Thus, it can be said that an approach based on smart power by prioritizing the Pancasila ideology as the basis of the state must be put forward in overcoming this problem of separatism so that hard power only serves as the last resort, used only in an emergency.

The logical rational basics of Pancasila require society to prioritize a non-violence approach in resolving existing conflicts. This also underlies the truth of human knowledge which is rooted in human intuition and nature as a divine being with conscience. Furthermore, this nonviolent approach also indicates that truth and human knowledge are a harmonious synthesis between human psychological potentials, namely human reason, feeling, and will, to obtain the highest truth and the actions of the Indonesian nation that reflect harmony and peace.

Furthermore, the Dynamic Framework of Conflict Prevention and Resolution can be used to observe peace studies and conflict resolution in supporting defense science, which is oriented towards national security, especially in observing the Papua conflict.



**Figure 1.** *Dynamic Framework of Conflict Prevention and Resolution*

*Source: Malik, 2015*

Based on Figure 1, Malik (2015) argues that there are five main components analyzed in the dynamic framework. First, analysis of the escalation and de-escalation components. Second, analysis of the components of the conflict factors that cause conflict. Conflict factors

consist of trigger, accelerator, and root (structural) elements which are analogous to fire, wind, and dry grass. The third component is the actors involved in the conflict. There are three categories of actors, namely provocateurs who are the main actors involved in a conflict, vulnerable groups that are easily provoked to be mobilized, and functional groups that are responsible for stopping violence and preventing the spread of conflict. The fourth component in the Dynamic Framework of Conflict Prevention and Resolution is stakeholders consisting of elements with an interest in stopping conflict and preventing the extent of the conflict. Finally, the fifth component is the political will of the ruler.

Even though a referendum has been held and Papua is part of Indonesia, the conditions of the conflict-ridden communities there need to be considered. Using the dynamic framework by Ichsan Malik, it can be concluded that, from the Conflict factor, the root of the conflict is the low economic level coupled with the historical bias understood by the Papuan people. This historical bias can be interpreted as a “story” of the origins of the Papuan people, their relationship with the history of the nation’s struggle for independence, and the issue of human rights violations that haunt them. Furthermore, the accelerator that becomes a big challenge in this conflict is the weak influence of education and religion that forms a nationalist and devout mentality in certain groups, as well various political and pragmatic interests (both local, regional, and foreign) so as to heat up conflicts that can occur anytime. The triggers of conflict that can occur in the Papua conflict are racial acts from other residents outside Papua as well as economic competition with migrants for work opportunities and land ownership that creates friction in community groups.

In the area of conflict actors, groups of conflict actors, especially separatists who are divided into several types of groups, hinder the conflict resolution process. In this case, the conflict resolution process is hindered because the government must accommodate the various interests and desires of these groups. The provocateur group can come from the OPM or other Papuan liberation organizations that are involved in armed combat against military forces from Indonesia. The vulnerable groups are Papuan people who oppose Papuan freedom and for the idea that Papua is part of Indonesia. The functional group is the Papuan local government apparatus together with existing groups of religious and community leaders.

Another element is an element of political will of the rulers in Papua. Papua Province, which has been granted special autonomy, needs special attention in terms of the use of the special autonomy budget itself. Indeed, it is necessary to monitor, control, and evaluate the use of the special autonomy budget to achieve a good civilization in Papua. In addition, it is true that a strong custom and pride in Papuan culture can sometimes create negative issues for other races in Papua, especially those who are more advanced than others. Stereotypes of domination of the economy and other sectors can create friction in the society, so it is necessary to understand in the form of policies by groups of local officials in Papua.

From this explanation, the non-violence approach is indeed superior considering that resolving conflicts by force or militarism is can worsen the situation. For instance, the militaristic approach in responding to the separatist movement in Papua has inevitably spawned a spiral of violence that occurred there. In his book *The Spiral of Violence*, Camara (1971) states that violence is a multidimensional reality that never stands alone. In Camara’s observation, the spiral of violence generally occurs in three phases. First, the phases of economic, social, and political injustice that accumulate in sub-human conditions. Society is divided into two groups, namely the elite who are few in number but dominant, and the general public who are large in number but have a subordinate position. This sub-human condition underlies the emergence of social jealousy and becomes the embryo for the birth of resistance.

Second, the rebellion phase, which is when the sub-human conditions are burdened with various social pressures, alienation, and even dehumanization which can no longer be tolerated and escalates into a force to resist. Structural violence generally encourages the birth of protest movements, resistance, and even rebellions that justify violent methods. Third, the phase of state repression, when the state as the holder of the highest authority responds to social resistance movements by mobilizing military force and repressive methods. The reason for using militaristic-repressive means may be to protect the integrity of the nation and state. However, repressive actions can make the chain of violence longer and harder to break. The violence against the issue of separatism in Papua shows how the concept of a spiral of violence operates. The recent shooting incident of 31 workers that occurred is only one knot in a long and intricate spiral of violence.

The government's success in conducting negotiations with the Free Aceh Movement should be an inspiration. The negotiation mechanism in resolving the separatist conflict is far more dignified and humane than putting forward militaristic methods that ignore human rights. Other than that, the government must make serious efforts to solve the most substantial problems of the Papuan people. What is needed is not only rhetoric and goodwill, but real policies to unravel the knots of economic, social, political, and legal inequality that have been used as tools to justify separatist actions.

Another thing that is also important is to unify the determination of the central government to solve the Papua problem. A common commitment from the central and local governments in Papua is needed to eradicate separatism in Papua. Indeed, in-depth research and investigation are needed on the degree of separatist forces there. In addition, the supply of weapons and the doctrine to escape from Indonesia can be so strong and make threats increasingly complex in Papua, so it is necessary to monitor funds for the flow of goods in and out of Papua as well as supervision and protection of government and private institutions in Papua so that they are not misused.

Furthermore, Trijono (2007) directs the post-conflict development process by taking the initiative of efforts to rebuild post-conflict communities, which is by encouraging a sustainable peace process (reconciliation) and determining a peace-based conflict-sensitive approach. Ideally, a post-conflict community reconciliation should be able to prevent and stop violence. Reconciliation is a peace-building collaboration between policymakers and the community as subjects so as to create a synergy for sustainable peacebuilding. Miall, et al. (2000) state that reconciliation is a long-term process to overcome hostility and mutual distrust between two conflicting groups. This is in line with Pulubuhu (2005) who states that reconciliation is one of the mechanisms for conflict transformation, in which parties in conflict are expected to be able to create a situation of letting go and mutual forgiveness of conflicts that have occurred.

Rebuilding post-conflict community peace can only be done through strengthening social capital, which starts from building the main social capital of trust between communities. Trust is one of the social capitals among which is very urgent in post-conflict community reconciliation and is an ideal means of re-creating sustainable peace. Hasbullah (2006) argues that trust is one of the fundamental elements for determining social capital because it has a large driving force for collective energy and is important in the sustainability of society. Thus, trust is the energy of community development. Trijono (2007) then believes that social capital (trust) can become one of the important social forces capable of reviving and rebuilding the kinship system and a sense of kinship in post-conflict communities. Therefore, it is urgent to rebuild peace based on social capital (trust).

Nutfa & Anwar (2015) argue that post-conflict community reconciliation is a must considering that peace is an ideal reality for post-conflict societies. Building peace through trust-based reconciliation is an effort to rebuild the kinship atmosphere of the community that was originally in conflict through strengthening trust between communities, so that trust becomes the grip and instrument of every member of society in social life.

## **Complete and Dignified Conflict Resolution in Papua**

As previously explained, the conflict in Papua is more about history, the feeling of being treated economically unfairly because the assets taken from them are not proportional to development, education level, feelings of inequality in terms of race, and the occurrence of human rights violations. This means that the root of the conflict is so complex and deep because it is mainly related to identity, which is race. Conflict theory believes that it is not easy to resolve conflicts based on the root of the problem of self-identity. It takes great effort, perseverance, and humility to understand the opposing party to later win their hearts and minds, which eventually cause reconciliation, and then both parties can accept the peaceful situation gracefully. Facing separatist groups and their sympathizers in Papua is the same as facing guerrilla warfare, so the key factor is how to win the hearts and minds of the Papuan people, especially the indigenous Papuans. To win the hearts and minds of indigenous Papuans, one cannot use the dated approach of prioritizing the security approach.

There are two major steps that the government must take, namely reconciliation and massive welfare development. In conflict resolution theory, it is said that in resolving conflicts, especially those involving many people and the conflict has been going on for quite a long time, reconciliation efforts are needed before moving forward together (Malik, 2017). Without reconciliation, the psychological barrier will hinder togetherness. In reconciliation theory, there must be 4 outputs from reconciliation, namely: Truth, which is the disclosure of past events; Mercy, which is forgiveness to rebuild new relationships; Justice, which is restitution or compensation from the perpetrator to the victim and social restructuring; and Peace, which is the realization of a collective future, welfare, and security for all parties who seek a prosperity approach to Papuans. In the context of Papua, living in peace and prosperity is the main goal of efforts to make reconciliation. So, reconciliation is needed to create peace in Papua. Reconciliation means efforts to restore harmony. Reconciliation means an end to hostilities between two parties, especially hostility by indigenous Papuan groups against the state and also between indigenous Papuans themselves. Reconciliation refers to a process that begins with the forgiveness of past actions and ends with peace.

From the side of indigenous Papuans who are opposed to the government, the reconciliation effort is a peace effort, in which they can rebuild trust in the nation. The crisis of trust of indigenous Papuans in the nation will also have an impact on the social life of the Papuan people. Apart from the conflict between separatist groups and the government, the people in Papua are currently divided into two groups with a potential horizontal conflict between indigenous Papuans and non-indigenous Papuans even though the Papua conflict was originally a conflict between the state and some indigenous Papuans. Therefore, the nation must make reconciliation efforts that revive the sense of trust of indigenous Papuans in the state. An important point that must be considered in reconciliation is the government's commitment to withdraw combat troops who are not local units from Papua so that the land of Papua is not connoted as a military operation area which will have an effect on building the trust of indigenous Papuans in the nation and also making indigenous Papuans feel they are don't live under pressure. This will psychologically make them feel peaceful and free, just like their brothers and sisters in other provinces. In addition, it is important to carry out a truthful

resolution (the first point of reconciliation theory) and comprehensive coverage of the human rights violations that have occurred as well as the “gentle” attitude of the government to apologize for these human rights violations. This process is the second point (Mercy) in reconciliation theory. The first and second points will lead to point three for restitution or compensation, and then it will lead to the ultimate goal in the fourth point, namely peace or a feeling of peace, especially for indigenous Papuans.

## Conclusion

The Papua conflict has been going on for a long time and is complex because it involves history, the feeling of being treated economically unfairly because the assets taken from them are not proportional to development, education level, feelings of inequality in terms of race, and the occurrence of human rights violations. Because the conflict is so complex and deep due to its main relation to identity—that is race, conflict resolution using the security approach that has been implemented can be said to have failed. This is evidenced by the growing idea of separatism among indigenous Papuans. In fact, many students of indigenous Papuans have this idea of separatism. Therefore, the conflict resolution approach should be changed to use a prosperity approach. This approach places the security aspect only to reconcile critical situations. This prosperity approach will undoubtedly be able to resolve the conflict in Papua in a complete and dignified manner.

That being said, the welfare approach will not be successful if it does not start with reconciliation efforts. Reconciliation efforts are a way to build togetherness before finally creating a feeling of peace between those in conflict, in this case between the government and some indigenous Papuans who have been the government’s opposition. In the context of conflict resolution in Papua, the government must carry out 2 (two) major things. The first step is to carry out reconciliation between the government and groups of indigenous Papuans who have been in opposition to the government, whether they have a separatist ideology, are victims of violence or human rights violations, or are marginalized in Papua. After the reconciliation is well-executed, the second step is welfare development (prosperity approach). With reconciliation, a spirit of togetherness between indigenous Papuans and the government and other communities in the land of Papua will be formed, so that this will be a very important asset in developing Papua because not only the government will carry out development in Papua, but also indigenous Papuans; those who are apathetic towards development will also join together with other communities in developing their regions because they feel equal and have mutual trust.

The solution for Papua can be started by eradicating hostility, which can be started with an apology to the Papuan people. An apology is one of the earliest cures for reconciliation. In addition, the Indonesian people, in general, need to be sorry for the violence against their fellow citizens. However, this apology must be done with careful consideration and caution, considering that this action could backfire on the Indonesian government. This indicates that the formation of a good image in the eyes of the international community needs to be conditioned before initiating the conflict resolution process in Papua.

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