



Integrated policy strategies for resolving separatism in Papua to achieve national security and stability

Trias Wijanarko^{1*}

¹ Defense Science Study Program, Republic of Indonesia Defense University, Bogor, West Java, 16810, Indonesia;

*Correspondence: wijanarkotrias74@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT

Background: Separatism in Papua has long posed significant challenges to Indonesia's national security, social stability, and economic development. This issue arises from a range of factors, including historical grievances, ethnic disparities, economic inequality, and limited access to basic services, which perpetuate discontent among the Papuan population. Despite various governmental efforts, including military measures, special autonomy provisions, and economic development programs, the effectiveness of these approaches remains limited, often failing to address the root causes of the conflict comprehensively. **Methods:** This study adopts a systematic literature review approach, gathering and analyzing academic articles, government reports, and other relevant sources published within the last decade. Through a thematic analysis, we identify the primary factors contributing to separatism in Papua, assess the current governmental responses, and evaluate their impacts on social, economic, and political stability in the region. **Findings:** The analysis reveals that the current approaches to addressing separatism in Papua are fragmented and sectoral, often leading to an overlap of roles among security forces and tensions between authorities and civilians. While economic and social policies aim to improve conditions, significant obstacles remain, including challenging geography, limited infrastructure, and budgetary constraints. A holistic strategy that integrates political, economic, security, legal, human rights, and diplomatic perspectives is essential to foster sustainable peace and development in Papua. **Conclusion:** A comprehensive policy framework that includes effective special autonomy, inclusive economic development, human rights protection, and international diplomacy is crucial to mitigating the separatist threat in Papua. Such a framework requires coordinated roles among local leaders, law enforcement, and the community to create culturally aligned solutions and prevent future conflict. **Novelty/Originality of this article:** This study offers a multidimensional analysis of separatism in Papua, emphasizing the need for an integrated policy approach rather than isolated interventions. By synthesizing recent literature and identifying gaps in current policies, this research contributes a novel perspective that highlights the importance of balanced, cohesive policy actions for resolving complex socio-political issues.

KEYWORDS: economic development; papua separatism, social stability; special autonomy.

1. Introduction

Since its independence on August 17, 1945, Indonesia has set national goals that are contained in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution as the state constitution. These goals include the protection of the entire nation and territory of Indonesia, the improvement of general welfare, and the intelligence of the nation's life. In addition, Indonesia is also committed to playing an active role in creating a world order based on independence, lasting peace and social justice. With these goals, the Indonesian government has clear guidelines to direct national development in all aspects. Consistently, these national goals

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become the foundation and direction for the government in formulating development policies and programs that are oriented towards the welfare and progress of the nation.

In an effort to protect the entire Indonesian nation and all Indonesian blood spilled, a universal defense and security system is needed as an embodiment of these national goals in the field of national defense. To achieve this national goal, a national defense system is also built to respond to any threats both from within and from abroad. And history proves that the Indonesian nation has several times faced threats both from within and outside the country and with military and non-military dimensions that require serious attention because they threaten state security. And one of the factual threats that is still being faced is the existence of a Papuan separatist group called the Free Papua Organization/*Organisasi Papua Merdeka* (OPM) which in its development is called the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB). In recent times, the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) has been very active in carrying out terror-motivated acts of violence that have caused losses, both losses in the form of damage to infrastructure and public facilities and casualties.

According to (Hitman, 2020) separatism means the aspiration of a group to break away from the state, to form a new, independent and if possible, sovereign entity with various motives including; welfare, autonomy, ethnicity, ability, elite politics, history and the impact of social unrest. Based on the assumption that any separatism is based on ethnic identity or refers to ethno-nationalist rhetoric, it can be concluded that politicized ethnicity poses a potential threat to the integrity of the state and separatism is solely a consequence of the crisis of inter-ethnic relations in the country (Zaripova & Zakirov, 2020). When viewed from the motive, typologically separatism is motivated by; 1) Ethical/ethno-religious factors, 2) Socio-economic factors, 3) Political factors, 4) Foreign policy factors, 5) Historical factors, 6) Geographical factors, 7) Language factors, 8) Demographic factors, 9) Socio-cultural factors, 10) Geopolitical factors (Khevturiani & Chkhikvishvili, 2020). Meanwhile (Marquardt, 2022) argues that separatism is a regional problem; marginalized populations who demand greater independence or autonomy for their region. Broadly speaking, separatism is the idea and movement to separate from the larger group based on various motives. The impact of violence and terror committed by the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) is not only physical, but also has significant social, economic and political impacts. On a broader scale, this conflict has created a negative image for Indonesia's security and stability in the eyes of the international community, impacting diplomatic relations and foreign investment in the country. Therefore, resolving this issue is a priority for the government in an effort to maintain territorial sovereignty and state security.

According to (Ghati, 2024) quoting from S. Ogata (2002), state security is a set of measures designed to protect the country's political system, social structure, territorial integrity and independence from domestic enemies as well as subversive activities by foreign intelligence agencies and other special services. While according to (Butros et al., 2021) citing Kaldor (2007), the conceptualization of security is broader than the state security perspective and includes not only freedom from fear but also addresses the importance of dealing with extreme vulnerability from war or other political violence. Different views on state security that emerged after the Covid-19 pandemic include from the research of (Lahiry, 2020) who argues that the narrative of security discourse will shift more strongly from state security to deeper human security issues in a concerted effort to ameliorate the worst effects of Covid-19. While (Zolotar et al., 2022) looks at state security from the Russia-Ukraine war, arguing that the Ukrainian Armed Forces' information and telecommunication systems are daily exposed to significant threats, while they belong to the subjects responsible for state security, which is also a component of information security. Thus, state security has different definitions from time to time, especially in terms of the type and nature of threats, as well as the different levels of threat escalation against a country. And in the context of Papua, state security has a broad dimension because it has caused losses to infrastructure, public/public facilities and even casualties, both on the part

of security forces and civil society. The escalation of state security is also disintegrative, because the ultimate goal of their movement is to separate themselves from Indonesia.

Handling Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) requires an appropriate, comprehensive and sustainable handling policy strategy because it has been going on for so long that it is protracted and increasingly complex. So far, the government has tried in various ways and approaches to eliminate the ideas and separatist movements of the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB). The security approach through military force seems dominant because whatever steps the government takes to develop the Papua region requires a safe situation. However, this approach is often criticized by various parties, both at home and abroad, because it is considered to violate human rights, exacerbate conflict in the region and has proven not to eliminate the separatist ideas of the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB). Handling from the political side with the implementation of special autonomy (otsus), which has been going on for two decades, has not been able to discourage separatist ideas. Otsus Papua, which is intended to provide greater authority for local governments in improving the welfare of the community, was not achieved and the separatist idea of the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) still survives, even more intensively carrying out acts of terror.

As with separatist movements in the world, the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) is identified as having 3 fronts of action, namely; the armed front, the clandestine front and the political front (at home and abroad). The clandestine front moves through all professions in Papua and outside Papua and the political front actively raises issues that discredit the Indonesian government at home and abroad, especially through social media. Issues often raised include the legality of PEPERA, human rights, racism, economic inequality, exploitation of nature, environmental damage and religion. Meanwhile, the armed front is actively terrorizing, especially in the mountainous Papua region, targeting public facilities (schools, health facilities, telecommunication towers, etc.), Indonesian National Armed Forces/*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* (TNI) or Indonesian National Police/*Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia* (Polri) officers, migrants and local residents who are considered pro-Indonesian government. As a result, the civilization of the community is left far behind with other regions in Indonesia, both in the fields of education, health, economy, social, culture and other fields.

From the description above, it can be seen the severity of the challenges faced by the government to deal with this problem. The government also faces a major challenge in designing a policy strategy that focuses not only on security aspects, but also on economic and social development in Papua. One factor that is often seen as the root cause of the Papuan conflict is economic injustice and lack of access to basic public services. Papuans often feel neglected in terms of access to education, health and infrastructure development compared to other regions in Indonesia. Therefore, an appropriate policy strategy should include inclusive development, where Papuans can directly benefit from government policies, while reducing the potential recruitment of new members into the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB).

In the field of communication network infrastructure, for example, (Evi Steelyana et al., 2024) citing from Tlili et al., (2022); Xu et al., (2021) argue that government initiatives through policy strategies can encourage the development of network infrastructure in a more targeted manner. Likewise in the field of housing infrastructure, where policy strategies in the housing sector can provide changes in the socio-technical system of society (Edmondson et al., 2020). This shows that the right policy strategy in a particular field will have a good impact on society. And the policy strategy implemented for handling Papua must be integrated and comprehensive because of the protracted and complex problems, which are exacerbated by unfavorable security conditions due to the presence of Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) terrorists in certain areas.

A comprehensive policy strategy in dealing with the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) also needs to involve cooperation from various Ministries and Institutions (K/L) and various related parties, including military institutions,

police, local governments, to civil society organizations, religious leaders and local traditional leaders. This multidimensional approach is expected to produce more sustainable solutions, by prioritizing the principles of dialogue, socio-cultural-economic approaches, and respect for human rights. The government also needs to cooperate with the international community in combating terrorism networks and maintaining peace in the Papua region. International cooperation in combating this terrorism network is a strengthening of what has been going on so far, including in terms of international diplomacy, because it must be avoided the desire of the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) terrorist group to internationalize the Papua problem. In the midst of various challenges and complexities in resolving the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) conflict, it is important for the government to formulate and implement a policy strategy that can ensure state security and at the same time improve the welfare of the Papuan people. Through a holistic and sustainable policy strategy, it is hoped that the government can deal with the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) to create a stronger and more stable security stability and strengthen the trust of the Papuan people in the central government.

If the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) terrorist problem is not handled properly, the existing problems will become more complex and more difficult to find solutions to handle, while on the other hand the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) group with its terror threats will move more freely through its 3 fronts. And if this happens, it can threaten state security not only in terms of security conditions in the region, but also dangerous for the territorial integrity of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia. This paper discusses how Papuan terrorists have been handled so far, what are the influencing factors, what obstacles are faced and what are the policy strategies in dealing with the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) terrorist settlement to realize state security in the region. The right policy strategy must be applied so that the problem does not become more protracted and more complex. The change of national leadership is an important moment to evaluate the policy strategies that have been in place so far while implementing the right policy strategies.

2. Methods

This research method uses a systematic literature study approach to explore the issue of separatism in Papua and its policy responses. The first step in this method is the collection of literature from various sources, including academic journals, books, government reports, and relevant media articles. These sources were accessed through electronic databases with specific keywords, such as "Papuan separatism," "Papuan special autonomy," and "Indonesian security policy." The selection of literature was based on the relevance of the topic and the year of publication within the last ten years to obtain up-to-date information.

After collecting the literature, the second step was an analytical process that involved identifying the main themes relevant to the issues raised, namely the causal factors of separatism, government policies, and the impact of these approaches on social, economic, and political conditions in Papua. Each piece of literature was critically analyzed to identify views, theories and findings relating to the effectiveness of the security approach, special autonomy and economic development in Papua. Furthermore, the data collected from each literature was compared and synthesized to find common patterns and significant differences in views.

The final step in this method is writing and presenting the results of the synthesis in a systematic narrative form to provide a comprehensive picture of the Papua issue. The writing is done by linking the results of the synthesis with existing theories and policies to explain the root of the problem and the effectiveness of the policies that have been implemented. Through this method, this research is expected to be able to provide more integrated and evidence-based policy recommendations for dealing with conflict in Papua. The research brainstorming can be seen in Figure 1 below.



Figure 1. Brainstroming

3. Result and Discussion

3.1 Problem solving applied so far

Security and intelligence approaches are still sectoral. There is no concept of an integrated security and intelligence approach coordinated by the government to solve this closely related problem of national security. According to (Newman, 2022), traditional state-centered national security models - which privilege a military, state-centered vision of territorial integrity and defense, but they cannot guarantee the well-being of society, even at a minimal level. Due to the sectoral approach, the result is often tensions with civilians, as the deployment of military force often generates fear and mistrust among civilians. There is also often a lack of coordination between security forces. Intelligence deployment is also still sectoral, with each intelligence agency having its own mission, not coordinated for the same purpose, so there is often overlap.

Many legal and human rights approaches that have been running also need to be evaluated. Law enforcement related to social conflicts must still comply with applicable provisions and regulations (Suradi et al., 2020). The ongoing legal process is considered slow and less transparent, resulting in public suspicion. Law enforcement officials are also hesitant to enforce the law against Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) figures due to pressure from certain communities. The legal approach is also less integrated with the social approach. In the field of human rights, it is even worse because the demands of the community for the completion of cases of human rights violations that have occurred over the past time have not progressed. This condition further fosters public distrust of the central government.

The social and economic approach applied in Papua is considered not to have worked well because of the lack of sustainable assistance in economic activities. Most of the existing programs are temporary, so they are unable to significantly change the socio-economic conditions of the community. In addition, the lack of supervision of the implementation of these programs also worsens their effectiveness, resulting in suboptimal results. Existing economic activities have not been able to become the main source of income for the Papuan people, so there has been no real change in their standard of living. As a result, the welfare of the Papuan people has not improved significantly despite various efforts to improve the region's economy.

The political approach through the Special Autonomy (Otsus) policy is running but is considered without directives and supervision from the center. According to (Sopaheluwakan et al., 2023), the implementation of special autonomy in Papua Province since 2001 has been given substantial authority, greater than other provinces in Indonesia, to determine the direction of its own development. Special autonomy regulations also emphasize the importance of recognizing the socio-cultural conditions of indigenous peoples (Runtuboi et al., 2021). Meanwhile (Soetjipto, 2022) argues that the implementation of special autonomy in Papua has failed, as the human rights situation has worsened and the basic rights of Indigenous Papuans have not been fulfilled. The absence of directives on the implementation of special autonomy has resulted in poor performance of the government bureaucracy in the public service sector. Under the pretext of the principle of decentralization in special autonomy, the central government does not provide directors, assistance and supervision over the implementation of this special autonomy. As a result, special autonomy funds have been corrupted by unscrupulous local government officials so that they do not provide real benefits to the community.

The local community empowerment approach did not go according to plan because the involvement of community and religious leaders was minimal. According to (Rasyid et al., 2023), every ethnic group has local wisdom that becomes the identity of the group. Meanwhile, (Nugroho, 2021) argues that local wisdom is the way people behave and act in response to changes in the physical and cultural environment. These community leaders can provide direction to their communities and help them avoid conflict (Gede Agung et al., 2024). This opinion reinforces the importance of empowering local wisdom, in this case empowering local community leaders in handling protracted problems in Papua.

3.2 Influencing factors

The protracted and multidimensional problems in Papua require a holistic and comprehensive approach in their analysis. Therefore, the discussion of the factors influencing the situation in Papua can be conducted through the trigatra and pancagatra aspects, which complement each other. The trigatra aspect encompasses geography, demography, and natural resources, which form the foundation of national and state life and influence various social and political dynamics in Papua. Meanwhile, the pancagatra aspect encompasses the social dimension, which includes ideology, politics, economics, socio-culture, and defense and security, which play a crucial role in shaping policies and social conditions in the region. By utilizing both frameworks, it is hoped that discussions regarding Papua's issues can be conducted in a more comprehensive and integrated manner.

Geography is the dominant natural factor affecting the problems that occur. The difficult terrain and hilly geographical conditions of Papua and many dense forests are a challenge in handling conflicts. According to (Sayadyan, 2023), geographical factors (area size, population, relief and landscape features, hydrology and climate, forest cover, and other factors) have long been taken into account when planning and conducting military operations or developing or seizing new territories. As for socio-economic interests, geographical factors play a fundamental role in shaping the economic system (Rakhmeeva, 2020). This is in line with the opinion of (Baltranaitė et al., 2021), who argue that physical geographical factors and many other environmental/ecological factors are more influenced by factors from the two pillars of sustainability namely; economy and society.

The demographic aspect is very dominant because social problems cannot be separated from population factors. The low education rate and lack of work skills are also factors that make Papuans easily influenced by the separatist movement. There is a significant relationship between the level of human resource competence and the factors that influence it (Androniceanu et al., 2023). This opinion is the same as that of (Julhadi & Ritonga, 2023) who argue that development requires changes in human resource competencies in every field. When associated with economic growth, financial and human resource development has a positive impact on economic growth (Nguyen, 2022). From the company's point of view, human resources must be oriented towards improving company performance by implementing a culture of value in employees (Muñoz-Pascual et al., 2021). This opinion confirms the importance of human resources in human civilization, which is also relevant to the problems that occur in Papua.

The natural resources aspect is an influential factor considering that Papua is rich in natural resources. However, this is actually a factor of community dissatisfaction because its exploitation does not bring improvements to people's lives. This is a motivation for the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) to continue to fight the government because it is considered to be exploiting natural resources and destroying the environment. The role of globalization in the development of finance and natural resources has received little attention in environmental debates (Ling et al., 2022). Human Resources and Natural Resources have a positive impact on economic growth (Rahim et al., 2021). While (Huang et al., 2023) argue that some countries with abundant natural resources have experienced high levels of inequality in income, poverty and civil problems than other less well-endowed countries. These contradictory conditions also affect the problems in Papua.

The ideological aspect is the main reason for the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) to separate from Indonesia. This ideology is driven by the narrative of injustice and the right to self-determination campaigned by separatist groups. The non-recognition of the principle of *uti possidetis juris* and the legality Act of Free Choice/*Penentuan Pendapat Rakyat* (PEPERA) during the integration of Papua strengthens its ideology to continue fighting for separatist ideas. The extant scholarly work on these two border disputes has not been convincing enough to allow an evaluation of the relevance and shortcomings of *uti possidetis juris* (Dlamini et al., 2022).

The political aspect also affects the Papuan problem, as it is closely related to the handling of the problem. The unstable political situation, both at the local and national levels, has exacerbated the conflict. Government policies that are less inclusive have created dissatisfaction among the community. The decentralization policy through special autonomy, which was expected to be a solution, has also not materialized. It seems that decentralization in Indonesia is necessary but may not be a sufficient condition to solve corruption, collusion and nepotism, as it does not take into account the government's ability to implement policies (Priyatno & Susilo, 2018). Special Autonomy is believed to serve the interests and rights of indigenous Papuans in utilizing their natural resources, including forests (Sopaheluwakan et al., 2023). Special autonomy is suspected to be a land of corruption by unscrupulous government officials that does not improve the lives of the Papuan people.

The economic aspect is influential in handling the Papua problem. Economic inequality between Papua and other regions in Indonesia is a major factor in triggering discontent. The Papua region lags behind in terms of infrastructure, education and employment opportunities. This unfavorable economic condition is a gap for the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) to gain support from the community. According to (Ya-Feng et al., 2020), the quality of regional life and the level of infrastructure development need to be improved due to the widening economic gap between urban and rural areas.

Social aspects are influential in handling problems in Papua because they are directly related to the social dynamics of society. Papuans feel marginalized, which leads to dissatisfaction and social injustice. In addition, social issues such as low access to health, education and other public services are also used by the Papuan Armed Criminal

Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) to corner Indonesia. Another sensitive issue is the racist issue that is often used by the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB). According to (Matamoros-Fernández & Farkas, 2021), there are limitations on the dynamics of racism as a result of our own privilege and lack of experience living with racial discrimination. (Nazroo et al., 2020) in their research argue that interpersonal racism in the form of daily insults, through discrimination in various settings, to verbal and physical aggression, denigrating status and identity can cause psychosocial stress. According to (Lynch et al., 2021), racism embedded in social institutions can lead to racial inequality. Another opinion from research in America states that racism is not just about intentions or actions, racism is inevitable because this country was built and sustains itself on the foundation of racism (McCoy, 2020). This opinion shows the strong influence of social factors including the issue of racism in handling the Papua problem.

Cultural aspects affect the handling of problems in Papua because the social system of the Papuan people strongly upholds their customs. However, cultural differences and traditional values upheld by the Papuan people often clash with government policies. This lack of understanding of cultural values can lead to tension between the government and the Papuan people, which is then utilized by the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) to gain sympathy and support.

The defense and security aspects have the strongest influence on the handling of problems in Papua. All types of development programs by the government require conducive security conditions so that the development program runs well, smoothly and on time. Terror disturbances from the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) in certain areas are what greatly affect the defense and security aspects. Although its existence in certain areas, it can affect other areas, due to extreme geographical conditions. Poor handling of defense and security aspects will have a direct impact on state security because apart from being directly related to regional stability, it can also affect the integrity of the Indonesian territory.

3.3 Obstacles faced

To improve the complex conditions in Papua, in addition to identifying the influencing factors, it is also important to consider the various constraints faced by the government so far. Some of the main obstacles that pose a major challenge are the protracted and unresolved problems, as well as the geographical conditions that are difficult to reach, making it difficult for the development process and the distribution of aid. In addition, the unfavorable security situation in some areas exacerbates the government's efforts to create stability, given the potential threats that could disrupt the development process. The lack of public service infrastructure is also a major obstacle in improving community access to education, health and other basic services. The limited state budget is also a significant obstacle in designing and implementing adequate development programs, so more coordinated and sustained efforts are needed to address these issues.

The long-standing and protracted conflict in Papua has made the problems more complex and difficult to resolve. Many new incidents continue to emerge, while old problems have not been dealt with thoroughly, adding to the burden on the government. This condition creates a dilemma in determining the priority of handling problems that must be resolved, where every decision taken will have a psychological impact on various parties, including the government itself. Uncertainty about the best solution often exacerbates the situation, causing tension and impeding desired progress. Therefore, a more comprehensive and systematic approach is needed to solve the existing problems, taking into account various interrelated dimensions.

Papua's geographical condition is a significant natural obstacle in solving problems in the region. Papua's vast and hard-to-reach territory hampers the operational eradication of Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) and the development of public service infrastructure. This requires extra effort in terms of resource mobilization, both in terms of security and economic development. The deployment of military forces to

maintain security in isolated areas requires a large budget, while the development of basic infrastructure such as roads, bridges and health facilities also requires significant investment. Given this challenging geography, the government is faced with a difficult choice between prioritizing security or development, both of which have long-term implications for the stability and welfare of the Papuan people.

The unfavorable security situation in some areas is an influential factor as well as an obstacle in handling the Papua problem, including handling the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) terrorists. This affects the government's development agenda because no matter how well the development program is planned, it requires safe conditions so that it can run smoothly. The disturbance of Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) terror in several regions is an obstacle in handling the Papua problem, both related to eradicating Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) forces and in implementing development programs by the government.

The limited public service infrastructure in Papua is an obstacle to addressing problems in Papua. According to (van Dyk & Kip, 2024), public infrastructure depends on the construction process through resources and regulations that are not always directed towards profit. According to (Ali Komak et al., 2023) citing research by Carmona (2021), Jabareen and Eizenberg (2021), public infrastructure affects urban function, social structure, identity and livability. Limited public service infrastructure directly results in the level of social welfare of the community and this condition occurs in Papua. This limited public service infrastructure includes; clean water facilities, electricity, housing, health, education, including communication.

The limited state budget for Papua's development is an obstacle to handling problems in Papua. However, this obstacle can also be used as a good blow from the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) when it is associated with the exploitation of natural resources, in this case the gold mine, which has been running for decades, but does not improve the welfare of the Papuan people. The very large special autonomy budget for Papuan development that has been channeled since 2001 has not had an impact on improving the welfare of the community. This dilemma has become a major obstacle in handling the Papua problem.

3.4 Policy strategies that need to be implemented

Policy strategies are needed to solve Papua's protracted, complex and multi-dimensional problems. Problem solving skills are essential to be able to overcome complex problems faced in an organization (Pereira et al., 2021). According to (Vallée-Tourangeau & March, 2020), problem solving is issued from the mind and enacted in the world, whose solutions are physically created and felt. And in the process of problem solving, it must be preceded by precise and thorough problem identification. To examine problem identification, it is necessary to focus on the decisions made and who made them to generate problem identification (Kallio, n.d.). In the scientific academic field according to (Xu, 2024), problem identification needs to be determined according to the discipline. Consideration for problem solving and identification is very important in determining policy strategies.

Handling the Papua problem is considered to have the right moment in line with the change of new national leadership, because the Papua problem is very important and requires strategic leadership to solve it. According to (Samimi et al., 2022) quoted from Ireland and Hitt (1999), strategic leadership is a person's ability to anticipate, imagine, maintain flexibility, think strategically and work with others to initiate changes that will create a viable future for the organization. According to (Ramadan & Alzubi, 2024), strategic leadership has the ability to build clear goals and directions, enabling effective engagement with internal and external stakeholders. Meanwhile, according to (Zhang & Jia, 2022) citing Rowe and Nejad (2012) argue that the behavioral dimensions of strategic leadership are a combination of managerial leadership behavior and visionary leadership behavior, with a focus on the present and the future. Strategic leadership is involved in different activities:

setting different actions; dealing with complexity, advocating for new organizational structures; shaping the culture of the organization and developing its human resources (Takawira et al., 2023). And by considering the strategic nature of the Papua problem because it is related to state security, it is considered appropriate if the scope of its handling is on strategic leadership, in this case national leadership, which is also timely due to a change in national leadership.

This policy strategy in resolving the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) terrorists includes everything comprehensively and holistically, not only discussing the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) terrorist problem, but the Papua problem as a whole. The consideration is that besides Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) is only one of the 3 fronts of the movement, handling Papua which only focuses on solving Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) terrorists will actually simplify the problem sectorally, while the problems are very complex and interrelated. The policy strategy includes; policy strategies in the fields of politics, development, community welfare, security, law enforcement and human rights and foreign diplomacy.

An appropriate political policy strategy needs to be implemented to address the Papua problem in a comprehensive and sustainable manner. This strategy includes three main steps that support each other. First, continuing a more guided and measured special autonomy policy. Special autonomy is expected to empower local governments in developing the potential of the region. With adequate budget allocations, local governments are encouraged to manage development independently, but still under the supervision and direction of the central government. A more targeted implementation of special autonomy supervised by the Ministry of Home Affairs in coordination with the Ministry of Politics and Security to ensure that the policy is in line with the targets set. Second, empowering the role of community leaders, traditional leaders, and religious leaders in the policy formulation process to be more in line with local wisdom. These leaders have a deep understanding of the social and cultural conditions of local communities so that they can contribute to formulating policies that are more sensitive to the needs of the Papuan people, including in terms of protecting the rights of indigenous peoples, so as to minimize conflict at the local level. Third, conduct regular monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of special autonomy to ensure that this policy achieves optimal results. This periodic evaluation includes an assessment of budget allocations, the achievement of development targets, and their impact on improving the welfare of the Papuan people. With this directed political strategy, it is hoped that special autonomy will truly provide tangible benefits to the Papuan people and strengthen Papua's integration in the Republic of Indonesia.

Inclusive development policy strategies need to be implemented using a clustering method adapted to the security situation, especially due to the actions of the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB). Inclusive development is needed so that the impact of development is felt by all levels of society (Hasan et al., 2020). The first step is mapping the area based on security conditions to customize a relevant and effective development approach. Second, development according to clusters starts from more conducive areas until it reaches areas with high security risks. Synergy between the local government, technical ministries/agencies and the Indonesian National Armed Forces/*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* (TNI) or Indonesian National Police/*Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia* (Polri) is needed so that the clustering of regional development can run well. Third, community-based economic development involving local communities, so that people feel that they own the infrastructure that is needed in their area. Fourth, strengthening the capacity of local human resources to improve skills and employment opportunities. According to (Diab et al., 2022), accommodating local wisdom in conflict resolution is considered capable of building unity in the heterogeneity of cultural, religious and ethnic differences in the region. According to (Ruhly Kesuma Dinata et al., 2022), customary law is still part of national law so that local wisdom is maintained and maintained in the community. This strategy is considered capable of carrying out development

programs that have been hampered by the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) terrorist disturbance.

Policy strategies to improve community welfare are crucial to carry out with the main focus on fulfilling basic services such as clothing, food, and shelter, as well as improving the quality of health and education. To achieve these objectives, there are several strategic steps that need to be implemented in an integrated manner. First, ensuring the availability of clothing, food and shelter for the community, especially in remote areas. This involves government efforts to ensure the distribution of food and other basic necessities, including the development of local food security programs. The management and empowerment of local potential, such as agriculture and fisheries, can strengthen the community's independence in meeting their daily needs. Second, strengthening access to education for the community through inclusive education programs. This program includes the provision of proper education facilities and qualified educators, especially in remote areas. Character education must strengthen the character of local wisdom (Hidayati et al., 2020). Third, improving access to health through the construction of health facilities in hard-to-reach areas, including health centers, clinics, or mobile health centers. In addition, the government also needs to establish special health programs in accordance with the health needs of the Papuan people, such as the eradication of malnutrition, prevention of infectious diseases and maternal and child health services. These programs aim to improve the quality of life and extend the life expectancy of the community. Fourth, direct social assistance in a targeted manner, especially for people in conflict-prone or affected areas, to ensure that basic needs are met. This assistance includes food, clothing, and housing assistance or home repairs for people in need. Thus, the government can help ease the burden on the Papuan people while improving their quality of life in a sustainable manner. Through this comprehensive and sustainable policy strategy, it is hoped that improvements in the welfare of the Papuan people can be realized, create social stability, and strengthen their integration in national development.

An integrated security policy strategy is essential to ensure security for all people in Papua and to ensure regional stability. This approach includes several main steps that complement each other. First, the strengthening and integration of intelligence capable of early detection of various forms of threats, both internal and external, related to the situation in Papua. This strengthened intelligence system must work responsively and proactively in order to recognize the early symptoms of potential conflicts and networks that support separatist activities. Second, strengthening coordination between the Indonesian National Armed Forces/*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* (TNI), Indonesian National Police/*Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia* (Polri) and other intelligence and security agencies to ensure alignment in conflict resolution efforts. Through better coordination, each institution will be able to share information effectively and develop joint strategies, so that there is no overlap or difference in approach in dealing with security issues. Third, a legal approach based on transparent and fair law enforcement is carried out so that the handling of this conflict does not trigger negative reactions from the Papuan people or from the international community. Law enforcement must prioritize human rights principles and applicable legal standards to maintain Indonesia's image in the global arena and build local people's trust in the government. Fourth, deal with Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) terrorists and their support networks through measured and controlled security measures. This approach involves disbanding organizations that are proven to commit acts of violence or support separatist movements, but it is done while taking into account the safety of civilians and the balance between security and citizens' rights. This integrated strategy is expected to narrow the space for armed groups to move while maintaining a sense of security for all Papuans.

Law enforcement and human rights policy strategies are very important to ensure a sense of justice in the eyes of the Papuan people, especially given the sensitivity of this issue in the context of protracted conflict. Law enforcement and human rights efforts aim to provide guarantees of protection for civil society and ensure that the actions of state apparatus are within the corridors of transparent and accountable law. In this context, the

definition and impact of human rights enforcement itself requires more attention so that it is not only regulated normatively, but also draws clear consequences for determining legal responsibility (Bueno & Bright, 2020). Without strict and clear implementation, it is difficult to build public trust in the security forces. This policy is considered very sensitive, especially due to local community demands for alleged human rights violations involving the Indonesian National Armed Forces/*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* (TNI) or Indonesian National Police/*Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia* (Polri) in handling the conflict in Papua. In some cases, alleged human rights violations have become an increasingly complex issue due to the length of the armed conflict, resulting in social trauma and tensions between communities and security forces. Actions taken by security forces, while often aimed at creating stability, must be based on human rights principles in order to be accepted by local communities and not worsen relations between communities and the government. This step is considered sensitive because there are many demands from local communities to the Indonesian National Armed Forces/*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* (TNI) or Indonesian National Police/*Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia* (Polri) regarding alleged human rights violations committed in recent times due to the protracted armed conflict. The issue of racism is also one aspect that needs to be considered in law enforcement and human rights policies in Papua. In this regard, (Acharya, 2022) highlights that the UN Charter, in section I which discusses 'Purposes and Principles', links the protection of race with universal human rights. The Charter states that discrimination on the basis of race is a violation of human rights. This context is particularly relevant in Papua, given the issues of discrimination felt by local communities in various aspects, including access to public services and legal justice. By implementing a law enforcement strategy that is based on human rights and prioritizes anti-discrimination principles, the government is expected to build the trust of the Papuan people. In addition, transparency in law enforcement that favors justice will help ease tensions and open up a more conducive space for dialogue between local communities and state officials. Firm and fair law enforcement is an important foundation for the realization of sustainable security and social justice in Papua.

The foreign diplomacy policy strategy plays an important role in efforts to address problems in Papua with a focus on building a positive image and garnering broader international support. This policy is carried out through several strategic approaches involving multilateral diplomacy, image enhancement, strategic partnerships, and monitoring Indonesia's commitments in the international arena. First, multilateral diplomacy is conducted to garner support from other countries and international organizations, especially through forums such as the United Nations (UN). This approach provides an opportunity for Indonesia to build support through international platforms that are accommodating to indigenous delegations and non-state groups, allowing for more inclusive engagement (Iwami, 2021). Through this multilateral diplomacy, Indonesia can convey objective information and perspectives on the situation in Papua, build global understanding, and reduce misperceptions that may exist regarding the handling of the Papua issue. Second, improving the international image of Papua is a crucial focus. In this case, the government needs to introduce the development achievements and peace efforts made in Papua to the international community. By conveying progress in the economic, social and infrastructure aspects, it is hoped that the image of Papua in the eyes of the world can change to a more positive one and show Indonesia's commitment to the welfare of the Papuan people. Third, establish partnerships with various countries through strategic bilateral relations, based on ideological similarities, common interests, aligned goals, and the implementation of policies that support stability and security. These strategic partnerships allow for the exchange of experience and support in dealing with internal conflicts, and provide space for cooperation in security, education and the economy (Iwami, 2021). These partnerships can build mutually beneficial relationships, where partner countries support Indonesia's territorial integrity, including in Papua, and provide technical or consultative assistance in stabilization and development efforts. Fourth, regular monitoring and reports to international institutions aim to demonstrate Indonesia's commitment to maintaining the security and welfare of the Papuan people in a sustainable

manner. By reporting on the latest situation, both progress and challenges faced, Indonesia shows openness in the process of handling conflict and developing Papua. This approach is expected to increase the international community's trust in the Indonesian government's commitment to upholding human rights and realizing sustainable peace in Papua. By implementing this comprehensive foreign diplomacy strategy, Indonesia can strengthen its position on the Papua issue in the eyes of the world, encourage support from the international community, and build a positive image regarding the government's efforts to maintain national integrity and the welfare of the Papuan people.

4. Conclusion

Since independence, Indonesia has been committed to protecting the entire nation and maintaining its territorial sovereignty. However, the threat of separatism in Papua waged by the Papuan Armed Criminal Group/*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata* (KKB) group continues, causing great harm, both in physical, social, economic and political aspects. This separatism arises from various factors, including economic dissatisfaction, ethnic background, history, and political dynamics, which worsen Indonesia's security stability and international image. Despite the government's efforts, such as the military approach, the granting of special autonomy, and economic development, these approaches have not been fully effective in addressing the root causes. Economic inequality and limited access to basic services remain key issues.

The current approach to dealing with the Papua problem is considered ineffective and still sectoral, making it less than optimal in defusing the conflict. Less integrated security and intelligence efforts have resulted in overlapping roles and tensions between the authorities and civilians. Law enforcement and human rights issues remain unresolved. The socio-economic approach and special autonomy have also failed. The government faces major obstacles, such as challenging geographical conditions, vulnerable security, minimal infrastructure, and budget constraints, in resolving conflicts in a comprehensive and sustainable manner.

An integrated policy strategy is needed that covers various aspects; politics, development, security, law, human rights, and diplomacy. Each aspect is interrelated so that the solutions provided can solve the root of the problem while preventing future conflict escalation. In the political policy aspect, the main focus is the effective implementation of special autonomy. The granting of more authority to local governments must be closely monitored and evaluated. The role of local leaders - traditional, religious and community leaders - needs to be empowered to create policies that are in line with local cultural values. Inclusive development policies are also a top priority, carried out on a cluster basis that takes into account the security conditions in each region. This approach allows for more effective economic development. Economic development should focus on empowering local communities, such as developing the agriculture and fisheries sectors and strengthening human resource capacity. This is expected to improve the standard of living of the Papuan people and create sustainable economic independence. Improving community welfare through better access to basic services, health, education, and targeted social assistance is also a priority. With more equitable health and education programs, it is hoped that Papuans can enjoy a quality of life equal to other regions.

In terms of security, an integrated approach involves intelligence integration for early detection of potential conflicts, close coordination between the Indonesian National Armed Forces/*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* (TNI) and Indonesian National Police/*Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia* (Polri) and law enforcement that prioritizes human rights. This approach is critical to creating more conducive security without creating fear or negative reactions from local communities. Firm and fair law enforcement and human rights protection are essential to maintain public trust. This includes handling cases of human rights violations transparently, ensuring that any violations are dealt with in accordance with applicable laws.

In the realm of diplomacy, multilateral strategies through international relations are enhanced to strengthen support for Indonesia's policies in Papua. Improved international image and strategic partnerships with friendly countries, as well as monitoring by international institutions, demonstrate Indonesia's commitment to Papua's security and development. Through these measures, it is hoped that solid social stability, increased community welfare, and Indonesia's strong position in the world arena will be achieved.

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Biographies of Authors

Trias Wijanarko, Defense Science Study Program, Republic of Indonesia Defense University.

- Email: wijanarkotrias74@gmail.com
- ORCID: N/A
- Web of Science ResearcherID: N/A
- Scopus Author ID: N/A
- Homepage: N/A