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Implementation of the Total People's War Strategy to Suppress Papua Separatist Movement

Ervan Christawan¹, Anak Agung Banyu Perwita², I Wayan Midhio³, Afrizal Hendra⁴, Helda Risman⁵

¹Total People War Strategy, Defense Strategy Faculty, Republic of Indonesia Defense University.
Email: ervan_ch@yahoo.com

²Total People War Strategy, Defense Strategy Faculty, Republic of Indonesia Defense University.
Email: banyu.perwita@idu.ac.id

³Total People War Strategy, Defense Strategy Faculty, Republic of Indonesia Defense University.
Email: iwayan.midhio@idu.ac.id

⁴Total People War Strategy, Defense Strategy Faculty, Republic of Indonesia Defense University.
Email: ijal_91@yahoo.com

⁵Total People War Strategy, Defense Strategy Faculty, Republic of Indonesia Defense University.
Email: rismancan@gmail.com

Abstract

The enduring effectiveness of the "divide and conquer" political strategy employed by foreign powers remains evident in contemporary times, demonstrating ongoing challenges in achieving unity within Indonesia's diverse population under the framework of NKRI. The Papua Separatist Movement (PSM) seeks international support for an alternative referendum to the 1969 Pepera, aiming to achieve independence from Indonesia through political, covert, and armed means, despite the government's closure of referendum options. This qualitative research, based on a comprehensive literature review, aims to explore efforts to address and improve key issues exploited by the PSM's political front, including economic inequality, education disparities, healthcare gaps, infrastructure limitations, and security challenges. Additionally, the study will examine initiatives aimed at curbing the activities of the PSM's armed front, which has been implicated in numerous human rights violations against indigenous Papuans, civilians, foreigners, security personnel, and the military. President Jokowi has emphasized the need for a comprehensive solution to this issue, underscoring the importance of addressing root causes while maintaining the government's soft power approach, which focuses on normative and functional integration. Furthermore, the Indonesian government actively engages in diplomatic interactions with other nations, organizations, and international communities, with the ultimate objective of resolving the conflict through the harmonious integration of Papua into Indonesia's vision of a secure and prosperous nation.

Keywords: Counterinsurgency, PSM, Integration, Prosperity, Security

1. Introduction

The Armed Criminal Separatist Group of Papua Separatist Movement appears to be increasingly intensifying its acts of physical violence and diplomacy in the international community, even after 54 years since the implementation of The Act of Free Choice (*Pepera*) on March 24, 1969. Amid the Indonesian government's efforts

to develop Papua as a whole and withdrew its military operation forces from Papua. The government has granted autonomy through Law No. 2 of 2021, the second amendment to Law No. 21 of 2001 on special autonomy for the province of Papua, which grants special authority in managing the interests of the local people according to the initiative and aspirations of the indigenous people of Papua in protecting and upholding dignity, basic rights, providing affirmation, and space in the economic, political, and socio-cultural fields for indigenous people of Papua, except in foreign politics, defense and security, monetary, fiscal, religion, and judiciary fields which remain within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Then in 2022, the government continued with the expansion of the region through the formation of three new special autonomous provinces on November 11, 2022, in accordance with Law No. 14 of 2022 on the Establishment of South Papua Province, Law No. 15 of 2022 on the Establishment of Central Papua Province, and Law No. 16 of 2022 on the Establishment of Papua Mountains Province for the acceleration of services and regional development through the establishment of more effective and efficient governance by utilizing local culture as social capital to reduce national development gaps and promote welfare of the Papua's people. However, all of these efforts seem to have yielded little result and appear to not address the root problems. Here are some events before and after the expansion of the region:

1. In September 2022, Papua Separatist Movement released a video showing the slaughter of four workers on the West Papua Trans road who were considered state intelligence agents.
2. In October 2022, the police arrested three ministers from the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) who were holding an annual meeting to discuss Papua's independence.
3. In November 2022, Papua Separatist Movement shot four immigrant workers who were working as construction workers. Two victims suffered gunshot wounds, one escaped, and one died.
4. In November 2022, there was a firefight between personnel from the task force of Ops. Damai Cartenz Pos Kiwirok and Papua Separatist Movement. There were no casualties in the incident.
5. In December 2022, Papua Separatist Movement shot at a police patrol group, resulting in the death of one civilian.
6. In January 2023, Papua Separatist Movement launched an attack in the Bintang Mountains by shooting at the Ikairos airline plane attempting to land and burning down the SMK Negeri 1 Oksibil building. They asked all immigrant residents to leave Papua's land, which they referred to as a "war zone". The areas included Ndugama, Intan Jaya, Puncak Jaya, Puncak Papua, Pegunungan Bintang, and Sorong-Maybrat. There were no casualties in the incident.
7. In February 2023, Susi Air pilot Philips Marks Mertens was taken hostage by Papua Separatist Movement as a guarantee in political negotiations.
8. In March 2023, Papua Separatist Movement shot at the Trigana Air plane carrying 66 passengers at Dekai airport, in the mountainous region of Papua. There were no casualties in the incident.

Jacques Bertrand argues that democratization and special autonomy in Papua are not enough to create integration, as evidenced by the existence of several groups opposing it. These groups insist on gaining full independence because they do not believe and fear that special autonomy will lead to the same outcome as the Act of Free Choice. They also open the possibility for a broader rebellion to emerge to secede, similar to East Timor, where some of its citizens have the same perception of the integration process into Indonesia. Additionally, Pieter Drooglever considers that the Papuan people are not ready to exercise their right to self-determination and condemns the integration process in Indonesia in 1969 as unfair. He claims that no functional or mental integration was achieved after the Act of Free Choice, as Papuan tribes remained in opposition to the Indonesian military. Consequently, although Papua has abundant natural resources, most Papuans continue to live in inadequate conditions, with very little access to healthcare and education facilities.

Furthermore, as the Indonesian central government has underestimated the ability of the armed and political rebel group of the Papua Separatist Movement, the Indonesian government began to lose international support in 1972. Consequently, although the Indonesian central government implemented a special autonomy system in Papua and withdrew troops from Papua in 2005, the Papua Separatist Movement rebels continued their struggle. They persist through various means to gain more support from Papuan people and the international community, making it difficult for the Indonesian government to face the Papua Separatist Movement. The Papua Separatist Movement's political wing has employed a vertical organizational method to develop international elements and mobilize support, through the use of weapons, information technology, and diplomacy, the Papua Separatist Movement has

systematically increased their global reach. They seek to spread fear and lower Papuan society's trust in the Indonesian government while simultaneously gaining sympathy and support from the international community. The efforts of the Indonesian government to maintain Papua as part of the Republic of Indonesia are legal and based on historical facts. Indonesia has been recognized by the world as an independent country since the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1945, with sovereignty over the entire territory from Sabang to Merauke. Indonesia's claim to the territory is based on strong international legal foundations such as the Linggarjati Agreement, the Round Table Conference, the New York Agreement, the Atlantic Charter, the principle of self-determination, and the principle of *uti possidetis juris*, which apply as fundamental law to independence and the right to self-government as an independent state, as well as legal aspects in determining territorial sovereignty. Indonesia's diplomacy to obtain international recognition regarding the status of Papua as part of the Republic of Indonesia took a long time, namely 20 years from 1949 to 1969, so the existence of some parties that still try to support Papua's independence can be considered as an act that does not respect the democratic system and international law.

The Papua nationalist movement actually existed since the Japanese occupation of Papua during the period of 1942-1946 under the name of Korero led by Angganitha Menafaur, who claimed to be a female prophet and a descendant of Manseren Manggoendi, and gave herself the title of 'Golden Queen of Judea'. This movement was initially a religious movement that later turned into a politically ethnical-nationalist movement due to the militancy of Menafaur's colleague, Stephanus Simopyaref, in uniting all Melanesian tribes and clans into a Papua nationalism. Around 600 followers of this movement were suppressed by Japanese forces and Menafaur was detained and exiled to Manokwari. In an effort to save Menafaur, Simopyaref raised the flag of Korero, which was the Dutch flag hung upside down and adorned with a white starfish (*sampari*) ornament on a blue background, as a revelation from Manseren Manggoendi, to revive the spirit of Papua nationalism and independence. However, Simopyaref was also captured by Japanese troops in mid-1942, after a series of dialogues and armed contacts between the two factions. He was then taken to Manokwari, where he and Menafaur were both threatened with the death penalty by the Japanese army.

In the BPUPKI meeting on July 10-11, 1945, the status of Papua was still a hotly debated topic among the leaders of the independence struggle. There were three figures: M. Yamin, Kahar Muzakkar, and Bung Karno, a geopolitical strategist who argued that Papua should be integrated into the Republic of Indonesia, even though the Papuan people were ethnically different from the Indonesian people as a whole. According to Bung Karno, the Majapahit manuscript written by Mpu Prapanca, the *Negarakertagama* book, states that Papua is part of the Majapahit kingdom. However, even after Indonesia's independence, the international community continued to intervene in the issue of Papua's status. This was evident when the Netherlands rejected Indonesia's delegation's desire to make Dutch New Guinea one of the issues to be discussed at the Round Table Conference (RTC) in The Hague from August 23 to November 2, 1949. However, Indonesia's delegation successfully pushed for the recognition of Indonesia's independence, and it was agreed that the resolution of Dutch New Guinea's status would be postponed for a year. This agreement reflects Indonesia's firm stance on the sovereignty of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, which includes all former Dutch colonial territories, in accordance with the Linggarjati Agreement (1946) between Indonesia and the Netherlands, which recognized Dutch New Guinea as part of Indonesian territory, and the Roem-Roijen Agreement (1949), which reaffirmed that Dutch New Guinea is part of Indonesian territory.

The trend of decolonization in Southeast Asia and support from the international community effectively pressured the Netherlands to agree to Indonesia's proposal. However, in meetings held in The Hague in December 1950 and December 1951, the Netherlands still tried to postpone the resolution of the Dutch New Guinea issue. Even after five years of the RTC, no agreement was reached. The Indonesian government then officially brought the Papua dispute to the 9th UN General Assembly on December 10, 1954, and succeeded in gaining support from the Soviet Union, Cuba, and several Asian and African countries, but Indonesia failed to obtain a majority vote because most Western countries, including the United States, sided with the Netherlands. The US's foreign policy, demonstrated by its abstention in resolving this dispute, made President Soekarno very disappointed.

President Soekarno then immediately tried to unite the internal opposition, gather popular support, and also obtained support from the Soviet Union in the campaign against Dutch colonialism in Dutch New Guinea. With the victory of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in the 1955 election, President Soekarno then strengthened Indonesia's relationship with the Soviet Union by inviting Soviet President Voroshilov and his Prime Minister Khrushchev to Indonesia. During the Cold War in 1955, the political atmosphere in Southeast Asia, particularly Indonesia, tended to be influenced by the Indonesian Communist Party and the Soviet Union. As noted by Aspinall and Berger, President Soekarno increased his pressure on America and reaffirmed his stance against the Netherlands in Papua by requesting military and economic support from the Soviet Union. In 1957, the Soviet Union provided military aid worth a loan of US \$450 million and diplomatic support related to the integration of Dutch New Guinea into the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. This cooperation made Indonesia one of the strongest armed forces in South Asia in 1961. This increase in defense capabilities caused most Western countries, particularly the United States, to change their foreign policies. Therefore, after John F. Kennedy was elected as American president in November 1960, he redirected America's attention to Jakarta in an effort to counter the growing Soviet influence in Indonesia and initiated a peace agreement related to Dutch New Guinea by proposing America as a third party in the negotiations between the Indonesian government and the Netherlands. This made the Kingdom of the Netherlands realize that sooner or later they would lose Papua; therefore, the Netherlands initiated a process of self-determination for a small group of Dutch New Guinea people towards independence, which ultimately gave birth to Papua nationalism.

During the revolution, the Netherlands launched many actions to take over the territory and natural resources, and required the people of Dutch New Guinea to hand over their land to the Netherlands. Although not obeyed, the Netherlands continued to insist on freeing them so that they could be made into their colony under the control of the Kingdom of the Netherlands because the Netherlands felt they had invested a lot in finance and science in the area since the early 19th century, which made the Netherlands feel more entitled than Indonesia. Meanwhile, in the international community and in front of the people of Dutch New Guinea, the Netherlands declared that its motive for freeing the people of Dutch New Guinea was so that they could determine the future of their nation themselves because the native people of Dutch New Guinea have ethnic and racial differences with the Indonesian society in general. In the UN General Assembly in September 1961, Dutch Foreign Minister Joseph Marie A.H.L. proposed that Dutch New Guinea be under the control of the UN, but the proposal was rejected by the UN General Assembly. Amidst the increasing international support for Indonesia, the Netherlands deployed an aircraft carrier to the waters of Dutch New Guinea, formed the Nugini Council, and adopted Dutch New Guinea as its territory on December 1, 1961. In addition, the Netherlands also ordered the people to hoist a new flag (*Bintang Kejora*), create a national anthem, and other nationalist attributes.

President Soekarno and the nationalist group rejected the Dutch claim and declared the *Tri Komando Rakyat* (Trikorra), a military operation to fight against Dutch occupation in Dutch New Guinea in the form of the Mandala operation on January 2, 1962, by appointing Major General TNI Soeharto as the commander of the military operation. The deadlock in negotiations between the two countries soon triggered an armed conflict in the waters and on the land of Dutch New Guinea. Although initially opposed by America, National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy lobbied President John F. Kennedy to negotiate the transfer of West Papua's government to Indonesia because he believed that with Soviet Union support, this military campaign would likely succeed and encourage Australia to join in support of Indonesia. On February 21, 1962, President Kennedy met with President Soekarno, who then appointed his brother, Robert F. Kennedy, to design the contents of "The New York Agreement" and the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Ellsworth Bunker, to approach diplomatically in resolving the dispute over Dutch New Guinea. After a long struggle, the Netherlands finally agreed to negotiate with Indonesia again, at the 17th United Nations General Assembly on August 15, 1962, a breakthrough was finally found with the issuance of Resolution No. 1752, which adopted "The New York Agreement" on September 21, 1962, stating that the Netherlands would hand over its power over Dutch New Guinea to the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) as a temporary UN executive body under the authority of the UN Secretary-General in May 1963, affirming the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia over the territory, and the Indonesian government would carry out the "*Pepera*" in Dutch New Guinea under UN supervision in 1969 (within six years since the transfer of sovereignty, from July 14 to August 2, 1969), where

through this "*Pepera*", the people of Dutch New Guinea would decide their own fate, whether they are willing to become part of Indonesia or not.

The UN appointed Jose Rolz Bennet from Guatemala as the head administrator of UNTEA and took over the responsibility for the transfer of sovereignty on October 1, 1962. According to the New York Agreement, UNTEA staff would act as mediators and supervisors of the administrative transfer. They were also tasked with explaining the plan and process of *Pepera* to the people of Dutch New Guinea at that time. In principle, UNTEA had full authority to advise and assist in the process of sovereignty transfer. After one year, on May 1, 1963, UNTEA officially transferred the administration and all responsibilities of Dutch New Guinea to Indonesia, which then changed the name to Irian Barat and then in March 1973, the name was changed to Irian Jaya by President Soekarno, and in December 1999, the name was changed again to Papua by President Gus Dur. After the transfer of responsibility, the Indonesian government then appointed a local resident, E.J. Bonay, a pro-integration Papua, as the first governor of Papua. However, a small number of anti-integration Papuans who had the support of the Dutch government, were members of the Nugini Council established by the Dutch, and insisted on separating from Indonesia, such as John Ariks, Melkianus Awom, and Karel Gobay. According to them, Papuans should not be subject to control by powers they do not recognize, such as Western nations or the Indonesian government, and they believed that Papuans had been put into a fate they did not choose. They did not agree with UN Security Council Resolution No. 1752 of August 15, 1962, which declared that Papua was a legal part of the Republic of Indonesia.

Initially, the Papua Separatist Movement founded in December 1963 was a cargoist spiritual movement, a spiritual group that combined traditional beliefs and Christian religion. The Papua Separatist Movement was founded by Demta district head Aser Demotekay, who cooperated with the Indonesian government and banned violence, but his follower, Jacob Prai, continued the movement with violence. The second group originated from Manokwari in 1964, led by Terianus Aronggear, who founded the Organization of Struggle for the Freedom of the West Papua Nation. This organization also operated clandestinely. Later, Terianus' organization became known as the Papua Separatist Movement. The group sent documents to the UN requesting a review of the New York Agreement, which also contained a draft of the West Papuan cabinet lineup, including Markus Kaisiepo as President, Nicolaas Jouwe as Vice President, Terianus Aronggear as Foreign Minister, and Permenas Ferry Awom as Commander-in-Chief. In the further development, the Papua Separatist Movement formed the Armed Separatist Group of Papua (PASG) and the Political Separatist Group of Papua (PPSG), which aimed to gain independence from Indonesia. This group began attacking Indonesian military posts on July 26, 1964, as a declaration of its armed rebellion, which was later responded to by the Indonesian government with a military campaign to suppress the rebellion.

According to the New York Agreement, Indonesian officials agreed to hold a referendum before the end of 1969. On August 12, 1968, the United Nations sent a monitoring team led by Fernando Ortiz, a diplomat from Bolivia, to West Irian. The team consisted of UN experts who were tasked with assisting, advising, and participating in the *Pepera* process that would be held a year later. They arrived early in West Irian to assist the Indonesian government in the preparation process, including the formulation of *Pepera*. They had the authority and power, as representatives of the UN, to enforce rules and ensure that the implementation of *Pepera* was in line with the UN's wishes.

After several meetings, the Indonesian government proposed the implementation of *Pepera*, which would regulate the voting system under UN supervision, on February 18, 1969. The Indonesian Observer newspaper published this proposal on February 24, 1969, followed by the Djakarta Post newspaper on February 26, 1969. This proposal advocated for a representative voting system, not a one-person, one-vote system, due to extreme geographic challenges. Additionally, the Indonesian government would face many difficulties in communication due to language diversity, transportation constraints, illiteracy challenges, and underdeveloped communities. The monitoring team accepted the proposal that *Pepera* would be carried out through a representative system. As claimed by Andri Hadi, UN General Assembly Resolution 1514 (1960) did not mention a one-person, one-vote system as the only method of the referendum process, and many new African countries and Malaysia in the early 1960s did not apply that system either. Therefore, the Indonesian government held *Pepera* with a representative election system starting on July 14, 1969.

The first *Pepera* was held in Merauke on July 14, 1969, followed by Jaya Wijaya on July 16, Paniai on July 19, Fak-Fak on July 23, Sorong on July 26, Manokwari on July 29, Teluk Cendrawasih on July 31, and Jayapura on August 2. The UN monitoring team, Indonesian politicians and military officials, foreign ambassadors, and domestic and international journalists monitored the voting, in which the majority of 1,025 representatives agreed to integrate into Indonesia, so it can be concluded that the *Pepera* was successfully implemented in 1969, resulting in the decision that Papua would join Indonesia. The results of *Pepera* were then brought to the UN General Assembly on December 19, 1969, and the assembly declared accepting and approving the results of *Pepera*. Since no violations or complaints were found, and they were closely monitored by the UN monitors, international representatives and journalists who were morally responsible for reporting any improper voting process, the UN legalized it in UN Resolution 2504 at the 24th UN General Assembly on November 19, 1969, which confirmed the transfer of power in the Irian Jaya region from the Netherlands to Indonesia, with 84 countries agreeing, no countries disagreeing, 30 countries abstaining/blank, and 12 countries absent, which were later ratified by the Indonesian government in 1971.

However, this decision was considered controversial and unfair because *Pepera* was conducted in the midst of conflict and military pressure from Indonesia. Therefore, the Papua Separatist Movement's armed wing continues the struggle for Papua's independence through various tactics, including guerrilla warfare and attacks on Indonesian security forces. The movement has undergone various transformations over the years, with different factions and leaders emerging at different times. While the movement has gained international attention, with some countries and organizations expressing support for Papua's independence, Indonesia remains steadfast in accordance with United Nations Resolution 2504 of 1969, which states that Papua is an integral part of the Indonesian territory, and consistently rejects their calls for independence. In recent years, the Papua Separatist Movement's armed wing has continued to advocate for independence through peaceful protests and diplomatic efforts, while some factions continue to engage in armed conflict with Indonesian security forces. The United Nations General Assembly reaffirmed Resolution No. 2504 on September 24, 2019, which explicitly recognizes Indonesia's sovereignty over Papua, and any attempt at self-separation from Indonesia is a violation of international law.

In the current era of globalization, technological democratization has led to the democratization of things that were once under state control, now open to the public and freely accessible. This poses critical challenges, as Joseph Nye has pointed out, where technological democratization gives terrorists the freedom to access weapons of mass destruction and other advanced technologies that can balance state power. This provides opportunities for terrorists, separatists, mercenaries, and private military companies (PMC) as new non-state actors in shaping a new world order through political, clandestine, and armed fronts. This causes social media to be used as a laboratory and a new battlefield in spreading propaganda and political influence to create trends, opinions, and mass mobilization quickly and widely. Almost all ages and social strata use social media to obtain and convey information to the public, causing changes in social behavior and many crimes with new modus operandi such as the spread of disinformation (hoaxes) with ethnic, religious, and racial motives and hate speech that can easily ignite vertical and horizontal conflicts and create national disintegration. The high potential threat and low digital literacy create significant vulnerability.

On November 21, 2020, the Commander of the Indonesian National Armed Forces, Marshal Hadi Tjahjanto, stated in a webinar that the Papua Separatist Movements armed wing also uses social media to spread propaganda and social issues in both Indonesian and English to gain support from local and international communities that can later become bargaining power with the Indonesian government to achieve their desired independence. The Commander revealed that there are at least three elements that utilize social media as a laboratory and propaganda tool: the political, clandestine, and armed fronts. Technological and communication advancements have created "social weapons" that can make people follow the propaganda disseminators' wishes. The proliferation of internet networks and the increasing ease of internet access have provided a means for separatists to enhance their diplomacy in international forums. Papua separatist groups and organizations create online websites and blogs such as www.converge.org.nz/wpapua/ to disseminate information about the Papua Separatist Movement's history,

various problems in Papua, and efforts for Papua's independence from Indonesia, and www.melanesia.org/pdp/ which serves as the official site of the Papua Presidium Council (PDP) to spread information about their struggle.

Indonesia's strategic location, situated at the crossroads of two continents and two oceans, and its abundant and diverse natural resources, along with its large demographic and workforce potential, make it a target for many countries around the world. However, the intensity and complexity of foreign and non-state actor interests make Indonesia vulnerable to long-term political, economic, and military tensions that could threaten the country's territorial integrity and security. In particular, Papua's strategic location and rich natural resources have made it a target for neighboring countries seeking independence, as the current demographic conditions in Papua make it susceptible to political, economic, and socio-cultural exploitation by foreign nations with strong economic, military, and international networks. Professor Harry Truman Simanjuntak, a senior archaeologist at the National Archaeological Research Center, has stated that nearly 80% of the Melanesian race worldwide is found in Indonesia, particularly in Maluku, Nusa Tenggara Timur, and Papua. The historical evidence, culture, and archaeological remains prove that the Melanesian race is one family that has interacted for thousands of years, as evidenced by the historical remains of Papua New Guinea that have spread to Maluku, North Maluku, and surrounding areas. Vanuatu is interested in the Papua region as a land of hope because most of its islands will be submerged due to global warming. So if Vanuatu advocates for Melanesian or South Pacific unity, why does Vanuatu involve 80% of the Melanesian population in Indonesia who are more prosperous and have a much better future than they do? Why aren't they interested in making other lands their hope rather than wanting Papua to be a part of them? Could it be that they understand the fate of the indigenous people in other lands who are no longer the masters of their own land? Although their stomachs are full, their food, clothing, and shelter needs are met, but their knowledge is not, they are left ignorant, using their money only for drunkenness, causing them to be marginalized from their social lives, but this does not happen to the Papua people in Indonesia.

Therefore, if the people of Papua want accelerated improvement in welfare, health and education facilities, and rapid security, then the development of this region must be inclusive, integrated, and well-planned within the framework of the Republic of Indonesia, while building the capacity of the Papua people's human resources fully and completely. The Indonesian government is well aware that this disparity cannot exist because the Melanesian race in Indonesia is brothers and sisters in struggle, nation, and homeland. As many as 69,000 young generations of Indigenous Papuans (OAP) receive education scholarships both domestically and abroad. They are everywhere, in government, in the military, in the police force, they are free to determine their own identity in accordance with the ideals they have within the framework of the Republic of Indonesia. The Indonesian people from Sabang to Merauke, consisting of 700 ethnic groups, are quite accustomed to differences, with the motto "different but still one" within the framework of the Republic of Indonesia, Pancasila, and the 1945 Constitution. The Indonesian nation has learned from the colonial era that division will weaken and make the Indonesian nation unable to survive in the rapidly developing global dynamics today.

However, the main clandestine front of the West Papua Liberation Army (WPNLA), which is responsible for conducting guerrilla warfare, has carried out many rebellious actions targeting the Indonesian military and security forces. In addition, the Papua Separatist Movement also has a political front called the West Papua National Authority (WPNA) and the West Papua National Coalition for Liberation (WPNCL), which advocate for the Papuan people's right to self-determination and independence from Indonesia. They continue to promote the Papua independence struggle on the international stage and call on the United Nations to intervene in the conflict in Papua through the issue of human rights violations committed by Indonesian security forces. Papua Separatist Movement, through the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP), seeks to become a permanent member of the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) to push the "West Papua" issue to the UN through international diplomacy to gain sympathy and support from state and non-state actors such as the MSG, the Pacific Island Forum (PIF), and other organizations sympathetic to the Papua Separatist Movement. This international diplomacy uses classic issues related to the suppression of democracy, human rights violations/genocide in Papua, the rectification of the 1969 Act, and the fulfillment of the rights of Papua's indigenous people in demanding a referendum.

Issues of racial equality and religious solidarity are continuously exploited to gain sympathy from the member countries of the MSG and PIF to support them through their governments' foreign policies. The MSG and its sympathizers abroad focus on the issue of self-determination for Papua's indigenous people after the 1969 Act of Free Choice through official legal channels to win the "Public Opinion Court." This condition underlies the proliferation of Papua Separatist Movement actions that distort facts and provoke the indigenous people of Papua through press conferences, discussions, closed meetings, book launches, leaflet distribution, SMS, print and electronic media, and religious activities. The narrative they build is highly exaggerated, even blaming the Indonesian government for the kidnapping of a New Zealand citizen pilot by the Papua Separatist Movement. Ambushes, attacks, and shootings against TNI, Polri, community members, civilian and military aircraft can disrupt the security and order of Papua's society if allowed to continue.

According to the 2022 Global Terrorism Index released by the Institute for Economics & Peace, Indonesia's ranking has increased compared to the index in 2019 and 2020, where it ranked 35th and 27th out of 162 countries. In 2022, Indonesia ranked 24th out of 162 countries. When compared to neighboring countries, Malaysia ranks 63rd, while Singapore, Brunei Darussalam, Timor Leste, and Papua New Guinea rank 93rd. According to the report, Indonesia's rise in ranking is due to the increase in attacks by separatist groups such as the Papua Separatist Movement in 2021. Attacks became more deadly in 2021, and Indonesia experienced the second-largest security decline in the Asia-Pacific region. Although the number of attacks decreased by 24%, the number of deaths increased by 85%. In 2021, each attack resulted in an average of 1.5 deaths, which is higher than the 0.6 deaths per attack in 2020.

RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK CHANGE	RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK CHANGE	RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK CHANGE
1	Algeria	6.901	+1	26	United Kingdom	5.935	---	56	Sweden	3.91	-5
2	Iran	6.296	-1	28	Ethiopia	5.349	-1	57	Algeria	3.828	+10
3	Nigeria	6.267	---	30	Saudi Arabia	5.239	-1	58	Burkina Faso	3.267	+20
4	Yemen	6.026	---	31	Indonesia	5.192	-1	59	Yemen	3.264	-10
5	Indonesia	5.985	---	32	Pakistan	5.177	-1	60	Tanzania	3.273	-1
6	Somalia	5.9	-1	33	Burundi	5.162	-1	61	Sudan	3.229	-10
7	India	5.938	+1	34	Niger	5.092	-1	62	Paraguay	3.178	-3
8	Kenya	5.789	---	35	Indonesia	5.07	-1	63	Italy	3.106	+6
9	Philippines	5.727	+1	36	France	5.028	+1	64	Jordan	3.029	+4
10	Democratic Republic of the Congo	5.629	+1	37	Russia	4.9	-3	65	Nicaragua	2.952	+20
11	Chad	5.594	-2	38	Chad	4.902	---	66	Burkina Faso	2.943	-10
12	Iran	5.566	-1	39	Iran	4.717	-5	67	Peru	2.84	-1
13	Yemen	5.523	-1	40	Israel	4.623	-1	68	Colombia	2.84	-1
14	Central African Republic	5.473	+1	41	South Africa	4.51	-1	69	Ireland	2.852	+4
15	Cameroon	5.42	+1	42	China	4.465	-1	70	Republic of the Congo	2.807	+9
16	Turkey	5.323	-4	43	Lebanon	4.395	-1	71	Australia	2.845	-3
17	South Sudan	5.238	-1	44	Germany	4.254	-1	72	Costa Rica	2.766	+10
18	Thailand	5.202	+1	45	China	4.123	-1	73	Brazil	2.53	+17
19	Colombia	5.192	+1	46	Vietnam	4.101	-1	74	Kenya	2.492	+4
20	Sudan	5.187	-2	47	Mexico	4.08	-1	75	Kenya	2.487	-1
21	Kenya	5.176	-2	48	Uganda	3.982	-1	76	Ethiopia	2.483	-1
22	United States of America	5.081	-2	49	Tanzania	3.947	-2	77	Netherlands	2.347	+1
23	Niger	5.066	---	50	Turkey	3.926	-4	78	Japan	2.299	-1
24	Kenya	5.047	-3	51	Angola	3.901	-1	79	Kenya	2.292	+1
25	Mozambique	5.042	+10	52	Belgium	3.826	-1	80	India	2.18	+1
26	Yemen	5.027	-7	53	Canada	3.801	-1	81	France	2.026	-1
27	Burkina Faso	5.018	+10	54	Sri Lanka	3.800	-4	82	Madagascar	1.927	-10

Figure 1: Country rank based on Global Terrorism Index 2019.
Source: Global Terrorism Index, 2019.

RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK CHANGE	RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK CHANGE	RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK CHANGE
1	Algeria	6.901	---	26	United States of America	4.981	-1	56	Ecuador	3.765	-2
2	Iran	6.296	-1	28	Germany	4.849	-1	57	Argentina	2.857	-1
3	Somalia	6.267	---	29	Iran	4.776	-1	58	Iran	2.854	-1
4	Burkina Faso	6.270	-1	30	Israel	4.752	-1	59	Netherlands	2.822	-1
5	Yemen	6.202	---	31	United Kingdom	4.732	-1	60	Kenya	2.428	-1
6	Nigeria	6.233	-1	32	Pakistan	4.735	-1	61	Mexico	2.428	-1
7	India	6.037	---	33	Germany	4.719	-1	62	Yemen	2.354	-1
8	Niger	5.956	-1	34	France	4.693	-1	63	Malaysia	2.247	-1
9	Philippines	5.955	-1	35	France	4.682	-1	64	Paraguay	2.184	-1
10	Kenya	5.913	-1	36	Tanzania	4.530	---	65	Kenya	2.165	-1
11	Indonesia	5.912	-1	37	Iran	4.471	-1	66	Netherlands	2.077	-1
12	Colombia	5.822	-1	38	Tanzania	4.442	-1	67	China	1.982	-1
13	Colombia	5.768	---	39	Algeria	4.332	-1	68	Belgium	1.915	-1
14	Egypt	5.762	-1	40	Bangladesh	4.421	-1	69	Sweden	1.900	-1
15	Egypt	5.622	-1	41	New Zealand	4.395	-1	70	Japan	1.893	-1
16	Philippines	5.792	-1	42	Costa Rica	4.352	-1	71	Kenya	1.893	-1
17	Democratic Republic of the Congo	5.733	-1	43	Burundi	4.271	-1	72	Kenya	1.893	-1
18	Chad	5.676	-1	44	Russia	4.239	-1	73	Kenya	1.893	-1
19	Kenya	5.668	-1	45	Uganda	4.198	-1	74	Kenya	1.893	-1
20	Kenya	5.619	-1	46	Vietnam	4.055	-1	75	Kenya	1.893	-1
21	Kenya	5.619	-1	47	Tanzania	3.988	-1	76	Kenya	1.893	-1
22	Thailand	5.723	-1	48	Caracas	3.892	---	77	Kenya	1.893	-1
23	Turkey	5.607	-1	49	Ethiopia	3.769	-1	78	Kenya	1.893	-1
24	Indonesia	5.595	-1	50	Iran	3.697	-1	79	Kenya	1.893	-1
25	Tanzania	5.495	-1	51	Lebanon	3.596	-1	80	Kenya	1.893	-1
26	Kenya	5.492	-1	52	Algeria	3.261	-1	81	Kenya	1.893	-1
27	Iran	5.015	---	53	Brazil	3.164	-1	82	Kenya	1.893	-1
				54	Saudi Arabia	3.152	-1				
				55	Spain	2.861	-1				

Figure 2: Country rank based on Global Terrorism Index 2022.
Source: Global Terrorism Index, 2022.

The rise in Indonesia's ranking indicates that the reconciliation efforts using political, economic, and military approaches have not been effective enough, thus requiring consideration of social-cultural patterns and theories such as: geopolitics theory, national resilience theory, social contract theory, Abraham Maslow's theory, hybrid warfare theory, David Galula's COIN theory, VUCA theory, universal people's war strategy theory, intelligence theory, psychological warfare theory, and propaganda theory.

1.1. Geopolitical Theory

Bert Chapman (2011) stated that geopolitics is dynamic, reflecting international realities and the global power constellations that arise from the interaction of geography on one hand, and technological, political, and economic

developments on the other. Therefore, geopolitics can also be defined as the contention or rivalry between great powers (incumbents) and aspiring great powers (challengers) for control over a territory, resources, and influence, (Michael Klare, 2003.)

1.2. National Resilience Theory

Lemhannas RI (2021) stated that national resilience is a dynamic condition of the Indonesian nation that contains resilience in all aspects of national life that are integrated in facing threats, disruptions, obstacles, and challenges to ensure the identity, integrity, survival of the nation and state, as well as the struggle to achieve national goals. National resilience is one of the national doctrines that must be continuously nurtured and developed to increase national strength through national development. In its implementation, the implementation of the national resilience concept in national development must be based on national values sourced from the four basic national consensus consisting of Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), and *Sesanti Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. Therefore, the results and national development as a life process must be measurable according to the formulated parameters so that the achieved condition can be used as a basis for planning future national development. To achieve this, continuous efforts need to be made from the personal, family, community, and environmental levels. The National Resilience Approach uses the concept of prosperity and security approach, which includes 8 national strength domains that influence or interact with each other and need to be continuously nurtured, namely: Geography, Natural Resource, Demography, Ideology, Politics, Economy, Socio-Culture, and Defense and Security. Instability in political and social conditions of society (political and social unrest) will damage the other domains of national strength because these 8 domains will continue to interact, in relationships that reinforce or weaken each other, and all domains are seen as a comprehensive whole. The resilience of each domain is dynamic and constantly changing according to the level of development against the changing forces in the strategic environment.

1.3. Hybrid Warfare Theory

Hoffman (2007) stated that this war combines political, conventional, and non-conventional warfare (irregular warfare). Traditional military concepts will have difficulty in handling this hybrid war because the beginning and source of the conflict are not clearly known. This has caused NATO to have difficulty defining the concept of hybrid warfare in its rigid taxonomy of war because the war strategy uses a combination of conventional and unconventional warfare, hence it is also called grayzone warfare, psychological warfare, information warfare, cyber warfare, and biological warfare. This hybrid war shows a change in strategy in exploiting the enemy's vulnerabilities. NATO uses three ways to deal with hybrid warfare: detection, defense, and response. NATO continues to collect, share, and evaluate information to detect and attribute any ongoing hybrid activities.

1.4. Counterinsurgency Theory (COIN)

David Galula (1964) stated that the center of gravity in COIN strategy is "winning the hearts and minds of the people," assuming that insurgent movements will die or fail if they do not have the support of the population. Galula argues that an ideal COIN theory would use 80% political aspects and 20% military aspects. In his book, *Counterinsurgency Warfare*, Galula stated that an insurgency is a protracted struggle carried out methodically, step by step, to achieve a particular goal of overthrowing a legitimate government. Insurgencies are more difficult to predict than revolutions because their beginnings are very obscure, making it difficult to predict when an insurgency will start. Insurgencies become a form of civil war, but there are differences in each case. Civil wars can suddenly divide a country into two groups, and after a brief period of confusion, they can control some territory and existing armed forces. Civil wars are wars between groups similar to international wars, but the opponent is a fellow citizen, as in the American Civil War and the Spanish Civil War. The key to fighting insurgencies is to cut off their strength and other critical resources to weaken the insurgency ("Starve the enemy, cut them from the power source and other critical resources").

1.5. Intelligence Theory

The Law No. 17 of 2011 states about the conduct of intelligence, security, and gathering activities in dealing with threats and projections of future threats to the state. According to Lemhannas (2021), the function and purpose of intelligence are to detect and prevent strategic surprises from various problem dynamics that potentially threaten the national security of a country and protect its integrity and continuity. By conducting early detection, the state can take further strategic steps such as early warning, early prevention, and early enforcement. Awareness of current geopolitical dynamics is an essential aspect for intelligence practitioners.

1.6. Social Contract Theory

J. J. Rousseau stated that an individual is willing to exchange their individual freedom for a certain freedom such as political, economic, social, cultural, security, peace, and so on because humans are inherently good but society turns them into evil. Therefore, law enforcement is the key to maintaining security and order in society, although law enforcement in Indonesia is often seen as a last resort or ultimum remedium when prevention efforts fail. Emile Durkheim, in his book *The Rules of the Sociological Methods* (1962), states that no society in the world is free from the problem of crime or criminality. The form of crime will always change and its actions will continue to change due to the presence of people who try to exploit loopholes in criminal law, which tends to be static. Society is required to be able to determine forms of punishment, both normative forms such as imprisonment, fines, and execution, as well as social punishments such as isolation, or shame as a representation of moral boundaries possessed by a society. Security in the Durkheimian perspective refers to the ability of society to respond to crime, which is represented by various forms of community efforts to deal with crime that is an inseparable part of the development of society itself (social facts).

1.7. Abraham Maslow Theory

An American psychologist, an expert in personality theory and the hierarchy of human needs, in his paper "A Theory of Human Motivation" (1943), believed that self-actualization is a means for humans to achieve their wholeness. Each person has a fundamental potential that can be developed into a strength from which humans will be able to move towards self-actualization by developing their basic potential into a force within the hierarchy of human needs that need to be fulfilled gradually and integrated, starting from physical, security, social, and esteem needs. The self-actualization phase is the phase we hope will occur in society, with the highest and most difficult hierarchy because it requires the fulfillment of needs in the previous phases. Individuals who have achieved self-actualization are individuals who have reached maturity, who can regulate themselves well, can handle life pressures well so that they can work with enthusiasm, happiness, and even appreciate differences, dare to take measured risks, and can solve problems well. This is the kind of society we hope for in building a strong and sovereign nation.

1.8. VUCA Theory

Warren Bennis and Burt Nanus (1987) stated that VUCA is an acronym for Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity, Ambiguity. VUCA is a challenge that every organizational leader must face, involving disruption, gravitational shifts, behavioral changes, and increasingly fierce competition. Traditional leadership is outdated, too slow, and ineffective in a turbulent and constantly changing environment. Therefore, organizational leaders need a new style and model of leadership that is agile in facing the multi-dimensional threats of VUCA. The nature of the VUCA phenomenon is:

1. Volatility: The world is changing rapidly, unstable, and unpredictable.
2. Uncertainty: The future is full of uncertainty. Past data is no longer relevant for predicting probabilities and what will happen.
3. Complexity: The modern world is more complex than ever before. Problems and their consequences involve multiple dimensions that influence each other, making it difficult for leaders to draw conclusions.
4. Ambiguity: The geopolitical environment of the world is becoming more ambiguous, confusing, unclear, and difficult to understand. Every situation will create multiple interpretations.

1.9. Total People's War Strategy Theory

The doctrine of total people's war was developed through Mao Zedong's experiences, which stated that every citizen must participate in defending the country using guerrilla warfare strategies. Mao said that the basics of guerrilla warfare must be developed in line with the "actual conditions of future warfare." Mao also hinted at abandoning outdated teachings and replacing them with new ones in response to changing objective conditions. Mao changed the strategy, especially in the concept of deterrence, where the country must have the ability to deter the enemy from entering its territory, thereby no longer needing to carry out total people's war in the form of guerrilla warfare. Prabowo, the Defense Minister of Indonesia (2019), stated that the defense concept in Indonesia is based on the concept of "total people's security defense," which means that if the country is forced to engage in war, the war strategy used is "total people's war," which was born from the nation's history that every citizen has the right and obligation to defend the country. In facing current and future threat projections, deterrence efforts are needed in the concept of total people's defense, one of which is using the *pentahelix* concept introduced by Freeman (1984), which is the synergy between government, media, business actors, academics, and society. This interactive relationship will drive thinking power, which ultimately will produce new ideas, which run through a continuous process resulting in the development of knowledge and insights that are of increasingly higher quality.

1.10. Psychology Warfare Theory

According to the United States military, psychological warfare tactics are a vital element in various ideological, political, economic, and military actions. If used properly, psychological operations can reduce the morale and combat efficiency of enemy forces and create dissatisfaction within their ranks. Psychological operations can create civil resistance against opposing regimes or can be used to enhance the image of a legitimate government. Baev (2011), a professor at the International Peace Research Institute Oslo, wrote that "psychological operations can become a dominant operational and strategic weapon in the form of media/information intervention. The main targets are enemy population support and the general public's support for the government and the war. News in the mass media can become a stronger operational weapon than armored divisions."

1.11. Propaganda Theory

Harold Lasswell (Lasswell, 1927) explained that propaganda has five elements: "who says what in which channel to whom with what effect." "Who" (source/communicator) refers to the main actor/party who needs to communicate or initiates communication, which can be an individual, group, organization, or country as the communicator. "Saying what" (message) refers to the content of the information that will be conveyed/communicated to the recipient (communicant) from "who" (source/communicator). "In which channel" (channel/media) refers to the vehicle/tool for delivering the message from "who" (source/communicator) to the communicant (recipient), either directly (face-to-face) or indirectly (through electronic and print media). "To whom" (target) refers to the person, group, organization, and country that receives the message from "who" (source/communicator). "With what effect" refers to the impact/effect on the communicant (recipient) after receiving the message from "who" (source/communicator), resulting in attitude, behavior, opinion, and knowledge changes. Ștefan Vladutescu (Kunandar, 2017) identified one communication principle in propaganda, namely the principle of target groups. The principle of target groups is to know and choose a suitable target audience, whether individuals or groups. This relates to the effectiveness of propaganda work, which tends not to choose a mass audience because it is considered ineffective. Propagandists choose a certain audience (a certain social group or "opinion leader"). Researchers will use this theory to find out the effectiveness of racism propaganda issues in triggering riots in Papua and West Papua.

Studying the ongoing situation in Papua which is still volatile due to the acts of terror and provocation by the Papua Separatist Movement seeking international support for a referendum and independence from Indonesia, therefore in this research, the problem formulation chosen is: How to implement the strategy of people's war to overcome the Papua Separatist Movement's movement?

2. Research Methods

This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach, which is a problem formulation that guides the research to explore or portray the social situation being studied thoroughly, broadly, and deeply. According to Bogdan and Taylor (2010) cited from Lexy J. Moleong (1989), qualitative approach is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written or oral words from people and observed behaviors. Qualitative research focuses on social phenomena, giving voice to the feelings and perceptions of participants under study. The descriptive research design will be used to answer questions about who, what, when, where, and how it relates to the specific research. In addition, the descriptive research design is used to obtain information about the variable phenomenon status or situational conditions. As found in the work of Wakefield et al, descriptive studies are presented in sequence such as conceptual construction, theory used, purpose, methodology, and findings, which are used to explain phenomena (Wakefield, Talbert, & Pense, 2006).

The descriptive research design and history in this research are in the area of qualitative research, where researchers have a very wide opportunity to deepen the information obtained (Black & Ubbes, 2009). Because this research is related to the history and diplomatic problems carried out by the Indonesian government at present, including the theory of the strategy of people's war in the defense system of the people's security, it is also a part of this research method. The phenomenon related to the legitimacy of Papua's entry into the Republic of Indonesia will be explained from various perspectives such as historical, means, ways, and ends of Papua Separatist Movement, normative integration, functional integration, international relations, as well as international legal basis as a fundamental instrument of Indonesia's diplomacy in the international world. The application of international law in the process of the entry of the West Irian region as a legacy of Dutch colonialism is important to be understood by all parties who have interests in the Papua issue, which by a small group of domestic, regional, and global communities always try to create space for conflict, with the aim of seceding Papua from the Republic of Indonesia. Overall, the methodology used in this research applies a systematic literature review (SLR). SLR is a research method that summarizes primary research to show more comprehensive and balanced evidence (Siswanto, 2010). The data collection technique used through various literature studies such as books, scientific journals, *Lemhannas* Research paper, and media articles.

3. Analysis

War has been an inevitable threat since the beginning of human civilization, and the history of past wars will be the background for future wars. Therefore, the government needs to build early awareness and preparedness to maintain civil order and prevent escalation into civil emergencies, military emergencies, or even war. In a healthy society with nationalistic character and patriotic mentality, there will be a strong and prosperous country. In this theory of hybrid warfare, the methods and patterns used are different, not rigid like in conventional warfare that tends to rely on sophisticated mass destruction machines and requires huge costs. This war utilizes non-conventional or soft power that can disrupt ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural, and defense security stability. Soft power strategy or psychological warfare, disinformation, and propaganda are more dangerous and have a massive impact because they are not visible to the naked eye and do not violate the United Nations Charter Article 2 Paragraph (4), which states that "all member states in their international relations refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations", so this war is not easy to resolve like in physical or hard power war. The use of hard power will provoke the intervention of the UN and humanitarian forces which generally also cause severe and massive human rights violations.

The Papua Separatist Movement both inside and outside the country needs to be taken seriously to prevent the rolling of the Papua issue in international forums and to maintain the integrity of the Indonesian territory. Therefore, efforts are needed to optimize foreign diplomacy in facing Papua separatist actions by maximizing a diplomacy approach (Soft Power) to South Pacific countries including other friendly countries in the fields of culture, technical assistance, economic capacity building, and good governance in the political field. As for the Papua people, it can be done through socio-cultural approaches, increasing OAP's understanding of the validity of international laws such as UN Resolution 2504, law enforcement, respect for human rights, accelerating the development of community welfare, and creating opinions through social media.

In accordance with the instruction of the President of Indonesia to comprehensively address separatism in Papua and address its root causes, such as through a welfare approach, the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) is taking on a role to assist the Indonesian National Police (Polri) and local governments in maintaining security and improving the welfare of the community by resolving conflicts and promoting social and cultural integration. A historical example of this approach is seen during the reign of King Hayam Wuruk of the Majapahit Kingdom, where a Maharesi named Mpu Wiranatha, also known as Mpu Tantular VI, lived. In Sanskrit, the word "Tantular" means "unwavering" or "firm in principles", and Mpu Tantular was famous for his work, the *Kakawin Sutasoma*, which includes the famous phrase "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, Tanhana Dharma Mangrva" in stanza 139, line 5. This phrase means "although different, we are one, there is no duality in truth, that is devotion to our country and nation" (in the context of the Majapahit Kingdom). Mpu Tantular wrote the *Sutasoma* to criticize Patih Gajah Mada, who laid a fragile foundation for unifying the Nusantara region through military, economic, and religious strategies alone. As an alternative, Mpu Tantular used a social and cultural approach to address the multidimensional crisis facing the Majapahit Kingdom at that time. In the *Sutasoma*, he stated that unity was the fundamental factor in overcoming the decline of the Majapahit Kingdom, and thus he proposed the idea of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. In the 14th century, Mpu Tantular was already aware of the threat posed by the diversity of the Nusantara society of that time, and this realization came from his deep contemplation of the social and cultural reality of the community at that time in order to unite them and overcome the crisis. In the context of that time, stanza 139 line 5 was emphasized on the issue of harmony between the followers of the Siwa (Hindu) and Jina (Buddha) religions, which were widely practiced by the people of the Majapahit Kingdom at that time. Harmony was necessary to enable the collective performance of dharma, as harmony alone without the performance of dharma would be useless. The dharma was aimed at the greatness of the Majapahit Kingdom as a whole, and not for any other interests, i.e., duality (*Tanhana Dharma Mangrva*). Therefore, the spirit of harmony was based on a noble purpose that was implemented in community life, and it became the main pillar of unity among the followers of different religions, which led the Majapahit Kingdom to achieve its peak in less than 75 years, and become a great power.

According to the annual report from Amnesty International (2021), which tends to discredit the government regarding the human rights situation in Indonesia, it worsened throughout 2020, especially with the situation of impunity from security forces that continues in Papua, as well as restrictions on freedom of expression and opinion that do not meet international human rights standards. "This report highlights again that the Indonesian government does not have a strong commitment to the enforcement and protection of human rights," and there have been continuous unlawful killings in Papua and West Papua without regard for justice and clear accountability as a reflection of this weak commitment. "Throughout 2020, there were at least 19 cases of alleged unlawful killings with a total of 30 victims carried out by security forces in Papua and West Papua," quoting Usman Hamid, Executive Director of Amnesty International Indonesia, a Master of Philosophy alumni from The Australian National University in 2016, he also was a Chevening fellow at the University of Nottingham in 2009 and a visiting scholar at Columbia University in 2003. The report noted at least 132 cases of violations of freedom of expression with a total of 157 victims that do not comply with the ITE Law, including 15 activists and four journalists, making it the highest number of violations in the past six years. In March 2022, the organization also condemned the human rights violations committed by the Papua Separatist Movement, which were shootings that killed eight telecommunications network workers in Beoga district. However, according to data on the ground, human rights violations have been mostly committed by the Papua Separatist Movement in recent years.

Actually, the realization of the New Autonomous Region (NAR) in Papua could be the best effort to bring about accelerated development and equality as a right that must be received by Papua citizens who are part of the Republic of Indonesia. With the NAR, of course, this will provide a new opportunity for native sons to further develop their potential. This expansion contains the goal of dividing the tasks of regional government, which are increasingly specific and more focused on detailed regions and communities. Many aspirations have emerged in society for the formation of NARs in Papua. The spirit of Papua expansion emerged considering the vastness of the region and the need for accelerated development in Papua, as well as efforts to strengthen Indonesia's territorial integrity. Security disturbances in Papua are the main root of the problem, in addition to economic and poverty issues. Thus, the establishment of NARs is one of the government's good intentions to accelerate development and simplify bureaucracy. After NARs are built, it is hoped that people who want to handle administrative affairs can get faster services due to the reduced distance. The establishment of NARs will certainly be accompanied by the

construction of new police/military headquarters, so it is expected that security in Papua will become stronger, and security disturbances in the easternmost region of Indonesia can be suppressed.

However, the National Command of the West Papua National Liberation Army (WPNLA) under the leadership of Chief of General Staff Terryanus Satto and spokesperson Sebby Sebby Sambom, declared that: WPNLA Rejects All Development Programs in Papua by the Colonial Government of the Republic of Indonesia and Issues a Strong Warning; Remember that Papua will surely be independent, because the national awakening has arisen through the young generation of Papua and their persistent struggle in this era of globalization, Indonesia will not be able to extinguish it; Remember that the experience of Timor-Leste is a valuable lesson, because after Papua gains independence, we will seek native Papuans to create new provinces that truly benefit Papuans, not just for the benefit of Colonial Indonesia; You can work with the Colonial Government of the Republic of Indonesia to meet your livelihood needs, but remember not to sacrifice the right to life of native Papuans; Please follow the struggle of young Papuans, and fight hard to achieve the independence of the Papuan nation.

The Papua Separatist Movement demands independence for Papua from the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The diversity of ethnic groups in Indonesia has become a threat to national security when infiltrated by personal ambitions from actors within and outside the country. Racial differences and social inequalities are used by the Papua Separatist Movement to seek international support under the pretext of human rights violations committed by the Indonesian government. Furthermore, the Papua Separatist Movement is able to kill soldiers and Papua residents themselves in order to declare their existence and attract international media attention. This is one of the evidence of the weakness of the values of unity in the third principle of Pancasila held by some Indonesian society. This is also evidence of how easily Indonesian society can be trapped in divisive politics and thus hurt and destroy each other. This opens up great opportunities for state and non-state actors who want to create division in Indonesia, by turning the potential of diversity in Indonesia into a threat to the defense of the Indonesian state.

Therefore, the nationalistic strengthening program (normative integration) in Papua can be a solution to solve the disintegration crisis in Papua. There are three major issues that need attention regarding the problems in Papua: the politics of NKRI vs abolition politics, empowerment of community components, and defense and security of the border. These three themes reflect phenomena related to the socio-cultural aspects of Papua society and defense and security issues with the concept of defending the country that then gives birth to a new theory, "Defense Anthropology" as a concept of defending the country in Papua in implementing the strategy of a people's war. Human resources are an important component in achieving these goals. In addition to facing human resources conditions that are still inadequate, the lack of implementation of the value of Indonesian unity makes this strategy more difficult to implement. Therefore, efforts are needed to improve human resources, especially OAP, to become one of the sources of strength for the strategy applied by the state in improving defense, such as a people's war strategy. The required people's war strategy is a comprehensive and inclusive strategy, meaning that cooperation with various parties is maximized so that the improvements that occur can be comprehensive. In this regard, the participation of the government and existing organizations is highly expected to maintain integrity with the Papuan community. The government's actual programs such as Stunting, Kampung Pancasila, and others are already appropriate, but they need to be more equitable and more comprehensive so that the benefits can be truly felt.

Concrete steps taken by the government to carry out normative and functional integration in Papua.

I. Foreign Policy: Regional Diplomacy.

The following are concrete efforts of the Indonesian government in conducting foreign diplomacy that can create shared prosperity and security in the region: On December 7-8, 2002, the Indonesia Pacific Forum for Development (IPFD) was held as a manifestation of Indonesia's consistent commitment to enhancing cooperation with Pacific countries within the vision of Pacific Elevation. This was evidenced by the Indonesia South Pacific Forum in 2019; and Pacific Exposition in 2019 and 2021; Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) in 2022; and 10 projects in the context of the G20 that can be utilized by Pacific countries, two of which are initiatives from the Indonesian government. The IPFD meeting discussed the theme of "Grow and Prosper Together," which addressed two main

issues: economic development and human resource development. The meeting not only took place at the intergovernmental level but also at the inter-company level, along with three workshops related to several major challenges faced by Pacific countries in economic recovery, namely disaster mitigation, the development of SMEs, and women's empowerment, in addition to several common issues in the future:

1. Realizing a peaceful, stable, and prosperous Pacific region through strategic trust; spirit of collaboration, respect for international law including sovereignty and territorial integrity by jointly building a strong and inclusive regional architecture; and encouraging wider participation between ASEAN and the Pacific through the implementation of the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific.
2. Building concrete cooperation and not just limited to political commitments in order to benefit the people in all Pacific countries such as food security, climate change, disaster mitigation, and blue economy issues. In addition, there should be deeper connectivity and kinship among Pacific countries through education, sports, and cultural exchanges.
3. Creating a foundation for comprehensive and inclusive development that links one initiative to another so that when these initiatives are connected, they will produce greater impacts for Pacific countries.

Until now, Indonesia has carried out a lot of development cooperation with Pacific countries. During the period of 1999-2021, the Indonesian government has provided 211 technical and development assistance to 1,900 participants with materials adjusted to the needs of each Pacific country. In the field of food security, Indonesia provides training in fisheries in cooperation with the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG); and the Regional Agriculture Training Center in Fiji to strengthen food security in the Pacific region. Other programs include hospital development plans in the Solomon Islands; trade and investment cooperation for MSMEs; and scholarships for Pacific students. IPFD can also be beneficial in the development of trilateral cooperation for the Pacific, namely Australia, Japan, and Korea, to strengthen inclusive cooperation with Pacific countries.

II. Domestic policy. Regional development, welfare, and human resources in Papua.

The realization of the New Autonomy Region (NAR) in Papua can be the best effort in bringing about acceleration of development and economic, education, health, infrastructure, and security equity as rights that must and should be received by Papuan citizens as part of the Republic of Indonesia. The existence of NAR certainly will provide many new opportunities for local sons to develop their potential. This expansion aims to divide the increasingly specific regional government tasks, reach remote areas and communities better, and be in line with the aspirations that have developed within the community. The spirit of Papua's expansion arose from the needs of OAP and the good intentions of the government in accelerating development and simplifying bureaucracy in Papua, which has a very large area. Thus, with the existence of NAR, the people of Papua can receive better and faster services, which will also be accompanied by the development of new police/military headquarters to make security defense in Papua more stable and strong.

3.1. *Pentahelix* Concept

The VUCA phenomenon has generated competition in collectively adapting quickly and providing flexible multidimensional responses according to the dynamics that arise in a short time, requiring effective horizontal collaboration among all stakeholders, in addition to vertical command chain efficiency within the internal organizational structure to thwart the efforts of state enemies in exploiting security vulnerabilities and maintaining social order. The government can adopt the *pentahelix* concept to optimize its collaboration with a body that functions as the leading sector, along with all state institutions, government ministries and agencies, academia, mass media, businesses, and communities, where all stakeholders and components of the nation have clear motivations according to their respective functions in seeking solutions and knowledge. It is also necessary to avoid having institutions with excessive authority and power since absolute power tends to corrupt.

Institutional synergy is essentially intended as support for the state in combating strategic threats that can endanger national security defense. Although cooperation in realizing the synergy of defense and security management has been carried out by various institutions, there are still some challenges or obstacles.

Firstly, the suboptimal cooperation between responsible institutions is a problem that arises in inter-institutional cooperation, with sectoral ego, differences in orientation, vision, and mission, which impacts competition among sectors to outdo one another, ultimately disregarding the greater interests of the nation and Indonesia. In the Theory of Synergy, understanding and agreement are key to forming good institutional synergy. Good communication and coordination, both formal and informal, are essential instruments in forming a shared perspective in managing defense and security. Another factor that supports the optimization of cooperation between institutions is the application of the Whole of Government (WoG) concept as an interagency approach involving relevant institutions.

The collaboration between WoG and an integrated digital system is expected to force each institution to work by a system with aligned goals, targets, and treatments to eliminate sectoral egos and provide clarity of capacities that become the authority of each stakeholder. Furthermore, from a regulatory aspect, Presidential Regulation No. 18 of 2020 on the National Medium-Term Development Plan 2020-2024 in the Development Agenda to Strengthen Political, Legal, Security and Defense Stability and Public Service Transformation outlines plans to improve the justice system, regulate and govern cybersecurity. The National Medium-Term Development Plan 2020-2024 is a starting point in achieving Indonesia's 2045 Vision of an advanced Indonesia with several indicators, including infrastructure, human resource quality, public services, and better welfare for the people. Therefore, to curb sectoral egoism, encourage cooperation and interconnectedness in the management of defense and security, all forms of communication and coordination should be directed towards implementing the National Medium-Term Development Plan. In addition, the national social media development colored by radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism propaganda often appears in cyberspace in the form of narratives, films, and social media groups, so by utilizing the number of internet users in Indonesia, the government can invite overseas digital service providers to comply with the regulations made by Indonesian authorities. The involvement of defense and security actors is an important government program in prevention efforts and strengthening partnerships.

Secondly, the ineffective communication and coordination between the executive, judiciary, legislative, and society regarding various defense and security regulation studies is still a problem. Similar to the issue of sectoral egos, each party has their own interests in defense and security matters, while the government wants to ensure optimal management of defense and security for all Indonesian people, the DPR wants to ensure good legislation that aligns with their political or constituent interests, and the people want to ensure strong protection of the rights of every Indonesian citizen. For example, the legislative process of the Cyber Security and Resilience Bill was protested by civil society group SAFEnet because it was deemed to contain provisions that restrict freedom of speech; the formulation of the Personal Data Protection Bill did not progress well due to differences in opinions regarding supervisory authority between the DPR and Kominfo; and the revision of the ITE Law has not yet been included in the prolegnas because it still needs to "listen to the aspirations of the people". Therefore, effective means of communication and coordination need to be created to raise awareness among all parties that defense and security issues should not be turned into sectoral egos, but rather seen as conditions that threaten national security and need to be addressed jointly by all parties. Thus, the government must take the lead in initiating efforts to strengthen coordination with various relevant stakeholders.

Coordination and communication with the DPR and local governments need to be continuously improved, to establish understanding and agreement in producing regulations (both rules and budgeting) that can support defense and security management. The synergy of all stakeholders is very important, realized through understanding and agreement on clear capacity and authority distribution among stakeholders; good partnerships between government agencies, businesses, academia, media, society, and the media within the framework of the *pentahelix*; establishment of partnerships with international organizations, bilateral or multilateral cooperation with other countries, and effective communication between the components of the Trias Politica that can act as Coordinator, Regulator and Controller with society in formulating regulations. To ensure the realization of legal certainty, legal justice, and legal benefit in defense and security management, the certainty of law enforcement is needed, implemented through the application of appropriate law enforcement methods, not only for the purpose of punishment and repression, but also for curative and rehabilitative functions. Approaches using local customs, culture, and wisdom that can support the creation of order, tranquility, orderliness, and security are worth supporting to create a conducive, harmonious, and sustainable situation/momentum. All of this is to create a

strategic surprise so that terrorist and separatist groups cannot develop their competitive advantage, especially with counter propaganda that actually enhances national development. Prevention aspects become the top priority in defense and security management, thus regulation on prevention aspects itself is needed in comprehensive defense and security regulations; the existence of a digitally and legally aware society; and the establishment of early detection, prevention, and counteraction mechanisms.

Regarding the challenges related to synergy, the issue that arises is related to the organization and the sectoral ego of the ministries responsible for defense and security, and the absence of regulations that govern who becomes the leading sector, how tasks and authorities are divided among ministries and agencies, and how the system works. The State Intelligence Agency (BIN) is expected to become an institution that can play a role as the leading sector in establishing coordination and cooperation between stakeholders including the Indonesian National Police, the Indonesian Armed Forces/Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and other ministries and agencies. Of course, all of these efforts need to be supported by competent human resources, information and communication technology, adequate facilities, infrastructure, and operational budgets:

1. The government as a regulator with authority capital; Learning from Sri Lanka's success in thwarting the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) insurgency revealed a successful strategy in counterinsurgency activities, unlike failed counterinsurgency operations such as in East Timor. Stephen L. Battle explains how Sri Lanka targeted the legitimacy of the rebels as the key to destroying the LTTE's positive relationship with Tamil people. The LTTE was forced to take actions that left them with no other choice but to fight against the Sri Lankan people and armed forces forever. An evaluation of the COIN strategy in Papua found that the Indonesian government was considered to have failed to meet the needs of the local Papuan people and was not able to gain international support in addressing the Papua Separatist Movement rebellion. This failure occurred because the Indonesian government attacked the armed and political front of the Papua Separatist Movement directly before winning the hearts and minds of the local people. In addition, the Indonesian government has not maximized its efforts in building good diplomatic relations and political lobbying with other countries, international communities and the United Nations in order to gain full support in crushing the Papua Separatist Movement rebellion. This situation provides an opportunity for the Papua Separatist Movement to win the competition for legitimacy and control over the Papuan people as the center of gravity and to gain support from foreign countries and communities.

As the owner of the authority capital, the government needs to continuously improve its diplomacy and cooperation with foreign countries and organizations that support the Papua Separatist Movement. Additionally, the government can distribute tasks and roles in synergy with all elements of the *pentahelix* to narrow the space for the Papua Separatist Movement fronts, namely political, clandestine, and armed fronts. This can be done through counter-propaganda efforts to win the hearts and minds of the people, socialization of government programs, increasing community immunity to disinformation and Papua Separatist Movement propaganda, and using a heterarchy organizational model for synergy:

1. To support government programs in a Structured, Systematic, and Massive (TSM) manner through synergy with other *pentahelix* components to build *Astagatra* strength with specific themes such as realizing Papua as the center of culture, economy, and civilization of the Melanesian race in the world, given that almost 80% of Melanesians in the world are in Indonesia.
2. Early detection, prevention, early interception, and counter-propaganda against all ITS (Issue Theme Scheme) of the Papua Separatist Movement.
 1. Synergy between Polri and other *pentahelix* components in early detection as intelligence data is crucial for these activities. Polri should collaborate with the State Intelligence Agency (BIN), the National Cyber and Crypto Agency (BSSN), the Intelligence Agency of the Indonesian Armed Forces (BAIS), and the Indonesian National Army (TNI) in early detection activities of disinformation, terrorism propaganda, and separatism. According to BIN's main duty and function as specifically regulated through Presidential Regulation No. 90 of 2012 concerning the State Intelligence Agency, as last amended by Presidential Regulation No. 79 of 2020, to enhance early detection and warning in securing the administration of government and national security stability, organizational strengthening of BIN as the first line of defense in the national security system is required. This means that BIN is the leading sector in early detection activities of disinformation, terrorism propaganda, and separatism in coordinating and formulating

intelligence policies together with BAIS and Polri. The role of BAIS, in accordance with Law No. 34 of 2004 in combating propaganda, is the Military Operation Other Than War (MOOTW), which assists government tasks in the region and supports Polri in maintaining public security and order. Experiences in Indonesia show that border areas have the potential to become hiding places and transit areas for terrorist group members, such as in Papua, the northern part of Sulawesi Island adjacent to southern Philippines, and border areas in Kalimantan. Besides the difficult-to-reach location and condition of the regions, the land and sea border areas in Indonesia are vast, and it is impossible to monitor them strictly. Therefore, the active role of BAIS TNI in overseeing and screening community groups around the border areas will undoubtedly be useful in preventing the development of terrorism actions in Indonesia. Polri can prepare an open complaint service application for all non-governmental *pentahelix* elements related to suspicious activities that lead to the creation and dissemination of disinformation, terrorism propaganda, separatism, and actions that violate the law. Another central issue most commonly used in propaganda is the uneven distribution of development in Papua, which not only compares development between Papua and Java Island but also between small regions in West Papua such as in Maybrat. In this area, the issue of inequality among the three major tribes can become a provocation in the community, especially if officials cannot accommodate the interests of each tribe evenly. Thus, marginalized tribes will create provocative issues to oppose the local government and authorities.

2. Police synergy with BSSN and Kominfo in early prevention activities. Polri collaborates with the State Intelligence Agency (BIN), Armed Forces Intelligence Agency (BAIS TNI), Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), the National Cyber and Crypto Agency (BSSN), and Ministry of Communication and Information Technology (Kominfo) to fulfill their security functions by blocking and deleting websites, blogs, contents, and social media accounts that spread disinformation, terrorist propaganda, and separatism. According to BSSN's main duties and functions regulated in Presidential Regulation No. 53 of 2017 on the State Cyber and Code Agency, Article 2 states that "BSSN is tasked with carrying out cyber security effectively and efficiently by utilizing, developing, and consolidating all elements related to cyber security." Therefore, BSSN as the leading sector in cyber security has the right to coordinate the blocking of disinformation, terrorist propaganda, and separatism together with Kominfo, TNI, and Polri. The government, in this case Kominfo, through Law No. 19 of 2016 on Information and Electronic Transactions, has the authority to control all information and electronic transactions that contain negative content and violate national laws and regulations; and monitor and block access to electronic system providers. This mandate is further detailed in Government Regulation No. 71 of 2019 on Electronic Systems and Transactions and Ministerial Regulation of Kominfo No. 5 of 2020 on Private PSE Scope. Some websites and social media outside of Indonesia that need to be addressed include the West Papua Action Network, an organization that conducts pro-Papua Separatist Movement propaganda and exposes human rights violations committed by Indonesian security forces on its website wpaction.org and social media such as Facebook since 2009 to gain international support. International Lawyers for West Papua have been advocating for Papua's independence internationally and organizing campaigns to draw attention to the situation in Papua since 2014. Since the organization's website, ilwp.org, is no longer accessible, the propaganda has shifted to social media, specifically Twitter and Facebook. To eliminate the impression of militarism in resolving the Papua issue, the military district command can: increase social communication to create emotional closeness with all elements of society in Papua; provide regional resistance guidance through training and teaching on the archipelago's insight, national insight, unity in diversity, and scouting for school children; and foster the Indonesian Army's devotion through joint military service activities with the people to develop Papua.
3. Synergy between Polri and BNPT, TNI, and other elements of the *pentahelix* in early counter activities. In this activities, Polri mobilizes its forces and disseminates white propaganda (national propaganda) in collaboration with BNPT, TNI, and other elements of the *pentahelix* in a structured, systematic, and massive manner in accordance with the theory of hybrid warfare that uses political fronts' propaganda (80%) as the main tool in winning the hearts and minds of the people, which become the center of gravity (CoG) of the attack. The mobilization refers to all efforts, work, and activities carried out in a planned, directed, and coordinated manner with all stakeholders to create a favorable condition for national interests. Michael Mann (founder of a security services company in America) sees that throughout human civilization, the military, in any form, is the best provider of security and peace in society.

Based on Presidential Regulation Number 46 of 2010 concerning the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), the main tasks and functions of the BNPT are:

1. Formulating, coordinating, and implementing national policies, strategies, and programs for counter-terrorism in the areas of national readiness, counter-radicalization, and de-radicalization;
2. Coordinating between law enforcement agencies in counter-terrorism efforts;
3. Formulating, coordinating, and implementing national policies, strategies, and programs for counter-terrorism in the area of international cooperation;
4. Developing and establishing national policies, strategies, and programs in the field of counter-terrorism;
5. Conducting coordination of national policies, strategies, and programs in the field of counter-terrorism.

Strengthened by Law No. 5 of 2018 Articles 43E-43H, BNPT as the leading sector in early prevention of disinformation; and propaganda of radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism, declares to apply the *pentahelix* scheme in preventing and countering radicalism and terrorism in 2022. According to BNPT's website (2022), as the leading sector in the implementation of Presidential Regulation No. 7 of 2021 concerning the National Action Plan for Prevention and Countering of Violence-Based Extremism Leading to Terrorism, together with 48 related ministries/institutions, BNPT has carried out 97 actions, consisting of 69 actions on the prevention pillar, 19 actions on the law enforcement, protection of witnesses and victims, and strengthening of the national legislative framework, and 9 actions on the partnership and international cooperation pillar. According to BNPT Chairman Boy Rafli (2022), the total war against terrorism ideology cannot be overcome by a certain group or agency, but the entire society is involved. Therefore, BNPT continues to embrace various parties, both within the synergy team of ministries/institutions and the wider community, by applying the *pentahelix* cooperation concept to prevent ideologies that contradict the Indonesian nation's conception. BNPT declares its commitment to continuing to eliminate all forms of terrorism in the homeland, both politically and ideologically motivated, but even if not related to a particular religion, terrorist networks often abuse religious narratives to gain sympathy from the Indonesian society. BNPT maximizes the prevention aspect and supports the prosecution of terrorism cases with political motives, such as the Papua Separatist Movement in Papua, by maximizing the coordination role, especially with law enforcement agencies, to use terrorism criminal provisions firmly and measuredly. Then, in Law No. 34 of 2004 regarding the obligation of the Indonesian National Defense Forces (TNI) to combat radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism through Military Operation Other than War, which was later strengthened by Law No. 5 of 2018 Article 43I. There are at least two forms of military use for counter-terrorism:

Military forces can be used to assist the police and other security and public order apparatus in dealing with terrorism scenarios that have resulted in the loss of law and order in certain areas within the country.

TNI intelligence contributes to the gathering operation. The gathering operation is carried out to change the emotions, attitudes, behavior, opinions, and motivations of targets to create desired and favorable conditions through positive propaganda, political warfare, sabotage, resistance actions, and cultural warfare.

In addition, Polri as the guardian of public security and order, is obliged to carry out counter-propaganda by directly engaging with the community through seminars, education, online campaigns, or by organizing events that can foster national pride and patriotism. This is to prevent the community from being easily influenced by disinformation, radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism propaganda.

The mass media, as an expander with network capital and as one of the *pentahelix* elements that has a wide reach, can be an effective and efficient channel in socializing government programs and national education in the face of the rampant spread of invalid, disinformation, or even contradictory information to the four basic consensus within Indonesia's diverse society. The government can establish an MoU with the mass media to support strategic government programs and issues in a structured, systematic, and massive manner, such as disseminating government development programs and cooperation opportunities in Papua, counter-propaganda against the political front of the Papua Separatist Movement at the international and local levels, actively exposing human rights violations, legal violations, casualties, damage, and fear caused by the armed front of the Papua Separatist Movement, as well as reporting suspicious movements of the clandestine front of the Papua Separatist Movement.

The mass media plays a crucial role in preventing the spread of disinformation, terrorism, and separatism propaganda, so that the public can have immunity against these threats and limit the maneuvering space of radical terrorist groups against social media, which has been proven to spread unrest, fear, and polarization in society. Finally, the Indonesian National Police is expected to strictly enforce the law against those proven to have spread disinformation, terrorism, and separatist propaganda.

Business actors, as enablers who have working capital, can support work programs such as the Indonesia-Pacific Forum for Development (IPFD) initiated by Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno Marsudi as a manifestation of Indonesia's consistent commitment to enhance cooperation with Pacific countries in the vision of Pacific Elevation that raises the theme of "Grow and Prosper Together" related to economic development and human resource development. Business actors can partner with the government and the people in Papua to support the improvement and narrowing of the gap in the welfare, education, and health of indigenous Papuans. In addition, the police can also collaborate with business actors who also function as security actors in reducing the risk of cybercrime and cyber security infrastructure procurement because compared to the achievements and information technology possessed by other countries, the technology we use is relatively lagging behind. The high number of cases of disinformation and propaganda of terrorism and separatism in the virtual world is not comparable to the facilities and infrastructure we have. Based on data held by the Minister of Communication and Information (Kominfo), the growth of ICT infrastructure, including networks, access, and applications in Indonesia is still very low and only ranks fourth in the Southeast Asia region. The low level of technology infrastructure development is certainly one of the barriers for law enforcement to be able to detect early, prevent early, uncover and capture perpetrators of disinformation and propaganda of radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism. There needs to be an improvement in the communication system and an increase in the maneuvering capabilities of units in areas such as a communication system that can reach all mission areas for the speed and ease of access to information/intelligence and command and control. Meanwhile, the Intelligence Unit in monitoring the possibility of foreign agents assisting the Papua separatist struggle requires support from sophisticated intelligence equipment such as IT Provider devices for tapping opponent's phones.

Academia as a conceiver with Scientific Capital. The government collaborates with academia to create defense and security actors who can become both political and clandestine fronts, while also contributing to the assessment, research, advice, and input in dealing with the Papua Separatist Movement. Scientific Capital in defense and security dynamics refers to agents who have academic legitimacy to voice their views or knowledge about defense and security issues that can be operated at a practical level. Researchers, both civilian and military academics who have expertise in defense and security, along with think tank institutions, are important agents who have the power to build a discourse about defense and security. The approach of professionalism and expertise focuses on the dimension of actors/agents who are able to obtain mandates and authorities from the public to manage defense and security issues. Initially, the actors referred to were only those who had professions as security forces, such as the military, police, intelligence, and others. However, over time, expert actors emerged who were not security forces by profession but had deep knowledge and understanding of security. The presence of security defense experts has led to a division of authority when society wants to discuss security issues. Sociologically, if initially the debate on security was approached with a professional sociology perspective (military, police, intelligence, prosecutor), it shifted to the sociology of expertise (experts, academics, think tanks). In its development, many defense and security forces have also become security defense experts involved in defense and security think tanks. Discourse on scholarly knowledge and security policy is no longer solely the domain of defense and security institutions and actors, as the emergence of new actors from academia, civil society, and think tanks becomes a point of entry for society into defense and security policy. More and more professional security actors are involved in defense and security studies, so that expertise in defense and security is not only based on organizational doctrine but also on theoretical knowledge (scholar soldier/scholar policeman). This defense and security policy discourse also requires support from national and international defense and security expert networks.

Society as the accelerator that possesses Social Capital can generate a certain ability to improve the quality of life of society through its involvement in a community group. Social capital or one's authority is acquired when they can represent a group in voicing its interests. Social capital in the security field can consist of networks, both state and non-state, private and societal. For example, in an international context, NATO and the EU are traditional

networks that have been established after the Cold War, although they do not directly relate to security issues. However, non-state networks, such as banking, civil aviation, humanitarian institutions, and others, become very important to be empowered when a crisis situation occurs, including influencing the course of war. Therefore, the Government, along with defense and security actors such as security defense experts, community leaders, religious figures, and traditional leaders approach important figures in the Papua Separatist Movement, especially Benny Wenda (leader of the political front) and Goliath Tabuni (commander of the armed front) in building understanding, agreement, and cooperation that accommodates each other's interests for the sake of reconciliation, integration, unity, and harmony within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).

The integrative function of defense and security actors who can act as political fronts or clandestine fronts in promoting normative and functional integration in society includes: a critical review in resolving social conflicts and defense and security policies that are aligned with the cultural characteristics of society; social networking strategies in promoting social integration in society; social integration models for defense and security actors in society; fostering patterns of relationships between society and defense and security actors/institutions in increasing social resilience and reducing societal vulnerability; community control over defense and security programs; and the relationship between defense and security actors and society with paramilitary/vigilante mass organizations.

Currently, diversity, which is a characteristic of Indonesian society, is becoming a unique challenge. The Indonesian people must be able to turn this multiculturalism into a strength that can unite and bring people together, instead of allowing it to become a threat through provocative and disinformation content with SARA connotations. Society can generate real values through content, activities, advocacy, support, and education. These intangible values, which can be obtained from daily experiences, can make a plural society more familiar and compact because humans are essentially social beings who crave a sense of ownership and connection in a mission, vision, and meaning that motivates and gives a sense of responsibility in carrying out a joint mission while maintaining individual autonomy.

The proliferation of threats in cyberspace is widely seen as a negative impact of technological advancement. Actions such as the dissemination of disinformation, radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism propaganda have caused unrest, conflict, and disputes in society. If examined more deeply, this phenomenon is not solely the fault of technology, but rather of humans themselves. As technology is a human creation, humans should be the ones to control it, not the other way around. Thus, it can be concluded that the negative impact of social media is actually caused by the character of the nation and the values contained in Pancasila, which are declining. Building the character of the Indonesian nation (character building) is a necessity because character determines how someone thinks, acts, and reacts to a given situation. According to Sudarmanto (2011), the characteristics that must be built from childhood are: honesty, citizenship, courage, fairness, respect, responsibility, perseverance, caring, and self-discipline. Society also plays a crucial role in conducting positive propaganda through collaborative projects, blogs and microblogs, crowdsourcing, and social networking sites (such as YouTube, Instagram, TikTok, Facebook, etc.).

As explained above, Polri can leverage its position to establish strategic partnerships with various defense and security actors, traditional leaders, religious figures, community leaders, and society itself to counter propaganda and reduce the impact of disinformation, radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism. The modernization of early detection methods should also be carried out both domestically and abroad. According to the Ministry of Politics, Law, and Security, early detection is an effort to enhance the readiness of the police in managing domestic security, including in dealing with the threat of disinformation, radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism. In terms of prevention and mitigation efforts, early detection methods are carried out by involving the community through community policing activities. In this regard, the police have been actively nurturing and empowering communities down to the village level to monitor and report changes and dynamics in their surroundings so that the police can act quickly and effectively in responding to threats or symptoms that lead to terrorism and separatism.

The Indonesian National Police, as stated in Law No. 2 of 2002, is an institution that directly engages in protecting, caring for, and serving the community; upholding the law; preventing law violations; and maintaining public order and security. The competitive advantage of the police lies in their closeness to the community, serving them directly and receiving a wealth of information that can be processed and coordinated with other relevant institutions such as the National Intelligence Agency, the Armed Forces, the National Cyber and Encryption Agency, the Ministry of Communication and Information, and the National Counterterrorism Agency. Another advantage is that the police are a judicial subsystem responsible for upholding the law in Indonesia, so their responsibility ranges from prevention to enforcement. Therefore, the police need to collaborate with all elements of the *Trias Politica* and all components of society related to cyber security and ensuring public safety and order.

According to the statement of the Governor of Lemhannas Andi Widjajanto (2023), in facing the increasingly complex cyber threats, readiness is needed from all supporting components. Currently, the government is trying to make a breakthrough by forming a larger organizational structure for the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) by establishing a fourth branch of the TNI in the field of digital and cyber so that Indonesia's cyber defense capabilities and capacities can increase significantly.

4. Conclusions and Recommendations

4.1. Conclusions

Several foreign countries are still implementing the "divide and conquer" politics in Papua in order to control its rich natural resources and strategic geographic location. This foreign interference has fueled Papua nationalism in the struggle for independence through political fronts, clandestine fronts, and armed fronts by means of diplomacy, denial of international agreements (UN Resolution No. 2504), and disinformation that always corners the Indonesian government to gain support from the international community in advocating for a "referendum" option and rejecting the results of the *Pepera*. International support at that time caused the Indonesian government to successfully integrate Papua into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, this proves that foreign interference and international support are one of the important factors that we must control and be wary of, because with just 1-2 moments, conditions can change significantly and benefits the Papua Separatist Movement international diplomacy efforts to gain independence from Indonesia. Since 1972, due to the Indonesian central government's failure to acknowledge the capabilities of the armed and political rebel faction associated with the Papua Separatist Movement, international support for the Indonesian government started to dwindle so Indonesia must be able to maintain the support of international organizations, countries and communities in diplomatic relations and political lobbying so that the impacts of Papua Separatist Movement's efforts can be minimized

In addition, the government must also make efforts to limit Papua Separatist Movement from gaining political support, funding, and logistics supply. The government and security defense actors such as security defense experts, community leaders, religious leaders, and traditional leaders must approach important figures in the Papua Separatist Movement, especially Benny Wenda (leader of the political front) and Goliath Tabuni (commander of the armed front) in building understanding, agreement, and cooperation that accommodates each other for the sake of reconciliation, integration, union and unity within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

In accordance with J.J. Rousseau's theory of social contract, that a person is willing to exchange their individual freedom for protection against security, economic and socio-cultural issues, civil and political freedoms, as well as peace. Therefore, law enforcement can be one solution in maintaining public order and security, even though law enforcement is a last resort (*ultimum remedium*) if prevention efforts using customary law and social norms cannot be carried out properly. Effective law enforcement that meets the principle of usefulness is expected to support the realization of social conditions towards self-actualization, the highest phase in Abraham Maslow's theory of human needs. It is this kind of social condition that we hope for in building a prosperous, strong and sovereign nation where its people have mature thinking, are able to regulate themselves well, and are ready to face life pressures well so that they can work with enthusiasm, happiness, appreciate differences, and even take measured risks in solving problems.

Therefore, the government needs to form a large ecosystem and implement a universal people's war strategy in distributing tasks and functions using the concept of *pentahelix* to create synergy between the government as the owner of authority with society, who have social capital, academics who have knowledge capital, mass media that have a wide network of information, and business actors who have working capital and competence. This synergy is expected to build the complete strength of Papua's Astagatra, narrow the movement space of the Papua Separatist Movement, and increase the immunity of the community from provocation, propaganda, and the Papua Separatist Movement's doctrine, such as through white propaganda to win the hearts and minds of the Indonesian people, Papua Separatist Movement actors, including the international community through bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the fields of economy, health, and education in regional and international areas. Human resources are one of the important components in achieving these goals, but the lack of practicing the Indonesian unity motto and the inadequate competence of Papua's human resources make the implementation of the total people's war strategy in the Papua region not maximally executed. Therefore, improving the quality of Papua's human resources is a top priority through programs such as reducing stunting, economics improvement, Pancasila village, and other programs.

Winning a war is important, but winning a war without using physical/military force is much more important because the ultimate goal of waging war is to create peace and prosperity. Using violence will surely cause casualties and suffering on both sides. Therefore, in facing multidimensional threats in Papua, the use of soft power and outsmart strategies is needed rather than outwin strategies in exploiting the vulnerability of the Papua Separatist Movement group, such as using intelligence operations to weaken (attrition) or even eliminate (annihilation) the enemy's power by launching strategic surprise attacks so that the state's enemies and their allies cannot build their competitive advantages. Intelligence operations are basically to learn the nature of threats, build alertness, readiness, and become a constituent element in forming laws, especially towards the 2024 presidential election.

In accordance with the instruction of the President of the Republic of Indonesia to comprehensively resolve separatism in Papua by addressing its root causes such as a welfare approach, the Indonesian National Army (TNI) takes on the role of assisting the National Police and local government in maintaining security and improving the welfare of the community by eliminating conflicts and achieving integration through socio-cultural approaches such as the motto "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, Tanhana Dharma Mangrva" which means "unity in diversity, there is no duality in truth, which is devotion to the nation and the country" (in the context of the Majapahit Kingdom when this motto was created).

In rebuilding the glory of the nation, the government is also obliged to create a big dream to unite the nation, to show the direction of national policy and development strategy (build a unifying dream), to create a roadmap that functions to improve the harmony and coherence of all resource elements (clarity of mission), to guard and protect this dream by creating clear and targeted legislation as the legal basis for implementing national policy and development strategy (certainty of intend), and to ensure the certainty or consistency of the implementation of national development in accordance with what has been established in the 4 basic consensus (power of values) so that Indonesia is filled with great works and achievements, and not with the shedding of blood and tears of the nation.

In the context of Papua, the government, along with all the components of the *pentahelix*, works synergistically to realize Papua as the center of the culture, economy, and civilization of the Melanesian race in the world, considering that in 2015, nearly 80% of the Melanesian race in the world was in Indonesia, spread across the Maluku Islands, East Nusa Tenggara, and Papua, and the remaining 20% were spread across various Asia-Pacific countries such as Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, Timor-Leste, Fiji, New Caledonia, and the Solomon Islands.

The dream of realizing geopolitical projection in 2045 is a dream of Golden Indonesia that can be achieved through two methods. First, by developing a methodology for calculating geopolitical capacity to compare Indonesia's position with other countries. Second, by comparing Indonesia's position in five strategic topics, namely democratic consolidation, green economy, blue economy, digital transformation, and the resilience of the

Nusantara Capital. Overall, Indonesia has moderate geopolitical capacity. We must seize this golden opportunity with optimism and opportunism, being astute and agile in playing Indonesia's geopolitical role, in accordance with the message of our founding father, that "One cannot establish a strong National Defense, One cannot build a strong Nation, as a strong Nation-State, without geopolitical knowledge as its Foundation. (Bung Karno, May 1965)".

The calculation refers to three geopolitical dimensions, namely physical geography, human geography, and geographic instruments. To maximize geopolitical capacity, specific issues that need to be addressed, first, the physical geography, by continuing to promote sustainable development such as energy transition to increase Indonesia's ecological capacity to support human life in the future; second, the human geography, by improving the standard of living of people in various areas including education, economy, welfare, and security, as well as improving institutional maturity of governance; and third, the Geographic Instruments, by increasing Indonesia's relative defense capability in all areas and intensifying mastery of technology, especially in the fields of cyberspace and space utilization. *Trigatra* is managed effectively and efficiently to build national strength resilience (*Astagra*) by using a total people's war strategy.

4.2. Recommendations

Here are some efforts that can be done to reduce conflicts and initiate integration, namely:

1. According to the LIPI research, there are four major issues that are being addressed by the Papua Separatist Movement such as marginalization and discrimination issues, lagging development, violence and human rights violations, and the history and political status of Papua. Therefore, by studying these four issues and the strategic environment development, the government needs to make a projection of future threats and collaborate on this projection to build awareness and readiness for Space, Tools and the Conditions of the Warfare (*RAK Juang*) from all components of the *pentahelix* using geopolitical theory, total people's war strategy, and David Galula's counterinsurgency theory (COIN).
2. There are needs to build awareness from all stakeholders to create synergy and interoperability between regional spatial planning with defense regional spatial planning. According to Charles H. Cooley, ideal defense regional planning is a national interest in supporting Military Operations, Military Operations Other Than War, and efforts to maintain stability, security, order, and development of welfare, education, and health in Papua society. This regional planning should be communicated and coordinated with all stakeholders, such as the TNI, Polri, and local government, because improving the synergy of regional spatial planning, defense regional spatial planning, security, and natural resources can increase interoperability. This is in accordance with the principles of implementing the total people's war strategy which must consider the location, position, and geographical conditions; natural resources; and demographics of Indonesia, as well as people centric, holistic, and territorial based concepts.
3. Building a comprehensive resilience of Papua's *Astagra*, which includes Natural Resources, Demographics, Geography, Ideology, Politics, Economy, Social Culture, and Defense Security, starting with building its social culture and ideology.
4. Social media that is misused can change its function into a laboratory and a new battlefield for state enemies in the hybrid war era. Given that diversity cannot yet be a national asset, but rather seems to be a great burden in uniting and collaborating the strengths of all elements and levels of society, the counter propaganda that needs to be done is white propaganda related to patriotism, nationalism, national identity, national awareness, and national strength resilience. In carrying out counter propaganda, all *pentahelix* components should follow the principle of 'who says what in what channel to whom with what effect' so that this propaganda can be successful and effectively implemented.
5. The government and *pentahelix* components can overcome sectoral ego barriers by encouraging local governments and related ministries to actively socialize and positively portray the government's efforts to accelerate development progress to the native Papua community, especially to groups that have been influenced by opinions from the Papua Separatist Movement.
6. Regional leaders such as Regent and Mayor should take a leading role in addressing all issues in Papua so that the opinion that has been formed that the handling of the Papua Separatist Movement group in Papua is

the domain of security defense apparatus shifts to all existing regional government components, especially leaders who are responsible for creating security stability in their area.

7. The utilization of mass media such as TV, print media, radio, and the internet in a structured, systematic, and massive manner has proven to be very effective in shaping opinions so it can be used in promoting the four basic consensus, and correcting the history of Papua's return to the Republic of Indonesia by showcasing the extraordinary struggle and sacrifice of the historical figures, especially the former indigenous Papuan freedom fighters, so that the younger generation of Papua can be inspired to maintain the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. In addition, it is also necessary to expose all human rights violations committed by the Papua Separatist Movement, ranging from harassment to murder of the indigenous Papuan community and government officials, so that sympathy from the Papuan community and the international community decreases or even disappears.
8. The intensive and sustainable involvement of indigenous Papuan veteran freedom fighters is needed to reduce the influence and domination of the Papua Separatist Movement's opinions in society.
9. The TNI and other relevant agencies must closely monitor all permits and activities of foreign nationals entering the region, especially their activities, mobility, and interactions with the indigenous communities, as a counter-intelligence effort against the foreign party's efforts to mobilize political groups, clandestine groups, and armed groups of the Papua Separatist Movement.
10. The police are expected to provide legal education and prioritize positive law by enforcing the law strictly to give a deterrent effect to the perpetrators of treason and their groups.
11. There is a need for an improvement in the communication system and maneuvering capability of the assigned units. The necessary communication system is one that can quickly reach all assignment fields, facilitate access to information, intelligence, and command control. Meanwhile, the improvement in maneuvering can be done by adding the number of transport and combat helicopters to increase the speed of combat assistance, logistics delivery, evacuation, and combat action.
12. The intelligence units are expected to monitor the possibility of foreign agents helping the Papuan separatist movement, so in its implementation, it requires the support of special intelligence equipment that has advanced technology such as IT provider devices that can intercept opponents' cell phones.

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