

PAPUA UNDER JOKO WIDODO'S ADMINISTRATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR AUSTRALIA-INDONESIA BILATERAL RELATIONS

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ABSTRACT

The issue of Papua is a “pebble in the shoe” for Indonesia. Unresolved past human rights violations, discrimination, and poverty remains the spotlight of countries especially the South Pacific Island, not to mention Australia. Given the complexity of this region, Joko Widodo (Jokowi) has done some progress in this Eastern most Provinces. Development and security become the center of Jokowi’s approach, while at the same time slowly progressing on human rights issue. This research will have a particular focus on the policies of Jokowi from his first to second period regarding Papua. Furthermore, this research will discuss the implication of Jokowi’s policies to Papua for Australia-Indonesia bilateral relationship. This research uses descriptive research method with two concepts from international relations: national security and human security. There are two main arguments derived from this topic: First, Jokowi’s approaches in Papua have shown Jakarta’s seriousness in developing Papua both from infrastructure and human resources sectors which aligned with national security and human security concept. Second, Australia must take an opportunity of Jokowi’s openness and approaches in Papua to at least addressing the reality and progress of this region for its public.

Keywords: Papua, Jokowi, Indonesia, Australia

ABSTRAK

Isu Papua adalah "kerikil di dalam sepatu" bagi Indonesia. Kemiskinan, diskriminasi, dan bahkan pelanggaran HAM masa lalu selalu menjadi perhatian utama negara-negara baik di Pasifik Selatan, dan juga Australia. Melihat begitu kompleksnya isu Papua ini, Joko Widodo (Jokowi) telah melakukan berbagai progres dengan penekanan pada aspek pembangunan dan keamanan sebagai pusat pendekatan ke Papua, sekaligus secara perlahan menyelesaikan isu HAM di Papua. Penelitian ini berfokus pada kebijakan Jokowi dari periode pertama hingga kedua terkait Papua. Selanjutnya, penelitian ini membahas mengenai implikasi kebijakan Jokowi di Papua terhadap hubungan bilateral Australia-Indonesia. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian deskriptif dengan dua konsep dari hubungan internasional yaitu keamanan nasional dan keamanan manusia. Dua argumentasi utama yang diangkat dari topik ini adalah: Pertama, pendekatan Jokowi di Papua telah menunjukkan keseriusan Jakarta dalam membangun Papua baik dari sektor infrastruktur maupun sumber daya manusia yang sejalan dengan konsep keamanan nasional dan keamanan manusia. Kedua, Australia perlu mengambil kesempatan dari keterbukaan dan pendekatan Jokowi di Papua untuk memaparkan realita dan progress kawasan ini kepada publik di Australia.

Kata kunci: Papua, Jokowi, Indonesia, Australia

1. Introduction

Elected in 2014, Joko Widodo (Jokowi) marks a new leadership chapter in Indonesia with a background as a public servant—not a military background. Of all the agendas mentioned during his campaign, one significant highlight is a focus to the eastern most provinces in Indonesia, Papua. From 2014 until 2022,

there has been significant development progress to Papua with an emphasizes on infrastructure and human resources Click or tap here to enter text. align with military approach to the region. Some of Jokowi’s major contribution to the island are the Trans- Papua Road, infrastructure projects, one fuel price policy, electricity projects, The National Sports Week (PON PAPUA

XXIV), and expansion of three (3) new provinces; South Papua Province, Central Papua Province, and Papua Mountains Province.

Infrastructure project on Trans-Papua is the first milestone of his development approach in 2014. This project cost approximately 12,5 trillion rupiah and expected to be finished in 2024. The Trans-Papua Road will connect the Northern to the Southern part of Papua (Sorong-Manokwari-Nabire-Timika-Jayapura-Wamena). As the result, movement of people and goods will be more effective and efficient. Peoples who previously only rely on planes could use land transportation to the city in the other Provinces (Murti, 2022). Other than Trans-Papua Road, development of airports, markets, and cross-border post in Skouw and Sota also conducted during Jokowi's first term. In his second term, infrastructure projects focus on development of Youtefa (Hamadi-holtekamp) bridge, Papua Bangkit Stadion for the National Sports Week (*Pekan Olahraga Nasional/PON*), airports, container construction in Jayapura, Clean water supply in Maladuk-West Papua, Flat houses with total 43,258 units, and recently the Papua Youth Creative Hub (West Papua Daily, 2021). Series of development indeed provide the real presence of Jakarta's seriousness in Papua compared to the previous president. It is also encouraged locals to participate in economic sector as the infrastructure has support people and goods movement. For instance, the development of Youtefa bridge invites visitor and even locals to start their business such as small café along the beach of Holtekamp near the bridge (Tribun Papua, 2021). Additionally, the bridge also shortens the distance from Jayapura city to the border area from 2-3 hours to 1-1,5 hours by passing this bridge.

Besides of this development approach, military approach remains heavily conducted in Papua. Two main reason is that Papua is the forefront of

Indonesia which bordering with Papua New Guinea. Secondly, there has been an increasing arm separatist's movement in the highland of Papua especially *Tentara Pembebasan Nasional Papua Barat* (TPNPB), and some demonstrations that usually ends with violence. From 2014-2016, there were an inclined of military numbers in Papua estimated at 45.000 personnel posted to Papua with additional 650 stationed around border post between Indonesia-Papua New Guinea. In 2019, there were around 6000 personnel posted in Papua. (C & A, 2015). Security approach is important to provide sense of secure for the people and to protect Indonesia's sovereignty. However, in the context of Papua, security approach is quite sensitive for some locals in Papua as they have a worst memory of military presence in Papua as the result of new order era.

Numbers of human rights cases in Papua involving civilians-TNI-Police even increase in Jokowi's second term. Amnesty International reported that from 2010 to 2018, there were 69 cases of suspected killing in Papua where most of the cases involved security forces (Amnesty International Indonesia, 2018). During the covid-19 pandemic, this cases even inclined. The United States Embassy reported that significant human rights issues happened in Papua from 2018-2020. This includes unlawful or arbitrary killings, political prisoners, interference with the freedom of peaceful assembly, corruption, violence against women, and crimes involving violences (U.S. Department of State, 2020). In June 2020, there was also a movement called "Papuan Lives Matter" as part of campaign against racism in Indonesia where Papuans labelled as *monyet/monkey* in Surabaya incident (BBC Indonesia, 2019). Additionally, in 2021, there were 11 cases of violations of the rights to freedom of expression where 188 Papuan university students subjected to violence as the result of mass protest in

several cities in Indonesia (Amnesty International, 2021).

To solve human rights issue in Papua, Jokowi has done several progresses such as the establishment of *Komisi Kebenaran dan Rekonsiliasi* (Truth and Reconciliation Commission), and *Tim Penyelesaian Non-Yudisial Pelanggaran HAM Berat*/ Team for the Non-Judicial Resolution of Serious Human Rights Violations, and mandated Jaksa Agung/Attorney General to solve the past twelve serious human rights cases including Papua's cases. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission aims to investigate and provide clarification regarding human rights cases in Papua and further to formulate reconciliation. However, there has been no effort in assessing the proposed draft in policy level. In 2022, Jokowi signed the Presidential Decree No.17 regarding the establishment of Team for the Non-Judicial Resolution of Serious Human Rights Violations (*Jaringan Dokumentasi dan Informasi Hukum Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan Republik Indonesia*, 2022) which also focus on solving Papua's human rights cases. At the same year, Paniai case is solved in September 2022 (CNN Indonesia, 2022). Earlier in January 2023, Jokowi in his press release stated his concern on past serious human rights violations where he mentioned Wasior (2001-2002), Wamena (2003). Moreover, Jokowi also address that the government will restore the rights of victims in a fair and wise manner, without negating judicial settlements (*Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia*, 2023).

Even though Jokowi's development approach is imperative in lowering inequality gap between Papua and other Provinces, the ongoing political upheaval and past human rights violations remains shadowing this region and place Papua at the spotlight of other countries, including Australia. This research therefore will assess how Jokowi's economic and security approach contribute to the better progress in

Papua and its implication for Indonesia-Australia bilateral relations from the concepts of national security and human security.

2. Literature Review

2.1. National Security

National security is a concept with a state-centric focus, emerged during the domination of realism. State is the main rational actor in achieving its survival mainly by power (military capabilities) (Baylis, 2020). Therefore, it gives a little attention on non-state actor in domestic political systems (Collins, 2010). Main concern of national security is to protect core values/domestic values from external threats (Leffler, 1990). For Hugh White, national security is a vague concept and underdeveloped. The term of 'security' obviously can cover anything from physical and economic survival, or even for collective value. However, it seems that this concept limits the field to those aspects of security for which the state take responsibility (White, 2012).

While Baylis, Collins, and Leffer stands on the state-centric focus of national security concept, other scholars provide a different yet fulfilling definition of national security, by including the non-state and non-traditional aspects. Harold Brown-US former American Secretary of Defense, entail economic relations as part of important consideration in the national security (Brown, 1983).

Similarly, Laswell argues that national security lies between instruments such as diplomacy, foreign policy, military/arms, information, economy, and domestic policy. Threats against national security including any action or event that could degrade the life of citizens (person, group, or corporation) within the state. On the same note, Jordan & Taylor emphasizes that national security has an extensive meaning rather than protection from physical harm, but also political economy

of the state, and fundamental values of the state (Romm, 1993).

2.2. Human Security

Contrary with national security, human security concept place individual and community as the main referent object. This concept is rooted in a liberal school of thought by emphasizing the importance of freedom and equality, for people to be secure (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2009).

This concept had its origin from The United Nations' policy statement in the middle of 1990s, particularly the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) *Human Development Report* in 1994. Human Security described as the concern over human life and dignity, consist with two elements: Freedom from fear and freedom from want. It has seven main categories: economic security, environmental security, food security, personal security, community security, and political security. Each of the component has its own threats, yet it might also threaten other component. For instance. When economic security is existed, it might also trigger environmental security problem, or vice versa. The UNDP further suggest the five principles of recommendation to respond human security threats. This includes people-centered focus, multisectoral, comprehensive, context specific, and prevention-oriented (United Nations Development Programme, 1994).

Therefore, this concept calls for a shift in security thinking that 'security' is not merely about sovereignty and state's survival but also individuals and communities. As described by Acharya, human security enable government to set a strategy in addressing basic human needs, inequalities, and globalization. It provides social safety nets for marginalized people (Acharya, 2001).

3. Research Method

Qualitative research methods rely on text and image data from multiple sources such as interviews, observations, documents, and audiovisual information, rather than rely on a single data source (Creswell, 2013). It produces qualitative descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from people and observed behavior (Prastowo, 2011). The focus of the qualitative research method is on the meaning of social and cultural constructs to describe phenomena and to understand in depth the object of study (Sofaer, 1999). Data collection procedures in qualitative research are interviews and observation for primary sources and literature study for secondary sources. After collecting data, the next step is analysis/processing the data.

Data collection consist with three stages: data reduction, data display, and conclusion. The first step-data reduction is the process of summarizing, choosing the main things, and the focus of the research study. The next step is data display where the selected data will be presented in the form of narrative text and tables. The final stage is to make conclusions from the data presented (Creswell, 2013). In this research, I collect data through primary and secondary sources. The primary data is collected through interviews and secondary data is from the literature on online sources. Next, data processing is conducted by classifying selected data relevant to the topic to be displayed. Finally, the conclusion is dragged through the data display.

4. Result and Discussion

4.1. Australia and Papua Issue

Australia's involvement in the issue of 'Papua' has started even when this region was under the Dutch colony by supporting the claim of Dutch over West New Guinea (Papua) in between 1950-1962 (Chauvel, 2006). During this time, Menzies government support the Dutch with 'the policy of 'administrative cooperation' in

Papua (Verrie, 2000). Australia's stance against Indonesia's sovereignty also seen through its policy that was directed in supporting East-Timor self-determination in 1999. Both of this past incident contributes to Indonesia's suspicion towards Australia, especially when it comes to Papua, and especially on human rights issue. In 2006, Australia granted asylum status for 42 Papuan who arrived by boat in Capetown. As a response, Indonesia immediately withdraws its ambassador; asserted a strong message of Indonesia's outraged against Australia's decision that is seemingly in favor of Papua's independence (Safecom.au, n.d.). Additionally, in 2017, The Indonesian government announced suspension of military cooperation with Australia shortly after receiving reports regarding training materials about West Papua at the Australian Special Forces in Perth (Greene, 2017).

Regardless of this political upheaval, the Australian government consistently addressed its support for Indonesia's sovereignty. Statement from Gary Quinland-Australia's Ambassador to Indonesia in 2019 emphasized that sovereignty and territorial integrity of Indonesia are fundamental, including in respect of the Papua Provinces as recognized through the Lombok Treaty in 2006 (Greene, 2017). One of the main reasons of this strong stance is because immediate neighbor place a vital position in securing Australia. A focus to immediate neighbor has been guiding Australia's national security and foreign policy ever since the twelve years of discord between Australia-Indonesia from 1950-1962. As mentioned in Australian Defense White Paper 2016, one of Australia's strategic defenses is to secure its immediate neighbors (Department of Defense, 2016). Any threats coming from its closest neighbors will highly likely create insecurity to Australia. Subsequently, the Defense White Paper 2016 also mentioned

that instability and conflicts in the Southeast Asia would threaten Australia's growing economic and security interest in the region. For Australia, Indonesia obviously a closest neighbor.

In the context of Papua, even though the word 'Papua' is not explicitly mentioned, it has an implicit position in this objective. Papua obviously is a closest island of Indonesia bordering with Australia. In fact, Merauke's distance to Darwin (North Australia) is only two (2) hours away by plane (Finance.co.uk., 2023). Thus, instability in Papua could also threaten Australia's national security. Chauvel addressed that Australia's major concern is the political instability in Papua. If this happened, it could impact the refugee flows into PNG and complicate Australia's rehabilitation efforts in PNG. Moreover, Papuan use of sanctuary in PNG would be resented in Jakarta (Chauvel, 2004).

In Economic sector, Australia's interest to Papua is related with Freeport McMoran in Timika. Several Australian companies are operating in Papua and Australia has around 40% of divestment in Freeport McMoran. Other companies such as Woodside petroleum Ltd. also operating in Papua, inside the LNG Tangguh in Bintuni (Elisabeth, 2006).

Perhaps the most long-standing concern of Indonesia in Australia is the rise of green party and public movement in supporting Papua issue. Over the past years, Australian public are quite vocal to support any kind of Papua issue mainly when it comes to human rights. In 2018, Green party organized a special meeting invited experts of ULMWP, academic, and Green Party Senators with recommendations to support West Papua to be registered to the United Nations list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. They also question human rights in Papua, freedom for press and expression, and the deployment of Indonesian military/troops in Papua (Human Rights and Peace for Papua, 2019).

Similarly, Australian public, religious community, and even media sometimes engaged in demonstration, campaign, and religious activity in supporting Papua issue. Churches such as The Catholic Diocese of Bathurst and the Uniting Church are vocal to raise this concern. A report from the Uniting Church and Black Pearl Network in 2016 addressed the ongoing discrimination, marginalization, militarization, and violence in Papua (Bowling, 2017). There have been several claims also from Indonesian officials regarding Australian journalist (Mark Worth) and researcher from Australia's higher institutions that promoting separatism by raising the morning star flag in campus (Day, 2015). Mark Worth involved in making documentaries for SBS, ABC, and the Nine Network to expose the struggle of Free Papua Organization or "*Organisasi Papua Merdeka*" in 2000 (Gridneff, 2010). In 2019, Indonesia was shocked by the publication of The Juice Media titled "West Papua: Honest Government Ad". These 2 minutes video shows contradiction of Papua's beautiful nature with its poverty and human rights cases. Moreover, the media stated that Indonesia colonize Papua and Australia took part in destroying Papua through its investment in mining sector in the region (The Juice Media, 2019).

4.2. Jokowi's Approaches in Papua: Its Implication for Australia-Indonesia Bilateral Relations

Jokowi's policies in Papua engaged both national security and human security aspects. From national security perspective, state's sovereignty and territorial integrity is vital. Several approach such as increasing military troops has been seen in Papua alongside with infrastructure and economic approach. In line with national security and human security concepts, both state and individual are referent object of security. Key argument of this paper is that Jokowi's approaches in Papua harmonize both

military and economic aspect with 'humanity' as the center of his approach to support a long-term peace in Papua.

As mentioned during his first visit to the region back in 2014, Jokowi addressed that problems in Papua can be solved with heart and real actions (Tambun, 2014). From his first year until 2022, he had visit Papua for eleven (11) times and consistently develop Papua with real actions through series of development on economy and human resources (human security) to balance military approach in Papua (Oebaidillah, 2020). Jokowi also shows his seriousness in resolving human rights issue in Papua through the establishment of Team for the Non-Judicial Resolution of Serious Human Rights Violations.

Australia's concern on Papua issue heavily focusses on human rights and military presence in the region. Munro addressed that military build-up could spell disaster in Papua (Munro, 2015), even further added political tension in the region (Chauvel, 2017). Following Munro's argument, Kingsbury elaborated that military often engaged in corrupt and brutal practices (Kalidjernih, 2006). While the increasing military activities could create tension between Indonesian government (Military) with Free Papua organizations in and outside of Papua, it is somehow less likely contribute to the instability in Papua because civil-military relations are improving in Papua. In some remote areas especially border areas, military plays dual role as a security provider but also support education and health sectors as an informal teacher and doctor.

Another consideration is that Papua is the forefront of Indonesia, bordering with Papua New Guinea and recently there are only two official Border post from around 52 border points. One border post is still under development in Pegunungan Bintang regency. Meanwhile, illegal activities often occurred along the border area. For instance, the Indonesian Army reported that

during 2017-2018, there were around 28 marijuana plants and 2.2 kilograms of dried marijuana found at the border of Keerom regency and Skouw, Papua (TNI Angkatan Darat, 2017). These drugs often exchanged with fuels, electronic goods, and stolen motorcycle (Faizal, 2016). In 2020-2022, in total there was more than 100 packages of dried cannabis secured by Indonesian police officers with total around 4 kilos (Evarukdjati, 2022). This cannabis is brought from PNG to Jayapura city.

Recently, there has been some reports regarding crimes that involved separatist groups with civilians (both Papuan and non Papuan) in sub-district Kiwirok, Pegunungan Bintang Regency and Ilaga District. Led by Lamek Taplo, this arm separatist group set fire to the public school and health facilities and caused injuries for nurses with one nurse found dead (Bhwana, 2021). In Ilaga district, Goliath Tabuni responsible for the shooting of eight staff from PT Palapa Timur Telematika. From this organization perspective, civilians should not enter the 'arm area' which has been claimed by them (Alfarizi, 2022).

Some of these incidents emphasized that military approach is crucial in Papua. Align with national security concept, only state who can guarantee its own survival (both territory and citizens). It is a responsibility of the state to protect the state and citizens from any physical harm. Political instability and security issues in Papua are exist and needs to be addressed by the state. Both security and economic approach is imperative. Development approach through focuses on infrastructure and human resources must balance state's military approach in the region. Jokowi at least, has shown his ability to balance military approach and economic approach in Papua.

Australia should take the opportunity of Jokowi's approaches and openness to address ongoing and increasing support for Free Papua Organization from

its public and media. Even though the Australian government consistently stated their position in supporting Indonesia's sovereignty, 'Papua' issue will always be a pebble in the shoe for Indonesia-Australia bilateral relations if the information regarding Papua is unbalance within Australian public. Subjective information from medias often heavily report military approach in Papua while neglecting the development progress in the region (Somba, 2016). As explained from Lantang & Tambunan, medias, including SBS from Australia broadcast some documentary about Free West Papua movement (Lantang & Tambunan, 2020). Another important highlight from the region is that Papua political problems are now complicated by rising corruption issue involving Papuan leaders under special autonomy laws. Leaders from Governor, regent, or event head of district are most likely linked with corruption. Earlier in 2023, Lukas Enembe (Governor of Papua Province) was arrested over the graft charges (Nugraha, 2023).

Papua issue needs to be view from holistic perspective (including reality from the region) not only from medias. As argued by Director of Human Rights Watch in Australia, a visit is needed and would help Australian especially its politicians to understand and hear directly from Papuans about issues that affect their lives (Pearson, 2016). A visit could address political failure of contemporary Australian Policy: a weak public support for the relationship with Indonesia (McGibbon, 2006). Engaging public in a discussion and debate about Papua in the context of Indonesia-Australia bilateral relations could improve a better view from Australian public regarding Papua issue.

Maintaining close relationship with Jakarta should be a precedence for Australia rather than keep on stance over unrealistic hopes for West Papua. Any attempt from Australia in supporting West Papuan independence would be counterproductive and highly likely impact

to the rise of Indonesian nationalism and a desire to maintain sovereignty over West Papua at all costs (Day, 2015). Eventually, Australia needs to reflect its commitment under Lombok Treaty in order to support Indonesia's sovereignty and territorial integrity not only among its politician but also for its public.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, Jokowi's approaches to Papua engaged both national security and human security aspects. Realization of Trans-Papua Road, one fuel price policy, infrastructure projects to build a new airport and port, electricity projects, and youth creative hub space are the proof of Jokowi's commitment to build Papua with heart and real actions. On the other side, military approach still relevant to Papua in order to secure border areas and provide sense of security for civilians in the region. Australia must take this opportunity to

engage its public and media in discussion and debate about Papua, especially about human rights issue and military presence in the region. Even though military were responsible for series of human rights abuses in the past, there is a shift of military approach from a loose to a tight civil-military relations in Papua. Military often play a dual role as a security provider and teacher/doctor in remote areas. On the other side, the problem of Papua is more complicated with corruption and violence involving Free Papua Organization and civilians. As the 2016 Australian DWP also asserted the importance of Indonesia for Australia's economic and security interests, the Australian Government must ensure that its public also understand the vital position of Indonesia and respecting Indonesia's sovereignty and territorial integrity especially when it comes to Papua issue.

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