

The Politics of State Law in Providing Special Autonomy for Papua in Handling Protracted Conflicts

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Abstract

*Approach to minimizing conflict in Papua. However, until now autonomy is still a problem in itself and it is even possible to add to the problems in Papua. **Purpose** - This research aims to answer the approach that can be taken in minimizing the Papuan conflict. **Design/methodology/approach** - The research was conducted with empirical studies, namely conducting field observations to obtain the real conditions of policy and implementation of special autonomy in Papua. Furthermore, a normative juridical study was also carried out for the purpose of studying legislation. **Findings** - The results showed that the resolution of the Papuan conflict through the special autonomy approach has not been able to run well, especially in the aspect of implementation starting from planning that is not mature, government programs are less targeted, the supervision system is less assertive, implementation is less transparent and effective, especially on the use of special autonomy funds that should be felt by the community. This ultimately creates a condition where the community does not feel a significant difference related to the existence of special autonomy. Meanwhile, from the aspect of legislation, the problems that arise are related to Law No. 2 of 2021 concerning Special Autonomy, which is still a matter of debate, especially among the Papuan people themselves, one of which is the existence of phrases that have multiple interpretations, violate the rights of indigenous people and cause legal uncertainty. In the problem of special autonomy which is difficult to resolve, of course, a quick solution is needed that is more applicable and will benefit, one of which is by increasing the synergy between the Regional Government through autonomy, especially with the TNI and Polri in charge of securing Papua, especially regarding how to empower the community to improve their standard of living from various aspects, especially in terms of improving the economy and the quality of education. **Research limitations** - This research is limited to the Papua conflict area with a focus on collaboration between the Papua Regional Government, TNI and Polri serving in Papua. **Originality/value** - This research will develop a model of collaboration between the Papua Regional Government, TNI and Polri serving in Papua in minimizing conflict.*

Keywords: Special Autonomy, Papua Conflict, TNI and Polri.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Preamble of the 1945 Constitution provides a mandate as well as the ideals of the Indonesian nation, namely to protect the entire Indonesian nation and the blood of Indonesia, advance public welfare, educate the nation's life and participate in implementing world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice. In carrying out this mandate, many efforts have been made by the government of the Republic of Indonesia. One of them is related to the implementation of government through decentralization or regional autonomy.

So far there are several forms of autonomous regions that have specificities, namely the Special Region of Yogyakarta on the basis of the stipulation of Law Number 13 of 2012, the Aceh Government on the basis of Law Number 11 of 2006, the Provincial Government of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta as the Capital of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia on the basis of the stipulation of Law Number 29 of 2007 and the Special Autonomous Region of Papua Province on the basis of Law Number 2 of 2001 concerning the Second Amendment to Law Number 21 of 2001 which was followed by Law Number 35 of 2008 concerning Stipulation of Government Regulations in Lieu of Law on Amendments to Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for Papua Province into Law.

Especially Papua and West Papua are the last regions to be given specialization, one of the basic reasons for giving specialization is the prolonged conflict that has not yet been resolved. This of course encourages many parties to continue to find out or re-examine what should actually be done, especially in relation to the implementation of special autonomy in terms of conflict management.

This is also driven by the many victims of the Papuan conflict. The Papua conflict to date has resulted in many victims both from civilians and from the TNI and Polri, in the Kompas daily exposed that throughout 2022 there were 53 deaths and as many as 27 injured from 90 acts of terror attacks by armed criminal groups.¹ Apart from the large number of victims, efforts to deal with the Papuan conflict have also drained the budget quite a lot, a lot of budget has to be spent in an effort to resolve the Papuan conflict.

¹ Victims of attacks by armed criminal groups, Papua: <https://www.kompas.id/baca/nusantara/2022/12/28/53-korban-jiwa-akibat-aksi-kkb-throughout-the-year-2022dst> (accessed on April 12, 2023 at 14.48).

Starting from the special autonomy fund (special autonomy) to financing security forces during assignments in Papua.

Various approaches have been taken in handling the Papuan conflict, including the issuance of Law No. 21/2001 on Special Autonomy (Otsus) for Papua Province as a national policy that is expected to resolve the conflict in Papua politically² of the approaches in unraveling the Papuan conflict, of course on condition of good regional government management. Thus it is hoped that the special autonomy (otsus) enacted in Papua can be a formulation in minimizing conflict in Papua.

Instead of aiming to resolve the conflict, Otsus Papua has actually caused various problems. So far, the management of Regional Government with special autonomy for Papua is still experiencing many problems, such as weak regional government management, starting from planning that is not on target, the supervision system for the use of special autonomy finances is less active and less assertive, implementation is less transparent and less effective, especially regarding the use of special autonomy funds from the center which must be used up to the regions to the community. There are also other problems such as a comment of distrust made by the Head of BIN (National Intelligence Agency) who accused the use of special autonomy funds to support separatists. This is a big correction for how Otsus, which was originally expected to be a solution, in reality there are indications to the contrary. So these problems are enough to make us interested in conducting a study which is then entitled "**The Politics of State Law in Providing Special Autonomy for Papua Regarding Handling Prolonged Conflict**".

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Papua Special Autonomy

The constitutional basis for Papua Special Autonomy is Article 18B of the 1945 Constitution which states that the state recognizes and respects units of regional government that are special and special in nature which are regulated by law. In addition, Article 18A of the 1945 Constitution also determines that the relationship of authority between the central government and the regional governments of provinces, regencies and cities or between provinces and regencies and cities, shall

²The values contained in Papua's special autonomy consist of religious values, democracy, legal and cultural values, respect for human rights, and ensuring the rule of law (Yulia Sugandi, Conflict Analysis and Policy Recommendations on Papua, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), 2008).

be regulated by law by taking into account the specificity and diversity of the regions. This provision provides the possibility of regulating the granting of autonomy and decentralization of authority that is not the same for certain regions that are special, in contrast to the autonomy arrangements for other regions which are generally regulated based on Article 18 of the 1945 Constitution.

Thus, the autonomy given to Papua is special and different from the autonomy applied in other regions. Therefore, the provisions of regional autonomy and local government that apply in Papua should also be different from other regions in Indonesia. The specificity can be seen clearly from the focus of autonomy at the provincial level, in contrast to Law No. 32/2004 which places the focus of autonomy on districts/cities. This is actually a recognition that the Papuan people are a social unit, while regencies or cities should only be seen as administrative or territorial divisions.

In addition, the specificity of autonomy in Papua in accordance with Law Number 21 of 2001 can be seen in the following three ways:

1. The existence of the Papuan People's Assembly (MRP): The Papuan People's Assembly (MRP) is an institution of cultural representation of indigenous Papuans, which has certain powers in the context of protecting the rights of indigenous Papuans based on respect for customs and culture, empowering women, and strengthening religious harmony. Through the MRP, it is actually expected that customary laws that live in the community are recognized as formal law. The position of the MRP institution is not found in other regions, where in terms of its authority it can be said to be a legislative body in a bicameral parliamentary structure (as an upper house). As a representation of the Papuan people, the Papuan People's Assembly has great authority, both in government formation and governance. It is this MRP that will determine the concrete form of the specificity of the Papuan government.
2. Special arrangements related to regional income: There are special arrangements related to regional revenue for Papua. The specificity of Papua is in the amount of revenue sharing funds for natural resources in the petroleum mining sector at 70% and natural gas mining at 70%. This percentage is greater than the percentage regulated for other regions, where the share of oil mining revenue for the region is 15.5% and for natural gas 30.05%. In addition, there is a "Special Revenue" in the context of the implementation of Special Autonomy, which is equivalent to

2% of the National General Allocation Fund ceiling.

3. Recognition of Cultural Existence: Cultural existence is recognized through the use of special symbols that represent Papuan existence, the naming of institutions, and the naming of rules that are also special.

Currently, there is Law No. 2/2021: Second Amendment to Law No. 21 / 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for Papua Province. There are changes that have occurred from the previous regulation and one of them is related to Article 4, namely Article 4 (1) related to authority including the Province of Papua can enter into mutually beneficial cooperation with institutions or agencies abroad in accordance with the provisions of laws and regulations, besides that in Article 76 which regulates regional expansion. The advanced policy is that the special autonomy fund for Papua is currently increased from 2 percent to two and a quarter percent of the national DAU (General Allocation Fund), "and its use is maximized for the welfare of the people in Papua by means of its implementation accompanied by the center.

This new law also strengthens the basis of autonomy for Papua where the authority possessed as a special autonomous region with various specificities such as the allocation of special autonomy funds and various local government programs that are given more freedom than other regions that are not given specificity.

B. Conflict Areas in the Papua Region

The Papua region is the easternmost region of the Republic of Indonesia and its situation is mountainous, especially in the north (dense tropical forests and swamps) from the east, namely Jayapura to the west then turning south to the east of Merauke. Areas that are often areas of conflict in Papua include the following:³

1. Puncak Regency (Ilaga)
2. Puncak Jaya district
3. Intan Jaya District
4. Mimika Regency
5. Kab. Yalimo
6. Deiyai District
7. Nduga district
8. Kab. Pegunungan Bintang
9. Nabire district

³ Brimob Unit specific data, 2022

10. Paniai District
11. Lanny Jaya district
12. Yahukimo District

The largest plain area is in the southern part of Papua and West Papua provinces. Mountainous areas are found in the central part with some peaks always covered with snow, such as Puncak Jaya (5,500m), Puncak Yamin (5,100m) and Puncak Trikora (5,160m). Forest areas cover almost all of Papua and West Papua. Rice fields are still small in area, found in Jayapura, Merauke and Paniai districts. In terms of population, we present the population of each district in the Papua Region:

Table 1
Total Population of Papua Province by Regency and City Interim Population Projection Results (Mid-year, June) (Population)⁴

No.	District	Total Population		
		2020	2021	2022
1	Merauke	230932	231696	232357
2	Jayawijaya	269553	273291	277923
3	Jayapura	166171	168476	171331
4	<i>Nabire</i>	<i>169136</i>	<i>170914</i>	<i>173043</i>
5	Yapen Islands	112676	114210	116107
6	Biak Numfor	13465	135231	135796
7	<i>Paniai</i>	<i>22041</i>	<i>223467</i>	<i>227254</i>
8	<i>Puncak Jaya</i>	<i>224527</i>	<i>227641</i>	<i>231499</i>
9	<i>Mimika</i>	<i>311969</i>	<i>316295</i>	<i>321657</i>
10	Boven Digoel	64285	64716	65193
11	Mappi	108295	109579	111141
12	Asmat	110105	111632	113524
13	<i>Yahukimo</i>	<i>35088</i>	<i>355746</i>	<i>361776</i>
14	<i>Pegunungan Bintang</i>	<i>77872</i>	<i>78178</i>	<i>78466</i>
15	Tolikara	236986	240272	244345

⁴ Source: Papua Province in Figures, Source Url: <https://papua.bps.go.id/indicator/12/681/1/jumlah-penduduk-provinsi-papua-menurut-kabupaten-kota-hasil-proyeksi-penduduk-interim-pertengahan-tahun-juni.html> Access Time: December 7, 2023, 1:36 pm

16	Sarmi	41515	41849	42233
17	Keerom	61623	62157	62777
18	Waropen	33943	34414	34997
19	Supiori	22547	22860	23247
20	Greater Mamberamo	36483	36989	37616
21	<i>Nduga</i>	<i>106533</i>	<i>107921</i>	<i>109630</i>
22	<i>Lanny Jaya</i>	<i>196399</i>	<i>198686</i>	<i>201461</i>
23	Central Mamberamo	50685	51160	51719
24	<i>Yalimo</i>	<i>101973</i>	<i>103387</i>	<i>105139</i>
25	<i>Puncak (ilaga)</i>	<i>114741</i>	<i>115474</i>	<i>116279</i>
26	<i>Dogiyai</i>	<i>116206</i>	<i>117818</i>	<i>119815</i>
27	<i>Intan Jaya</i>	<i>135043</i>	<i>136916</i>	<i>139236</i>
28	<i>Deiyai</i>	<i>99091</i>	<i>100466</i>	<i>102168</i>
29	Jayapura City	398478	404004	410852
30	Papua Province	4303707	4355445	4418581

Source: Papua Province in Figures, (2020 Data from 2020 Population Census Results (September) and Interim Population Projection Results (Mid-year/June))

The data above shows that in terms of population if it is related to the conflict that occurred, it turns out that not all conflicts occur in areas with large or small populations, it's just that we can see that most conflicts actually occur in areas that are not urban Papua. This certainly complicates the process of handling conflicts, especially regarding the delivery of logistics and including complicated battlefields that are not easily mastered by security forces.

III. METHODOLOGY

The method can be interpreted as a method or technique carried out in the research process. Research methods are needed to collect a number of materials used to answer juridical analysis. Starting from the problem, the research method used is normative juridical

research method, namely law is conceptualized as norms, rules, principles or dogmas.⁵ The method can be interpreted as a way or technique carried out in the research process. Meanwhile, research itself is defined as an effort in the field of science that is carried out to obtain facts and principles patiently, carefully and systematically to realize the truth.⁶ In conducting this research, researchers used a descriptive analytical research method with a normative juridical type. This method is used to make clear, systematic, real and precise descriptions of certain facts which are then analyzed to obtain the desired facts. Legal research is a process for finding legal rules, legal principles, and legal doctrines to answer the legal issues at hand.⁷ Legal research according to Hutchison is divided into 4 types, namely:

- a. Doctrinal Research.
- b. Reform-Oriented Research.
- c. Theoretical Research.
- d. Fundamental Research.⁸

The three types of legal research proposed by Hutchinson, namely *Doctrinal Research*, *Reform-Oriented Research*, and *Theoretical Research* according to Peter Mahmud Marzuki are doctrinal research while socio-legal research is included in the fourth type, namely *Fundamental Research*.⁹ This research activity is included in doctrinal research because legal science is descriptive, namely seeing law as a social norm rather than a social symptom.¹⁰

In this research, a normative approach is used, which emphasizes the construction of a narrative or textual description of the phenomenon under study. The data used in this research is secondary data. Secondary data is data in written form. The advantages of using secondary data are:

- 1) Secondary data is generally in a ready state and can be used immediately.
- 2) Both the form and content of secondary data have been shaped and filled in by previous researchers, so the researcher then has no control over the collection, processing, analysis or construction of the data.

⁵ Martin Roestamy, Endeh Suhartini, and Ani Yumarni, *Guidelines for Writing Thesis at the Faculty of Law*, Law Study Program, Faculty of Law, Djuanda University, Bogor, 2020, Page 41.

⁶ Khudzaifah Dimiyanti and Kelik Wardiono, *Legal Research Methods (Lecture Handbook)*. UMS, Surakarta, 2014, Page 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.35.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.32-33.

⁹ Peter Mahmud Marzuki, *Legal Research*, Elips, Jakarta, 2016, Page 33.

¹⁰ *Ibid*

- 3) Not limited by time or place.¹¹ The sources of legal research can be divided into research sources, namely:
- a) Primary legal materials, which are legal materials that are authoritative, meaning that they have authority, official records or minutes in legislative acts. This legal research uses primary legal materials.
 - b) Secondary legal materials, in the form of all publications on law that are not official documents. Publications on law include textbooks, legal dictionaries, and legal journals. In this case the author uses secondary legal material in the form of legal journals.
 - c) Tertiary legal materials, namely materials that provide information about primary legal materials and secondary legal materials.

The data collected is library research, which is a research technique carried out by collecting data from literature sources, expert opinions, theories, documents, which are related to research problems and field research, which is a research technique that the author does by means of observational research on the object of the problem.

Data analysis is carried out by means of a qualitative approach, namely an analysis formed on an indirect assessment or measure that is poured in the form of statements and writing. For the processing of research data examining the systematics of laws and regulations, what is done is to collect regulations in certain fields, or several interrelated fields that are the center of research attention. Furthermore, it is analyzed by using the basic notions of the legal system, which include: a. Legal subjects, b. Rights and obligations, c. Legal events, d. Legal relationships, and e. Law. Legal relations, and e. Legal object.

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. Implementation of Special Autonomy and the Reality of Conflict in Papua

1. Implementation of Special Autonomy

Special autonomy (otsus) was only recognized in the Indonesian government system in the reform era. Previously, only the terms special region and special region were known. In the past, special regions were regions that had a different government structure from other regions in general because of their position, while special regions were regions whose government structure was different because of differences or privileges in the form of the original structure of the community that

¹¹ Soerjono Soekanto, *Introduction to Legal Research*, UI-Press, Jakarta, 2014, Page 12.

existed in the community. With the amendment of the 1945 Constitution, especially since the second amendment, special autonomy has officially emerged as part of state administration in Indonesia. The existence of this special autonomy is also one of the efforts to improve politics in the previous era, originally uniform centralization led to the application of the concept of decentralization which provides recognition of the differences and potential of each region in Indonesia.¹² The above is in line with the noble ideals of democratization that drove the reformation in 1998. The demonstrations that occurred in 1998 carried the mission of a revolution in government, one of which was in the field of regional autonomy that in other words democratization requires decentralization and recognition and respect for the diversity of regions in Indonesia.

Currently, one of the regions that has become a special region is the Papua region. Papua and West Papua are given specificity for several reasons, one of which is the granting or determination as a special region given to Papua for the purpose of reducing conflicts that have not been controlled or have not been resolved for too long.

The purpose of granting osus has not yet been realized properly, because in practice the granting of special autonomy has actually caused new conflicts and worsened existing conditions, this is because special autonomy has not been able to run properly, for example, it can be seen from the distribution of special autonomy funds which have not been channeled properly, because maximum supervision has not been carried out. There is a lot of corruption and irregularities from the special autonomy fund, what is more concerning is that there are allegations that the special autonomy funds are used by stakeholders to be given to armed criminal organizations whose funds are used as funding for the struggle of the separatist.

There are still many weaknesses in the implementation of special autonomy apart from the above, there is also the problem of consistency from the central government in the implementation of autonomy or decentralization, because sometimes in some cases even though the law displays decentralization, the implementing regulations often seem to scrape it or contradict decentralization. This is a matter of practical political practice from people with an interest,

¹² Article 18B of the 4th Amendment to the 1945 Constitution

especially in terms of exploitation of Papua's natural resources and so on. This is the reality of Papuan autonomy. Which in its implementation cannot be implemented or realized optimally so that the conflict cannot be resolved.

2. The Reality of Conflict in Papua

Trying to cut the historical data, because it is too long, the formation of the OPM (Free Papua Organization) in 1965, as a form of resistance from people who were dissatisfied with the government. The OPM has a mission of independence for Papua.

In the period of 2019, the Papuan conflict occurred 21 tragedies of shootouts between the security forces, both the TNI and / or the Police with the sparatis, this resulted in 9 TNI soldiers, 2 Police personnel and 10 civilians being killed or killed, this continues and in 2020 as noted by the *Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED)* that from January 1 to September 26, 2020, there were 100 events (40 battles, 22 riots, and 38 violence against civilians) with a total death toll of around 57 people. More details can be seen in the following table:¹³

Table 2. Papua Conflict

Papua Conflict	January 1- December 31, 2019	January 1 - September 26, 2020
<i>Events</i>	96	100
<i>Battles</i>	27	40
<i>Riots</i>	19	22
<i>violence against civilians</i>	50	38
<i>Fatalities</i>	145	57

Source: Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project¹⁴

The conflict as above is proof that the Papua problem is a big problem and must be handled seriously. Because reality shows that this problem has been going on for a

¹³ Chairil, T., & Sadi, W. A. (2020). Papua Conflict: The Government Needs to Change the Security Approach with a Humanist Approach. *CBDS Commentaries*.

¹⁴ Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project, accessed on December 7, 2023 from <https://acleddata.com/>

long time and continues to take a large number of victims.

The reality of the Papuan conflict which has claimed many victims and until now there is no sign that it will end in the near future. In my view, there are several issues that trigger conflict, which if we are honest, there are 2 major parts of factors from the search results that can be classified into internal and external factors as follows:

1. Internal factors: the sense of injustice felt by the Papuan people, especially due to feelings of being discriminated against, disadvantaged, deceived by the state or central government, the level of communication that is not smooth, the level of education of the Papuan people, the attitude of matrealists, the behavior of corrupt officials and so on.
2. External factors: the influence or interference of foreign countries, pressure through human rights channels, foreign interests in Papua and so on.

B. Special Autonomy as a Conflict Resolution Approach for Papua

1. Aceh as *Benchmarking for Conflict Management*

Aceh is an area that has experienced conflicts that are almost similar to Papua, in Aceh there have been echoes of the desire to separate from Indonesia, in Aceh there have also been and born sparatis who carried out struggles to separate from Indonesia and fight the Indonesian Government. *Alhamdulillah* Aceh is currently peaceful and there is almost no more rebellion in Aceh. Aceh, which is also a region that is given specialty in the management of its region, is also a similarity when Papua is also designated as a region or region whose autonomy is special.

Currently Aceh can be said to have succeeded in conflict management, but this is not the case with Papua. Aceh has been able to minimize conflict and armed violence and is currently a region with special autonomy management, although there are few conflict issues both from within and from externally related to Aceh's special autonomy especially in the application of Islamic law, but it is different from the acts of violence that occur in Papua.

Although they have similarities, the two regions, both Aceh and Papua, that the conflict wants to separate themselves from the Acehnese first completed, which then made a joint agreement product to resolve the conflict in the form of special autonomy as a new rule between the Center and the Region. Of course, it is different from Papua, because Papua's special autonomy is a product of the central government to reduce the conflict that has occurred in Papua which until now has not been resolved. Although there are Papuans who are involved in the formation

and accept special autonomy as a peace agreement.

Hallain that must be taken into consideration if a comparison is made with Aceh, the difference in Human Resources in Aceh and Human Resources in Papua has a significant difference, therefore a more detailed and in-depth observation is needed regarding the handling of the Papua conflict problem.

In addition, there are many other differences that must also be considered, such as the cultural values that grow in society are also very different and that will affect the differences in conflict handling that should be ideal.

2. Otsus Approach to Minimize Conflicts

The special autonomy law for Papua, when viewed from the material or substance, has certainly given more authority to the people in Papua in managing their region. However, this is precisely the part that creates conflict when the implementation of the special autonomy is not carried out properly. In another sentence, Otsus actually increases public distrust of the government. In the research of Agung Djojosoekarto et al, several reasons for the unsuccessfulness of Otsus Papua were identified, namely as follows:¹⁵

- a. The consistency of the law, which is related to regional symbols and flags as recognized in Article 2 paragraph (2) of Law No. 21/2001, in its realization there are further formulations and which are actually hindered by the government.
- b. From a political perspective, it is felt that the interest in resolving the Papuan conflict has occupied more budget and attention than the achievement of welfare. That Otsus is more focused on political matters such as expansion, demonstrations, the return of Special Autonomy and regional elections.
- c. The formulation of Special Autonomy management rules did not proceed as quickly as the disbursement of Special Autonomy funds. The Government Regulation on the MRP was only finalized after 3 years of Special Autonomy.
- d. Supervisory evaluation of special autonomy is not in-depth and comprehensive. So that the implementation of special autonomy in the fulfillment of the basic rights of the community is often neglected because of fraud among the government;
- e. Socialization of Otsus so that the contents and aims and objectives do not reach the community as a whole, thereby reducing community participation.

¹⁵ Agung Djojosoekarto et al, 2008, Performance of Papua Special Autonomy, Partnership for Governance Reform in Indonesia, Jakarta.

The problem as above, officially supports that the implementation of special autonomy for Papua has not had a maximum positive impact, even though special autonomy as an approach in resolving conflicts has been carried out for a long time, but currently it is the special autonomy itself that is the problem, therefore this research will produce problem solving through an approach to improving the current special autonomy.

The Papua conflict is not only a regional level problem because security and defense are the business of the Central government. The Papua conflict has also become an international issue so that it has received attention from various world organizations such as the United Nations. The presence of Law No. 2 / 2021 which is the second amendment to Law No. 21 / 2001 concerning Special Autonomy aims to prosper the community and minimize conflict in Papua, but until now, apart from frequent conflicts and the development of actions to separate themselves from the Papuan people who are dissatisfied with government policies and the many problems and obstacles that are actually related to Special Autonomy itself. From the research conducted, and looking at the real conditions that exist, some solutions from this research, one of which is presented in this article, is the existence of community empowerment by the local government which is synergized with the security program carried out by the TNI as well as the Police. Community development and empowerment in the Yahukimo Moruku Papua Regency, for example, carried out by the Brimob Corps has been emphasized to create an independent community with the implementation of several programs including farming is a form of community interaction with nature that aims to produce food, therefore the Papuan people of Yahukimo are taught to grow crops properly in order to avoid hunger and food difficulties. The types of plants are mustard greens, kale, corn, mustard greens, cabbage, sweet potatoes, cassava to help fulfill the daily lives of local residents. The crops will be sold to the market and some will be consumed. Escorting and PAM Security of Village Fund Assistance is a very important task for Brimob members because it ensures that the Village funds provided reach the intended place and are well realized so that there are no obstacles on the way such as being blocked by KKB or the Village funds are taken by criminal residents. The spirit of community service in building bridges to facilitate access for residents in economic mobility. Community service with residents as an effort to build togetherness between Brimob members and the

community as well as territorial coaching steps with fostered residents in creating security and comfort.¹⁶

However, in reality, the program mentioned above has not yet been achieved in accordance with expectations. This is due to the need for coordination and cooperation between the local government and the Police / Brimob, currently what is also a problem is the preparation for the implementation of tasks by Brimob members in the Yahukimo Moruku Papua Regency, there are some Brimob members who need to improve their mental and physical readiness to carry out these tasks and are required to have high knowledge and technical police skills and commendable behavior so that they can become role models in the community.

The results of other research such as that conducted by *Muradi* that community empowerment is an effective way carried out by the National Police through the Papua Satgassus Operation together with the local government in an effort to solve social problems, namely by helping people improve their economy. In its implementation, for example, the task of community development and empowerment in Yahukimo Moruku Regency, Papua, which really requires full concentration and requires Polri members to have good psychological readiness when carrying out every BKO task because not every Polri has proficiency in that field.¹⁷

Not much different from the studies above, in the studies conducted by Malak and Stepanus, there are also problems in the realization of Otsus as a conflict reducer, namely:¹⁸

1. The implementation of special autonomy has not been matched by efforts to resolve political conflicts peacefully. This has resulted in the "politicization" of the implementation of special autonomy both by the central government and by groups within Papuan society.
2. Resolving conflicts with a security approach is contrary to the special autonomy itself and the basic values that have been established, namely the protection and

¹⁶ Obtained from Brimob unitary data, Yahukimo and Mappi Local Government Financial Report 2019, p. 251. 251

¹⁷ Muradi, Police Brimob Reform: Between Military Tradition and Civilian Culture, Lesperssi- DCAF, Jakarta, 2017, Pg.82

¹⁸ Malak, Stepanus. "Papua Special Autonomy." Jakarta: Ar-Raafi. Also available online at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/301348375_Otonomi_Khusus_Papua [accessed in Wamena, Papua, Indonesia: December 19, 2017] (2012). Page 8,9

respect for ethics and morals, the basic rights of indigenous people, human rights, the rule of law, democracy, pluralism, and equality of position, rights and obligations as citizens.

3. There is a tendency to undermine the special autonomy granted by reinforcing a centralied pattern of government.
4. There is a lack of institutional capacity required to implement special autonomy.
5. There is a tendency to slow down the implementation of special autonomy by delaying the establishment of necessary implementing regulations.¹⁹

Talking about our Papua conflict is like justifying a tangled thread, it needs proper analysis and decisions in policies that are also right on target, because otherwise the policies made will actually make the thread even more tangled. Conflict resolution must be explored starting from mapping problems, formulating solutions, good coordination and communication as well as commitment from various lines of society to be able to play a role and be aware that Papua is part of the Republic of Indonesia so that the unity of Papua in this Republic of Indonesia must be instilled and realized in everyday life.

V. CONCLUSION

As discussed above, efforts to build and resolve the Papuan conflict through the special autonomy approach for Papua have not been able to run well, especially in the implementation aspect, starting from immature planning, government programs are not well targeted, the supervision system is not firm, implementation is less transparent and less effective, especially regarding the use of special autonomy funds from the center to the regions, which in the end the community does not feel any significant difference regarding the special autonomy. Meanwhile, from the aspect of legislation, the problem that has arisen is related to Law No. 2 of 2021 concerning Special Autonomy, which is still a matter of debate, especially among the Papuan people themselves, one of which is the existence of multi-interpretative phrases which are clarified in technical regulations but do not seem to withdraw the right to autonomy itself, thus violating the rights of indigenous people and causing legal uncertainty. In the problem of special autonomy

¹⁹ Malak, Stepanus. "Papua Special Autonomy." Jakarta: Ar-Raafi. Also available online at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/301348375_Otonomi_Khusus_Papua [accessed in Wamena, Papua, Indonesia: December 19, 2017] (2012).

which is difficult to resolve, of course, a quick solution is needed that is more applicable and will benefit, one of which is by increasing the synergy between the Regional Government through autonomy, especially with the TNI and Polri in charge of securing Papua, especially regarding how to empower the community to improve their standard of living from various aspects, especially in terms of improving the economy and the quality of education.

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