

Developing Papua Within the Framework of Diversity: A National Defence Perspective

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ABSTRACT

The approach to developing Papua throughout the years of Indonesia's national leadership has brought considerable improvement to the island of Papua. Indonesia's First President, Soekarno has laid the foundation of Indonesia's geopolitics in the world political order stretching from Sabang in the west to Merauke (Papua) in the east. Sustainable development in Papua continues to date in various sectors, from infrastructure to the socio-cultural development of the Papuan people. A development program focusing on a respect to-diversity (kebhinnekaan) approach establishes Papua as an integral-nationalistic part of Indonesia under the outline of total sovereignty. Paradoxically, there are still small groups that raise the issue of Free Papua as a manifestation of separatism, either the armed movement in Papua or the dissemination of political issues in international forums. This phenomenon then becomes the focus of this paper and launched the main question, on how Indonesia manages to develop Papua within the frame of diversity from the perspective of national defense. The qualitative approach uses in-depth analysis based on the theory of national defense and theory of development to explain the emerging phenomena. Inquiries toward Papua-related negative issues found that they have the spirit and goal to separate Papua from Indonesia. Through this paper, it is revealed that a constructive development with the mentioned approach has gradually succeeded in building up minds and hearts of the Papuan people under nationalistic ties, as well as becoming the main bulwark for national Defence and eliminating separatism activities.

Keywords: Development; Diversity; National Defence; Papua; Separatism.

INTRODUCTION

On May 1, 1963, United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) hold a referendum on behalf of the international community as a mediator of the handover of Papua from the Netherlands to the United Nations [1]. The implementation of the referendum was coordinated directly by Indonesia, following the contents of UN Treaty No. 6311, which in article XVIII, reads:

Indonesia will make arrangements, with the assistance and participation of the United Nations Representative and his staff, to give the people of the territory the opportunity to exercise freedom of choice. Such arrangements will include:

- a. Consultations (Musjawarah) with the representative councils on procedures and appropriate methods to be followed for ascertaining the freely expressed will of the population.
- b. The determination of the actual date of the exercise of free choice within the period established by the present Agreement.
- c. Formulation of the questions in such a way as to permit the inhabitants to decide (a) whether they wish to remain with Indonesia; or (b) whether they wish to sever their ties with Indonesia.
- d. The eligibility of all adults, male and female, not foreign nationals to participate in the act of self-determination to be carried out in accordance with international practice, who are resident at the time of the signing of the present Agreement and at the time of the act of self-determination, including those residents who departed after 1945 and who return to the territory to resume residence after the termination of Netherlands administration.

Indonesia's political victory in ensuring Papuan to join Indonesia at that time was the result of the hard work of the Indonesian political system that had been going on even before Indonesia gained its independence. Since the establishment of Indonesia as a country, Papua has been considered an integral part of Indonesia, following the idea of an Indonesian nationality designed by the nation's founding father, Soekarno.

Definitely, the success of integrating Papua politically does not necessarily terminate the interests of the Indonesian government in Papua. In fact, on the contrary, Papua as a part of the Indonesian has the right to security, welfare, and social justice. President Soekarno saw the condition of Papua at that time was very fragile, bad and there was not a single Dutch heritage that could be used as capital to develop Papua. Therefore, President Soekarno set a special priority for Papua and continued by the Indonesian government and leadership to further develop Papua with a comprehensive approach of nationalism and diversity [2]. Furthermore, the development of Papua has been carried out periodically by various regimes, and the period that the Indonesian nation has passed for nearly 60 years.

Based on the explanation above, Papua's issue will be analyzed and explored by generating several questions that constitute the research problem and become the focus of writing as follows: Firstly, How Indonesia protect Papuan sovereignty from western influence and intervention? Second, how to develop Papua with an approach of diversity from the perspective of national defense?

METHODOLOGY

The dynamics that arise over Papua will always move continuously. This is seen as a problem and not merely works locally, but also has an inter-correlative nature with the problems of the

Indonesian nation as a whole. In this context, it is interesting for the author to discuss the phenomenon of development in Papua and the dynamic movement of separatists in Papua as well as assessing the Indonesian government's strategy in maintaining its sovereignty over Papua within the framework of national defense. Papua as an integral part of Indonesia has strategic importance for the sustainability of Indonesia's sovereignty, which means further discussion by displaying data/facts and relevant theory-based analysis is the key to parsing the problems of Papua.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theory of Development

In general, development is one of the efforts made by the Indonesian government to defend Papua. The development has an important meaning in making people feel the presence of the government in one area. Siahaan (2004) states that one of the elements of government presence and the most effective way to protect the community is to carry out development [3]. A country's development or development in a region is a form of government existence over the areas under its auspices. Development is carried out by the government as a realization of policies that have been determined sustainably in various fields of regional and community life.

Development is also a means and access for the government to community life, whether the goal is expected by the central government as to what kind of people in the regions will develop, or how the central government realizes the expectations of the people in the regions. In this context, development has two simultaneous goals, both the government's goals for its people and the people's expectations for their government. When these two goals can be realized, development can lead to the growth of mutual trust. This is also supported by the opinion expressed by Trijono (2007) which harmonizes the development approach and peace efforts that begin with the presence of a belief [4].

The development approach in many cases has indeed become a comprehensive effort to strengthen and resolve conflicts. However, the conflict and the uniqueness of the cases that occurred in Papua forced the development concept to be detailed in its studies. Development is an effort made to catch up and equalize prosperity. This is in line with the theory of development dynamics which explains the conditions of inequality and efforts to unravel the excess inequality [5]. The excesses of inequality in development have often become one of the sources of conflict, if no corrections are made, the conflict will escalate. Therefore, the development approach is one of the relevant approaches in managing problems in Papua that are still in the trap of inequality.

Theory of Culture Diversity

The element that strengthens and becomes a major part of the unifying flow of Indonesia is diversity. In a diverse country context, affirmation is given priority, so that no one person or group will feel marginalized. Regarding diversity, national life is also very vulnerable and influenced by many things. The existing diversity will not create a strong entity if it is not built based on justice. Justice and prosperity are key in sustaining a diverse nation. Therefore, seeing Papua from the framework of diversity and development as well as equitable welfare is one of the efforts that can be made to see Papua as a whole and ensure that the problems in Papua can be resolved.

The development approach taken will be a way to build an understanding between the central and regional governments, especially in Papua. This is in line with what is explained by Aibak (2015)

who sees diversity as a unifying element rather than dividing the unity of one nation [6]. Adherence as a nation has become a part of the framework of Indonesia, which has existed since independence to become a nation with complex diversity. This, of course, will never become a barrier if there is no outside interference or provocation. Unfortunately, the provocation of cultural diversity within the framework of the Indonesian nation cannot be avoided. This then weakens the value of diversity, especially in Papua [7].

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

Indonesia for Papuan and Papua for Indonesian

The existence of Papua as part of the Indonesian nation has existed since the initial concept of the Indonesian nation which was declared by the nation's Proclaimer. The history of Papua's joining to Indonesia is long and is clearly stated in written records as well as being one of the UN resolutions at the general session in 1963. The nation through the presence of a state with a sovereign government. Frans Kaisiepo, Silas Papare, and other figures became important actors in the rise of Indonesian nationalism among the Papuan people.

The integration of Papua into Indonesia itself is indisputable. This is because the legal basis for the establishment of the Indonesian state is to cover all areas previously controlled by the Dutch or previously known as the Dutch East Indies, of which Papua is an inseparable part of it [8]. Therefore, the movement and attempts to provoke it into an act of separatism in the Papua region is something that violates international law. Also, a state or organization that supports a separatist movement will automatically be said to have ignored international norms or interfered in Indonesia's domestic affairs.

For Indonesia, Papua is a concrete form of sovereign nationalism in the context of national defense. Therefore, Indonesia has always resisted international efforts to mediate the Papua issue from various means of third-party dialogue that are internationally mediated. Indonesia is Papua and Papua is Indonesia which has become the manifestation of the nation's nationalist motto, although there are still some small groups of Papuan people who still want Papuan internationalization. This small group still wants an unconditional international dialogue for the independence of Papua without paying attention to the history and spirit of the Papuan people who still have affection for Indonesia.

The government and the Indonesian people will always protect Papua from all forms of foreign intervention that are felt and still try to provoke the internationalization of Papua. The Indonesian Government's preventive efforts to limit foreign journalists, diplomats, and non-governmental organizations who wish to exacerbate Papua's problems are efforts to implement Indonesian national laws and subordinate laws. Several non-governmental organizations such as Peace Brigades International, International Committee of the Red Cross, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, the Dutch peace-building and development organization CordAid are forms of activities and efforts to internationalize [9] and intervene in the Indonesian state which have always been unconstructive towards the future ahead of Papua and Indonesia.

The dynamics of separatism

The position of Papua, which is already part of Indonesia, still gets a lot of interference. Many of these disturbances were carried out by parties who did not really like Papua joining Indonesia, as

well as those who wanted to take advantage of the riots in Papua. This is not strange, because, since the New Order era, Papua has indeed become an area with lots of riots and attempts to become independent [10].

The separatist movement is an attempt to break away from a country or to become independent with various motives. One of the most common motives is disappointment with the situation and feelings of injustice. But not infrequently there are also other motives, namely the presence of foreign parties who want a certain area to be annexed. Apart from giving new hope to Papua with the re-entry of Papua into an integral part of Indonesia, at the same time, new problems for Papua in a different context have also emerged, namely separatism. The issue of separatism over Papua begins with a gap in perspective on the history of Papua. Papuan groups leaning towards the Dutch tried to reject Papua's entry into Indonesia by raising the issue of separatism.

The sense of unity to be part of Indonesia was present in the spirit against Dutch colonialism and a shared desire to become a whole nation and develop together with Indonesia. Therefore, Indonesia's victory in the 1963's Act is something that cannot be doubted again. The Papuan people have proven that they want to be part of Indonesia, the country, and the nation. So, since the Act, Papua is an inseparable part of Indonesia [11].

Separatist movements have been around since then. Many of the arguments for Separatism in Papua according to Nainggolan (2014) are a splinter from the minority in Papua who do not accept the results of the Act and are spread across many countries [12]. This continued even after the various development programs that had been implemented in Papua during the New Order era. Several groups and individuals, remnants of the pro-colonial Dutch and West still voiced freedom and Papuan independence. Provocation issues are deliberately raised outside Papua, such as in neighboring Australia and the Netherlands and small countries in the South Pacific [13]. The Papuan independence political wing movement (OPM) which was founded on December 1, 1963, and initiated by Aser Demotekay in Jayapura [14] has always disturbed and frustrated development efforts in Papua. The purpose of this OPM is to oppose and stop Indonesia's presence in safeguarding sovereignty and seek to establish an independent West Papua state [15].

Separatism in Papua is often a sporadic and poorly coordinated armed movement. However, in recent years, the Papuan independence movement has developed a lot and penetrated international campaigns as a medium to launch its actions. According to Sabir (2018), this is the result of the observation that the armed movement is no longer effective in realizing the desired vision [16]. Therefore, an active international campaign and the bringing of sensitive issues about Papua to both the United Nations and various countries are efforts that are now rife. The change in the separatist movement raises concerns but also demands creativity from the Indonesian government in resolving existing problems [17]. One of the paths chosen in this regard is the Papuan development approach and diplomacy with countries that have been actively advocating Papuan independence.

The Geostrategy of Papuan Development

The development of Papua in the context of defense can be described as a means of strengthening the ties between nations within the national entity to create a civilized living condition. President Soekarno specifically designed Papua by arousing nationalism in Indonesian for the entire Indonesian nation [18]. Thus, the development of Papua is realized not only through efforts to

accelerate the achievement of physical targets but also by synchronizing Papua's development with the development of other regions within the framework of overall national development.

In practical terms, this means that a process of assimilation between various races and cultures in Indonesia needs to take place in Papua, as it is in all regions in Indonesia. This is the basic idea of the development of Papua during the New Order era. The integration of human resource development and infrastructure development went hand in hand [19] which was carried out during President Soeharto's era with a very humanist Javanese touch through the national transmigration policy.

The policy of transmigration needs to be seen not as an effort of Javanization [20], but as an implementation of diversity within the frame of the Republic of Indonesia and a national policy of equitable distribution of population outside Java, which is already very dense. Awareness of diversity is the main thing that the Indonesian government is trying to develop through this program. The existence of a mixture of outside society will strengthen the feeling of nationality and nationalism that exist in the indigenous community.

In this context, the Indonesian Government implemented the Papuan transmigration program as an effort to accelerate the development of the Papua region in a broad dimension in a sustainable manner. Through this program, the central government provides education to the Papuan people in the fields of agriculture, plantation, and fisheries which have been running for a long time on the island of Java since the Dutch colonial era. Besides, the implementation of this program is a form of assimilation of the process to build the character of Pancasila in the Papuan people. This humanitarian touch and approach serve as a complement to physical achievements in the Government's efforts to improve the quality of development in the educational aspects and characteristics of the Papuan people. Through this process, it is undeniable that it will provide constructive results, in addition to physical achievements, in improving the quality of development in the educational aspects and social character of the Papuan people, thus gradually encouraging the Papuan people to naturally interact with other local communities in a diversity-nationalistic bond.

Accelerating the development of Papua by clearing land for transmigration such as in Koya Barat, Koya Timur, Arso and the areas around Merauke [21] provides a broad deepening of Indonesian people, as well as explaining to the Papuan people that diversity in unity will strengthen unity and accelerate prosperity. The previously dormant land has turned into productive lands such as agriculture and plantations. At first glance, it seems that in the future Papua will not need to depend on other provinces, especially to meet Papua's basic needs.

Building the spirit of the Papuan people to live side by side with their fellow countrymen is the prime mover in the main life sectors of Papua. President Soeharto took a just welfare approach by building the Sentani-Genyem road infrastructure, which was immediately felt to be of direct benefit to accelerating the economy [22]. Rencana pembangunan lima tahun (Repelita) III in President Soeharto's cabinet program included the construction of a road between Wamena and Nabire. President Soeharto took a very soft security approach in the political aspect of Papua. Papuan sons with military backgrounds and civil servants are given the trust to lead Papua.

On March 3, 1973, President Soeharto officially opened copper mining activities with Freeport Sulfur at Copper Pura [23], and at the same time marked the inauguration of the city of Tembagapura. Accelerating foreign investment is President Soeharto's vision for the welfare of Papua in the future. The movement and pulse of the economy in Papua has caught the attention of the Indonesian people. The absorption of the local workforce, technicians, Freeport Sulfur mining experts became mentoring for Papuan youths and other Indonesian youth. President Soeharto's foreign investment strategy is proof of Indonesia's openness to the international world and at the same time shows a strong will to move forward and stand on an equal footing with other nations.

President Soeharto builds Papuan prosperity by touching the hearts and winning minds of the Papuan people, supported by a humanist security approach in concrete and constructive ways of diversity. It takes a very hard and sustainable effort amidst the provocation of the political wing of the OPM group to gain influence and sympathy from the international world and the armed wing of the OPM which operates in Papua which is tasked with thwarting every implementation of development and development results that have been initiated by the two Indonesian Presidents.

The period of national leadership in the era of reformation also gave very proud attention to the progress of Papua province. The swift flow of change has made Indonesia open and democratic and has a direct impact on Papua. The challenges of development in Papua, the foundations have been well built and laid out by President Soekarno and President Soeharto, are increasingly getting progressive resistance that is increasingly widespread by the political wings of the OPM [24] which are also supported by Western powers who have certain desires and goals. for Papua. The armed wing of the OPM has also received increasing technical assistance and financial assistance, although it is not easy to prove, it is felt in the field. The challenges of national leaders from President Habibie to President Joko Widodo are not easy in developing Papua.

The moves and attention of national leaders during the reform era were directly confronted by a democratic culture that was very open to progress [25]. President Habibie provided a solution for Papua, namely, the option for the broadest possible autonomy [26]. However, due to the brevity of President Habibie's leadership, he has not made many significant changes to the development of Papua.

The era of openness provided broad opportunities for Western interests to influence the political and armed wing of the OPM. This became a reality when the Representatives of the Papua Council received financial assistance by President Gus Dur to carry out the Papua Congress in October 2000 [27]. The outcome of the Papuan Congress was clear for independence, but President Gus Dur rejected the congress decision. The OPM, which has become an armed wing and inhabits the mountains of Papua, is increasingly attacking immigrants and the authorities.

President Megawati on October 21, 2001, decided on the Papua Special Autonomy Law No. 21 of 2001 which clarified President Megawati's stance for a more concrete and constructive implementation of the sustainability of developing Papua in Indonesian ways without being affected by foreign intervention. President Megawati's views and attitudes towards Papua are very local and cultural and accept Indonesia's diversity. The author sees that the Melanesian family illustrated in this law does not only reflect Papua in particular. The Melanesian-Indonesian family also exists in Maluku Province, Nusa Tenggara Province which is also an inseparable part of the Republic of

Indonesia. The frame of diversity in President Megawati's policies is the basis for the expansion of Papua so that the implementation of accelerated social welfare can be achieved more quickly and directly touches rural communities.

President Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) has taken a different approach to Papua, his direct approach to the heart and heart of the Papuan people has been quite successful. This important moment for SBY to take a heart-to-heart approach was supported because in the early days of the SBY, Papua and Aceh administrations, he experienced terrible natural disasters. Papua, especially Nabire, was rocked by a tectonic earthquake measuring 5.9 on the Richter Scale [28]. SBY's 24 and 25 December working visits in Jayapura and Nabire (spending the night in a tent with the community) changed the demands of the Papuan people from demands for independence to requests for humanity. SBY's touch of humanity and the absorption of the aspirations of the Papuan people to develop Papua are renewed through SBY's emphasis by synergizing the development of Papua based on various strategies of the ministries/agencies which are integrated through the Presidential Instruction (*Inpres*). Presidential Instruction No. 5 of 2007 dated May 16, 2007 [29] issued by SBY for Papua aims to provide a large portion of regional infrastructure development, education, health, the people's economy, and food security as well as strengthening the Papua's special autonomy law.

SBY also takes a security approach in the concept of state defense based on the mandate of the 1945 NRI Law Article 30 [30]. The explanation of the paragraphs in article 30 of the 1945 NRI Law describes the following; paragraph (1) every citizen has the right to protect, defend and defend independence; paragraph (2) national defense and security efforts are carried out through a universal people's defense system with the Indonesian National Army and the National Police as the main force, and the people as the supporting force; in paragraph (4) describes the function of POLRI to maintain security and public order. The planning for the placement of elements of the TNI and POLRI is the main reason for President SBY to balance the implementation of programs to accelerate the development of Papua. The addition of one regional military command (KODAM-KASUARI) in West Papua [31], the inauguration of the 3rd Naval Fleet and 3rd Marine Base in Sorong and the placement of 3rd Air Force Operation Command in Biak as well as new office police of West Papua in Manokwari which supervising nine district police.

President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) exemplified himself as a good commander in chief in developing Papua, without reducing the meaning and work of previous Leaders. The visit and inspection of President Joko Widodo, which has been held 13 times in five years [32] reflect the implementation of national programs and strategies that have been initiated by Soekarno, Soeharto, Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid, Megawati, and SBY. President Jokowi's predecessor has laid the foundations for building Papua and safeguarding Papuan sovereignty with all forms of challenges and different threats in his era and during his leadership.

A populist approach that is carried out with a very touching Javanese culture, has its meaning in the hearts and minds of the Papuan people. President Jokowi has also strengthened the concept of defense that faces outward (directly facing the direction of the threat). The concentration of defense reinforcement centered on Java was transferred to Papua. As the holder of the highest power over the TNI as stated in article 10 of the 1945 NRI Law, President Jokowi has made a defense policy by forming the Joint Regional Defense Command (KOGABWILHAN), which is divided into 3 regions

[33]. KOGABWILHAN I, II, III is discussed in Government Regulation (PP) No. 62/2016 and it is decided to be operational based on Presidential Decree No. 27/2019, by combining the three forces of Land, Sea, and Air. KOGABWILHAN III is domiciled in Biak and has land, sea, and air operating areas around Maluku, North Maluku, Papua, and ALKI IIB and IIIC and the surrounding waters.

Some say that Papua is President Jokowi's golden child, but the strategic commitment he made was to catch up with Papua's other Indonesian citizens. The central government has rolled out more than Rp. 100 trillion for infrastructure development in [34], greater than the Freeport tax of Rp. 20 trillion. The 43,330-kilometers Trans-Papua road project connecting West Papua and Papua [35], from Sorong to Merauke is President Jokowi's prestigious and ambitious project to open and boost the economy of Papua and West Papua and has been inaugurated in 2018. The Papuan's pride in the Yutefa bridge construction project serves as a tourism icon for Papua [36]. The Hamadi-Holtekam Bridge stretches across Youtefa Bay connecting Jayapura City with Muara Tami District, cutting travel time from 2.5 hours to 60 minutes. The construction of electricity facilities for Papua and West Papua is the answer to the lack of electricity supply in the two provinces.

President Jokowi built 6 electricity facilities [37], including Hydro Power Plant (PLTA) 2x10 MW Orya Genyem, 2x1 25 MW Mini Hydro Prafi, High Voltage Transmission Cable 70 kilo Volt Genyem-Waena- Jayapura along a 174-kilometer circuit, SUTT 70 kilo Volt Holtekamp-Jayapura along 43.4 kilometers of the circuit. Construction of the Waena-Sentani 20 Megavolt Ampere substation and the Jayapura 20 Megavolt Ampere substation. Development of Sentani Airport facilities from class I airport to international airport. Construction of the 1,098 Km Indonesia-Papua New Guinea border road [38], which reflects the display window of Indonesia's face with neighboring countries.

With a diversity-building approach like this, it provides tangible results that simultaneously reduce separatist movements and opinions, both in the form of an armed movement that is getting smaller and pressed, as well as a decline in separatist political activity in international forums with increasing international trust in the Indonesian Government which is considered to be able to protect the people's sovereignty on Papua.

The transformation of the accelerated development of Papua by President Jokowi must be supported by the integration of Indonesia's diversity in seeing Papua. The patriarchal Papuan kinship pattern is very appropriate to be touched by the kinship patterns that exist in many ethnic groups in Indonesia. The thick touch of kinship and brotherhood will be a positive and constructive explosion to accelerate the transformation of knowledge and accelerate development in Papua.

The explanation above has elaborated in an elaborative manner the contestation of development facts used to convince the Papuan people as part of the Indonesian Nation. The explanation related to defense theory rests on Papua as the nation's integrative power, where their hearts and minds must unite with the Indonesian nation. Development with a diversity identity is the keyword in strengthening the Papuan people as a national defense force in nationalistic ties. (nationalistic bonds). With development, it is used as a means to build a mutual trust construction for the Papuan people as the nation's children. With this approach, we can strengthen and make Papua strong for Indonesia and Indonesia for Papua. This is a conceptual tool that can be developed to strengthen Papua as part of strengthening national defense in a broader context, without discussing in detail about security, military operations and others that can have negative connotations. Winning the

hearts and minds of the Papuan people is a fundamental strategy in constructing the mutual trust of the Papuan people over the Indonesian Government and Nation, and collateral can be a strategy in reducing the natural-gradual understanding of separatism.

Defence Approach in Papua

The presence of the Indonesian military (TNI) in Papua forges the sovereignty of national law [39]. The provocation of the presence to maintain sovereignty in Papua lack of strong reasons since Papua is part of Indonesia. Papua has a permanent legal status and applied internationally because Papua is part of the former Dutch colonial colony [40]. Papua also has a permanent legal status as the result of the Act on August 2, 1969 [41] which supports joining Indonesia and the Draft Resolution of the UN General Assembly which votes for the status of Papua. As a result, 84 votes were in favor of Indonesia, none rejected, and 30 votes abstained [42].

In addition, it is necessary to remember that in the context of granting special autonomy and development of disadvantaged areas, it is a means and strategy in increasing the trust of the Papuan people in the Central Government. Development with a diversity approach that gives more positive results increasingly wins the hearts and minds of the Papuan people, which increases the level of mutual trust in nationalistic ties and also collective security [43] is important to secure peace and stability against the separatism in Papua. This is a concrete step towards developing diversity as a national defense strategy in protecting Papua and the sovereignty of the Papuan.

The addition of the strengthening of the TNI and POLRI in Papua in the concept of national defense is also strengthened by Law No.3/2002 about national defense. The Ministry of Defense is, of course, a strategic apparatus in implementing Law No.3/2002, while the TNI is at the operational level which is also the main component supported by the reserve and supporting components. Article 1 paragraph (1) in the general provisions clearly and defines national defense. Paragraph (2) gives the meaning of a universal defense system, meaning that it will always involve all citizens, national resources by being prepared early so that all forms of threats can be anticipated and overcome before they occur (including threats to independence from the Republic of Indonesia), there is a task contained in the words of anticipation, namely action or preventive action. Paragraph (2) is also the basis for the elaboration of the main duties of the TNI in Law no. 34/2004 concerning TNI in article 7 paragraph (1) the main task of the TNI is to uphold the sovereignty of the state, maintain the territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, and protect the entire nation and all Indonesian blood from threats and disturbances. Regarding the integrity of the nation and state, this explanation can be interpreted if an individual, a group of people, an organization wishing to violate the sovereignty of the state will face the TNI.

Synchronization and integration of activities and activities for the implementation of the state defense law and the tasks of the TNI will be able to run well if carried out in a coordinated command or task force together with Ministries/Agencies that also have strategic programs in Papua. Meanwhile, the mandate of the Papua special autonomy law will be a good platform for the acceleration of programs that have not been touched by the central government's strategy so that the integration of national and regional strategies will go hand in hand and do not overlap.

The most important thing in the integrated approach to the context of national defense is to build Papua still with Papuan culture and culture without leaving Indonesian culture and culture in general. That Papua is Indonesia and Indonesia is Papua is very important. The Indonesian context does not mean that the land of Papua is for the Papuan people only. The Indonesian context means that the plurality of Indonesia will provide equal opportunities, equal opportunities for the advancement of the welfare of Papua and Papuan children throughout Indonesia. The placement of the best sons of Papua at the national level is very important in the context of the diversity of Indonesia and the different faces of Indonesia in unity. Likewise, the placement of the best sons of Indonesia from various provinces in Papua is no longer considered and is referred to as immigrants.

In the TNI's pluralistic organization and structure that does not recognize differences in ethnicity, religion, and culture, it is very appropriate to approach the TNI's territorial operations approach as the lifeblood of Papua's development acceleration which is always backed up by closed intelligence operations (to eliminate OPM). The preparation of the defense area that is carried out must be prepared early to maximize the unity of the TNI with the Papuan people so that the improvement of living standards, health systems, improving the quality of education and socio-culture can run effectively, efficiently and with direction.

The security approach in the development of Papua during the New Order era was not solely carried out by military operations as depicted and provoked by the Western media and the pro-independence political wings of Papua [44]. At that time, the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) carried out territorial operations aimed at accelerating the ongoing development process and at the same time protecting the sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) from threats and interference from OPM. Besides, territorial operations also function to restore the situation and restore the trust and authority of local governments. Another important role of this territorial operation is to prepare the potential of the area early in the context of national defense, following the people's total defense and security system (*Sishankamrata*) which has been mandated in the 1945 NRI Law [45].

The culture and culture of the Indonesian people that are not easily influenced and easily provoked are of course very different from Western cultures and cultures that are open and individualistic. These situations and conditions have made OPM take its actions outside Indonesia [46] by utilizing non-governmental organizations by pro-independence groups outside Papua and Indonesia, which of course are supported by the West [47]. The culture of the Indonesian nation which is patterned to live together in cooperation is very difficult to invite to be against the legal government, including in Papua.

The integration of the whole ministries/agencies in developing Papua is a must. The regulations that have been regulated in the law will become a strong foundation for developing Papua. The manifestation of foreign influence and interference that is a threat to the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia in Papua is a common focus. There should no longer be bases of political power and bases of armed resistance that are the same as OPM for Papuan independence.

CONCLUSION

The issue of Papua is a domestic problem that always received attention from Western groups who do not want Papua to become part of Indonesia. The history of Papua has been used as an excuse

and a tool for political struggle by groups that have long been built and nurtured by the West who have felt defeated. The struggle of the political wing and even the armed wing in the forests and mountains of Papua can be hampered and will even stop itself if the development of Papua can be felt by the Papuan people within the framework of Indonesian praise over diversity. The Papuan people will not feel marginalized from their fellow countrymen and homeland outside Papua to the Indonesian diversity to see Papua as the youngest sibling and being reborn after being taken, colonized, and nurtured so that it becomes an encouragement for the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia.

The integrated development approach implemented by the central government while maintaining the balance of development and defense architecture in Papua by regional leaders is a very strategic concept, as well as providing a very significant deterrence impact on the existence and foreign influences. carried out and fought by the OPM, the OPM's political wing abroad, and the OPM's armed wing which is still operating in the forests and mountains of Papua.

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