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Vanuatu's Internationalization toward Papua Case and Indonesia's Diplomacy

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Abstract:

The Issue in Papua which still continued until nowadays have been being an attention for Indonesia and the countries which joined Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG), especially Vanuatu. This research will explain about Vanuatu's humanitarian intervention towards Papua which involves organization The United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP). Besides knowing Vanuatu's humanitarian intervention, this research also explains about Vanuatu's national interest behind the humanitarian intervention which has been done. Defense threat that has been through by Indonesia will be discussed in this research. The theories and concepts which will be used are humanitarian intervention concept that supported by international relation's theory: constructivism and national interest concept. This research uses qualitative method with descriptive approach. The result shows that Vanuatu's motives in bringing Papua's case to global because of the similarity of race. Vanuatu has their aim for Vanuatu's national interest and the influence on South Pacific regime. The internationalization of Papua's case which done by Vanuatu is a threat for Indonesia's defense and Indonesia handle this with diplomacy way.

Keywords: Humanitarian intervention, defense, threat, national interest, internationalization

1. Introduction

The rebellion incident that occurred in Papua stems from the era of Indonesian independence. Disagreement between Soekarno, Muhammad Yamin and Moh. Hatta became a dilemma for the existence of Papua in Indonesia (Tim Redaksi Histori.id, 2016). Soekarno and Muhammad Yamin argued that Papua should be included in the Indonesian part because both were former Dutch colonies, while Moh. Hatta thought that Papua had its own people to be independent. The Netherlands also believes that the Papua region is one part of the Dutch empire based in Amsterdam. Because there are two countries claiming that Papua is their territory, negotiations were held for the sake of seizing the territory.

The negotiations to get Papua into Indonesian hands finally led to the emergence of Trikora which was formulated by Ir. Sukarno to fight the Dutch until the holding of the *Pepera* (*Penentuan Pendapat Rakyat Irian Jaya* or Act of Free Papua) which occurred in 1969. The results of the Act of Free Papua were adopted through UN General Assembly Resolution No. 2504/1969 decided that Papua was the territory of Indonesia and it was final (CNNIndonesia, 2019). The Act of Free Papua won by Indonesia was opposed by some Papuans who are members of the Papuan Volunteer Corps (PVC), which later became the forerunner of the Free Papua Movement (FPM), because it is considered invalid and filled with intimidation (Saltford, 2003). Since then some of these Papuans have felt disadvantaged and demanded their own independence. After the emergence of the results of the Act of Free Choice, the island of Irian Jaya or Papua was divided into two provinces, namely Papua and West Papua. Society that tends to demand independence is the people of West Papua (D, 2013).

The case that occurred in Papua certainly got a lot of interference from foreign parties. From the start the Dutch who wanted the Papua region as a shelter for the Dutch people to the Pacific countries which actually helped Papua to voice their desire for independence. The Pacific country that most supports Papua is Vanuatu. This country provides the United Liberation Movement for West Papua organization and invites other Pacific countries to contribute to Papuan independence.

The assistance of the approach from Vanuatu is in accordance with the theory of constructivism, where constructivism itself is an understanding based on shared interests, culture, social, and everything that cannot be measured (Jackson & Sorensen, 2013). Vanuatu and Papua have racial similarities, namely the Melanesian race. Due to racial equality, Vanuatu is more capable to influence Papuans to free themselves and incite Papua that they have a different race from the Indonesian people.

Vanuatu is internationalizing through the ULMWP organization, whose leader Benny Wenda claims to have submitted a petition regarding a referendum to the UN decolonization committee in New York in September 2017 (Bonasir, 2019). The sympathy from Vanuatu itself is based on the similarity of the races it has, which is the Melanesian race. This form of sympathy from Vanuatu was allegedly a humanitarian intervention for the people of Papua. Alleged

humanitarian intervention carried out by Vanuatu due to political elements. Vanuatu's support for the independence of Papua is also a threat to the sovereignty of Indonesia's territory.

Based on the background above, this paper focuses on discussing the constellations that occur in Papua and the internationalization of the Papua issue by Vanuatu. Then the research problems are formulated, there are: is there a possibility of humanitarian intervention in the Papuan case of internationalization by Vanuatu and how the role of Indonesian diplomacy in facing the internationalization of the Papuan issue. In this paper, the focus will be more focused on the intervention of the Vanuatu side of Papua, the interests gained by Vanuatu in the Papua case, and the threat of Papuan independence for Indonesia and how Indonesia has responded to it.

2. Methodology

The data contained in this study focuses on an explanation of the history of the Papua case and Vanuatu's involvement in it. The data on the issue of the independence of Papua and Papua separatist movement was contained in this article. In addition, data on humanitarian intervention, constructivism, and national interests have also been collected. The technique used to collect data in this writing uses sources from various literatures such as online mass media, journals, and books related to data and theories as set out in this paper.

In this writing, the research design uses qualitative research designs. Analyzing data about the Papua case and Vanuatu's involvement in it by describing it and combining it with the theories that have been elaborated in literature studies such as the theory of constructivism, humanitarian intervention, and national interests. Descriptive approach is used to process data so that it can be examined more deeply and clearly. By using a descriptive approach, it is hoped that the analysis of humanitarian intervention in the Papua case can be discussed more deeply.

3. Literature Review

This research uses a constructivism perspective. Besides this perspective, the concept of humanitarian intervention and the concept of national interest will be used in this study.

3.1. Constructivism

The writing about Vanuatu's involvement in West Papua's independence is believed to be due to the constructivism that entered into it. In the study of international relations there are classical theories for studying the relations of one country with other countries. Constructivism is one of the theories of the study of international relations that can be defined in which the relationship between structure and actors involves understanding and intersubjective meaning (Jackson & Sorensen, 2013). The other theory explain that constructivism is a relationship which more concerned with identity over strength (Hopf, 2013).

Constructivism according to Brooks & Brooks in Supardan (2016) is a philosophy and not a strategy, approach, or learning model. The theory of constructivism itself is touted as an intermediary between the two camps, namely realists and liberalists. Constructivism itself was born from a post-positivist reflective understanding and is a renewable innovation in the study of International Relations. the characteristics of constructivists, are believing the existence of significance in relation to ideational elements in the international system, recognizing the existence and constructive role of agents, having epistemological elements which are in line with the reflective-post positivist camp and adhering to positivism (Bilad, 2012).

Based on the theory outlined earlier, constructivists integrate based on a state of shared identity, social conditions and prevailing norms. They will build a relationship by themselves if they find out about the same fate or race with other countries. Then according to constructivists, the most important perspective of international relations is social conditions. The actual social situation brings constructivists to believe that the study of international relations focuses on ideas and beliefs and mutual understanding.

3.2. The Concept of Humanitarian Intervention

This research using humanitarian concept to understand the motives of Vanuatu's attention to Papua's case. Sympathetic feeling from Vanuatu is suspected of humanitarian intervention in it. The beginning of the concept of humanitarian intervention began with the issues of riots and terrorism that emerged in the international world (Salmon & Mark, 2008). The number of conflicts and terrorism issues that exist in the world pushed the United Nations (UN) to create a concept in the UN Charter on humanitarian intervention. The United Nations, which sees many conflicts occurring, considers the need to protect all people from widespread abuse and violation of basic human rights standards (Salmon & Mark, 2008).

Humanitarian intervention is based on assistance to victims of conflict displaced and pressured by certain parties. This humanitarian intervention also has a mission to maintain international peace and security. In the late 1990s, humanitarian intervention was legalized, based on the adoption of this concept by the United Nations (Salmon & Mark, 2008). Based on Heinze in (Rosyidin, 2017) the concept of humanitarian intervention is a controversial and confusing subject. Considered controversial because it is considered not in accordance with the Westphalia agreement which in essence each country has the right to regulate its own affairs without any interference coming from other parties. But humanitarian intervention is different from humanitarian action, humanitarian intervention is coercive and humanitarian action is voluntary and non-coercive. The opinion from Onuf in Rosyidin (2017) said that this humanitarian intervention is an idea whose task is to organize the world according to the 'liberal sensibility'.

According to (Rosyidin, 2017), this humanitarian intervention is studied more by International Law than International Relations. Therefore, the activities of interfering with other countries are validated by the UN Charter. When viewed from the side of International Relations, humanitarian intervention is always related to the interests of the countries that intervene. This concept is also touted as a form of implementation of the theory of constructivism. Humanitarian intervention when viewed from a constructivism perspective is very different in purpose from other concepts of humanitarian intervention. If the concept of humanitarian intervention is oriented to the theory of realism, then it will force and how to do it by sending military forces without the permission of the country concerned. In contrast to the concept of humanitarian intervention which tends to the theory of constructivism, this concept prefers norms and something that cannot be judged materially. Therefore, the conception of humanitarian intervention that is in line with constructivism is more concerned with the similarity of fate, race, or culture experienced by other countries.

3.3. Diplomacy

This writing will discuss Indonesia's efforts in tackling Vanuatu's intervention using diplomacy. Diplomacy is a fundamental political activity aimed at securing the country without coercion, propaganda or law (Berridge, 2015). Then diplomacy is also a non-violent approach to the interests of reconciliation between two actors (Bjola & Holmes, 2015). It can be said that diplomacy is an activity to resolve conflicts in a peaceful manner. Diplomacy is one of the most basic instruments and activities in international relations. Therefore, diplomacy is one of the important instruments in carrying out the implementation of a country's national interests (Nurika, 2017). There are various forms of diplomacy activities, one of which is public diplomacy. This can be conceived as an effort to improve the quality of communication between the state and its people (Wang, 2006). Public diplomacy activities are more focused on establishing communication between countries or organizations by presenting things that can refute wrong public perceptions.

3.4. National Interest

In this paper a theory of national interests is needed, because intervention from Vanuatu has national interests for its own country. At this writing the perspective used is constructivism, and therefore the theory of national interest is used according to Alexander Wendt. He stated in his book, on the basis of constructivism the dimension of ideas is more important and identity and interests are determined by these ideas. In the theory of international relations which is about national interests in the perspective of constructivism, a group of people is much influenced by the similarity of ideas rather than the power of matter to get their national interests. Therefore, national interests are not only certain, they are also built in a social way in accordance with the real conditions that occur in the international community (Burchill, 2005).

National interests can also be called ambitions and goals of a country in getting a better economy, military, and culture (Bainus & Rachman, 2018). This theory can also be regarded as a basic concept in the study of international relations. Burchill stated that national interests have three assumptions, namely: First, the emergence of a national interest originates from the number of people or countries that have the same interests; Second, national interests do not change even though the governance of a country changes; Third, the government is an actor whose duty is to achieve a national interest. It can be said that the national interests of a country are based on the desire to improve the welfare of their country from various aspects. In addition, national interests can also be formed because there are common ideas from a group to build a goal.

4. Analysis

4.1. The Main Problem in Papua's Conflict

The riots that occurred in Papua were based on the dissatisfaction of some Papuans with the results of the Act of Free Choice (Pepera) held in 1969. The group became OPM and ULMWP then considered that the final decision of the Act of Free Choice was filled with fraud and intervention from the central government. Indonesia itself at that time intended to 'save' Papua from the Dutch position and free Papua and include it in Indonesian territory. Ir. Soekarno and Muhammad Yamin had the idea and brought it to the BPUPKI session (Sitompul, 2019).

As a conflict area, the security approach was carried out in a repressive way in the past, the Papuan people also brought up the issue of human rights because they considered Indonesia racist because of racial differences, as well as the exploitation of natural resources by Indonesia and foreign parties, and social inequalities between Papua and the capital city. Racism has been a classic problem in Papua. The cases of riots that occurred in Malang and Surabaya, for example, started from a misunderstanding between Papuan students and residents around the fall of the red and white flag, to a handful of unscrupulous residents who hurled racist utterances while throwing stones at students (CNN Redaction Team, 2019).

The constellations of the riots that occurred in Malang and Surabaya made some Papuans in Manokrawi on August 19, 2019 become riot because of racist utterances made by Surabaya citizens (Pradana, 2019). Manokrawi public anger is a form of implementation of constructivist theory in the study of international relations. They feel that there is solidarity among tribes who provoke a sense of unity if there are Papuans who are insulted. Racism and violence resulting in fatalities received by the people of Papua have claimed half a million people (Lawson, 2016). It is felt that much violence has been accepted by the Papuan people, some Papuans who are members of the Free Papua Organization are increasingly voicing for Papuan independence. Since 1971, the OPM on the other hand has continued to carry out its actions until coming to international forums such as the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the South Pacific forum and

ASEAN. This OPM movement turned out to be fruitful, namely receiving support from Pacific countries, one of which is Vanuatu.

4.2. *The Involvement of Vanuatu in Papua Issue*

Vanuatu is one of the Melanesian countries in the South Pacific region discovered by a Portuguese sailor, Pedro Fernandes de Queiros, in 1606 (Temaluru, 2016). This country is one of the countries in the South Pacific that became the initiator to invite all countries with Melanesian race to support Papua. The first Vanuatu Prime Minister who embraced the principle of Melanesian Socialism, Walter Lini, coined that Vanuatu would not be fully independent if it was not followed by the independence of other Melanesian races. That was the beginning why Vanuatu gave great support to the independence of Papua (CNN Indonesia Redaction Team, 2019).

Prime Minister Walter Lini is a member of the VanuaakuPati (VP) party. The party upholds strong nationalism to maintain traditional culture and national sovereignty. The VP also adheres to Melanesian Socialism because it is in line with the Vanuatu government system which is still related to Melanesian culture and history. It is known that the Melanesian ethnic is an ethnic that has a strong relationship between each other. Therefore, Vanuatu is very passionate about supporting Papuan independence.

Based on racial equality, Vanuatu's support is consistent with the theory of constructivism in the study of international relations. Constructivism itself is a relationship based on shared identity, norms and social conditions. Harmony in race, fellow Melanesians, led Papua to get as much support as possible from the country of Vanuatu and other Pacific countries. Apart from being based on constructivism among Melanesian races, Vanuatu apparently has other interests such as domestic politics and the orientation of power. In this domestic politics the foreign policy obtained from Vanuatu also gained influence from a number of groups that were pro against the Papuan independence movement. Vanuatu itself has individual interests in its action to support Papuan independence. Being the leader of the Melanesian group is Vanuatu's main goal in defending Papuan independence (Sabir, 2018). By promoting humanitarian action for Papua, Vanuatu can attract international sympathy.

In the United Nations (UN) session, Vanuatu intensively discussed the issue of human rights violations committed by Indonesia against the people of Papua. The 68th annual session which was held on September 28, 2013 and conducted by the General Assembly of the United Nations held in New York, Vanuatu voiced about the torture and killings committed by Indonesia. According to Vanuatu, Indonesia must be responsible for the incident. Then on September 27, 2016, at the 71st annual session of the UN General Assembly, Vanuatu again raised the human rights case faced by Papua and condemned the liberation of Papua to determine their own destiny.

At the last UN session in Geneva on March 3, 2017, Vanuatu delivered a speech in the name of seven island nations in the Pacific region concerning the urging of the United Nations to hasten an investigation into the alleged human rights violations committed by Indonesia against Papua. In this session, Vanuatu was also criticized for having presented Benny Wenda to the Vanuatu delegation. Benny Wenda has committed violations several times due to his separatist activities in Papua. In addition to bringing the issue of Papuan independence to the UN session, Vanuatu also established the United Liberation Movement for West Papua. This organization created by Vanuatu and other Pacific countries is suspected of being a humanitarian intervention against West Papua.

4.3. *ULMWP as a Gap of Internationalization of the Papua Issue by Vanuatu*

Humanitarian intervention is an intervention of another country in a case that touches on Human Rights. Usually humanitarian intervention has been carried out by sending army troops to a country without the country's permission. Then humanitarian intervention is generally coercive. The intervention carried out by Vanuatu is very different from the conception of humanitarian intervention above. What Vanuatu has done is in harmony with humanitarian intervention from a constructivism perspective. Concern based on Vanuatu's national interests gave birth to the United Liberation Movement for West Papua organization to further strengthen support for the liberation of Papua from Indonesian hands. This organization was founded on December 7, 2014 in Vanuatu. Starting with the 25th anniversary of the Melanesia Spearhead Group (MSG), where members negotiate the MSG strategy going forward. Almost all MSG members agreed that the issue of Papuan independence was their main focus.

There is a goal of establishing an ULMWP, which is first fight for Papua to become a permanent member of the MSG, not through representatives from Indonesia, and subsequently fight for Papua's right to determine their own destiny until independence (Kudiadi, 2016). ULMWP itself is an observer in the Melanesian Spearhead Group. This was determined by the Prime Minister of Fiji at the 20th MSG Summit in June 2015. The ULMWP right as an observer only expresses an opinion if requested by the Director General of the MSG Secretariat and is not given access to confidential documents (Foreign Ministry of Indonesia, 2019). In other words, ULMWP is an 'intern' in the MSG that only contributes voluntarily. Based on this, Vanuatu insisted to include ULMWP as a permanent member of the MSG so that its support for Papuan independence could be further realized (ABC News, 2014).

ULMWP in addition to its mission to help Papua turned out to do a lie for the people of Papua and gave the reverse news as on December 1, 1961 (Bonasir, 2019). That was about the Papuan National Representative Council together with the Dutch kingdom had declared the forerunner of the West Papuan state which was marked by the raising of the West Papuan flag of the Morning Star of the Morning accompanied by the song Hai Tanaku Papua throughout West Papua. Though the incident never took place at all.

Although the assistance and support from Vanuatu do not have a military element in it, but the existence of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua is very disturbing social comfort and stability of the country. ULMWP

intensified its action to promote Free Papua through propaganda on social media. The appearance of fake sites that often spread the hoax in it. It can be said that ULMWP is a product of Vanuatu's humanitarian intervention against Papuan independence. This organization as a forum to launch support in order to be discussed in the MSG forum for Papuan independence is increasingly discussed. For some Papuans, this ULMWP is a form of assistance and support, but for the Indonesian government this is a threat to the territorial sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia.

4.4. The Support of Vanuatu towards ULMWP and FPM Poses a Threat to Indonesia's National Interests

The development of the strategic environment in Indonesia also changes the threats faced by the national defense system. Anything that threatens national security can be called a defense threat. Threats to be faced are multidimensional threats, including military, non-military and hybrid threats. These three types of threats are re-categorized as real and non-real threats (Defense Ministry of Indonesia, 2015). For military threats, there are two types, namely military threats, types of aggression and not aggression. Military threat in the form of aggression is a threat that uses armed force. While non-aggression military threats are threats that do not involve armed forces and involve the Indonesian National Army in the mobilization of forces based on political policies and decisions (Defense Ministry of Indonesia, 2015).

Examples of non-military threats of aggression is a violation of territory that includes three dimensions, namely land, sea, and air. Then espionage or spying activities to get important information from a country. Then sabotage was carried out on important military installations and other national objects that were strategic in nature. Terrorism, separatist movements, and communal conflicts are also a type of non-aggression military threat (Defense Ministry of Indonesia, 2015). According to the Indonesian Defense Posture book, the non-military threat itself has the following examples: 1. Ideology, which began to spread ideologies that were in conflict with Pancasila; 2. Politics, where there are political pressures and interventions that bring up the issue of Human Rights; 3. Economy, there is an embargo on export-import products; 4. Socio-culture, this threat can be in the form of conflicts between tribes, groups, races and religions; 5. Public safety, in the form of natural disasters that cannot be predicted; 6. Technology, now threats that come through technology can be in the form of TV programs that do not prioritize quality, cybercrime, and have the potential to become bioterrorism and biological warfare; 7. Legislation, namely re-defining the contents of a law that causes threats to regional sovereignty. Last is the hybrid threat, an example of this threat is a combination of military and non-military threats. The threat of nuclear weapons and other chemical weapons is also an example of the threat of hybrids.

All forms of Vanuatu's support and the intention of some of the people who are members of the OPM can be said to be a combination of both, military and non-military, which are included in the real threat. This is due to the nature of the activities of Vanuatu and OPM including the separatist movement and arms rebellion, this activity is included in the threat of non-aggression military. Then Vanuatu's humanitarian intervention activity is a non-military threat with a political dimension, because Vanuatu is pressing Indonesia in relation to the Human Rights of the Papuan people. The activity of Vanuatu and the Free Papua Organization which wants to separate Papua from Indonesian territory threatens Indonesia to lose part of its territory. To deal with non-military threats can be realized by deploying non-military defense forces, that is, approaching through the Ministries or related Institutions as well as involving the TNI if the rebellion problem endangers security and stability (Defense Ministry of Indonesia, 2015).

4.5. The Diplomacy of Indonesia to Vanuatu

Indonesia itself has made various efforts in overcoming the Papua case and Vanuatu's attitude which tends to be counter to Indonesia. This was done by dialogizing against Vanuatu. The diplomacy that has been taken is the sovereignty and public diplomacy. Through sovereignty diplomacy, Indonesia responded to countries that supported Papuan independence firmly and resulted in increasing Pacific countries' support for Indonesia and support for preventing the influence of Papuan separatist groups on Pacific countries (Kemlu, Laporan Kinerja Kementerian Luar Negeri, 2018).

Public diplomacy has also been taken by Indonesia to face Vanuatu. Various efforts have been taken by Indonesia to straighten out the various Vanuatu accusations that have been set forth in international forums. From starting to do various articles and news in the media to the holding of the Melanesian Cultural Festival and the creation of the Melindo Brotherhood (Sabir, 2018). In addition to the public diplomacy activities mentioned above, news management is also carried out by Indonesia to correct Vanuatu and international perceptions regarding issues that occur in Papua. For example, Indonesia invited representatives of Melanesian Spearhead Group members to visit Papua and see what actually happened there. This is to deny the news that foreign journalists may not enter Papua (Sabir, 2018).

Not only with news management, rebuttal related to the issue of Papua was also carried out in international forums such as the United Nations (UN). On the Ministry of Foreign Affairs website in the Frequently Asked Question column, there is an article stating No Genocide in West Papua, containing data on the growth of Papuan infrastructure, as well as facts about Papua's political constellation, and the history of separatist groups in Papua can refute all accusations addressed in Indonesia by Vanuatu and internationally. In essence, Indonesia has protected from threats that have been carried out by Vanuatu. The most common step is through soft power or diplomacy against Vanuatu. To mobilize military power is needed to maintain the stability of national security in accordance with the duties of the Indonesian National Army.

5. Conclusion

Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that Vanuatu's participation in supporting independent Papua has its own national interests. The similarity of the identity of Vanuatu and Papua is the reason Vanuatu supports Papua and this is in line with the constructivism approach to the study of international relations. Apart from being based

on identity construction, Vanuatu also has a mission to become the leader of the Pacific countries. This also pertains to the national interests held by Vanuatu. The intervention of this country was not pure because it wanted to help the Melanesian states to be independent, but also because of the political will behind it. By intensifying actions on the international scene, Vanuatu hopes to get sympathetic from international organizations. If it has received support and attention from the international community, Vanuatu hopes that its mission to become chairman of the Melanesian countries can be realized in the future.

The relevance of the above discussion with the concept of humanitarian intervention is appropriate, because it is based on the defense of human rights of the Papuan people which Vanuatu considers to have been violated by Indonesia. Human rights are violated among others regarding social and economic inequality, racism, and exploitation of natural resources in Papua. The existence of an organization called The United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) is a manifestation of intervention from Vanuatu on the issue of Papua. The activities carried out by Vanuatu are a threat to Indonesia. Threats carried out are threats that are both military and non-military. Indonesia itself has defended its sovereignty by carrying out diplomatic activities.

6. Recommendation

Despite the fact that the efforts made by Indonesia for Papua are so large, it shows that based on the internationalization done by Vanuatu, the efforts of the Indonesian government should be increased even more. Enhancing diplomacy and cooperation with the Asia Pacific. Escalation of development for human resources in Papua must be more empowered to be more equitable. In order to improve human resource development, it is necessary to revitalize human resources by involving Papuans in national development. The activeness in international forums must also be increased in order to fight all accusations against the Papua issue. The capacity building of diplomats and ambassadors from Indonesia can also be done by Indonesia. In addition, Indonesia must increase Confidence Building Measures in a bilateral, regional and multilateral scope that can benefit Indonesia.

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