
MANAGEMENT OF HANDLING SEPARATISM (ZULU TRIBE) IN SOUTH AFRICA, BENCHMARKING TO OVERCOME THE PAPUAN CONFLICT

By

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Article Info

Article history:

Received June 24, 2023

Revised July 23, 2023

Accepted July 27, 2023

Keywords:

Benchmarking, Autonomy, ,
Papua, Separatism, Zulus in
South Africa.

ABSTRACT

The South African government has succeeded in overcoming the problem of separatism in Zulu, but the Indonesian government still has to face the problem of separatism in Papua. This study aims to make the management of handling separatist movements in South Africa (Zulu Region) a benchmarking for decision makers. This research was conducted with a qualitative descriptive approach. The results of the research show that the root of the problem of separatism, namely the demand for autonomy rights for the Zulu Tribe, has been resolved through peaceful mean. On the other hand, the Government of Indonesia has also made a lot of efforts, in ways that are relatively exactly the same as those taken by the South African, but not yet fully successful. So that it becomes very relevant for the Indonesian government to carry out a thorough evaluation regarding the implementation of the policy of granting special autonomy based on the South African experience.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Zulus are the largest indigenous people in South Africa, who are known as persistent warriors. Today, the majority of the Zulu people live in the KwaZulu-Natal Province, South Africa. Their placement in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal is related to the apartheid politics that was once practiced in South Africa. At first the Zulu tribe was a small clan founded in 1709 by the Zulu kantombhela. At that time, the Zulu clan coexisted in the northern region of KwaZulu-Natal Province with the descendants of the Nguni tribe, who had migrated to the east coast of Africa since around 800. The Zulu grew into a large tribe under the rule of Shaka Zulu, who is known as a great warrior who initiated military, social, cultural and political reforms, to establish an organized and centralized Zulu Empire. The Zulu people are considered second-class citizens and experience cruel discrimination. Today, it is known as KwaZulu-Natal Province, home to the majority of South Africa's Zulu people. Today, the Zulu are the largest indigenous people in South Africa who still maintain their culture. Based on these matters, the Zulu tribe demanded recognition of the right of autonomy in the area where they were located, which the South African Government responded to and accommodated in a peaceful manner, resulting in an agreement that benefited both parties.[1]

Separatism in South Africa was successfully overcome. On the other hand, the conflict that occurred in Papua was indeed not simple. The Papuan conflict has a broader spectrum, and because of that in Papua there is no single solution, considering that the problem is very heterogeneous, multidimensional, and very complicated. The conflict in Papua is classified as the most intractable, taking a very long time compared to other regions in Indonesia. So it needs an in-depth study to identify the root causes of the conflict. Actually development in Papua has been going well, has a strong legal basis, among other things, with Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for Papua. Then the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2008 which mandates that Papua realize justice, uphold the

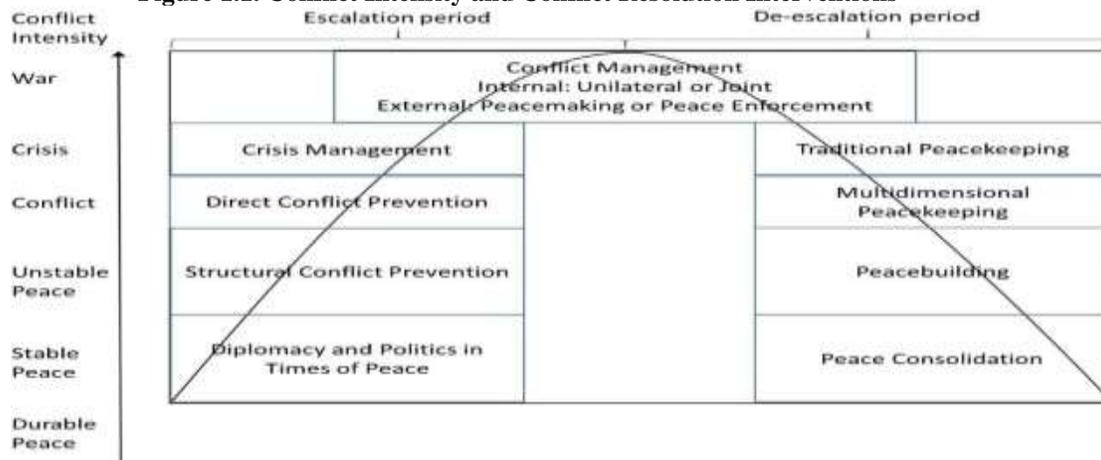
rule of law, respect for human rights, accelerate economic development, and improve welfare in the framework of equality. The government has made many efforts. But of course it must remain based on the facts of real needs in the field, so that the results are more effective. Papua's special autonomy, which is supported by trillions of rupiah in funds, still leaves problems regarding its effectiveness. Although normatively the development of Indonesia has been carried out for Papua. For decades, the armed conflict in Papua has never found an end. There have been various shooting incidents between the Security Forces and the Armed Criminal Group, pro-independence Papuan separatists who often victimize civilians. The conflict occurred from the New Order era to the current reformation, which initially occurred because of demands for independence and then expanded to racial issues. [2]

This study uses several concepts and theories that are relevant and closely related to the phenomenon of separatism and separatist movements, namely the concept of national security, the concept of national defense, strategy theory, role theory, competency theory, and conflict resolution theory to analyze the government's role in resolving separatist conflicts in the Zulu region of South Africa as a reflective study; and analyze the achievements of South Africa as input for a peaceful resolution in resolving the Papuan conflict as a more comprehensive projection. National security is a concept owned by a country whose main task is to eliminate threats which are then outlined in the national defense strategy. In accordance with the development of threats today, the Indonesian government is faced with threats that are both military and non-military in nature. [3]

National Defense is an integrated national effort by involving all national potential and strength to defend state sovereignty, territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the entire nation, which in its implementation is regulated through a universal national defense system involving all citizens, territories and national resources based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The implementation of national defense is carried out by the government through efforts to build and foster the capability, deterrence of the state and nation, as well as overcoming every threat. The national defense system in dealing with military threats places the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) as the Main Component supported by Reserve Components and Supporting Components, and to deal with non-military threats places government agencies outside the defense sector as the main element, according to the form and nature of the threat faced with the support of other elements of national strength. [4]

The word "strategy" is not much different from the words "power" and "politics". The formulation of the strategy is motivated by the national interests of each country, how big a country's national interest is in protecting its country, how much national power it has, the values that the nation adheres to, and the culture or habits of the country in dealing with the problems of the nation and its country; and Lykke stated that in safeguarding national interests, a country will formulate national security, if a large country is dealing with other large countries, then the strategy used is more likely to be a strategy of deterrence or whereas if dealing with a smaller country, then the strategy is used more likely coercion, or the use of hard power or military force. Role refers to function, meaning that someone who occupies a certain position in society carries out a role. A role includes at least 3 things, namely: first, norms associated with a person's position or place in society; secondly, a concept of what individuals in society can do; and, third, individual behavior that is important to the social structure of society. Social roles that exist in society can be classified according to various ways according to the many points of view. Based on the implementation of social roles can be divided into two, namely: expected roles; and adapted roles (actual roles). Systematically, there are at least 5 levels of conflict intensity (stable peace, unstable peace, conflict, crisis, and war). From these five intensity levels, a conflict resolution intervention approach can be used, as shown in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1. Conflict Intensity and Conflict Resolution Interventions



Source: Lund (2001) and Svanström & Weissmann (2005)



Based on the background and theoretical studies referred to above, the problems in this study can be formulated as follows: what is the role of the South African government in handling separatist movements in the Zulu region; and how about a peaceful resolution in resolving the Papua conflict, based on the experience of the South African Government in handling separatist movements in the Zulu region? The results of the analysis in solving the problem of separatism in South Africa and in Papua show that there is a gap, namely: The South African government has succeeded in overcoming the problem of separatism which is rooted in the demands of the Zulu people to get recognition for their right to autonomy in the region where they are located.

2. METHOD

This study uses a descriptive qualitative research method. A descriptive qualitative approach can identify problems in society and the procedures that apply, as well as certain conditions in society, including the relationship of activities, attitudes, actions and processes that are taking place and the influence of these phenomena. (Moleong, 2016). In line with this opinion, according to Sugiyono (2016: 9) a qualitative descriptive method is a research method based on the philosophy of postpositivism. This research method is used to examine natural object conditions (as opposed to experiments) where the researcher is the key instrument. Data collection techniques are carried out in a triangulation (combined) manner, data analysis is inductive/qualitative in nature, and qualitative research results emphasize meaning rather than generalization. The raw data obtained in the research process either in the form of interview results or from the results of the literature study are arranged or sorted according to the type of need, which is then interpreted by the data in the form of sentences and paragraphs arranged to answer research questions that have been formulated. [5]

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

According to Wilson and Ramphela (1989), the Zulu separatist movement in South Africa began to emerge in the 1970s and demanded autonomy for the areas where the Zulu lived. Guy (1979) adds that the peak of the Zulu separatist movement occurred in 1994, when the leader of the prominent Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Mangosuthu Buthelezi, rejected the election results and demanded autonomy for the Zulu regions. This led to violence and conflict between the IFP and the African National Congress (ANC), the party that won the election. Saul (1974) stated that the Zulu separatist movement was related to Zulu nationalism and was part of the struggle against racial discrimination by the apartheid government in South Africa. Hamilton (1998) also emphasizes that the Zulu separatist movement is related to the efforts of the Zulus to maintain their identity and culture amidst difficult socio-political conditions. In the early 1990s, the Zulu separatist movement entered a period of transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa. The conflict between the ANC party which won the election and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) which is mainly supported by the Zulu community reached a fever pitch. Differences in views about the future of the country and the socio-political tensions that existed between the two parties culminated in deadly riots in the Zulu regions. According to a report by Amnesty International (1993), in 1990-1993, more than 10,000 people died and 25,000 people were injured in the conflict between the ANC and IFP parties. Most of the victims were civilians who were not directly involved in the conflict. Acts of violence included burning houses, bombings, assaults with weapons, and rape. Many Zulu communities experienced great suffering and damage as a result of the conflict. The situation became more stable after South Africa's first general elections in 1994 and the ANC party won a majority of the votes. The IFP later joined the national government and started to play an important role in the country's political and economic development (Fay, 2009).

Plessis (2008) says that defense is the use of military force for diplomatic purposes. Cottey & Forster (2004) states that defense diplomacy is an activity that involves the armed forces and other infrastructure (Ministry of Defense) in peacetime as a means of foreign and security policy. Evans and Newham, stated that the main functions of a diplomatic process include negotiation, representation, formulation, and identification of goals and objectivity, as well as implementation of law and international organizations. Brian White, 2005 said that diplomacy is a key process of communication and negotiation in world politics and as an important foreign policy instrument used by global actors.

In Competency Theory, Michael Zwell revealed that there are several factors that can affect a person's competency skills, namely: beliefs and values; skills; experience; personality characteristics; motivation; controlling emotional issues; intellectual abilities; and organizational culture. Spencer & Spencer stated that competence is a basic characteristic of a person that influences the way of thinking and acting, generalizes to all situations encountered and lasts long enough in humans. Thus competence is an ability to carry out a job or task that is based on skills and knowledge and is supported by the work attitude demanded by the job. In Conflict Resolution Theory it is explained that basically conflict occurs when 2 or more interdependent parties have different interests, results, and/or goals. (Marcus, Deutsch, & Coleman, 2011). Conflict Resolution Theory was born to describe formal and informal processes

to find peaceful solutions for 2 or more opposing parties. (Harvard Law School, n.d.). In its development, conflict resolution theory experiences an important dichotomy in terms of conflict resolution. On the one hand, how can conflict resolution reduce conflict quickly, but on the other hand how can this conflict resolution be effective in a long time. (Hansen, Ramsbotham & Woodhouse, 2017). Conceptually, Sousa & Oliveira (2021:4-5) suggests a fundamental difference between conflict management (conflict management), which is in the form of interventions that seek to contain or stop armed violence, and Conflict Prevention which is in the form of interventions that seek to resolve problems politics (goal mismatch).

The Indonesian government, which until now still has to face the problem of separatism which on several occasions has shown itself to be an armed separatist movement, has more complex root causes than separatism in South Africa. Several previous studies that have been conducted related to efforts to seek and find resolutions for the Papuan conflict, include: The complexity of the Papuan problem can be explained based on the research result of several researchers as follows:

- a. Delvia Ananda Kaisupy and Scholastic Genapang Maing stated that the results of research are presented which show that the negotiation process for the Papua conflict involved internal actors (central/regional government, armed criminal groups/Free Papua Organizations, tribal chiefs/religious leaders, and civil society) and external actors (Freeport) with the main demand being an independent Papua. The negotiation process took a long time and faced many obstacles, but this did not dampen efforts to reach a win-win solution. Dialogue between Jakarta and Papua must better reflect the cultural values of the Papuan people.[7]
- b. A. Zahra Chairani (2019) stated that the Papua problem is "conflict transformation" which does not only describe the specifications of a conflict based on where the conflict arises, but also cultural transformation and exercise of power (Francis, 2002). The biggest influence on conflict transformation theory is the 'needs theory', namely when unfulfilled needs are often the cause of conflict. The desire to be able to fulfill is what then creates disputes that can lead to violent conflicts. Even so, what usually happens is non-violence as a form of resistance to an injustice that occurs, which is the cause of conflict. This condition then forms a new dynamic in conflict where conflict is no longer marked by violent resistance, but also non-violent resistance.[8]
- c. Sugandi (2008) stated that it is concluded that social, cultural and natural resource wealth in Papua is in contrast to the level of human security. Papua has had complaints for a long time since its integration with the State of Indonesia, starting from differences in perceptions regarding the history of integration into the State of Indonesia, ongoing backwardness and complex feelings of inferiority marked by violations of human rights that undermine the dignity of indigenous Papuans. The birth of special autonomy in 2001 was a turning point in which the grievances of the indigenous Papuans began to be opened and taken into account. Special Autonomy (Otsus) is expected to be able to provide definite action to protect the rights of indigenous Papuans and involve them actively both as beneficiaries and actors in social change in Papua. Nonetheless, the implementation of special autonomy has faced various challenges including the lack of trust shown by the central government. The post-special autonomy period is still marked by complaints; negative peace, problems related to representation, policies that are not in accordance with local culture, unbalanced extraction of natural resources, security approach, low level of social capital, anomie society in social change, polarization that can lead to conflict, and gaps between social groups. Such complicated conditions have created irregularities in the post-special autonomy period which should have been studied by international bodies working in Papua.[9]
- d. Yoseph Yapi Taum, Lecturer state that it is concluded that the conflict in Papua, based on the results of LIPI's research (2004), is caused by fundamental differences between conflicting parties, both in understanding the root causes of problems in Papua, defending or fighting over certain interests. The government is determined to intensify conflict resolution in Papua by making it one of the top priorities for government policies in the political and security sector (Tempo Interactive, 7/1/2003). Resolving the Papua conflict carried out by the government is prioritized on foreign diplomacy and solving justice problems, especially in the welfare sector. The reality on the ground shows that the conflict and violence never ends. Papua is a field of reading that needs to get the attention of higher education institutions. Conflict and violence in Papua have been going on for a long time and have a long history and are now becoming increasingly complex. Because of this, it is deemed that settlement through diplomacy and an economic approach alone still needs to be complemented by a cultural approach (Kristiawan, 2005). To produce a comprehensive solution regarding Papua, economic and political paths need to be accompanied by cultural approaches and paths. [10]
- e. A. Muttaqin stated that after more than 40 years, the Province of Papua was handed over from the Government of the Netherlands through UNTEA (United Nations Temporary Executives Authority) to the Government of the Republic of Indonesia; but the Papuan people have never felt as citizens who are free from suffering. All forms of abuse of power are actually not only perpetrated by the central government in Jakarta, but also by regional governments which are increasingly contributing to the worsening of the economic, social and cultural

conditions of the Papuan people through attitudes and behavior that really hurt the hearts of the Papuan people, namely Corruption. The conflict that occurred in Papua was rooted in an injustice originating from the unequal distribution of the results of economic development carried out by the new order. This process of inequality in the distribution of the results of economic development is ultimately institutionalized into a structured and permanent impoverishment effort, whether it is intentional or as an automatic impact of the concept of economic development that is carried out and at the same time functions as the implementation of state ideology whether we like it or not. must pay more attention to the needs of the center than the regions as a source of strength for development funds (Rathgeber, Theodor, 2006, p. 52). When the New Order regime ended in mid-1998, this conflict became increasingly manifest and efforts to achieve independence also intensified. [11]

- f. Nugroho, A. H. (2019) stated that the policies of the Government of Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla in seeking dialogue over the resolution of the vertical conflict in Papua have challenges. Dialogue paradigms that experience misconceptions, where dialogue as a concept and approach are not properly understood, and factors that influence dialogue efforts on vertical conflict resolution in Papua have not been successful where the history of integration and identity, political violence, development failures, and the marginalization of the Papuan people are the roots the problems that occur in Papua and West Papua have not been completely resolved by the government. In the future, the governments of Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla need to reconsolidate state institutions that operate in a solitary and inconsistent manner in an understanding of unbiased dialogue. The governments of Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla also need to have a long-term main strategy in making projections of various aspects and dimensions that are connected to one another so that they are aligned and not fragmented. [12]
- g. Nomensen S.T. Mambraku (Faculty of Teaching and Education, University of Cenderawasih, New Campus Waena Jayapura, Papua stated that from a political perspective there are five policy recommendations produced by this study in the context of resolving conflicts in the land of Papua. These recommendations are: First, limit the area persuasively, the intensity and openness of the political conflict in the land of Papua. Second, resolve the political conflict in the land of Papua institutionally through existing state institutions, including the regional government, the Regional People's Representative Council, and the Papuan People's Council. Third, imposing sanctions on parties involved in violating human rights, applicable laws and regulations Fourth, creating consensual stability Fifth, producing conflict resolution with a high level of effectiveness The policy recommendations are expected to be able to resolve the sources of conflict in the land of Papua, namely: differences in perceptions of implementation The 1969 People's Opinion, and the different perceptions of the development process. This study concludes that in fact most of the policies taken by the government since the Old Order, New Order and Reform Order periods are still far from expectations. This conclusion was obtained by analyzing the pattern, direction and effectiveness of the policies issued by each government. Apart from that, it was also concluded that the coercive-repressive approach, although with a different intensity, has continued in the land of Papua since 1962 until now. Through this research, the researcher found that the results of this study have a novelty value, namely strategic conceptual thinking that is more comprehensive and implementable to be able to find peaceful resolutions in resolving the Papuan conflict which can contribute to the realization of national security. [13]

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

a. Overview.

The Zulu Kingdom was a kingdom located in southern Africa with territory extending from the Tugela River in the south to the Pongola River in the north. Shaka is a Zulu chief who is credited with turning his tribe from a small tribe into a kingdom that dominates the area that is now part of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The armed separatist movement which greatly affected the existence of South Africa (Zulu Region), as a nation-state entity, has taken place through a long history and is reflected in the many efforts of South Africa (Zulu Region) to realize and secure integration, prevent the threat of disintegration, and carry out processes reintegration when the nation-state of South Africa (Zulu Region) is forced to experience disintegration, as is the case with the real experiences of several other major nation-states in the world. The phenomenon of the separatist movement, the mechanism and process of integration, disintegration and reintegration of the nation-state that has occurred and is currently occurring in South Africa (Zulu Region), is expected to be a lesson learned for other nations in the world, including and especially the Indonesian nation, to become an important reference. valuable, where the substance and meaning of the essence contained therein can be a source of inspiration for the emergence of new ideas as a strong basis for decision makers when formulating resolute policies in dealing with and overcoming various threats to integration, which can result in disintegration, as well as to can find a resolution, in order to re-create national reintegration,

and at the same time as a response to the various demands put forward by separatists in Indonesia which were carried out both in the form of peaceful movements and the use of armed violence (armed separatist movements). [14]

Today, the Zulu region is one of nine provinces in South Africa and the Zulu people are integrated into the country's political system. In another part of the world, in Indonesia, emerged, grew, and developed The Free Papua Organization (abbreviated as OPM) is an umbrella term for the independence movements founded in the provinces of Papua and West Papua, also formerly known as Papua, Irian Jaya and West Irian. The movement consists of three elements: groups of different armed units, each with limited territorial control without a single commander; several groups in the region holding demonstrations and protests; and a small group of leaders based abroad who raised awareness of issues in the region while fighting for international support for independence. [15]

This movement is commonly referred to as KKB (the abbreviation for Armed Criminal Group), KKSB (Armed Separatist Criminal Group), and KSTP (Papuan Terrorist Separatist Group). Since the beginning, OPM (Free Papua Organization) has also taken diplomatic efforts, carrying out the Morning Star flag-raising ceremony, and acts of terrorism as part of the Papuan conflict. Supporters routinely display the Morning Star flag and other symbols of separatist Papuans, such as the national anthem "Hai Tanahku Papua" and the national coat of arms, which were adopted in the period from 1961 until Indonesian rule began in May 1963 under the New York Agreement. This militant movement is considered a separatist organization in Indonesia, and its activities have led to accusations of treason. During World War II, the Dutch East Indies (later Indonesia) was guided by Sukarno to supply oil for the Japanese war effort and immediately declared independence under the name Republic of Indonesia on 17 August 1945. [16]

Dutch New Guinea (West New Guinea) and Australia administered the territories of Papua and British New Guinea resisted Japanese rule and was an ally of the United States and Australia throughout the Pacific War. The pre-war relationship between the Netherlands and Dutch New Guinea ended with the appointment of Papuan civilians to government until Indonesian rule was activated in 1963. Despite an agreement between Australia and the Netherlands in 1957 that their territories were better united and independent, the lack of development on the Australian territory and American interests The Union made these two regions separate. [17]

OPM was founded in December 1963 with the announcement, "We don't want modern life! We reject any kind of development: groups of religious leaders, humanitarian agencies, and government organizations. Leave us alone!" This organization was originally a spiritual movement of cargoism, a mystical or spiritual group that combines traditional and Christian beliefs, which was formed by the head of the Demta district, Aser Demotekay. Even so, Aser was cooperative with the Indonesian government and prohibited violence. Although a follower of Aser, Jacob Prai then continued the movement with violence. The second group came from Manokwari in 1964, the character was Terianus Aronggear. He founded the 'Organization of the Struggle for the Independence of the State of West Papua'. This organization also operates clandestinely. Later, Terianus' organization became known as the Free Papua Organization (OPM). This group sent a document to the United Nations requesting a review of the New York agreement, which also contained a draft of the Papuan cabinet. [18]

However, in Washington, D.C., National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy lobbied the U.S. President. John F. Kennedy to negotiate the transfer of West New Guinea's administration to Indonesia. The New York Agreement was drafted by Robert Kennedy and signed by the Netherlands, Indonesia and the United Nations in August 1962. Although the Netherlands demanded that the people of West New Guinea be allowed self-determination in accordance with the UN charter and UN General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV) under the name " Act of Free Choice" (Determination of People's Opinion), the New York Agreement provides a seven-year pause and removes the authority of the United Nations to oversee the implementation of the Act. The separatist group raises the West Papua Morning Star flag on December 1 every year. They consider this date to be Papua's independence day. According to a Human Rights Watch report, the National Police speculates that those who commit acts like this could be charged with treason, which carries a sentence of between 7 and 20 years in prison. [19]

b. The role of the South African government in handling separatist movements in the Zulu region.

Zulu conflict, South Africa is a protracted conflict that began in the 1970s and finally managed to become more stable in 1994 when Nelson Mandela was elected as the first president of democratic South Africa and Mangosuthu Buthelezi from the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) was appointed as Minister of Home Affairs. The conflict was motivated by Zulu nationalism which opposed racial discrimination by the Apartheid government in South Africa. In addition, the Zulu separatist movement is related to the efforts of the Zulu tribe to maintain their identity and culture amidst difficult socio-political conditions. The peace process lasted for several years and peace was achieved through a series of negotiations and dialogue between the government and IFP. And in 1995, the IFP and other political parties committed to ending the violence and resolving the remaining conflicts.



Then in 1997 a peace agreement between IFP and ANC was signed by both sides ending 20 years of violence and political conflict. Meanwhile, the conflict in Papua is very different from the conflict in Zulu, South Africa. The two conflicts are indeed prolonged conflicts. The Papua conflict could begin to be seen during Indonesia's independence in 1945 and the separatist movement began in the 1960s. From a historical point of view, it is very different. The Papuan separatist struggle in Indonesia has been going on for decades and started since the early days of Indonesian independence in the 1960s. This struggle was triggered by the desire of some Papuan people to separate themselves from Indonesia and form an independent West Papuan state. Several issues that have become the focus of the struggle for the Papuan separatist movement include demands to recognize the right to self-determination for the Papuan people, protection of human rights, recognition of Papuan culture, as well as economic development and infrastructure development in the Papua region. At the beginning of this struggle, the Papuan separatist movement was led by the Free Papua Organization (OPM) which used guerrilla warfare tactics and attacks on Indonesian military posts in the Papua region.

However, after the political and security crisis in Indonesia in 1998, the Indonesian government opened up space for dialogue with Papuan separatist leaders and began negotiations to find a peaceful solution to the conflict in the Papua region. However, even though there have been several dialogues and negotiations between the Indonesian government and the Papuan separatist movement, until now the conflict in the Papua region is still ongoing and there are frequent clashes and violence between separatist groups and Indonesian security forces. The Papuan separatist struggle in Indonesia is a sensitive and controversial issue in Indonesia, and the Indonesian government has always prioritized efforts to resolve the conflict in a peaceful way and through dialogue.

However, conflict resolution in the Papua region requires a holistic and integrated approach through active participation and strong commitment from all parties involved. Some examples from the Zulu separatist agreement and the South African government that might be applied to the context of the Papuan separatist struggle in Indonesia include: Building dialogue and building trust between the two parties through the establishment of committees at the local and regional levels; Focus on solving basic social and economic problems to prevent future political violence; Strengthen protection and respect for human rights in the Papua region; Building sustainable government policies and programs in increasing economic empowerment, education, and the welfare of the people of Papua; and in addition, a leader who is native to Papua and is nationalist is needed and is able to embrace the whole heart of the Papuan people and armed criminal groups in Papua to invite and convince that Papua is Indonesia.

However, it should be noted that every context of political conflict and struggle has unique and complex dynamics. Therefore, appropriate and effective peaceful solutions must be adapted to local conditions and involve local wisdom and culture and accommodate the interests and aspirations of all parties involved. In this regard, one of the steps that have been implemented by the government is realized by inaugurating three new autonomous regions (DOB) in Papua, namely South Papua Province, Central Papua Province, and Papua Mountains Province on November 11, 2022 (RI Cabinet Secretariat, 2022). This was followed by the inauguration of the Southwest Papua Province on December 9, 2022. The establishment of 4 provinces as new autonomous regions (DOB) in Papua is part of an effort to accelerate equitable distribution of development and welfare of the Papuan people [20]

c. Management of handling separatist movements in South Africa (Zulu Region) as benchmarking, lesson learned, for Papua Indonesia.

1) Challenges of conflict resolution in Papua. Bobby Anderson, an American researcher, made a security topography in Papua based on the characteristics of the conflict. Conflict over ulayat rights, conflict over rivalry between indigenous people and migrants, conflict between tribes, conflict between West Papua National Liberation Army (TPNPB) and OPM and TNI/Polri. (Anderson, 2015) It can be seen that the conflict in Papua has its own complexities and complications. When compared to the conflict in Zulu, South Africa is of course very much different. The Zulu conflict was the dominant ethnic conflict and was later brought into the political realm. Meanwhile, in Indonesia the Papuan tribe is not the dominant ethnic group. It is therefore necessary to handle it differently from any other conflict in the world. Several strategic thoughts regarding the handling of armed separatist movements in Papua. Observers, practitioners and academics see that separatism in Papua is far more complex than the problem of separatism faced by the South African government. The following table illustrates how the problem of Papuan separatists who want to separate from the Republic of Indonesia.

Table.1.

Movement Name/Location	Background Problem	Management Resolution	Result	Remarks
KKB (the abbreviation for Armed Criminal	The feeling of being treated unfairly	Approach to a peaceful settlement	Special autonomy for	Benchmarking, lessons learned

Group), KKSB (Armed Separatist Criminal Group), and KSTP (Papuan Terrorist Separatist Group), Since the beginning, OPM (Free Papua Organization)	encourages the desire to separate from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, form its own independent country, and fight for it through Organization of the Struggle for the Independence of the State of West Papua.	by granting special autonomy with very broad authority and large financial support which is legitimized by laws and a number of implementing regulations	Papua, has not completely succeeded	from the experience of South Africa, especially at the policy implementation stage
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The factors and actors behind the separatist movement in Papua cannot be handled with a single approach, as is the case with the peace settlement carried out by the South African government by granting recognition of the autonomy rights demanded by the Zulus.

2) **Lessons to be learned for overcoming Separatism in Papua (Indonesia).** The peace process between the Zulu separatist movement and the South African government began in 1992 when the country was transitioning from apartheid to democracy. The government and the Zulu separatist movement eventually agreed to establish a Special Election Commission to administer national elections in 1994 (Worger, 2013). That same year, Nelson Mandela was elected as the first democratic president of South Africa, and Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) was appointed Minister of the Interior. The peace process between the government and the Zulu separatist movement lasted for several years. According to Fisiy and Arko-Adjei (2012), peace was achieved through a series of negotiations and dialogues held between the government and IFP. [21]

In 1995, the Pietermaritzburg Peace Accord was signed by the government, IFP, and other political parties, which contained a commitment to end violence and enter into dialogue to resolve remaining conflicts. Over the following years, IFP and ANC took steps to build peace and reconciliation between them. In 1997, a peace agreement was signed between the two sides, ending nearly 20 years of violence and political conflict in KwaZulu-Natal (Hamber, 1998). [22] . The IFP later joined the national government and started to play an important role in the country's political and economic development (Fay, 2009).

A peace accord between the Zulu separatist movement and the South African government signed in 1997 ended nearly two decades of violence and political conflict in KwaZulu-Natal. The agreement contains several important points, including a commitment to stop political violence and hold dialogue to resolve the remaining conflicts. The agreement also emphasizes the importance of solving basic social and economic problems to prevent future political violence. In addition, the agreement includes the establishment of committees at local and regional levels to facilitate dialogue and build trust between the two sides. Finally, the agreement included the creation of special units to combat crime and political violence in KwaZulu-Natal (Hamber, 1998). The peace agreement between the Zulu separatist movement and the South African government in 1994 can be viewed from the perspective of conflict resolution theory. Conflict resolution theory refers to efforts to end conflicts between two or more parties in a peaceful way, and build long-term cooperation. In this regard, the peace agreement between the Zulu separatist movement and the South African government is considered an example of conflict resolution efforts. [23]

The agreement can be explained in three stages of conflict resolution according to the conflict management model developed by John Burton, namely:

- a) Openness Stage: The first stage is the stage where the conflict is acknowledged and opened up. In the case of the Zulu separatist movement, conflict between the government and the Zulu separatist movement has occurred for several years, including riots that killed many people in 1994. However, in the end, both parties agreed to open up and acknowledge the existence of conflict;
- b) Negotiation Stage: The second stage is the stage where both parties agree to negotiate to resolve the conflict. In the case of the Zulu separatist movement, negotiations were carried out by the South African government and the leader of the Zulu separatist movement, Mangosuthu Buthelezi. During the negotiations, the two sides managed to reach a peace agreement that guaranteed the rights of the Zulu people and strengthened democracy in South Africa;



- c) Implementation Phase: The last stage is the stage where the agreement that has been reached is implemented and maintained. In this regard, the South African government has implemented the peace agreement, including granting greater autonomy to the Zulu people and strengthening the democratic process in the country. In the context of conflict resolution theory, the peace agreement between the Zulu separatist movement and the South African government can be seen as a successful example of using effective methods of conflict resolution. The agreement reduces conflict and enhances cooperation between the two sides. In addition, the peace agreement also provides inspiration for conflict resolution around the world through a conflict resolution approach. From a management perspective, it is interesting to note that a diplomatic approach, including negotiating and making agreements, results in simple, straightforward conflict resolution. The Zulu tribe's demand for recognition of their rights to autonomy in the area where they live has received a positive response, so that it can be accommodated in the form of an agreement and peaceful settlement. This is an example of solving the problem of demands for separatism in a peaceful way.

The following table illustrates how the problem of separatism which threatens the integrity of the nation of South Africa can be handled with good management and clear future projections.

Table.2.

Movement Name/Location	Background Problem	Management Resolution	Result	Remarks
Separatist Movement in Zulu (South Africa)	Demand for autonomy rights for the areas where Zulu people live	Peace process between Zulu separatist movement and South African government	Peace agreement reached between Zulu separatist movement and South African government	One example of settlement management, and as efforts to find conflict resolution that encourages separatism in Zulu, which has been and is being carried out in Papua.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The Papuan conflict has its own complexities. The Papua conflict is divided into conflicts over customary rights, conflict between traditional people and migrants, conflict between tribes, conflict between the Free Papua Organization and the Indonesian National Armed Forces/National Police of the Republic of Indonesia. So it is necessary to be careful when taking lessons from the conflict in Zulu, South Africa. The following are some suggestions given and because they need to be considered, it is suggested that further research be carried out, namely: a. To increase economic empowerment, education, and the welfare of the people of Papua, the government should build a team to accelerate the development of Papua which involves the Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Finance, and Ministry of Education under the auspices of a Presidential Regulation; and b. To build dialogue and trust and involve indigenous Papuan leaders, this is realized by forming political parties born from Papuan aspirations and land that can compete to become people's representatives at the Jakarta Senayan arena.

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