

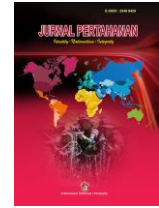


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PROPAGANDA ISSUES OF RACISM THROUGH SOCIAL MEDIA TO TRIGGER SOCIAL VIOLENCE IN PAPUA AND WEST PAPUA IN 2019

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Abstract

Racism events that took place in the Papua Student Dormitory, Surabaya, East Java had a long tail by causing mass protests and riots in Papua and West Papua from 19 August 2019 to 23 September 2019. Mass riots by Papuans and Papuan native students were triggered by the problem of spreading propaganda on the issue of racism on a massive scale through social media by exploiting the issue of racism that is happening in the city of Surabaya. This study uses propaganda theory, social conflict theory, and national security theory in analyzing these problems. This study uses qualitative research methods with a descriptive analysis approach. Sources of data obtained through interviews, observation, and literature studies. The results showed that the propaganda issue of racism was the cause of mass unrest and social conflict in Papua and West Papua; the propaganda issue of racism is very effective in achieving its broader goals of changing the attitudes and behavior of Papuan and Papuan indigenous students to be destructive and gaining local and international support by creating negative opinions as material to delegitimize and discredit the Government of Indonesia, and the propaganda issue of racism has resulted in damage to social relations with other Indonesian people and the potential for social conflict that can threaten national security.

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INTRODUCTION

August 17, 2019, was momentum in celebrating the 74th day of the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Indonesia. But a few days after the warning, there were demonstrations and conflict riots in Papua and West Papua that lasted for 6 months 2 days. The riots began on August 19, 2019, until September 23, 2019.

The phenomenon of the outbreak of riots and chaos has caused fatalities and material losses, among others, on August 19, 2019, in the provincial capital of West Papua, Kota Manokwari, (Wismabrata, 2019) thousands of people rallied and then turned into riots which resulted in the burning of public facilities, private property, and The Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) building, three police officers were also injured due to stone-throwing and the protesters also carried the Morning Star flag (Firdaus, 2019). West Papua Vice Governor Mohamad Lakotani said that the city's economy was completely paralyzed by protests. Also, on August 19, 2019, in Jayapura City, Papua province, hundreds of protesters lowered the Red and White flag in front of the governor's office. (Firdaus, 2019) Protesters also blocked the road to Sentani Airport. (Putra, 2019).

Meanwhile, on August 20, 2019, in Sorong city, West Papua, (Mawel, 2019) a demonstration to protest racial harassment and violence against Papuan students on Java also occurred, gunshots were reported, several protesters dressed in monkeys in response to the slur 'monkey' in Surabaya. The mass of action also stormed Domine Eduard Osok Airport accompanied by throwing stones at the airport glass windows and damaging the terminal building.

Furthermore, on August 20, 2019, in Timika, Mimika Regency, Papua, around 4000 s.d. 5000 protesters gather in front of The Regional House of Representatives building of Mimika Regency to demonstrate. The demonstration was

accompanied by riots after a group of people threw stones at police officers and The Regional House of Representatives building office facilities. Several of demonstrations also took place at several points such as in Merauke, Nabire, Yahukimo, Biak, Sarmi, Deiyai, Dogiyai, Paniai, Semarang, Yogyakarta, Bandung, Makassar, and Denpasar. Whereas several Papuan students in Jakarta also held a demonstration in front of the Republic of Indonesia's Ministry of Home Affairs building on August 22, 2019, and continued elsewhere until August 26, 2019. Foreign media from the United Kingdom, The Guardian also reported that this demonstration was one of the largest and has never happened for several years. This not only disturbs security stability in Papua but also threatens state sovereignty and national security. This is because the series of demonstrations demanded a referendum and freedom for Papua.

As for the background of the demonstrations and riots, it was allegedly triggered by the issue of racism. The racism issue intended in this study is the phenomenon carried out by the security forces by referring to racist words such as animals (monkey) associated with Papuans in the Papuan Student Dormitory Kamasan III, Kamasan Road, Surabaya, East Java.

Based on the chronology of the incident (BBC NEWS Indonesia, 2019), on 15 August 2019 personnel from the Military District Command Sector (Koramil) 02/0831, Tambaksari Sectoral Police (Polsekta) and Public Order Enforcers (Satpol PP) Tambaksari District came to the Dormitory intending to install a red and white flag. Then, on August 16, 2019, it was discovered that the flagpole mounted by elements of the Tambaksari sub-district Government, Surabaya moved position and bent towards the ground, the red and white flag attached to the pole touched the sewer in front of the Papua student dormitory fence and the photo circulated quickly to provoke an emotional reaction mass organization. But not yet known

perpetrators who damaged the flag. This incident harassed the state symbol and contradicted Article 14 of Law Number 24 the Year 2009 which prohibits the State flag from touching the ground.

After the incident, several The Indonesian Army (TNI) members from the Tambaksari Military District Command Sector (Koramil) and mass organizations came to the front of the Papuan Student Dormitory to ask Papuan students to come out and be questioned. However, the dormitory fence continued to be closed and there was no response from the dormitory, so that the authorities were ignited with emotion and shouted racist words, "Monkey, Come Out You" or mention the name of the monkey animal towards Papuan Native Students (MAP) and Papua Native People (OAP). The incident of racist screaming by the TNI against MAP and OAP was recorded in a short video. The videotape of screaming racism spread massively and became viral and spread widely on social media. Even Papua Governor Lukas Enembe was denied entry into the Papua Student Dormitory by Papuan students inside by shouting "Go Home", "We Refuse Humans, Humans Don't Enter Monkey Stables", "Independent Papua", and "Monkeys Not Red and White". (Tempo, 2019) This shows a sense of MAP and OAP exclusion due to racism.

National mainstream media is quite balanced in providing facts related to the alleged racism issue. However, information dissemination on racism issues through social media is more massive than national mainstream media. Also, the dissemination of information on racism issues through social media does not pay attention to the principles of accuracy and balance of facts. Many specific parties have an interest in utilizing the issue of racism as propaganda material.

In response, the development of threat dynamics that are multidimensional and changing with very high complexity. (Ryacudu, 2015) The existence of

propaganda is one of the impacts of the current dynamic threat development. Therefore, Propaganda through social media was raised as the main issue in this paper. This research does not discuss how the racism incident at the Dorm occurred because of design or even natural. However, whether the propaganda issue of racism triggers social unrest in Papua and West Papua will be answered in this study.

In connection with the issue of the propaganda issue of racism through social media, there are several views from various parties related to it. Adriana Elisabeth, a Researcher at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), said that the racism incident triggered a series of demonstrations and riots in Papua and West Papua. (BBC Indonesia, 2019) This opinion is also supported by the statement of the Head of the Papua Regional Police Police Inspector General Rudolf A Rodja that the anarchist action in Wamena, Papua was triggered by hoax news about teachers issuing racist words in schools. (Kompas, 2019)

Chief of Indonesian National Police (Kapolri) Police General Tito Karnavian also acknowledged that the riot conflict that occurred in Manokwari, West Papua was triggered by a hoax that was intentionally developed by certain parties. Demonstrations in Papua and West Papua were triggered by racism in East Java, particularly in the city of Surabaya. Dissemination of information about confusion and hoaxes with the issue of racism has resulted in misunderstandings that disturb the comfort of the people of Papua and West Papua, the impact of which is causing mass mobilization and riots. (Hanifah, 2019)

On the other hand, the same thing was conveyed by intelligence and terrorism observer Harits Abu Ulya that there were indications of foreign intervention in the conflict that occurred in Papua by using propaganda. (Suryarandika, 2019) Intelligence Observer from the University of Indonesia, Ridlwan Habib also

considered that the policy of limiting internet access to maintain the security situation in Papua was ineffective because negative propaganda about Papua was carried out by foreign parties and not from within Papua. The hashtags calling for referendums and free West Papua are spread by accounts from Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom. (Hakim, 2019) Based on the consideration of the views of some of these parties, propaganda through social media by utilizing the issue of racism is the object of research in this paper. The aim is to find out how the propaganda issue of racism through social media has affected the outbreak of riot conflict in Papua and West Papua in 2019.

According to Lasswell (Lasswell, 1927), propaganda is a technique of influencing human activities by manipulating their representations. Propaganda is also an opinion control that is done through symbols that have meaning, stories, humor, pictures, and other forms that can be used in social communication. Can be interpreted that propaganda is a conscious effort made by parties (individuals or groups) by conveying ideas, beliefs, and doctrines on an ongoing basis to change opinions, attitudes, and target behavior.

In the current era, the spread of propaganda is very easily spread through social media because its users are very high. Based on Wearesocial Hootsuite data there are 175.4 million internet users and 160 million social media users in Indonesia as of January 2020. With an average duration of use of social media for 3 hours 26 minutes per day and internet use 7 hours 59 minutes per day. With the use of the highest social media platforms namely Youtube 88%, Whatsapp 84%, Facebook 82%, Instagram 79%, and Twitter 56%. Therefore, with the high use of social media and the internet in Indonesia can be a catalyst in the dissemination of racism propaganda issues.

Meanwhile, the issue of racism is included in one of the sensitive SARA (ethnic, religious, racial, and intergroup) issues in Indonesia. Racism means views and actions that involve violence, discrimination, and harassment and are based on identity sentiments concerning ethnicity and class. Meanwhile, according to Brock, ethnicity is the easiest way to ignite primordial emotions and instincts. (Anwar, 2005) In the writings of Tanzila (Tanzila et al., 2018), SARA conflict is one of the real and factual threats that have been, are and will continue to occur in Indonesia.

Based on the phenomena that have been described, the researcher feels that this research is important to find out how propaganda by utilizing racism issues can trigger riots and social violence in Papua and West Papua in 2019. The question in this study is How is propaganda issue carried out towards MAP and OAP, how the effectiveness of the racist propaganda issue, What is the negative impact of the propaganda on security in Papua and West Papua.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Propaganda

Harold Lasswell (Lasswell, 1927) explains basically that propaganda has five elements, namely 'who says what in which channel to whom with what effect'. 'Who' (source/communicator) means the main actor/party who has the need to communicate or who starts a communication can be an individual, group, organization, or country as a communicator. 'Says What' (message) means what is the content of the information to be conveyed/communicated to the recipient (communicant) from the 'Who' (source/communicator). 'In which channel' (channel/media) means a vehicle/tool to convey messages from the 'Who' (source/communicator) to the communicant (receiver) either directly (face to face) or indirectly (through

electronic and print media). 'To Whom' (destination) means a person, group, organization, and country that receives messages from a 'Who' (source/communicator). 'With What Effect' means the impact/effect that occurs in the communicant (receiver) after receiving a message from the 'Who' (source/communicator), such as changes in attitudes, behavior, opinions, and increased knowledge.

Stefan Vladutescuc (Kunandar, 2017) identified one of the principles of communication in propaganda, namely the principle of the target group. The principle of the target group is to know and choose the target audience that fits both individuals and groups. This relates to the effectiveness of propaganda work, tends not to choose the mass audience because it is considered ineffective. Propagandists choose specific audiences (certain social groups or 'opinion leaders'). Researchers will use this theory to find out the effectiveness of racist propaganda issues in triggering riots in Papua and West Papua.

Social Conflict Theory

Etymologically, conflict comes from the Latin '*con*' which means 'together' and '*fligere*' which means 'collision'. (Setiadi & Kolip, 2011) Meanwhile, Soerjono Soekanto defines conflict as a process of achieving goals and interests by weakening other parties, without regard to prevailing norms and values (Soekanto, 1993).

According to Himes (Himes, 2008), social conflict refers to struggles that show the goals among actors together by using social power to defeat or eliminate the enemy and gain status, strength, resources, and other rare values. Typical things that can be included are revolts, revolutions, riots, social violence, mass protest actions, and struggles of social movements.

Kriesberg sets limits on social conflict through two important keywords namely 'disagreement' and 'incompatible' (conflicting, incompatible, difficult to reconcile). Conflict will arise if two or

more individuals or groups have openly stated their incompatible goals for something that is considered important.

National Security

According to Hikam (Hikam, 2014), national security ideals are sourced from Pancasila, while the concept is sourced from the opening of the 1945 Constitution and its trunk. Based on Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 7 of 2008, mentioning national security is essentially a sense of security and peace of the Indonesian people in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

In more detail, according to Irwan Sukarno (Sukarno, 2011), National security is a multidimensional concept related to the ability of the Indonesian nation to protect its internal values which include the existence of the nation, national sovereignty, national integrity, national stability, and government credibility. National security aims to reduce the danger and risk of all forms of threats, so threats must be prevented, prevented, and addressed to maintain national security.

Race and Racism

In the writings of Nina Widyawati (Widyawati, 2004), the term race according to Prasetyoadi refers to human groups that are determined solely by other parties that are culturally different based on physical features that cannot be changed such as skin color, hair texture, and body shape. Thus, the race is determined not socially but based on characteristics of physical characteristics.

Still, in Widyawati's writing, racism according to Hall (1995) is distinguished in over racism and inferential racism. Over Racism is an open event and is often given an argument, positions, and talks that talk openly and often continue with racism's policies. Inferential racism is a naturalistic representation of events and situations which is related to race, if factual or fictional that has the basis of racist thought

and proportion that writes as a set of unquestionable assumptions.

New Media

According to Denis McQuail, the main characteristic of new media is the existence of mutual connectedness, its access to individual audiences as recipients or senders of messages, its interactivity, its various uses as an open character, and its nature is everywhere (McQuail, 2011). The basic difference between new media and old media is new media ignoring the limitations of printing and broadcasting models, then allowing conversation between many parties, simultaneous acceptance, change and redistribution of objects and provides instant global contact.

Online media also called cybermedia, media internet, and new media can be interpreted as media presented online at the website/Internet. Technically or physically, media online is media-based telecommunications. A multimedia (computers and the internet). Including the media category online are a portal, website (web sites, including blogs and social media like Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter), radio online, The TV online, and email. McQuail considers that the power of social media lies in the high ability of publicity, imaging, and persuasion. Public. This research will be focused on the propaganda media spread through social media.

METHODS

This study uses qualitative methods, according to Mc. Denzin, Lincoln, and Moleong that qualitative research is research that uses a scientific setting, with a view interpret phenomena that occur and are carried out in a way that involves various methods other. This research is descriptive, which will describe, interpret, or explains the escalation of conflict in Papua due to the use of racialism issues through propaganda. By assessing an existing condition or relationship, opinion develops, using scientific procedures to

answer problems based on data in the form of words, pictures, and not numbers (Moleong, 2005). Data collection is carried out through interview techniques, social media observation, and literature studies. Data validity checking techniques in this study were carried out through triangulation methods, namely source triangulation, triangulation of data collection techniques, and time triangulation (Sugiyono, 2014).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The development of information technology has made it easier to access cyberspace and accelerated the distribution of information flows in the form of audio, visual, and audiovisual both from and within and outside the country. According to Thomas Zeitsoff (Zeitsoff, 2017), the presence of social media increasingly plays a role in escalating a conflict, where politicians, leaders, rebels, and protesters use it as a tool to communicate. 4 points make social media influential to trigger conflict, namely social media reducing communication costs, increasing the speed and dissemination of viral information, rapid adaptation and social media data provide important information resources for conflict actors, thus forming the conflict itself.

In an interview with Vice Admiral (Ret.) Freddy Numberi, a senior Papuan figure (Numberi, 2020), explained that social media is very beneficial and has an important role in shaping public opinion in the current era. Therefore, it is natural that social media is used as an effective and efficient communication medium in carrying out propaganda to trigger conflict.

The magnitude of the influence of social media makes the dissemination of information related to racism issues uncontrolled. The misuse of social media for propaganda purposes has a dangerous impact. Vice Admiral (Ret.) Freddy Numberi (Numberi, 2020) explained that the value of this propaganda turned out to have two sides. It can be positive in its

journey, but if it is not right it will be fatal for people who want to convey the propaganda through social media. Thus, certain parties carry out propaganda by utilizing the issue of racism that is happening to cause chaos.

Head of Police Public Affairs and Press Berau Police Brigadier General Dedi Prasetyo said there were foreign parties who spread hoax content in the form of narratives, photos, and videos to trigger riots in Papua and West Papua. The foreign party uses social media to spread hoax news to his friends or acquaintances who live in Europe, the Asia Pacific to Africa. (Merdeka, 2019) This triggered demonstrations and anarchist mass mobilization in Indonesia.

The author made observations in the period September to October 2019 of social media activities that propagate racism issues in the form of certain writings and drawings about events at the Papua Student Dormitory, Surabaya. As for some of the propaganda content of racism issues that were made objects in analyzing these problems can be seen as follows.



Figure 1. Propaganda IG Account freewestpapua.australia in Supporting Papuan Independence.

Source: https://www.instagram.com/p/B1tLbfA AxdW/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link published on August 28, 2019, accessed on Oktober 14, 2019.

Figure 1 is an Instagram @freewestpapua.australia account post on August 28, 2019, presenting a demonstration in front of the Indonesian Consulate General, Melbourne, Australia,

which responded to the alleged racism issue against the Papuan people. In this post, the protesters carried the writings in the demonstration, "Stop Racism and Militarism Against Papuans, One Purpose, Freedom !!!", "Stop racism, Let the Free Monkey" and "Stop racism, Papuan Man is not a Monkey". The account gives the caption "Support from Melbourne for a Free West Papua! Amazing solidarity is shown at the Indonesian Consulate General in a stand against racism in West Papua." With the tag #FreeWestPapua.

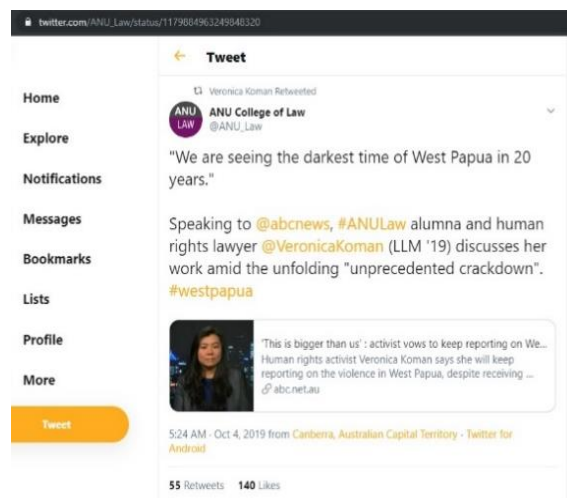


Figure 2: Australian National University Twitter Account Retweeted the Post Veronika Koman Account that Posting a Veronika Koman Interview Video with ABC

Source: https://twitter.com/ANU_Law/status/1179884963249848320 published on October 4, 2019, accessed on October 14, 2019.

Figure 2 is a tweet on the @ANU_law Twitter account on October 4, 2019, which retweeted Veronica Koman's post featuring a video recording of her interview with ABC (Australian Broadcasting Corporation) News. In the video, (Detik News, 2019) Veronica Koman gave many statements that contradicted the facts. The statement given is inciting public hatred towards the Government of Indonesia and provoking the people of Papua to continue to fight. Veronica also claimed to have received death threats and rape from Indonesia for her efforts to push the issue

of human rights violations in Papua. Media ABC News is an Australian national non-commercial public broadcaster, funded directly by the Australian Government. Meanwhile, Australian National University (ANU) is the best university in Australia and ranked 31 of the best universities in the world according to QS World Ranking (Top Universities, 2020).

Propaganda Issues of Racism towards Papuan Native Students (MAP) and Papuan Native People (OAP)

In analyzing the propaganda seen in Figure 1 and Figure 2, the researcher used the propaganda theory from Harold Lasswell. Based on Lasswell's theory (Lasswell, 1927), propaganda can be analyzed with five elements, namely 'who says what in which channel to whom with what effect'.

'Who'

In the racism propaganda outlined above, it can be seen that the element of 'Who' as a communicator in this propaganda is an interested party and has an advantage if Papuan native students and Papuan native people conflict with the Government of Indonesia. Also, the party wants security instability in the Papua and West Papua regions.

'Says What'

'Says what' (message) element conveyed in the propaganda is to form public opinion that there are acts of militarism, violence, human rights violations and racism by the Government of Indonesia against the people of Papua. In the demonstration, they also directly campaigned against racism and supported West Papua's independence. This is also supported by the opinion of Step Anriani, an Intelligence and Security Observer (Anriani, 2020), that:

The purpose of the propaganda is that people who read can pay attention and empathy to the suffering of the people of Papua and regard the Indonesian government as a humanitarian criminal.

Efforts to form negative opinions that discredit the Government of Indonesia are also supported by the opinion of Adriana Elisabeth, a senior researcher at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (Elisabeth, 2020), that:

Instagram @freewestpapua.australia and twitter @ANU_law are propaganda to gain local/international support and solidarity against racism against Papuans.

The propaganda issue of racism has the potential to be politicized to reject the policies of the Government of Indonesia in Papua. As said by Vice Admiral (Ret.) Freddy Numberi (Numberi, 2020), that:

The issue of racist propaganda carried out against MAP and OAP is politicized into an issue of demands for independence and rejection of the Special Autonomy (Otsus) of the First Volume.

This is an effort to seek the support of the international community and to mobilize a larger mass by forming negative opinions to hate the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and mobilize a rejection of the special volume of first autonomy. Racism propaganda also makes the resistance will be stronger against the Indonesian Government's plan to extend the status of Papua's special autonomy which will be exhausted by 2021.

'In Which Channel'

'In which channel' (what channel/media) is to use social media such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. Based on Wearesocial Hootsuite data, these three social media are included in the Five biggest social media platforms used by the people of Indonesia. With the percentage of Facebook usage 82%, Instagram 79%, and Twitter 56%. When referring to McQuail's opinion, social media has power in the ability of publicity, imaging, and well persuading the public.

This is supported by the opinion of Vice Admiral (Ret.) Freddy Numberi (Numberi, 2020), explained that social media is very profitable and has an important role to

shape public opinion in the current era. Therefore, the propaganda issue of racism through social media will be very easily accessible to a broad audience of individuals or groups as recipients or senders of messages. The spread of the issue of racism in social media will create conversations between many parties and spread simultaneously which makes it easy to form opinions and change the attitude of public behavior.

‘To Whom’

‘To Whom’ or the recipient is the entire public, especially individuals and groups who have a track record in supporting the independence of West Papua and those who are resistant to the Government of Indonesia's policies in Papua

‘With what effect’

‘With what effect’ or impact caused by the potential to increase the spirit of ethnicity and solidarity of indigenous Papuans or Papuan pro-independence parties to mobilize the masses. Also, the propaganda issue of racism can trigger the attitude of the people of Papua to feel discriminated against and excluded. And change the attitude of behavior and actions to be destructive to the State. This is a result of the disappointment of indigenous Papuans for the sense of injustice they get. Just as said by Vice Admiral (Ret.) Freddy Numberi (Numberi, 2020), that:

This racist propaganda issue easily spreads in triggering the anger of the ‘grassroots’ community in Papua.

On the other hand, certain parties want to seek personal gain from propaganda efforts. Still according to Vice Admiral (Ret.) Freddy Numberi (Numberi, 2020) that Veronica only wants to find a political stage by using the issue of Papua, because the topic is currently easily attracting international attention. This opinion is also supported by the opinion of Step Anriani (Anriani, 2020) that:

Veronica Koman cannot see the problem, VK wants to get support and sympathy by raising the Papua problem.

Thus, through Harold Lasswell's analysis, it can be concluded that certain parties propagate racism issues through social media to indigenous Papuans and Papuan native people which results in mass mobilization and social unrest in Papua and West Papua. Also, the Propaganda aims to gain local and international support, as well as solidarity against racism against Papuans. This propaganda can lead the opinions, attitudes, and behavior of indigenous Papuan students and Papuan native people to become destructive as material to delegitimize and discredit the Government of Indonesia in its efforts to support West Papua's independence.

The analysis is following the opinion of Police General Tito Karnavian that the propaganda issue of racism causes misunderstandings and disturbs the convenience of the people of Papua and West Papua, causing mass mobilization and causing mass unrest. (Hanifah, 2019)

The Effectiveness of the Propaganda Issue of Racism in Triggering Social Violence in Papua and West Papua

To find out the effectiveness of the propaganda issue of racism in triggering riots in Papua and West Papua, Stefan Vladutescuc (Kunandar, 2017) uses one of the principles of communication in propaganda, namely the principle of the target group.

The principle of the target group is to know and choose the target audience that fits both individuals and groups. The racist propaganda issue has target groups including human rights activists, academics, and certain individuals/groups who support independence for Papua both domestically and abroad. This is also supported by the opinion of Adriana Elisabeth (Elisabeth, 2020) that:

The propaganda issue of racism towards

Papuans are aimed primarily at academics and human rights activists.

This target group is quite a specific audience as opinion leaders. The target groups mentioned are groups that have a large influence on indigenous Papuan students and Papuan native people. Also, have a high interest in developing issues, more massive in presenting issues, able to encourage others to act according to the wishes of propagandists and influence in changing the attitudes of other people's behavior. This was also proven based on the explanation of Vice Admiral (Ret.) Freddy Numberi (Numberi, 2020) that the propaganda issue of racism was very easy to spread and was effective in triggering the anger of the "grassroots" people of Papua and West Papua. This opinion is also supported by the opinion of Step Anriani (Anriani, 2020) that:

The issue of racism is quite effective at provoking Papuans who previously had a dislike of non-Papuans and felt different from the majority of other Indonesians.

In this explanation, there are similarities and fates that are shared by indigenous Papuans who feel different from the majority of other Indonesians. Compounded by the propaganda issue of racism, this has created a spirit of ethnicity (local identity) and the solidarity of indigenous Papuans over their distaste for non-native Papuans who are judged to have committed racism. Adriana Elisabeth (Elisabeth, 2020) says that:

Propaganda using the issue of racial discrimination was very effective in mobilizing the mass of the movement in support of Papuan local identity that was harassed because of expressions of hatred.

As a party that has a very large influence on native Papuan students and Papuan native people, the existence or presence of opinion leaders is one of the catalysts in the effectiveness of racist propaganda issues to trigger riots in Papua and West Papua.

Safety Impact

One of the main objectives of the Government of Indonesia's efforts to develop Papua is to strengthen social relations (social integration) and kinship between ethnic groups, religions, races, and groups of all Indonesian people. Then followed by other objectives such as improving economy and human resources.

However, the propaganda issue of racism has the potential to pose a threat to national security and impediments to the national development process that badly requires the preconditions for national security stability. The threat to national security is also explained by Step Anriani (Anriani, 2020), that:

The propaganda led to demonstrations, mass riots, and social conflicts that were part of the national threat and certainly endangered national security.

Social conflicts have the potential to occur between Papuans Native People (OAP) and non-Papuans Native People (the Indonesian Archipelago group). The reason is that in the mass demonstrations and riots in Papua and West Papua in 2019, it was infiltrated by "unscrupulous" people who damaged peaceful protests into anarchist mass riots (destruction of shops, stalls, etc.) along with demands for freedom for Papua. Thus, non-Papuans Native People (the Indonesian archipelago group) or groups who do not want Papua to separate themselves will also feel disturbed by their comfort and interest in these demands. Meanwhile, the sovereignty of the Indonesian state is in the national interest of the entire Indonesian nation. This is also supported by the opinion of Adriana Elisabeth (Elisabeth, 2020), that:

Peaceful demonstrations that led to mass riots have the potential to cause social conflict between OAP and non-OAP (groups/groups of the archipelago). This has damaged the social relations of the people of Papua.

The attitude of anarchist and destructive

behavior that is openly displayed by the Papuans Native People (OAP) and Papuans Native Students (MAP) has led to estrangement and distance of social relations with other Indonesian people. They openly stated that they opposed the existence of racism.

By using Kriesberg's theory, there are limits to social conflict through two important keywords namely 'disagreement' and 'incompatible' (contradictory, incompatible, difficult to reconcile). Disagreement over the behavior and actions of MAP and OAP can arise from non-OAP groups (groups of the archipelago community) with an interest in state sovereignty. The opposition will occur if both parties have openly stated their purpose for something that is considered important.

Of course, the non-Papuans Native People (the Indonesian archipelago group) also had the opportunity to openly declare against the demonstration movement and mass riots in Papua that were infiltrated by demands for freedom for Papua. If this happens, it is feared that clashes between groups will be inevitable. Thus, the propaganda issue of racism opens up the possibility of potential social conflict in Indonesia.

By using the Himes theory, it can be analyzed that the OAP group is showing its struggle movement by using 'social power' (Papuan solidarity and spirit of ethnicity) possessed to achieve their goal of defeating or eliminating the enemy, in this case, the Government of Indonesia which is considered a humanitarian criminal. Demands for independence for Papua are also their efforts to take over the status, strength, resources, and other rare values contained in the land of Papua. According to Himes (Himes, 2008), this was characterized by the efforts of rebellion, revolution, riots, social violence, mass protests action, and struggles of social movements as they did on August 19, 2019, to September 23, 2019. The

explanation agreed with what the Vice Admiral said (Ret.) Freddy Numberi (Numberi, 2020) that:

The issue of racist propaganda was very influential in triggering riots in Papua and West Papua when the demonstrations were infiltrated by "elements" who damaged peaceful demonstrations into anarchist rallies (destruction of shops, stalls, etc.).

CONCLUSIONS

1. Certain parties propagandize racism issues through social media to Papuans native people and Papuan native students. The propaganda issue of racism has resulted in mass riots and social conflicts in Papua and West Papua. The propaganda issue of racism also changed their attitudes and behavior to be destructive and gain local or international support by creating negative opinions as material to delegitimize and discredit the Government of Indonesia.
2. The propaganda issue of racism is carried out using specific target groups that are considered as opinion leaders. 'Opinion Leader' is a group that has a big influence on changing the attitudes, behaviors, and actions of Papuans native people and Papuans native students. Opinion Leaders include human rights activists, academics, and certain individuals/groups who support freedom for Papua both domestically and abroad. Thus, the propaganda issue of racism is very effective in triggering mass unrest and social violence in Papua and West Papua.
3. The propaganda issue of racism has resulted in security impacts, as well as creating threats to national security. The impact of security caused by damaging social relations between Papuan native students and Papuan native people with other Indonesian people. These impacts can also threaten Indonesia's national security, a namely social conflict between Papuans native people and

non-Papuans (groups/groups of the archipelago).

RECOMMENDATION

1. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia needs to conduct public communication which states that Indonesia rejects racism. Racist attitudes and actions don't occur alone but are constructed for certain interests. The Indonesian government is not racist towards Papuans, because so far access and career opportunities are open to Papuans, such as becoming Ministers, Ambassadors, and other political and strategic positions at the regional and national levels.
2. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia needs to law enforcement against provocateurs who spread propaganda and rioters in Papua and West Papua.
3. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia must have a *special envoy* who masters the anatomy of problems in Papua properly and has cultural roots in emotional relations with the Papuans Native People (OAP). *The Special Envoy* must accommodate groups that speak for freedom and reject Special Autonomy (Otsus) Volume One to make them aware that they are wrong.
4. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia cooperates with the Regional Governments of Papua and West Papua to carry out *affirmative actions* to provide trauma healing, encourage accelerated development and economic prosperity so that the OAP doesn't feel left behind or differentiated.
5. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia cooperates with the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Regional Governments of Papua and West Papua to establish constructive communication between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Regional Government with groups that demand Papuan independence in the context of mobilization and provide them with an

explanation of how the central government policy is going forward to prosper Papuans.

6. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia needs to conduct a Cultural Dialogue in the context of organizing the Papua Cultural Congress which contains Government Development Programs which based of Anthropological and Cultural by seven Cultural Areas in the Land of Papua with Thematic, Holistic, Integrative, Spatial and Sustainable (THISS) (Widjojo et al., 2010). This is also a legacy of President Joko Widodo that under his leadership the reforms haven't lost their direction and Indonesia's democracy is growing in line with the current era of globalization.

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