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Digital Diplomacy Strategy to Win Indonesian Papuan Opinion for National Resilience

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Abstract: This paper examines the role of digital diplomacy in countering the propaganda of the Free West Papua movement, which poses a significant threat to Indonesia's national resilience. The study highlights how the Free West Papua movement leverages digital platforms to gain international support and shape public opinion. By analyzing the strategies employed by both the Free West Papua movement and the Indonesian government, this research aims to provide insights into effective counter-propaganda measures through digital diplomacy. This research uses a qualitative descriptive method with an analytical approach, with a focus on the concept of national resilience, threat analysis, and adaptation strategies in the context of digital diplomacy. The findings indicate that the Indonesian government's digital diplomacy efforts need to be enhanced to effectively counter the narratives propagated by the Free West Papua movement. This study proposes a comprehensive digital diplomacy strategy that includes proactive measures to disseminate positive information about Papua, counter misinformation, and engage with international stakeholders. This research contributes to the field of digital diplomacy and national security by providing valuable insights for policymakers and practitioners involved in safeguarding Indonesia's national interests.

Keyword: Digital Diplomacy, National Resilience, Papua, Free West Papua, ULMWP, Social Media.

INTRODUCTION

The rapid development of information and communication technology has changed the way we view various problems, including in the practice of diplomacy. Digital diplomacy has become one of the strategies used by state actors to achieve diplomatic goals, foreign policy, and handling of international issues. The issue of Free Papua is an issue that has been going on for a long time and has become an international concern. Papuan separatist movements, represented by the ULMWP, are actively campaigning for independence and utilizing digital platforms to gain global support.

Digital diplomacy is a tool to build persuasion and perception in the big picture, but the critical point is how the state designs or constructs digital diplomacy and creates its content. Digital diplomacy determines what messages the state will give to foreign countries and other stakeholders concerned, as well as how to present these messages in conceptual terms. Digital diplomacy is increasing in value and function every day, especially in terms of informing, keeping the global community up-to-date, and able to share opinions on current issues. Digital diplomacy should not be limited to the use of social media by important players. Digital diplomacy allows many players to be involved in the diplomatic process. This means that diplomacy is no longer under the monopoly of the state, but involves various institutions, organizations, and individuals. Digital diplomacy provides an opportunity for political actors to directly reach and interact with their audience. On the other hand, with digital diplomacy, users can become the primary source of information (Doruk et al., 2021).

Domestic issues of a country that were previously very local can develop into international problems or in other words are often called "domestic issues are international issues" (Sukma R., 2006). Like the issue of Free Papua, which is no longer purely local (domestic). This has become rampant so it is natural to say that the cause of Free Papua has become global. This expansion of dimensions certainly makes this question something crucial. Given that it can cause disturbances from outside (foreign) parties to a certain extent.

Looking at the history of Papua, the referendum caused dislike and resistance from groups who wanted Papua to become an independent, unattached and free country. This group calls itself the Free Papua Organization (OPM) or the Free Papua Movement. The Free Papua Organization was born when one of the regions in Indonesia, namely Papua, was discussed about its status in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The history of conflict in Papua began with the unification of the Papua region into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The efforts of Papuan separatist groups to separate themselves from Indonesia were carried out by disrupting the stability of state sovereignty, such as arson, criminal acts, attacks on TNI/Polri headquarters to killings with several deaths (Suwandi, 2020).

Many factors explain the emergence of separatism in Papua, namely history, the disappointment of the Papuan people with the central government in dealing with various Papuan problems, economic inequality and political injustice, as well as a sense of exclusion from the political and economic system. The group considers the New York Convention and the 1969 PEPERA to be "legally flawed" and violate the human rights of the Papuan people because they were not carried out according to the established procedures, namely one man one vote, but rather through a representative system. Papuan separatist groups, which previously moved randomly and uncoordinated, are increasingly solid and consolidated in their development, along with the achievement of the ideals of separating themselves from Indonesia and forming their own country called West Papua (Halim, 2018).

This problem is increasingly complicated because globalization and openness give those involved the freedom to move across national borders. Many separatist groups in Papua talk about how to make Papua independent without seeing and studying what the problems are in Papua. One of them is the resistance of Papuan separatist groups which are increasingly consolidated, as seen from the formation of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) which brings together OPM fighter groups between armed groups and political groups. The presence of the ULMWP is intended to further coordinate Papua's liberation efforts to gain political support from the international world (ULMWP, 2020).

Forms of internationalization that occur include reporting by a number of international media, even involving the parliamentary institutions of other countries that are actively highlighting the development of the Papuan separatist conflict (Davidson, 2016a). In addition, the internationalization sought by the OPM also occurs institutionally through international parliaments and independence advocacy organizations. International actors involved in the

internationalization of the Papuan separatist conflict mainly come from Pacific countries, the United States, England, and Australia (Davidson, 2016b).

The non-violent approach is an option that continues to be applied. At the beginning of its struggle, the Free Papua Organization (OPM) often launched armed actions (Hadi, 2016). However, along with changes in domestic and international political dynamics, the transformation of conflict into humanitarian issues that are full of civil problems, they began to choose the path of diplomacy and politics. They see that fighting with weapons does not have a significant impact in achieving independence (Paramitha, 2019). International influence in the Papuan case is highly dependent on the role of state actors and non-state actors, who consistently focus international attention on the Papuan issue, such as through diplomacy and lobbying, carried out by the Indonesian government and opposing parties such as the OPM and related organizations (Elisabeth, 2006).

Forming and maintaining public opinion in order to gain support for independence or special autonomy is a key agenda for separatist groups. They try to shape public opinion, both domestically and internationally, through news and campaigns about human rights violations by the Indonesian government in Papua (Martadikusumah, 2019). Public opinion is the main weapon used by pro-independence Papuan groups to gather international support. The main obstacle for separatist movements in Papua is the Indonesian government's policy of prohibiting foreign journalists from covering Papua for decades. Every journalist who wants to cover must go through a "clearing house" process (Martadikusumah, 2019; Putri, 2020). The internationalization of the West Papuan issue has become a concern for Indonesia in the South Pacific region, especially since the Jokowi administration. This growing concern is not only due to statements made by South Pacific countries in international forums but also due to the circulation of news and photos about human rights violations in West Papua. The use of social media has become the main tool for pro-independence Papuan activists and new actors in voicing the West Papuan issue. As a result, the public and government officials in South Pacific countries such as PNG, Fiji, and Vanuatu are also affected by the spread of information on social media. A series of support from demonstrations, mural art, and statements from government officials have been shown by Pacific Islanders to the Papuan people (Lantang & Tambunan, 2020).

The use of social media in campaigns is the right choice, this is because social media is considered effective considering its characteristics that are easily accessible anywhere and anytime. Social media can also distribute information to the public in a short time (Ulfa & Fatchiya, 2018). The ULMWP campaigns on social media through its social media networks, such as the @FreeWestPapua Twitter account and the Free West Papua Facebook account.

In addition to using conventional diplomatic strategies, the ULMWP also uses digital diplomacy strategies by utilizing online media as a propaganda vehicle. Propaganda through online media carried out by the ULMWP can be traced, among others, from Benny Wenda's writing on www.theguardian.com entitled: "West Papua my people need Australia's help before its too late," which contains Benny Wenda's appeal to Australia. The propaganda carried out by Benny Wenda was then strengthened by approaching Jeremy Corbyn, Chair of the British Labor Party and Leader of the Opposition. The ULMWP also carried out propaganda actions against the 2019 elections by calling for a boycott through online media, with the hashtag, "Boycott the 2019 Indonesian Election". This effort is a systematic action to invite the international community to isolate Indonesia. Apart from cornering and attacking Indonesia, the propaganda carried out by the ULMWP and its wing groups seeks to assert their existence. Through online media, they are campaigning with the theme "Global Raising Flag for West Papua", which is an invitation to fly the Morning Star flag to the international community. Several cities in the world are suspected of having accepted the invitation by flying the flag, including Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch (New Zealand), Ballarat, Townsville, Cape

Town, Cairns, Castlemaine, Melbourne (Australia), Honiara (Solomon Islands), Manchester, London (England), and The Hague (Netherlands).

The author is interested in researching the use of digital diplomacy as a strategy to win the opinion of the Papuan NKRI for national resilience, because:

1. The weak efforts to counter opinions or counter propaganda against Free West Papua propaganda efforts.
2. Free West Papua propaganda still exists, is still moving and is getting more opportunities for strengthening by utilizing digital technology in the form of cross-border social media platforms. Which means that Free West Papua is adapting to the situation of limitations by utilizing digital technology.

This can be seen from the analysis using the Social New Analysis tool, to observe the sentiment, discussion and clusters that discuss the sentiment.

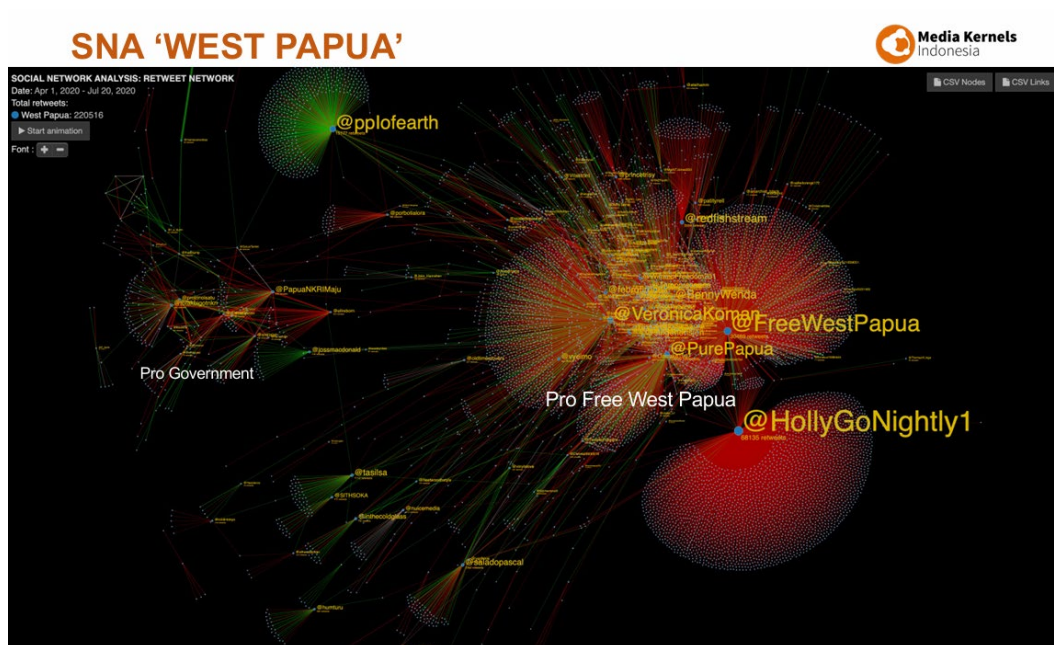


Figure 1.1. SNA for West Papua

Viewing the Free West Papua movement and the ULMWP organization from various contexts will provide a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of the issue, namely:

1. Global Context
 - Decolonization: this movement is part of the global decolonization wave that occurred after World War II. Many former colonized countries are trying to determine their own destiny.
 - Human Rights: the issue of human rights violations in Papua is often in the spotlight of the international community, and provides legitimacy for this movement.
 - International Solidarity: ULMWP has succeeded in building an international support network, especially from Melanesian countries and non-governmental organizations.
2. Regional Context
 - Melanesia: the Melanesian region is a strong support base for the ULMWP. Organizations such as the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) play an important role in providing political legitimacy to this movement, by spreading narratives about skin color and race.

- Geopolitical Competition: competition between major countries in the Pacific region also influences the dynamics of the Papuan issue. Some countries may exploit this issue for their own political purposes.
3. Indonesian National Context
- State Sovereignty: for Indonesia, Papua is an integral part of the country's territory. The Indonesian government always emphasizes the importance of maintaining territorial integrity.
 - Development: the government has made various development efforts in Papua, but they are often considered uneven and ineffective.
 - Armed Conflict: armed conflict in Papua has been going on for decades and has caused casualties and material losses.
 - Special Autonomy: as an effort to overcome problems in Papua, the government grants special autonomy to the provinces of Papua and West Papua and 4 New Autonomous Regions of Papua. However, this policy has not been fully successful in resolving the problem.
4. Local Context
- Local Identity: the strong local identity of the Papuan people is the basis of the separatist movement.
 - Social Inequality: social inequality that still occurs in Papua, especially in terms of access to education, health, and the economy, is a source of dissatisfaction.
 - Human Rights violations: human rights violations that occur in Papua, such as violence, discrimination, and criminalization of activists, strengthen anti-government sentiment.

The ULMWP uses various strategies to achieve its goals, including diplomacy, propaganda, and mass mobilization. Social media has become a very effective tool for spreading messages and building international support. The Free West Papua movement and the ULMWP organization are complex phenomena influenced by various factors, both internal and external. To find a sustainable solution, a comprehensive approach is needed that involves all relevant parties, including the Indonesian government, the Papuan people, and the international community.

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach with a case study method, collecting data through document analysis, interviews with sources from various related agencies, and observation of digital activities carried out by the Free Papua movement and the Indonesian government, with data being obtained from secondary sources including journals, books, reports, and online news articles, official documents, and interviews being conducted with experts in the fields of security, diplomacy, and social media, utilizing library research and in-depth interviews as data collection techniques, along with social media analysis. In addition, this study also uses data from websites and social media relevant to the issue of Papua and the Free West Papua movement. The collected data were then analyzed inductively and logically to identify patterns, trends, and factors that influence the effectiveness of Indonesia's digital diplomacy in countering Free West Papua propaganda.

This research is limited to the analysis of vulnerabilities that pose a threat to Indonesia's National Resilience. These vulnerabilities arise from the Free Papua Movement or Free West Papua's adaptation and utilization of digital technology for propaganda purposes, aiming to build international opinion in favor of their agenda. The study further focuses on formulating an appropriate counter-strategy through digital diplomacy.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Concept of National Resilience

In a conceptual review, Michael Bruneau and Andrei Reinhorn define resilience as the embodiment of the qualities of robustness, redundancy or excess, and deterrence (Hanita, 2020:93). Robustness is the ability or strength of an element to withstand stress without experiencing functional degradation. Then, redundancy is the extent to which an element is able to fulfill functional requirements in the event of a disruption. While Deterrence is the capacity to identify all forms of threats, challenges, obstacles, disturbances (ATHG) and problems, set priorities, and mobilize resources (monetary, physical, technological, information, human) when facing shocks. Furthermore, according to Jan Pospisil (2013) as quoted in (Hanita, 2020:165), resilience has thus become an important concept in national security policy in recent decades. According to him, the concept of resilience in security policy is closely related to the risk concept which is oriented towards prevention. Resilience cannot at all be understood as the stabilization of emergency and security conditions, but rather as the stabilization of a resilient everyday culture as a normalization of security with the aim of integrating emergency preparedness into the infrastructure of everyday life and the psychology of citizens. Especially after the 9/11 tragedy, challenges to national security in various democratic countries have increased, such as the emergence of the threat of terrorism, radicalism, and political violence, so that the idea of reconceptualizing national resilience is needed. The National Strategy for Homeland Security believes that optimism, patriotism, legitimacy, and public trust in government institutions are important components of a country's national resilience (Hanita, 2020:167). NATO argues that resilience is an important aspect of directly and indirectly preventing various things that can destroy the enemy's self-confidence not to attack. Therefore, resilience supports the government as a form of public legitimacy to become a key element for the success of national resilience (Hanita, 2020:211).

"Therefore, a strategy for resilience will seek to protect and strengthen the qualities or elements of resilience. One way is to assess various vulnerabilities to see if, in fact, they are among these main resilience factors. Another way before measuring the amount of pressure a sector can withstand before it becomes paralyzed and loses its resilience." Timmerman. The National Resilience Strategy relates to "resilience", regarding National Resilience and State Vulnerability/Fragility, so formulating a National Resilience Strategy must depend on definitions and terminologies that support resilience which in essence is the ability to adapt, bounce back and transform after a community or country experiences a severe shock that can weaken the country, making it fragile and failed (Hanita, 2020).

Threat Concept

Threats are explained by Hank Prunckun (2015) as a combination of interest and capability possessed by an actor. This explanation helps intelligence analysts understand how threats can arise and how to prioritize them based on the level of danger they pose.

Interest:

- 1) Interest reflects the motivation or goals of the actor that triggers the threat.
- 2) This refers to the motivation or desire of an entity (individual, group, or country) to take actions that harm or threaten other entities.

Actors with a strong interest in harming other parties are more likely to act as threats.

Capability:

- 1) Capability includes the capacity or resources possessed by the actor to carry out the threat, their intentions or desires.
- 2) Capability can include military strength, technical expertise, weapons, finance, and even cyber capabilities.

Threat Evaluation Process:

- 1) Actor Identification: Recognizing actors that have the potential to pose a threat.
- 2) Interest Assessment: Analyzing the motivations and goals of the actor.
- 3) Capability Assessment: Evaluating the extent to which the actor can realize their threat.
- 4) Threat Prioritization: Threats are assessed based on a combination of these two factors, helping intelligence to develop response strategies.

Threats do not only arise from those who have the desire to make threats, but also from those who have the ability to carry out these intentions, even though the desire or intention is not entirely clear or directed.

This framework is to be used to analyze threats:

- 1) Identifying potential threats: by monitoring entities or actors that have the interest and ability to carry out threats.
- 2) Assessing the level of threat: by analyzing how likely an entity or actor is to act based on their interests and capabilities.
- 3) Developing mitigation strategies: by taking steps to reduce the interest or capability of an entity, or to protect potential targets.

The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) often faces various threats that are considered capable of endangering state sovereignty, territorial integrity and the safety of the entire nation

Threat Analysis

1. Interest

- a. Main Goal: To separate Papua from Indonesia and form an independent country.
- b. Motivation.
- c. Narrative of Injustice and Oppression: The Free West Papua (FWP) movement puts forward a narrative of historical, political, and economic injustice experienced by the Papuan people.
- d. Human Rights Violations: The issue of human rights violations in Papua is often raised to gain sympathy and international support.
- e. Exploitation of Natural Resources: The FWP accuses the Indonesian government and multinational companies of exploiting natural resources in Papua without providing fair benefits to the Papuan people.

2. Capability

- a. Human Resources.
- b. Key Figures: The FWP has influential key figures at home and abroad who is active in political lobbying in various countries.
- c. International Network: The FWP has succeeded in building a broad international support network, including from Melanesian countries, non-governmental organizations, and human rights activists.
- d. Financial Resources: The FWP allegedly receives financial support from various sources, both from individual donations and international organizations.
- e. Utilization of Digital Technology: The FWP is very active in utilizing social media and other digital platforms to spread propaganda, organize campaigns, and build international solidarity.
- f. Strategies Used.
- g. Digital Diplomacy: utilizing social media, websites, and other digital platforms to spread narratives and FWP propaganda.
- h. Political Lobbying: conducting political approaches and lobbying to governments and parliaments in various countries.
- i. Mass Mobilization: organizing demonstrations and protests at home and abroad.
- j. Use of Strong Visual Content and Narratives: sSpreading images, videos, and testimonials that attract attention and generate sympathy from the international public.

- k. Alliance with Activists and International Figures: collaborating with international figures, human rights activists, and non-governmental organizations to strengthen the Papuan independence campaign.
3. Potential Impact
 - a. Damaging Indonesia's Image: negative propaganda spread by the FWP can damage Indonesia's image in the eyes of the international community.
 - b. Threatening the Sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia: increasing international support for the West Papuan independence movement can threaten the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia.
 - c. Increasing Instability in Papua: increased FWP activity can trigger conflict and violence in Papua.
 - d. Inhibiting Development in Papua: conflict and instability in Papua can hinder development efforts in the region.
4. Indonesian Government's Digital Diplomacy Strategy

The Indonesian government has made several digital diplomacy efforts to counter Free West Papua propaganda, including:

 1. Dissemination of Positive Information: disseminating positive information about development and progress in Papua through websites and social media.
 2. Counter Narrative: conducting counter narratives against hoax information and negative propaganda spread by the Free West Papua movement.
 3. Engagement with the International Public: building engagement with the international public through various digital platforms.

SWOT Analysis

Strengths

1. Adequate Resources: the Indonesian government has adequate resources to support digital diplomacy efforts, both in terms of budget, infrastructure, and experts.
2. Extensive Diplomatic Network: Indonesia has an extensive diplomatic network in various countries, which can be utilized to strengthen digital diplomacy.
3. Strong Public Support: the majority of Indonesian people support the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia and reject Free West Papua propaganda.

Weaknesses

1. Inter-Agency Coordination: coordination between government agencies in implementing digital diplomacy still needs to be improved.
2. Content Quality: the quality of content produced for digital diplomacy still needs to be improved to be more attractive and easily understood by the international public.
3. Technology Utilization: the utilization of big data and artificial intelligence technologies to support digital diplomacy is still limited.

Opportunities

1. Increasing Use of Social Media: the increasing use of social media worldwide provides an opportunity for Indonesia to expand the reach of its digital diplomacy.
2. Support from Friendly Countries: Indonesia can establish cooperation with friendly countries to strengthen digital diplomacy in countering Free West Papua propaganda.
3. Technological Developments: technological developments in the digital realm can be utilized to increase the effectiveness of digital diplomacy.

Threats

1. Free West Papua Propaganda: massive Free West Papua propaganda in the international world can damage Indonesia's image and threaten the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia.
2. International Support for Free West Papua: increasing international support for the Free West Papua movement can threaten the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia.
3. Technological Developments: developments in digital technology can also be used by the Free West Papua movement to strengthen their propaganda.

Aspect Strong Weakness Opportunity Threats

1. Internal
 - a) Adequate resources.
 - b) Strong diplomatic networks.
 - c) Strong public support.
 - d) Inter-agency coordination.
 - e) Consistency quality.
2. External
 - a) Increasing use of social media.
 - b) Support of friendly countries.
 - c) Utilization of technology.
 - d) Propaganda FWP.
 - e) International support for FWP.
 - f) Utilization of technology.

CONCLUSION

The Free West Papua movement poses a real threat to Indonesia's national resilience. The Indonesian government needs to continuously improve the effectiveness of its digital diplomacy to counter Free West Papua propaganda and win Indonesian Papuan opinion in the international arena. A comprehensive, adaptive, and collaborative digital diplomacy strategy is essential to achieve this goal. Digital diplomacy is a crucial tool for Indonesia to counter the Free West Papua movement's propaganda and maintain its national resilience. By effectively utilizing digital platforms and engaging with international audiences, Indonesia can enhance its diplomatic efforts and safeguard its territorial integrity. A comprehensive digital strategy that includes public engagement and collaboration with international stakeholders is essential for successfully addressing the challenges posed by the Free West Papua movement.

S-O Strategies:

Leverage internal strengths to capitalize on external opportunities. For instance, utilize sufficient resources and the extensive diplomatic network to broaden the reach of digital diplomacy on social media and establish collaborations with friendly nations.

1. Concrete Suggestions:

- a. Develop a comprehensive digital diplomacy strategy that outlines specific objectives, target audiences, and platforms for engagement.
- b. Allocate adequate funding and resources for content creation, technology adoption, and training of personnel involved in digital diplomacy efforts.
- c. Establish partnerships with international organizations and media outlets to amplify positive narratives about Papua and counter misinformation.

W-O Strategies:

Address internal weaknesses to seize external opportunities. This can be achieved by enhancing inter-agency coordination, improving content quality, and optimizing technology utilization to leverage the opportunities presented by the increasing use of social media and advancements in digital technology.

2. Concrete Suggestions:

- a. Create a dedicated task force or team comprising representatives from relevant ministries and agencies to ensure coordinated and cohesive messaging.
- b. Invest in training programs to enhance the digital literacy and communication skills of government personnel involved in digital diplomacy.
- c. Explore and adopt innovative technologies, such as big data analytics and artificial intelligence, to monitor online discussions, analyze public sentiment, and tailor content for maximum impact.

S-T Strategies:

Utilize internal strengths to mitigate external threats. For example, leverage strong public support and the extensive diplomatic network to counter Free West Papua propaganda and diminish international backing for the separatist movement.

3. Concrete Suggestions:

- a. Launch targeted campaigns to raise awareness among the international community about the positive developments and progress in Papua.
- b. Engage with foreign governments and influential figures to provide accurate information about the situation in Papua and counter misinformation spread by separatist groups.
- c. Strengthen collaboration with cybersecurity agencies to identify and counter online propaganda and disinformation campaigns.

W-T Strategies:

Minimize internal weaknesses to address external threats. This involves improving inter-agency coordination, enhancing content quality, and optimizing technology utilization to counter the increasingly sophisticated digital propaganda of the Free West Papua movement.

4. Concrete Suggestions:

- a. Develop a robust framework for monitoring and evaluating the effectiveness of digital diplomacy initiatives, including key performance indicators (KPIs) and impact assessments.
- b. Foster collaboration between government agencies, academic institutions, and think tanks to conduct research and analysis on the evolving tactics of separatist groups in the digital sphere.
- c. Promote media literacy and critical thinking skills among the Indonesian public to help them identify and resist online propaganda and misinformation.

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