

The Illusion of Papuan Independence through Benny Wenda's Transnational Advocacy Network Strategy during the #FreeWestPapua Campaign in 2020

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ABSTRACT: This research reveals critically rather than using images of modern development and progress on Indigenous Papuans (OAP) who are often demanded to engage in social change by ignoring one's identity. The accumulation of OAP disillusionment that began in the history of the Act of Free Choice continued with the neglect of cultural rights as a reflection of the collective dignity that is still running. This triggered some OAP segments who called themselves independent Papuan groups to choose to garner international support in efforts to secede principles. As done by Benny Wenda as OAP through international forums to encourage the fulfillment of political rights caused by the closed access to the Papuan people's movement in fighting for the issue of Free Papua. He described the resistance of Papuan identity to expand the target domain of its supporter audience. Sporadically through the use of international civil society networks, the authors highlight the advocacy strategies undertaken Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) through the #PapuanLivesMatter campaign that raised the existence of Benny Wenda in representing Free Papua in the midst of fragmentation that occurred. So the research questions in this study are: What is Benny Wenda's strategy in representing an independent Papua in the midst of fragmentation of separatist groups in Papua? The method for accessing the variables in the theory will be traced based on historical methods that are explained qualitatively.

Keywords: Papua, strategy, advocacy, #PapuanLivesMatter, Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN)

INTRODUCTION

The post-Cold War momentum has left traces of the development of information technology that changed human standards and perceptions of time and space. The increasingly blurred boundaries between countries in globalization imply the openness and freedom of individuals in carrying

common values, especially in the scope of human rights (HAM) through non-state actors in social movements of society, especially if connected to global civil society. (Tchinaryan et al., 2020). This is because state actors (in this case including intergovernmental networks) are considered ineffective in fighting for human rights issues, on the contrary,

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globalization indicates that the stronger the linkage of a local minority community with global civil society, the stronger the social movement and political mobility (Azhima, 2011).

One group that is significant in fighting for common values is advocacy groups that work voluntarily and transnationally (across national borders) to achieve common interests that represent the broader public interest. This is in line with Keck and Sikkink's opinion in the book *Activist Beyond Border* regarding the concept of Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) which is defined as "relevant actors working internationally working on an issue, who are bound together by shared values, a common discourse, and exchange of information and service" (Keck & Sikkink, 1998).

Departing from the introduction above, this study highlights social movements in the struggle for independent Papuan advocacy. The author reviews the hustle and bustle that has existed in Papua since the 1961 Act of Free Choice and the Indonesian government has tried to address the root causes of problems in Papua through the implementation of Special Autonomy (Otsus) through Law No. 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for Papua Law (UU) No. 21 of 2001 which has been running for 20 years. Otsus is interpreted as redeeming the mistakes of Indonesian authoritarianism in the past, accelerating development, and a form of political recognition as recognition of the existence of indigenous peoples (Pamungkas et al., 2022).

Development and modernization efforts within the framework of Special

Autonomy have an impact on Indigenous Papuans (OAP) are required to be involved in social change by ignoring their collective identity (Sugandi, 2008). The approach that overlooks Papua's cultural values is finally illustrated by the realization of special autonomy through Papua's HDI in the lowest position among all provinces in Indonesia (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2016). Development strategies in Papua, which are often linked to historical backgrounds, have played a role in increasing Papuan identity resistance and have marginalized OAP because they create economic inequality (McGibbon, 2004). OAP's segmentation that demands self-viewership strengthens its strategy by linking human rights violations committed by Indonesia through social movements (Rubawati, 2018). The complexity that exists makes the role of individuals as non-state actors to conduct international lobbying and advocacy have benefits in advancing the struggle and fulfillment of OAP rights.

One example of an individual actor who carries out an advocacy role is Benny Wenda who comes from the Papuan diaspora group. Benny Wenda initially became a political prisoner and then escaped with trauma motives until he received political asylum and settled in the UK (ROCHMIATI, 2021). Benny Wenda had the opportunity to represent the struggle for an independent Papua in international forums such as the United Nations and indigenous groups (Pamungkas et al., 2022). Although at the same time, there was fragmentation within the Free Papua movement group, the use of the momentum of internationalization of Free Papua was

still carried out through #BlackLivesMatter campaign as a form of resistance to black racism in the United States (US) through social Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, and Instagram. The campaign culminated in the aftermath of the shooting of George Floyd in the US in 2020 which attracted the sympathy of global civil society through the appeal of the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter (Gunia, 2020). The interesting thing is that not long after the campaign, a #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag appeared in Indonesia which also invited a civil society response. The issue of racism is a momentum for OAP segmentation to criticize Indonesia, because racism is the basis for politically, economically, and culturally discriminatory policies (Wijaya, 2020).

Through the TAN concept from Keck and Sikkink, Benny Wenda created a boomerang pattern in rallying global civil society support. This is in line with Keck and Sikkink's explanation that when the efforts of domestic groups and target governments are considered ineffective in resolving conflicts, the boomerang pattern is created through the efforts of transnational advocacy networks as an effort to influence the behavior of target countries (Keck & Sikkink, 1999). In the context of the Papua issue, the boomerang pattern that has formed makes the public highlight why Papuans frame their protests in terms of their identity as blacks? Who are Papuans? Why do they feel global solidarity with the Black Lives Matter movement? What is the relationship between Black Lives Matter as a global antiracist movement and Papuan Lives Matter as a Black social movement and anti-colonial struggle? (AZURI, 2022)

Departing from this, the author highlights the boomerang pattern formed by Benny Wenda and his strategy in rallying global civil society support through the use of #FreeWestPapua campaigns with research questions What is Benny Wenda's strategy in representing an independent Papua amid the fragmentation of separatist groups in Papua? Furthermore, the author will highlight the strategy implemented by Benny Wenda in garnering civil society support at the international level through advocacy with the power of ideas.

Literature Review

Discriminatory treatment, both racially and culturally, has provided justification for various political accesses, demanding independence for Papua and gaining sympathy from international parties (Tambunan & Lantang, 2024). Likewise, in the context of Papua's political history, which is considered not to meet the rules of fair international law (Sugandi, 2008). The complexity of Papua is determined by the role of state actors and non-state actors who consistently internationalize the issue of Papua in line with Rumila and (Rumila & Effendi, 2020), that state and Indonesian actors as opportunistic actors and thieves of natural resources of the land of Papua are carried out to construct the reality that there is an inequality relationship between the indigenous people of West Papua and also the Indonesian government and military.

The complexity of the Papua case is increasing because of the close correlation between one problem and another, such as political and security issues, as well as political and economic

issues. However, based on the report of the LIPI Papua study team, there is one more problem in the case of Papua, namely psychological problems or trauma caused by acts of violence or military approaches that are very dominant in Papua. This has shaped a collective trauma known as *memoria passionis* (Elisabeth, 2006).

OAP groups supporting an independent Papua are fragmented and this problem is precisely what triggers the conflict. For example, in 2020, amid tensions in Papua, Benny Wenda through the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) unilaterally declared West Papua's independence on December 1, 2020. In addition, he also appointed himself as President of the Papuan Interim Government (Doherty, 2020). The declaration was claimed as a step forward towards a referendum on Papuan independence to secede from the Republic of Indonesia supported by Alex Sobel, a member of the British Labour Party and chairman of the All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on West Papua. Other segments of the independent Papua movement viewed the declaration as propaganda by the ULMWP and Benny Wenda in its efforts to shape global opinion (Martianto & Isnaini, 2021).

Benny Wenda's existence in the international community is contrary to the divisions that occur in the midst of the independent Papuan group. One of them is Egianus Kogoya who thinks Benny Wenda only rides on life by the leader of the Nduga separatist group, Egianus Kogoya. Kogoya explained that his party until now continues to fight half to death in the forest for an independent

Papua, while those living abroad claim to be diplomats but only for the benefit of groups in Papua. Benny Wenda's existence is expressly said to only live from the terror acts of separatist and terrorist groups in Papua (Paragas, 2022). In addition, Octavianus Mote as the previous Deputy Chairman of the ULMWP also explained that there had been divisions within the Papuan independence struggle organization due to Benny Wenda's action in declaring Papua Free unilaterally but on behalf of the ULMWP (West Papua Daily, 2022).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The variables in this theory will be explored based on historical methods explained qualitatively. According to (Lawrence Neuman, 2014), qualitative research methods are research where researchers can determine the research topic when they have seen the existing facts and data, meaning that this research can start from collection, data analysis, data interpretation, data interpretation with repetition which can occur several times. Then qualitative research also functions to test and utilize theory. The data used in this research is primary data through interviews and secondary data in the form of books, online and print journals, online articles, newspapers, magazines, reports such as international organizations and so on. The data collected will be analyzed using interpretive content analysis techniques and necessary triangulation by utilizing literature, documents, articles and information obtained from electronic media that have been validated and discuss related issues. According to Neuman, content analysis is a technique

for examining the content or information and symbols contained in written documents or other communication media. In conducting content analysis, we collect and analyze the content of the text. The content or information can be in the form of words, meanings, symbols, images, ideas, themes or messages being communicated.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This research highlights development within the framework of Special Autonomy which is inversely proportional to the level of security and quality of people in Papua. In its development, the effectiveness of special autonomy as an instrument for resolving conflicts between the central government and Papua has been questioned (Hasibuan, 2022). This is because the main provisions in Special Autonomy such as granting broad government authority, respecting Papuan identity, protecting political and socio-cultural rights, and resolving human rights violations cannot be properly operationalized. Special autonomy has not been able to tidy up the tangled threads that occur in Papua, instead bringing the existing complexity into the puddle of separatism. Because the policy in Jakarta relies on the thought of 'will this policy benefit or harm separatist groups?' as well as the OAP thinking which assesses 'What other fraud is the government doing? of all government initiatives.

The existence of *distrust* continues to make these two groups fall into a puddle, because the government is very careful to keep special autonomy there will be hijacked by separatist groups, while according to OAP, special

autonomy is only a government ploy. So that no product is born as an act as the *logic of consequences* of a phenomenon. In fact, money is the only thing that OAP looks forward to, which is actually a source of inter-ethnic fights in Papua (Rahab. A. A, 2021).

In addition, it is undeniable that Indonesia still depends on international corporate corporations in driving various development projects. Capital accumulation is the main reason, while the state through the government at various levels plays a role in certain phases such as granting permits and providing infrastructure (Samperante. F, 2020).

In the perspective of modernization, ideality over the existence of certain modern attitudes is a condition for development (Pamungkas et al., 2022). Traditional societies with characteristics that are close to traditional norms, live in isolation, have relations with nature are considered past-oriented, have non-economic incentives and are considered unable to develop. This illustrates the relationship of OAP with traditional norms that perpetuate OAP life which then becomes a challenge for modernization.

Of course, there are violations in it related to procedures related to the customary rights of indigenous peoples. Conflicts between indigenous peoples and companies occur from the beginning of granting permits, releasing land, to the production stage. If reviewing the rights and principles of Free Prior Informed and Consent (FPIC) that the implementation of development is contained in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and contained in the provisions

considering Law No. 21 of 2001 concerning Papua Special Autonomy (Bina Desa, 2012). In practice, however, the Indonesian government favors corporations that operate without community consent or conduct deliberations in a forced or unfree manner, after companies have evicted land and forests. The company uses stimulus to get public acceptance of land because of 3 things, namely stimulus or sweet promises of companies related to promises of development, road construction, educational incentives. In addition, the intimidation of military personnel makes people seem helpless, especially with memories of violence that continue to be reproduced. Moreover, it is associated with a past history that is synonymous with violent tragedy. Examples of this stimulus make people victims of company manipulation, such as the story of one of the FGD participants in the book (Sudira et al., 2021).

"There are company people coming, continue to bring the chief father to Jakarta. He said to just go for a walk. But it turned out that when they got there, they gave the father a letter of release for signatures. Even though the Father he can't read, then dong (they) are deceived, don't explain what letter dong love." – Final Interview Results, 2020

Unfortunately the company does not realize the promises of empowerment, the community conducts resistance generally through culture as a form of resistance. Their expression is through dancing, singing, protesting, but rarely find demands that can penetrate the court (Samperante. F, 2020) as an impact of high distrust in the

state. In addition, the factor of access from the village to government offices or courts is difficult. If there is a case that can go to court, it is usually because there are figures in town, so they can help oversee the process. In terms of isolation, people's access to justice is restricted. This illustrates that the real driver of development is the company as the owner of capital. The role of the state as a licensor to support production and has shifted the essence of development which is interpreted as a market-oriented capitalist paradigm that destroys OAP.

Take an example from MIFEE or Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate as an integrated managed food and energy development program in Malind land, Merauke region, Papua Province. MIFEE was inaugurated during the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono administration which was continued by Jokowi with the vision that the government would revive the plan to convert 1.2 million hectares of land owned by local indigenous people for the MIFEE program (Walhi, 2021). The forest area that is now converted into the MIFEE project area previously served as a source of life for local people as well as a source of water storage for the city of Merauke. Deforestation that occurs results in the loss of water sources for the needs of local people, difficulty obtaining firewood, and their staple food, namely sago (Zakaria et al., 2011). Development in Malind, Merauke without being preceded by a paradigm and policy shift has implications for marginalized communities and limited access to land for production activities. They are also unable to work in the company due to limited skills and/or are

only accepted as indentured manual laborers.

Conflicts not only occur vertically, namely between OAP and the government and investors, but also have a horizontal impact between OAP and migrants due to socioeconomic jealousy. The MIFEE project was followed by an increase in population migration flows from outside Papua of around 4,000,000 people (Zakaria et al., 2011). The dominant culture from outside and supported by modern economic cultural instruments will exclude the Malind Anim, so it is feared that there will be a forced removal of the socio-cultural and economic life of the Malind Anim. The experience of the transmigrant project from Java in Merauke in the past can be felt and seen its impact today. The Malind Anim people are still in poverty and underdevelopment, on the contrary, the newly arrived population can quickly develop their socio-cultural and economic life.

The marginalization of OAP in development in Papua through the example of the MIFEE case illustrates the approach used by the government has not been able to resolve the conflict. This actually raises new problems that lead to the complexity of Papua. The accumulation of disappointment gave birth to Papuan resistance from the OAP which was encouraged to further strengthen its strategy. Development issues become a *platform* for various social movements while expanding their domain. The domain in question is at 3 levels, in Papua, Indonesia, and internationally. Interestingly, development issues such as special autonomy, infrastructure development began to become central issues that received international attention.

Especially when linked to the collective narrative of OAP's unwritten past regarding the history of suffering and violence experienced, the gap of *distrust* is even stronger towards Indonesia. Furthermore, the division of the independent Papuan group into two, namely: (1) armed groups as a form of nationalism certain segmentation into guerrilla movements in the jungle and (2) diaspora groups (Kivimäki, 2006). But there are essentially similar demands from different movements to hold the state accountable for past human rights violations, both military and development operations. In addition, requests for clarification or historical tracing have also become very dominant which directs inclusive Papuan nationalism.

Some of the above problems were identified as the basis of Benny Wenda's struggle by forming networks outside regional borders. This is due to the closed access between the government and the global community, as explained by Keck and Sikkink related to *Boomerang Pattern* (Keck & Sikkink, 1999). Benny Wenda's movement in voicing his struggle which was opposed by Indonesia in Papuan independence. Therefore, Benny Wenda mobilized networks outside Indonesia by using *Framing issue* which is considered to be in line with *Common Values* international community.

Benny Wenda and his Advocacy Network Strategy

Efforts to demand secession are synonymous with negative stigma remaining, resolving conflicts through dialogue and peace agreements remains a major challenge. Departing from the bitterness of the past accumulated with the issue of racism, the exploitation of

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natural resources gave birth to activists, groups, and advocacy networks who fought for the establishment of Papua as an independent state. Keck and Sikkink define activists as individuals who care about an issue and are willing to spend personal funds to achieve their goals. The activist does not move alone, so he will form another network believed to have the same mission. In an effort to expand their visibility, activists will distribute information to different public accesses in order to gain support.

In the context of Papua, bitterness towards the past leads a person to become an activist to carry out a mission to fight for the cause of secession. One of them is Benny Wenda who is a West Papuan political figure who is popular both in Papua and abroad, currently he lives in the UK with his family because he received political asylum.

Benny Wenda spent his childhood in the 1970s in the Central Mountains, living in the forest with his mother who came from the Lani tribe. In 1997, the situation changed, when the TNI launched military operations in its area, every day the OAP was inspected by military officials. This reality was told by Budiarjo in the book *Updating Papua Road Map* in 2017, that since 1965 the TNI has carried out massive acts of violence against civilians because of the difficulty in penetrating the forest to face OPM (LIPI, 2017). Furthermore, in response to Indonesian military atrocities, in late 1977, as many as 15,000 Lani people put up resistance (ELSAM) and the TNI bombed Lani villages in the Central Highlands, including where Benny Wenda grew up. Then in 1977-1983, Benny Wenda and his family lived

hiding in the forest, food and shelter were hard to find because of the rough terrain.

Long story short, in 2001 when the leader of the Presidium of the Papua Council (PDP) Theys Eluay was killed in between, Benny Wenda increasingly fought for an independent Papua. On June 6, 2002, Benny Wenda was arrested and detained in Jayapura on charges of inviting a mob to attack a police station and burn down two shops in Abepura, on December 7, 2000. Benny Wenda was brought to trial on September 24, 2002 and the court process lasted for several weeks while in detention Benny Wenda was tortured by Lapas guards, he did not want to eat the food given by the guards for fear of being poisoned as happened to Doctor Thomas Wainggai. The evidence to prosecute Benny Wenda was so weak in court, that rumors arose that military intelligence would kill him in custody. Finally, Benny Wenda managed to escape from prison on October 27, 2002. He was helped by his friends to cross to Papua New Guinea (PNG). He was facilitated by an NGO in Europe to go to England and receive political asylum.

In 2011, the Indonesian government issued an arrest warrant against Benny Wenda through Interpol because his efforts to internationalize an independent Papua were increasingly massive abroad. However, Interpol withdrew the case of Benny Wenda in 2002 after the results of an investigation proved that the Indonesian Government had used the international police system with political motives to suppress Benny Wenda. Benny Wenda's background is filled with dark memories related to the crimes of the Indonesian Government in

Papua that encouraged his struggle for an independent Papua. To this day, Benny Wenda continues to internationalize the spirit of an independent Papua through the network he formed. Some of the networks formed by Benny Wenda, are:

United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP)

The increasingly consolidated resistance movement was marked by the formation of the *United Liberation Movement for West Papua* (ULMWP) which united armed struggle groups and political factions. Interestingly, the ULMWP was formed on December 7, 2014, in the Republic of Vanuatu due to a long debate from other rival separatist fronts to represent West Papua as members of the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG). Other separatist groups or fronts in question are (Federal Republic of West Papua, NRFPB), West Papua National Coalition for Liberation (WPNCL). The agreement to establish the ULMWP indirectly the Papuan independence movement is more coordinated to gain political support from the international community. Currently, Benny Wenda is listed as the chairman of the ULMWP as well as the Interim President of West Papua. The terrain of the ULMWP movement is countries in the Pacific region stretching from PNG to the United States.

International Parliamentarians for West Papua (IPWP)

On 15 October 2008 a meeting of approximately 30 Free Papua activists and several members of parliament (2 from Britain and one each from Vanuatu and Papua New Guinea). The outcome of this meeting resulted in a forum claimed to be the International Parliamentarians for West Papua (IPWP). The

phenomenon of the formation of IPWP in the British parliament building was the success of the Free Papua group campaign in Oxford consisting of two core actors, namely Benny Wenda and a British pastor Richard Samuelson. Benny and Richard managed to convince a number of NGO activists in the UK and in the Netherlands to support their campaign (BRIN, 2009).

International Lawyers for West Papua (ILWP)

International Lawyers for West Papua (ILWP) is a network of professionals

laws that work on West Papua's rights to independence, as well as strengthening and preserving the rights of indigenous peoples in Papua. ILWP helps indigenous West Papuans to exercise their rights (TEMPO, 2010)

Free West Papua Campaign (FWPC)

FWPC was formed in 2004 at the East School of the Examination Schools, University of Oxford, England. This campaign was led by Benny Wenda as the leader of ULMWP. The FWPC was created to achieve independence in West Papua by peaceful methods. The FWPC is used to encourage solidarity groups and supporters around the world to focus on West Papua's freedom issues. FWPC's mission is to target local groups, church groups, journalists, lawyers, politicians, key people, sportsmen, public figures, and civil society organizations.

In its development, ULMWP launched the Free West Papua Campaign (FWPC) campaign on social media and successfully attracted public attention. This group has also received support from several United Nations (UN) member states in recent years (We Need to Talk About West Papua, 2021).

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#PapuanLivesMatter campaign

Since about the last five years, racism cases of Papuan students in Surabaya have increased political dynamics in Papua. This social movement is also networked with diasporas in several countries as well as various elements of society abroad. These include the emergence of #BlackLivesMatter hashtag associated with the death of George Floyd in 2020,

which adds to a long line of black people who have experienced police violence in the United States and reignited the Black Lives Matter (BLM) protest movement. In the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic, supporters of the BLM movement that has been formed since 2013 took action demanding justice which was carried out simultaneously from South Africa, Australia, the United Kingdom, to Japan (CNN).



Benny Wenda ✓
@BennyWenda

Yesterday I had the honour of speaking about the #FreeWestPapua struggle at the #BlackLivesMatter rally in #HydePark, #London, UK.

It means so much to the people of #WestPapua to be able to share our struggle around the world and to have such strong global solidarity. Wa wa a.
[twitter.com/FreeWestPapua/...](https://twitter.com/FreeWestPapua/)

Age-restricted adult content. This content might not be appropriate for people under 18 years old. To view this media, you'll need to [log in](#) to Twitter. [Learn more](#)

3:19 AM · Jun 14, 2020 · Twitter Web App

63 Retweets 3 Quote Tweets 176 Likes

Source: <https://mobile.twitter.com/BennyWenda/status/1271900054991900673>

In Indonesia, this solidarity action comes by linking it with the issue of racism and Indonesia's discriminatory actions against Papua, so that the hashtag #PapuanLivesMatter. By carrying out this hashtag, the independent Papua segment and various elements of society in Indonesia and internationally garnered support and solidarity in fighting for rights and justice for the Papuan people which was then led to the opinion of an independent Papua in the hashtag #FreeWestPapua. Although there are

historical differences related to black racism in the United States, racism that occurs in Papua is not only part of social construction but also politics, as part of the "NKRI versus Merdeka" dichotomy. Thus, colonialism contributes to creating racism, namely the formation of a superior Indonesian identity with an inferior Papuan identity (Kabinawa. R, 2020).

Benny Wenda's Strategy through the Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN)

Benny Wenda seeks to be vocal in the #FreeWestPapua campaign in his role as a non-state actor on the issue of independent Papua through various media through the TAN strategy consisting of:

Information Politics

Information Politics or *Information Politics* relates to the capability of a civil society group in distributing information to sort out information that has great potential and influence politically. Although the media for delivering information is informal, it is precisely the informal means that have the advantage of conveying information that is not

necessarily known to other parties. In short, informal information distribution can be very private but the information transferred can be very useful (Prameswari & Husna, 2022).

The above explanation can be described through the efforts of Benny Wenda as a Papuan separatist activist as well as a source of information on the complexities in Papua. He uses his social media such as *Twitter*, *Facebook*, *YouTube* as well as his personal website to spread the narrative of crimes committed by Indonesia.



Source: <https://twitter.com/bennywenda/status/1330990351818121223>

Of course, the narrative shared aims to garner public support. Furthermore, the advocacy network's response to the information shared by Benny Wenda also plays an important role in advancing the credibility of information. In this regard, the role of NGOs such as TAPOL in the UK which published several reports in 2020 in

response to the #PapuaLivesMatter Campaign through "*West Papua Movement Against 2019: Protesting Racism and the Right to Self-Determination*" and "*West Papua 2020 Freedom Of Expression And Freedom Of Assembly Report*".

There is also documentation in the form of a video related to the

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distribution of information shared by Benny Wenda when he was named Honorary Freedom of The City in 2019 at the Oxford City Council meeting (Oxford City Council, 2019).

Furthermore, in 2020, the publication of a documentary video by ELSAM related to the #PapuanLivesMatter Campaign also aired on *Youtube* in response to racism

events in Surabaya in August 2019, a wave of protests and large demonstrations appeared in various places in Papua and several regions in Indonesia. The protests and actions brought an almost uniform demand, namely the need for the Indonesian government to end discriminatory treatment of the people of Papu (ELSAM, 2021).



Source: <https://twitter.com/bennywenda/status/1312470434734960640>

Symbolic politics

Symbolic Politics or *Symbollic Pollitics* is the ability to produce, process, disseminate symbols, movements, stories that are relevant to the issues raised to the scattered community. Symbolic politics is synonymous with the stages of *framing issues* by activists in transnational advocacy networks. Thus, activists are required to identify and present explanations for influential symbolic events. The interpretation of symbols in this strategy becomes part of the persuasion process by transnational advocacy networks against civil society groups as audiences.

Benny Wenda and the transnational advocacy network he formed often carry out demonstrations

or prosthesis to show their existence. It uses the use of cultural attributes to strengthen its existence. When protesting, he often used the Morning Star flag, a sign that read Free West Papua, and a Cenderawasih headdress.



Source: <https://voi.id/en/news/21809/opm-called-benny-wenda-influenced-by-the-us-and-australia-in-the-west-papua-government-declaration>



Source: <https://www.bennywenda.org/2015/open-thank-you-letter-to-oxford-city-council-for-free-west-papua-support/>

Politics of influence

Or *leverage politics* is the ability to attract participation from other actors in power to take action on this issue being advocated. This strategy is important when there are members of the TAN network who lack influence in an issue advocacy because they are less powerful, so support from other more influential actors is needed in this tactic. Because transnational advocacy is closely related to political effectiveness which is a policy change by targeted actors in transnational advocacy. The

target can target governments, international institutions, and private actors. Efforts to influence policy, transnational advocacy seeks influence (*leverage*) from other actors who are more powerful, so activists in the TAN network try to suppress and seek the support of actors who have political influence. In the context of material leverage, support can be in the form of funds and in-kind assistance as acceptable material from other influential actors. In addition, support in the form of services such as voting rights

in international forums or advocacy offices is also part of the material. The form of *leveraged material support* obtained by Benny Wenda through his transnational advocacy network is the establishment of a ULMWP office in the UK (TEMPO, 2013). In addition, ULMWP also established its offices in Indonesia, namely in Merauke and Wamena (TEMPO, 2016). As for the form of *moral leverage*, in the form of targeted actor behavior in an effort to maintain views on other actors. Maintaining the good name between actors can be seen from the establishment of cooperation between actors in transnational advocacy networks, including cooperation with various NGOs, cooperation between state and other actors to civil society.

This is complemented by allegations raised by the two Melanesian countries at the 71st UN General Assembly in New York on September 24, 2016. A total of six countries in the Pacific region, two of which are Solomon Islands and Vanuatu which are MSG member countries, voiced accusations that Indonesia had committed systematic human rights violations in the West Papua region (Free West Papua Org, 2016). In addition, support from Jeremy Corbyn as the leader of the British Labour Party who accused Indonesia of curbing human rights for West Papuans. Jeremy Corbyn expressed his support during a speech to the International Parliament meeting at the British Parliament House in 2016. He uttered provocative language that the people of West Papua it was time to rise up against the government, which Corbyn called the Indonesian colonizers (Davidson, 2016).

The politics of accountability

Or *accountability politics* is the ability to maintain the determination of behavior or policy on issues advocated from influential actors. When transnational advocacy networks succeed in changing the behavior or policies of targeted actors, traditional advocacy strategies also include keeping no change to the actor's behavior or policies on the issue.

The document of willingness to change behavior is published to the wider public so that it becomes evidence of target actors in international advocacy. This strategy can be used by transnational advocacy networks to monitor the policy practices of target actors (in this case States), whether they match the agreed document or not.

The use of accountability political strategy by Benny Wenda by targeting the Government of Indonesia as a *targeted actor* still has a position that is contrary to the Free Papua struggle, so in this case accountability politics has not been implemented.

CONCLUSION

In measuring the success of the TAN movement, there are 5 indicators used (1) the emergence of international issues/agendas, (2) discursive influence on countries and regional and international organizations, (3) influence on institutions, (4) influencing policies made by target actors, can be a country or regional and international organizations, (5) influencing state behavior (Keck & Sikkink, 1999). In the context of the independent Papua movement, the strategy of the advocacy network formed by Benny Wenda failed

to be implemented because it could not influence Indonesia's behavior in defending Papua. Furthermore, based on the analysis that the author did, there are several findings that become conclusions. First, the boomerang pattern that limits efforts to struggle for an independent Papua by certain segmentations is caused by fundamental problems, namely: the history of Papuan integration, marginalization and militarization within the framework of Special Autonomy, increasing resistance to Papuan identity. Second, the root of the problem is increasingly complex with fragmentation within the free Papuan fighting group. Third, framing the issue and complexity of Papua with the use of global campaigns #BlackLivesMatter encourage the emergence of #PapuanLivesMatter campaigns but do not have a strong influence due to the fragmentation of independent Papuan groups in Indonesia. Fourth, the boomerang pattern that was formed was used by Benny Wenda has not formed a strong transnational advocacy network and failed to pressure the Indonesian government.

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