

Indonesia's Diplomatic Strategy in Countering Vanuatu's Support for the Papuan Separatist Movement in the South Pacific

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Abstract

This research analyzes Vanuatu's diplomatic strategy in supporting the separatist movement in Papua and Indonesia's response through intelligence and policy approaches. Using qualitative methods, data were collected through in-depth interviews with stakeholders, analysis of official documents, and participant observation. The results show that Vanuatu utilizes international forums such as the UN and the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) to promote the Papuan issue, supported by a network of pro-independence activists. Indonesia responds through active diplomacy, counter-narratives, and increased economic cooperation with Pacific countries. Intelligence analysis identifies threats to national sovereignty, while policy recommendations emphasize a multilateral approach and strengthening domestic security. These findings contribute to the literature on separatist conflict management and the role of intelligence in foreign policy.

1. Introduction

The issue of Papuan separatism has become a strategic challenge that has serious implications for sovereignty, national stability, and Indonesia's image in the international arena. Although Papua's status as an integral part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) has been confirmed through the 1969 Act of Free Choice (Pepera) and recognized by the United Nations (UN), the reality on the ground shows that demands for separatism are still ongoing and have even escalated at the international level. Vanuatu is one of the most consistent state actors supporting the Papuan separatist movement. This small country in the South Pacific region plays a significant role in mobilizing international opinion to support Papua to separate from Indonesia. Vanuatu's support includes official diplomacy, human rights advocacy, and strengthening the position of separatist groups such as the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) in various international forums. Specifically, Vanuatu's support for the Papuan separatist movement can be seen through:

a. Official Statement at the UN Forum

From 2016 to 2022, Vanuatu representatives routinely criticized Indonesia at the UN General Assembly regarding alleged human rights violations in Papua. At the 75th UN General Assembly in 2020, Vanuatu explicitly asked the UN to intervene and grant Papua the right to self-determination (UN Web TV, 2020).

b. Active Role in Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG)

Vanuatu is pushing for the ULMWP to be recognized as a full member of the MSG. This effort aims to utilize the MSG platform as a political legitimization tool for the Papuan separatist movement at the Melanesian regional level. The ULMWP has been granted status in the MSG with major support from Vanuatu (MSG Secretariat, 2021).

c. Advocacy at the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF)

Vanuatu helped initiate the Papua issue to become a permanent agenda item in the PIF, the main forum for cooperation between Pacific countries. Political pressure through the PIF aims to increase diplomatic pressure on Indonesia in the region (PIF Communiqué, 2022). This support is not just a political narrative, but is part of Vanuatu's long-term strategy to internationalize the Papua issue. The strategy relies on a human rights diplomacy approach, advocacy in multilateral institutions, and synergy with international activist networks that are pro-Papuan separatism.

From Indonesia's perspective, Vanuatu's maneuvers raise three main forms of threat:

a. Threats to Territorial Integrity and Sovereignty

Vanuatu's efforts to advocate for Papua's right to self-determination can potentially push international opinion in a detrimental direction to Indonesia's position as a sovereign nation.

b. Threats to Regional Political Stability

Political provocation in the South Pacific region has the potential to trigger new tensions between Indonesia and other Melanesian countries, especially if the Papua issue continues to be exploited unilaterally.

c. Threats to Indonesia's Image and Reputation in Global Forums

The negative narrative regarding alleged human rights violations in Papua, if not handled effectively, can damage Indonesia's image before the international community and complicate Indonesia's diplomatic position in multilateral forums.

Indonesia has taken various strategic steps to reduce the negative impact of Vanuatu's support, including:

a. Intensive bilateral diplomacy with Pacific countries that are still neutral or support Indonesia's position, such as Fiji and Papua New Guinea.

b. Optimizing Indonesia's membership in MSG as an associate member to cut the dominance of Vanuatu's narrative.

c. Public diplomacy and information campaigns on development in Papua, including dialogue approach and human rights enforcement efforts by the Indonesian government.

However, the complexity of this issue cannot be handled only with conventional diplomacy instruments. It is necessary to optimize the role of state intelligence, especially in early detection, mobilizing international support, and counter-narratives to counter Vanuatu's aggressive diplomatic strategy. The role of intelligence is crucial in mapping the network of actors supporting separatism, analyzing Vanuatu's political motives, and recommending mitigation measures based on threat analysis. Based on this background, this study aims to:

a. Analyze Vanuatu's diplomatic strategy in supporting the Papuan separatist movement, including political aspects, human rights diplomacy, and international advocacy.

b. Evaluate Indonesia's response from the perspective of diplomacy, foreign policy, and state intelligence support in reducing Vanuatu's support.

c. Formulate strategic recommendations based on threat analysis to strengthen Indonesia's position in maintaining sovereignty, stability, and reputation in the South Pacific region.

This study contributes to strengthening academic studies related to Indonesia-Vanuatu relations, which have been relatively minimally explored in international politics and intelligence studies literature.

By combining the perspectives of threat analysis, diplomacy, and the role of intelligence, this article is expected to provide strategic recommendations that apply to policymakers in Indonesia.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Threat Theory

In the context of national security, threats are not only understood as conventional military actions, but also include various forms of political pressure, aggressive diplomacy, and international campaigns that have the potential to undermine the sovereignty and stability of the country. Law Number 17 of 2011 concerning State Intelligence defines threats as any effort, work, activity, or action from within or outside the country that is assessed or proven to be able to endanger the safety of the nation, security, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and national interests of Indonesia.

Threat theory is the main foundation in this research to examine Vanuatu's support for the Papuan separatist movement as a potential disruption to Indonesia's sovereignty and national stability. In contemporary security perspectives, threats are not solely present in conventional forms such as military aggression, but also in non-traditional forms such as diplomatic pressure, international advocacy, and organized propaganda (Buzan et al., 1998). Vanuatu's political support for Papuan separatists, particularly through international forums such as the UN, MSG, and PIF, is seen as a form of non-military threat that can delegitimize Indonesia's position as a sovereign state.

To understand and measure the threat level, this study adopts the analytical framework developed by Riehle (2013), which emphasizes that the threat level can be analyzed based on three main components: intention, capability, and opportunity. First, Vanuatu's intention is shown through a consistent political stance in supporting self-determination for Papua through official statements at UN meetings, insistence that ULMWP obtain full membership in the MSG, and pressure in the PIF forum. Second, Vanuatu's capabilities are seen from its diplomatic capacity and access to political networks in the South Pacific region, plus relations with non-state actors who support Papuan separatism, such as international NGOs and human rights advocacy networks. Third, opportunities arise from the dynamic international political situation, such as increasing global attention to human rights issues, Melanesian sentiment, and the weakness of Indonesian diplomacy in some South Pacific countries. These three aspects show that Vanuatu's support is not just a political opinion, but a potential structured threat to the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia.

2.2. Pattern Analysis Theory

To understand the dynamics of Indonesia-Vanuatu relations regarding the Papua issue, this study uses the pattern analysis theory developed by Miles and Huberman (1994). This theory is used to identify the relationship between events, consistency of actions, and trends that develop in the political interactions of the two countries. Pattern analysis provides an overview of how the Papua issue has been systematically internationalized by Vanuatu, as well as how Indonesia's response patterns are formed.

Based on study results, there is a consistent and planned pattern of Vanuatu's support, including through the delivery of statements at the UN General Assembly since 2016, which always carry the issue of Papua, advocacy for the ULMWP to gain full membership in the MSG, and encouragement for the Papua issue to be included in the PIF's permanent agenda. On the other hand, Indonesia's response pattern also shows consistency, with intensive bilateral diplomacy steps with other Pacific countries, strengthening its position in the MSG and PIF, and increasing public diplomacy to build a positive narrative related to Papua. Thus, this pattern analysis maps the chronology of events and shows the escalation and political dynamics that require strategic anticipation from Indonesia.

2.3. Diplomacy Theory

Diplomacy is the main instrument in international relations that states use to achieve national interests through political communication, negotiation, and participation in multilateral forums (Berridge, 2015). Given Vanuatu's support for Papuan separatists, Indonesia cannot rely on military force or other coercive instruments. Still, it must maximize diplomacy's power as the main instrument.

This research examines Indonesia's diplomacy strategy, which is divided into three forms. First, bilateral diplomacy is carried out by strengthening Indonesia's relations with South Pacific countries such as Papua New Guinea, Fiji, and the Solomon Islands. The goal is to reduce Vanuatu's influence and build a more balanced regional political alliance. Second, multilateral diplomacy is realized by optimizing Indonesia's role in the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) and the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF). These two strategic forums have become arenas for political contestation related to the Papua issue. Third, public diplomacy is carried out by conveying factual information about Papua development, community social conditions, the enforcement of human rights, and Indonesia's commitment to the welfare of the Papuan people, to counter separatist propaganda pushed by Vanuatu at the international level. This diplomatic strategy serves not only to maintain Indonesia's political position but also to narrow the space for separatist groups and their supporting countries.

2.4. Scenario Planning

In the dynamic and uncertain international political situation, scenario planning is an essential method for formulating foreign policy and national strategy. Schoemaker (1995) explains that scenario planning is a systematic process of projecting various possible future developments and designing anticipatory measures that correspond to each scenario.

This research uses scenario planning to anticipate various possibilities of escalation of Vanuatu's support for Papuan separatists. Three main scenarios were formulated. First, the optimistic scenario is a situation in which Vanuatu's support weakens because Indonesia's diplomacy has succeeded in building a strategic alliance with South Pacific countries, accompanied by improvements in Indonesia's image regarding Papua. Second, the moderate scenario, in which Vanuatu's support remains, but its impact on Indonesia's position is minimal because Indonesia's diplomacy is quite effective in managing international perceptions. Third is the pessimistic scenario, where Vanuatu's support expands, followed by other Pacific countries, so Indonesia faces increasing international political pressure on the Papua issue. With this scenario planning approach, Indonesia can prepare adaptive and flexible steps for every possibility, including aggressive diplomacy steps, increasing the role of intelligence, and strengthening public diplomacy.

2.5. The Concept of Separatism

The Papuan separatism movement cannot be separated from the concept of separatism in international relations, namely the efforts of a group of people or regions to separate themselves from a country based on differences in ethnic identity, culture, politics, or historical reasons (Horowitz, 2000). In Papua's case, separatism arises due to domestic and international factors. At the domestic level, development inequality, perceptions of discrimination, and political discontent fueled the separatist movement. At the international level, systematic support from countries such as Vanuatu strengthens the legitimacy of the Papuan separatist struggle. Papuan separatism is increasingly complex because it carries the issue of human rights violations as a means of mobilizing international support. It utilizes the sentiment of Melanesians as a tool of ethnic solidarity in the South Pacific region. Thus, Papuan separatist is not only an Indonesian domestic issue, but has become an international issue that requires comprehensive diplomatic and strategic handling.

2.6. The Role of Intelligence

Intelligence is vital in maintaining national security, supporting diplomacy, and providing strategic information to policy makers (Lowenthal, 2016). In the context of Vanuatu's support for Papuan separatists, the role of Indonesian intelligence is crucial. Intelligence serves to detect Vanuatu's political maneuvers early, analyze international networks supporting Papuan separatists, and provide accurate information needed to formulate effective foreign policies. In addition, intelligence plays a role in counter-intelligence to protect the country's strategic information, prevent infiltration of separatist groups, and counteract political propaganda waged at the international level. Optimizing the role of intelligence supports the effectiveness of Indonesian diplomacy and strengthens Indonesia's position in maintaining sovereignty, territorial integrity, and regional stability.

3. Methodology

This research uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive-analytical design to deeply understand the dynamics of Vanuatu's support for the Papuan separatist movement and analyze Indonesian intelligence's diplomatic strategy and role in responding to the issue. The qualitative approach was chosen because the problems studied are complex, related to aspects of foreign policy, diplomacy, international relations, and national security, which cannot be quantified statistically, but must be understood through tracing the meaning, motives, and socio-political constructions behind them (Creswell, 2014).

This research is a case study, focusing on the Indonesia-Vanuatu relationship regarding the issue of Papuan separatism. The case study was chosen because it can provide a contextual, comprehensive, and in-depth understanding of the phenomenon being studied, especially in South Pacific regional politics, which has its own dynamics and characteristics. This approach allows researchers to analyze the phenomenon, starting from internal and external factors that influence the two countries' relationship to the strategic impacts that arise for Indonesia's national interests.

Data collection was conducted through two main techniques: documentation study and semi-structured interviews. A documentation study was conducted by reviewing various relevant secondary data sources, such as official documents of the United Nations (UN), the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG), and the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF), as well as official statements from the Indonesian and Vanuatu governments regarding the Papua issue. In addition, this study also utilizes scientific articles, research reports, think-tank publications, and credible international media coverage as additional data sources to enrich the analysis. In addition to the documentation study, semi-structured interviews were conducted to obtain primary data from key informants with direct knowledge and experience related to this issue. The informants in this study included officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia who understand the foreign policy of the South Pacific region, academics who study Indonesian international relations and diplomacy, and intelligence analysts who understand the dynamics of international support for Papuan separatism. Interviews were conducted online and offline from January to March 2025, while maintaining the principles of research ethics, including the confidentiality of informants' identities if requested.

The data analysis technique in this study uses the interactive model of Miles and Huberman (1994), which consists of three stages: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. Data reduction was carried out to filter information to the research focus, namely the form of Vanuatu's support, Indonesia's diplomatic strategy, and the role of intelligence. Data presentation was done in the form of thematic narratives and analysis matrices to facilitate interpretation. Furthermore, conclusion drawing was done inductively based on patterns, trends, and relationships between variables found during the analysis. Data triangulation was conducted by comparing information from various sources, including documentation studies, interviews, and literature reviews, to increase the validity and legitimacy of the research results. In addition, member checking techniques were applied by confirming temporary findings with sources to ensure the accuracy of interpretation. This research is also equipped with an audit trail in the form of systematic documentation of the entire data collection and analysis process to ensure transparency and accountability of research results.

As part of the strategic analysis, this study also integrates a scenario planning framework to project possible developments related to Vanuatu's support for Papuan separatists. Using this approach, the research formulates strategic recommendations that are adaptive, realistic, and in accordance with the dynamics of regional politics and Indonesia's national interests.

4. Result and Discussion

This research found that Vanuatu's support for the Papuan separatist movement is a real threat carried out systematically, structured, and consistently through international diplomacy and advocacy. This support cannot be viewed as an ordinary political issue but rather as part of a long-term strategy that has the potential to threaten the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia and Indonesia's diplomatic position in the South Pacific region. The findings of this study are explained below.

4.1. Vanuatu's Form of Support for the Papuan Separatist Movement

The study results show that Vanuatu consistently supports the West Papua separatist movement through various mechanisms. Vanuatu provides multilateral diplomatic support in the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF), Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG), and speeches at the UN General Assembly. In addition, Vanuatu also provides logistical assistance in the form of a representative office of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) in Port Vila, Vanuatu, and international propaganda on the issue of human rights violations by the Indonesian Government in Papua, which aims to influence global opinion and strengthen the international legitimacy of the separatist movement.

At the 53rd Pacific Islands Leaders Forum (PILF) meeting, Vanuatu, through the intervention of Prime Minister Charlot Salwai, affirmed its support for the West Papuan independence struggle. Vanuatu promotes the West Papua agenda through the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) representative integrated into its delegation (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2024). Vanuatu has also consistently supported ULMWP's efforts to obtain full membership status in the MSG. In addition, Vanuatu also pushed for the termination or revocation of Indonesia's membership status as an associate member of the MSG. This step is part of a diplomatic strategy to isolate Indonesia's influence in the South Pacific region (Lawson, 2016). The Vanuatu government provides logistical facilities for the ULMWP in Port Vila. This support includes providing operational space for the ULMWP office as an international coordination center. However, a report from Morris Kaloran, a ULMWP representative, stated that this facility still requires improvements in terms of infrastructure and equipment to support its diplomatic function as an "international office" (Kaloran, 2024).

At the 2024 UN General Assembly (UNGA), Vanuatu was suspected of providing a ring 3 overpass to Benny Wenda. Benny Wenda used the overpass to try to lobby, one of which was to the Prime Minister of Timor Leste, Xanana Gusmao (Sade Bimantara, 2024). Benny Wenda, through his social media, claimed to have discussed human rights violations in Papua by the Indonesian government as an attempt at negative propaganda maneuvers. However, after communicating with the Timor Leste protocol, it was discovered that there was no meeting or discussion between Benny Wenda and PM Xanana Gusmao, but only a doorstep photo by Benny Wenda.

4.2. Impact of Vanuatu's Support for Indonesia

Although Vanuatu has consistently supported the West Papuan decolonization agenda, they have shown respect for the principle of Indonesian sovereignty, as reflected in Prime Minister Charlot Salwai's statement at the 2024 UN General Assembly. PM Salwai acknowledged Papua's special autonomy as a positive step by the Indonesian government to fulfill the aspirations of the Papuan people. However, he emphasized the importance of improving the rights of indigenous Papuans (United Nations General Assembly, 2024). The issue of human rights violations (HAM) raised by Vanuatu is considered to have the potential to create international pressure on Indonesia. In various forums, including the PILF and the UN General Assembly, Vanuatu highlighted alleged human rights violations in Papua to draw global attention to the situation in the region (Smith, 2019).

The PILF Communiqué can be used as advocacy material in international forums, such as the UN General Assembly and the UN Human Rights Council. Vanuatu's support for the ULMWP further pushes the agenda of internationalizing the West Papua issue. Although Vanuatu shows strong support, the moderate stance of Papua New Guinea and Fiji provides space for Indonesia to utilize bilateral cooperation to reduce Vanuatu's influence in the MSG.

Vanuatu's attitude in raising the issue of human rights violations in Papua can raise negative issues against Indonesia in the international community. Therefore, Vanuatu's raising the issue of human rights violations in Papua encourages the Indonesian Government to allocate strong diplomatic resources to respond to this criticism, including by inviting international delegations to visit Papua to show the progress of development in the region (Mariska, 2024).

Vanuatu's support has given separatist groups the confidence to increase their actions in Papua, both in the form of propaganda and armed action. In 2023-2024, there was an increase in the number of security

disturbances in Papua, with 149 armed incidents reported in 2023 and 77 incidents until August 2024 (Indonesian Ministry of Defense, 2024).

4.3. Indonesian Diplomacy Strategy

In responding to the challenges posed by Vanuatu's support for the West Papuan separatist movement, Indonesia has implemented a comprehensive diplomatic strategy. This strategy involves bilateral, multilateral, and public diplomacy, all aimed at maintaining Indonesia's sovereignty and territorial integrity and improving Indonesia's image in the international arena. Indonesia is actively strengthening bilateral relations with South Pacific countries, especially MSG countries, especially with Fiji, Solomon Islands, and Papua New Guinea, as a strategic step to isolate Vanuatu's influence in supporting the ULMWP (Lele, 2024).

Indonesia also plays an active role in the MSG to reject the ULMWP's full membership application. As an associate member of the MSG since 2015, Indonesia has used its position to influence MSG decisions regarding the ULMWP. In 2023, Indonesia successfully blocked the ULMWP's attempt to gain full membership status, with support from Papua New Guinea and Fiji. This move reflects the effectiveness of Indonesia's diplomatic approach in multilateral forums (Lawson, 2016).

Indonesia also uses forums such as the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) to emphasize the importance of regional cooperation in promoting stability and development, while reducing the focus on the issue of West Papua separatism. At PIF 2024, the Indonesian delegation reaffirmed its commitment to supporting development in the Pacific region through technical and financial assistance (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2024). Indonesia is actively promoting development achievements in Papua to change the negative narrative often raised by Vanuatu. This effort includes increasing Papua's Human Development Index (HDI) from 54.45 in 2010 to 61.39 in 2024, reflecting improvements in education, health, and the economy (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2024). Indonesia also uses international media to convey information about developments in Papua and respond to allegations of human rights violations that Vanuatu often raises. This strategy includes organizing international visits to Papua to show the factual situation to the international community (Rahmawati, 2024).

4.4. Threat Analysis

Based on Kevin Riehle's threat theory, Vanuatu's support for the Papuan separatist movement can be categorized as a threat to Indonesia. This is indicated by fulfilling three threat components: intention, ability, and opportunity. Vanuatu's support for West Papua is based on its Melanesian identity and political mission to support decolonization in the Pacific region. Vanuatu views West Papua as part of the Melanesian ethnic group that is not yet fully free from Indonesia. This is in accordance with Riehle's threat theory, which asserts that intentions often reflect a country's geopolitical mission. In Vanuatu's case, its geopolitical priority is to fight for the right to self-determination for the Melanesian community.

According to Buzan's theory, Vanuatu's support can be classified as a political threat because it aims to weaken Indonesia's territorial integrity through mobilizing international opinion and efforts to delegitimize Indonesia's sovereignty in Papua. Vanuatu's ability to support the Papuan separatist movement is demonstrated through several indicators. Vanuatu utilizes various international forums, such as the PIF and the MSG, to raise the issue of West Papua. In Riehle's threat theory, Vanuatu's efforts to utilize these multilateral forums demonstrate Vanuatu's ability to foster cooperation between Pacific countries to support the separatist agenda. Vanuatu's support in helping the ULMWP obtain full membership status in the MSG is a real strategy to strengthen the international legitimacy of West Papua as a political entity separate from Indonesia. In addition, Vanuatu's cooperation with international NGOs such as the Free West Papua Campaign and the West Papua International Committee reflects the level of strategic ability to expand the network of Papuan supporters outside the Pacific region.

Vanuatu also has the opportunity to lend its support to the Papuan separatist movement. Vanuatu exploits the vulnerability in the Pacific region, where the issue of Melanesian solidarity is often a political tool to gain support from neighboring countries such as the Solomon Islands and Fiji. However, Vanuatu's success in seizing this opportunity is often hampered by the moderate stance of countries such as Papua New Guinea, which has close economic and diplomatic ties with Indonesia.

According to Robert Ring, Vanuatu's support for the Papuan separatist movement can be categorized as a serious threat based on the threat classification. Vanuatu's support reflects a political threat because it aims to delegitimize Indonesia's sovereignty in Papua through international forums. This can worsen the international perception of political stability in Papua. This political threat is strategic because it influences the decision-making process at the global level, such as the UN resolution on the right to self-determination for Papua. However, until now, it has not received a response from the international community. Based on Riehle's threat theory, Vanuatu's support for the Papuan separatist movement reflects a threat from a combination of intent, capability, and opportunity. This threat is mainly seen in political, social, and invisible threats, which can potentially damage Indonesia's internal stability and international reputation.

4.5. Pattern Analysis

The study results show that Vanuatu's support for the West Papuan separatist movement can be analyzed through a pattern analysis approach in intelligence. This analysis focuses on identifying actions and relationships between events that Vanuatu consistently carries out to support the West Papuan independence struggle. This process is divided into four main dimensions: technical, social, functional, and organizational.

1. Technical Pattern Analysis

Technical patterns include using communication technology and digital tools that Vanuatu or ULMWP supporters utilize to spread propaganda and garner international support. Vanuatu supports ULMWP's digital campaign through social media and websites. Propaganda about human rights violations in Papua is spread massively through global platforms such as the Free West Papua Campaign. This campaign influences international public perception, creating a narrative that West Papua is a colonized region and needs independence.

2. Social Pattern Analysis

Social patterns include interactions between groups and diplomatic actors in socio-political contexts to build solidarity and legitimacy. This analysis helps identify how Vanuatu strengthens social relations in the Pacific region. Vanuatu uses forums such as the PIF and the MSG to encourage regional support for the West Papua issue. Vanuatu diplomats such as Morris Kaloran use speeches at regional forums to emphasize the importance of building regional solidarity based on the Melanesian Brotherhood.

3. Functional Pattern Analysis

The functional pattern focuses on specific actions undertaken by Vanuatu to achieve diplomatic goals. This pattern includes advocacy, resolutions, and logistical support. Vanuatu provides a representative office for the ULMWP in Port Vila, which allows the ULMWP to carry out diplomatic functions and international campaigns more efficiently. Vanuatu has consistently raised the issue of West Papua at the UN General Assembly and called for an investigation by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights to investigate alleged human rights violations in Papua to strengthen the global narrative of the need for West Papuan self-determination. In addition, Vanuatu has pushed for the revocation of Indonesia's membership status as an associate member of the MSG to isolate Indonesia's diplomatic influence in the Pacific region.

4. Organizational Pattern Analysis

The organizational pattern focuses on the relationship between Vanuatu, the ULMWP, and other international networks to support the West Papuan independence struggle. Vanuatu officially supports the ULMWP through logistical facilitation and providing diplomatic platforms. The campaign aims to build international legitimacy for West Papua as a legitimate political entity.

4.6. Scenario Planning

The scenario planning approach is used to understand Vanuatu's diplomatic strategy in supporting the West Papuan separatist movement against Indonesian sovereignty. Using the TAIDA (Tracking, Analyzing, Imaging, Deciding, Acting) framework, this analysis identifies key factors, trends, and dynamics that influence diplomatic relations between Indonesia, Vanuatu, and the international community. This approach allows the formulation of alternative scenarios based on existing uncertainties, thus providing

strategic insights for more adaptive decision-making. In this context, the scenario analysis focuses on two main dimensions: the level of international support for West Papua and the success of Indonesian diplomacy in maintaining the sovereignty narrative.

The first step in the TAIDA approach is Tracking, which is identifying relevant trends and signals of change in the West Papua issue. Some of the key trends found are:

1. International Human Rights Support Trends

Global attention to human rights violations continues to increase. Vanuatu uses this issue as a diplomatic tool to gain international sympathy for West Papua. Resolutions related to human rights have become an important instrument pushed by Vanuatu in global forums such as the UN, to strengthen the legitimacy of the West Papuan separatist struggle.

2. Melanesian Solidarity Focus

Melanesian solidarity is the basis for Vanuatu's diplomacy in support of West Papua. Forums such as the PIF and the MSG strengthen regional support for the separatist movement. The rhetoric of "Melanesian Brotherhood" further reinforces the narrative that West Papua is part of the Melanesian community that requires international solidarity.

3. Pacific Nations' Divided Attitudes

Pacific nations' attitudes towards the West Papua issue are not uniform. Papua New Guinea and Fiji tend to be moderate, supporting peaceful dialogue between Indonesia and Papua, while Vanuatu has aggressively pushed the West Papua decolonization agenda through various international platforms.

4. ULMWP's Use of Digital Media

With logistical support from Vanuatu, the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) is using digital media to spread the narrative of human rights violations by Indonesia. This strategy allows the ULMWP to reach a wider international audience, creating moral and political pressure on Indonesia.

5. External Pressure through UN Resolutions

Vanuatu has consistently called for a human rights investigation in Papua through the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. The resolution aims to increase international pressure on Indonesia and strengthen its separatist agenda on the global stage.

The second step is to analyze the influence of trends. At this stage, the analysis focuses on the influence of trends on Indonesia-Vanuatu diplomatic relations and international dynamics. Some of the main influences are:

1. Regional Uncertainty

The divisions among Pacific nations challenge Vanuatu's ability to garner full support for the ULMWP at the MSG. Papua New Guinea and Fiji prefer a peaceful dialogue approach involving Indonesia, while Vanuatu takes a confrontational approach to strengthening the ULMWP's legitimacy.

2. International Diplomatic Pressure

The resolution pushed by Vanuatu at the UN General Assembly puts political pressure on Indonesia to respond to human rights issues in Papua. However, international support for the resolution is still limited and uneven, so its effectiveness is not optimal.

3. The Vulnerability of Indonesian Narratives

Negative propaganda about human rights violations in West Papua has the potential to weaken Indonesia's international image. If Indonesia is unable to show the success of development in Papua and the implementation of special autonomy, Vanuatu can use this narrative to strengthen international support for West Papua.

4. Logistics Facilitation for ULMWP

Operational support in the form of a ULMWP representative office in Port Vila allows the separatist movement to conduct international campaigns more effectively. Vanuatu acts as a diplomatic hub for the ULMWP, strengthening their position in the international arena.

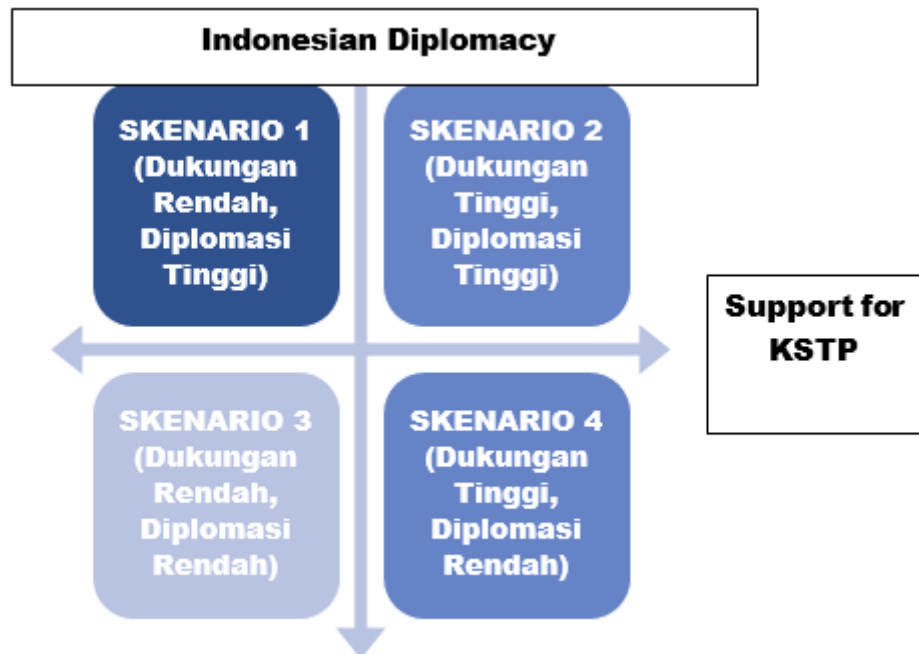


Figure 1. Scenario Matrix Based on Scenario Planning-Brands, Wulf, and Meissner

Based on the driving force analysis, four main scenarios were identified:

1. Scenario 1: Indonesian Diplomatic Domination

In this scenario, Indonesia has successfully maintained the sovereignty narrative through proactive diplomacy and transparency in Papua's development. The global community recognizes Indonesia's success in implementing special autonomy and sustainable development in Papua, so international support for West Papua has decreased. This shows the stability that Indonesia has succeeded in maintaining at the international level and in the Pacific region.

2. Scenario 2: Regional Instability

In this condition, human rights propaganda by Vanuatu successfully pressured Indonesia at the regional level, but strong bilateral relations with Papua New Guinea and Fiji maintained Indonesia's position. Melanesian solidarity was divided, so the issue of West Papua remained an unresolved debate. This scenario shows the potential for instability in the South Pacific region.

3. Scenario 3: International Diplomatic Conflict

In this scenario, Indonesia faces difficulties in responding to global pressure. Although regional diplomacy has succeeded in maintaining relations with Pacific countries such as Papua New Guinea and Fiji, international support for West Papua has increased. This has allowed the ULMWP (United Liberation Movement for West Papua) to gain wider international recognition, including full membership in the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG), strengthening their legitimacy.

4. Scenario 4: Conflict Escalation

This is the worst-case scenario, in which international support for West Papua increases significantly and Indonesia's sovereignty narrative weakens. Pressure from the global community and Pacific countries leads to an escalation of diplomatic conflict, which worsens Indonesia's relations with the Pacific region and increases the risk of a political and security crisis in Papua.

Based on the identified scenarios, here are the detailed strategies that can be implemented:

1. Strategy for Scenario 1

In this scenario, Indonesia has successfully maintained its sovereignty narrative at the international and regional levels. The strategies that can be implemented are strengthening international communication and bilateral cooperation. The Indonesian government needs to intensify its public diplomacy campaign to showcase the success of development in Papua, such as increasing the Human Development Index (HDI) and implementing special autonomy. In addition, it also increases cooperation with South Pacific countries through technical, economic, and educational assistance programs to prevent these countries from supporting the West Papua separatist agenda.

2. Strategy for Scenario 2

Despite reduced international pressure, Vanuatu still garnered regional support in this scenario. To overcome this, the strategy that can be taken is to utilize good relations with moderate countries. Indonesia strengthens bilateral relations with Papua New Guinea and Fiji as strategic allies to balance Vanuatu's influence in the MSG.

3. Strategy for Scenario 3

In the face of increasing global pressure, Indonesia must take strategic steps to counter Vanuatu's propaganda. Indonesia can provide access to international organizations to visit Papua and witness the development progress firsthand, to refute the negative narrative spread by Vanuatu.

4. Strategy for Scenario 4

As global and regional pressures increase simultaneously, Indonesia needs to implement crisis mitigation strategies. One is channeling development aid to South Pacific countries to improve bilateral relations and reduce their support for the West Papua separatist agenda. In addition, it also launched a counter-propaganda campaign that focuses on the successful implementation of Papua's special autonomy, through international media and direct visits by global leaders to the Papua region.

In facing the threat of diplomatic strategy, Vanuatu's support for the Indonesian movement is based on scenario planning, including:

1. Proactive Diplomacy

Proactive diplomacy is an important first step to overcoming Vanuatu's influence on the West Papua separatist movement. Indonesia can strengthen bilateral dialogue with Pacific countries such as Papua New Guinea and Fiji, which tend to be moderate. In this case, the Indonesian government must establish closer relations through various forms of cooperation, such as infrastructure development assistance, technical training, and educational cooperation. This step aims to create diplomatic solidarity that supports Indonesia's sovereignty and dampens the separatist narrative promoted by Vanuatu. In addition, through proactive diplomacy, Indonesia can rally support from Pacific countries to oppose resolutions or international steps that support West Papua.

2. Increased Transparency

Transparency of development in Papua is a key element to counter negative propaganda that mentions human rights violations and the lack of attention from the central government to this region. Indonesia can invite international media, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and independent observers to see firsthand the results of development in Papua. This effort will provide a more balanced narrative and show that the Indonesian government has taken real steps to improve the welfare of the Papuan people through the special autonomy program. In addition, balanced international media reports can help build a more positive global opinion of Indonesia.

3. Positive Propaganda

Positive propaganda is a strategic step to counter the narrative developed by Vanuatu and ULMWP. The Indonesian government can use global media platforms such as social media, international television, and scientific publications to highlight the success of development programs in Papua. This propaganda's main focus should include improving the Human Development Index (HDI), infrastructure development, roads and schools, and successful public health programs. In addition, the government can also collaborate with influencers or international figures to promote the success of development in Papua to a global audience.

In an effort to counter propaganda against negative issues carried out by Papuan separatist groups, Indonesia can use international media such as the BBC, CNN, or Al Jazeera can be involved to present a positive narrative about Papua. The government can facilitate visits by international journalists to the Papua region to see firsthand the development that has been carried out. In addition, Indonesia can also invite UN delegations or international organizations to witness the situation in Papua firsthand. This step can strengthen the government's claim that the human rights and decolonization issues raised by Vanuatu do not reflect the real situation. Indonesia can also use diplomatic channels at the UN to explain Indonesia's success in overcoming separatism through development and dialogue approaches. This can break Vanuatu's narrative that depicts Papua as a neglected region.

4.7. Separatism

Separatism in West Papua is a form of political separatism that aims to gain sovereignty through separation from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). According to James Fearon, separatism is an action driven by the desire for freedom and to gain the right to self-determination. In the context of West Papua, this movement manifests this desire through various channels, including armed channels such as those carried out by the Free Papua Movement (OPM) and through organized political efforts at home and abroad, such as those represented by the ULMWP. This aligns with Fearon's view that separatism often arises due to violations of the principle of self-determination and dissatisfaction with existing political and economic schemes.

External support, especially from Vanuatu, strengthens the separatist movement in West Papua through international campaigns and propaganda. Collective emotional factors and a long history of victim resistance also influence the separatist movement in West Papua. In addition to socio-cultural factors, economic motivation is also the main cause of the emergence of the separatist movement in West Papua. As a political separatist movement, West Papua uses various methods to achieve its goals, both peacefully and violently. In James Fearon's view, separatism includes armed actions and involves organized political efforts to create international legitimacy.

James Fearon's theory explains that the West Papuan separatist movement threatens Indonesia's national stability. Separatism in Papua is driven by the desire to gain sovereignty and dissatisfaction with the existing political, social, and economic schemes. External support, such as from Vanuatu, and internal factors, such as economic marginalization and cultural protection, further strengthen this movement. Therefore, the Indonesian government needs to understand the root causes of Papuan separatism and take strategic steps to suppress it through an inclusive security, diplomacy, and development approach.

4.8. The Role of Intelligence

Intelligence plays an important role in the early detection of threats from Vanuatu's support for the West Papuan separatist movement. Early detection is carried out by monitoring Vanuatu's diplomatic and political activities that support the ULMWP. These efforts involve identifying international networks, such as Vanuatu's diplomatic relations with international organizations and ULMWP figures, including Benny Wenda, actively lobbying Europe and the Pacific. In addition, intelligence also monitors Vanuatu's activities in multilateral forums, such as the Pacific Islands Leaders Forum (PILF) and the MSG, which are often used to raise the issue of West Papua. Analysis of Vanuatu's propaganda narrative about human rights violations in Papua is an important part of anticipating the strategic steps Vanuatu takes.

In the early prevention phase, Indonesian intelligence takes steps to reduce or neutralize threats before they develop further. One important step is intervention against international propaganda through public diplomacy. Indonesia actively conveys alternative narratives about Papua's development. In addition, regional collaboration with Pacific countries, such as Fiji and Papua New Guinea, aims to prevent them from supporting Vanuatu and the ULMWP. Strengthening cybersecurity is also a priority to protect strategic information from the threat of digital infiltration that separatist supporters could potentially carry out.

Early warning is integral to the intelligence's response to the threat of Vanuatu's support for the ULMWP. Intelligence uses the data collected to project the impact of Vanuatu's activities on the ULMWP's international legitimacy. Predicting diplomatic impacts, such as increased global sympathy for the West

Papua issue, allows the Indonesian government to take strategic steps to prevent escalation of threats. Intelligence also analyzes domestic security risks, especially the potential for increased separatist activity in Papua, including armed incidents. This information provides important input for policymakers to design a coordinated response through diplomacy, security, and public narratives.

In the investigative function, Indonesian intelligence gathers information about potential and actual threats. The investigation includes identifying key actors, such as Benny Wenda and ULMWP support organizations, and mapping the diplomatic support received by Vanuatu from other countries. In addition, using open-source intelligence resources such as media reports and academic publications, as well as covert intelligence through surveillance and communication interception, helps to obtain comprehensive information. Collaboration with the intelligence agencies of friendly countries is also carried out to strengthen threat analysis.

Security or counter-intelligence aims to protect sensitive information and neutralize the threat of infiltration. In this context, security includes protecting Indonesia's diplomatic strategy from being leaked to separatist supporters. This step also includes identifying infiltration attempts by ULMWP supporters in Indonesian government institutions and neutralizing propaganda spread by separatist supporters through international media. Securing strategic information is a priority to ensure that external efforts do not disrupt Indonesia's diplomatic policy.

The function of intelligence gathering is directed to influence international opinion and policy for the sake of Indonesia's national interests. Intelligence supports strengthening diplomatic relations with South Pacific countries to isolate Vanuatu's support for the ULMWP. In addition, public diplomacy is used to promote the Papuan development narrative in international forums. Intelligence also involves international organizations, such as ASEAN and the UN, to support Indonesia's position and pressure Vanuatu to stop supporting the Papuan separatist movement. These steps are designed to strengthen Indonesia's position in the face of diplomatic pressure from Vanuatu's support for the ULMWP.

4.8. Intelligence Analysis

In the initial assessment, Vanuatu's support for the Papuan separatist movement through the ULMWP was identified as a serious threat that includes aspects of Threats, Challenges, Obstacles, and Disturbances (ATHG) to Indonesia's national stability. Vanuatu's support for West Papua is based on its Melanesian identity and political mission to support decolonization in the Pacific region. Vanuatu views West Papua as part of the Melanesian ethnic community that is not yet fully free from Indonesia. This aligns with Kevin Riehle's threat theory, which states that intentions often reflect a country's geopolitical mission. In this context, Vanuatu has a clear geopolitical priority, namely, fighting for the right to self-determination for the Melanesian community.

Vanuatu's long history of support for the Papuan separatist movement is evident in various forums, regionally, such as the MSG, and globally, such as the UN General Assembly. In addition, establishing the ULMWP office in Port Vila shows Vanuatu's consistency in providing logistical and diplomatic support to this separatist movement. Based on Robert Ring's threat theory, Vanuatu's support for the Papuan separatist movement can be categorized as a serious threat with several aspects. Vanuatu's support aims to weaken Indonesia's sovereignty through efforts to delegitimize Indonesia's position in Papua. This is done by utilizing international forums to spread the narrative of human rights violations in Papua and push for a UN resolution on the right to self-determination for West Papua.

Based on the study's results using pattern analysis, several early warning signs have been identified in detecting strategic threats from Vanuatu's support for the ULMWP. Using a technical, social, functional, and organizational dimension approach, the following are projections of signs that need to be monitored in detail.

Based on the functional pattern, Vanuatu's diplomatic support for the ULMWP in multilateral forums such as the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF), the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG), and the UN General Assembly must be closely monitored. A significant warning sign would be if the ULMWP were to obtain full membership status in the MSG. This status would symbolize international political legitimacy for the West Papuan separatist movement and create significant diplomatic pressure on Indonesia. In addition, if

Vanuatu continues to push for a resolution to revoke Indonesia's status as an associate member of the MSG, this would also indicate an escalation of confrontational diplomacy.

In facing the threat of Vanuatu's support for the Papuan separatist movement, Indonesia needs to implement strategic steps oriented towards threat mitigation, through several steps, as follows:

1. Strengthening Multilateral Diplomacy

Indonesia needs to strengthen multilateral diplomacy as a priority to maintain Indonesia's position in regional forums such as the MSG and PIF. Indonesia needs to utilize its position as an associate member of the MSG to hinder the ULMWP's agenda in gaining full membership status.

2. Public Diplomacy to Counter Propaganda

Negative propaganda about human rights violations in Papua can damage Indonesia's image in the international arena. Therefore, structured public diplomacy is an important step. Some strategies that can be done include increasing transparency through global media and positive propaganda through international figures.

3. Strategic Intelligence Capacity Building

Vanuatu can encourage armed separatist activities in Papua. Therefore, increasing intelligence capacity is key to detecting and preventing such threats through strengthening HUMINT and SIGINT and collaboration with international partners.

4. Security Strengthening in Papua

The increasing international legitimacy of the ULMWP could worsen domestic security conditions. To prevent this, several strategic steps that can be taken are the placement of security personnel in vulnerable areas and training and capacity building of officers.

5. International Collaboration

International collaboration is an important step to reduce Vanuatu's influence in global forums. Cooperation with Papua New Guinea and Fiji can be used to balance Vanuatu's influence in the MSG and PIF. Joint economic development programs, such as infrastructure investment, can be an effective diplomatic tool.

6. Inclusive Development Approach

In all scenarios, an inclusive development approach is critical to reducing tensions in Papua.

5. Conclusion

Vanuatu's support for the Papuan separatist movement is organized through diplomacy, logistics, and international propaganda. This support is manifested in advocating the Papua issue in multilateral forums such as the PIF, MSG, and the UN General Assembly, accompanied by a narrative of human rights violations to influence global public opinion. In addition, establishing the ULMWP representative office in Port Vila and using digital media strengthens international coordination of the separatist movement. However, Vanuatu's influence in the region is still limited by the moderate stance of Pacific countries such as Papua New Guinea and Fiji, which tend to support peaceful dialogue with Indonesia. To respond, Indonesia has adopted a strategy of bilateral, multilateral, public diplomacy, and optimization of the role of intelligence in early detection, counter-propaganda, and securing strategic information.

In the future, Indonesia needs to intensify proactive diplomacy, strengthen counter-narratives at the global level, and increase the role of strategic intelligence to prevent the escalation of the Papua issue in international forums. It is also necessary to strengthen development in Papua that empowers local communities to reduce the space for separatist propaganda. Domestic inter-agency synergy, collaboration with friendly countries in the Pacific region, and digital technology to counter propaganda are strategic keys to maintaining Indonesia's sovereignty. In addition, further academic studies related to separatist diplomacy, the effectiveness of Indonesia's diplomatic strategy, the role of technology in propaganda, and strategic intelligence are very important to strengthen the foundation of Indonesia's foreign policy and national security in dealing with non-military threats, such as Vanuatu's support for Papuan separatists.

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