The Threat of Urban Warfare in Jayapura Region: A Case Study of Expulsion of Muslim Residents in Papua

Pujo Widodo[1*], Gumilar Rusliwa Somantri[1], A. Hanief Saha Ghafur[1]
[1]Sekolah Kajian Stratejik dan Global, Universitas Indonesia

[*]Correspondence Email: pujo.widodo21@ui.ac.id

Abstract: *The rebellion by a small number of Papuans using the strategy of expelling immigrants under the pretext of discrimination in the Surabaya case created ethnic Papuan conflict with migrants (Muslims) and threatened the city of Jayapura, which was an asymmetric urban war. The purpose of this research is to create a strategy for counteracting the threat of urban warfare in the Jayapura region of Indonesia. This research method is qualitative in nature with a case study approach supported by conflict root data, threat data, and ethnic Papuan discrimination data against migrants. The results of this study are, first, the threat of urban warfare in the Jayapura region in the form of horizontal conflicts expelling immigrants and killing Muslims. Second, the implementation of the Papua provincial government's handling of building reconstruction, infrastructure paid for by Papuans, and ensuring the safety of migrant residents. Third, the strategy of counteracting the threat of urban warfare by increasing territorial operations supported by combat operations, intelligence, and security and order. The conclusion of this study is that the expulsion of Muslim residents in Papua was caused by the desire of some separatist groups supported by foreigners to carry out demonstrations in the cities of Papua province.*
Keywords: *Threats; Urban Warfare; Expulsion; Muslim Residents; Strategy.*

How to Cite:
Widodo, P., Somantri, G. R., & Ghafur, A. H. S. (2024). The Threat of Urban Warfare in Jayapura Region: A Case Study of Expulsion of Muslim Residents in Papua. *Journal of Governance*, *9*(4), 822–828.

Introduction

As the country with the largest Muslim population in ASEAN, with the total Muslim population in Indonesia reaching 237.55 million people, or equivalent to 86.7% of the total population, Indonesia is described as a country with a Muslim majority democracy model. Despite the overall count, this is not the case in Papua. Based on data owned by the Ministry of Home Affairs, especially the Directorate General of Population and Civil Registration (Dukcapil), at the end of 2021, the Kristem religion became the majority religion in Papua, with more than half of the population with a percentage of 69.56% of the total population of 4.3 million people, 2.99 million people embraced Christianity. Then followed by the Catholic population with a percentage of 15.68% or as many as 675.15 thousand people. Meanwhile, the Muslim population was recorded at 14.58% or 627.56 thousand people and the remaining 2.07 thousand people (0.05%) of the Papuan population who embraced Buddhism, there were 74 people (0.0%) who embraced Confucianism, and there were 2.76 thousand people (0.06%) who embraced the flow of belief (Dukcapil, 2021).

Having the state motto "Bhieneka Tunggal Ika," in reality, violence and discrimination against religious minorities still continue to occur today. This is often triggered by individuals or in the form of hardline groups or what are commonly referred to as radical groups. The intensity began to increase since the emergence of the Papuan student siege case in Surabaya in 2019. The incident began with the alleged bending of the Red and White Flag pole into a ditch. Then, accusations emerged that the red and white flag in a tilted position was carried out by Papuan students in Kalasan.

This invited the anger of the masses. Based on a "brief study of factual and strategic issues," it is stated that the involvement of the perpetrators in the incident in Surabaya included: Organizations totaling 700 masses with the designation FKPPI. Hipakad, Pancasila Youth, Patriot Garuda, Pagar Jati, and FPI came to the student dormitory with shouts of racial slurs based on citizen reports on August 17, 2019. In addition, government parties from Satpol PP, police, and TNI officers came to the location to take persuasive steps, but their presence made the 43 students really "traumatized," so that persuasive steps did not run effectively (Mercer, 2020). The incident triggered a wave of strong protests from Papuans in Papua. Invalid information spread quickly through social media, further fueling the anger of Papuans. Protests were carried out from peaceful means to the expulsion of Muslim residents in Jayapura City, Papua, as a result of the incident in Surabaya.

Looking further than just an ordinary case of racism, based on the concept of urban warfare, the situation in Jayapura is one of the forms of urban warfare. The concept of warfare itself has undergone many changes to adapt to the development of the strategic environment followed by a change/shift of place to urban areas. Cities are not only the center of civilization but also a medium of warfare, so it is necessary to develop an urban warfare concept that is relevant to be applied in Indonesia (King, 2021). The rapid development of cities in Indonesia allows for the consequences of the increasing threat to cities. Thus, these cities must have defense capabilities, both offensive and defensive, which include sub-capabilities to attack, seize, control, protect, secure, and defend cities from various threats. As an early effort in

building national defense, the government needs to establish cities as strategic points (centers of gravity) that must always be guarded from various possible threats.

Urban warfare capabilities are part of the Universal People's Defense and Security System (Sishankamrata) which must be prepared early by the Indonesian government and carried out in a total, integrated, directed, and sustainable manner. The implementation of Indonesia's urban warfare requires good understanding and awareness from all components of the nation, as well as strong determination and innovation or creativity so that these capabilities can be implemented in reality. Therefore, this paper aims to analyze the threat of urban warfare in Jayapura City as a result of the Surabaya incident in 2019 and the strategic steps taken by the local government in dealing with urban warfare in Jayapura, Papua. The analysis starts from understanding what urban warfare is, what the threats are, and how to minimize the impact of urban warfare, especially in Jayapura City, Papua, through efforts made by the government.

Method

This paper is made using a qualitative method by taking various data and news references from books, journals, or trusted news pages and then summarizing them into one by analyzing the patterns created and discussing them based on data and facts that focus on the problem of urban warfare that occurs due to the emergence of stigmas or accusations of radicals, terrorists, and racial discrimination against certain groups of people and then drawing conclusions from the analysis that has been done. In addition, the author also uses a literature study with references to papers related to the theme being studied in order to gain a

broader perspective. To create a comprehensive study, this paper also reports the author's long observation as a peace activist in Papua, as well as the author's field findings. This paper is supposed to fill the academic gap of transnational Islamic studies in the Land of Papua, a theme that has not been studied by many researchers in the past.

Results and Discussion

The constitutional foundation related to state defense efforts in Article 30, paragraph (1), states that every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in state defense and security efforts, as well as paragraph (2), which states that state defense and security efforts are carried out through a universal people's defense and security system by the Indonesian National Army (TNI) and the Indonesian National Police (Polri) as the main force, while the people are a supporting component. Then from these efforts to build national defense is also included in efforts to build new capabilities, namely urban warfare. Then narrowed down to Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 3 of 2002 concerning State Defense has given consideration that state defense is based on the philosophy and outlook of life of the Indonesian people to ensure the integrity and upholding of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. That state defense efforts are carried out by building, maintaining, developing, and using state defense forces based on the principles of democracy, human rights, public welfare, the environment, the provisions of national law, international law, and international custom, as well as the principle of peaceful coexistence.

Based on the development of the

strategic environment globally, regionally, and nationally, it can be predicted that there are threats that need to be considered in making defense policies. Predicted threats that may arise at any time can be categorized into three types, namely military threats, non-military threats, Forms of non-military threats are categorized as dimensional threats: ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural, public safety, technology, legislation, and hybrid threats. Non-military threats are categorized as dimensional threats: ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural, public safety, technological, and legislative. These threats can be factual threats and potential threats. In the context of asymmetric warfare, Ivan Arreguin-Toft conducted special research, which showed that from 1950-1999, the tendency was that weaker actors won more wars than stronger actors. In asymmetric warfare, according to the theory of strategic interaction explained by Ivan Arreguin-Toft, if the strategic approach used is the same (indirect-indirect or direct-direct), then the stronger actor will be able to win the war. But if the strategic approach is different (indirect-direct or direct-indirect), the weaker actor will win the war (Toft, 2005).

Cities are population centers, transportation networks, government infrastructure, sources of welfare, economic centers, industrial centers, information networks, and key nodes of communication networks to all regions in a country. Based on population statistics studies, by 2030 almost 68% of the world's population will gather in urban areas. Therefore, the struggle for control over cities is a decisive war (Clausewitz, 2016). Some experts reveal insurgencies consisting of urban separatists and terrorists as the most likely operations for

military forces in the future. According to Kilcullen (2021), the rebels have "come down the mountain"; the rebellion in the mountains has been replaced by rebellion in urban areas. This is due to four interconnected events, namely: population growth, urbanization, land use, and connectivity (King, 2021). The greatest threat faced by modern armies is facing an enemy that hides among civilians, has the mobility, communications, and firepower to conduct guerrilla warfare but lacks a clear military organization (NATO, 2017).

Insurgency is characterized by non-state actors fighting state actors using political resources with the aim of taking over state power (O'Neill, 2005). This has also led to the emergence of many negative stigmas used by certain groups to attack and corner other groups between majorities and minorities, or vice versa; this is clearly seen in the case in this article. The expulsion experienced by Muslims in Papua is the result of a case that sparked the siege of Papuan students in Surabaya. If analyzed more broadly, this case can develop and culminate, inseparable from non-state actors who continue to ignite public anger under the pretext of a sense of solidarity on behalf of the culture and race of the Papuan people. Papuans who feel that their tribe is treated unfairly by other tribes outside their area retaliate by expelling other tribes and religions in their area. As a result, the atmosphere in Papua, especially the city of Jayapura as the capital, is not conducive. This is commonly referred to as identity politics, which is one of the factors that trigger the disintegration of the nation and is usually carried out in areas where there are many different ethnic, religious, and racial elements and often occurs in urban areas. In addition, there are threats in cyberspace in the form of cyber attacks.

Major threats in cyberspace in the form of cyberattacks by terrorists and foreign intelligence have recently begun to spread, where software producers and hackers can manipulate information systems to cause incidents and disasters, so that in urban warfare, cyber threats are very effective in destroying various kinds of urban critical information infrastructure.

To deal with the threat of urban warfare, cities must have defense capabilities, both offensive and defensive, which include sub-capabilities to attack, seize, control, protect, secure, and defend cities from various threats. As an early effort in building national defense, the government needs to establish cities as strategic points (centers of gravity) that must always be guarded from various possible threats, which ideally include using deterrence, action, and recovery strategies. Deterrence strategies can include intelligence operations, area security operations, information operations, territorial information, and defense area empowerment operations. While the strategy of action can be in the form of combat operations, intelligence operations, territorial operations, military operations, and information operations, the last strategy in the recovery function can be in the form of consolidation, rehabilitation, and reconstruction to the management of prisoners. Simply put, by looking at the characteristics of the cases that occurred, the government needs to do several things in preventing, taking action, and restoring conditions from the threat of urban warfare.

Prevention strategy by minimizing friction based on any aspect of ethnicity, religion, or race. That way, identity politics will not easily enter and prevent the expansion of the root of the problem. In addition, the government, through regional officials, the TNI, and also the police, needs to understand the socio-cultural context that exists in areas with a majority population by conducting open dialog with community leaders who have the power to control the masses. This can also prevent radical seeds of separatism. The strategy of taking action by enforcing the law fairly and impartially needs to be prioritized by the government. In this case, the central and regional governments and all their apparatus need to firmly take action against anyone who commits violence and/or radicalism in the name of religion regardless of their religion. Meanwhile, in the recovery strategy, the government must nurture the community to continue to maintain public order, wherever they are. Both when we are in the minority and when we are in the majority, we are continuing to instill a sense of love for the homeland in the community and burying the sense of egocentricity in both individuals and groups.

Conclusion

The term urban warfare still sounds odd in the midst of Indonesian society, although in the implementation of Indonesia's universal defense system, the community is a supporting component of national defense. In addition, urban warfare is an example of a contemporary threat whose impact is felt directly by the community. The case study used in this research is the result of a previous case, namely the siege of Papuan students that occurred in Surabaya. The incident cannot be separated from the influence of non-state actors who are suspected of being separatist groups supported by foreigners by continuing to anger the Papuan people under the pretext of minorities being suppressed by the majority. As a result, the Papuan people held demonstrations that led to the expulsion of the Muslim

community in Papua, which is a minority in Jayapura city.

For this reason, the government must take strategic steps to prevent, take action, and also reconstruct when there is an unavoidable threat of urban warfare in the future. The strategic steps that are built later will not be able to eliminate the threat of urban warfare in Indonesia, but if they are actually implemented, at least the threat of urban warfare in the future can minimize the impact and accelerate the recovery period.

Acknowledgement

References
Buku Putih Pertahanan Indonesia (2020), Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia. Clausewitz, C. (1976). *On War.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Ditanlingstra, Ditjen Strahan Dephan RI (2008) "Perkembangan Lingkungan Strategis dan Prediksi Ancaman"

Eksistensi Doktrin Pertahanan Nirmiliter terhadap/yang relevan dengan konsep peperangan perkotaan

Eksistensi Doktrin TNI AL (Jalesveva Jaya Mahe) terhadap/yang relevan dengan konsep peperangan perkotaan

Epoch Times. (n.d.). *Pencurian Kekayaan Intelektual oleh Tiongkok Sebabkan AS rugi 600 Miliar Dolar Setiap Tahun* . Retrieved from Epoch Times id.

Imran Tahir & M. Irwan Tahir. 2020. *Perkembangan Pemahaman Radikalisme di Indonesia.* Jurnal Ilmiah Administrasi Pemerintahan Daerah. Volume XII, Edisi 2 Desember 2020

Kemhan RI. (2014). *Doktrin Pertahanan Negara.*

Kemhan RI. (2015). *Buku Putih Pertahanan Indonesia .* Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia.

Kemhan RI. (2021). *Menhan Serahkan Dokumen Strategis Sishankamrata Abad-21 Kepada Wapres RI.* Retrieved from kemhan.go.id.

Keputusan Panglima TNI Nomor Kep/1538/XII/2019 tanggal 23 Desember 2019 tentang Petunjuk Penyelenggaraan Pendidikan Prajurit Tentara Nasional Indonesia

King, A. (2021). *Urban Warfare in the Twenty-First Century.* Cambridge: Polity Press. King, Anthony. (2021). Urban Warfare in the Twenty-First Century. Cambridge: PolityPress.

Laboratorium Pengukuran ketahanan nasional. Buku Sistem Utama Pengukuran Ketahanan Nasional dan Simulasi Kebijakan Publik Edisi Tahun 2018. Lemhannas RI Desember 2018.

Lembaga Survei Indikator. (2021). Kepercayaan Rakyat ke TNI dan Polri Kalahkan KPK. 5 Desember 2021. Url: https://katadata.co.id/desysetyowati/berita/61ac66e0a0aa9/survei-indikator kepercayaan-rakyat-ke-tni-dan-polri-kalahkan-kpk

Marihandono, D. (2008). Perubahan Peran Dan Fungsi Benteng Dalam Tata Ruang Perkotaan. *Wacana, 10*(1), 144-160.

Marshall, S. L. (1973). *Notes on urban*

warfare', *Army Material Systems Analysis Agency.* Maryland: Aberdeen Proving Ground.

Morisson. (n.d.). Retrieved from China U.S. Trade Issues. NATO. (2017). *NATO - ATP-99, URBAN TACTICS.* NATO

Parinduri, alhidayath. (2021). *tirto.id.* Retrieved from Sejarah Peristiwa Bandung Lautan Api: Penyebab, Kronologi & Tokoh.

Pelatihan, K. K. (n.d.). *Keputusan Kepala Badan Pendidikan dan Pelatihan Nomor : Kep/1016/XI/2020.* Retrieved from Bahan Pembelajaran Proxy War.

Peraturan Presiden RI Nomor 8 Tahun 2021 tentang Kebijakan Umum Pertahanan Negara Tahun 2020-2024

Peter Turchin.(2021). *Rise of the war machines: Charting the evolution of military technologies from the Neolithic to the Industrial Revolution.* Austria, jurnal *Plus One* Oktober 2021

Pokja, K. T. (2021). *Konsep Peperangan Perkotaan Indonesia .* Wokshop Perumusan Konsep Urban Warfare 2021.

Tebay, N. „Papua, the Land of Peace": The Interfaith Vision and Commitment for West Papua. *Exchange*, 36, 2007

Toft, M.D. „Religion, Terrorism, and Civil Wars. Rethinking Religion and World Affairs" in TS SHAH, A STEPAN, A. & MD TOFT, (eds.), *Rethinking Religion and World Affairs.* London: Oxford University Press, 2012

Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia No. 40 Tahun 2008 tentang Penghapusan Diskriminasi Ras dan Etnis

Wening Purbatin Palupi S. 2019. *Eksploitasi Isu Politik Identitas* *Terhadap Identitas Politik Pada Generasi Milenial Indonesia di Era 4.0.* Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities. Vol. 4, No. 2.