

## CHAPTER IV CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

### 4.1. Conclusion

This research into the Catholic Church's role in the Papua conflict reveals a sophisticated, multi-layered institutional response to one of Indonesia's most enduring humanitarian crises. By examining the historical grievances rooted in the 1969 Act of Free Choice (Pepera) and applying modern International Relations theories, this study concludes that the Church's effectiveness lies in its internal duality, a "two-track" approach that balances the necessity of state-level order with the moral urgency of grassroots justice. The findings underscore that the persistent dissent in Papua is not merely a contemporary security issue but a direct consequence of a contested historical incorporation. The UN Archives from 1962 and the 1969 Ortiz-Sanz report provide empirical evidence of a "flawed" self-determination process, characterized by military pressure and the exclusion of dissenting voices. This history of "modern Indonesian imperialism" serves as the primary driver for the current human rights narrative, providing the moral and political justification for both the Papuan resistance and the Church's "prophetic" intervention.

Applying Hedley Bull's English School framework, this research concludes that the *Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia* (KWI) operates as a Pluralist custodian of order. Within the "anarchical society" of Indonesia, where the Church exists as a vulnerable minority, the KWI prioritizes the preservation of diplomatic channels with the "Great Power" (the State). Their

calculated restraint is a strategic choice to maintain the "Grotian" middle path, ensuring that the Church remains a recognised mediator capable of influencing the government from within the established political order.

Conversely, the local Catholic actors in Papua function as the Solidarist voice of World Society. This study identifies a significant "agency slack" within the Church's hierarchy, driven by information asymmetry. Because local clergy live among the victims of violence, their preference for "Immediate Human Security" diverges from Jakarta's preference for "Systemic Stability." By utilizing the Boomerang Pattern of Transnational Advocacy Networks (TAN), local actors bypass the "blocked" national channels to seek international leverage. Through yearly documentations like the *Memoria Passionis*, the local Church transforms local suffering into global moral pressure, successfully holding the Indonesian state accountable to universal human rights standards that transcend national sovereignty.

Ultimately, the tension between the KWI and the local Papuan Church is not a sign of institutional failure, but rather a functional synergy. The KWI provides the "diplomatic umbrella" that protects the Church's institutional presence in Indonesia, while the local actors provide the "moral evidence" that prevents the Papua issue from being forgotten. This duality allows the Catholic Church to act as a unique bridge between the state and the marginalized, proving that even within a restrictive political landscape, non-state actors can civilize anarchy by persistent adherence to the "Standard of Civilization" and the defence of human dignity.

## **4.2. Suggestion**

A major possibility of further exploration exists based on this research, especially on the aspect of delving further into the mechanism of TAN employed by the various Catholic lay organisations, and how it is implemented in the digital and globalised environment. The other could be regarding the ecumenical solidarism between KWI, PGI, and DGP how these three different fora of churches while divided in their interpretation and belief in Christianity, stands together as a united front when advocating regarding Papua. My suggestions would be as follows:

### **4.2.1. Implementation of TAN and Their Methods in Digital Age**

To explore the future mechanisms of Transnational Advocacy Networks (TAN) in Papua, researchers should investigate the shifting "micro-pathways" of information, particularly the transition from traditional global lobbying to "Regional and Digital Solidarism." A key area of study would be the "Horizontal Boomerang," where local Catholic actors bypass Jakarta by forming strategic alliances with the Bishops' Conferences of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. This Melanesian pathway represents a departure from the classic "South-to-North" advocacy model, as it leverages shared ethnic and cultural identities to pressure the Indonesian government through regional forums like the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF). Future research could map these clerical and lay relationships to see if "Regional Solidarism" offers a more resilient and culturally potent mechanism for advocacy than traditional appeals to Western-centric international organisations.

Furthermore, researchers should analyse the "Politics of Proof" within the digital-clerical relationship, focusing on how local actors maintain "Information Integrity" in an era of digital surveillance and state-led misinformation. As the Indonesian state increasingly employs digital authoritarian tactics, such as internet throttling, the mechanism of the TAN may revert to "Stealth Advocacy" utilising the Church's unique, centuries-old physical infrastructure to move information before it is digitised in safer jurisdictions. By examining the link between grassroots Catholic laypeople and global media hubs, scholars can determine how the Church provides a "digital sanctuary" that preserves the credibility of *Memoria Passionis* reports. This research would provide a more granular understanding of how the "Agent" (the local church) ensures that its documentation remains an undeniable "Standard of Civilization" that the "Principal" (the state) cannot easily delegitimise.

#### **4.2.2. Ecumenical Solidarism as a Unique Front**

Expanding the scope to include Ecumenical Solidarism would allow for a more robust application of the English School's concept of "World Society." While this research has been entirely focused on the role of the Catholic Church. The Papua conflict is increasingly met with a unified front from the Papuan Council of Churches, which bridges Catholic and Protestant denominations.

Future research could investigate how this inter-denominational unity shifts the bargaining power of religious actors. When a "Pluralist" state deals

with a single minority (Catholics), it can utilise a "divide and rule" strategy; however, when faced with an "Ecumenical Solidarist" front, the state must contend with a majority religious voice in Papua. This research would explore whether ecumenical cooperation creates a "Super-Agent" that is much harder for the national "Principal" (the KWI or the PGI) to restrain, effectively magnifying the Solidarist demand for justice on the international stage.