Research Article

Sporting Event as Strategy of Soft Diplomacy: Case Study 20th National Games (PON XX) Papua, Indonesia

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Abstract

Indonesia National Sports Games (PON XX) has been successfully held far away from the capital city Jakarta. Located in Papua, PON 20th became the first national sports event hosted in the far east of Indonesia's province. The agenda is more than just a quadrennial sporting event for the Indonesian Government. The event has become an instrument strategy of soft diplomacy that aimed to deal with domestic and international issues in Papua. This research aimed to discuss the relations between The National Sports Week (PON) XX in Papua and the sports diplomacy for the Indonesian Government to understand development agendas in eastern Indonesia better. The author uses a qualitative study case method to discover how far the sports event can contribute positively towards domestic and international issues of the country. The data source will be gathered from secondary resources, including journals, articles, news, and documents for analysis purposes. The author argues that the National Sports Event (PON) Papua 20th has positively impacted the **Keywords:** national image, sports event, soft diplomacy, development, Papua

I. Introduction

In 1948, the first Indonesian national games were held in Surakarta under President Soekarno's regime. After the independence declarations, Indonesia's sovereignty was still in doubt. Consequently, the Indonesian sports team could not attend the London Olympics in 1948. The other reason why the Indonesian sports team was rejected is that the national sports association (PORI), which was formed in 1946, has not been yet become a member of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) (Hadi, 2021). Even though the first Indonesia national games (PON) was held amid the upheaval of the independence struggle, the event has been successfully held with more than forty thousand spectators from the Surakarta regency.

Under President Soekarno, the Indonesian National Games was more than just a sports event. The Indonesian government realized that organizing the national games brings international and domestic awareness, which can be managed as public diplomacy. Nygard (2013) explained that hosting a sports event can be used as a policy instrument for either domestic or foreign policy. It can be exclusively used as a foreign policy instrument; it may also address domestic issues. Indeed, sports politics need to be conciliatory as the fundamental values of sports are fair play, antiracism, and respect. Sports diplomacy has been used as a form of soft diplomacy. The

Indonesian national effort to develop eastern Indonesia.

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concept of soft diplomacy was initially contained in Nye's book, Bound to lead (Nye Jr. (1990), pp. 25–48, 188–202) to enlighten US policy-makers to understand the role and limitation of post-cold war hegemony. The concept of soft diplomacy can be defined as a power of persuasion in a non-coercive manner to convince another actor.

Last year, The Indonesian government successfully held the 20th National Games (PON XX) 2021 in Papua. This four-year national sports event was delayed a year before due to the Covid-19 pandemic. President Joko Widodo opened the event in Lucas Enembe Stadium to welcome athletes from 34 provinces in Indonesia. As reported, 7039 athletes participated, separated into 37 sports categories, and competed for 681 golds medals, 681 silver medals, and 871 bronze medals (Setpres, 2021). The 20th PON was then followed by the national Paralympic games on November 2-15, held in Papua. For the next National Games (2024), Aceh and North Sumatera will take up the baton as host and cohost.

In this article, we purpose that through organizing national sports events (PON XX), especially in Papua, the government of Indonesia has been employed sport as the instrument of soft diplomacy. Sports addresses international diplomacy domestic issues as follows. The international issue, the government of Indonesia frequently being accused by the international actors which poorly pay attention to development of eastern Indonesia. Moreover, Papua as a domestic issue revolves around human rights violations, under-development, discrimination, racism, and separatism movement (Perkasa, 2021; Singh, 2019). In this article, we develop the concept of soft power beyond policy instruments employed by the government to address international perception towards development in Papua. Furthermore, the article expands the role of sports politics to encourage domestic peacebuilding and nation-building.

II. Method

This research employed the qualitative method as it utilized a theoretical framework to gather and analyze data. Bryman (2004) explained that the qualitative descriptive analysis focuses on the quality of the analysis regarding theory or concept as the starting guide. Moreover, the study also uses case study analysis to obtain a specific picture of the field's complexity (De Vaus & de Vaus, 2001).

The data collection technique of this study is based on two steps; first, academic publications focusing on the utilization of sport as soft diplomacy were screened. Second, any relevant online media archives, both international and domestic, were collected and analyzed. The limitation of this research is the short supply of relevant academic literature discussed in the latest PON XX. Therefore, the paper represents an attempt to understand the strategy of the Indonesian government to employ sport as an instrument for soft diplomacy to address international and domestic issues.

To improve internal validity, Bryman (2004) explained employing triangulation during the process of data collection. The triangulation allowed the author to validate the data from various sources. Furthermore, the triangulation results were analyzed using qualitative descriptive analysis to explore the strategy of the Indonesian government employing sports diplomacy as an instrument to address the international and domestic issues in Papua.

III. Theoretical Framework

a. Soft Power Diplomacy

International politics are centered upon the concept of power (Barnett & Duvall, 2005). Nye (2004) explained that In international politics, Power is the capacity to influence people, to generate outcomes, and it involves connections. He explained that power can be distinguished into hard power and soft power. Hard and soft power interchangeable since they both refer to the capacity to influence the conduct of others to accomplish one's goals. They differ in degree, both in terms of the character of their conduct and the tangibility of its resources. The capacity to influence what others do might be based on force or persuasion.

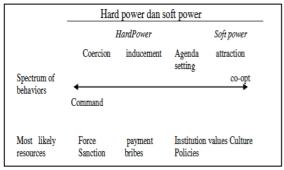


Fig. 1. Hard Power and Soft Power **Source**: Nye (2004)

Nye (2004) believes that soft power is founded on a set of universal principles. He explained that soft power is the ability to influence people to desire the same results as we want, which includes knowing how others perceive our message and fine-tuning them appropriately. Persuasion is a tool of power that significantly alters view. Nye (2011) identified three fundamental factors greatly influence a nation's soft power: its culture, its political ideals (when it upholds them both at domestic and international), and its foreign policy (when others see them as legitimate and having moral authority). He believes that the target's perspective is crucial when employing

soft power, furthermore the targets as vital as the agents. The art of persuasion and attraction are the instruments to conduct social constructs. Soft power is a dance which requires partners (Nye, 2011)

The capacity to influence others by constructive methods such as defining the agenda, persuading, and inspiring positive attraction in order to achieve desired objectives is known as soft power (Nye, 2011). Co-optive power the capacity can be based on the attractiveness of one's culture and beliefs or on the ability to manage the agenda of political choices in such a way that others refrain from expressing certain desires due to their perceived unrealistic nature (Nye, 2004). Nye (2004) defined hard power in international relations as military and economic capabilities, as they are the primary weapons capable of posing threats or providing incentives. He recommends that, rather than relying solely on military force or economic penalties to draw players and affect agendas, other types of power should be used in international politics to attract players and influence agendas (Nye, 2004).

In diplomacy, and indeed politics in general, evokes images of logical negotiating with a give-and-take procedure. Diplomacy and the ability to attract and persuade others are gaining importance, yet public diplomacy is undergoing significant transformations (Nye, 2019). The method utilized is essentially strategic in the sense that any actions one performs considers the actions of others. Eventually, the decisions are oriented toward outcomes decided by the parties involved in the collaborations. However, certain parts of diplomacy and politics do not require an ongoing process of strategic give-and-take. They are influenced by societal standards or opinions of what is positive or negative. Persuasion processes are described by a

mechanism such as image-building, creating a platform for discourse and trust-building, reconciliation, and integration (Nygård & Gates, 2013).

b. Sport Diplomacy

For such a long time, Sport, society, and politics have a long-standing and fascinating relationship (Murray, 2013). However, the theoretical underpinnings of the interaction between sports and diplomacy have not been adequately studied and explicated. It is found in the present research that in order to elucidate the link between the two ideas, they are seen as case-specific studies (Murray & Pigman, 2014). Sports diplomacy, as a subfield of diplomacy, falls under the umbrella of public diplomacy. Sports diplomacy is one of a country's most respectable, fair, and powerful diplomatic weapons (Kurt, 2014 cited in ÖZSARI, 2018). Sports diplomacy serves four fundamental purposes. These include promoting peace, gathering nations together, offering a platform for interaction, fostering understanding and confidence, and developing it via the use of a number of sports diplomacy methods (Nygård & Gates, 2013). Furthermore Trunkos (2017) also explained that sports in diplomacy could provide an unofficial meeting place as well as a reason for world leaders to get together and start talking to one another. Bridging the cultural and linguistic gaps between nations while also the benefits of diplomacy through sports.

Sports diplomacy, as a subset of public diplomacy activities, is both a representation of soft power and a tool for international engagement. Organizations on a global scale, national brands, media, and technology (ÖZSARI, 2018). In recent days, hosting a sport event is more than just a sport agenda. This should cover the perception of sporting

achievement in as much depth as is necessary, but they should also handle other conceivable dimensions of international prestige such as political, economic, or cultural issues (Haut et al., 2017).

V.Cha (Cha, 2009) explained that sport generates not just physical but also political change within a nation. This shift could be evaluated in terms of domestic or international policy. States that host major sporting events such as the Olympics undergo a tremendous renovation in which entire towns are completely rebuilt and retrofitted with new infrastructure to satisfy the current and userfriendly criteria of the globalized traveler. As FIFA World Cup successfully held in South Africa, it's an important foreign policy tools and have greatly benefited South Africa and encourage rising source of soft power the African Continent in the International System (E Castro, 2013). In 2022, the government of Indonesia successfully hosted world class Moto GP and Formula E in Lombok and Jakarta.

According to the government, hosting two major sporting events will improve Indonesia's economy and prestige. These two cities will benefit from economic stimulation and multiplier effects, as well as a positive global reputation for country branding. The government believes that by utilizing sport diplomacy, it can increase tourism and attract new investors to Indonesia (Hantoro, 2021). Papua in preparation for National Sport Games 20th (PON XX) Construction of state-of-the-art airport terminals, as well as a national campaign to renovate restroom facilities and a stadium venue, all underwent rapid physical modifications. When Papua hosts a national sporting event, the region undergoes a dramatic and rapid physical shift.

c. Human Security

Human security is a multidimensional concept that emphasizes the protection and well-being of individuals by focusing on their safety, freedom, and dignity. It goes beyond traditional notions of state security and recognizes that threats to human security can arise from various sources, including poverty, disease, environmental degradation, and political instability. This theoretical framework aims to analyze the key dimensions of human security and the factors that contribute to its attainment.

One crucial dimension of human security is economic security. Poverty and inequality can undermine economic individuals' well-being and expose them to various risks, including food insecurity, lack of access to healthcare, and limited educational opportunities. Economic policies that promote inclusive growth, income redistribution, and social safety nets are essential for enhancing economic security (Sen, 1999). Additionally, addressing structural factors that perpetuate poverty, such as unequal distribution of resources and limited job opportunities, is crucial for ensuring long-term economic security (Stewart, 2010). Through the national sports agenda, there is a direct and indirect impact on improving the economy of the people in Papua. The infrastructure built also has an economic impact even after the event agenda is over. This is expected to be a driving force for the economy of the community, especially the Papuan people.

Political and social security is also a key dimension of human security. Individuals' safety and freedom are directly influenced by the quality of governance, respect for human rights, and the presence of effective institutions that uphold the rule of law. Promoting democratic governance, ensuring

civic participation, and protecting human rights are crucial for enhancing political security (Paris, 2001). Additionally, addressing conflicts, reducing violence, and promoting peaceful resolution mechanisms are essential for fostering a secure political environment (United Nations, 2004). Politically, the Indonesian government tries to show that with the national sports agenda, it shows good political stability in the Papua region. The Central and local governments work hand in hand in encouraging the realization of infrastructure, social and economic development that can be directly felt by the Papuan people. pride as a host is also a positive impact of the XX PON which then creates a sense of confidence for the community that they are not left behind from other provinces.

Through this national sports event, the government of Indonesia shows the effort to assure that the national development is not centralized only in the western part but also in the eastern part of Indonesia. The government assure through this event, is not only about sports event per se, but it is more about national binding and integration. People to people approach is deployed to conduct more constructive voices from the people in Papua. In summary, human security encompasses economic, political, and social dimensions that are interconnected and mutually reinforcing. Achieving human security requires addressing structural factors, promoting inclusive policies, and ensuring the provision of basic needs and rights. By adopting a comprehensive approach that addresses the multidimensional nature of human security, societies can strive towards creating a safer, more equitable, and sustainable world for all individuals.

IV. Discussion

The author focuses on mechanisms through which the Indonesian government-

employed sports diplomacy by hosting national games PON XX in Papua constitutes an instrument of soft power. The first mechanism is International Image-building by constructing infrastructure in Papua would brush off the allegation that the government has left Papua behind in development. Second, sports diplomacy can be a platform for dialogue between the government and the local people. Third, hosting PON XX in Papua would build trust among stakeholders involved in this event, such as central government, local government, local communities, individuals. Fourth, from the economic perspective, PON XX has positively contributed to boost economic sectors in Papua like construction, transportation, and hospitality. The national sprots event provides a fast-track economic development towards government and people in Papua. The finally, as sport used as an instrument of soft diplomacy, the government hopes that it can be a catalyst for achieving reconciliation and integration to the separatist group in Papua to rejoin with NKRI (Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia).



Fig. 2. Sporting Event as the strategy of soft diplomacy

Source: Modeled by authors

a. Image building

The government of Indonesia has always been stereotyped of being a negligent actor in the development in the eastern region and the allegations of human rights violations in Papua (Perkasa, 2021; Singh, 2019). These

have concerned the Indonesian government in international forums. As the issue of separatism emerged in Papua, some of the Pacific Ocean countries are always vocal supporting the Papua separatism movement (Sabir, 2018). The Indonesian government has been realized the action of the Pacific Ocean countries will threaten the sovereignty and integration of the nation, thus they undertake some actions as public diplomacy to dampen the international pressure. Some of the aid approaches by utilizing instruments of economic cooperation, technology, training, scholarships, development, agriculture, and livestock still have not shifted their stance to support Indonesian sovereignty international forums (Sabir, 2018). Thus, conducting national sport events in Papua is one of the soft diplomacies to create image building in international arenas.

This image building owned by the country is one of the effective tools in delivering a clear message to the target audience through sports diplomacy. Sport provides a potent prism through which national identity is refracted. It influences a nation's self-perception and the image it wishes to project to the rest of the world. The desire to host and do well in large events is inextricably linked to a nation's sense of selfand the pride of its citizens. Participation and performance in global sport are also tied to a nation's international prestige and the message the government want to convey to the world about the nation (Cha, 2009). Gok (2018) said that the reputation and the image of the national brands owned by the country also affect the reputation and the image of the country. In short, the national image contributes to the country's international recognition, reputation, and brands. The Indonesian government has shown that by conducting national sports games in Papua, the development of

infrastructure and human capital become a national priority. The Indonesian government, led by President Joko Widodo, has targeted the region with a 'prosperity-based strategy' to infrastructure and development. Jokowi has also made a determined diplomatic effort throughout his administration, visiting Papua at least 13 times. Joko Widodo has attempted to demonstrate his broader commitment to encouraging development and the welfare of people in rural regions, where most of Indonesia's population still resides, through the development of Papua (Ruhyanto, 2021).

Conducting national sports games in Papua echoes signals to the world that the government of Indonesia put full attention on the development of Papua. The government uses sports events as the moment to encourage developing infrastructure and human capital in Papua in a very short period. As the international exposure instantly puts their highlight on the event in Papua, they can see how the government has been preparing Papua to host national sports games (PON XX). It is a quintessential example of the use of soft power diplomacy. Indonesian Coordinating Minister of Human Development and Culture, Muhajir Effendy said as PON XX is organized by the international standard, the event not only received appreciation from the president but also the international community. In further, he emphasized that it shows the unity of Indonesia in the eyes of the international society (Febrianto, 2021).

b. Trust building

Moving even more specifically, employing sports as an instrument of soft diplomacy will encourage trust-building amidst central and local government, and the local people in Papua. For more than 50 years, Papua has been in perpetual conflict, particularly since the area was incorporated

into Indonesia in 1969 (Singh, 2019). Various issues about the existence of separatist movements in Papua are closely related to the lack of trust between local communities and the central government. The local communities feel that the central government has exploited the natural resources that exist in Papua without contributing back to infrastructure and human development in the region (Anderson, 2015; Singh, 2019).

The events provide a platform between government and the people to meet and discuss social issues. Ostrom (1998) explained that Face-to-face communication promotes cooperation in social situations and demonstrates how structural elements facilitate or impede effective collective action. Exchanging mutual commitment, enhancing trust, establishing, and reinforcing standards, and forging a collective identity appear to be the most crucial processes that contribute to effective communication. PON XX Papua is the form of central government efforts to build local community trust in the government.

In international arenas, Indonesia has shown that the government never let any region within the sovereignty left behind. Sporting events have been deployed by the government as the soft diplomacy to gain trust in international arenas like United Nations. The government of Indonesia keep maintaining the development of Papua region not only through material aspect like infrastructure but also the immaterial aspect such human as development. From the political side, the PON event is certainly expected to restore the trust and faith of the Papuan people in the national government.

Furthermore, the implementation of PON XX could also strengthen the sense of nationalism among the Papuans (Adityawarman, 2021). PON also provides the

opportunity for individuals from outside Papua — athletes, officials, and fans — to explore Papua and its unique traditions. Additionally, the event allowed visitors to connect with indigenous Papuans, have a better understanding of their personalities, and thereby dispel the grim narrative and pictures about Papua.

In this sense, the central government employed a "People to people" approach to constructing trust with the local Papuan people. The P-to-P approach is connected to several social mechanisms and systems employed to foster trust between people. Trust-building will encourage people to the next stage, which is known as nationalism. The purpose of the P-to-P method is to avoid propaganda from the separatist movement. The government of Indonesia's approach is to conduct mutual trust and faith between the government and the local people (Setiawan, 2021).

c. The Economic Development

The economic impact as PON XX has been held in Papua contribute to positive value. PON benefited the local economy economically (Perkasa, 2021). The holding of PON on October 2-15, 2021, involves more than 20 thousand people consisting of athletes, committees, and security officers. This will certainly move the economic wheels of the community around the area where the event is held, especially in four districts, namely mimika district, merauke district, jayapura district and jayapura city. The government claims that the PON agenda brought an increase in Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRDP) increasing by 0.7-1.10% or by 1,222.84 million rupiah. the sector that experienced an increase in production was the construction sector with a total increase of up to 851.88 billion rupiah or around 5%. Moreover, the sector like hospitality was upsurge from IDR 3,68 to 12,78 million. This graph shows how significantly the national sports event PON XX impacted the economic aspect of Papua province (BPS, 2023). The government believe that the impact of economic booster as PON XX held in Papua would not only endure during this agenda but will also continue to increase even after this agenda is over because the infrastructure built will be used for athlete quality improvement programs and other events.



Fig. 3. Papua Gross Domestic Regional Bruto (GDRP) in 2020-2022

Source: BPS RI (2023)

d. Building Platform to Dialogue

In General, Sporting events, from the World Cup and Olympic Games to a simple friendly match, help to establish links between nations and people and provide a forum for peaceful cultural exchange, which can serve as a springboard for further normalization of political relations (Nygård & Gates, 2013). eliminates distinctions, expands avenues of communication, and brings diverse groups of people together (Murray & Pigman, 2014). This approach is referred to as "creating" a discussion platform." At this juncture, it's worth noting that organizing a sporting event might entail two distinct (but connected) methods. The core concept underlying the use of sport as a communication platform is separate from image-building. On the one hand, image building is the effort of the

country to show the world the identity of the nation, while the other hand, features the effort to bridge the communication between the government and the local people.

Today's public diplomacy is increasingly oriented on listening to 'the other,' on dialogue rather than monologue, and on long-term relationship-building as well as short-term policy aims (Melissen, 2011). The Indonesian government recognized that hosting the national games (PON XX) in Papua requires more than merely quadrennial sporting competitions. The event's ultimate goals are to accelerate infrastructural development, economic growth, and to provide wealth to the local people. Additionally, the event might serve as an excellent opportunity to foster communication between the central government, local governments, and the local people. As the Indonesian government revolved around the issue of human rights violation (Singh, 2019), Commission for Missing Persons and Victims of Violence (Kontras) researcher Rozy Brilian said that the national games did not automatically dismiss "systematic problems" in Papua and West Papua. However, it might be a starting point to change its development approach by opening the room for dialogues with the Papuan communities using a human rightscentered approach (Lai, 2021).

It is widely understood that sports may be utilized to open doors of opportunity and encourage any type of discussion in the public diplomacy (Sombosombo, 2012). Gok (2018) explained that sports diplomacy is used to bridge language and culture divides and to bring people together via the common passion of sports. It is generally accepted that sports can be used to unlock the doors of opportunity in public diplomacy and promote any dialogue (Sombosombo, 2012). Sports diplomacy is used to overcome linguistic and sociocultural

differences with the universal passion of sports and to bring people together (Gök, 2018). There are many sensitive issues related to Papua as a part of Indonesia's sovereign territory. However, the effort of the Indonesian government to bring development and platform to dialogue to the Papuan land through sports events should be appreciated.

Head of Indonesian Christian Student Movement (GMKI) Jefri Gultom (2021) said, in the momentum of PON XX, the message of dialogue must take precedence as a civilized nation. The essence of human values must go along with the steps of sportsmen through sportsmanship. Diversity in dialogue must be a binder in unity. Through sports, cooperation and collaboration between elders, educators, local and central governments, and public support strengthening the commitment to create a civilized socio-cultural institution. He mentioned that from this point, sports besides as the symbol of pride is also a symbol of the identity of the diverse nations.

e. Reconciliation and Integration

The fourth instrument employed of sports diplomacy is reconciliation, integration, and anti-racism. The turmoil in Papua has been taking place for decades. The government's approach towards the issues should adopt a different strategy and instruments. The missing puzzle between the government and the Papuans people should be completed by conducting the reconciliation between two actors. The Indonesian government has been shown its commitment and trust towards Papua to become national sports games host which makes Papua is no more left behind. As the Indonesian Institute of Science (LIPI) established the blueprints for Papua in 2008, recommends four actions that government might consider as a policy road map: first, recognition of Papuans as the traditional

owners of the land. Second, a new perspective of development focuses on human development in Papua. Third, cross dialogue between involved actors regarding the history of the Papuans to reach an agreement. fourth is the key to rebuilding the sense of trust through reconciliation of the victims of the past violations (Anderson, 2015).

Sports diplomacy which manifested into PON XX in Papua is the right moment to reforge the relationship between Papuan's people the government of Indonesia. Utilizing sports to transcend the cultural and language gaps between cultures. There is an additional unique characteristic of sporting activities. Due to the fact that the majority of spectators already understand the regulations, sporting events bridge cultural and linguistic gaps between the host nation and the spectators (Trunkos & Heere, 2017). Despite many critics who been said that PON XX does not necessarily take the problems out of Papua, PON XX in Papua succeeded in creating a melting pot for integration and interaction of diverse people, including between indigenous Papuans and the migrant population in Papua.

Sporting events could be used to eradicate the divisions, stigmatization, and injustices with the aim of fostering unity and promoting national consciousness about Indonesia and a commitment to developing the country. It is time for us to recognize and trust Papua's capacity. For the indigenous Papuans, it is a moment to achieve selfconfidence, self-esteem, and a belief in their ability to progress (Perkasa, 2021). There are found in the range to utilize the linking effect of sporting events, and they can also be employed for diplomatic goals on a much smaller scale. As well as individual athletes, sports teams can be utilized to educate people about countries and develop cross-cultural understanding (Trunkos & Heere, 2017). All this falls within the framework of reconciliation and integration between the people and the government.

VI. Conclusion

In this article, we discussed that the Indonesian government held National Sports Games (PON XX) in Papua as a strategy of soft diplomacy through sports events to deal with domestic and international issues. Discussion The author focuses on four mechanisms through which the Indonesian governmentemployed sports diplomacy by hosting national games PON XX in Papua constitutes an instrument of soft power. As the international exposure instantly puts their highlight on the event in Papua, they can see how the government has been preparing Papua to host national sports games (PON XX). Domestically, the government used national sports games as a platform for dialogue between central and local governments with the local people in Papua. PON XX Papua is a central government initiative aimed at fostering local community trust in the government. In this regard, the central government took a "people-to-people" strategy to establish trust with the indigenous Papuans.

The government's approach to these concerns should be distinct in terms of strategy and tools. The missing piece of the puzzle between the government and the Papuans should be finished by reconciling the two players. Sports diplomacy, as expressed in PON XX in Papua, is the ideal time to restructure the connection between the Papuan people and the Indonesian government. Sporting events might be utilized to erase divides, stigma, and with the goal of creating injustices togetherness and instilling a sense of national pride and devotion to the country's development. For indigenous Papuans, this is an opportunity to build self-esteem, self-

confidence, and a belief in their abilities to advance (Perkasa, 2021). For a lengthy period, the administration has utilized a variety of diplomatic strategies to deal with foreign and local pressure on Papua. Via sports diplomacy, the policy is carried out smoothly and successfully, achieving the diplomatic objective of encouraging Papua not just through physical development, but also through human capital development.

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