

Analysis Of United States' Foreign Policy Towards Indonesia: From Freedom To Freeport In West Papua

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Abstract – West Papua officially is a province of Indonesia since 1969. Due to the politics conducted by the Indonesian Central Governments since the integration of the western half of New Guinea, resistance emerged against the Indonesian state. The objective of this research is to find out and analyze the foreign policy that has been carried out by the US to Indonesia, especially regarding West Papua. Behind those foreign policies, there must be an interest from US that have to be achieved. Therefore, this research was also conducted to analyze what interests might be behind the foreign policy. The purpose of this study was to analysis of United States' Foreign Policy Towards Indonesia: From Freedom to Freeport in West Papua. The writing method used is qualitative, where in this analysis, the writer does not make calculations. The type of research used by the research is descriptive explanative research. America has strong reasons to interfere with the status of West Irian strengthen its hegemony. America also has more lucrative ambitions in this matter, namely the alleged enormous gold and precious minerals in Papua.

Keywords – United States, West Papua, Foreign Policy, USAID, Freeport

I. INTRODUCTION

West Papua officially is a province of Indonesia since 1969. Due to the politics conducted by the Indonesian Central Governments since the integration of the western half of New Guinea, resistance emerged against the Indonesian state. Ever since the 1960s there has been the demand for independence from the unitary state of Indonesia. In the beginning this resistance was voiced by the use of violence but changed into a non-violent opposition movement since the fall of the Indonesian Autocrat Soeharten 1998.

The conflict surrounding West Papua is a domestic separatist conflict with a strong reciprocal relation to the international community, especially the US and Australia. The international context is dominated by security interests which determine the way the conflict is treated by the international community. The attitudes and politics of the international community thus are considered as determined by a real political concept of international relations, which is counterbalanced, though, by the issue of the protection of human rights which is part of the normative basis of the international actors included in this analysis.

In addition, it is an asymmetric conflict, with the Indonesian state as the actor with more resources to use in favor of its cause. Furthermore, issues such as territorial integrity, sovereignty of states and human rights are involved. These issues entail the question about the options of third-party involvement or intervention. The West Papua conflict can be regarded as an example of

that kind of conflict that is increasingly replacing the traditional interstate wars.

Refers to the book written by Neles Tebay, “West Papua: The Struggle for Peace with Justice”, threats in West Papua are human rights violations, denial of Papua culture, poverty, influx of Indonesian migrants. As the conflict in West Papua is highly complex, several issues are intertwined and the underlying causes are difficult to identify as every party involved and nearly every scientist working on the conflict has his/her own interpretation. An important factor for the conflict in West Papua is the legal system of Indonesia and the influence of international law on conflict resolution, especially in terms such as prosecution of crimes against humanity and the legal status of West Papua concerning the Act of Free Choice.

It was the height of the cold war period, and the United States had strategic interests in supporting Indonesia's claim to the territory of western New Guinea. The US consequently proposed an agreement that was signed by Indonesia and the Netherlands on 15 August 1962. The New York Agreement contained guiding principles for an act of self-determination to settle the status of the territory - the so-called Act of Free Choice.

Before we discuss about the case and the policy any further, we need to recognize the actor fist. By knowing the actors, we could be comprehensively understanding why the policy is made. From the figure below, we can conclude that US is role as a engage international actors. Because US is not directly affected by the case, but US has an interest, in the name of promoting peace, help another country to solve a problem.

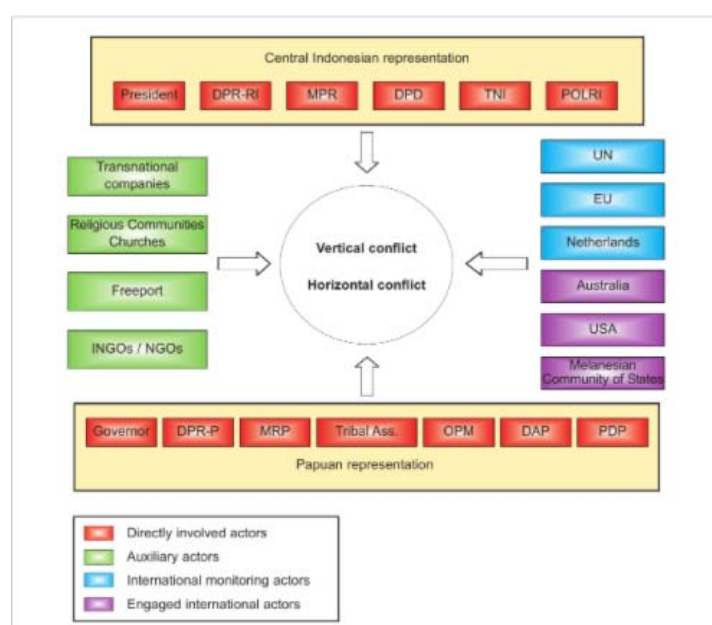


Figure 1. The Actors

The objective of this research is to find out and analyze the foreign policy that has been carried out by the US to Indonesia, especially regarding West Papua. Behind those foreign policies, there must be an interest from US that have to be achieved. Therefore, this research was also conducted to analyze what interests might be behind the foreign policy. The policy that will be describe in two different specializations. The first one is US foreign policy in the first time, as the neutral mediator actor outside Asia Pacific regarding the territorial dispute between Indonesia and Netherland. As soon as Indonesia took over the administration, it treated the territory as an Indonesian province. But there's a lot of conflict happen after this, like human rights violation, poverty or even separatism. Finally, the US gives USAID as an assistance, just like US foreign policy to another country.

The second foreign policy is about US regulation regarding the freeport. As we know, Freeport McMoran is one of the largest gold mining in the world. As the super power country and also the host country for Freeport, US must be have a special interest to protect and make sure the company is running well.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, the author will describe previous studies that are related, support and/or have similarities to the research topic to be studied. The access to sources in Indonesia and especially West Papua underlies restrictions made by the Central Indonesian Government, and the information obtained from first hand sources could only partially be validated. So, the data on this journal is mostly from book and another journal as literature review. For focusing this research, the topic that will be discuss is only about the foreign policy analysis from US toward Indonesia.

- 2.1. Tebay, Neles. 2005. *West Papua: The struggle for peace with justice*. Catholic Institute of International Relation Comment. London: CIIR.

This book generally discusses about the case in West Papua in general, from the root causes until the progress of the conflict. This book also gives me a clear explanation about the threats and conflicts that are occurred in West Papua.

In this Comment, Neles Tebay, a Papuan priest and journalist, argues that Papuans are now facing a real threat to their survival. He outlines the past and present injustices suffered by indigenous Papuans, and describes the peace-building work that offers the only real hope for the Papuan people that they will not forever have to live as outsiders in their own land.

But this book doesn't mention US Foreign Policy clearly, because this book is generally discussed about the conflict and how to find the causes, not the actor's interest as particular. So that the writer interested in writing research about US Foreign Policy towards Indonesia regarding West Papua.

- 2.2. Heidbuchel, Esther. 2007. *The West Papua Conflict in Indonesia: Actors, Issues and Approaches*. Wettenberg: Johannes Herrmann Verlag.

It is comprehensively discussing about the condition of West Papua starting from the history until the book is written. This book is in line with my research because this book provides the data that I need to prove who is the actor, the issue, and the approaches regarding West Papua conflict.

On this book, Heidbuchel state that the conflict surrounding West Papua is a domestic separatist conflict with a strong reciprocal relation to the international community, especially the US and Australia. The international context is dominated by security interests which determine the way the conflict is treated by the international community. The attitudes and politics of the international community thus are considered as determined by a real political concept of international relations, which is counterbalanced, though, by the issue of the protection of human rights which is part of the normative basis of the international actors included in this analysis.

This book is also in line with this research, this book is not only discussing the issue in West Papua in general but in also about the foreign actors and how to solve the conflict. This book contains a lot of data that this research needed. But unfortunately, this book doesn't contain the specific US Foreign Policy. So this research still interesting to be read.

III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research uses qualitative research method. Qualitative research is research that intends to understand the phenomenon of what is experienced by the research subject, for example behavior, perception, motivation, action, etc. holistically and described in the form of words and language, in a special context that is natural and utilizes various natural methods.

The type of research used by the researcher is descriptive explanative research. Descriptive research is research designed to describe the research subject in an accurate way. More simply, descriptive research is all about the description of the subject being studied in the study. According to Wardiyanta, this type of descriptive research is research that aims to make a description of a social/natural phenomenon in a systematic way factual. and accurate.

In addition, this research requires a variety of focused data collection techniques that involve an interpretive and reasonable approach to each subject matter. According to Denam and Lincoln (1994) in Arifin's book explain that the collection and use of various empirical data through case studies, personal interactional experiences from visuals that describe routine and problematic moments, and their meaning in individual and collective life, requires research. qualitative.

IV. ANALYSIS

4.1 The Involvement of U.S at the First Glance: Promoting Freedom

As soon as Indonesia took over the administration, it treated the territory as an Indonesian province. It deployed thousands of military personnel, established nine regencies, set up governmental offices, and applied Indonesian laws and regulations. It dismissed immediately the West Papua Parliament that had been elected in 1961. In its place an Indonesian-appointed regional assembly, which included none of the elected Papuan parliament members, was established.

Despite the guarantee in the New York Agreement to freedom of speech, movement and assembly, the Indonesian government deliberately prohibited Papuans from undertaking any political activity. Presidential decree number 11/1963, designed by the Indonesian government to crack down on subversion, was also applied. Any Papuan political or cultural activity was considered to represent the Papuan aspiration for independence and therefore to be subversive.

Organized Papuan resistance to the Indonesian occupation began in 1965 with the establishment of the Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM - the Free Papua Movement). The primary objective was to end the Indonesian occupation and then to establish a democratic state of West Papua. The OPM was poorly organised and, armed mainly with the traditional bow and arrow, was no match for the Indonesian military. However, although few Papuans joined the OPM in the jungle, its political ideology was- and continues to be widely supported by a majority of Papuans.

The Indonesian government sought to suppress Papuan resistance through military operations such as Operasi Sadar (Operation Consciousness) in 1965 and Operasi Brathayudha in 1967. In early 1969, some months before the Act of Free Choice (AFC) was scheduled to take place, a third military operation called Operasi Wibawa (Operation Authority) was conducted. This aimed to eradicate the Papuan resistance, tighten security, and consolidate Indonesian administrative authority throughout the territory. As the AFC drew closer, more Papuans were killed, intimidated and terrorised by the Indonesian military. The journalist Brian May wrote: 'Indonesian troops and officials were waging a widespread campaign of intimidation to force the Act of Free Choice in favour of the Republic.'

Throughout this process, Indonesia received the tacit support of the United States. In 1968, the US ambassador in Jakarta (the capital of Indonesia) reported that 85 to 90 per cent of Papuans supported independence, and that Indonesian military operations, which had already killed thousands of civilians, had stimulated fears and rumours of intended genocide among the Papuans. However, the US embassy also took the view that the loss of West Papua through the AFC would undermine and unseat Indonesian president Suharto's government. The US was keen to support Suharto because of his strong anti-communist stance. The embassy reported that a free and direct vote for the 'stone age' Papuans was, in any case, unrealistic. Washington was reminded to educate Ortiz Sanz, the head of the UN observer delegation for the AFC, about 'political realities' before he left New York for western New Guinea.

On 2010, United States Department of State released a testimony article by Joseph Yun, as the Deputy Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Statement Before the House Foreign Affairs Committee Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific and the Global Environment Washington, DC. On the article, US clearly define their foreign policy towards Indonesia regarding conflict in West Papua. US state that they have consistently encouraged the Indonesian government to work with the indigenous Papuan population to address their grievances, resolve conflicts peacefully, and support development and good governance in the Papuan provinces.

The Administration believes the full implementation of the 2001 Special Autonomy Law for Papua, which emerged as part of Indonesia's democratic transition, would help resolve long-standing grievances. We continue to encourage the Indonesian government to work with Papuan authorities to discuss ways to empower Papuans and further implement the Special Autonomy provisions, which grant greater authority to Papuans to administer their own affairs.

The article mentions and describe the threat that become a concerned by US in West Papua, which are human rights, demographic shifts, economic development, and strongly encourage Indonesia to implement the special autonomy law to West Papua. This article also mentions the assistance from US during the conflict. The United States is working in partnership with the government of Indonesia and the provincial governments of Papua and West Papua to find ways to address the key developmental challenges of Papua, including increasing good governance, access to quality healthcare and education, and protecting the environment. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) implements programs in Papua to foster

improvements in these sectors with activities that total \$11.6 million, or 7 percent of USAID's budget for Indonesia for fiscal year 2010.

In addition to USAID programs, the Department of State also brings Papuans to the United States for thematic engagement on issues such as resource distribution. Our Fulbright programs have had over 22 grantees from Papua. We also partner with the private sector to leverage resources. For example, in a public-private partnership, the Fulbright-Freeport Scholarship Program has funded 18 individuals from Papua for study in the United States.

Embassy Jakarta maintains a vigorous schedule of engagement with Papua and West Papua. U.S. Mission officers routinely travel to the provinces. Ambassador Marciel, who arrived at post in mid-August, plans to travel to Papua soon after he presents his credentials to the Indonesian government. Officers maintain a wide base of contacts concerning Papua, including central and provincial government officials, human rights activists, military and police personnel, traditional and religious leaders, and NGO staff. In addition to official meetings, Embassy officers conduct regular public outreach in Papua and West Papua.

The author considers that USAID assistance in Indonesia has indeed provided an improvement in the quality of life of this nation, especially in eastern Indonesia such as Papua. However, according to the author, all of these have other purposes besides the idealistic goals brought for the Indonesian people. The other goal is to bring the interests of the United States of America so that the national interest along with the values promoted by this super power country can still be guaranteed. For example, regarding the change in the Oil and Gas Law from the Oil and Gas Law NO. 8 of 1971 to Law NO. 22 of 2001 where through this change their production and supply of oil to the US increased and this shows that there is a US national interest in Indonesia, namely to exploit oil and gas resources (Oil and Gas) in meeting US energy needs.

4.2 Contemporary Foreign Policy: Protecting Freeport

Although Indonesia's desire to hold on to West Papua is partly motivated by its self-appointed mission to 'civilize' the indigenous Papuans, the determining factor remains the wealth of natural resources that the territory puts at Indonesia's disposal. These resources are of great value to the Indonesian state, which has granted concessions to Indonesian and foreign companies - often in disregard of the customary rights of indigenous Papuans. In return the state reaps considerable dividends in the form of taxes and royalties. The financial contribution of West Papua's timber industries to Jakarta, for example, has been approximately US\$100 million a year."

The other major resource industry is mining. The Freeport copper and gold mine in West Papua has long been one of the most controversial natural resource projects in Indonesia. It is operated by Freeport Indonesia, a subsidiary of US company Freeport McMoran which signed a production contract with Indonesia in 1967, two years before the establishment of Indonesian sovereignty over Papua. Freeport McMoran has long been well connected within the US political establishment: its board members include Henry Kissinger and J Stapleton Roy, a former US ambassador to Indonesia (from 1995-1999). The desire to protect the Freeport mine continues to shape US policy towards West Papua.

Actually, this is quite confusing, when US encouraged Indonesia to immediately end the human rights violations in West Papua, the US instead as a Freeport and started the next violation which made it worse. Freeport's mining operation has been the source of decades of human rights abuse meted out by the Indonesian military and police against the Amungme and Kamoro peoples who are the traditional land owners in the upland and coastal areas, respectively, of the sprawling mining operation.

Freeport's displacement of the local population, especially the Amungme who have lived in the principal mining area for generations, has generated periodic tensions and protest among the Amungme. Freeport has long relied on the Indonesian security forces, especially the military, and within the military, the Special Forces or "Kopassus," to repress and intimidate the local people.

Generations of Papuan people have suffered extrajudicial killings, torture and incarceration without trial at the hands of the security forces, and at the behest of Freeport. U.S. military-to-military ties with the Indonesian military have functioned to enable the activities of the Indonesian military, rendering the U.S. complicit in the abuse targeting Papuan civilians. In addition to persistent human rights abuse, Freeport's mining operation has been responsible for grave damage to Papuans natural resources, damaging the ecology of the region and presenting serious long term health risks for the Papuans. For decades Freeport's mining operation has polluted the region in which it operates and beyond.

The U.S. Embassy in Jakarta for many years worked with Freeport to limit public awareness of the devastating impact its operation was inflicting on West Papua and its people. The U.S. Embassy routinely refused to assist journalists, even U.S. journalists, who sought to travel to the Freeport site. The Embassy worked with the Indonesian Government to block travel to West Papua by a U.S. citizen lawyer seeking to represent Papuan clients in a U.S. court in the late 1990s. Even travel by U.S. Embassy officers was tightly monitored by Freeport.

4.3 Analysis

The U.S. perspective that it constitutes the only remaining superpower, the “indispensable nation” and “leader of the free world,” renders it unproductive to search the globe for models that U.S. policy makers might seek to emulate in devising an approach that would more genuinely promote human rights values and democratic principles in West Papua. U.S. self-perceived “exceptionalism,” for good or ill, has long dissuaded U.S. policy makers from applying to themselves the constraints or even moral/ethical or even legal obligations which might govern other nations’ policy makers.

In the economic section, US also try to look good to help other country, including Indonesia, and give an economic assistance USAID to West Papua. USAID helped implement special autonomy there, because it was through the implementation of special autonomy that local people's dissatisfaction could be reduced. So, USAID then assisted in organizing training for NGO members in Papua, the Cendrawasih University team, and the Papuan Presidium Council in drafting the Special Autonomy Law in Papua. So that in the end, Law No. 21/2001 on Special Autonomy was created. As we know, Law No.21/2001 was passed by the Indonesian Parliament on October 22, 2001. Such actions by USAID have indeed made the Papuan people to reduce their dissatisfaction, but there is another side that is not in accordance with the interests of the Indonesian state, namely it can create disintegration. In addition, it will cause envy from other provinces, which of course other provinces want the same special autonomy to be fair.

After Kennedy was shot dead on November 22, 1963, the policy of the US government under the leadership of Lyndon B. Johnson changed, including reducing aid to Indonesia which Kennedy agreed to. From this regime change, later, Freeport slowly stepped in to erode Papua's wealth as Sukarno fell, who was later replaced by Suharto. Thus, America has two big agendas to smooth its interests in West Irian even though from two different presidents, as Beni Pakage wrote, America has played as the first party in the New York Agreement case of August 15, 1962 for its interests. Both in the interest of fighting Indonesia's entry into the Soviet network, as well as for the control of Papua's natural wealth through Indonesia.

From the data in previous section, we can conclude that US is strongly encourage Indonesia to decrease their human rights violation or even pull out the Indonesian Armed Forces from West Papua. This is leading to a conclusion that US absolutely encourage on: implementation in Special Autonomy Law in West Papua. It's not impossible that in the future, US will play a stronger role West Papua and even take all the control. It is based on the reality we are watching now, if West Papua successfully become a special autonomy region, US will use it to be able to regulate freeport without having to deal with Jakarta.

And after that, with a cooperation with Australia and other Pacific Countries, West Papua will be slowly West Papua will be slowly lulled until it can firmly declare its independence. After independence, of course there will be lunch to be paid. West Papua will become subject to the US because the US has made it independent. It is also possible that West Papua with all its natural resources will become an alliance with the US and begin to pose a threat to Indonesia.

To date, U.S. policy toward Indonesia has been in service of U.S. corporate interests and the Pentagon's long held intention that Indonesia should serve as a component in U.S. Pacific defense policy, especially vis-à-vis China. This narrow, realpolitik-based definition of “U.S. interests” rendered the U.S. Government complicit in the crimes of the Suharto dictatorship and its bastard son, the Indonesian military, which continues to threaten democratic reform in Indonesia and the survival of the Papuan people. A broader understanding of what constitutes long-term U.S. interests in Indonesia, i.e., the evolution of a stable and democratic Indonesia, is long overdue.

V. CONCLUSION

America has strong reasons to interfere with the status of West Irian. The context of the Cold War, for example, is one of America's considerations. Moreover, the Soviets had maneuvered to get closer to Indonesia in order to strengthen its hegemony. In addition to the political interests promoted by Kennedy, America also has more lucrative ambitions in this matter, namely the alleged enormous gold and precious minerals in Papua.

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