

Pol 19 West Irian

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R 091052Z JUN 69
FM AMEMBASSY DJAKARTA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 212
INFO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMCONSUL MEDAN
AMCONSUL SURABAYA
USMISSION USUN
CINCPAC 1191

*Djakarta 3614
6-9-69*

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DJAKARTA 3614

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUBJ: ASSESSMENT OF WEST IRIAN SITUATION

REF: A. DJAKARTA 3445 B. DJAKARTA A-220, MAY 28, 1969
C. STATE 88198 D. STATE 87881

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1. SUMMARY: THE ACT OF FREE CHOICE (AFC) IN WEST IRIAN IS UNFOLDING LIKE A GREEK TRAGEDY, THE CONCLUSION PREORDAINED. THE MAIN PROTAGONIST, THE GOI, CANNOT AND WILL NOT PERMIT ANY RESOLUTION OTHER THAN THE CONTINUED INCLUSION OF WEST IRIAN IN INDONESIA. DISSIDENT ACTIVITY IS LIKELY TO INCREASE AS THE CLIMAX IS REACHED BUT THE INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES WILL BE ABLE TO CONTAIN AND, IF NECESSARY, SUPPRESS IT. THE GOI WILL BE SENSITIVE TO ITS "IMAGE" ABROAD, HOWEVER, AND WILL SEEK TO AVOID ACTIONS THAT WILL REFLECT NEGATIVELY ON THE CREDIBILITY OF THE AFC IN THE SENSITIVE EYES OF THE NETHERLANDS, AUSTRALIA AND WITH U THANT. THE TEST OF THE GOI'S CREDITIBILITY VIS-A-VIS THE IRIANESE, AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL OPINION, WILL COME LESS FROM THE AFC THAN FROM POLICIES AND ACTIONS UNDERTAKEN AFTERWARD. UNLESS THE GOI



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IS PREPARED TO DEVOTE A MAJOR EFFORT TO DEVELOPMENT OF WEST IRIAN, DISSIDENCE WILL INCREASE AND POSSIBLY SERIOUS PROBLEMS WILL ARISE WITH PAPUA/NEW GUINEA AND GOA. END SUMMARY.

2. IT LONG KNOWN THAT OUTCOME OF AFC IS PREDICTABLE. GOI HAS NO INTENTION OF ALLOWING WEST IRIAN CHOOSE OTHER THAN INCORPORATION INTO INDONESIA. SEPARATION IS UNTHINKABLE. TO MOST INDONESIANS, WI IS PART OF INDON "MANIFEST DESTINY," WHOSE LOSS WOULD GIVE IMPETUS TO FISSIPAROUS TENDENCIES IN OTHER PARTS ARCHIPELAGO, WHERE ANTI-JAVA FEELINGS RUN STRONG. SUHARTO GOVERNMENT WOULD FACE CRUCIAL INTERNATAL POLITICAL FCLASH WITH NATIONALISTS AND MOSLEMS WHO ALREAD CARP AT GOI RITUALISTIC ADHERENCE TO NEW YORK AGREEMENT. WITH SUCH HIGH POLITICAL STAKES, QUESTION IS NOT WHETHER IRIAN WILL REMAIN PART OF INDONESIA BUT HOW GOI MANAGES AFC TO SATISFY U THANT AND ITS INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATION, PREVENT INTERNAL IRIAN SITUATION FROM GETTING OUT OF HAND, AND COPE WITH EXTERNAL POLITICAL PRESSURES, LARGELY FROM AUSTRALIA AND NETHERLANDS.

3. EVERY INDICATION IS THAT GOI DETERMINED PUSH ON WITH AFC AS PLANNED (REF B) DESPITE THREAT OF DISRUPTIVE INCIDENTS BY INCREASINGLY DESPERATE FREE PAPUA ACTIVISTS OR INTERNATIONAL CONCERN OVER CREDIBILITY OF INDON METHOD. LACK OF COHESION AMONG ANTI-GOI ACTIVISTS (REF A) INDICATES, HOWEVER, THERE LITTLE LIKELIHOOD OF IRIAN-WIDE REVOLT WHICH COULD JEOPARDIZE AFC; MOREVOER, OPPOSITION IRIANESE DO NOT APPEAR HAVE COHERENT PLAN TO SABOTAGE AFC AND THERE NO EVIDENCE SO FAR OF WIDESPREAD BOYCOTT. FACT THAT OVER HALF AFC COUNCIL SELECTIONS ALREADY COMPLETED POINTS TO AFC WINDUP ON SCHEDULE.

4. AS AFC COMPLETION NEARS, THERE WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE FURTHER SPORADIC INCIDENTS, REFUSAL OF SOME VOTERS TO TURN OUT, POANA SIBLY DEMONSTRATIONS BY ANTI-GOI ELEMENTS. ACCORDING IRIANESE POLITICAL SOURCES, STUDENTS PARTICULARLY ARE BECOMING DESPERATE AND SEEKING DRAMATIC EVENT TO TURN WORLD'S ATTENTION TO THEIR PLIGHT. THESE SAME POLTICIANS, BEING PRAGMATISTS, ARE NOT PUTTING THEIR NECKS ON LINE BY JOINING FOREFRONG OF OPPOSITION.

5. 6000 PLUS INDON TROOPS IN WI APPEAR CAPABLE OF QUICKLY SUPPRESSING ANY INCIDENTS THAT MAY OCCUR. UNTIL AFC COMPLETION, MILITARY COMMANDER SARWO EDHIE DETERMINED ACCOM.

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PLISH HIS PRIMARY MISSION TO KEEP LAW AND ORDER. SOME STEAM HAS ALREADY BEEN TAKEN OUT OF OPPOSITION BY PREVENTIVE ARRESTS SINCE LATE APRIL OF KNOWN FREE PAPUA ACTIVISTS, ROUND-UP IN DJAJAPURA OF ONE MAN-ONE VOTE DEMONSTRATION LEADERS, AND INCREASED BORDER SURVEILLANCE WHICH CAUSING INCIDENTS AND INCURSIONS REPORTED BY EMBASSY CANBERRA. AS REPORTED REF B, REBELS IN NORTH BIAK, BIRD'S HEAD, AND MEOUNAMANI AREA ARE ISOLATED AND, LACKING MATERIAL RESOURCES, DO NOT POSE SERIOUS INTERNAL SECURITY THREAT.

6. GREATER CAUSE FOR CONCERN IS FUTURE INDONESIAN RELATIONS WITH IRIANESE AFTER COMPLETION AFC RITUAL. THERE IS MUCH NEED FOR CROSS-CULTURAL TOLERANCE AND UNDERSTANDING AND DRAS- TIC IMPROVEMENT IN WEST IRIAN ADMINISTRATION (ASSUMING FUNDWI EFFECTIVELY TAKES UP SLACK IN DEVELOPMENT FIELD IN NEXT TWO YEARS) IF INDONESIANS ARE TO KEEP FAITH WITH IRIANESE. UNCONCILLATORY ATTITUDE, MALADMINISTRATION, OR MASSIVE NEGLECT BY GOI WILL AGGRAVATE FESTERING ANTAGONISM AND IRIANESE DISTRUST OF INDONESIANS (SUCH AS ALREAD EXISTS IN SUMATRA, MINAHASA, AND AMBON TOWARD JAVANESE). SEEDS OF THIS SHOWN CLEARLY IN EXPULSION OF INDONESIAN TEACHERS, CIVIL SERVANTS, AND PREACHERS FROM ENAROTALI AREA AND LOOTING OF THEIR HOMES AND PROPERTY BY REBELS.

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA 7)

7. RELATIONS WITH GOA ARE LIKELY TO BE STRAINED FURTHER IF FREE PAPUA ELEMENTS IN PAPUA/NEW GUINEA (A) PERMITTED CONTINUE EVEN PIECEMEAL SUPPORT OF ANTI-GOI ELEMENTS, (B) SUCCEED IN FORMING COORDINATED SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENT IN WEST IRIAN, AND/OR (C) PROVOKE BORDER INCIDENTS. THERE IS EVEN GREATER DANGER IF WEST IRIAN BECOMES "POOR RELATION" AS RESULT GOI FAILURE TO IMPROVE ECONOMIC/POLITICAL CLIMATE WHILE P/NG CONTINUES TO PROGRESS. NO EVIDENCE YET THAT GOI HAS GIVEN ANY SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS WITH AUSTRALIA ON WEST IRIAN-P/NG MATTERS, BUT SITUATION PROMISES TO BE INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT FOR BOTH GOVERNMENTS.

8. CONSIDERING ALL ASPECTS OF SITUATION, MISSION WHOLEHEARTEDLY ENDORSES DEPARTMENT POSITION AND GUIDANCE CONTAINED REFS C AND D. USG HAS NOTHING TO GAIN BY INTERFERING IN ALREADY COMPLEX PROBLEM AND THEREBY DISRUPTING PRESENT FRUITFUL RELATIONS WITH GOI. WE SHOULD, HOWEVER, CONTINUE IN LOW KEY TO BRING TO GOI ATTENTION NEED FOR CREDIBILITY IN AFC FOR IRIANESE SAKÉ AND TO KEEP RELATIONS WITH GOA AND GOI ON

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EVEN KEEL. BELIEVE IT ALSO INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT TO GET GOI THINKING ABOUT LONG RANGE IMPORTANCE OF WI IN TERMS WORLD OPINION AND PARTICULARLY RELATIONS WITH AUSTRALIA. GOI IS THINKING OF PHASING OUT FUNDWI AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. IF LEFT TO OWN DEVICES, HOWEVER, GOI UNLIKELY TO GIVE MUCH ATTENTION OR MKMRIAL HELP TO WEST IRIAN. SOMEHOW MESSAGE SHOULD BE GOTTEN ACROSS TO GOI THAT WORLD OPINION REGARDS GOI AS HAVING SPECIAL COMMITMENT TO STONE-AGE IRIANESE REQUIRING SPECIAL EFFORT PERHAPS BEST FURTHERED THROUGH MULTILATERAL APPROACH.

GP-3. LYDMAN

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