CONFIDENTIAL 126

PAGE 01 DJAKAR 03614 01 OF 02 100040Z

ACTION EA 15

INFO OCT 01 EUR 17,10 13, CIAE 00, DOE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

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

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 DJAKARTA 3614

CINC PAC FOR POLAD

SUBJ: ASSESSMENT OF WEST IRIAN SITUATION

C* STATE 88198 D* STATE 87881

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 CREDIBILITY VIS-A-VIS THE IRIANISE, AS WELL AS INTER-
ATIONAL OPINION, WILL COME LESS FROM THE AFC THAN FROM
POLICIES AND ACTIONS UNDERTAKEN AFTERWARD. UNLESS THE GOI
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 DJAKAR 03614 01 OF 02 1000402

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 GAO. END SUMMARY.

2. IT LONG KNOWN THAT OUTCOME OF AFC IS PREDICTABLE. GOI HAS NO INTENTION OF ALLOWING WEST IRIAN TO JOIN OTHER THAN IN-CORPORATION INTO INDONESIA. SEPARATION IS UNTHINKABLE TO MOST INDONESIANS, WI IS PART OF INDOM "MANIFEST DESTINY," WHOSE LOSS WOULD GIVE IMPETUS TO FISSIPAROUS TENDENCIES IN OTHER PARTS ARCHIPELAGO, WHERE ANTI-JAVA FEELINGS RUN STRONG. SUWARTO GOVERNMENT WOULD FACE CRUCIAL INTERNAT POLITICAL FCLASH WITH NATIONALISTS AND MOSLEMS WHO ALREADY CAMP 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 INDOM METHOD. LACK OF COHESION AMONG ANTI-GOI ACTIVISTS (REF A) INDICATES, HOWEVER, THERE LITTLE LIKELIHOOD OF IRIAN-WIDE REVOLT WHICH COULD JEOPARDIZE AFC. MOREOVER, 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 AFC WINDUP ON SCHEDULE.

4. AS AFC COMPLETION NEARS, THERE WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE FURTHER SPORADIC INCIDENTS, REFUSAL OF SOME VOTERS TO TURN OUT, POANA SIALLY 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. THOSE SAME POLITICIANS, BEING PRAGMATISTS, ARE NOT PUTTING THEIR NECKS ON LINE BY JOINING FOREFRONT OF OPPOSITION.

5. 6000 PLUS INDON TROOPS IN WI APPEAR CAPABLE OF QUICKLY SUPPRESSING ANY INCIDENTS THAT MAY OCCUR. UNTIL AFC COMPLETION, MILITARY COMMANDER SAWO EDHIE DETERMINED ACCOM-
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 MEUNAMANI 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,
UNCONCILIATORY ATTITUDE, MALADMINISTRATION, OR MASSIVE
NEGLECT BY GOI WILL AGGRAVATE FESTERING ANTAGONISM AND
IRIANESE DISTRUST OF INDONESIANS (SUCH AS ALREADY EXISTS IN
SUMATRA, MINAHASA, AND AMBON TOWARD JAVA NESE). 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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CONFIDENTIAL 742

PAGE 01 DJAKAR 03614 02 OF 02 100914Z

14
ACTION EA 15

INFO OCT 01 EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DOD 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,
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C O N F I D E N T I A L: SECTION 2 OF 2 DJAKARTA 3614
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 IRAIN AND/OR (C) PROVOKE BORDER INCIDENTS. THERE IS EVEN GREATER DANGER IF WEST IRAIN BECOMES "POOR RELATION" AS RESULT GOI FAILURE TO IMPROVE ECONOMIC/POLITICAL CLIMATE WHILE PNG CONTINUES TO PROGRESS. NO EVIDENCE YET THAT GOI HAS GIVEN ANY SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS WITH AUSTRALIA ON WEST IRAIN-PNG 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 IRUANESE SAKE AND TO KEEP RELATIONS WITH GOA AND PNG ON
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 MEMRIAL. 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