

PTQ8870

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B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ8870

PAGE 01 JAKART 02228 01 OF 05 171202Z
ACTION EAP-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-08	ACDE-00	AID-00	ACQ-01	CEA-01	CIAE-00
	SMEC-00	COME-00	CTME-00	DINT-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-00	EXIM-01	E-00	FBIE-00	FRB-00	H-01
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R 171108Z APR 98
 FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1101
 INFO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA 235
 ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIOS
 USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 JAKARTA 002228

USCINCPAC FOR FPA AMB TEARE

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/14/16

TAGS: PHUM, EAID, EFIN, PGOV, PINR, ID
 SUBJECT: STAFFDELS VISIT WITH PRO-REFORM ACTIVISTS

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PAGE 02 JAKART 02228 01 OF 05 171202Z

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: DONALD A JOHNSTON
 DATE/CASE ID: 23 MAY 2006 200502501

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1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY POL COUNSELOR ED MCWILLIAMS;
REASON 1.5(D)

2. (C) SUMMARY: MEMBERS OF TWO STAFFDELS CALLED ON AN SENIOR FIGURES WITHIN THE OPPOSITION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT ON APRIL 13. COMMON THEMES THAT EMERGED INCLUDED A CONSENSUS THAT THE IMF PACKAGE GAVE SOEHARTO SHORT-TERM POLITICAL SUPPORT BUT COULD SPELL HIS UNDOING IN THE END WHETHER HE IMPLEMENTED IT OR NOT. MANY URGED THAT ASSISTANCE BE RENDERED THROUGH NON-GOVERNMENT CHANNELS TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE. REFORM ADVOCATES ARE ORGANIZING A WATCH DOG COMMITTEE TO MONITOR IMF PLAN IMPLEMENTATION. THEY ARGUED THAT POLITICAL REFORM MUST ACCOMPANY ECONOMIC REFORM. LUNCHEON INTERLOCUTORS NOTED SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN 1965 AND 1998. THERE WAS BROAD CONCERN ABOUT DISAPPEARANCES, WHICH MEGAWATI DESCRIBED AS ONE TIER IN A FOUR-TIER STRATEGY OF INTIMIDATION. MANY INTERLOCUTORS BELIEVED MAJOR GENERAL PRABOWO TO BE BEHIND THE DISAPPEARANCES. MOST SAW THE NEW CABINET AS DEEPLY FLAWED AND ASSESSED THAT HABIBIE, A "BIRD IN A GOLDEN CAGE," HAD LITTLE POWER IN THE GOVERNMENT. PRESIDENTIAL DAUGHTER TUTUT WAS MUCH STRONGER AND MIGHT BE BEING GROOMED AS SOEHARTO'S ULTIMATE SUCCESSOR. STUDENTS WERE GIVEN CREDIT FOR MAINTAINING A HIGH LEVEL OF ACTIVITY BUT SOME QUESTIONED THEIR LONG-TERM RESOLVE. MEGAWATI URGED THE UNITED STATES TO AVOID ANY ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE INDONESIA'S NEXT LEADER. END SUMMARY

3. (SBU) SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE STAFFER ROBIN CLEVELAND AND SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE STAFFER
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PAGE 03 JAKART 02228 01 OF 05 171202Z
FRANK JANNUZI ON APRIL 13 MET WITH PROMINENT OPPOSITION FIGURES IN JAKARTA. THE MEETINGS, WITH THE MAIN POINTS SUMMARIZED BELOW, INCLUDED:

-- LUNCH WITH FORMER TEMPO EDITOR GUNAWAN MOHAMMAD, HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYER FRANS WINARDI, ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE UNRECOGNIZED LABOR UNION TOHAP SIMANUNGKULIT AND ANUNG KARYADI, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATION "WALHI."

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-- CALL ON FORMER MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT FRANS SEDA AND SINO-INDONESIAN OBSERVER JOSEPH HALIM.

-- CALL ON ABDURRAHMAN WAHID, LEADER OF THE ISLAMIC ORGANIZATION NAHDLATUL ULAMA.

-- DINNER WITH MEGAWATI SUKARNOPUTRI, GOVERNMENT-OUSTED LEADER OF THE INDONESIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND PARTY TREASURER AND ECONOMIST LAKSAMANA SUKARDI.

PART I (LUNCHEON DISCUSSIONS)

4. (C) [REDACTED] OBSERVED THAT THERE WERE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN 1965 AND THE CURRENT PERIOD. IN 1998, THERE ARE NO MASS ORGANIZATIONS, NO IDEOLOGY AND NO APOCALYPTIC VISION OF THE FUTURE IN WHICH PEOPLE WERE CONFRONTED WITH BASIC SURVIVAL ISSUES AS IN 1965. IN INDONESIA TODAY, NO ONE IS MAKING EXTRAVAGANT PROMISES THAT WILL TRANSFORM PEOPLE'S LIVES.

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[REDACTED] ADDED THAT, AS IN 1965, THERE IS NO RULE OF LAW IN INDONESIA IN 1998.

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PAGE 04 JAKART 02228 01 OF 05 171202Z

5. (C) [REDACTED] SAID THAT WHILE THERE WERE NO ALL-EMBRACING IDEOLOGICAL BATTLES IN TODAY'S INDONESIA, THERE IS BROAD ANGER OVER THE PROPORTION OF PROPERTY AND WEALTH OWNED BY SINO-INDONESIANS (70 PERCENT) AS COMPARED TO THE SMALL PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION THEY REPRESENT (3 PERCENT). HE ALSO NOTED THAT WHEREAS THE 1965 INDONESIAN POPULATION WAS "PARANOID" ABOUT POLITICAL SECURITY, THE 1998 INDONESIAN POPULATION WAS PARANOID ABOUT ECONOMIC SECURITY.

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6. (C) [REDACTED] ADDED THAT LABOR PROBLEMS ARE GROWING, WITH MANY ALREADY WITHOUT WORK AND THEIR NUMBERS LIKELY TO INCREASE SIGNIFICANTLY OVER THE NEXT 60 DAYS. AS IN THE PAST, "FAMILY SOLIDARITY" HAD DONE MUCH TO CUSHION THOSE HARDEST HIT BY THE ECONOMIC CRISIS. HOWEVER, AS WORKERS HAD LITTLE OR NO SAVINGS, THAT CUSHION WAS VERY THIN AND FOR MOST, ALREADY EXHAUSTED.

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7. (C) HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS WERE DESCRIBED AS GROWING ON A VARIETY OF FRONTS, NOTABLY TO INCLUDE DISAPPEARANCES, ARRESTS OF PEOPLE DEMONSTRATING PEACEFULLY FOR POLITICAL REFORM AND A STRONG MILITARY RESPONSE TO STUDENTS WHO TRIED TO MOVE THEIR RALLIES OFF CAMPUS.

8. (C) [REDACTED]

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ8944

PAGE 01 JAKART 02228 02 OF 05 172106Z
ACTION EAP-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-08	ACDE-00	AID-00	ACQ-01	CEA-01	CIAE-00
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R 171108Z APR 98
FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1102
INFO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS
USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI
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AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 05 JAKARTA 002228

USCINCPAC FOR FPA AMB TEARE

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/14/16

TAGS: PHUM, EAID, EFIN, PGOV, PINR, ID

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PAGE 02 JAKART 02228 02 OF 05 172106Z

PRABOWO WAS BEHIND THE RECENT INCREASE IN
DISAPPEARANCES. [REDACTED] SAID THAT HE IS PART OF AN NGO
EFFORT TO FORM AN ORGANIZATION WHICH WILL MONITOR THE
FATE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THE DISAPPEARED,
PROVIDING FOOD AND LEGAL COUNSEL.

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9. (C) [REDACTED] SAID THAT HARYANTO TASLAM, DEPUTY SECRETARY
GENERAL OF THE PDI-MEGAWATI FACTION, HAD MET WITH HIM
AND WITH STUDENT LEADERS THE DAY HARYANTO DISAPPEARED.
HE STATED THAT HARYANTO'S DISAPPEARANCE CAME ONLY 30
MINUTES AFTER THEY CONCLUDED THEIR MEETING. (AS
REPORTED SEPTEL, HARYANTO SURFACED APRIL 17.)

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THE ROLE OF U.S. AND MULTILATERAL ASSISTANCE

10. (C) THE INDONESIAN GUESTS EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT
WHILE INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE WAS ESSENTIAL TO IMPROVE
INDONESIA'S VERY DIFFICULT ECONOMIC SITUATION, BOTH
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM WERE REQUIRED IN ORDER TO
REFORM THE SYSTEM. THERE WAS CONSENSUS THAT
INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE AT THIS TIME WOULD INEVITABLY
IMPROVE PRESIDENT SOEHARTO'S POLITICAL LONGEVITY. THE
INDONESIANS URGED STRONGLY THAT THOUGHT BE GIVEN TO HOW
ASSISTANCE, PARTICULARLY HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, WOULD
BE CHanneled. [REDACTED]

B1

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PAGE 03 JAKART 02228 02 OF 05 172106Z

11. (C) [REDACTED] HAD BEGUN MEETING WITH A NUMBER OF KEY NGO'S, INCLUDING THOSE PRESENT AND THE MASS ISLAMIC ORGANIZATIONS MUHAMMADYAH AND NAHDLATUL ULAMA AND MEGAWATI'S PDI FACTION. THEIR OBJECTIVE WAS TO DEVELOP A MECHANISM TO CHANNEL HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. THESE MEETINGS ARE TAKING PLACE AT SENIOR LEVELS AND ARE CONTINUING.

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12. (C) [REDACTED] SAID THAT HE WAS WORKING WITH A NUMBER OF GROUPS TO SET UP A NETWORK WHICH WOULD MONITOR THE GOI'S IMPLEMENTATION OF THE IMF AGREEMENT. LIKENING THE ORGANIZATION TO THE "INDEPENDENT ELECTION MONITORING COMMISSION" (KIPP) [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] HE WELCOMED THE POSSIBILITY OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE TO THE EFFORT.

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POLITICAL OBSERVATIONS

[REDACTED]

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PAGE 04 JAKART 02228 02 OF 05 172106Z

14. (C)

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(NOTE: MANY

GOVERNMENT CRITICS BELIEVE THAT THE GOVERNMENT, FOR ITS OWN PURPOSES, PERIODICALLY HAS SOUGHT TO STIR UP LIMITED UNREST, IN THIS INSTANCE TO CAUSE THE IMF AND DONORS TO RELENT IN THEIR INSISTENCE THAT SOME SUBSIDIES SHOULD BE LIFTED IN APRIL AS CALLED FOR IN THE JANUARY 15 AGREEMENT. THE FACT THAT SUCH A PERSPECTIVE WOULD HAVE ATTAINED SIGNIFICANT CURRENCY IS A MEASURE OF THE CYNICISM AMONG GOVERNMENT CRITICS. END NOTE)

15. (C)

FOCUSSED ON

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CURRENT STUDENT ACTIVISM. HE BELIEVED THAT STUDENT EXPECTATIONS WERE TOO HIGH AND WERE NOT FOCUSSED ON AN AGENDA OR AROUND A LEADER. HE ALSO QUESTIONED STUDENT RESOLVE. WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF SCHOOL TUITION WERE LOWERED? WOULD THIS END STUDENT POLITICAL ACTIVISM? LABOR WILL NOT JOIN STUDENTS ON CAMPUS. ONLY WHEN STUDENTS MOVE INTO THE STREETS COULD THEY JOIN THEM. BUT THE MILITARY HAS WARNED STUDENTS NOT TO DO THIS. THIS, HE SAID, SUGGESTED A SOEHARTO STRATEGY TO DIVIDE AND CONQUER BY KEEPING LABOR AND STUDENTS APART -- A STRATEGY WHICH IS WORKING.

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PTQ6941

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PAGE 01 JAKART 02228 03 OF 05 171109Z
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INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-08	ACDE-00	AID-00	ACQ-01	CEA-01	CIAE-00
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R 171108Z APR 98
FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 05 JAKARTA 002228

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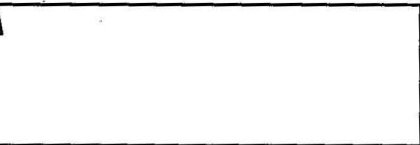
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PAGE 02 JAKART 02228 03 OF 05 171109Z
PART II (CALL ON FRANS SEDA AND JOSEPH HALIM)

16. (C) FRANS SEDA AND JOSEPH HALIM PROVIDED THE
STAFFDEL REPS WITH THEIR PERSPECTIVE ON RECENT AND
CURRENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS.



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PART III (INTERVIEW WITH ABDURRAHMAN WAHID)

19. (C) WAHID (AKA GUS DUR), WHO IS RECUPERATING FROM A STROKE, MET WITH THE STAFFDEL REPS FOR 40 MINUTES AT HIS HOME IN SOUTH JAKARTA. THE RELIGIOUS LEADER MOVED WITH ASSISTANCE BUT OTHERWISE SEEMED TO BE RECOVERING WELL

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FROM HIS NEAR FATAL STROKE IN JANUARY.

20. (C) GUS DUR APPEARED TO RELISH DISCUSSING CURRENT
POLITICS.

B1

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PAGE 01 JAKART 02228 04 OF 05 171109Z
ACTION EAP-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-08	ACDE-00	AID-00	ACQ-01	CEA-01	CIAE-00
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R 171108Z APR 98
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B1

26. (C) WITH REGARDS TO STUDENTS, GUS DUR ARGUED THAT WERE STUDENTS TO REDUCE THE LEVEL OF THEIR VOICES THEY WOULD BE HEARD BETTER. HE ADVOCATED THAT STUDENTS CEASE PRESENTING THEIR VIEWS THROUGH POLITICAL CHANNELS AND BEGIN TO USE CULTURAL CHANNELS. STUDENTS WILL GATHER TO PRAY AND READ POEMS IN JOGJAKARTA AT A RALLY ON APRIL 18 IN WHAT HE FELT WAS A MORE APPROPRIATE WAY FOR THE STUDENTS TO COMMUNICATE THEIR VIEWS.

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PAGE 03 JAKART 02228 04 OF 05 171109Z

27. (C) GUS DUR EMPHASIZED THAT HE SUPPORTED THE STUDENTS, "BUT NOT THOSE WHO SEEK TO INTIMIDATE." HE WARNED THAT THERE WERE GROUPS WHICH WERE FINANCING STUDENT ACTIVITIES AND WHO WERE "PLAYING WITH THE STUDENTS."

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PART IV (INTERVIEW WITH MEGAWATI SUKARNOPUTRI AND LAKSAMANA SUKARDI)

29. (C) MEGAWATI AND LAKSAMANA MET STAFFDEL REPS AT DINNER ON APRIL 13. SPEAKING ANIMATEDLY IN ENGLISH, MEGAWATI CAUTIONED THE STAFFDEL REPS ABOUT THE NEED FOR THE UNITED STATES TO AVOID A SITUATION WHERE IT WOULD, IN HER WORDS, "AGAIN" SEEK TO INFLUENCE THE CHOICE OF A NATIONAL LEADER FOR INDONESIA (ALLUDING TO THE DOWNFALL OF HER FATHER). SHE NOTED THAT SUCH A STEP WOULD DAMAGE
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PAGE 04 JAKART 02228 04 OF 05 171109Z

RELATIONS BETWEEN INDONESIA AND THE UNITED STATES FOR A LONG TIME.

30. (C) MEGAWATI WELCOMED EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE INCLUDING THE IMF PACKAGE AND HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE FOR

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INDONESIA, THOUGH CLAIMING THAT THE ASSISTANCE AMOUNTED TO POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR SOEHARTO. SHE URGED THAT THE ASSISTANCE BE MONITORED CAREFULLY TO ENSURE IT WAS NOT DIVERTED TO PERSONAL USE AND TO PREVENT ITS USE FOR POLITICAL ENDS. SHE THOUGHT THAT HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE MIGHT BEST BE CHANNELED THROUGH LOCAL, NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS. IN THIS CONTEXT, LAKSAMANA NOTED THAT MEGAWATI'S PDI, THE ISLAMIC ORGANIZATIONS NAHDLATUL ULAMA AND MUHAMMADYAH AS WELL AS A NUMBER OF NGOS, HAD BEGUN HOLDING MEETINGS TO DISCUSS SETTING UP NON-GOVERNMENT CHANNELS FOR DISTRIBUTION OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE FROM ABROAD AND TO PROCEED WITH ARRANGEMENTS FOR A POST-SUHARTO ERA.

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PAGE 01 JAKART 02228 05 OF 05 171109Z
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NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-00	PM-00	PRS-00
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34. (U) STAFFDEL MEMBERS CLEVELAND AND JANNUZI CLEARED
THIS MESSAGE BEFORE TRANSMISSION.
ROY

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