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FM JKRTA MAR2/66 CONFD

TO TERNAL 33 IMMED

REF YOURTEL Y191 FEB28 RECEIVED MAR2

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INDONESIAN POLITICAL SITUATION

SUKARNO IS BACK IN CHARGE UNOPPOSED BY ARMY. 100 MEMBER CABINET IS

SIMILAR TO EARLIER ONE. OPPOSITION INCLUDES A MIXTURE OF ANTI-PKI, THE WELL INTENTIONED, THE TIME-SERVERS, THE AMBITIOUS AND THE CORRUPTS.

WHILE PKIR EXCLUDED, A FEW ALLEGED PKI SYMPATHIZERS ARE NOT RPT NOT.

2. VIOLENT DEMONSTRATIONS BY STUDENTS (ONLY VOCAL ELEMENT OF THE POPULATION) DIRECTED ESPECIALLY AT SUBANDRIO HAVE BEEN PUT DOWN WITH

WOUNDING AND LOSS OF LIFE. THEY SHOW THERE IS STRONG OPPOSITION

BENEATH SURFACE BUT EVERYONE ELSE IS KEEPING HIS HEAD DOWN. WITH

SOLDIERS ON SOME STREETS AND AN EXTENDED CURFEW SUKARNO IS IN

CONTROL. THIS SHOULD CONTINUE SO LONG AS ARMY CARRIES OUT

PRESIDENTS ORDERS (WHICH EARLIER IT DID NOT RPT NOT ALWAYS DO).

3. THERE IS MUCH SPECULATION ABOUT SILENCE OF NASUTION AND

PASSIVITY OF GENS. POSSIBLE ANSWER INCLUDING LOYALTY OF

SUKARNO, RECOGNITION THAT HIS POLITICAL SKILL AND PUBLIC

APPEAL MAKE HIM HARD TO OPPOSE, PERSONAL RIVALRY AND BRIBERY

(THE LATTER NOT RPT NOT APPLYING TO NASUTION). NOT RPT NOT TO BE

OVERLOOKED IS A SIMPLE EXPLANATION, THAT GENS WERE FRIGHTENED

TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR DISMAL POLITICAL AND INOPPORTUNE

SITUATION, A TASK FOR WHICH THEIR EXPERIENCE AND TRAINING ILL

QUALIFIED THEM. WE EARLIER NOTED THEIR UNWILLINGNESS OR INABILITY

TO TACKLE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AT A TIME WHEN THEY WERE RIDING HIGH.

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4. FOR WORKING PURPOSE I SUGGEST WE MUST ASSUME A CONTINUED TENSE BUT OVERTLY QUIET POLITICAL SITUATION SO LONG AS ARMY SUPPORT PRESIDENT (AND TIME COULD CHANGE THIS), CONTINUED ECONOMIC DETERIORATION, AND IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS AN ATTEMPT TO CARRY ON AS BEFORE. THE IMPORTANT POINT WILL BE WHETHER THE CHINESE HOSTILITY CAN BE OVERCOME. A LESS ACCOMODATING PHILIPPINE ATTITUDE WILL MAKE IT LESS EASY FOR INDONESIA TO APPEAR AS THE LEADER OF NEWLY EMERGING FORCES. SEE OUR IMMEDIATE FOLLOWING TEL ON CONFRONTATION

MACDONNELL

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Done March 3/66/5

FM HAGUE MAR2/66 CONFD
TO EXTERNAL 79 PRIORITY
INFO LDN WASHDC BONN NATOPARIS EMBPARIS ROME PERMISNY
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BAG COPEN OSLO DE PARIS MCOV VIENA KLMPR JKRTA HKONG DE LDN
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REF OURTEL 6 JAN7 AND OURLET 11 JAN11

DUTCH IMPRESSIONS OF SITUATION IN INDONESIA

WE HAD A CONVERSATION WITH MR ROOKMAKER OF MFA ON MARI TO OBTAIN HIS ASSESSMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE OF PRESIDENT SUKARNOS DISMISSAL OF GEN NASUTION. IN PREVIOUS TELS AND LETS WE HAVE DESCRIBED ROOKMAKERS UNDERSTANDING OF INDONESIAN AND SUKARNOS POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY. NOTHING HAS HAPPENED TO CAUSE ROOKMAKER TO ALTER HIS THESIS THAT SUKARNO IS EMBODIMENT OF INDONESIAN REVOLUTION AND THAT ARMY IS REVOLUTIONS PROTECTOR. LAST SEP ARMY UNDER NASUTION DEFENDED REVOLUTION AGAINST OVERDEVELOPMENT OF THE MARXIST ELEMENT. AS DEFENDER OF REVOLUTION ARMY COULD NOT RPT NOT CONTEMPLATE THE REMOVAL OF SUKARNO EVEN THOUGH HIS ROLE IN COMMUNIST PLOT MIGHT HAVE BEEN EQUIVOCAL. DESPITE WISHFUL THINKING IN NETHERLANDS AS WELL AS PROBABLY ELSEWHERE IN WEST, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN ILLOGICAL FOR NASUTION TO REMAIN IN A POSITION OF GREAT AUTHORITY OR TO CONTEMPLATE REPLACEMENT OF SUKARNO BY NASUTION HIMSELF OR SOME OTHER PERSON THE ARMY MIGHT HAVE PUT FORWARD. WITH REVOLUTION PRESERVED NASUTION COULD REVERT TO A LESSER POSITION AS A GOOD ARMY MAN ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM HIS CHIEF, SUKARNO.

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2. IN ROCKMAKERS VIEW WHEEL HAS GONE FULL CIRCLE IN INDONESIA AND IN EFFECT WE ARE BACK WHERE WE WERE BEFORE SEP30 BUT WITH DIFFERENCE THAT THE THREAT OF PKI HAS BEEN REMOVED, ALTHOUGH, MARXIST PORTION OF NATIONAL REVOLUTION HAS BEEN MAINTAINED. THEREFORE DUTCH LOOK FORWARD WITHOUT GREAT ENTHUSIASM TO A RETURN TO A FOREIGN POLICY ON PART OF INDONESIA SIMILAR TO THAT BEFORE SEP30. THEY FORESEE AN ATTEMPT TO RESUME CLOSE RELATIONS WITH CHINA, TO PROVIDE SUPPORT NECESSARY IN STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM. BECAUSE OF THE EXCESSIVE ZEAL OF ARMY IN DESTROYING PKI THE RECONCILIATION WITH CHINA MAY BE SOMEWHAT DIFFICULT BUT THEY WOULD EXPECT SUKARNO WILL MAKE THE EFFORT. SIMILARLY CONFRONTATION WITH MALAYSIA WILL REASSUME ITS IMPORTANCE WITH INDEED NASUTION PLAYING A PART IN THIS. WHILE THEY HOPE THERE MIGHT BE SOME EFFORTS TO ALLEVIATE ECONOMIC CHAOS INTO WHICH THE COUNTRY HAS FALLEN, THEY ARE NOT RPT NOT TOO OPTIMISTIC OF SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT WITH SUKARNO STILL IN POWER.

3. FROM THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF HOW INDONESIAN REGIME FUNCTIONS, DUTCH WOULD NOT RPT NOT CONSIDER THAT THE DISMISSAL OF NASUTION WOULD LEAD TO ANY ACTION BY ARMY TO RE-ESTABLISH HIM. SUHARTO IS IN THE CABINET. TO DUTCH THIS IS EVIDENCE THAT ARMY HAS NO RPT NO PLANS TO USURP SUKARNO. INDEED ARMY MIGHT IF NECESSARY BRING GENS IN OUTLYING AREAS UNDER CONTROL. AND JUST AS NASUTION AS AN ARMY OFFICER DID HIS JOB OF PRESERVATION BY DESTROYING PKI, HE OR OTHERS IN ARMY COULD BE EXPECTED TO ACT IN A SIMILAR FASHION AGAINST DISSIDENT MILITARY COMMANDERS OR AGAINST ANY OTHER THREAT FROM RIGHT OR LEFT.

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FURTHER PRESENCE IN SUKARNOS CABINET NOW OF THE IMPORTANT RELIGIOUS ELEMENT HAS TIED IN ONCE AGAIN THAT ASPECT OF REVOLUTION, SO THAT THE STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS ARE IN DUTCH VIEW NOT RPT NOT INDICATIVE OF A STRONG OPPOSITION TO SUKARNO.

4. ROOKMAKER IS GLAD THAT WESTERN COUNTRIES DID NOT RPT NOT REACT IN ANY CONCRETE MANNER TO VARIOUS ENQUIRIES FOR ECONOMIC AID PUT TO THEM. THIS WOULD HAVE MADE ARMY SUSPECT AS A TOOL OF WESTERN IMPERIALISM AND WEAKENED ITS ROLE AS A PRESERVATIVE ELEMENT AND COULD HAVE THUS LED TO AN EVEN GREATER UPHEAVAL.

5. CERTAIN SECTIONS OF DUTCH PRESS HAVE IN LAST FEW DAYS GIVEN PUBLICITY TO DEPARTURE TO INDONESIA OF PROFESSOR TINBERGEN OF ROTTERDAM ECONOMIC UNIVERSITY WHO HAS BEEN BILLED AS IN EFFECT A SPECIALIST TO PUT INDONESIAN ECONOMIC HOUSE IN ORDER. THIS IS A COMPLETELY EXAGGERATED NOTION AND MAY HAVE BEEN COMPENSATION FOR SOME DISAPPOINTMENT OVER FACT THAT NASUTION DID NOT RPT NOT TAKE OVER AS STRONG MAN WHO WOULD ACHIEVE AN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL MIRACLE IN THE COUNTRY. THIS DUTCH PROFESSOR HAS SIMPLY GONE ON A SMALL MISSION UNDER THE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME TO STUDY CERTAIN ASPECTS OF COORDINATION OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT POLICY. INDONESIAN GOVT MIGHT OR MIGHT NOT RPT NOT FOLLOW HIS RECOMMENDATIONS.