

✓

File 20 Indon 4
w.g.
35 47

ACTION COPY

FM LDN OCT4/65 CONFD
TO EXTERNAL 3971 IMMED

INFO WASHDC PERMISNY EMBPARIS NATOPARIS TT KLUMPR DE OTT
BAG JRKTA DE LDN

DEVELOPMENTS IN INDONESIA

WHILE STRESSING THAT AVAILABLE INFO WAS FAR FROM COMPLETE
WHITE OF MALAYSIA-INDONESIA CONFRONTATION DEPT TODAY

PROVIDED FOLLOWING SUMMARY OF DEVELOPMENTS IN INDONESIA SINCE
SEP30 AS FAR AS FO HAS BEEN ABLE TO PIECE THEM TOGETHER.

2. ABORTIVE COUP BY LT COL UNTUNG ON SEP30 MAY HAVE BEEN
INSPIRED BY LEFT WING ELEMENTS INCLUDING SOME AIR FORCE LEADERS
WHO WERE DISGRUNTLED AT SUKARNOS FAILURE TO COME OUT IN THEIR
FAVOUR AGAINST ARMY LEADERSHIP. THERE WERE REPORTS THAT SUKARNO
HAD UNDERTAKEN PUBLICLY TO DENOUNCE THE GENERALS AND TO ACCUSE
THEM (AS UNTUNG GROUP DID DURING ITES BRIEF PERIOD OF POWER)
OF PLANNING COUP FOR OCT5 WITH COOPERATION OF CIA. ACCORDING
TO THIS STORY WHEN SUKARNO FAILED TO DELIVER HE WAS TAKEN IN
CUSTODY TO AIR FORCE BASE AND HELD THERE WHILE UNTUNG COUP WENT
FORWARD.

3. AS FAR AS BRITS COULD LEARN UNTUNG HIMSELF WAS NOT RPT
NOT COMMUNIST AND INDEED THERE WAS NO RPT NO FIRM EVIDENCE
THAT SEP30 MOVEMENT WAS DIRECTLY INSPIRED BY COMMUNISTS.
UNTUNG WHO WAS SECOND IN COMMAND OF PRESIDENTIAL BODYGUARD
APPEARED HIMSELF TO BE RATHER PURITANCIAL SOLDIER OF LITTLE
POLITICAL SOPHISTICATED. SOME OF THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH COUP

PAGE TWO 3971

WERE CERTAINLY OF PRONOUNCED LEFTIST INCLINATION AND IT SEEMED THAT UNTUNG HAD BEEN USED BY LEFT WING ELEMENTS FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSES.

4. REACTION BY THE ARMY OCT1 WAS NOT RPT NOT AS DECISIVE AS IT AT FIRST APPEARED. AIR FORCE BASE NEAR JKRTA HAD BEEN TAKEN OVER AND SUKARNO RESTORED TO HIS PALACE; FOR PRESENTATIONAL PURPOSES PROTESTATION OF LOYALTY TO SUKARNO WAS CONVENIENT AND EFFECTIVE COVER FOR COUNTER MOVE BY THE GENERALS UNDER SOEHARTO. IT WAS CLEAR HOWEVER THAT SOME ELEMENTS OF THE ARMY HAD SUPPORTED SEP30 MOVEMENT THOUGH PERHAPS WITHOUT BEING CLEAR AS TO JUST WHAT THEY WERE GETTING INVOLVED IN.

5. WHITE SAID IT WAS TEMPTING TO BELIEVE THAT ARMY WOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF PRESENT OPPORTUNITY AS EXCUSE TO DELIVER REALLY CRUSHING BLOW TO COMMUNISTS. UNFORTUNATELY THERE WERE SIGNS ALREADY THAT THIS WAS NOT RPT NOT LIKELY TO HAPPEN PARTLY BECAUSE SUKARNO HIMSELF WAS ANXIOUS TO MAINTAIN ROUGHT BALANCE AMONG VARIOUS GROUPS WHICH ENABLED HIM TO RETAIN POWER. THUS IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS HE WAS MINIMIZING EQUIVOCAL ROLE OF AIR FORCE IN SEP30 EVENTS AND OBVIOUSLY CONTENT TO PLAY OFF UNSUCCESSFUL REBELS AGAINST ARMY LEADERS WHO HAD PRESERVED HIS POSITION.

6. ALTHOUGH TENTATIVE ASSESSMENT THUS WAS THAT COMMUNISTS WERE NOT RPT NOT LIKELY TO TAKE BEATING WHICH THEY MIGHT WELL HAVE SUFFERED AS RESULT OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, WHITE SUGGESTED THAT OUTCOME OF EVENTS OF PAST FEW DAYS NEVERTHELESS SHOULD

...3

PAGE THREE 3971

REPRESENT FROM WESTERN POINT OF VIEW SOME IMPROVEMENT ON PREVIOUS SITUATION. ARMY LEADERSHIP HAD BEEN ALERTED TO DANGERS OF LEFT-WING THREAT TO THEIR POSITION AND MIGHT BE EXPECTED TO PAY MORE ATTN TO HOME AFFAIRS AND LESS TO CONFRONTATION WITH MALAYSIA. ALTHOUGH SUKARNO APPARENTLY WAS TO RETAIN TRAPPINGS OF POWER IT SEEMED LIKELY THAT HIS AUTHORITY WOULD BE DIMINISHED TO THE BENEFIT OF LESS IRRESPONSIBLE ELEMENTS. THUS THERE HAD PERHAPS BEEN SOME MOVEMENT ALONG THE WAY TOWARD EMERGENCE, UPON SUKARNOS EVENTUAL DEPARTURE FROM THE SCENE, OF MILITARY REGIME BASICALLY NOT RPT NOT ILL-DISPOSED TOWARD THE WEST WHICH MIGHT PROGRESSIVELY AND IN TACIT FASHION ABANDON CONFRONTATION POLICY AND AGREE TO LIVE WITH MALAYSIA. WHITE CAUTIONED THAT THIS WAS HIGHLY PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT DEPENDING UPON SUCCESS OF ARMY LEADERSHIP IN CONSOLIDATING ITS PRESENT APPARENTLY ADVANTAGEOUS POSITION AND IN PROCESS DEALING WITH LEFT WING ELEMENTS IN SUFFICIENTLY FIRM MANNER AS TO RENDER THEM MANAGEABLE FOR FORSEEABLE FUTURE."