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FM TOKYO OCT6/65 CONFD  
TO EXTERNAL 637  
INFO BAG JKRTA DE OTT

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SITUATION IN INDONESIA-JAPANESE VIEWS

ACCORDING TO KIUCHI OF SOUTHEASTASIA SECTION INFO AVAILABLE TO JAPANESE IS THAT COUP IN INDONESIA WAS PKI ORIENTED BUT NOT RPT NOT PKI INSPIRED. THERE WAS NO RPT NO EVIDENCE OF SUFFICIENT PRIOR PLANNING TO INDICATE ORGANIZED EFFORT BY PKI. ONLY EVIDENCE OF COLLUSION BETWEEN REBELS AND PKI WAS UNSUBSTANTIATED REPORT OF DISTR OF AIRFORCE ARMS TO COMMUNIST YOUTH GROUPS. IN ADDITION KIUCHI THOUGHT IT POSSIBLY INDICATIVE OF PRIOR KNOWLEDGE THAT NO RPT NO PROMINENT PKI LEADER HAD BEEN IN PEKING FOR OCT1 BUT HE DISCOUNTED THIS EVIDENCE AS HIGHLY CIRCUMSTANTIAL. GAIMUSHO HAD THEREFORE CONCLUDED THAT COUP WAS UNCOORDINATED INITIATIVE OF GROUP OF LEFTIST INCLINED YOUNG TURKS. SINCE THINGS HAD BEEN DEVELOPING WELL FOR EXTREME LEFT ONLY RATIONAL MOTIVATION FOR THEIR ACTION (ASSUMING SAID KIUCHI THAT RATIONAL MOTIVATIONS WERE NECESSARY FOR INDONESIANS) WAS TO FORESTALL POSSIBLE ANTI PKI COUP BY ARMY. KIUCHI ADMITTED THIS EXPLANATION WAS NOT RPT NOT WHOLLY SATISFACTORY BUT COULD THINK OF NO RPT NO OTHER REASON WHY LEFTISTS SHOULD RISK ANOTHER MADIUN.

2. FOR FUTURE KIUCHI FORESAW LONG PERIOD BEFORE RETURN TO STABILITY. ARMY COULD NOT RPT NOT RULE INDONESIA WITHOUT SANCTION OF SUKARNOS POPULAR APPEAL. ON OTHER HAND SUKARNO WAS MOST UNLIKELY TO REVISE HIS EARLIER DECISION TO COOPERATE WITH COMMUNISTS. KIUCHI THOUGHT

PAGE TWO 637

IT UNLIKELY THEREFORE THAT FAILURE OF COUP WOULD RESULT IN PURGE  
OF PKI OR REAL DIMINUTION OF PARTYS INFLUENCE THROUGH ARMY ACTION.'''

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FM BONN OCT6/65 CONFD  
TO EXTERNAL 798 PRIORITY  
INFO LDN EMBPARIS WASHDC NATOPARIS  
TT CANFORCED(OGI)DE OTT  
BAG JKRTA DE LDN  
INDONESIA

ALTHOUGH BONN IS FAR REMOVED FROM THE SCENE OF ACTION, WE THOUGHT YOU MIGHT WISH TO HAVE COMMENTS OBTAINED OCT5 FROM FISCHER OF THE FOS SOUTHEASTASIA DIV ON THE EVOLVING SITUATION IN INDONESIA. (THE GERMANS EVIDENTLY STILL HAVE COMMUNICATIONS WITH THEIR MISSION IN JKRTA).

2. IT WAS FISCHER'S IMPRESSION THAT SUKARNO BELIEVED THAT HE WAS ONCE AGAIN ABLE TO CONTROL EVENTS IN INDONESIA. SUKARNO APPEARED TO BE ATTEMPTING TO RETURN THE SITUATION TO A STATE APPROXIMATING THAT EXISTING BEFORE THE COUP AND COUNTER COUP OCCURRED, IE MAINTAINING THE BALANCE BETWEEN COMMUNIST PARTY AND ITS SYMPATHIZERS ON THE ONE HAND AND THE SO-CALLED RIGHT WING, PRINCIPALLY THE ARMY, ON THE OTHER. THE LATEST EVIDENCE IN SUPPORT OF THIS THESIS WAS SUKARNOS ABSOLVING HIS BODYGUARD OF ANY BLAME IN REGARD TO THE ORIGINAL COUP, (THIS FOLLOWED HIS EARLIER SIMILAR ACTION WITH RESPECT TO THE AIR FORCE) AND YESTERDAY SENDING SUBANDRIO TO REPRESENT HIM AT THE FUNERAL OF THE SIX ARMY LEADERS WHO HAD POSSIBLY BEEN ASSASSINATED BY THE AIR FORCE. (FISCHER SAID THEIR BODIES HAD BEEN DISCOVERED NEAR AN AIR BASE).

3. HE WONDERED WHETHER THE ARMY WHICH WAS APPARENTLY IN CONTROL OF

PAGE TWO 798

JKRTA AMONG OTHER AREAS WOULD BE INCLINED TO COUNTENANCE A RETURN TO THE STATUS QUO ANTE.THERE WAS,HE SAID,SOME EVIDENCE THAT THE ARMY HAD BEEN QUOTE PLANNING SOMETHING UNQUOTE IN THE WAY OF A POWER PLAY WHINH WOULD HAVE TAKEN PLACE OCT5.HE IMAGINED THAT THIS QUOTE COUP UNQUOTE WAS PROBABLY DIRECTED AGAINST THE ARMY'S COMMUNIST RIVALS.HE THOUGHT IT UNLIKELY THAT,EVEN IF SUKARNO RETAINED A MEASURE OF AUTHORITY,(HIS POPULARITY WITH INDONESIAN PEOPLE WAS UNDOUBTED)HE WOULD BE ABLE TO PREVENT THE ARMY FROM ATTEMPTING TO ACHIEVE A POSITION OF ASCENDENCY IN THE COUNTRY.THE FACT OF THE MURDERS ALONE WOULD MAKE MOST IMPROBABLE THE REESTABLISHMENT OF AN ARMY MODUS VIVENDI WITH COMMUNIST ELEMENTS.

4.FISCHER WAS INCLINED TO AGREE THAT A VIEW EXPRESSED TO US EARLIER BY MALAYSIAN AMBASSADOR HERE THAT EVEN IF THE ARMY SUCCEEDED IN ESTABLISHING ITSELF AS THE MOST IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN INDONESIAN POLITICAL PICTURE,IT WAS UNLIKELY THAT THERE WOULD BE ANY SIGNIFICANT CHANGE FOR SOME TIME IN THE POLICY OF A CONFRONTATION. WHILE HE THOUGHT THERE MIGHT BE SOME DEEMPHASIS,THE POLICY COULD NOT RPT NOT BE ABANDONED FOR REASONS OF FACE AT HOME AND ABROAD.

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FN NATOPARIS OCT6/65 CONFD

TO EXTERNAL 2097

INFO LDN WASHDC EMBPARIS PERMISNY

TI CANFORCED DE OTT

BAG KLMPR JKARTA DE LDN

REF LDN TEL 3971 OCT5 AND WASHDC TEL 3172 OCT5

INDONESIA

IN COUNCIL TODAY NETHERLANDS UK USA AND GERMAN PERMREPS SPOKE ON BACKGROUND TO RECENT EVENTS IN INDONESIA AND GAVE ASSESSMENTS OF CURRENT SITUATION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE.

2.ACCORDING TO NETHERLANDS PERMREP COUP ATTEMPT BY SEP30 MOVEMENT APPARENTLY REPORTED BY PORTION OF PALACE GUARD,ELEMENTS OF AIR FORCE AND DIPONEGORO DIV WAS FAILURE .WHILE QUOTE ANTI COMMUNIST UNQUOTE ARMY UNITS ARE IN CONTROL IN JKARTA AND LARGE PORTION OF JAVA THERE IS NO RPT NO INFO AVAILABLE ON OUTLYING AREAS ALTHOUGH THESE AS IN PAST WILL BE BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL EVENTUALLY.IN TRYING TO ASCERTAIN REASON FOR ATTEMPTED REVOLT AT THIS TIME HE DID NOT RPT NOT THINK IT LIKELY THAT PKI WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR PROVOKING REVOLT IN VIEW OF SUKARNOS POLICY OF KEEPING MAJOR INDONESIAN ELEMENTS IN BALANCE AND IN VIEW OF INCREASE IN STATURE AND POWER OF PKI UNTIL RECENTLY.IT IS MOST LIKELY THAT REPORTS OF SUKARNOS FAILING HEALTH TRIGGERED OFF PREMATURE ATTEMPT BY LT COL UNTUNG AND OTHERS ON THEIR OWN TO TAKE OVER.IF PKI KNEW THAT SUKARNO HAD COLLAPSED DURING RECENT SPEECH AND HAD DECIDED TO SUPPORT UNTUNG IN PALACE COUP IT IS DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN WHY PKI FAILED TO FOLLOW THROUGH SUCCESSFULLY ON INITIATIVE.

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PAGE TWO 2097

3. SUKARNO DISAPPEARED FOR A TIME AND IT REMAINS UNCLEAR WHETHER HE IS A FREE AGENT OR NOT. JUDGING BY PREVIOUS PRACTICE IT IS NOT RPT NOT UNLIKELY THAT SUKARNO IS SILENT BY HIS OWN CHOICE WAITING TO SEE HOW SITUATION DEVELOPES. HOWEVER IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT HE IS IMPEDED BY FAILING HEALTH FROM TAKING ACTIVE ROLE.

4. ACCORDING TO NETHERLANDS INFO GENERAL SOEHARTO WHO WAS DEPUTY TO JANI IS NOW IN CHARGE OF ARMED FORCES. FORMERLY SOEHARTO WAS COMMANDER OF OPERATIONS AGAINST NETHERLANDS IN NEW GUINEA AND LATER HEAVILY INVOLVED IN QUOTE CONFRONTATION UNQUOTE AGAINST MALASIA. HE HAS ALSO BEEN CONCERNED WITH ELIMINATING COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN ARMY.

5. NETHERLANDS PERMREP WARNED HOWEVER THAT ANTI-COMMUNISM IN ARMY DOES NOT RPT NOT MEAN PROWESTERN CHANGE IN POLICY AND SAID THERE WERE LIMITS TO ARMY'S ANTI-COMMUNISM IN VIEW OF DEPENDENCE ON SOVIET AND CHINESE ARMS SUPPLIES.

6. AS FOR FUTURE MUCH DEPENDS ON WHETHER SUKARNO WILL BE IN POSITION TO WIELD POWER. IF HE IS, HE WILL PROBABLY TRY TO ESTABLISH POLITICAL COMPROMISE AND CONTINUE TO BALANCE PKI AGAINST ARMY. THE ARMY ON OTHER HAND IS UNLIKELY TO PRESS TOO HARD AGAINST PKI IN ORDER TO AVOID CIVIL WAR AND BLOODSHED. ARMY WILL STRENGTHEN ITS POSITION FOR FUTURE WHILE AWAITING DEPARTURE OF SUKARNO BUT MEANWHILE PRESTIGE OF BOTH SUKARNO AND PKI HAVE SUFFERED AS RESULT OF RECENT EVENTS.

7. NETHERLANDS PERMREP WAS DOUBTFUL THERE WOULD BE IMMEDIATE CHANGE IN INDONESIAN FOREIGN POLICY AS CONSEQUENCE OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

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PAGE THREE 2097

AS THESE POLICIES HAVE HAD GENERAL SUPPORT FROM ALL SIDES BUT THERE SHOULD BE CERTAIN EASING OF SITUATION BECAUSE OF PREOCCUPATION WITH INTERNAL PROBLEMS.

3.UK PERMREP GENERALLY AGREEING WITH FOREGOING APPRECIATION SUGGESTED UNTUNG MAY HAVE BEEN INITIALLY USED BY SOME COMMUNISTS BUT PKI DID NOT RPT NOT FOLLOW THROUGH WHEN COUP DID NOT RPT NOT COME OFF. THERE IS ALSO SOME TENUOUS EVIDENCE THAT SUKARNO HIMSELF MAY HAVE BEEN PRIVY TO ORIGINAL COUP PLANS TO SUPPRESS ARMY POWER BUT FACTS ARE NOT RPT NOT CLEAR.IT IS LIKELY THAT GEN SOEHARTO IS PREVENTING SUKARNO FROM EXERCISING AUTHORITY AND FROM APPEARING PUBLICLY.

9.UK AUTHORITIES BELIEVE IT UNLIKELY THAT GENS IN CONTROL WILL REMAIN AS PASSIVE AS SUGGESTED IN NETHERLANDS APPRECIATION AND CURRENT MILITARY LEADERS MAY TAKE INITIATIVE AGAINST PKI BECAUSE OF BITTERNESS CONNECTED WITH MURDER OF SIX GENS AND ROLE OF PRO-COMMUNISTS IN AIR FORCE.

10.NEWS ON SITUATION IN INTERIOR OF INDONESIA IS VAGUE.LOYALTY AND MORALE OF OFFICERS IN MIDDLE RANKS OF ARMY IS DIFFICULT TO JUDGE BUT THEY ARE UNLIKELY TO GO AGAINST SUKARNOS APPEAL FOR ARMED FORCES UNITY.THERE IS GREATER SPLIT OF LOYALTY IN AIR FORCE AND AS AN OPERATIONAL FORCE IT IS NOW INEFFECTIVE.IT IS TOO EARLY TO SAY WHETHER EVENTS WILL LEAD TO A FAVOURABLE TREND FOR WEST IN INDONESIAN FOREIGN POLICY BUT CONFRONTATION WITH MALAYA SHOULD DIMINISH IN EFFECTIVENESS.

11.GERMAN PERMREP REFERRED TO A GERMAN EMB REPORT FROM JKARTA

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PAGE FOUR 2097

DATED SEP27 WHICH DEALT WITH EXTRAORDINARY BOOMBASTIC PUBLIC POSTURE OF SUKARNO ON EVE OF COUP AND HIS EXAGGERATED AND UNREALISTIC CLAIMS FOR INDONESIA'S ROLE AND IMPORTANCE IN WORLD AND SIGNIFICANCE OF INDONESIAN REVOLUTION.

12. USA DEPUTY REP AGREEING WITH UK PERMREP THOUGHT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR SUKARNO TO REINSTATE HIS POLICY OF BALANCE BETWEEN PKI AND ARMY BECAUSE OF INITIAL COMMUNIST ENDORSEMENT OF SEP30 REVOLT, RESENTMENT CREATED BY RECENT EVENTS AND IN VIEW OF INCREASED POWER OF ARMY AND OF OPERATIONS CURRENTLY UNDER WAY AGAINST DISSIDENT ELEMENTS

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FM LDN OCT6/654 CONFD

TO EXTERNAL 4015 IMMED

INFO WASHDC PERMISNY EMBPARIS NATOPARIS TT KLMR DE OTT

EAG JKRTA DE LDN

DEVELOPMENTS IN INDONESIA

BRITS INTERPRET REPORT THAT SUKARNO TODAY HAS PRESIDED OVER FULL MTG OF INDONESIAN CABINET AT BOGOR AS INDICATION THAT HE HAS LAUNCHED DETERMINED BID TO REASSERT HIS AUTHORITY. WHEN WE SPOKE TO TONKIN OF INDONESIA DESK FO OUTCOME OF CABINET MTG WAS NOT RPT NOT KNOWN BUT HE POINTED OUT THAT IF AS REPORTED ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP WAS PRESENT INCLUDING FIVE COMMUNIST MEMBERS IT WOULD APPEAR THAT SUKARNOS QUOTE NATIONAL UNITY UNQUOTE LINE WAS HAVING SOME SUCCESS. THIS WAS REINFORCED FO APPREHENSION THAT ARMY MAY YET BE DETERRED FROM CARRYING OUT PURGE OF COMMUNIST ELEMENTS FOR WHICH UNTUNG COUP ATTEMPT COULD HAVE PROVIDED CONVENIENT EXCUSE.

2. LOOKING BACK OVER EVENTS SINCE SEP30 TONKIN SAID MOST PLAUSIBLE RECONSTRUCTION APPEARED TO BE THAT PKI IN COLLUSION WITH SOME AIR FORCE LEADERS HAD ARRANGED TO USE UNTUNG AS FRONT MAN FOR COUP WHICH WAS TO HAVE FOLLOWED PUBLIC DENUNCIATION BY SUKARNO OF THE GENS FOR ALLEGEDLY PLOTTING TO STAGE COUP OCT5 WITH CIA CONNIVANCE. WHEN SUKARNO WITH TYPICAL VACILLATION DID NOT RPT NOT GO THROUGH WITH EXPECTED PRONOUNCEMENT PKI AND OTHERS INVOLVED HAD WISELY ABANDONED THE UNDERTAKING BUT UNTUNG HAD CARRIED ON WITH (FOR HIM) DISASTROUS RESULTS. IF SUKARNO NOW SUCCEEDED IN PATCHING UP FACADE OF POLITICAL UNITY IT WOULD DO

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PAGE TWO 4015

UNTUNG NO RPT NO GOOD TO PROTEST THAT OTHERS INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT HAD BEEN IN LEAGUE WITH HIM; HE SEEMED LIKELY TO BE THROWN TO THE WOLVES. PKI HAD GONE SWIFTLY TO GROUND; THEY WERE LITTLE IN EVIDENCE IN JKRTA AND AIDITS WHEREABOUTS WAS NOT RPT NOT KNOWN.

3. TONKIN SAID PRECISE BALANCE OF FORCES REMAINED FAR FROM CLEAR BUT THERE WAS EVERY INDICATION THAT GENS NASUTION AND SOEHARTO WERE FIRMLY IN CONTROL IN JKRTA AREA. CAPACITY OF GEN ADJIES FORCES TO COPE WITH REBEL CONCENTRATIONS ELSEWHERE SEEMED LESS ASSURED.

4. ON LONG TERM PROSPECTS TONKIN REMARKED THAT EVEN IF (AS NOW SEEMED POSSIBLE) SUKARNO SUCCEEDED IN PAPERING OVER CRACKS AND RESTORING POLITICAL BALANCE ENABLING HIM TO RETAIN APPEARANCE OF POWER HIS AUTHORITY COULD HARDLY BE RESTORED TO WHAT IT WAS BEFORE RECENT EVENTS. IN TERMS OF CONFRONTATION WITH MALAYSIA FO SAW NO RPT NO REASON TO REVISE ITS ORIGINAL ASSESSMENT THAT NET OUTCOME WOULD BE GREATER PREOCCUPATION OF INDONESIAN MILITARY AND POLITICAL ELEMENTS WITH INTERNAL AFFAIRS WITH INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCE THAT PRESSURE ON MALAYSIA WOULD BE SOMEWHAT RELAXED.