



INDONESIANS 'GREET' U.S. AMBASSADOR

Indonesia - Fact And Fancy

by Lisa Armand

Any assessment of the recent upheaval in Indonesia is hampered on the one hand by a scarcity of hard facts and on the other hand by an over-abundance of "news" heavily larded with speculation, distortion and downright lies emanating from Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta, Washington and Moscow. It is clear that all the facts are not in and will not be known for some time.

Recent events in Indonesia must be seen against the background of the fierce and continuing internal struggle between the national democratic front, based on a worker-peasant alliance and embracing nationalists, religious believers and communists (Nasakom), and the reactionary economic dynasty of the urban and rural bureaucrat capitalists, speculators, corrupt officials, big landlords, money lenders, crop-sharing law evaders, middlemen and imperialist economic forces in Indonesia.

In conditions of rising struggle by millions of workers and peasants against poverty, inflation, exploitation and imperialism, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) has grown in membership and influence. It organized and led the peasants in agrarian reform which has profoundly effected economic relations in the countryside.

In an article in *The New York Times* of March 27, Neil Sheehan wrote from the Indonesian countryside of the growth of the PKI. He attributed it to the fact that "for the first time someone is asking the peasants what they want" and that the PKI was agitating for "the enforcement of land reform and crop-sharing."

The PKI has been the prime mover in the movement to confiscate and nationalize all U.S. and British enterprises, including oil, thus striking a blow at imperialist bases within the Indonesian economy. It has been the pivotal factor in arousing the broad masses and uniting with other progressive and revolutionary forces in promoting the struggle to "crush Malaysia," the neo-colonialist creation of Washington and London; in supporting the withdrawal of Indonesia from the U.S.-dominated U. N. and in rallying the Indonesian people to ever more effective aid to the revolutionaries of the world—above all to the embattled Vietnamese people fighting imperialism.

AIDIT ATTACKS REVISIONISM AND DOGMATISM

The Indonesian Communist Party has been a truly Marxist-Leninist party. At a May 23 Jakarta rally commemorating its 45th anniversary, PKI Chairman D.N. Aidit said:

"If we are to continue marching along the revolutionary road, we should constantly launch revolutionary offensives against modern revisionism and continue our fight against modern dogmatism at the same time. There is no other way. It would be empty talk if the anti-imperialist struggle is not combined with the struggle against opportunism."

For all these reasons the PKI has earned the fear and hatred of three sets of enemies. The Indonesian reactionaries; imperialism, especially the U.S. and British imperialists; and the modern revisionists. All three, to one degree or another, and in pursuit of their individual interests—which sometimes mesh and at other times clash—have placed their reliance on the right-wing and anti-communist elements in the Indonesian army.

The subversion and intervention of the U.S. CIA in Indonesia is a twice-told tale familiar to most readers of *CHALLENGE*. Suffice to recall that between 1950-1965 the CIA has, in at least 7 documented instances, masterminded and provided large-scale support to right-wing and individual CIA agents within the Indonesian army in their efforts to overthrow Sukarno and seize control.

When former CIA chief Allen Dulles was asked on an NBC-TV program about CIA activities in the 1958 revolt, he answered classically, "Well, all I can tell you is that we were not happy with Mr. Sukarno in 1958 and I don't think that we are very happy with him in 1965."

Just how unhappy "we" were is further spelled out by article by *New York Times* analyst Max Frankel—a man with an ear to official sources:

"Specialists here in Washington are hoping that Indonesia can now be saved from what had appeared to be an inevitable drift toward a peaceful takeover from within. (An illusion fortunately not shared by the PKI—L.A.) There is hope that Indonesia's ever more intimate associations with Communist China

can be disrupted without necessarily making her pro-Western. ("Non-aligned"—like India will do splendidly!—L.A.) And there is hope that a new receptivity will develop in Jakarta for Western financial aid geared to difficult but necessary economic development programs.

There is, in short, hope where only two weeks ago there was despair about the fifth most populous nation on earth, whose 103 million inhabitants on 4,000 islands possess vast but untapped resources and occupy one of the most strategic positions in southeast Asia...

Prior to the Oct. 1 plot, neither threat nor blandishment had been able to persuade President Sukarno to halt the growth and influence of the three-million member Communist Party...

The recently retired United States Ambassador to Indonesia, Howard P. Jones, argued for five years that Washington should not lose hope in the strength of the anti-communist army leaders to hold their own in the post-Sukarno period...

In one horrible but momentous day, officials believe, they won a great new chance. For the moment, they suspect, President Sukarno is the political if not the physical captive of the anti-communist forces."

THE PKI AND SEPTEMBER 30

It should be noted that the move to eliminate Indonesia as a strong, militant, anti-imperialist force in Afro-Asian and world politics takes place at a time when Washington is engaged in a supreme effort to extricate itself from the political and military blind alley in which it finds itself in Vietnam. To this end it has launched a large-scale offensive to break up and roll back Asian and Afro-Asian unity. Links in this all-embracing offensive are the huge build-up of U.S. troops and the intensified savagery of the U.S. war in Vietnam; the big push for ratification of the "Japan-South Korean Treaty"; the Indo-Pakistan conflict through which Washington hopes—with an assist from the U.N.—to open the door for a U.S. "presence" on China's western borders; and U.S. sabotage, with the aid of its collaborators, of the solidarity of the Second Afro-Asian Conference in a forthright condemnation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

It is within this overall context that Lt. Col. Untung's September 30 Movement and the attitude towards it of the PKI must be viewed. Although details of the background and the behind-the-scenes relations in the events of Sept. 30 remain unknown, right-wing Indonesian army forces, buttressed by former members of the Masjumi (Moslem) and Peremesta (Christian) parties, together with foreign subversives, have been swift to seize the opportunity to link the PKI with the Sept. 30 Movement for the sole purpose of creating a pretext and justification for demanding the dissolution of the PKI.

MOVEMENT WITHIN ARMY

It is around the question of the PKI's position in relation to the Sept. 30 Movement that the distortion has been the greatest. On Oct. 1, the Radio of the Republic of Indonesia announced that a Sept. 30 Movement led by Lt. Col. Untung issued a press communique to the effect that on Sept. 30, with the assistance of other branches of the armed services, the Movement had taken action within the army against the generals of the self-styled "Council of Generals."

The press communique continued, "The Council of Generals is a subversive movement engineered by the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States. They have been particularly active of late, especially since President Sukarno fell seriously ill early in August. They hoped that President Sukarno would die of the illness, but their hopes did not materialize. To attain their ends, they therefore planned to stage a show of force on Armed Forces Day on Oct. 5 of this year, by bringing in troops from East, Central and West Java. There was even a plan by the Council of Generals to start a coup d'etat before Oct. 5 through the concentration of a large military force in Jakarta."

The communique went on to say: "Lt. Col. Untung... explained that the movement was purely one within the army and was directed against the Council of Generals

which had done things besmirching the reputation of the army and harbored criminal designs against the Republic of Indonesia and President Sukarno." It added that Lt. Col. Untung considered himself "duty-bound to ensure the safety of the President and the Republic of Indonesia; it was therefore necessary for him to launch the Movement."

The communique announced that a number of generals had been arrested and that President Sukarno was safe and sound. It further announced the formation of an Indonesian Revolutionary Council. The communique explained that the Council "would firmly carry out the 'five amulets' of the revolution (Nasakom; Pantjasila or the five principles on which the Indonesian state is based: 1. nationalism, internationalism or humanism, 2. system of consultation or democracy, social prosperity, and belief in God, 3. Sukarno's 1959 manifesto known as 'The Rediscovery of our Revolution', 4. the three principles of political independence, economic self-reliance, and a culture with national identity, 5. self-reliance), and will put into effect the decisions taken by the People's Assembly, the Cooperation Parliament and the Supreme Advisory Council. With a view to achieving peace in Southeast Asia and the world, it will not change Indonesia's independent foreign policy of active opposition to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Neither will it change the policy in relation to the Second Afro-Asian Conference and the Conference of the New Emerging Forces and that of confrontation with 'Malaysia.'"

'PURIFY THE RANKS OF THE REVOLUTION'

On Oct. 2, *Harian Rakjat*, the paper of the Central Committee of the PKI printed the above quoted communique and contained an editorial which stated: "Whatever the pretext, the coup d'etat which the 'Council of Generals' tried to bring about is a counter revolutionary action and should be condemned." The editorial added, "The issue is one within the army itself. However, we, people with political consciousness who are aware of the tasks of the revolution, are convinced that the action taken by the Sept. 30 Movement to save the revolution and the people is correct." The editorial characterized the action taken by the Sept. 30 Movement as "a patriotic and revolutionary action."

On Oct. 6, the East Java paper, *Djalan Rakjat*, published a letter from PKI Chairman Aidit dated Oct. 2. The letter stated that "The September 30 Movement is an internal affair of the army, and the Indonesian Communist Party will not intervene." It continued, "As is well known, it is the consistent stand of the Indonesian Communist Party to agree to any measure to purify the ranks of all revolutionary instruments and guard the safety of President Sukarno and the Republic of Indonesia. As for the Council of Generals, the Indonesian Communist Party disapproves of it and condemns it."

SUKARNO SEEKS CALM ATMOSPHERE

Aidit further instructed "all Indonesian Communist Party members to continue to carry out their urgent tasks...to heighten their vigilance and strengthen revolutionary unity with Nasakom as its heart and soul, so as to put into effect the five amulets of the revolution." He further urged them to "uphold and strengthen the unity of the Party and strictly observe Party and national discipline."

On Oct. 5 the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the PKI issued a statement reaffirming that the Sept. 30 Movement was an internal affair of the army and that the PKI would not intervene. The statement expressed support for President Sukarno's instructions on the settlement of the question of the Sept. 30 Movement. Sukarno has described it as an "event in the course of the revolution, and not one that belonged to a period when the revolution would appear to have been completed." Therefore, he said, it was "indeed part of our revolution...like other incidents which happened previously." To date President Sukarno appears to be trying to establish a "calm atmosphere" in which he has said he would seek "a just political settlement."

Although details remain obscure, it is clear that the attempt of certain patriotic but non-communist army officers to protect Sukarno and Indonesia's national democratic revolution by forestalling a right-wing army coup, misfired. It is equally clear that they were defending the revolution against a complex of internal and external counter-revolutionary forces. We have noted Washington's jubilation at the full-scale campaign of terror mounted by the present military leaders in Jakarta against the PKI and a broad spectrum of people's organizations. This was to be expected.

REVISIONISTS SUPPORT GENERALS

But what should one say to the Soviet news agency Tass' characterization of Gen. Suharto's ferocious onslaught against the Sept. 30 Movement as the "quelling of a coup d'etat?" Or the commentary of the organ of the Soviet government *Izvestia*, which, on Oct. 16 called the Sept. 30 Movement to defend the revolution a "rebellion" which was "quelled" by "forces loyal to the military command, brought from the provinces" while "the remaining rebels fled to the mountains." It was further suggested by this *Izvestia* commentary that the anti-communist campaign unleashed by these "loyal" forces was precipitated by the fact that "several Communists were among the members of the Revolutionary Council" and because "Harian Rakjat, organ of the Communist Party which failed to understand the confused state of things in the first few days, wrote as if the rebellion had the support of the people." To be for or against counter-revolution, it would seem, is evidently no longer a matter of principle for *Izvestia*—but one of political expediency.

Who has the support of the Indonesian people remains to be seen. Newspaper headlines in the bourgeois press have nothing to do with political analysis. Though, to be honest, some bourgeois commentators appear to have a more sober view than *Izvestia*. In an article in *The New York Times* of October 25 Robert Kleiman writes that "despite many arrests, Indonesia's huge Communist Party remains largely intact. Its long term prospects remain good in view of the country's social problem..."

The Indonesian Communist Party, which is a Party tempered in struggle and without illusions, will certainly know how to wage the good fight in the interests of the Indonesian people and the anti-imperialist people of the world.