

4-9-65 Rep

DOS REVIEWED 01-Apr-2008: DECLASSIFIED FOR RELEASE IN FULL

2. SUKARNO ORDERS ARMY TO FOLLOW DICTATES OF REVOLUTION. PRESIDENT SUKARNO AT OPENING ARMY SEMINAR APRIL 3 (TO CONTINUE THROUGH APRIL 9) ORDERED ARMY LEADERS TO ADOPT NEW DEFENSE POLICY IN ACCORD WITH FACT INDONESIA'S ENEMIES NOT CPR OR USSR, BUT "NEO-COLONIALISTS." SUKARNO COMPLAINED THAT INDO ARMED FORCES HAD NOT FULLY CHANGED THEIR COURSE TO ACCORD WITH THAT OF REVOLUTION AND WERE STILL PLANNING DEFENSE STRATEGY ON FALSE PREMISE THAT ENEMY WOULD COME FROM NORTH. PROOF THIS POLICY, HE CONTINUED, WAS FACT REBELS AND SUBVERSIVES IN INDONESIA DURING PAST 20 YEARS RECEIVED AID FROM NEKOLIM AND NOT FROM CPR AND USSR. HE LATER MENTIONED US BY NAME AMONG DEFENDERS OF MALAYSIA WHICH DESIGNED "PROTECT IMPERIALIST LIFE LINES."

TAKING CUE FROM PRESIDENT, ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF YANI FOLLOWING DAY IN ADDRESS TO SEMINAR STRESSED THAT GOAL INDO DOCTRINE REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE IS CRUSHING OF NEKOLIM. YANI ENUMERATED CHANGES IN REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL DOCTRINE WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN RECENT INDO HISTORY, FIRST THERE HAD BEEN DOCTRINE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, NEXT STAGE WAS LIBERATION OF WEST IRIAN, THEN ERA OF CONFRONTATION BETWEEN

OLD ESTABLISHED AND NEW EMERGING FORCES (NEFOS) AND FINALLY PRESENT LEVEL OF CRUSHING NEKOLIM. MILITARY DOCTRINE, YANI EXPLAINED, MUST CHANGE ALONG WITH POLITICAL DOCTRINE.

YANI IN ADDITION CLEARLY IMPLIED NEED FOR CLOSE ARMY COOPERATION WITH "REVOLUTIONARY" GROUPS OF WHICH PKI BY FAR MOST THOROUGHLY ORGANIZED AND WITH CHICOMS AND OTHER BLOC COUNTRIES.

ANTI-COMMUNIST ARMY OFFICER IN COMMENTING TO EMBOFF ON SUKARNO'S SPEECH EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN, WHICH HE SAID IS SHARED BY MANY OTHER OFFICERS. SOURCE SAID CHANGE IN APPROACH AS OUTLINED BY SUKARNO WOULD HAVE VERY SERIOUS EFFECT ON ARMY'S "CLOSED DOOR" INDOCTRINATION PROGRAM. HE EXPLAINED THAT ARMY IN RECENT YEARS HAD BEEN USING "THREAT FROM NORTH" APPROACH IN BRIEFINGS "BEHIND CLOSED DOORS" AS INTRODUCTION TO GENERAL SUBJECT OF COMMUNIST INFILTRATION AND SUBVERSION. WITH CHANGE TO "NEO-COLONIALISM", AS ENEMY, "CLOSED DOOR" INDOCTRINATIONS WOULD SOON BE ANTI-WESTERN AND ANTI-US. SOURCE SAID HE NOT SURE ARMY WOULD FOLLOW SUKARNO'S GUIDANCE TO LETTER, BUT PRESS ACCOUNTS YANI'S SPEECH SEEMED TO FOLLOW PRESIDENT'S DESIRES. IN CLOSING ARMY OFFICER SAID, "SO FAR ARMY HAS BEEN ABLE TO KEEP SEPARATE FROM NATIONAL INDOCTRINATION WHICH HAS BEEN VERY STRONG ON



ANTI-WESTERN AND ANTI-US TOPICS. BUT IF SUKARNO CAN CHANGE THIS, THEN ARMY COULD EASILY BECOME WATERED-DOWN FORCE AND LOSE ITS ANTI-COMMUNIST VIEWS."

PRESS APRIL 8 REPORTED THAT PLAN FOR REVOLUTIONARY WAR DOCTRINE, WHICH ARMY SEMINAR IS STUDYING, STATES DOCTRINE MUST MEET FOLLOWING CONDITIONS:

"1) INTEGRATION AND CONCENTRATION OF ALL NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES BASED ON NASAKOM SO THAT THEY CAN FURTHER DEVOTE THEMSELVES TO REVOLUTION.

"2) CONCRETE INTEGRATION AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION WITH NEFOS FOR PURPOSE ASSISTING STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE OF OTHER PEOPLES OF WORLD.

"3) CAPABILITY WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF COOPERATION WITH NEFOS, TO FACE MODERN WAR, INCLUDING CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN FIELD ATOMS AND SPACE, SO AS TO CREATE WORLD FREE FROM IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM.."

COMMENT: THESE "CONDITIONS" HAVE OMINOUS IMPLICATIONS THAT INDO ARMY BEING PRESSED PLAY LARGER ROLE IN ANTI-WESTERN MOVEMENTS, GUERRILLA AND OTHERWISE, IN SEA. CONDITION ONE ABOVE IS STANDARD GOI EUPHEMISM FOR FORCING NON-COMMUNIST BODIES TO FOLLOW PKI LINE.

1. PRESIDENT LAYS BASIS FOR "TURN OF WHEEL"
IN MAJOR SPEECH TO PEOPLE'S CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY (MPRS)
ON APRIL 11, PRESIDENT SUKARNO SET FORTH POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC FOUNDATION FOR A "TURN OF THE WHEEL" IN
INDONESIAN POLICY, EMPHASIZING THAT "NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC
STAGE OF REVOLUTION ALMOST FINISHED" AND NATION HAS
ALREADY ENTERED STAGE OF "INDONESIAN SOCIALISM."

MAJOR POINTS MADE IN SPEECH CLEARLY INDICATE SUKARNO WISHES
"WHEEL" TO BE TURNED SHARPLY TO LEFT. HE
INDIRECTLY ATTACKED MOSLEM GROUPS FOR EMPHASIZING ONLY
ONE ELEMENT OF PANTJASILA AND ORDERED HALT TO ANTI-PKI
ACTIVITIES IN PROVINCES. IN INTERNATIONAL SPHERE HE
PAINTED NEKOLIM AS SOLE ENEMY OF INDONESIAN PEOPLE AND
SAID INDONESIA WOULD MAKE "LIFE-LINE OF IMPERIALISM"
(FROM GIBRALTER TO JAPAN) INTO "DEATH-LINE." PRESIDENT
NOTED THAT PEKING IN NORTH AND DJAKARTA IN SOUTH WOULD
BECOME CENTERS OF NEW ANTI-NEKOLIM POWER IN ASIA.

CHIEF ECONOMIC CHANGES MENTIONED IN SPEECH WERE
ESTABLISHMENT OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT BOARD HEADED BY
SUKARNO HIMSELF AS SORT OF ECONOMIC CZAR, PLACING OF
DEVELOPMENT BUDGET, WHICH FORMERLY UNDER THIRD DEPRIMIN
SALEH. UNDER PRESIDENT, AND PROHIBITION OF IMPORTS BY
PRIVATE COMPANIES EXCEPT IN NAME OF GOVERNMENT.

SPEECH HAS DRAWN MUCH PROLONGED ATTENTION FROM
PRESS AND APPLAUSE FROM ALL GROUPS;, INCLUDING THOSE
ATTACKED, WHO HAVE ATTEMPTED INTERPRET PRESIDENT'S
REMARKS ON PANTJASILA TO THEIR OWN COMFORT.



4-9-65 Ry

Indonesia Now Entering Period of Organizing Socialism

In follow up to more veiled remarks

ON STAGES OF REVOLUTION LAST WEEK (WEEK 14) SUKARNO SAID ON APRIL 5 THAT INDO HAD "ALMOST CONCLUDED" NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC STAGE OF REVOLUTION AND "WAS NOW ENTERING PERIOD OF ORGANIZING SOCIALISM." HE ALSO SAID "NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC" STAGE WOULD BE FOLLOWED FIRST BY PERIOD OF "ORGANIZING SOCIALIST SOCIETY" AND LATER BY STAGE OF "SOCIALIST SOCIETY" ITSELF. RECENT REORGANIZATION OF DEPT OF BASIC INDUSTRY AND MINING INTO THREE DEPARTMENTS WAS SAID TO BE PART OF PROCESS OF PREPARING FOR NEXT STAGE.

COMMENT THERE HAVE BEEN NUMEROUS INDICATIONS RECENTLY THAT SUKARNO SPEECH AT OPENING OF MPRS SESSION ON APRIL 11 IS INTENDED TO HAVE MAJOR SIGNIFICANCE AND WILL HERALD IMPORTANT CHANGES IN ECONOMIC POLICY INCLUDING GREATER RESTRICTION OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE. IT OR ANOTHER SUITABLE OCCASION SOON MAY WITNESS FORMAL PROMULGATION OF ENDING OF NATIONAL -DEMOCRATIC STAGE IN VIEW RECENT SUKARNO EMPHASIS ON SUBJECT. SUKARNO'S TWO PERIODS BEYOND "NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC" STAGE OF "ORGANIZING SOCIALISM" AND "SOCIALIST SOCIETY" SEEM ANALOGOUS TO STANDARD COMMUNIST TERMINOLOGY ON PERIODS OF "BUILDING SOCIALISM" AND "SOCIALISM." BUT DETAILS OF NEW GOI ECONOMIC POLICIES NOT YET CLEAR.



26 May 1964

Sukarno Blasts National Front (May 25)

PRES SUKARNO MAY 25 THREATENED TO DISSOLVE NATIONAL FRONT IF IT DID NOT IMPROVE ITS PERFORMANCE IN AROUSING AND LEADING THE PEOPLE. SUKARNO, DRESSED NOT IN HIS USUAL SPLENDOR BUT IN SHIRT SLEEVES AND WITHOUT UBIQUITOUS PITJI (HAT) DELIVERED THREAT IN ADDRESS TO OPENING PLENARY SESSION OF NATIONAL FRONT LEADERSHIP. PRES ASSERTED IF FRONT IS TO AVOID DISSOLUTION, "THERE MUST BE INTROSPECTION AND RADICAL CHANGE IN ITS LEADERSHIP." HE SCORNFULLY SAID MASSES CANNOT BE AROUSED BY BUREAUCRATIC LEADERSHIP WHICH MERELY SITS

BEHIND DESKS. CITING LENIN HE DECLARED MASSES DO NOT MOVE SPONTANEOUSLY, BUT MUST BE LED AND MOBILIZED. NATIONAL FRONT LEADERSHIP, HE STRESSED, MUST ENTER INTO VILLAGES TO LEAD PEOPLE IN COMPLETING REVOLUTION. GOING FURTHER INTO DETAIL, HE SAID, THEY MUST CONVEY "BEAUTIFUL PICTURE" OF GOALS OF INDEPENDENCE AND INSTILL SENSE OF CONFIDENCE THAT THESE GOALS CAN BE ACHIEVED. "SHEDDING A FEW TEARS, HE RECALLED HOW HE HAD SO AROUSED ONE VILLAGER DURING COLONIAL TIMES THAT WHEN LATTER DIED HE EXPRESSED WISH THAT HIS BODY BE WRAPPED IN RED AND WHITE CLOTH.

SUKARNO PRAISED PKI FOR MOBILIZING SUFFICIENT PEOPLE TO FILL STADIUM AT ITS 45TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION. "I WAS TRULY AMAZED AT PKI," HE SAID, "AND I MYSELF SAW ON EVENING BEFORE CELEBRATION THAT PEOPLE HAD ALREADY BEEN ORGANIZED IN ORDERLY MANNER AND THAT EVEN CHILDREN CALLED 'LONG LIVE PKI', 'HURRAH FOR PKI 45TH ANNIVERSARY.'"

AT ONE POINT SUKARNO EVIDENTLY FOCUSED HIS DISPLEASURE WITH NATIONAL FRONT ON NF DESECGEN COL DJUHARTONO, WHO LEADS ARMY FORCES WITHIN FRONT. AFTER RHETORICALLY ASKING, "SHOULD NOT FRONT BE DISSOLVED?", DJUHARTONO SHOOK HIS HEAD

IN DISSENT. SEEING THIS PRES SAID, "DJUHARTONO SHAKES HIS HEAD IN DISAGREEMENT;" AND ADDED IF FRONT DOES NOT WANT TO BE DISSOLVED ITS LEADERSHIP MUST BE RADICALLY CHANGED.

COMMENT: DEMAND FOR CHANGE IN NATIONAL FRONT LEADERSHIP AND BITTER DENUNCIATION OF ITS ALLEGED RELUCTANCE TO ENTER VILLAGES ENDORSES LINE BEING PRESSED BY PKI. FURTHERMORE, DJUHARTONO IS REPORTEDLY ONE OF LEADERS SCHEDULED TO BE RETOOLED (REFTEL).



IT APPEARS THAT NOT ONLY ARMY, BUT ALSO PERHAPS PNI FEARS THAT IT WILL LOSE OUT TO COMMUNISTS IN SUKARNO'S PROPOSED RADICAL CHANGE IN NATIONAL FRONT LEADERSHIP. ALONG WITH ARMY SUPERVISED DAILIES, PNI ORGAN SULUH INDONESIA, WHICH USUALLY FOLLOWS PKI LINE, OMITTED PART SUKARNO SPEECH PRAISING PKI.

5-134-7

5 June 1965

(incomplete)

ALTHOUGH EMBASSY HAS REPORTED EXTENSIVELY IN RECENT MONTHS ON ACCELERATED DETERIORATION OF INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION HERE, IT MAY BE WELL AT THIS TIME BRIEFLY TO REVIEW EXTENT AND SIGNIFICANCE OF CURRENT SUKARNO-PKI DRIVE AGAINST REMAINING ANTI-COMMUNIST FORCES.

WITH DESTRUCTION OF BPS AND BAN OF MURBA IN DECEMBER - JANUARY, PROCESS OF COWIF NATIONALIST, MOSLEM AND OTHER RELIGIOUSLY-BACKED POLITICAL FORCES HAS BEEN FURTHER ADVANCED AND ACCELERATED AND SUCH PRECARIOUS INTERNAL BALANCE AGAINST PKI AS EXISTED LAST AUTUMN HAS BEEN

FURTHER WEAKENED. SUKARNO'S REPEATED ASSERTION OF HIS INTENTION TO CARRY INDO FROM "NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC" INTO "SOCIALIST" STAGE OF REVOLUTION HAS BEEN SIGNAL FOR FURTHER REDUCTION WHATEVER POTENTIAL FOR ANTI-PKI POLITICAL POWER RESIDED IN SALEH, MALIK AND OTHERS INCLUDING LEADING MILITARY FIGURES.

MORE IMPORTANT, TALK OF ENTERING "SOCIALIST STAGE" HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY MORE DETERMINED SUKARNO EFFORTS THUS FAR TO IMPOSE POLITICAL CONTROL OVER MILITARY IN MANNER WHICH WOULD ELIMINATE LATTEER AS CURRENT BRAKING FORCE AGAINST SUKARNO'S RADICAL POLITICAL POLICIES AND BLOCK TO FUTURE POWER BY PKI.



6-11-65 *Tepn*

3. Proposal for "Fifth Armed Force"

The PKI and its allies, surprising no one, have lent their whole-hearted support to Sukarno's proposal of May 28 (which he admitted came from Chou En-lai) that the military give consideration to the formation of a "Fifth Armed Force" composed of volunteers. On June 4 fellow-traveling Air Force Chief of Staff Omar Dani trumpeted forth with a statement endorsing the proposal and declaring that if it is implemented "our might would be so terrible and formidable that imperialists everywhere would shake with fear." Also, according to one paper, Minister of Information Major General Achmadi stated that the formation of the Fifth Armed Force was a necessity of history. However, according to another paper, he avoided giving a clear opinion on the subject.

The proposal also raised a flurry of polemics in the press. Angkor supervised Berita Judha in its editorial of June 4, after noting that the proposal came from Chou En-lai and emphasizing that the final decision is, of course, up to Bung Karno, stated that in viewing the problem Indonesian should remember Sukarno's advice that "we should not copy but rather stand on the basis of our own identity." The following day the PKI official organ Marian Rakjat replied and charged that Berita Judha by its insinuations showed it is against the proposal and that "the people have the full right to answer with a contrary opinion." Marian Rakjat also noted that the style of insinuation also resembled that of the banned NPS paper Berita Indonesia (the Army is using Berita's staff in publishing Berita Judha). Crypto-Communist Bintang Timur also on June 5 explained that the creation of a fifth armed force is an absolute necessity to block such imperialist plans as the one to kill President Sukarno and that therefore the agents of the imperialists and the counter-revolutionaries in Indonesia would employ every subterfuge in trying to block it.

COMMENT

The Fifth Armed Force proposal like NASAKOMization is another ploy by Sukarno for destroying the political power of the Army. It is furthermore a variant of PKI chairman Aidit's proposal for "the arming of the workers and the peasants."

