

Communists Emerging as Sukarno Heirs

Party Leaders Mold Policies to Satisfy President's Aims

This is the last of three dispatches on Indonesia by a correspondent of The New York Times who recently visited the Southeast Asian archipelago.

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HONG KONG, Aug. 26—In

Merdeka Square, the great parade ground of Jakarta, more than 150,000 Indonesians cheered, snarled and laughed in obedient response to the Independence Day speech of President Sukarno. Suddenly there was a hush as the Great Leader of the Revolution, the Beloved Immortal, spoke for the first time of the possibility of his death:

"Sukarno is just a man. Like you, sisters and brothers, my age is in the hands of God."

The 64-year-old President has been in failing health. No one listened more intently to his words than two men who knew that the demise of the leader would signal a struggle that could mean power or death for either of them.

A Red and a General

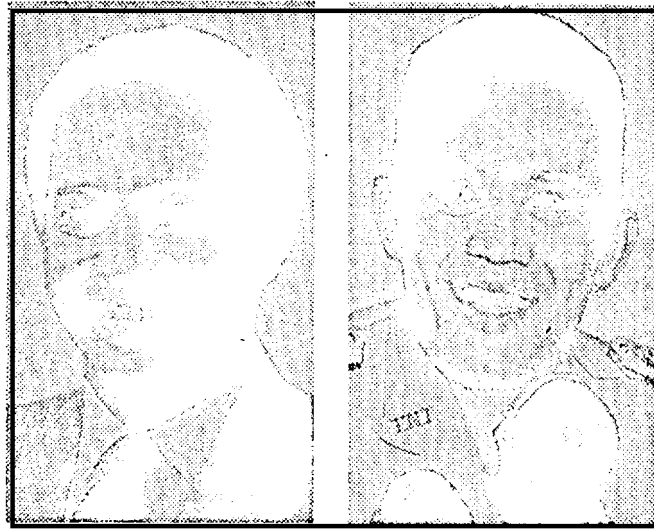
They were D. N. Aidit, chairman of the Indonesian Communist party and second most powerful political figure in the country, and his opponent Gen. Abdul Haris Nasution, Defense Minister and leader of the right-wing generals who control the army.

What President Sukarno said in his Independence Day speech on Aug. 17, and his actions in the preceding months, were directed at averting a power struggle that might disrupt hard-won national unity. He appealed for the preservation of unity according to his principle known as Nasakom, a blending of nationalist, Islamic and Communist forces.

But the army knew unmistakably that it was also the President's will that within the Nasakom front, Communist leaders and their Marxist-Leninist philosophy should be paramount.

Moderates Worried

Time was running out not only for the aging President but also for the army leaders, the right-wing Moslems and the scattered political moderates who have helplessly and fearfully observed the ascendance of Mr. Aidit's Communist party.



Camera Press-Pix

D. N. Aidit, left, chairman of the Indonesian Communist party, and Gen. Abdul Haris Nasution, Defense Minister, are rivals to succeed President Sukarno, who is now 64.

"I would like to live another thousand years," President Sukarno said, "but that, of course, is not possible. But I pray that my concepts and teachings will live another thousand years."

Few doubt that Mr. Sukarno's concepts will profoundly affect the evolution of Indonesia, the largest and potentially most powerful nation in Southeast Asia.

Sukarnonism is a unique state ideology whose prophet has been accorded more honor and devotion at home than abroad. Westerners have been preoccupied more than Indonesians with the quixotic and flamboyant aspect of President Sukarno.

As a Government leader, he has dismayed foreign experts with his undisguised distaste for orthodox economics and his lack of interest in administrative machinery—demonstrated, for example, by his Cabinet of 104 ministers. These flaws have tended to obscure the achievements of the President in fathering an ideology and a mystique that have held together 100 million ethnically and politically diverse Indonesians on 3,000 widely scattered islands.

Seeds in the 1920's

The development of this ideology, consistent since President Sukarno formulated it as a young revolutionary, is proceeding toward the creation of a Communist Indonesia. In the 1920's, young Mr. Sukarno labeled his philosophy Marhaenism, which he called "a type of Marxism-Socialism adapted to the Indonesian community and spirit."

Mr. Aidit, the Communist leader, said recently: "We have never forgotten what Sukarno wrote in the nineteen-twenties."

Late in his career, President

Sukarno decided to use the Communist party as an instrument for establishing his Marhaenist state. After discarding a number of other Indonesian parties that had failed his expectations, he found in the Communists the discipline, the mass-organization techniques and the corruption-free leadership on which to build his greater Indonesia.

In recent months he has pushed aside the men, even such revolutionary heroes as Deputy Premier Chaerul Saleh, who have tried to stem Communist power.

World Red Rift Cited

Tracing the antecedents of Mr. Sukarno's decision, specialists on Indonesian affairs suggest that it was the ideological split between China and the Soviet Union that convinced him that Indonesia's Communism could be relied upon as a party loyal first to the nation, rather than to an international movement.

For years President Sukarno had held the party suspect because of its close ties, in particular those of Mr. Aidit, to Moscow.

But late in 1961, the Chinese-Soviet ideological quarrel began to affect the stand of the Indonesian party leadership. With other major Asian parties, it gravitated toward Peking.

At the same time, the party exploited the split to assume greater independence. Peking rolled out its best Mandarin carpet to receive Mr. Aidit, leader of the third-largest Communist party in the world, claiming a membership of three million.

arrival: "The existence of differences in the international Communist movement has helped Indonesian Communists understand more clearly the correctness of having an independent, self-determined attitude."

New Comintern Opposed

Jakarta's Communist leadership has done all it can to convince Mr. Sukarno that the party has been "Indonesianized."

In an interview at Communist headquarters, Mr. Aidit, a 43-year old organization man with disarming manners, said his party insisted on "equal rights, independence and no interference" in its relations with Peking and Moscow.

Mr. Aidit said he opposed the establishment of a world body of Communist parties similar to the Comintern, which Stalin dissolved during World War II to reassure the Allies.

"I am not for a world organization, with leaders and conferences," Mr. Aidit said. "With such an organization, if we wanted to do something in Indonesia we would have to consult. We know better what has to be done in Indonesia."

Jovially Mr. Aidit remarked that he enjoyed competition between Peking and Moscow and that Indonesians learned a great deal from polemical exchanges. He said that when he visited Moscow and Peking in the summer of 1963, he urged both parties to drop open polemics. On a similar trip this month, the Indonesian leader did not reiterate his plea for such a truce.

Earlier a Russian source said that on Mr. Aidit's trip to Moscow the Soviet Communist party had failed to settle its differences with him. The Indonesian party has been critical of Soviet policies but has been more reserved than the Chinese Communists and has avoided direct attacks on the Kremlin leadership.

In another interview, Second Deputy Chairman Njoto, the party's leading ideologist and propagandist, said of the ideological dispute: "We are in a position where we can give our opinion and criticize both parties. We shall maintain this position for the benefit of all."

Mr. Njoto vigorously rejected any suggestion of Chinese domination. "If the Chinese came here," he said, "all of us would resist. We are opposed to foreign domination whether it be American or Chinese."

Funds From Local Chinese

Mr. Aidit denied reports that his party was receiving the bulk of its funds from the Chinese. He said the party's funds are from local Chinese but reliable