

# Nonalignment Appeals Anew To Indonesia

By Hamish McDonald  
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JAKARTA, April 22—The Indochina debacle is one important reason why Indonesians are remembering so keenly this month the time exactly 20 years ago when leaders as diverse as India's Nehru and China's Chou En-lai walked with their own President Sukarno in the cool highland air of Bandung, in west Java.

The occasion was the first conference of nonaligned nations, when Indonesia was the host for leaders from all the nations newly freed from Western colonial rule.

The collapse of resistance in Indochina has, however, given extra poignancy to the nostalgic anniversary articles and speeches about the "spirit of Bandung."

Indonesian leaders have clearly been reexamining the theme of nonalignment in their foreign policy, going all the way back to independence, to help find an appropriate response to the new power lineup in Asia.

The nonalignment theme has often fallen from sight in the 10 years since the attempted coup by the Indonesian Communist Party in 1965. But it was never dropped by the strongly anti-Communist, military backed

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## News Analysis

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government of President Suharto. This probably explains, for example, why the consistently anti-American, old-style nationalist paper Merdeka is still in publication when less radical journals have long since been closed down.

It means that Indonesia is shedding few tears for the Lon Nol government in Cam-

bodia or for the Thieu government. Full recognition of the new Cambodian government is only days away.

Jakarta will probably be a little slower, a little more grudging than the other Southeast Asian capitals on recognition. It put a comparatively great effort in shoring up Lon Nol and in trying to make the Paris accords work, through membership in the International Commission of Control and Supervision in South Vietnam.

Later last year, it was Indonesia that rounded up the four other members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as advocates for Lon Nol's retention of the Cambodian seat in the U.N. General Assembly.

Indonesia, apparently at U.S. urging, took the thankless task of getting Lon Nol away from Phnom Penh. He was picked up at Utapao air base in Thailand by an Indonesian government jet, met here by Foreign Minister Adam Malik and allowed to rest up in a comfortable government villa in Bali before flying on to the United States.

But Indonesia is facing up to the Indochina reality. Last week, Malik spoke of two mutually friendly groups emerging in the region—the ASEAN group of Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines, and a loose group of Communist states in Indochina.

Malik has specifically rejected the idea of a domino theory in relations between the two groupings.

The predominant view is that once hostilities are over, Cambodia and Vietnam will turn inward to re-

construction and political consolidation.

Traditional antipathy to outside interference would tend to weigh against to close an alignment with either of the Communist superpowers. Moreover, competition between the Soviet Union and China would prevent the hegemony of one of them over Indochina, the Indonesians hold.

For a considerable time,

the Indonesians believe, the nationalist component in Hanoi, Saigon and Phnom Penh will prevail against any evangelistic tendencies.

As one senior Indonesian official put it:

"The only subversives we will have to worry about will be Indonesian citizens."

The example of Communist successes in Indochina would be a morale-booster for any remnants of the outlawed Communist Party here. But it is unlikely that they survive in any significant, organized form, given the massive purge that followed the 1965 coup attempt.

Estimates of those killed go into the Hundreds of thousands, and at least 35,000 remain in detention camps.

The only guerrilla activity comes from Communists of Chinese descent operating near the Malaysian border in Borneo and they seem to be contained by joint Indonesian-Malaysian operations.

A longer-term unsettling influence could come from the examples set by Vietnam and Cambodia in their economic development, according to Sedjati Djiwandono, executive director of Jakarta's Center for Strategic and International Studies, a private research foundation with close government contacts.

"This could be a problem for us because we will have to prove that our model is at least equally good," Soedjati said in an interview.

This means more emphasis on the promotion of "national resilience," a term the Indonesians use for economic, social and ideological factors contributing to self-sufficiency.

Indonesia is already acutely sensitive to criticisms, mainly from Western new-left academics, of its current style of development—which seems to create a huge gap in wealth and privilege between those working in the modern sector and those in the traditional sector.

This criticism has an appreciative audience among intellectuals in Jakarta, and books containing it are passed eagerly from hand to hand.

Favorable discussion of it has been used in evidence against the 33 academics, lawyers, economists and students still detained for alleged connections with destructive rioting in Jakarta in January 1974.

Indonesia's reaction to the failure of U.S. policy in Indochina has been ambivalent. Many here share the widespread cynicism in Southeast Asia about American security guarantees, but the Indonesian government has never believed in such protection anyway.

It never joined the U.S.-backed South-East Asian Treaty organization. It has no defense alliances nor foreign bases on its soil.

Publicly and privately, Indonesian officials say they want a continuing American presence in the region.

They note the United States has sizeable investments here—more than \$1 billion in oil alone.

What kind of presence they want has not been defined. One element would certainly be continuing civilian economic development aid.

On the military side no one has talked about stepping up the modest reequipment program of the Indonesian armed forces, now being carried out with American and Australian help.

President Suharto is likely to visit Washington this year and to argue, without much recrimination, that American support is needed more than ever by the increasingly independent-minded governments of Southeast Asia.