

3 Jan 1964

1. PRES SUKARNO'S PROSPECTIVE VISIT TO MANILA
SUKARNO ANNOUNCED AT DEC 30 PRESS CONFERENCE THAT HE
WOULD MEET PHILIPPINE PRES MACAPAGAL IN MANILA SOON BUT FAILED
TO CONFIRM JANUARY 7 DATE ANNOUNCED IN MANILA.

COMMENT THIS WAS FIRST OFFICIAL INDO COMMENT
ON TRIP SINCE MID-DECEMBER VISIT POSTPONED ALTHOUGH
MANILA NEWS REPORTS HAVE BEEN CARRIED LOCALLY WITHOUT
COMMENT. NEWS BLACKOUT AND RELUCTANCE TO CONFIRM DATE
(WHICH APPEARS CORRECT) ARE BELIEVED CONNECTED TO INDO
WISH TO BE ABSOLUTELY SURE THAT ANOTHER EMBARRASSING
POSTPONEMENT WILL NOT BE NECESSARY.



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

3 Jan 1964 Report

4. NEW POLICE CHIEF (UNCL): PRES SUKARNO AT PRESS CONF DEC 30 ANNOUNCED APPOINTMENT LT COL SUTJIPTO DANUKUSUMO AS MIN/CHIEF POLICE IN PLACE SOEKARNO DUJONAGORO. PRES FURTHER ANNOUNCED SOEKARNO HAD BEEN PROMOTED TO FOUR-STAR GENERAL AND MADE "ADVISER TO PRES ON INTERNAL SECURITY."

COMMENT

GEN SOEKARNO DISMISSED IN

TYPICAL INDO MANNER PROMOTION PLUS APPOINTMENT TO HIGH-SOUNDING BUT MEANINGLESS FUNCTION. HIS FALL CAME AS SURPRISE TO NO ONE SINCE POLICE FORCE DURING RECENT MONTHS HAS BEEN TORN BY FACTIONALISM. SUTJIPTO HAS BEEN COMMANDER POLICE MOBILE BRIGADE SINCE JAN 63, ENJOYS GOOD RELATIONS WITH THREE OTHER MILITARY SERVICES AND HAS HAD TRAINING IN US.

POLICE SOURCES SAY SUTJIPTO HAD BACKING OF DEP MIN SUBANDRIO, SALEH AND '45 GENERATION FOR POST AND, ACCORDING ONE REPORT, SUBANDRIO HOPES BUILD POWER BLOCK IN POLICE AROUND HIM. SUBANDRIO AND SALEH ALSO REPORTEDLY OPPOSED APPOINTMENT ANOTHER PROMINENT CANDIDATE BACKED BY MIN-DEFENSE NASUTION. REPORTS CONFLICT AS TO WHETHER SUTJIPTO WILL HAVE TO REPAY '45 GEN GROUP FOR ITS BACKING BY ALLOWING IT DICTATE NEW APPOINTEES.



3 Jan 1964

*Waka 2 say
Sukarno off
for Monday
Jan 7.*

5. AMB JONES RETURNS . AMB JONES
RETURNED TO DJAKARTA JAN 7 FROM LEAVE AND CONSULTATION
IN US AND HAD BRIEF MEETING WITH PRES SUKARNO FOLLOWING
DAY DEVOTED LARGELY TO RENEWING RELATIONS AND SETTING STAGE
FOR LATER MORE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS.



6 Jan 1964 Report

Baperki Conference

(represents Chinese tho
Claims to represent all
minority groups in Indo.
PKI Satellite.)



See 1964: PKI & Affiliates file

7 January 1964

Suharno Goes to Manila



See: 1964 Malaysia Dispute File

1-10-64 Repd

3. GOI BANS INDO CITIZENS FROM VISITING HONG KONG
(UNCLASSIFIED); GOI REGULATION EFFECTIVE JAN 9 FORBIDS
ALL INDO CITIZENS VISIT HONG KONG. EXCEPTIONS MAY BE
GRANTED DIPOMATS AND FAMILIES, NURSEMAIDS FOR DIPLOMATIC
CHILDREN, PERSONS ON OFFICIAL BUSINESS, AND INDOS DOMICILED
HONG KONG. NON-INDOS NOT AFFECTED BY ABOVE. INDO TRANSIT
TRAFFIC STILL ALLOWED. GARUDA CONTINUES TRANSIT HONG
KONG BOTH WAYS ON DJAKARTA-TOKYO ROUTE.



COMMENT: REGULATION AIMED AT BRITISH,
BUT INDIVIDUAL INDOS WILL BE GREATEST SUFFERERS IF BAN STRICTLY
ENFORCED.

1-10-64 Repa

5. INDO-BELGIAN RELATIONS (UNCLASSIFIED): INDO-BELGIAN RELATION REACHED NEW HIGH THIS WEEK AFTER ATTACKS ON BELGIAN DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR OFFICES IN INDO WHICH FOLLOWED DEATH OF LUMUMBA IN EARLY 1961, WITH ELEVATION STATUS DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIONS TO EMBASSY LEVEL IN ORDER "FULLY REFLECT EVER GROWING BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP" BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES.



COMMENT ANYONE HEARING THE HARROWING TALE OF THE BELGIAN CONSUL AT MEDAN WHO WAS CHASED THROUGH HIS HOUSE BY A KRIS BELIEVE THIS RAPPROACHMENT POSSIBLE. HOWEVER, THE DUTCH ARE ALSO BACK.

20 Jan 1964

Youth Solidarity Meeting



See 1964: Malaysia Dispute File

1-18-64 Rep

5. PARTINDO CONFERENCE , EXTREME LEFT-WING PARTINDO PARTY WHICH IS CLOSE TO PRES SUKARNO HELD NATIONAL CONF JAN 6 TO 9 AND PROMULGATED SET OF PARTY PRINCIPLES AND DEMANDS WHICH ARE IDENTICAL WITH THOSE OF PKI, INCLUDING NASKOM CABINET, EMPHASIS ON LAND REFORM, DEMAND FOR DIRECT PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP OF COMMITTEE TO RETOOL (PURGE) STATE APPARATUS, ETC.

COMMENT PARTINDO REGULARLY SUPPORTS COMMUNIST LINE AND, IF ANYTHING, IS SOMETIMES EVEN MORE STRIDENTLY ANTI-US THAN PKI ITSELF.



1-18-64 Repu

6. MAY 11 RIOT INSTIGATOR SENTENCED (UNCLAS):
DRS. ABDURACHMAN, PROMINENT CITIZEN OF BOGOR AND FORMER
MEMBER BOGOR LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, WAS SENTENCED TO SIX YEARS
IMPRISONMENT FOR HAVING COMMITTED "COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY"
ACTS AS INSTIGATOR OF ANTI-CHINESE RIOTS IN BOGOR LAST MAY.
HARIAN RAKJAT, IN ITS REPORT, EMPHASIZED ABDURACHMAN'S
MEMBERSHIP IN BANNED PARTAI SOSIALIS INDONESIA.

COMMENT / ALTHOUGH ABDURACHMAN APPEARS HAVE BEEN
INVOLVED IN RIOTS, ATTENTION GIVEN THIS AND SIMILAR TRIALS
THROUGHOUT COUNTRY BY HARIAN RAKJAT EMPHASIZES POSSIBILITY
THESE TRIALS BEING USED AS MEANS PUTAWAY REMNANTS BANNED
PARTIES.



3. ROMULO VISIT (UNCLASSIFIED) UNIV PHIL PRES
CARLOS P. ROMULO SCHEDULED ARRIVE JAN 30 AS GUEST
DEPPRIMMIN/FONMIN SUBANDRIO. FONMIN CONTROLLED INDO
HERALD FEATURED LONG EDITORIAL EULOGIZING ROMULO AS
DISTINGUISHED STATESMAN AND LONG TIME SUPPORTER INDO FREEDOM
COMMENT (UNCLAS) IN VIEW ROMULO'S STATUS
AS FONAFFAIRS ADVISER PRES MACAPAGAL AND PAST RECORD
UNGA PRES HE UNDOUBTEDLY WILL GET EXTRA SPECIAL VIP TREATMENT.



4. GDR DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER GDR DEP
PRIMMIN BRUNO LEUSCHNER DEPARTED INDO JAN 27 ON TOUR
THAT WILL REPORTEDLY TAKE HIM TO CAMBODIA, BURMA,
CEYLON AND INDIA. INDO PRESS REPORTED LEUSCHNER
TALKS WITH PRES SUKARNO, DEPUTY PRIMINISTERS SUBANDRIO AND
SALEH AS WELL AS SEVERAL OTHER PROMINENT INDO
OFFICIALS ON POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SUBJS SUKARNO
REPORTEDLY ALSO GAVE LEUSCHNER MESSAGE OF UNDISCLOSED
CONTENT FOR GDR LEADER ULBRICHT. BOTH PARTIES EXPRESSED
INTEREST IN EXPANDED ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND SPECIFIC
AGREEMENT REACHED ON INDO PURCHASE GDR SPINNING
MILL. AS EXPECTED, LEUSCHNER ALSO PROCLAIMED GDR
SUPPORT FOR INDO FOREIGN POLICY LINE.

COMMENT VISIT WAS BILLED AS UNOFFICIAL
IN VIEW CONTINUED INDO RECOGNITION FED REP. WHILE
LEUSCHNER RECEIVED ONLY MINUTE PORTION ATTENTION
ACCORDED WEST GERMAN PRESIDENT LUEBKE LAST YEAR, TRIP

WAS NOT UNNOTICED IN PRESS AND FACT THAT CONVERSATIONS
WERE HELD WITH TOP INDO OFFICIALS SERVE TO ERODE TO
SOME DEGREE IMAGE OF INDO PREFERENCE FOR WEST GERMAN
BUILT BY LUEBKE VISIT.



1-31-64 Repo

5. SOVIET AND BULGARIAN ECON MISSIONS FINISH WORK
SOVIET AND BULGARIAN ECON MISSIONS WHICH SPENT
LAST SEVERAL WEEKS IN DJAKARTA HAVE NOW FINISHED
WORK AND SIGNED ROUTINE AGREEMENTS WITH GOI.
SOVIET-GOI PROTOCOL IS BASICALLY PROMISE BY BOTH
SIDES TO SPEED WORK ON LAGGING ECON AID PROJECTS,
BULGARIAN-GOI TRADE AGREEMENT PROVIDES FOR TRADE
TOTALING 3-4 MILLION YEARLY BETWEEN COUNTRIES.



8. SIHANOUK, SUKARNO AND MALAYSIA

WHAT HAD ONLY BEEN MODERATE COVERAGE SIHANOUK'S VISIT BECAME FRONT-PAGE HEADLINE MATERIAL AS RESULT HIS SPEECH UPON ACCEPTING HONORARY DEGREE. ANTARA VERSION, USED BY ALMOST ALL PAPERS, SINGLED OUT AMB JONES AS BEING PRESENT, BY INFERENCE POINTING OUT HE HEARD UNFLATTERING REMARKS SIHANOUK MADE ABOUT AMERICAN AID. AMB SUBSEQUENTLY SHUNNED SIHANOUK DEPARTURE. SUKARNO'S AIRPORT FAREWELL SPEECH TO CAMBODIAN PRINCE, IN WHICH HE BROUGHT UP QUESTION OF SABAH SURRENDER LEAFLETS, ALSO PRINCIPAL STORY THURSDAY. EDITORIAL IN FONMIN ORIENTED HERALD CONTAINED THINLY-VEILED THREAT THAT NOT ONLY MIGHT STEPHENS' INTERPRETATION OF CEASE FIRE SABOTAGE HOLDING OF CONFERENCE BUT GOI ALSO PROBABLY NEED NO LONGER HONOR CEASE FIRE.

COMMENT UPI CORRESPONDENT HERNDON ASKED SUBANDRIO DURING KENNEDY PRESS CONFERENCE IF HE INTENDED NOTIFY - FOREIGN MINISTER - OF NORTH KALIMANTAN RESISTANCE FRONT (WHO RESIDES DJAKARTA) OF CEASE FIRE ARRANGEMENTS. SUBANDRIO ANSWER WAS I WILL DISCUSS IT. SUBANDRIO, QUERIED ALMOST WEEK LATER BY SAME REPORTER, ADMITTED HE HAD NOT DONE SO YET, MEANWHILE SO-CALLED FOREIGN MINISTER MANGEL CONTINUES TO ANNOUNCE NORTH KALIMANTAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS MUST CARRY ON.



9. CHICOM RECOGNITION BY FRANCE WELCOMED

FOLLOWING ON HEELS ANNOUNCEMENT GOI THINKS FRANCE'S RECOGNITION OF PEOPLE'S CHINA IS "STEP IN RIGHT DIRECTION" LEFTIST PRESS CARRIED NOT ONLY ANTARA'S HEAVY OUTPUT ON SUBJECT BUT GREETED THE ANNOUNCEMENT WITH EDITORIALS AND CARTOONS. ONE SUCH CARTOON IN BINTANG TIMUR SHOWS ANGRY UNCLE SAM AND FRUMPY LADY LABELED DEGAULLE WITH LATTER OFFERING WELCOME WREATH TO CHOU EN LAI. THE CAPTION: "FRANCIS HOW CAN YOU DO THIS TO MEI." HARIAN RAKJAT MADE COMPARISON BETWEEN "ISOLATED" US AND "FAR-SIGHTED" FRANCE, POINTING UP RIFT BETWEEN TWO PHILOSOPHIES. BERITA INDONESIA POINTS OUT FRANCE HAD TO FIGHT IN VIETNAM AND ALGERIA ALL ALONE WITHOUT US, UK HELP AND LEARNED LESSON, NOW MAKES USE OF COOL HEAD AND CALM HEART.



COMMENT COMMUNIST LINE IN PLAYING UP RIFT MAY WELL BE REACTION TO REPORTS OF SINO-SOVIET RIFT, AND MAY WELL BE USED TO GREATER DEGREE IN FUTURE. MOST PAPERS TOOK NOTE FACT FRANCE SAW NO CONTRADICTION IN CONTINUING RECOGNIZE REPUBLIC OF CHINA, INFERRING US POLICY OF "NO TWO CHINA SOLUTION POSSIBLE" NOW OBSOLETE.

COMMENT PERIOD BETWEEN HARVEST IS NORMALLY KNOWN
AS TIME OF "SMALL HUNGER", HOWEVER, IT CLEAR THIS YEAR
CONSIDERABLY WORSE THAN USUAL. PRINCIPAL SUFFERERS ARE
POOR RURAL POPULATION; GOVT EMPLOYEES THROUGH SUBSIDIES AND
LAND-OWNING FARMERS ARE REASONABLY WELL OFF. ALTHOUGH MOB
OF DESTITUATES REPORTEDLY INVADED RED CROSS OFFICE IN SEMARANG
(CENTRAL JAVA) RECENTLY AND SEIZED SECOND-HAND CLOTHING, THERE
NO REPORTS FOOD RIOTS OR RURAL UNREST. IT ALMOST CERTAIN
NUMBER PERSONS SUFFERING FROM HUNGER WILL INCREASE IN NEXT
THREE MONTHS. BASIC PROBLEM IS GOVT MORE CONCERNED WITH OTHER
ISSUES SUCH AS MALAYSIA (SEE ITEM 5).



7. DIPLOMATIC CHANGES (UNCLAS) SERIES OF OVER 20 SHIFTS IN INDO CHIEFS OF MISSION FORMALIZED FEB 12 WHEN PRES SUKARNO INSTALLED DJAWOTO, MANAI SOPHIAN, DRS. HARSONO REKSOATMODJO, BRIG. GEN. SUGIH ARTO, AND ENGINEER ABDULMUTALIB AS AMBS TO PEKING, MOSCOW, TOKYO, RANGOON, AND STOCKHOLM/HELSINKI RESPECTIVELY. IN ADDITION, MUKARTO NOTOWIDIGDO SHIFTED FROM NEW DELHI TO OTTAWA, SUSKA FROM RANGOON TO NEW DELHI, COL. ISMAN FROM BANGKOK TO CAIRO, DIAH FROM LONDON TO BANGKOK, ADM. R. SUBIJAKTO FROM ANKARA TO BELGRADE, SUGIARTO FROM KABUL TO ANKARA, MAJ. GEN BAMBANG SUGENG FROM TOKYO TO RIO DE JANEIRO, AND ASA BAFIGAH FROM COLOMBO TO ALGIERS. AMBS ASMAUN, MOH. SANUSI, HANIFAH AND SUKARNI HAVE BEEN RETURNED TO DJAKARTA FROM BELGRADE, CAIRO, RIO AND PEKING. A. M. MANIFI RECENTLY LEFT FOR HAVANA AND SUSANTO DJOJOSUGITO IS REPORTEDLY BEING TRANSFERRED FROM COPENHAGEN TO OSLO, A NEW POST.



COMMENT / REASONS FOR BIG SWITCH MANY AND VARIED. FOR EXAMPLE, GOI REMOVED DIAH FROM LONDON IN ORDER FORCE HMG RECALL GILCHRIST FROM DJAKARTA, RANGOON TOO CLOSE TO DJAKARTA FOR POLITICS-PRONE ISMAN, AND SUKARNO INVALIDED OUT OF PEKING. MORE DESIGNATIONS ANTICIPATED AS SEVERAL POSTS NOT YET COVERED.

5. PRIDE

DEP MIN HEALTH AND FONMIN'S WIFE

HURUSTIATI SUBANDRIO IN PRESS STATEMENT FEB 6 DECLARED INDOS WOULD HAVE "NOTHING TO DO WITH" 600,000 LBS SKIMMED MILK POWDER DONATED BY UNICEF FOR DISTRIBUTION IN CENTRAL JAVA IN CONNECTION WITH REPORTED HUNGER EDEMA CASES. MRS. SUBANDRIO'S IRE HAD BEEN AROUSED BY LOCAL UNICEF HEAD'S INADVERTENT EXPLANATION TO NEWSMEN AS TO REASON FOR DONATION. IN STATEMENT SHE CHARGED, "APPARENTLY IT IS NOT ENOUGH THAT HOSTILE WESTERN PRESS OF SO-CALLED 'FREE WORLD' IS JEERING ABOUT SO-CALLED INDO CHAOS AND ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL BREAKDOWN WITHOUT UN AGENTS LENDING HAND IN STIMULATING THIS MONSTROUS OUTCRY."

COMMENT

SUBSEQUENTLY MRS. SUBANDRIO PRIVATELY ACCEPTED MILK BUT REFUSED ALLOW UNICEF ASSIST IN DISTRIBUTION, WHICH BOUND EFFECT TO SOME DEGREE EFFICIENCY AND REGULARITY OF OPERATION. (SEE ITEMS 9 AND 10)



10. UNICEF ANNOUNCEMENT IRKS MRS. SUBANDRIO

(UNCLASSIFIED) UNICEF CHIEF STEIN MOSS STATED IN PRESS CONFERENCE HE WOULD SHORTLY ANNOUNCE CONTRIBUTION 600,000 LBS DRIED MILK AFTER HE HAD TALKED TO GOVT OFFICIALS ABOUT IT. INDONESIAN PRESS RAN STORY WHICH PROVOKED VITRIOLIC COMMENT MRS. SUBANDRIO (SEE ITEM 5).

/COMMENT

9. FOOD SHORTAGE BIGGEST STORY

BOTH VISITING AND REGULAR CORRESPONDENTS US PRESS HAVE, DURING PAST TWO WEEKS, TAKEN ALL POSSIBLE STEPS INVESTIGATE FAMINE REPORTS. CURRENTLY UPI, RUETERS, MOVIE TONE NEWS CORRESPONDENTS IN JOGJAKARTA; AP AND VISITING CORRESPONDENT WALL STREET JOURNAL PURSUING SAME THEME DJAKARTA AND CORRESPONDENTS CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR FILED CONSIDERABLE MATERIAL ON SUBJECT FOLLOWING RECENT VISITS FAMINE AREA.

COMMENT (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE) FOOD SHORTAGE SO OBVIOUS EVEN INDO PRESS ALLOWING SOME REPORTS. BERITA INDONESIA, MURBA PARTY ORGAN PRINTED STORY "THOUSANDS OF DESTITUTE PEOPLE INVADE RED CROSS OFFICE." EARLIER OBSERVER, OTHER PAPERS, FRONT-PAGED ANTARA STORY HEADLINED "FAMINE IN CENTRAL JAVA." STORY DESCRIBED FORCED ENTRY RED CROSS OFFICE SEMARANG, CENTRAL JAVA; MOB CARRIED OFF SECOND-HAND CLOTHING, FOLLOWING WHICH POLICE CALLED IN. GOVERNOR'S OFFICE SOLVED MATTERS BY ORDERING RED CROSS STOP DISTRIBUTING CLOTHING. ACCORDING INDO-LANGUAGE ANTARA, IN SUKARNO SPEECH BEFORE PWI (JOURNALIST UNION) HE CHARGED REPORTS HAVE BEEN CRITICAL OF FOOD SHORTAGE WITHOUT WRITING CONSTRUCTIVE STORIES ON HOW SOLVE PROBLEM. ENGLISH EDITION, HOWEVER, REFERRED TO HIGH PRICE OF RICE INSTEAD OF FOOD SHORTAGE. AP FILED REPORT PRESIDENT'S SPEECH FIRST PRESIDENTIAL ADMISSION FOOD SHORTAGE EXISTS.



22 Feb 1964

Aidit Supports Suharno Thesis
Econ Difficulties Not Sufficiently
Serious to Hinder Confrontation



Re: 1964 - PKI & Affiliate File

27 Feb 1964

Bank of China Closing all
Branches in Indo



See 1964 - Indo ChiCom Relations

2-28-64 Report

4. SECURITY SITUATION IN SOUTH SULAWESI . USIS WIFE RETURNED FEB 23 FROM FOUR-DAY VISIT TO MAKASSAR. INTERNAL SECURITY SITUATION EVIDENTLY HAS SIGNIFICANTLY DETERIORATED SINCE EMBOFF WAS THERE IN NOV. AT THAT TIME SOME AREAS 30 MILES OR SO FROM CITY WERE CONSIDERED UNSAFE, NOW VIRTUALLY ALL TRAVEL OUTSIDE CITY CONSIDERED DANGEROUS.

IN LINE WITH ABOVE WAS CANCELLATION BY SOUTH SULAWESI COMMANDER JUSUF OF INVITATION TO AMERICAN FRIEND FOR TWO-WEEK VISIT AT CHRISTMAS. ALSO JUSUF WAS SCHEDULED COME TO DJAKARTA ON FEB 20 BUT VISIT REPORTEDLY INDEFINITELY POSTPONED.



2-18-64 Rep

6. WALL SCRIBBLING INCREASED PRIOR TO VISIT (UNCLAS). DJAKARTA HAS NOT SEEN SO MUCH SLOGAN PAINTING, AS ONE EMBOFF PUT IT, SINCE THE 1957-1958 REBELLION. NOT ONLY WERE WALLS OF BRITISH ENTERPRISES PAINTED BUT COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS IN SHOPPING AREAS AS WELL. USIS CULTURAL CENTER WAS PAINTED ON TWO DIFFERENT OCCASIONS. AFTER FIRST OCCASION, USIS NIGHT GUARD WAS WARNED IF SLOGANS PAINTED OUT, YOUTH GROUPS WOULD BE BACK WITH MORE PAINT AND LARGER BRUSHES. WE DID AND THEY DID. SLOGANS WARNED AGAINST INTERFERENCE IN ASIAN PROBLEMS BY BRITAIN, US. PROUD OF PKI HANDICRAFT, HARIAN RAKJAT, OFFICIAL PARTY ORGAN, FEATURED PICTURE OF SOME OF WALL SIGNS ON THEIR FRONT PAGE.



2. KBM VICTORY OVER AHM

ON MAR 2 KBM (UNION OF MARHAENIST LABOR - FORMERLY DPP-KBK1 ANNOUNCED VICTORY OVER LABMIN AHM IN ITS LONG BATTLE TO ACHIEVE OFFICIAL RECOGNITION. AHM AGREED TO RECOGNIZE KBM, TO RESCIND HIS INSTRUCTION FORBIDDING LABOR DEPT EMPLOYEES TO BELONG TO KBM, TO REINSTATE 14 LABOR DEPT EMPLOYEES PREVIOUSLY FIRED FOR KBM MEMBERSHIP, TO RECOGNIZE AND WORK WITH JBXSKN# AI SECRETARIAT OF LABOR AND IN ASIAN-AFRICAN WORKERS' CONFERENCE PREPARATIONS. DECIDING FACTOR IN KBM'S VICTORY WAS INTERVENTION ON ITS BEHALF OF 3RD DEP PRIMIN CHAERULIYALEH.



COMMENT

THIS REPRESENTS MAJOR SETBACK FOR AHM AND THE KBK1. IT IS RUMORED AHM WILL JOIN CRYPTO-COMMUNIST PARTINDO, WHICH HAS NO LABOR ARM, TO END HIS PRESENT POLITICAL ISOLATION. SALEH'S INTERVENTION IS PART OF HIS CAMPAIGN TO DEVELOP MASS SUPPORT IN PNI TO COUNTER MASS SUPPORT GENERATED BY HIS PRINCIPAL RIVAL, 1ST DEP PRIMIN SUBANDRIO, WHO HAS BEEN WOOLING PKI.

3. INTER-REGIONAL RIOTING : SERIOUS FIGHTING BETWEEN INDOS ORIGINATING FROM MAKASAR (SOUTH SULAWESI) AND THOSE ORIGINATING FROM BANTEN (NORTHWEST JAVA) BROKE OUT AFTER A KNIFING FEB 15 IN TANDJUNG PRIOK AND CONTINUED AT SERIOUS LEVEL FOR AT LEAST TWO WEEKS. EIGHTY OR MORE CASUALTIES REPORTED, ABOUT ONE-THIRD KILLED. FIGHTING INVOLVED FEW OR NO FIREARMS AND TOOK PLACE DURING HOURS OF DARKNESS. POLICE RELEASED ANNOUNCEMENT FEB 26 WHICH URGED POPULACE REMAIN CALM AND TO IGNORE RUMORS CIRCULATING CONCERNING

CAUSES OF FIGHTING (SEE NAVY).



COMMENT / AMERICAN OIL COMPANY EXECUTIVE CONCERNED WITH PORT REPORTED THAT AT ONE POINT SECURITY SITUATION SO BAD TRUCK DRIVERS REFUSED TRANSPORT OIL PRODUCTS AFTER DARK. FIGHTING CENTERED ON PORT WORKERS LIVING AREA, AN UGLY SLUM CALLED KAMPONG RAWABADAK, WHERE STRAINS OF CONGESTED LIVING, POOR SANTITATION AND HUNGER PROVIDED IDEAL CLIMATE FOR INTER-VILLAGE STRIFE WITHOUT ADDED FACTOR OF INTER-REGIONAL SUSPICION.

3-6-64 *Repor*

5. BATTLE OF SIGNS

DURING
LAST FEW WEEKS, LOCAL FENCES WERE PAINTED ON MASSIVE
SCALE WITH PRO-PKI SIGNS ADVOCATING NASAKOM CABINET
(ONE WITH PKI PARTICIPATION). PKI AND ALLIED GROUPS
HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY LAUNCHED VIGOROUS PRESS CAMPAIGN AGAINST
"COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES" FOR MARKING OUT "KOM" OR
COMMUNIST PART OF NASAKOM IN MANY SIGNS.

COMMENT / EMB HAS HEARD
CONFLICTING REPORTS AS TO WHETHER MARKING OUT CARRIED
OUT BY NON-COMMUNIST GROUPS OR BY PKI ITSELF AS PROVOCATION.
IN ANY CASE, PKI IS PLAYING THIS UP AS EXAMPLE
SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITY AGAINST OFFICIALLY-ENDORSED UNITY
REVOLUTIONARY FORCES AND IS ATTEMPTING USE THIS ARGUMENT
TO INTIMIDATE AND REMOVE SOME LOW-LEVEL ANTI-COMMUNIST
OFFICIALS THAT IT ACCUSES OF COMPLICITY.



2. SUKARNO AND NASAKOM(UNCLAS): IN STATEMENT TO VISITING POLISH PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION, PRES SUKARNO SAID NUMBER POLITICAL PARTIES WOULD "EVENTUALLY" BE REDUCED FROM TEN TO THREE, ONE FOR EACH ELEMENT NASAKOM (SUKARNO CONCEPT OF COOPERATION IN INDO INSTITUTIONS OF NATIONALIST, RELIGIOUS AN COMMUNIST GROUPS).

COMMENT. AT PRESENT THERE ARE FOUR NATIONALIST, FIVE RELIGIOUS PARTIES AND ONLY ONE COMMUNIST PARTY, SO PKI IS ONLY PARTY NOT THREATENED WITH DEMISE OR ALTERATION. AS SUBSTANTIAL PARTY OF NATIONALIST GROUPING IS HEAVILY INFILTRATED OR CONTROLLED BY PKI, WHILE LESSER INROADS MADE INTO SECTOR OF RELIGIOUS PARTIES, REDUCTION OF PARTIES TO THREE WOULD PROBABLY

BE CARRIED OUT IN MANNER WHICH WOULD FURTHER STRENGTHEN COMMUNIST POSITION IN INDO.



3. SUKARNO-HATTA MEETING. PRES SUKARNO AND FORMER VICE PRES HATTA HELD TWO MEETINGS DURING WEEK.

COMMENT(CONF): MEETINGS HAVE AROUSED CONSIDERABLE SPECULATION PARTICULARLY AMONG MODERATES WHO HOPE HATTA CAN OBTAIN RELEASE. OPPOSITION POLITICAL LEADERS. ACCORDING SOURCE WHO SPOKE TO HATTA, SUKARNO TOLD HATTA HE IS NOT RECEIVING ACCURATE PICTURE ECONOMIC SITUATION AND WANTS HIM PROVIDE REPORTS ON ECONOMY ON FAIRLY REGULAR BASIS.

4. AFRO-ASIAN FILM FESTIVAL TO BE AVOWEDLY POLITICAL(UNCLAS): PRES SUKARNO IN SPEECH AT FUND RAISING NIGHT FOR A-A FILM FESTIVAL PLANNED FOR DJAKARTA IN APRIL STRESSED GREAT POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF FESTIVAL WHICH SHOULD AID IN UNIFYING NEW EMERGING FORCES IN STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPRESSORS AND IMPERIALISTS. SUKARNO SAID POLITICAL ASPECT FILM MEET SHOULD BE MOST IMPORTANT AND REMINDED ORGANIZING COMMITTEE TO UNDERSTAND AFRO-ASIAN SPIRIT.



COMMENT(LOU): IT DIFFICULT FOR ANYTHING TO BE "SECULAR" IN INDO TODAYAS EVERY ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITY IS CALLED UPON TO WORSHIP AT SHRINE OF ANTI-IMPERIALISM AND REVOLUTION.

3-13-64 Repa

7 JOINT CONFERENCE: PROVINCIAL OFFICIALS AND CABINET
PRES SUKARNO MARCH 11 OPENED CONF PROVINCIAL OFFICIAL AND
CABINET WHICH IS TO DISCUSS PROBLEM FOOD SUPPLY. ESSENCE

SUKARNO'S SPEECH CONTAINED IN STATEMENT, "IT TO BE REGRETTED
IF PEOPLE ARE SUFFERING, BUT THESE DIFFICULTIES ARE
CONSEQUENCES OF REVOLUTION WHICH WE ARE NOW COMPLETING." HE
ALSO DESCRIBED HUNGER PROBLEM AS "SO-CALLED HUNGER PROBLEM"
AND CRITICIZED FOREIGN NEWSMEN FOR "PHOTOGRAPHING THIN
PEOPLE IN CENTRAL JAVA." IN ADDITION, PRES ASSERTED
CERTAIN GROUPS WANT ENLARGEMENT 3-MAN CABINET
PRESIDIUM(3DEPPRIMINS) SO THEY CAN BE INCLUDED IN IT.

1ST DEPRIMIN SUBANDRIO ALSO SPOKE AND STRESSED "FOOD
DIFFICULTIES CANNOT BE OVERCOME IN CONVENTIONAL WAY"(BUT
DID NOT SUGGEST ANY OTHER WAY).

COMMENT [REDACTED]: NOT KNOWN WHAT GROUPS MAY BE LOBBING
FOR REPRESENTATION IN PRESIDIUM. ARMY, HOWEVER, DID NOT



DO WELL IN RECENT CABINET CHANGES AND PERHAPS IS GROUP PRES
HAD IN MIND.

3 March 1964

1st open PKI Amb (to Calson) named



See: 1964 - PKI & affiliates file

17 March 1964

BM Diah Suggests Revolution Pause
for Reassessment



See : 1964 - Moderate Movements File

4. NASTUION ANNOUNCES CORRUPTION RAMPANT IN STATE COMPANIES (UNCLASSIFIED): DEFENSE MIN GEN NAUSTION IN HIS CAPCITY AS CHAIRMAN PARAN (STATE APPARATUS RETOOLING COMMITTEE) REPORTED MAR 14 TO MEETING OF PROVINCIAL CIVIL AND MILITARY HEADS AND CABINET PRESIDUM THAT INVESTIAGTIONS CARRIED OUT BY PARAN'S OPERATION BUDI'S HAVE REVEALED IRREGULARITIES IN MANGEMENT NATIONAL CORPORATIONS "WHICH RAN TO FANTASTIC PROPORTIONS." NASTION DECLINED REVEAL NAMES, ASSERTING THIS REPONSIBILITY OF ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE, BUT DID SAY LOSSES RAN TO HUNDREDS MILLIONS OF RUPIAHS AND INVOLVED MILLIONS POUNDS STERLING IN OVERSEAS PAYMENTS FOR INDO COMMODITIES. SULUH INDONESIA STATED MAR 18 THAT, ALTHOUGH OPERATION BUDI REPORT HAD BEEN RECEIVED BY ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE, PROSECUTION HAD NOT BEGUN AS REPORT STILL UNDER "INTENSIVE STUDY."

MAR 18 PKI CHAIRMAN D. N. AIDIT TELEGRAPHED PRES SUKARNO REQUESTING DEATH PENALTY FOR MALEFACTORS CAUGHT BY OPERATION BUDI.



COMMENT / PKI HAS MAINTAINED
LOAN AND INSISTENT CAMPAIGN FOR PUBLICATION NAMES THOSE
CAUGHT BY : (CONCURRENTLY WITH CAMPAIGN) BE
PLACED DIRECTLY UNDER PRESIDENT AND BY INFERENCE

REMOVED FROM NASTUION'S JURISDICTION AS LATTER HAS VESTED INTEREST IN PROTECTING MANY ARMY OFFICERS WHO HOLD POSTS IN STATE CORPORATION. NASUTION SPEECH PROBABLY REPRESENTS ATTEMPT ON PARTY DEFIMIN SATISFY APPETITE GENERAL PUBLIC FOR DETAILS WHICH STIMULATED BY COMMIE PRESS WHILE AT SAME TIME AVOIDING RELEASE OF NAMES. IT LIKELY ONLY A FEW SCAPEGOATS WILL ACTUALLY BE PUNISHED WHEN MATTER REACHES COURTS.

3-27-64 Report

-31-2

2. INDO OPPOSE NON-BLOC CONFERENCE
WITH DEPARTURE INDO DELEGATION TO COLOMBO PREPARATORY
CONF FOR NON-BLOC CONF, GOI BEGAN CONCERTED EFFORT
DISCREDIT NON-BLOC AND ESTABLISH 2ND AFRQ-ASIAN CONF
AS ONLY CORRECT FORUM FOR ANTI-IMPERIALIST/ANTI-
COLONIALIST COUNTRIES. BOTH INFO MIN RUSLAN ABDULGANI
AND NATIONAL FRONT SEC GEN SUDIBJO MADE SPEECHES DENOUNCING
NBC. ABDULGANI MAR 20 WARNED INDOS MUST GUARD AGAINST
NBC BECOMING OBSTACLE TO 2ND AAC. SUDIBJO MAR 24 TOLD
CONFERENCE INDO SCHOLARS (PKI'S HSI FRONT ORG) NBC
ESSENTIALLY REVISIONIST CONCEPT WHICH DESIGNED PERPETUATE
RULE IMPERIALISTS COLONIALISTS WHILE 2ND AA REPRESENTS
FORCES WHICH DESIRE CARRY ON REVOLUTION TO ULTIMATE GOAL
OF VICTORY OVER OLD ORDER.

AFTER CONSIDERABLE PRIVATE AND NEWSPAPER SPECULATION,
UAR APPARENTLY OVERCAME ITS RELUCTANCE LAST WEEK AND



ANNOUNCED IT WOULD ATTEND 2ND A-A PREP CONF APR 10. INDIA,
WHICH CONTINUES INCUR CONSIDERABLE ABUSE IN LOCAL FAR-LEFT
PRESS, ALSO WILL SEND DELEGATE, BUT NOT ONE OF MINISTERIAL
RANK AS REQUESTED. THERE IS AN UNCONFIRMED REPORT INDOS
PLAN INCLUDE CHICOMS IN PREP CONF NOW UAR AND INDIANS
HAVE ACQUIESCED. THERE ALSO REPORT STRONG EFFORT WILL
BE MADE INCLUDE REPS FROM SVN LIBERATION FRONT AND
UNITARY STATE /WITH/ KALIMANTAN AS OBSERVERS TO PREP
AND MAIN CONFS.

4-11-64 Report

2. SUBANDRIO TRIP INDO-DUTCH COMMUNIQUE ON TERMINATION
SUBANDRIO VISIT INDICATED AGREEMENT EXCHANGE AMBASSADORS SOON,
PROVIDE FOR TWO KLM FLIGHTS TO DJAKARTA WEEKLY AND EQUIVALENT
GARUDA LANDING RIGHTS IN NETHERLANDS, AND RETURN TO INDO OF

THOSE MOLUCCAN REFUGEES WHO WISHED DO SO. NETHERLANDS FOMIN
LUNS WILL VISIT INDO AT TIME TO BE DETERMINED, PROBABLY IN
SUMMER. POSSIBILITY OF SUKARNO TRIP APPARENTLY DISCUSSED
BUT PUT OFF TO INDEFINITE FUTURE. SUBANDRIO CLAIMED INDO
CONFRONTATION POLICY NOT DISCUSSED IN NETHERLANDS ALTHOUGH IT
APPARENTLY WAS MAJOR POINT ELSEWHERE INCLUDING PARIS WHERE
SUBANDRIO APPARENTLY ARGUED DISINGENUOUSLY THAT INDO POLICY
WAS INTENDED TO PREVENT SPREAD OF CHINESE INFLUENCE BEYOND
SINGAPORE.



UPON RETURN DJAKARTA APRIL 7, SUBANDRIO STATED TRIP OBJECTIVES
WERE: 1) COMPLETE PREPARATIONS FOR AFRO-ASIAN PREPARATORY CON-
FERENCE; 2) FORMALIZE RENEWED RELATIONS BETWEEN INDO AND NETHER-
LANDS; AND 3) VISIT OTHER COUNTRIES TO DISCUSS ECONOMIC MATTERS
AND PRESENT GOI POSITION ON MALAYSIA DISPUTE. CLAIMED EUROPEAN
NATIONS UNDERSTANDING OF INDO VIEWS INCREASING.

5. DISCUSSION OF TWO STAGES OF INDO REVOLUTION
DEBATE ON TWO STAGES OF INDO REV (WEEK 14) SPREAD BEYOND PKI
AS LEFTIST HEAD OF INDO JOURNALIST ASSOC, A. KARIM, AND MININFO
WHO ALSO ONE OF NATIONALIST PARTY LEADERS, RUSLAN ABDULGANI,
REFERRED TO TWO STAGES OF INDO REV IN STATEMENTS. KARIM IN-
DICATED NASAKOM CABINET WOULD BE LOWER FORM THAN PEOPLE'S
DEMOCRACY WHICH LOWER IN TURN THAN SOCIALISM.



COMMENT/ WHILE IMPLICATIONS OF DEBATE STILL NOT FULLY
CLEAR, IT MAY BE CONNECTED WITH DISCUSSION IN INDO LEADERSHIP
OF POSSIBLE EARLY FORMATION NASAKOM CABINET (ONE WITH COMMUNIST
PARTICIPATION) AS CONSONANT WITH LATER PHASE OF BOURGEOIS-
DEMOCRATIC STAGE OF INDO REV.

7. REBELS AMBUSH SOUTH SULAWESI COMMANDER ACCORDING
INFO RELEASED BY SOUTH SULAWESI ARMY COMMAND, SOUTH SULAWESI
ARMY CMDR JUSUF WAS AMBUSHED BY ANDI SELLE, FORMER ARMY OFFICER
AND FREEBOOTER WITH OWN PERSONAL FOLLOWING, WHO IS NOW EVIDENTLY
COOPERATING WITH SOUTH SULAWESI REBEL CHIEFTAIN KAHAR MUZAKKAR.
REPORTEDLY JUSUF HAD GONE INTO SELLE'S TERRITORY AT LATTER'S
INVITATION TO DISCUSS PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT; JUSUF ESCAPED UN-
SCATHED BUT FIVE HIS MEN KILLED.



ON APRIL 6 JUSUF ARRIVED DJAKARTA AND CONSULTED WITH PRESIDENT.
AFTER MEETING, ARMY ANNOUNCED CAMPAIGN FOR ANNIHILATING SOUTH
SULAWESI REBELS WILL BE ENLARGED AND INTENSIFIED.

COMMENT/ EMB HAS HEARD SEVERAL EAST JAVA BATTALIONS WILL
BE SENT TO SOUTH SULAWESI. ANTI-JAVANESE SENTIMENT IS STRONG
THERE AND JUSUF (WHO IS NATIVE AREA) HAS POINTED OUT TO AMERICANS
THAT THE JAVANESE TROOPS TENDS PRIMARILY STRENGTHEN REBEL DE-
TERMINATION. JUSUF HIMSELF IN PAST FAVORED SETTLEMENT THROUGH
NEGOTIATION BUT OF COURSE AFTER THIS EXPERIENCE, HE MAY WELL
BELIEVE IN RELYING PRIMARILY ON FORCE.

4-11-64 Report

10. COMMIE KOREANS VISIT NORTH KOREAN SPEAKER OF
HOUSE TJOI WEN TAIK, HEADING DELEGATION 2ND BANDUNG, STRONGLY
SUPPORTED BY COMMIE PRESS WITH PIX AND STORIES STRESSING
MUTUALITY OF INTERESTS TWO COUNTRIES.



4-11-64 Report

12. BRASS BAND : ARRIVAL AND FIRST PERFORMANCE UNIV
KANSAS BRASS ENSEMBLE RECEIVED MODERATE PRESS ON START 18-DAY
JAVA TOUR. UNIFORMLY WARM RECEPTION 2,000 MEMBER AUDIENCE
STUDENT SENATE-SPONSORED PERFORMANCE.



COMMENT VISITORS HITTING PAY DIRT DURING CAMPUS WORKSHOP
SESSIONS. ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT STUDENT GROUPS EXPECTED PRODUCE
EVEN FURTHER DIVIDENDS. REMAINING EIGHT STOPS ON TOUR EXPECTED
EQUAL SUCCESS.

5. MURBA PARTY PLENUM PLENARY
MEETING OF NATIONAL COMMUNIST MURBA PARTY WAS HELD IN
MALANG FROM APRIL 1 TO 6, RESULTING IN ANNOUNCEMENT
OF REVISED LEADERSHIP COUNCIL. PRINCIPAL CHANGE WAS
APPOINTMENT OF SUKARNI KARTODIWIRJO, FORMER TOP MURBA
LEADER WHO RECENTLY RETURNED FROM TOUR AS INDO AMB TO
COMMUNIST CHINA, TO NUMBER THREE POSITION. WASID SUWARTO
AND MARUTQ NITIMIKARDJO RETAINED TOP TWO JOBS IN
MURBA HIERACHY. PLENUM ALSO SERVED AS PLATFORM
FOR ROUTINE MURBA PRONOUNCEMENTS SUPPORTING VARIOUS
CURRENT INDO PROPAGANDA THEMES.



4-16-64 Report

11. NEW SHIPS RECEIVED FROM USSR

MOST ALRI BRASS SPENDING APRIL 16 IN SURABAYA WITNESS
TURNOVER SEVERAL RUSSIAN BUILT NAVAL UNITS TO INDO NAVY
SOVIET AMB NICHAILOV SCHEDULED PRESENT VESSELS TO VADM
R. E. MARTADINATA, X CINC ALRI.



COMMENT CONFIRMATION TRANSFER TO CONSIST
2 SKORRY CLASS DESTROYERS, 2 RIGA CLASS DESTROYER ESCORTS,
TWO T-43 MINESWEEPS, 2 TRANSPORTS AND A TANKER AS REPORTED
IN PRESS HAS NOT YET BEEN MADE. THIS TRANSFER WILL
GIVE ALRI FOLLOWING TOTALS: 7 DESTROYERS, 10 DE TYPES,
6 T-43'S, 9 TRANSPORT TYPES AND 11 TANKERS.

2. New Zealand Prime Minister Visits

NZ PRIME MINISTER HOLYOAKE MADE BRIEF INFORMAL VISIT TO DJAKARTA APRIL 17-18 EN ROUTE HOME FROM SEATO MEETING AND MET WITH SUKARNO FOREIGN MINISTER SUBANDRIO, DEFENSE MINISTER NASUTION AND OTHERS. MEETINGS WERE REPORTEDLY VERY CORDIAL ALTHOUGH HOLYOAKE STATED IN PLAIN TERMS NZ SUPPORT FOR MALAYSIA AS EXEMPLIFIED BY TOKEN MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO GOM. SUKARNO RESPONDED IN GOOD HUMOR AND PROCEEDED OUTLINE GOI TERMS FOR SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTE (ITEM 1).

HOLYOAKE ALSO EXTENDED INVITATION TO SUKARNO VISIT NZ AND SUKARNO ACCEPTED ALTHOUGH NO DATE SET AND VISIT NOT EXPECTED IN NEAR FUTURE.

COMMENT



INDONESIANS RECEIVED HOLYOAKE MOST CORDIALLY AND PLAYED DOWN DIFFERENCES IN MANNER SIMILAR TO TREATMENT UNTIL RECENTLY OF AUSTRALIA. PRESS COVERAGE LIGHT, HOWEVER, CONSIDERING HOLYOAKE'S POSITION, AND OVERSHADOWED BY VISITING NORTH KOREAN DELEGATION AND AFRO-ASIAN FILM FESTIVAL.

5-1-64 Report

3. SOUTH MOLUCCAN REBEL LEADER RECEIVES DEATH SENTENCE(UNCLAS); SOUMOKIL, LEADER SOUTH MOLUCCAN REBEL MOVEMENT WHO WAS CAPTURED LAST DEC, WAS SENTENCED TO DEATH

APRIL 24 BY MILITARY COURT. TRIAL, WHICH BEGAN APRIL 21, WAS CLOSED TO PUBLIC EXCEPT DURING READING CHARGES. SOUMOKIL REPORTEDLY WILL ASK PARDON FROM PRESIDENT, WHICH IS ONLY WAY HE CAN ESCAPE EXECUTION, SINCE COURT DID NOT ALLOW APPEAL.

COMMENT SENTENCING TO DEATH OF SOUMOKIL SUGGESTS GOVT PLANS RELY ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON FORCE IN PUTTING DOWN REBELLION IN SOUTH SULAWESI (WEEKAI6). LETTING HIM OFF LIGHTLY MIGHT HAVE BEEN ENTICEMENT TO SURRENDER OF SOUTH SULAWESI REBEL LEADER KAHAR MUZAKKAR; HIS EXECUTION OF COURSE, WOULD VIRTUALLY EXCLUDE POSSIBILITY MUZAKKAR'S VOLUNTARY SURRENDER.



5-15-64 Report

4. RETOOLING TAKEN FROM ARMY CONTROL

PRES SUKARNO MAY 8 ISSUED DECREE REPLACING COMMITTEE FOR RETOOLING STATE APPARATUS (PARAM) WITH SUPREME OPERATIONS COMMAND FOR RETOOLING APPARATUS REVOLUTION (KOTRAR) WHICH WILL BE HEADED BY PRES HIMSELF. (RETOOLING IS TERM USED FOR REPLACING CIVIC SERVANTS FOR LACK OF LOYALTY TO STATE OR LACK OF EFFICIENCY; FIRST CRITERIA IS ONE THAT HAS BEEN USED PRIMARILY). IN ANNOUNCING DECREE 1ST DEP PRIMIN SUBANDRIO EXPLAINED THAT KOTRAR WOULD NOT, AS PARAM DID, LIMIT ITS ACTIVITIES TO GOVT AGENCIES BUT WOULD DEAL WITH WHOLE OF SOCIETY.

COMMENT IN DISBANDING PARAM AND PLACING HIMSELF IN CHARGE RETOOLING, PRES SUKARNO HAS FULFILLED LONG-STANDING PKI DEMAND; SINCE ITS FORMATION IN 1959 PARAM HAS



2. SUBANDRIO APPOINTED DEPUTY SUPREME COMMANDER KOTAR

(WEEK 20)

: BY DECREE DATED

MAY 18, PRES SUKARNO APPOINTED FIRST DEPPRIMIN AS DEP
SUPREME CMDR OF "SUPREME COMMAND FOR RETOOLING APPARATUS OF
REVOLUTION" (KOTRAR). DIRECTLY BELOW SUBANDRIO ARE ARMY
CHIEF STAFF YANI AS KOTRAR CHIEF STAFF AND AIR COMMODORE
WIRIADINATA AS DEPT CHIEF STAFF.



PKUBCHAIRMAN AIDIT MAY 14 CABLED PKI'S "THANKFULNESS
AND DEEPEST APPRECIATION FOR FORMATION KOTRAR AND DISSOLUTION
ITS (ARMY DOMINATED) PREDECESSOR PARAN.

COMMENT

: SUBANDRIO HAS OBTAINED POSITION

WITH CONSIDERABLE POTENTIAL POWER, GIVING HIM MEANS DRIVE
OPPONENTS FROM GOVT. FURTHERMORE, IT TO BE RECALLED THAT
DURING RECENT MONTHS HE HAS BESTOWED FAVORS ON PKI IN EFFORT
BUILD UP POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR HIMSELF.

3. PRESS REPORTS OF ARRESTS AND KASMAN TRIAL

: DURING WZXD PRESS CARRIED SEVERAL STORIES EMANATING FROM ATTYGEN AND DJAKARTA PROSECUTOR THAT SEVERAL MEMBERS BANNED (I.E. WESTERN-INCLINED MASJUMI AND SOCIALSIT) PARTIES HAD BEEN ARRESTED. STORIES PROVIDED PRACTICALLY NO DETAIL, ONLY ONE OF ARRESTED PERSONS MENTIONED BY NAME. IN ADDITION, THERE WAS VAGUE ALLUSION TO TRIAL TAKING PLACE IN WESTIBORNEO.

PRESS SEPARATELY REPORTED THAT TRIAL FORMER MASJUMI OFFICIAL KASMAN SINGEDIMEDJO OPENED MAY 19 BEFORE SPECIAL COURT FOR SUBVERSION CASES. KASMAN SUPPOSED TO HAVE COMMITTED

SUCH CRIMES AS HAVING PRIVATELY SAID GAMES OF NEW ENERGING FORCES (GANEF0) "WOULD ONLY CAUSE PRICES TO SOAR" AND THAT IF MASJUMI WERE STILL IN POWER, INDO WOULD HAVE RECOGNIZED MALAYSIA.



COMMENT: EMB DOES NOT KNOW OF ANY RECENT ARRESTS. HOWEVER, SINCE LAST SEPTEMBER, PARTICULARLY DURING LATTER PART 1963, CONSIDERABLE NUMBER LOWER-LEVEL MASJUMI AND PSI (PARTICULARLY FORMER) OFFICIALS WERE SECRETELY ARRESTED AND STORIES MAY REFER TO THEM. IN ANY EVENT, REPORTS OF ARRESTS COUPLED WITH PUBLICITY GIVEN KASMAN TRIAL MAY HAVE PRIMARY PURPOSE OF INTIMIDATING ANY POTENTIAL GOVT OPPOSITION.

7. SOKSI WINS SOBSI AND BTI MEMBERS
SOKSI ANNOUNCED MAY 11 1,000 SOBSI AND 6,000 BTI (COMMUNIST
PEASANT ORGANIZATION) MEMBERS DESERTED THOSE COMMUNIST-FRONT
ORGANIZATIONS TO JOIN SOKSI, ARMY INFLUENCED TRADE UNION
FEDERATION. FORMER SOBSI MEMBERS WERE FROM THE ANEKA BHAKTI
AND DJAYA BHAKTI STATE TRADING ENTERPRISES IN MAKASSAR,
SULAWESI. FORMER BTI MEMBERS WERE FROM TJIATUR ESTATE,
WEST JAVA.



COMMENT: SOKSI CLAIM SHOULD BE TAKEN WITH GRAIN OF SALT
THOUGH IT PROBABLY RELEVANT THAT SOKSI CHAIRMAN LT. COL.
SUHARDIMAN MANAGES DJAYA BHAKTI.

3. UN OFFICIAL VISITS WEST IRIAN U THANT'S
DEPUTY CHIEF OF CABINET, ROLZ-BENNETT, VISITED INDO FROM
MAY 24 TO JUNE 2 FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH GOI ON WEST IRIAN.
UN OFFICE HERE POINTEDLY ANNOUNCED ROLZ-BENNETT'S TRIP
CONCERNED WITH IMPLEMENTATION THIRD PHASE OF SOVEREIGNTY
TRANSFER AGREEMENT CALLING UPON GOI TO PREPARE WEST IRIANESE
FOR PLEBESCITE IN 1969 ON THEIR FUTURE POLITICAL AFFILIATION.
IN ADDITION TO MEETINGS WITH SUKARNO, FONMIN SUBANDRIO AND
OTHER OFFICIALS, ROLZ-BENNETT MADE VISIT TO WEST IRIAN
TOWNS OF SUKARNAPURA (HOLLANDIA), BIAK AND MANOKWARI.
REPORTEDLY HE MET EVERYWHERE IN IRIAN WITH BANNERS PROCLAIMING
IRANESE UNITY WITH INDONESIA AND DISCLAIMING NEED FOR
PROJECTED PLEBESCITE.

COMMENT EFFUSIVE EXPRESSIONS OF WEST IRIAN
SUPPORT FOR GOI DURING ROLZ-BENNETT TRAVELS BELIEVED
EXCLUSIVELY STAGE-MANAGED BY GOI. RECENT FOREIGN TRAVELERS
IN AREA STATE COASTAL PAPUANS INTENSELY DISILLUSIONED WITH
INDOS AND FEEL ABANDONED BY REST OF WORLD. INTERIOR OF COURSE
LARGELY STILL UNTOUCHED BY POLITICS. ALTHOUGH PUBLICLY
QUIESCENT FOR SOME TIME, ROLZ-BENNETT RECEPTION PROOF THAT
GOI CAMPAIGN TO AVOID MEANINGFUL WEST IRIAN PLEBESCITE STILL
VERY MUCH ALIVE.



6-5-64 *Repr*

5. CABINET CHANGES PRES SUKARNO JUNE 3
ANNOUNCED CABINET CHANGES IN WHICH DEPT AGRICULTURE AND
AGRARIAN AFFAIRS DIVIDED INTO FIVE DEPARTMENTS: (1) AGRICUL-
TURE, (2) ESTATES, (3) FORESTRY, (4) FISHERIES, (5) AGRARIAN
AFFAIRS. NEW DEPARTMENTS TO BE SUPERVISED BY CURRENT MIN

AGRICULTURE AND AGRARIAN AFFAIRS SADJARWO WHO THUS ELEVATED
TO RANK COORDINATING MINISTER. IN ADDITION, PRES SUKARNO
APPOINTED HADJI MOHAMMAD HASSAN AS MIN REVENUE/TAXES/ EX-
PENDITURES/SUPERVISION, POST WHICH TEMPORARILY FILLED BY
COORDINATING MINISTER FINANCE SUMARNO.



COMMENT ON FIRST READING CHANGES
SEEM PRIMARILY MOTIVATED BY DESIRE INCREASE NUMBER CABINET
POSTS AND THUS ENLARGE NUMBER PERSONS WHO HAVE VESTED INTEREST
IN CONTINUATION SUKARNO REGIME. PRINCIPAL BENEFICIARIES
SEEM BE NU AND CATHOLIC PARTIES. HASSAN IS PROMINENT NU
OFFICIAL AND IN CHARGE PARTY FINANCES, WHILE CATHOLIC PARTY
CHAIRMAN FRANS SEDA RECEIVED MIN ESTATES PORTFOLIO.

6-12-64 Report

2. AUSSIE FONMIN VISITS

AUSTRALIAN FONMIN

HASLUCK ENDED HIS THREE-DAY INDO VISIT (WEEK 23) JUNE 5 AND DEPARTED FOR BANGKOK AFTER EMPHASIZING TO PRESS THIS WAS ORIENTATION VISIT DURING WHICH HE HAD ATTEMPTED TRY UNDERSTAND VIEWS OF INDO LEADERS. HASLUCK EXPRESSED HOPE THAT MALAYSIA PROBLEM WOULD BE SOLVED BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND SAID HE "HEART-ENED" THAT THERE WAS NO PROBLEMS BETWEEN GOI AND GOA OVER COMMON BORDER IN NEW GUINEA.



COMMENT

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY HAS CON-

FIRMED THAT HASLUCK "MOSTLY LISTENED" DURING VISIT AND REAF- FIRMED GOA POSITION ON MALAYSIA ONLY IN VERY LOW KEY. IN ADDITION TO ORIENTATION, VISIT PURPOSE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN

ATTEMPT WARM UP CHILL IN INDO-AUSSIE RELATIONS WHICH DEVELOPED AS RESULT OF FORMER FONMIN BARWICK'S STATEMENTS AFTER APRIL SEATO MEETING. HASLUCK SEEMS TO HAVE MADE PROGRESS IN THIS DIRECTION AND INDO PRESS, WHILE GIVING ONLY MODERATE COVERAGE TO VISIT, PORTRAYED HASLUCK'S "UNDERSTANDING" AS CONTRASTING MARKEDLY WITH BARWICK VIEWS.

6-12-64 Report

4. PARTY SIMPLIFICATION PROPOSAL

A RUNNING FEUD HAS DEVELOPED IN RECENT WEEKS BETWEEN ADVOCATES OF SUB-MERGING ALL TEN INDO POLITICAL PARTIES INTO ONE SUKARNOIST PARTY OR NATIONAL FRONT AND MAJOR EXISTING POLITICAL PARTIES HEADED BY PKI. SOME SOURCES REPORT PRESIDENT SUKARNO HIMSELF HAS ADVANCED ONCE AGAIN HIS SINGLE PARTY IDEA AND IS INTENT ON ITS IMPLEMENTATION. LEADING PUBLIC ADVOCATE OF ONE-PARTY

IDEA IS BERITA INDONESIA, DAILY ORGAN OF 'RT GENERATION GROUP OF EX-REVOLUTIONARIES, WHICH REFLECTS OPINIONS OF MURBA PARTY AND OF THIRD DEPUTY PRIMIN CHAIRUL SALEH. PKI IS ESPECIALLY UP IN ARMS AND IS MOBILIZING ITS FRONT GROUPS AS WELL AS NON-COMMUNIST GROUPS ALSO OPPOSED TO IDEA IN MAJOR PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN TO STIFLE IDEA.

COMMENT

MURBA HAS BEEN FRIGHTENED BY PREVIOUSLY ENUNCIATED THREE-PARTY IDEA WHICH WOULD HAVE SIMPLIFIED PARTY SYSTEM TO ONE PARTY FOR EACH COMPONENT OF NASAKOM (NATIONALISM, RELIGION, COMMUNISM), PROBABLY LEADING TO DEMISE OF MURBA. IT MAY ALSO BE TRIAL BALLOON BY PRESIDENT TO DETERMINE STRENGTH OF OPPOSITION TO CONCEPT WHICH WOULD FURTHER STRENGTHEN DIRECT PRESIDENTIAL GRIP ON INDO POLITICAL LIFE. EMB BELIEVES LIKELY OUTCOME IS THAT THREE-PARTY AND ONE-PARTY IDEAS WILL CANCEL EACH OTHER OUT AT THIS TIME AND THAT PRESENT TEN PARTY SYSTEM WILL BE MAINTAINED.



8. SOVIET AND CHICOM YOUTH DELEGATION

SOVIET YOUTH DELEGATION CONSISTING OF VLADIMIR SHKVARKO, MEMBER PRESIDUM COMMITTEE YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS OF USSR (CYO) AND ALEXANDER BRYCHKOV, SECRETARY-GENERAL SOVIET STUDENT COUNCIL, ENDED 9-DAY TOUR INDONESIA JUNE 9 AS GUESTS PNI'S MARHAENIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION WITH STATEMENT SOVIET YOUTH FULLY SUPPORT INDO STRUGGLE CRUSH MALAYSIA. RUSSIANS IN ADDITION TO ATTENDING 17TH ANNIVERSARY MARHAENIST YOUTH ALSO CONTACTED OTHER YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS, APPARENTLY TO INSURE INDO PARTICIPATION IN MOSCOW YOUTH FESTIVAL THIS SEPTEMBER.



IN CALL ON PKI'S CHAIRMAN AIDIT, RUSSIANS ELICITED AMBIGUOUS RESPONSE THAT OF COURSE AIDIT WOULD APPROVE INDO ATTENDANCE MOSCOW FESTIVAL IF FESTIVAL IN CONSONANCE WITH ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE.

ALSO ON TOUR UNDER CYO SPONSORSHIP, BUT APPARENTLY TRAVELING SEPARATELY, IS CHU LIANG, ALL CHINA YOUTH FEDERATION DEPUTY SEC GEN. CHU ALSO EXPRESSED HIS NATION'S SUPPORT FOR INDO'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST MALAYSIA.

COMMENT

RECENT COMPLAINTS BY SOVIETS RE INDO INGRATITUDE MAY HAVE PROMPTED INVITATION BOTH SIDES SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE. WHETHER DELEGATIONS OTHER YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS INVITED NOT KNOWN.

4. PARTY SIMPLIFICATION POLEMIC BETWEEN ADVOCATES OF SINGLE POLITICAL PARTY AND VESTED PARTY INTERESTS (WEEKA 24) CONTINUED. NEW ELEMENTS WERE STATEMENTS OPPOSING SINGLE PARTY BY NU PARTY AND BY HEAD OF CATHOLIC PARTY AS WELL AS EQUIVOCAL STATEMENTS BY IP-KI PARTY AND RUSLAN ABDULGANI WHICH SEEMED TO INDICATE SUPPORT OF ONE PARTY OR ONE NATIONAL FRONT WITHOUT PARTIES THROUGH ATTENTION DEVOTED TO "SUKARNOISM" AS SINGLE IDEOLOGY AND LOYALTY WHICH IS ONE OF THEMES OF ALL-GT SINGLE PARTY ADVOCATES. PKI LEADER AIDIT MEANWHILE EMPHASIZED THAT ONE PARTY SYSTEM ONLY ACCEPTABLE IF DONE ON BASIS GENERAL ELECTIONS WHICH AIDIT SAID PKI WOULD WIN.

COMMENT

OPPOSITION TO ONE PARTY IDEA NOW INCLUDES



PKI, PNI, NU, PARTINDO, PERTI AND CATHOLIC PARTIES WHILE ALL OUT SUPPORT FOR SINGLE PARTY IS RESTRICTED TO NEWSPAPERS BERITA INDONESIA AND MERDEKA, FORMER REFLECTING OPINION OF 45 GENERATION AND MURBA PARTY. SINGLE PARTY CONCEPT ALSO SUPPORTED BEHIND SCENES BY SOME PNI AND MOSLEM ELEMENTS AND PROBABLY BY ARMY PARTLY AS ANTI-COMMUNIST TACTICAL PLOY. PROBABLE OUTCOME WILL BE CONTINUATION OF CURRENT PARTY SYSTEM.

4. UTRECHT AFFAIR

STRUGGLE

BETWEEN LEFT-WING BRAWIDJAJA LAW FACULTY DEAN UTRECHT AND MUSLIM HMI STUDENTS ORGANIZATION (WEEK 25) CONTINUED HAVE REPERCUSSIONS THIS WEEK AS HIGHER EDUCATION MIN TOJIB, AFTER CONSULTATION WITH UTRECHT, REVOKED LATTER'S BAN ON HMI AT LAW FACULTY'S DJEMBER, CENTRAL JAVA, CAMPUS. UTRECHT REACTED BY ISSUING PRESS RELEASE JUNE 20 ATTACKING TOJIB AND STATING HE FILING LIBEL COMPLAINT AGAINST HMI FOR CHARGES HE ANTI-RELIGIOUS. IN ADDITION, MUSLIM NU PARTY HEAD CHALID AND RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS MIN SURRI DENIED UTRECHT'S CLAIM THEY SUPPORTED HMI BANNING.

COMMENT


COUNTER-ATTACK

OF COMMUNISTS THROUGH UTRECHT FIRST SUCCESSFUL PUBLIC EFFORT BY MODERATE FORCES SINCE FRUSTATION ATTEMPTS RE-TOOL TOJIB LAST SPRING AND IF SUCCESSFUL WILL BE REAL SET-BACK FOR PKI IN CURRENT CAMPAIGN TERRORIZE MODERATE FACULTY MEMBERS THROUGH ACCUSATIONS THEY SUPPORTERS OF CULTURAL MANIFESTO (WEEK 20) AND THEREFORE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY. HMI NEATLY TURNING "COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY" TABLES ON UTRECHT BY ACCUSING HIM OF SAME BECAUSE OF HIS ATTEMPTS SPLIT NATIONAL UNITY



7-10-64 Report

5. PNI ANNIVERSARY : NATIONALIST PARTY(PNI)
CELEBRATED ITS 375 BRITHDAY JULY 4 WITH GIANT RALLY OF
NATIONALISTS AND MARHAENISTS WHICH WAS ADDRESSED BY
PRESIDENT SUKARNO, PNI GENERAL CHAIRMAN ALI SATROAMIDJOJO,
AND OTHER LUMINARIES. SUKARNO'S SPEECH PLAYED ON OLD
PATRIOTIC ANTI-MALAYSIA THEMES. ALI DECLARED LOYALTY TO
ALL CURRENT SYMBOLS INCLUDING PANTJASILA, MANIPOL,
TRIKORA, DWIKORA, ETC., ETC., AND CLAIMED FOR PNI
LEADERSHIP AMONG ALL PARTIES IN ADHERENCE TO SUKARNO
PHILOSOPHY. ONLY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE WAS ALI'S
DENUNCIATION OF "UNILATERAL ACTIONS" (WEEKA 26) AND
DESCRIPTION PKI/MALIK NEWSPAPER FEUD AS "LIBERAL " AND NOT
IN CONFORMITY GUIDED DEMOCRACY (SEE ITEM 7).



COMMENT PNI CONTINUES BE SICK GIANT AMONG
INDO POLITICAL PAC683, INCAPABLE GENERATING GENUINE
IDEALISM OR POLITICAL NITIATIVES BECAUSE OF HODGE-PODGE
NATURE MEMBERSHIP AND BANKRUPTCY ITS LEADERSHIP.

3. SUPPORT FOR DRV AND VIET CONG EXPECTED RALLY
CELEBRATING 10TH ANNIVERSARY GENEVA ACCORDS (WEEK 29) WAS
HELD JULY 21 WITH MESSAGES READ FROM PRES SUKARNO AND 3RD
DEPPRIMIN SALEH AND SPEECHES BY NATIONAL FRONT SEC GEN
SUDIBJO, PWI SEC GEN SURACHMAN, PKI CHAIRMAN AIDIT, AND
OTHERS. PRESENT WERE BOTH CAMBODIAN AMB AND DRV CONGEN.

SUKARNO MESSAGE STATED GENEVA ACCORDS FORM BASIS FOR
PEACE IN INDO-CHINA BUT BEING SABOTAGED BY IMPERIALISTS,
DREW PARALLEL BETWEEN STRUGGLE OF PEOPLES LAOS, VIETNAM
AND CAMBODIA AND INDO STRUGGLE AGAINST MALAYSIA. SALEH'S
MESSAGE CLAIMED DIEM BIEN PHU ALSO VICTORY FOR INDOS AND,
IF ANTARA REPORT CORRECT, CLAIMED US IMPERIALISTS VIOLATING
NEUTRALITY BOTH LAOS AND CAMBODIA AND PEACE ONLY POSSIBLE
THROUGH REMOVAL IMPERIALIST TROOPS. AIDIT MADE USUAL
ATTACK ON US.

EARLIER IN WEEK, JULY 19, PLEMINARY SESSION OF PARLIAMENT
UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP VICE-SPEAKER SJAICHU AND WITH ACTING SUPPORT
DEPPRIMIN/FONMIN LEIMENA IN ATTENDANCE, EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR
CAMBODIAN STRUGGLE RETAIN SOVEREIGNTY AND URGED 14-NATION
CONFERENCE BE HELD GUARANTEE CAMBODIAN NEUTRALITY. SAME DAY
PNI HEAD ALI SATROAMIDJOJO MADE STATEMENT URGING IMMEDIATE

WITHDRAWAL US TROOPS FROM SOUTH VIETNAM WHICH GIVEN HEADLINE
TREATMENT PNI'S SULUH INDONESIA AND PKI'S HARIAN RAKJAT AND
BINTANG TIMUR. THESE THREE PAPERS AND ANTARA CARRIED HEAVY
PRO-VIET CONG ANTI-AMERICAN COVERAGE DURING WEEK.



8-2-64 Report

3. SULAWESI REBELLION CONTINUES . ACCORDING
LATEST REPORTS KAHAR MUZAKKR'S REBEL GROUP IN SOUTH AND
SOUTHEAST SULAWESI IS HOLDING ITS OWN AGAINST INTENSIFIED
GOI ATTEMPTS AT SUPPRESSION. DESPITE COMMITMENT OF IFO
FORCES IN EVEN LARGER NUMBERS MUZAKKR HAS STILL SUFFERED NO
MAJOR DEFEAT AND RETAINS SUPPORT AREA POPULACE. ACCORDING
ARMY SOURCES ARMY C/S GEN. YANI HAS RECENTLY INFORMED



SUKARNO AUGUST 17 (INDEPENDENCE DAY) DEADLINE FOR SUPPRESSION
OF REBELLION CANNOT BE MET.

COMMENT : PROBABLY SOME HEADS WILL ROLL TO EXCUSE
LACK OF SUCCESS IN SULAWESI PACIFICATION CAMPAIGN WHEN AND
IF SITUATION ADMITTED PUBLICLY. IN APPARENT EFFORT PORTRAY
GOI SUCCESS AT CRUSHING REBELLIONS, HOWEVER, ANTAR
CLAIMED JULY 20 THAT SUBVERSIVE PLOT IN EAST KALIMANTAN TO
STAGE REBELLION THERE WITH BRITISH AID HAD BEEN COMPLETELY
CRUSHED. THERE COMPLETE LACK OF CONFIRMATION THIS REPORT
AND EMB BELIEVES IT INDO FABRICATION, EITHER PURPOSELY TO
REMOVE STING FROM BAD NEWS IN SULAWESI OR SIMPLY ANOTHER IN
OVERZEALOUS FABRICATIONS OF INDO "VICTORIES" IN KALIMANTAN
WHICH HAVE POURED FORTH FROM LOCAL OFFICIALS AND ARMY UNIT
PIO'S IN RECENT WEEKS.

8-2-64 Reprt

7. PRES SUKARNO ATTACKS BOUFFANT HAIRDOS
PKI-DOMINATED MIDDLE-SCHOOL FEDERATION IPPI OPENED 7TH
CONGRESS JULY 25. WITH ADDRESSES BY PRES SUKARNO, MIN BASIC
EDUCATION PRIJONO, AND IPPI 1ST CHAIRMAN BOBBY SUMOLANG.
SUMOLANG, DENNOUNCED US IMPERIALISTS, SUPPORTED STRONGLY

PRES SUKARNO' RECENT PROHIBITION AGAINST BOUFFANT HAIR-DOS
SUPPORTED PRIJONO'S PANTJAWARDHANA, AND NEEDLED GOCON FOR FAILING
SUPPLY PROMISED INEXPENSIVE BOOKS FOR STUDENTS.
PRIJONO NOT ONLY WAXED ELOQUANT ON HAIR STYLES, WHICH HE
DESCRIBED AS SUBVERSIVE AMERICAN EFFORT CORRUPT INDO
CULTURAL VALUES, BUT ALSO QUOTED EXTENSIVELY FROM ARTICLE
FRENCH CATHOLIC MAGAZINE "ESPIRIT" WHICH APPARENTLY
SUPPORTED PRIJONO'S VIEWS ON ROCK-AND ROLL, TWIST AND
HULLY-GULLY, AND DECADENCE US CULTURE IN GENERAL. SUKARNO
EXPANDED ON SAME THEME TO SOME EXTENT, BUT SPENT MOST OF
HOUR PROVING HE COULD NOT BE HITLER OF SEASIA, AS CLAIMED
BY TUNKU, AS HITLER WAS ANTI-COMMUNIST AND HE, SUKARNO, IS A
FRIEND OF COMMUNISTS..; AND MUSLIMS, CHRISTIANS, AND
NATIONALIST, HE QUICKLY ADDED. IN REFERENCE TO DREAMS HIS
YOUTH, SUKARNO REFERRED TO VISION GREATER INDO STRETCHING
FROM EASTER ISLAND TO MADAGASCAR.

IPPI CONFERENCE APPEARED HAVE BEEN CLIMAXED BY PARTY
JULY 27 AT WHICH ALL IPPI BOARD MEMBERS REPORTED HAVE
FEASTED ON SAUTED RATS BROUGHT UP FROM CENTRAL JAVA
SPECIALLY FOR THE OCCASION.



COMMENT IPPI CONGRESS WOULD HAVE BEEN FAR CICAL
WERE IT NOT FOR HITLERIAN ELEMENT IN STAGING OF MEETING
WITH ITS REPEATED CHANTING OF "HI-DUP BUNG KAR-NO" BY
10,000 OR SO ENTHUSIASTIC TEENAGERS.

8-2-64 Repn

11. TITLES(UNCLAS): LATEST SUKARNO TITLE "SUPREME SHEPHERD REVOLUTIONARY WOMEN'S MOVEMENT" GRANTED DURING 10TH INDO WOMEN'S CONGRESS (KOWANI) MEETING (SEE ITEM 6).



8-7-64 Report

3. DUTCH FOREIGN MIN : DUTCH FOMIN LUNS DEPARTED INDO
AUG 2 AFTER SERIES OF TALKS THAT BOTH SIDES REGARDED AS USEFUL
AND FRIENDLY. COMMUNIQUE NOTED ONLY MINOR AGREEMENTS (APPOINTMENT
OF AMBASSADORS TO BE MADE SOON, WILLINGNESS NEGOTIATE WAR GRAVES
AGREEMENT, DECISION TO FORM JOINT COMMITTEE TO DISCUSS FINANCIAL
PROBLEMS AND SEVERAL LESS IMPORTANT POINTS). LUNS LATER MADE
AIRPORT ANNOUNCEMENT THAT DUTCH GOVT WOULD GUARANTEE 100 MILLION
GUILDERS PRIVATE CREDITS TO INDO.



8-7-64 Report

7. REPORTS CEYLONESE DENY USE PORTS TO US/UK WARCRAFT WWCMD* (UNCLAS): ALL DJAKARTA PAPERS CARRIED WIRE SERVICE REPORTS OF REPORTED GOC DENIAL OF SEA AND AIRPORT FACILITIES TO US UK WARCRAFT GOING TO MALAYSIA ON MILITARY MISSIONS. FONDEPT'S HERALD STATED IN EDITORIAL GOC ACTED WITH COURAGE AND IN SPIRIT OF TRUE AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY, PRAISED GOC FOR WILLINGNESS TO COURT "DISPLEASURE IF NOT ANGER OF...UK AND US."

COMMENT/ . ALTHOUGH EMB INFORMED BY EMB COLOMBO GOC HAS NOT IN FACT ISSUED SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS BARRING US/UK WARCRAFT, BUT MIGHT FIND IT NECESSARY DENY FACILITIES TO CRAFT DESTINED SUPPORT EITHER SIDE IN MALAYSIAN DISPUTE, IT WILL TAKE OFFICIAL DENIAL FROM GOC TO CONVINCE INDOS THIS THE CASE.



8-7-64 Report

10. TONKIN ATTACK, DJAKARTA PRESS AND MOST GOI
OFFICIALS RECEIVED ~~FIRST NEWS US TONKIN GULF RETALIATORY~~
ACTIVITY FROM EMB. USIS MIMEOGRAPHED JOHNSON STATEMENT AND

DISTRIBUTED WITHIN THREE HOURS HIS DELIVERY. NO OFFICIAL
REACTION BUT AFP MAN SAID "HIGHER OFFICIALS" PRIVATELY
DEPLORED US ACTION, PREDICTED CHICOM INVOLVEMENT.

ALL DJAKARTA MORNING PAPERS EXCEPT TWO AUG 6 FRONT PAGED
WIRE SERVICE REPORTS HANOI VERSION. SAMPLE HEADLINES:
BINTANG TIMUR -- "US HAS ATTACKED NVN: CHAIN OF US BAD DECISIONS;"
HARIAN RAKJAT (PKI) -- "US INTENSIFIES PROVOCATIONS AGAINST
NVN -- 7TH FLEET MOBILIZED;" SULUH INDONESIA -- "US WARSHIPS
VIOLATE NVN WATERS...NVN TO GIVE FITTING RETALIATION;"
BERITA INDONESIA -- "AMERICA LOOKING FOR WAR IN SOUTHEAST
ASIA;" MERDEKA -- "DESTROY ATTACKING SHIPS; JOHNSON;"
OBSERVER -- "JOHNSON ORDERS RETALIATION AGAINST TONKIN GULF
ATTACK."

INDO HERALD, FONOFF ORIENTED, PLAYED STORY STRAIGHT USING
USIS RELEASE (CREDITED) FOLLOWED BY AP STORY HANOI RADIO
TEXT. HERALD BANNERED CAPTION, "JOHNSON ORDERS LIMITED AIR
ACTION AGAINST NVN FACILITIES."

ONLY OBSERVER, GARUDA AND BERITA HAD FIRST PAGE EDITS, ALL
CRITICAL US. GARUDA CALLED RETALIATION "MACARTHURISM" AND
WARNED INDONESIA COULD GET SIMILAR TREATMENT IF NOT SUFFICIENTLY
STRONG. BERITA BLAMED US POLITICS AND SUGGESTED US MILITARY
NO LONGER UNDER CONTROL OF GOVT. OBSERVER AUG 4 URGED US WAR-
SHIPS STAY OUT OF TONKIN GULF.



8-14-64 Repo

1. DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ESTABLISHED WITH NORTH VIET-NAM

GOI AND HANOI SIMULTANEOUSLY ANNOUNCED AUG 10 ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AT AMB. LEVEL (PREVIOUSLY, ONLY CONSULAR RELATIONS MAINTAINED). CHARGE' INFORMED BY SUBANDRIO THAT ACTION LONG CONTEMPLATED, TAKEN UNDER PRESSURE INDO PUBLIC, NOT RELATED TONKIN INCIDENT. SUBANDRIO AGREED TIMING BAD, SAID WAS SORRY ACTION NOT RPT NOT TAKEN BEFORE, APPEARED UNCONCERNED AT SVN'S RETALIATORY SEVERANCE CONSULAR RELATIONS WITH GOI. SVN CG IN DJAKARTA IMMEDIATELY CLOSED TO BUSINESS, IS AWAITING INSTRUCTIONS FROM SAIGON TO BEGIN DISPOSAL OF PROPERTY.

COMMENT; SUBANDRIO LATER TOLD PRESS GOI FULLY AWARE SVN WOULD WITHDRAW GO IF RELATIONS ESTABLISHED WITH HANOI. LEFTIST PRESS HAS BANNER-HEADLINED GOI ACTION AS SYMBOL SUPPORT FELLOW MEMBER NEFO'S NOW SUFFERING AGGRESSION FROM



us imperialism. Two journalists urged GOI now recognize SVN liberation front reps. here.

8-14-64 Repo

2. REACTION TO TONKIN GULF INCIDENT

SUBANDRIO STATEMENT COUCHED IN MODERATE TERMS TO EFFECT THAT "FOREIGN INTERFERENCE IN ASIAN AFFAIRS ONLY AGGRAVATES PROBLEMS" REPRESENTS ONLY GRAY SPOT IN WEEK TOTALLY BLACK WITH CONDEMNATORY ANTI-US HEADLINES. REACTION BY PRESS, FRONT GROUPS, SEVERAL GOI CABINET MINISTERS, UNIFORMLY DEPICTED US AS "TRUE AGGRESSOR," NATION FRIENDLY TO INDONESIA, OF MANUFACTURING TONKIN INCIDENT TO JUSTIFY BRUTAL AGGRESSION. YOUR DELEGATION CALLED AT EMBASSY AUGUST 10 TO PRESENT "HANDS-OFF VIET-NAM" PETITION DEMANDING EXPULSION OF PEACE CORPS, AMBASSADOR JONES, BILL PALMER, NATIONALIZATION US PROPERTY, CONVENING OF 14-NATION CONFERENCE ET AL. CONSULATES AT MEDAN AND SURABAYA UNDERWENT DEMONSTRATIONS ON THIS SUBJECT.



COMMENT / FRIENDLY INDONESIANS PRIVATELY BELIEVE THAT INCIDENT WILL BE GENERALLY VIEWED HERE BY POLITICALLY-AWARE COMPATRIOTS AS FURTHER PROOF DANGER INHERENT WHEN WEST INTERVENES IN ASIAN AFFAIRS. OVER-ALL IMPRESSION RECEIVED IS THAT INDONESIA AS NATION HAS SEMI-OFFICIALLY DEMONSTRATED OVERWHELMING SUPPORT ON THIS ISSUE FOR DRV AS FELLOW EMERGING SOURCE.

8-14-64 Rept

4. AUG 17 CELEBRATION: KIM IL SUNG CANCELS BUT NORTH VIETNAMESE ARRIVE IN FORCE PREPARATIONS FOR CELEBRATION AUG 17 ANNIVERSARY INDO INDEPENDENCE DAY CONTINUE Apace WITH REVOLUTIONARY SLOGANS AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST BILLBOARDS APPEARING EVERYWHERE. ALTHOUGH KIM IL SUNG OF NORTH KOREA HAS DEFERRED VISIT "DUE TO PROBLEMS CURRENTLY FACED" BY DPRK, CAMBODIA'S SIHANOUK AND 20-MEMBER DRV PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION INCLUDING TRUON CHINH AND GENERAL CHU VAN STILL EXPECTED.



COMMENT: SPECULATION RIFE RE TRADITIONAL SUKARNO SPEECH AUG 17. PRESS URGE HE TAKE OPPORTUNITY CONDEMN US AGGRESSION, WHILE GOI OFFICIALS PRIVATELY CERTAIN SPEECH WILL BE MODERATE IN TONE AND ROUTINE IN CONTENT.

8-14-64 Report

No Objection To Declassification in Full 2010/08/30 : HIA-R JONES HOWARD P-2D-8

-31-2

6. SULAWESI REBEL LEADER CAPTURED (UNCLAS): PRESS AUG 12 REPORTED KAHAR MUZAKAR, LEADER OF 14 YEAR-OLD REBELLION IN SULAWESI (CELEBES) WAS CAPTURED ALIVE AUG 8.

COMMENT: GOI HAS NOT YET MADE OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT, BUT ARMY SOURCE CONFIRMED TO ARMA AUG 12 THAT MUZAKAR IN CUSTODY. CAPTURE SHOULD BREAK BACK OF LAST ACTIVE REBELLION AGAINST CENTRAL GOVERNMENT ANYWHERE IN INDO AND DRAMATICALLY FULFILLS SUKARNO'S COMMAND THAT REBELLION MUST BE ENDED BY AUG 17 INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY. ANNOUNCEMENT PROBABLY BEING SAVED FOR BIG DAY.



No Objection To Declassification in Full 2010/08/30 : HIA-R JONES HOWARD P-2D-8

-31-2

8-29-64 Report

-31-2

1. CABINET CHANGES **SUKARNO ANNOUNCED FOLLOWING CHANGES**
IN CABINET AT NOON AUG 27:

CREATION OF NEW "COMPARTMENT OF BASIC EDUCATION AND CULTURE UNDER CRYPTO-COMMUNIST PRIJONO AS MINISTER-COORDINATOR. PRIJONO WILL NOW OVERSEE (A) MINISTRY OF BASIC EDUCATION AND CULTURE, HEADED BY FORMER FONDEPT OFFICIAL MRS MARZUKI SUDIRDO, (B) MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUC AND SCIENCE, IN WHICH MODERATE TOJIB HADIWIDJAJA REPLACED BY SJARIF THAJEB, MODERATE RECTOR OF UNIV OF INDO, AND (C) SPORTS MINISTRY, WHICH STILL HEADED BY MALADI.

(2) ADDITION OF FORMER BUDGET MIN ARIFIN HARAHAHAP POLICE BRIG GEN MUDJOKO, AND COMMUNIST LEADER NJOTO TO PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT OEI TJOE TAT AS "STATE MINISTER ATTACHED TO PRESIDUM".



(3) REPLACEMENT OF IPIK GANDAMANA AS INTERIOR MIN BY FORMER DJAKARTA MAYOR BRIG GEN SUMARNO, AND REPLACEMENT OF ATTYGEN KADARUSMAN BY COL SUTARJO. IPIK RECEIVED POST AS STATE MIN FOR VILLAGE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN AGRC COMPARTMENT.

(4) REPLACEMENT OF BUDGET MIN ARIFIN HARAHAHAP IN FINANCE COMPARTMENT BY SURJADI, LEFT-LEANING ACTING DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL BANK.

(5) REPLACEMENT OF AHM ERNINGPRADJA AS LABOR MIN BY MEMBER OF CRYPTO-COMMUNIST PARTINDO PARTY, SUTOMO, WHO FORMERLY DIRECTOR MANPOWER IN LABDEPT. AHM RECEIVED POST AS "MIN OF STATE ASSISTING DEVELOPMENT COMPARTMENT."

(6) REPLACEMENT OF BRIG GEN SAMBAS AS VETERANS AFFAIRS MIN BY MAJ GEN SARBINI, FORMERLY CO KODAM VII (CENTRAL JAVA).

(7) REPLACEMENT OF RUSLAN ABDULGANI AS INFOMIN (BUT NOT AS PUBLIC AFFAIRS MIN/CO) BY BRIG GEN ACHMADI, WHO IN TURN REPLACED AS MIN FOR TRANSMIGRATION AND COOPS BY ACHADI.

COMMENT: ACTUAL CHANGES SOMEWHAT ANTI-CLIMATIC AFTER TWO-DAY BUILD-UP OF TENSE ANTICIPATION, BASED ON SUKARNO STATEMENT THAT CABINET BEING RESHUFFLED ALONG LINES LAID DOWN IN TAVIP. THIS ALMOST CERTAINLY NOT CASE, AT LEAST IN FIRST ANALYSIS, SINCE NO SIGNIFICANT GAINS STRIKINGLY APPARENT FOR LEFTISTS AS RESULT CHANGES. FURTHERMORE, WIDELY PREDICTED THREAT TO NASUTION'S POSITION AS CHIEF OF ARMED FORCES DID NOT MATERIALIZE. ALTHOUGH CRYPTO-COMMUNIST PRIJONO OSTENSIBLY GIVEN MORE RANK AND POWER BY ELEVATION TO MIN/CO LEVEL, FACT THAT EDUCATION MINISTRIES WHICH HE SUPERVISES NOW HEADED BY NON-COMMUNISTS SUGGESTS PRIJONO MAY HAVE BEEN KICKED UPSTAIRS TO REDUCE FRICTION AND POLEMICS IN EDUCATION. SIMILARLY, ALTHOUGH MODERATE ABDULGANI LOST INFO MINISTRY, HE REMAINS AS MIN/CO, AND HIS REPLACEMENT IS NON-COMMUNIST. IN BRIEF REMARKS PRECEDING ANNOUNCEMENT OF CHANGES, (WHICH READ AT SUKARNO'S REQUEST BY CHAIRUL SALEH), SUKARNO STATED "BASIC PROGRAM OF NEW CABINET WOULD BE SAME AS THAT OF FORMER CABINET NAMELY, INCREASE PRODUCTION, ACHIEVE SECURITY THROUGHOUT INDONESIA, CRUSH MALAYSIA."

8-29-64 Repd

-31-2

-3- 395, AUGUST 29, 10AM FROM DJAKARTA

MALAYSIA. SUKARNO REACTED TO MENDEZ STATEMENTS RE TIMING FOR GOP RECOGNITION MALAYSIA WITH MILD STATEMENT THAT INDO REMAINS FIRM IN ANTI-MALAYSIAN POSTURE, NO MATTER WHAT ACTIONS GOP MAY TAKE.



3. ANTI-AMERICANISM ~~RE~~ EVIDENCE OF ANTI-AMERICANISM WHICH HAS BURGEONED IN INDO IN RECENT WEEKS CONTINUED TO MOUNT. USIS JEFFERSON LIBRARY IN JOGJAKARTA, TURNED OVER UNDER DURESS AUG 15, CONTINUED IN HANDS LOCAL INDO AUTHORITIES, DESPITE SUKARNO COMMITMENT TO CHARGE TO RETURN IT DURING WEEK AUG 17. SUKARNO AND FONMIN SUBANDRIO HAVE CONTINUED TO BE UNAVAILABLE TO CHARGE TO DISCUSS THIS AND RELATED MATTERS. BOYCOTTS AGAINST PANAM AND US FILMS (SEE ITEM 8) CONTINUED. THREAT OF TAKEOVER USIS AND BOYCOTT US VESSELS DEVELOPED SURABAYA, INDO'S SECOND-LARGEST CITY. RADIO REPUBLIC INDO INFORMED USIS IT WOULD NO LONGER USE LATTER'S TELEVISION FILMS. GOI REPORTEDLY TOOK INTERNAL DECISION REFUSE US TECHNICIANS IF ANY PROPOSED TO WORK ON WEST IRIAN DEVELOPMENT UNDER UN ASUPICES.

COMMENT ~~RE~~ GOI DOING LITTLE, IF ANYTHING, TO CURB GROWING ANTI-US CAMPAIGN FOR WHICH IT BEARS LARGE MEASURE RESPONSIBILITY.

4. PKI CULTURAL CONF ~~(UNCLAS)~~ PKI SPONSORED CONF OF REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE OPENED DJAKARTA AUG 27, WILL RUN UNTIL SPET 2. SUKARNO AND AIDIT SCHEDULED DELIVER ADDRESSES.

5. DRV PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION TOURING INDONESIA, SPREADING PROPAGANDA (UNCLAS) ACCOMPANIED BY PARLIAMENT SPEAKER ARUDJI KARTAWINATA, DEV PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION, HEADED BY TRUONG CHINH, HAS VISITED BALI, JOGJAKARTA, SOLO MEDAN, PADANG, DISSEMINATING ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA AND PRAISING INDO SOLIDARITY AND STRUGGLE.

6. SIHANOUK STATE VISIT APPARENTLY UNPRODUCTIVE ~~RE~~ AIRPORT CERMONY AUG 21 MARKING DEPARTURE PRINCE SIHANOUK FOR CAMBODIA ACCOMPANIED BY LONG, FLOWERY STATEMENTS OF MUTUAL AMITY AND ADMIRATION, AFFECTION AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST SUPPORT FROM SUKARNO AND GUEST.

COMMENT ~~RE~~ ABSENCE OF JOINT COMMUNIQUE AT CLOSE OF VISIT SUGGESTS TWO UNABLE ESTABLISH QUID PRO QUO DEAL OF SUKARNO SUPPORT FOR SIHANOUK'S NEUTRALITY AND BORDER GUARANTEE PROPOSALS, IN RETURN FOR LATTER'S APPROVAL TO INDO CRUSH MALAYSIA CAMPAIGN.

9-4-64 Report

2. NEW CABINET INSTALLED; FURTHER INFORMATION EMERGES ON CHANGES (UNCLAS): CABINET ANNOUNCED AUG 27 FORMALLY INSTALLED UNDER TITLE "DWIKORA CABINET" SEPT 2.



COMMENT "DWIKORA" IS SUKARNO'S "DUAL-COMMAND TO CRUSH MALAYSIA. NEW INFORMATION INDICATES SUKARNO ORIGINALLY CONTEMPLATED MORE EXTENSIVE CHANGES, INCLUDING REMOVAL MODERATES NASUTION AND RUSLAN ABDULGANI, BASED ON APPARENT SUPPORT FOR CHANGES FROM GENERAL YANI. COMMANDERS OF THREE JAVA MILITARY DISTRICTS AND NAVY, AIR AND POLICE SERVICE CHITOS, HOWEVER, REPORTEDLY DISSUADED SUKARNO. ALTHOUGH ARMY RALLIED TO SUPPORT OF NASUTION, INCIDENT HAS PROBABLY LEFT STRONG RESIDUE BITTERNESS BETWEEN NASUTION AND YANI, WHICH MAY PROVE TO BE ASSET TO LEFTIST FORCES.

9-11-64 Report

5. KOTRAR ORGANIZED . . . ORGANIZATION AND STAFF
PERSONNEL APPOINTMENTS WERE ANNOUNCED FOR NEW "RETOOLING"
COMMITTEE, KOTRAR, TOP LEADERSHIP CONSISTING OF SUKARNO AS
SUPREME COMMANDER, SUBANDRIO AS DEPUTY, GEN. YANI AS CHIEF
OF STAFF AND AIR COMMODORE WIRIADINATA AS DEP CHIEF STAFF.
STAFF CONTAINS 3 DIVISIONS AND IS PARTLY "NASAKOMIZED".
OF FIVE MAN POLITICAL BUREAU TWO ARE PROMINENT PKI OFFICIALS
AND ANOTHER IS HEAD OF CRYPTO-COMMUNIST PARTINDO PARY. FIVE
MAN SECRETARIAT IS HEADED BY ARMY OFFICER WHOSE REGULAR JOB
IS DEPUTY HEAD OF ARMY STAFF SECTION THAT HAS JURISDICTION
OVER ARMY PERSONNEL IN CIVILIAN POSTS. NONE OF OTHER
SECRETARIES ARE PKI ALTHOUGH ONE IS LEFT-PNI CHAIRMAN OF
YOUTH FRONT WHO HAS COOPERATED CLOSELY WITH PKI IN
PAST. THERE IS ALSO "GENERAL ASSISTANT BUREAU" WHICH HAS SIX



PROMINENT POLITICAL OR MILITARY FIGURES (SUBANDRIO, GEN.
SABUR, ETC.) AS HEADS OF VARIOUS FUNCTIONAL AFFAIRS BRANCHES.
PRESS SPOKESMAN FOR KOTRAR IS ANTARA OFFICIAL BELIEVED TO BE
CRYPTO-COMMUNIST.

COMMENT . . . VARIOUS RETOOLING COMMITTEES IN PAST
TURNED OUT TO BE DEAD LETTERS BECAUSE TOO MANY INDOFFICIALS
ARE SUBJECT TO CORRUPTION CHARGES. KOTRAR WILL PROBABLY
PROVE SIMILAR ALTHOUGH PKI WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY LIKE TO USE
IT AS TOOL TO PURGE ITS ENEMIES. SIGNIFICANCE OF COMMIE

9-18-64 Report

2. SUKARNO DECREE CENTRALIZES FORCES UNDER KOTI AND ESTABLISHES REGIONAL DWIKORA COMMANDERS (UNCLAS): PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION ISSUED SEPT 14 COMBINED ARMED FORCES "AND ALL INDO PEOPLE" UNDER HIMSELF AS HEAD OF KOTI/KOTOE, ESTABLISHED POST OF REGIONAL "CRUSH-MALAYSIA" COMMANDER VESTED WITH SWEEPING ARBITRARY POLICE POWERS INCLUDING ARREST AND SEARCH, SEIZURE OF GOODS, IMPOSITION OF CORVEE, CURFEW AND HOUSE ARREST, EXPULSION OF DANGEROUS INDIVIDUALS, ETC. NAMING OF INDIVIDUAL COMMANDERS PRESUMABLY WILL AWAIT SUKARNO'S RETURN FROM ABROAD (SEE ITEM 3).



COMMENT: DECREE APPEARS TO REPRESENT COMPROMISE SETTLEMENT OF REPORTED CONFLICT IN HIGH COUNCILS BETWEEN SUPPORTED PLAN IMPOSE STATE OF EMERGENCY IN ORDER STEP UP CONFRONTATION AGAINST MALAYSIA, AND LEFTIST UNWILLINGNESS PERMIT MILITARY CAPITALIZE ON PROJECTED EMERGENCY POWERS TO CLAMP DOWN ON PKI CUM SUITE. HIGHLY PLACED MINISTERIAL SOURCE REPORTS THAT ARMY WILL INDEED PLAY LARGE PART IN IMPLEMENTATION DECREE, BUT THAT NASUTION'S ROLE WILL BE DOWNGRADED VIS-A-VIS THAT OF YANI, WHO KEY FIGURE IN KOTI, SINCE WHILE ARMY OFFICERS MAY BE NAMED AS "REGIONAL DWIKORA COMMANDERS," AND LARGELY INVESTED WITH SAME POWERS HELD BY ARMY COMMANDERS DURING IRIAN CRISIS, THEY WILL REPORT TO PRESIDENT/KOTI/KOTOE RATHER THAN TO NASUTION AND DOD.

9-18-64 Report

3. SUKARNO DEPARTS ON MONTH LONG TRIP ABROAD; SUBANDRIO ACTING PRESIDENT SUKARNO DEPARTED DJAKARTA SEPT 17 ON FIRST LEG MONTH-LONG TRIP ABROAD IN CONNECTION CAIRO CONF, MEDICAL CHECKUP, VACATION AND NEFO SOLIDARITY. ACCORDING PANAM REP HERE (PROTECT SOURCE), FOLLOWING ARRIVAL BANGKOK VIA GARUDA FOR VISIT SEPT 17-19, SUKARNO WILL CHARTER PLANE FOR VISITS TO KARACHI (SEPT 19-20), VIENNA (SEPT 20-28), ROME (SEPT 28-OCT 3), CAIRO (OCT 3-9),

PARIS (OCT 9-12), COPENHAGEN (OCT 12-14), TOKYO (OCT 15-?), IN ADDITION, PRESS REPORTED WILL VISIT BELGRADE AT INVITATION OF TITO, MAKE STATE VISIT VATICAN AT INVITATION POPE, AND "FULFILL LONG STANDING INVITATION FROM KIM IL SUNG VISIT PYONGYANG." SUBANDRIO ACTING PRESIDENT DURING SUKARNO'S ABSENCE, EXCEPT DURING CAIRO CONF (WHICH SUBANDRIO WILL ATTEND), WHEN LEIMENA WILL SUBSTITUTE.

COMMENT / SUKARNO WILL CHARTER PANAM JET FOR PORTION OF TRIP BETWEEN BANGKOK AND TOKYO (REFUEL STOP AT FAIRBANKS OCT 14). VISIT TO BELGRADE TO BE SQUEEZED IN WHILE SUKARNO AT ROME; VISIT TO PYONGYANG AFTER PANAM CHARTER TERMINATES AT TOKYO. SUKARNO DEPARTURE PUSHED UP FROM AFTERNOON TO MORNING SEPT 17. HIS CHRONIC FEAR OF ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS, AND EFFORTS TO FOIL THEM, MAY ULTIMATELY INVALIDATE PART OF ABOVE SCHEDULE.



Report
10-2-64

Overseas Developments Affecting Indo and its Leaders

ACCOMPANYING KEY ELEMENTS OF INDO LEADERSHIP, AS WELL AS INDO ELIGIBILITY SQUABBLE AT TOKYO OLYMPICS (ITEM 2), MAIN FOCUS OF POLITICAL INTEREST HAS TEMPORARILY SHIFTED OUTSIDE INDONESIA.

AFTER UNDERGOING SUCCESSFUL MINOR OPERATION IN VIENNA FOR REMOVAL OF KIDNEY STONE, SUKARNO FLEW INTO MOSCOW AMID WARM WELCOME FROM KHRUSHCHEV AND MIKOYAN, BEGAN TALKS (FLANKED BY MINDEF NASUTION AND INDO AMB) WITH SOVIET LEADERS WHICH SO FAR HE HAS DESCRIBED AS "FRUITFUL". ALTHOUGH SUKARNO RECEIVING RED-CARPET TREATMENT, VISIT NOT DESCRIBED AS OFFICIAL. SCHEDULE OF TALKS APPEAR TO HAVE PRECLUDED PREVIOUSLY PLANNED VISIT TO BELGRADE. SUKARNO EXPECTED ARRIVE IN CAIRO FOR NON-BLOC CONFERENCE OCT. 3.

SUBANDRIO DEPARTED SEPT. 28 FOR PRE-CAIRO CONFERENCE MINISTERIAL-LEVEL TALKS, ACCOMPANIED BY 40-MEMBER PARTY

INCLUDING "NASAKOM" MINISTERIAL DELEGATION OF SUBAMIA (PNI), ZUCHRI (MIN RELIGION), NJOTO (PKI), AS WELL AS MIN



INFO ACHMADI, 2ND/3RD DEP FONMINS SUDJARWO AND SUPENI, AND 10 CORRESPONDENTS. 2ND DEPT PRIMIN LEIMENA NOW ACTING PRESIDENT/PRIMIN. ALTHOUGH SUBANDRIO STATED AT DJAKARTA AIRPORT THAT INDO INTENDED EXPLAIN ITS POSITION ON MALAYSIA ISSUE AT CAIRO CONFERENCE, FONOFF SPOKESMAN ANNOUNCED SAME DAY THAT INDO WOULD NOT RAISE ISSUE SPECIFICALLY, AND SUBANDRIO CONFIRMED THIS IN STATEMENT ISSUED UPON ARRIVAL CAIRO, DISPLAYING DIFFERENCE IN INDO ANNOUNCEMENTS ABROAD FROM THOSE INTENDED FOR INTERNAL CONSUMPTION.

INDO "FIGHTING GROUP" UNDER 2ND DEFONMIN SUWITO CURRENTLY TOURING COLOMBO, BELEGRADE AND ALGIERS. PREPARING GROUNDWORK FOR INDO WHICH REPORTEDLY WILL/EMPHASIZE ATTEMPTS HARMONIZE INDIAN VIEWPOINT THAT CONF MUST CONTRIBUTE TO LESSENING INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS ARISING FROM EAST-WEST IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE WITH INDO IDEOLOGICAL THRUST THAT WORLD TENSIONS DERIVE FROM ATTEMPTS OF FORCES OF STATUS QUO TO DOMINATE AND STAVE OFF FORCES OF CHANGE.

Activity at Home, Status Quo Abroad

Political

ATTENTION HERE REMAINS RIVETTED ON DEVELOPMENTS ABROAD, ESPECIALLY (1) SUKARNO'S TRAVELS TO MOSCOW AND EFFORTS TO PROMOTE INDO VIEWPOINT AT CAIRO CONFERENCE, (2) SPORTS MINISTER MALADI'S ATTEMPTS PERSUADE OLYMPIC OFFICIALS ALLOW COMPLETE INDO TEAM (INCLUDING GANEFO PARTICIPANTS BANNED BY SPORTS FEDERATIONS) PLAY AT TOKYO, (3) PHIL PRES MACAPAGAL'S STATEMENTS IN US AND (4) MALAYSIAN REACTIONS TO CURRENT INDO PUSH FOR NEGOTIATIONS. STATUS QUO ON MOST LOCAL ISSUES (EXCEPT INCREASED GOVERNMENT RICE PRICE- ITEM 4) BEING MAINTAINED UNTIL SUKARNO'S RETURN, AND RELATIVE QUIET IS WELCOME RELIEF AFTER HECTIC WEEKS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING AUGUST 17 SPEECH. ONLY JARRING NOTE WAS RESUMPTION INDO ATTACKS ON MALAYSIAN BORNEO (ITEM 2).



10-9-64 Report

5. STATUS OF REBELLION IN SULAWESI : EMBASSY SOURCE
CONFIRMED FROM CONTACT IN MAKASSAR THAT ANDI SELLE MATTOLA'S BODY
IDENTIFIED POSITIVELY FROM DENTAL RECORDS, REPORTED THAT LEADER-
SHIP OF HIS GANG NOW TAKEN OVER BY BROTHER, ANDI KURU. TNI
SPOKESMAN FOR ANTI-REBEL OPERATION IN SOUTH SULAWESI REPORTS THAT
BOTH SELLE AND KAHAR MUZAKHAR GANGS DISPERSED AND REMNANTS
CORNERED IN POCKETS WEST AND NORTH OF HEAD OF GULF OF BONE, AND
THAT CRUSHING OF REBELLION EXPECTED SHORTLY. MEANWHILE,
TRAVELERS' REPORT THAT TROUBLE BREWING IN REGION OF NORTH
SULAWESI, WHICH WAS SEAT OF PERMESTA REVOLT SIX YEARS AGO AND
HAS LONG RECORD OF ANTI-JAVANESE SENTIMENT AND CLOSE ECONOMIC
RELATIONS WITH MALAYSIA AND PHILIPPINES, CONFIRMED BY LOCAL
RESIDENTS VISITING DJAKARTA IN RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH EMBOFFS.
UNSUCCESSFUL APPROACHES REPORTEDLY MADE BY LOCAL LEADERS TO



PHILLIPPINE CONGEN MENADO CONCERNING POSSIBILITY DEVELOPING PHIL
SUPPORT FOR ANTI-JAVANESE REVOLT.

COMMENT : TNI OPTIMISM ON PROXIMATE CRUSHING OF
KAHAR MUZAKHAR PROBABLY UNWARRANTED, HOWEVER DEATH OF ANDI SELLE
DOES REPRESENT MAJOR VICTORY IN CAMPAIGN. NO OVERT ANTI-DJAKARTA
ACTIONS SO FAR REPORTED FROM NORTH SULAWESI AND LIKELIHOOD IS
THAT CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WILL BE ABLE TO KEEP LID ON RESENTMENT
THERE WITHOUT MUCH DIFFICULTY IN ABSENCE ASSISTANCE FOR POTENTIAL
DISSIDENCE FROM ABROAD.

3. SUKARNO'S TRAVELS, VISITS AND MEDALS
PRESIDENT'S OFFICIAL VISIT TO VATICAN AND RECEIPT OF HIGHEST ORDER OF CATHOLIC CHURCH, PROCLAIMED HERE AS "ACKNOWLEDGEMENT BY POPE PAUL VI OF GRANDEUR AND SUPREMACY OF PANTJASILA... AND INDICATION THAT BUNG KARNO IS NOT A COMMUNIST AS ALLEGED BY THE NEO-COLONIALISTS, COLONIALISTS, AND IMPERIALISTS AND THEIR LACKEYS", ACCORDING TO STATEMENT RELEASED BY NATIONAL FRONT PROPAGANDA OFFICER AND HEAD OF CATHOLIC YOUTH GROUP HIMAWAN DJAJA ENDRA. ACCORDING TO LATEST SCHEDULE, SUKARNO WILL DEPART ROME FOR PARIS OCT. 17 AND LEAVE PARIS OCT. 22 FOR TOKYO, WHERE HIS PANAM CHARTER ENDS ON OCT. 23. FROM THERE HE WILL PROCEED TO PYONGYANG FOR STATE VISIT OCTOBER 26-29. RADIO REPUBLIC INDONESIA ANNOUNCED OCT. 10 THAT SUKARNO HAS RECEIVED WRITTEN INVITATION FROM CHICOM AMBASSADOR IN CAIRO TO VISIT PEKING ON HIS WAY HOME, HOWEVER, THERE IS SO FAR NO CONFIRMATION THAT HE HAS ACCEPTED. IF HE DOES ACCEPT, NEW GARUDA INDO AIRWAYS CANTON-PHNOM-PENH-DJAKARTA ROUTE TO BE INAUGURATED OCT. 15 WOULD PROVIDE READY MEANS RETURNING HOME.



COMMENT / HIMAWAN IS PRO-COMMUNIST INFLUENTIAL YOUTH LEADER WHO ACCOMPANIED INDO DELEGATION TO RECENT MOSCOW WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL, AND HAS BEEN MEMBER OF ANTI-AMERICAN PROTEST DELEGATIONS TO EMBASSY. CONFERRAL OF AWARDS ON SUKARNO BY POPE WILL STRENGTHEN SUKARNO'S POSITION WITH CATHOLIC MINORITY HERE, WHICH WHILE NOT LARGE IS INFLUENTIAL REGIONALLY AND IN CERTAIN GOI MINISTRIES. NON-MOSLEM RELIGIOUS LEADERS HAVE OCCASIONALLY EXPRESSED CONCERN PRIVATELY THAT SUKARNO AND PKI LEADING COUNTRY TOWARD MARXISM AND ATHEISM, AND LEFTISTS CAN BE EXPECTED EMPLY SUCCESS OF SUKARNO STATE VISIT TO VATICAN TO REDUCE EFFECT

if not allay religious suspicions. Subandrio, who accompanied Sukarno to Rome, expected back here Oct 17

2. SUKARNO'S TRAVEL

SUKARNO'S REST
STOP IN PARIS NOW EXTENDED UNTIL OCT 26 WHEN HE WILL FLY
TO TOKYO VIA POLAR ROUTE. PRESIDENT HAD MUCH-BOUGHT
PRIVATE MEETING WITH DEGAULLE OCT 22. LEAVING PANAM
CHARTER BEHIND, PRESIDENT WILL APPARENTLY TAKE GARUDA
JET TO PYONGYANG OCT 29 AND REPORTEDLY RETURN TO TOKYO
OCT 30 FOR DIRECT FLIGHT BACK TO DJAKARTA NOV 1 OR 2
VIA PANAM.

COMMENT

IT STILL UNCERTAIN WHETHER
SUKARNO WILL MAKE STOP IN PEKING IN RESPONSE CHICOM
INVITATION TENDERED IN CAIRO, BUT PROJECTED SCHEDULE
WOULD APPEAR LEAVE LITTLE TIME FOR SUCH ADDITIONAL STOP.
SUBANDRIO INFORMED PHIL AMB DJAKARTA THAT SUKARNO ALSO



*considering stopover in Manila to talk to Macapagal,
so precise date of President's return still indefinite.*

8. LABOR MINISTER OUTLINES LABOR POLICY
SOETOMO, RECENTLY APPOINTED LABOR MINISTER, IN PRESS
CONFERENCE AND SPEECH TO WORKERS OUTLINED TENETS OF HIS
LABOR POLICY: (A) LABOR DEPT ORGANIZATION AND PERSONNEL
WILL BE "RETOOLED," (B) TRADE UNION MOVEMENT WILL BE
"SIMPLIFIED," UNIONS INSUFFICIENTLY "PROGRESSIVE AND
REVOLUTIONARY" WILL BE ABOLISHED, (C) LABOR MUST NOT
STRUGGLE AGAINST GOVT. SOETOMO ALSO ANNOUNCED HIS INTEN-
TION TO EQUATE WAGES IN GOVT, STATE ENTERPRISES AND

PRIVATE INDUSTRY.

COMMENT / LABMIN INTELLIGENT AND
QUALIFIED ADMINISTRATOR BUT THOUGHT TO BE FARTHER LEFT
THAN PREDECESSOR. DEPARTMENTAL REORGANIZATION APPEARS
ONLY PRO FORMA. POLICY TOWARDS UNIONS HOWEVER IS NEW
AND POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS. ANTI-COMMUNIST UNIONS AND
THOSE WITH FREE WORLD AFFILIATIONS FRIGHTENED THEY ARE
PRINCIPAL TARGET IN SIMPLIFICATION EFFORT. THIRD POINT
USUAL INDO ANACHRONISM; LABOR MUST BE "REVOLUTIONARY",
EXCEPT THAT IT MUST DOCTILELY COMPLY WITH THE GOVT'S
DESIRES EVEN WHEN THOSE DESIRES AT ODDS WITH WHAT UNION
MEMBERS WANT.



10-23-64 *Repr*

31-2

11. SULAWESI REBELS ALMOST CRUSHED

INDO ARMY SOURCES INDICATE CAPTURE OF KAHAR MUZAKAR IS IMMINENT. REBEL FORCES HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN ISOLATED IN KENDARI AREA OF SE SULAWESI AND OPERATIONS NOW BEING IMPLEMENTED TO NEUTRALIZE THEM. PRESS IS CONFIDENTLY PREDICTING ENTIRE REBELLION WILL BE ELIMINATED BY END OF YEAR.



COMMENT GEN. YANI DEPARTED OCT 20 FOR INSPECTION TRIP OF SULAWESI AND IS EXPECTED RETURN OCT 25. ACCORDING ARMA SOURCES PURPOSE OF TRIP IS TO GAIN FIRST HAND INFO ON STATUS OF REBELLION IN ORDER TO BRIEF SUKARNO AFTER LATTER'S RETURN.

10-30-64 *Repon*

2. AFTER SUKARNO. . . ACTING PRES SUBANDRIO IN OCT 25 SPEECH ASKED HOW REVOLUTION WOULD BE CONTINUED IF SUKARNO NO LONGER ABLE TO LEAD. SUBANDRIO SAID IT MUST NOT BE THRU CLASH OF FORCES OR PLAYING AT COUP D'ETAT, BUT THRU MAKING ENTIRE PUBLIC "PROGRESSIVE". STATEMENT MADE IN COURSE SPEECH DEFINING INDO REVOLUTION AS LEFTIST AND DEMOCRATIC AND DENOUCING RIGHTISTS AS PRINCIPAL ENEMY OF REVOLUTION. SUBANDRIO ALSO ASSERTED IN ANOTHER SPEECH INDO REV ENTERING "SECOND STATE," A JUDGMENT WHICH SO FAR EVEN PKI HAS NOT MADE.

COMMENT: . . . ALMOST UNHEARD OF FOR INDO LEADER TO PUBLICLY SPECULATE ABOUT POST-SUKARNO ERA. REMARKS MAY BE RELATED TO DOUBTS ABOUT SUKARNO'S HEALTH (WEEKA 43), ABOUT WHICH NO PUBLIC COMMENT YET ALTHOUGH TOP LEADERSHIP PROBABLY AWARE SUKARNO'S FORTHCOMING OPERATION. SUBANDRIO ALSO POSSIBLY CONCERNED THAT GROWING POLITICAL POLARIZATION (ITEM 1) MAY MAKE PEACEFUL TRANSITION DIFFICULT IF SUKARNO SHOULD LEAVE SCENE. SPATE OF RUMORS OF SUKARNO'S IMPENDING RETIREMENT



reportedly circulating in Kuala Lumpur Oct 27 could stem from Subandrio's remarks.

10-30-64 Report

3. SUKARNO'S TRAVELS AND VISITS

SUKARNO

ARRIVED TOKYO OCT 27 FOR PRIVATE VISIT, WAS GREETED AT AIRPORT BY GOJ FON MIN AND ADDRESSED INDO STUDENTS NEXT DAY ON OCCASION CELEBRATION YOUTH OATH DAY. HE PLANS DEPART FOR ONE-DAY TALKS IN SHANGHAI WITH CHO EN-LAI NOV ONE, THEN PROCEED TO THREE-DAY STATE VISIT IN PYONGYANG, FINALLY RESUMING FLIGHT ONWARD TO SURABAJA(EAST JAVA)O/A NOV FIVE. ALTHOUGH SUKARNO PLANS SHANGHAI-PYONGYANG FLIGHT ABOARD GARUDA, HE WILL REJOIN PANAM PLANE AND PANAM CHARTER WILL BE EXTENDED AS FAR AS SURABAJA.



10-30-64 Report -31-2

4. YOUTH OATH DAY ACTING PRES SUBANDRIO CLIMAXED CELEBRATION 36TH ANNIVERSARY YOUTH OATH DAY WITH SPEECH AT YOUTH RALLY OCT 28 IN WHICH, FOLLOWING HIS READING OF RATHER PRO-FORMA MESSAGE FROM SUKARNO, HE PRAISED PANTJA SILA AND MANIPOL AS DOCTRINE OF THE LEFT AND A GUIDE FOR REVOLUTION OF ALL MANKIND. MAIN THRUST OF PROGRAM, INCLUDING SPEECHES BY REPS OF NATIONAL

FRONT, YOUTH FRONT, AND "NORTH KALIMANTAN UNITARY STATE" CLOSELY ADHERED TO PKI LINE IN ECONOMIC, CULTURAL, AND POLITICAL FIELDS. WELL-REHEARSED SONGS LAUDED YOUTH OATH AND NASAKOM.

ATTENDANCE ESTIMATED BY EMBOFFS AT 10,000. MOST NOTABLE ASPECT WAS BYPLAY BETWEEN LEFTIST YOUTH AND AT ONE END OF HALL CHEERING FOR NASAKOM, AND RELIGIOUS AND PNI YOUTH GROUPS AT OPPOSITE END YELLING FOR PANTJA SILA. DECORATIONS OF HALL CONSPICUOUSLY ANTI-AMERICAN.

COMMENT: POLITICAL CONTROL OF YOUTH HERE, SUPPORTED AT HIGHEST GOVT LEVEL, SERVES TO MOBILIZE THEM, IN ABSENCE ANY ATTRACTIVE ALTERNATIVE, FOR SUCH UNHEALTHY CAUSES AS "ORUSH MALAYSIA." EFFIGY OF TUNKU BURNED BY YOUTH GROUPS IN ADDITIONAL CELEBRATION OF OATH DAY ON OCT 27.



10-30-64 Report

5. INDO LEADERS EXPOUND ON FOREIGN POLICY : GEN.
MUSITION SAID OCT 22 THAT GOI HAS TRIED TWO KINDS OF TACTICS
TO ACHIEVE REVOLUTIONARY AIMS SINCE 1945, ONE BEING DIPLOMACY
AND OTHER CONFRONTATION. CONFRONTATION MOST EFFECTIVE, AS
SHOWN BY STRUGGLE FOR WEST IRIAN. GOI ALSO NOW UTILIZING
SYSTEM OF NON-CONVENTIONAL WARFARE IN COUNTERING BRITISH

"CONTAINMENT POLICY". ARCH ENEMY OF INDO ARE NEO-COLONIALISTS,
COLONIALISTS AND IMPERIALISTS(NECOLIM), OF WHICH UK "MOTHER
NEKOLIN" IN SEASIA.



FORNIN SUBANDRIO'S WRITTEN MESSAGE TO UN DAY CELEBRATION
OCT 24 CHARGED BRITISH BASE AT SINGAPORE JEOPARDIZED INDO
SECURITY AND GOI CONSTANTLY AIMING HAVE BASE CLOSED. HE
ASKED UN CONSIDER REMOVING ALL OTHER FOREIGN MILITARY BASES
AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND TAKE STEPS DISSOLVE MILITARY PACTS;
CALLED FOR RECOGNITION CHICOMS AS ONLY REPRESENTATIVE CHINA
IN UN. NAVY MINISTER VICE ADM MARTADINATA ECHOED ATTACK
AGAINST FOREIGN BASES OCT 25 IN SPEECH STRESSING NEED FOR ELIMINATIO
ALL FOREIGN MILITARY BASES IN ASIA.

10 November 1964

Sukarno's "Heroes Day" Speech



brief mention of Malaysia

Re: 1964 - Sukarno Speeches File

11 December 1966

SECRETARY'S DELEGATION
TO THE
NINETEENTH SESSION OF THE
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
New York, December 1964

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Date: December 11, 1964

Time: 10:00 a.m.

Place: USUN

PART I OF III PARTS

Subject: President Sukarno's Health
US-Indonesian Relations
Malaysia
New US Ambassador to Djakarta



Participants:

U.S.

The Secretary
Donald R. Toussaint, USUN

INDONESIA

Deputy PriMin Subandrio
Ambassador Zairin Zain
(Indonesian Ambassador to
the United States)

PRESIDENT SUKARNO'S HEALTH

The Secretary began the meeting by asking about President Sukarno's health. **Deputy PriMin** Subandrio said that an X-ray taken in Vienna some months ago had revealed there was a stone in President Sukarno's right kidney. Inasmuch as his other kidney is already affected, Subandrio said, the X-ray had given rise to real concern. Subsequent examination, however, had shown that the second kidney stone was not serious. As a result, the concern over President Sukarno's health had in general disappeared.

U.S.-INDONESIAN RELATIONS

The Secretary broached the subject of U.S.-Indonesian relations by commenting that "we have been having difficulties lately." The Secretary said he understood President Sukarno had expressed to Ambassador Jones regrets over the damage caused by demonstrations at USIS facilities in Djakarta and Surabaya recently and had promised the Indonesian Government would make adequate compensation for the damages. Although appreciating President Sukarno's statement to Ambassador Jones, the Secretary continued, it must be recognized that the general effect of such incidents is most unfortunate, for they hamper efforts to improve U.S.-Indonesian relations. The U.S. feels very strongly, the Secretary said, that steps should be taken to prevent incidents of this nature in the future. Subandrio, in reply, laughingly but apparently seriously expressed the hope that Indonesian facilities in Washington would not receive "reciprocal treatment."

When the Secretary asked what was uppermost in Subandrio's mind concerning U.S.-Indonesian relations, Subandrio said it must be admitted that U.S.-Indonesian relations are indeed at a very low level. Nevertheless, he said, he had not lost hope they could be prevented from further deterioration; he felt there was a possibility they could even be improved. Subandrio then went on to note, however, that there is among the Indonesian public great pressure for terminating all U.S. information activities in Indonesia. Such a course, he said, was not favored by President Sukarno.

The Secretary replied in a general way that relations between any two countries tend to develop on a basis of reciprocity, that their improvement or deterioration depends on the actions of both sides.

MALAYSIA

The Secretary broached the subject of Malaysia by commenting that the U.S. does not fully understand what Indonesia wishes to achieve in the dispute concerning Malaysia. Subandrio said that President Sukarno had already agreed to a formula for a solution in Tokyo. One advantage of the Tokyo formula is its "face saving" character -- that is, it would permit a solution which stemmed not from Western pressure but, rather, from recommendations made by an Afro-Asian group. The Indonesian Government, Subandrio said, still stands by its adherence to the formula worked out in Tokyo.

Subandrio said he believes there is still a possibility for a



solution of the Malaysian dispute, although he admitted he saw no prospect of an immediate solution. He commented that the political climate was more favorable now than it was six months ago, suggesting that the new UK Government might be "less inhibited" from finding a solution than the previous UK Government. He said he still wishes to undertake talks with the new British Foreign Minister, Patrick Gordon Walker, and indicated the possibility of such talks was one reason for his present trip.

The Secretary said it was his impression that the atmosphere in London is now "somewhat different." He went on to emphasize, however, that both the British and the Malaysians feel it is impossible for the political process of negotiations to begin functioning as long as Indonesian raids and incursions against Malaysian territory continue. The Secretary then asked for Subandrio's views as to the chances for a period of quiet during which such raids and incursions would cease. Subandrio replied, somewhat evasively, that such a period of quiet would be possible if there were indications that all sides are willing to find a solution and if all sides proved willing to tone down their provocations. In this respect, Subandrio specifically referred to broadcasts beamed to Indonesia by Radio Malaysia.

After a brief discussion of the economic situation in Indonesia (See Part III), the Secretary said he could see no reason for not arriving at a quick, peaceful solution of the dispute. The U.S., he said, wants such a solution, for if confrontation were to grow into a serious armed clash, the result could not but be costly and unfortunate for all concerned. At this stage, the Secretary said, the most important thing is the future of Indonesian raids and incursions. He went on to express the hope that some informal way could be found to terminate such incidents. In this way, it might be possible to bring into operation the political process of negotiations, such as the four-nation Afro-Asian group agreed to in Tokyo. The Secretary went on to say that the U.S. does not like to envisage the prospect of the chain reaction which could develop from the fact that Malaysia has allies which, in turn, are allied to the U.S.



The Secretary asked Subandrio what he envisaged as the next step toward a solution of the dispute, and specifically, whether there is any other nation, such as Thailand or Japan, which could be of real assistance in finding a solution. Subandrio replied that any steps toward a solution must use the Tokyo agreement as a basis. He then suggested that it is now up to the UK to take some initiative. In his view, Subandrio stated, there are no insurmountable obstacles to a solution. He went on

to emphasize that President Sukarno has been "very easy" in the past and would continue to be so in the future provided the proper "psychological atmosphere" can be created.

When the Secretary asked whether the Indonesians had had any serious contact with the Malaysian Government, or whether Subandrio planned to talk with the British Permanent Representative, Lord Caradon, in New York, Subandrio replied in the negative. He said there had been private discussions with Singapore businessmen concerning possible solutions of the Malaysian problem, but that there had been no official contacts with the Malaysian Government.

NEW U.S. AMBASSADOR

When escorting Subandrio to the elevator, the Secretary noted that Ambassador Jones had resigned at his own request, entirely for personal reasons. The Secretary went on to say that he hoped we would soon be able to give the Indonesian Government definite news of Ambassador Jones' successor.



11 December 1964

SECRETARY'S DELEGATION
TO THE
NINETEENTH SESSION OF THE
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
New York, December 1964

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Date: December 11, 1964

Time: 10:00 a.m.

PART II OF III PARTS

Place: USUN

Subject: UN Financing and Peacekeeping

Participants:

U.S.

The Secretary

Donald R. Toussaint, USUN

INDONESIA

Deputy PrMin

Subandrio

Ambassador Zairin Zain

(Indonesian Ambassador to
the United States)



The Secretary explained to Subandrio the very great importance which the U.S. attaches to finding a satisfactory solution of the United Nations' financial and constitutional crises. Such a solution, he said, was important not only in terms of the future development of the United Nations, but also in terms of the attitude and reactions of the U.S. Congress toward U.S. participation in UN activities. When asked by Subandrio what kind of solution the U.S. envisaged for the financial crisis, the Secretary emphasized that the U.S. would not be inflexible as to the theory or form of a solution; the U.S., he said, has no desire to audit the Secretary General's books. Nevertheless, he said, the U.S. does feel that a solution must be found which will not be deeply prejudicial to the position of any government and which will permit the Secretary General to state publicly that a settlement of the financial problem had been made.

A solution of the financial crisis, the Secretary noted, is related to an agreement on the future of peacekeeping operations. The formulation of such an agreement will require a considerable amount of time, partly because it is not a bilateral U.S.-Soviet problem, but a problem in which all UN members have an interest. The Secretary said the U.S. is willing to agree to a formula for the future which would emphasize the "primary authority" of the Security Council to undertake peacekeeping operations. Noting that it is possible for UN member states which contribute no more than 5% of total UN expenses to constitute a two-thirds majority in the General Assembly, the Secretary said such a situation leaves the door open for financial irresponsibility. The U.S. believes, therefore, that it is necessary to devise a formula for future peacekeeping operations wherein the views of those members with the heaviest responsibilities will be guaranteed greater weight.

Although willing to agree to a formula for the future which would pay deference to the "primary authority" of the Security Council, the Secretary stated, the U.S. would not be willing to accept a formula which would grant the Security Council "exclusive authority" in the peacekeeping field and thereby deprive the General Assembly of even residual powers in this field.



11 December 1964

SECRETARY'S DELEGATION
TO THE
NINETEENTH SESSION OF THE
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
New York, December 1964

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Date: December 11, 1964

Time: 10:00 a.m.

PART III OF III PARTS

Place: USUN

Subject: Indonesian Economic Situation

Participants:

U.S.

The Secretary

Donald R. Tausant, USUN

INDONESIA

Deputy Prime Minister Subandrio

Ambassador Zairin Zain

(Indonesian Ambassador to
the United States)



When the Secretary asked about the present economic situation in Indonesia, Subandrio replied that he could hardly say there are no difficulties. He was not at all pessimistic, however, and noted that past experience, the fertility of Indonesian soil, and the vast untapped mineral wealth of Indonesia provided good reasons for believing the Indonesian economy will survive and eventually prosper. Noting that rice imports had been discontinued, Subandrio said this was a "good thing," for it released financial resources for other, more essential purposes.

Subandrio said that relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands had now been virtually normalized, a development which

would be beneficial to the Indonesian economy. He also said the Indonesian Government planned at some future date to normalize its relations with Singapore -- although on a new footing, quite different from the past when the Indonesian economy was virtually bound by ties from Singapore. The Secretary said he had been told by the Dutch Foreign Minister that the Dutch Government was encouraged by the improvement in Dutch-Indonesian relations. The U.S., the Secretary said, was also in favor of closer Dutch-Indonesian relations.

11-6-64 Report

4. SUKARNO'S TRAVELS AND VISITS : PRESIDENT SUKARNO
DEPARTED TOKYO FOR PYONGYANG NOV. 1, SPENT THREE DAYS IN

DISCUSSIONS AND CEREMONIES WITH KIM IL SUNG, FLEW TO SHANGHAI
FOR OVERNIGHT TALKS WITH CHOU EN-LAI NOVEMBER 4, IS EXPECTED
ARRIVE DJAKARTA NOV. 5 AFTER CHANGING PLANES AT OKINAWA.
SPURIOUS STORY BEARING TOKYO AP DATELINE TO EFFECT THAT US
HAD REFUSED SUKARNO PERMISSION OVERFLY OKINAWA ON WAY TO SHANGHAI
CARRIED BY ALL LOCAL PAPERS NOV. 1. AMBASSADOR'S PRESS RELEASE
DENYING THIS STORY, AND POINTING OUT THAT SUKARNO TO RECEIVE
FULL MILITARY HONORS DURING BRIEF STOP-OVER OKINAWA NOV. 5
CARRIED BY ALL GOI NEWS MEDIA AND NON-COMMUNIST PRESS.



3. QUESTIONABLE POSITION OF GENERAL YANI
EMB HAS HAD SEVERAL REPORTS WHICH NOW APPEAR CONFIRMED
THAT SUKARNO AND ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF YANI QUARRELED
BEFORE SUKARNO'S DEPARTURE. YANI REPORTEDLY TOLD
INDIAN MILITARY ATTACHE HE HAD COMPLAINED TO
SUKARNO THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN CONSULTED ON SEPT 2 INDO
LANDINGS IN PENINSULAR MALAYSIA AND CONSIDERED SMALL
SCALE INFILTRATIONS MILITARILY UNWISE AND LIKELY
PROVOKE BRIT RETALIATION BESIDES. SUKARNO THEN
REPORTEDLY CENSURED YANI AND TOLD HIM TO "BE SICK"
FOR MONTH IN MOUNTAINS. YANI WAS SUPPOSED TO HAVE
HEPATITIS IN MONTH THAT FOLLOWED BUT HE HAS BEEN SEEN
AT GOLF COURSE SUBSEQUENTLY AND OTHERWISE APPEARED
HEALTHY.

COMMENT : SUKARNO MAY HAVE MADE
MISTAKE IN ALLIENATING YANI BEFORE DEPARTURE ABROAD
AND THIS FACTOR MAY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO MODERATES'
WILLINGNESS TO LAUNCH STRONG ANTI-COMMUNIST CAMPAIGN
DURING PRESIDENT'S ABSENCE. FAVORABLE SUKARNO MENTION
OF YANI IN NOV. 10. SPEECH PROBABLY REFLECTS SUKARNO



*desire to accept Yani back into fold as
counter to Situation.*

11-20-64 Report

4. PNI CONGRESS "WORKING GROUP" MEETS
"WORKING GROUP" OF PNI CONGRESS (HELD AUGUST , 1963) MET
NEAR BANDUNG THIS WEEK TO HEAR SPEECHES BY NATIONAL
LEADERS, AND TO RUBBERSTAMP "DECISIONS" OF GENERAL
CHAIRMAN ALI SASTROAMIDJOJO. AMONG THESE WAS DECISION
CALLING FOR REJUVENATION OF PNI ORGANIZATION AND IDEOLOGY,
SUPPORT FOR WORKERS AND PEASANTS AS PILLARS OF REVOLUTION,
CALL FOR REVIEW OF POLITBURO OF KOTRAR "RETOOLING"
AGENCY, APPEAL THAT PURGE OF EX-MEMBERS OF BANNED PSI
AND MASJUMI PARTIES STILL HOLDING POSITIONS IN REGIONAL
GOVERNMENTS SHOULD CONTINUE, AND SUPPORT FOR SPEECH
BY ALI NOV 15 WHICH IN ESSENCE ATTACKED "BODY TO SUPPORT
SUKARNOISM" (SEE ITEM 1). WORKING GROUP ALSO DECLARED
SYMPATHY FOR SOUTH VIETNAMESE AND CAMBODIAN PEOPLE
AND WENT DOWN LINE OF USUAL GOI SLOGANEERING "CRUSH



3. MPRS SESSION POSTPONED . SESSION OF
PEOPLE'S CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY (MPRS) SLATED OPEN DEC. 3
POSTPONED UNTIL SECOND QUARTER 1965. REASONS GIVEN FOR
THIS DECISION INCLUDED "INTENRAL AND EXTERNAL POLITICAL
DEVELOPMENTS" AND POSSIBLE ABSENCE OF MPRS LEADERS
"NEEDED IN PROGRESSIVE-REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE ABROAD."

COMMENT: THERE WERE PRIOR INDICATIONS SOME
SUKARNOISTS HOPED USE MPRS, WHICH IN THEORY IS GOI
POLICY-MAKING BODY, AS FORUM FOR THEIR CAMPAIGN. POST-
PONEMENT MAY REFLECT DESIRE OF TOP GOI LEADERSHIP TO
AVOID PREMATURE SHOWDOWN BETWEEN SUKARNOISTS AND
COMMUNISTS.



5. HAS SUKARNO NAMED SUCCESSOR? UNCERTAINTY
OF SUKARNO'S HEALTH (ITEM 7) HAS RENEWED SPECULATION ABOUT
POSSIBLE SUCCESSOR AT SAME TIME MODERATE POLITICIANS ARE
ATTEMPTING DUMP SUBANDRIO FROM FIRST DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER-
SHIP. SEVERAL REPORTS HAVE REACHED EMB THAT, DURING WEEKEND
TOGETHER AT BOGOR NOV. 21-22, SUKARNO SIGNED DECREE NAMING
THIRD DEP PRIMIN CHAERUL SALEH AS "VICE-PRESIDENT", AND THAT
DECREE WILL BE PUBLISHED IN JANUARY WHEN SUKARNO LEAVES
DJAKARTA FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT.

COMMENT/ IMPOSSIBLE CONFIRM AT THIS TIME BUT
SALEH, WHO IS A MAJOR FIGURE IN NON-COMMUNIST POLITICAL
GROUPING AT PRESENT, HAS APPEARED "ON TOP OF THE WORLD" IN
PAST FEW DAYS. IT PLAUSIBLE THAT INSTEAD OF HAVING TAKEN
UN-SUKARNO LIKE STEP OF NAMING "VICE PRESIDENT", PRESIDENT,
UNDER POLITICAL PRESSURE FROM SALEH FACTION, MAY HAVE
PROMISED SALEH FIRST DEP PRIMIN SLOT, THUS MOVING HIM AHEAD
OF SUBANDRIO INTO SECOND-RANKING GOI POSITION.



11-28-64 Repur

6. SUBANDRIO AND MALIK LEAVE SUDDENLY FIRST
DEP PRIMIN SUBANDRIO AND TRADE MIN MALIK WITH 10-MEMBER
GROUP DEPARTED DJAKARTA MORNING OF NOVEMBER 25 FOR TOKYO.
IMMINENT DEPARTURE FORECAST ONLY BY REPORT PREVIOUS EVENING
FROM JAPANESE EMBASSY THAT VISA APPLIED FOR THAT AFTERNOON,
AND BY SMALL ITEM IN EVENING PAPERS THAT SUBANDRIO UNABLE
ADDRESS MEETING ON NOVEMBER 26 BECAUSE HE WOULD BE ABROAD.
FONOFF OFFICIALS QUERIED ON PRECEDING EVENING VERIFIED
REPORTS, TO AMB ENABLING HIM TO BE ONLY CHIEF OF MISSION AT
AIRPORT FOLLOWING DAY TO SEE OFF SUBANDRIO.

COMMENT

PURPOSE OF SUBANDRIO-MALIK VISIT



UNCLEAR. ACCORDING TO SUKARNO AND PRESS, SUBANDRIO WILL
DISCUSS ECONOMIC MATTERS WITH NEW GOJ, AND WILL RETURN TO
DJAKARTA O/A NOVEMBER 30 BEFORE DEPARTURE LATER IN WEEK FOR
UNGA. HOWEVER, SUBANDRIO WHILE EN ROUTE TO TOKYO HAS TOLD
PRESS HE GOING STRAIGHT ON TO NEW YORK, AND IF PURPOSE OF
VISIT PURELY ECONOMIC, MALIK COULD BE EXPECTED REPORT BACK TO
SUKARNO. THERE ARE ALSO STRONG RUMORS THAT SUBANDRIO VISIT
CONNECTED WITH MARCH AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE, AND ALSO WITH
MALAYSIA DISPUTE.

8. LAND REFORM COURT SYSTEM ESTABLISHED A NEW
LAW ESTABLISHING SYSTEM OF LAND REFORM COURTS BECAME EFFECTIVE
ON OCTOBER 31. LAW PROVIDES FOR CENTRAL LAND REFORM COURT AND
17 PROVINCIAL COURTS, EACH TO INCLUDE PROFESSIONAL JUDGE AS
COURT PRESIDENT AND FOUR OTHER JUDGES INCLUDING ONE FROM DEPT.
AGRARIAN AFFAIRS AND THREE FROM PEASANT ORGANIZATIONS

PRESENTING THREE ELEMENTS OF NASAKOM

COMMENT/ LAND REFORM COURTS IS PKI IDEA LATER
ENDORSED BY PRO-COMMIE MIN JUSTICE AND ULTIMATELY BY PRESIDENT
SUKARNO. IF FULLY OPERATIVE, IT COULD BE USEFUL TOOL FOR PKI
TO INTIMIDATE RURAL ENEMIES. THERE IS SOME INDICATION THAT
SYSTEM WILL HAVE TO COMPETE WITH OTHER INSTITUTIONAL DEVICES
FOR ATTACKING PROBLEM OF PEASANT LAND HUNGER, HOWEVER,
NOTABLY NEW PROPOSAL FOR "LAND USE COMMITTEES" WHICH WOULD
RESOLVE JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTES OVER STATE LANDS THAT ARE
MAJOR OBJECT OF PKI PRESSURES.



12-4-64 Report

3. SUBANDRIO'S TRAVETS AND INDO UNGA POSTURE . . . FIRST
DEPPRIMIN SUBANDRIO, AFTER RETURNING NOV 30 FROM TALKS IN TOKYO
TO MEET WITH VISITING CHICOM FONMIN CH'EN I (ITEM 1), SCHEDULED
DEPART DEC 4 FOR NEW YORK TO LEAD INDO DEL TO UNGA SESSION,
STOPPING OVER BRIEFLY IN BANGKOK AND AMSTERDAM ENROUTE. INDO
ADVANCE GROUP" TO UNGA, LED BY SECOND DEPFONMIN SUDJARWO LEFT
DEC 2, WITH SUDJARWO RELEASING NO INFO TO REPORTERS QUESTIONS
ON INDO POSTURE ON CONGO CRISIS OR FINANCIAL ISSUE OF ARTICLE
19 EXCEPT TO CITE SUBANDRIO'S REMARK DEC 1 THAT INDO CONDEMNED
IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION AT STANLEYVILLE (ITEM 7). MEMBERSHIP OF
INDO UNDEL APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN UPGRADED AFTER CH'EN I VISIT.
- SUGGESTING INTER ALIA HE MAY HAVE ENCOURAGED GOI STRENGTHEN
UN PRESENCE IN ORDER PRESS CPR CASE AT GA.



12-4-64 Report

4. THREAT OF RECOGNITION OF EAST GERMANY EAST GERMAN
PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION NOW VISITING INDONESIA HAS WITH LOCAL
COMMUNIST SUPPORT PRESSED HARD FOR INDO RECOGNITION AND ELEVATION
DGR CONGEN IN DJAKARTA TO EMB. ACCORDING ANTARA REPORT THEY
OBTAINED THIRD DEPRIMIN CHAIRUL SALEH'S PROMISE THAT GOI REC-
OGNITION WOULD BE FORTHCOMING IN 1965 IF NOT THIS MONTH. SALEH,
HOWEVER, TOLD WEST GERMAN AMB GOI POLICY UNCHANGED AND CLAIMED
HE MISQUOTED BY ANTARA, WHICH HE CALLED "COMMUNIST-INFLUENCED."
SALEH ADMITTED THAT, AS CHAIRMAN MPRS, HE HAD PROMISED PARLIA-
MENTARY SUPPORT FOR EAST GERMAN CAUSE BUT THIS MERELY "POLITE
THING" TO DO IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES. GERMAN EMB HAS ACCEPTED
SALEH'S EXPLANATION AS CONFIRMATION MAINTENANCE STATUS QUO.
SALEH'S VERSION OF INTERVIEW ALSO CARRIED PRO-COMMIE WARTA
BHAKTI.



"BOGOR DECLARATION" FAILS TO HALT POLEMICS

ON PRESIDENT'S SUMMONS, LEADERS OF INDONESIA'S TEN POLITICAL PARTIES MET IN BOGOR DECEMBER 12 OSTENSIBLY TO DISCUSS MEANS OF HALTING POLEMICS AND RESTORING NATIONAL UNITY. MARATHON MEETING WHICH DREW MUCH SPECULATION, RESULTED IN FOUR POINT "BOGOR DECLARATION" WHICH (1) CALLED FOR INTENSIFICATION OF MALAYSIA CAMPAIGN, (2) CAUTIONED AGAINST INTERPRETING OTHER GROUPS' TEACHINGS, (3) URGED USE OF CONSULTATION INSTEAD OF INTIMIDATION AND WEAPONS IN SETTLING SUCH PROBLEMS AS LAND REFORM, AND (4) REFUTED RUMORS PRESIDENT WILL RESIGN.

"BOGOR DECLARATION" ACTUALLY THREW MORE FUEL ON POLEMICS FIRE WITH BOTH SUKARNOISTS AND THEIR PRO-COMMUNIST.

OPPONENTS INTERPRETING ARTICLES AS SUPPORT FOR THEIR POSITIONS. ONLY THREE DAYS AFTER DECLARATION, PNI, PKI AND PARTINDO PARTIES WITH THEIR MANY AFFILIATES ACCELERATED WHAT APPEARED TO BE CONCERTED PUBLIC CAMPAIGN TO DISBAND BODY TO SUPPORT SUKARNOISM (BPS). BPS SUPPORTERS TOOK UP CHALLENGE WITH CRY "EVER ONWARD, NO RETREAT". ANTI-BPS SIGNS PLASTERED ON WALLS AROUND THE CITY WERE MATCHED WITH ANTI-PKI SLOGANS, SOME OF WHICH WENT SO FAR AS TO ATTACK AIDIT PERSONALLY.



12-18-64 Report

3. EAST GERMANS CAMPAIGN FOR RECOGNITION

EAST GERMAN PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION LEFT INDONESIA DECEMBER 12 AFTER 13-DAY VISIT WHICH THEY CONVERTED INTO DETERMINED CAMPAIGN TO OBTAIN INDONESIAN RECOGNITION OF GDR. DESPITE SUPPORT FROM PARLIAMENTARY AND NATIONAL FRONT LEADERS, DELEGATION DID NOT SUCCEED IN ELEVATING GDR CONSULATE GENERAL TO EMBASSY DURING VISIT. WEST GERMAN AMBASSADOR PRIED ASSURANCES FROM PRESIDENT SUKARNO THAT INDONESIA HAD NOT CHANGED POLICY TOWARDS GERMANY. PROVISIONAL NATURE THIS POLICY, HOWEVER, ILLUSTRATED BY SECOND DEP PRIMER LEIMENA'S REMARK THAT RELATIONS WITH GDR WILL BE ELEVATED "IN BEST MANNER AT BEST MOMENT".



COMMENT

WEST GERMANS SEE LITTLE HOPE FOR

PREVENTING EVENTUAL INDONESIAN RECOGNITION OF EAST GERMANY
UNLESS THERE UNEXPECTED SHIFT IN GOI'S EXTERNAL POSTURE OR
UNLESS BONN INITIATES EXPANDED AID PROGRAM TO "BUY OFF" GOI.

5. CHAERUL SALEH'S CHRISTMAS MESSAGE IN A SPEECH TO A MASS MEETING IN THE 99 PERCENT CHRISTIAN AREA OF NORTH SULAWESI, THIRD DEPRIMIN CHAERUL SALEH "CALLED UPON THE PEOPLE, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, POLITICIANS AND MEMBERS OF MASS ORGANIZATIONS ALIKE TO MAKE CHRISTMAS THE DAY FOR SELF-CRITICISM AND SELF-CORRECTION."

COMMENT:
PRESS.

SALEH'S MESSAGE WAS FRONT-PAGED IN THE DJAKARTA



12-24-64 Rep

8. POSSIBLE REMOVAL OF COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF INDONESIAN ARMY DURING THE LAST WEEK RUMORS ARE THAT LIEUTENANT GENERAL AHMAD YANI, MINISTER/COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE INDONESIAN ARMY IS TO BE RELIEVED OF HIS POSITION BECAUSE HE HAS FALLEN INTO DISFAVOR WITH SUKARNO OVER HIS FAILURE TO TAKE MILITARY ACTION AGAINST THE MAINLAND OF MALAYSIA, PLUS YANI'S PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH A GERMAN FEMALE WHO WAS IMPORTED TO INDONESIA BY A PROMINENT INDONESIAN BUSINESSMAN. REPORTEDLY YANI HAS LOST HIS POLITICAL BACKING BY THE PNI AND NU POLITICAL PARTIES BECAUSE ALI SASTROAMIDJOJO CHAIRMAN OF THE PNI, DOES NOT APPROVE OF YANI'S ASSOCIATION WITH THE GERMAN GIRL. ALI HAS APPARENTLY ADVISED SUKARNO OF YANI'S RELATIONSHIP AND THIS MAY BE THE STRAW THAT BREAKS THE CAMEL'S BACK. MAJOR GENERAL SUHARTO COMMANDING GENERAL KOSTRAD (ARMY STRATEGIC RESERVE) IS RUMORED AS YANI'S SUCCESSOR.



COMMENT: ALTHOUGH THE REMOVAL OF YANI HAS BEEN RUMORED IN THE PAST, CURRENT INDICATIONS ARE MORE CREDIBLE.

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9. MODERN WEAPONRY BRIGADIER GENERAL HARTONO, DIRECTOR OF
ORDNANCE, HAS ANNOUNCED THAT IN 1965 THE ARMED FORCES WILL LAUNCH
THE FIRST GUIDED MISSILE MADE IN INDONESIA. HE ALSO ANNOUNCED
INDONESIA HAS THE CAPABILITY TO PRODUCE AN "ATOMIC BOMB," AND
THE DECISION TO TEST AN ATOMIC WEAPON NEXT YEAR IS IN THE HANDS
OF PRES SUKARNO.

COMMENT: INDONESIA PROBABLY HAS THE CAPABILITY
TO PRODUCE RUDIMENTARY GUIDED ROCKETS. HARTONO HAS
PREVIOUSLY STATED THAT SEPARATE MILITARY SERVICE
ROCKET DEVELOPMENT STATEMENTS, IN ADDITION
TO THE GENERAL PROPAGANDA EFFECT, ARE DESIGNED TO
ENHANCE THE MILITARY BARGAINING POSITION ON BUDGETARY
MATTERS.

