

INCOMING TELEGRAM Department of State

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 Info O 310535Z ZEA  
 FM AMEMBASSY (DJAKARTA)  
 SS TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC **IMMEDIATE 188**  
 G INFO RUHLHQ/CINCPAC  
 SF STATE GRNC  
 ET  
 SAH ~~SECRET~~ (SECTION ONE OF TWO) JULY 31.  
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 H CINCPAC FOR POLAD

DECLASSIFIED  
 Authority STATE 6-4-75  
 By MIE, HARS, Date 6-18-75

- EUR 1. FOLLOWING MESSAGE PREPARED PRIOR RECEIPT DEPTELS 101  
 NEA AND 102 WHICH BEING ANSWERED SEPARATELY.  
 P
- USIA 2. AFTER THREE MONTHS' LULL DURING WHICH INDOS PREOCCUPIED  
 NSC WITH AFRO-ASIAN MATTERS, ATTENTION HAS NOW  
 INR REFOCUSED ON US IN DRAMATIC MANNER. FIRST INDICATION WAS  
 CIA ANTI-GREEN CAMPAIGN WHOMPED UP WELL BEFORE MY ARRIVAL.  
 NSA SUKARNO DECISION TO PREVENT DEMONSTRATION AT AIRPORT WAS  
 DOD MARK ON OTHER SIDE OF LEDGER BUT THIS QUICKLY OUTWEIGHED  
 NIC BY LECTURE HE DELIVERED DURING CREDENTIALS PRESENTATION  
 AID CEREMONY AND DEMONSTRATION AT MY RESIDENCE WHICH FOLLOWED  
 PC IN SHORT ORDER. LATEST MOVE IS ATTACK ON MEDAN CONSULATE  
 E THIS MORNING (JULY 30). IF SITUATION UNFOLDS IN USUAL  
 SY MANNER OUR CONSULATE IN SURABAYA WILL PROBABLY BE HIT  
 SCA SHORTLY AS EAST JAVANESE VIE TO SHOW THEIR "REVOLUTIONARY  
 SCS FERVOR.)  
 OPR 3. SUKARNO'S SPEECH AT MY CREDENTIALS CEREMONY HAS GIVEN CLEAR  
 COM SIGNAL TO INDONESIANS THAT CHANGE OF US AMBASSADORS DOES NOT RPT NOT  
 INT MEAN ANY CHANGE IN INDO OPPOSITION TO US POLICIES. AS FONDEPT MOUTH-  
 RSR PIECE INDO HERALD SAID JULY 29 (SEPTEL) IT IS CLEARLY US  
 POLICIES, NOT THOSE OF INDOS, WHICH MUST CHANGE BEFORE THERE  
 CAN BE ANY IMPROVEMENT IN OUR RELATIONS. ATTACK ON MEDAN  
 CONSULATE JUST BEFORE AUG 17 ADDRESS IS DISTURBING PARALLEL  
 TO ATTACKS ON USIS LIBRARY IN EARLY AUG 1964. THIS RAISES  
 POSSIBILITY OUR CONSULATES MAY BE NEXT TARGET FOR ELIMINATION.
4. NEXT SIGNPOST LIKELY BE SUKARNO'S PERFORMANCE ON AUG 17,  
 A TRADITIONALLY ROUSING AND POLITICALLY SIGNIFICANT  
 EVENT WHICH EXPECTED BE EVEN MORE SO THIS YEAR MARKING 20TH  
 ANNIVERSARY OF INDO DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. MASS  
 MEETING WHICH PRES SUKARNO WILL ADDRESS MAY BE HELD IN  
 OPEN SQUARE ON WHICH CHANCERY FACES TO MARK DEDICATION OF  
 ALMOST -COMPLETED NATIONAL MONUMENT.

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-2- 188, JULY 31, (SECTION I OF II) FROM DJAKARTA

5. WHILE FIRM INDICATORS LACKING, WE DO NOT RPT NOT ESTIMATE AT PRESENT THAT SUKARNO WILL TAKE DRAMATIC ACTION AGAINST US ON AUG 17 EVEN THOUGH PUBLIC IS BEING PREPARED FOR SUCH A POSSIBLE MOVE. HE DID ANNOUNCE BREAK IN RELATIONS WITH DUTCH AT INDEPENDENCE RALLY IN 1960 BUT THIS WAS EXCEPTION. SPEECHES ON AUG 17 USUALLY DEVOTED TO SETTING BROAD LINES FOR REVOLUTION RATHER THAN ANNOUNCEMENT SPECIFIC ACTIONS WITHIN THOSE GUIDELINES. ON AUG 17 SUKARNO WEARS GREAT LEADER OF REVOLUTION HAT RATHER THAN THAT OF HEAD OF GOVERNMENT. WE DO BELIEVE ODDS ARE HE WILL USE SPEECH TO ESTABLISH PLATFORM FOR ACTIONS AND POLICIES HE HOPES PUT INTO EFFECT IN COMING MONTHS. AS WE NOW SEE IT, FOLLOWING LIKELY BE MAJOR THEMES OF SPEECH:

(A) STRONG VERBAL ATTACK ON US. BUILDING ON GROUNDWORK ALREADY LAID, SUKARNO WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY GIVE US MOST BITTER TONGUE-LASHING WE HAVE YET RECEIVED. WE ALREADY ALERTED TO FACT HE WILL DISCUSS US AID TO PAKISTAN AND HE IS ALMOST CERTAIN TO ATTACK US ON VIETNAM. HE LIKELY ADD STRONG CRITICISM OUR "ACTIVE AID" TO MALAYSIA AND ADDITIONAL SPY CHARGES WHICH NURTURE PRESENT ATMOSPHERE OF SUSPICION. HE MAY WELL ALSO LAY BASE FOR COMPLETION OF TAKEOVER US BUSINESS INTERESTS (INCLUDING PERHAPS OIL COMPANIES).

(B) FULL SUPPORT FOR NORTH VIETNAM. SUKARNO WILL PROBABLY GO FURTHER IN THIS THAN HE ALREADY HAS, PERHAPS TO EXTENT OF ANNOUNCING THAT INDOS WILL SEND "VOLUNTEERS" TO FIGHT ALONGSIDE THEIR VIETNAMESE BRETHREN.

(C) WEST GERMANY. IT CONCEIVABLE HE MAY MOVE TOWARD RECOGNITION EAST GERMAN REGIME, ALTHOUGH PRESENT INDICATIONS ARE THAT GOI REQUIRES ADDITIONAL TIME TO MAKE ALTERNATIVE ECONOMIC ARRANGEMENTS BEFORE BREAK WITH BONN OCCURS.

(D) MALAYSIA. SOME DRAMATIC ATTACK AGAINST MALAYSIA MAY PRECEDE AUG 17 SPEECH TO FEED INDO SENSE OF STRUGGLE BUT THERE NO INDICATION AT PRESENT THAT SPEECH ITSELF WILL INCLUDE ANY NEW BOMBSHELLS.

(E) CONEFO. SUKARNO WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY GIVE STRONG PLUG TO HIS PET PROJECT CONEFO AND BLAST NEKOLIN FOR ATTEMPTS PREVENT CONFERENCE FROM TAKING PLACE. AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE WILL PROBABLY BE PLAYED AS FORERUNNER OF CONEFO.

(F) SELF-RELIANCE. HE WILL PROBABLY PAINT IN SOME OF THE DETAILS OF HIS "BERDIKARI" SLOGAN AND PERHAPS RECOMMEND FURTHER MOVES AGAINST WESTERN CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC INFLUENCE AND IN FAVOR OF "STANDING ON OUR OWN FEET."

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-3- 188, JULY 31, (SECTION I OF II) FROM DJAKARTA

(G) AGAINST ARMY. ARMY PROBABLY WILL COME IN FOR SOME KNOCKS (ALTHOUGH THESE LIKELY TO BE COUCHED IN INDONESIAN NEWSPEAK). SUKARNO CAN SCARCELY IGNORE FACT THAT IN NORTH SUMATRA AND ELSEWHERE ARMY IS "CREATING DISUNITY" BY BUCKING TRENDS HE HAS SET IN MOTION.

(H) NASAKOM. WHILE HE PROBABLY WILL NOT ANNOUNCE ACTUAL NASAKOM CABINET, SPEECH MAY WILL BE USED TO MOVE THIS CONCEPT FORWARD TO EXTENT HE CAN MAKE ANOTHER TRY AT CABINET REORGANIZATION SHORTLY THEREAFTER. (HIS ATTEMPT LAST YEAR TO REMOVE NASUTION, SALEH AND RUSLAN ABDULGANI WITHIN 10 DAYS OF TAVIP FAILED.) ARMING OF PEASANTS AND WORKERS MAY ALSO BE PUSHED FORWARD.  
GREEN

NOTE: ADVANCE COPY TO S/S-O AT 3:00 A.M. JULY 31, 1965  
PASSED WHITE HOUSE, 7/31/65 - 3:20 A.M.

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REF ID: A12345