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Sukarno's recent reference to the idea of a Feder tion Front, which he did not define, but at least gave the impression that it was some form of Maphilindo, appears to be a step in the right direction, but, as always, his statement was linked with the continuation of the now out-of-date policy of Confrontation.

There is logic in the idea of regional groupings of like races which allow the countries concerned to maintain their national independence while forging links in the field of trade and defence. The free world has made some successful groupings of this nature. They were not so much by arrangement but came about inevitably when the interests of all concerned were seen to coincide. Europe, the Arab world, North America and South America are all examples.

Indonesia can benefit from participation in a regional group of Malay states, but this can only be effective if the participating nations are honest and straightforward in their dealings with each other. One of the objections to Maphilindo was Sukarno's obvious intention to dominate it, thus when he now makes the statement that although Indonesia is not hostile to the peoples of Malaya, Singapore and Brunei, but on the contrary is only helping them to obtain independence, (Antara, 5 December), which will be followed by a greater federation than Maphilindo, one can hardly blame the Malays in Kuala Lumpur and elsewhere for feeling cynical about his real motives.

Sukarno has, of course, always managed to support his theories of neo-colonialism and the so-called encirclement of Indonesia by "word games" and slogans, and although the Indonesian people have waited twenty years for his government to attack the problems of development and social progress that could make Indonesia great, they are not now, after a period of blood and violence which has contributed to even further economic deterioration, given any hope of improvement. Instead the daily toll of blood mounts and is accompanied by exhortations to destroy the Necolim and Malaysia. The people might have expected better things after the 30 September !!

Why does Sukarno still go through with the threadbare and worn out Confrontasi slogans? What is the reason? Of course, dear readers, the President is in no position to talk about the accomplishments of his regime, in fact, he admits he has neglected the problems of development which is due - according to him - to the need to safeguard the Revolution. Does this mean that we are to go on for ever, in the midst of the meaningless welter of slogans and words, with ever decreasing hope, and in an agony of economic misery and instability in order to safeguard something which we find it hard to focus our eyes on?

We are, however, promised some arrangement on the lines of Maphilindo, BUT after Sukarno's imagined enemies have been destroyed. This, of course, is part of his Quixote-like philosophy of always having some windmill to tilt at - something to distract attention from the political vacuum he has created over the years with his constant preoccupation with the imagined enemies and complete disregard for his real enemies - those who nearly destroyed us on 30 September.

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Dear readers, it is a solemn thought that the so-called Nekolim enemies have left us alone, although they could have profited from the Gestapu.

Where do we go from here? Sukarno has said that we may sack him if we are dissatisfied. It is not necessary to do this, let him alone and [illegible] dreams, for we, the people, can tackle our enemies, the enemies of povery and social injustice, of the P.K.I. and the evil of Peking, and the home-made policies which have for so long distracted us from these real enemies.

Yes, let us have a Federation, Bung Karno. Let us join in some grouping and take part in the world - already the Philippines are talking diplomatic relations with Malaysia, and trying to solve their differences in a practical and logical fashion. Why not let us all think in logical fashion, for there really is a normal world outside the crazy ideas and mad philosophies, and we have a right to belong to it. But we will never do so if all our claims to honesty and decency have these worn-out and out of date slogans attached !!

The Editor.

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LET US GRASP THE CHANCE

by "Student"

The responsible newspaper, the Indonesian Herald said in an Editorial on 7 December that the country is now more flexible in its strategy and tactics than in previous months, and went on to say that South East Asia today is in the midst of a twilight, and surely one which precedes dawn, so that Bung Karno's recent address on the possibility of a Greater Maphilindo must be viewed in a new light.

This is, of course, the moment of opportunity. It is little use for Dr. Subandrio to offer to negotiate with the Malays on Confrontation on terms impossible for them to accept. We have created Confrontasi. We must do away with it. Nobody with any sense wants it to continue. Its continuation can do no good, and its end can be the beginning of a peaceful and prosperous era in South East Asia. There can be no loss of face to Sukarno and Subandrio if they take statesmanlike attitudes on Confrontasi. It is useless to talk about negotiations which have this ridiculous policy still attached to them.

Now is the time for Sukarno to show whether he is the statesman that he claims to be. There is, says the Indonesian Herald, a twilight in South East Asia. Let us, the largest Malay race, be the ones who will ensure that the forthcoming dawn will bring peace to all the Malay races - and the first step should be the end of Confrontasi. Then let us look at Sukarno's ideas for a greater Maphilindo.

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SUKARNO - THE MIXTURE AS BEFORE

It was with profound disappointment that we read Sukarno's latest speech. Perhaps, after the way in which he has behaved since the Coup, we should have been prepared for a speech which showed a complete lack of leadership, but we did expect, and we had every right to expect, that at least he would come out into the open and ban the P.K.I.

But what did we get? We were given nothing but an admission of his negligence. That in itself was bad enough, it cost him little to humiliate himself, knowing full well that the People's Consultative Assembly would never remove him from office - how could they, having agreed that he should be President for life? - but what was far worse were the obvious indications that Sukarno, far from being genuine in his desire to stamp out Communism, was going to make every effort to re-establish the old order of things in which Communist and the Army were equally balanced.

He talked of the Communist rats and hastened to add: "The nation is at stake, because those who intend to punish the rats are burning the house".

It sounded very fine and heroic to say that the Nation was at stake, but what he meant, and what he should have said, was that his position was at stake, since the Nation is only in danger as long as the Communist Leaders are at large and their rank and file are allowed to go unpunished.

No one can be blamed for the existence of the rats in the house but Sukarno himself. He has treated them as pets, and encouraged them to breed and multiply while he restrained the cats which should have been allowed to exterminate them.

> For allowing these rodents, which brought the Red Plague to Indonesia, to breed, Sukarno has been culpably negligent, and he is fully aware of that negligence, but even now, because he fears for his position, he is trying to prevent the cats from doing their job.
>
> In another rhetorical passage, he declared that the pillar of the house was in danger, and again, he would have us believe that he was referring to the nation whereas, in fact, he was thinking only of himself.

Sukarno still imagines himself to be the keystone which holds Indonesia together, but those days have long since passed, and today, the keystone is the Nation's hatred of Communism which has undermined its economy, and made a cuckold of its President.

If Sukarno wants to remain in power, if he wants to continue to enjoy the luxuries which the people of Indonesia have so freely given him then he must stop thinking about himself, and concentrate his efforts for the betterment of Indonesia.

There must be no more dalliance with Communism; he must make no more face-saving speeches for the men who, while posing as his friend were stabbing Indonesia in the back.

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Indonesia in the back./

There must be no more of that! The Fighting Services and the police must be allowed to do their job unhindered and, to use Sukarno's own analogy, plague can only be beaten by a cleansing fame, and if some part of our house is damaged by the fire it will be but a small cost to pay for the complete purification of our country.

As to the question of whether he should resign from Office: that is not a question to be debated by the People's Consultative Assembly, but it is one which Sukarno should ask himself since it is only his own conscience that can provide the answer.

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INDONESIA - OUR FRIENDLESS LAND

It is patently obvious that our foreign policy is moribund, and that we, who at one time could count upon the support of nearly every nation, are now without a friend in the world.

Just as soon as Subandrio coupled us to Chinese policy, and began to talk of a Djakarta-Peking axis it was inevitable that, before long, the rest of the world would turn away from us.

Even the most undeveloped African State knew the true meaning of Chinese "friendship" for they had seen the Communists at work in their own country, but our own brilliant diplomat, Subandrio, refused to see that the course he was steering for Indonesia could only lead to international ostracism.

Most Indonesians have known of this sad state of affairs for a long time, but there was nothing that we could do about it, save to deplore the existence of Subandrio. In a far worse position than ours were the Ministers who although very conscious of the shape of things to come were forced to support a policy which they not only knew to be wrong but which was also a threat to Indonesia.

What must Suwito, our Deputy Foreyin Minister, have felt when the facts were rubbed in at Algiers. Consider the position in which he found himself at Algiers. He had gone there for preparatory talks on the Afro-Asian Conference, a conference to which he was bound to give his wholehearted support since Indonesia had played a leading part in the first Bandung Conference.

Moreover, it was only by supporting those who wished the Conference to be held that he could show that Indonesia had broken away from Red China, but at the same time he must have realised only too well, that much had happened since Bandung, and that if the Conference was held it would probably result in political disaster for Indonesia.

Such disaster would be hastened by the fact that since Bandung, we had withdrawn from the United Nations, an organisation which is supported by every Afro-Asian country, and while Suwito might be vehement in his declaration that Indonesia had broken the Peking shackles, the fact remained that Indonesia was to continue her policy of Confrontation of Sin apore, despite the fact that Singapore was now an independent State and no longer connected with Malaysia.

It was Indonesia's continued antagonism of that minute State of Singapore that lost us so many friends. The Afro-Asian world, with the exception of Red China, had recognised Singapore, and they fully understood and supported the reason why it was necessary for her to have the British Base on the island. The Afro-Asians knew that owing to her loss of trade with Indonesia, brought about by Confrontation, the presence of the British base was vital

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e Singapore's economy, and that without the Base there would be mass unemployment, bankruptcy and industrial unrest. A luscious breeding ground for Communism which we were providing. It was Indonesia, and Indonesia alone, who was forcing Singapore to keep foreign troops in the State.

That fact was made abundantly clear to Suwito, but there was yet another reason for him to hope that, even while he dutifully pressed for the Conference to be held, it would never take place. That reason was CONEFO.

Sukarno may claim that CONEFO was his brain-child, but the whole world knows that the whole idea of CONEFO originated in Peking, and the Afro-Asians have become so sickened and embittered by the Chinese that at this moment, they are quite prepared to detach themselves and allow CONEFO to die an unlamented death.

The unfortunate Suwito must have heaved a deep sigh of relief when the Afro-Asian Conference was shelved, but nothing can relieve his mental agony in knowing that Subandrio has made our country A FRIENDLESS LAND.

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Cartoon

from the

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

IS THERE A GOVERNMENT IN THE LAND?

We live in troubled times, and for the most part our thoughts are focussed on the fighting services and police as they go about their mammoth task of stamping out Communism, but we also have time to wonder why living conditions are going from bad to worse, and why, with every passing minute, prices are soaring higher and higher.

Many people are asking themsdves whether we still have a government, and if we have, what it is doing to improve the conditions of the people?

Every now and then, Sukarno, like a cuckoo in the clock, pokes out his head, makes a statement and bobs back out of sight behind closed doors. We have a multitude of Ministers, but, today, all they seem to do is to merely repeat, time and time again, the words that Sukarno has uttered, but they do nothing to implement those words. How long is it since a Minister made a constructive suggestion? How long is it since we heard even a hint of a creative policy?

We can't expect the Generals to take any interest in the economic situation. Their orders are to crush Communism, and that they are doing to the best of their ability, while the politicians, whose job it is to look after the interests of the people, are doing absolutely nothing.

The price of rice has risen to 3,000 rupiah a litre, and the **rupiah** has reached an all time record of 90,000 to the pound sterling. Why is there no concrete plan aimed at the stabilisation of prices. In the past, we know that the P.K.I. was against such a plan, and because they were so strong, and because Aidit had Sukarno's ear, any move towards stabilisation was quickly quashed. But the P.K.I., thanks entirely to the Fighting Services, is now almost impotent and Aidit is no more a power in the land, why then is the government taking no action?

The answer would seem to be that the Government is made up of little men, minor cuckoos, who haven't the strength of character to take an action which might, at the outset, cause them to be vilified.

One has to admit that stabilisation cannot be achieved without sacrifice. In the initial stages prices are bound to increase and with increased prices, must come austerities, and no doubt the Ministers fear that those austerities will in their turn cause the people to murmur against the Government, and that those murmurs might eventually lead to the dismissal of certain ministers.

But Ministers without courage have no right to be in office, and they must be made to realise that Indonesia is like a person with a septic abcess on his tooth; unless the tooth is removed the abcess will get worse, and the man may even die; the Ministers, in the shape of a dentist, must impress upon the patient that the sudden pain of extraction is but a small price to pay for his eventual return to health.

There must be no arguments about this. The Ministers must not be allowed to shelter behind the falsehood that if prices rise through stabilisation, the people will blame the Army. It is nothing whatever to do with the Army.

The Government have brought this economic crisis because they were afraid of the Communist. The Government through cowardice

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rough cowardice/

and inefficiency allowed this to happen and it is now up to them to take steps, no matter how drastic they may be, to improve the living conditions of the people.

We hear them say that the P.K.I. are guilty men, but they are equally guilty in allowing the Communist policy to continue.

Stabilisation is essential. The Indonesian people do not fear the dentist, but if the dentist is afraid to do his job then they will seek another dentist.

I N D O N E S I A

The Light That Fails

Article From

T I M E

December 3, 1965.

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SUBANDRIO - THE MODERN SVENGALI!

It has been said that truth is stranger than fiction, and that statement is certainly being proved to be correct in Djakarta today.

An author, named Du Maurier, once invented a character called "Svengali" who controlled another character by some unexplained hypnotic influence, but Svengali's powers were trivial when compared with the hold that Subandrio seems to have on Sukarno.

How else can we explain Subandrio's freedom? Even if it cannot be proved that Subandrio was the instigator of the Gestapu, it is well known that the coup, and the assassinations, met with his whole hearted approval.

Ten days before the coup was launched Subandrio told a secret meeting of selected ministers that if he did not lead the nation, no concrete achievements would be possible. That in itself was a clear enough indication that he was planning to take Sukarno's place and three days later he declared: "The situation is reaching the exploding point. And when that point is nobody can prevent that explosion". It is inter sting to note that that inflammatory statement was made at a meeting called by Subandrio to discuss the food situation, although no ministers connected with the food problem were asked to attend!

On 28th September, Subandrio accompanied by a large party of Communists, including Njoto left for Sumatra, and there, in Tanjung Karang, he told a mass rally that the villagers should be ready to take action against the city devils, and this call to action he repeated at another rally held on the following day.

On the eve of the Coup he told people in Medan that he believed that the Generals had formed a military junta with the aim of seizing power. Subandrio also said that rumours were being spread to the effect that it was the P.K.I. who were going to overthrow Sukarno. These rumours Subandrio laughed to scorn. "How could such a thing be possible, he demanded "Since Njoto is standing here by my side?"

Subandrio would like you to believe that he had been hoodwinked and that Aidit and Njoto had fooled him, and he might have got away with that had it not been for an event which took place at 10 a.m. in the morning of 1st October, for it was at that time that a courier delivered a message to Subandrio which read: "The Attempt by the Council has been foiled. The Revolutionary Council has been set up. Awaiting further instructions." The courier had been sent by Colonel Untung who needed further instructions from his leader - Subandrio!!

That message should have been enough to have sent Subandrio to the gallows. But Sukarno has disregarded all the evidence which showed conclusively that Subandrio had plotted his downfall.

Subandrio today is still in a position of power. It seems incredible but it's true; Subandrio is free to plot and plan, he is allowed to make speeches in which he advocates continued friendship with Red China, the very people who aided and abetted the Gestapu and when he makes those speeches he makes them with the full authority of his office of Foreign Minister.

He may no longer be a member of KOTI but that doesn't mean that he has been shorn of power, and proof of that lies in the fact that Api, the Army newspaper and his most outspoken critic, has been closed down.

How much longer are we going to allow this traitor to pursue his malicious course ?

THE CASE OF THE SKY-BLUE TRAITOR

There are still many questions to be asked about the treacherous coup which has become known as the Gestapu.

The precise parts in this drama of treason and bloodshed which were to have been played by Aidit, Lukman, Njoto, Njono and Subandrio have now been revealed and the reasons why these criminals have not been brought to book are obvious enough.

There have been rumours of Aidit's death, and contradictory rumours that he has escaped to Red China. Njono has been arrested, and as might have been expected, has betrayed his friends, Lukman and Njoto are in hiding, and Subandrio, for the time being, has hidden his bloodstained hands beneath Sukarno's sarong. The sarong of the very man whom he had plotted to overthrow.

Why Subandrio has, so far, escaped arrest is a mystery, but a greater mystery by far could be called "The Case of the Sky-Blue Traitor - Omar Dhani".

There is no doubt whatever that Omar Dhani was deeply involved in the Gestapu, indeed, he gave it his whole-hearted support. This is proved by his actions prior to October 1st.

On 17th September Dhani flew to Peking on a secret mission; a mission so secret that only Subandrio was informed of his departure. He remained in Peking until 20th September, and on his return to Indonesia had secret meetings with Aidit and Subandrio, and it was at these meetings that the part which Omar Dhani was to play in the Coup was finalised.

Dhani's immediate task was to smuggle Brigadier-General Supardjo back from Pontianak. This was to be done without the knowledge of the Generals. Supardjo's name was included in the "September 30th Revolutionary Council".

Dhani's second task was to detail a number of transport planes to be at readiness at the Air Force Base at Halim. The state of Readiness to commence one week before the Coup was launched.

Halim was the base to which Sukarno was taken for his "personal safety" and it was the base at which the heroic generals were assassinated. Both Dhani and Sukarno were at the base at the time of the murders.

Dhani's third task was to detail a plane to be at Stand-by in case it should be necessary to remove Aidit to a place of safety.

All three of these tasks were carried out, and there is no doubt that they were done voluntarily for, as soon as the Coup was launched, Dhani issued an Order of the Day in which he gave his full support to the 30th September Movement.

For men to rise against their officers is Mutiny, but for an Officer to lead his men against the Government is Treaon. Sukarno knew the part that Dhani had played, so of course did Subandrio, and so did Nasution. But was Dhani arrested? No! He was not!

In the middle of October we were told that Omar Dhani had gone on a trade mission, connected with the purchase of aircraft, to the Netherlands, but it is intersting to note that the firm of Fokkers, to whom he was supposed to have gone, denied, and still deny, all knowledge of such a mission.

We thought at the time that he had been "allowed to escape" but on the 27th November we received another shock when Sukarno blandly announced that, at his own request, Omar Dhani had been

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removed from his post as Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force and had been put in charge of the Aviation Industry Command, and that he would continue to be a Cabinet Minister!

Is this how we deal with traitors? Is to be a Cabinet Minister an adequate sentence for a murderer?

Who is blocking the path of Justice? It cannot be Nasution for he has suffered too much. Is it Subandrio? Is it Sukarno?

We will not have whitewashed traitors in the Government. Omar Dhani, through his Order of the Day, is a self-confessed traitor, and as such he must be arrested and brought to trial.

I N D O N E S I A :

Still Swinging

Article from

N E W S W E E K .