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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958 Sec. 3.6

SECRET/XGDS

MR 01-34, # 4; at ltr 6/20/01

By dal NARA, Date 6/27/01

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: Adam Malik, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia
 Didi Djajaningrat, Director General for Political Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 Alex Alatas, Private Secretary to Malik.

President Gerald R. Ford
 Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
 Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Wednesday, September 25, 1974
4:30 p.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office
The White House

[The press was admitted briefly for photographs]

The President: You have been here many times.

Malik: Yes.

Kissinger: He was President of the General Assembly.

Malik: In 1971.

[The press leaves]

Malik: I have brought you a letter from President Suharto and he sends you his greetings. [Letter is at Tab A]. We want to confirm our desire to continue our friendly relations. When I was briefing the President, he said he saw you were going to visit Japan and he would be happy to have you visit Indonesia.

The President: Please thank the President. I am going to Japan in November but unfortunately I will not be able to visit Indonesia on this trip. I am sorry that my trip can't be expanded beyond the time

SECRET/XGDS

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CLASSIFIED BY: HENRY A. KISSINGER

contemplated. But please thank the President and tell him I hope to be able to visit another time.

Malik: I also bring greetings from our Vice President, the Sultan of Jogjakarta. President Suharto also asks that you will consider continuing U. S. aid to Indonesia.

The President: The record of the U. S. in helping Indonesia is an indication of our sympathy and desire that Indonesia build up its economy and country. Our problem is that Presidents tend to be more generous than the Congress. But there is a strong desire on our part to continue this economic and military assistance. Until we get the bills through Congress, though, we won't be sure. The Congressional attitude is to reduce and to restrict the Administration request that President Nixon submitted. But whatever the amounts we get, we will do the best we can.

You have been a fine partner in that part of the world. We appreciate the good relations we have had with you under President Suharto and we give the aid because you are a good ally.

Malik: Thank you very much. We understand the difficulty with the Congress, but given our mutually advantageous relations we hope you will continue to the extent you can.

The President: I see in President Suharto's letter that he is pleased that I will continue the policy of my predecessor. I supported that policy, and I think it was the most successful foreign policy during my lifetime if not through American history. I will continue it. Secretary Kissinger and I have excellent relations. We will broaden detente, we will expand relations with the People's Republic of China, we want to be close to our Asian friends like you, just as we strengthen our NATO alliances. Secretary Kissinger is an essential part of this and he will continue as he has.

Malik: Thank you very much. I will convey your message to my government and we will make every effort to continue our policy as it has been. I am happy my colleague will continue to carry out U. S. policy.

The President: He is the finest Secretary of State we have ever had.

Malik: Are there any questions you might have?

The President: There is one matter. President Nixon and Secretary Kissinger worked very hard to end the conflict in Southeast Asia. We are encouraged by what has happened in South Vietnam although it is far from over. I appreciate Indonesia's role there. Laos has made real headway. In Cambodia, there are problems. If Indonesia could support Cambodia in the fight over its representation in the United Nations . . .

Malik: We support it.

The President: We think there is hope, and if we could have another year.

Malik: I talked to Bouteflika yesterday and asked him to show understanding for another year.

Kissinger: What is his attitude?

Malik: He seems to be changing his attitude. He asked if we supported Makarios, why not Sihanouk. I said Sihanouk was ousted by his Parliament. He asked about the chances for peace and I said they were very good.

Kissinger: How?

Malik: There are possibilities for getting in touch for fighting parties outside the Khmer. We have been in touch. And they are now persuading 10,000 to come over. There are feelers for more to come over. We discussed this with your Embassy in Jakarta. We think the Lon Nol regime has a chance and that it should be strengthened. It is the Route 3 Army. And they put no conditions on it -- just to continue their rank and pay.

Kissinger: I think we should not undertake diplomatic initiatives right now.

Malik: I would wait. We are very active. Bouteflika asked about Sihanouk. I said we could take care of him eventually.

Kissinger: That is very interesting. Sihanouk's only chance is if Lon Nol survives. If the Communists come in . . .

Malik: He is through.

The President: How is your economic development coming?

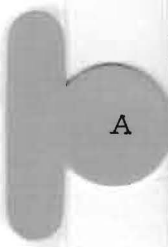
Malik: It is coming well, but as it develops, more problems arise, and that is what we are coping with now. The increase in oil prices isn't much because we have only 1.4 billion barrels a year. We need help with rice and fertilizer.

The President: Is Indonesia self-sufficient in rice?

Kissinger: No, we send them a lot of PL-480.

The President: It was very nice to see you. Please give President Suharto my best. I look forward to expanding our relationship. I appreciate the invitation and hope at some time to be able to visit.

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PRESIDEN
REPUBLIK INDONESIA

UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION

Jakarta, September 12, 1974.

Your Excellency,

Through the courtesy of Foreign Minister Adam Malik, I would like to convey this message to Your Excellency personally along with my warmest greetings.

It is indeed a great pleasure for me to have this opportunity to express once again my heartfelt felicitations to Your Excellency upon assuming the high offices of President of the United States of America. I am fully aware of the tremendous task and responsibility entrusted on your shoulders. May we pray God Almighty to bestow upon you His blessings and wise guidance in your endeavours to bring about greater welfare and happiness to the American people as well as to enhance the prestige and posture of the United States in the world.

The world has just witnessed the most impressive demonstration of American constitutional democracy at work and I am certainly confident that under Your Excellency's able leadership, the American nation will undoubtedly continue to proceed on the road to greatness in peace and social justice both at home and abroad.

In this respect, I am particularly happy to note of your decision to preserve the principles of continuity in the foreign policy of the United States as a central element in the conduct of affairs under Your Excellency's presidency.

His Excellency GERALD R. FORD



**PRESIDEN
REPUBLIK INDONESIA**

- 2 -

In conclusion, allow me to express the hope may the prevailing cordial relations between the Republic of Indonesia and the United States of America be strengthened and promoted in the years to come, beneficial to both our Governments and peoples.

Please accept, Excellency, the sincere best wishes of Mrs. Soeharto and myself for your personal and Mrs. Ford's continued happiness and wellbeing as well as the renewed assurances of our highest considerations.

Sincerely yours,

**SOEHARTO, General
President of the Republic of
Indonesia.**

P/Malikh/K (Djajaningrat)

25 Sept 74



(Pres)

P you have been here very this

M Yes

K He was Pres of CIA

M for 1971

(Pres board)

M I have brought you a letter from Sukanto and send you his greetings. US want to explain our desire to continue our friendly relations. When I was briefing a Pres he said he sure likes visiting Japan & he would be happy to have you visit I.

P Please thank P. I am going to Japan but unfortunately I will not be able to do so on this trip. I am sorry my trip cannot be extended beyond a time contemplated but please thank a P and ~~say~~ tell him I hope to be able to visit at some time.

M I also bring greetings from VP Suktern. Sukanto also asks that you will consider continuing US aid to I.

P Re word of US in helping I is indication of our sympathy & desire that I build up economy & country. One part is P's tend to be more generous than a Cong. But strong desire on our part to continue economic aid. Unless we get a bill then long this we can't be sure. The Cong attitude is to reduce & to restrict it except. But w/ our events we get we will do a best we can. You have been fine partner in that part of world. We appreciate a good relation w/ you under Sukanto & we give a civil case you a good ally.

M I thank you very much. We are historical & def w/ Cong. but given our mutually advantageous relations we hope you will continue to a extent you can.

P I see in S letter he ~~is~~ pleased I will

domestic policy of pol. I supported that policy & I think it was most successful F.P. during my life if not than it being. I will continue it. K & I have excellent relations. We will broaden contacts, we will expand relations w PRC, we want to be close to Asian financial zone, with 'an NATO advances. It is an essential part of this and will continue to be here.

111 Thank you very much. We'll carry on as it is my part & we make every effort to continue our policy as it has. Hoping my colleagues will continue to carry out US policy.

P Forest says we have had

111 Any questions you might have

P There is one matter. K & K made every hard to end conflict in S.E.A. We encouraged by SVN at the 1st par from above. Appreciate I wish there have ~~also~~ has made real headway. In Cambodia, there are prob. of Indonesia could support Cambodia in C U.N.

111 We support it.

P We think there is hope & if we could have another year.

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K How?

111 There are possibilities for getting in touch for friendly parties outside the house. We have been in touch & they are doing exceedingly well.

and over. There are factors for more to come over. We
associated w/ your embassy in Jakarta. We think
a ban not regime has a chance & it should be
strengthened. It is not an army and ~~not~~ put
no conditions on it - just to contain work & pay
K I think we should not undertake dip. initiative
right now.

M I would want. We very active. Benetton asked
about Sihanouk. I said we could take care of him
K ~~There is a~~ eventually if.

K Very interesting. Sihanouk's only chance is if he can
overcome. If he can come in,

M He is there.

P How is even deployment

M Coming well but as it deepens, more jobs arise & that
what we coping w/ now. Increase in oil prices can't
work because we have only 1.4 billion barrels left. We
need help w/ price & fertilizers

P Do Indonesia self suff. in rice

K No, we need them a lot of \$4.80

P Very nice to see you Gene I very best. Look
forward to expanding relationship. Appreciate
invitation & hope at some time
to be over to visit.