nst.64/59.

SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT SUKARNO AT A STATE BANQUET GIVEN IN HONOUR OF HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT JOSIP BROZ-TITO AND MADAME JOVANKA BROZ IN ISTANA MERDEKA, DJAKARTA 23 DECEMBER 1958.

Your Excellency President Tito and Madame Broz,

I am giving this simple and inadequate dinner because we, the Indonesian people, the Indonesian Government and I myself are so happy that you have come to our shores. I am very sorry that I cannot command the temperature tonight. It is indeed very warm tonight, but tomorrow you will be at Bogor where the climate is a little cooler than Djakarta and after Bogor you will visit Bandung with a climate still cooler than Bogor and after Bandung you will visit Tampaksiring in Bali where the climate is also cool. But please do not think, Your Excellency, that in places where the climate is cool, that our heart is also cool, no, our heart is warm to you. In fact, the heart of the Indonesian people is warm, warm with friendship, warm with hospitality, warm with gratefulness that you have at long last visited our country.

You know that the Indonesian people are living in real friendship with Yugoslavia. The Republic of Yugoslavia is for us a phenomenon of the twentieth century. The twentieth century choose indeed three phenomena.

Firstly, the establishment of national states in Asia and Africa where before the peoples of Asia and Africa were living in subjugation and domination.

The second phenomenon in the twentieth century is the establishment of socialist states, whereas for example in 1917 there was only one socialist state in the world. Today there are, if I am not mistaken, nearly 13, 14, 19 socialist states in the world. So I can safely say, that one of the phenomena of the twentieth century is the establishment of socialist states.

The third phenomenon is what I call the atomic revolution. Now, Your Excellency, to our opinion, the Republic of Yugoslavia is a meeting of two phenomena in this twentieth century. Firstly, the establishment of the national state Yugoslavia, Secondly the establishment of the socialist state of Yugoslavia. To our opinion, Yugoslavia is national and socialist, socialist and national. And you Excellency President Tito, you are the architect of this new Yugoslavia.

Now

Now what about Indonesia? In the beginning of the twentieth century, we were a subjugated nation. We lived in poverty and humiliation. Then in 1908, we began this socalled national movement of Indonesia and this national movement culminated in 1945 in the proclamation of a free Republic of Indonesia. And now what is the Republic of Indonesia? The Republic of Indonesia is a national state, and we have also our social aspiration. You know the Republic of Indonesia is founded upon the principles of Pantjasila. Firstly, believe in God, secondly, nationalism, thirdly humanitarianism, fourthly democracy, fifthly social justice, prosperity for all. So I can also safely say that Indonesia also is a junction of two ideals, the ideal of a national state and the ideal of a prosperous society, a society without exploitation, a society without capitalism. Of course, we have our own identity. Yugoslavia has its own identity, Indonesia has its own identity. Like individuals, two idividuals have different identities, so have nations their own indentities. But having explained to you that Indonesia is also a junction of .. ideals, the junction of a political ideal and a social ideal, you understand why we Indonesians love Yugoslavia so much and love you so much. I am sure that your visit to Indonesia will strengthen the friendly feelings between Yugoslavia and Indonesia. It is also with a deep feeling that I am happy to invite all ladies and gentlemen here to stand up and to join me in a toast to the health of His Excellency, our dear friend President Tito and Madame Broz. Thank you. And the prosperity of the Yugoslav nation.

Thank you.

----------O----------

nst.63/59.

KABINET PRESIDEN ★ REPUBLIK INDONESIA ★

SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT SUKARNO TO WELCOME HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT JOSIP BROZ-TITO AT TANDJUNG PRIOK HARBOUR, DJAKARTA 23 DECEMBER 1958.

Your Excellency President Tito, and Madame Broz,

At long last you have come. Twice I have been in Yugoslavia. I have seen your beautiful country and your industrious people. Seeing your beautiful country and your industrious people I can clearly understand why your people and your Excellency love your country so much.

Now you are standing on Indonesia soil. Soon you will see also the country and the people of Indonesia.
Soon you will see also how beautiful Indonesia is and how industrious the Indonesian people are. And soon you will understand also why the Indonesian people love our country so much.

You, Your Excellency Tito, you are a great fighter for the freedom of your country and your people. We love you very much and we are very glad indeed and happy that you have come at long last with Madame Broz. Besides, we know your social ideology.
By your social ideology, you are in fact a citizen of the world.
On behalf of my country and people, and on my own behalf, I bid you welcome in Indonesia. I hope you will enjoy your stay here.
Long live the friendship and cooperation between Yugoslavia and Indonesia. Thank you.

5-1-1961

THE SPEECH OF PRESIDENT SUKARNO ON THE OCCASION OF PRESENTATION OF THE STATUE OF PRESIDENT TITO.- as a new year's gift.

I accept this statue with gratitude and pride. I said with pride, because it has been my wish for years to get a statue of my dear friend Tito. I am getting it now as a new year gift, at the beginning of a year in which we start the implementation of our eight-year plan and creation of a better society.

I said with pride, because I feel now more than ever that we are friends not only because of mutual feeling, but friends as fighters for peace and brotherhood in the world, as well as for a better world and prosperity of our respective countries.

I wish to tell why Tito attracts me so much. That is so, firstly, he is a really kind person and a man of full of humanity, and secondly, he is a great leader and fighter not only for Yugoslavia but also for the whole mankind. On this occasion I would like to remind you what I said in my welcome speech when Tito came here, namely : Tito is not only a citizen of Yugoslavia but a citizen of the world also.

I do not know if I am going to put this statue here in Djakarta Palace, or in Bogor Palace, but I am sure that there is a place in my heart.

At the end of his speech, obviously very touched by the gift, President Sukarno thanked Ambassador Pavlic with tears in his eyes.-

nst.64/63.

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT SUKARNO AT A RETURN DINNER
GIVEN BY THE YUGOSLAV VICE PRESIDENT EDVARD KARDELJ
IN HOTEL INDONESIA,
DJAKARTA, 15 DECEMBER 1962.

Excellency Vice President Kardelj, Madame, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, my dear friends, comrades,

Yes, this is the last encounter for the time being between Your Excellency and Madame and me because tomorrow I shall not be in the position to say goodbye to you having a very urgent function in Bogor.

I am very glad that by giving this banquet you make it possible for me to meet you and to re-affirm again to you that between Yugoslavia and Indonesia there exist close feelings of friendship and sympathy and cooperation.

I am sure that your visit here has contributed very much to strengthen that cooperation and friendship.

You have seen Djakarta, you have seen Bogor, you have seen Bandung, you have seen Bali, and tomorrow you will see Medan and the beautiful Toba lake area. Those places are really nice places, places representing the beauty of Indonesia. But more than that, even more important than that is that you have seen how the Indonesian people are in their attitude towards Yugoslavia.

You have seen a very friendly people, dynamic, freedom loving, a people struggling not only for maintaining their independence but also for attaining a better life in this unhappy world.

You said in your speech, comrade Kardelj, that you have seen a people who have fought for their freedom with their own strength. That is true. If I am allowed to indicate some difference between Indonesia and some countries which have attained their freedom in this twentieth century then this difference is perhaps this that the freedom of Indonesia is a self attained freedom. A freedom which is and which has been struggled for, whereas the freedom of some other countries is a freedom given to those countries as a present, as a gift by their previous colonisers.

But precisely in this we find that similarity between the people of Yugoslavia and the people of Indonesia. We have fought for our freedom with our own strength. You, Yugoslav-people, you have also fought for your freedom with your own sweat, your own blood, your own strength. Have not I said to you an hour ago that we Indonesians and Yugoslavs are children of the open bright sky? We are children of the smiling hills. We are children of the mountains. We are children of the blue sea. Not like for example the Dutch

people I said,

people I said, the Dutch people who live indoors because their country is a country which is a little lower than the level of the sea.

We are children of the open sky, children of the smiling hills, children of the mountains, children of the open sea. That is why our mind is bright and broad. That is why we are freedom loving, that is why we have fought with our own strength, with our own blood for our freedom and our independence.

We are children of the same nature, the friendship between Indonesia and Yugoslavia is not an artificial friendship. Our friendship is a friendship coming from the heart. And you see in our relationship, not only the relationship between President Tito and me, not only the relationship between members of your delegation and members of the Indonesian government, but the relations between you personally and me personally and Madame personally, it is not anymore a relation between host and guest, relations governed by protocol. No, it is a relation of friend and friend, a relation of comrade and comrade, a relation of brother and brother or brother and sister.

It was in Beograd that I said that you Yugoslav-leaders and I, we have both lived in prison for many years. Now Tito has become President, I have become President, you have become Vice President. And I said in Beograd, being President of the Republic of Indonesia I feel like living in a still bigger prison! Not the prison of the Dutch jail, but the prison of protocol. And between you and me there is no protocol. You are just Kardelj and I am just Bung Karno.

Tomorrow you leave Indonesia and we hope that we will meet again soon. Not long ago you convey to me the invitation of President Tito to come again to Yugoslavia.

I say, oké, I like Yugoslavia, and God willing I shall come to Yugoslavia again. If there is enough money! But that is why I said we are living in an unhappy world and the world is still full of tribulations, still full of conflicts, still full of struggle. Struggle for freedom, freedom for nations, freedom for men.

The world of today is the world of revolution. I said, there is a great universal revolution among mankind.

I said in one of my speeches that the Indonesian revolution has also a universal voice, because the Indonesian revolution has something of humanity in it.

It is the universality of humanity that resounds in the Indonesian revolution and also the Yugoslav revolution has a universal voice, the universality of humanity that resounds in the Yugoslav revolution.

We are both faithful to principles. Faithful to our principles of freedom, faithful to our principles of the liberation of mankind, faithful to our principles of peaceful co-existence, faithful to our principles of the brotherhood of men.

We in Indonesia we are also faithful to the principles laid down in the Bandung Conference, the Afro-Asian Conference six years ago. Yugoslavia and Indonesia are also faithful to the principles laid down in the Beograd Conference last year.

Both those conferences, the Bandung Conference as well as the Beograd Conference condemn imperialism, condemn colonialism, condemn imperialism in all its manifestations.

Because we are loyal to those principles, we stand sympathetic to all struggles of any people struggling for freedom. That is why I said in my formal speech during the banquet at Istana Merdeka, that what now happen in North Kalimantan, in Brunei has something to do with the New emerging Forces, and that I am convinced that the New emerging Forces will win and shall win. That is to say we Indonesian people, we are sympathetic towards the aims of the revolution now taking place in North Kalimantan.

And I am sure that also the Yugoslav people stand sympathetic towards the efforts of those peoples living there in North Kalimantan, because we are faithful to the Bandung Conference, because we are faithful to the principles of the Conference in Beograd.

Anyhow my dear friend, my comrade, my brother, as I said to other foreign guests also to you I shall not say goodbye, but I say au revoir, au revoir in Beograd, but I hope also au revoir in Djakarta.

And Madame also, I hope you will come again as soon as possible to Indonesia because Indonesia is a very large country, you have only seen a part of Java, Bali and tomorrow part of Sumatra, there are other beautiful places in Indonesia and you will also see the other parts of Indonesia with the same people, the same friendly people, hard working people, hard struggling people, people on whom the Yugoslav people can count for the common struggle for the happiness of mankind and for the happiness of our respective peoples and countries.

My dear friends, let us now stand up, I propose a toast to the health of our dear friend President Marshall Tito, to the health of Vice President Kardelj and Madame, to the health of all our friends in Yugoslavia, to the health and prosperity of the Yugoslav people, to the close cooperation between Yugoslavia and Indonesia, to, I have repeated it so many times, to the liberation and happiness of all men.

SPEECH BY PRESIDENT SUKARNO AT THE RETURN DINNER GIVEN BY THE PRESIDENT OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA ANTONÍN NOVOTNÝ IN HOTEL INDONESIA, DJAKARTA, 17 JANUARY 1963.

Excellency President Novotný and Madame, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, my dear friends,

I have been thinking for a while whether I shut should answer the magnificent speech held by President Novotný in the Indonesian language or the English language.

Now seeing that in this magnificent, general party are also represented so many members of the diplomatic corps, I think it would be good if I reply in a language which could be understood by you all. That is the English language.

Of course I am not an expert in that language because anyhow the English language is a foreign language to me. But I think the English language should be better understood by the greater part of the diplomatic corps represented here.

Well, why do I consider it better to speak in English? I consider it better to speak in English because what I shall say should be an open demonstration of the close friendship between Czechoslovakia and Indonesia.

Let there be no doubt about it. Czechoslovakia and Indonesia are friends.

Yesterday in Bali in a speech to the public at Denpasar to witness the allegoric procesion, I said already how grateful we are, we Indonesians to Czechoslovakia. And that is because Czechoslovakia is the first country to recognise the independence of Indonesia.

Now here next to me is sitting President Novotný, representative of the great nation of Czechoslovakia, bringing to us all the affection of the Czechoslovakia people, bringing to us the assurance that between Czechoslovakia and Indonesia always will exist and shall exist close friendship and cooperation.

Three hours ago, yes it is now quarter pas ten, three hours and fifteen minutes ago President Novotný and I have signed a joint statement. And in that joint statement is clearly indicated that between Czechoslovakia and Indonesia exist close cooperation and friendship, and that Czechoslovakia and Indonesia pursue so many similar things in their existence.

President Novotný has been here five days, nearly six days and again I regret that his stay here could not be longer, President Novotný is tomorrow proceding to Cambodia.

But in those five busy days I have seen with my dear friend Novotný many things. Many things which demonstrated our common goal, many things which demonstrated the great idealism which stands

behind the

behind the Czechoslovak people and the Indonesian people.

When I greeted you in the very humble dinner party in Istana Merdeka four days ago, I told about the Laterna magica.

Well, I have shown you in Indonesia also a Laterna magica. What Laterna magica, this I showed you in these four, five days, my dear friend Novotný.

I have shown to you that a nation living scattered over three thousand islands, subjugated for more than three and a half century by foreign domination, divided by that foreign domination, can become again united, can become again welded in one fighting nation. The fighting nation of Indonesia. That is one point of the Laterna magica with this place in this part of world.

Everybody is astonished, and you yourself, my dear friend Novotný, is astonished to see, that this Indonesian people speaking so many local languages, having different religions, is now united and would be a fighting army. A fighting army, fighting for complete independence, a fighting army, fighting for the establishment of a just society, fighting for socialism, one great army, fighting for the establishment of a new world together with all friendly nations in the world, together with all the members of the new emerging forces of this twentieth century.

And not only that is a point of our Indonesian Laterna magica. There is an other point of the Indonesian Laterna magica, my dear friend. And what is it? It is this, that a nation unarmed, as you say armed only with bamboo spears and knives and I don't ~~no~~ know what, that this poor nation, this unarmed nation can after a struggle of years conquered a mighty army of imperialists. That this nation can regain it independence, that this nation can conquer the contra revolution and the forces which took place in the first years of our revolution.

Three months ago in a speech here in Djakarta I replied to a question put to me by some foreign journalist. That question was, the question put to me was, President Sukarno, what is the greatest achievement of our struggle? What is the greatest achievement of the Republic of Indonesia? And my answer was, our greatest achievement is not that we now have a strong army, our greatest achievement is not that we now have a strong navy, our greatest achievement is not that we have now a strong airforce. No, our greatest achievement is that we have survived.

We are now still standing erect after all the fighting against our enemy. We are still standing erect and not only erect, but ~~struggle~~ after all the contra revolutions' forces tried to crush us.

This is again a point in our Indonesian Laterna magica, that I have shown you in these five or six days. And you said also that we Indonesian people are industrious, we are working hard. Yes, we

<u>are industrious,</u>

are industrious, we are working hard, working hard for what? I said this already, for the establishment of a prosperous and just society. For the establishment of socialism in Indonesia. For the establishment of a society in which there does not consist exploitation of man by man.

In Denpasar yesterday, in your speech you spoke to the people, I spoke also to the people in Denpasar, I repeated that we in Indonesia, we are fighting for three things.

First, the Republic of Indonesia, the establishment of a strong independent state with a territory between Sabang and Merauke. With a people now of one hundred million men. That is the first point.

Second, we are fighting and working hard for the eradication of the exploitation of man by man in the Republic of Indonesia. Working hard, fighting hard, perspiring hard for the establishment of a just and prosperous society, in which man can live in happiness, in which man can give his wife and children all the necessary things of life.

Third, we in Indonesia we are working hard and fighting hard for the establishment of a new order in the world. A new world order of peace. A new world order of cooperation of man by man. A new order of the brotherhood of men.

And now Czechoslovakia and Indonesia we both understand that these aims cannot be attained without international cooperation.

We both understand that imperialism is an international force. We both understand that capitalism is an international force. We cannot defeat imperialism only in Indonesia. Imperialism can only be defeated if the defeat is international. Capitalism can only be defeated if the defeat is international.

You understand this well, we in Indonesia we understand this well. And this is why Indonesia is a real brother in the range of the new emerging forces.

That is why Indonesia as a real brother in arms, comrades in arms in the range of the new emerging forces.

That is why Indonesia is a real friend of Czechoslovakia.

Together we shall march forward. Together we shall attain our common world. The happiness of your people, the happiness of our people here, the happiness of all mankind.

We are so happy and grateful that you at long last have not only accepted but also implemented our invitation to come to Indonesia.

Again your visit here, your stay here is far too short; six days, what are six days to see a country, as I said vast enough to travel over it months or weeks. A country with a stretch from Sabang to Merauke like the distance between the west coast of Ireland to the Caspian sea.

President Novotný

President Novotný said that he will come again to Indonesia. Thank you.

But, six days are not enough to see material things. But this may be sufficient to see non material things. Sufficient to see our heart. Sufficient to see our determination. Sufficient to see our determination to continue this struggle, togethdr with you and your people.

This is why we feel so happy, my brother Antonín Novotný that I can speak now to you in front of everybody here, in front members of the diplomatic corps.

My dear friends, Ladies and Gentlemen, Excellencies, may I invite you now to stand up. I am going to invite you to make a toast to the health of President Antonín Novotný and Madame, to the prosperity of the Czechoslovak people, to the lasting friendship between Czechoslovakia and Indonesia, to peace in the world, to the brotherhood of men, and even more than that, to the happiness of all men.
