

**January 7, 1955**  
**Cable from Huang Zhen, 'Regarding the Situation at Bogor'**

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**Summary:**

According to Huang Zhen, the Indonesian government had had the intention to invite China to attend the Asian-African Conference. The Indonesian authority gives high evaluations to the Bogor Conference. Currently, the Indonesian government are actively preparing for the Asian-African Conference.

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Chinese

**Contents:**

Translation - English

Forward to: [Chen] Jiakang, Gong Peng

Priority Level: Rush

From: Indonesia

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Already forwarded to: Chairman, [Liu] Shaoqi, [Zhou] Enlai, Zhu De, Chen Yun, [Peng] Dehuai, [Deng] Xiaoping, Chen Yi, [Xi] Zhongxun, [Yang] Shangkun, Foreign Ministry, [Wang] Jiaxiang, [Li] Kenong, Su Yu, Military Intelligence, Military Unified [Command]

Regarding the Situation at Bogor

To the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

Comprehensive report, situation at the Bogor conference apart from the material sent by Peng Di

(1) Prior to the Bogor conference, it was confirmed that Indonesia had the intention to invite China to the Afro-Asian conference (Early in February 1954, Sukarno once personally told Madam La-su-nuo-sha [sic]: He is currently considering convoking a conference that would include China. Prior to the Geneva conference, Indonesian news once said that: The Colombo conference must expand to become an all Afro-Asia conference that invites the new China. During the period of the Geneva conference, Indonesian officials acknowledged that new China had become a large country that cannot be ignored for negotiations which are attempting to resolve issues of peace. After Ali [Sastroamidjojo] visited India and Burma, newspaper The Torch expressed that it agrees with signing an agreement like the kind of agreement between India and China based on the five principles; [The Torch] also believes that holding the Afro-Asian conference can enlarge the peace zone. After the prime ministers of India and Burma visited China, this view became more certain to the Indonesian administration. Prior to the Bogor conference Abdulgani expressed to union leader Sujilo: The Indonesian government is preparing to invite eighteen Afro-Asian countries, including China, to attend the Afro-Asian conference, however [the Indonesian government] is deeply afraid that inviting China might cause the "Afro-Asian" bloc to fragment; hence it is the reason why [the Indonesian government] does not dare to make clear statements.

(2) They basically displayed a unified attitude, according to the present material regarding the period of the Bogor conference and the answers of the five prime ministers after the conference to questions posed by journalists regarding the holding of the Afro-Asian conference and issues related to inviting China. Indonesia conducted strict information lock downs during the period of the conference (Abdulgani said: "Since we accepted the experience of the Colombo conference; we are afraid of the internal situation of the conference leaking out which would cause imperialist provocation, rumor mongering; that would be detrimental to the conduct of the conference."), this once led to the "united protest" of American and other foreign journalists. However this move did not cause the resolution of the Indonesian administration to waver in regards to the restriction of news; in addition [the Indonesian government] expressed that any opinion which belittles and slanders the Bogor conference is very resentful.

Externally, the success of the Bogor conference raised the international status of Indonesia; internally, it raised the credibility of the cabinet and won the enthusiastic support of the people; it gained and solidified the support of center parties and groups. We can say that Ali [Sastroamidjojo], who became an "international figure", has "gained what he wanted". For days to come the government party greatly advertised the achievements of the Bogor conference; they believe that the Bogor conference is the spring board for Afro-Asian countries to create their own history; they said that the Bogor conference is the great result of decades of anti-colonial

struggle. Politicos all [showed much] "gratification".

(4) [sic] The Indonesian government, especially the Indonesian National Party's resolution regarding the Bogor conference, clearly expressed great satisfaction especially towards the passage of [the motion to] invite China. (These feelings have been shown through interactions with Sukarno, Ali [Sastroamidjojo], Sunario [Sastrowardoyo], Wilopo, Abdulgani, Bun King To; of course the results of the preliminary negotiations on the issue of dual nationality would also be another main reason for this kind of friendly attitude.)

(5) After the Bogor conference, imperialist and oppositional forces attempted to find contradictions, gaps and produce pessimistic public opinion that is detrimental to the Bogor conference in order to conduct sabotage. After the conference they provocatively said: "The countries of the Afro-Asian countries themselves are mutually opposed to each other; whether or not it can achieve its goal of easing the tense world situation is doubtful." [They] have been exhaustively trying to underestimate the achievement of the Bogor conference; [they] want to eliminate the beneficial position created by the Bogor conference for the Ali [Sastroamidjojo] cabinet.

(6) Indonesia has great hopes for the Afro-Asian conference, and is currently actively conducting preparation work. Before the five prime ministers left Indonesia, they have already discussed the issue of forming the secretariat for the Afro-Asian conference. (Abdulgani said that only the prime minister of Burma who went to Yogyakarta that day did not participate [in the discussions]; it was decided to have the five convoking countries jointly establish the [secretariat]; Indonesia will be sending out the invitations; the Indonesian government is already planning housing, reception, etc. works. Their foreign ministry said that: they need to prepare reception, room and board for at least a thousand people; estimate that every delegation will have ten to fifteen members; they referred to the People's Republic of China's delegation attending the Geneva conference numbering a hundred and twenty people. It was said that the conference will use English, but if there are delegations that want to use their own languages then they can bring their own translators.)

(7) Within four days the cabinet agreed on the achievements of the Bogor conference. Foreign Minister Sunario [Sastrowardoyo] said to the press on the evening of the same day: The government will work hard towards broadly establishing friendly agreements with Afro-Asian countries, including a few items of diplomatic issues that must be solved within this year, such as the agreement regarding the issue of dual nationality with the People's Republic of China and the negotiations with the Philippines regarding the issue of Indonesian expatriates in the Philippines. [He] also said that regarding the issue of negotiating compensations with Japan, due to friendly signs from the Japanese side, there is hope for reopening the negotiations.

Huang Zhen  
1955 January 7