



The Sukarno File,
1965-1967

Chronology of a Defeat

Antonie C.A. Dake

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Social Sciences in Asia

Edited by

Vineeta Sinha
Syed Farid Alatas
Chan Kwok Bun

VOLUME 9

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BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON

2006

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data

A CIP record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

ISSN 1567-2794
ISBN-13: 978 90 04 15382 0
ISBN-10: 90 04 15382 9

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

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NOTE BY THE AUTHOR

IN GENERAL

With Suharto's resignation in 1998, it seemed that there were no more obstacles in Indonesia in the way of free discussion of the fundamental events of 1 October 1965. Suharto had always wanted to draw a veil over the origin of his position of power, which could be traced back to these events. He wanted to regard the Indonesian communists as the only actors responsible for the '30 September Movement'. As little attention as possible was to be paid to the role played by other factions and persons, including his predecessor. It is true that he used Sukarno as a suspect or as a shining example from time to time, as it suited him, but this had little to do with the chronicling of history.

So when Suharto could no longer exercise direct power, it was time to take a fresh look at 1965 and at the origin of the 30 September Movement, the still surprising affair which led to a lot of bloodshed and heralded the demise of the first President of the Republic of Indonesia. The research on which this book is based was started in the year of Suharto's resignation with the intention of furthering if possible the discussion on 1965 and all that.

This has resulted first of all in an Indonesian edition of the Sukarno File, published in Jakarta in November 2005. The national media paid considerable attention to the tenor and details of the book. The reactions on the whole were favourable, including the one from ex-President Suharto who told the author in an interview that he thought the Sukarno File was "a positive contribution to the history of the Indonesian Republic". Equally important was that in the publicity surrounding the book one could gather an implicit desire to finally bring the discussion on the 1 October 1965 affair more into the open and to a more mature level.

It might be too early to talk of a general call for revision of the still current official interpretation. But it would not be amiss—even if it were only to stimulate general historic insight, particularly among a younger generation of Indonesians—if the Sukarno File were to be the spur for the opening of hitherto still hermetically sealed government archives.

ON SOURCES

Here it might be appropriate to dwell for a moment on the question of sources used for the Sukarno File, especially where it concerns typical standard opinions regarding who or what has been behind the 30 September Movement and the kidnapping of the anti-communist leadership of the army at the time.

First the *role of the Indonesian Communist Party, PKI*, where the question is no longer whether the PKI has been implicated, but on what level of the party organization, with what aim, and alone or in a wider conspiracy. In general the Sukarno File has drawn on this point from known and lesser known open sources, one of which has been the author's earlier treatise of 1973 on the history of the PKI, "In the Spirit of the Red Banteng", and on a number of interviews with survivors like Rewang, in 1965 the youngest member of the leading organ of the PKI, the Polituro, and still alive in 2001 after 30 years imprisonment. But generally stated: in the following story the PKI has given pride of place to the role of the then President of the Republic, Sukarno.

There is then the question whether the 1 October 1965 affair not has been an *internal army affair*. The author had already years ago come to the conclusion that this thesis, circulated by remnants of PKI leadership immediately after the 30 September Movement had failed dismally, could not in any seriousness be entertained. For that reason a "Preliminary Analysis", written and circulated anonymously in the fall of 1965 and supporting in a circumspect way this PKI-message, has not been in the eyes of the author an honest and worthwhile paper to be made use of.

For his view on the *place and role of the CIA* during the period leading up to the 1st of October the author has used, as can be seen in the special appendix on that subject, only open sources. Specialist publications written with the advantage of hindsight could be consulted as well as a number of primary documents like radio transcripts and reports issued at the time by the US Embassy, by the State Department and by the CIA itself, accessible thanks to the American Freedom of Information Act.

The *position of then Major General Suharto* vis-a-vis the events of the 1st of October 1965 have been commented upon widely over the last 40 years and still is a matter of recurring disputes. The author found that this subject of course warranted special attention and for

that reason treats it in one of the special appendices. For the sources used he refers to that appendix.

Further, for stitching together in detail the story of the 1 October affair, the interrogation of Sukarno aide, Bambang Widjanarko, should be mentioned of course as an important source, to be found verbatim in one of the appendices. Also use is made of a general report put together on behalf of the Suharto regime in 1967 by Nugroho Notosusanto and Ismael Saleh, and of the well-known CIA-report of 1968. All three sources the author regards as serious, although of course at the same time they can be seen as partisan or at least biased because of its specific background or link with the prevailing regime. Careful weighing was called for.

Three things can be stated here. One is that, because of the impact of its detailed account, the testimony of Bambang Widjanarko is preceded in the book by a special "*Note on the authenticity of the Widjanarko report*", written by drs Rahadi S. Karni. Second: all three documents mentioned here have been used by the author only when no contradictions could be found between two of these three sources, or whenever other secondary indications f.i. of a logical nature were also available. Three: there is no reason to refer to the unfolding story as being supported only by one or a few sources.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author has received particular assistance from Dr Michael den Hertog and Harald Beenackers in his compiling of relevant source material. They have examined all material on the 1 October 1965 affair which was published inside and outside Indonesia in the years from 1965 to 2000 in great detail and made a selection for use in this book.

At a later stage, I. Lesmana Hardjo M.A. took over the examination of sources, which were mainly in Indonesian. She also assisted at interviews and other research activities.

Loek Patiradjawane, former foreign affairs correspondent in Antara, was also of invaluable assistance, and with his considerable network, he was the author's continuing contact with distant Jakarta.

At a later stage when the text had been written and had to be translated into Indonesian, Loek Pattiradjawane and Rani Lilia Sari MSc carried out this task with great devotion, energy and perseverance.

I. Lesmana Hardjo coordinated the work of these two translators admirably and brought that part of the publication of the Sukarno File to a successful conclusion.

The author owes many thanks to all the people mentioned here. It may be repeated—superfluously, of course—that the result represents the views and responsibility of the author and of him alone.

INTRODUCTION

The great enemy of truth is very often not the lie, deliberate, contrived and dishonest, but the myth, persistent, persuasive and unrealistic

John F. Kennedy

For a potential reader just about to enter the age of higher education, that is to say born in the early or middle 1980s, most of the twentieth century belongs to a remote past from which little has survived into actual consciousness except historic costume dramas on film and videotape, and mental images of bits and pieces from the century which, for one reason or another, have become part of collective myth. . . .

Eric Hobsbawm

Nearly forty years have elapsed since Indonesia was shocked by the murder of six army generals. In the early morning of October 1, 1965 they were dragged from their beds in Jakarta and murdered, either on the spot or somewhat later on the perimeter of the Halim Air Force Base near the capital. Since then much has been written, rightly, about what happened. What took place in the autumn of 1965 and subsequent months is by far the most important event in the history of the Republic of Indonesia, since independence in 1949.

The internal balance of power among the then President Sukarno, the army and Indonesia's Communist Party, the PKI, was thoroughly upset as a result. A vacuum arose, that began to be filled by the first signs of a new political constellation. The military, or to be more precise, the army, wanted to settle the score with the culprits. During the armed interventions that were unleashed in this way, the country was teetering on the brink of a full-blown civil war. Pent-up social tensions, especially in the countryside of Central and Eastern Java and on the island of Bali, came to bursting point. The result was a bloodbath of dimensions and violence hitherto unknown. The threat of a communist takeover disappeared, to be replaced by what subsequently turned out to be a military dictatorship.

It is natural, therefore, that the events on and around October 1, 1965 have led, over the years, to much analysis and comment. What

is less obvious is that the discussions concerning this episode that was so decisive for Indonesia have, even today, not yet been rounded off. After all these years the corpse is still, as it were, unburied and this is a situation that demands final clarification in order, at last, to lay the ghosts.

The sole body really able to do this has always been the Republic's government, that ought to open up all sources for independent historical research that are still blocked. All the while the government does not shoulder its responsibility on this score, others must do all in their power to relate the story on the basis of everything that has surfaced to date which, fortunately, is quite a lot.

The fact that October 1, 1965 and all the attendant circumstances has hitherto proved to be such heavy going when it comes to reaching clear conclusions and, worse than this, that it has favoured the creation of myths, can be deduced from a number of special circumstances. First, there are the facts that do not add up concerning the country's Communist Party which, at the time of the events that took place in October, was the largest and most successful non-governing communist party in the world. It was outside the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union and China and was irresistibly marching towards a takeover at some date in the future. From one day to the next, the picture suddenly changed to become exactly the opposite.

The leaders of the Communist Party were murdered, persecuted, thrown into gaol and discriminated against. Thousands of party members and sympathisers were killed in local disputes. Other communists, or members of communist front organisations were, to put it mildly, pilloried in their thousands as traitors, nonpatriots and unreliable, which led to their being stripped of the most elementary human rights. Tens of thousands of them were picked up and, after a rudimentary trial, carted off to prison camps spread out over the Archipelago where, for many years, they were barred from joining Indonesian society. How was it possible for this to happen? Was the country's Communist Party, in the wake of the failed coup unjustly seized upon by the anti-communist military as a convenient scapegoat? Alternatively, was the party directly involved in the elimination of the army chiefs and, if so, why did it adopt such amateurish behaviour? How is this to be reconciled with the policy of gradual expansion of power and influence that was characteristic of the party under Chairman Aidit? There remain many questions therefore.

A second complicating factor was Sukarno's role on and after October 1. This has never been authoritatively cleared up. There has been much speculation and much written about it, but no Indonesian Government has ever dared to speak unambiguously on the matter. For anyone who has delved into the subject, that is easy to explain. The information that came into the hands of the Suharto regime in the period 1965 to 1967 led its early representatives to the inevitable conclusion that the first President of the Republic of Indonesia was himself the prime mover in the dramatic events of the autumn of 1965. He could, therefore, have been made directly responsible for the murders of six generals and, indirectly, for the subsequent bloody settling of accounts between communists and non-communists. However the new strong man, Suharto, no longer stood in need of any revelation of the truth as soon as it became clear that President Sukarno was prepared to surrender power and, subsequently, his title also.

When the Indonesian Army with the help of great pressure and barely concealed blackmail had forced Sukarno to abdicate in March 1967, leaving the road clear for Suharto to become the next President, Sukarno was for the time being no longer of interest to the Suharto group.

The way ahead was now clear for the military to place all the blame for the murder of the army chiefs on the shoulders of the Communist Party alone, leaving Sukarno's role still in the shadows. In this way, the military regime that started to take shape in the spring of 1966 and subsequently took on ever more brutal dimensions, received cast iron anti-communist credentials vis-à-vis the outer world and, above all, the financially strong West. It also enabled Suharto to continue squaring accounts at home with the communists and their numerous front organisations, such as the Workers' Trade Union, Sobsi and the Farmers Union, BTI.

In the story that follows, October 1, 1965 will be occupying centre stage. That day will be seen first set against the background of the policies and actions President Sukarno adopted in the course of the preceding months and weeks, and then the focus will be especially on his attitude during and immediately after that day. Central is why the President thought it was right not only to eliminate the army chiefs in a military and political sense, but also to steer in the direction of, or at all events permit, their physical elimination as well.

It is understood that this account has been written without any desire to detract from the numerous services that the Republic of

Indonesia's national leader and first President performed for his country. If this account of all that Sukarno did and did not do during that year of 1965 which was so fateful for him inspires any feeling at all, it is one of disappointment that, in the end, he became the victim of his own conceit. He fell victim to it, because of the extraordinary power and influence that he acquired at home and abroad in the course of the years. The fact that, weakened by age and disease, he gradually lost any normal feeling for reality also played a role. In any case, the result has been that his career, which for a long while looked fascinating, even glittering, ended up as a rather shabby affair.

PART I

JANUARY 1, 1965–SEPTEMBER 30, 1965

CHAPTER ONE

CONFLICT WITH THE ARMY CHIEFS

In order to understand Sukarno's attitude and the way he acted with regard to the purge of the army chiefs on October 1, 1965 one has to recall the political and economic climate that enveloped Indonesia in the course of 1965. The previous year was dominated by the sharper tone of the so-called Confrontation with Malaysia with which Sukarno intended, above all, to make an impression abroad, while deflecting attention at home from the worsening economic situation. Also in 1965 the Confrontation exercised minds very keenly and constituted one of the fields of tension within the triangle of force that maintained Sukarno, the army and Indonesia's Communist Party PKI in an uneasy state of balance.¹

Radicalisation regarding the country's closest neighbours went hand in hand with sharper contrasts in the country itself. On the one hand there was the ramshackle state of the economy—taxation was

¹ See also: Elson, p. 93 a.f. President Johnson's special envoy, Ellsworth Bunker, reports on the economic situation he had encountered during his visit to Indonesia at the end of March, beginning of April 1965 as follows:

- the Indonesian economy has not been effectively exploited since the country proclaimed its independence in 1945
- development planning has been inept, and is today virtually non-existent
- over half the population live outside the monetized sector of the economy as self-sufficient farmers, a fact which account for the resilience to economic adversity demonstrated by Indonesia over the last two decades
- inflation has been widespread and inflationary forces continue to exert an upward pressure on prices
- the government occupies a dominant position in basic industry, public utilities, internal transportation and communications
- Sukarno emphasized in his speech of April 11 that his concept of "guided economy" includes a speeding-up of the process of socializing the country
- it is probable that foreign private ownership will disappear and may be succeeded by some form of production-profit-sharing contract arrangements to be applied to all foreign investment
- the avowed Indonesian objective is "to stand on their own feet" in developing their economy, free from foreign, especially Western, influence

from: Report from Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker to President Johnson, Washington, undated; source Johnson Library, National Security File, Country File, Vol. IV, Memos, 3/65-9/65 Confidential. Bunker sent this memo with a cover note dated April, 23d, 1965.

chaotic, the network of roads was the prey of neglect, new buildings frequently stood abandoned because of the lack of finance, while the telephone network worked either badly or not at all and had to be supplemented in the cities by runners.² The official exchange rate was forty-five rupees for one dollar, but in fact one had to fork out 8,500 rupiahs for one dollar. There was roaring inflation that for the year 1965 was to amount to 500%. The price of rice was bumped up so sharply that it rose to nine times its previous level.³ It proved to be impossible to set up a budget for the current year, so it was not surprising that observers drew the conclusion that the Sukarno regime in 1965 was “heading for complete collapse”.⁴

On the other hand this pitiful state of economic affairs was a fertile source of nourishment for political agitation. The political party that tried, more particularly, to make capital of this was the PKI. From the point of view of numbers and sympathisers the party found itself on the crest of a wave as never before. The estimates were twenty million persons.⁵ With all that behind it, one understands the party’s leadership wanting to fling itself into the foreground. From the beginning of 1965 until the end of September one could speak of a “radical offensive” orchestrated by the party’s Chairman, Aidit and his direct fellow-party leaders.⁶ During this period, Indonesian society began to be subject to ever-greater pressure. It was said that “politics had become more polarized than ever before, as President Sukarno aligned himself more openly with the PKI against the army

² Challis, p. 72.

³ Crouch, p. 204.

⁴ Giebels II, p. 372; Elson, p. 94: “. . . the political system could not last as it was for very much longer”.

⁵ Mortimer, pp. 366, 367. He mentions the following communist organizations with membership in millions:

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------|
| a. PKI | 3.5 |
| b. Pemuda Rakjat (youth) | 3.0 |
| c. SOBSI (industrial workers) | 3.5 |
| d. BTI (farmers) | 9.0 |
| e. Gerwani (women) | 3.0 |
| f. Lekra (artists) | 5.0 |
| g. HSI (academics) | 0.07 |
| h. Total | 27.07 |

Taking into consideration double counting Mortimer concludes with roughly 20 million PKI or pro-PKI persons.

⁶ Mortimer, p. 375.

leadership".⁷ For Indonesia's President this tension, provided the dose was right, was exactly what he wanted. He became able to place both the army and the PKI in an uncomfortable posture, while emphasising his role as the final arbiter.

One of the levers in this power struggle was the so-called "Fifth Force".⁸ In some political circles it was thought a good thing to set-up a People's Militia for ordinary peasants and citizens to bear arms. It would be able to help in the Confrontation with Malaysia, while easing the pressure on the war machine, mainly the army. The idea had come from Chinese communists who, in the course of Sukarno's visit to Beijing at the end of 1964, had tried to talk him into accepting it. It was not before long that, in smooth cooperation between the Chinese and Indonesian comrades, the "Fifth Force" surfaced in public as an important initiative on the part of the Communist Party leaders.

It was, of course, quite clear that the PKI and to an increasing extent also Sukarno had in mind something entirely different. As we have already seen, Indonesia's communists had at their disposal a wide-ranging party organisation with, at all events on paper, millions of members. At the same time the party had its ramifications all over the Archipelago, especially in Central and Eastern Java. It could count upon the support of large-scale front organisations that, either openly or otherwise, had close links with the PKI, such as the trade unions for resp. workers and peasant Sobsi and the BTI who could likewise call upon an assumed membership of millions. The leadership of the Communist Party organization was feeling increasingly that something was missing, because in the military or even paramilitary field the communists counted for nothing. In principle, within the national framework, a separation of powers was strictly observed. So the monopoly over the exercise of force vis-à-vis the outside world was reserved for the army, the fleet and the air force, while on the domestic front it was the police.⁹ The reality was somewhat different, partly because of historical developments. From the rebellion against Dutch colonial rule immediately after the Second World War there stemmed a military organisation that, deriving from

⁷ Crouch, p. 94.

⁸ Appendix I: The Fifth Force.

⁹ Therefore the term: "fifth force".

this period, was traditionally marked right through by the feeling that it had a societal mission to perform and this feeling was still there. Hence the fact that the Indonesian Army and to a lesser extent the navy and air force as well, continued to devote its attention to the exercise of power and the shaping of society. So the army was able to play a role that was much more political than in the other youthful ex-colonial countries. Economically also the army was gradually to gain considerable influence, when first Dutch and later other foreign companies fell victim to one or the other wave of nationalisation. Frequently, the army would step in to occupy the vacuum left by the sudden departure of the management of such enterprises. The argument ran that this would be only a temporary measure, but it usually turned out to be the opposite. Gradually the army chiefs, especially the regional commanders, had been able in this way to acquire considerable direct economic power.

This development was, of course, by no means always accepted everywhere in good grace and certainly not by the PKI. One of the groups against which Communist Party organisers waged campaigns was, therefore, the so-called bureaucratic capitalists, known as the *kabirs*.¹⁰ They were often army officers who enhanced their status with the help of money and functions, so one of the party's most important aims for 1965 was expressed in its top slogan which ran "Crushing the Capitalist Bureaucrats".¹¹

The army's two-pronged function, in the Indonesian language "dwi-fungsi", gave the military even more power and influence than it already had before. The PKI leaders were therefore anxious to confront the army's challenge on a broad scale and it was from this perspective that the introduction of a "Fifth Force" was seen as a welcome step towards breaking the Armed Forces' dominance, especially the army's, on their own military terrain.

An advance taste of what arming the citizens would mean was discernible from an incident on Northern Sumatra, on 13 May 1965. Peasants, egged on by Communist Party stalwarts, were trying to sow

¹⁰ Crouch, p. 86 and footnot 43 on the same page.

¹¹ New Year message of the Central Committee of the PKI, *Harian Rakjat*, 1.1.1965; Mortimer, p. 379. On the list of the six so-called May-theses that the PKI published later in 1965 also first place was given to the elimination of the "bureaucratic-capitalists", mainly the military managers of stateowned enterprises, but also prominent members of the competing national-communist party Murba, like Chaerul Saleh; *Harian Rakjat*, 7.5.1965.

seed on the Bandar Betsy plantation, as they had been doing for years. A retired non-commissioned officer, together with a few other persons, attempted to prevent them from so doing, because—so the official argument ran—the plantation did not belong to the peasants, but was under army supervision. The peasants killed the non-commissioned officer and the matter was then taken up higher into the army hierarchy. It then became a point for its Chief of Staff, Lieutenant General Yani, to make a statement later in the month to the effect that such provocations on the part of the PKI would no longer be tolerated.¹²

In such stirring times, Sukarno felt impelled to sound out on a number of topics the views of Yani and of General Nasution, as Defence Minister the supreme military authority. So on May 24 therefore, he summoned the two to the Merdeka Palace. One of the subjects was the so-called “Nasakomisation”.¹³ To politicize the Armed Forces had been one of the long-cherished ambitions of the PKI leadership and the President put it to the test once again vis-à-vis these top military commanders. The army was understandably dead against such developments and, although Yani as a rule did not feel much like setting himself on this score up in opposition to Sukarno, this time he thought better of it and spoke out against Nasakomisation, although in a roundabout way, saying: “Nasakom refers to its spirit and not to division into compartments”.¹⁴ By which he meant that the idea—“the spirit”—was great, but in practice he wasn’t having any of it.

Then a few days later Sukarno suddenly calls together the commanders of all four armed services.¹⁵ It was the afternoon of May 26 and the President wished to know whether it was true that a group of army generals was plotting against him and, what is more, were doing so in cahoots with the country’s main foreign enemy at the time, the British.

¹² Crouch, p. 87, footnote 46, and p. 88.

¹³ “Nasakom” was the official “statephilosophy” of nationalism, religion and communism, as thought out by Sukarno. Nasakomisation within the Armed Forces was meant to introduce a sort of “political commissars” in leading military positions, comparable to what in the Soviet-Union and in communist China had been ordered in an early stage.

¹⁴ Berita Yudha, 25.5.1965; Crouch, p. 89.

¹⁵ Appendix I, p. 189; Dake II, p. 374, footnote 82.

Earlier that day, doubtless no coincidence, the First Deputy Prime Minister Subandrio who also headed the Central Intelligence Agency BPI had revealed for the first time, and before a communist audience of all people, the existence of a subversive "Council of Generals". He had asserted that the President had proof that these generals were working closely with the British Ambassador in Jakarta, Sir Andrew Gilchrist.¹⁶

The confrontation later that day led to an open squabble between the President and Yani.¹⁷ The army commander denied that either he or his colleagues were intriguing against Sukarno and most definitely were not acting in collaboration with Great Britain. He also poured scorn on the Bandar Betsy incident.

In the days that followed, there ensued between the President and the army commanders a kind of political ping-pong that wore on and that was reported upon by the press at length. At first Sukarno tried to pour oil on to troubled waters by stating on May 28, returning to the Nasakomisation theme and this time before a number of regional military commanders, that such a development was not meant to introduce commanders and deputy commanders of conflicting political colours, but rather to foster "the unity and spirit of Nasakom".¹⁸ In coming up with this verdict the President seemed, for the time being, to have reconciled himself with throwing overboard any kind of *military* Nasakomisation.¹⁹

But now Sukarno changed subject and began to pick with greater emphasis than before upon another burning issue that was smouldering away between him and the army commanders, namely the "Fifth Force". At the beginning of the year, Sukarno had been observing a low profile to the outside world on this score. Later on he showed more and more signs of sympathy for such a military instrument, at the same time giving the impression that bringing up the

¹⁶ The Council of Generals turned out to have been an invention, brought into the national discussion in the first months of 1965 by the PKI; see Appendix II, The Council of Generals. The so-called Gilchrist-letter was a forgery, also originating in PKI circles and as became clear later was prepared with help of the Czechoslovak secret service.

¹⁷ Appendix I, p. 190, footnote 18.

¹⁸ Berita Yudha, 29.5.1965; Crouch, p. 89; Dake II, p. 374, footnote 82.

¹⁹ Nasution was going to reject military Nasakomisation again later, in June, quite clearly stating that it was impossible "*for a force to work, if its commander must be from the PNI (Nationalist Party, author) with deputies from the religious and Communist groups*"; Berita Yudha, 16.6.1965; Crouch, p. 88.

matter was his way of exasperating the military.²⁰ So for instance, in his first lecture before the new National Defence Institute in Bandung he maintained that he considered arming the peasants and the workers “an important issue”, but that he had not yet accepted that idea.²¹ Then a few days after his stand-off with Yani, in the course of a second address to the National Defence Institute on May 31, he went one step further. Facing an audience of commanders of the army, navy, air force and police, he issued a warning to them that they should give serious consideration to “his proposal” to arm the peasants and workers, and come forward with their own suggestions.²² The “Fifth Force” obviously now stood high up on his agenda. The first to react was the Chief of the Air Force, Deputy Air Force Marshal Omar Dani, expounding upon what the President had been urging and announcing that the air force was in entire agreement with the President as regards such a “Fifth Force”.²³ Yani, on the other hand, kept back and for the moment did not adopt any stance, saying only that this matter was something Sukarno had to decide upon himself.²⁴

²⁰ Dake II, pp. 364, 365.

²¹ Antara News Agency, 5.20.1965; Radio Free Europe, 6.8.1965.

²² Antara News Agency, 5.31.1965.

²³ Mortimer, p. 382; Warta Bhakti, 6.5.1965.

²⁴ Harian Rakjat, 6.14.1965.

CHAPTER TWO

SUKARNO SUMMONS THE COMMUNIST LEADERS, AIDIT AND NJOTO, TO RETURN HOME

It was June 6, the Indonesian President's birthday. He wanted to celebrate it with a number of his closest and most trusted associates on Bali in his Tampaksiring Palace. Once again the conversation turned upon the possible existence of a Council of Generals, still an ill-defined group of army generals who were reputed to be in disagreement with Sukarno on a number of important points. The President suspected this group of being "disloyal" to him.¹ One of the persons present at the Bali conversation, Lieutenant General Sjafiudin, the highest ranking military man on the island, confirmed to Sukarno that among the army chiefs there were "*some who followed Bung Karno's policy and some who did not*".²

¹ Appendix II, The Council of Generals; Appendix VIII, The Widjanarko Report, pp. 354.18 and 355. We owe it among others to the testimony of Bambang Widjanarko, one of Sukarno's aides, that we can follow more in detail what happened in the center of Indonesia's ruling and not yet ruling circles at the time. Widjanarko was a marine colonel, who was interrogated as a witness between October 3 and November 4, 1970 appearing before members of the Kopkamtib's Central Investigation Team

The statements by Widjanarko were made within four months after the President's death in June 1970. At the time of his death Sukarno had no longer any official function and had been under house arrest in Jakarta, after having been stripped of his Presidency in 1967.

The Indonesian President, then out of office and under house arrest, died on June 21, 1970 in Jakarta in the Central Military Hospital RSPAD. See a.o. Giebels, Sukarno II, p. 488. From February 22, 1967 onward he had no longer official powers, only the title of President. Even the title he was to lose after the election of Suharto as Acting-President in March 1968.

The reports of this interrogation were published in the course of 1974; see *The Devious Dalang*, edited by Rahadi S. Karni and published by Interdoc Publishing House, The Hague, Netherlands, 1974.

Widjanarko had intimate knowledge of what happened at Sukarno's court, as he had been serving as Presidential aide from December 1960 to July 1967. And for one reason or the other—so far undisclosed—the authorities felt the need posthumously to look more closely into Sukarno's role and behaviour in the course of 1965–1966.

Widjanarko was pumped hard regarding a large number of very different subjects.

² Appendix VIII, p. 355.18c.

A commentator, after the event, claiming to have direct personal information, summed up the President's views at the time as follows:

*In view of the fact that, in Bung Karno's estimate of the situation, the generals Nasution, Yani, Harjono, S. Parman, Sutojo, Suprpto, Suwanto, Sukendro, et alia are disinclined to modify their strategic policy line, there remains no alternative but to remove them from their positions, replacing them by other high-ranking officers, more inclined to follow Bung Karno's line.*³

So, in the President's view these generals could be seen as to belong to the so-called Council of Generals. In the second half of 1965, the council was going to play an important role, albeit as a myth.⁴ But in the course of the birthday dinner of June 6 the President clearly concluded that at least there would have to be noticeable changes to the Supreme Army Command. He asked Sjafiudin to look more closely into the matter and to report back.⁵

Somewhat later, in July, the President was to provide a further indication that he wanted to do something about the recalcitrant army leadership, indicating for example that he wanted to replace Yani. Sukarno was said to have approached General Ibrahim Adjie, the commander of the Siliwangi Division in Western Java. Adjie was a stalwart anti-communist, but at the same time very much under the influence of Sukarno. "*If he helped to preserve order during the trying period after Yani and the other generals were arrested*", he would be eligible for Yani's post.⁶

The PKI as we saw had been urging Sukarno to introduce a "Fifth Force" and he was showing readiness to do so. At the same time, the Armed Forces' resistance to the idea hardened. In late June the Army Commanders Nasution and Yani were joined by Rear Admiral Martadinata, in command of the fleet, who finally came around opposing arming civilians.⁷ All held the view that they could agree to such a "Fifth Force", only if it were to remain "*within the Armed*

³ Unpublished note by Mr Ujeng Suwergana of June, 27th, 1971, p. 2, written for the then Indonesian ambassador in Washington, Dr Sudjatmoko, with the title: "Persoalan 'Dewan Jenderal' dan perentjana 'Gerakan 30 September'": Appendix VII, G. Ujeng Suwergana is described by Crouch, p. 81, footnote 30, as: "*a civilian working for the Armed Forces Intelligence Service*".

⁴ Appendix II.

⁵ From this moment on many highly placed officers, belonging to the inner circle of the President, would be requested to check on the "*loyalty*" of the army leadership; see Appendix II, p. 206 and Appendix VIII, p. 355.

⁶ CIA, pp. 240, 241.

⁷ Dake II, p. 385, footnote 18.

Forces.” In other words: only if the professional soldiers remained in command of such a people’s militia.⁸

The issue began to turn increasingly into a subject of dispute between the army and the President. Sukarno had never felt entirely certain of the unconditional support of the country’s Armed Forces and particularly as regards the army. For him a “Fifth Force” was a kind of litmus test of whether the army commanders would let him have his way, allowing him to rearrange the domestic balance of power away from the army and more in favour of the PKI, a move which was foremost in the President’s mind. Towards the end of July the disunity between the President and the military concerning all kinds of political and strategic matters boiled over. The PKI had embarked upon a large-scale propaganda offensive. It was demanding, *inter alia*, that the national communist party Murba, whose leaders stood very close to the army, should be banned. For a long time it had been vying with the PKI for Sukarno’s favour, but at the beginning of 1965 Aidit had proposed that the President should “*suspend*” it and this then happened. The “real” communists—as the PKI considered themselves—thought it now the moment to let Murba completely depart the scene.⁹ At the same time the PKI had again started to hammer on the need for a “Fifth Force”.¹⁰

Then finally the Commander of the Army Yani joined the fray concerning the “Fifth Force” in a decisive way. On July 27 he was on the island of Sulawesi for the purpose of installing in his post the new regional commander. In Makassar he was addressing a students’ meeting on the specific topic of arming the peasants and workers. He repeated the well-known but somewhat ambivalent standpoint to the effect that the army was not opposed, but such paramilitary groupings must not operate outside the military hierarchy and should be called into action only against the so-called “*nekolim*” i.e. foreign enemies.¹¹

⁸ Crouch, p. 91:

Thus the army leaders accepted the concept of ‘arming the peasants and workers’ as well as all the rest of the ‘people’, while remaining implacably opposed to the creation of a fifth force outside the control of the army.

See also Dake II, p. 385, footnote 18.

⁹ Harian Rakjat, 26.7.1965. It would last until September, before the President gave in to the demand of the PKI to proscribe the Murba Party completely, and in so doing to eliminate that party as rival of the PKI; Mortimer, pp. 376–378.

¹⁰ Dake II, p. 380.

¹¹ Berita Yudha, 29 and 30.7.1965; BBC, 30.7.1965. With thanks to Crouch, p. 120, footnote 46, for correcting my text in Dake I and II, p. 381.

Yani's reaction a few days later, on July 30, when he was once more back in Jakarta, was more to the point and important. He summoned his General Staff, together with a number of regional commanders, to attend a meeting in one of the conference rooms of the Senajan Stadium. Yani again informed his audience in no uncertain terms, that the army wanted nothing that smacked of "organisational" or military Nasakomisation.¹² This was nothing new, but what was new was that Yani, speaking obviously for the whole army, rejected a "Fifth Force" in any form or shape whatever and in a foursquare, unambivalent way. The existing Civil Defence Corps, Hansip, that stood under the army's supervision was sufficient, Yani argued.¹³

This completely clear verdict before a select military audience in the capital, ran entirely counter to Sukarno's policy, or at all events his authority.

By convening the meeting at Senajan stadium, of which Sukarno had of course been immediately informed, Yani had made his decision official army policy and, for Sukarno, identified himself completely with Nasution, giving further proof of dangerous cohesion in the highest army circles.¹⁴

The net result was that, finally, the army had spoken out *en masse* against arming civilians that were not counted as under its authority. In this way, Yani and most of his colleagues on the Army General Staff, had publicly taken up the cudgels against both PKI and—more pertinent—against the President.¹⁵ After this, we are told, the army leaders were to look upon this meeting as of major, even decisive significance in the already fraught and tense relationship between the President and the army leaders at the time.¹⁶

The President must immediately have understood the significance of Yani's statement and have taken it to mean a clear challenge on

¹² For "organizational" Nasakomisation see above I.1. p. 7, App. I. p. 194, footnote 20.; "spiritual" Nasakomisation, a term introduced earlier by Yani, was supposed to foot the bill and be enough; Indonesian Herald, 25.5.1965; Berita Yudha, 25.5.1965; Dake II, p. 374 footnote 78; Crouch, pp. 88, 89. Sukarno accepted that the "spiritual" version of Nasakomisation would do; Berita Yudha, 29.5.1965.

¹³ Dake II, pp. 381, 382.

¹⁴ Dake II, p. 381.

¹⁵ Crouch, p. 93 describes the situation:

By the middle of 1965 the army leaders, Yani as emphatically as Nasution, had decided to stand firm against the challenge that they faced, not only from the PKI, but also from the President.

¹⁶ Information given the author by Major General Otto Bojoh during an interview in March 1972. Bojoh was at that time serving within the Army's Strategic Command Kostrad.

the part of the army leaders, who now stood united against him. In this connection, the confrontation with the army became for Sukarno all the more a direct and personal attack, because it was Yani himself, the venerated army commander, who had publicly turned against him. In any case Sukarno gave the impression, if his behaviour in the period immediately after July 30 is anything to go by, as if he had been stung by a wasp.

SUKARNO'S SUMMONS TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERS TO RETURN HOME

The very day after the confrontation between the President and the Army General Staff, on July 31, Sukarno rather impulsively decided to summon number one and number three of the PKI leadership, Aidit and Njoto, to return immediately from abroad. These two leaders had, as Sukarno's retinue, followed him in June to Algiers to attend an Afro-Asian Summit Conference, planned for the end of that month.¹⁷ Subandrio was given the task of getting hold of both, as he was later able to confirm.¹⁸ It seems that, at that particular moment, Aidit was in Beijing and Njoto in Moscow. According to friends traveling with them Aidit and Njoto were supposed to have been in the Russian capital simultaneously, but Njoto did not feel like being together with Aidit in Moscow. That had to do with a private affair of Njoto.¹⁹ Therefore he had lingered behind for a

¹⁷ The trip to Algiers did not proceed smoothly for the large Indonesian delegation, arriving with a fleet of brandnew Mercedes Benz limo's. The Indonesian President had hoped to play—together with the Chinese Foreign Minister Chou-en-lai—a leading role during the summit. But as a matter of fact this Afro-Asian summit conference, although planned for Juli 29th, still had to be decided upon during a pre-conference of the Foreign Ministers on Juli 25th. A few days before that day however a military coup d'état deposed President Ben Bella. Full chaos erupted, even to the extent that the meeting of the Foreign Ministers failed to be held, let alone the get-together of the topdogs. The summit was than postponed to November 1965. This turned out to be a delay *ad calendas graecas*, due to what happened in Jakarta on October 1st. See a.o. Anak Agung, pp. 533–541.

¹⁸ Subandrio kept insisting that the President had ordered him to summon *both* PKI leaders; see Proceedings of the Subandrio trial, 9th session. Official code telegrams originating from the Indonesian Foreign Ministry and dated 7.31.1965 support Subandrio's version; Dake II, p. 387, footnotes 42 and 43.

¹⁹ In Moscow Aidit had meant to lecture Njoto on an affair with a Russian interpreter, that Njoto was supposed to have, and to confront the two. Njoto's Politburo colleagues had already discussed this and even considered dropping him from their ranks. What happened during August and September saved him from this fate, but

while in the Netherlands.²⁰ Meanwhile, Aidit had travelled alone to the Soviet capital and from there via Central Asia to Beijing.

There is an easy explanation for the President calling back Njoto. He was Minister Without Portfolio in the Presidential Government and in those turbulent months of 1965 had been a reliable support for Sukarno. He was a man with supreme intellectual qualities and Sukarno wanted to have him around. His ministerial function, however nominal, meant it was not exceptional for the President to want him to return to Jakarta. He had been travelling around abroad long enough and had to help the President write the address of August 17.²¹ As to Aidit however it was not so obvious what calling him back meant. He did not have any government function and to recall in this way the top man of a political party, the PKI to boot, was rather exceptional.

Later, on October 1 and after things had gone awry, Sukarno must have seen it this way also himself. In a written statement, issued at the time of the trial of ex-Deputy Prime Minister Subandrio in December 1966, Sukarno therefore denied giving Subandrio any mandate to call back from abroad, not just Njoto but also Aidit. Subandrio during that trial stubbornly repeated that the task given him by the President had been to recall both leaders to Jakarta and not just Njoto.²² The significance of all this has to be sought in the President's subsequent desire to be associated as little as possible with the PKI, and least of all with its leader Aidit.²³

However urgent the Presidential summons of July 31, the two leaders did not at first do much about changing their travel plans. Both received Subandrio's telegram one day after its dispatch, Aidit in Beijing and Njoto in Moscow. Their original plan had been that, when Njoto would have reached Beijing, they would then after some days fly together to Hanoi on August 7 and only after that they would head for Jakarta. For the flight from Hanoi, Mao Tse Tung had laid on a special aircraft.

this all turned out to have been cold comfort due to October 1st and thereafter. See also below III.12, p. 159.

²⁰ Njoto was more in particular sighted in that country in all sort of bookshops and was reported to have taken with him a great number of bags and trunks full of books.

²¹ Statement made by Subandrio during the trial against him; see the Proceedings of the 9th session of that trial.

²² Dake II, p. 387, footnote 42. See below III.13, p. 168.

²³ See below, III.12, p. 163.

On August 1 Aidit had still made no change to his travel plans.²⁴ This remained so until certainly the morning of August 4.²⁵ It was not until then that Aidit dropped his original travel plans to return via North Vietnam. As agreed previously Mao Tse Tung received him on August 5.²⁶ Then, on August 7, Aidit left the Chinese capital in the special Chinese Government aircraft that had been supposed to take him first to Hanoi.²⁷ But now, instead, Aidit flew directly to Jakarta.

From all this it is obvious to conclude that at some stage in the course of August 4 something must have happened that caused first Aidit and then Njoto to change their minds, inducing them to return to Jakarta as quickly as possible. At all events, on August 7 Aidit arrived at Kemajoran Airport Jakarta at around midday.

²⁴ Code telegram of the Indonesian Embassy in Beijing to Subandrio, nr. 164/PEK/VIII/'65, dated August, 3d, 1965; Dake II, p. 382.

²⁵ At 10.15 a.m. on August 4th, Lukman, the second man of the PKI leadership, received a telegram in Jakarta from Aidit. From this telegram Lukman learned that Aidit and Njoto still had the intention to make a stopover in Hanoi and would only thereafter proceed to Jakarta; Dake II, p. 388, footnote 50.

²⁶ Yung Chang, Mao, the Unknown Story, pp. 606–608, reports on that talk, quoting the leader of the Japanese Communist Party at the time, Kenji Miyamoto. According to Kenji Aidit had always been much more activist than he, Kenji. Therefore Mao had found Aidit a willing partner in schemes to take power in Indonesia, and supposedly this also had been the case during the talks on August 5 1965. When then the “30 September Movement” was launched later that year, Mao had called that at first “the rising of the Communist Party of Indonesia”, so Kenji. Then Yung introduces Latief who during a BBC interview in August 2000 had put the blame of the failure of the September coup on Suharto, whom Latief said he had informed in advance. Mao however, according to Yung, saw the PKI as the cause of the failed coup, as the PKI “had had a blind faith in Sukarno and had hesitated and had not really fought for the victory”. Yung gives her own interpretation of what happened in Indonesia in September–October 1965, blaming in turn Mao “because he had fired the starting gun for the action out of his own, egoistical motives. He just could not wait to score a victory once his dream to become the leader of the Afro-Asian world had fizzled out”. We know that on the 5th of August neither Mao nor Aidit had any inkling of what Sukarno had been up to the day before: calling upon Untung to get moving against the army leadership and then being hit by a slight stroke. So no doubt Mao will have set on Aidit during that August 5 talk to get cracking finally and be more bold etc., but there is no reason whatsoever to give Mao any particular share in or credit for the homegrown conspiracy in which Aidit and the PKI leadership ventured after leaving Beijing that August 5. For the role of Latief see below: Appendix V: Suharto and the 30 September Movement.

²⁷ Njoto took a flight directly from Moscow to Jakarta, arriving there on August 9; Crouch, p. 109; *Harian Rakjat*, August 9 and 10, 1965.

CHAPTER THREE

AUGUST 4

In the summer of that year of 1965, so fateful for the Indonesian President, the threads from which his fate was to hang were being spun. But of course Sukarno himself was active as usual in trying to steer that destiny, expecting and hoping that he would remain on top. We have seen how, in the course of May and June, he had become increasingly angry with a number of army generals, who did not wish to go along with the policy that he saw laid out before him. Among other things, there was the Confrontation with Malaysia, which the President deemed was not running true enough to target. Then there was cooperation with Red China, which he thought would bring great things. Finally, he thought there should be greater readiness to go into action in the country itself.

What it really boiled down to was that Sukarno considered, that he did not enjoy enough support on the part of the army. In the heady atmosphere of those days, this had taken on ever-greater proportions and the President had begun to see the behaviour of a number of members of the General Staff as “*disloyal*”.¹

Among the considerable divergences of views between Sukarno and the generals, there was one that irritated him most. This was that their ideas ran counter to his as regards arming the peasants and workers, creating the “*Fifth Force*” we have been talking about. This would enable him to change the balance of power to the army’s disadvantage, thus giving him more scope. At least that was what he thought.

Then, on July 30, Yani speaking for the army had announced bluntly, without mincing his words, that they would not brook the creation of an independent “*Fifth Force*”. The President as a consequence felt the urgent need to consult the leadership of the PKI, in which he saw the only counterweight to the recalcitrant stance of the army. This is why he instructed the next day already Subandrio

¹ See above I.2. p. 11.

to recall PKI-Chairman Aidit and Politburomember Njoto from their travels in Africa, Europe and Asia.

While reconstructing the events at the end of July and the beginning of August, we have seen that the conclusion must be that, in those days, Sukarno had become convinced it was time to take action against the leadership of the army. But even before Aidit turned up again in Jakarta on 7 August Sukarno already had decided that something should be done. He felt he must restore his authority over the army, but did not yet know how best to go about it.

In this connection, he was sure he would find support and ideas from a man like Subandrio, who for a long time had been fomenting for his own reasons against the army leaders. But it was of course the PKI, and more precisely Aidit and Njoto, that the President thought could be the most helpful in this respect.

The initiative in those days was clearly on the President's side, but the thrust that initiative was going to take has come to light only years later. So we now know that on August 4 the President summoned the Commander of the Tjakrabirawa Guard Regiment, Brigadier General Sabur and a Bataljon Commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Untung, to report to him. It was early morning in the Merdeka Palace and what took place has been reported in 1970 by Widjanarko who made the following statement to Kopkamtib on the subject, after having been confronted with statements by various other witnesses.²

*The statements of the witnesses are correct. Ex-Lt.Col. Untung arrived in the bedroom of Bung Karno in the palace on August 4th, 1965. As I recall it, ex-Lt.Col. Untung was not alone. He was accompanied by Gen. Sabur. Bung Karno asked Lt.Col. Untung if he was prepared to accept orders that measures should be taken against the army generals who were disloyal. Untung replied that he was. I no longer recall who the others were who were informed of this conversation, except Gen. Sabur.*³

According to another source, Untung's actual words upon receiving the order from the President on August 4 and accepting it, were even more significant:

² Komando Operasi Pemulihan Keamanan Dan Ketertiban for short Kopkamtib was the Command for Restoration of Law and Order, invested on October 10, 1965 by Major General Suharto. Kopkamtib was meant to enable Suharto to fulfill the order, which he and the army leadership around him had forced Sukarno on 2 October to concede, i.e. to "restore law and order".

³ Appendix VIII, p. 357.21a; see also Dake II p. 486.

*If you let us take measures against the generals, I will execute any order of the Great Leader.*⁴

The officer in question Untung belonged to the Presidential Guard Regiment Tjakrabirawa that years ago had been put together for that special purpose. It was composed from units of all the Indonesian Armed Forces, the army, the navy, the marines, the air force and the police.

Untung had been detached to Jakarta since only a few months. He came from the Central Java Diponegoro Division and enjoyed a good reputation as a field officer. He had been decorated, *inter alia*, for his activities in the course of the military campaign waged around West Irian. In addition, but this was something that did not become apparent until subsequently, he had enjoyed good relations with ranking members of the PKI.

More particularly, he had been in contact since his transfer to Jakarta with a party member who answered to the name, among others, of Walujo. In the Special Bureau of the PKI, under the direct supervision of PKI Chairman Aidit, Walujo was the No. 3. Sjam Kamaruzaman was No. 1 and Pono No. 2.⁵

The conversation between Sukarno, Sabur and Untung must have taken place in the early morning of August 4. Widjanarko testified as we saw that the two officers were received by Sukarno in his bedroom.⁶ Anyhow it can certainly not have been later than 8.30. For official documents available show that it was exactly half past eight, when another of Sukarno's aides, Police Commissioner Mangil, notified a team of Chinese doctors who were already sometime in Jakarta that they should hold themselves in readiness.⁷ Normally, this team

⁴ Information received by the author from general Nasution, March 1972. Nasution related then that Untung, condemned to death because of his role in the 1st of October affair, had used the same words just before his execution. Until the last moment Untung had shown to have interpreted the request by the President (on 8.4.1965 and thereafter, author) as a military order. Untung, so Nasution, must right till the end have remained convinced that the acts of which he had been accused and for which he had been condemned had been in accordance with Sukarno's wishes. Nasution told the author then that Untung's execution had taken place "*in the beginning of 1966*". Suharto is reported to have said in September 1968 that Untung (and with him three other military leaders of the coup) "*had been executed in December 1967*"; CIA, footnote on p. 97.

⁵ CIA, pp. 102, 103.

⁶ Appendix VIII: p. 357.21a; also Dake II, p. 486.

⁷ Appendix III: Sukarno's health, p. 227.

of Chinese doctors treating the President daily would turn up in the afternoon. But this time Mangil's summons had clearly great urgency and led to the team turning up at the palace towards the end of the morning.

We know further that what went wrong with Sukarno that morning of August 4 was that he suffered a slight stroke, as a result of which he could not speak clearly, nor move about easily.⁸ It is totally unlikely that the President would have asked Sabur and Untung the crucial question about taking action against the leadership of the army after he had suffered that slight brain haemorrhage, i.e. after 8.30. He then could for some time no longer speak clearly and that fact no doubt would have been mentioned by Widjanarko in his testimony.

More obvious it seems is that the President had his conversation with the two men and then began to feel unwell. It is also quite probable that not only Sukarno fell ill subsequent to the conversation, but also because of that conversation. The subject was for him clearly a very important and sensitive one. So Sukarno might have worked himself into an emotional state, was no longer his true self and fell victim to the stroke that deprived him of clear speech and ease of movement. This reconstruction of events dovetails in also with the diagnosis reached by the President's Indonesian doctors later that morning. Quite a few of them turned out in order to be able to draw conclusions on the subject of Sukarno's condition. The first one to carry out a check on him was Dr Leimena, the country's Second Deputy Prime Minister and himself a physician. As soon as the rumour circulated that something was the matter with the President's health, he had gone directly to the palace.⁹ Subsequently, Sukarto's regular Indonesian team, Dr Rubiono Kertopati and Dr Siwabessi, reached the Merdeka Palace. And at the end of the morning Chinese doctors, summoned by Mangil, likewise showed up.¹⁰

From two expert-witnesses, namely Kertopati and Siwabessi, we know that what happened to the President on August 4 was a short interruption in the blood supply to the brain.¹¹ These two Indonesian

⁸ See above I.2. p. 17. and Appendix III, p. 228.

⁹ Interview by the author with Dr Leimena, March 1972; Dake II, p. 388, footnote 51.

¹⁰ Dake II, p. 388, footnote 51.

¹¹ Dake, p. 388, footnote 51 en p. 398, footnote 10, and Appendix III, p. 3.

doctors who rushed to his assistance quickly concluded that after a few days rest Sukarno would be fully recovered.¹²

For the President's direct associates, namely, those who were present that morning in the palace, the medical reality after the first check by experts should have been soon clear enough. What had happened to the President was annoying, but something that did not necessarily need to have serious consequences.

The verdict in the world outside turned out to be entirely different. Clearly, at first, wildly different rumours circulated. Their main characteristic was that they were vastly exaggerated or even direct fabrications. What was even more dangerous was that from one quarter, namely, the PKI leadership, this was intentional because they had something up their sleeves.¹³

In this connection, it is just as well to mention the fact that on August 7, when Aidit hastily returned to Jakarta in the special aircraft placed at his disposal by the Chinese Government, he was accompanied by two Chinese doctors, the neurologists Dr Wang Hsin Te and Dr Tan Min Hsun. Both specialists had been sent by Beijing not only, one must assume, out of humanitarian or professional interest, but also because of the importance of Sukarno and his health to the Chinese communists.¹⁴ In itself therefore, this great medical interest for the Indonesian President's wellbeing was not so surprising. Within the country Sukarno was the central pivot around which Indonesia turned and abroad he obviously as well played a leading role.

Looked at from all sides, the health of the Republic's President was naturally an important and indeed supreme political factor. So it was quite understandable that, on the morning of August 4, there at once ensued some panic especially among the aides to the President present in the Palace. The information, not to mention the rumours, regarding what had happened to Sukarno, quickly spread throughout Jakarta. So the Air Force Commodore, Sri Muljono Herlambang, immediately informed his superior, the Chief of the Air Force, Deputy Air Force Marshal Omar Dani. He decided to act promptly and already the next day, August 5, founded an organisation that bore the name "*Protect the President*".¹⁵

¹² Dake II, p. 398, footnote 10.

¹³ See below I.4, p. 29.

¹⁴ Zie Appendix III: pp. 227 and 228.

¹⁵ According to the proceedings of the trial against Omar Dani:

In the critical atmosphere that obtained among the Armed Forces and, more particularly, between the air force and the army, Dani and his close associates stood very close to Sukarno. This was to become apparent also from the events that characterised the weeks to come. In addition the leadership of the air force maintained not only very close relations with the President, but was at the same time much under the influence of the PKI.¹⁶ Many middle-ranking officers belonged, either openly or secretly, to the party.

The Army, too, was informed directly from the Palace, and Army Commander Yani called his staff together on August 5 for an assessment of the situation.

No one on the outside knew, during the first few hours after the President's collapse, exactly what was the matter with him. For the time being his direct associates feared the worst. Sukarno was not known as someone leading a healthy life and he had already before suffered from all kinds of complaints.¹⁷ However, the uncertainty as we saw was not to last very long. His Indonesian personal physicians at any rate quickly had reached the conclusion that matters would soon right themselves.¹⁸

The conclusions of the Chinese doctors, first those who were already in Jakarta on August 4 and then the two others who turned up on the 7th, are difficult to be sure of.¹⁹ It is probable that in the course of August 4 the group of Chinese specialists who were already in the country and who had been able to examine the President that same day, immediately informed the government in Beijing about Sukarno's state of health.

... the accused gave a briefing to a number of officials of the air force on the illness of the President, saying that he feared a physical clash between the PKI and the army once the President had died. For that reason the accused ordered to organize the action Protect the President (Operasi Utuh, author).

¹⁶ Crouch, p. 84 sees the situation as follows:

While there is no evidence to show that Omar Dani and other senior air force officers were ideologically committed to the PKI, their antagonism toward the army had placed them beside the PKI as supporters of the President against the army leadership, and by June 1965 air force leaders were discussing the possibility of a confrontation between the air force and the PKI on one side and the other branches of the Armed Forces on the other.

See also the declaration of Dani during the trial against him in 1966.

¹⁷ Appendix III, pp. 224 ff.

¹⁸ Dake II, p. 383 en p. 388, footnote 51.

¹⁹ Appendix III: pp. 228 ff. and below I.4, p. 30.

Their provisional opinion on this subject must have been rather alarming. For as we saw the government in Beijing decided, in order to be on the safe side, to send two specialists to Jakarta.

Aidit, for his part, being informed on his turn by his Chinese hosts, must have concluded, on August 4 or the next day at the latest, that he should hurry back to the Indonesian capital and forget the intermediate stop in Hanoi. From the same point of view Njoto must have come back directly from Moscow after having had word about Sukarno being ill from Beijing or Jakarta.

What Indonesia's leader really intended, when he sent those urgent telegrams to Aidit and Njoto we know. As a result of the army brass' obstinate attitude and particularly that of his former blue-eyed boy, Army Chief Yani, the President now felt he had enough of people crossing his path and, in one way or another, felt he must intervene. To this end, he urgently needed the advice and help of the two most important and effective leaders of the PKI.

In describing the events leading up to the affair of October 1 the conclusion is frequently drawn that Aidit and Njoto were both summoned home by the President *because* of Sukarno's ill-health. This conclusion does not hold water as we see. Indeed, quite unconnected with his sudden physical collapse on August 4, Sukarno had himself already on July 31 instructed Subandrio to order both PKI leaders back home without further delay.

The only effect Sukarno's illness had on Aidit and Njoto was that they did no longer run around according to their own timeschedule, but understood that they better be in Jakarta before things there would get out of hand.

CHAPTER FOUR

UNTUNG GOES TO WORK SUMMONING THE PKI TO HELP

As we have seen, early on the morning of August 4, the Indonesian President held a crucial conversation with two officers of his presidential guards. One of them was Brigadier General Sabur whom we shall be encountering further on in our account. However, in those early days of August, it was above all Lieutenant-Colonel Untung who was to devote his attention to the tactical execution of the President's so-called order.

At that particular moment even Sukarno, let alone Untung, could not have imagined exactly in his mind's eye what "*action against disloyal army generals*" actually ought to take. However, Sukarno having spurred him into action, Untung seems to have done what seemed to him the most obvious and quickly got in touch with his PKI contact, Walujo.¹ In the past, Untung had had direct contacts with a number of cadre members of the PKI. Recently Walujo had become his control, as one described it in the jargon of the day. As a result, Walujo had become Untung's most important link with the PKI. Walujo, was not a lead figure in the party. He was a member of the Biro Chusus or Special Bureau that Aidit set up in the autumn of 1964. Its task was to establish and maintain networks, more particularly in military circles.² The Bureau had also to carry out secret assignments for the PKI's chairman.³

Its founding the year before had been at the suggestion of Chou en Lai, China's Minister for Foreign Affairs at the time, as later turned out to be the case. Together with other top Chinese communists, Chou had encouraged Aidit to set it up. According to the

¹ Sugiarto, p. 375, quotes Walujo as witness in the trial against Pono, one of the three most important members of the PKI Special Bureau.

² Walujo specialized in covert contacts with the Indonesian Air Force. O.a Deputy Air Marshall Omar Dani and Air Force Colonel Heru Atmodjo were Walujo's "*contacts*". In Sukarno's Guard Regiment Tjakrabirawa Walujo used to steer not only Lieutenant Colonel Untung, but also 1st Lieutenant Dul Arief; CIA, pp. 104, 105.

³ CIA, p. 101.

Chinese, it would be an excellent way of conducting any clandestine activities the party might wish to engage in. It could be kept entirely separate from the official party.

Aidit placed a close aide of his called Sjam, sometimes known as Kamaruzaman, in charge of it. The Bureau's no. 2 was a man called Pono and Walujo was no. 3. This Special Bureau was to play a leading role in preparations for the October 1 affair.⁴

Preparations soon started when Untung told Walujo in confidence about the "mission" the President had entrusted him with. "*Towards the beginning of August 1965*", Untung approached Walujo with some news: the President had told him a number of generals were acting contrary to his policy. "*The President had asked Untung if he dared to take measures against these generals*", Walujo would tell later.⁵ Walujo at the time had told Sjam immediately about Untung's visit and both understood the crucial importance of the statements made by Sukarno's presidential guard officer.

In his turn, of course, Sjam wanted to inform Aidit as quickly as possible of the situation in the palace and Sukarno's anger regarding the disobedient army generals. However, he had to wait until the PKI chairman had come home from his travels abroad. As we have seen, this was to be on August 7, when he arrived in Jakarta from Beijing in a Chinese Government aircraft.

Of course, when he had returned Aidit wanted to find out what had been going in the Indonesian capital in the course of his long absence abroad. First of all for him came the uncertainty about what had actually happened to the President.⁶ Aidit had heard rumours about the President's illness and wanted now to ascertain the details. Immediately upon arrival, he called a meeting of the party leadership, the Politburo, for the afternoon of August 7. There ensued an initial sitting from 14.00 to 16.00.⁷

⁴ See below I.5, pp. 43 and 45.

⁵ Sugiarto, p. 375. This declaration ties in with the statement made by Widjanarko, Appendix VIII, p. 357.

⁶ Appendix III, pp. 228 and 229.

⁷ Notosusanto, p. 119. According to Njono during his trial in February 1966 all the members of the Politburo were present: not only Aidit and Njono himself, but also Lukman, Njoto, Sudisman, Sakirman and Anwar Sanusi. The presence of Njoto he must have mentioned in error, as Njoto came back from his trip abroad on August, 9th; see also below Appendix III, p. 229.

This first session was to be followed in the course of the same month by a second on the 16th⁸ and a third on the 28th. All three meetings, as we shall see, turned out to be of supreme importance for the party's success or decline, decline more than anything else, since the third meeting led the party directly to the abyss and into total disintegration.

The upshot of the internal party discussion was that a very close link was to develop between the course the leadership of the PKI took during the next few weeks, and what the President undertook behind the scenes. The party's leadership was, in fact, simply a trio consisting of Aidit, Lukman and Njoto that let itself to be drawn into close cooperation with Sukarno. A good month later this cooperation, or rather conspiracy, turned out to have become irrevocable for both sides. It led to shipwreck for both, albeit somewhat later for the one than the other. However, in those heady days of August 1965, this was certainly not something the participants could have foreseen.

In the course of the first Politburo session, the discussion centred mainly upon what was the matter with Sukarno, what was known by whom and what this or that party might be planning.⁹ We know from Aidit's accounts that, during the meeting of August 7,

*the problem is actually to be the first to be informed of the President's death, since whoever knows about it first will be able to take the initiative.*¹⁰

At that time Aidit still knew nothing about what was much more important than Sukarno's presumed imminent physical decline, namely, his break with the Army Command under Yani.

Aidit was not to hear anything about this until the evening of the same day, i.e. some hours after the first Politburo meeting. Sjam then came to tell him about what Walujo had mentioned a few days

⁸ Notosusanto, p. 119, tells us that this second session was held "some days after August 17th, 1965"; in the trial against Politburo member Njono candidate-member of the Politburo Peris Pardede mentioned "some days before August 17th". Neither of the two are correct, as the second session took place on August 16th. See f.i. a declaration by the Politburo, published in *Harian Rakjat* on 8.17.1965 and *Dake II*, p. 391 and 398, footnote 11.

⁹ Notosusanto, p. 119:

The first of the above-mentioned meetings was informative in nature. D.N. Aidit stated that the most important concern was the danger of the coup d'état by the 'Generals Council'.

¹⁰ Testimony by Peris Pardede, Proceedings of the Njono trial, 2.15.1966.

before, namely that Untung had approached Walujo with the information that the President wanted him, Untung, to take some action, the details of which were not quite clear, against a number of army generals.¹¹ Untung's unexpected information was, of course, worth its weight in gold, but there was the other sensitive item, namely, Sukarno's state of health which was of considerable concern to Aidit.

In order to find out with his own eyes how the President was feeling, Aidit went on August 8 to the palace in Bogor. There, Sukarno was recovering from the slight stroke he had suffered on August 4. Aidit talked directly with the President in order to obtain his own impression of Sukarno's state of health.¹² He did not interrogate the Indonesian doctors who were present in the palace, but instead asked their Chinese colleagues for their opinion.¹³ In the course of their conversation with Aidit they made outwardly an impression of great gravity, as witnesses inform us.¹⁴ What they actually told the PKI leader and what their diagnosis was, is not known and probably never will be.

What we do know is what we have already seen, which is what the Indonesian doctors concluded fairly soon after Sukarno's malaise on August 4, namely, that there were no serious consequences to be feared.¹⁵ It is also known that Sukarno did actually get better quite quickly and was devoting all his energies to preparing his annual feat of oratory, namely, the address he always held on August 17.¹⁶

Aidit must have known all this and seen it for himself. Nevertheless, in the course of a conversation on August 13 he gave Sjam, the Head of the Special Bureau, to understand that Sukarno was very ill and that he thought that a Council of Generals was busy weigh-

¹¹ Sugiarto, p. 375. Sjam is not very precise about that date, as in general with dates. The return of Aidit from Beijing he puts at "approximately August 10th" and his first talk with Aidit then on "about August 12th".

¹² Statement by Dr Sukaman, one of Sukarno's personal physicians, Proceedings Subandrio trial, 9th session; Crouch, pp. 109, 110; Harian Rakjat, August 9, 10 en 11, 1965. On August 8th Aidit visited Sukarno alone, on August 10th he was accompanied by Njoto who had returned from Moscow the day before.

¹³ Appendix III, p. 228. Dake II, p. 391 en 398, footnote 10.

¹⁴ Information from Nasution and originally from one of Sukarno's personal doctors, Dr Siwabessy; Dake II, p. 398, footnote 10.

¹⁵ Appendix III: p. 229.

¹⁶ This was the speech with the title Takari—Reach for the Stars—, a rather exuberant text, written mainly by Njoto, with a length of 34 pages and "brought" by Sukarno on August 17th in a nothing-the-matter style and with a lot of his usual brio.

ing up the situation.¹⁷ Walujo, when heard as a witness in the trial against his colleague, Pono, came up with more details. He stated that Aidit had told Sjam he expected a coup on the part of the generals round about October 5, upon the occasion of the annual Army Day. Sjam and his Bureau should set up a plan in order to remain a step ahead of the generals, so Aidit.¹⁸

On August 13, the PKI's Special Bureau made a start with its anti-generals plot.¹⁹ Its main lines were as follows:

- *the President was in a bad state of health and it was possible in the short term that he would no longer be able to govern on account of either illness or death,*
- *a number of army generals were considering a pre-emptive coup, in order to place the PKI before a fait accompli,*
- *there were officers, such as Untung, who were critical of the situation and who enjoyed support from Sukarno, as yet unclear, who favoured action against the generals,*
- *the important thing was, therefore, to remain a step ahead of the army generals.*

Aidit and the Special Bureau knew perfectly well that the first and second premises were not true and that the third was a weak link.²⁰ This meant that the fourth would involve risks. However, this was compensated for by the fact that the President did share one important goal with the PKI, namely, that in one way or the other the anti-communist generals who headed the army had to be put aside and made harmless.

In this way, there came into being an intrigue on the part of the communist leadership, whereby Aidit and the members of the Special Bureau were to keep mum on the subject within the Party itself.²¹

¹⁷ This was told by Politburo-member Sudisman during his trial; Proceedings of the Sudisman trial, 1967. The precise date is not clear; Sjam mentions August 10th and then again August 12th and also “*from August 8 to 12*”; Sugiarto, pp. 368 and 373; and Proceedings of the Sjam trial, 2d session, 1968.

¹⁸ This comes from Walujo as quoted by Sugiarto, p. 375. Maybe Sudisman knew more than he wanted to show during his trial, but as Aidit used to play his cards close to his chest it is very likely that only he and the three main members of the Biro Chusus were fully informed on the outline of the budding conspiracy(s).

¹⁹ Sugiarto, p. 375.

²⁰ Testimony of Peris Pardede, Proceedings of the Njono trial, 1966; Notosusanto, p. 134. Sudisman had told Pardede around August 26th that “*the progressive officers were not particularly strong ideologically . . . because they never had had any training by the party*”, but nevertheless Aidit wanted to work with them.

²¹ Lukman and Njoto, number 2 and 3 in the PKI hierarchy and with Aidit

If something were, nevertheless, to leak out of the select circle of persons in the know, it should only be isolated parts of the plan. All of these parts were either severely exaggerated, such as the President's illness. Or thought up, such as the sinister and concrete plans of a so-called Council of Generals. Or they were by itself too dangerous to be known outside a very small and select circle, such as the initiatory and active role that the President was apparently willing to play.

In all this Aidit preferred to conduct affairs via his Special Bureau in order to keep all the threads in his own hand. When, as we saw, he summoned Sjam on August 13 to him and told him about Sukarno's health as he saw it—or wanted it to be seen—he also issued instructions that Sjam and his subordinates, Pono and Walujo, should set up a plausible scenario for the plot. The as yet ill-defined Sukarno-Untung combine should also be made to slot into this.

Sjam did not let the grass grow under his feet and the day after his talks with Aidit he was already discussing with Pono and Walujo what was already then described as the Aidit Plan.²² Sjam also, during the meeting with his two assistants, provided them with the names of the members of the Council of Generals who on October 5 were said to be planning an anti-Sukarno coup.²³

Then, on August 15, Sjam and his Secret Bureau summoned together a number of "cooperative" officers.²⁴ Apart from Untung himself, these were Colonel Latif, the Commander of the 1st Territorial

together PKI's "executive committee", probably had extensive, but not full knowledge of what was afoot. The other Politburo-members like Sudisman and Njono must have been even much less informed. CIA, p. 101, runs the following paragraph:

Even the existence of the Special Bureau was a secret within the PKI; it is not exactly clear who, besides Aidit, knew anything about it. . . judging from his interrogation report, Sudisman did not. Neither Njono . . . nor Peris Pardede . . . appears to have had specific knowledge of the Special Bureau.

²² Dake II, p. 392. Sugiarto, p. 371, writes that Sjam, heard as witness in the Pono trial in January 1971, declared that he, Sjam, together with Walujo, had received the instruction "to set up a plan for the Movement".

²³ Proceedings of the Sjam trial, 7th session. Sjam then spoke about eight members of the Council of Generals: the seven mentioned earlier already plus Brigadier-General Sukendro. He however left in time for Beijing and so saved his neck.

²⁴ Dake II, p. 392, calls the 15th as the most probable date. Notosusanto does not know it precisely and mentions that the first meeting was held "sometime before August 17"; Notosusanto, p. 13. Crouch, p. 110, speaks of a first meeting of the Untung Group on September 6th. He follows here the CIA-report that also mentions that date as the "first full session"; CIA, p. 112. Unclear is on what basis this date is mentioned.

Infantry Brigade; Air Force Major Sujono, the commander of the guards of Halim Air Force Base and Captain Wahjudi, acting commander of an air force battalion.²⁵ They first of all had to make acquaintance with one another. Further they talked about several current topics such as the President's illness and how "*contra-revolutionaries*" would be trying to seize an advantage, by practising a coup and what those present at the meeting could do in order to forestall this.²⁶

At the first Politburo meeting on August 7 Aidit had already announced that there would be a second session at which he would come up with rather more concrete proposals. That meeting took place on August 16, the day after the PKI's Special Bureau had met for the first time with some of the military conspirators, whom we shall call here the Untung Group.²⁷

At the meeting Aidit had a whole agenda to work through. First of all, of course, there was the question once again of how ill Sukarno really was. The PKI chairman said that, since his return from abroad, he had spoken to the President upon two occasions. This must have been on August 8 when he was alone with the President, and on the 10th, when Njoto²⁸ had accompanied him. In this way, Aidit could give the impression that he had firsthand knowledge of the President's state of health.

Moreover, as he told the other Politburo members, he had consulted the Chinese doctors who had been examining Sukarno at the time. Overall, he concluded, that the President's state of health was "*very bad and very dangerous*". Sukarno, Aidit maintained, was to be partly paralysed and there was a major possibility that he would be dead within the few weeks to come.²⁹

²⁵ Notosusanto, pp. 13, 14. Wahjudi soon would drop out. The others were to form the core of the Untung Group, see below I.5. pp. 43, 44 and 45.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 14; Proceedings of the Untung trial.

²⁷ As distinct from the "Untung Group" the term: "*30 September Movement*" will be used here, when reference is made to the political-military plot against the army leadership in its broader sense. This encompasses all that had to do with the shift in the balance of power in the country away from the army, but also with all those other, mainly political conditions that would have been necessary to be fulfilled for Indonesia to become a People's Republic as foreseen by the PKI leadership.

²⁸ Crouch, p. 110; *Harian Rakjat*, 11.8.1965.

²⁹ Dake II, p. 391. The CIA-report writes about the diagnosis advanced by the Chinese doctors:

"Apparently, Aidit was the source of all the information given the Politburo on the President's health. His information on Sukarno's illness came from the Chinese doctors; he seems to

In addition, Aidit brought his comrades the “*news*” that there was a Council of Generals that wished to get rid of the PKI. And, with the first meeting of Sjam and the Untung Group that had taken place the day before in mind, the PKI chairman also pointed to the existence of a number of “*progressive*” officers whose intention was to prevent this from coming to pass.³⁰

have accepted their conclusions completely—and, in turn, the other Politburo members seem to have accepted his word on this and the matter of the Generals’ Council without question”; CIA, p. 229, footnote.

It is maintained here that Aidit must have known full well, certainly later into the month of August, that Sukarno’s health was not at all that dire. See below Appendix III, pp. 229 ff.

³⁰ Peris Pardede during the Njono trial; Proceedings of the Njono trial, 2.15.1966; Dake II, p. 391, footnote 11.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONSPIRING BY NETWORKING

In the late summer of 1965 the plot against the army chiefs took more and more shape. Early on it had to begin with the rather vaguely worded order from the President to his guard officers, Sabur and Untung. This was in the early morning of August 4. The upshot was a number of circles and networks that, at different levels and in terms of different detailed knowledge, were aware of what was going on as gossip, intentions, plans, facts or whatever.

First, of course, there was the *President* and a number of persons in his direct entourage. Within the *PKI leadership* itself there were also various combinations. Finally, there was the circle around the *Tjakrabirawa Battalion Commander Lieutenant-Colonel Untung*, in charge of the actual planning of the actions, the whole here being referred to as the Untung Group.

AROUND THE PRESIDENT

At first, in the court of the Merdeka Palace there was a *direct Presidential circle*. This consisted principally of *Subandrio*, the First Deputy Prime Minister. He could be called to have been a sort of spin-doctor with his own agenda. He was a born schemer and was hoping to be first in line to succeed Sukarno. He was unloved among the army chiefs and, for that matter, everywhere else as well. In addition, there were still a few more non-military members of Sukarno's coterie. For example, there was the simple, good-natured *Second Deputy Prime Minister Leimena* who represented the Christian component. Then there was the useful *former National Communist, Chaerul Saleh*. He was in charge of the Trade Department and did indeed do a great deal of trade, especially on his own account. In addition, he was considered to have close links with the army chiefs. This circle of men must have been rather well informed of what had begun to happen behind the scenes in the Presidential court. This certainly applied in the case of Subandrio. He was later to be made responsible for his

deeds¹ and so was Chaerul Saleh.² Leimena was only shunted, but not more than that.³

Then came a second, somewhat wider circle, in the palace. It was formed by *a number of military figures who were considered personally close to Sukarno*. First, there was *Air Vice Marshal, Omar Dani*. He was the air force chief, a playboy with pretty unintelligent crypto-communist ideas. First and foremost, though, he was a highly “*elastic*” courtier. Then came a number of army generals competing with one another for the President’s favours. To this end, they were prepared heavily to lean over backwards. They were men such as Lieutenant General Sjafiudin who was the Governor of Bali. Then there was Major General Mursjid, Yani’s first deputy. There was Brigadier General Sudirgo, chief of the Military Police and, finally, Brigadier General Sunarjo, who was the deputy military auditor. These were high-ranking officers, easy to manipulate and so f.i. repeatedly sent on their way by Sukarno to seek out any “*disloyal*” army generals:⁴

- on September 13 Sjafiudin reported yes, there were “*disloyal*” army generals.
- on September 15, it was Sunarjo’s turn to come up with the same story.
- on September 23 it was Mursjid’s turn.
- on September 26 Sudirgo brought the same report.

All these top military figures were presidential sycophants. Their message simply was that there were army generals who did not wish to support Sukarno’s policy. However, none of these men, who so enjoyed sounding the tocsin, came up with concrete points or names. Everything remained anonymous and non-specific.

The most reliable intelligence about what precisely happened in the inner circle around the President came from Sukarno’s Adjutant, Bambang Widjanarko, but only many years after the events.⁵ He was closest to the action and, after Sukarno’s death in June 1970

¹ Subandrio landed in jail in the course of 1966, was tried and then sentenced to death. This was commuted to lifelong and finally he was released. He died on July 3, 2004.

² See for Chaerul Saleh: Register of names.

³ See for Leimena: Register of names.

⁴ See also above I.2, p. 12.

⁵ Appendix VIII.

was called upon to give a detailed account in the form of evidence. On the whole, he turned out to be a consistent and reliable witness.

Separate consideration should be given to the role played by Brigadier General Sabur. He was in command of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment. These men were special presidential guards. He was known to have been in Sukarno's bedroom, together with Untung, when on August 4 1965, the President asked Untung whether he was prepared to go into action against "*disloyal army generals*". From the beginning Sabur was, therefore, entirely in the know as to Sukarno's thinking. Moreover, on account of his function he was inside the palace day and night and must have followed events closely. Either alone, or together with other high-ranking officers, it was Sabur who was repeatedly asked to speed up steps against the generals who were under suspicion:

- on September 15 Sukarno told Sabur and Sunarjo to "*prepare measures against the disloyal generals*."⁶
- on September 23, once again called upon by the President to hurry up, Sabur asked for more time, because the plans against the generals had still to be drawn up more in detail; to which Sukarno's answer was, "*Bur, the measures against them must now be quickly carried out*."⁷
- on September 26 Sudirgo returned to Jakarta from one of his trips and again confirmed the existence of a group of disloyal army generals; upon which the President replied:

*Good. I have ordered Sabur and Sunarjo to take measures against those generals. You must give your support. I rely upon you and upon the Military Police Corps.*⁸

Sabur must therefore have known everything about the preparations for the coup against the army. Moreover, militarily speaking, Sabur was Untung's direct superior and thus responsible for what his subordinate had prepared. However, at the critical moment, Sabur was at home in Bandung. He did not come to Jakarta until early in the morning of October 1. On this rather awkward behaviour Widjanarko made the following remark:

⁶ Appendix VIII, p. 451, 87b.

⁷ Appendix VIII, p. 453, 88c.

⁸ Appendix VIII, p. 454, 88f.

The departure of Gen. Sabur to Bandung can also be regarded as a precautionary measure to protect himself if it should appear later that the Untung action had failed. In this way he would have been able to clear himself with the Army Command.⁹

Sabur must have been the model for many others in presidential circles, both military and non-military. At any rate many of them succeeded in the days after the unsuccessful coup to do as if they had neither seen nor heard anything unbecoming.

WITHIN THE PKI

Also within the PKI central organisation, there existed circles. Apart from PKI chairman who was so to speak a “one-man-circle” the most important component was the party’s recently installed Executive Committee. Members were *Aidit, together with his two closest associates, Lukman and Njoto*. When the Politburo gave the green light at the end of August, it was this trio that determined the political course of events as they saw fit.

On the eve of the coup, the three were to separate. Aidit remained in Jakarta as the central figure in and around the capital, while Lukman proceeded, as agreed, to Central Java where he was to keep watch on events. Finally, Njoto set off to Northern Sumatra in the same aircraft as Subandrio, to await the results of the coup there.

The second circle within the Communist Party’s top group consisted of Aidit, Sjam and the remaining members of the Biro Chusus. The two most important members of this group were of course Aidit and Sjam. Their task was to turn into reality the plot’s political component, while providing guidance to the Untung Group.

The third circle within the PKI was the Politburo. Officially, while the party’s Central Committee was not in session, the Politburo was the PKI’s supreme body. In reality, Aidit was going to neutralise the Politburo, as we shall see presently.

It is even possible to ask oneself whether Aidit did not withhold from Lukman and Njoto a great deal of detailed information regarding the Untung Group’s preparations. The military side was in hindsight to turn out to be one of the most obviously weak links in preparations for the coup. It is fair to assume that Lukman and

⁹ Appendix VIII, p. 419.57a.

Njoto, had they been completely informed, would have recognised this and doubtless they would have sounded a warning. Unless of course they had shared the information with Aidit that the President was involved in a highly serious campaign against the Army Chiefs, rendering the purely military side of operations less important.

AIDIT AND THE POLITBURO

The first of the Politburo's three meetings in August, as we have seen, was mainly informative. Aidit had just returned from a long absence and had first of all to find out what had been happening, before being able to resume the reins of party leadership.

Then came the second Politburo meeting on August 16. The course of this meeting showed that Aidit had succeeded in establishing links among the communist conspirators, the Special Bureau that he himself headed, and the military conspirators, the Untung Group. Both groups must have operated from the shared assumption that they could count on a certain, be it not very precise sort of blessing from the President.¹⁰

The next thing Aidit had to do was to jump the last hurdle within the party and to fully and finally convince the Politburo that the party was taking the right road. For the PKI chairman, the situation looked roughly as follows:

- In the course of August secret preparations for “actions” against the generals who stood in the way had begun to take shape.
- By August 25 Aidit had again met Sjam. This time Sjam was accompanied by two other members of the Special Bureau, namely Pono and Walujo.¹¹ Aidit's message was again that a coup d'état by the army leadership was in danger of occurring. This coup had to be “prevented” and at the same time such a counter-move should at all cost look like an “internal army matter.”¹²

¹⁰ Dake II, p. 393:

But the PKI chairman wanted, above all, to prevent a wider knowledge of Sukarno's involvement and other details of what went on so as to be on the safe side—and, no doubt, follow Sukarno's wishes in this also. It was also for this reason that he blew up the story of the President's failing health (“a small chance to survive”, etc.) in order to sound more convincing.

¹¹ Proceedings of the Sudisman trial, testimony by Sjam, 7th session.

¹² Dake II, p. 395.

- The day after, Sjam once more had gathered the officers with whom the party's Special Bureau was setting up the conspiracy, such as Untung, Latief and Sujono.¹³
- In this way these cooperative officers received the benefit of PKI Chairman Aidit's most recent thinking about the current political situation and especially on how he thought the military side of the "*preventive action*" against a number of army generals—to be called "the movement"—should be set up.

On August 28, Aidit found the time had come to ensure the Politburo's consent once and for all. The meeting held was the third in the course of the month and also the most important. It laid the foundations for what the communist leadership undertook in the weeks to come. The message the party's Executive Committee, only just set up and consisting of Aidit, Lukman and Njoto, delivered to the remaining Politburo members was as follows:

- The Council of Generals had become active and, in the light of Sukarno's precarious state of health, would hardly be adopting any kind of wait-and-see attitude
- It was absolutely necessary, therefore, to steal a march on the Council and undertake military action against the generals concerned.
- The operation's military side was in the hands of a group of younger officers, but this was not gone into in any great detail by Aidit and no names fell.
- The Politburo also heard that the party's Executive Committee would be looking after the political component of cooperation with the military.
- Finally, the plan was announced to set up a so-called "*Revolutionary Council*" that would in due time have to replace the National Government.¹⁴

Politburo member Njono was the first to present this version of what the party's official course as accepted by the Politburo during its

¹³ Ibidem. Sjam and the "*progressive officers*" like Untung had been together for the first time on August 15th; see above I, 4, note 24. The meeting on August 26 was the second.

¹⁴ Notosusanto, p. 125, who quotes from the pre-trial investigation of Njono on January 3, 1966; proceedings of the Njono trial, 1st session; Dake II, p. 395; CIA, pp. 229, 230.

meeting on August 28 had been. He did so during the preliminary inquest against him late 1965. But in the course of the proceedings themselves, he came back on his earlier statement. In its place, he produced a watered-down story: the danger posed by the Council of Generals was to be presented to the President and it would then be up to him to decide whether pre-emptive measures should be taken or not.¹⁵

However, Njono's colleague and fellow Politburo member, Sudisman, vouched for Njono's previous version of events.¹⁶ Also Peris Pardede, a candidate member of the Politburo, further confirmed, when giving testimony in the trial against Njono, that the party or better Aidit had already before August 28 taken the decision to undertake pre-emptive action against the army generals.¹⁷

What Aidit did *not* say on August 28 was the following: within the PKI it was he who had taken over entirely for himself the military part of the operation, i.e. all contacts with Untung's people. In this the members of the Biro Chusus, first of all Sjam, were going to be his sole agents. Of the existence of the Special Bureau the members of the Politburo, apart maybe from Lukman and Njoto, did not know anything or next to nothing.

What it boils down to, was that Aidit was entirely free to act as he thought fit. In the political field he had, of course, to fine tune his plans with Lukman and Njoto, but relations with the Untung Group and with the President were exclusively in the hands of the party chairman.

This type of conspirational construction used to be fairly classical for underground activities within communist parties, wherever they may be. The watchword is '*take as few persons into your confidence as possible and operate preferably on a one-to-one basis.*' With other words in this way information leaks can be avoided to a very large extent, while if they do occur even so, it is feasible to trace them.

¹⁵ Notosusanto, pp. 126, 127.

¹⁶ Proceedings of the Sudisman trial, 2nd session.

¹⁷ Notosusanto, pp. 132, 133. Pardede said to have got that information from Sudisman whom he met somewhere around August 26th. Pardede wanted to check this point with Lukman, but he caught it with the rejoinder that he, Pardede, "*as candidate member of the Politburo was not supposed to ask questions*". A pretty illustration of the way the PKI leadership was handling internal communications and party democracy.

Of course it is quite a different matter that events did not actually come to pass in this way, but it certainly was Aidit's intention to keep matters under close wrap. Absolute secrecy, in any case, was required about involvement of any kind on the part of the President who, Aidit knew, had to be kept out of the picture at all cost.

The remarkable thing was that the Politburo members, insofar as they did not form part of the Executive Committee apparently swallowed Aidit's story about the President's poor state of health as gospel truth. In the course of his public appearances in the summer and most certainly when he held his Takari address on August 17, Sukarno did not give the impression of being close to the end of his life.¹⁸ The fact that the story was accepted must have had something to do with Aidit's personal authority that he had built up in the course of his long tenure as party chairman.

Whether the PKI's Politburo other than Lukman and Njoto believed or not believed what Aidit said on the subject of Sukarno's health, it is a fact that the chairman in the course of the meetings on August 16 and 28 successfully led his colleagues up the garden path on this subject.¹⁹

It is also clear why Aidit dramatised a story entirely in conflict with medical reality and why he claimed that Sukarno's end was near, in the way he did. The cardinal point was that, from this false assumption, it was easy to suggest that the Council of Generals was busy making preparations for a coup d'état to take place in the near future, for instance on Army Day, October 5. That a group of medium-grade officers for their part wished to act pre-emptively towards allegedly plotting army generals tied in with the above scenario.

In the final analysis, what Aidit did was to obtain from the party top, as represented by the Politburo, more or less complete carte blanche. In the unstable political and military situation it would enable him to go ahead as he wished. On August 28 Aidit got his way. The road was clear for him and the Biro Chusus, together with the Untung Group, to work out finally their detailed plans.²⁰

¹⁸ Apart from that, the end for Sukarno would come some five years later, in June 1970, when he died in Jakarta on the 21st of that month; Dake II, p. 393.

¹⁹ Dake II, p. 393.

²⁰ The CIA-report writes as follows:

"In a matter as important as this, however, Aidit seems to have felt the necessity of securing Politburo approval. With its approval, he was prepared to turn the whole matter of the planning and execution of the coup over to the Special Bureau"; CIA, p. 229.

THE UNTUNG GROUP

The link between Untung and the PKI top was direct and fairly simple and ran through Sjam. The relationship with the palace was less clear. The sole party there, who could have been considered right from the beginning of the conspiracy as liaison with the President, was Sabur, the commander of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment. He probably got at regular intervals from Untung—after all his subordinate—information about what was happening, and in this way Sabur became a good and inconspicuous informant for Sukarno. In the course of August–September also Major General Pranoto Reksosamudro, a pro-PKI member of Yani’s General Staff, increasingly became important for the President as source of information and in particular as link with Chairman Aidit.²¹

Untung certainly must at first have been at a loss exactly how to tackle the assignment he got from Sukarno. But through his PKI “*contact*” Walujo he at least had been assured of the support, if not guidance from the Special Bureau of the party. In this respect the composition of the Untung Group as it got into place was significant. All the other military members of the group had, like Lieutenant Colonel Untung, since long been under the “*control*” of PKI professionals. Beside Untung the persons involved were Colonel Latief, Major Sujono and, after a while, Brigadier General Supardjo:

- In August 1965 Untung was quite new to the job at the court in Jakarta as one of the battalion commanders in the Tjakrabirawa Regiment. He had been in touch with the PKI for a long time, but only recently under the near-exclusive control of Walujo. For his part in the anti-generals coup he was subsequently sentenced to death and executed.²²
- Latief was in command of a territorial unit stationed in the capital and was to play an important role in the action on and around October 1. Pono, the no. 2 man of the Biro Chusus, was his

Aidit not only was “*prepared*” to leave the implementation of the coup to Sjam c.s., but more importantly he had also achieved what he had aimed at: a general, sort of blanket approval of the Politburo, that for the occasion even had been enlarged with a number of candidate members.

²¹ See below I.6. p. 47 and following.

²² CIA, pp. 103, 104, 105 and 270 a.f.; Sugiarto, p. 169. See also above I.3, note 4.

control.²³ For this insubordination and treason he was soon after the failed coup arrested and was in jail for many years. He was sentenced to death, this sentence was subsequently commuted and he has been living in the capital as a private citizen for many years. He deceased in 2005.

- Sujono was an air force major and commander of the guard units of the Halim Air Force Base. He was to become responsible for training armed volunteers who were to stay outside any existing military hierarchy.²⁴ Of the four Armed Forces, the air force, headed by Air Vice Marshal Omar Dani, was by far the most infiltrated by the PKI. It therefore accounted for the largest number of crypto-communists. When it came down to it, in the crucial days at the end of September and the beginning of October, this became highly apparent. Sujono was another of Pono's "*clients*".²⁵ Sujono was tried and sentenced to death in 1966 and presumably was executed soon after.
- Supardjo did not come into action until a later stage, at the end of September. This was partly because, as opposed to Untung and Sujono, he had a military assignment outside Jakarta. As the commander of the so-called Fourth Combat Command in Kalimantan, he was far away in the jungle, involved in the military confrontation with Malaysia. It is not clear at which particular moment he was drawn into collaborating with the Untung Group.²⁶ But on September 28 he just left his command in Kalimantan and came to Jakarta in order to take over leadership of the Untung Group.²⁷ In fact he was then "*away-without-leave*". On account of his rank and position, he had been under the control of Sjam himself.²⁸ Supardjo was tried in 1967, sentenced to death and soon after that executed.

²³ See note 22.

²⁴ Sujono began on August 28, the same day that the Politburo decided to have Aidit prepare a preventive coup against the army leadership, with an intensive paramilitary recapitulatory training of a number of volunteers that had been recruited already earlier that year.

²⁵ See note 22.

²⁶ CIA, pp. 134, 271: Sjam or Pono announced on September 23d to the Untung Group that "*one other person would be joining the coup group at a later date*"; this was going to be Supardjo; he was a "*prize asset*" as the CIA-report called it.

²⁷ See below I.6. p. 52.

²⁸ See note 22.

The other members of the Untung Group were civilians, all members of the PKI. First of all, there was Sjam who as we have seen at the same time headed the party's Biro Chusus. Then there were Pono and Walujo who also doubled as members of the Secret Bureau. The political leadership of the anti-generals coup vis-à-vis the other members of the Untung Group was in the hands of Sjam. Behind him it was PKI Chairman Aidit directing the whole affair.²⁹ As to the military-technical side of matters Sjam had to rely on the professionals of the group: Untung, Latief and later Supardjo. Probably to his chagrin.³⁰

The Untung Group met for the first time on August 15. A day later the Politburo got together for the second time that month, and this put Aidit in a position to report the emergence of a military opposition in the shape of a number of what he called "*progressive*" officers.

After the third Politburo meeting on August 28 during which Aidit received more or less *carte blanche* from his colleagues, the Untung Group met increasingly often.³¹ September 29 was the last meeting before the anti-generals coup started on October 1. It was during that last meeting of the Untung Group that Supardjo showed up for the first time. He had come over from Kalimantan.³² It was as such already quite an important meeting, but it was to gain even more importance. This was not just because Supardjo in fact took over the group's command from Untung. It also can be concluded from the presence of both Aidit himself and of the strongly pro-PKI Major General Pranoto who we saw was a member of Yani's General Staff.³³ In his position as third assistant to Yani Pranoto was in charge of personnel matters. As a consequence it had become his responsibility to organise Army Day on October 5. In that capacity he could directly influence decisions about which troops were to proceed to Jakarta for that occasion. Subsequently he was to play an unclear and controversial part in the October 1 affair.³⁴

²⁹ Appendix IV: The military side of the coup.

³⁰ Appendix IV, pp. 248 and 249.

³¹ After meeting on August 29 for the fourth time, the Untung Group got together on September 6, 12, 17, 26, 27 and—for the tenth and last time—on September 29; Notosusanto, p. 14.

³² See below I.6. p. 52.

³³ Sjam as witness on January 27, 1972 during the trial against Air Force Colonel Sudiono; Sugiarso, p. 369.

³⁴ See below II.10, p. 1 and following.

CHAPTER SIX

UPBEAT TO A COUP

The President could hardly contain his impatience. In the weeks and days preceding September 30, he kept on wanting to see rapid action against certain army generals. The Untung Group were hard put to it to satisfy Sukarno on that score. What was the whole plan supposed to look like?

We remember the story Aidit sold to the Politburo: a Council of Generals that wanted to seize power.¹ Untung, not really qualified as a refined political thinker, but with a good record as soldier must have had some ideas on the subject. Why, otherwise, would the President be wanting him to do something about the generals?

One thing led to another and we have seen how, within the Untung Group, Sjam built up the legend of the Council of Generals plotting away busily. Almost spontaneously someone had suggested that Army Day, on October 5 next, would be the proper moment for the Council of Generals to try a strike against the President. The Untung Group should be able to pour troops into Jakarta for that day who, just like the Group itself, would be willing to “*defend*” their President. It would thus be possible to kill two flies in one fell swoop: Untung and his people would have armed allies in town, whereas the Council of Generals would have to face just as many soldiers who could turn against that council.

It was a fortunate coincidence that Major General Pranoto as we saw had received the task that year of preparing for Army Day. He was pro-communist and together with Sjam and Untung they were busy rustling up the right troops for October 5.²

In those hectic September days, the plans of the Untung Group began to shape up and on paper at any rate there would be plenty of friendly troops in Jakarta on D-Day:³

¹ Appendix II, pp. 207 and 208.

² See above I.5. p. 45. Pranoto has had a direct hand in the preparation of the coup and especially in selecting the “*friendly units*” to be brought into Jakarta. See Appendix IV: The military side of the coup.

³ See also Appendix IV.

- on September 9, Untung had heard that the Brawidjaja Division in Eastern Java and the Diponegoro Division in Central Java would each be sending a battalion to Jakarta.
- the remainder of the troops selected would all be coming from the capital or from the Greater Jakarta area.
- for example, the first Infantry Brigade of Jakarta's Military Command under Colonel Latief, would be supplying a company.
- the air force would be contributing a battalion of rapid intervention troops; they were stationed at Halim Air Force Base near Jakarta; responsible was Air Force Major Sujono.
- of course, Untung himself could not afford to lag behind in all this and the group would be able to count on a battalion from Untung's own Tjakrabirawa Regiment.
- overall, there would be about 4,500 professional soldiers.
- in addition there would be between three and four thousand trained communist volunteers, who according to Sujono could easily be sent into action.

Time after time the Untung Group discussed exactly when D-Day would take place. The group's communist members were in a hurry. So Sjam is reported to have said on September 19 that it just could not happen fast enough.⁴ He then thought D-Day should be on September 29. The group's soldiers, Untung and Latief, were opposed to this.

⁴ CIA, p. 129. Maybe Sjam was shorttempered because that very day, September 19, should have been D-Day, if it had depended on Aidit and Sjam. There are various indications to that effect. Sjam f.i. mentioned during his trial in 1968 that he had received on September 18 from Aidit an envelope containing the list of the members of the so-called Revolutionary Council; Sugiarso, p. 143. Challis, p. 79, tells that in those days a rumor circulated in the capital that on September 19 a coup against a number of army generals would take place. The second man of the CIA-station, Joe Lazarski, declared years later that he had warned Major General Parman, Chief of Army Intelligence, of imminent danger against him in person; Parman had not paid heed, so Lazarski; see Tempo, September 24, 1988. Then one of Subandrio's top-assistants at the Central Indonesian Intelligence Service BPI, Kartono Kadri, stated during the trial against his former boss that he had told Subandrio of a coup that the PKI was planning for September 19. Finally there is the story Frans Seda told the author in March 2001. Seda, in September 1965 Minister of Agriculture and a staunch anti-communist, received on September 17 out of the blue an invitation by Subandrio to join him on an official "*inspection trip*" to Sumatra. This trip was called off almost as suddenly as it had been proposed to Seda. The Minister of Agriculture eventually got his trip, be it somewhat later, as he joined Subandrio on September 28, after an equally last-minute invitation; see below footnote 13 and II.10 p. 110, footnote 27.

They were not yet sure that the two crucial battalions, the 454th and the 530th, from Eastern and Central Java respectively, would make it to Jakarta in time. Both officers had come to the conclusion that the “*friendly*” troops, earmarked so far and available for the coup, were absolutely insufficient both in numbers and in quality. The para-commando’s of the 454th and the 530th Battalions which were considered to belong the best Indonesian fighting forces had to fill the gap.⁵

There was another point: the tanks. Untung had insisted the group must have at least the disposal of thirty tanks or armoured cars. In first instance, Latief had promised to supply them. He had mentioned some sort of a friend at the Siliwangi Division’s tank depot in Bandung who could help out. Later on, at the meeting of September 23, the matter was still not resolved and it was then Pono who said he would take care of the tanks. Untung showed himself at that moment unwilling to set a date for D-Day until the tanks promised were actually in Jakarta and under his command.⁶

Time was pressing. On the evening of September 25, the 530th Battalion reached Jakarta. On the morning of September 27, the 454th Battalion joined it there.⁷ There were now two battalions of para-commandos which made 2,250 men. However there still remained the problem of the tanks. Untung kept saying they were indispensable for the success of the operation. Without tank support, he still refused to set a date. Latief maintained later in court that he had agreed with Untung and that there should not have been action on D-Day without tanks.⁸

The Untung Group’s military members continued to press for the availability of tanks. At the group’s meeting on September 27, Pono again promised that the question of tanks would be settled satisfactorily. Did he do his best and did he really mean all this? Or was he spinning a yarn for Untung’s and Latief’s benefit? In any case Sjam, backed by Aidit, kept pressing to speed matters. He thought that, if necessary, they could do without the tanks. To make it clear what he and Aidit had in mind he added:

⁵ Appendix IV, pp. 238 and 239.

⁶ CIA, p. 134.

⁷ CIA, p. 142.

⁸ Appendix IV, p. 239.

As long as the Pasopati troops (the soldiers that would be assigned to round up the army generals; author) do their job properly the movement will manage without tanks.⁹

The tanks were supposed to be coming from the Siliwangi Division in Bandung. However, as it turned out later they never showed up as promised and, when they finally did appear on the scene, it was on October 1 and—for good measure—on Suharto's side.¹⁰

THE PKI SET D-DAY

So when it came down to it, the influence of the military within the Untung Group was pretty marginal. This became particularly apparent from the way in which D-Day was finally fixed. Clearly, it was the PKI which had the last word in this matter.

On the evening of September 27, after meeting with the Untung Group, Sjam reported to Aidit how matters stood regarding the military preparations for the coup. He told him that the army professionals were not yet happy about it. Untung in particular was still hesitating on account of the tanks. But Aidit, it appears, had become convinced clearly that it was time now to cut the knot.

The next morning the party's Executive Committee—Aidit, Lukman and Njoto—met for a long discussion a.o. on fixing D-Day. Then in the beginning of the afternoon Aidit told Sjam that the three of them had decided D-Day and H-Hour were going to be on October 1 at four o'clock in the morning.¹¹ So the Untung Group in the end was of scant importance and had no say in the final go-no-go decision.

Did Sukarno know about this decision or even influence it? It will not be easy to discover this. But we saw already that the President

⁹ CIA, p. 153.

¹⁰ One of the officers of the Siliwangi Division at the time told the author—September 8, 2000—that he left Bandung early in the morning of October 1st 1965 with a squadron of 30 armoured vehicles. That military party arrived in Jakarta in the afternoon. It must have been this squadron that in the evening and night assisted units of the RPKAD during their operation against the last vestiges of rebellious troops on or around Halim.

¹¹ CIA, p. 144, relates:

That afternoon Aidit is known to have had a very long session of almost 5 hours with Lukman . . . and Sakirman. . . .

This is only partly true. The long session began in the morning and was held by Aidit with Lukman and Njoto, the Executive Committee of the party. Sakirman

in that stage of the conspiracy also wanted to hurry up the planned “actions”.¹²

The scenario then developed fast along two lines. Aidit, with Sjam as his front man, would start the Untung Group moving. The President would remain passive and all he would be doing was to put his ear to the ground. However even so he would be getting dangerously close to the flames, for the collusion between the Aidit-Sjam on the one hand, and Sukarno on the other, were beginning to merge into one, as the countdown until D-Day started. Over the three days, running up to October 1, we see the following developments:

September 28, 1965

- In the afternoon of September 28 the Head of the Special Bureau Sjam was the first to hear that the party’s Executive Committee had set D-Day for October 1, 1965 at 4 a.m.
 - Directly thereafter Aidit spoke to Subandrio who was likewise fully informed of the plans for the coup; the First Deputy Prime Minister immediately made off, leaving with a delegation that same afternoon by air for Sumatra, on what he called an inspection trip; this tied in with a rough sharing out of responsibilities on the part of the President, as between Subandrio and the Second Deputy Prime Minister Leimena, in view of the coming events; Subandrio was supposed to go to Sumatra, while Leimena would be staying in Jakarta.¹³

was not present. The first person to hear about the decision on D-Day was Sjam, early in the afternoon that day; CIA, p. 147.

¹² See above I.5, p. 37.

¹³ During his interrogation in 1970 Widjanarko was asked, if that arrangement had been made and whether that had been on September 26. Widjanarko could not answer those questions, as he had not been present, as he told the Kopkamtib officials. What he knew was that Subandrio had left on September 28 for Sumatra and had returned on October 2; see Appendix VIII, p. 391.27b. Subandrio, leaving the capital immediately after his conversation with Aidit, was accompanied by a quite extensive delegation. The Chief of Staff of Subandrio’s Intelligence Service BPI, Brigadier-General Sutarto, was there, as well as Politburo member Njoto and the Minister of Agriculture, Frans Seda. In an interview with the author in March 2001, Seda said that Subandrio at the time had known everything about the impending coup. Sutarto also was fully informed. In the course of October 1st some of the delegates began to have questions, f.i. about a certain “*Revolutionary Council*” that had been mentioned in a radio(re)broadcast beamed at Sumatra. Sutarto then took a piece of paper from one of his pockets and read out the full text of the (first) declaration made by Untung. Upon return on October 2 to the Halim Air Base pro-Suharto troops inspected the passengers, looking out for “*communists*”. Subandrio

- Sjam knew what he was supposed to do. He immediately asked Pono to send a telegram to Supardjo in Kalimantan. It ran, as agreed beforehand, as follows:

your small daughter is ill and your presence urgently necessary.

This was enough for Supardjo. He had been waiting for this news. It told him that the planning for the anti-generals coup was in the final stage. By the beginning of the evening, he had already reached Kebajoran Airport.¹⁴

- Untung and the remaining military members of his group were still not yet informed and were not to hear about the decision by the Executive Committee until the following day. Supardjo upon his arrival however was immediately told all the details by Sjam and, in fact, took over leadership of the operation from Untung. Sjam told him also he would have to visit Dani the next morning, before he and Dani would be reporting to the President.¹⁵

September 29, 1965

On the morning of September 29 there were a number of discussions about planning for the coup between the President, Dani and Supardjo. We know that a.o. from the statements made by Widjanarko:

On September 29th, 1965, Supardjo appeared before Bung Karno together with Omar Dani and as I heard later, Supardjo reported to Bung Karno about the Generals of the Army who were not loyal to Bung Karno and about the readiness of Supardjo and the progressive troops of the army to go into action.

- A lot of talk about the coming coup was going on!¹⁶

then succeeded to get Njoto passed this checkpoint by vouching for him not being a communist.

¹⁴ CIA, pp. 146 and 147. See for a strange incident connected with Supardjo's flight from West-Kalimantan to Jakarta: Kopassus, pp. 132 and 133, and below Appendix IV, p. 245.

¹⁵ Sjam trial, 4th session, pp. 138–139.

¹⁶ Appendix VIII, pp. 388.22 and 455.91. The CIA-report speaks of only one meeting that day in the Merdeka Palace worth mentioning, the audience given by the President to Omar Dani. But apparently on the strength of the CIA's information at the time of writing—1968—and smelling a rat, they qualify the report:

“The circumstances of their meeting leave no doubt that it was a matter of great urgency and secrecy”; CIA, p. 257.

- at about nine o'clock Dani and Supardjo met for the first time that day¹⁷
- Dani then went to the palace for a short talk with the President¹⁸
- this talk did not take up more than half an hour and after that Dani again met Supardjo outside the palace¹⁹ and then
- Dani and Supardjo together set out for the palace at about 11 o'clock to meet the President there²⁰
- This conversation between the three of them took one and a half hours, during which the President was briefed extensively and in detail by the two high-ranking officers about the plans for a purge of the Army Chiefs.²¹
- Supardjo told the President what he had heard the previous evening from Sjam; it was the same story, namely, about the “*disloyal*” generals and the “*progressive*” officers, but pride of place was now occupied by Supardjo’s game plan, as he called it, and by the troops available.²²
- Later, in the course of the trial against him, Dani would allege that he had warned Sukarno that “*on October 5 20.000 troops would be assembled in Jakarta and that he, Dani, therefore feared for an army coup*”²³

¹⁷ CIA, p. 275; Oejeng Soewergana in an internal note for Indonesian Ambassador in Washington Sudjatmoko, 27.6.1971, 6.

¹⁸ CIA, p. 275.

¹⁹ CIA, p. 276.

²⁰ Appendix VIII, pp. 388.22 and 455.91.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ Proceedings of the Dani trial, second indictment, quoted by Notosusanto, p. 38. During the trials against Dani (1966) and Supardjo (1967) it must have been difficult—both for the accused as well as for Suharto’s trial managers—to tell truth and fiction apart. At any rate there has been one golden rule: *Sukarno was not to be publicly associated with the coup and certainly not with its prologue*. Only very strict stage-management and a agreed “*Sprachregelung*” could solve this dilemma. Especially tenuous were the talks the President had had directly with Supardjo on September 29, on the eve of the coup. This would have been the picture, if it had become known to outsiders: here is Supardjo the military leader of a coup attempt, a man who has deserted his frontpost and will be responsible for the murder of six members of the Army General Staff, his superiors, and less than 48 hours before those pretty grim incidents he is received in audience by the Head of State in the official presidential palace and he is accompanied by another Chief Officer, Omar Dani, who will be accused later of co-responsibility for the purge of his army colleagues. Something more compromising for Sukarno could not be found. That meeting in the Merdeka Palace therefore simply was not to have occurred. So Dani takes upon himself during his trial to try to legitimize after the event what in fact had been

- Sukarno’s aide Widjanarko later summed it all up as follows” *As a result of this contact and the reports of Supardjo Bung Karno knew that Supardjo, Sabur and Untung were cooperating in a purge of Generals of the Army.*²⁴
- In the course of the afternoon of September 29, the following took place in the Presidential Court:
 - Sukarno asked Sabur, as if he did not already know, how the measures against the disloyal generals were progressing; Sabur replied, somewhat elliptically, that “*everything was being carried out, when everything was ready*”; Sukarno then retorted that it better “*speedily (had) to be carried out*”.²⁵
 - Dani came up just as he had that morning with the information, for Sukarno “*that the AURI (the air force, author) was at the ready and would back Bung Karno*”.²⁶
 - Mursjid assured Sukarno that there were army units “*that could be kept in reserve*”.²⁷
 - Sukarno then asked Mursjid whether he would be willing to replace Yani as Commander of the Army; Mursjid is said to have replied: “*I am ready to accept*”.²⁸
 - thereafter Sukarno instructed one of his aides, the Police Commissioner Sumirat to inform Yani that on October 1 at 10 o’clock in the morning, he should visit the President at the palace.²⁹

Supardjo’s desertion. He then stated that it was he, Dani, who had recalled the coupleader, be it “*upon request by the President*” and “*in the framework of the Mandela Vigilance Command (Indonesia’s Military anti-Malaysia Command, author)*”; see Proceedings of the Omar Dani trial, 1st session. Later Supardjo himself, during the trial against Sjam, will add that he had talked that September 29 at 10.00 a.m. with Dani “*in his (Dani’s) capacity of commander of the Mandela Vigilance Command*” and that he had come to Jakarta because his child had fallen ill, but that he had wanted to go back to his post the next day; however Dani had forbidden this, because he, Supardjo, had been summoned to come to the President on October 3. This was of course a cock-and-bull story, but for the time being this was what was being played for the gallery.

²⁴ Appendix VIII, p. 388.22a; Dake II, text 22, p. 514.

²⁵ Appendix VIII, p. 353.16b.

²⁶ Ibidem.

²⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸ Appendix VIII, pp. 14 and 15. What role Mursjid played is not very clear. He was arrested after the coup-attempt, sentenced and released again. There is a scene reported in which Mursjid sheds tears while embracing Nasution the first time he sees him alive sometime after the 1st of October events, telling him:

“*Bapak (Sukarno, author) must have been informed*”; see Nasution, p. 261.

This sounds all pretty melodramatic and false.

²⁹ Appendix VIII, p. 353.16c. This was a rather cynical “*little joke*”, because the

- In the evening of September 29 there was an incident between the President and Aidit:
 - the Communist Student Union was demonstrating in Senajan Stadium; Aidit was due to speak and likewise Leimena and the President;³⁰ the delicate issue to be tackled was the ban that the PKI were demanding on the Islamic Student Union called HMI; this was an effective anti-communist organisation that was subsequently to play an important role in the opposition to Sukarno; Aidit and his people wanted HMI to be banned; however a few days before, on September 22, Sukarno had refused to endorse the ban; Leimena was the first speaker that evening and his verdict, in line with the President's wishes, was that the HMI should be left alone; Aidit was next to speak and, when his turn came, made Leimena into a laughing stock; he said the students should all don a sarong, the typical female garment, if HMI was not abolished; obviously, this was directed not only at Leimena, but also against the President; when the President spoke subsequently, he poured oil on troubled waters by saying he would ban HMI "*if it did not follow the right path*"; Aidit had made his point: he was not content to sit in the President's pocket.; for Sukarno the incident had been a warning, insofar as one was necessary, that the Communist Party leader might well get above himself one day; but neither of them realised how, within forty-eight hours, they would both be forced to go their separate ways, into the abyss.³¹
 - towards midnight³² Sjam summoned the Untung Group for its tenth and last full meeting; present were apart from Sjam himself:

President very well could assume that Yani would not be in a position to turn up on the 1st of October, at least not alive. Maybe it was not more than a small piece of Sukarno's usual byzantine behaviour: putting people on the wrong footing, circulating various contradictory stories and playing off one against the other.

³⁰ Dake II, pp. 401, 402, 403.

³¹ See also Radio Free Europe, 10.13.1965, quoting a "*high government official*", probably Subandrio. From this person we learn how the President at that point in time, about two weeks after the purge that ended so unfortunate for him, is beginning to think about Aidit and the PKI:

The present leadership will be dropped. Aidit is persona non grata. He signed his own death warrant, when he openly defied Sukarno on the fateful night of the 28th (sic) of September. Clearly what had happened that particular night between the President and Aidit—it was not the 28th, but the 29th of September—must have gotten Sukarno truly under his skin.

³² CIA, p. 178.

- Pono, Walujo, Untung, Latief and Sujono, while for the first time Supardjo attended; Pono had announced a few days earlier, on September 23, that Supardjo would be present at that meeting.³³
- also attending as guests were Aidit and Pranoto; they remained in the background and Untung subsequently described them as “*two persons he did not know*”.³⁴
 - Sjam announced the decision that the coup would start on October 1 at 4 a.m.; Untung and the group’s military members again objected that they would not be ready, because they were still not sure the necessary tanks would be available;³⁵ but despite insufficient military preparations for the coup, Untung had to yield to the communists’ decision.
 - Aidit obviously wanted to see and hear for himself how the Untung Group would be reacting to the fixing of D-Day; at the same time Pranoto—the army general who was Sukarno’s own choice to succeed Yani, as we will see—was able to become acquainted a bit with his fellow conspirators.

September 30, 1965

- The morning of September 30 looked as follows:
 - at about eight o’clock Sabur came to the President with a dossier containing the draft appointment of Mursjid as Yani’s successor; Sukarno signed the draft and subsequently Sabur gave it to the President’s Secretary Jamin;³⁶ the appointment was never heard of again.
 - Sabur, having seen everything for himself, left for his house in Bandung; this seemed a remarkable step; however, against the background of local custom it was quite an understandable step for Untung’s direct superior to take; he was entirely au fait of his subordinate’s planning for the coup, but found it advisable to remain out of the way for a while.³⁷
 - at about 11 o’clock, which was the usual “*coffee time*”, the President received an interesting visitor; this was Brigadier General Sughandi,

³³ CIA, p. 134.

³⁴ Sjam as witness in the trial against Pono, January 1971; Sugiarso, p. 369.

³⁵ CIA, p. 250.

³⁶ Appendix VIII, p. 354.17.

³⁷ Appendix VIII, p. 419.57a.

- one of Sukarno's former aides; at the time of his visit he was in charge of the Public Affairs Department of the army.³⁸
- Sughandi thought he was coming up with something new, when he told the President that on September 27 he had run first into Politburo member Sudisman and after that into Aidit; both had confided to him that, in a few days time, the PKI was intending to launch a coup against a number of army generals; they had asked him to join in, but he had refused.
 - This made Sukarno quite angry; he reproached Sughandi with being someone who hated the communists and asserted that in a revolution like the Indonesian one “*a father can eat his own children*”; he then threatened to smack Sughandi in the face, if he did not stop his stupid story.
 - Sughandi asked Sukarno why he not simply dismissed any general that turned out to be difficult—“*useless*” he said—; but this had no effect on the President.³⁹
- On the evening of September 30, there were some movements in view of the pending coup:
 - Untung arrives around 20.30 at the home of Sjam where his group was going to meet; after some time he leaves, together with Supardjo and Latief, for the Halim Air Force Base, arriving there by 22.30⁴⁰

³⁸ Oei Tjoe Tat, p. 165; CIA, pp. 264 and 265 See also: Appendix VII: Documents, A.1.

³⁹ CIA, pp. 262–265. Sughandi's story was not believed early on. Police Commissioner Mangil, one of Sukarno's aides, contended that Sughandi's name could not be found in the day's receptionfile in the Merdeka Palace; see Bayang-bayang PKI. Oei Tjoe Tat, former Minister/Secretary of the Sukarno-government, writes in his autobiography that Sughandi sure enough had seen the President on September 30; Oei Tjoe Tat, p. 165. Nasution thought what Sughandi had told him and others was true, to such an extent even that Nasution declared publicly on February 13, 1967: “*The President gave the coup his blessing and assistance*”. Nasution further quoted a report by an official Central Investigation Team in which was stressed: “*the importance and the validity of the Sukarno-Sughandi conversation of September 30 as proof of the President's advance knowledge and involvement in the 30 September affair*”; CIA, p. 26.

In his book *Memenuhi Panggilan Tugas*, 1987, p. 174, Nasution mentions that Sughandi stated under oath that Aidit had told him, Sughandi, on September 27: “*Very soon we shall get into action, within two or three days. And Bung Karno knows all about it. You better join us (. . .) I myself have informed Bung Karno about all this.*

See also Appendix VII: Documents, A, p. 288.

⁴⁰ CIA, footnote on p. 164. In the published trial proceedings Untung does not mention the presence of Aidit or Pranoto in the house of Sjam that night. Maybe

- both Aidit and Pranoto, the unofficial member of the Untung Group, are that evening also at Sjams’ for deliberations; later they will be brought to Halim by Sujono and reach there at around one o’clock in the morning⁴¹
- by that time also Sjam is at the air force base
- at 20.30 Dani receives a group of air force officers at his home⁴² and hears for the first time, as he was later to claim, which generals were due to be rounded up that night;⁴³ he tells his colleagues that the AURI would be supporting the measures announced.⁴⁴
- after that he goes to Halim Air Force Base and station himself in the Operations Centre there.⁴⁵
- that evening, the President was due to speak at a technicians’ conference; just as the evening before, the venue was the Senajan Stadium.
- towards 22.00 hours the President still had not yet spoken; he then got up and went somewhere with members of his retinue, inter alia, Colonel Saelan, Police Commissioner Mangil and Colonel Widjanarko.⁴⁶

he wanted (or had) to present the whole affair still as a limited “*internal army matter*” and keep the PKI-leader out of the picture. Pranoto who had links with the President—who after all had wanted him to succeed Yani—equally should remain in the background. No doubt a lot of stage-management by Suharto officers must have been at play.

⁴¹ Statement by Sjam during the trial against Pono in January 1971; Sugiarto, p. 371. Pono, interrogated in January 1971, told that he had picked up Pranoto and had brought him to the house of Sjam; Sugiarto, p. 371. See also Crouch, p. 129, footnote 67, and CIA, pp. 23 and 167. Pranoto went home in the course of the night and stayed in down-town Jakarta, at the Kostrad Headquarters, during the whole of the 1st of October. Aidit, with two of his bodyguards, one of which was Walujo, spent the night on the air base in the house of Sergeant Major Suwardi; Notosusanto, p. 39.

⁴² Proceedings of the trial against Dani, quoted by Notosusanto, p. 39.

⁴³ According to the proceedings of the third session in the Dani-trial Dani claimed that it was only in the evening of September 30, while receiving a number of his staff at home, that he for the first time had heard the names of the seven generals that were to be the “targets” early next morning.

⁴⁴ Notosusanto, p. 39 relates:

... at that meeting Omar Dani pledged his support to the movement.

⁴⁵ Ibidem.

⁴⁶ Appendix VIII, p. 358.23; Dake II, p. 498. There has been word that the President that evening suddenly had lapsed and had to withdraw for some time from the public eye therefore; f.i. Legge, p. 386. Elsewhere it was concluded that because of this indisposition of Sukarno the conspirators had brought forward their action. This then, so the reasoning was, could explain why the coup was prepared

- before Sukarno got up Widjanarko had handed him a letter just received by express courier and coming from Untung; the President wanted to read the letter at his ease and therefore had gone to one of the side rooms in the stadium; after he had read it, he put it in his tunic pocket and began his address.⁴⁷
- Untung's letter that Sukarno received that evening contained a.o. the list of the members of the Revolutionary Council, which was due to be read out the day after over the microphones of Radio Republic of Indonesia.⁴⁸
- from the President's attitude and from what he said in the course of his address, it is clear that he was in good spirits; when he reached the end of his address, he had the following message for his audience: "*Go home quietly everybody. I have to arrange some important matters that may keep me up deep into the night*".⁴⁹
- that section of Sukarno's speech was some time later deleted from the tape by no one less than the Minister for Information Ahmadi himself.⁵⁰
- at about midnight the President set off for the Merdeka Palace, where Widjanarko reminded him that he had asked Yani to be at the palace the next morning at 10 o'clock.⁵¹
- Sukarno then went to Wisma Yaso, the house of his fourth wife, Dewi, at Jalan Gatot Subroto in Jakarta's Slipi quarter; she was not at home and so he went looking for her and found her then in the Hotel Indonesia where she was celebrating something; they both drove off together to Slipi.⁵²

so badly; see Appendix IV, p. 249. This conclusion has not been borne out by the facts, as we shall see.

⁴⁷ Appendix VIII, p. 358.23. Dake II, p. 498.

⁴⁸ Sugiarto, p. 374; Dake II, pp. 499 and 500.

⁴⁹ Appendix VIII, p. 381.14; Proceedings of the Subandrio trial, 1st session; Dake II, pp. 408 and 339, footnote 41.

⁵⁰ Dake II, p. 339, footnote 41.

⁵¹ Appendix VIII, p. 381.14.

⁵² Elson, p. 103.

PART II

OCTOBER 1, 1965

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE EDGE OF NIGHT

THE 450TH AND THE 530TH REACH MERDEKA PLEIN

Preparations for the October 1 coup that day began early in the morning. First of all the Untung Group had to take a few purely military measures in order to set the secret operation in motion in accordance with the plans. During the first hours all went fine. At two o'clock in the morning of October 1 troops from the 454th and the 530th Battalions left Halim Air Force Base, where they had bivouacked and proceeded to Merdeka Square. Together they constituted the Bimasakti group that was supposed to be responsible for the military situation in the city centre.

Captain Suradi was in command. In his group he had of each of the Battalions 454 and 530 three companies, in all, some 1,500 men.¹

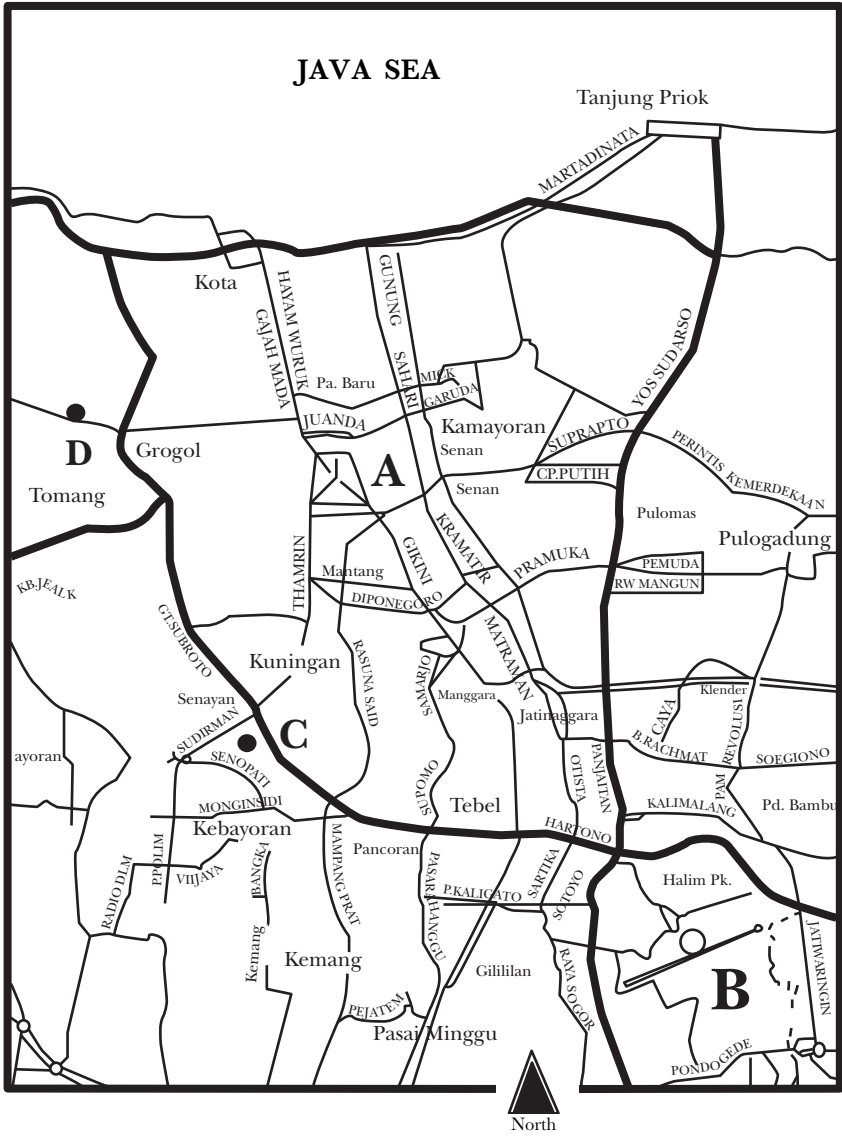
At four o'clock, the 454th Battalion took up position on the plain's northern edge, close to the Merdeka Palace. The 530th got its bivouac on the south side just opposite.

To render the coup participants easy to recognise they wore red, yellow and green silk shawls, specially prepared for the occasion by members of the Communist Women's Organisation, the Gerwani.²

Soon after reaching Merdeka Square the Bimasakti troops were already in action. A bit after 4.00 o'clock, with Suradi leading them, they occupied the building of Radio Republic of Indonesia on the western side of the square and likewise the Telecommunications Building on the southern edge. This military operation could have come direct from the pages of a contemporary handbook called "*How to Carry out a Modern Coup d'État.*" In this way, the Untung Group were able to secure the public telephone, telex and radio communications grid in the capital before daybreak, which gave them the upper hand over any opponents. This, at all events, was the assumption of the group's planners.

¹ Appendix IV, p. 241.

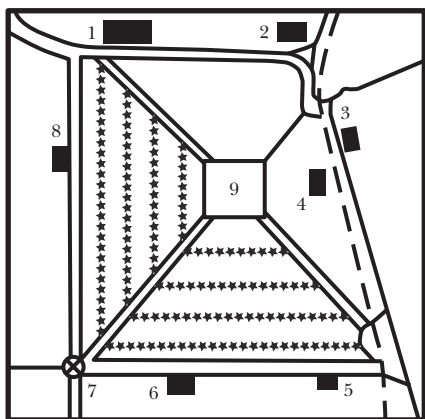
² Notosusanto, p. 30.



Jakarta Raya—Situation Map on October 1, 1965

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>A. Areas surrounding Merdeka Square</p> <p>B. Halim Perdanakusumah airforce base</p> | <p>C. Residence of Mrs Dewi, now Army Museum</p> <p>D. Residence of Mrs Haryati</p> |
|---|---|

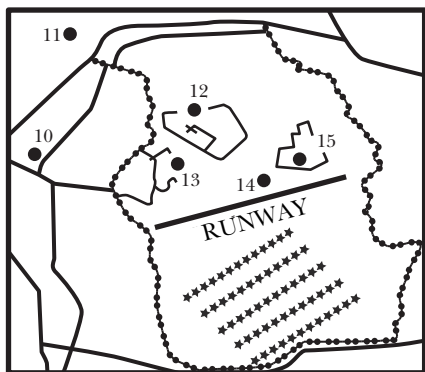
GENERAL VIEW OF MERDEKA SQUARE



1. Presidential Palace
2. Army Headquarters (then SUAD—General HQ of the Army—now Mabes TNI AD—Army HQ)
3. KOSTRAD Headquarters
4. Gambir railway station
5. US Embassy
6. Telecommunication office
7. Fountain
8. RRI, central radio transmitter
9. National Monument

This area including the Telecommunication Building and the broadcasting studios of RRI were on October 1, 1965 occupied by the Battalions 454/Diponegoro and 530/Brawljaya.

GENERAL VIEW OF HALIM AIRFORCE BASE AND SURROUNDINGS



10. Intirub tyre factory
11. Penas (areal photographic service) building, which was used as the first central executive command post (SENKO I) of the G-30-S movement in the evening of September 30 and was, in the early morning of October 1, moved to the Halim Perdanakusumah airforce base
12. Housing complex of airforce non-commissioned officers, where Aidit was hiding in the home of sargeant Suwadi
13. Another housing complex of airforce non-commissioned officers, where the leaders of the G-30-S movement set-up quarters (SENKO II) at the early morning of October 1965 in the home of seargeant Sujanto
14. Building of the Airforce Operational Command
15. Residence of airforce commodore Susanto where President Sukarno stayed on October 1, 1965

In the early morning of October, 1965 the unit involved in de G-30-S coup d'etat assembled here prior to launching their action.

THE PASOPATI AT WORK

After the Bimasakti group, it was the turn of the Pasopati group to strike forth. It consisted of seven strike units, each of which was supposed to round up an army general and take him to Halim. The generals were General Nasution, Lieutenant General Yani, Major General Suprpto, Major General Hartono, Major General Parman, Major General Sutojo and Brigadier General Pandjaitdan.³ A direct subordinate of Lieutenant Colonel Untung, First Lieutenant Dul Arief of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment was in command of the group, but remained himself at Halim.

The seven units each consisted of 130–140 men, drawn from various units that the Untung Group had at its disposal that night.⁴ They left Halim at half past three to do their job and within one hour, were back at the air force base.

The way the death quad's handled their job has been described in detail elsewhere.⁵ The provisional result was that Nasution escaped. Yani, Harjono and Pandjaitdan reached Halim already dead. Suprpto, Parman and Sutojo were still alive upon arrival, but were killed later that day. The bodies of all of them were found 48 hours later in the night of October 2 to 3 in a dry well on a stretch of land called Lubang Buaja, bordering upon Halim Air Force Base.⁶

At five in the morning when the Pasopati commandos had returned to Halim, Lieutenant Dul Arief listed the results of their handiwork. He subsequently proceeded to Senko, which was the Untung Group's Central Command. At that time of the day Senko was put up in the office housing the Aerial Survey Office, Penas, outside Halim.⁷ Arief arrived there between half-past five and six.⁸

From half-past four onward Supardjo, Latief, Untung, Sjam and Pono were already waiting. They were the hard core of the Untung Group.⁹ Arief announced upon arrival that the rounding up of the

³ See above I.2. p. 2 and Appendix II, p. 8.

⁴ Appendix IV, p. 240.

⁵ See a.o. Hughes, pp. 33–42.

⁶ See below II.11. p. 5.

⁷ Later that morning, around 9.00 a.m., Senko would move from the Penas building—Senko I—to the house of Air Force Sergeant Sujatno on the Halim—Air Base Senko II; CIA, pp. 22 a.f.

⁸ Sjam, during his trial, 2.20.1968; Proceedings of the second session, p. 145.

⁹ Statement made by Supardjo during his trial; Notosusanto, p. 35.

generals had been a complete success and that all seven, both the dead and the living, had been brought to Lubang Buaja.

It is most likely that, at that moment, Arief was convinced that indeed all seven generals must have been picked up either dead or alive and were in his hands. It is true that Nasution escaped, but the death squad had mistaken one of his aides, Lieutenant Tendean, for his boss. Tendean was said to have great likeness with Nasution.

Arief can therefor quite possibly have thought for some time that the Pasopati action had indeed been a complete success and that all seven persons captured, the death and the still living, were indeed the ones his soldiers had the orders to pick up.¹⁰

In the consultation that took place between Arief and the Untung Group's members at the Penas building the decision was taken to execute the remaining four captives. The order given to Arief was:

*Finish them off.*¹¹

RESPONSIBILITY FOR MURDER

Much later there has ensued a discussion about who had actually given the order to execute the remaining four army officers.

But first there is the question of whether killing the generals as well as kidnapping them had actually been on the Untung Group's *agenda from the start*. During the trial against Sudisman in October

¹⁰ The four officers still living upon arrival at Lubang Buaja, near the air base, seem to have been knocked about dreadfully. But initial reports that the three generals and 1st Lieutenant Tendean had been tortured and mutilated could be refuted by the autopsies of prominent Indonesian doctors. See for a somewhat different account Hughes, pp. 43 a.f. The CIA-report relates of the killing at Lubang Buaja:

"All the (four, author) victims except possibly Lt. Tendean were shot without any hint of torture or mutilation"; CIA, p. 20.

Notosusanto sums up the wounds inflicted upon the four before being shot, but confirms grosso modo the assesment of the CIA-report; Notosusanto, pp. 28, 29 and 30. One of the military who in person had participated in the killing of the four captured officers, Sergeant-Major Marsudi, had this to say:

"At 6.00 in the morning he was waken up by Major Gatot Sukrisno and given the order to finish off three Generals of the Army wearing kimono's and having been kidnapped earlier that night. Their heads spouted of blood"; Sugiarto, p. 376.

At any rate it was clear that none of the four officers still alive, when brought to Lubang Buaja, had been executed *"in an orderly and graceful manner"* by a verdict of a sort of *"people's court"*, as President Sukarno some weeks later would claim before a number of persons; Hughes, pp. 44 and 45.

¹¹ Crouch, p. 126, who invokes statements made during the Untung trial by Air Force Major Gatot Sukrisno, who together with Dul Arief had been directly involved in the murder of the four army officers.

1966 Sjam was called as a witness. He first stated that it was only a question of capturing the generals. They were to be handed over to the Revolutionary Council for further interrogation. Later on in the same trial Sjam came up with another story to the effect that the decision to kill the generals had already been taken at the group's meeting on September 29. It was a collective decision by himself Pono, Untung, Latief and Sujono.¹² Sjam repeated the first version in the course of the trial against him in February 1968.¹³

At Senko on October 1 the Untung Group was confronted with Arief's report to the effect that four of the seven generals had not yet been dead so a decision regarding life or death was still an option. Exactly how the *concrete decision then* was arrived at is no longer possible to establish. In any case Supardjo as the group's highest ranking military man who in fact had been leading it since his arrival in Jakarta on September 28, formally has accepted responsibility for the murders.

Latief, who has survived until 2005, was years later still able to supply his own version. He said it was Sjam who, from the start, had given Dul Arief as commander of the Pasopati units the order to take the generals to Halim "*dead or alive*".¹⁴ According to Latief, Sjam worked "*on his own initiative*" and took the other members of the group by surprise. Latief would later add to this version that, early on the morning of October 1, when he heard that some of the generals who had been picked up were dead, he had asked:

Why have they been killed? That was surely against the orders?

Supardjo according to Latief had retorted then that they should not worry, because he would take on the responsibility for everything.

This story of Latief does not deserve much belief. First, it does not tally with the Untung Group's internal hierarchy. In that group Sjam played an essential role and could very well have had the initiative in defining the precise nature of the planned "*kidnappings*", that is that there was no intention to let the generals concerned survive the actions against them. But at any rate within the whole

¹² Sudisman trial, 1st session; Crouch, p. 126, footnote 57. Sjam forgot to mention that apart from the members of the Untung Group that September 29 also present had been Aidit, Pranoto and Supardjo. This omission cannot have been unintentionally.

¹³ Crouch, p. 126, footnote 57.

¹⁴ Tempo, 16.4.2000.

Untung Group it had already been accepted—either implicitly or explicitly—that the fate of the seven intended victims, once captured, was sealed.

This also became apparent from the military tribunal's proceedings, where Dul Arief's orders to his Pasopati units were discussed. Just before the seven units set off early in the morning, the instructions ran quite clearly that the army generals concerned "*had to be captured and brought to the Lubang Buaja Base, dead or alive*".¹⁵ A subordinate officer, like Dul Arief, would never have given such an order on his own initiative or without first having it confirmed f.i. by his direct superior Lieutenant Colonel Untung.

In addition, when Dul Arief came to ask Senko what was supposed to happen to the kidnapped military men that were still alive, Sjam was present. There could easily have been a dispute among the members of the Untung Group as to what to do: kill the four or save them. But there is no evidence of this whatsoever.

Finally, if there was one member of the Untung Group that was not about to shrink back from finishing off the army generals, that man was most certainly Latief. His behaviour later during the crucial October 1 is there to show. When it had sunk in that Nasution had escaped and was still alive, the Untung Group was quite aware of the danger posed to the movement.

It was then Latief who set out to track down and kill him.

Rumour had it that the escaped general was in the Gatot Subroto Military Hospital to visit his small daughter who, earlier in the day, had been seriously wounded by the death squad that had come to pick up Nasution.¹⁶ Around noon Latief, accompanied by others, all armed, went to that hospital looking for Nasution. The general could not be found there so the Latief's raiding party went away again. But there is no reason at all to assume that Latief would have allowed Nasution to escape a second time.

¹⁵ Notosusanto, p. 22.

¹⁶ Information given by Dr Freddy Samalo during an interview with the author, May 2000. Dr Halim was present on the 1st of October at the entrance of the Gatot Subroto Hospital. He saw Latief—whom he knew—and two or three others, armed but dressed as civilians, jump out of a jeep and rush into the hospital. Sometime later they again left in a hurry. See also Hughes, p. 63: *If Nasution had been there, Latief would presumably have tried to gun him down.* In Latief's "Pleidooi" (Dutch for "Plea", author) Latief takes the trouble to deny that he had embraced Dul Arief with pleasure, after this Tjakrabirawa officer had completed his morning job successfully; see Latief: *Pembelaan di depan Sidang Mahmilti di Jawa Bagian Barat.*

In short Latief's story on the killing of the generals and his "dis-may" etc. was clearly a fabricated post factum, intended solely to enable him to keep his own nose clean.

On the handling of the four captured officers still alive *after the kidnapping* Sjam gave evidence in the course of his trial in February 1968 to the effect that the proposal to kill them off had been Latief's. He, Sjam, had acquiesced. But in the trial against his colleague, Pono, in January 1971 Sjam, as a witness, suddenly started to support Latief's version of events to the effect that it was he, Sjam, who had given the order to shoot the remaining generals, when the Untung Group were still in the Penas building outside Halim. He asserted that he had given that order on his own initiative.¹⁷

It may very well be that the military authorities, when looking closer into the October 1 affair in 1971, have welcomed the new position Sjam was willing to advance on account of the four killings. Sjam after all was a communist and not an army officer, and now being prepared to take exclusive responsibility for these murders, Sjam took some of the blame from army shoulders.

All this does not have much to do with *the real course of events*. It must be obvious that the whole of the Untung Group bore responsibility for killing off the remaining three generals and Lieutenant Tendean. It may be so that some were more hardliner than others on this score. The explanation that fits in best with events is the statement attributed to Sujono about the wording of the group's decision:

*By order of the Chief of Staff of the Command Centre (i.e. Supardjo, author) the ones remaining alive should be done away with.*¹⁸

NO CONFRONTATION WITH SUKARNO

In any case, it is an established fact that, although early in the morning there were still some generals left alive, the Untung Group did not choose to allow them to live and face the President later in the day. Such a confrontation might have seemed obvious. All the generals were alleged to be members of a Council of Generals, suspected of plotting against the President. So leading them, as far as still alive, before Sukarno would have been a natural outcome. The

¹⁷ Sugiarto, p. 373.

¹⁸ CIA, p. 168.

sole conclusion is that for the group a confrontation with the President had never been on the cards.¹⁹

So Dul Arief returned to Halim with the order to finish off the four remaining captives. After that had been achieved Heru Admodjo, an air force colonel²⁰ and one of the conspirators left at the air base, set off at six o'clock from Lubang Buaja to the Untung Group, still in the Penas building. He could report that Arief had carried out his orders successfully. Heru was accompanied by the commanders of the 454th and the 530th Battalions, Major Sukirno and Major Bambang Supeno.

There is nothing to suggest that at that moment the group as a whole, or anybody within it, realised that Nasution had escaped. So when Supardjo, as agreed on September 29 with the President, presented himself at seven o'clock at the Merdeka Palace in order to inform him personally of the results the leading military plotter was quite convinced that picking up and finishing off the seven generals had been a complete success.

WHERE IS SUKARNO?

We have seen that on a previous occasion the President already remarked that he was going to work late into the night on important matters.²¹ It is not known whether he slept much. According to a witness, he did get up in the morning at five o'clock and seemed to be nervous.²² An hour later he left the house of his wife Dewi

¹⁹ It is a bit remarkable that even Sukarno, notwithstanding the extensive briefing he received about the plans of the Untung Group as we have seen, apparently not has considered and indicated at some stage, one way or the other, that the generals, earmarked for kidnapping, should be brought before him. One must assume, as the author does, that such a possible action was beyond the President's designs with the purge of the Army General Staff. At any rate there is not a thread of evidence that Sukarno had doubts about the generals' ultimate fate the "*30 September Movement*" had in store for them.

²⁰ Heru Admodjo was Deputy Chief of the Air Force Intelligence Service and later appeared, together with Supardjo, to have been one of the deputy commanders of the "*30 September Movement*"; see Decision nr 1, Appendix VII: Documents, B.3, p. 293. Heru Admodjo was one of the officers, who early in the morning of the 1st of October went to the Merdeka Palace as member of the military delegation led by Supardjo. Aidit and Sjam clearly had wanted to show that not only the army was involved in the movement, but also the air force.

²¹ See above I.6. p. 59.

²² Sogul, the President's manservant, remembered that morning: "*Sukarno smoked a cigaret (. . .), a sign that he was not at ease*"; Giebels II, p. 400.

and drove off. In order to appear less conspicuous he had taken an ordinary Volkswagen driven by his regular chauffeur, Colonel Suparto. Their destination was Merdeka Palace, where the President had the appointment to meet with Supardjo at seven o'clock for a first briefing.

One of Sukarno's aides, Commissioner of Police Mangil, followed the President in a police vehicle. When the two cars arrived at the corner of Jalan Tamrin and Budi Kemulian, not far from the palace, Mangil received a report from a police colleague who had been stationed close to the house of the Minister of Defence, General Nasution. From this report Mangil understood that Nasution had not been captured, having been able to escape, and that his whereabouts were not known.²³ Mangil immediately told Sukarno of this.

So the President was the first person to know about the planned action against the army leadership, to learn that this coup had not been fully successful, insofar as Nasution had not been arrested and must have been alive somewhere or other in Jakarta. This early setback of the October 1 affair did not augur well. It would not be the only setback that day.

It is easy to understand that Sukarno was shocked upon hearing Mangil's report. He reacted rather panicky and decided that, under the circumstances, he would not continue to drive on to Merdeka Palace.²⁴ Nasution, the country's top military officer, was a capable and tough opponent and no doubt could cause unforeseen problems. He might be turning up at the palace with friends and allies to seek some explanation for what had happened. Obviously, the President did not relish this idea at all.

At that time, around a quarter past six, Colonel Saelan, one of Sukarno's aides and deputy commander of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment got in touch with Mangil. Saelan was in the house of the President's second wife, Harjati, who lived in the Grogol District of

²³ Information by Nasution to the author, March 1972; Dake II, p. 412, footnote 52.

²⁴ There have been other opinions, none of them very solid, about the reasons for which Sukarno suddenly took the decision not to proceed to the Merdeka Palace early that morning. The palace was supposed to be surrounded by "*unfamiliar troops*", Hughes writes, p. 53. Legge, p. 388, mentions that the presence of many troops around the Merdeka Square had been the motive to look for another destination than the palace. Also it has been said that Colonel Saelan, the President's Security Chief, who at first could not even find him that morning, had heard from a colleague that the Merdeka Palace had been ringed by "*unidentified troops*" and thereupon had told the President not to go to the palace; CIA, p. 17.

Jakarta. Since the President had not yet reached the palace and was not in Grogol either, Saelan wanted to know where he was. Mangil was able to tell him that the President was driving around in town.

After some consultation they decided that for the moment Sukarno might just as well drive on to Harjati's house. The President arrived there at half past six.

The conventional story about what happened early that October 1 has it, that Sukarno first heard, while in Harjati's house, that Nasution had escaped being kidnapped. He is reported to have reacted then by saying that the whole thing came to him as a "complete surprise". The CIA report, from which this is taken, ran as follows:

*It is unclear whether he meant the news of the action taken against the generals, or the news of Nasution's escape.*²⁵

It would seem that neither of these two versions was the case. The President knew of the action undertaken against the generals already for a long time and he was informed of Nasution's escape a quarter of an hour before, after Mangil had spoken with a colleague near Nasution's home.

This CIA report dates from 1968 and at the time its authors still hedged concerning the involvement of the President in preparations for the October 1 coup. The full scope of that involvement they did not yet know then. In view of this the authors concentrated on Sukarno's behaviour during that day, trying to read all the signs available, in this case then in particular Sukarno's early knowledge of Nasution's escape:

*That Sukarno first learned the true story of the raid on Nasution's home—before Supardjo (who was at the palace) heard the news and before Untung and the rest of the Central Command at Aerial Survey (the Penas building, author) learned the true facts and, apparently, even before the people at Lubang Buaja recognised the mistaken identity of Lieutenant Tendean, certainly before those at Halim Air Force Base were informed—is a crucial fact about the coup that has never been mentioned in any account of the coup. It gave Sukarno an advantage of time that the leaders of the coup did not have in considering their course of action in the light of Nasution's unexpected escape.*²⁶

In hindsight Sukarno's advantage over the (other) participants of the anti-army coup was not that important. At that time of the day all,

²⁵ CIA, p. 17.

²⁶ CIA, p. 17.

including the President, were still on the same side of the conspiracy and had not yet parted ways, as they would later in the course of that day.

NO BRIEFING AT THE PALACE

After Sukarno more or less had panicked upon hearing of the “*mishap*” with Nasution and had decided not to drive on to Merdeka Palace a lot was going wrong with the conspiracy, that at first had looked so simple.

One of the things that immediately went wrong, when Sukarno suddenly headed for Grogol, was the briefing Supardjo was supposed to give him that morning as early as possible. The coup leader was scheduled, as we saw, to report to the President in the palace at seven o'clock about the first part of the planned actions, i.e. the “*purge*” of the seven army generals.

Together with Heru Admodjo, Sukrisno and Bambang Supeno, Supardjo had left the Penas building at half past six to go to the palace. They had expected to meet Sukarno and had wanted to tell him about what they considered the highly positive turn taken by the dramatic events of that morning and provide him with all the details. However, for the moment that was impossible, since the President was not in the Merdeka Palace and worse: no one knew where he was. There was not much else for Supardjo and his fellow conspirators to do but sit around waiting in the palace, since an appointment with the head of state was of course sacrosanct.

It was not before nine o'clock, after waiting two hours, that Supardjo received a report from Air Vice Marshal Omar Dani at the Halim Operations Centre to the effect that Sukarno would be turning up there at any moment. Dani offered to send a helicopter to the palace to pick him and his party up.²⁷ That was of course a nice gesture, but meanwhile Supardjo—after all the leader of a supposedly serious, but at any rate highly irregular military operation—had already wasted two hours of valuable time. This, after Nasution's escape, was the second reverse for the Untung Group during the early hours of October 1. It was all to become worse still, both for the group and for their two partners-in-crime, still operating in the shadows, the President and PKI-Chairman Aidit.

²⁷ CIA, p. 24.

SUKARNO GOES TO HALIM

The third factor that had considerable influence on the course of events on October 1 was the President's decision to go to Halim. In Grogol, Colonel Saelan is said to have submitted, as part of the so-called Standard Operating Procedure SOP, to Sukarno three possibilities for action. He could proceed by armoured car to the palace in Bogor, or in a similar vehicle to Tandjung Priok, Jakarta's harbour in order to flee by ship. Thirdly, he could go to Halim Air Force Base near town, where an aircraft stood ready to fly him somewhere else, for example, Central Java.²⁸ Sukarno plumped for Halim.

The actual situation was this. Not going to Halim but instead to Bogor, for example, which actually would happen later in the day, had meant that the President already at a very early stage had more or less written off the "*30 September Movement*". It would, of course, have enabled him to escape the negative implications of being at Halim among all the military and communist conspirators.

Long after the event the President's presence at Halim was explained by Saelan again as prescribed by the SOP. This time Saelan supposedly implied that in general, if the Head of State was in difficulty or danger, he should go to Halim and nowhere else.²⁹

This clearly was a post facto explanation, used posthumously in defense of Sukarno. Saelan who at the time had been Sukarno's chief security man forgot to mention that he himself had gone to Halim on the previous day, September 30. He had done so in order to prepare there an emergency accomodation for the President in the house of Commodore Susanto.³⁰ Saelan was evidently blessed with near miraculous second sight in foreseeing such an "*emergency*" a day ahead.

As it was, Sukarno stuck to the plan the plotters originally had drawn up for him and went to Halim, straight into the center of the conspiracy. In doing so he got himself for all to see into a highly vulnerable position. It would help "*cooking his goose*", as the saying goes, making him inescapably involved in the Third September Movement.

²⁸ Statement made by Saelan to the author, May 2001.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ Dake II, p. 408.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MORNING

KOSTRAD IN ACTION

The Pasopatis' acts early in the morning caused immediate reactions on the part of the families of those killed, picked up or as in the case of General Nasution escaped.

Nasution was lucky, as he could scramble over the garden wall of his house and though hurt got himself out of the way and for the first moment at least in safety. His wife then had the chance to devote her attention to their small daughter Irma, who had been seriously injured in the hail of bullets. She took her daughter and ran to the house of their neighbour, Major General Umar Wirahadikusumah. As commander of the Fifth Military Regional Command for Greater Jakarta he was one of the highest ranking officers in town. Mrs. Nasution asked him to raise the alarm.¹

It was half past five. Umar first went to check upon what had happened in General Nasution's house. He then proceeded to Strategic Command, Kostrad, that was on Merdeka Square. He found there one of Yani's staff officers, Brigadier General Muskita. Earlier that morning Yani's wife had called Muskita in great distress and told him what had happened to her husband who immediately had been shot and killed instantly. Muskita had gone directly to Yani's home to see for himself and then had gone to Kostrad. It was there that the first crisis meeting was held.²

At that moment the Kostrad commander, Major General Suharto, was not yet present. Suharto had been warned around half past five by one of his neighbours that something was afoot in town. Suharto first took time to get his bearings by making various phonecalls and then took off to the Kostrad building in the center of Jakarta. Driving

¹ Information provided by Mrs Nasution in an interview with the author, May 2001.

² Information from Major General Muskita in an interview with the author, May 2001.

himself his military jeep as his driver had not yet turned up, Suharto arrived at his headquarters between half past six and seven o'clock.³

Some time after Suharto had reached Kostrad, at appr. 7.15 a.m., the Untung Group broadcast its first radio announcement which was read by Captain Suradi, the Tjakrabirawa officer in charge of the Bimasakti troops.⁴ The broadcast stated that a certain Lieutenant Colonel Untung from the Tjakrabirawa Regiment (until then completely unknown to the public) had created within the army a "*military movement*" with the purpose to combat a "*so-called Council of Generals*". President Sukarno was said to be "*safe under the protection (of the movement, author)*".

The Council of Generals, it was declared, had been planning a contra-revolutionary coup for October 5. It was Untung's intention, with the help of his movement, to steal a march on the Council. Sukarno had to be protected against generals and officers thirsty for power and reluctant in the care for their troops. The "*movement*" was given the name: "*The 30 September Movement*".

There was no word about kidnapped and murdered generals, simply that some had been arrested. Those troops not belonging to the army were thanked for their help in what was called "*the purge of the army*". Finally, it was announced that Untung would "*shortly*" be issuing the first official decision by the movement.⁵

CONFUSION IN THE KOSTRAD HEADQUARTERS

When Suharto had arrived at the headquarters, he found a rather confusing situation. Umar told him that some military unit or other had tried to arrest General Nasution. However, for the moment, that did not seem to have met with success. Muskita told him the story of Yani's wife and confirmed that Yani was abducted and prob-

³ Suharto, it is said, was warned around 5.30 a.m. by a neighbour that some shots had been fired in the vicinity. Soon thereafter the Regional Commander Major General Umar had told him that "*a number of army generals had been abducted by unknown parties*". As his personal driver had not yet arrived Suharto himself drove his jeep to the Kostrad Headquarters to arrive there, as he claimed, "*between 6.30 and 7.00 hours*"; CIA, pp. 8 and 9. The Kostrad building, at Merdeka Square in the center of Jakarta, is about a 20 minutes drive by car from the house in which Suharto then lived.

⁴ Appendix VII: Documents, B.1, p. 289.

⁵ It would take until 14.00 hours before that first official decision—Decree nr 1—was broadcast over RRI; Appendix VII: Documents, B.2, p. 291.

ably murdered by an unidentified group of soldiers.⁶ This proved enough for the Kostrad commander to tell everybody present that he would take over command of the army.

Later there was some dispute as to whether Suharto had been entitled to do this. He was, after all, not the first or even the second replacement in line for Yani. On the other hand the SOP would have been for Suharto as commander of Kostrad to take over from Yani, if and when the army commander would be out of Jakarta, but still within the country. This was also the justification Suharto himself later advanced for what he did.⁷

Clearly the Untung Group's military members had overlooked this procedural arrangement. A mistake of this kind bears all the characteristics of military diletantism. Moreover, it was to prove an act of negligence of capital importance for both the coup itself and its leaders. This was to become apparent later that day.⁸

In Yani's absence Suharto, as acting army commander, proceeded to take action. The first thing he did was to check the reaction of his colleagues in command of the air force, the navy and the police. Suharto later explained that for some reason or other he had been unable to contact the Air Force Chief Omar Dani at that stage. However he was successful in the case of the two other commanders, namely Vice Admiral Martadinata and Police General Sutjipto Yudodihardjo.

It was half past eight. In his capacity of commander of Kostrad Suharto normally had no military units under his direct command and at the ready.⁹ So he naturally started to look around where to find some reliable units. By its disposition alone, around the Merdeka Square, under his nose so to say, the 454th and 530th Battalions para-commando's did not fit the bill. So the first that occurred to him was to check on the presence of RPKAD troops who he remembered bivouacked those days a bit to the south of Halim Air Force Base.¹⁰

⁶ Yani's wife was not at home, when the army chief was murdered. She was alerted and arrived soon after. Overwhelmed by sorrow she was reported to have drenched her hands and face in still unclotted blood; Muskita to the author, May 2001.

⁷ CIA, p. 9. SOP: Standard Operating Procedure.

⁸ For Suharto's role more in detail see below II.3. pp. 101 and 102 and following and Appendix V: Suharto and the 30 September Movement.

⁹ See below Appendix IV, p. 243 and following.

¹⁰ Appendix IV, p. 244.

He then sent off one of Yani's staff officers, Colonel Sarens, who had reported early in the morning to the Kostrad Headquarters, to track down the RPKAD units in order to win them over to the Kostrad side. While Sarens got on the way, Suharto attempted the same exercise with the Kudjang Battalion No 328, and to sway them. No 328 was part of the Siliwangi Division and—together with 454th and 530th—present in Jakarta for the October 5 Army Day parade. It was still bivouacked nearby at the Senajan complex.¹¹

RPKAD TROOPS OPT FOR SUHARTO

Sarens then rode in one of the only two armoured cars Kostrad had at its disposal to the area where the troops were camped. Before Sarens could explain what he had come to do, he was more or less arrested by Battalion Commander Colonel Sarwho Edhie.¹² Edhie did not know exactly what had happened in Jakarta, but thought it just as well to arrest the Kostrad messenger. Sarens managed to explain that there had been an unsuccessful attempt to kidnap General Nasution. Worse, Yani and other top army officers had been murdered and there were troops milling all over Merdeka Square. After some time had elapsed, Sarens was able to convince the RPKAD commander, that he ought to choose Suharto's side. He then drove back again in the direction of Kostrad.

It was to become apparent that Sarens' visit was, once again, one of the unanticipated factors that exerted a decisive influence on the course taken by the October 1 coup. It caused it to play out quite different from what the conspirators had imagined.

Hardly had Sarens disappeared from view than Brigadier General Sabur, the commander of the Presidential Tjakrabirawa Regiment, also came to look up Sarho Edhie. The night before Sabur had not remained in Jakarta, as we have seen, but instead had gone to his house in Bandung.¹³ However, that morning he had returned by helicopter and landed on Halim base.

¹¹ See also CIA, footnote on p. 49. Battalion 328 was considered by the Untung Group at its worst as "neutral", especially because of the close relationship of Siliwangi Division Commander Adjie with the President. This turned out to be one of the—many—miscalculations of the Group.

¹² Information from Colonel Sarens Sudiro in an interview with the author, May 2001.

¹³ See above I.6. p. 56.

Sabur may have contacted then Untung and his group who, at nine o'clock had shifted its headquarters from Senko 1, in the Penas building outside Halim, to Senko 2, in the house of Air Force Sergeant Sujatno on the base.¹⁴ What is certain, is that both Sarens and Sabur approached the RPKAD Battalion. The only difference was that Sabur arrived too late.

Sabur's message for the RPKAD troops was the opposite of Sarens'. This time Sarwho Edhie was asked to join the other side, the Untung Group. However, Edhie had already cast his lot with the commander of Kostrad and he told Sabur as much. Edhie's decision was all the more final, as meanwhile he had heard that Army Chief Yani indeed had been murdered. Yani had been Edhie's mentor and close friend.

Later in the evening, the RPKAD Battalion, acting on behalf of Suharto, was to play an important role in recapturing the RRI Building and clearing out militarily the air force base.¹⁵

TALKING PERSUASIVELY TO THE 454TH AND 530TH BATTALIONS

While Sarens was still busy convincing the RPKAD Battalion that it should place its troops on the Kostrad side, Suharto decided not to wait for the results. The method he chose to defuse the crisis was typically Indonesian. He still did not have any very clear idea of the situation in and around Jakarta. However, he saw the 454th and 530th Battalions right before his eyes almost in front of the Kostrad building on Merdeka Square. He had also heard the announcements made on behalf of Untung and his "*30 September Movement*" by Radio Republic of Indonesia. So it was not very difficult to draw the conclusion that both battalions had sided with Untung and his group.

The previous day, during the afternoon, Suharto had had the opportunity to inspect these two battalions in connection with Army

¹⁴ CIA, pp. 23 and 24. Sujatno, an assistant to air force major Sujono, has described how things were in his house, when Senko II was located there. He must prepare some rice for the Untung Group and so now and then he had to deliver a closed envelope. O.a. to someone staying in the house of another air force sergeant, Suwadi. Only later he heard that this person had been Aidit. In the meantime he could observe Untung:

"I noticed at this time that Untung had been seated in the back of the room, and neither changed place nor said anything"; CIA, p. 24.

¹⁵ Notosusanto, pp. 72, 73 and 74.

Day on October 5 and had been far from smelling a rat. However he now was, and was keen to discover whether these two units were fish, flesh or fowl.

At nine o'clock Colonel Sukresno of his staff sent some couriers to the two battalions.

This mission was not very successful. Suharto remained hardly any the wiser. He heard that both battalion commanders were absent¹⁶ and that the command was in the hands of the two deputy commanders, Captains Kuntjoro and Sukarbi. They told the Kostrad messengers that they had been asked to guard the palace and protect the President.¹⁷

Suharto tried to make further sense of the confused situation at Kostrad. For a start, he was still unsure as regards Sukarno. Where was the President? Was he, as Untung had said in his first statement, in the group's hands? And if so, was he their captive, or had he joined their ranks of his own free will?

THE PRESIDENT SEEKS CONSULTATION WITH HIS MILITARY ADVISERS

At the same time that Suharto was trying to make sense of the situation, the President was busy setting up shop at the Air Force Operations Centre on Halim.¹⁸ He found Omar Dani there who had gone to the air force base the evening before.¹⁹ It was he who gave Sukarno his first briefing on the various actions so far.

Dani then started to busy himself with putting together an Order of the Day to the effect that the air force was in support of the "*30 September Movement*".²⁰ He later would have a lot of time in which to remember and regret this episode. In captivity he must have reflected that writing that particular order of the day had not been one of his most brilliant moves.²¹

¹⁶ That were the Majors Sukirno and Bambang Supeno, who early in the morning had left their troops around Merdeka Square to go to Halim and thereafter had accompanied Supardjo to the Merdeka Palace. At around 9.00 a.m. the whole military delegation then had been picked up by one of Dani's helicopters and was flown back to the air base; see above I.7. p. 74.

¹⁷ CIA, p. 46.

¹⁸ See above II.7. p. 75.

¹⁹ See above I.6. p. 58.

²⁰ Appendix VII: Documents, C.1. p. 295.

²¹ Dani gave the text of the Order of the Day to one of his assistants. After that

The President, just like Suharto on the other side of the capital, had a number of questions, many more than Dani could answer. What had been the result of the mission Supardjo had been supposed to brief him on first thing in the morning at the Merdeka Palace? What was supposed to be done with Nasution, assuming it turned out to be true that he had escaped? What should be done in general? What did the most important political and military props of the presidential establishment know and what did they think of the situation?

Sukarno started by instructing his aides to summon Second Deputy Prime Minister Leimena, who was in the Merdeka Palace waiting for the President, to come to Halim. Also a number of military commanders should come as quick as possible to the air base. These instructions were passed on from the base to Police Commissioner Sumirat, who as one of the presidential aides was to be found in Merdeka Palace.

It was ten o'clock. Apart from Sumirat also present in the palace was his colleague Widjanarko. As we have already seen,²² early in the morning Widjanarko had gone to the Senajan complex. All troops who were in Jakarta for the Army Day celebrations on October 5 were supposed to be assembled there for a general rehearsal of the parade. Widjanarko was responsible for it.

Much later he was to claim that the first inkling of the kidnaping and murder of a number of army generals reached him, when he arrived in the Senajan complex. At any rate he must have noticed that two of the three full battalions para-commando's that were supposed to be there, namely the 454th and the 530th, were absent. Without explanation. So there could not be any question of a general rehearsal.

nothing happened with that paper, at least no discernibly. Maybe the piece landed on one of the RRI desks or wherever. At any rate it only got public by being broadcast at 15.30 that afternoon. The situation had changed then dramatically, compared to the time that the order had been drafted in the morning. It showed Dani up with his support for the 30 September Movement. Suharto threw a fit, when he heard about it.

²² In: Sewindu dekat Bung Karno, p. 8, Widjanarko describes what he did the morning of the 1st of October, before he went to Halim. He tells that "*an army commander*" gave him the instruction that "*the whole battalion*" had to go to the Kostrad Headquarters. Probably this was the 328 Battalion that still camped in the Senajan Complex and unlike their colleagues of the 454 and 530 Battalions had stayed out of the coup actions.

The best thing to do, Widjanarko concluded, was to go straight away to the President in the Merdeka Palace. He assumed he would find Sukarno there. After all, the President had asked Leimena to present himself at 7.00 o'clock in the morning and Yani to be there at 10.00 o'clock. When Widjanarko arrived at the palace, only Leimena and Sumirat were present.

Moments later Supardjo turned up as well, together with three other members of the Senko military delegation: Colonel Heru Admodjo, and the Majors Sukirno and Bambang Supeno. All of them had come there to meet the President. Nothing much could be done but waiting, because Sukarno failed to turn up and nobody knew where he was. Meanwhile Supardjo took the opportunity to tell those present about the "*measures*" taken against the army generals earlier that day.

A first word about the President came in at nine o'clock. Sumirat received a phonecall to the effect that Sukarno had spent the last few hours in the house of his second wife Harjati in the Grogol quarter.²³ Meanwhile, the President had set off for Halim.

Supardjo with his three colleagues were after a while picked up by a helicopter Omar Dani had been kind enough to provide. Leimena, Widjanarko and Sumirat remained in the palace.

The police commissioner then came again with news, this time that Sukarno wanted Leimena and the most important military commanders to go to Halim for consultations.²⁴ Sumirat and Widjanarko decided to try to comply with this presidential order.

The problem was that the only military commander whose location they knew for sure was that of Major General Umar, the Jakarta Garrison commander who was at Kostrad Headquarters. Both presidential aides therefore drove in that direction and reported to Suharto.

UMAR NOT ALLOWED TO GO TO SEE SUKARNO

It was ten thirty and the commander of Kostrad was still not sure of Sukarno's whereabouts. The arrival of Widjanarko and Sumirat therefor was quite welcome, because the two could provide precious

²³ See above II.1. pp. 73 and 74.

²⁴ Se windu dekat Bung Karno.

information. They reported that Sukarno was at Halim Air Force Base in the Operations Centre and that he had established his quarters there.²⁵

What was less welcome to Suharto was the attempt on the part of these two messengers to take Umar along with them for the presidential consultation at the air force base.²⁶ Suharto roundly refused to allow Umar to leave, with the comment:

*We have today already lost too many generals.*²⁷

The presidential couriers, having achieved nothing, drove off to Halim to inform Sukarno.

FIRST MEETING OF SUKARNO WITH SUPARDJO

While the President was waiting for the arrival of some of the military commanders, he called Supardjo for a briefing. Then at ten thirty Sukarno meets for the first time that day the coups' chief military, who up till then, together with the other members of the Untung Groep, had been sitting in Senko 2, Sergeant Sujatno's bedroom.

The relationship between the two has been described later in this way:

*Bung Karno both regarded and treated ex-Brigadier-General Supardjo as commander in charge of the purge and seemed to have foreknowledge that ex-Brigadier-General Supardjo was the leader of the action.*²⁸

²⁵ CIA, p. 47. In the CIA-report it is said that here was the "turning point" of the coup attempt, because at that moment Suharto realized that the President was at Halim as a free agent and not captive of the Untung Group or whomever. The author rather sees such a "turning point" the moment Sukarno could not escape the conclusion that the Kostrad commander was in earnest preparing a countermove. See below II.9. p. 96.

²⁶ According to the CIA-report the President in the morning not only had tried to get Umar to come to Halim, but also Pranoto; CIA, p. 47. There are no indications that that has been the case. Pranoto moreover was in the military hierarchy of that moment not a very prominent officer and his later role still had to be prepared by the President. Once Pranoto in a longwinding session at Halim that afternoon had finally been appointed "caretaker" army commander in the absence of Yani the picture changed and Pranoto was called to present himself at the air base. In vain, as we will see below II.11. p. 115.

²⁷ CIA, p. 48.

²⁸ Appendix VIII, p. 61.

Meanwhile, Untung had used his time to good effect by signing as “*commandant*” of the 30 September Movement—together with Supardjo as one of the deputy commanders of the Movement—Decree No. 1 concerning the setting up of a Revolutionary Council.²⁹

There are various versions of the first conversation between Sukarno and Supardjo following the murders of the army generals. A most improbable version is Untung’s, as supplied in the course of his trial.³⁰ Untung asserted, although he had not been present, that Sukarno had asked Supardjo whether Nasution also had been arrested, and why it happened to be Untung who was leading the anti-generals operation. Supardjo then supposedly had confirmed that the Minister of Defence had indeed been picked up. He told the President that his colleagues had regarded Untung as the most suitable leader.

Notosusanto, together with Ismael the author of a semi-official report about the coup, came up with the version Dani had supplied in the course of his trial. Dani had asserted that the President had said nothing on the “*30 September Movement*”. But neither had Sukarno issued any orders to have the kidnapped generals taken to face him. He had simply asked Supardjo for confirmation that the Council of Generals did actually exist and had planned a coup against him.³¹

Like so many of Dani’s statements, this story had a limited, twofold goal: to clear himself as much as possible from any involvement and responsibility, while at the same time keeping the cold wind off the President’s back.

²⁹ Appendix VII: Documents, B.2. p. 291 ff. This was the decision that had been announced already in the first declaration read over RRI on 7.20 a.m. It was eventually broadcast much later, at 14.00 hours via RRI. The Revolutionary Council, Aidit’s idea, would have to be for the time being “*in attendance of general elections . . . the source of all authority in the Republic Indonesia*”. In the trial against the intelligence officer of the 530 Battalion, 1st Lieutenant Ngadimo, the commander of that battalion, Major Bambang Supeno, declared that when he had seen the Decision nr 1 he had asked Untung: “*Where in the Revolutionary Council is the place of Bapak (Sukarno, author)?*”, after which Untung told him: “*Bapak remains Great Leader of the Revolution. We are asking the blessing of Bapak*”.

³⁰ CIA, p. 31.

³¹ Notosusanto, pp. 40 and 41.

WIDJANARKO'S VERSION

Widjanarko was not personally present at the President's first conversation with Supardjo. He did not turn up at Halim until half past eleven and at that point the conversation had just finished. He obtained his information on what was discussed later from Saelan.³² Widjanarko recalls the conversation as follows:

- First, Supardjo reported that *"the assignment which had been given to him to take measures against the generals of the army had been carried out"*. Yani, Parman, Harjono, Sutojo, Suprpto and Pandjaitan *"had been succesfully taken from their houses . . . while Nasution who had also been marked down had escaped"*.³³
- Sabur, also present, came up with a *"positive"* report that *"it was true that troops of Supardjo: battaljon 328, Battaljon 454 and Battaljon 530, as well as the Tjakrabirawa Regiment were already in control of the city and the main services which, in fact, meant that the whole of the capital was in the hands of the 30 September Movement"*³⁴
- The President's reaction was as follows: *"Both during and after receiving the reports from ex-Brigadier-General Supardjo Bung Karno looked very pleased and while he tapped him on the back he said to Supardjo: "You have done well. Why did Nasution escape?"*³⁵
- So the escape of Nasution was an accomplished fact for Sukarno. It was an unpleasant matter, but for the moment incidental. The President must have been more disturbed over the RPKAD Battalion bivouacked nearby, south of Halim.³⁶ He had just heard from Sabur that he had drawn a blank with RPKAD commander and that to make matters worse the RPKAD Battaljon could not even

³² Appendix VIII, p. 384.

³³ Ibidem. Saelan probably had wanted Widjanarko to believe that it was Supardjo who reported Nasution's escape, to avoid letting out that Sukarno knew earlier than Supardjo that the Defense Minister was not killed. See also Appendix VIII, p. 390, 26.c: ". . . Bung Karno received a report from Supardjo that the task of abduction and murder had been effectively carried out." Here apparently Widjanarko refers to what he, Widjanarko, believed to be the truth, i.e. that Supardjo, meeting Sukarno for the first conversation that day had been unaware that Nasution was still afoot.

³⁴ Appendix VIII, p. 391. Sabur was too optimistic and wrong in his assessment of the position of the 328th Battalion.

³⁵ Appendix VIII, p. 384. In the Supardjo trial Sabur was heard as a witness. He confirmed that during that (first) discussion with Supardjo the President had expressed his regret that Nasution was not arrested.

³⁶ CIA, p. 35.

be considered “*neutral*” as Sabur and probably Supardjo had hoped. As it was, the RPKAD troops were the best and toughest troops in the army and it was obvious that the President wanted to raise the question of their unexpected proximity to Halim and the capital. Sukarno reproached Supardjo, saying:

*You told me the RPKAD troops would not be in Jakarta!*³⁷

Trying to reassure the President that with or without RPKAD troops around the plans for the coup were not endangered Supardjo then had answered: “. . . that it made no difference to the coup plans”.³⁸

- Widjanarko explains Sukarno’s overall approval of Supardjo’s actions from the close contact between the two in the recent past: “*As a result of this contact and the reports of Supardjo, Bung Karno knew that Supardjo, Sabur and Untung were cooperating in a purge of the Generals of the Army*”.³⁹
- According to Widjanarko also the Revolutionary Council came up for discussion. Supardjo had handed to the President a list of members of this same Revolutionary Council: “*Bung Karno was in possession of the list giving the composition of the Revolutionary Council long before it was announced on the radio and received it from Supardjo in the morning*”.⁴⁰ He continues: “*It was clear that, by receiving the list and failing to oppose or reject it or to take any measures against Supardjo, Bung Karno approved of all announcements made on the radio, as from that morning, when he received the report from Supardjo*”.⁴¹
- His interrogators asked Widjanarko why the President, when Supardjo told him that apart from Nasution six army generals had been “*kidnapped*”, had not given the brigadier-general the order to look for and apprehend the culprits. They also asked why Sukarno, as the Head of State, had not intervened when he heard of the setting up of a Revolutionary Council that had shunted aside his government. His answer was the following:

³⁷ CIA, p. 35.

³⁸ CIA, p. 35. Sabur’s action to get the RPKAD join the Untung Group, earlier that day, was as we have seen something of an emergency operation; see this chapter, p. 81.

³⁹ Appendix VIII, p. 388, 22b.

⁴⁰ Appendix VIII, p. 386, 20. The composition of the Revolutionary Council had been made public by RRI as “Decision nr 1” at 14.05 hours, following right after the announcement of “Decree nr 1” that held the setting up of the Revolutionary Council. See Appendix VII: Documents, B.2 and B.3, p. 291 ff.

⁴¹ Appendix VIII, p. 386.

- “As I have said before, there was an agreement between Bung Karno and the PKI to eliminate some army generals, and in fact the names of these generals were identical. When Bung Karno received the report about the abduction and murder of the army generals, it was for this reason that he did not immediately issue orders for a search of the victims, because the victims were the generals who were out of his favour”
 - “The fact that Bung Karno did not order action to be taken against those guilty of the abduction and murder was quite natural, because those who had carried out those orders were the very same persons he had given instructions to via Untung and Supardjo”
 - “Bung Karno himself admitted he was a marxist, i.e. of the same conviction as the PKI. He thought, moreover, on October 1st, 1965, on the grounds of reports that he had received from Supardjo, Omar Dani and Sabur, that the 30 September Movement was strong and victorious. For these reasons he took no action at all against the 30 September Movement for declaring the Cabinet demissionary”⁴²
- Widjanarko’s interrogators also wanted to know whether Sukarno had realised that the leaders of the PKI, i.c. Aidit, were at Halim at that particular moment, to which the answer was: “Supardjo, who at that day frequently saw or contacted Bung Karno, reported about the presence of PKI representatives”.⁴³

All in all, from this first discussion with Supardjo, the President had received a rather positive impression about the start of the actions against the army chiefs and so was in high spirits. This was not to last very long, particularly when he heard the experiences his aides Widjanarko and Sumirat had gathered earlier that morning.

⁴² Appendix VIII, pp. 388 and 389.

⁴³ Appendix VIII, p. 390.

CHAPTER NINE

TURNING POINT MIDDAY

After the President had finished his first conversation with Supardjo Widjanarko came in, asking to speak to him alone. A short while ago he had arrived at Halim together with Sumirat and was convinced that he had important information for the Head of State. He wanted to impart it to the President as soon as possible and in strict confidence.¹

Widjanarko told the President what he had heard and seen in the course of his tour through the city and especially in the Kostrad Headquarters. To put it in a nutshell, Suharto had taken full command and was preparing counter-actions. He felt perfectly justified, Widjanarko told Sukarno, to refuse the President's request to allow Umar to go to Halim.²

The President's reaction is easy to imagine. He immediately recognised the significance of the situation as Widjanarko had just described. Only a little while ago both Supardjo and Sabur had painted a rosy picture of the progress made by the movement. Reality now threatened suddenly to look quite different. Sukarno knew from experience that Suharto was a stubborn character³ and he immediately had a hunch of what could be coming. In addition, Sukarno must have been hopping mad about what he doubtless regarded as sheer insubordination on the part of the Kostrad commander in not letting Umar go.

¹ Widjanarko arrived at 11.30 at Halim in the company of Sumirat; Appendix VIII, p. 384.18; Dake II, p. 505; see also Widjanarko's report in Sewindu dekat Bung Karno, Sugiarsjo, p. 374:

² According to Sugiarsjo, p. 374, both aides got the message that "*the President would please get in touch with him (Suharto, author) on account of the army*".

³ With that qualification the President would later, in the afternoon, reject him as successor to Yani; see below II.10, p. 110.

THE SECOND CONVERSATION WITH
SUPARDJO—A QUARTER TO TWELVE

The President immediately decided to summon Supardjo for a second conversation. The situation in Jakarta was different from the one Supardjo and Sabur had described to him only a short while ago. Sukarno must have drawn the conclusion that his two trusted lieutenants were not specially well informed of the developments in and around Kostrad.⁴ It was then a quarter to twelve.⁵ This second conversation Sukarno-Supardjo did not last even a quarter of an hour. However, it was crucial for the further progress or rather non-progress of the original plans for the coup.

In order to get the story straight first we will look at how the conventional rendering of the talks of the President with the military leader of the coup in the morning of October 1 runs.

It should be understood then that in the more or less accepted version of what happened at Halim on 1 October no distinction has been made between a first and a second conversation between the President and Supardjo.

It is alleged then that Sukarno, while being briefed by Supardjo and being told of the death of the army generals, wanted the coup-leader to stop the bloodshed. In short he is supposed to have ordered him to call a stop to the whole "30 September Movement".⁶ And Supardjo is said to have answered that he could do so, after which the President should have tapped him on the shoulder and have admonished him:

*If you don't, I'll slaughter you later.*⁷

⁴ Here it must have counted that Supardjo had lost two precious hours that morning while waiting in the Merdeka Palace for Sukarno. Also the internal (tele) communication between Senko and the (deputy) commanders of Battalions 454 and 530 is reported to have left much to be desired.

⁵ CIA, p. 305.

⁶ Crouch, p. 127. Elson writes that upon hearing of Nasution's escape and the killing of Pandjaitan "*Sukarno immediately instructed Supardjo to cease all violent action*"; Elson p. 104. Here no distinction is made between a first and a second meeting between the President and Supardjo, and Elson in that way gives the impression that the President at that moment more or less had done everything he was supposed to do. The facts do not bear this out.

⁷ Crouch, p. 127.

Supardjo related this in the course of his own trial. Dani, Sabur and Sunarjo did the same thing during the trial against Dani.⁸ This of course calls for doubt:

- The story came from four persons, all directly involved in the action against the Army Chiefs and all four recounted exactly the same version
- All four stood under suspicion and it was in their interest to get out of their scrape as best they could and sell their hides to the highest bidder
- And finally it was in the interest of all of them to keep Sukarno out of the picture and to let him look good in view of all sorts of suspicions about his stance

From far one smells a rat. For if there has been one factor common to every report on the coup trials *as far as they have been made public to date* it was this: Suharto and his men wanted for the time being to keep the President out of the firing range, at least as long as it suited them.

The story about the tap on the shoulder should be seen in this light. It is one of the most obstinate myths surrounding Sukarno and the “30 September Movement”. It owes its existence to the four coup protagonists, stage-managed by organizers of the military tribunal.

What was the upshot of it all? There is no doubt that the President provided Supardjo as the coup’s military leader with a clear gesture of approval. But the question is: on what moment did he make that gesture? And here the fact that there were in the morning not one, but two crucial talks between two of the main conspirators comes in. The tap on the shoulder was given during the *first* talk, not during the *second*.

We have seen that Widjanarko as a witness mentions that the President looked quite content after the report of Supardjo and then tapped him on the shoulder, saying:

*You have done well. Why did Nasution escape?*⁹

Widjanarko told us more, elsewhere in his statement. In reply to the Mahmilub interrogators, who asked why Sukarno tapped Supardjo on the shoulder showing his satisfaction, Widjanarko answers:

⁸ Crouch, p. 127, footnote 62.

⁹ Appendix VIII, 384.18; see above II.8, p. 87.

Prior to the events of the G-30-S/PKI (the “movement”, author) there was already contact between Bung Karno and Supardjo through Omar Dani. On September 29th, 1965, Supardjo appeared before Bung Karno together with Omar Dani, and as I heard later, Supardjo reported to Bung Karno and about the readiness of Supardjo and the progressive troops of the army to go into action. As a result of this contact and the reports of Supardjo, Bung Karno knew that Supardjo, Sabur and Untung were cooperating in a purge of the generals of the army. It was against this background on October 1st, 1965, when in the morning, Supardjo reported to Bung Karno about the murder of the generals of the army that Bung Karno praised Supardjo and showed his satisfaction.¹⁰

In this quote the tap on the shoulder was clearly a sign of Sukarno’s straightforward satisfaction with the results of the purge. And therefore this can apply only to the *first* conversation. It was then that everything looked rosy to the Untung Group and to the President.

It was soon to become apparent that this early sign of presidential approval had been premature. Later the compliment to Supardjo, recounted here and there, began to look odd, as if the President had been rather pleased with the murders of the army generals. True though this was, this little episode needed from then on some “*window dressing*”.

So this was how the myth about the famous tap on the shoulder started. After the events of October 1 the President, or others interested in his innocence and good will during the coup hours, like Suharto, could present this episode as proof that Sukarno had done what he should have done: as quick as possible order measures to avoid the situation from getting out of hand any further, no more bloodshed etc.

AN ORDER TO STOP OR WITHDRAWAL OF SUPPORT?

It is not just the tap on the shoulder that has to be looked at in a critical light. There is also the order to stop the coup. Conventional wisdom has it that during the conversation Sukarno-Supardjo in the morning—again no distinction is made between a first and a second—the President is said to have given such an order. However, there is no confirmation at all that Sukarno actually did provide any such instruction on October 1 to Supardjo.

¹⁰ Appendix VIII, p. 388.22a.

We know now that such an order came only the day after. Widjanarko, close observer of what went on, relates the following:

Next morning, October 2nd, 1965, Bung Karno ordered Supardjo by letter to stop all action and ordered that there should be no more shooting.¹¹

So we now understand that the President tapped Supardjo's shoulder during the first conversation as a sign of approval of what had been reached so far, mainly the death of 6 army generals. We know that this happened, when things were still looking good for all the plotting parties.

We also know that Sukarno did not order an immediate halt to the actions of the 30 September Movement while at Halim on October 1, neither in the first nor in the second talk.

But do we know what went on precisely during the fifteen minutes Supardjo was summoned for the second time before the President? Well, the core of that short talk was that Sukarno had developed second thoughts and had decided, after hearing what Widjanarko had had to say, not to give his public stamp of approval to what Supardjo and his friends had wrought so far. Or at least did not yet want to give that important signal.

But whichever version was the case, in fact Sukarno gave Supardjo a strong and not to be mistaken impression to be willing to pull the carpet from under the whole of the "30 September Movement". It was a nasty reverse for the Untung Group, presented probably the way Sukarno always did: with a hearty laugh and in velvet words.

There is no doubt that Sukarno in backtracking violated his word, or at least tore apart the understanding he had with the coupists, both the military and the non-military.

The Untung Group, and PKI Chairman Aidit not less, had been firmly counting on the President publicly going to support their movement, sometime on October 1. And what is more important: they knew of the original initiative the President had taken early August, and they had witnessed the way the purge of the army top had been prepared in close contact with him. So it was quite natural that they thought entitled to assume that on October 1, at a given juncture, the "30 September Movement" would get his blessing.

For the first time there appeared a divergence of interests between the President on the one hand, and the Untung Group with Aidit

¹¹ Appendix VIII, p. 388.22b.

and his close associates in the background, on the other. Because to all it must meanwhile have become as clear as day that with the support of the President the movement might have had a fair chance of succeeding. Without Presidential support the movement risked to become a joke, and a bad joke at that.¹²

SUKARNO IS ALARMED

The President suddenly had realised that the army was not in such confusion as he had thought after the toppling of its chiefs. He had not reckoned with Suharto as an opponent and there was still Nasution who had escaped his fate and could be counted on being involved in one counter action or the other.¹³

So after the President had sent Supardjo on his way with the message that for the moment he could not to be counted upon, he started to consider some emergency steps. He took at least three measures to cover his rear should the anti-generals coup turn sour. It was then midday of 1 October:

- First, he moved his staff from the Air Force Operations Centre to the house of Commodore Susanto. The President saw his lodging there as somewhat more neutral. And anyway, it had already been made ready for him from early morning on.¹⁴
- Then he sent his chauffeur, Colonel Suparto, to Dewi's house where he had spent the night. At one o'clock, Suparto came back with some refreshments from the palace. The most important thing that he had with him was the uniform the President had been

¹² But of course one with tragic consequences for the direct victims of the purge and their families, let alone for the indirect victims, the ones affected by the semi-civil war unchained by the "*30 September Movement*"; see below III.12.164.

¹³ That could very well have been the case, were it not that Nasution was quite unsettled by the occurrences of the day, not in the least by the serious injuries his little daughter Irma had incurred. Some days later she was to succumb to those wounds. Nasution arrived at the Kostrad Headquarters only at four o'clock in the afternoon. Widjanarko sees him, when he wanted to present himself to Suharto as messenger of the President and with the order to take Pranoto to Halim; Appendix VIII, p. 395.81. Also Elson, p. 106. Nasution himself gives a frank and curious picture of what happened after he entered the Kostrad building. Apparently still in a state of shock he resorted to fisticuffs with some of his colleagues; Giebels II, p. 406 and 407. The net result was that Sukarno that day should have been afraid for what Nasution could have been up to as a normally competent military commander. But of course the President did not know that his fear that day was unfounded.

¹⁴ CIA, p. 163 and also the footnote on that page.

wearing the evening before, when he addressed the technicians' conference in the Senajan Stadium.¹⁵ Sukarno then asked Widjanarko to take out a letter from one of the pockets and to give it to him:

*Bung Karno took the letter and tore it up. That was the letter that was handed over to Bung Karno and read by him the previous evening in the stadium and sent by ex-Lt.Col. Untung.*¹⁶

The letter contained a list of the members of the Revolutionary Council.¹⁷

- Finally, the President asked Sabur to prepare a statement to be broadcast over the RRI later that day so as to give some public guidance.

THE FIRST SIGN OF LIFE FROM SUKARNO

Sabur went to work. He is then, like the President, in the house of Commodore Susanto and draws up the following text:

*In order to prevent inappropriate reports and interpretations, I herewith announce that His Excellency the President / Great Leader of the Revolution is safe and well, and continues the leadership of the State.*¹⁸

The statement indicates to have been issued “*by the Tjakrabirawa commander*” and “*at the headquarters of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment*”.¹⁹ In fact that was Halim, but that was left to be guessed. Sabur, responsible for the short bulletin, asked his chief aide, Colonel Merokeh Santoso, to record the text on tape. The whole thing then was sent by courier to the RRI for immediate broadcasting.

Let us draw some conclusions from these events. The publication of Sabur's message was one of the signs meant by Sukarno to indicate growing distance between him and the Untung Group. The President was clearly thinking increasingly that he really must save what crockery had still not been broken.

From the Sabur documents it can be concluded that the text of the “*Announcement of the Tjakrabirawa commander*” had been drafted at 12.00 p.m. on October 1 and that it had been broadcast over RRI

¹⁵ Above I.6, p. 58.

¹⁶ Appendix VIII, p. 363.29.

¹⁷ Sugiarso, p. 374.

¹⁸ Appendix VII: Documents, D.1. p. 302.

¹⁹ Appendix VII: Documents, D.1. pp. 301 and 302.

on 13.10 p.m., more than one hour later. At that moment the building of the RRI, as well as the Telecommunications building, both at the Merdeka Square in the center of the city, still had been in the hands of the Untung Group.

Sabur's report that the President was safe and well could still be considered to have been published under the aegis of the group. It turns out that it has been the sole authoritative news about the President that became public that day before the coup-attempt crashed.²⁰

By making this broadcast Sukarno had made an effort to recapture the initiative, trying to present himself as it were in his usual role as arbiter between, or beter still, above parties and people. This was at least the impression he must have wanted to convey.

In this particular instance, he thought he could be dealing with the Untung Group on the one hand, and with Suharto and his allies in Kostrad on the other. So Sabur's statement can be seen as a further presidential move on the October 1 chessboard. It certainly did not improve the atmosphere within the Untung Group. And especially Aidit and Sjam must not have been "*amused*".

AIDIT AND SJAM

Spirits at the group were at an increasingly low ebb. Supardjo had returned to Senko 2 to pass on the President's message. The Untung Group, and certainly in the background Aidit who wanted to keep things in his grip, had been firmly counting on the President for his open support. Suddenly, against all expectations, this key player had started to be evasive on that point. More than that, there was Sabur's statement that could be seen as a further attempt to reestablish the Presidential position at a distance from the movement's.

It is easy to imagine the course taken by the discussions in Sergeant Sujatno's house. Had not the whole anti-generals operation been a Presidential initiative? Was not the assumption in the whole purge-action that, at a given moment, Sukarno would be providing his placet for the movement? Had they not justifiably counted on this? Now, halfway, Sukarno was shrinking back, keeping all the options open. It was a rude slap in the face, almost a fatal blow.

²⁰ Appendix VII: Documents, D.1. p. 301.

Bambang Supeno provides an impression of the mood within the Untung Group. He was the commander of the 530th Battalion and after his visit to the Merdeka Palace early in the morning he was already some hours back at Halim. During Supardjo's trial he testified that he had been in Senko at midday. Untung, Latief and Heru Admodjo were engaged in an animated discussion about what to do in the wake of the decision by Sukarno not to support "*for the moment*" the movement publicly. Supeno said Supardjo gave the impression of "*a beaten man*".²¹

According to Supardjo during his trial Untung would have been prepared to put an end to the whole affair, but Sjam would have none of that. Latief was described as becoming extremely wild: if the President was unwilling to show his hand, they should force him to.²²

This all sounds quite credible, given Latief's excitable nature. Also Untung's reaction was not very surprising considering that the President for him always had been a kind of Godfather who had the right to suddenly change his mind.

Not just Sjam became very upset about the President's changed attitude. Aidit, still bottled up in Air Force Sergeant Suwardi's house near Senko 2, was not only just angry, but above all extremely worried that this would be the beginning of the end, and that Sukarno was trying to wriggle as smooth as possible out of the whole affair.²³

Aidit ought really to have had some understanding for the President's stance. After all, he had all the time kept open a back door of escape for himself and his party. He had always seen the possibility of writing off the "*30 September Movement*" as a strictly "*internal army matter*" without any wider political implications. The direct involvement of the trio Aidit-Lukman-Njoto and the rest of the PKI always could have been denied. This so-called "*deniability*" has been a guiding principle for clandestine operations wherever in the world and was certainly adhered to by Aidit as closely as possible.

²¹ Statement by Bambang Supeno during the Supardjo trial; Crouch, p. 127 and footnote 63 on the same page.

²² Sugiarto, p. 380, relates a statement by ex-Major Bambang Supeno, commander of the 530 Battalion, made during the Pono trial in January 1971:

"When I arrived on 1 October around 11.00 a.m. at Halim, I saw how Colonel Latief very aggressively urged Brigadier-General Supardjo to force the President to give the movement his blessing. Brigadier-General Supardjo looked very much cornered. What if the President refused? Latief then countered and said: 'If the President is unwilling then there is a simple solution . . .'. I then drew the conclusion that, if the President did not want to be forced, he possibly could be murdered". See also Crouch, p. 127, footnote 63.

²³ CIA, p. 24.

This was also the reason for the strict separation between Aidit at Halim in Suwardi's house and Senko 2—Sjam plus the group's other members—in the house of Sujatno. As far as communication between the two houses was concerned it was never direct and always via runners delivering written messages.²⁴

In this pattern fitted that Sjam and his two assistants, Pono and Walujo, although they were not unimportant communists, always stuck to their secret role and never showed off in public as PKI members. So when it came down to it, Aidit and the top brass of the PKI could have dropped them like hot potatoes, asserting for instance that Sjam and the other members of the Biro Chusus were “*agents provocateurs*” or something like that.

Therefore both Aidit and the President each had his own exit scenario. However, that is where the similarities end. For Aidit and his two closest colleagues and for good measure for the whole PKI, the stakes were much higher than they were for the President.

The PKI were striving for goals that were infinitely more ambitious and farreaching. While Sukarno simply had wanted to bring about a shift of power to the army's disadvantage, for Aidit and the PKI it had always been about taking over power completely by exploiting the unique opportunity that Sukarno's attitude had provided.

Obviously, both Aidit and Sjam must have understood right from the beginning the danger of working together behind the scenes with a man like Sukarno. They must have had ideas how to counter his gimmicks. Especially f.i. by creating as many accomplished facts as possible. Now however they had reached that stage of conflicting interests and mutual suspicion much earlier than anticipated and they started forthwith to take their own countermeasures.

- Making public Decree no.1 that set up a Revolutionary Council and made short thrift of the President's Cabinet was clearly meant to put the President on the spot. The radio announcement came at two o'clock, less than one hour after Sabur's message that Sukarno was safe and well. It did not bear the stamp of Presidential approval.²⁵

²⁴ The Untung Group and Aidit and his two assistants were not openly in touch with each other, as can be seen from the story of Sujatno as witness in the Untung trial. In the evening of October 1 for instance Sujatno had to bring a note from Senko II, his own house, to “another house” at Halim. He delivered the note to someone he later understood to have been Aidit; CIA, p. 24.

²⁵ Appendix VII: Documents, B.2, p. 291 ff.

- The next step in this game came five minutes later. Then the movement broadcast its Decision no. 1, containing the list with the names of the members of the Revolutionary Council.²⁶
- Another step in the same direction by the couple Aidit-Sjam—in fact the military members of the Untung Group must have been completely sidelined by now—was the publication of the Order of the Day, drafted by Omar Dani earlier. Its main thrust had been to declare the air force's full support for the “*30 September Movement*”. At nine o'clock in the morning that had still made sense from Dani's point of view. By the time the RRI brought it out—half past three in the afternoon—it clearly had been aimed at compromising both the air force and Omar Dani and to pin them down, hoping to put pressure also on the President.

The plotters of the first hour could at this stage not assess the precise state of their venture.

If they had been in a position to do so, they would have gathered that all these attempts to turn the tide and regain a grip on the course of the movement were in vain).

MERDEKA SQUARE—EARLY AFTERNOON

In the wake of the discussion with Sumirat and Widjanarko at Kostrad Headquarters, Suharto was better able to obtain an overall view of the situation:

- He now knew that the President was at Halim and that he was free enough to dispatch his aides all over the capital.
- He had rejected the Presidential request to allow Umar to proceed to Halim, as a precautionary measure.
- The initial contacts with the rebellious Battalions 454 and 530 had been made, although so far without much effect.
- He also knew now from Colonel Sarens' report that Commander Sarwo Edhie with his RPKAD troops would be joining in on his side. Later that day, Edhie was to come directly to Kostrad Headquarters to confirm this.

²⁶ Appendix VII, B.3, p. 293 ff.

- Then there was the 328th Kudjang Battalion, belonging to the Siliwangi Division and also earmarked for the October 5 parade, but so far “neutral”. Brigadier General Dharsono, the Chief of Staff of the Division, informally told Suharto he could count on the Battalion’s support). In this he was in disagreement with his commander, Major General Adjie, a staunch Sukarno supporter.
- The Battalions 454 and 530 on the rebel side had to be called to order and then prised loose from the Untung Group.

So overlooking the whole scene Suharto made a second attempt to turn the two battalions, and he did so with the help of a few officers who had in the past been their commanders and who happened to be in Jakarta for the October 5 parade. The upshot was that the deputy commanders of both battalions consented to go and see Suharto. The Kostrad commander informed them that they had been misled in thinking the President was in danger. And in any event, he was not in the Merdeka Palace. Both officers decided however to return to their troops.

Suharto then found it high time to step up the pressure on these two battalions and issued an ultimatum to the effect that before six o’clock that evening they would have to place themselves under his authority, or expect violence.

The only battalion to answer the ultimatum later in the afternoon, at half past five, was the 530th. Its deputy commander, Captain Sukarbi, crossed the Merdeka Square and went to the Kostrad Headquarters to announce his surrender. Major Sukirno, the commander of Battalion 454, had meanwhile taken over command again from his deputy, Captain Kuntjoro. They had not yet reached a decision and were waiting. But by six o’clock p.m. Battalion 454 one way or the other had vanished from the scene turning up later that evening at the air base.²⁷

In fact the whole exercise for which the two battalions had been dispatched had fizzled out by late afternoon of October 1.

²⁷ The Generals Basuki Rahmat, Sarbini and Sobiran Mochtar, having served in the past with the Brawidjaja Division, had succes while pressuring “their” 530 Battalion. Less effective was Lt.Colonel Ali Murtopo of the Diponegoro Division with “his” 454 Battalion; Crouch, p. 131 and footnote 70 on that same page.

CHAPTER TEN

AFTERNOON

HALIM

Sabur had given in the name of the President the first “*sign of life*” of the Head of State since the beginning of the coup. Now it had been sent to the radio building and it was time for the President’s next step. This was to have an Order of the Day written that would state who was to succeed Yani, but without mentioning his name.

We have seen Sukarno establish himself in Commodore Susanto’s house. He left a great deal to his staff. Every now and again he felt like taking a little nap,¹ while Sabur was working on his next assignment.

In the text of the Order of the Day the President announced he was still Head of State, still the Guardian of the Revolution. Temporarily he had taken over command of all Indonesia’s Armed Forces. Then came the heart of the message, concerning more particularly the army: “Major General Pranoto Reksosamudro, . . . has been temporarily appointed to carry out day-to-day tasks within the army”. Everyone should remain calm.²

Pranoto as we saw had been Yani’s third assistant and responsible for personnel matters. In that function he was not particularly the man meant to succeed Yani. Most likely, in the “30 September Movement” scenario, the President and Aidit had agreed that, after Yani’s death, Pranoto should succeed him as commander of the army. Pranoto was known as flexible and pro-communist. For many years Pono, the Biro Chusus’ second man, had been his PKI control.³ Some said, subsequently, that if Pranoto had obtained the job, he would have been for the army what Dani was for the air force.⁴

¹ Elson, p. 104: The President, “*amidst frequent bouts of resting*” let his staff do the work and prepare the appointment of Pranoto.

² Antara, 10.2.1965. The Indonesian Daily News (Surabaya) of 10.4.1965 gives 13.30 hours, 10.1.1965 as the time of issuance.

³ See for other PKI clients also above I.5. pp. 43 and 44.

⁴ CIA, p. 32.

For the President, this was probably a comforting thought. It certainly was for the PKI.

Prior to the October 1 coup, Pranoto had been working on the plans for that day.⁵ The evening before, just like Aidit, he had gone to Halim. He wanted to carry out a last check or something of the sort. However, in the morning his presence was reported in Jakarta, in the Kostrad Headquarters. According to reports, he stayed there all day.⁶

In any case, one thing is certain. When the President asked Sabur to draft an Order of the Day it was to the effect that Pranoto should be appointed as Yani's successor. The final version was readied by Sabur and then approved by the President and time-stamped at 13.30 p.m.⁷

So for Sukarno, it was certain that Pranoto was to be the appointee. Nevertheless, that afternoon, there would still follow a discussion between Sukarno's confidants about Yani's replacement as if there really were other options than Pranoto.

CONSENSUS FAKED AND REACHED

Sukarno had decided to be careful with the Pranoto procedure. The new function was to be provisional and the Order of the Day put it thus: "*He has been temporarily appointed to carry out day-to-day tasks within the army*".⁸ The President knew that Pranoto's background, militarily speaking, was not especially prominent which was why he chose caution. Sukarno wanted to create as much credibility as possible among his political circle and get the agreement of people like the two Deputy Prime Ministers, Leimena and Chaerul Saleh, and the commanders of the navy, air force and police.

We have already seen the President trying to summon a number of those commanders to Halim early that morning. We have also seen that he was not particularly successful. Major-General Umar who was the city's military commander, had not been allowed to proceed to Halim.⁹ It has to be admitted that Umar did not feel

⁵ See below Appendix IV, pp. 236 and 237.

⁶ Appendix VIII, pp. 358.24B, 389.24B, 394.31a.

⁷ Antara, 10.2.1965.

⁸ Ibidem.

⁹ See above II.8, p. 88.

much like it himself. The commander of the military police, Major General Sutjipto, had suddenly sheered off the day before to Central Java. He was on a so-called inspection trip and was supposed not about to return to Jakarta at the drop of a hat. Vice-Admiral Martadinata, the commander of the navy, had been the whole day at Kostrad and was not dancing with impatience to accede to the Presidential request immediately.

The result was that it was half-past two before any of the guests drummed up actually reported to the President in Commodore Susanto's house.¹⁰

- First of all a few Sukarno trustees who had already been spread around the air force base, such as Vice Marshal of the Air Force Omar Dani, Brigadier General Suthardio,¹¹ Brigadier General Sunarjo¹² and Brigadier General Sabur arrived
- Somewhat later, special guests such as Admiral Martinadata, the Police General Sutjipto, who had meanwhile surfaced again, and Leimena turned up.

How could it be otherwise: the first subject on the agenda was the Revolutionary Council. A few minutes before the meeting at Susanto's house the Untung Group had announced over the radio that this Council was being set up and somewhat later also its composition was broadcast over the RRI.¹³

¹⁰ Appendix VIII, pp. 363, 28b and 385.19.

¹¹ Suthardio was attorney-general, a serious man and very close to the President. That afternoon he showed himself "alarmed", when he heard of the existence of a Revolutionary Council, and at first was against the appointment of Pranoto as caretaker-successor of Yani. In the end he acquiesced in Sukarno's wishes on this point; Appendix VIII, pp. 475 ff.; Crouch, p. 174.

¹² Sunarjo was one of Sukarno's cronies. He was deputy-attorney-general, the second man to Suthardio. He was chief of the section criminal investigations and in that capacity he assisted the President in receiving all sort of precious goods that were seized by the police mostly for political reasons. Widjanarko reports about what changed hands in this way: "vehicles, antiques, jewels and foreign currency" as well as "cars, gold adornments, diamonds, brilliants" etc. He testified f.i.:

"1. Somebody was detained on suspicion of having violated the law. After an investigation, Gen. Sunarjo reported it to Bung Karno and also submitted a list of the possessions of the person in question. 2. Gen. Sunarjo suggested, and asked permission to confiscate the goods. Bung Karno gave his permission and the actions had his blessing. 3. The goods were confiscated and handed to Bung Karno"; Appendix VIII: pp. 455.92a, 456.92b, 463.98c.

¹³ Decree no 1 on setting up the Revolutionary Council, and Decision no. 1 with the composition of that Council were broadcast at 14.00 and 14.05 p.m. that day; Appendix VII: Documents, B.2 and B.3.

Sukarno asked everyone present to have a look at the list of members.¹⁴ It was a stencilled list bearing Untung's signature. That morning, during their first conversation, Supardjo had given it to the President.¹⁵ His reaction to the radio announcement concerning the Revolutionary Council was hardly surprising therefore. But it was in a sense nevertheless remarkable, as in fact on paper the council did abolish his own government.

Widjanarko describes it in the following terms that reflect his own interpretation:

From my personal observation I can say that, when Bung Karno had heard the announcement on the radio that the Cabinet had been declared demissionary by the 30th September Movement, he was quite calm, was not shocked and did not appear either to reject or oppose the announcement. I concluded from the attitude of Bung Karno that he approved of the announcement.¹⁶

SUKARNO'S REACTION IN THE FACE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL

We know the direct involvement of the President with the Revolutionary Council, not maybe with the details of it but with the general purpose. Sukarno must have seen this council as a halfway house towards a new government, most likely one that he would have called his first "Nasakom"-government, representing the three pillars, which the President saw as foundation of the country: nationalism, religion, communism.

But such a government would no doubt have been much more directly under the influence of the PKI than the President would have liked. There would have been soon leading members of the PKI fully in charge of ministerial departments. Matters would not be as at the time, August-September 1965, when some PKI leaders were at most rather official but toothless Ministers without Portfolio.

Attention has been drawn here and there to the composition of the Revolutionary Council, in particular to the fact that a number of patently non-communists were on the list and almost no known

¹⁴ Appendix VIII, p. 385.19b.

¹⁵ Sukarno was already familiar with the texts, because the night before during the conference of technicians in the Senayan Stadium he had received a letter from Untung with all the particulars; see above II.8, p. 88.

¹⁶ Appendix VIII, p. 385.19a.

communists. Implied in this observation is the idea that the Revolutionary Council could have been a rather innocuous group of people, not intent or prepared to take over power from the President.

Here the outside appearance was tricky and the setting in which the Revolutionary Council was supposed to have functioned as new government is of importance. The army was supposed to have been practically decapitated and more or less a tool of both Sukarno and, through Pranoto, the intended new army chief, of the PKI. Not much fantasy is needed to imagine the ensuing situation, in which the triangle of power—the army, the PKI and on top as ultimate arbiter: the President—for all practical purposes would have been dramatically altered to the benefit of the PKI. That situation would have been comparable to what prevailed in a number of Eastern European countries like Poland and Czechoslovakia right after the Second World War.

In the beginning these countries were independent and to a certain extent democratic. But then, with elected communists in parliament and with the support of the Soviet Union, the anti-communists in government functions were sidelined and eliminated as political actors, the non-communist politicians became marginalized and then isolated, and in no time so-called broadly based, but communist dominated governments were in power. This has been the standard procedure at the time and in fact opened the way, roughly from 1948 onward, for a total communist take-over and the beginning of fully communist People's Republics in Eastern-Europe. So it is not too farfetched to imagine that sooner or later Indonesia with help of the Revolutionary Council as front would have become a "People's Republic", probably with Sukarno still in function as President, but reduced to a figurehead.

Sukarno with his normally ebullient character doubtless would have taken a more sunny view of the future of the country. If he had given a serious thought—in itself a doubtful assumption—to what would come after the Revolutionary Council had taken over from the government of the day, he probably would have seen himself again on top of a newly rearranged triangle of power, where he as usual could have the last word.

He must have thought optimistically that he would be less bothered than before by the military with those ever-obstinate army chiefs out of the way and Pranoto in charge of a now loyal second tier of friendly and cooperative Sukarnist generals. And he must have been fully convinced that he could handle Aidit and his PKI.

There is another explanation for Sukarno's flegmatic behaviour on that October 1 afternoon than Widjanarko has provided us with. Perhaps the President had already cut loose from the political aims of the "30 September Movement" and was already thinking beyond the original scenario the PKI had had in mind.

But at any rate one thing he must have seen more clearly than ever. After the reports had come in about the opposition of Suharto and of a number of other army generals, Sukarno must have understood that the concept of a broad "*people's government*" was no longer on. The President realised more than ever that his was now a battle for survival: he had himself conjured up this crisis and he had now to drive the beast back into its lair and to contain the damage.

THE REACTIONS OF GUESTS

The President could probably not have cared less about what persons such as Leimena, Martinadata, Sutjipto and the others really thought of the council. However, he did ask them.¹⁷ Widjanarko said it ran something like this:

*With the exception of Omar Dani, all officials who were then present appeared to be most shocked by the declarations made by the 30th September Movement. Their attitude was one of rejection towards those announcements and they made proposals to Bung Karno with regard to the situation which then existed.*¹⁸

- Leimena played his usual role of friendly go-between. He came forth with a warning that after the murder of the generals, the President "*should be extremely cautious in tackling the situation and should not be too credulous about reports emanating from the 30th September Movement*".¹⁹ This was something he could always get away with. Leimena also said the President might do well to leave Halim.
- Martadinata had been present at Kostrad before going to Halim, so he knew how matters stood there. He suggested to Sukarno that his staff ought to contact Suharto some time.²⁰
- Sutjipto, like Leimena, showed extreme caution. He wanted to leave what actually should happen up to the President. He was

¹⁷ Ibidem p. 386.21a.

¹⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰ Ibidem.

particularly exercised about the fact that, like so many others, he had not been consulted beforehand, whether he at all wanted his name on the list of the Revolutionary Council. And it offended him most that one of his subordinates, Police Commissioner Anwas, stood higher on the list than he himself did.²¹

Some general comments on events by Sukarno have survived him. For instance he is said to have confided to his guests that afternoon:

Such an event (the "30 September Movement", author) is perfectly normal in a revolution.

On the subject of the kidnapping and murder of the army generals, he said: "*It is only a ripple in the ocean*". He saw no reason in all these happenings to express any value judgements, or become at all excited.²² Except then about Suharto. Whenever someone mentioned his name, Sukarno would fly into a rage.

What did the President think of the views of his very special guests? It was nothing much: he did not want to leave Halim. And neither did he want to take up contact with Suharto's Kostrad Headquarters. He was still cross with Suharto for not allowing Umar to go to Halim and was clearly even more annoyed that it had turned into a nest of resistance to the Untung Group.

PRANOTO'S APPOINTMENT SECOND ON THE AFTERNOON AGENDA

The atmosphere of the meeting was rather uncomfortable and tense. Sukarno nevertheless brought up the possible appointment of Pranoto.²³ He made it look as if he wanted only a temporary replacement and asked those present whom they thought most suitable. This was a game the President was very good at and no one in his entourage could beat him at it. Whomever the participants would propose in the end it was going to be Pranoto.

We owe the most popular variants regarding this discussion to a number of statements made on the subject by people who were witnesses at the military tribunal, or who were heard as suspects.²⁴

²¹ Ibidem pp. 387.21a, 397.33.

²² Ibidem, pp. 386.19b and 387.21b.

²³ Ibidem, pp. 362.27a, 390.25a.

²⁴ See a.o. Crouch, p. 128; Elson, p. 104, in turn quotes Crouch.

Leimena, Martadinata and Sutjipto had proposed Basuki Rahmat, Suharto or Mursjid. Sukarno is said to have shot them down, one after the other. At least that is what Dani related during his trial: Rahmat was in bad health, Suharto was too obstinate, Mursjid was quarrelsome.²⁵ Supardjo and Sjam have been reported also to have provided information about this “*selection procedure*” during the trials against them. So while the discussion went on rather inconclusively Sukarno meanwhile had Supardjo brought into Susanto’s house through the backdoor. He was going to participate in the talks and was—with the Untung Group more or less in total disorder—the direct link with PKI Chairman Aidit.²⁶

AT THE EDGE OF PANIC

Sukarno went on talking to his guests about Yani’s “*temporary*” replacement, dropping a word here and a word there. At the same time he gave his staff two orders to execute. These were characteristic for what gradually in the course of the day had become the President’s mood: in the morning he had been hopeful and pleased, moving on to being concerned but realistic at midday and ending now more or less in nervousness and near panic.

So for one Sukarno felt he needed the support and good advice of a man whom he knew had usually more than one string to his bow and that man was his general factotum Subandrio. The First Deputy Premier was as we saw on an “*inspection mission*” somewhere in Sumatra and that turned out subsequently to be Medan.²⁷ The President “*requested*” him to return to Jakarta immediately. Wanting no excuses for delay he placed his own plane at Subandrio’s disposal and at three o’clock it took off. However, it was all to no avail. Subandrio was “*nowhere to be found*” and at any rate did not react. In the evening, the Presidential aircraft returned empty to Halim. Subandrio had decided that it would be wise to stick it out for the time being far away from the capital.

²⁵ Crouch, p. 128. Mursjid was the one who had been nominated by Sukarno himself on September 29 as successor to Yani, then still alive. A rather cynical farce, as we saw above, I.6. p. 54.

²⁶ Appendix VIII, p. 362.27b and p. 473.108b.

²⁷ Subandrio and his delegation had left Jakarta on September 28 first to go to Benkoelen, then to Padang and ending up on September 30 in Medan; information received by the author from the former Minister of Agriculture, Frans Seda, May 2001.

The President then took a second step that showed his considerable concern with regard to developments, not just at Halim but also in Jakarta. This time it was about three of his children. He ordered Police Commissioner Mangil to make sure that the three of them, then at the Merdeka Palace, should be brought immediately to Halim. They were Rachmawati, Sukmawati and Guruh. At four in the afternoon they arrived at the air force base and were then flown by helicopter to Bandung.²⁸

Just who it was that afternoon who slipped Pranoto, the marked card, into the game is not entirely clear. It has been reported that the proposal to appoint him came originally from Supardjo.²⁹ It certainly must have been in consultation behind the scenes between Supardjo and “*PKI representatives*” at Halim, no doubt a reference to Aidit.³⁰

The stage management was probably as follows. Supardjo was going to mention the name of Pranoto in order to draw the others present into the discussion of this person. It was not supposed to be done in too obvious a way. So Supardjo would mention not only Pranoto, but someone else as well, in this case it was Basuki Rahmat. This is at least what he did according to a statement he made during his trial.³¹ All this was intended to provide Sukarno with the opportunity to opt for Pranoto’s candidature as a seemingly natural outcome of the discussion.

Finally when everything was arranged Supardjo claimed still to need the approval of the “*command*” of the 30 September Movement i.e. Aidit. This approval proved to be forthcoming fast enough, thus ending a rather bizarre piece of shadowboxing.³²

The result had been that the meeting took more or less the whole afternoon until five o’clock. Only then Sabur was in a position to give instructions to Widjanarko, who was ordered to go forthwith to the Kostrad Headquarters to inform Pranoto of the decision taken by the President and to make sure that he would come to Halim.³³ Widjanarko did not manage to arrive at Kostrad until seven o’clock.³⁴

²⁸ Appendix VIII, p. 479.113.

²⁹ Notosusanto, p. 41.

³⁰ Appendix VIII, p. 389 and 390.25a.

³¹ Crouch, p. 128.

³² Appendix VIII, p. 389 and 390.25a.

³³ Ibidem, pp. 358.24a, 362.27a, 394.31a and 474.108c, and Sugiarsa, p. 374.

³⁴ Appendix VIII, p. 474.108c.

The scenario of the coup members looked like becoming reality: a second-class member of Yani's General Staff was to have responsibility for current affairs within an army that had meanwhile been beheaded and in disarray. He was going to perform this function on a "*temporary*" basis, working as a caretaker, with as his direct superior Sukarno himself. For the President had thought it the best to appoint himself, also "*for the time being*", as Commander in Chief in charge of wole of the Indonesia's Armed Forces.

It all fitted in beautifully with the Order of the Day drawn up already earlier in the afternoon at 13.30 by Sabur: the President was fine, he is in charge of all military forces, Pranoto looks after the army, and in short: everything is OK.³⁵

Things however did not turn out to be that simple. The Order of the Day of course was meant to be published and made widely known. It should have been broadcast over the RRI as soon as possible. Nothing came of that. Once the decision on Pranoto's appointment etc. had been reached Vice Admiral Martadinata was requested to bring the President's statement personally to the RRI in Jakarta. But it never came to a radiobroadcast. When Martadinata arrived at the Merdeka Square around 6 o'clock he could see for himself that the RRI building—and that of the Telecommunications authority—had been surrounded by troops under effective command of Suharto. 30 minutes later the two buildings would be retaken from the few soldiers still loyal to the Untung Group.³⁶ So as turned out later Sukarno's Order of the Day only reached the outside world as part of a bulletin of the official Antara newsagency with the date-line October 2.³⁷

After having taken care of the reoccupation of the two buildings at the Merdeka Square the RPKAD troops readied themselves for the next round, which was to cut out the heart of the coup operations: Halim. If need be, this would include the President, although the new army leader Suharto had a preference for Sukarno to have left the air base before the forces under his command would start their operation.

³⁵ Antara, 10.2.1965.

³⁶ Crouch, p. 130; Kopassus, p. 138.

³⁷ Antara, 10.2.1965.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

‘ARE WE SAFE ON THE WAY TO BOGOR?
YES, PAK, WE ARE!’

END GAME IN SIGHT

At Halim the President and his inner circle had been spending the afternoon trying to decide on a replacement for Yani. Meanwhile, their opposite numbers in Kostrad Headquarters had been reaching their own conclusions about what action to take.

Earlier in the afternoon, due to a number of reasons, there had been a new source of confusion. At half-past three, the radio had announced that Dani and the air force were standing four square behind the “30 September Movement”. Dani had written the text in the morning, when he felt optimistic enough to use firm language.

In the afternoon he must have felt quite unwilling to stick out his neck so evidently, but Suharto was not aware of this. The Kostrad commander turned white with rage upon hearing Dani’s Order of the Day: that ran:

... the Indonesian Air Force will combat any action that endangers the Indonesian revolution we order all members of the Indonesian Air Force . . . to intensify preparedness against all eventualities, internal as well as external.¹

Suharto decided not to take any risks and transferred Kostrad Headquarters to the Senajan Stadium complex. He thought it would prove more secure in the event of the air force really going into action.

Kostrad remained in the dark about the internal developments at Halim. Nobody at Suharto’s headquarters was aware of the dramatic swing in the President’s mood that was taking place in the course of the day, and specially after the second meeting Sukarno had had with Supardjo. Let alone that the Kostrad commander and his staff had any idea in what sort of state of near depression and anger the members of the Untung Group had lapsed.

¹ Appendix VII: Documents, C.1, p. 295 and 296.

For Suharto however the picture was nevertheless slowly but surely becoming clearer. We have already seen that one of the two rebellious battalions, namely the 530th belonging to the Brawidjaja Division, had responded to Suharto's ultimatum and was now under his command. Sarwho Edhie had meanwhile stationed his battalion of RPKAD paratroops close to Merdeka Square, ready to take up arms, as soon as Suharto gave the word.² Finally, there was the other recalcitrant battalion, the 540th of the Diponegoro Division that stealthily was renouncing its positions on Merdeka Square and, just before expiry of the ultimatum at six o'clock, seemed to have sheered off.

Later Suharto was to receive praise for resolving the tense situation on Merdeka Plain without having to resort to violence. Talking to the rebellious troops, while slowly increasing the pressure, had yielded the result intended. But we should not forget that Suharto was helped in this by the extremely poor logistic brainwork of the Untung Group.

In the course of the day it was to become apparent that supplies for the movement's troops in the city centre were practically not forthcoming. Not even the minimum rations had been handed out, so in short the rebellious troops around the Merdeka Square felt neglected and hungry. This state of affairs was not really conducive to the revolutionary zeal these troops were supposed to radiate. It is said for instance of the 454th Battalion, that "*not having had any food all day, they left for Halim Air Base*".³

The Untung Group, in preparing the coup, had been dropping stitches fast.⁴ One of these clearly had been supplies for the troops on Merdeka Square. But there were other signs of sloppiness. One of these was that the special Air Force Rapid Action Troops who had been promised for D-Day had not been forthcoming at the time or place agreed upon. Both points were Sujono's responsibility. He seems to have been a kind of dunce and rather unsuitable for his job.⁵

² See above II.8, p. 101.

³ Notosusanto, p. 21.

⁴ Appendix IV, pp. 248 and 249.

⁵ Sujono had been instructed at the end of August to begin with what could be called "*the fifth force*", arming and training young pro-communist men and women; Notosusanto, p. 140. There were about two to three thousand persons, recruited from various communist front organizations like Pemuda Rakjat, SOBSI, BTI and Gerwani. As a sort of people's militia they had to be kept in reserve at Lubang Buaja. In practice they turned out during the 1st of October to be a rather undisciplined and chaotic lot, being in the way of everybody at Halim and around. Accusations that these armed citizens had been engaged in acts of violence etc. against the captured officers at Lubang Buaja have been found without ground. In

In the Kostrad commander's view the most pressing task was to end the occupation of the RRI and of the Central Telecommunications building, where an unspecified number of Untung troops were still hanging out. Suharto set aside the RPKAD troops for this work. As soon as the 454th Battalion had disappeared, RPKAD units promptly surrounded both buildings and, at about half-past seven, had cleared them of Tjakrabirawa troops without loss of blood on either side.

At roughly that time Widjanarko, as the President's go-between, reported to Suharto's new headquarters at the Senajan Stadium.⁶ He had to cool his heels a while, because the Kostrad commander was rather busy. While he was waiting, Widjanarko saw that among other persons present were General Nasution and Vice Admiral Martinadata.⁷

He talked to both. Nasution summed up the situation with the words:

Priority number one is to restore the security situation.

He asserted that it might prove necessary to employ military force against Halim.

Sukarno's aide got a fair, but explicit hearing from Suharto. The Kostrad commander was still very angry about the Dani's Order of the Day, as broadcast over the radio at 3.30 under Untung Group auspices. Widjanarko did not know of this peculiar broadcast, but he understood that Dani and his men at Halim, especially because of their weaponry, had by now become adversaries for Suharto.⁸

As a result, Suharto did not feel at all inclined to fall in with the President's request to allow Pranoto, who was also present in the headquarters, to proceed to Halim:

*Tell Bapak (Sukarno, author) that general Pranoto cannot come. For the time being I am head of the army and that is why from now on, all instructions must go through me.*⁹

the evening these young people were in extremis sent to "recapture" the building of the (pro-communist) National Front on Merdeka Square. Soldiers of the 530 Battalion, meanwhile turned around by Suharto, easily could take care of these volunteers.

⁶ Appendix VIII, pp. 464.100 and 473.108b.

⁷ Appendix VIII, p. 395.31b. As we saw Martadinata had arrived at Kostrad Headquarters at around 6.00; above II.10, p. 112. It was then too late to have Sukarno's Order of the Day broadcast by RRI, because the RRI building was meanwhile about to be stormed by the pro-Suharto RPKAD troops. Maybe Martadinata anyhow had not been so keen on having the document made public or Suharto might have talked him out of it.

⁸ Appendix VIII, p. 464.100.

⁹ Appendix VIII, p. 358.24b.

One way and another, Widjanarko quickly saw how the lines were drawn. The new headquarters had become a hive of activity. RPKAD troops just had finished the job of throwing the last rebellious soldiers out of the RRI building. Together with the 328th Kudjang Battalion they were getting ready for the next job, retaking Halim.¹⁰

The President's aide could see for himself that the first of the initially disaffected battalions, the 530th, had now gone over to Suharto's side and was helping to disperse the handful of irregulars—remnants of Sujono's "*Fifth Force*" experiment—that were trying to occupy the building of the pro-communist National Front on Merdeka Square. And as to the other battalion, the 454th, we saw already that its soldiers were by and by disappearing.

Suharto was clearly now the new central military figure.¹¹ In this capacity he gave Widjanarko a word for Sukarno: *Bambang, see to it that Bapak leaves Halim.*¹²

It was about seven thirty when Widjanarko, convinced that his message for Sukarno was a very serious one, went back to Halim. For the President, it was now clearly a matter of do or die.

Meanwhile, Suharto had created a situation whereby he could step forth in his capacity of Kostrad commander and publicly report how matters stood. Technically also, he was now able to do so, because he had now occupied the RRI and it did not take long before Suharto made his first statement, broadcast that evening at a quarter to nine.

For Suharto there were two vital questions.

- The first was: what had happened to the six army generals who had been kidnapped? Some of them, it seemed, had been killed.
- Next, what was the President's position? Was he in Halim against his will? Had he voluntarily placed himself under the protection of the "30 September Movement" and if so, why? Or had he

¹⁰ See above II.10, p. 112.

¹¹ Nasution, not in a position that day to influence the course of things, told Widjanarko when they met at the Kostrad Headquarters that afternoon:

The important thing for us is to restore security as soon as possible. This means military action. As far as the political solution is concerned leave that to the old man (i.e. Sukarno, author).

Widjanarko concluded for himself:

... an attack on Halim by Kostrad was imminent.

See Appendix VIII, pp. 395.31b and 396.31c.

¹² Appendix VIII, pp. 358.24b and 395.31a.

played a more sinister role, in that he had been directly involved with the movement?

In his first radio statement Suharto spoke of a “*counter-revolutionary movement*” that had announced its presence that day, and he mentioned the kidnapping of six army generals. He did not say that some of them were feared to be dead.

The statement went on to say that President Sukarno and the Minister of Defence, General Nasution, were both safe and in good health and that for the time being, the army was in the hands of the Kostrad Commander, Major General Suharto.¹³

This radio broadcast was actually coming over the air, just when Widjanarko was about to report to the President in Commodore Susanto’s house on Halim.¹⁴ It was now Sukarno’s turn to go over the top. He listened to Suharto’s words and then he heard what news Widjanarko’s had to bring.

After all that it was not really surprising that the President became completely beside himself:

- The decapitated army, contrary to all expectations, seemed to have recovered fully in the course of only one day.
- The Nasution/Suharto duo looked very threatening and unexpectedly effective, and the situation in this respect was more serious than Sukarno had suspected halfway through the day.
- The Untung Group’s earlier successes, such as gaining control of Central Jakarta and of the means of communication, seemed to have evaporated into thin air.
- Pranoto—the man who was supposed to assume temporary command of the army—had not even been able to report to the President.
- To cap it all, the Head of State had received firm instructions from the “*man of the hour*”, Suharto, to pack his bags and leave Halim to seek refuge elsewhere.

In short, for the President what Suharto had done was simply a complete demolition of his own authority and a case of crass insubordination.¹⁵

¹³ Appendix VII: Documents, E.1, p. 306.

¹⁴ Widjanarko put his arrival at Halim on “*appr. 20.00 hours*”; Appendix VIII, p. 358.24b.

¹⁵ Also: Crouch, p. 132.

In the President's eyes, Kostrad had now become the centre of the "*Council of Generals*", the incarnation of evil, the very generals he thought to have gotten rid of that October 1. It was particularly repugnant to him that Suharto in his radio statement that evening had referred to the "30 September Movement" as "counter-revolutionary". In the President's eyes, this was the worst thing with which he, the Great Leader of the Revolution, could possibly be associated with.¹⁶

FOR SUKARNO ADVISORS GALORE

As the new situation developed the President tried hard to get his bearing. He again called Supardjo in to see what the Untung Group and especially Aidit and the communists present at Halim now had up their sleeve. That was not much and certainly not very pleasant.

As a result Sukarno, who in any case never had been strong in the face of unexpected reversals of fortune, was described as more or less knocked right out of the game.

From all sides people plied him with good advice and placed him under pressure.

Dani for one was in favour of the President actually leaving Halim and making for Central Java, where he could await the outcome of events. There was an aircraft ready and waiting for him.¹⁷

From the coup's further course of events we can see that this preference must have been shared by *Aidit's*. We saw that Aidit had become very upset, when earlier that day Sukarno refused to express any open support for the coup. Now the PKI chairman seemed to have realized that the President was about to drop both the "30 September Movement" and himself and the PKI as well.

Already in an earlier stage, when October 1 was still future music, Aidit must have felt sure that even without any firm prior commitment the President in the event would place his authority behind the Untung Group and the movement. Sjam probably reflected the

¹⁶ The prevailing terminology during the period of so-called Guided Democracy gave the President the title of "*Great Leader of the Revolution*". Contra-revolutionaries were in the eyes of Sukarno the most abject of politicians. Suharto might not have been aware then that by using the term "contra-revolutionaries" he offended the President. Suharto's first impression probably had been that the coup had been directed against the government in power and in that sense was "*contra-revolutionary*".

¹⁷ Appendix VIII, p. 364.30d.

opinion within the PKI leadership, when he said during discussions within the Untung Group:

*If the movement meets success the President will surely agree to it.*¹⁸

Then as the day wore on it must have become clear to Aidit that the two of them were in fact going separate ways. Worse still, the President might fast become an opponent to Aidit that would be doing the dirty on him. The irony was that the PKI chairman had been always thinking it would be the other way around.

For Aidit there seemed to be only one way out of the mess. Willy nilly the President, as the symbol of a progressive Indonesia, would have to be persuaded or otherwise coerced into going somewhere in Central Java. There he would have to regroup and gather his forces, trying to save what still could be saved.

In Dani, Aidit seemed to have found someone who looked like a true friend and on top of that would be able to provide the technical means, planes at least, to carry out this emergency plan.

Others, such as the Second Deputy Prime Minister *Leimena* had considered the major hazards that the President's departure for Central Java would involve.¹⁹ Sukarno would then irrevocably be associated with the "30 September Movement". There would be uncertainty about the loyalty of certain army units, such as the Diponegoro Division, that were reckoned to be strongly infiltrated by the PKI and well disposed towards that Party's policies. A real civil war that would have devoured the country might well have ensued.²⁰

The President must, in the end, have shrunk back from the consequences of something like the scenario *Leimena* is supposed to have sketched. Weighing up the country's future and, above all his own, in those closing hours of October 1, he had to make a stark

¹⁸ Brackman, p. 90.

¹⁹ "Deputy Prime Minister *Leimena* who (...) had stayed close to the President the whole afternoon, seems to have been primarily responsible for changing Sukarno's mind. He argued that Sukarno should disentangle himself from the coup and go straight to his palace in Bogor, where he normally went every Friday afternoon (and it was then Friday evening) to spend the weekend"; *CIÁ*, p. 54.

²⁰ Dewi, the fourth wife of the President, turned up suddenly in the course of the evening and joined her husband in the house of Commore Dewanto at Halim; Appendix VIII, p. 364.30e. She is said also to have had then a sobering influence on Sukarno, but like everything that has to do with Dewi and the coup this opinion better could be seen as apocryph also and be taken with a grain of salt.

choice. He finally took a decision to proceed to his palace in Bogor. Or perhaps it would be better to say that in the end he allowed himself to be persuaded to do so.²¹

Still overcome as he was by the bad turn the day's events had taken the President was more or less pushed by members of his entourage and his staff into a heavy overland vehicle. Halfway to his destination he wanted to know more precisely where he was going:

Are we safe on the way to Bogor?

His companions did their level best to reassure Sukarno, but were themselves happy that they could finally deliver towards midnight their cargo at the palace in Bogor.

Directly upon arrival Sukarno's aide Widjanarko made a telephone call to the man, who had suddenly been thrust into a leading role that day, Suharto. The message was short:

*Sukarno is no longer in Halim, but safe and well in Bogor.*²²

The Kostrad commander, conscious of his new responsibilities, decreed forthwith that the President would have to remain in the palace for the next few days. So here the Head of State of the Republic of Indonesia suddenly suffered an order of house arrest at the hands of a man who, until not so very long ago, he had regarded as an unimportant professional soldier.

Just twenty-four hours previously the President had laid his head to rest in the house of his wife Dewi, with the prospect of an exciting day ahead. What seemed to be ages later he found himself in Bogor, in a state of total shock at the disastrous turn of events. All he could envisage was his political and human decline that he would have to try to avoid at all costs.

²¹ Widjanarko reports as follows:

"At approximately 22.50 hours Pak Leimena came out and said Bung Karno would be leaving Halim immediately"; Appendix VIII, p. 364.30h; Dake II, p. 512.

²² Appendix VIII, p. 366.30k; Dake II, p. 512 and 513:

When we arrived at the pavilion in the Bogor Palace and Bung Karno went inside, I immediately rang up the Kostrad and reported to Gen. Suharto that Bung Karno had meanwhile arrived in Bogor and that my task was completed. Gen. Sabur did the same, speaking as commander of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment and reporting to Gen. Suharto.

Sabur's communication to Suharto one way or the other reached RRI and at 0.15 a.m.—of October 2 thus—it was broadcast that:

"... the President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces/Great Leader of the Revolution Bung Karno is at present safe and well and has reassumed the leadership of the State"; Appendix VII: Documents, D.2, p. 302.



1. PKI-Chairman D.N. Aidit calling on President Sukarno, January 14, 1965, in order to tell him that with arming the farmers and the workers: “no force on earth would defeat the Indonesian Republic.”



2. Chinese Deputy Premier Chou En Lai with his Indonesian colleague Subandrio in Beijing, January 27, 1965, offering for free 100.000 Chung machine guns. Mao said: “It is difficult to measure victory in financial terms”.



3. Delegation of Chinese “technicians” visiting with Sukarno, Jakarta, Februari 26, 1965: “You should best take yourself command of the Fifth Force”.



4. Anti-Malaysia demonstrations in Jakarta, April 1965.



5. Sukarno's statephilosophy Nasakom, represented by the Chairman of the PNI (Nationalist Party) Ali Sastroamidjojo (m), the Chairman of the NU (Moslim Party) Kiai Hadji Idham Chalid end Chairman of the PKI (Communist Party), D.N. Aidit, spring 1965.



6. Nasakom written live and large during the celebration of the 45th anniversary of the PKI, Senajan Stadium, Jakarta, May 23, 1965.



7. Monument with traditional communist symbols hammer and sickle for the 45th anniversary of the PKI. On the left the PKI head-office under construction: "In the Spirit of the Red Banteng".



8. Friendly planes of the Indonesian Air Force dropped congratulation leaflets, while balloons went up, May 23, 1965.



9. Sukarno at the opening of the National Defense Institute in Bandung, May 11, 1965: “The enemy is not coming from the North (China), but from the West (Great Britain and the USA)”.



10. Conference of army commanders in the National Defense Institute on May 28, 1965, confronted by Sukarno with his warning that introduction of the Fifth Force (a people’s militia) “was useful”: the army should come up with their own ideas. In the middle Kostrad Commander, Major General Suharto.



11. The Indonesian President with the newly appointed US Ambassador, Marshall Green, Merdeka Palace, Jakarta, July 26, 1965, while experts in Washington reflect Green's assessment and say: "We look for a continuation of Indonesia's hostile attitude toward the US".



12. Celebrating the burning of books and Beatle records during a demonstration in Jakarta, August 1965: "Destroy the Beatle". Green, barely arrived, is already told to go home.



13. Burning of western books, August 1965: “Tarzan” no longer welcome.



14. Sukarno’s bedroom in the Merdeka Palace, shown by the President to his ghost-writer Cindy Adams and her husband, spring 1963. On the 4th of August 1965 here the anti-army conspiracy began.



15. Sri Muljono Herlambang, air force commodore and at the time one of Sukarno's adjutants, immediately informed his boss, Vice Air Marshall Omar Dani, when the President collapsed on August 4, 1965, spreading the word of his "serious illness".



16. Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi visiting with President Sukarno, Merdeka Palace, August 15, 1965. On the agenda: arming the farmers and workers, and testing a Chinese atomic bomb off the coast of Sumatra.



17. Number 3 in the PKI pecking order, Njoto, forced to miss his visit to Beijing earlier that month makes up and shakes hands with Chen Yi, August 15, 1965.



18. President Sukarno on Indonesia's National Day, August 17, 1965, back again and in good shape, ready to deliver his "Takari" (Reach for the Stars) speech with a warning for Defense Minister Nasution: "If you were formerly a 'little general' in 1945, but you split the revolutionary national unity today . . . you have become a force of reaction!"



19. Former Defense Minister Nasution, the only survivor of Sukarno's purge of the army leadership, with the author, March 1972.



20. The communist women's organization Gerwani demonstrating against skyhigh rocketing foodprices, Jakarta, August 17, 1965.



21. On August 28, 1965 the highest executive body of the PKI, the Politburo, met in Jakarta with Aidit in the chair. Aidit got a carte blanche to help “progressive officers” in their efforts to preempt an alleged anti-Sukarno coup by the army leadership. After 36 years the only surviving member of the Politburo was Rewang (left), who survived 30 years in jail without manifest bitterness and in May 2001 was living in Solo, Central Java. On the right senior research fellow, Loek Pattiradjawane, who succeeded in tracing Rewang.



22. Demonstrations against the American Embassy, Jakarta, August 30, 1965.



23. President Sukarno conferring on September 13, 1965 the Mahaputra Star, one of Indonesia's highest signs of distinction, to PKI Chairman Aidit, who taunted Sukarno some days later by telling him publicly "to go wear a sarong". On the right, Major General Puspoyudho.



24. First Deputy Premier Subandrio was guest of honour at the Sobsi communist trade union conference on September 13, with a fiery speech contributing to a climate of discord and anger.



25. On September 28, as soon as D-day was fixed for October 1, 4.00 hours a.m., nr 2 and nr 3 in the PKI hierarchy, Lukman (left) and Njoto (right) left Jakarta for Central Java and for North Sumatra, ready to get into action as soon as Aidit (middle) would give the green light from Jakarta. But no green light came.



26. On September 29, two days before the 1 October purge Major General Mursjid, first deputy to Chief of Army Staff, Lt. General Yani, was willing to take the place of Yani.

27. Brig. General Sugandhi, chief of the Army Information Service, told the President on September 30: "The PKI is going to stage a coup. Do you know about this?". Sukarno: "Shut up or I slap you at once".



28. As Commander of Kostrad Major General Suharto took the lead, early on October 1, to foil the 30 September Movement. In Washington meanwhile the State Department was in panic: who the hell is Suharto?



29. Jakarta Garrison Commander, Major General Umar Wirahadikusumah, who on October 1 joined Suharto at the Kostrad Headquarters and was not allowed to meet Sukarno at Halim Air Base. Suharto: "We have lost today already too many generals".



30. RPKAD Battalion Commander, Colonel Sarwho Edhie, a close friend of Lt. General Yani, also joined forces with Suharto in the morning of October 1 upon hearing about the kidnapping of members of the Army General Staff. His battalion played an important role in nipping the Untung coup in the bud.

31. The 328th Siliwangi Battalion, present on October 1 in Jakarta, was thought by Untung c.s. to remain neutral. Brigadier General Dharsono however braved his commander and in the course of the day brought the 328th over to the side of Suharto.





32. In the afternoon of October 1 Commander of the Police Sutipto Yododihardyo was surprised he was on the list of the Revolutionary Council, but felt mainly offended that one of his subordinates “stood higher on the list than he himself did”.

33. Dewi Sukarno, the President’s fourth (official) wife, was concerned about her husband and came to see him at Halim Air Base, late afternoon of October 1. She is said to have talked Sukarno out of rash and unwise reactions.





34. On October 6 Sukarno convened his ministers for a first meeting after the purge of October 1. The venue was the Presidential palace in Bogor, as Sukarno had been given virtual housearrest there by Suharto. On the President's right Subandrio, on his left side Second Deputy Prime Minister Leimena.



35. Subandrio, later to be tried for his part in the October 1 affair, seen here with Major General Suharto, October 16, 1965. Already they did not see eye-to-eye with each other.

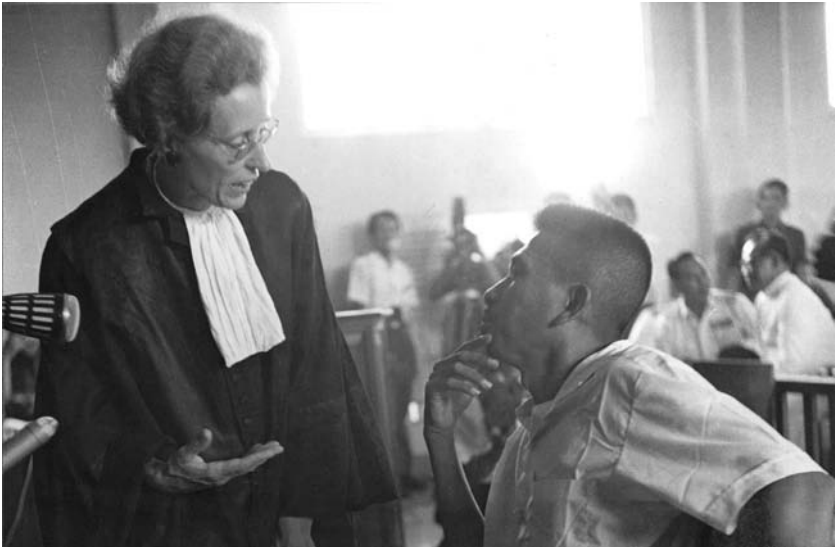
36. Anti-Subandrio demonstrations on October 26, 1965.



37. Army sponsored mobs set fire to the PKI Headquarters in Jakarta, late October 1965.



38. Between the new army leadership and the President a strained relationship became manifest, when suspicion of involvement of Sukarno in the purge of 1 October grew with the day. Here the two protagonists, Sukarno and Suharto, during a “meeting” in the Bogor Palace on November 21, 1965.



39. The first Politburomember to be tried was Njono, responsible for recruiting and training communist paramilitaries. Here with his lawyer, Trees Sunito, during his trial, February 14, 1966.



40. Bambang Setyono Widjarko, long time one of President Sukarno's adjutants and key "behind the scene" witness of the crucial events in the autumn of 1965.

41. Sjam Kamaruzaman was the chief secret agent of the PKI running the Party's Special Bureau. He plotted, under direct guidance of PKI Chairman Aidit, with a number of pro-communist officers, the "30 September Movement". The President saw it happen.





42. The military conspirators were tried from early 1966 onward. Here Ex-Lt. Colonel Untung, in name the leader of the coup and chairman of the Revolutionary Council, tried in February 1967 (above left). Ex-Vice Air Marshal Omar Dani, deeply involved in the preparations of the coup, tried late December 1966 (below) and Ex-Brigadier-General Supardjo, caught and tried in the first months of 1967 (above right) Untung and Supardjo were executed. Dani is still alive at the moment of publishing.



43. Suharto, now Lt. general is briefing the press, February 22, 1966.



44. Subandrio during his trial, early December 1966.



45. President Sukarno scatters rosepetals on the grave of murdered Lt. General Yani, on the first anniversary of his burial, October 5, 1966. The year before Sukarno stayed away.



46. Suharto became Acting President in March 1967, succeeding Sukarno as President on March 22, 1968. Suharto with the author, spring 1969.

PART III

OCTOBER 2, 1965–MARCH 12, 1965

CHAPTER TWELVE

TRAPPED

The first few days after that dramatic October 1 had been a nightmare for the President of Indonesia. He had taken a dangerous gamble, but in his eyes that had been necessary to secure his long-term position. Now, in the short term, he was in danger of losing everything.

Suharto had placed him under house arrest, so he was isolated from the outside world. For the first few days, he could do little but wait and see how his ill-starred adventure would end and what chance there was of restoring his authority.

When the commander of Kostrad ascertained that the President was no longer on the air force base, he became free to undertake further action against the "30 September Movement". RPKAD troops and others from the 328th Siliwangi Battalion had the task of clearing Halim of rebellious military elements.¹ This started at three in the morning on October 2. At six o'clock, Halim was completely under control and towards seven the movement's last remnants, a.o. soldiers from the 454th Battalion who were outside the base around Lubang Buaja surrendered. It was to take until 2.00 o'clock in the afternoon of that day before Suharto officially noted that the rebellion had come to an end.²

Early next morning, the President had a small foretaste of what awaited him later in the course of the day. Colonel Sarwho Edhie, the commander of the RPKAD troops which had formed the heart of Suharto's counter-attack force, had insisted before Suharto that he wanted to find out as quickly as possible what had happened to the 6 army generals and whether the President was fish, flesh or fowl.

So Edhie flew by helicopter early that Saturday morning to the palace in Bogor and asked to be received by the President. Meeting with Sukarno he had only one question: "*Where are the generals?*". Edhie was the first army officer the President was to meet after the murders. The answer to his question was lukewarm. Sukarno shrugged his shoulders and countered with another question.

¹ See also above II.10. p. 112.

² Notosusanto, p. 73.

*Aren't such things the order of the day in a revolution?*³

As soon as things had gone wrong on October 1 it had been abundantly clear to the President that his presence at Halim during that day, let alone his still secret role in the "30 September Movement", could render him very vulnerable sooner or later. He knew he had to do everything possible to limit the damage to his authority that had occurred.

So on the morning of October 2, he sent—as we have seen earlier—a written order to the movement's military leader Supardjo to refrain from any further activities. It did not matter much to Sukarno apparently, that Supardjo and the other members of the Untung Group were hardly in a position to give orders themselves anymore, busy as they were to get off with their life.⁴

The President told Sarwo Edhie that he had called off Supardjo and his troops. Upon his return from Bogor Edhie passed on this message later in the day to Suharto, as Sukarno probably had wanted him to do.⁵

Immediately after his conversation with Edhie, around 11 o'clock a.m., Sukarno contacted Suharto by radio link. He asked him, together with the other commanders of the armed services, to report to him. However, Suharto found that the situation was not yet ripe for such a confrontation. He let it be known that for the moment he had no time for the President.⁶

Then at one o'clock Suharto left Jakarta arriving at 16.00 p.m. in Bogor.⁷ It was to be the first face-to-face meeting of Suharto and his immediate colleagues with the President since the recent events. Others present were Vice-Admiral Martadinata, Colonel Herlambang, who was standing in for the absent Dani for the air force, and

³ CIA, p. 87.

⁴ Widjanarko tells this:

"Next morning, October 2nd, 1965, Bung Karno ordered Supardjo by letter to stop all action and ordered that there should be no more shooting"; Appendix VIII, p. 388.22b. Supardjo is said to have kept that letter during his wanderings in West-Java and to have used it by way of introduction vis-à-vis friendly relations; CIA, footnote on p. 74. This letter surfaced early in 1967 and was then presented to the MPRS; Supolo, p. 37.

⁵ Elson, p. 108.

⁶ Speech by Suharto on October 15 before leaders of the National Front; Appendix VII, Documents, E3, p. 322.

⁷ Speech by Suharto on October 15 before leaders of the National Front. *Ibidem.*

Sutjipto for the police. There were also the Generals Mursjid, Pranoto, Adjie and Sabur, and Second Deputy Prime Minister Leimena.⁸ It was not until later that Dani and Commodore Wattimena joined them.⁹

There was an immediate clash. Suharto insisted that the President was going to take severe measures against communists and other persons involved in the coup. The Kostrad commander wanted to see in particular action taken against the Chief of the Air Force Dani. But Sukarno refused to follow Suharto on this score, whereupon Suharto countered:

What is it that you want to do then?

The President's reply was—as would become his standard answer for some time to come—:

Just leave the political solution of this question to me”.

There ensued hours of tough discussions. In the center of them was Pranoto's position. The President insisted that Pranoto should succeed Yani. However, no one else supported him on this and so it came to a compromise.

Suharto agreed for the time being to Sukarno being in command of all Indonesia's Armed Forces. This had been part of the official Order of the Day of the day before, that had not been made public over the air as then planned. Also, like stated in the same Order of the Day, Pranoto was to be entrusted with the day-to-day leadership of the army. On those two points the Kostrad commander did not get his way. Most important however was what Suharto did achieve, i.e. that he was declared responsible for the restoration of law and order in the country.¹⁰ That of course would be the crux for the time to come.

The overall impression of this first meeting as reported later was one of gloom, dissatisfaction and frustration.

Some hours later, at appr. 1.30 a.m. in the morning of October 3, the RRI broadcast an official statement by the President himself to

⁸ CIA, p. 88; Crouch, p. 137.

⁹ Speech by Suharto on October 15 before leaders of the National Front; Appendix VII, E3, p. 322. Dani came back from a roving tour over and in Central-Java; on that flight Wattimena had accompanied Dani; see also below footnote 16.

¹⁰ Elson, p. 108.

the outside world.¹¹ It was the first time since the events of the 1st of October that an announcement was made directly by the President.

The text of it reflected the compromise Suharto had wrung from Sukarno a few hours earlier.

Suharto rightly knew that without formal and public endorsement by the President of his new position as responsible for the resumption of normal life he would have problems establishing his authority. So it was of paramount importance that compromise formula of the night before would be made public soon and as unambiguous and authoritative as possible.¹²

For good measure Suharto followed the President's declaration immediately with a message of his own, saying in true national style that he would respect the President's decision and carry it out to the best of his ability.¹³

During the short sharp confrontation in the afternoon and evening of October 2, the President had scant opportunity to digress much upon the failed coup leader, Supardjo. However, at that very moment Supardjo had chosen to place himself under Sukarno's protection by secretly reporting at Bogor Palace.

In the early hours that Saturday Supardjo, accompanied by Sjam, had left Halim on foot.¹⁴ Later, in the further course of the day, each had gone his separate way. To Supardjo, on the run, the best thing seemed to be to knock at the President's door.

For the President this of course was an extremely dangerous situation. It could not last very long.¹⁵ On top of this also Dani—this one even with his whole family—came to the palace in Bogor in the afternoon of October 2. He was going to enjoy presidential hospitality somewhat longer than Supardjo did.¹⁶

¹¹ The exact time was 1.33 A.M.; Appendix VII: Documents, D.3, pp. 302 and 303.

¹² Ibidem: "To carry out the restoration of security and order in connection with the September 30th affair, I have appointed Major-General Suharto, commander of Kostrad, in accordance with the policy I have already outlined". See also Elson, p. 108.

¹³ Notosusanto, p. 76.

¹⁴ CIA, p. 308.

¹⁵ Supardjo would only be staying there as guest a few days: "Ex-Brigadier-General Supardjo was in the Bogor Palace between October 2 and 5 to hide from pursuit. He lived in the right pavilion, near the Botanical Gardens"; Appendix VIII, p. 366.31a.

¹⁶ Late in the evening of the 1st of October, when Sukarno was leaving for Bogor, Dani tried to join the President, but that did not work out, as there was no place for him in any of the cars; Appendix VIII, p. 365.30h. He then decided, not sure of what exactly to do, to take a plane. He left Halim at 2.00 a.m. and flew around over Java. He finally landed on 6.00 a.m. on the Airbase Ishwahjudi, near Madiun in Central Java. In the course of the afternoon he left again and flew

Supardjo's presence had been a secret, but Dani's was not. For Dani, the President still saw chances of survival. For Supardjo, he did not. Supardjo was compromised too much and one could no longer associate with him in public.

The President protected Dani openly, a situation Suharto and his allies, once they gained wind of it, found remarkable but especially also disagreeable. It did fit in however with the fight that Sukarno put up during the confrontation in the afternoon and evening of October 2. During these altercations Sukarno had made it clear that he would have nothing of suspicions that the leadership of the air force had been in cohort with the "30 September Movement" people.

But it soon was to be hard going for the air force. Its headquarters at Halim sent a radio report in the course of the afternoon of October 2 to Bogor meant for Dani. The report indicated that traces of the missing generals had been found close to Halim.¹⁷ Widjanarko reported about it as follows:

On October 2nd, 1965, in the afternoon I heard from Colonel Kardjono (one of the aides)¹⁸ or General Sabur that a report had been received from Halim Airbase that traces had been found near Halim which seemed to give strong indications of the presence of corpses. This information—the radiogram—was handed over to Marshall Omar Dani.¹⁹

While Sukarno tried that very moment, in his squabble with Suharto, to show off as neutral and way above the fray, things elsewhere threatened to run counter to this image. At that very moment the involvement of Dani's air force with the purge of the army leadership came into focus. But not only Dani was about to be drawn into it, also Sukarno looked more and more, one way or the other, singled by the 30 September Movement.

to the Airbase Semplak near Bogor. At both airbases Dani met a number of air force officers for briefings. On the Ishwahjudi Airbase he gave a full account of what had happened on Halim during the 1st of October, how the President had spoken at length with Supardjo and that subsequently he had patted the coupleader on the shoulder and complimented him "*with his succesfull actions*". But on Semplak Airbase he changed his tune completely, and did not want to talk about the coup of the day before, because, as he said: "*It would bring in the name of the President*"; CIA, p. 84. After the non-briefing on Semplak Dani left for the Bogor Palace to put himself, just as Supardjo was going to do, under the protection of the President. Dani remained in Bogor until October 19 and left then for a trip abroad which had been arranged with the help of Sukarno; CIA, p. 308 and 309.

¹⁷ Dake II, p. 409.

¹⁸ Kardjono was an air force colonel and the personal pilot of the President and in that function also one of his aides.

¹⁹ Appendix VIII, p. 361.26a; Dake II, p. 516.

What was the case meanwhile? Immediately after Suharto and the other army generals had left, Dani informed the President about the radiogram from Halim. It is not difficult to imagine what went on between the two, in the presence of others like the Tjakrabirawa Comander Sabur and his Deputy Saelan. It must have been a scene of total confusion and collapse, leading to some rash decisions, as has been reported also later:

1. *On the basis of the above-mentioned radiogram Bung Karno gave orders to the Tjakrabirawa Regiment, to Colonel Saelan with a team to go to the place and look for the corpses.*
2. *Because it was evening the team took lights with it.*
3. *When the team arrived at the place, (Lubang Buaja) and had just started the search, a unit of the RPKAD arrived on the scene. Owing to the arrival of the troops of the RPKAD the mission given to Colonel Saelan and his team by Bung Karno to find and remove the corpses, failed.*
4. *The purpose of the removal of the corpses was to wipe out all traces.²⁰*

On this subject Widjanarko would elaborate further, while being interrogated on October 23, 1970:

“In view of:

- *the reception of a report from the commander at Halim about the discovery of certain traces indicating where the bodies were to be found, namely near Halim, which meant that it was close to the place where Bung Karno was present on October 1st, 1965 (and in view of)*
- *the efforts of the PKI to remove from themselves any suggestion of involvement in the G-30-S/PKI, in order to serve the interests of the continuation of the PKI itself*
- *in view of all this it was clear that the idea of removing all traces of the bodies originated from the PKI and was conveyed to Bung Karno by Supardjo and General Sabur. I heard this from General Sabur*
- *Bung Karno himself, who clearly felt involved in the elimination of the generals of the army, accepted and approved the idea and finally gave Colonel Saelan orders to remove all traces of the bodies*
- *in this way, provided it had been successful, all proof could have been hidden or destroyed that Bung Karno and the PKI were either involved or had been directly responsible for the G-30-S/PKI*
- *the ones who certainly knew about the removal of all traces of the bodies were Omar Dani and General Sabur. Both officials approved of the idea because both were directly involved in plotting and carrying out the elimination of the army generals on the orders of Bung Karno*
- *Omar Dani himself would also have felt a lot easier if the bodies were not found near Halim”²¹*

²⁰ Appendix VIII, pp. 361.26d and 362.

²¹ Appendix VIII, pp. 392.29a and 393.

This testimony was of course highly embarrassing and compromising for the President and Widjanarko is fair enough to mention that he received part of it second hand from Colonel Kardjono or General Sabur.²² The story that Sukarno had given an order to Colonel Saelan to look for the corpses and to wipe out all the traces Widjanarko got to hear from Saelan himself in the morning of October 3.²³ Further he relates having gotten from Sabur the report that the idea to get rid of the bodies of the generals originated with the PKI, giving their counsel through the Supardjo-Sabur backchannel.²⁴

Years later Saelan, Sukarno's security specialist, was asked if Sukarno had given him an order to go to Lubang Buaja, to look for the corpses and to get hold of them. He said this: "I was indeed requested by the President to get my bearing that October 2 at and near Lubang Buaja. I did not know the local situation and was joined by the commander of the air base watch. Arriving at Lubang Buaja I just wanted to start digging with some troops from my own Tjakarabirawa Regiment, when units of the RPKAD turned up under command of Major Santoso. I then stopped digging and left matters to Santoso".²⁵ But Saelan denied at that occasion that he had had orders from the President to wipe the traces of the killing spree.

In the course of October 3, more and more reports trickled through concerning the discovery of the remains of the six army generals and General Nasution's adjutant. The conclusion that the air force had been directly involved in the Untung coup became harder and harder to counter. At the same time it reflected badly upon the President's position, who came to be seen in a strange light on account of having spent the whole crucial day of October 1 at nearby Halim.

Sukarno then wanted to be heard from and prepared a radio message. In that second radio broadcast, aired on the evening of October 3 at just before midnight, Sukarno tried to come to the rescue of the air force and stated:

²² Appendix VIII, p. 361.26a.

²³ Appendix VIII p. 361.26d.

²⁴ Appendix VIII, pp. 392.29a and 393.

²⁵ Interview with the author, May 2001; Saelan maintained in the same conversation that Brigadier-General Sughandi had not been at the Merdeka Palace on 30 September visiting Sukarno. See also above I.6. pp. 56 and 57. Saelan also denied that the President had received a letter while in the Senajan Stadium on September 30. See also Appendix VIII, p. 358.23a. Late 2003, according to certain Indonesian newspapers, Saelan was still full of praise for the first President of Indonesia and called for his full rehabilitation.

The charge against the Indonesian Air Force of involvement in the 30 September affair is not true.

Further all soldiers, but especially those in the air force and the army were requested to remain calm.²⁶

Meanwhile, Suharto had informed himself about the RPKAD troops' activities under Santoso and had drawn the conclusion that the bodies of the six generals and General Nasution's adjutant, were indeed to be found in a dry well close to Halim. The Kostrad commander, who decided to have the maximum publicity out of this discovery, first wanted to get the media coverage well organized and therefore put everything forward to the morning of October 4.

By that time the Indonesian media were fully alerted and started to arrive in force at the site. The excavations had been started already earlier and were continued in order to make press, radio and television direct witnesses to the fate of Yani and his colleagues on the general staff had met at the hands of the 30 September Movement.

Suharto himself turned up at Lubang Buaja at nine o'clock.²⁷ The grim scene took on a further dramatic dimension, when the Kostrad commander immediately after the excavations had finished at two o'clock in the morning took a microphone and gave a highly emotional impromptu rendering, that was broadcast live by the RR. He noted that seven army officers "*have fallen victims to the uncivilized actions of the adventurers of the so-called 30 September Movement*". The air force had armed and trained volunteers at the very same site, Lubang Buaja. Those militia members had been by no means local auxiliaries, asked to do some guard duty at the airbase, as the official agreement with the air force had stipulated. As had turned out many of the volunteers had come from far away places like Central Java.²⁸

For Suharto, this live radio talk—rather radio show—was also an opportunity to correct the President who only the evening before had tried to exonerate the air force from all blame. Suharto continued:

*Based on these facts it is possible that there is truth in the statement of our beloved President Bung Karno that the air force is not involved in the affair. But it is impossible to say that there is no involvement on the part of elements of the air force.*²⁹

²⁶ Berita Yudha, 10.5.1965.

²⁷ Elson, p. 108.

²⁸ See below: Appendix IV, p. 238, footnote 18 and Appendix VII: Documents, E.2, p. 307.

²⁹ Appendix VII: Documents, E.2, p. 307.

On Monday October 4 a first student demonstration was held. Already on October 2 one of Suharto's staff officers, Brigadier General Sutjipto,³⁰ had contacted a number of anti-communist student leaders. Among them were Subchan Z.E. of the Nahdatul Ulama and Harry Tjan of the Catholic Party. They immediately decided to set up a separate organisation called Action Front for the Suppression of the 30 September Movement or KAP Gestapu. Despite direct invitation on the part of Kostrad, the first demonstration on the fourth of the month attracted hardly more than 1000 students.

After that, though, KAP Gestapu obtained more members and greater success. This became apparent on October 8, when tens of thousands of students answered the call by Subchan Z.E., Harry Tjan and others.³¹

On Tuesday October 5 the usual Army Day celebrations were, of course, not held. Instead, the six generals and Lieutenant Tendean, who all had been posthumously promoted, were buried with great ceremony in the Cemetery of Honour at Kalibata.

The President had refused to be present. In so doing, he seems to have antagonized many of his followers. For Sukarno it apparently was enough to send his First Deputy Prime Minister, Subandrio, as his representative.³² This man we saw had been looked upon already for years as the President's henchman and as an evil genius acting by preference behind the scenes. That the President had the audacity to behave in such a rather brute way, did not go down well with the military, obviously.

The President then summoned for Wednesday October 6 at 10 o'clock a full Cabinet meeting. That meeting could not take place anywhere else than in the Bogor Palace, as Suharto had continued to keep Sukarno under house arrest. Everyone was present except Nasution, whose small daughter was about to die in the hospital.

Aidit was somewhere in Central Java and was not present either. As ministers, be it without portfolio, Lukman and Njoto were present for the PKI, both having returned from their stay outside Jakarta, from Central Java and from North Sumatra.

³⁰ This was the chief of the political section of Koti, the Anti-Malaysia Command. Not to be confused with Police Commander Sutjipto Judodihardjo, who was known for his loyalty to Sukarno.

³¹ Crouch, p. 141.

³² CIA, p. 89.

The day before the PKI Politburo had published a statement. The gist of the message was to the effect that the 30 September Movement had been an internal army affair, in which “*the PKI does not involve itself*”.³³ The PKI leadership had after all fallen back on its exit scenario in the event of the Untung coup’s failure: the PKI organisation had no knowledge whatsoever of the 1 October affair and the army should sort it out among themselves.

For a more finely worded official reaction the lesser members of the party had to wait until PKI Chairman Aidit, from far away Central Java, had reasserted his leadership and had announced his verdict on the by now “*attempted*” coup. His message came in a letter handed over by Lukman to the President just before the Cabinet session. The gist of the letter was that Aidit advised the President to weigh up the Untung coup and the Suharto counter-coup and allow them to balance each other out. Restoring law and order should be entrusted to the police and the National Front—implicitly he meant to say: not to Suharto. Finally, all the political organisations like parties and their subsidiaries and trade unions should restore the status quo ante.³⁴

Within a few days time Aidit seemed to have lost already all touch with the fast-changing situation in and around the capital. Also Sukarno would have liked to return as soon as possible to the situation of before the Untung coup, but he had soon understood then to be asking for the moon. In the Cabinet session of October 6 he came up with some rather half-hearted verdicts such as:

- the army chiefs, who had been the 30 September Movement’s victims, he declared heroes of the revolution.³⁵
- the murders of those officers the President condemned as “*savage killings*”, but he was only willing to say this behind closed doors, since for the moment he did not want the world outside to hear much about these unsavoury acts.
- in addition Sukarno condemned the creation of the so-called Revolutionary Council.

³³ This sentence is phrased in the present tense, apparently meant to imply that earlier involvement of the PKI a fortiori was excluded.

³⁴ Brackman, p. 106; CIA, pp. 82, 83.

³⁵ Crouch, p. 139.

- finally, with regard to the “30 September Movement” in general, he stated that it should be left to him to find what he again called “*the political solution*”.³⁶

All in all, Sukarno gave the impression that the only thing he rejected concerning the Untung coup were the murders and the setting up of a Revolutionary Council.

The same day, the army newspaper *Berita Yudha* published an article hinting at a possible “*dalang*”—puppeteer—behind the movement.³⁷ Probably at that moment it would still have been going too far to think that the newspaper, referring to a possible puppeteer, had the President in mind. Nevertheless, his position had painfully come under a cloud.

Meanwhile, on October 9, he had been allowed to exchange Bogor for Merdeka Palace in Jakarta, but his scope for action was still limited. For example, the two main Communist Party leaders in Jakarta and not yet arrested, Lukman and Njoto, wanted to take advantage of Sukarno’s return to the capital and asked for an audience. On October 6 in Bogor the President had promised the two that he would protect the PKI. Not much of this had come to pass, to the contrary: the army seemed to be making ever-fiercer moves against the party and its political cadres. Lukman and Njoto had wanted to see Sukarno again to remind him of his recent commitments, but they were not even allowed to meet the President.³⁸

The only person, in that confused situation, who advanced sure-footed was Suharto. His new official responsibility was national law and order, and he exploited it to the hilt. For example on October 10, the freshly minted army strong man set up the Higher Command for the Restoration of Law and Order, the so-called *Kopkamtib*. A few days later Suharto found it time to formally shunt aside Pranoto who in fact had not functioned at all, while none of his colleagues raised a finger on his behalf.

The next step was that on October 16 Sukarno could not escape appointing Suharto officially as successor of Yani to the position of commander of the army. At the same time Suharto became Chief of Staff of Koti, a body intended, above all, to head the Confrontation with Malaysia.

³⁶ CIA, pp. 91, 92.

³⁷ *Berita Yudha*, 10.6.1965.

³⁸ CIA, p. 91.

Previously, Koti had been what you could call Sukarno's "*kitchen cabinet*", having more clout than the official presidential government of the day.³⁹ Later, at the end of November, Suharto was to reorganise Koti. He would eliminate a few "*suspicious characters*" such as Subandrio, who had been responsible within Koti for intelligence. He also threw out Herlambang who, for a time, had been Dani's successor.

Suharto's official appointment on October 16 had irritated the President for all to see. All the while the ceremony was going on, he tried to sabotage it by making little jokes, downplaying the seriousness of the situation. Sukarno's reactions were considered rather out of place, especially when he said for all to hear that he did not regard the murder of Yani and his colleagues as a national tragedy. The purge of the army chiefs he wanted to leave as bare fact and nothing more. In his own words:

*Frankly speaking, what happened in our revolution . . . is merely, to say it in Dutch, 'een rimpel in een geweldige oceaan' (a ripple in a vast ocean).*⁴⁰

The months to come saw a fierce battle for power between the President, who fought tooth and nail against further erosion of his authority, and Suharto. The new strongman had a number of direct confidantes in his midst. They wanted to square accounts with the PKI and get their way on other issues. However, they had to be careful not to underestimate the broad support for the President that still existed.

In this duel Sukarno came up, on October 21, with a new Presidential Order. He started off where Aidit's letter that Lukman had handed to him on October 6 left off. He did not seem to take any account of the domestic power structure that had changed completely. Once again the President considered it was up to him to find a "*political solution*" to the problems that had arisen.⁴¹

One of these was that he still refused to tackle the PKI head on by banning it, as all around him were demanding. For one of the

³⁹ Crouch, p. 55.

⁴⁰ Brackman, p. 91. It occurred more often that in special situations Sukarno used the Dutch language. So he is supposed to have said to his aide Saelan in the early hours of the 1st of October that he had been fully "*overrompeld*"—taken by surprise, when he first got information about what was going to be the Untung coup. That at least is what Saelan and the President wanted to be believed. See above II.7. p. 73.

⁴¹ CIA, p. 94.

President's erstwhile supporters General Adjie, the regional commander for West Java, this was simply too much. From one day to the next he disbanded, under his own steam, the PKI in his region.⁴² Behind the scenes, of course, the witchhunt for Communist Party leaders had already begun long ago, with or without the President's consent. On December 2 the Communist Party's third man, Njoto, granted an interview to the Japanese newspaper, Asahi Shimbun, but soon afterwards was arrested and executed. At the same time Lukman, the communists' second man went into hiding in Jakarta and was later captured and shot.⁴³ Previously, on November 22, the communists' number one Aidit had been arrested in the tiny village of Sambing Gede near Semarang in Central Java. He was arrested and according to local reports, speedily put to death.⁴⁴

Another important point on which the President had refused to budge was the setting up of a special tribunal. Suharto had long been urging this. All the while time was passing. For example, Politburo member Njono, in his first interrogation at the end of November, had made statements that threw much of the coup into sharp relief, so Suharto stepped up the pressure. On December 4, the President was forced to sign a decision setting up a special military tribunal, better known as the Mahmillub.

Incidentally, there were also signs towards the end of the year that the President was going to be able to count on greater support in the country, above all among regional commanders in Central and Eastern Java. In any case, this was more support than Suharto was willing to accept. It became apparent from a number of statements Sukarno made, whereby he tended to go too far, too quickly. For example, there was an address to students when he was talking about the PKI:

*I can say this: the PKI's sacrifices in the struggle for Indonesian independence are greater than those made by other political parties or groups.*⁴⁵

⁴² Crouch, p. 163.

⁴³ Crouch, p. 161.

⁴⁴ In an interview with the author on 11.23.2005 ex-President Suharto stated that Aidit had not been given a chance after his arrest to write a "testament", as has been suggested, but had been executed almost immediately. CIA, pp. 77 and 82, have it that Aidit had been executed "in a matter of hours, of a day at the longest". Brackman mentions that an "indisputable" source told him that Aidit after being arrested had said: "If you shoot me, you must also shoot the President"; p. 111, and p. 230, footnote 18.

⁴⁵ Radio Jakarta, 12.22.1965, quoted by Brackman, pp. 228, and 229, footnote 24.

With the communist rebellion in Madiun in 1948 still in the minds of the army and its leaders this was pretty raw stuff.⁴⁶

In the climate of bitter strife, statements such as this were obviously grist to the mill of Nasution and Suharto. It enabled them to win over supporters for a tougher approach towards the President among top military figures who, otherwise, would have been ardent Sukarno supporters.

First, they fielded the student activists. On January 10, 1966, after a long period of inactivity, there was for the first time again a major student demonstration on the part of the Kami. The rendezvous was the Medical Faculty of the University of Indonesia. The students raised the Tritura, the banner bearing three mottos that fitted in very neatly with the desires of the new group surrounding Suharto: *dissolve the PKI, purge the Cabinet, lower the prices*.⁴⁷

The President was very angry about these excesses. However, a few days later he held a Cabinet meeting in Bogor. Students trying to climb over a hedge raised his ire. Pamphlets accused him of protecting the PKI. He ended up with an appeal to his trusted supporters “*Gather your forces, form your barisan,*⁴⁸ *defend Sukarno, . . . Wait for my command . . . Stand behind Sukarno*”.⁴⁹

Immediately Deputy Prime Minister Subandrio who, together with others now found himself in a prickly position on account of the 30 September Movement, having a lot to lose proceeded to the attack. As a result of what he undertook there was a huge rally on January 19 at its headquarters at the Sukarno-friendly National Front on Merdeka Square. There he announced the setting up of a national Barisan Sukarno.⁵⁰

This was to become a rallying point for all manner of pro-Sukarno elements that were able to agree on this one issue. The pro-Suharto military were not so sure they were happy about this development, being less skilled than Sukarno at manipulating the masses. Suharto then discovered the solution to this huge wave of pro-Sukarno sentiment. The military simply took over the various groupings that came under the Sukarno Front. General Adjie showed the way here.

⁴⁶ Crouch, p. 164.

⁴⁷ See also Crouch, pp. 166 and 167.

⁴⁸ barisan = front, rank.

⁴⁹ Address by the President on January 15, 1966, as quoted by Crouch, p. 167.

⁵⁰ Crouch, pp. 167 and 168.

In his region of Western Java he had first of all banned the front. However, when Sukarno reproached him with this, he placed it "under his command". The effect was the same everywhere. Sukarno front activities collapsed like a pricked balloon. Meanwhile, Suharto had become convinced that this was no longer good enough. The President would have to be called to order, to prevent the situation from escalating. His first demand was that the PKI should be banned officially. The President still refused to accept anything like this, quite the reverse. In Suharto's present, somewhat wavering attitude he saw a sign of weakness that he tried to exploit.

He launched his attack with an address on February 13 upon the occasion of a National Front manifestation. He started again on the subject of the PKI:

I ask you openly, where is another party, not even my own party, I was once a PNI leader, I was imprisoned, exiled, but even the PNI's contribution to Indonesia's freedom was not equal to what was proved by the PKI.⁵¹

Now while the flames were already flickering merrily the President fanned them in the shape of a drastic intervention in his Dwikora Cabinet. On February 21 he started by throwing out Nasution and Martadinata. Aidit, Lukman and Njoto, meanwhile dead, needed no decision. However, Subandrio was allowed to stay, and doubtful military figures such as Mursjid, Hartono and Herlambang were allowed to sit at the ministers' table. Suharto was the Minister for the Army and the President left him undisturbed.

The President also took a number of other measures. For example, clipping the wings of Koti and banning the new student party known as Kami.⁵²

Suharto allowed all this more or less to happen. But at the same time he turned a blind eye to the Kami ban, with the result that the students were still able to demonstrate. In doing so they were protected by Kostrad troops, with or without Suharto's consent. Kostrad was now under the command of Major General Kemal Idris, together with Colonel Sarwo Edhie's RPKAD troops and Brigadier General Dharsono's Brigade, the Siliwangi Division. These three hotheads had a down on Sukarno.

⁵¹ Address by the President on February 13, 1966, as quoted by Crouch, p. 173.

⁵² CIA, p. 95; Crouch, p. 175.

This then was the stage when Suharto decided that “*Sukarno would have to be replaced or somehow neutralized*”.⁵³ In adopting this attitude, he was encouraged by intelligence that was trickling through from the interrogation of Untung coup suspects:

*he exploited evidence that suggested Sukarno’s involvement in, or at least prior knowledge of the coup attempt.*⁵⁴

The first trial against a foremost PKI figure and Politburo member, Njono, had started on February 13.

On March 11 the reshuffled Cabinet in Merdeka Palace met for the first time. The major figure absent from the scene was Suharto. The students had blockaded the palace and all around it was a line of troops without berets. They came under the authority of Kemal Idris. When Sukarno had just opened the session and embarked upon his introductory speech, he learned of the situation outside and decided to make his escape. He did so, together with Subandrio and one of the other deputy prime ministers with a bad conscience, Chaerul Saleh. They fled by helicopter to the palace in Bogor.⁵⁵

The session, in confusion, soon closed under the auspices of Deputy Prime Minister Leimena, who had stayed behind. Three of those present decided to approach Suharto and report to him. These were Lieutenant-General Basuki Rahmat, present in his capacity of Minister for Veterans’ Affairs, Brigadier General Amir Mahmud, the new garrison commander for Jakarta and Brigadier General Mohammed Yusuf, the Minister for Industry.⁵⁶

In a clearly well-coordinated move these three men then left the Merdeka Palace. They were in possession of information Suharto had given them and made straight for Bogor. What happened there has been described at length elsewhere.⁵⁷ The only matter of importance here is the upshot. At a given moment, the three generals sat down with the President to draw up a text in accordance with Suharto’s instructions. They then discussed it, whereby the three Deputy Prime Ministers Subandrio, Leimena and Chaerul Saleh, were present. After minor corrections here and there, the President signed. The text was a Presidential Order constituting a power of attorney for Suharto, as responsible for law and order

⁵³ Elson, p. 131.

⁵⁴ Elson, p. 133.

⁵⁵ Crouch, p. 188; Elson, p. 135.

⁵⁶ Elson, p. 135.

⁵⁷ Giebels II, p. 457; Elson, p. 135; Crouch, p. 187.

- to create a proper atmosphere of quiet in the country and
- to guarantee the personal safety of the President who clearly felt threatened.

The power of attorney, subsequently christened Supersemar,⁵⁸ did not contain a great deal of news. However, it did mean the end of the first round of the power struggle between Sukarno and the new masters surrounding Suharto. Later the new leader was to dismiss the importance of March 11th with pseudo-humility: “*The Supersemar was simply the beginning of the struggle for the New Order*”.⁵⁹ Suharto did not allow the grass to grow under his feet. The next day, which was March 12, he started with his first Order of the Day that bore the title ‘*Bearer of the Letter of March 11*’. This was intended to make it clear to all and sundry that the President had given him a far-reaching mandate to introduce order which made him the boss. Everything was packaged in flowery language:

. . . the voice of the heart of the people . . . is truly seen, heard and considered by the Great Leader of the Revolution, Bung Karno, whom we love so much” etc. etc.⁶⁰

Almost in the same breath, on the same day and as a Presidential Act, came the ban of the PKI.⁶¹ In any case, the party leadership was already in total confusion, because most members of the Politburo had been imprisoned, executed or driven underground.⁶²

Medium-level ranks, especially in Central and Eastern Java, on Bali and in Atjeh had been decimated by the killing sprees that flared up, again and again, between November 1965 and February 1966. At the same time, here and there, a process of self-dissolution had started. This was at the initiative of PKI members who wished

⁵⁸ The word is derived from the Indonesian puppetplay, the *wajang*. *Semar*, one of the characters, is seen both as God and as a sort of clown. He pokes fun at the high and mighty and knows as a real puppeteer—*dalang*—to take the lead in the play. Supersemar in this vein could refer to Suharto as the real “*super-wajang-character*”. With thanks to Giebels II, p. 459.

⁵⁹ Suharto, *Autobiography*, p. 179.

⁶⁰ As quoted by Crouch, p. 192.

⁶¹ Decision No. 1/3/1966, issued March 12, 1966; quoted by Crouch, p. 192. This decision was published on March 14, 1966.

⁶² The youngest member of the Politburo of 1965, Rewang, surprisingly has gotten off with only a prison sentence and after more than thirty years in jail returned at the end of the nineties of the last century to his home in Central-Java. Even more surprising was his calm and philosophical attitude towards his longtime jailors. He denied to have been informed as Politburo member about the coup attempt in advance; interview with the author in May, 2002.

to save their skin. The formal ban of the party came now as a purely psychological act—a sign to the world outside that, on this important issue, the President had simply been overruled.

The next move on the chessboard was to dismiss and arrest fifteen members of the recently reshuffled Dwikora Cabinet. This happened on March 18, after innumerable hectic meetings on the part of Sukarno with changing groups of supporters, in the midst of increasing tension among units of the army, marines and air force. Rebellious students openly kidnapped a number of ministers at the instigation of Kemal Idris and Sarwo Edhie.

Suharto sent RPKAD troops to Merdeka Palace where, meanwhile, nine of the fifteen ministers, among them Subandrio, had sought refuge. These nine were immediately arrested, the other six some time later. These ministers, Suharto stated at the time, were persons who had formed links with the “30 September Movement”. They were deemed, ironically, to be insufficiently loyal to the President. Finally, they were persons who had set themselves above the people for the sake of lucre.⁶³ All these manoeuvres, headed by Suharto, can certainly be regarded as a sort of scarcely veiled coup d’état.⁶⁴ It was, in any case, the beginning of another and even more drastic reversal in the fortunes of what was left of the Sukarno power structure after the events of the last six months.

The time to come was to witness further strife between Sukarno’s ancien régime and the new forces surrounding Suharto. The difference was that, in this second round, the President was to find himself in a position that had been further weakened. In the background lurked the increasing self-assurance of the new regime, which was sure that the President’s role in the Untung coup had been much greater and more considerable than initially assumed. Not only had the President known about plans against the army chiefs and not only had he felt an ideological preference for the PKI. There was more: direct involvement beforehand. It meant criminal responsibility for the army’s decapitation, whereby the PKI had given assistance. Finally, it meant that the President could be held responsible for the chaotic pseudo civil war, soon to become a very bloody one, that erupted in parts of the country starting in the autumn of 1965.

⁶³ Crouch, pp. 194 and 195.

⁶⁴ Elson, p. 140.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE END

It was to take another year for the Sukarno chapter to be closed completely, while the Suharto regime was acquiring ever more detailed information about the “30 September Movement”. It learned of the networks involved and of the role court-generals and the non-military hangers-on had played. It got to know of the informal, mostly of course indirect relations between the President and the top members of the PKI. And finally it got an insight into Sukarno’s role as the ultimate dalang.

OMAR DANI

A very important witness of course was Omar Dani. He had gone into voluntary exile in October 1965, officially leaving the country for a rather vague mission abroad. In April 1966 he returned to Indonesia, convinced that he would be given a fairly lenient treatment by the new regime, provided he was frank and open about the President’s role.¹ On April 21, the day after his return, he was arrested and from that moment on he was interrogated unceasingly.²

In December 1966 the trial against him began. In the days running up to the process there had been widespread speculation about revelations concerning the President’s role he had been making during the pre-trial hearings.

¹ CIA, p. 86. Here it reads:

In letters exchanged with General Suharto, Dani apparently gave the army reason to think that he had information implicating President Sukarno in the planning of the coup. Either the army or Dani may have suggested some kind of deal which promised Dani a certain immunity if he told his story to the authorities; there is nothing to substantiate this, however. Also it says:

It is not clear why Dani finally agreed to return to Indonesia in April 1966.

In a book, recently published in Jakarta, Kopassus, it is stated that in April 1966 a team of 5 RPKAD-specialists “disguised as crewmen for the *Kie Hok* shipping lines” were sent by Suharto to Cambodja to “convince” Dani to return to Jakarta. This group got in touch with Dani and “the gist of their communications— that Dani would be forcefully repatriated, if he did not voluntarily return—had its desired effect: on April 20 he came back to Jakarta to stand trial”; pp. 153 and 154.

² Proceedings of the Dani trial, December 1966; Giebels, p. 470.

Certain is that Dani in the course of his own trial and during those of others such as that of Air Force Major Sukrisno had made important and very damaging statements for Sukarno.³ However, none of these statements have ever officially reached the outside world.

While the regime was gradually becoming precisely informed of all the details of the Untung coup, to the outside world only those texts were spoken during the trials and only made public that were agreed about beforehand between the Mahmilub prosecutors and the accused and the witnesses.

Take for instance Dani's conversation with the President on September 29 in the Merdeka Palace. The Air Force Chief had already mentioned this talk earlier during a pre-trial hearing. What he had told the prosecution during this hearing had been very unfavourable and incriminating for the President, according to reliable sources.⁴ We have seen meanwhile already what went on that day.⁵ However the officially published version of Dani's talk with Sukarno on September 29 was just loose chit chat:

Based on a report by Air Force Colonel, Eli Sukanto, concerning troop concentrations of 20,000 men within the framework of Army Day, the accused reported to the President on September 29 his fearful suspicion that the Council of Generals might launch a coup. The accused made use of this opportunity to report that ex-Brigadier General Supardjo and his friends, together with subordinates, no longer could conceal their mood of dissatisfaction concerning the leadership of the army.⁶

The guiding principle here, which is also applicable to other Mahmillu trials, is a simple one: the President had to be spared and only strictly censored statements were allowed to be made public. If and when facts would emerge that would cop the President they would remain strictly in the hands of Suharto and a small circle of confidants. This meant of course that Sukarno at all times could be manipulated by Suharto and his group's information monopoly.

³ CIA, footnote on p. 86. During this trial that took place in Juli 1966, Dani has given as witness a long testimony. That must have been pretty "sensitive". Of that trial nothing has been published.

⁴ Giebels II, p. 470.

⁵ See above I.6 pp. 53 ff.

⁶ Proceedings of the Dani trial.

SUBANDRIO

Soon Subandrio was in a similar situation as Dani. The First Deputy Prime Minister had been for the President his favorite spin doctor and his general factotum. Very quickly after Untung's attempted coup, Subandrio had become the *bête noir* of the new army chiefs around Suharto. To a certain extent he had already been in that position before October 1, because he used to be known for his pro-communist and especially his unabashedly opportunistic attitude before October 1.

In the first weeks of 1966 Suharto had begun to urge that Subandrio should be dismissed.⁷ We saw that it was not before March 18 Suharto got around to get rid of Subandrio and 14 other ministers of the "*old order*" and had them thrown into jail. Amongst those apprehended Subandrio had some luck, as he at least received the "*honour*" to be arrested by no one less than the military commander of the Greater Jakarta Region, Major General Amir Mahmud in person.⁸

Some days earlier even preparations had been made by some student leaders to take the law into their own hands and kidnap Subandrio. A team of RPKAD troops would help out and indeed pursued Subandrio, but were unable to catch him.⁹

It lasted then until 1 October 1966—an auspicious day anyhow—before Subandrio was brought publicly to trial.¹⁰ Here again the army chiefs' scenario was to determine what was suitable for outside use and also in this trial the President was to be kept out of things as much as possible.

One small example: Subandrio made a statement during his trial to the effect that at a certain moment he had called *both* Aidit and

⁷ During the trial against Subandrio at the end of 1966 it was stated that the ex-First Prime Minister already on the 1st of October, while he was in Medan, had received a telegram from Herlambang with the warning that he should not return to Halim, as he run the risk to be arrested then; Proceedings Subandrio trial, 7th session.

⁸ Sukarno is reported to have implored Mahmud:
Amir, do not kill him!

⁹ Kopassus, pp. 151–153.

¹⁰ Initially the Dani trial would have taken place *before* the one against Subandrio. But that idea was dropped by the army leadership with the argument that they wanted to be sure of Dani's testimony against Subandrio. In reverse order—Dani before Subandrio—Dani might not have been willing to make any relevant statements any longer, not having anything to lose after his conviction; internal communication of one of the Western embassies in Jakarta at the time.

Njoto back from their trip abroad.¹¹ He had done so upon explicit instruction of Sukarno. Copies of the telegrams in question confirmed the correctness of what Subandrio said.¹² However, because Sukarno's secretary Jamin as witness had maintained, that Sukarno had asked only to have Njoto return to Jakarta, Colonel Darmawel for the prosecution had requested to hear Sukarno's evidence. What the President declared in a written statement as witness tied in with Jamin's word and not with Subandrio's.¹³ Subsequently, the Court took into consideration Sukarno's declaration, and not Subandrio's evidence.

The background to all this was that the President wanted at the time—July–August 1965—to have especially Aidit back in Jakarta, more than Njoto. But he could not advance any official ground for such a recall. The only one was the real one, i.e. to consult Aidit on the full scale brawl with Yani and other members of the Army General Staff that had erupted, while Aidit was abroad. Later, after all had gone wrong with the October 1 affair, Sukarno had even less wish—being himself under a cloud—to be caught having at a certain moment recalled urgently the chairman of the PKI, the party that was subsequently accused and found guilty of high treason and murder.¹⁴ The military prosecutor and the judges of Mahmillub were obliging in this case and assisted the President with this charade.

In the minutes of the trial of Subandrio as far as they have been published not a word can be found about the President and his role in his own attempted coup. Normally this would have been pretty remarkable in a case in which a top official had been so closely associated as Subandrio with what had gone on in the October 1 affair. But when we bear in mind the rules of the game set by Suharto and the Mahmillub machinery, it all of course is much less remarkable.

We know now that by late 1966—early 1967 for Suharto's inner circle, more if not all information on what the President had been up to in the course of 1965 was available. Years later Darmawel,

¹¹ See above I.2. pp. 15 and 16.

¹² Dake, II, p. 382 and footnotes 46, 47,48, 49 and 50 on p. 388.

¹³ Sukarno is reported to have refused at that occasion to answer certain questions put to him by the military prosecutor; f.i he did not want to elaborate about the reasons why he had gone to Halim or about what had taken place there; communication by H.R.H. Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX to western diplomats, 11.21.1966.

¹⁴ See above I, 2, pp. 15 and 16.

who as military prosecutor for the Subandrio trial had been familiar with all those details, has admitted so much. He declared at that occasion that there had been indeed sound proof that Sukarno had had a hand in the “*communist coup d’état of 30 September 1965*”, referring specially to the trial against the former First Deputy Prime Minister as source. He added: “*Because the ex-President is now dead, his file will be put aside*”.¹⁵

In hindsight it seems that above all rebellious students had been well informed at the time, no doubt thanks to officials like Nasution and others. In any case, the newly formed Student Teachers Movement, KASI-KAPPI-KAMI, had unearthed by late 1966 sufficient evidence to be the first to demand that Sukarno would be tried publicly.¹⁶

SUPARDJO

A third figure that should be mentioned here is the man responsible for the military side of the Untung coup’s and made into one of the major scapegoats of the October 1 affair: former Brigadier General Supardjo. He was the last main figure in the drama of the 30 September Movement still at large early 1967.¹⁷ The army’s military intelligence group however claimed afterwards to have had already for a long time been familiar with his hiding place and to have kept him under surveillance. In order to gather more facts it had postponed action.¹⁸ On January 15, 1967 Supardjo finally was picked up and arrested.

Here a connection can be made with a declaration the President had made 5 days earlier, on January 10.¹⁹ This was a statement that had been urgently demanded from him by the Indonesian Parliament,

¹⁵ Dutch weekly *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 7.25.1970.

¹⁶ *Antara*, 12.22.1965; Brackman, p. 93.

¹⁷ Sjam could be caught in the first days of March 1967 thanks to the information gathered from Supardjo; CIA, p. 73.

¹⁸ *Dake II*, p. 434 and footnote 53 on p. 447; *Giebels II*, p. 472, quoting H.R.H. Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX.

¹⁹ *Dake II*, p. 434. On 6 June 1966 Sukarno had made a report to the highest representative body, the MPRS. This report was considered highly inadequate, even provocative, by the members of the MPRS. Since that period more reports began to circulate of Sukarno’s eventual direct involvement in, if not responsibility for the “30 September Movement”. The President was urged continuously to be more forthright about his role in the movement than he had been in his report of June 6, 1966. See also Elson, p. 143 and Crouch, p. 203.

as its members considered a previous statement in June 1966 by the President as absolutely insufficient. Both Presidential statements dealt with his role in the October 1 affair and Sukarno had been very reluctant that he must come up with one more declaration for the benefit of the parliamentarians.

Once he had put his January text together he even discussed its content with a number of journalists a day before submitting it to the Indonesian Parliament. He could not have been more eloquent in his utter contempt for the country's chosen representatives.²⁰

In the official document submitted to the Parliament the President cited three major causes of the 30 September Movement:

- it was the PKI leadership—not the party itself—that was to blame and that had been utterly confused making all sorts of errors of judgement
- the country had been undermined by the “*nekolim*”, a reference to alleged interference by British and American secret services, and
- there had been a number of “*bad elements*” at play, people that possibly had misled him or had been incompetent.

The “30 September Movement”, so Sukarno finally, again had been for him “*a complete surprise*”.²¹

This so-called “*amplified*” statement by the President was immediately shot down by Indonesian parliamentarians as again completely insufficient. Suharto and his friends now considered it unavoidable that further pressure should be exerted upon Sukarno to resign. And in that respect Supardjo could come in handy, because based on what Suharto's inner circle knew so far, Supardjo was thought to be the one who had such a detailed insider's knowledge that he could nail down the President definitely.²² The first thing then was indeed to arrest Supardjo and get him to talk before the prosecutors.

As expected Supardjo indeed could provide vital new information and irrefutable evidence of the President's role in the October 1 affair. One of the things that emerged clearly was the detailed way Sukarno had discussed the purge of the army leadership in the

²⁰ Giebels II, p. 471.

²¹ Crouch, p. 213.

²² Supardjo could with good reason be seen as the link between Aidit and the President during the time that both were staying on Halim Airbase on the 1st of October; see above I.6, p. 52 ff. and II.10, p. 110.

Merdeka Palace with various guests like Omar Dani and even Aidit.²³ Soon information of this kind began to circulate within the diplomatic community in Jakarta, together with the indication that its source was impeccable.²⁴ It could not come then as surprise that a few days later Supardjo's trial was announced, provisionally for mid-February.²⁵ For the President by now half a word was enough. He rightly saw the pending Supardjo trial as further pressure on him to take the final step and resign as President. This time he had become convinced that he was indeed in serious and final trouble. He held numerous talks with a great many people, especially with a host of high grade officers who always had been well disposed towards him. The result of this all was that the President decided to try to accommodate Suharto somewhat. In a letter dated February 8, 1967 he offers the new chief to let him run the country on a day-to-day basis, while he himself would "*at most*" set the strategy, the broad lines.²⁶

This suggestion was at that time already a past station. On February 10 Parliament issued a statement in which it is demanded that the President is brought to justice for high treason. A few days later the High Court of Indonesia published a report of 120 pages with a similar conclusion.²⁷ Meanwhile the Supardjo trial remained the Damocles sword hanging over the head of Sukarno. The date of the trial had been announced several times and postponed again, for obvious reasons.²⁸

Then on February 19 Suharto crosses the Rubicon and together with the commanders of the navy, the air force and the police he forces an audience with the President in his palace in Bogor.²⁹ During that meeting Suharto shows in detail the evidence that has turned up in the interrogations of Supardjo by the prosecutors of Mahmillub. What was presented must have been rather devastating and irrefutable for Sukarno.

²³ Communication by a western diplomat, dated 2.24.1967.

²⁴ This was H.R.H. Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX.

²⁵ Dake II, p. 434.

²⁶ Elson, p. 156; Crouch, p. 216. Suharto quoted the Sukarno's letter in his speech before the DPR-GR on 4.3.1967.

²⁷ UPI, 13.2.1967. The President also should be held accountable for corruption and misappropriation of public money, according to the report of the High Court of Indonesia.

²⁸ Dake II, p. 434.

²⁹ Giebels II, p. 473.

His visitors made thereupon a clear and straightforward proposal: either the President renounces immediately his presidential powers or the next day he would be made directly responsible for the 30 September Movement in a public trial, this time against Supardjo.

Sukarno asked for a few days to think things over, but in fact on the next day already, February 20, he signed the official document of abdication submitted to him the day before.³⁰

Suharto had been hoping that with this prostration on the part of the President, it would be possible to avoid that the MPRS would meet in special session as planned for March 7. He was afraid of extremist decisions on the part of this high-level assembly that was chaired by Nasution. Together with the so-called "*Siliwangi hawks*"—Adjie, Darsono e.a.—Nasution was a clear protagonist of a hard line vis-à-vis the President. He would have preferred to see Sukarno deposed as Head of State and then dragged into court. For this Nasution had already pleaded in a long television address of February 13.³¹

Such a confrontation was exactly what Suharto wanted if possible to avoid. Sukarno had always enjoyed a great deal of support among military commanders, especially in Central and Eastern Java. Above all a future President, which was how Suharto now saw himself, would not gain much from publicly discrediting his predecessor. So when it came to the special MPRS session it was understandable, that in his opening speech Suharto chose to recommend his audience a gradual approach.³²

Many of the MPRS deputies present had, no doubt, been "*pre-programmed*", as Suharto—a control freak—did not wish to leave too much to chance. We know what happened subsequently. After a few days of violent debate, Suharto got his way. In a thrilling example of flexible duplicity, the MPRS decided to shunt aside Sukarno as Head of State, but to allow him to retain the title of President. At the same time he was forbidden to take part in the forthcoming general elections, or to engage in any kind of political activity. No kind of government authority was subsequently to be open to him.

³⁰ Crouch, p. 216.

³¹ Nasution, "*quite convincingly*" according to western diplomats, exposed the complicity of the President in the failed coup of September 30. He adduced an overwhelming number of incriminating statements and acts that apparently had been known already for some time, but had been kept under wraps so far.

³² Crouch, p. 217.

Bringing the ex-President to trial was left open as an option with the formula that “*the solution to the legal problem of Dr Ir Sukarno*”—his high treason etc.—was left in the hands of Suharto.

As final decision the MPRS deputies appointed Lieutenant General Suharto Acting President.³³

Thus on March 12, 1967 the first President of the Republic of Indonesia ended his political career. He was chased away and, under the threat of a court sentence for high treason and murder, sent into the wilderness. To put it mildly, Sukarno could never have imagined a more ignominious end.

But he could never have imagined either, certainly not at that particular moment, that despite everything he would still be able—on into the next century—to move hearts and minds in his country to the extent he did.

³³ Elson, p. 157; Crouch, pp. 216 and 217; Giebels II, pp. 473 and 474.

SUMMARY

This factual account describes a series of events that took place from 1965 to 1967 in Indonesia. The main protagonist is the Republic's first President, Sukarno. In the course of his long term office he got himself finally into a very serious predicament in what became called the "30 September Movement". One way and another, it all ended up in a changing of the guards. Sukarno as President was forced to resign and Suharto took his place from March 1967 onward, first as Acting President and exactly one year later, in March 1968, as President. Suharto would remain Head of State for thirty years.

We have described above how the Republic's first President became so fatally intertwined with that movement or with the October 1 affair as it also could be called. The inescapable conclusion of this exercise, as the reader will have seen, is that it was Sukarno himself who on that first day of October 1965 set in motion the movement's aim of purging the Minister of Defense Nasution and Army Chief Yani and a number of anti-communist members of his General Staff.

AIDIT's PKI

The PKI, headed by the trio Aidit, Lukman and Njoto, have been as is generally known directly involved in setting up the "30 September Movement" and in everything it brought about. Its secret Special Bureau, with Sjam as first responsible and Chairman Aidit as god-father, played a crucial role in this.

However it is not too much to say that Aidit, had he not been sure that the movement would have and retain the blessing of the President, would never have started this tricky adventure.

But it was not so much Sukarno's expected support for the PKI leadership in this venture that actually tipped the scales. It was rather that the Head of State of the Republic of Indonesia himself had provided the initial impulse, certainly for the military part of the movement's exercise, that is the purge of the army chiefs. That the President sooner or later would give his support for the movement

also publicly, was for Aidit obviously an essential and self-evident component of the joint plot.

Some leading members of the PKI said of Aidit, after the party's virtual annihilation in the wake of the "30 September Movement", that he had been what in their parlance was called a "*leftist adventurer*". At that time they had not yet learned sufficiently of the leading and initiatory role that Sukarno had been playing behind the scenes. If Aidit had remained alive, he would certainly have been the first to have revealed all these aspects and to have tried in doing so to exonerate himself and his leadership of the PKI.

ACTION AGAINST THE ARMY CHIEFS

In the run up to October 1 both Sukarno and Aidit had imagined a course of events quite different from what actually happened. Halfway through 1965 the President was becoming very annoyed about the attitude of the commander of the army Yani. Point blank Yani had informed the President at the end of July that he and his army colleagues would have nothing to do with the idea of arming citizens and peasants, and so creating what had been called in the meantime a "Fifth Force". Unless it remained under their direct supervision, but that was not the intention of the President.

The net result of this squabble, coming after more signs of recalcitrant behaviour by the army top as Sukarno saw it, was a break between the President and the army. The President had had enough of Yani and other likeminded army generals and began to consider taking severe measures against them.

On August 4 Sukarno then enlisted the aid of two officers in his Presidential Guards Regiment, the Tjakrabirawa, to wit its Commander Sabur and a subordinate, Battalion Commander Untung. Sukarno drew them into what would become a fatal conspiracy, for he wanted them to prepare a campaign against what he vaguely called a group of army generals that he thought were disloyal to him. The President in fact incited those two officers to plot against their superiors.

From this moment on it was in particular Untung, who took the lead in trying to put into effect what the President wanted. The first thing he did was to ask his communist party mentor, Walujo, for help. Very soon, thanks to this longstanding contact, there came into being what could be called the Untung Group, as the conspiracy

slowly took shape. Untung was initially the main person responsible for the military side, while for political matters the PKI brought in its secret Special Bureau, run by Sjam, the top PKI operative, who in turn was a frontman for PKI Chairman Aidit.

With Sjam's help Untung forged his group. It was Sabur as commander of the Palace Guard and Untung's superior, who acted as go-between and kept the President informed about the progress of the plot.

SUKARNO'S HEALTH

Moments after Sukarno had spoken to Sabur and Untung on August 4, 1965, taking the first step towards what was to culminate in a bloody purge of the anti-communist army leadership, he suffered a blackout. Suddenly he could no longer speak or walk properly.

This short attack caused at first great uncertainty and fear in his immediate surroundings. The President was a central figure in the political constellation of Indonesia. If he would become incapacitated, let alone die, the result was generally considered to be all but disastrous. The army and the PKI, with Sukarno the parties in the triangle of power, were filled with suspicion and animosity towards each other, they might get at each others throat and the result would be impossible to foresee.

After a few days rest in his palace in Bogor Sukarno was back in Jakarta and in the heart of events again. He was preparing, among other things, again as usual his address of August 17. Aidit was entirely in the picture regarding the President's health and knew Sukarno's illness in fact had been of minor importance. But, in the context of the conspiracy that was taking shape, it had meanwhile become convenient for Aidit to pretend towards his comrades in the Politburo that the President's physical condition was very bad and his days perhaps numbered.

The President's so-called precarious state of health, Aidit reasoned in front of the Politburo, could very well induce the army to undertake pre-emptive action. This could be by opposing the President, attacking the PKI, or both at once. It was a very good thing, Aidit pretended, that there existed a group of progressive officers, as they were dubbed soon. Their aim was to protect Sukarno against such interventions on the part of their own chiefs. In this way, the PKI

chairman persuaded the Politburo to give him what amounted to a *carte blanche* to aid these “*progressive officers*”, having in mind of course the members of the Untung Group.

SUKARNO AND AIDIT IN AGREEMENT REGARDING THE
LIST OF GENERALS TO BE PURGED

In the Merdeka Palace the President, in the course of September, had been making constant use of a small group of generals such as Omar Dani, Sjafiudin, Mursjid and Sudirgo. Their task was to ascertain whether there existed a number of army generals, who were disloyal towards Sukarno. It was never exactly defined what this meant and there was never a scrap of written evidence on the subject. However, the military brass called upon by Sukarno to do the job roundly declared that indeed a number of their colleagues were working against the President.

Among those ready to help Sukarno in his semi-paranoid state it gradually became common knowledge which individuals were involved and deemed disloyal. There was in the first place the Minister of Defence Nasution and the Commander of the Army Yani. Then there were also five members of Yani's General Staff, namely Suprpto, Parman, Sutojo Sismowihardjo, Harjono and Pandjaitan.

This group of army generals “*happened*” to coincide with the list that Aidit had compiled in the course of August and had brought, with Sjam's help, to the attention of the Untung Group.

In the weeks leading up to the Untung coup of October 1 Aidit had repeatedly visited Merdeka Palace, sometimes upon a public occasion as for example when he was awarded on September 13 the Mahaputra Star, a high-level decoration. Other times he went unofficially and his presence in the palace then went unrecorded. Even if during these visits not a word fell with regard to future joint action, there were sufficient backchannels that could help to synchronise the plans.

THE PRESIDENT WAS COUNTING ALL ALONG ON THE DEATH FOR THE
“DISLOYAL” GENERALS

Whatever had been imparted to the President up till the end of September, we know that at any rate on September 29—two days before the events of October 1, 1965—the President was fully and

in detail informed of the intentions, the scope and the unfolding of the plot against the army chiefs. On that day Supardjo, a member of the Untung Group who had come the night before from the front in Kalimantan, briefed Sukarno in the Merdeka Palace extensively about the state of play.

Supardjo had upon his arrival in Jakarta in fact taken over the military side of operations from Untung, who was allowed to remain a few days the figurehead of the "30 September Movement".

In formal terms Supardjo, by leaving his post at the front, had become a deserter and could have been arrested. Later, it was one of the reproaches made vis-à-vis the President, that he had Supardjo not put in jail immediately.

But much more was going to be said against Sukarno's behaviour. Because as turned out later the President was fully acquainted with the fact that the seven "*disloyal*" generals were going to be dragged from their beds in the early morning of October 1. Whether he knew in advance that this was going to prove fatal to them, is difficult to prove in terms of strict penal law. In normal human terms however and taking into consideration all the attendant circumstances, one is forced to the conclusion that the President must have known very well that those generals would never return to their homes alive.

It is difficult to say right out that the President wanted to see them dead. However, he knew what fate was in store for them, could have intervened and could have altered the course of events up to the moment the coup was scheduled to start. Even at that eleventh hour, he could have ordered those seven generals to be placed under house arrest for high treason and could have had them interrogated and convicted of all kinds of plots, for example with the Central Intelligence Agency. However, none of this came to pass.

Up till the last moment before the purge was set in motion Sukarno did as if all that he wanted was a confrontation with these "*disloyal*" generals and nothing more. This pretense was certainly shown as regards Yani. On September 29 the President offered Mursjid, one of Yani's deputies, who was not on "*the list*", to become successor to Yani. Mursjid of course agreed and Sukarno then went so far as to do as if the necessary documents were being prepared.

At the same time, everyone who was there to hear it, became aware that the President ordered to summon Yani to appear before him at ten o'clock in the morning of October 1.

This cynical little one act-play was no doubt intended for the gallery. And subsequently it came in handy as a demonstration that

the President had been expecting Yani on October 1, so he could not have known of the plot against Yani, etc.

A NERVOUS SUKARNO PANICKED

On October 1, quite early on, Sukarno's plans went awry. When he left his wife Dewi's house he was rather nervous and agitated, knowing that quite a lot was about to take place. As he was being driven in his inconspicuous Volkswagen Beetle and was approaching the Merdeka Palace it came to his ears that Nasution had escaped and was "*at large*". This gave him such a shock that he panicked. The President had a strong dislike for Nasution, but at the same time he nourished a hearty respect for him. Nasution, as the President knew full well, had the necessary authority to call into action all manner of opponents, political as well as military.

Without much reflection the President decided on the spot not to proceed to the Palace as planned. Everybody, let alone Nasution, would be thinking that the President could be found there. Therefore Sukarno followed the advice of his aides and had his driver take him to Jakarta's fashionable Grogol district where one of his wives, Harjati, was living.

In doing this, Sukarno immediately sowed confusion. In his initial fright, he forgot he had been supposed to go first to the Palace to get at 7.00 a.m. a briefing by Supardjo on the purge and on other details of the coup. The result was that Supardjo was waiting in the Palace together with three other conspirators, cooling his heels because nobody knew where the President was and losing two precious hours of possibly successful playing out the plot.

TO HALIM

Then Sukarno took his next decision. It may well have been predictable, but he ought to have thought more about actually taking this next step. He had allowed his aides to convince him that the best thing to do would be to proceed to the air force base at Halim. He was expected there anyhow on account of the secret preparations that had already been set in motion the day before, at the hands of one of his aides, Colonel Saelan.

However now, early on into October 1, events had taken a different turn from what had been written in the original script. So it might therefore have been better for the President not to proceed to Halim, but to go to a more neutral place, such as his palace in Bogor.

In going to Halim he was driving into the lion's den. In a manner of speaking, of course, because it was his own den, although at that time only very few persons were aware of that.

Soon after Sukarno arrived at the air force base he called Supardjo who meanwhile had returned from the Merdeka Palace. In this way the President was able to hear, albeit a few hours late, the report of the man in charge of the military part of the coup operations, the kidnapping etc. of the seven army generals.

Supardjo, who had been out of the loop for at least two hours while waiting in the Merdeka Palace, only just had gotten the news from his colleagues at Halim that Nasution had escaped.

In their first conversation that day the President complimented Supardjo on the results thus far. However, there were two points of dismay to be noted. The first was, why had Nasution escaped? Supardjo was not able to answer this, but said it did not matter.

The next question had to do with a battalion of crack paracommando's of the RPKAD. Sabur had meanwhile told the President that he had been unsuccessful in his attempt to win over these troops and their battalion commander, Sarho Edhie, to the presidential side. Now, here was the President, reproaching Supardjo:

You told me at the time that the RPKAD troops would not be anywhere near!.

This comment would later provide proof—next to many other parts of the puzzle—that Sukarno had been talking to Supardjo prior to the coup.

NO ATTENTION PAID TO THE MURDERS

In this first conversation Sukarno, who must certainly have been aware by that time that six generals had lost their lives, seemed to have had scant attention for the murders. One of the myths surrounding the matter has it that the President, upon arriving at the house of his wife Harjati, then had heard for the first time about the coup and had been completely surprised by that news.

At any rate upon Supardjo's first briefing Sukarno could have ordered an inquiry and recommended that arrests be effected. Instead, all he did was to provide more evidence pointing to his direct involvement in the coup by tapping its military leader on the shoulder, while pooh-poohing the "*minor errors*" committed.

Hardly had Supardjo left for his make-shift headquarters a few houses further up the row than one of Sukarno's aides Widjanarko, just returned from Jakarta, reported to the President about the situation in the center of Jakarta. What the President heard was far worse even than Nasution's escape. The army seemed to have survived its decapitation rather well. Also it appeared that, of all persons, Suharto, the chief of the Army's Strategic Command Kostrad, was busy organizing resistance to the coup. On top of this, Suharto had already provided proof of insubordination by refusing to allow Jakarta's Garrison Commander Umar Wirahadikusumah to proceed to Halim, despite an order on the part of the President.

For Sukarno therefore Suharto immediately had become his most threatening opponent. Once again there was an army general who was playing the role of spanner in the works. In the wake of October 1 that had been supposed to be a thing of the past.

HISTORY

The further course of events that day show how the "30 September Movement" became a total failure and at the same time the start of a successful counter-coup. The debacle was complete towards eleven o'clock in the evening. A fully demoralized President heard the urging of some sensible members of his entourage and let himself be pushed into a car that would bring him to his Bogor Palace, considered as neutral ground.

However, there was hardly to be anything neutral left for President Sukarno. Systematically, in the course of the next two years, he was driven further and further into a position of no return. He had to twist and turn in incredible fashion in order to escape the shadow that the "30 September Movement" was now casting upon him.

He was not to prove very successful. He expressed his condolences to Nasution and his wife with the death—due to bullets of his own conspiring troops—of their small daughter Irma, but only in private. At an early stage already, he said he regretted the coup and its vic-

tims, but again not for publication. He refused to attend the burial of the six army generals and of Nasution's aide Tendean and affronted in that way almost the whole nation. He tried by all the means to regain his lost authority, but was surprised that he did not succeed.

What the first President of the Republic of Indonesia has been spared is a public trial for high treason and murder. The question still arises is, whether Indonesia would have benefited from such a legal and mental confrontation with the "30 September Movement" and with the person who bore the responsibility for it.

The least however after so many years is to have available a fair and balanced historical account of the events of October 1. As long as no official sources are made available in Indonesia the preceding story is, to the author, the next best that can be offered.

APPENDIX I

THE FIFTH FORCE

DISCUSSIONS IN BEIJING

In the autumn of 1964, in Shanghai, President Sukarno met the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Chou-en-lai. The President had not had much success in the course of his earlier visit to Cairo in acquiring international support for his so-called confrontation with Malaysia. This was why he eagerly welcomed the opportunity to see whether he might have more success in Beijing.

For his part, Chou-en-lai had an interest in reducing China's international isolation. In his view Indonesia was in a pre-revolutionary situation that could advantageously be stretched towards the more radical hue of "*Chinese*" communism. Chou-en-lai did his level best, therefore, to meet Sukarno halfway in all kinds of fields. For example, he gave him good council in connection with the Malaysian "*confrontation*" and emphasised that it would be a good idea to introduce into Indonesia a militia of armed peasants and workers.¹ With the help of what Chou-en-lai called a "Fifth Force" it would become possible, for example, to conduct more effectively the land war in the Kalimantan frontier area and in Serawak, which was part of the Malaysian Federation.²

On that same day of November 4, 1964, when Chou-en-lai was talking to Sukarno in Beijing about the advantages of a "Fifth Force", the chairman of the PKI, Aidit, was informed in Jakarta by the Chinese Ambassador about the discussions that had been going on. Obviously, the subject was a rather sensitive and important one and the Chinese did not want the PKI leadership to feel that things had been done over their heads.³

Aidit did not immediately come up in public with any kind of reaction to Chou-en-lai's suggestion, but he very well could have felt

¹ Dake II, p. 38.

² Radio Free Europe, 1.28.1965.

³ Antara New Agency, 11.4.1964.

gratitude towards his Chinese comrades. The first sign that Indonesia's communists had clearly understood the message and were considering arming ordinary peasants and workers a good idea came, for a start, from Asmu. He was the chairman of the important communist farmers' union BTI. At the end of November it was Asmu who called upon Sukarno to arm Indonesia's peasants as soon as possible. His main argument for so doing was that a US invasion of Indonesia was imminent.⁴

During the discussions between Sukarno and Chou-en-lai, the Chinese leader did not restrict himself to giving advice. He also suggested that China should help Indonesia in its efforts to provide arms for the "Fifth Force". Later Chou-en-lai was to maintain even that the Indonesian President had already then agreed that China would supply Indonesia with small arms for its "Fifth Force".⁵

PKI LEADER AIDIT URGES INTRODUCTION OF A FIFTH FORCE

However, Aidit for one took his time before coming out into the open with his views about arming the peasants and workers of Indonesia. The subject was a hot potato. A people's militia of this kind could fill an important gap on the communist side, not having its own armed units. But at the same time, there would probably be great resistance from the four existing Armed Forces, namely the army, the navy, the air force and the police, in the face of a fifth partner.

Aidit apparently wanted to do his homework carefully. So it was not before the middle of January 1965 that he came finally out into the open with a plea for arming the peasants and workers. He had been visiting Sukarno and had asked him for his consent to the introduction of a "Fifth Force" of this kind. Immediately after this meeting he gave a radio interview and brought up the subject, calling upon the President to support the idea of such a militia.⁶

Aidit said there could easily be ten million workers and five million farmers in Indonesia who could become suitable candidates for being armed. This would be the right way to confront the danger from Malaysia and from Great Britain. Aidit said he had told the President:

⁴ New China News Agency, 11.21.1964; Dake II, p. 336, note 6.

⁵ Transcript discussions Subandrio-Chou-en-lai, 1.27.1965.

⁶ Indonesian Observer, 1.14.1965.

*No force on earth would defeat the Indonesian Republic*⁷

What it boiled down to was that Aidit had called upon Sukarno to set up a people's militia that would be outside the army's autonomy. In doing this, he went straight to the heart of the matter, which was the relationship between the PKI and the Armed Forces, more particularly, the army. A "Fifth Force" would drag the subject out into the open, bringing in its train manoeuvres behind the scenes that would conjure up Armed Forces over which the army had no control. This was to become in the course of 1965 one of the most highly disputed issues. At first, it involved only the army and the PKI, but subsequently it spread to get between the army and the President as well.⁸

All this would play out during the year 1965 and was to lead to a revolutionary change in Indonesia's national structures. At the beginning of that year, nobody could have dreamed that it could lead in the event to a state of quasi-civil war.

SUKARNO SETS OUT HIS POSITION

Sukarno for one probably had underestimated the explosiveness of Chou-en-lai's suggestion and Aidit's endorsement that followed. Speaking in public he rejected Aidit's call for arming the peasants and workers, saying it was not really necessary.⁹ However, this was for the gallery. Not long afterwards his meeting with Aidit he sent the First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Subandrio, to Beijing for a short visit where Subandrio was to meet Chou-en-lai.

One of the subjects they discussed was the "Fifth Force". Chou-en-lai operated from the assumption that Sukarno had already given his consent. At all events, this was the impression he wished to give to Subandrio. He also showed readiness to back up words with deeds, being prepared to supply 100 000 Chun machine guns for which he would not be asking Jakarta for money.

⁷ New China News Agency, 1.14 and 1.15.1965; Jakarta Radio Home Service, 14.1.1965.

⁸ See above I.1. pp. 6 ff; I.2. pp. 13 ff.

⁹ Kuala Lumpur Radio, 1.14.1965.

What Chou-en-lai actually said was:

These are small arms suitable for a people's militia. They can be tested to see whether they satisfy requirements. We would help to set up repair facilities and spare parts depots. These arms are part of a first production run meant for the Chinese People's Republic and it is more than right that we should be donating these weapons in order to provide assistance in the struggle for freedom. Mao has said it shall be without payment since it was difficult to measure victory in financial terms.¹⁰

Chou-en-lai went on to say that China's communists had experience dating from the civil war when their opponents, General Chang-kai-chek and his Chinese nationalist forces, had parachuted spies into areas that had been conquered by the Communists. It had proved to be very useful that the local peasants carried arms, enabling them to liquidate the spies. Something like this could happen in Indonesia also and it would be best if Sukarno himself were to assume command of such a force, Chou-en-lai added.¹¹

After Subandrio's return from China the President again brought up the question of a "Fifth Force". Obviously, his Deputy Prime Minister had told him the result of the discussions with Chou-en-lai. Sukarno drew parallels with what he had said one month previously, in January, taking matters a stage further saying:

the peasants and workers will be armed, if necessary.¹²

Soon Aidit would follow suit with the assurance that no one could really object to the peasants and workers receiving arms.¹³

More important was that in the country itself the PKI began a national campaign to support the introduction of a broad-based militia. Pro-communist organisations such as the National Front, the Association of Journalists etc. were joining the fray.

It took a little while and then Sukarno once again referred to a "Fifth Force". On May 11, he opened the new National Defence Institute in Bandung and used the opportunity to air his general views regarding foreign policy.

His audience was a select one of military and civilian figures. The tenor of the President's speech was sombre. He pointed out that

¹⁰ Transcript discussions Subandrio-Chou-en-lai, 1.27.1965.

¹¹ Dake II, p. 331.

¹² Indonesian Observer, 2.12.1965; Harian Rakjat, 2.12.1965.

¹³ Australian Broadcasting Corporation Home Service, 2.13.1965.

times were difficult. Indonesia had become, as he put it, “*the main enemy of the neo-colonialists and imperialists.*” Threats to the country were not coming from the North, i.e. China, as Indonesia’s military men thought, but rather from the West i.e. Great Britain and the United States.¹⁴

On May 20 he again came back to the subject of a “Fifth Force” in the course of a second lecture at the National Defence Institute. He informed his listeners that he found the subject fascinating but had, as he put it, not yet accepted it. Everyone understood of course that acceptance most likely would come later on.¹⁵

WINNING OVER THE ARMY

In the next few days, the President lavished his special efforts concerning a “Fifth Force” on the military establishment. He wanted to try to win over the army chiefs. If necessary, however, he wanted to play them off one against the other. However, at that moment that particular gambit turned out not to be terribly successful.

On May 24, the President summoned Nasution and Yani to Merdeka Palace. He wanted to tell them about the need for so-called “Nasakomisation” in the Armed Forces. This was meant to allow for some sort of political consultation and influence within the armed units. To this request, Sukarno received from both military leaders a round ‘*no*’.¹⁶

After this rejection the President must have thought it necessary to make his presence felt in some way and have a try elsewhere.¹⁷ Two days later, in the course of the afternoon of May 26, he suddenly and rather unexpectedly summoned the commanders of all four Armed Forces to a meeting. Yani was there for the army and Martinadata for the navy, while Herlambang was standing in for Dani in charge of the air force, and Sutijpto represented the police. Also present was Nasution, the Minister of Defence.

¹⁴ Antara News Agency, 5.11.1965.

¹⁵ Antara News Agency, 5.20.1965.

¹⁶ Nasution had rejected “*Nasakomisation*” of the armed forces publicly. At roughly the same time Yani had done so in a meeting he had with Sukarno; Berita Yudha, 5.25.1965.

¹⁷ Legge, p. 380:

He seemed to want to retain the possibility as a means of disciplining the army, but not to want it as an actuality.

It was an impromptu meeting and the President came up with a number of serious issues. He mentioned the army's fear of communism, the danger of the Americans and British attacking Indonesia and finally also the Council of Generals. It was clear that Sukarno was trying to pressurise the military command and wanted to convince them of the seriousness of the situation the country was facing. At least as he saw it. That day, however, the main topic was the Gilchrist letter that had just been aired in public that very morning.¹⁸ It had cast doubt upon the army chiefs' loyalty.¹⁹

Two days after this sudden confrontation, on May 28, Sukarno was again speaking to the military. This time he spoke to a number of regional army commanders, trying to reassure them as best he could on the subject of '*Nasakomisation*'.²⁰ These commanders were very restive in the wake of events that had taken place on a plantation in Sumatra, taken over by military administrators. In mid-May, peasants had resisted the orders of a semi-military supervisor who was subsequently beaten to death.²¹ Hence, the President's attempts to pour oil upon troubled waters. For the troops, under these circumstances '*Nasakomisation*' was the very last thing they wanted to see. They were insisting that Yani, who was also present, should resist further blandishments on the part of communist agitators. Yani agreed to this.²²

Sukarno did not let up and on May 31 returned to the attack. Once again addressing the National Defence Institute, he discussed the second most important disputed issue with the army leaders after

¹⁸ The meeting had been organized at the last moment, a few hours after First Deputy Prime Minister Subandrio during a festive PKI meeting had announced the existence of a so-called Council of Generals, whose members were said to be plotting against the President. For the first time then Subandrio mentioned a letter allegedly written by the British Ambassador in Jakarta, Sir John Gilchrist. This letter was supposed to show that there was a conspiracy between that Council and the British; Subandrio Trial Proceedings, 2d session; New China News Agency, 5.26.1965; Radio Free Europe, 7.19.1965; Dake II, p. 335; and above I.1, p. 3.

¹⁹ Elson, p.97. Army Chief of Staff Yani blew his stack and denied vehemently Sukarno's implied accusation.

²⁰ Sukarno then explains that what matters is "*the spirit and unity*" of Nasakom and not the introduction of commanders and deputy commanders of different political convictions into the Armed Forces; Berita Yudha, 5.29.1965.

²¹ This was the Bandar Betsy incident of May 13 and 14, 1965; Crouch, p. 87, note 46; Berita Yudha, 5.27.1965. See also above I.1, p. 2.

²² Crouch, p. 88.

'*Nasakomisation*', which was the "Fifth Force".²³ Sukarno told the four topcommanders that they should seriously consider the question of arming the peasants and workers: Chou-en-lai's suggestion was a useful one. The President added that the chiefs of the Armed Forces should come up with their own ideas.

In saying this the President took his support for a "Fifth Force" a step further than he had already done on May 20, when he said he had "*not yet*" accepted it. It is quite possible that the lack of support for the "*Nasakomisation*" on the part of the army leaders had led to his hardened stance on the Fifth Force.

In the days that followed, it was to become clear that Sukarno had managed to split the views of the commanders of the Armed Forces on the subject of a people's militia. Omar Dani, the air force chief, in a speech on June 4 showed that he was with the President on this issue, when he said:

*How tremendous our strength would be if the People, as the fifth force, were armed like the other four forces.*²⁴

Admiral Martadinata then spoke for the navy referring to a "Fifth Force" in a statement that could be taken two ways:

*In a revolution a fifth force is a positive development.*²⁵

Later on, it was to become apparent that Martadinata was in fact not so far removed from the stance of the leading army generals such as the Minister of Defence Nasution. For them, a "Fifth Force" ought to be seen as a "*strategic reserve*" that only was acceptable as long as it remained within the remit of the Armed Forces. In other words: a people's militia should be under the command of professional soldiers.²⁶

At this stage Yani did not yet commit himself clearly. Speaking on behalf of the army, he said pretty vacuously that the best thing

²³ Antara News Agency, 5.31.1965; Crouch, p. 90. Mortimer, p. 382, mentions June 1 as date of the lecture and quotes Sulluh Indonesia, 2.6.1965.

²⁴ Crouch, p. 91; Harian Rakjat, 6.7.1965. Later, during his trial, Dani would state not to have meant that the "Fifth Force" was to become a separate military organization.

²⁵ Indonesian Herald, 6.26.1965; Antara News Agency, 5.26.1965. Martadinata did not shy away from visiting PKI Chairman Aidit in order to tell him what the navy thought of "*Nasakomisation*" and of the "Fifth Force".

²⁶ Dake II, p. 385, note 18.

would be if the “*whole population*” were to bear arms.²⁷ He talked also about just leaving the decision up to the President.²⁸ Elsewhere in army circles, the idea of any kind of “Fifth Force” was roundly rejected. For example, in the official army newspaper Angkatan Bersenjata an elaborate article was published at the beginning of July on the subject of a people’s militia. The thrust of it was, in effect, that a civilian population militarised in this way had only functioned at the time in China, because then the political and military authority were identical. In other words it was a typical communist model that, in any case, would not suit Indonesia’s army leadership.²⁹

FIRST STEP TOWARDS A PEOPLE’S MILITIA

Meanwhile, however, the situation had taken on a different light. For some time, the army had already possessed a militia of its own making, called Hansip. It stood directly under the orders of Nasution, the Minister of Defence, so was able to carry out all kinds of useful duties such as constituting a military presence at demonstrations and the like. At the same time, Nasution did not want to be overtaken by the PKI in pressing for a “Fifth Force”. He was therefore of the opinion that members of the Soksi—a trade union that was supported by the army—might as well receive a military training.

The PKI had already started behind the scenes to turn words into deeds. The Politburo gave one of its members, Njono, the task of setting up a kind of informal fifth force. On July 5 he made a secret start by organising paramilitary training for 3,700 men.³⁰ To this end, he recruited members of the communist farmers union BTI, of the Sobsi trade union which also stood under communist influence, of the PKI-affiliated youth organisation Pemuda Rakjat and of other communist front organisations. Njono was to be the politically responsible official vis-à-vis the PKI leadership, while the actual paramilitary training of volunteers was left in the hands of one of the members of the so-called Untung Group, Major Sujono of the air force.³¹

²⁷ Crouch, pp. 90 and 91; Berita Yudha, 6.16.1965.

²⁸ Mortimer, p. 382; Harian Rakjat, 6.14.1965.

²⁹ Angkatan Berendjata, 1.7.1965; Dake II, p. 379 and p. 385, note 21.

³⁰ Notosusanto, p. 143.

³¹ See above I.5. p. 44 and Appendix IV, The military side of the coup, p. 238. Also Notosusanto, p. 143 a.f.

Sujono's ultimate superior, Air Vice Marshal Omar Dani, had already given his consent to this.³² He remained closely involved in the training of communist "*peasants and workers*" who in fact were medium-level cadres of the PKI and of the various other communist organisations in the country. The intention was quite clear, namely, to "*constitute a Fifth Force*".³³ Since the air force was meshed with this initiative, it is hardly surprising that the site for the training of the informal militia was near Halim Air Force Base. This specific area was to become famous or rather infamous under the name of Lubang Buaja.

Officially, the semi-military course for of the communist cadres consisted of seven slots, each lasting twelve days. In the course of those periods, trainees were supposed to be familiarised with matters such as security, intelligence, military tactics and map reading. Later, in the course of the year, when the time came to put everything into practice it invariably turned out that these training periods had become ever shorter than the planned twelve days.³⁴ The result was that this clandestine military training, when it came down to it, was really nothing to write home about.³⁵

ESCALATION WITH DRAMATIC CONSEQUENCES

At the end of July 1965 the idea of a "Fifth Force" escalated and was to have far-reaching consequences.³⁶ The PKI leadership felt their influence was increasing day by day and thought they could bring Sukarno to fully ban their competition, the national-communist Murba party, that already had been suspended by the President in the beginning of the year.³⁷ At the same time, the PKI organised a major publicity campaign, pointing to the need for a people's militia.

³² Notosusanto, p. 143, mentions that Dani conceded this point during his trial in December 1966. Originally the air force was supposed only to have been interested in recruiting persons to guard the Halim Air Base and living near to that base; Crouch, pp. 91 and 92; Harian Rakjat, 6.7.1965.

³³ Notosusanto, p. 143, who quotes Sujono as witness during the trial against Njono.

³⁴ Notosusanto, p. 145.

³⁵ See f.i. II.11, p. 116.

³⁶ Crouch, pp. 93 and 94:

By the middle of 1965 the army leaders, Yani as emphatically as Nasution, had decided to stand firm against the challenge that they faced, not only from the PKI, but also from the President.

³⁷ Harian Rakjat, 7.26.1965.

This challenge on the part of the communists evidently went finally down the wrong way in the case of the Commander of the Army, Yani. On July 27 he was addressing students in the city of Makassar and spoke in terms that were less veiled than before against a “Fifth Force”.³⁸ Once again, he said that any people’s militia should not be allowed to function outside the existing military hierarchy. However, on top of this, he stated that armed citizens could only be allowed to go into action against the country’s *external* enemies. In other words: only against forces at and beyond the Indonesian borders, i.e. against the so-called “*nekolim*”, the neo-colonialists and imperialists, or simply phrased against Malaysia and Great Britain.

The real hard line position of the army leadership against a “Fifth Force” came a few days later, on July 30. It had already become very clear to the insiders that Yani and his direct associates were dead against the PKI’s trojan horse as they saw it.³⁹ However, in order to preserve the peace with Sukarno, Yani for one had previously spoken in rather less direct terms.

On this particular day, at the Senajan Stadium’s Conference Centre in Jakarta, Yani assembled his General Staff together with a number of regional and local commanders. The two most critical items in the triangular relationship among Sukarno, the army and the PKI were the introduction of ‘*Nasakomisation*’ in the Armed Forces and a “Fifth Force”.

‘*Nasakomisation*’ had always been taboo for the country’s army chiefs and certainly would have been out of the question altogether, if it had meant to introduce some sort of political commissars—among whom no doubt would have been communists and crypto-communists—into the Armed Forces organization.⁴⁰

Now, however, finally the army through its politically most important commanding officer, Yani, was at last also speaking out against the second sensitive issue: against any kind of “Fifth Force”. This was a remarkable development on his part and also for the leading officers around him, most of whom were fiercely anti-PKI and all

³⁸ Berita Yudha, 7.29 and 7.30.1065; BBC, 7.30.1965; Crouch, p. 120; Dake II, p. 387, note 38.

³⁹ Crouch, p. 91:

... the army leaders endorsed the scheme in principle with the purpose to kill it in practice. Suharto, then commander of Kostrad, was said to have been from the beginning “dead against this plan”; Elson, p. 96.

⁴⁰ See above I.1, p. 8; I.2, p. 14.

of whom were known to be close to the President.⁴¹ He told his fellow army commanders that, for a long time, he thought he might be able to go along with the President on the subject of a "Fifth Force". However, now he had concluded that the game was up.⁴² Yani knew that, in saying this, he was stepping over a red line, because he and with him the army were not only turning against the PKI, but also and above all, against the President himself. What was more, he did so in the full limelight of publicity, right in the country's capital.

In the preceding weeks Sukarno had pinned himself down more and more on the introduction of a "Fifth Force" in order to create a counter-weight to the Armed Forces proper. At the same time, he wanted to strengthen the arm of the PKI.

This verdict on the part of the army commander hit home all the harder, insofar as Yani had always been Sukarno's blue-eyed boy. Back in 1962, in the course of a neat manoeuvre at the expense of Nasution, Yani had been promoted to Army Chief of Staff. In the eyes of Indonesia's President, Yani's categorical stance against a people's militia must have meant treason most foul, directed at him personally. Looking at matters with benefit of hindsight it was no surprise for observers, therefore, that Sukarno started thinking at this stage of replacing Yani with a more flexible army commander.⁴³

MUTINY OF THE ARMY LEADERSHIP

Sukarno was now confronted with what he undoubtedly regarded as a kind of mutiny on the part of the whole of the army leadership. He must have turned white with rage, feverishly looking for counsel amongst his palace coterie and turning particularly towards Subandrio, the Deputy-Prime Minister and general dogsbody for unpleasant missions.

⁴¹ Information given to the author by Major General Otto Bojoh, in 1965 detailed with Kostrad, March 1972.

⁴² Dake II, p. 381.

⁴³ Elson, p. 97; Crouch, pp. 94 and 121. In this context one can also place a conversation at the time between Sukarno and Major General Adjie. Sukarno then offered Adjie Yani's job:

(provided) Adjie helped to preserve order during the trying period after Yani and the other generals were arrested; CIA, pp. 240 and 292.

Later, at the end of September, Sukarno in the same spirit conspires to offer Major General Mursjid to succeed Yani; Appendix VIII, p. 353.16d.

At any rate the President did not allow the grass to grow under his feet. On the next day, which was July 31, he gave Subandrio the task of chasing up two of the three members of the Executive Committee of the PKI in order to summon them to come to Jakarta without delay.⁴⁴ It concerned Aidit and Njoto who, after attending the Second Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers at the end of June as members of the Indonesian delegation, had remained abroad, traveling for weeks with no known destinations through Africa, Europe and Asia. Eventually they would return to Jakarta on resp. August 7 and 9.

Without waiting for the two communist leaders to come back as requested Sukarno decided to start preparing measures against so-called “*disloyal*” high-ranking army officers. He therefore summoned in the early morning of August 4 the commander of his Presidential Guards Regiment, Brigadier General Sabur, and one of the battalion commanders, Lieutenant Colonel Untung. Receiving them in his bedroom he told both that he wanted to initiate some unspecified action against a number of army generals. According to witnesses Sukarno turned in particular to Untung and asked him whether he was prepared to take the lead. Untung thereupon answered to be prepared to follow any orders of the President in loyal and unconditional obedience.⁴⁵ The long and the short of this conversation was that the country was now beginning to move towards what was to become in a few weeks the most fateful turning date in Sukarno’s life, October 1, 1965.

CONCLUSIONS

The introduction of a so-called “Fifth Force” was intended to arm ordinary citizens. The idea had played an important role in the first nine months of 1965, after having been introduced into Indonesian politics by China’s communist leaders. At the end of 1964, it was brought to the President’s attention, while the PKI and a number of communist front organisations immediately saw its merits and

⁴⁴ Copies of cablegrams, put at the disposal of the author by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, show that both PKI-leaders, Aidit and Njoto, have been summoned to comeback to Jakarta at the same time. See above III.13. p. 168; Dake II, p. 387, note 42.

⁴⁵ Appendix VIII, p. 357, 21A.

picked it up. Sukarno kept it in reserve as an option for maintaining pressure on the Armed Forces and most of all on the branch that really counted, which was the army.

In due course the President managed to win over the air force to the idea, thus creating disunity among the chiefs of the Armed Forces. Arming the peasants and workers was seen by Sukarno as a way to increase his leverage towards the military and at the same time would in practice have boiled down to calling into being a broad-based people's militia under the influence of the PKI.

Opposition to this idea came from Nasution and, in the course of the year, more markedly also from Yani. Both looked at it, considering the context of the precarious political balance that existed between the President, the military and the PKI, a balance that should not be disturbed to the detriment of the military.

Halfway through the year, however, the idea of a "Fifth Force" became exclusively focused on Sukarno's relationship with the army leaders. And then, at the end of July 1965, Yani and the other members of the Army General Staff crossed over that red line between what Sukarno could and what he could not accept from them.

In reconstructing this important affair within the political life of Indonesia we can see that there is considerable consistency. We see that from mid-1965 on Sukarno became entangled in a conspiratorial process that had partly been set in motion by himself. Finally, there came the dramatic dénouement on October 1, 1965. Nasution, Yani and other army generals were too much in his way, the President had concluded. So a "solution" to the problem had to be found. In all this, the question of a "Fifth Force" played an important role in the background as symbol in the eyes of Sukarno of unacceptable obstinacy on the part of a number of army leaders.

APPENDIX II

THE COUNCIL OF GENERALS

INTRODUCTION

In the course of 1965 more and more rumours circulated about the existence of a Council of Generals. This was reputed to be a group of high-ranking army officers who had turned against certain policy aspects of Indonesia's President. As the year progressed, the rumours fed into the gossip circuits became more serious and there was talk of generals who were, it was claimed, "*disloyal*" to Sukarno. The situation became even more serious when behind the scenes and without, incidentally, any kind of proof being advanced, the so-called Council of Generals was accused of conspiring against the President of the Republic.

JANUARY 1965

In order to trace in greater detail the coming into being of this so-called Council of Generals or rather the story about it, we have to return to the beginning of 1965. At that time, to be precise, on January 13, there was a meeting of a number of army generals. It was this meeting that aroused Sukarno's suspicions and to which, in exaggerated fashion, he attached great significance.

These were turbulent times in Indonesia and the Confrontation with Malaysia was placing a heavy burden on the country's administration while the economy was in straits. The prevailing impression was that for the moment the President, the army and the PKI who were all competing hard for the greatest influence kept a precarious balance. Would the army remain in a position to ward off the communists, or would the PKI get the upperhand?

Within the organised Armed Forces of the Indonesian Republic the army was, in political terms, the most important factor. From days gone by the army chiefs had always claimed the right to exercise semi-administrative duties. Under the leadership of the one-time schoolmaster and former KNIL officer Abdul Harris Nasution, the

army had turned out in the days of the revolutionary struggle against the Netherlands as a strong consolidating factor with a sense of mission and with pretensions as educators of the nation.

It was necessary to turn the young Republic into a modern secular state. In this capacity the army had a more comprehensive task than simply guaranteeing the country's external security. Solidarity among the top army officers was, in this connection, a *conditio sine qua non*.

Until 1962 this was also, *grosso modo*, the case among the army leaders. There was a reasonable degree of unanimity of opinion and mutual relationships were good. However, as Sukarno's position strengthened, he got into a position to intervene more and more directly in internal army matters. For example, in that year, he managed to shunt Nasution, who had until then been the army's foremost commander with direct command responsibilities, into a dead-end position. He kept his post as Minister of Defence and got fobbed off with the title of Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, mainly an ornamental function.

Lieutenant-General Ahmad Yani was appointed to succeed him as commander of the army. For a long time Yani had basked in presidential affection and had developed a close friendship with the President. Just the opposite had been the case with Nasution. It was mainly a question of character. Nasution was a much more serious person with broad experience and great prestige. He was not from Java, but from Tapanuli in Sumatra. At the same time and despite his periodic swings of mood, he was a man of independent political character and judgement.

Just as had been his intention, Sukarno succeeded in splitting the army top and from 1962 onward it could fairly be said that there were two factions within the army, the one close to Nasution and the other to Yani.¹ Alongside them and reaching right through both, there was in the army something resembling a PKI faction.²

¹ Crouch, p. 81, note 30, enumerates those present "*from the side*" of Nasution: the Generals Sudirman (commander of Seskoad, the Military Academy), Sarbini Martodihardjo (Minister for Veterans Affairs), Basuki Rahmat (commander of the Brawidjaja Division), Suharto (commander of Kostrad) and Sumantri. Of the Yani "group" there were: the Generals Suprpto (2d Deputy of Yani), Harjono (3d Deputy of Yani), S. Parman (1st Assistant for Intelligence), Sutojo Siswomihardjo (military prosecutor), J. Muskita (Deputy Assistant for Operations) and Ahmed Sukendro (Minister of State)

² Dake II, p. 370, note 22. Major General Pranoto who played a role in the

INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS

At the beginning of January 1965, Deputy Prime Minister Subandrio tried to dislodge Nasution as Minister of Defence. In an attempt to appear as a trendsetter Subandrio came out with the verdict that 1965 would be, as he put it, an extremely critical year for Indonesia.³ A number of former comrades-in-arms would have to be discarded, because they had turned into contra-revolutionaries, as Subandrio maintained in a scarcely veiled reference to Nasution.

The background of this maneuvering was that Sukarno preferred to deal with the more flexible Lieutenant General Yani, and make him Minister of Defense and also to promote him to the post of Deputy Prime Minister. Rumour had it that in this way the President wished to groom Yani as his successor.⁴ This sort of intrigue, plus the drawing together between the President and China's communist regime since the end of 1964, had brought the leading army generals closer to one another.

An expression of this was a meeting on 13 January 1965 among the Army Chiefs at which, however, the chefs de file Nasution and Yani were not present.⁵ Officially, it was called the '*Wandjakti*', a kind of promotion-cum-disciplinary committee.⁶ It was the forum where usually appointments were prepared and verdicts reached regarding disciplinary sanctions.⁷

According to reports, both the Nasution and the Yani faction reached a broader degree of understanding during the meeting vis-à-vis their attitude towards the pro-communist aspects of Sukarno's policy. On subjects such as the "Fifth Force", "Nasakomisation" within the Armed Forces, the relationship with Beijing and the like, all the Army Chiefs and not just Nasution and his associates, but

preparation of the 30 September Movement has been one of these top officers who were "*guided*" by the PKI; information from Nasution in an interview with the author in March 1972.

³ Challis, p. 76.

⁴ Dake II, p. 370, note 21. In the course of the year 1965 various military persons had gotten offers by Sukarno for all sorts of jobs. This was standard procedure for the President who hoped to snare them; see above I.2. p. 12.

⁵ Yani was not present. Nasution was there only at the beginning of the meeting; information given by Nasution in an interview with the author in March 1972.

⁶ Crouch, pp. 80 and 81. The next day, 14 January, the PKI Chairman Aidit went public with an endorsement of the "Fifth Force"; see Dake II, p. 358 and the Indonesian Observer, 1.14.1965.

⁷ Notosusanto, pp. 156 a.f.

now Yani and his direct associates too, came closer to a common stance and to a readiness to be critical of the President, while adopting more clearly defined standpoints than previously.⁸

The common stance was, above all, the conviction on the part of the whole group of army generals that more resistance should be offered to the action programmes that the PKI was putting forward and that the President was welcoming, or at least making use of.

In the light of the important role that Suharto played before and on October 1, 1965, it has been pointed out that Suharto, then already Kostrad commander, prior to January 13 and together with others paid a visit to Nasution. He wanted, it was said, to achieve an improvement in the relations between the President and Nasution.⁹ It is also stated that Suharto played a leading role in organising the Council of Generals meeting on January 13 and is said to have created an opening for himself “*on his path towards taking over from his rivals Nasution and Yani*”.¹⁰ However, there are no indications to the effect that this was actually so. Suharto was still operating too much at a lower level in the military hierarchy. This kind of observation falls more into the category of post facto interpretations that portray Suharto as the author of the “30 September Movement”.¹¹

Furthermore the question even arises as to whether, upon the occasion of the discussions on January 13, he was actually present as he is said to have been.¹² Also this issue is subject to doubt and at all events Suharto—if he was present—could not have played a prominent role, because otherwise Nasution, for example, would have mentioned him in his description of the factions and their supporters.¹³

Whatever may have been the case, the army chiefs meeting in January 1965 certainly contributed, as we shall see, to the volume of rumours concerning a Council of Generals that were subsequently to circulate. The ‘*Wandjakti*’ functional promotion committee could,

⁸ Dake II, p. 370, note 22, reflecting the opinion of Nasution as received by the author in an interview, March 1972.

⁹ Crouch, p. 80, note 28, Nasution, in an interview with the author in March 1972, said that he had not wanted then to be more lenient towards Sukarno.

¹⁰ Challis, p. 76.

¹¹ See Appendix V: The role of Suharto.

¹² Crouch, p. 81, note 30, in which Suharto at any rate is not represented as belonging to either of the two factions within the army. See further below: Appendix V: The role of Suharto.

¹³ Dake II, p. 379, note 21.

with the help of a little bit of imagination, be developed further into a subversive Council of Generals and this is what actually happened.

The question is whether such imagination was justifiable and if it was, how that particular body acquired the mystical status that it actually did. Even if its existence was only an invention, the “*Council*” as idea or even as myth played a role and, in the course of the year, assumed ever-greater political importance. It grew from being thought of as a group of high-level army officers who disagreed with the President on a number of issues, into a nest of subversion. In the course of time, it was to be further dressed up until it became to stand for a corrupt clique of military traitors accused of mounting a plot against the Head of State.¹⁴

RUMOURS FROM COMMUNIST QUARTERS

Stories about the Council of Generals first began to raise their heads at the beginning of 1965. Thus for example, the leader of the military part of the October 1 coup, Brigadier General Supardjo, during the trial against him before the Special Military Tribunal in 1967, said that in March 1965 he had been informed by Colonel Latief that there was a Council of Generals in the army that played a suspicious role.¹⁵ Widjanarko reported that he first received information about a Council of Generals in Merdeka Palace in the course of the first quarter of 1965.¹⁶

The Council of Generals became news again in May. Subandrio, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs who was at the same time responsible for intelligence, was the first person officially to make known the existence of such a body to the outside world. In the course of a speech on the occasion of the PKI's 45th Anniversary on May 26, he let it be known that the President had proof, as he put it, of “*a contra-revolutionary movement existing in this country.*” This was, he said explicitly, a Council of Generals busy

¹⁴ The term “Council of Generals” will further be used without quotation marks, when it concerns the Indonesian army generals who were said to differ in opinion on important issues from the President.

¹⁵ Crouch, p. 115. Latief about whom a lot can be said was going to be prominent and leading conspirator, next to Supardjo, and turned out to be a crypto-communist; see above I.5. p. 6.

¹⁶ Appendix VIII: p. 350, 12a.

plotting against Sukarno.¹⁷ Moreover, the President had in his possession a letter from the British Ambassador in Jakarta, Gilchrist. From this letter it appeared that the members of the Council of Generals even went so far as conspiring together with the British.¹⁸

In the course of the trial before the Special Military Tribunal against Subandrio, it became apparent that at the time, when he was head of the Central Intelligence Organization BPI, it was his Chief of Staff, Brigadier General Sutarto, who told him about the council's existence.¹⁹ At the time, Subandrio told his judges, that he had regarded the report as only a rumour. But in May 1965 his PKI audience certainly had no reason to understand Subandrio's accusations in that way.

Hardly had Subandrio "*revealed*" the existence a Council of Generals than the President latched on to it. In the afternoon of May 26, after Subandrio in the morning had entrusted the news to his communist audience, Sukarno picked up the theme and was already berating the commanders of the four Armed Forces in Merdeka Palace during a hastily convened meeting. Sukarno then confronted army commander Yani, asking him what truth there was in this rumour. Yani came up with the story of the promotion committee with a functional task. There was nothing to report, Yani said, becoming very angry, even so much so that it turned into a quarrel.²⁰

Sukarno was to remain sceptical and not convinced by Yani, or at all events pretended so much. He trusted the source of the rumours, the BPI Chief of Staff Sutarto, more or less blindly, as Widjanarko had observed this from close up:

*Bung Karno was very fond of him and trusted him . . . I heard that Subandrio and Sutarto with their Central Intelligence Service were mainly responsible to Bung Karno in checking the accuracy of information about the Council of Generals.*²¹

¹⁷ Dake II, pp. 355 and 356.

¹⁸ During the Confrontation with Malaysia Indonesia was opposed to the Malaysian Federation and to Great-Britain that had just turned over his Asian colonies to the Federation.

¹⁹ Notosusanto, p. 156.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 157. Sukarno also brought up during this interrogation of the army leadership the Gilchrist letter which had been made public by Subandrio a couple of hours earlier. See Appendix I. p. 190, note 19. The letter later was proven to have been a forgery.

²¹ Appendix VIII, 474, 190.

The BPI had subsequently questioned the rumour. That, at least, was what the head of the so-called Second Bureau of the BPI, Kartono Kadri, said when giving evidence in the same trial against his former boss, Subandrio. Kadri said he had questioned the Chief of the Army Intelligence, Major-General Parman, who however had denied the existence of any such Council of Generals plotting to overthrow Sukarno, and had gone on to explain the workings of the ‘*Wandjakti*’ promotion committee.²² So Kadri’s inquiry had turned out to be negative, but that had not been enough to dispel the rumour about the existence of the council.

This was hardly surprising. After all, Sutarto, when giving evidence in the same trial against Subandrio, said he in turn had obtained information about the Council of Generals from a certain Harjowisastro, who was a PKI Member of Parliament. Another source, Sutarto affirmed, was one of his own assistants and his report about a Council of Generals came from a certain Wiratmono who belonged to the communist student organisation called CGML.²³

In short, one way or another, we can conclude that the rumour concerning a subversive “Council of Generals” plotting against Sukarno as it surfaced in the spring of 1965, was a feed from a number of PKI members and was not dispelled by the BPI. Whether it was Aidit himself who was the ultimate source is difficult to ascertain.²⁴ But in any case, BPI’s Chief, Subandrio, was to repeat the story continuously in the course of the year.²⁵ Despite Yani’s assurances that there was no subversive Council of Generals, the idea that not every individual army general entirely supported Sukarno’s policy kept buzzing around.

When the President celebrated his birthday on June 6 in Tampaksiring Palace on Bali, the Council of Generals came up again as a topic of conversation. According to Widjanarko, who was present on this occasion, it was Bali’s Military Commander, Lieutenant-General Sjafiudin, who disclosed in the course of the birthday dinner that there were all kinds of conflicts going on among the army

²² Notosusanto, p. 156. Parman later became one of the victims of the anti-army coup; see above II.1, p. 1.

²³ Notosusanto, p. 156.

²⁴ Sugiarso, p. 383, seems to be sure that this had been the case.

²⁵ See above I.1, p. 8.

chiefs. This had been leading, he went on to say, to problems in the organisation, particularly as regarded the lower ranks. A group of army generals did not agree, for example, with the President on the importance of the Jakarta Beijing axis.²⁶ Sukarno had shown himself upset and had suggested that changes would have to take place at the army's highest levels.

The final result of this birthday party was that Sukarno ordered Sjafudin to investigate whether there really were generals who had been disloyal to the President. In the ensuing weeks and months Sjafudin regularly came to see Sukarno in Merdeka Palace to talk—or rather gossip—about his fellow generals. Sjafudin was not going to be the only top military man that the President commissioned to investigate in the same manner.²⁷

SUKARNO SUDDENLY ILL

From the beginning of August on, the alleged existence of a Council of Generals came very much to the fore for various reasons.

On August 4 the President suffered a slight stroke in Merdeka Palace, feeling dizzy and experiencing speech difficulties.²⁸ The news that something was the matter with the President spread through Jakarta like wildfire and, in an atmosphere that was already tense, gave rise to all kinds of rumours. These reached the ears, not only of the leading generals of the Armed Forces,²⁹ but also of the top communist officials. Two of the three members of the Executive Committee of the PKI, who were recalled by the President some days before his breakdown, had returned home from abroad and had started immediately to look into this matter.

Already upon a previous occasion, at the end of 1964, there had been speculation as to how long Sukarno would continue in power. Upon that occasion he had become unwell in the course of a visit

²⁶ Appendix. VIII, pp. 354, 18 and 355, 471, 107 and 472.

²⁷ See above I.5. pp. 36 and 37.

²⁸ That situation and the state of health of the President is more extensively covered in Appendix III.

²⁹ For one Yani called the next day a meeting of his General Staff to discuss what was to be done in case the President could no longer function or function properly. Security questions were foremost in their mind; information from Nasution in an interview with the author, 1972.

to Cairo. Then also all sorts of maneuvering had taken place.³⁰ As soon as Sukarno would be seen as in some way incapacitated for a longer or shorter period the political constellation in the country was affected.

Also in August 1965 speculations about Sukarno's health were rampant. Suffice it here to recall that Aidit, for one, a few hours after his return from Beijing on August 7 drummed up the members of the PKI Politburo for a meeting in order to be briefed by his colleagues on their views on what was going on.³¹

Later that day, he learned more. When talking in the evening of that same day, August 7, with Sjam, the head of the Biro Chusus, PKI's Special Bureau for clandestine affairs, Aidit got information of a quite different nature. Sjam told him that since a few days actions had been considered against a number of unspecified army generals. They were supposed not to see eye to eye with the President and therefore in his, Sukarno's view, "*disloyal*" to him. In telling Aidit this Sjam had in mind the anti-generals actions of a still rather vague character that were pondered about by Lieutenant Colonel Untung.³²

A few days later Aidit told Sjam that he had received information about a Council of Generals from Politbureau member Sakirman (the brother of Major-General Parman who on October 1 would be murdered by the death squads of Untung). Aidit said to Sjam that he feared that these generals would not remain idle, if Sukarno should die.³³ The conclusion for Aidit was no doubt that the information from Sjam about dissatisfied army officers and from Sakirman concerning the Council of Generals tied in nicely.

At the next meeting of the Communist Party's Politburo on August 16, the second that month, Aidit was better prepared and had been able to obtain all kinds of information, some of it firsthand. Aidit reported to his fellow members that the President was very seriously ill and that he feared for his life. He then brought up the existence of a Council of Generals which, on account of Sukarno's poor state of health, was busy taking the initiative to assume the leadership of the country. Notosusanto formulates Aidit's analysis to his colleagues in the following terms:

³⁰ Dake II, pp. 380, 381 and 387, note 22 and 34.

³¹ See above I.4, pp. 28 and 29; Notosusanto, pp. 118 and 119; Dake II, pp. 390 and 397, note, 3.

³² See above I.3, pp. 20 and 21 and I.4, p. 28.

³³ Crouch, p. 110.

*The army was not united. There was a disagreement between General A. Yani and General A.H. Nasution concerning the date of the coup of the Generals' Council . . . Furthermore, there was a group of army officers opposed to the Generals Council.*³⁴

Aidit brought together two elements in the situation fusing them into one. The first was the so-called dramatic, even terminal illness of the President and the second were the alleged preparations for taking over power on the part of the army through the Council of Generals. These two aspects tied in directly with each other. A new phase for the role of the Council of Generals was starting. In this way Aidit manipulated the other members of the Politburo by presenting the President's illness as being much more serious than it really was.³⁵ He made out, in addressing the Politburo, that if the President should die the army would most likely carry out a coup. But also, he said, a pre-emptive army coup could occur even before Sukarno met his end. It was this coup, whether pre-emptive or not, that the Council of Generals was busy with. Thus Aidit's reasoning, when addressing the Politburo.

In army circles, via close contacts with the "court" of the President, very quickly after August 4 it became known that the President's Indonesian physicians had concluded that there was little the matter with Sukarno.³⁶ Taking this as point of departure, for Nasution, Yani and others there was no reason at all to take any particular notice of what the PKI was up to. Not more at least than normally and certainly they saw no need to take action themselves.

To be frank the willingness to get into an active mode on the part of leading Indonesian military figures had never been really that great. After all, despite the improved relationship between Nasution and Yani any real solidarity amongst the factions at lower levels would have been hard to find. The events in September and thereafter were to make this perfectly clear. At most it could be said that in the next few weeks the army limited itself to reacting in stead of acting.

³⁴ Notosusanto, p. 121.

³⁵ Dake II, p. 393: Sukarno, according to Aidit: "*had a small chance to survive*".

³⁶ Dr Siwabessy, one of the personal physicians of the President, was of the opinion that, if Aidit had listened to him regarding Sukarno's health, he would have had less to worry; Dake II, p. 398, note 10. The question is whether Aidit was much inclined to "*worry*" and to spread the truth about the real state of health of the President.

THE PLOT THICKENS

During the Politburo's third August meeting, on the 28th, decisions were taken that were to have far-reaching consequences for Indonesia's political development. Aidit once again mentioned the Council of Generals, stoutly maintaining that its members would not simply look on and allow the initiative to pass by. However, he also mentioned counter-forces in the army, already at work in a concrete fashion: mid-level military were, he said, preparing to go into action against the Council of Generals and, if necessary, would preempt actions by those generals. Aidit of course had in mind the group around Untung.³⁷ The PKI, as Aidit told his colleagues, would do the right thing: in view of the President's precarious state of health the party would come to the support of the opposing forces in the army.

This was the message that Politburo members received. So, compared to the previous meeting Aidit now went a step further by not only signalling the presence of opposing forces at work within the army, but also to suggest helping them.

Slowly but surely the "*existence*" of a Council of Generals was becoming an open secret. More than anyone else the PKI was responsible for spreading the rumour.³⁸ At the end of August, after the Politburo had followed Aidit and had endorsed support to an anti-generals group of officers, the PKI leadership—probably through Njoto who had daily access to the President—could share with Sukarno directly their conviction, true or pretended, that a group of generals were planning a coup, possibly on Army Day on October 5 and that mid-level officers devised plans to prevent such a coup.³⁹

THE GENERALS COP EACH OTHER

In the course of September, Sukarno began to receive more and more reports about supposedly disloyal army generals. Lieutenant-General Sjafiudin, Bali's Military Commander, complied with the Presidential order and confirmed to the President that there were, indeed, certain generals who were on the wrong side.⁴⁰ Two days

³⁷ See above I.5. pp. 43 ff.

³⁸ CIA, p. 238.

³⁹ CIA, p. 239.

⁴⁰ Appendix VIII pp. 471, 107 and 472.

later, there was a long-drawn out meeting in Merdeka Palace, where the subject of a Council of Generals was on the agenda yet again. On this occasion, Sukarno told those present that such a council did actually exist and that it had been confirmed through various reports he had meanwhile received.⁴¹ This was reason for Sukarno to summon Nasution and Yani again and to interrogate both. This was on September 20.⁴² Not known is what course the discussions took. What is most likely is that it was a repetition of what happened two months earlier, on May 24.⁴³

A few days later, on the 23rd, it was Major General Mursjid's turn, Yani's first deputy. He told the President that yes there were generals who had fallen out of line. Sukarno acted as if he still had doubts on the matter, and asked literally:

Is that report really true? I warn you that, if necessary, I will arrange a confrontation.

However, Mursjid stuck to his guns:

I have carried out Bung Karno's orders to check out the truth about the commanders of the army who are not loyal to Bapak.⁴⁴ It is in fact true that the generals named by Bapak do not approve of Bapak's policies and are not loyal to him.⁴⁵

The President again acted as if shocked, saying something would have to be done about it immediately. However, for one reason and another, he wanted to wait until Brigadier General Sudirgo of the military police returned from his stay in Kalimantan. This then happened on September 26 and also this source came up with "*positive information*" concerning generals who had fallen out of line.⁴⁶

All in all, with hindsight it has become clear that Sukarno constantly was sending out high-ranking officers from his entourage to ascertain any reputed lack of loyalty, but this was not all.

⁴¹ Dake II, pp. 481 and 482.

⁴² CIA, p. 239.

⁴³ See above I.1, p. 7.

⁴⁴ Bapak was familiarly used for Sukarno.

⁴⁵ Nasution, p. 180 (from: A.H. Nasution, *Menenuhi Panggilan Tugas*, 1987, Gunung Agung, Jakarta); Dake II, pp. 493–495.

⁴⁶ Nasution, p. 180; Appendix VIII, p. 352, 15a. Widjanarko recalls that Sudirgo "*at the end of September*" submitted a report to the President on the "*disloyal generals*"; but could not give a precise date.

SUKARNO CALLS FOR ACTION AGAINST THE DISLOYAL GENERALS

Not only did the President continually check up on everything that these so-called disloyal generals did. He also repeatedly egged on the military staff within his inner circle to take at last (continuously unspecified) “*action*” against the generals concerned.

- For example, on September 15 the President ordered Brigadier Sabur, the commander of the Presidential guard, the Tjakrabirawa Regiment “*to prepare measures against disloyal generals*”.⁴⁷
- On 23 September, after it had been Mursjid’s turn that day to implicate some of his army colleagues, Sabur received the same order again. He asked the President for a bit more patience, because as he put it “*there has still to be done more detailed planning before it is possible to carry out your orders*”.⁴⁸
- Then, on the 26th, when Brigadier Sudirgo had returned he received the following commission from Sukarno: “*I have ordered Sabur and Sunarjo to take measures against certain generals. You must give them your support. I am relying upon you and on the Military Police Corps.*”⁴⁹
- On September 27 Sabur received, via Sunarjo and Saelan,⁵⁰ for the third time an order from the President to the effect that he should now really undertake action against the generals concerned. Sunarjo told Saelan: “*The measures against the generals concerned can be carried out. Tell Sabur that he should report to Bapak, so that he can receive all his orders directly from Bapak.*”⁵¹
- On September 29 Sukarno again asked Sabur how matters were going regarding measures to be taken against disloyal army generals. Sabur answered rather obliquely that all the preparations had been made and would be carried out: “*when everything was ready*”.⁵² Other persons present during this conversation in Merdeka

⁴⁷ Dake, II, pp. 481 and 482.

⁴⁸ Dake II, pp. 493–495; Nasution, p. 180.

⁴⁹ Dake II, p. 495. Brigadier Sunarjo was deputy attorney general and head of the section: Criminal Investigation of the Bureau. Sunarjo was very close to Sukarno and used by him especially to help him to “receive” jewelry, paintings, and other valuables seized by Sutojo’s section; Appendix VIII, pp. 455.92a, 456, 463.98.

⁵⁰ Colonel Saelan was at the time aide to the President, in charge of security matters.

⁵¹ Appendix VIII, p. 456, 92d.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 353, 16b.

Palace on September 29 were Air Vice Marshal Omar Dani, Major General Mursjid and some other trusted Sukarno associates.⁵³

Subsequently, that same day September 29 the President gave orders to have summoned before him the Commander of the Army, Ahmad Yani “*and a number of other officials*” early in the morning of October 1.⁵⁴ From the data available can be ascertained that this order was directly connected with the central role that Sukarno ascribed to Yani in the straying Council of Generals.⁵⁵ Moreover, Sukarno, when he issued the order, knew or at all events must have had a strong suspicion that Yani would not be in a position to obey the Presidential Command for the simple reason that early October 1 he would already be dead.⁵⁶

The next move by the President after issuing the fake summons for Yani was asking Mursjid, whether he was prepared to succeed Yani. Mursjid assured Sukarno: “*I am prepared to accept (that order)*”.⁵⁷ Then, on the morning of September 30, Sukarno signed the necessary papers for Mursjid to become army commander. Sabur then passed on the dossier to Sukarno’s secretary Jamin.⁵⁸ From that moment on, the file in question and the order appointing Mursjid as Yani’s successor was to sink completely out of sight.

The President drew up Yani’s dismissal as Chief of the Army without even any kind of consultation beforehand. Other high-ranking officers were aware of what was going on, such as of course Yani’s First Deputy, Mursjid, Major General Pranoto, who was Yani’s Third

⁵³ The records of the conversations in Merdeka Palace mention very often that “action” should be taken, or “*measures*” worked “out” and “*orders*” given. At no time anything transpires of what was meant with those words. Maybe there was a silent understanding? Maybe it is in the Indonesian way of communicating: in a very indirect way?

⁵⁴ Nasution, p. 180; Appendix VIII, p. 353, 16c. It is not known who were the “*other officials*” who were summoned before the President at the same time as Yani. Widjanarko mentions a.o. the Second Deputy Prime Minister, Leimena and the Governor of the Central Bank, Jusuf Muda Dalam. It might also have concerned other “*disloyal generals*”.

⁵⁵ The order to have Yani brought before the President was preceded by a discussion about measures Sabur should take against the dissenting army generals and was followed by a procedure to replace Yani with his 1st Deputy Mursjid; Appendix VIII, p. 353, 16.

⁵⁶ See above I.6. p. 54.

⁵⁷ Appendix.VIII, p. 353, 16d.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, p. 354, 17.

Assistant for Personnel Matters, Brigadier Sudirgo, the commander of the Military Police Corps, Brigadier Sabur, the commander of the Tjakrabirawa Guards and a number of other army officers.

All this was certainly in conflict with the relevant military procedures, concluded Nasution after the event.⁵⁹ However, procedure was not the most important item, when it came to getting rid of Yani.

ON HALIM

The next day was the crucial one of October 1. On Halim Air Force Base a discussion started between Sukarno and a number of other persons about Yani's so-called absence from the scene and how they could find a "temporary" replacement. The name of Mursjid did not come up even once, while on September 29 in Merdeka Palace the President had given those present the impression that he would dismiss Yani on October 1 and replace him by Mursjid, Yani's first deputy.

By pretending that Mursjid would become the official successor of Yani Sukarno was able to keep him quiet and on his side. This came in handy during the events in and around Halim Air Force Base and in Jakarta the next day. Mursjid was an ambitious, but also rather simple-minded soul who fell hook line and sinker for the trick Sukarno played with him. On the crucial day of October 1 Mursjid did not play any further role apart from that of Judas.⁶⁰

Another advantage of the President's Byzantine way of operating was that not only Mursjid, but a number of other persons present on that day of September 29, could return home reassured and thinking to themselves that after all everything would be running a peaceful course. How much this diverged from the truth they were subsequently able to ascertain for themselves.

⁵⁹ Nasution, p. 185.

⁶⁰ Nasution, p. 261:

One of my first guests was General Mursjid whom I met only the 3d of October (1965, author). In an emotional scene with tears flowing he embraced me and said: 'Bapak must have known it'. With Bapak he meant BungKarno.

THE UNTUNG COUP

In the early morning of October 1, at about a quarter past seven, Radio Jakarta's normal programme broke off. The radio then broadcast a statement for which an officer completely unknown at the time, Lieutenant Colonel Untung, a Battalion Commander in Sukarno's Presidential Guards Regiment, claimed responsibility for.⁶¹ It was said that within the Indonesian Army a movement had been formed, called the "*30 September Movement*" and directed against "*generals belonging to the so-called Council of Generals.*" These generals should be immediately arrested, because "*the Council of Generals is a subversive movement, supported by the United States CIA and has been very active recently, particularly since President Sukarno was seriously ill in the first week of August of this year. Their hope that President Sukarno would succumb to his illness has materialized.*"⁶² In this "Initial Statement of Lieutenant Colonel Untung" of 7.15 a.m. as well as in the "Decree No.1 on the Establishment of the Indonesian Revolutionary Council" broadcast at 2.00 p.m. on October 1, both originating from the so-called 30 September Movement, there is made no mention of the names of the generals involved, the members of a Council of Generals.⁶³

From the beginning Untung and his colleagues made clear that their core action was directed against a subversive Council of Generals. It was easy to recognise this as the same "council" that had given Sukarno in recent weeks and months such headache. The "members" of this "council" were the same as those whom Sukarno had described as being disloyal and planning a coup: Yani, Suprpto, Harjono, Parman, Sutojo Siswomihardjo,⁶⁴ fresh additions being Nasution, Minister of Defence, and Brigadier Pandjaitan, Yani's 4th assistant responsible for logistics.⁶⁵

⁶¹ See above II.8. p. 78 and below Appendix VII, B.1, p. 288 ff.

⁶² Appendix. VII: B.1, 288 ff.

⁶³ Ibidem, B.2, 291, 292, 293.

⁶⁴ Appendix. VIII, p. 377, 11a.

⁶⁵ Nasution, p. 1722 (*Memenuhi Panggilan Tugas. . . etc.*) mentions that Pandjaitan on 29 September checked crates dispatched from China, allegedly earmarked for the building of the Conefo-Center (the alternative United Nations, a pet project of Sukarno), but found instead of building material small arms.

OPINIONS ABOUT THE COUNCIL OF GENERALS

It had disturbed Nasution very much indeed that he and six other army generals were being accused of plotting against the President and the State of Indonesia and of treason. In order to be able to check out the accusations and contradict them the Defence Minister, not long after the October 1 coup, set up the Udang Committee after its chairman, Inspector General for the Military Police Corps.⁶⁶ This Committee came up with its conclusions on January 10, 1966.⁶⁷

1. The Wandjakti, informally known also as the Council of Generals, was a promotion body.
2. Persons belonging to the PKI and to communist front organisations had spread reports about a so-called subversive Council of Generals in the course of the spring and summer of 1965, the final source being Chairman Aidit of the PKI
3. Nobody had submitted a single document or proof regarding the existence of any kind of "Council of Generals", reputed to be planning a coup.
4. In short the Council of Generals, accused of planning a coup for October 5, had never existed.

A more or less official report of what happened on and around October 1 concerning the coup written by Nugroho Notosusanto and Ismael Saleh has been published in mid-1967. It is not surprising that it reached the same conclusion.⁶⁸ This 'white paper' called the existence of a Council of Generals as "*a pure figment of the imagination, purposely spread about in order to create political and social dissent, this being the goal (of the PKI, author) in order to acquire political power*".

In the same year there appeared a first book on the events in Indonesia of October 1 and beyond, written by John Hughes, an experienced reporter, who had been close to the Untung Coup and what ensued. At this rather early stage, Hughes' conclusions are as follows:⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Nasution initiated the Udang Commission in November 1965, because he saw that weeks after the events of October 1 the President still was not convinced that there had been no Council of Generals; Nasution, p. 336.

⁶⁷ Notosusanto, pp. 158 and 159.

⁶⁸ Ibidem, pp. 157 and 158.

⁶⁹ Hughes, pp. 103 a.f.

- The generals that were murdered had been really rather careless regarding their own security. Yani did have extra surveillance, but for reasons that were not clear, this guard was not present on the night of the murders. Nasution had only his normal guard and the five other generals had no guards at all.
- If the intention of Yani and the other generals murdered had been to carry out an anti-Sukarno coup with troops specially directed to Jakarta for the October 5 Army Day, this was rather stupid since the troops in question, the 454th and the 530th Battalions from Central and Eastern Java, had already before September 30 offered their support to Untung and his group.
- Since the Untung coup, Untung but also other officers belonging to his group had appeared before a military tribunal, where they had had ample opportunity to produce evidence regarding the Council of Generals' machinations. This would have been of course to their advantage, but no relevant information concerning that Council ever came out of the trials.

Other commentators, too, have come to the same conclusion, namely that the Council of Generals was contrived just as the Udang Committee had already postulated. Thus for example, Harold Crouch, the Australian specialist on Indonesia's Army wrote as follows:

At the trials the participants in the coup attempt were unable to produce evidence in support of their assertion that the Council of Generals had been about to carry out a coup . . . Fearing a real coup later it seems that they (Untung and his group, author) fabricated the story of the coup to take place on Armed Forces Day in order to justify their own movement.⁷⁰

Robert Elson gives as his view:

No indisputable evidence has ever emerged to substantiate the notion that a Council of Generals was plotting a coup.⁷¹

From time to time indirect argumentation could be heard undermining the asserted existence of the Council of Generals. For example never in any way has there been any indication, let alone proof, that the supposedly plotting generals, before they were killed, were subjected to any kind of interrogation. This would have been useful for the Untung Group unless, that is, the Group already knew in

⁷⁰ Crouch, p. 107. This is a rather friendly wording, but it seems to mean that also Crouch has come to the conclusion that the Council of Generals was an untenable fiction.

⁷¹ Elson, p. 97.

advance that nothing could come of such interrogation. It plainly had not been planned that way ever.

Another point is that—assuming that there really was any danger for Sukarno from subversive generals—the Untung group in the early hours of 1 October seem to have been rather careless with regard to Presidential security. Sukarno drove between six and six thirty with scant protection from the house of his wife, Dewi, in Slipi towards Merdeka Palace. Close to the Palace he suddenly changed his mind and ended up in the house of another of his wives, Harjati, in Grogol. As a result and for the space of a few hours that morning, there was confusion and uncertainty about the whereabouts of the President and even the coup's actual leader, Supardjo, was unable to contact him.⁷²

A DIFFERENT VIEW

Soon after the events of 1 October independent third parties called into doubt the existence of the Council of Generals. But after a few years had elapsed a new way of looking at the Council came into being. It is important to note that, meanwhile, also a completely different theory regarding the plot had become current: there were claimed to be all kinds of indications that Suharto, both before and during the coup, might have played a dubious role.⁷³

Wertheim for one has often expressed his thoughts on the subject. As far as the Council of Generals is concerned, he was at first firmly convinced that there had indeed been something resembling a group of subversive army generals and that the PKI was right to believe this. In an article published in 1970 entitled "*Suharto and the Untung Coup: The missing link*" Wertheim stated:

*I am still of the opinion that there are very strong indications that such a complot of generals existed.*⁷⁴

However, later he goes back on this, because he realised that somewhere or other evidence should have been produced by the Untung Group or by the PKI. Nothing of the kind had happened. Then in 1979 Wertheim wrote as follows evidently looking for something resembling a conclusive interpretation:

⁷² See above II.7, pp. 71 ff.

⁷³ See below Appendix V.

⁷⁴ Wertheim, *Jambatan*, 1981/3, p. 29; he quotes his own article of 1970.

*It is, moreover, possible that not only was the Gilchrist letter a forgery, but that the story of the Generals' Council was intentionally spread as a rumour in order to lure both the PKI and Sukarno into action.*⁷⁵

By spreading rumours about a non-existent, but “dangerous” Council of Generals, and feeding it in at the top level of the PKI and the Untung Group, two goals Wertheim supposed were to be served: via Untung and his group Sukarno was to be compromised while; moreover, the PKI would get the blame. Or to put it in Wertheim’s own words:

*There is reason enough to enquire whether there was not in fact a real “generals’ conspiracy”—not one planned to start an action on Army Day, but one which was only interested in provoking a counter-move in which the PKI and Sukarno would be involved to such an extent that the Armed Forces could easily take power into their own hands.*⁷⁶

The first refutation of this extreme version is that, if it were so, the army generals would have been busy digging their own graves. Wertheim himself found this a bit too much to believe, so he brought Suharto into the equation again: who else than Suharto, in the meantime powerful President of the Republic, had to gain most from the Untung coup?

Right up to the end, Wertheim remained loyal to his anti-Suharto “*provocation theory*”. In 1995 he once again said the following about it:

*All rumours that crop up each time in the month of September about the existence of such a council of generals could very well have been a suitable part of a cleverly engineered challenge.*⁷⁷

He closes his article with a plea for openness about everything that happened in 1965/1966. “*However, that sort of ‘openness’ will not be possible to achieve without ‘de-suhartization’*”.

That the Council of Generals might have been a trap set up by Suharto and directed against both Sukarno and the PKI is too incredible for most analysts. Crouch writes:

*Wertheim’s theory, however, is unsupported by positive evidence.*⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Journal of Contemporary Asia, 1979/22, p. 211.

⁷⁶ Ibidem, p. 213.

⁷⁷ Wertheim, Kabar Seberang, 1995, nr 24/25, p. 299.

⁷⁸ Crouch, p. 106.

In other words: that “*theory*” is simply too farfetched and contrived to be considered seriously.

CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing we can find the answer to a number of questions that the so-called Council of Generals has thrown up for consideration since the events of 1965, the year that was so disturbing for Indonesia:

- A subversive Council of Generals consisting of a number of army generals who in 1965 were preparing to dislodge Sukarno and take over power has not existed, and there was most certainly no such group making concrete preparations for doing anything like this for October 5, the annual Army Day.
- It was of course clear that there was regular consultation on the subject of non-military matters among army generals and especially on the promotion committee called Wandjakti. Also clear was that some army generals did not find certain aspects of presidential policy that were pro-communist acceptable, such as the Fifth Force, ‘Nasakomisation’ and the rapprochement to Red China.
- Rumours about the existence of a Council of Generals supposed to be conspiring against Sukarno date from the beginning of 1965, which was just when top military figures, namely the Minister of Defence Nasution and the Commander of the Army Yani and their respective factions began to close ranks.
- In the spring and particularly in May 1965 upon the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the PKI the story about a Council of Generals began to come out into the open. Also subsequently there appeared statements by witnesses in a number of trials before the Special Military Tribunal. The conclusion was that leading figures of the PKI had fed these rumours and that Central Intelligence Service BPI under Deputy Prime Minister Subandrio had not contradicted them, although it would certainly have had reason and means to do so.
- In the course of the summer the nature of the discussions concerning the Council of Generals changed. At first it had been more less a topic of conversation, but in the months of July and August the tone became different and in its phantom existence the Council began to be an instrument to manipulate all sort of persons.

- So in August, when there were urgent consultations within the PKI Politburo, Chairman Aidit could convince his colleagues that there really was something like an anti-Sukarno Council, that this Council was in the process of preparing an anti-Sukarno coup and that with the help of dissident junior army officers such subversive action could be averted. Aidit knew that there was no such thing as a Council of Generals—perhaps he even invented its existence himself⁷⁹—and that it therefore was improbable that the army chiefs were sawing away, so to speak, at the President's throne.
- However, Aidit wanted to make use of this opportunity and, with the help of Sukarno and the PKI apparatus, to free the country from the principal anti-communist army commanders. For this purpose he needed a mandate from the Politburo and thought that the best way to achieve that was to lean heavily on the Politburo emphasising the danger of the Council of Generals and its intention to launch a coup d'état. The Politburo allowed itself to be manipulated in this way and gave Aidit in fact a free hand to conspire together with Sukarno.
- Aidit and the small circle of trusted persons around him, such as Lukman, Njoto and Sjam, together with Lt. Colonel Untung and a few officers were the ones that prepared to launch an anti-generals coup and pleaded as a reason for so doing the existence of the Council of Generals and its complot that had to be pre-empted.
- As the coup plans of the triumvirate Aidit-Sjam-Untung plus the Tjakrabirawa Commander Sabur became more concrete by the day, it was the President who then brought the Councils of Generals into the game. He had a number of top military aides who normally did his bidding carry out investigations in order to see if there were "*dissident*" or "*disloyal*" Army generals. When the aides indeed confirmed the President's suspicions he began to urge them to take "*unspecified*" action against the generals and their Council. He did so in the afternoon of September 29 when, early on the same day, he had received from Supardjo who was entrusted with military operations of the coup the latest information concerning *the planned purge of the army chiefs*.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Sjam, heard as witness in the trial against his Biro Chusus colleague Pono in January 1971, declared that "*the rumour about a Council of Generals was a creation of D.N. Aidit himself*".

⁸⁰ See above I.6. pp. 53 and 54.

- At this advanced stage the President, not unlike Aidit, could hardly have believed in the existence of a plotting Council of Generals, because otherwise it would have been normal that Sukarno would have asked his staff to provide evidence. But this was something Sukarno did not do, probably because he knew that, if he had, he would not have found such proof.
- A Council of Generals conspiring in a concrete way against the President and his policies was at all times a figment of the imagination. However, even as a fantasy it has had great political effects for the Republic of Indonesia under its first President.

APPENDIX III

SUKARNO'S STATE OF HEALTH

THE PRESIDENT AS REFEREE

The President was becoming increasingly stubborn and arrogant. His political philosophy which he had dubbed "Guided Democracy" enabled him to shape the country ever more in accordance with his will. He dismantled party political resistance, using manipulation and nepotism. The sole independent political factor left in the end was the Partai Kommunis Indonesia, PKI. The other power centre were the Armed Forces but the navy, the air force and the police did not count for very much and the army was really the only one able to resist and even then in limited fashion, because of internecine quarrels.¹

In this way Sukarno became the referee among the various social forces, which made his person an indispensable link for preserving political balance. Moreover, the question of his succession came into play. He was a good sixty years old and, by contemporary Indonesian standards, an old man.

Overall, therefore, it was obvious that much depended on the President's fate and that, in its turn, was largely determined by the state of his health. At least that was the way the outside world perceived it. A wealth of stories circulated about it and Sukarno himself, who was known to be a hypochondriac, lent a helping hand. The fact is that, for years already, the President had suffered from kidney stones and the passing of the years had left him with only one kidney that functioned.² He was under treatment of various specialists, one of which was the then famous Dr Fellingner in Vienna.

In addition to this, from 1961 onward Sukarno had been seeking refuge in acupuncture, allowing himself to be treated by a team of Chinese doctors who, every six months, came especially to Jakarta for the purpose. Acupuncture and old-fashioned herbs seemed, as a rule, to please the President and help him over the hump.

¹ See above Appendix II. pp. 200 and 201.

² Brackmann, *Communist Collaps*, p. 33; Giebels II, p. 375.

A LIFE FULL OF STRESS

However, he was not a good patient, because he consistently went in for all sorts of excesses life offers. Above all his escapades, piously described as hectic, played him up. In order to be able to keep up at all times he had resorted to special stimulants, such as a substance commonly known as cantharides or “Spanish fly”, a patent remedy that was proving sheer poison to his one remaining kidney.³

The upshot was that every now and again the President would suddenly feel unwell and frighten those around him out of their wits. Whenever this happened, moreover, the machines that churn out rumours would start clanking away and people would begin to adopt all imaginable stances. In the course of the Conference of the Non-aligned Countries in Cairo, during the first half of October 1964, Sukarno was personally heading the Indonesian Delegation and suffered a serious kidney failure. Reports about it spread fast to Jakarta where it catered, of course, for some concern.⁴

When the conference had ended, the President immediately proceeded to Vienna for a consultation with Dr Fellingner, who advised him to undergo an operation to remove a large kidney stone from his one remaining kidney. However, this was not to help him very much, because a seer had once foretold that he would die at the hands of a surgeon, so he shrank back.⁵

For all sorts of reasons, among them, that Sukarno continued his foreign tour and the leaders back home were rather weak-kneed rumour was rife in Jakarta.⁶ The First Deputy Prime Minister, Subandrio, who saw himself as a potential successor to the President and acting in his own interests, added fuel to the flames. On October 25 he was addressing an audience at the Police Academy in Sukabumi and called into question the President’s health, wondering aloud how it would be possible to continue the revolution “*if Sukarno is no longer able to conduct it*”.⁷ The President reacted as if stung by an adder. He

³ Dake II, pp. 380, 381 and p. 388, notes 33 and 34, quoting Dr Rubiono Kertopati, one of Sukarno’s physicians.

⁴ Interview of the author with one of the President’s advisors, Ruslan Abdulgani, March 1972.

⁵ Giebels II, p. 335; CIA, note on p. 221.

⁶ Dake II, p. 303.

⁷ Indonesian Herald, 10.26.1964.

was in Tokyo at the time and immediately asked the Indonesian Ambassador to circulate a press report that ran:

*Sukarno is still the country's actual leader.*⁸

A local Indonesian radio journalist, wishing to be on the safe side, also announced that the President's health had much improved since his check up in Vienna.⁹

MALAYSIA HAPPY

In the capital of the Malaysian Federaton, Kuala Lumpur, reports were making it quite clear that also there Sukarno's health was a political factor of the first order. At the time, Malaysia was in the grips of a conflict with Indonesia that was running high, the so-called 'Confrontation'. Indonesia's President had started this conflict for a number of reasons, both of a domestic and foreign policy nature.

In Kuala Lumpur therefore political circles had taken note of Sukarno's alleged ill health with considerable Schadenfreude. On October 29, 1964, for example, there came a report, originating in that city, to the effect that Sukarno's fall from power was only a question of days.¹⁰ Rubbing salt into the wound, Kuala Lumpur Radio quoted as its source, the Subandrio speech in Sukabumi.¹¹

So it did not take long for Subandrio, whom the President had meanwhile doubtless been giving a good dressing down, to come up with a statement to the effect that the media had misquoted him and so on.¹² At all events this incident shows—one may be sure there were more of them—what a sensitive issue the President's well being had become. Time after time, his health stirred up the dust in the Jakarta's climate of intrigue, backbiting and manoeuvres that often developed over time into genuine conspiracies.

Incidentally, there were reports also during the first half of 1965 that slotted in to the picture of the President's predominantly poor state of health whereby he repeatedly suffered from his kidney stones,

⁸ Tokio Radio, 10.27.1964.

⁹ Jakarta Radio Home Service, 10.27.1964.

¹⁰ Dake II, p. 308, note 23.

¹¹ Dake II, p. 304.

¹² Kuala Lumpur Radio, 30.10.1964.

a malady that continued to play nasty tricks on him. At times, the President would very quickly fly up into the air.

Every now and then, his behaviour was not what one might have expected of a political leader of his calibre. Thus, for example, at the end of April 1965 he had arranged for a meeting between himself and the Prime Minister of the Malaysian Federation, Tunku Abdul Rahman. The intention was to render the situation between the two countries less tense.

The Japanese Government, above all, had made efforts to drag the two quarrelling parties out of their confrontation by arranging a meeting between the two heads of government in Tokyo, Japan having risked much political capital and prestige in the operation. At the very moment that all the details of the meeting in the Japanese capital had been decided upon, the Japanese Ambassador in Jakarta was to hear Sukarno making a speech, on May 1, in which he announced that after all he did not want to go to Tokyo.¹³ The reasons advanced were futile, the principal one being that Rahman was said to be going to Tokyo officially to attend a football match which, for Sukarno, was a motive he could not take serious.¹⁴

ACUPUNCTURE DIRECTLY FROM CHINA

It is of interest that in the summer of 1965 a medical team from China arrived on the scene. It was within the framework of the regular treatment the President received at the hands of Chinese doctors for his kidney complaint that on July 22 a number of specialists came over from Beijing. They had the habit of coming to visit the President in Merdeka Palace every day in the late afternoon and would treat him until September 1.¹⁵ According to reports from one of Sukarno's personal physicians, Dr Rubiono Kertopati, the team consisted of a surgeon specialising in urology, two specialists for internal medicine and two in the field of acupuncture, one of whom was also a doctor.¹⁶

However, on August 4 they did not follow the routine and came to the palace at about half past eleven. What had happened? Early

¹³ Far Eastern Economic Review, 5.13.1965.

¹⁴ Dake II, p. 374, note 66.

¹⁵ See above I.3, p. 21.

¹⁶ Interview of the author with Dr Kertopati, March 1972; Dake II, p. 387, note 33.

that morning one of Sukarno's aides, Police Commissioner Mangil, raised the alarm telling the Chinese doctors to remain in readiness. The presidential logbook for that day states that Mangil sent his warning to the Chinese doctors at 8.30 a.m.¹⁷

Just before that, it must have been about eight o'clock, Sukarno received the commander of the Presidential Tjakrabirawa Regiment in his bedroom.¹⁸ Brigadier Sabur was accompanied by one of his battalion commanders, Lt. Colonel Untung. Upon this occasion, the President talked to them about recalcitrant high-ranking army officers, against whom he at some stage wanted to undertake otherwise unspecified action. He asked Untung whether he was prepared to play along and, not surprisingly, Untung said he would. After that—it must have been therefore between 8 and 8.30—the President felt unwell, suffering what subsequently turned out to be a slight stroke, described by his doctors as a short interruption of the blood supply to the brain.¹⁹

From the further course of events that day and the days that followed, we may conclude that the Chinese doctors who were present already in Jakarta immediately came to attend the President on the occasion of the incident that August 4. They were going to play an important role that was to have even political implications.

After the Chinese doctors had treated the President on August 4, they sent an initial report to Beijing. It must have been quite unsettling, because what happened next was that Aidit and Njoto who at the time were in Beijing and Moscow, respectively, must have heard of what looked like a fatal collapse of Sukarno. They had been summoned already days before, on July 31, by the President through Subandrio to return as soon as possible to Jakarta, but had been dragging their feet. This now changed suddenly.²⁰

At the same time and as a result of what transpired from Jakarta the Chinese government decided to send two neurologists, Dr Wang Hsin Te and Dr Tan Min Hsun, to the Indonesian capital to reinforce the team already there.²¹ They were acquainted with the provisional diagnosis from Jakarta and were apparently thought needed

¹⁷ Dake II, p. 383; p. 388, notes 51, 52 and 53; reference is made to the police report on the Chinese physicians.

¹⁸ Appendix VIII, p. 357, 21.

¹⁹ Dake II, p. 383.

²⁰ See above I.2, p. 17.

²¹ See above I.3, p. 23.

to add to the competences of the Chinese medical team—who specialized in urology, internal medicine and acupuncture—which was already in town.

SUKARNO'S HEALTH NOT AT ALL THAT BAD

As the relations between both countries and particularly between the leadership were good, Beijing was very keen to keep the Indonesian President alive and in power. At the same time, of course, it was always a good idea to have an ear to the ground about what was going on in Sukarno's direct environment. The specialist background of the two Chinese doctors, who had been sent at the drop of a hat to Jakarta, made it apparent that this time Sukarno's illness had nothing to do with his kidney trouble.

This also fits in with the findings of the Indonesian doctors. On August 4, either before or after the Chinese team had seen him (probably beforehand, given the reported natural rivalry between the two groups) their conclusion had been that Sukarno had suffered a slight stroke. More important even was that they also had concluded that the President would not be suffering any lasting sequels or might be impaired in his ability to govern.²²

There is of course no complete certainty that there has been a connection between the conversation that the President had at 8 o'clock with the two officers of his Tjakrabirawa Regiment and the stroke he suffered soon afterwards. But it is obvious, judged by the opinion of medical specialists.

We are familiar with the verdict on the part of the President's Indonesian personal physicians. But nothing is known about what their Chinese colleagues reported back home formally or—informally—through their communist party friends. What is certain is that Aidit, the PKI Chairman, went to visit Sukarno on August 8, one day after his return from China. This was in the Bogor Palace whence the President had gone in order to recover.

On that particular day, it was reported subsequently, Aidit had a conversation in the palace grounds with the Chinese specialists who had travelled over from Beijing especially for the presidential illness. Their Indonesian colleagues who were also around in Bogor said

²² Dake II, p. 383.

afterwards that, judging from the expressions on the faces of their Chinese colleagues, it was easy to see they considered Sukarno's condition to be very serious.²³

It is not difficult to draw any firm conclusions with regard to the President's health at that time. We know that Aidit did once again speak to Sukarno in Bogor, on August 10, together with Njoto who had returned from Moscow the day before. He made known his conclusions in an important statement to the Politburo at its 2d meeting in August, on the 16th.²⁴ Aidit informed his colleagues then that his verdict with regard to the President was that his health was in a "poor and very dangerous" state. There was a good chance Sukarno would become paralysed or worse and he might well expire in the next few weeks or months.

Medically speaking, there was certainly no ground for such a judgement. On August 4 the Indonesian doctors had quickly come to reassuring conclusions. Moreover, in his usual speech on the occasion of National Independence Day on the 17th of that month the President gave no signs at all of being in a state of decline. Rather the reverse, spectators observed his well-known gushing posture.²⁵ The fact that he went on living until June 1970 further defies Aidit's sombre verdict at the Politburo meeting on August 16.

During the third Politburo meeting for that month, on the 28th, Aidit again came with the same story about the President's precarious health. The conclusion therefore has to be that Aidit had reasons that were other than medical for coming up with such a dramatic description of Sukarno's physical state. What he did could be described as "talking him into the grave." The motive was purely and simply political.²⁶

BIRTH OF A MYTH

Over the years there clearly has come into play a persistent myth concerning Sukarno's state of health. To start with, the true facts were nowhere available. An example of this dates back to the beginning of 1965. The Commonwealth Relations Office issued an internal

²³ See above I.4, p. 30.

²⁴ See above I.4, pp. 33 and 34.

²⁵ This was the well-known Takari speech: "Reaching for the stars".

²⁶ See I.5, p. 40.

memorandum to the British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, to the effect that the Indonesian President was seriously ill:

*If he were to die or be incapacitated the internal position in Indonesia might be greatly changed.*²⁷

Its origin probably had its roots in what happened in Cairo in the autumn of 1964. Or perhaps there was a link with the later report, in December of that year, to the effect that Sukarno had been ill.²⁸

Apparently, in the course of a ‘musjawarah’—the Indonesian term for discussions to reach consensus—with a large number of politicians on December 12 that year, the President was not able to move about easily. Upon closer investigation, he appeared to be suffering from swollen feet. Symptoms such as these, doctors would tend to ascribe to his kidney condition, but could hardly be described as endangering his life.²⁹ The observation to this effect in the Commonwealth Relations Office document was stale therefore and, at the very least, ill-informed.

Sukarno himself liked to bring conversation to focus upon his state of health. Above all, he wanted to make it clear that any rumours on the subject were incorrect. Legge tells us that in January 1965 Sukarno, when granting his Chinese doctors a decoration, pointed out sarcastically that his opponents abroad would certainly be spreading a rumour on the subject “*that he was about to die*”. At the same time he was disturbed about all the rumours about his health that circulated.³⁰ It did not escape those around him that his mental state was not improving either:

*Tantrums became more frequent and journalists began to notice his incoherence in his meetings with them.*³¹

There have been conflicting outside reports about the President’s attack on August 4. Hughes tells us Sukarno suffered a “bad turn” as he put it, but this was not so serious as many would have us believe.³² The Central Intelligence Agency report, published in 1968, gave a description with regard to the President’s health in early

²⁷ Challis, p. 97, who quotes from a document of the British Public Record Office.

²⁸ Jakarta Radio Home Service, 12.13.1964; Indonesian Observer, 12.14.1964.

²⁹ Dake II, p. 310, note 41.

³⁰ Legge, p. 385, note 43.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 386.

³² Hughes, p. 109, published in 1967.

August 1965 that differed considerably from the factual statement as related here. According to the CIA he had suffered from a slight heart attack.³³

Reports also differ concerning the actual day on which Sukarno had his "bad turn". It has been quoted as August 3,³⁴ August 5³⁵ and August 6.³⁶ But it was as we know August 4, 1965.

What was and is equally a mistaken issue was the sudden return of the PKI leaders Aidit and Njoto from China and the Soviet Union back to Jakarta.³⁷ They decided to come back and cut their foreign trip short, because they heard—on the 4th or the 5th of August—that the President had fallen ill. But prior to that—on July 31 or August 1—they had already received the summons of Sukarno calling them urgently to return to Indonesia, for political reasons we now know, which order they initially had not heeded.³⁸ It was therefore only when the report concerning Sukarno's condition reached Beijing on August 4 that Aidit reacted directly, deciding that he and Njoto had to cancel their visit to Hanoi and go back to Jakarta at the first possible occasion, being the 7th of August for Aidit and the 9th for Njoto.

SPECULATIONS

The first next occasion for speculation about the President's health was on September 30. Sukarno was holding a speech to an engineer's congress in the Senajan Stadium. Reports had it that he suddenly had become unwell and had had to interrupt his address.³⁹

³³ CIA, pp. 220, 221, where are mentioned his kidney troubles as well as his high blood pressure.

³⁴ Giebels II, p. 376, who takes it from the CIA report where it speaks of "the evening of August 3", when this was supposed to have begun.

³⁵ Legge, p. 386.

³⁶ Mortimer, p. 385.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 385:

Aidit was summoned home urgently from China, where he had arrived in the course of several weeks of touring. . . .

See also above I.3, p. 25; I.4, pp. 28 and 29.

³⁸ See above I.3, pp. 19 ff.

³⁹ Warner in Reporter of 18.11.1965, saying that Sukarno spoke for one hour and 10 minutes and after that "had to be treated by doctors"; Challis, p. 79, also sees Sukarno's health as a politicum and writes: "On at least one occasion he was seen to suffer from a fainting spell in public", probably referring to the incident on September 30 in the Senajan Stadium.

Later it was suggested that perhaps the so-called indisposition of Sukarno that evening had made the Untung Group decide to put forward their coup and start that very evening. This version was brought up clearly to explain away the awkward and sloppy way the coup seemed to have been organized. About this Hughes wrote:

*In the light of later evidence this theory does not stand up.*⁴⁰

The preparations for the action against the army generals were in the evening of that September 30 already far advanced and its H Hour had been fixed for October 1 at four in the morning already two days earlier, on September 28.⁴¹

What actually happened we know from Sukarno's aide, Bambang Widjanarko. During an interrogation by the Special Military Tribunal he stated that he had given that evening in the Senajan Stadium Sukarno a letter. This letter came from Lt. Colonel Untung giving the President—so Widjanarko—the latest information about the coup attempt of the next day. Among others the letter contained the list of the proposed members of the so-called 'Revolutionary Council'.⁴² The President stood up and retired with his aides to an adjoining room to read what Untung had to report. Subsequently he returned to the audience and continued his speech, manifestly in a very good and upbeat spirit.

A few hours later came another occasion for the President's health to come to the fore. This time it was the declaration by Untung's 30 September Movement. Radio Indonesia broadcast it at 7.15 on the morning of October 1. It made mention of a Council of Generals, the members of which had meanwhile been arrested. The broadcast went on to say:

*The Council of Generals is a subversive movement sponsored by the CIA and has been very active lately, especially since President Sukarno was seriously ill in the first week of August of this year. Their hope that President Sukarno would die of his illness has not materialized.*⁴³

This was an example of rumours and half truths concerning Sukarno's health playing a crucial political role. This time the aim was to ratio-

⁴⁰ Hughes, p. 52.

⁴¹ See above I.6, p. 50.

⁴² Sugiarto, p. 379.

⁴³ Appendix VII, B.1, p. 288 ff.

nalise what the Untung Group was doing. Untung and his PKI-backers allegedly wanted to “protect” the President and take him under their wing in order to frustrate and pre-empt a coup d’etat on the part of a number of army generals that did not exist. As such, Untung’s declaration was an attempt to manipulate public opinion and to have a pretext to bring about a radical change of course in the nation’s history—a classic example of a controlled lie that, notwithstanding, in reality can have an enormous impact.

APPENDIX IV

THE COUP'S MILITARY SIDE

UNTUNG IN ACTION

Lt. Colonel Untung, commander of the first battalion of the President's Tjakrabirawa Regiment, was summoned by Sukarno at the beginning of August 1965 with a request. Would he devote his attention to an unspecified campaign against a number of army generals?¹ Only slowly, with the help of his longstanding PKI contact, Waluju, and subsequently Sjam, Untung was in a position to form what became the Untung Group² and fill in the details of a plan of action.³ It was on August 15 that the group had its first meeting.⁴

Events were to show that the group's leadership was in the hands of three PKI members, among whom stood out Sjam. He was the confidant of PKI Chairman Aidit in the so-called Biro Chusus, the Special Bureau for secret actions. However, for working out plans to use Indonesian military personnel the primary responsibility lay with the group's military members, Lt. Colonel Untung, Colonel Latief and Major Sujono, later joined by Brigadier General Supardjo.⁵

In the course of the Untung Group's discussions,⁶ someone voiced the idea that an important date lay ahead, namely October 5, the

¹ See above I.3. pp. 20 and 21.

² See above I.5, pp. 43 ff.

³ As to the selection of the army generals to be targeted Untung stated during his trial that he and his group had agreed unanimously, but that the proposal for each had come from Sjam. See CIA, p. 123.

⁴ See above I.5. p. 45.

⁵ As "*outside*" member of what is here called the Untung Group one can also classify Major General Pranoto. He was one of the members of the General Staff of Yani, worked closely together with the group and was especially an important link between the President and the policial actors in the purge of October 1, 1965, first and foremost PKI Chairman Aidit. The four "*full*" members of the group and Pranoto all had in common that not only they were PKI-friendly, but also that already for years they had been "guided" by PKI-members: Untung by Waluju, Latief by Pono, and Pranoto and Supardjo by Sjam. As to Pranoto this is supported by an information given by General Nasution in an interview with the author on 3.30.1972. See also Kopassus, p. 134 and above I.5. p. 6.

⁶ The Group met further on August 22 and 29, on September 6, 12, 16, 17, 27 and 29; see Notosusanto, pp. 14, 16.

so-called Army Day. The plans for celebrating that day in 1965 were of even greater importance for the army than usual. In the political struggle for supremacy between the PKI and the army, the communists with their festivals and demonstrations during the celebration of the party's fortieth anniversary, earlier in May, had scored a distinct hit in terms of publicity and appeal.⁷ In army circles people thought it was time to launch a counter-offensive against all this in the country's capital and show their muscle. There ought to be a signal to the effect that the PKI did not call the tune all the way in public debate. One way of achieving this was a military show of force, much more the army was not capable of at the time.

For the Untung Group, 5 October was an important benchmark that could be seen as a danger. In the paranoid atmosphere of plot and counter plot that obtained in those days, Army Day could easily be seen as an opportunity for the so-called Council of Generals to strike a pre-emptive blow to secure the upperhand in a post-Sukarno age. But for just as many reasons Army Day could be used as an subterfuge to preempt any presumed action of the Council of Generals for that day.

Politically, Untung was not a very subtle man and in this instance he had trouble in distinguishing between fact and fiction.⁸ The PKI had fed in a rumour about a coup, and as a "natural" reaction the pre-emptive counter coup rapidly became a working hypothesis for Untung.

The result was that the group began to look around to see how the presence of troops in Jakarta could be deflected to its advantage. In this connection a further advantage was that the army leadership, egged on by the President, had placed the responsibility for organising Army Day on October 5 in the hands of Major General Pranoto, Yani's third assistant in charge of personnel matters.⁹

⁷ Giebels II, p. 355:

Jakarta was full of flags and banners with hammer and sickle. The airforce dumped a rain of pamphlets over the capital with congratulations for the PKI.

⁸ Untung in general has been described as a good, professional and especially loyal soldier. He has also been called puritanic and cruel. See CIA, note on p. 110. His political views were rather naive; Mortimer, p. 428.

⁹ Pranoto knew the army inside out. By being responsible for the preparation of the Army Day on October 5—an appointment he owed to both Sukarno and Aidit—he had landed a key position for the coupists. Pranoto was led in his choice of the 454th and the 530th Battalions by the fact that both were heavily infiltrated

PRANOTO AND THE UNTUNG GROUP

Everyone knew Pranoto as a kindly military man, with distinctly pro-Communist leanings. He was to become an informal member of the Untung Group, for whom Aidit and the Executive Committee of the PKI saw an important role in their coup.¹⁰ In those noisy September days he was repeatedly seen in Aidit's company, attending important meetings of the group, for example, on September 29, which was the last meeting before D-day on October 1. The only persons to attend that meeting other than the normal members of the Untung Group were Aidit and Pranoto.¹¹

On the evening of September 30 Pono picked up Pranoto from his home, drove on to Sjam and then brought both of them to Halim Air Force Base to spend the night there.¹²

Gradually it became clear which troops on Pranoto's initiative and with the army leaders' consent, would be in Jakarta on October 5 for the parade. The units were the following:

- the 454th Battalion of Green Beret Parachute Troops of the Brawidjaja Division from Surabaya, in Eastern Java under the command of Major Sukirno and his Second in Command, Captain Kuntjoro, with four companies (some 1,000 men).
- the 530th Battalion of Green Beret Parachute Troops of the Diponegoro Division from Semarang in Central Java under the command of Major Bambang Supeno and, under him, Captain Sukarbi, with five companies (some 1,250 men).¹³

by the PKI and could therefore be counted as "progressive". An additional point was that Untung, right before he was posted in Jakarta, had been commander of the 454th Battalion.

¹⁰ See above I.5, p. 45. On some important posts in the Army Sukarno succeeded in getting officers he particularly trusted in appointed. On Pranoto in this respect see also: Appendix VIII: p. 472, 108a.

¹¹ Notosusanto, p. 16. During his trial Untung declared that on 29 September, apart from the members of his group, there also had been two "persons unknown to him"; see Sugiarso, p. 369, who mistakenly speaks of the last meeting of the Untung Group to have taken place on September 30, while it should have been: September 29. During an interrogation on Januari 27, 1972 Sjam stated that on the last meeting of the Untung Group on September 29 also Aidit and Pranoto had been present.

¹² Sugiarso, p. 371.

¹³ CIA, p. 10.

- the 1st Battalion of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment under the direct command of Colonel Untung, with four companies (some 1,000 men).¹⁴
- a battalion of PGT Rapid Action Troops belonging to the air force, stationed at Halim Air Force Base, also comprising four companies (some 1,000 men).¹⁵
- a company from the Infantry Brigade, Jakarta City Command, under Colonel Latief (some 300 men).¹⁶
- a squadron of cavalry from the Siliwangi Division consisting of 30 tanks or armoured vehicles.¹⁷
- three to four thousand volunteers under the command of Air Force Major Sujono.¹⁸

Apart from this last group of civilian volunteers, whose contribution to the coup was subsequently to turn out to be negligible, there were in all some 4,550 men and 30 tanks. All these professional soldiers and tank crews had been counted as supporters of the October 1 coup.

BETWEEN DREAM AND DEED

At the start of the clandestine action against the army generals and at the time of the occupation of the RRI Building and the Central Telecommunications Building, the military reality was somewhat different from the paper plans.

The 454th and 530th Battalions had become indeed fully operational and were on hand for various tasks. One company from each was assigned to the murder squads and the remainder, appr. in total 1,500 men, were directed to make their way to Merdeka Square. Those troops were supposed to carry out and support the coup in the capital.

¹⁴ Notosusanto, p. 16.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 15, 17. This were the so called PGT units, air force specialists who had been supposed to protect Sukarno during his stay on the Air Base Halim.

¹⁶ See above I.6, p. 48.

¹⁷ May, p. 421; CIA, p. 136.

¹⁸ CIA, p. 136 and 141. From September 11 onwards young male and female volunteers, recruited from various communist organizations had been trained by staff officers of the Air Force. Responsible within the PKI organization for these para-militaries was PKI Politburo member, Njono; see also Sugiarto, p. 370: as witness Sergeant Anis Sujatno maintained that 30% of the volunteers were women.

However, of the remaining units far fewer turned up than had been agreed to in the run up to October 1:

- only one company out of four was available from Untung's own First Tjakrabirawa Battalion.
- the Battalion of PGT Special Air Force Troops were, as it was put, "not ready" at D-day.¹⁹
- Latief had promised to supply a company of regional troops under his command, but only half of them seemed to be present at Halim, some 150 men.²⁰

As far as the tanks or armoured vehicles were concerned, Latief had said that they would be deployed in time in Jakarta thanks to his good relations with the staff of the Siliwangi Division in Bandung. Until the last moment, Untung had insisted that he wanted to have 30 tanks or armoured cars, and otherwise he would not go into action. It would appear that Latief was spinning his comrade a yarn, because none of these ever turned up.

Within the group, when the question of the failing tanks came up, the PKI members of the group outvoted Untung and rammed through the decision in favour of D-day for October 1 4.00 a.m.²¹

Instead of the total of 4,550 troops earmarked and promised the coup's planners had no more than 2,700: namely, the 454th and the 530th Battalions together 2,250 men, with a further 450 from the units under Untung's direct command and of Latief himself. And no tanks.²²

¹⁹ The true picture only emerged in a late stage: when the full Untung Group made its inspection tour on Halim around 22.30 p.m. the evening of September 30; CIA, p. 165.

²⁰ Notosusanto, p. 15.

²¹ CIA, pp. 141 and 142; see above I.6, pp. 49 and 50.

²² Giebels II, p. 387, mentions "*a seizable military force*" that had entered Jakarta because of the October 5 celebration; he speaks also of "*some tens of thousands of soldiers*"; Crouch, p. 96, relates that "*20,000 men*" could be expected for the Army Day; Notosustanto, p. 38, quotes Dani in a conversation he had with the President on September 29 also speaking of "*a concentration of 20,000 soldiers*" as sign of "*high tension*" in the capital. In fact there were planned to be at most 4,450 troops loyal to the dissident officers around Untung of which only half turned up in the event. Further counted the 328th Siliwangi Battalion and the RPKAD Battalion for in all another 2,000 man.

THREE MILITARY ACTION GROUPS

The coup's leaders had divided all the theoretically available military men who could be sent into action into three units, the Pasopati, the Bimasakti and the Pringgodani.²³

The Pasopati

This group were responsible for the kidnapping and execution of the army generals. The unit consisted of a combination of troops from various army units. There were supposed to be one company of 250 men from the Tjakrabirawa Regiment, one company of the same strength from the 454th Battalion of the Brawidjaja Division, one company from the 530th Battalion of the Diponegoro Division, one company of Special Air Force Troops and finally another 150 men, the two squads of the Jakarta Infantry Brigade. All in all, therefore, there should have been 1,150 men. The Pasopati came under the command of Lieutenant Dul Arfief of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment, where he had been Untung's immediate subordinate.

These 1,150 men of the Pasopati unit were to form the actual killer squads, each consisting of 130–140 men of mixed composition. The Untung Group wanted to spread the responsibility for picking up and, as it turned out later, killing the army generals over as many military units as possible. Thus, for example, no one particular division or regiment could later be pointed to, as having done the dirty work. This consideration dictated the mixed nature of the Pasopati unit.

At the start, there were supposed to be eight of these commandos, because there were going to be eight army generals to be kidnapped. Apart from the seven who had already been mentioned earlier,²⁴ Brigadier General Ahmad Sukendro was also supposed to be on the list.²⁵ A few days before the dramatic events in the night of September 30 to October 1 Sukendro had, however, left Jakarta travelling with many other leading Indonesians to Beijing in order to celebrate China's National Day on October 1.

²³ CIA, p. 142; Notosusanto, pp. 16 and 17.

²⁴ For the list of the 7 army generals involved in the purge see above I.2, p. 12.

²⁵ Crouch, p. 107.

There was a minor snag, when it transpired that on the evening of September 30 the Battalion of Special Air Force Troops that had been detailed to the group were just not there. So 250 men who had been assigned the Pasopati unit were missing. Instead of 1,150 there were only 900 of them, so it was a good thing there was one general fewer to pick up than had been planned. This meant that still each killer squad could consist of the 'right' number of 130–140 men.

Right from the beginning of the preparations to "*take care of*" the army generals the Untung Group had been adamant not to have communist or pro-communist paramilitaries, whom Major Sujono had trained, participate in the Pasopakti actions. Militarily speaking, this was probably wise in order to be sure, that the operation would remain a disciplined one. Politically it was also wise because Aidit and the PKI, should anything go wrong with the coup, could distance itself and could dismiss the whole affair as an internal army matter.²⁶ This indeed was what the PKI subsequently did after the coup had turned out to be a political disaster.

The Bimasakti

For operations in Central Jakarta, mainly around Merdeka Square, the planners used the Bimasakti, deploying three companies from the 454th Battalion of the Brawidjaja Division under the command of Captain Kuntjoro and three from the 530th Battalion of the Diponegoro Division under the command of Captain Sukarbi.

The two battalion commanders, Major Sukirno for the 454th and Major Bambang Supeno for the 530th, were to remain behind on the Halim base. Subsequently, early in the morning they were to proceed via Senko I and together with Brigadier General Supardjo, to Merdeka Palace in order to report to the President regarding the events of the night at first hand.

The 454th Division was to take up its stance on the Northern edge of Merdeka Square and the 530th on its Southern edge.²⁷

The RRI Radio Station and the Telecommunications Centre were both on the Western side of Merdeka Square and were to be occupied by units from the two battalions under the overall command of Captain Suradi. This officer came from Untung's Tjakrabirawa

²⁶ See a.o. Dake II, p. 415.

²⁷ Notosusanto, p. 31.

Battalion and the Untung Group assigned him to command the Bimasakti unit. He set up headquarters around the memorial in the center of Merdeka Square, undoubtedly hoping that he could lead a glorious and successful operation.

The Pringgodani

The Pringgodani unit was there for the defence of the air force base and especially the President himself, insofar as he would turn up on the scene. Indeed the coup's leaders had chosen Halim as their centre of operations and it was supposed also to be able to offer hospitality to Sukarno.²⁸ In the plans of the Untung Group it was particularly the battalion of PGT Rapid Action Troops of the air force, who were to make up the core of the Pringgodani unit. However, as we saw, these troops for one reason or the other failed to appear on the scene,²⁹ so that on D-Day there was an awkward gap. The organisers had to improvise to fill it and could only assign the fifth company of two hundred and fifty men from the 530th Battalion to the task.³⁰

In the Pringgodani units there were also men and women paramilitary personnel, drawn from all over Java. They all had a PKI background and were under the command of Air Force Major Sujono of the Untung Group. The air force later tried to assert that this group of paramilitaries should have been recruited amongst young people living close to Halim for guard duties.³¹ This was a rather weak story since these recruits had come from all directions, as was to appear subsequently.³²

This paramilitary personnel, estimated at the time at around 3,000, bivouacked near Halim Air Force Base on an area that was called Lubang Buaja.³³ It was later to become notorious when the bodies

²⁸ Notosusanto, p. 39.

²⁹ CIA, p. 165:

the preparations promised by Sujono, namely the arranging for a unit of the Air Force Quick Action troops (PGT), had not been made.

³⁰ These soldiers of the 530th Battalion seem anyhow not to have been of much more value than the rest of that battalion in the center of Jakarta.

³¹ Crouch, p. 92, quotes Air Force Commodore Herlambang as witness in the trial against Dani. The chief of the air force had embraced the "Fifth Force" as we saw above I.1, p. 4. Crouch, pp. 91 and 92 mentions Dani's June 4, 1965 speech to that effect.

³² Notosusanto, p. 144. It were members of communist mass organizations, selected and recruited under supervision of Politburo Njono.

³³ CIA, note on p. 140.

of the six murdered generals plus Lieutenant Tendean turned up there.³⁴

MAJOR-GENERAL SUHARTO'S KOSTRAD

On the other side of the fence there was action too. Kostrad was the military command that in general did not have any troops of its own, except on paper: the 3d Paratroop Brigade.³⁵ This was an administrative unit with Colonel Sukresno of Kostrad's staff nominally in charge. In other words it was a paper tiger.

Only under very special circumstances could Suharto siphon off troops from units under the command of other officers to his Kostrad command. On top of this, there was another shortcoming to the effect that, on Java, there were hardly any trained rapid reaction troops to be found. Due to the Confrontation with Malaysia these type of troops were almost all posted outside the island of Java, in closer vicinity with the "enemy".³⁶ For example, of the crack RPKAD there was one battalion in Kalimantan and one on Sumatra.³⁷ And a third RPKAD battalion was "on passage" to the front in Kalimantan but while waiting to be airlifted, still in bivouack in Tjidjantung, not far from the Halim Air Base.

So, in the days leading up to October 5 as Army Day Suharto and his Kostrad Headquarters on Merdeka Plain had no troops under his immediate command. But no one could deny that in the early hours of October 1, 1965 it clearly looked that "*exceptional circumstances*" as indicated in his standing orders were beginning to prevail. Suharto therefore felt free then to take over direct command of military units. The pressing question was: which troops in town were going to accept his authority?

The Kostrad commander started by informing a number of high-ranking officers, such as the Regional Commander, Major General Umar, who was at Kostrad, and Major General Mursjid, Yani's First Deputy who was at home,³⁸ that in Yani's absence, he, Suharto,

³⁴ See above III.1. p. 153.

³⁵ Notosusanto, p. 32 and Kopassus, p. 130.

³⁶ Diplomatic source in Jakarta, November 1965.

³⁷ Information by Major General Mursjid to the author, May 2001.

³⁸ CIA, p. 9: "I told General Umar that I was taking over the leadership of the army; he agreed"; also interview of the author with Major General ret. Mursjid, May 2001.

would be taking over command of the army.³⁹ Subsequently, he gave Colonel Sukresno command over all troops available in the Greater Jakarta Region, without actually knowing about what troops precisely he was talking about or could use.

Sukresno went into action and started to inform himself about the status the 454th and the 530th Battalions who had taken up positions around Merdeka Square. In the course of the next few hours Suharto passed on a message to them, via Sukresno, saying they should consider themselves without further ado as being under his command.⁴⁰

SUHARTO BEATS SABUR TO IT

So Suharto had not yet a very good insight into the strength of his supposed opponents and therefore he had looked around in those early hours for troops he could quickly send into action. The 454th and the 530th, bivouacking around Merdeka Plain, were for him for the time belonging to “*on the other side*”. The first unit he turned his attention to was the RPKAD Battalion under Colonel Sarwo Edhie, which had set up camp temporarily some 30 kilometer from the center of Jakarta.

As soon as he had been able to form an initial impression of the friend-foe situation around him he sent one of his staff officers, Lt.Colonel Sarens Sudiro, with the only armoured car he had available to the RPKAD Battalion in Tjidjantung.⁴¹ Once there, commander Sarwo Edhie more or less arrested him, since Edhie was still confused as to exactly what was happening in Jakarta and wanted to be on the safe side. After some discussions within the battalion staff, Colonel Sudirgo was allowed to tell his story. That Sudiro must have done convincingly, because the RPKAD colonel then took the decision to side with his troops with Suharto and the Kostrad Command.

Hardly had Sarwo Edhie reached this decision than another military visitor showed up. This time it was Brigadier General Sabur,

³⁹ It was said to be “*Standard Operating Procedure (SOP)*” that when Yani was not in Jakarta, but still in Indonesia, the Kostrad commander would be his stand-in. Mursjid claimed that he should have replaced temporarily Yani as his 1st deputy, but “he had accepted the decision by Suharto”; informations by Mursjid to the author, May 2001. See also: Appendix VII, Documents E3, pp. 309, 310.

⁴⁰ CIA, p. 46.

⁴¹ Information from Brigadier General Sarens Sudirgo to the author, May 2001.

the commander of the Palace Guard. Sabur had returned to Halim early that morning by helicopter from his home in Bandung—he had wisely lied doggo there during that crucial night of September 30–October 1—and then, with or without consultation with the President, he had rather belatedly come to the conclusion that something should be done with Sarwo Edhie's nearby RPKAD Battalion. Sabur wanted of course to persuade these crack troops to adopt a stance in favour of the Untung Group and of the President, or failing that to keep them “*neutral*”. But Sabur plainly came too late. He should have thought of this earlier.

It is ironic that exactly the RPKAD Battalion, waiting near Halim for transportation to the Kalimantan front and simply overlooked by the coup planners, was to play a decisive role in the further course of October 1, rounding up and disarming the remnants of those dissident troops that had planned to come out victorious.

THE RPKAD'S STRANGE MISSION

With hindsight the following had been the case with Sarwo Edhie's soldiers.⁴² Brigadier General Supardjo, the officer responsible for the anti-Malaysian front in West-Kalimantan, had asked Colonel Sarwo Edhie late August to move with his whole battalion to Kalimantan.⁴³ Edhie then sent one of his staff officers, Major Santoso, to the area for further investigation. After a stay of one month at the “*front*” Santoso had come to the conclusion that there was no mission for Edhie's RPKAD troops in Kalimantan and on September 27 told Supardjo so. He stepped on a plane back to Jakarta the next day. To his astonishment he saw Supardjo sitting in the same aircraft and Santoso was even more surprised, when he noticed upon arrival in the capital that there was no one waiting to meet Supardjo.

Thus one may conclude that at any rate Supardjo for one must have known prior to the coup attempt that he had not succeeded in luring away Sarwo Edhie's RPKAD Battalion to Kalimantan.

⁴² The CIA at the time had no clue how the RPKAD Battalion suddenly had turned up near to the center of the coup; CIA, p. 34.

⁴³ Kopassus, pp. 132 and 133. It should be recalled that on August 28, 1965 the PKI Politburo took a definite decision to go ahead with the “progressive officers” to “preempt” an action feared from the side of the so-called Council of Generals. One may well assume that some collusion of the PKI's Special Bureau with Supardjo took place right after that decisive Politburo meeting.

What was more: Supardjo must also have been aware that this important military unit, waiting to be sent to West-Kalimantan, had its bivouac only a few kilometers from the capital Jakarta and thus dangerously near the center of the coup he was going to commit.

While Supardjo may or may not have been disturbed about the presence of these tough fighting men close to the scene of action to come, the President for his part certainly was concerned. He showed a keen interest in the whereabouts of the RPKAD troops and on September 29, when Supardjo went in secrecy to the Merdeka Palace, the President asked the coupleader specifically to tell him more about those crack troops.⁴⁴ Upon this occasion, Supardjo must no doubt have tried to put Sukarno's suspicions to rest, although knowing they were around.

Two days later however, in the morning of October 1 during the first meeting Sukarno had that day at Halim with Supardjo,⁴⁵ it did lead to the President giving the coupleader a good dressing down, saying: "*You told me the RPKAD would not be in Jakarta!*" To this Supardjo replied meekly "*not to worry.*"⁴⁶

THE POSITION OF THE 328TH SILIWANGI BATTALION

As if all this were not annoying enough, there also was the assumed neutrality of the Siliwangi Division. Cracks became apparent in that supposed stance. The Untung Group had counted on this Division not yielding any problems, assuming that it would not devote much attention to the Jakarta scenario. Major General Adjie, its divisional commander, although known to be a fierce anticommunist, at the same time was a fervent follower of the President, their relationship was a very close one. As we have seen, Sukarno at some time in July had already offered Adjie the opportunity of succeeding Yani.⁴⁷

Further Untung knew that the general had sworn he would never obey orders from anyone but Sukarno and so the military planners of the coup had assumed that Adjie's troops like the 328th Battalion

⁴⁴ Diplomatic source in Jakarta, November 1965.

⁴⁵ See above II.2. pp. 85 ff.

⁴⁶ CIA, p. 35.

⁴⁷ See above I.2. p. 12 and CIA, pp. 240 and 241. The CIA rapport mentions that in July 1965 Sukarno proposed to Adjie to become Yani's successor "*after Yani and the other generals were arrested*".

that would be coming to Jakarta for Army Day would, at the very worst, remain neutral.⁴⁸

In the event this calculation turned out to be the umpteenth time things went wrong with the planning. Without Adjie's consent his deputy, Brigadier General Dharsono, decided to join Suharto with his 328th Battalion and, to cap it all, to send another three mechanised squadrons from Bandung to Jakarta on October 1.⁴⁹

THE 454TH AND THE 530TH BATTALIONS

Meanwhile, the Bimasakti units were not in a particularly good position, as far as the Untung Group was concerned. Around Merdeka Square things were slowly made to move by Suharto, as all sorts of interventions took place. So, former commanders of the 454th and 530th Battalions—in town for the October 5 Army Day—visited their erstwhile troops, be it in civilian clothes and innocuously riding bicycles.

In the course of the afternoon, the Deputy Commander the 530th Battalion, Captain Sukarbi, decided to submit to the orders of Suharto and to take his men with him to Kostrad Headquarters. In the case of the 454th Battalion Suharto met with no success. Major Sukirno, the actual commander, had meanwhile gone from Senko II to Merdeka Square to take over the command from his deputy, Captain Kuntjoro. Trying to save face, he finally decided not to proceed to Kostrad Headquarters, but to leave instead with his troops for Halim. He was to argue later that this was because his men had not received anything to eat all day.⁵⁰

The further course of events, as far as the situation on Merdeka Square was concerned, was quick and not too heroic. In the course of the morning Sarwo Edhie had presented himself at Kostrad⁵¹ and had declared to be ready to take Suharto's orders. The close personal relations Edhie had had with Yani, to whom he owed much regarding his military career, doubtless strengthened this attitude.

⁴⁸ CIA, footnote on p. 241.

⁴⁹ Information by 1st Lieutenant Max den Dekker, platoon commander with the Siliwangi Division at the time of the coup, to the author, September 2000.

⁵⁰ Kopassus, p. 137.

⁵¹ Kopassus, p. 132: "... shortly after noon"; Elson, p. 103, mentions the time of arrival of RPKAD troops as 11.00 a.m.; that must be a mistake, only Sarwo Edhie arrived at Kostrad at or around that time, his soldiers coming later.

The upshot was that towards the onset of evening, the RPKAD Battalion was about to put an end to the occupation by dissident troops of the RRI Radio Station and the Central Communications Building. This took place without any loss of blood or even loss of energy, because many of the occupiers had just faded away.⁵²

It proved to be just as easy for the RPKAD troops, during the night of October 1 to 2 and supported this time by a few tanks from a Siliwangi squadron,⁵³ to purge Halim Air Force Base.⁵⁴

CONCLUSION

What do we deduce from the above? To put it mildly, the Untung Coup's military planners did not do their homework properly.

- Quite a few military men who were supposed to participate failed to turn up. Some of these were from the First Battalion of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment, while the whole battalion of the Air Force PGT Rapid Action Troops stayed away, together with part of the First Infantry Brigade.
- It should be noted that all these absent units were under the direct command of Untung Group members, namely Lt. Colonel Untung himself as well as Major Sujono and Colonel Latief.
- The mechanised unit that was needed for the coup did eventually arrive in Jakarta, but not on the side of the troops taking part in the coup, but on the opposite side.
- In addition there were troops whom the group had incorrectly hoped would remain neutral, such as the 328th Battalion from the Siliwangi Division.
- And not to be missed: the RPKAD Battalion that by chance or pure oversight happened to be near the center of the subversive actions and was allowed to bolt
- Further there was the lack of effective means of communication, either human or technical, among the various units of dissident troops and, more particularly, those in Senko I and Senko II. With as glaring example the coup leader Supardjo's useless cooling his

⁵² Elson, p. 106: "... *without the firing of a single shot*".

⁵³ Ibidem; see also note 49 above and Notosusanto, p. 73: "... supported by two companies of armored troops".

⁵⁴ Notosusanto, p. 73.

heels for two full hours early in the morning of October 1 in the Merdeka Palace, while Sukarno had gone astray.

- Food supplies for the most active units around Merdeka Square were evidently in a bad way too, although it is strongly to be doubted whether it is true that the 454th Battalion's retreat really was only because the troops had not had enough to eat.

The whole military operation makes an impression therefore of carelessness and amateurism. In the case of such risky operations, one always has to take account of mishaps. Not enough attention was paid to contingency planning and the impression prevails as if the planners assumed nothing or almost nothing could go wrong.⁵⁵

There may be a difference of opinion as to whether the coup attempt might have succeeded, if the military-technical preparations had been better. However, this question does not really come into play and is not the proper way to look at the military side of the coup operation. For what was supposed to happen on October 1, 1965 was still completely contingent on the assumption of all the leading participants that, sooner or later, and possibly willy-nilly, the President would be publicly giving the coup, or at least its outcome, his blessing.

Untung and with him the group's military leaders were sure that such an outcome would come to pass. After all it was Sukarno himself who, at the beginning of August, had called upon Untung and his superior Sabur to go into action against some of the army generals. Moreover the President had been closely involved in one or the other military preparation for the coup and in much of the softening up of the leading pro-Sukarno military men.

Quite apart from what the President really had in mind in "*purg-ing*" the army leadership, Untung and his military colleagues in the group were with good reason led to believe that they could count on support from the Head of State.

The same applied to the Biro Chusus, the non-military members of the Untung Group. They had originally received their information from Untung himself. However they had also, with the help of Aidit's contacts with the palace and with Sukarno in person, been

⁵⁵ Hughes, p. 65 gives his reaction to this rather dismal military performance by the coupists: "*Were it not for the tragedy of the night's events, the developments of the next few hours would border on the comic*"; Giebels II, p. 430: calls it "*one great improvisation*".

well aware of Presidential involvement and of Sukarno's campaign against a number of army generals. They also must have been fully convinced to receive from Sukarno after the first part of the coup—the killings—public support or at least some sort of blessing. Indeed we may safely assume that Sukarno had already told them so much in the course of August and September, or had implied so.

The relations between the PKI leadership, the military coup operators—Untung and his colleagues—and finally the President had been dominated from the very beginning by Sukarno. It was to be his word that would legitimise the coup.

This Presidential blessing of the coup operation was both point of departure and basis of the collective conspiracy spun out. It all came down to the status, the might, the personality of Sukarno. Trusting his decisive and committed role made particularly the military planners think that the coup operations—although a serious affair of course—did not need to be worked out to the very finest detail or to be absolutely foolproof.

APPENDIX V

SUHARTO AND THE 30 SEPTEMBER MOVEMENT

NOT ON THE LIST

Starting with the dramatic events on October 1, 1965 during which the attitude of the Kostrad commander at the time, Major General Suharto, was of decisive influence, the question arose what his precise role had been and, more particularly, what prior knowledge he could have had. There were quite a number of loose ends.

First, it surprised the numerous observers that Suharto had not been on the list of army generals to be picked up. This was especially surprising, because it became clear that without Suharto's intervention the coup would have had a reasonable chance of success.

Also, it quickly became known that the new hand at the wheel had been on good, even personal terms with three of the most important military plotters, namely Supardjo, Untung and Latief. Even as late as August 1965 Suharto had paid a visit to Supardjo, who was at the time stationed at the Kalimantan front, as it was called. With Untung his relations were so close-knit that Suharto had attended Untung's wedding party in Central Java some time earlier. Finally, Latief was more or less an always welcome guest at the Kostrad commander's home. At least, that impression Latief often tried to create.

Later, long after the events of October 1, 1965, attention was called by people critical of Suharto's role to the location of the rebelling soldiers around Merdeka Square. It had turned out that these troops of the 454th and the 530th Paracommando Battalions had positioned themselves on all three sides of the Square, but not on the Eastern side, just where the Kostrad Headquarters were situated.

As time marched on the events of October 1965 and their direct consequences, even such momentous crisis as the bloody near-civil war of 1965-1966, were fading more and more into the background and lost for the outside world their pressing character. But curiously enough the stories about Suharto's role kept circulating. More than this even, they began to receive increasing attention in the public

eye. Suharto, the army general who had meanwhile risen to the position of President, was becoming for many observers the person responsible for the plotting in 1965 and for the crucial turn the history of the Indonesian Republic had taken as a result.

There was one story to the effect that, on the eve of the coup of September 30, Suharto had met conspirator Latief in the Gatot Subroto military hospital in Jakarta. Suharto's son, Tommy, happened to be in hospital for serious burns. Suharto recalled later:

Many friends visited my son there and on the night of September 30 I was there, too. It is interesting to look back. I remember Colonel Latief dropped into the hospital that evening to inquire about my son's health. I was touched by his thoughtfulness. Of course later Latief turned out to be an important figure in the events that followed. Today I realize that he did not go to the hospital that evening to check on my son but, rather, to check on me.¹

At another occasion somewhat later Suharto pointed out that Latief had not addressed him, Suharto, to inquire about Tommy's health, but had talked to his wife. Another twist on the story Suharto came up with was in an interview published in the German news weekly *Der Spiegel* in 1970. In it he recounts that Latief had entered the hospital with the intention of killing him. However,

... evidently he shrank back from murdering me in a public place.²

Finally, in *Pikiran*, his autobiography, Suharto expressly denied that he had ever had a conversation with Latief in the hospital.³

In short, there are a number of discrepancies between the versions of what actually happened as they were related by the person concerned, Suharto himself.

LATIEF'S STORY

Latief has contributed no less than Suharto to the myth surrounding the Kostrad commander's role on the eve of the coup. According to Latief there had been two meetings with Suharto, one on September 28 and another on September 30. Regarding *September 28* Latief tells that on the evening of that day he paid the Suharto family a visit

¹ Brackman, 1969, p. 100.

² *Der Spiegel*, 27.6.1970, p. 98.

³ Suharto, *Pikiran*, Jakarta 1989, p. 118; Elson, p. 117.

in their home. He then supposedly steered the conversation with the general in the direction of the possible existence of a ‘*Council of Generals*’. He relates that Suharto reacted something evasive, saying something like he would be investigating the matter. However, in a conversation with the author in May 2000, Latief said Suharto had told him upon the occasion of that first visit. “*There is no such thing as a Council of Generals*”.

Latief also provides various versions regarding his visit to the Gatot Subroto hospital two days later, on *September 30*. He has related that he had seen the general in the hospital and had spoken to him, but at other times he has maintained that he had only seen Suharto, but not spoken to him.

While appearing in court in 1978 Latief was allowed to submit a formal plea which thereafter began to circulate outside Indonesia. It caused here and there some fuss.⁴

In it Latief pointed to the contradictions in the various statements Suharto made about his, Latief’s, visit to the hospital on the eve of the coup. He then writes:

The truth is that on that night I not only went to see his son who had had an accident, but also reported that a movement would be launched on the following morning to prevent a coup d’état by the Council of Generals which he already knew about beforehand.

To that statement Suharto is supposed to have shown no reaction whatsoever. But afterwards, Latief relates, Suharto “*suddenly*” turned against him and his family for no clear reason.

On this score Latief told the author in May 2000 that on the evening of September 30 he went to Suharto at the request of Untung and Supardjo:

*The intention behind the visit was to draw Suharto’s attention to our plans to bring the members of the ‘Council of Generals’ before President Sukarno. Suharto then wanted to know who the leader of the action was. But as there were many guests present, none of them I knew I left again at 11 o’clock.*⁵

During his trial in 1978 Latief made an attempt to summon Suharto and his wife in court as witnesses. Latief wanted their testimony

⁴ See a.o. Wertheim, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 1979 (2).

⁵ See for a similar version: Anon, “Wawancara Kolonel A. Latief”, p. 15, with this difference that according to Anon Latief is said to have told Suharto precisely how many generals would be going to be brought before President Sukarno: seven.

about his visit to the Suharto family home on *September 28*. The request was not granted.

While talking to Latief in May 2000 the author asked him whether he had made a similar appeal to the Suharto's to provide testimony that he had visited them in the Gatot Subroto hospital on the evening of *September 30*. His answer, surprisingly, was: "*No*".

WERTHEIM SAW THE COUP AS A PROVOCATION

In 1979 in a magazine article⁶ Dutch sociology professor Wertheim, assuming that Latief had told the truth in court, writes:

*If he, Latief, and his associates are held responsible for the events, then Suharto should at the very least be held co-responsible, because of the failure to report the putsch plans immediately to his superiors.*⁷

Regarding Suharto's role he thought in 1979 for his own part that there was no doubt at all that Suharto had at any rate broad prior knowledge about the 30 September Movement and had nipped the coup in the bud, using it to his own advantage.

Wertheim's stance kept developing further, maintaining that the army generals including Suharto themselves set up the 30 September Movement in order to provoke the PKI out into the open to support the "*coup*" and so give the army an excuse to corner the communists. At one fell swoop therefore it would become possible to frame the PKI and to knock out Sukarno also.

Crouch observes drily in response to this extreme opinion of Wertheim:

*The initial objection to this theory is, of course, that, if it is true, the generals were too clever by half, as six of them lost their lives in the manoeuvre. Wertheim overcomes this by following the method of a detective story and asking who benefited from the crime. The answer is obviously Suharto, who had personal links with the main plotters. Wertheim's theory, however, is unsupported by positive evidence.*⁸

⁶ *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 1979 (2).

⁷ Wertheim calls in the article of 1979 quoted above Latief "*one of the closest collaborators of Suharto*"; Elson, p. 115 says: "*This is nonsense*".

⁸ Crouch, p. 106.

Apparently Wertheim took this critical logic to heart. Some years later, in 1995, he was somewhat more careful in formulating his thoughts about Suharto's possible role by saying the following:

It is therefore virtually certain that Suharto was involved in the October 1 coup, since he professed fore-knowledge. It will be more difficult to establish whether he was acting as a true dalang (master-mind) behind the screen.⁹

In addition to Wertheim, many others have held that Suharto was somehow responsible for, or at least involved beforehand in the October 1 coup.¹⁰ Subandrio, the former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, brings in even Untung in support of this sort of reasoning. When Subandrio and Untung were both in prison in the town of Tjimahi, Untung is supposed to have told Subandrio that he had informed Suharto on September 15 about the plans to conduct a campaign against the Council of General and that he, Suharto, had promised his support.¹¹

For all these authors pointing to Suharto as one way or the other “involved” the same can be said, i.e. that their argumentation is consistently weak or non-existent. At best, they could come up with “*circumstantial evidence*” of the kind we have already referred to earlier:

- Suharto was not on the list of army generals to be picked up
- Suharto knew three main figures of the 30 September Movement extremely well
- no rebellious soldiers took up bivouak on the side of Merdeka Square where the Kostrad Headquarters was located
- witnesses have said Suharto had a certain degree of advance knowledge
- by means of his very effective moves Suharto managed, suspiciously quickly, to nip the nascent coup in the bud.

⁹ Kabar Seberang, sulating Maphilindo, 1995, no. 24/25, p. 296.

¹⁰ Cayrac-Blanchard, 1973, pp. 155, 156; Dale Scott, 1985; Bilveer, 1986, Asian Profile, p. 231, who also thinks that the truth about Suharto never will surface, and that one should wait for the departure of Suharto to learn the real story; Landmann, Internationales Asienforum, 1987, nr. 1/2; Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant, 30.5.1998, published the opinion of novelist Thomas Ross, that probably Suharto was the auctor intellectualis of the coup and that Sjam was a CIA-agent.

¹¹ Subandrio, Kesaksianku tentang G30S, 2000, p. 29. Subandrio also supports Wertheim's “theory”:

(The movement) was a provocation emanating from certain generals of the army and used to a maximum by Suharto; p. 62.

NOT ON THE LIST

The reasons Suharto himself advances as to why his name was not on the list appear in his biography, that was published in 1969 and run as follows:

. . . General Suharto commented dryly that he was not on the list to be kidnapped 'because they probably considered me a minor officer who could be handled later'—but there was to be no 'later'.¹²

Elson says with regard to this point:

. . . it seems clear that the conspirators were targeting those General Staff officers close to Yani, thought to be both fundamentally opposed to the PKI's push for enhanced power and increasingly inimical toward Sukarno and involved in the day-to-day political battles and intrigue of Guided Democracy. Suharto himself, while he enjoyed good relations with some of the targeted officers (he claimed . . . Sutoyo as a special friend, having studied with him at Seskoad), was certainly not of their number and inhabited a very different social and psychological world. . . . Suharto's dislike of publicity, and his taciturn and ungregarious nature, meant that he had not stamped himself as belonging to any particular camp within the fierce factionalisms of the army and therefore did not present himself as a target; indeed he had made an art of making his political views, such as they were, indistinctive".¹³

Another serious commentator considers that the movement saw Suharto as a potential friend:

Suharto had not been given to speechmaking, and his taciturn manner had made it difficult for outsiders to know his political views. The plotters probably considered him to be an essentially apolitical general who would be unlikely to move to save Yani and Nasution once the action against them had been endorsed by the president.¹⁴

In keeping with his apolitical image Suharto was, just like Umar and Mursjid, playing no important role in formulating Yani 's tactics vis-a-vis the President and the PKI:

. . . and was therefore not on the list of generals abducted by the Thirtieth of September Movement.¹⁵

¹² Roeder, p.11. Contrary to this quotation from 1969, Suharto has told foreign diplomats that he had been on the list, but that he had escaped because the plotters could not find him; Crouch, p. 125, note 56. This can be easily set aside as a post-facto concoction.

¹³ Elson, p. 113.

¹⁴ Crouch, p. 124.

¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 125.

SUHARTO ACQUAINTED WITH THE MAJOR PLOTTERS OF THE COUP

Nobody could plausibly deny that Suharto knew three of the main protagonists in the action undertaken against the army chiefs pretty well. But, as Crouch says, the arguments to construe this fact as proof of prior involvement on the part of the Kostrad commander are extremely flimsy:

Such evidence is hardly enough to support the view that Suharto was involved in the plotting of these officers (Supardjo c.s., author).¹⁶

POSITION OF REBEL TROOPS

Why, on October 1, was the Eastern edge of Merdeka Square left out by troops belonging to the 454th and 530th Battalions? Presumably, this point might once be investigated. But one has to admit that the absence of coup-friendly troops on that particular side of the Square was supremely irrelevant to the overall picture.¹⁷

WITNESSES' STATEMENTS

What do statements by witnesses like Untung and Latief contribute to proof or non-proof regarding Suharto's involvement?

In Untung's case the answer is most certainly: nothing at all. The story that he supposedly had told Suharto by the middle of September everything about the coup and had received his blessing stems from Subandrio and no one else has ever confirmed it. Untung himself is no longer there to give us his version of events, so Subandrio—has been the sole “*witness*” who can tell us what the coup's leader may have said to him in prison. Subandrio does so in a justification published in 2000. To put it mildly, what he wrote is, as could be expected, slanted and perfectly unreliable. So we can leave Untung's “*statements*” to one side as completely apocryphal, to put it gently.

Latief's statements pose a bit different case than Untung. Latief has been a person who could tell us whether he warned Suharto in

¹⁶ Crouch, p. 123.

¹⁷ See Appendix IV: The military side of the coup.

advance or not. Some observers find exactly for that very reason that what Latief had to say of great interest and relevance. They point out that Latief was not permitted to appear in person as a witness against fellow detainees in their trials or, at best, was allowed to have a statement allegedly written by him read out.

It also plays a role in the eyes of some authors, because during the trial against him in 1978, he was not allowed to call the Suharto couple as witnesses. Of this reasoning Crouch says the following:

Thus the impression was given that the authorities feared what Latief might say at a public hearing about his meeting with Suharto.¹⁸

With regard to the Suharto-Latief “*conversation*” in the hospital, Crouch for one does not exclude that something of the sort had occurred. If Latief, so Crouch, had seen in Suharto a potential supporter, then:

*... it is not impossible that he (Latief, author) told him in vague terms that a movement was about to be launched against disloyal generals in order to forestall the possibility of countermeasures by Suharto due to ‘misunderstanding’, when he heard the news next morning.*¹⁹

In other words Suharto might not have understood what it was that he was going to see happening on October 1, and Latief had wanted to preempt that uncertainty.

Also Elson more or less thinks Latief’s story should be taken serious. If Latief ever did warn Suharto a number of points could be made, Elson writes.²⁰ Suharto:

- pooh-poohed the warning
- deemed it too vague to act upon
- saw it as an opportunity to wreck the movement and the PKI
- was genuinely involved beforehand.

Elson indicates that he is not completely excluding that Latief’s story about the conversation in the hospital might have been an invention or an exaggeration. But he drops that idea again and comes to his own gently formulated conclusion:

¹⁸ Crouch, p. 124

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 125.

²⁰ Elson, pp. 116 and 117.

*... the most likely explanation (of the assumed conversation in the Gatot Subroto hospital; author) is that he (Suharto, author) understood that a number of generals would be summoned to the President for some kind of shaming procedure, which might perhaps involve some of them in career difficulties, but nothing more than that. . . .*²¹

SUHARTO WENT TO WORK WITH SUSPICIOUS ACCURACY

The great surprise on October 1 was, of course, the cold efficiency with which the Kostrad commander managed to face up to what happened that day. While everywhere else, among friend and foe alike, confusion and panic was rampant and a certain aimlessness pervaded the capital, it was Suharto who turned out to be able, in the course of a few hours, to obtain a firm grip on the situation and steer events to a relatively speaking safe conclusion.

Elson says the following about it:

*In just a few days the landscape of the nation's politics had been utterly transformed. . . . Only one key person, Suharto, emerged from the tumult with his reputation enhanced. . . . (he displayed) a presence of mind..(and) an extraordinary tactical capacity.. in his reaction to the 1st of October affair. Suharto's performance during these dramatic days was nothing short of startling.*²²

CONCLUSION

It is about time to expose the many versions of Suharto's prior involvement with the October 1 affair as aspects of a persistent myth of its time and to put it aside as entirely unsubstantiated.

We have seen here a number of arguments and hints that supporters of the "*involvement theory*", as one could call it, have been pushing for years. Not one of them holds water. Not one has stood up to the cool light of the facts.

Of the petty details as to whether Suharto knew a few of the main players in the purge of the army chiefs or whether dissident troops took up position on the Kostrad Headquarters' side of Merdeka Square or not, nobody really cares to take them seriously.

²¹ Elson, p. 118.

²² Ibidem, pp. 109, 118 and 119.

That Suharto was not on the list of intended victims can be seen as one of the numerous examples of sheer carelessness and lack of military, political or human insight of those who plotted the the October 1 affair and does therefore not suffice at all to brand him with the hot tar of suspicion. Neither can the fact that the Kostrad commander at the time was so efficient in knocking the coup completely off course be advanced as proof or even indication that he must have known about everything before the events.

Surely now, more than forty years later and certainly now that Suharto for years already no longer holds the reins of power, other proof or hard facts would have surfaced meanwhile.

The only information on a suspicious role of Suharto, apart from Untung's gratuitous and probably invented contribution to the discussion, is what Latief gave as "*evidence*". If one looks at it carefully though, Latief's contribution is completely bereft of importance. It is contradictory, inconsistent and full of holes. His variable stories can only be seen as snippets of what actually may have happened, blown out of proportion by a man who understandably wanted to save his skin one way or the other and in the process to give himself an important role in history.

This is what in all probability happened the night of September 30. Latief must have shown up at the Gatot Subroto hospital, knowing that Suharto was there to mind his son Tommy. It may well have been that Latief wanted to know what Suharto was up to, just like he did with Nasution whom he also paid that evening a "*blitz*" visit checking whether the Defence Minister was at home.

Latief might at the same time and in addition have had in mind to try to talk to Suharto, but to all accounts—including that of himself—whatever his intention and that of his friends may have been the conclusion must be that Latief did not succeed to talk that evening of September 30 to the general and impart any meaningful information about the plans of the 30 September Movement.

Some additional arguments against taking Latief's small talk over the years since 1965 serious can be adduced:

- Not being allowed to appear in court as witness in other trials, but only testifying in writing has been something many other persons indicted for their role in the 30 September Movement equally have had to endure, so was not particular to Latief.
- Later—long after the death of Sukarno—Latief got permission in 1978 to conduct his own defence in person and submit a formal

plea of his own in which he could make his case and shed, as we have seen, some suspicious light on Suharto's role. If that really had been damaging to the then President, Latief would not have gotten that chance, nor would he then have been in a position to get his plea published abroad.

- If the visit to the Gatot Subroto hospital on September 30 really had taken place and was so important to Latief as he pretended, he should have asked Suharto and his wife to be witness on that point and that day (and not only on his visit to them two days before, on September 28).
- Finally and in conclusion: if Latief really had had anything seriously destructive for Suharto to tell, what would have been easier for the prison authorities than to let Latief “*disappear*” or “*be shot while fleeing*” or something or other. But what happens: Latief after all his travails in Jakarta in reasonable circumstances.

More interesting is why at all Latief survived longlasting ordeals in jail and concentration camps. Like a few others—Subandrio is one of them, and Dani another—Latief got his due process, was sentenced to death, his sentence then being commuted into life imprisonment and finally he was released. If anything, this proves that Suharto must have known all the time that Latief had nothing serious to come up with regarding a suspicious role of the former Kostrad commander and later successor to Sukarno.²³

Let us put it in a nutshell. For some who have been troubled—and rightly so—by Suharto's increasingly dictatorial and corrupt leadership of Indonesia it might have been easier to believe that the future second President also could be blamed for foul play during the genesis of the 30 September Movement. After all he then also could be implicated as fully responsible for the ensuing semi-civil war late 1965—early 1966, costing the lives of thousands of Indonesians.

²³ One could speculate about the largesse the Suharto regime has displayed towards Latief, and for that matter towards Dani and Subandrio. There is certainly reason to think that these three persons who, all three of them, had been directly responsible for the conspiracy of October 1, 1965 one way or the other must have given some critical help to the military prosecutors to unravel the plot, especially as to the role of Sukarno. To what else could they otherwise have ascribed their good luck? The author put this question to ex-President Suharto during an interview on 11.23.2005. Suharto smiled and replied forthwith with a non-answer: “The three of them had become already so very old, so I decided to let them go”.

But history is not that easy. Knowing now the complete plot of the October 1 affair the conclusion can only be that Suharto, at the time a rather subordinate apolitical commander within the Indonesian army, cannot be shown after more than 40 years to have had prior knowledge of the coup.

In countering that attempted coup he performed with miraculous accuracy and efficiency. He succeeded then to defuse a very dangerous crisis for the country that otherwise could have led to a communist take over or to a real and even more bloody civil war or to both. And this is a conclusion irrespective of what reputation he later came to be known for.

APPENDIX VI

THE 30 SEPTEMBER MOVEMENT FOR WASHINGTON: “AN UNDESERVED ACCIDENT”

One of the points of discussion concerning the affair of October 1 even almost 40 years later is the question of whether and if so, to what extent and at which stages, the United States Central Intelligence Agency was involved in the run up to the events. It is often current thinking in discussions and assessments of the situation to imply, more or less, that “in one way or another” the agency probably had something to do with the purge of the Army’s General Staff in 1965 and, above all, with the Suharto counter coup. Even those who entirely subscribe to the important role of the communist leaders in the coup, still tend sometimes towards these assumptions.

At the same time it is a good thing that so much time has elapsed since the actual events, because, as a result, documents have become public that throw light on this stretch of Indonesia’s history.¹

The accusation that the CIA played a direct role in the period prior to the coup surfaced for the first time through the Untung Group. The very first radio broadcast of the group was made on RRI, the central radio broadcaster, at 7.15 a.m. on the morning of October 1. Untung described the action which he and his colleagues wanted to direct against

*... generals who were members of the self-styled Council of Generals ... The Council of Generals is a subversive movement sponsored by the CIA and has been very active lately, especially since President Sukarno was seriously ill in the first week of August this year.*²

INDONESIA 1965, SEEN THROUGH AMERICAN EYES

In order to check the truth of what Untung said, it is useful to look at how on the US side the situation in Indonesia was viewed as it

¹ Like: National Archives and Records Administration, RG 59, Central Files 1964–1966, POL.23–8 INDON. Confidential; and idem Secret. Hereafter for short: *etc.*

² Appendix VII, B.1, p. 289 ff.

developed in 1965. Let us take first of all the views of the man responsible for shaping US foreign policy in that period, Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Already at an early stage he had come to the pessimistic conclusion that the United States could exercise little influence over Indonesia. In mid-January 1965 he wrote as follows to the US Embassy in Jakarta:

*We now believe the evidence is fairly convincing that effective internal anti-Communist action, independent of Sukarno, will not develop during his lifetime. We are therefore faced with the cold possibility that before long this key strategic nation may be for all practical purposes a Communist dictatorship and that when events have progressed that far they will be irreversible.*³

This basic stance was to be reflected in actual daily policy, as developed between the State Department and the Embassy in Jakarta thereafter.

When, in the course of the year, the Sukarno regime systematically and in ever-more pronounced fashion carefully scrutinised and tried to frustrate America's diplomatic and business interests, the question arose as to how the United States ought to react.⁴ The Undersecretary of State at the time, George Ball, wrote the following note in March 1965:

*Since we are presently Sukarno's principal target it would seem sound policy to reduce our visibility in Indonesia and give him less to shoot at.*⁵

³ Rusk to American Embassy, January 14, 1965, etc.; H.W. Brands, *The Limit of Manipulation: How the United States Didn't Topple Sukarno*, *The Journal of American History*, vol. 76, no. 3, December 1989, p. 798.

⁴ The Embassy's Information Service hardly could do its work. The American consulates in Medan and Surabaya were continuously targets of mass demonstrations and the security of its personnel was endangered. Several times the Indonesian President was informed about this situation. In February 1965 Ambassador Howard Jones writes that during an audience he had wondered: "... *whether the Government of Indonesia was going to let mob action destroy possibility of satisfactory bilateral relations. I said I knew Sukarno could control situation, if he made the effort...*"; Telegram from Jones to State Department, February 24, 1965, etc. In June Jones is replaced by Marshall Green, up till then Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs. In August Green comes to the conclusion that the U.S. should prepare itself for a rupture in the diplomatic relations with Indonesia: "*Preparations should be made for this eventuality*"; Intern Memorandum, August 3, 1965; etc. On September 1, during his first audience with Sukarno, Green brings up the anti-American disturbances. He got the standard-Sukarno answer: "... *(he) replied that popular feeling against the United States, including demonstrations, was bound to continue as long as American newspapers and magazines printed defamatory articles about Indonesia and its leaders*"; Telegram of Green to Department of State, September 1, 1965, etc.

⁵ Memorandum by Ball for President Johnson, mid-March 1965, etc. It con-

This rather sombre view of things was the starting point for a decision to make a last serious effort to improve bilateral relations. To this end President Johnson sent one of his top diplomats, Ellsworth Bunker, to Jakarta at the end of March.

After four conversations with Sukarno and two with Subandrio⁶ Bunker's brief conclusion was as follows:

US policy should be directed toward [creating conditions] which will give the elements of potential strength the most favourable conditions for confrontation", while the core of the message ran: "*Indonesia essentially will have to save itself.*"⁷

When, at the end of June, the Ambassadors Howard Jones and Marshall Green, the outgoing and incoming highest diplomatic representatives in Indonesia, informed President Johnson of their expectations on the subject Johnson was if possible even more laconic in his assessment of the Indonesian problem:

*Well, it won't be easy, not much you can do out there.*⁸

Subsequently, it was noted that

*by the summer of 1965 the Johnson administration, at a loss as to what else it might do, had basically given up.*⁹

Meanwhile, on one score, Bunker's visit at the beginning of April had already exerted its effect. One of his recommendations had been to reduce US services and personnel as much as possible:

A large and widespread US presence provides the PKI and other extremist elements targets for attack . . . US visibility should be reduced so that those opposed to the

cerned i.c. the US Information Service, the US Agency for International Development, the military training group MILTAG, the Peace Corps and the families of American diplomatic and other personnel.

⁶ Subandrio behaved rather awkward vis-a-vis the American emissary. When Bunker wanted to discuss the treatment of American diplomats in Jakarta the Indonesian Foreign Minister gave as his opinion that he considered it "*completely normal*" that gas and electricity in American homes in the capital had been cut off. Further, still while Bunker was in town Subandrio departed suddenly for Mecca and returned immediately after Bunker had left Jakarta; Dake II, p. 362.

⁷ Bunker Report to Johnson, Washington, April 23, 1965, etc.

⁸ Frederick Bunnell in his interesting article in: *Indonesia*, no. 50, 1990, titled: "*American 'Low Posture' Policy toward Indonesia in the Months Leading up to the 1965 'Coup'*"; p. 49 and note 94. Bunnell relates that according to one of the two Ambassadors present both were disappointed "*with the President's apparent lack of interest in Indonesia*".

⁹ Brands, p. 787.

*communists and extremists may be free to handle a confrontation, which they believe will come. . . .*¹⁰

Between May and August this recommendation was acted upon with the result that in the end, of the previous Embassy staff of four hundred only thirty-five remained.¹¹ One of the two military attaché's, Colonel Benson, who was known to enjoy excellent personal relations with the army command, specifically with Yani from a joint American military past, was sent back to the United States. The CIA station was henceforth to be manned by twelve persons. Of these, four were communications technicians while the remainder were analysts and operatives. Bernardo Hugh Tovar was in charge and Joe Lazarsky his nr 2.¹²

NO WIN SITUATION

Washington's "detached" attitude towards Indonesia was partly dictated by its concern about the war in South Vietnam. America simply did not want to be saddled with a new and intractable problem. In addition, disappointment with the attitude of Indonesia's Army Command grew. It became ever clearer to the Americans that, however great the danger of the country sliding into pre-communist chaos, Nasution and Yani would find it difficult to act, while Sukarno still played a role. Their loyalty to the Republic's first President, at least during the first four or five months of 1965, was still undivided.¹³ Over and above this, the military realised perfectly well, of course, that Sukarno could still call upon broad and massive political support.¹⁴

¹⁰ Bunker Report to Johnson, Washington, April 23, 1965, etc. Bunker here went against the policy the American Ambassador Howard Jones had favoured. A further withdrawal of the U.S. from Indonesia, Jones feared, would have been interpreted as a sign of weakness. Bunker dismissed this argument, invoking the bad shape the bilateral relations were in.

¹¹ Bunnell, p. 50 and note 101.

¹² Tempo, 4.10.1990, p. 28.

¹³ Bunker Report to Johnson, Washington, April 23, 1965, etc., p. 4: ". . . while other elements (i.e. Nasution, author), those traditionally more friendly to the United States, (are) advising that a period of disturbed relations lies ahead, that the United States should . . . maintain a posture that will permit a renewal of good relationships when conditions in Indonesia change".

¹⁴ Bunnell, pp. 35 and 36.

The dilemma for the United States was the following. Should Sukarno, in the short term, make further trouble the Americans saw problems:

*Unless the non-communist leaders display more backbone, effectiveness and unity than they have to date, the chances of eventual PKI dominance will quickly mount.*¹⁵

However, also when the opposite turned out to be the case and when Sukarno in the somewhat longer term were to disappear from the stage, the situation in their view would not be good:

*At this moment, no political force in Indonesia seems in a position clearly to dominate the scene on Sukarno's death. The PKI obviously is growing in strength and, given a few more years of Sukarno's protection, conceivably could be in a position to do so.*¹⁶

Or, to put it in other words, the longer Sukarno lives the better it is for the PKI and the worse for the army.¹⁷

As the year wore on the atmosphere at the Embassy in Jakarta did not grow any better. The new Ambassador, Green, who was believed to be following a harder line vis-à-vis Sukarno than his predecessor, said in August he still saw a useful role for the United States, but added:

*we basically aim at the post-Sukarno period.*¹⁸

He had not reached much beyond Dean Rusk's assesment at the beginning of the year:

*We probably cannot have much direct impact on Indonesian policy making through normal diplomatic exchange, as long as Sukarno is in control.*¹⁹

Also, he did not see at the moment any authoritative Indonesian politician daring publicly to turn against the President while, on the subject of the army, he wrote pessimistically:

*We also cannot realistically expect to have [decisive influence] on other power groups, such as the military, although it is important we maintain contact with them.*²⁰

¹⁵ CIA, Office of National Estimates, January 26, 1965, etc.

¹⁶ Bunker Report to Johnson; Bunnell, p. 44.

¹⁷ National Intelligence Memorandum, July 1, 1965, etc.

¹⁸ Cable from Green to State Department, August 23, 1965, etc.

¹⁹ Ibidem; Bunnell, p. 52.

²⁰ Bunnell, p. 52.

For George Ball this defeatist conclusion went rather too far. At the end of August, having received these reports from “the field”, he hastily summoned together a number of staff members who, to a man, asserted that “*there was (in Indonesia) not a single friendly element or favourable factor that could be effective, even if it were wise to seek to galvanise it.*” As a final precaution, Ball once again made a special appeal to the representative of the CIA, who was present at the meeting, in the following terms:

... (could) the Agency use its assets to reverse this trend in Indonesia?

The CIA-agent’s response was:

The Agency has no good assets in Indonesia and is unable to make much of an impact.

So Ball reached the conclusion that “*a far left, if not totally communist takeover there, on existing trends (was) only a matter of time.*”²¹

Despite the somewhat disheartened tone of the Indonesia specialists and other parties responsible on the US side, efforts were made to achieve as much as possible. For lack of anything better, emphasis was placed on two factors that seemed to offer some hope:

- the President’s reported ill health
- the army chiefs’ assumed readiness to go into action against the communists.

HOW ILL WAS THE PRESIDENT ANYWAY?

The actual or assumed state of health, or rather the diagnosis of Presidential illness, was being talked about continually as from the autumn of 1964.²² When Rusk, at the end of the year, met Subandrio

²¹ Indonesia, Crisis and Transformation 1965–1968, by Marshall Green, The Compass Press, Washington D.C., 1990, Foreword by William P. Bundy, p. xi.

²² See Appendix III: Sukarno’s State of Health. For other than physical complaints a critical observer pointed out Sukarno’s rather paranoid behaviour in the question of the so-called Gilchrist letter; see Dr B.Gunawan, Kudeta, Staatsgreep in Djakarta, Boom en Zoon, Meppel, 1968, p. 139. In the period from early 1965 up to October 1 Sukarno at various times shows he is afraid of a conspiracy of the CIA aimed at murdering him. Jones mentions this in February and again in March. To Jones’ idea “*to reassure Sukarno that CIA has no intent to kill him*” Jones receives an answer on March 13, 1965 from McGeorge Bundy of the Staff of the

in New York, the issue was the first item on the agenda. Subandrio told Rusk that “*an x-ray (had been) taken in Vienna some months ago*”.²³ After that there had been reports concerning various kinds of kidney stones, but the conclusion for the moment was as follows:

the concern over President Sukarno's health has in general disappeared.

Subandrio said.

Despite this, the subject came up again in January, in the course of a meeting between President Johnson and a number of members of the American Senate and House of Representatives. Rusk said upon this occasion:

*One new element is that knowledge of Sukarno's illnesses has become widely known and the succession problem is being discussed publicly in Indonesia.*²⁴

Later in the year, on August 18, another conversation took place between Rusk and a number of US senators. The Secretary of State began his briefing about the situation that would arise, if Sukarno were to disappear from the scene, remarking quite casually, “*it's rumoured that he has been quite ill recently . . .*”²⁵

Then on August 27, 1965 a telegram from the CIA's Jakarta station reached Washington, naming the source of the information sent as “*one of the Presidential aides attending the meeting (sic)*”. This report boiled down to saying that *at the end of July* Sukarno had become very ill and that his kidney condition had played up considerably. His doctors had ordered complete rest for him, since otherwise his life would have been seriously endangered. Sukarno had been unwilling to follow this advice and “*there is fear that he may die in the very near future*”, so the report.²⁶

NSC, etc.: “*I think it unwise for the (American, author) President to stoop to CIA-assassination fears. Sukarno is a psychopathic on this score and he has been assured, reassured and re-re-assured to no avail He seems to enjoy his deathwish . . .*”.

²³ Memorandum of Conversation, December 11, 1964, etc.; see also Appendix III.

²⁴ Memorandum of Conversation, January 23, 1965, etc.

²⁵ Memorandum of Conversation, August 18, 1965, etc.

²⁶ CIA, Intelligence Cable, August 27, 1965, etc.; Bunnell, p. 55. Green, in his book (see note 21), shows how this erroneous image of Sukarno's health has lingered on, unchecked. Green in 1990, 25 years later still sees it like this: “*Sukarno suffered from chronic kidney disease and other ailments that became acute during 1965, causing him to request the assistance of a team of Chinese doctors. The latter probably spread the word to PKI associates of the gravity of Sukarno's health conditions. Our Embassy has reported all this to Washington*”; note on p. 54. See Appendix III.

A good fortnight later it was reported to President Johnson, in a staff note from the National Security Council:

*We have solid new reports of Sukarno's deteriorating health.*²⁷

US EMBASSY BADLY INFORMED

It would appear from this, therefore, that during the first nine months of 1965, US diplomats—just like Sukarno's entourage, the army commanders and the PKI—had been concerned all along about Sukarno's health. At the same time, it appears that the Americans were not particularly well-informed about Sukarno's real problems. For example, there were Rusk's discussions with members of the Senate on August 18, when he especially dwelt on Sukarno's annual address on the occasion of Indonesia's National Day the day before. Sukarno had delivered that address in his old style and without a trace of illness. After this Rusk should have come to the conclusion that Sukarno's health was quite in order, but he continued to see the Indonesian President as "seriously ill".²⁸

In addition, the sudden deterioration of Sukarno's health on August 4—wrongly reported as having been "*in the last days of July*"—seems not to have trickled through to the CIA's Jakarta Bureau until August 27, a good three weeks later. On top of that it was presented only as "a rumour". Worse, and entirely in accordance with earlier occasions, the indisposition of Sukarno was associated with his kidney stones and not reported for what it really was, namely a slight stroke.

Still, in the event the story originating in a real incident of minor importance that took place on August 4 was blown up out of all proportions by the leadership of the PKI and especially through its secret bureau, the Biro Chusus, for reasons we have seen.²⁹ But the Americans had no clue.

²⁷ Memorandum National Security Council Staff, to President Johnson, September 14, 1965, etc.

²⁸ Memorandum of Conversation, August 18, 1965, etc.

²⁹ See above I.5. pp. 40–42. There is also a strange story to be found in an unsigned CIA field report, titled "*Indication of Sukarno's Critical Ill Health, October 2, 1965*", etc. It reflects a cryptic "last minute" piece of information, originating from the Indonesian Embassy in Bonn. It reads that the Embassy "*learned that on 30 September*

The result of so many unconfirmed stories and rumours was that most US Indonesia watchers meanwhile had begun to nod off on the job, when it came to talk of Sukarno's physical condition. Bunnell, for example, in his article on America's Indonesia policy wrote that "*experienced analysts in Washington had grown as sceptical of reports of Sukarno's health as they had of coup plots . . .*".³⁰ To the coup plots we shall be turning now.

TOO OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE WILLINGNESS OF INDONESIA'S ARMY CHIEFS TO GO INTO ACTION

Within the confines of the US policy framework for 1965 as described here—a rather pessimistic view that a communist takeover in the long run was probable and the continuing alledged poor state of health of Indonesia's President—there was room for various coup scenarios or coup options.

What usually happened was that, on the US side, one or other Indonesian Army coup was assumed to be prepared. The wish being father to the thought, it was considered to become necessary to anticipate such a coup. James Bell, the US Ambassador in Kuala Lumpur, dreamed up one of the very first coup options. Bell wanted to get away from Sukarno's Malaysia Confrontation and was convinced that Indonesia's Army Chiefs ought to be given a clear signal: if a dispute between the army and the PKI would break out, Malaysia and Great Britain would not be making any wrongful use of the situation.³¹ Nothing came of this option, as the army did not want to move.

the chiefs of the Indonesian general staff, including generals Yani, Parman, Subranto (sic), Ardahani (sic) and others met in Jakarta to decide what to do in the event president Sukarno was incapacitated. At the time of the meeting Sukarno was reportedly very sick. The attempted revolt occurred before any decision could be reached". See also Bunnell, p. 58 and note 144. The information from the Indonesian Embassy in Bonn can—in hindsight—only be seen as an attempt to give the impression that the army leadership on September 30 was ganging up against Sukarno, because of his illness and his possible complete collapse. Whoever in Bonn put out this rumour—there was as we know not a grain of truth in the story—probably had in mind to provide additional "proof" that the declarations and the acts by the Untung Group—confronting the "Council of Generals"—were solidly based on facts: army generals conspiring against the President.

³⁰ Bunnell, note 135.

³¹ Cable from Ambassador James Bell to State Department, January 9, 1965, etc.

The next coup option raised its head a bit later. This time it was the turn of Jones, the American Ambassador in Jakarta, to come up with a report on a conversation with an “*unidentified informant*”. Bunnell considered the informant was “*most likely a high-level Indonesian officer from SUAD, very possibly Army Commander Yani himself*”.³² The secret information concerned “*the current state of army coup plans*”.³³

The interesting thing about this conversation between Jones and his highly-placed military informant is that it took place one week after the army generals met on January 13. At that meeting Nasution’s and Yani’s followers closed ranks and decided, in highly informal fashion of course, to tackle the PKI more sternly, especially after proposals regarding a so-called “*Fifth Force*” had been mooted.³⁴

The Embassy saw here an opening for the United States “*to stimulate the anti-communist army to take quick and firm action against the PKI, an action necessarily involving some form of coup d’état, whether with or without Sukarno’s acquiescence*”.³⁵

Jones regarded such a coup option rather optimistically since, as he put it “*discontent in the army (is) on the rise*”.³⁶ However, for the time being, no follow up on the part of Indonesia’s army was to be seen or heard.

In April, it seems, again a coup option cropped up. At the very last moment, just before he was due to return to the US, Jones informed William Bundy, the Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs, as follows:

I am privy to plans for a coup here and write to inform you of the possibility.

He added:

To play safe I informed my contact that the US government can in no way participate in any effort of this kind. I nevertheless conveyed clearly my own sympathy with his objectives.

³² Cable from Ambassador Howard Jones to State Department, January 21, 1965, etc.; Bunnell, p. 36. SUAD is the abbreviation of General Staff. It could also have been Nasution, a bit euphoric after the get-together of 13 January 1965; see Appendix I.

³³ Bunnell, p. 36.

³⁴ See above Appendix I, p. 186. Bunnell writes: “*The Chief of Staff, general Yani, and a like minded General Staff (SUAD), had in the meantime just joined with Defense Minister Naution and other officers in the military elite to constitute a Council of Generals to develop contingency plans for dealing with the mounting PKI threat*”; Bunnell, pp. 34 and 35. About a different interpretation of the “Council of Generals” see Appendix II.

³⁵ Bunnell, p. 34.

³⁶ Brands, p. 798.

The information came from “*a personal contact with one of the leaders of the coup group, that represents important civil and military elements*”.³⁷

On May 24, after Jones had left Indonesia, he sent a telegram to the State Department from Bangkok saying “*plans referred to in my letter maturing slowly,*” adding:

*earlier, it appeared as though some action against Sukarno government might be attempted, while he was out of the country, within the next weeks. This, it now transpires, will not happen, because people involved have not been able to move fast enough.*³⁸

So, once again, an unrealistic coup scenario came to naught.

We have to wait until the end of August before the next report of a coup option turns up. Its source was said to be “*close to the CIA station*”, providing a “*highly reliable*” intelligence report. According to this report “*at least some leaders of the PKI were plotting with Sukarno’s junior officers, to pre-empt a widely rumoured coup by the Army’s Council of Generals*”.³⁹

This scenario was not confirmed and on top of that it was not the script that the Americans in Washington or Jakarta at all had in mind. So it was discarded by the US Embassy to their later chagrin, as it turned out to be the very coup option that was rooted in reality.

Instead the American policymakers stuck to their notion that Sukarno really was in a bad way: “*he may die in the very near future*” as a report of the CIA station in Jakarta to Washington stated on August 27.⁴⁰ So by concentrating on Sukarno’s alleged ill health the American diplomats completely missed their cue and were betting on the wrong horse, probably just as the PKI leadership had wished them to do.

³⁷ Editorial Note, April 23, 1965, etc.

³⁸ National Archives and Records Administration, RG 59, Central Files 1964–1966, Per Jones Howard P.

³⁹ Bunnell mentions this: Bunnell, note 137. In 1989 Bunnell talked to the author of the report that is not referred to in any published CIA-report and therefore counts as “*unconfirmed*”. This is strange, as the source put out a correct story. On 28 August, we have seen, the PKI Poliburo decided to join forces with the Untung Group, launching in fact the 30 September Movement. Maybe the CIA later wanted to keep this report from being discussed publicly, rightfully fearing that then the question would be raised what the CIA station in Jakarta had done or rather not had done with this piece of highly explosive information.

⁴⁰ CIA, Intelligence Information Cable, January 27, 1965, etc.

So the most important government specialist on the Far East, James Thompson, attached at the time to the staff of the National Security Council in Washington, was also barking determinedly up an old and wrong tree, when he emphasised on September 10 in a memorandum to Undersecretary of State William Bundy, that he was “*playing for the long-term stakes*”.⁴¹

So the State Department and the Jakarta Embassy, only a few days before the Untung coup in the early morning of October 1, were still assuming that sooner or later Sukarno would no longer be playing a role and that, in a confrontation with the PKI the army would gain the upper hand. It seems that the “coup option” that the Americans were reckoning with was a mixture of wrong intelligence and wishful thinking and therefore without any foundation in facts. No wonder the real scenario, that of the 30 September Movement, took the US Embassy and a fortiori Washington completely by surprise.

INSIDE THE US EMBASSY

Francis Galbraith who from 1963 to the end of 1965 was the Embassy’s Minister Counsellor, came up in 1976 with his own view of events on that particular October 1 day as follows:

*I remember . . . the morning we woke up and found the troops in front of the Embassy, between our Embassy and the Palace, who were Communist-led troops and I can tell you that it was as big a surprise to us in the Embassy as it was to a lot of other people. It was really a weird time.*⁴²

The third man in the US embassy in Jakarta, Edward Masters, reported also that the events, which occurred in the early morning of October 1, took him and his colleagues completely by surprise:

*(He) drove to work on the morning of October 1 and encountered roadblocks and a flurry of unusual military activity—he at first thought Sukarno had died or become incapacitated. For several hours that remained the impression of the American country team.*⁴³

⁴¹ Memorandum from Thomson to William Bundy, September 10, 1965, etc.; Bunnell, p. 56 and note 137.

⁴² Hearings of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 1975–1976, US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1976, p. 164.

⁴³ Brands, p. 801, quoting Masters.

Piece by piece, the Embassy's staff managed to assemble the jigsaw of events. An initial reaction in the form of a telegram from Jakarta to President Johnson at 7.20 a.m. on October 1—Indonesian local time 21.20—reported what it called “*a power move which may have far-reaching implications*”.⁴⁴ In a rapid reaction meant to interpret the “power move”, the telegram then states:

It seems likely that Sukarno knew in advance of the movement and its intention.

A memorandum dated 9.30 a.m. October 1 in Washington—about midnight still that same day in Jakarta—quoted the text of a telephone conversation between the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, George Ball and the Minister of Defence, Robert McNamara, as follows.

*The PKI Headquarters seem to be going ahead without any strain and the people we have depended on in the Army are under house arrest or have been shot. It is not a healthy situation on its present appearance.*⁴⁵

Then at 15.15—in Indonesia 05.15 in the morning of October 2—Ball telephoned his boss, Secretary of State Dean Rusk for the second time that day, to tell him “*there has been a counter coup led by Nasution which would mean bringing back Sukarno in some way*”.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, in Washington, a report had also come in to the effect that Jakarta radio station “*had been re-taken.*”

Untung had asserted that the CIA was sponsoring the Council of Generals and Ball asked the CIA's Director of Operations, Richard Helms, *are we in a position where we can categorically deny CIA involvement in operations in the Indonesia situation?* Helms' answer was:

*Yes. He had been in touch with Rayborn by phone and had gotten his permission to identify with Helms in denying it, so they are solidly lined up.*⁴⁷

An examination of the documents show that Rusk, Ball and McNamara did not know much about the situation neither had they some forewarning. Indeed, the reverse was true. Ball f.i. asked “McNamara's people” whether there were any ships in the neighbourhood:

⁴⁴ Memorandum for President Johnson, Washington, October 1, 1965, 7.20 a.m. etc.

⁴⁵ Memorandum of Telephone Conversation, Washington, October 1, 1965, 9.30 a.m., etc.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, note 2, where reference is made to the (second) talk Rusk-Ball of that day, taking place at 15.15 p.m.

⁴⁷ Ibidem. This was Admiral ret. William Raborn, then the—rather hapless—Director of the CIA, soon to be replaced by Helms.

*Perhaps we should talk to the British and the Australians about putting some aircraft into Singapore in the event we have to take some people out. We have a couple of thousand Americans throughout the islands.*⁴⁸

Ball had turned to foreign affairs specialist Senator William Fullbright about the situation. The upshot of their conversation was:

Ball and Fullbright agreed they could not depend on any Indonesian.

WHICH SUHARTO IT IS?

Until late on October 2, Indonesian time, all discussions in Washington focussed on Nasution being America's "*best bet*". It was not until noon in the morning of October 3 that the name Suharto fell for the first time. There ensued a telephone conversation between Rusk and Ball, in which Ball talked about "*definite indications that the Army is under the command of General Suharto and that, from this point of view, it doesn't look too bad*".

This brought in its train a request that the CIA should issue an intelligence memorandum about Suharto's background. Apparently, none was as yet ready.⁴⁹ What is more, it appeared that there were quite a number of "General Suharto's" in the higher echelons of the army. In the beginning American diplomats even took up contact with a "Suharto" who turned out to be the wrong one.⁵⁰

On October 5, Army Day in Jakarta and likewise the day on which the victims of the October 1 affair were buried, US Ambassador, Marshall Green, sent a telegram to the State Department in Washington setting out his first thoughts concerning the coup. He wrote as follows:⁵¹

- Avoid overt involvement as power struggle unfolds.
- Covertly, however, indicate clearly to key people in army such as Nasution and Suharto our desire to be of assistance where we can,

⁴⁸ Ibidem.

⁴⁹ Brands, p. 801: "*The CIA's research bureau was hard-pressed to produce a biographical sketch of the general*".

⁵⁰ Ibidem. According to Brands the military attaché, colonel Willis Ethel, knew at least someone who was an aide to the Kostrad-Suharto.

⁵¹ Telegram from Embassy in Indonesia to Department of State, October 5, 1965, 1435Z, etc.

while at same time conveying to them our assumption that we should avoid appearance of involvement or interference in any way.

- Maintain and, if possible, extend our contact with military. Avoid moves that might be interpreted as vote of non-confidence in army, such as precipitately moving out our dependants or cutting staff.
- Spread the story of the PKI's guilt, treachery and brutality (this priority effort is, perhaps, most needed immediate assistance we can give army, if we can find way to do it without identifying it as solely, or largely, a US effort).

There followed a few further suggestions for Washington.

On the same day another telegram from the Embassy in Jakarta read that "*the Embassy reported on the implications of the unsuccessful September 30 coup, suggesting that Army had an opportunity to move against the PKI*". The Embassy added:

*It's now or never, the agony of ridding Indonesia of the effect of Sukarno and Nasakom has begun, but it would be wrong to assume the process will be over easily or quickly.*⁵²

On the subject of Suharto a lengthy report on the events on and subsequent to October 1 stated:

*Suharto, long regarded as apolitical and possibly an opportunist, emerges in the present situation as a strong military leader and apparently a firm anti-Communist.*⁵³

It is interesting to note what this first and rather lengthy CIA analysis of the October 1 coup has to say about Aidit. Referring to the well known article in *Harian Rakjat* of October 2, expressing support for the 30 September Movement,⁵⁴ the text runs as follows:

*Despite *Harian Rakjat*'s brief espousal of the movement, it does not seem likely that Party Chairman Aidit would have approved the murder of the generals or even the change of government. The Indonesian situation, both foreign and domestic, was highly favourable to the Communists and—barring Sukarno's immediate death—showed every sign of becoming progressively so. Possibly, a few militant members*

⁵² Telegram from Embassy in Indonesia to Department of State, October 5, 1965, 0405Z, etc.

⁵³ Intelligence Memorandum, October 6, 1965, etc.

⁵⁴ *Harian Rakjat*, 2.10.1965, being published late in the afternoon of October 1st gave in an editorial full support for the coup: "... we the people, who are conscious of the policy and duties of the revolution, are convinced of the correctness of the action taken by the September 30th Movement. ..."

of the Central Committee approved the plan—future internal party developments may so indicate.

So this CIA report gives no indication whatsoever, that Aidit had done exactly what Harijan Rakjat had done and what the CIA did not believe of the PKI chairman: espousing the 30 September Movement, but not just for a “brief” period, but for the full hundred percent.

TWO OPINIONS ABOUT CIA INVOLVEMENT

Much has been written about a direct involvement of the US, and in this case the CIA, in what happened on October 1, 1965 in Indonesia. As an illustration of this sort of opinion we give below a short sketch of the thinking of two authors, who have devoted their attention at length to this aspect of the 30 September Movement. They are a Dutchman, Professor W.F. Wertheim, formerly attached to Amsterdam University, and a Canadian, Professor Peter Dale Scott, attached at one time to the University of California, Berkeley.

Let us first take Wertheim, who as a result of his sojourn in Indonesia during and after World War II had developed a very close relationship with the country, and has devoted special attention to the events of October 1. He firmly held the view that Suharto himself had set up both the coup and the counter coup.⁵⁵ In 1979 he referred in an article in the *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, to possible outside influence in the October 1 affair. He said:

*... nor do we know for sure whether there were foreign secret services pulling the strings behind the Indonesian military people involved. It has been repeatedly asserted that the CIA may have provided the brains behind the complicated plot. This is certainly not impossible, if one bears in mind the role which the Agency has played in the overthrow of other third world governments under similar circumstances.*⁵⁶

⁵⁵ See Appendix V: Suharto and the 30 September Movement, p. 254.

⁵⁶ *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 1979 (2), p. 210. “*Repeatedly asserted*” is a term often used and rather hard to verify but meant to inspire confidence in the reader that the assertion is a correct one. And there is always a lot to “*assert*”. See f.i. the sources Wertheim uses: prof. Benedict Anderson and prof. Ruth McVey, both at the time connected with Cornell University, writing in the *New York Review of Books* of June 1, 1978. They adduce no old or new facts making plausible the “*asserted*” role of the CIA, but nevertheless Wertheim brings them in as experts.

He then mentions some examples to strengthen his hunch: Mossadeq in Iran in 1954 and Allende in Chile in 1973. In effect, in those cases the CIA was involved, so why not in Jakarta in 1965 removing Sukarno? However, beyond this “*guilt by association*” nothing much is produced by Wertheim to support his views.

Dale Scott dealt with the subject in an article in the magazine *Pacific Affairs* under the title “*The United States and the Overthrow of Sukarno, 1965–1967.*” The conclusion is very outspoken.⁵⁷ It boils down to placing, just as Wertheim does, the responsibility for the Untung coup squarely on Suharto, only this time in more detail. Dale Scott postulates that the 30 September Movement was instigated by Suharto in order to make sure that the so-called centrists—neither right nor left leaning generals—like general Yani and five other members of the General Staff would be eliminated in order to further Suharto’s own career.

Dale Scott thus claims that Suharto and Nasution belonged to a “right wing” of army generals in office at the time. In the meeting of the two “clans” on January 13, 1965, according to Dale Scot, not only Nasution but also Suharto played—then already—an important role.⁵⁸ In this view, by manipulating Untung Suharto is alleged to have found it very easy to launch his own counter coup, while laying the blame for it at the door of the PKI. In doing all this, Suharto was said to have enjoyed the support and cooperation of the United States and the CIA. In short, as Dale Scott writes:

In other words, Gestapu i.e. the 30 September Movement, was only the first phase of a three-phase right-wing coup that had been both publicly and secretly assisted by US spokesmen and officials.

The problem with Dale Scot’s version is that it contains any number of mistakes.

First, following in Wertheim’s footsteps Dale Scott asserts that the CIA’s covert operations directed against Allende in 1970 unfolded in accordance with what he calls the *Jakarta scenario*. Briefly, the agency wanted both Allende and Sukarno to be toppled, therefore intrigued in the background with army chiefs to have their own protégés, Pinochet and Suharto, installed enabling the agency to bask

⁵⁷ *Pacific Affairs*, 58, Summer 1985.

⁵⁸ See Appendix II, pp. 201 ff.

in innocence. Again a weak and unsubstantiated case of “guilt by association”.

Secondly, Dale Scott asserts that the CIA was the helpful mastermind behind Suharto’s takeover of power on October 1, 1965 and that the US, counter to international law and civilised behaviour, had intervened in the internal affairs of Indonesia at the time. On this score, as we have seen, Dale Scott’s stance simply lacks any kind of proof, or better: the opposite can be concluded, i.e. that the US government including the CIA were caught completely by surprise.

The third weak point in Dale Scott’s argument is that he draws no distinction between the events leading up to and including October 1 on the one hand, and the 1965–66 bloodbath on the other. For both phases he asserts that the CIA was involved, and unnecessarily weakens his case as to the post-October 1 period.

Fact is that the United States gave the Suharto group in the wake of the coup and counter coup some material support, be it on a small scale. Dale Scot makes a lot of this and then proceeds to render the Americans directly responsible for the mass murders in Central and Eastern Java and on Bali that followed the events of October 1 and after. This is a case of overreaching himself and undermining the fair points he makes. There is everything in favour of that dreadful semi-civil war at last being investigated and described by independent historians. But such an inquiry is not helped in any way by treating that part of Indonesia’s recent history with so little regard for facts as Dale Scott does.⁵⁹

THIRD PARTY ASSESSMENT OF THE CIA AND THE UNTUNG COUP

We have already said that George Ball immediately demanded a statement from the Director of the CIA that the organisation had nothing to do with the October 1 affair. This is not surprising and

⁵⁹ There have been of course a number of others than Wertheim and Dale Scott, writing about the October 1 episode and ascribing all sorts of things to the CIA. Most often arguments were given that were used by many other commentators already earlier. Or they kept quoting each other. Or they lapsed into insinuations. An example of the latter is May: “*The CIA had been busy in Indonesia for a long time; a congressional committee reported in April 1976 that it had studied CIA ‘efforts to undermine Sukarno in Indonesia’. Such was America’s blindness to its own interests at that time that no action which smashed the Peking-Jakarta axis would have seemed too ruthless or too costly*”; Brian May, *The Indonesian Tragedy*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1978, p. 127.

the fact that Ball got his statement does not, of course, constitute any kind of proof, that the agency really was not involved.

Quite a different angle regarding CIA influence in Indonesia was adopted by the CIA at the request of Walt Rostow, the successor of McGeorge Bundy as National Security Advisor to the President. The inquiry dealt with the question whether during the years 1964–1965 the hard line of the US in Vietnam had strengthened the position of the Indonesian army politically. The answer was no:

*What happened there (in Indonesia) originated there—the Indonesian army's rise to power had evolved purely from a complex and long-standing political situation.*⁶⁰

US diplomats in office in Jakarta during the period in question such as the Ambassador Marshall Green, Minister Counsellor Galbraith and Counsellor Masters made similar statements. For instance Green:

*The events of 1 October 1965 came as a complete surprise to us.*⁶¹

More weight can be attributed to a number of independent publicists who have given special attention to the role of the United States and the CIA in the October 1 affair. So Subritzky writes:

*To what extent the security services were implicated in the 30 September Movement remains unclear (.). On the basis of presently (2000, author) declassified material there is nothing to suggest that the (British) SIS (Security Intelligence Service) or the CIA influenced either the Untung initiative or Suharto's response. Indeed, the weight of historical literature places emphasis on domestic Indonesian politics, especially the bitter rivalry between the Army and the PKI, as the main reason for the explosive events of 1 October 1965.*⁶²

Bunnell comes to the following conclusion:

*Washington's policy toward Indonesia in 1965, then, exhibited not only a generally astute sense of the limits of American power, but also a taste for covert action and insensitivity to professed American moral standards. Consistent efforts to accelerate and fuel the long-anticipated showdown between the Army and the PKI do not, however, establish the US as the prime instigator of either the abortive coup or the Indonesian massacres in the fall of 1965.*⁶³

⁶⁰ Richard Helms (meanwhile promoted to Director of the CIA, author) to Rostow, May 13, 1966, etc.

⁶¹ Elson, p. 126.

⁶² John Subritzky, *Confronting Sukarno, British, American, Australian and New Zealand Diplomacy in the Malaysian-Indonesian Confrontation*, Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000, p. 175.

⁶³ Bunnell, p. 60. Bunnell is of the opinion that the U.S. has been what he calls "surely an important and witting accomplice". One must assume that this description can

Brands has, as have many other researchers, taken a great deal from the original documents now released, the source being the Lyndon Johnson Library. In a reference to the bloodbath of 1965/1966 mentioned in these documents, he states the following.

The story they tell of the crucial period between the autumn of 1965 and the end of 1965 does not make edifying reading, but does render largely untenable the notion that Sukarno's demise and the accompanying blood bath originated in the USA.

He issues what would appear to be a further warning to US readers:

The United States did not overthrow Sukarno and was not responsible for the hundreds of thousands of deaths in the liquidation of the PKI.⁶⁴

The relative non-involvement of the United States in Sukarno's fall would be a non-story, except that the myth of American responsibility has proved so hardy. Its survival is largely the result of American covert activities in other places and at other times.⁶⁴

CONCLUSION

First of all, a caveat. The summary that follows here will confine itself *solely to the question of the US role, and more particularly that of the CIA, in the October 1 affair*. So subsequent events that had their origin in that affair, but whose dramatic course unfolded in the wake of the crushed Untung coup—between the end of 1965 and during a great deal of 1966—are not dealt with here. A fortiori, therefore, the United States' and the CIA's role during that later period is left out of account here.

Thanks to the course of times a great deal of light can be shed upon the United States' attitude towards Indonesia in the period 1964–1965. More especially the release of documents on the American side via the Freedom of Information Act has been instrumental in providing political historians with new insights.

However, despite many fresh data that became available nothing has come to light to prove or even to suggest that the United States Government or the CIA as its executive arm actually did have any-

also apply only to the assistance the U.S. has provided Suharto and the army after the coup and the "counter-coup".

⁶⁴ Brands, pp. 808 and 806; See also: Memorandum for William Bundy: the New Year in Asia, from James C. Thomson and D.W. Ropa.

thing to do with covert operations such as attempts on the life of the President of Indonesia, masterminding the October 1 coup or helping Suharto's so-called counter coup on that same day. Rather the opposite is the case, as we have seen already.

The most fervent opponents of the Suharto regime, most of whom also suspect the United States and the CIA of having been involved in the October 1 affair, have not been able to come up in the course of all these years with any old or indeed any new facts supportive of their thesis. Two examples of such authors, Wertheim and Dale Scott, we have already dealt with above more in detail.

Documented reflections on exactly what happened in terms of Indonesian and American relations up to the Untung coup have been treated by a few independent and serious commentators such as for instance Bunnell and Brands. They have concluded on the basis of their extensive research that the United States was not the "*prime instigator*" of the Untung coup and that the United States "*did not overthrow Sukarno.*"

Equal importance the author attaches to the preceding overall examination of the best sources available on the course of events between the end of 1964 and October 1, 1965. In short this results in the following assessment:

It hardly needs to be demonstrated that the United States was not exactly charmed, to put it mildly, by Sukarno's anti-western political stance or by the increasing influence of the PKI. However, at the same time it has been established that, in fact, the United States from an early point in time had resigned itself to the great likelihood that Indonesia might well land up in communist waters. Already at the beginning of 1965 this was expressed by Dean Rusk and this pessimistic outlook did not change in the course of the year. It might even have become more pronounced.

A key factor in this "neglect" of Indonesia on Washington's part was the preoccupation of the Johnson administration with the military conflict in Vietnam. Attention devoted to Indonesia could never lead and indeed never actually did lead, to any positive policy decision. At best, there were reactions to events.

This policy could be characterised by a certain mood of despondency and resulted mainly in negative decisions, such as the drastic reduction in presence and visibility of American institutions and personnel. In this respect it is significant that between May and August 1965 the size of the CIA station was reduced to a bare minimum.

If the US had wanted to do anything drastic of a covert nature in the run up to October 1, they hardly would have sent away most of their CIA operatives and their two most experienced military attaché's, as has been the case.

There is no doubt therefore that the quality of intelligence about what really happened on the eve of the October 1 affair in Indonesia, and more specifically in Jakarta, suffered severely from the reduction in the number of US staff in the preceding months. So the skeleton staff of operatives left in the Indonesian capital and here and there in the countryside, turned out to have been working at a level too low to be acceptable for a secret service of one of the two or three major world powers at the time.

A telling example of this is what the Americans thought they knew about the politically sensitive presidential state of health. In both Jakarta and Washington, whenever the general political situation in Indonesia came up for discussion, attention focussed on Sukarno's kidneys etc. No wonder American specialists on Indonesia were "tiring" somewhat of the theme and loosing focus.

Thanks to that unwarranted preoccupation a myth could grow up to the effect that Sukarno was more or less permanently on the brink of death. The President himself, a notorious hypochondriac, fed the flames of this myth, while in his entourage others, among them that arch-schemer Subandrio who saw himself as Sukarno's successor, perceived advantages in further promoting this picture.

The PKI too, at first afraid of the real possibility that Sukarno, their mainstay, might prematurely disappear from the scene, began to develop an interest in feeding the rumours of the Indonesian President's imminent death. To the outside world the PKI leadership pushed the idea of a Council of Generals with evil intentions, plotting to engineer Sukarno's dethronement, sooner or later.

In this game, which consisted of confounding everyone as much as possible and of placing in circulation completely wrong, partly wrong or altogether fabricated information, the CIA—just like for that matter the Indonesian army's own intelligence service—was heavily at a disadvantage compared to the PKI. So for instance the fact that the CIA was not aware of the real nature of Sukarno's—temporary as it turned out to be—indisposition at the beginning of August is a sign that the CIA station in Jakarta was not on the ball really in the summer of 1965. And as far as they came up at the

end of August with an extremely relevant story—the PKI plotting with junior officers in order to preempt a Council of Generals—nobody in the CIA station or in the Embassy took note or gave it thoughts.

While events of an acute nature were lurking under their nose so to say, the Americans stuck to their long term view that Sukarno at some moment in the future would fade away and with God's help the Indonesian Army then would take care of the communists.

Clinching this all is what happened on the American side during the initial episode unfolding in the early hours of October 1. None of the American diplomats or operatives seem to have known of Suharto or of his potential key position in the military machine. They even at first went after the wrong “General Suharto”. Then, right up to October 3 they were still talking about Nasution as their “best bet”, when that general had already for some days been completely out of the loop. Further they showed signs to entertain the idea that what Nasution did was trying to protect the President. And finally comes the American comment on PKI Chairman Aidit's position, seen by them as a man obviously never so stupid as to involve his party in a coup as was being enacted before their eyes on Merdeka Square.

Summing up:

- First, there is serious proof that, early on the morning of October 1, the US Embassy knew nothing of what had really taken place in Jakarta in the course of the previous weeks and in particular during the past night.
- It is further clear that US policy towards Indonesia was based on a certain “neglect”, on faulty or deficient intelligence and on assumptions that precluded any effective short term diplomatic role those early days of October.
- A fortiori one can conclude that it was out of the question that the CIA or whatever secret American organization could have been instrumental to, let alone behind, the coup or the counter coup of the 1 October.
- Finally, the responsible officials of the CIA at the time must have been crossing their fingers that Johnson and company were up to their ears with Vietnam, preventing them from discovering the CIA's total incompetence regarding Indonesia.

So it could come to pass that James Thompson, then one of the leading Indonesian specialists in Washington and attached to a key policy institution, the National Security Council, has described the situation in which the United States landed itself in Indonesia in the wake of the 1 October affair as “*our undeserved accident of 30th September*”.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Memorandum for Mr Bundy: The New Year in Asia, from James Thomson and D.W. Ropa, January 7, 1966.

APPENDIX VII

DOCUMENTS

- A. Written statement of Brigadier General Sugandhi (November 6, 1966)
- B. Statements of the September 30th Movement (October 1, 1965)
- C. Statements by the Indonesian Air Force (October 1 and 2, 1965)
- D. Statements by President Sukarno and the Cakrabirawa Regiment (October 1–14, 1965)
- E. Statements by the Indonesian Army Leadership (between October 1, 1965 and November 12, 1965)
- F. Statements by the Indonesian Communist Party (October 1, 1965)
- G. Letter from Oejeng Soewargana to Ambassador Soedjatmoko (June 27, 1971)

A. WRITTEN STATEMENT BY BRIGADIER GENERAL SUGANDHI DATED NOVEMBER 6, 1966

(. . .) on September 27, 1965, (. . .) I met Sudisman and I asked him the following:

Sugandhi: Man [abbreviation for Sudisman], what is going on with all these preparations and digging of wells in the villages?

Sudisman: Never mind, you just join us.

Sugandhi: That is impossible, Man. I cannot possibly join the PKI, because I am a religious person.

Sudisman: If you do not want to, it is because you have already been indoctrinated by Nasution.

Shortly afterward D.N. Aidit arrived and asked me the following:

Aidit: Bung [brother], are you still of reactionary persuasion? Have you talked with Sudisman? We will start in two or three days. Bung Karno [Sukarno] knows all this. It would be better if you join us.

Sugandhi: Sudisman already talked to me, but I do not want to join the PKI. Does the PKI indeed wants to stage a

coup? I have my own doctrine, which is the Soldier's Oath [Sapta Marga].

Aidit: Bung, do not say coup, that is an evil word. The term we use is to improve the revolution which has been subverted by the Council of Generals. We will start within two to three days. Will you join us or not? I have already informed Bung Karno about all this.

(. . .) On September 30, 1965, at approximately 9.30 a.m. I went to the palace and met the president. (. . .) We had the following conversation:

Sugandhi: Pak [father], the PKI is going to stage a coup. Does Bapak [father] know about this? I have been contacted myself by Sudisman and Aidit.

Sukarno: Don't be a communist-phobe (in an angry tone of voice). Don't you know about the Council of Generals? Don't you know the useless generals? Be careful when you talk.

Sugandhi: If there are useless generals, why don't you just dismiss them, Pak. Bapak has the authority.

Sukarno: Don't you interfere. Shut up. You have been indoctrinated by Nasution, isn't it?

Sugandhi: It is true, Pak, there is no Council of Generals, Pak Yani said so himself. Isn't Pak Yani a very loyal man, who may be called your right hand?

Sukarno: Don't talk too much. Don't meddle. Don't you know that according to Thomas Carlyle in a revolution a father can eat his own children? Don't you know?

Sugandhi: Oh my! In that case Bapak must have joined the PKI.

Sukarno: Shut up, or I will slap you at once. Go home, and be careful.

Subsequently I left the palace (. . .)

Source: Soegiarso Soerojo, page 514–517.

B. STATEMENTS OF THE SEPTEMBER 30TH MOVEMENT

[All translations are based on Indonesian texts found in *Antara* (*Warta Berita*), October 1 (afternoon edition) and *Harian Rakjat*, October 2.]

1. *Initial Statement of Lieutenant Colonel Untung*

(Text as broadcast over the Djakarta radio at approximately 7:15 a.m. on the morning of October 1.)

On Thursday, September 30, 1965, a military move took place within the Army in the capital city of Djakarta which was aided by troops from other branches of the Armed Forces. The September 30th Movement, which is led by Lieutenant Colonel Untung, Commandant of a Battalion of the Tjakrabirawa, the personal body-guard of President Sukarno, is directed against Generals who were members of the self-styled Council of Generals. A number of Generals have been arrested and important communications media and other vital installations have been placed under the control of the September 30th Movement, while President Sukarno is safe under its protection. Also a number of other prominent leaders in society, who had become targets of the action by the Council of Generals, are under the protection of the September 30th Movement.

The Council of Generals is a subversive movement sponsored by the CIA and has been very active lately, especially since President Sukarno was seriously ill in the first week of August of this year. Their hope that President Sukarno would die of his illness has not materialized.

Therefore, in order to attain its goal the Council of Generals had planned to conduct a show of force (*machtvertoon*) on Armed Forces Day, October 5 this year, by bringing troops from East, Central and West Java. With this large concentration of military power the Council of Generals had even planned to carry out a counter-revolutionary coup prior to October 5, 1965. It was to prevent such a counter-revolutionary coup that Lieutenant Colonel Untung launched the September 30th Movement which has proved a great success.

According to a statement obtained from Lieutenant Colonel Untung, the Commandant of the September 30th Movement, this movement is solely a movement within the Army directed against the Council of Generals which has stained the name of the Army and harbored evil designs against the Republic of Indonesia and President Sukarno. Lieutenant Colonel Untung personally considers this movement as an obligation for him as a member of the Tjakrabirawa which has the duty to protect the President and the Republic of Indonesia.

The Commandant of the September 30th Movement further explained that the action already taken against the Council of Generals

in Djakarta will be followed by actions throughout Indonesia against agents and sympathizers of the Council of Generals in the regions. According to the statement of the Commandant of the September 30th Movement, as a follow-up action, an Indonesian Revolution Council will be established in the capital, while in the regions Provincial, District, Sub-District, and Village Revolution Councils will be established. Members of the Revolution Council will be composed of civilians and military personnel who fully support the September 30th Movement.

Political parties, mass organizations, newspapers, and periodicals may continue functioning, provided that within a time period which will be specified later they declare their loyalty to the Indonesian Revolution Council.

The Indonesian Revolution Council which will be established by the September 30th Movement will consistently carry out the *Pantia Azimat Revolusi*, the decisions of the MPRS, the decisions of the DPR-GR, and the decisions of the DPA. The Indonesian Revolution Council will not change the Indonesian foreign policy, which is free and active and anti-nekolim, for the sake of peace in Southeast Asia and in the world. Also there will be no change of policy with regard to the Second Afro-Asian Conference and Conefo, as well as the confrontation against Malaysia; and KIAPMA, along with other international activities which have been scheduled to take place in Indonesia, will be held as planned.

As Commandant of the September 30th Movement, Lt. Colonel Untung called on the entire Indonesian people to continue to increase vigilance and fully assist the September 30th Movement in order to safeguard the Indonesian Republic from the wicked deeds of the Council of Generals and its agents, so that the Message of the People's Suffering can be fulfilled in the true sense of the word.

Lt. Colonel Untung appealed to all Army officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers to be resolute and to act to eradicate completely the influence of the Council of Generals and its agents in the Army. Power-mad Generals and officers who have neglected the lot of their men and who above the accumulated sufferings of their men have lived in luxury, led a gay life, insulted our women and wasted government funds, must be kicked out of the Army and punished accordingly. The Army is not for generals, but is the possession of all the soldiers of the Army who are loyal to the ideals of the revolution of August 1945. Lt. Colonel Untung thanked

all troops of the Armed Forces outside the Army for their assistance in the purging of the Army and hoped that purges also will be carried out in the other branches of the Armed Forces against agents and sympathizers of the Council of Generals. Within a short time Commandant Lt. Colonel Untung will announce the First Decree concerning the Indonesian Revolution Council; other decrees will follow.

Djakarta, September 30, 1965.

Information Section of the September 30th Movement, as broadcast over the Indonesian Radio in Djakarta.

2. "*Decree No. 1 on the Establishment of the Indonesian Revolution Council*"

(Text as read over the Djakarta radio at approximately 2:00 p.m., October 1.)

In the interest of the State of the Indonesian Republic, in the interest of safeguarding the implementation of the *Pantjasila* and the *Pansja Azimat Revolusi* completely, in the interest of the safety of the Army and of the Armed Forces in general, at midnight Thursday, September 30, 1965, a purge was carried out in the Capital City of the Republic of Indonesia, Djakarta, against members of the self-styled Council of Generals which had planned a coup on the eve of Armed Forces Day, October 5, 1965.

A number of Generals have been arrested. Means of communications and other vital installations in the capital have fallen completely under the control of the September 30th Movement.

The September 30th Movement is a movement entirely confined within the body of the Army to put an end to arbitrary actions of Generals who were members of the Council of Generals and other Officers who were henchmen and sympathizers of members of the Council of Generals. This movement was assisted by Armed Units not belonging to the Army.

2. To facilitate the follow-up of the action of September 30, 1965, the leadership of the September 30th Movement will set up an Indonesian Revolution Council whose members will consist of civilian and military individuals who unreservedly support the September 30th Movement.

For the time being, pending general elections for the People's Consultative Council (Madjelis Permusjawaratan Rakjat) in line with the

Constitution of 1945, the Indonesian Revolution Council will constitute the source of all authority in the Republic of Indonesia. The Indonesian Revolution Council is a tool of the entire Indonesian people to realize the Pantjasila and the Pantja Azimat Revolusi completely.

The Indonesian Revolution Council in its daily activities will be represented by a Presidium of the Council which will consist of the Commandant and Deputy Commandants of the September 30th Movement.

3. With the falling of the entire authority of the State into the hands of the Indonesian Revolution Council, the Dwikora Cabinet automatically assumes a decommissioned status. Until the formation of a new Council of Ministers by the Indonesian Revolution Council, former ministers are dutybound to carry out routine tasks, and to preserve order in their respective departments. They are prohibited from appointing new employees and from taking actions which may have broad consequences. All former ministers are obliged to give a full account to the Indonesian Revolution Council, along with the new ministers to be appointed by the Indonesian Revolution Council.

4. As instruments of the Indonesian Revolution Council, there are to be established in the regions, Provincial Revolution Councils (with a maximum membership of 25), District Revolution Councils (with a maximum membership of 15), Subdistrict Revolution Councils (with a maximum membership of 10), and Village Revolution Councils (with a maximum membership of 7). They are to be composed of civilian and military personnel who unreservedly support the September 30th Movement.

These Regional Revolution Councils constitute the highest authority in the regions concerned. At the provincial and district levels they are assisted in their work by the respective Bodies for Day to Day Administration (BPH), while at the subdistrict and village levels they are assisted by the local National Front Leadership composed of individuals who unreservedly support the September 30th Movement.

5. The Presidium of the Indonesian Revolution Council consists of the Commandant and Deputy Commandants of the September 30th Movement. The Commandant and Deputy Commandants of the September 30th Movement are Chairman and Vice Chairmen of the Indonesian Revolution Council.

6. Immediately after the establishment of Regional Revolution Councils the Revolution Council Chairman concerned must report

to the Revolution Council one level higher concerning the full composition of the Council membership. Provincial Revolution Councils must acquire written approval from the *Presidium* of the Indonesian Revolution Council. District Revolution Councils must acquire written approval from the Provincial Revolution Councils and the Sub-district and Village Revolution Councils must acquire written approval from the District Revolution Councils.

Djakarta, October 1, 1965. Command of the September 30th Movement. Commandant: Lieutenant Colonel Untung. Deputy Commandant: Brigadier General Supardjo; Deputy Commandant: Flight Lieutenant Colonel Heru; Deputy Commandant: Sea Colonel Sunardi; Deputy Commandant: Adjunct Senior Police Commissioner Anwas. Announced by the Information Section of the September 30th Movement on October 1, 1965.

3. *“Decision No. 1 Concerning the Composition of the Indonesian Revolution Council”*

(Text as read over the Djakarta Radio at approximately 2:05 p.m., October 1.)

I. Fulfilling the provisions of Decree No. 1 concerning the Formation of The Indonesian Revolution Council, herewith follows the full membership of the Indonesian Revolution Council:

1. Lieutenant Colonel UNTUNG, Chairman of the Council.
2. Brigadier General SUPARDJO, Vice-Chairman of the Council.
3. Flight Lieutenant Colonel HERU, Vice-Chairman of the Council.
4. Sea Colonel SUNARDI, Vice-Chairman of the Council.
5. Adjunct Senior Police Commissioner ANWAS, Vice-Chairman of the Council.
6. OMAR DHANI, Air Vice Marshal.
7. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO, Police Inspector General.
8. E. MARTADINATA, Vice Admiral.
9. DR. SUBANDRIO.
10. DR. J. LEIMENA.
11. IR. SURACHMAN (Nationalist Group).
12. FATAH JASIN (Religious Group).
13. K. H. SIRADJUDDIN ABBAS (Religious Group).
14. TJUGITO (Communist Group).

15. ARUDJI KARTAWINATA.
 16. SIAUW GIOK TJHAN.
 17. SUMARNO S.H.
 18. HARTONO, Major General, Navy Marine Corps.
 19. SUTARTO, Police Brigadier General.
 20. ZAINI MANSUR (Central Youth Front).
 21. JAHJA S.H. (Central Youth Front).
 22. SUKATNO (Central Youth Front).
 23. BAMBANG KUSNOHADI (PPMI).
 24. ABDUL RAHMAN (Deputy Secretary General of the National Front).
 25. HARDOJO (University Student).
 26. BASUKI RACHMAT, Major General.
 27. RYACUDU, Brigadier General.
 28. SOLICHIN, Brigadier General.
 29. AMIR MAHMUD, Brigadier General.
 30. ANDI RIVALI, Brigadier General.
 31. SUJONO, Flight Major.
 32. LEO WATTIMENA, Air Commodore.
 33. MRS. UTAMI SURJADARMA.
 34. A. LATIEF, Colonel.
 35. UMAR WIRAHADIKUSUMAH, Major General.
 36. MRS. SUPENI.
 37. MRS. MAHMUDAH MAWARDI.
 38. MRS. SUHARTI SUWARTO.
 39. FATAH, Colonel.
 40. SUHERMAN, Colonel.
 41. SAMSU SUTJIPTO, Sea Colonel.
 42. SUHARDI (Journalist).
 43. DRS. SUMARTONO, Senior Police Commissioner.
 44. DJUNTA SUWARDI.
 45. KARIM D.P. (Indonesian Journalists Association).
- II. The Chairman and the Vice-Chairmen of the Council constitute the Presidium of the Indonesian Revolution Council which between two plenary sessions of the Council acts on behalf of the Council.
- III. All civilian members of the Indonesian Revolution Council are given the right to use the military insignia of Lieutenant Colonel or equivalent rank. Indonesian Revolution Council members

from the Armed Forces group maintain their previous ranks with the exception that those higher than Lieutenant Colonel must use the same ranks as that of the Commandant of the September 30th Movement, namely that of Lieutenant Colonel or the equivalent.

COMMAND OF THE SEPTEMBER 30th MOVEMENT
Chairman of the Indonesian Revolution Council
Signed
(Lieutenant Colonel Untung)

DJAKARTA, October 1, 1965.

Announced by the Information Section of the September 30th Movement on October 1, 1965.

C. STATEMENTS BY THE INDONESIAN AIR FORCE

1. *Air Force Commander Dani's Order of the Day. Issued at 9:30 a.m., October 1 and Broadcast at about 3:30 p.m., October 1*

[The following translation is based on the virtually identical Indonesian texts appearing in *Antara* (Warta Berita), October 1 (Afternoon Edition); *Harian Rakjat*, October 2; and *Berita Yudha*, October 4. An English translation of the Djakarta radio broadcast of October 3 has also been consulted. The only significant divergences among these four texts are that the *Antara* and *Berita Yudha* versions fail to say where the statement was issued; and the *Antara* and *Harian Rakjat* reports omit the Press Release Number provided by the other two sources.

In addition to the sources cited above, Dani's Order of the Day also appeared in at least two of the afternoon Djakarta papers for October 1, namely the leftist papers *Warta Bhakti* and *Gelora Indonesia*. The more conservative Protestant afternoon paper *Sinar Harapan*, which would have less reason to be pleased by the professed intentions of the September 30th Movement, did *not* publish the Dani order. It is important to note also that this Dani order was broadcast by the Untung-controlled Djakarta radio at about 3:30 p.m. on October 1.

Finally, it is of interest that this Dani Order of the Day also figures prominently in the immediate aftermath of the events of October 1. On October 3 the Army-controlled Djakarta radio repeatedly broadcast this October 1 Dani order, but always following it with Dani's

statement of October 2 at Halim Air Base (See below for the text). The second statement was presented “as a correction of the Order of the Day.” The same treatment is given to the Dani statements in *Berita Yudha* for October 4.]

Press Release No. 445/Pen/1965 on the Order of the Day of the Minister/Commander of the Indonesian Air Force.

(Text) Today, Friday, October 1, 1965, at 09:30 hours, the Minister/Commander of the Indonesian Air Force, Air Vice Marshal Omar Dani, issued the following Order of the Day:

1. On the night of September 30, 1965, the September 30th Movement launched a movement to secure and safeguard the Revolution and the Great Leader of the Revolution against C.I.A. subversion. In this connection, the body of the “Army has already been purged of those elements who are manipulated by foreign subversives and who endanger the Indonesian Revolution.
2. With the establishment of the aforementioned movement, foreign subversives and their henchmen will not remain idle and will very likely intensify their anti-revolutionary movement.
3. The Indonesian Air Force as an instrument of the Revolution will always and continuously support and uphold any progressive revolutionary movement. Conversely, the Indonesian Air Force will combat any action which endangers the Indonesian Revolution.
4. Herewith we order all members of the Indonesian Air Force to maintain vigilance against provocations and harassments and to intensify preparedness against all eventualities, internal as well as external.

Signed

(OMAR DANI)

Air Vice Marshal

Issued at: Department of the Indonesian Air Force.

Date: October 1, 1965. Time: 09:30

2. *Air Force Commander Dani's Statement in Jogjakarta. Issued on October 2, presumably before mid-afternoon*

[The translation is based on the Indonesian text appearing in the October 4 report of the Jogjakarta daily *Kedaulatan Rakjat*. It is note-

worthy that this issue would have appeared before loyalist troops under Diponegoro Commander Brigadier General Surjosumpeno retook Jogjakarta. As far as the editors know, this Dani statement has never appeared in the Djakarta press.

While the news report containing the text of the Dani statement gives October 2 as the date of issuance, it is not clear precisely when it was put out. It has been widely reported that Dani flew from Halim Air Base, outside of Djakarta, to Jogjakarta, sometime between midnight and 3:00 a.m. on the morning of October 2. (See, for example, *Api Pantjasila*, October 14). It is also known that Dani appeared at the Koti meeting in Bogor late on the afternoon of October 2. (See the Suharto October 15 speech cited below). Accordingly the presumption is that Dani issued the statement sometime during his approximately twelve hour stay in Central Java. The fact that the statement apparently appeared only in the Jogjakarta newspaper is the best ground for assuming that the statement was issued in the vicinity of that city—very likely at the Adisutjipto Air Force Base. In this latter regard, however, it is noteworthy—but perhaps understandable—that the Commander of that air base makes no reference to Dani in his press statement published in *Berita Yudha*, November 30.

The headline and introductory paragraph of the news report on the Dani statement are also given below.]

BUNG KARNO CAME ON HIS OWN TO HALIM AIR BASE

Fighting Avoided After Misunderstanding Corrected

Minister/Commander of the Air Force Omar Dani on October 2 issued a statement about the condition of President Sukarno and explained that there had been no effort to kidnap our beloved Bung Karno. The complete text of the statement is as follows:

1. To clear up conflicting reports about the Indonesian Air Force in the last few days it is thought necessary to issue a statement to clarify the true situation.
2. On the morning of Friday, October 1, 1965, the President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces/Great Leader of the Revolution agreed to come to the Halim Perdanakusuma Air Base voluntarily because this was the only place he regarded as truly safe in the Djakarta area at that time.

3. The President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces/Great Leader of the Revolution is safe and well.
4. On that day talks were also held between the President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces/Great Leader of the Revolution, the Second Deputy Prime Minister [Leimena], the Commander of the Navy [Eddy Martadinata], the Commander of the Police [Sutjipto Judodihardjo] and various other leaders concerning the situation in the capital which was still not at all clear.
5. As a result of these talks, *inter alia* the President issued an Order of the Day the text of which was also at that time sent to the RRI studio in Djakarta for broadcasting.
6. The essential contents of this Order of the Day were:
 - a. The President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces/Great Leader of the Revolution is safe and well.
 - b. The President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces/Great Leader of the Revolution continues to hold the top leadership of the state and revolution.
 - c. The leadership and the problems of the Army have been taken over by the President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces/Great Leader of the Revolution and the daily tasks have been turned over for the time being to Maj. Gen. Pranoto.
 - d. All units of the Armed Forces are to stand fast, meaning that units must remain in their own quarters and may not act until they receive orders from the President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces/Great Leader of the Revolution.
7. On the night of October 1, 1965, units of the Army which were opposed to one another were confronting each other around the Halim Perdanakusuma Air Force Base and it was thought that fighting would break out. For the safety of the President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces/Great Leader of the Revolution and of his own free will, he agreed to leave Halim Perdanakusuma Air Force Base.
8. In harmony with the contents of the Order of the Day of the President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces/Great Leader of the Revolution and to avoid the possibility of undesired bloodshed, units of the Air Force with the task of guarding Halim Perdanakusuma Base made no resistance whatever when units of the Army entered and occupied the Base on the morning of October 2, 1965.

9. Accordingly, it is stated that the whole membership of the Indonesian Air Force always and continuously stands behind the President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces/Great Leader of the Revolution and obeys all his orders.

This is an official announcement of the Indonesian Air Force, signed by the Minister/Commander of the Air Force, Air Vice Marshal Omar Dani.

3. *Deputy Air Force Commander's Statement. Issued at 2:00 p.m.,
October 2*

[The following translation is based on the Indonesian text appearing in *Berita Yudha* of October 4 and an English translation of the Djakarta radio broadcast of the statement on the evening of October 2. Although broadcast by Army authorities several hours before the statement of Omar Dani issued at Halim Air Base on October 2, it is not yet clear whether in fact that Dani statement appeared after or before the statement here.]

Announcement of the Information Center of the Department of the Air Force of the Republic of Indonesia No. 446/Pen/1965, on the continued obedience and loyalty of the Indonesian Air Force to the President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces/Great Leader of the Revolution:

1. In view of the fact that the names of a number of officers of the Indonesian Air Force have been included in the so-called Indonesian Revolution Council which was set up by the counter-revolutionary group which calls itself the September 30th Movement, it is hereby announced that the officers concerned, as well as the Department of the Air Force of the Republic of Indonesia, have absolutely no knowledge of the composition or purpose of the so-called Revolution Council.
2. All personnel of the Indonesian Air Force are urged to continue to be vigilant and obedient while awaiting further orders from the President, Bung Karno. The Air Force of the Republic of Indonesia continues to safeguard unity and harmony of the progressive revolutionary forces and tools of the Revolution, in order jointly to destroy the counter-revolutionaries and Nekolim, who are endangering the Revolution and the State of the Republic of Indonesia.

3. All members of the Air Force of the Republic of Indonesia are urged to enhance their vigilance and continue to carry out their respective tasks as usual.

Issued at the Department of the Air Force of the Republic of Indonesia on October 2, 1965, at 14:00 hours.

In the name of the Minister/Commander of the Indonesian Air Force, Deputy Minister/Commander of the Air Force.

Signed
Air Commodore Andoko

4. *Air Force Commander Dani's Statement at Halim Air Base.*
Issued sometime after 4:00 p.m., October 2

[The following translation is based on the Indonesian text appearing in *Berita Yudha* of October 4. An English translation of the Djakarta radio broadcast of October 3 has also been consulted and provided the additional information that the statement was apparently issued at Halim Air Base, presumably after Dani's return from Central Java at about 4:00 p.m. on October 2. See introductory note above for the October 1 Dani Order of the Day.]

The statement of the Indonesian Air Force, No. 005/207/65, is as follows:

1. The Indonesian Air Force is not involved in the September 30th Movement.
2. The Indonesian Air Force agrees with any purging movement which is established within the body of any instrument of the Revolution in conformity with the line of the Great Leader of the Revolution.
3. The Indonesian Air Force does not interfere in the internal affairs of other services.
4. The Indonesian Air Force has no knowledge of the Indonesian Revolution Council or of the composition of its personnel.

Minister/Commander of the Air Force
Signed: Omar Dani, Air Vice Marshal
Halim Perdanakusuma Air Base
October 2, 1965.

D. STATEMENTS BY PRESIDENT SUKARNO AND THE
TJAKRABIRAWA REGIMENT

1. *Announcement by the Tjakrabirawa Commander.*

Issued at 12:00 p.m., October 1 and Broadcast at 1:10 p.m., October 1

[During the period in which the Untung group controlled the Djakarta radio there were no broadcasts by President Sukarno himself or of statements or orders attributed to him. The President's Order of the Day (See item 2 below) was for unexplained reasons *not* broadcast—although it was issued well before the Untung group surrendered control of the radio. Accordingly, the announcement by Brigadier General Sabur, Commander of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment [the President's "palace guard"], broadcast by the Untung-controlled radio at 1:10 p.m. October 1, constitutes the only *authoritative* news of the President released by the Untung radio. Considering that in the wake of the events of October 1 General Sabur has not disowned this statement and has still retained his position, it seems clear that his announcement of October 1 was indeed authoritative—i.e. authorized by the President himself.

The translation given below is of the lead story in the October 1st afternoon edition of the Djakarta newspaper *Sinar Harapan*. It gives not only the text of the actual Sabur announcement—identical to the announcement as broadcast over the Untung radio at 1:10 p.m.—but some significant details about the time and place of issue as well as the fact that Sabur himself was not present when the statement was issued. Moreover, *Sinar Harapan's* treatment of the Sabur announcement as its feature story is in itself of significance. Unlike the leftist afternoon papers, such as *Warta Bhakti*, *Gelora Indonesia*, *Kebudajaan Baru* and *Ekonomi Nasional*, this Protestant Party newspaper refrained from publishing any of the broadcasts of the Untung-controlled radio. The only news report it published relating to the September 30th Movement—though never explicitly mentioning it by name—was this Sabur statement which apparently it secured in press release form because, it printed information not provided in the 1:10 p.m. radio broadcast. It should be pointed out, however, that since *Sinar Harapan* normally goes to press at least an hour after the other afternoon Djakarta papers, its editors had more time to learn that by mid-afternoon the tide had begun to turn against the Untung forces.]

PRESIDENT CONTINUES TO EXECUTE STATE LEADERSHIP

President Sukarno is safe and well and continues to execute the leadership of the State. Such was the announcement by the Commander of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment, Brigadier General Mochammad [c apparently an error] Sabur, early Friday afternoon, at 12:00 in the Headquarters of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment.

The complete text of the official statement as read by the Chief of Staff of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Merokeh Santoso, is as follows:

In order to prevent inappropriate reports and interpretations, I herewith announce that His Excellency the President/Great Leader of the Revolution is safe and well, and continues to execute the leadership of the State.

2. *Announcement by the Tjakrabirawa Commander Following the Collapse of the September 30th Movement. Broadcast at 12:15 a.m., October 2*

[This broadcast was made at 12:15 a.m., October 2, after RRI Djakarta was again in Army hands. The translation is based on the text given in *Berita Yudha*, October 2, 1965. The reader's attention is drawn to the curious textual discrepancy between this announcement and that made by Sabur while the Untung group still controlled Djakarta Radio. SINAR HARAPAN, October 1, 1965:

Bung Karno
Reassumes Leadership of the State

The Commandant of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment, Brig. Gen. M. Sabur, in his announcement broadcast over RRI at 12:15 a.m. Saturday morning, declared that the President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces/Great Leader of the Revolution Bung Karno was at present safe and well and had reassumed the leadership of the State.

3. *President Sukarno's First Message Following the Collapse of the September 30th Movement. Broadcast at 1:33 a.m., October 3*

[The translation is based on the Indonesian text in *Berita Yudha* of October 4.]

Brothers, repeating my order as Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces/Great Leader of the Revolution which was announced

on October 1, 1965, and to eliminate all uncertainty among the people, herewith I once again declare that I am safe and well and continue to hold the top leadership of the state and the top [leadership] of the government and the Indonesian Revolution.

Today, October 2, 1965, I summoned all Commanders of the Armed Forces, together with Second Deputy Prime Minister, Dr. Leimena, and other important officials, with the purpose of quickly settling the problem of the so-called September 30th Affair. To be able to settle this problem I have ordered the prompt creation of a calm and orderly atmosphere and for this purpose it is necessary to prevent any possibility of armed conflict.

In the present stage of the determined struggle of the Indonesian people, I command the entire population continuously to increase vigilance and preparedness in the framework of intensifying the implementation of Dwikora.

I appeal to all the Indonesian people to continue to remain calm and to all ministers and other officials continuously to carry out their respective duties as before.

At present the leadership of the Army is directly in my hands, and to discharge the day-to-day tasks within the Army, I have appointed temporarily Major General Pranoto Reksosamudro, Third Assistant to the Minister/Commander of the Army.

To carry out the restoration of security and order in connection with the September 30th Affair, I have appointed Major General Suharto, Commander of KOSTRAD, in accordance with the policy I have already outlined.

Brothers, let us persist in nurturing the spirit of national unity and harmony. Let us steadfastly kindle the anti-Nekolim spirit. God be with us all.

4. *President Sukarno's Second Message. Broadcast at 11:52 p.m., October 3*

[The translation is based on the Indonesian text found in *Berita Yudha* of October 5. Also see the English translation of the Djakarta Radio broadcast for October 3.]

Brothers, in view of a number of misunderstandings which can create conflicts among the Armed Forces, to eliminate any uncertainty in the community, and to build stronger national unity and harmony in the framework of the Dwikora struggle, herewith I, as President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces/ Great Leader of the Revolution, announce that:

1. The charge against the Indonesian Air Force of involvement in the September 30th Affair is not true.
2. My going to the Halim Air Base early on the morning of October 1 was at my own desire, as I was of the opinion that the best place for me was a place near an airplane which could transport me at any moment to another place if something unexpected took place.
3. We must remain vigilant and prevent the playing off against one another of the Air Force and the Army to the advantage of Nekolim and other groups.

Therefore, I order all members of the Armed Forces to unite for the security of the State and Revolution. That is all. Respect my order.

October 3, 1965
signed
SOEKARNO

5. *President Sukarno's First Press Interview after the Collapse of the September 30th Movement. Given and published on October 14*

[The translation is based on an *Antara* report carried in the Protestant newspaper *Sinar Harapan*, October 14, 1965.]

(Antara). The President/Great Leader of the Revolution will formulate a political solution for the problem which has arisen as a result of the so-called "September 30th Movement" on the basis of real facts and not on the basis of inflammatory statements from whatever quarter.

The President/Great Leader of the Revolution made this statement yesterday morning to the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Antara National News Agency, Mohammad Nahar, in the Freedom Palace. This is the first press interview given by President Sukarno since the occurrence of the counter-revolutionary adventure of the "September 30th Movement".

When asked whether the President/Great Leader of the Revolution had already developed a formula for the political solution of the problem which has arisen because of the "September 30th Movement", the President/Great Leader of the Revolution answered: *Laat dat maar aan mij over. Wait and see!*" [Leave that to me. Just wait and see!]

The President immediately added that his political solution will be based upon "real facts" and not on the basis of inflammatory statements from whatever quarter.

According to information obtained by the *Antara* reporter, since the occurrence of the so-called "September 30th Movement" the President/Great Leader of the Revolution has been constantly busy, with very little time to rest, holding consultations and discussions with his ministerial assistants as well as the leaders of the Armed Forces and other important persons and leaders in order to discuss day-to-day governmental problems so that everything can run smoothly and normally.

PRESIDENT STILL TRUSTS THE TJAKRABIRAWA

In the interview held on the back veranda of the Freedom Palace, where the President/Great Leader of the Revolution was busily conducting discussions and giving instructions to his assistants in the government, the President/Great Leader of the Revolution was also asked whether his trust in the Tjakrabirawa Regiment had been shaken in connection with the temporary involvement of elements of the Tjakrabirawa in the "September 30th Movement".

In this connection, the President made several comments and clarifications as to how the units of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment had carried out their duties at critical moments, in order to secure and safeguard the President/Great Leader of the Revolution. He explained that when, at his own desire and not because of pressure or threats from anyone, he left Freedom Palace on the morning of October 1 to go to Halim Perdana Kusumah Air Base, those responsible for escorting and guarding him were units of the Tjakrabirawa, who carried out their duty most effectively. "So too when I left Halim for Bogor, those who escorted me—'escorted' in the good sense of the word were the Tjakrabirawa. Also at this point I wish to stress once again that my departure to Bogor was at my own desire and not because of any pressure or threats."

President Sukarno emphasized that his trip to Bogor was taken by car and not by helicopter.

Finally, the president also explained that as long as he was at Bogor and when he left Bogor for Djakarta on October 9, units of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment were responsible for his personal security and that they performed their duties most efficiently.

E. STATEMENTS BY THE INDONESIAN ARMY LEADERSHIP

1. *First Army Broadcast After Recovering Control of the Djakarta Radio.
As Broadcast at about 8:45 p.m., October 1*

[The translation is based on the Indonesian text found in *Berita Yudha* of October 2 and the English translation of the Djakarta Radio broadcast of 8:45 p.m., October 1.]

We express our gratitude to God Almighty that we, the Radio of the Republic of Indonesia, have been liberated from counter-revolutionary control by our armed forces, who have been constantly loyal and recognize only Bung Karno as the Great Leader of the Revolution.

We will now present an announcement.

Announcement No. 027/1965 of the Army Information Center.

1. On October 1, 1965, an incident occurred which was carried out by a counter-revolutionary movement, which called itself the "September 30th Movement", in Djakarta.
2. They kidnapped a number of high officers, namely: 1. Lieutenant General A. Yani. 2. Major General Suprpto. 3. Major General S. Parman. 4. Major General Harjono M.T. 5. Brigadier General D.I. Pandjaitan. 6. Brigadier General Sutojo Siswomihardjo.
3. They were able by force to gain the use of the Djakarta Studio of RRI [Radio Republik Indonesia] and the Djakarta Central Telecommunications Office.
4. His Excellency, President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces/Great Leader of the Revolution Bung Karno, and his Honorable Minister Coordinator for Defense and Security/Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, General A.H. Nasution, were able to be brought to safety and are in a safe and well condition.
5. The leadership of the Army is temporarily held by Major General Suharto, Commander of KOSTRAD.
6. The general situation is again under control and security measures are being actively carried out. The general public is urged to remain calm and continue their respective tasks as usual.

2. *Army Commander Suharto's Charge of Air Force Involvement in His Statement Made Upon Discovery of the Bodies of the Generals on October 4*

[The translation is based on the report in *Berita Yudha* of October 5 and English translation on Djakarta Radio broadcast on the evening of October 4.]

Today, October 4, 1965, we witnessed together, with our own eyes, the recovery of the bodies of our generals—six generals—and one junior officer from an old well. As you already know, our generals and our junior officers have fallen victims to the uncivilized actions of the adventurers of the so-called “September 30th Movement.”

If we survey the place, it is in Lubang Buaja. Lubang Buaja is within the area of the Halim Air Base. Here you will also see that the area near the well has been used as a training center for volunteers under the auspices of the Air Force. The volunteers consisted of members of the Communist Youth Group [Pemuda Rakjat] and of the Communist Women's Organization [Gerwani].

In a word, it is possible that they were undergoing training in the framework of the defense of the airbase. But with the capture in Tjirebon of a member of Gerwani who had been trained here and who hails from Central Java, it is clear that they come from far away. Thus, based on these facts, it is possible that there is truth in the statement by our beloved President Bung Karno that the Air Force is not involved in the affair. But it is impossible that there is no involvement in this affair of elements of the Air Force.

For this reason, as a member of the Army, I would like to express the sentiment of patriots who are members of the Army: If it is true that there are elements who are involved in the cruel killing of our innocent generals, I hope that Air Force patriots will purge such elements who are involved in this adventure.

I am very grateful that finally God gives clear guidance to us, that any dishonest action, that any bad action certainly will be suppressed. And I am grateful to units, particularly those from the paratroop regiment [RPKAD] and the marines [KKO] and other units, and the people who have assisted in the discovery of the well and the recovery of the bodies, so that the number of the victims could be determined. That is all.

3. *Speech by Major-General Suharto on October 15, 1965, To Central and Regional Leaders of the National Front*

Mr. Secretary-General, brothers from the National Front Central and Regional Leadership:

First of all I would like to thank you very much for the opportunity afforded me at today's meeting of the Central and Regional [leadership] of the National Front, and for the chance given me to convey certain explanations and clarifications, particularly about the task delegated to me by the President, Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, Great Leader of the Revolution, in confronting the recent developments which we have all been experiencing and witnessing together in connection with the September 30th Movement. I would like to use this opportunity to pass on to you the facts as far as we know them, because I think that the facts will say more than I can, provided that we can evaluate those facts objectively. It will be up to you, my brothers, to make your own assessments—I shall simply try not to add or subtract anything from what I myself saw happening. I have no intention of influencing you all, my brothers, in making your own assessments of the facts which I experienced since October 1. Apart from giving you these facts myself, I [would like to request] time for other clarifications, since though I myself know some of the relevant facts, a number of my staff officers have also been able to collect some facts. I would like therefore to request time for my assistant, General Sutjipto, to give some explanations of his own.

Before I start I would like to ask your forgiveness, my brothers, for any lack of polish and coherence in my analysis, and also for any imperfections in my language—I am no expert at public speaking. I think we have a friend here who knows me, Mr. Harjo Sudirdjo,¹ who is also from Jogja; [he knows that] I am someone who very rarely makes public statements, so that now that I am making a speech, especially to you, my brothers from the Central and Regional National Front leadership, this will more or less influence the rather disorganized form of what I have to say. So I ask your pardon in advance for any such deficiencies.

My brothers, very early in the morning of October 1, about 5:30 a.m., I was visited by one of my neighbours. As I happen to be the

¹ The reference is to the then Minister for Water Supply.

head of the *Rukun Tetangga*² in my *kampung*, he wanted to report to me—to fulfil his obligation as a *Rukun Tetangga* member to report if he heard or saw anything [unusual]. He told me that early that morning shots had been heard, that there had been shooting, and that they had heard that there had been kidnappings. Among other things he told me, he informed me that those who had been kidnapped included General Nasution, General Yani, General [Su]Prapto, General Parman, General Harjono, General Pandjaitan, General Sutojo and also Pak Leimena; lastly he reported or informed me that (Air) Marshal Umar Dhani [*sic*] was also among those kidnapped.³ Soon afterwards another neighbour came round to report the same thing.

Their story was confirmed with the arrival of a General, a colleague of mine, a colleague from the Army, who gave me the same information. None of them, in giving their reports, had any idea of what, at that moment, was the fate of the kidnapped Generals.

So I was able to draw the conclusion that the Army leadership could be said to be paralyzed. Since the Commander, the Minister/Commander, together with his Deputies and Assistants, had all been kidnapped, this meant that the Army had lost its leadership. Therefore I took a decision—since I was convinced that if the Army, the largest element in the Armed Forces, was without its leadership, it would become still more confused, particularly confronted with a situation of this kind. Aside from the fact that it was normal practice, if the Minister/Commander of the Army went abroad,—normal practice since I was regarded as the senior officer after the Minister/Commander of the Army—for me to be appointed to represent him, (although functionally speaking it should have been the First or Second Deputy who represented him, the Minister decided that even if the First and Second Deputies were available, I would always be

² The *Rukun Tetangga* are neighbourhood associations with various economic, security and intelligence functions.

³ General Nasution was Defense Minister/Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces; and General Yani was Minister/Commander of the Army; General Suprapto was Second Deputy to the Minister/Commander of the Army; General Parman was First Assistant (Intelligence) to the Minister/Commander of the Army; General Harjono was Third Deputy to the Minister/Commander of the Army; General Pandjaitan was Fourth Assistant (Logistics) to the Minister/Commander of the Army; General Sutojo was Auditor-General and Law Inspector of the Army; Dr. Leimena was Second Deputy Prime Minister/Coordinating Minister for Distribution; Air Vice Marshal Omar Dhani was Minister/Commander of the Air Force.

appointed to take his place as Minister/Commander of the Army when he was away) anyway, even aside from this normal practice, as an officer I realized that if any unit, even a small unit, let alone a large one, should be separated from its leadership, the consequence would be immediate chaos.

Therefore, urged on by a desire that, since the Army is also an instrument of the Revolution which must always be ready to render service to the State, to the Revolution, to the Great Leader of the Revolution, every effort should be made to ensure that this very considerable force retain its leadership, without hesitation I decided on my own to assume leadership of the Army, so long as we remained in the dark about the fate of the Minister, the honorable Minister of the Army.

Since it was still very early, and so my chauffeur had not yet arrived, I was forced to drive myself in a Jeep to Headquarters, KOSTRAD headquarters, where indeed I was stationed as KOSTRAD Commander.⁴ On reaching Headquarters, I learnt that several of my Staff officers had already arrived, since it was already almost 7:00 a.m., or at least well after 6:30 a.m. I therefore immediately collected my Staff together. It turned out that among all my Staff officers, there was not one who knew anything about the affair. In fact the affair was very alarming for all of us, both for the KOSTRAD people and for the Army in general.

Since there was in Djakarta an officer with direct responsibility for security—the Commander of the Fifth (Djaya) Territorial Command—I contacted him,⁵ and learned that he had visited the various places where the events [kidnappings] had occurred, and had then gone straight to the Palace to see His Excellency the President. However, he did not get to meet the President himself, but he did encounter or rather observed that General Supardjo was inside the Palace. I should explain that General Supardjo was actually Commander of the Fourth Combat Command, in fact within the Confrontation framework he was in command of the Fourth Combat Command of KOSTRAD, and should have been at his post in West Kalimantan. They had set up their command post there in West Kalimantan, near Menggaian. As KOSTRAD Commander and as Deputy Com-

⁴ KOSTRAD was the Army Strategic Reserve Command.

⁵ This was Major General Umar Wirahadikusumah.

mander of the Mandala Preparedness Command—in the first case having direct administrative responsibility for directing or preparing KOSTRAD units, and in the second case having direct tactical command—I was rather startled to learn that General Supardjo had come to Djakarta at all, let alone that he was at the Palace very early in the morning, without letting either KOSTRAD or the Mandala Preparedness Command know beforehand, and especially myself as Deputy Commander of the Mandala Preparedness Command.

At this point, having received General Umar's report and explanation, I informed him, I told him clearly that I was taking over leadership of the Army. He agreed, and I then issued my first command and instruction to him as Commander of the Djaya Territorial Command. My first order was that all troops be consigned to their quarters. No one was to go out without direct orders from me. If in the framework of restoring security it should prove necessary [for anyone] to leave their quarters, they must wear civilian clothes. This was intended to prevent misunderstanding between various units, since we still did not know who was friend and who foe. The main idea was thus to avoid the possibility of shooting breaking out till we knew for sure who was friend and who foe. This order was then carried out by the Djaya Territorial Commander.

I then tried to contact the Navy.⁶ Now it happened that the First Deputy of the Minister/Commander of the Navy was also a Deputy Commander of the Mandala Preparedness Command, so that there was already good coordination between Admiral Muljadi and myself. In a very short time he came round to KOSTRAD Headquarters. After I had explained the whole situation, he proposed and agreed that for the time being I should assume command, and that [the Navy] would give its fullest support to the Army in overcoming and settling the present situation. Since I had now been given authority to coordinate all Navy activities, I issued instructions like those [I had given to Umar]. All [Navy personnel] must be consigned to barracks. No one was to go out without direct orders from me. If compelled to leave [their quarters] to help restore order and security, civilian clothes must be worn.

⁶ It is worth noting that the Minister/Commander of the Navy Vice Admiral R. Eddy Martadinata, does not appear to have been contacted by Suharto.

Thirdly, I made contact with the Police. I could not get through directly to the Police Department, but I did succeed via the [Djakarta] Police Chief.⁷ I did what I had done before with the Navy, and the Police Chief finally agreed to centralize all police movements, allowing me to coordinate police movements for the whole of the Djakarta area.

The one Force with which I had difficulty in making contact was the Air Force. I took the step of sending some liaison officers to Halim, because I knew several Air Force officers within the framework of the Mandala Preparedness Command. I did get in contact with various Air Force officers, particularly Commodore Leo Wattimena, but not as smoothly as with the Navy and Police.⁸ In the case of the Navy and Police, once their leaderships had been contacted, they placed liaison officers at KOSTRAD HQ to facilitate relationships and to exchange whatever information each force received about what had happened. Thus it was only with the Air Force that there was some footdragging in setting up coordination that morning. The affair had still not developed to the point where we knew who was friend and who foe.

Still early in the morning, after I had made contact with the various Armed Services, I received word that General Nasution had been rescued—it was about 8:00 a.m. when I heard this—and was now in a [safe] place. Secondly I got information that Air Marshal Umar Dhani [sic], who according to the first reports had been kidnapped, had actually been taken to safety by his own men at about 3:00 a.m., i.e. about one hour before the affair broke out—since the affair occurred roughly between 4:00 and 4:30 a.m.

At the same time I gave orders to collect as much information as possible; and so we learnt (and indeed I myself already knew) that the troops around the Palace were units wearing green berets.

The [only] units in Djakarta wearing green berets were Battalions 454 from Central Java and 530 from East Java. I should explain

⁷ It is worth noting that the Minister/Commander of the Police, Police Inspector General Sutjipto Judodihardjo, does not appear to have been contacted by Suharto. The Commander of the VIIth Police Region (Greater Djakarta) was Police Brig. Gen. Sawarno Tjokrodiningrat, appointed June 8, 1965. He was removed from this post shortly after the coup.

⁸ Air Commodore Leo Wattimena was Commander of the Air Force Operations Command, Halim Perdanakusumah Air Base, and Chief of Staff of the Mandala Preparedness Command.

here that these units were [in Djakarta] to contribute to the grandeur of the Armed Forces Twentieth Anniversary. In other words they were not units on strictly military assignment, but [because] the President wanted the Armed Forces Twentieth Anniversary to be celebrated on a grandiose scale.

The Army was to display the formation it regularly puts on in the framework of a “show of forces” [*sic*]; it was going to demonstrate the formation of a full infantry combat brigade with supporting units—3 battalions of foot, plus 1 tank, 1 armored (panzer), 1 mortar, 1 anti-aircraft and 1 engineers’ unit. Thus [the idea was] to display the formation of a “strengthened” Army Infantry Brigade for the commemoration of the Anniversary.

Once we knew that the troops in the areas around the main intersections⁹ were wearing green berets, I summoned the Brigade Commander and demanded an explanation as to why these green beret troops from his Brigade were stationed around the Palace. Now it happened that I myself had held an Inspection of this Brigade on [September] the 30th, with its [constituent] battalions, as part of the preparations for the Twentieth Anniversary display. In fact I even had an appointment to watch a training-rehearsal on October 1st itself, in which these troops were supposed to be ready at Senajan Stadium by 6:30 a.m. The Brigade Commander answered my request for an explanation by reporting that the units of his Infantry Brigade were fully mustered, except for two battalions which had still not shown up, i.e. Battalions 454 and 530, which now proved to be stationed in front of the Palace and around the Istana Negara.¹⁰

Meanwhile, still quite early, as we were trying to gather as clear information as possible, the first announcement by former Lieutenant Colonel Untung, Commander of the 1st Tjakrabirawa Battalion, was heard, saying that they were mounting a movement called the September 30th Movement, to take action against a Council of Generals who were about to undertake a coup, and that this movement

⁹ The text is confused here, literally reading:

setelah kami mengetahui bahwa jang berada disekitar lapang djalan silang kesatuan2 baret hidjau. . . .

¹⁰ The Presidential Palace was actually compounded of two separate buildings, back to back, separated by a large garden. The Istana Merdeka (Freedom Palace) looks south onto Djl. Merdeka Utara and Merdeka Square. The Istana Negara (State Palace) looks north onto Djl. Segara.

was intended to safeguard the Revolution.¹¹ This was the first real news that we had heard; from it we were able to conclude that this 'Movement' was a movement to paralyze what, according to them, was a movement by a Council of Generals to execute a coup.

As a member of the Army, I naturally knew better what the real situation within the Army was. The accusation¹² that a Council of Generals existed, which was on the point of carrying out a coup, made no sense at all to me, and so I drew the conclusion that these "bulletins" and "reasons" were simply concocted justifications.

The Council of Generals which they mentioned simply did not exist, let alone one which was organizing a coup. The truth is that within the Army there is a Council on Posts and Ranks for Senior Officers, abbreviated as WANDJABTI.¹³ Its task is, every year as Proclamation Day comes around, to consider the promotions of Colonels to the rank of General; and this Council, this WANDJABTI, is headed by General Sudirman,¹⁴ with myself as Vice-Chairman. So I knew quite clearly that if what they meant by the Council of Generals was this Council WANDJABTI, then it had absolutely no intention whatever, let alone any plans for making a seizure [of power] or a coup. If what they meant was the group of Generals on the General Staff (SUAD), who acted as advisers to the Minister/Commander of the Army in leading the Army and situating it as an instrument of the Revolution, then so far as I knew, there was absolutely no thinking in the direction of making a coup or seizing power. That was why, quite frankly, I decided that these actions¹⁵ were basically provocative. Thus one of the first things to make me suspicious of the "Movement" was the justification it gave for itself.

The second announcement contained the formation of the Revolution Council, and then further declared that the Dwikora Cabinet was "demissionary"; it also made no mention whatever of the Great Leader of the Revolution.¹⁶ So I said quite confidently

¹¹ This broadcast was made at approximately 7:15 a.m. over Radio Djakarta.

¹² The printed word is *tudjuan* (aim, intention). This seems to be a misprint for *tuduhan* (accusation).

¹³ This abbreviation stands for *Devan Djabatan dan Pangkatan Perwira Tinggi*.

¹⁴ General Sudirman was head of the Army Staff and Command School.

¹⁵ The word used, *tindakan2*, (actions), is an odd one to use to describe radio announcements.

¹⁶ The second Untung broadcast was made at 2:00 p.m., October 1. 'Demissionary'

that these were the ones who were making and carrying out a coup; and now they were being unmasked. On the basis of our analysis of the information contained in their announcements, we now understood, we could understand the objective of the “Movement” as being none other than a coup. Secondly, we could now separate who was friend and who foe. The foe was, first of all, Battalions 454 and 530 and the 1st Tjakrabirawa Battalion, who were all involved at that point—these were the [only] Army units that we knew of as such. Now after the announcement of a Revolution Council led by Lieutenant Colonel Untung, the Air Force leadership issued a statement that the Air Force fully supported the “Movement” and the Revolution Council.¹⁷ Various indications I had already received—first, the difficulty I had in coordinating the Air Force, second the fact that the top leadership had been “taken to safety” before the affair broke out, and third, the present statement of support—well even a fool would have been able to tell that these [the Air Force] must be classed with the foe that we had now to face.

Once we had learnt what their objectives were, and who was friend and who foe, we had to try to ensure by all possible means that there be no shooting and bloodshed. Therefore our first move, after discovering that among the units being used by the “Movement” there were Battalions¹⁸ from KOSTRAD itself, was [for me to] order the Brigade Commander to contact his Battalion Commanders. (It was still early in the morning). They [Brigade HQ] sent couriers¹⁹ to the Battalion Commanders, but the Commanders of Battalions 454 and 530 were already inside the Palace, so that they wouldn’t obey my orders.²⁰ Now since I knew that if they were inside the Palace, actual control [over their troops] would have been turned over to their Deputies, I ordered these [last] to be contacted. Finally,

is a technical word used to describe the status of a defeated Government under a parliamentary system, which acts as a caretaker prior to the formation of a new Government. A singular term, by any account, to be employed in this context.

¹⁷ This Air Force statement was signed by Omar Dhani at 9:30 a.m., October 1, at Halim Airbase. It was announced over Djakarta Radio at 3:30 p.m. that same afternoon.

¹⁸ The text is ambiguous. It is not clear whether what is meant is Battalion or Battalions.

¹⁹ The text is ambiguous. It is not clear whether what is meant is courier or couriers.

²⁰ The Commanders of Battalions 454 and 530 were, respectively, Major Sukirno and Major Bambang Supeno.

the Deputy Commanders reported to me in person. First I explained [my own position], and then asked them what their assignment was, stationed around the Palace. They answered that they had a special task, guarding the Great Leader of the Revolution, because, they said, the Council of Generals was about to launch a coup.

This [the following] is the gist of what I told them, and of the answers which the Deputy Commanders of Battalions 454 and 530 gave to my questions. I asked whether they had heard the announcements²¹ of this Revolution Council, particularly the one led by Lieutenant Colonel Untung. They said they had.²² Then we asked them if they had ever had any knowledge of a Council of Generals launching a coup. [They said,] No. [We pointed out] that now the Revolution Council had dissolved²³ the Dwikora Cabinet and, furthermore, had not included the name of the Great Leader of the Revolution in the composition of the Revolution Council—indeed had not even mentioned it—and asked them: Is this a coup or isn't it? They said: Yes, they are carrying out a coup. [I said:] In that case you have been tricked into [thinking you are] guarding the President, but actually you have been manipulated into protecting the activities of this coup movement. I told them: you've been used good and proper. Now if you're really still loyal to the Revolution and to the Soldier's Oath, *Sapta Marga*, go and collect your men and come back here to report to me. If you don't, I'll be forced to take drastic action, since you've already clearly assisted a movement which is endangering our State and Revolution.

Finally the two Company Commanders agreed, and went back to their men. I also had the help of certain senior officers at that time, and also of several middle-ranking officers who came to me, and who were well acquainted with units in or individual members of the two Battalions, possibly they had been former commanding officers of the Battalions. I ordered them to take off their Generals' uni-

²¹ This is an unambiguous plural, and so places these manoeuvres in time *after* the 2:00 p.m. Untung broadcasts—at least according to Suharto.

²² The Indonesian text is awkward and confused:

Kemudian saja tanyakan, apakah mereka telah mendengar pengumuman2 dari Dewan Revolusi ini, terutama jang dipimpin oleh Let. Kol. Untung, mereka mendengar.

²³ This is not strictly true. The Cabinet was given "care-taker" status, but not dissolved. But doubtless Suharto felt that the niceties of parliamentary procedure would be wasted on the Company Commanders.

forms and go in civilian dress to explain the situation to their old subordinates. As a result, after about two hours, Battalion 530 was assembled and brought by truck to report to me. In other words, we had now managed to rescue one Battalion from this affair. Our “subtraction” [lit. “the loss”] of one Battalion (i.e. Battalion 530) was accomplished with the aid of the Commander of the Eighth Territorial Division, who was at KOSTRAD at that time.²⁴ In the case of Battalion 454, while the Deputy Commander of this Battalion was briefing his Company Commanders, the Battalion Commander himself came out of the Palace and resumed command of the Battalion; [this meant] that the Deputy Commander could not carry on with his briefing and explanation to the Company Commanders. So that what had been accomplished with Battalion 530 could not be carried out in the case of Battalion 454. Nonetheless I continued my efforts because I learnt—after some [time], about half a day—I got information that . . . in fact there was also a courier, an adjutant of the President, who came to ask me how the situation was.²⁵

I [now] knew that the President was no longer in the Palace, but in a certain place. I used this information to make another effort to make Battalion 454 realize the futility of the task they had been assigned. I was able to make contact with the Palace, with a member of the Tjakra regimental staff, and I ordered him to contact the Company Commanders and the Deputy Commander of the Battalion and bring them into the Palace. As they were assigned to protect the Great Leader of the Revolution, this would convince them that he was not in the Palace, and thus their guard duty around the Palace was simply a waste of time. These officers were indeed then brought into the Palace, and once convinced that the Great Leader of the Revolution was not there, they withdrew and collected their men together in the Gedung Pemuda.²⁶ But apparently they were too late for the time limit I had set, and so they took off for Halim as a complete unit.

²⁴ This was Major General Basuki Rachmat.

²⁵ Unluckily this vital sentence is extremely obscure in the Indonesian: *. . . karena saja mengetahui setelah beberapa kira2 setengah hari saja mendapat info dan djuga memang ada kurir adjudan daripada Bapak Presiden menemui saja untuk menanyakan mengenai keadaannya.*

²⁶ The *Gedung Pemuda* (Youth Building) is close to the Istana Merdeka, a little to the east along Djl. Merdeka Utara. It also looks out on Merdeka Square.

Under the circumstances the most important [installations] round the Palace were the RRI building and the Post-and-Telecommunications building.²⁷ These we managed to secure without any shooting, since I had in fact given [them] an ultimatum: if they did not vacate RRI by 8:00 p.m., we would be compelled to take it by force with troops that we had gotten ready for that purpose. But Thanks be to God, all went [smoothly] without any use of force.²⁸

My brothers, why was it that I had to sacrifice RRI to be used by them [from morning] till evening? I was well aware that if they were allowed to use the RRI to announce their activities, of course from the political point of view we would suffer great harm, especially as this would give the public the impression that there existed another authority than the authority of the Government under the leadership of the Great Leader of the Revolution. I realized the harm that we would suffer, but I was convinced that the effort to diminish their [military] strength would more [rapidly] ensure the successful settlement of the affair.

I gave top priority to avoiding bloodshed, and Thanks be to God too, since [otherwise] I could have seized the RRI by force early in the morning after the first announcement. But this would have resulted in shooting, and I still did not know the real background to this “Movement” at that time. But once the announcement of the Revolution Council and its composition had been made, their real activities were unmasked [*sic*], convincing us that we no longer need hesitate to take action against the September 30th Movement, and could determine who was friend and who foe. By late afternoon all the [rebel] troop units—with the exception of the Tjakra who were still inside the Palace and whom we had contacted earlier, were withdrawn to Halim. This was still another indication to us that the Air Force formed the basis [*sic*] of the “Movement.” This at least was my evaluation of the situation, [in connection] with various facts, from morning till 6:00 p.m.²⁹

²⁷ The RRI (Djakarta Radio) building was on Djl. Merdeka Barat, on the west side of Merdeka Square. The Post-and-Telecommunications Building was on Djl. Merdeka Selatan, at the south end of the same square.

²⁸ The coup group went off the air shortly after 6:00 p.m. and the RRI building was evidently in the hands of Suharto’s paratroopers by 7:00 p.m.

²⁹ The Indonesian is awkward:

Ini adalah penilaian saja pada waktu itu, dengan beberapa fakta2 mulai pagi sampai dengan djam 18:00.

Some time after 6:00 p.m., i.e. getting on for 7:00 p.m., Battalion 530 was given the task of securing, among other things, the area round the National Front building,³⁰ thus the area behind and to the South of that building. Apparently the youth organization³¹ did not realize that we had already taken over, so they came in an armed gang to occupy the National Front building. Now since this gang consisted of youths whom we still could not identify, we disarmed them and took away their weapons. It turned out that they were from the *Pemuda Rakjat*, and were carrying weapons from the Air Force. This we learnt from subsequent interrogations. They told us that the Air Force had distributed 3,000 arms all told, [and the Army]³² several hundred, in various parts of Djakarta. As a soldier I was naturally very concerned that 3,000 arms were in the hands of people who were not members of the Armed Forces; this already represented a force which could create disorder, especially as I had already listed the Air Force among our foes, considering their activities up to this point.

On the basis of the reports that we had received and the facts we had assembled, there seemed good reason to believe that the early morning of October 2nd would witness even more violent events: possibly a general attack or an [attempt to] take back the area around the Palace. As a soldier of course I knew that one should always anticipate the enemy rather than allow oneself to be anticipated by him. So, in order to avoid the possibility of still further trouble and confusion on October 2nd, I decided that we must take control of Halim that very night.

My brothers, I said just now that the President had been at Halim since early morning—we had heard it from his adjutant. Actually at that time [when the adjutant appeared], the President was summoning various Army officers, i.e. General Pranoto and General Umar. All of them had already reported to me.³³ I told the adjutant

³⁰ The National Front building (the old Vice-Presidential residence) lies a little to the west of the Post-and-Telecommunications building on Djl. Merdeka Selatan.

³¹ The transition here is very abrupt, since no youth groups have been mentioned up to this point. This is also, with one exception, the sole reference to Communist-affiliated organizations in the entire speech.

³² For this insertion, see page 323.

³³ General Pranoto Reksosamudro was then Third Assistant (Personnel) to the Minister/Commander of the Army. General Umar Wirahadikusumah was Commander of the Fifth (Greater Djakarta) Territorial Division.

in reply that he should report to the President that I had assumed provisional leadership of the Army, that I had been able to get the situation under control, and that I requested further instructions. As for the Generals who had been summoned, I forbade them to go, since, quite frankly, in my estimation Halim was the centre of the "Movement" and I did not want to lose any more Generals. So it was because of my suspicions that I did not permit them to go.

My conclusion at that point then was that the President was secure—but whether 'secure' meant 'secure' or 'secured' was something I had to figure out in relation to the facts available at that time. Later on that evening, about 8:00 p.m., another courier came from the President, an adjutant of his, asking for explanations. So I explained everything to him. Then the adjutant asked me: What task does Pak Suharto give me to perform? I told him, I said: The task you must perform is to move Bapak [the President] from Halim. I then repeated it: The task you must now carry out as adjutant is to move Bapak from Halim. I will be very thankful to God if you can manage to move Bapak from Halim. Evidently the adjutant understood what I meant and later did his utmost, since about 10:00 p.m. I got a longdistance call from Bogor that the President had already arrived there.³⁴ But I checked this through a Bogor man, Colonel Alex, telling him to go into the Palace; and indeed the President was already there.³⁵ I thank God that in regaining control of Halim it was not necessary for me to take the President out of Halim by force but that he was already out of Halim, so that now all that remained was seizing control of Halim.

Although I had already made plans to retake Halim, my brothers, I knew that obviously not everyone there was involved in the affair; supposing that I destroyed Halim, who would suffer? I myself would feel that I had suffered, we all would. Therefore, the assignment I gave to the tank unit which I formed to retake Halim was: I told them strictly to avoid any shooting if they could help it, and avoid damaging airplanes and buildings, since they were our [Indonesia's] property. For this reason the counter-attack had to be carried out by night. Actually if we were to execute a conventional crushing of the "Movement", since there was a tank force all ready to go—as I said before, in the framework of the Armed Forces

³⁴ The President's week-end Palace was in Bogor, forty miles south of Djakarta.

³⁵ Colonel Alex is otherwise unidentified.

Anniversary we had already collected together 1 tank company (22 tanks) and 1 company of armor (panzers)—if we trained all 22 tanks on Halim, I think there is no doubt that we could have destroyed it completely. But as a citizen and also as a member of the Army and partner to the other Armed Services, I did not want [anything], and especially the Air Force, to be completely destroyed—since after all it was our property. So I specially selected troops who could carry out the assignment: to infiltrate and execute a night attack. Finally, at 6:10 p.m.³⁶ we managed to get full control of Halim without firing a shot. The one incident which did occur was when early in the morning a water-buffalo got upset seeing the red berets of the RPKAD³⁷ and our people were forced to shoot it.

Thus if there was no move, there was actually no shooting. And that, my brothers, was the situation, when about 6:10 a.m. it was reported to me that the situation at Halim was now under control. There also occurred various incidents in a number of places, among others near Senajan and around the Hotel Indonesia. At the same time we managed to seize some weapons—indeed we had formed a special unit for the seizure of weapons—and we did manage to take some arms away from them.

Anyway, while we were still preparing our attack on Halim, that is, after the President/Great Leader of the Revolution had left the airbase, there was some activity—airplanes taking off. Since we had radar-equipment attached to each anti-aircraft unit, we checked up, and discovered how many planes landed and how many took off.³⁸ At that time there was a plane landing, a Jetstar which was supposed to pick up Pak Bandrio,³⁹ [though] this didn't work out, and did carry Air Marshal Sri Muljono Herlambang.⁴⁰ And since he possibly did not know,⁴¹ we were forced to fire at him with our anti-aircraft

³⁶ The text has 18:10 hours. This is incorrect; compare the time of the water-buffalo story, and the time given in the first part of the succeeding paragraph.

³⁷ The RPKAD (*Resimen Pasukan Komando Angkatan Darat*) was the Army's crack commando regiment.

³⁸ The Indonesian is very confusing:

. . . ada kegiatan2 pesawat jang naik jang sesudah kita tjek karena kita mempunyai radarnja, daripada semua satuan penangkis udara hingga kita mengetahui berapa pesawat jang naik dan berapa pesawat jang turun."

³⁹ Dr. Subandrio, who was at that moment in Medan.

⁴⁰ Herlambang was at the time Deputy Commander of the Air Force.

⁴¹ The Indonesian is obscure:

karena mungkin djuga dia tidak tahu, terpaksa djuga pula ditembak. . . .

guns. So, if you heard firing about 12 midnight, it was anti-aircraft guns shooting at a plane coming in to land at Halim. However the plane was not touched, and finally managed to land safely.

That same night there were also planes taking off; we tried to estimate whether they were planes going to fetch reinforcements or for subversion. It turned out later that they were carrying out an evacuation: from Halim to Jogja, and then on to Madiun, Maospati.⁴²

About mid-day, [or rather] in the morning, I was summoned by the President together with the Commanders of all the other Armed Services, and, from the Army, General Prapto⁴³ and General Mursid.⁴⁴ Actually it was early morning when I was summoned, but because I was still very busy with General Umar, organizing and taking control of the situation in the city, it was only after 1:00 p.m. that I left for Bogor. I left for Bogor about 1:00 p.m., and got there at 4:00 p.m. A meeting was immediately held. The others, i.e. the Commanders, thus the Commander of the Police; the Commander of the Navy with some of his officers; the President; Pak Leimena; from the Air Force, Commander Herlambang; Minister Tardhio;⁴⁵ Minister of Trade Jusuf⁴⁶; and one other, General Sabur, as KOTI secretary,⁴⁷ had all been waiting for me for a long time. As soon as I arrived, therefore, the meeting was immediately started. A little while after the President opened the [discussions], Air Marshal Umar [*sic*] Dhani and Commodore Leo [Wattimena] appeared, late, because they had had to come a long way.⁴⁸

At this meeting the President explained that he was well aware, and understood, that this Affair was one which had to be settled immediately. It was a political affair which had to be settled immediately in the political field. For this the President [said he] required

Probably Suharto means that Herlambang did not know that the Army was trying to prevent all air traffic in and out of Halim airbase.

⁴² Maospati was the large Air Force base near the city of Madiun.

⁴³ This is a curious mistake. General (Soe)prapto, the Second Deputy to the Minister/Commander of the Army, was one of the six generals kidnapped and killed on the morning of October 1. Clearly Suharto means General Pranoto, not Prapto.

⁴⁴ General Mursid was First Deputy to the Minister/Commander of the Army.

⁴⁵ Minister Tardhio was Attorney-General Brigadier General R. Sutardhio.

⁴⁶ Minister Jusuf was Minister of External Trade, Brigadier General A. Jusuf.

⁴⁷ Brigadier General Sabur was Commander of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment, the Presidential Bodyguard. He is also secretary to the Supreme Operations Command (KOTI).

⁴⁸ Evidently from Central Java.

the restoration of calm and tranquillity. He gave orders that his original decision taking over direct control of the Army and appointing an Army officer, General Pranoto, as day-to-day caretaker of the Army should be put into effect. I was asked if this could be done. I answered that the President's order could [indeed] be carried out immediately; if it were announced, I would retract all the announcements I had made as temporary leader of the Army, [so that] the President and the day-to-day caretaker could perform their tasks.⁴⁹ [However] apparently the President did not want this to be done, but wished me to continue carrying out the restoration of security and order. Since there was some question about the status of his [original] order,⁵⁰ the President finally gave a radio address explaining the existence of this order and affirming the task I had been given, as KOSTRAD Commander, to restore order and security. These are the facts up to October 2.

The tasks given me by His Excellency the President were: first, to make every effort to avoid bloodshed, especially between the Army and the Air Force. I told him that this could be guaranteed and carried out. Second, I was to secure all arms in the hands of people who were not members of the Armed Forces. Last night in my report,⁵¹ I explained that there were about 3,000 arms from the Air Force, and about 200 from the Army, which had been removed by the followers of the September 30th Movement. These then were the two tasks which I was given: 1) fighting, clashes between one Armed Service and another, particularly between the Army and the Air Force, must be prevented at all costs. This I said we could manage. 2) We must take back [all] arms in the hands of people outside the Armed Forces. I said I could guarantee this too, but it would take some time, since we did not know precisely where these arms were.

⁴⁹ The Indonesian is a little obscure:

... perintah daripada Bapak Presiden bisa dilaksanakan segera bilamana diumumkan saja akan menjabat segala pengumuman saja sebagai pimpinan sementara AD jang kemudian baik Presiden, caretaker harian bisa melakukan tugasnja.

⁵⁰ The Indonesian is rather obscure:

Karena dasar dari perintah beliau ada tidak ada achirnja diadakan pidato. . . .

⁵¹ Again an obscurity. The Indonesian is: "*Tadi malam laporan saja, saja djelaskan. . . .*" The implication is that Suharto made a report to Soekarno on October 1. But it is possible that this is an aside and Suharto is referring to a report he made on October 14, i.e. the night before his present speech to the National Front officials.

My brothers, after we had reported on October 1,⁵² we naturally did our best to discover the fate of our kidnapped Generals. So on the evening of October 1,—the eve of October 2—our troops, who had carried out a successful manoeuvre without any shots being fired, were withdrawn, precisely in order to avoid shooting between the Air Force and ourselves.⁵³ I gave orders to look for scouts,⁵⁴ [to hunt down] clues as to the fate of our Generals. By God's Grace, that very night we already received some indications—there were some points that we got to know, on the basis of reports from people who knew what had happened. That same night too, moves were made to hunt for them; and finally we found the place of execution of our Generals. It was in a spot at the edge of the Lubang Buaja (Crocodile Hole) district which is part of the Halim Air Base. Nearby there was a training-ground, with tents set up by the Air Force for training members of the *Pemuda Rakjat* and *Gerwani*. They had already held about three training-courses there.

On October 3, I gave instructions that it should be understood that the exhumations of the bodies would take place only at my orders. On the morning of October 4 we exhumed the bodies. It proved to be true that the bodies of all 6 Generals and one officer, the adjutant of the Minister/Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces,⁵⁵ had been put into a dry well. It appears that [the executioners] really thought and believed that the bodies would not be discovered, since the well was closed and the hole at the top was filled in solid, so that, as it were, nothing would show. However, with the indications that we had we were finally able to find this well, as has been reported in the newspapers. We had to do it [this way] because of the President's instructions, among other things, to avoid clashes

⁵² See previous footnote. It is not clear to whom Suharto reported if it was not Soekarno.

⁵³ This is further confirmation that Halim did not fall to Suharto till the morning of October 2. But the syntax is exceedingly awkward.

⁵⁴ The Indonesian is: "... *saja perintahkan mentjari penjelusur, dimana bekas2 daripada nasib daripada Djenderal2 kita.*" *Penjelusur* would mean "slider," which makes no sense. *Penjelusup* means "scout" or "infiltrator." The sense is then somewhat improved, although one still requires a verb between *penjelusup* and *dimana*, and it is odd that Suharto would give orders to look for scouts. The best solution would be *menjelusup*, with the sense then being: "I gave orders to look for, to scout out clues as to the fate. . . ." But this would mean two separate misprints in one word.

⁵⁵ The Minister/Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces was General Abdul Haris Nasution. His adjutant was Pierre Tendean.

between the Army and the Air Force. On the other hand, it would obviously be very hard and difficult to control our boys' fury [once they knew what had happened], even though the President had given his second radio address in which he explained that he himself was safe and held the top leadership,⁵⁶ and that furthermore the Air Force was not involved in the affair [so that] shooting between the Air Force and the Army must be avoided.⁵⁷

Finally, in order to put a curb on actions which might get out of control, I felt compelled to issue a statement on the spot, the contents of which confirmed⁵⁸ the President's [declaration] that the Air Force was not involved, but [noted] that on the basis of the [known] facts it was impossible that some Air Force elements were not involved. Therefore I urged the Air Force to take immediate action against those elements involved in the affair. My aim was to keep a tight rein on undisciplined acts by our own boys, and also to induce the Air Force to take a firm attitude, clearly distinguishing between right and wrong.⁵⁹ Thanks be to God, we were able to control our boys, so that there were no undisciplined acts of revenge, etc.⁶⁰

My brothers, you can all imagine the fury of a soldier once he learned what had happened. Perhaps an officer could be controlled, but an ordinary soldier would be very hard to restrain. But by explanations and briefings in accordance with the Great Leader of the Revolution's wish that we be magnanimous, we managed to convince our men to be magnanimous too and [abandon] all desire for revenge towards anyone. This was especially [facilitated] once we discovered that the Air Force as an organ [of state] was not involved, only some Air Force elements. [But] all these elements had to be

⁵⁶ Suharto says: "*memimpin tapuk pimpinan*"—lead the top leadership. This is a clear mistake for "*memegang tapuk pimpinan*"—held the top leadership.

⁵⁷ The Indonesian syntax is very odd:

... bahwa AURI tidak terlibat dalam soal ini harus didjauhkan tembak menembak antara AURI dan AD."

⁵⁸ The Indonesian word translated by "confirmed" is actually *membenarkan*, which literally means "declares to be correct" with a certain overtone of superiority on the part of the declarer.

⁵⁹ The Indonesian: "*... memisahkan mana jang salah dan mana jang benar,*" can mean "distinguish between right and wrong," but it can also mean "distinguish between those who are in the right and those who are in the wrong."

⁶⁰ The Indonesian: "*Sjukur alhamdulillah bisa mengendalikan daripada anak2 kita jang liar baik untuk membalas dendam dehja adalah tidak ada,*" is in many respects obscure. The above translation is a hopeful approximation to the General's meaning.

hunted down, and [so] we left this up to the Air Force itself; there was no need for us to intervene to settle the Air Force's affairs ourselves.⁶¹

Such then is my explanation of the facts and the results of my effort to perform the tasks given me by the President. This included bringing the Army and Air Force together, which I did by summoning them and dispelling their fear-psychosis towards the Army. Since I knew many Air Force officers personally, I summoned them one by one, and also in groups, so that eventually we were able to restore a [normal] atmosphere and eliminate mutual suspicion between the officers of the two forces. Then to paralyze the armed strength [of the coup group] . . . there were various units which had fled, but finally they too surrendered. In their flight they reached Bekasi, they reached Bekasi on October 1, and on October 2 they assembled and surrendered.⁶²

Basically all the troops which had originally been involved, especially Battalions 454 and 530, were in our hands; whereupon it became clear that the men in these units had been swayed by irresponsible elements. We also managed to capture the ringleaders of this affair, all, that is, except General Supardjo, who still has not been arrested. [This being so], it is now clearly the duty of the public and the mass organizations to help ensure General Supardjo's immediate apprehension. We still do not know the exact quantity of the arms that were distributed, although we have already confiscated several hundreds. But it is clear that there are still a great many in [unauthorized hands], and we shall have to keep up a constant effort to regain them as quickly as possible so that they do not remain in the hands of people outside the Armed Forces. This is my area of responsibility—restoring security. As for the political field, perhaps Pak Bandrio already gave an explanation yesterday. I am simply giving the facts to the Government, particularly to the President, to help settle matters in the political field, since the President has already

⁶¹ The last word of the sentence, *sendiri*, is ambiguous. It may mean "ourselves" as in the translation above. It may however refer to the Air Force: in which case the last phrase should be translated: "to settle the internal affairs of the Air Force."

⁶² The Indonesian is very eccentric:

Untuk melumpuhkan kekuatan yang bersendjata, ada beberapa pasukan yang tadinya melarikan diri akan tetapi juga akhirnya mereka menjerahkan diri waktu melarikan diri sampai Bekasi pada tg. 1 sampai Bekasi dan tg. 2nya mereka mengumpulkan dan menjerahkan kembali.

Bekasi is a small town about twenty miles east of Djakarta.

decided: I appoint you to restore security and order; as for a political settlement, I shall settle that myself.

In this matter then my duty has been to restore order and security, and I have done this as far as possible. Thanks be to God, I have experienced the help of the progressive and revolutionary People, so that our efforts to regain distributed arms and arrest the ring-leaders of this affair, especially from the Army, have gone ahead very successfully.⁶³

Such is the explanation that I felt I should give. I have given you the facts, my brothers. It is up to you to make your own evaluation with regard to the affair itself: Was it really simply an internal Army affair, or was it politically-connected? For this, General Sutjipto will give you the facts which connect this affair with political questions.⁶⁴ I ask you to give General Sutjipto the time to give you further clarifications.

Thank you.

4. *Statement of General Nasution of November 12/1965*

[This translation is based on the Indonesian text to be found in *Berita Yudha* of November 15. The statement was made at an informal meeting with a delegation of the Central Action Unit of Indonesian Students at Armed Forces Staff Headquarters. The statement is one of the earliest public assessments of the October 1 Affair and its epilogue by the General.]

The General stated that we must not only completely destroy the executants of the “September 30th Movement”, but also its masterminds and their supporters.

He declared that the principal executants of the “September 30th Movement” had indeed turned out to be prominent veterans of the terror of the Madiun Affair. Since after [that affair] they had been permitted to operate, and had even been given opportunities to step up their activities, the results were what we can see today.

⁶³ The Indonesian is obscure:

... dapat saja rasakan sehingga pengambilan senjata tsb. maupun penangkapan terhadap pelaku2 daripada peristiwa baik daripada AD pada khususnya dapat berhasil dengan sebaik2nja.

⁶⁴ Again the Indonesian is obscure and contorted:

Untuk itu maka Djenderal Sutjipto akan memberikan fakta2 jang menjangkut peristiwa tsb. jang berhubungan dengan soal2 politik.

Three times now they have tried to kill me, the General averred. They savagely butchered our Generals and middle-level officers in the twinkling of an eye; civilian victims lie sprawled everywhere; they even tried to overthrow the state and the revolution. For this reason there must be no more hesitation against the executants, supporters and especially the masterminds of the "September 30th Movement." They should not and can not be given any more opportunities, and their activities should no longer be protected by law. They must be immediately smashed; especially their masterminds and dangerous supporters must be isolated at once. Since they have committed treason, and distorted the course of our state and revolution, they must be destroyed and quarantined from all activities in our fatherland. If they are still permitted to enjoy freedom of movement, the safety of the state would certainly constantly be menaced.

After explaining that there had never been any so-called "Council of Generals", as bruited about in their cruel slanders concerning the Armed Forces, General Nasution warned the students not to be deceived but to be constantly on the alert for the wicked slanders which recently have been so frequently hurled against us.

How easy to submit "documents," which they forged themselves, as slanderous evidence against the Armed Forces—which finally resulted in the national tragedy which has brought sorrow to us all.

Reacting to the question of the P.K.I., General Nasution stressed that it was not because we are anti-communist that we must annihilate the P.K.I. But proofs and undeniable facts, which have become widely known to the entire community, demonstrate that the P.K.I. has clearly betrayed the state and nation. They have clearly performed counter-revolutionary actions, they have clearly violated the basic [principles] of our state, and therefore we are obliged and dutybound to wipe them from the soil of Indonesia.

We must indeed be united. But must we, just because this group is Communist, although it has committed murder, torture, terror and treason against our state and government, still embrace it? This question, put by General Nasution to the student leaders, was immediately answered: "No!"

Finally General Nasution expressed his satisfaction that the students were now able to consolidate their unity, urged on by a sense of awareness and mutual responsibility towards the state and the revolution; and that they were united because they shared a common destiny and a common struggle in facing the dangers of "Gestapu" which is menacing student life.

F. STATEMENTS BY THE INDONESIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

1. *Editorial Appearing in the October 2 Edition of the Indonesian Communist Party Newspaper.*
Apparently Issued Late on the Afternoon of October 1

[The following translation is based exclusively on the Indonesian text found in *Harian Rakjat* of October 2. While the precise times at which this editorial was written and the paper actually printed and then issued can not be determined, it should be noted that both the normal Friday publishing practices of *Harian Rakjat* and the internal evidence of the issue indicate that the paper went to press in the late afternoon of October 1. This must have been shortly following receipt of news of the President's afternoon appointment of Major General Pranoto as caretaker of the Army—for this news appears in *Harian Rakjat* as a "Stop Press" item.]

THE SEPTEMBER 30TH MOVEMENT

It has happened that on the 30th of September measures were taken to safeguard President Sukarno and the Republic of Indonesia from a coup by a so-called Council of Generals. According to what has been announced by the September 30th Movement, which is headed by Lt. Col. Untung of a Tjakrabirawa battalion, action taken to preserve President Sukarno and the Republic of Indonesia from the coup by the Council of Generals is patriotic and revolutionary.

Whatever the justification that may have been used by the Council of Generals in its attempt, the staging of a coup is a condemnable and counter-revolutionary act.

We the People fully comprehend what Lt. Col. Untung has asserted in carrying out his patriotic movement.

But however the case may be, this is an internal Army affair. On the other hand, we the People, who are conscious of the policy and duties of the revolution, are convinced of the correctness of the action taken by the September 30th Movement to preserve the revolution and the People.

The sympathy and support of the People is surely on the side of the September 30th Movement. We call on the People to intensify their vigilance and be prepared to confront all eventualities.

2. *Statement of the Leadership of the East Java Communist Youth Organization. Issued on October 1*

[The translation of this statement of the East Java branch of the *Pemuda Rakjat* (the Indonesian Communist Party's Youth Organization) is based on the Indonesian text given in *Berita Yudha*, October 7, 1965.]

Leadership of the Major Region (East Java) People's Youth, Djl. Kaliasin 139, Surabaya.

Statement supporting the "September 30th Movement"
No. 156/V/PDB/65.

In connection with the occurrence of a September 30th Movement under the leadership of Lieutenant Colonel Untung to safeguard the Indonesian Revolution and Bung Karno, and in relation to the Revolutionary situation which has enraged the counter-revolutionaries into forming a so-called "Council of Generals" to carry out a coup d'état [against] the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, in the name of the 750,000 members of the People's Youth for the whole of East Java, we declare our fullest support for, and stand behind the September 30th Movement in forming Indonesian Revolution Councils down to the regions.

We instruct all Organization Leadership Bodies as well as the entire membership of the East Java People's Youth to sharpen their vigilance, heighten their support for Youth Unity on the basis of the Nasakom axis and carry out the Five Charms of the Revolution, in order to continue to crush American imperialism, "Malaysia," village devils, city devils, modern revisionism and other internal counter-revolutionary elements.

Surabaya, October 1, 1965.
Leadership of the Major Region
(East Java) People's Youth,
signed,
Tjap S. Gijo.

General Note regarding the sections B, C, D, E and F of this Appendix: On the pages 288, 295-296, 296-297, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 306, 307, 327, 329 and 330 comments can be found placed between [], while on the pages 308-327 footnotes are inserted. These comments and footnotes originate from a publication in April 1966 with the title *INDONESIA*, printed by *INDONESIA*, Ithaca, New York, USA, a publishing house said to be associated with Cornell University.

(This statement has been sent to the Honorable Indonesian Revolution Council in Djakarta. Copies have been forwarded to the National Council of the People's Youth in Djakarta, and to the Press and Radio).

G. LETTER FROM OEJENG SOEWARGANA TO
AMBASSADOR SOEDJATMOKO

THE PROBLEM OF THE "COUNCIL OF GENERALS" AND WHO PLANNED
THE "30 SEPTEMBER MOVEMENT"

For: His Excellency Mr. Soedjatmoko
Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia in Washington
From: Oejeng Soewargana

Washington D.C. June 27, 1971

1. *Political-strategic stance of the Army*

- a. Towards the end of 1964 the Generals of the Army felt that concrete steps were necessary to preserve the unity of the highest Army command. During two past incidents of rebellion (a) in 1948, staged by PKI/Muso and (b) in 1958, staged by members of Masjumi and the PSI, known as the PRRI Rebellion, it became clear that the Army was divided, as different factions confronted each other on the battlefield. It was feared that differences in evaluation and political-strategic views between the two most influential Army leaders, i.e. General A.H. Nasution and General A Yani, could be taken advantage of by parties that wanted to create discord within the Army.
- b. The first meeting between the two Army factions to discuss the preservation of the Army's unity was held on January 13, 1965. The high-ranking Army officers who supported the views of General A.H. Nasution and attended the meeting were, among others, 1. Lieut. Gen. Soedirman 2. Gen. Soeharto, the current president 3. Gen. Sarbini 4. Gen. Basuki Rachmat and 5. Gen. Soemantri Hardjoprakoso. Those who supported Yani were, among others, 1. the late Gen. S. Parman 2. the late Gen. Soeprapto 3. the late Gen. Harjono 4. the late Gen. Soetojo 5. Gen. Soekendro and 6. Gen. Muskita.
- c. After several meetings were held between the two most prominent Army figures Gen. Nasution and Gen. Yani, it became

clear that the *basic political-strategic views of the two leaders were the same*. Their only difference of opinion was to what degree Bung Karno was willing to cooperate with the PKI and communist countries. Gen. Yani believed that Bung Karno was able to withstand the influence from the PKI and the communist countries that had become his allies, while Gen. Nasution seriously doubted this was the case. They agreed, however, that the *People's Republic of China should be seen as constituting the greatest danger to Indonesia*. Its expansionist policy would make use of subversive actions and insurgency with the help of the PKI and its mass organizations, and in case of a People's Liberation War would make use of a Fifth Force, consisting of armed PKI-affiliated troops. During discussions on the “*danger caused by the PRC*” this was usually concealed with the term “*danger from the North*”.

- d. Gen. Yani emphasized that in the political chess game occurring in Asia at the time, the United States of America should not be seen as constituting a threat. On the contrary, in case of a bid for power by the PKI, which would certainly be backed by the core communist countries like the PRC and Russia, the US could become an ally of Indonesia in facing the communist danger. The communists responded by accusing Gen. Yani of having been encouraged by his former college friend at Ft. Leavenworth, Col Benson, to start the slander concerning “our local Army friends”, in what subsequently became known as the Gilchrist letter.

The political-strategic views of these two top-ranking Army leaders were different from, even opposite to, the political-strategic stance of Bung Karno, as shown for instance in his speech during the Cairo Non-Aligned Conference of October 4–5, 1964, which was later given the title “The Era of Confrontation”. In this speech Bung Karno divided the world in two opposite parts, i.e. 1. *The NEFOS* (New Emerging Forces), consisting of developing countries, former colonies and countries considered progressive, including the PRC, North Korea, Cambodia (under Sihanouk) and Indonesia, and 2. *The OLD-EFOS* (Old Established Forces)

- e. In order to reach consensus and broad support from the Army high-ranking officers, the two main Army figures, Gen. Yani and Gen. Nasution, organized an “*Army Seminar*”, in which the

high-ranking Army officers could *discuss and lay down the Army's political-strategic line*, which should become a guideline for the entire Army, from higher to lower ranks, throughout Indonesia.

- f. This first Seminar in the history of the Indonesian Army was held from April 1–5, 1965, in the building of the SESKOAD [Training College for Army Staff and Command] in Bandung. The working paper, divided into four parts, shows that the topic was thought over with painstaking effort by 1. Gen. Rachmat Kartakusumah 2. Gen. J. Mokoginta 3. the late Gen. Soewarto 4. Gen. Djamin Gintings 5. the late Gen. Soeprapto 6. the late Gen. Soetojo 7. the late Gen. Harjono 8. the late Gen. S. Parman and others.

The working paper can be considered an outline, in a pure form, of the political-strategic views held by the top-ranking Army officers at that time, without being influenced or under pressure from other parties.

The contents of this working paper, which stresses “*the danger from the North which should be reckoned with*”, is clearly in opposition to the political-strategic stance of “Nefos against Oldefos”, as held by Bung Karno.

- g. On the second day of the “Army Seminar”, on April 2, 1965, all those present at the seminar were summoned by Bung Karno to come to the Bogor palace. Although at the beginning of his speech Bung Karno praised Gen. Yani for his capabilities, in general Bung Karno showed his anger and dissatisfaction. According to the interrogation reports of witnesses Bung Karno stated the following:

“The Army leadership should not only consider tactics but should also understand world strategies, in particular South-East Asian strategies. The view that there is danger from the North (PRC) is no different from the view of Nekolim. We should reject such a view, which is only meant to safeguard the political and economic interests of the neo-colonial and imperialist countries in Asia. The Army leadership should understand and completely follow the political-strategic line as laid down by PBR [Great Leader of the Revolution, i.e. Soekarno, transl.], which has become known world-wide through his speech at the “Non Alignment Countries” Conference in Cairo in 1964. The Army leaders should understand the position of Indonesia within the revolutionary struggle in the context

of “Nefos”, and understand the need for a political strategy of an “Pyongyang-Peking-Pnom Penh-Djakarta Axis”, as a gathering of strength of the Nefos vis-à-vis the Oldefos.”

- h. Returning from Bogor, the commission responsible for writing the seminar’s working paper had no choice and inserted a sentence (in paragraph “k” if I’m not mistaken) concerning the need for cooperation between the countries belonging to the “New Emerging Forces”. The printed result of the Army Seminar was given the title “*TRI UBAYA CAKTI*” [Three Powerful Efforts] and was distributed among all the Army ranks.

Among the participants of the Army Seminar 1. Gen. S. Parman 2. Gen. Harjono 3. Gen. Soetojo 4. Gen. Soeprapto and 5. Gen. Soekendro were known for their persistence in maintaining the political-strategic theory of “*Danger from the North (read PRC)*”.

According to statements of Bung Karno’s former adjutants, Generals S. Parman, Harjono, Soeprapto and Soetojo were often subject to Bung Karno’s anger during the two months leading up to the 30 September Movement. And it was these four generals who were often named by Bung Karno as forming the core of the group of provocateurs known as the “disloyal Generals”.

2. *Efforts of Bung Karno to get rid of the disloyal generals*

- a. After the Army Seminar from April 1–5, 1965, it became clear to the PKI as well as to Bung Karno that the Army under the leadership of General Nasution and General Yani, together with their high officers such as General S. Parman, Soetojo, Harjono, Soeprapto, Soekendro, Soewarto etc., who had clearly taken a political-strategic stance based on the theory “*Danger from the North*” (read PRC), was incompatible with the political strategy of Bung Karno, meaning cooperation with the PKI domestically and with communist countries like the PRC, North-Korea and Cambodia internationally, in order to face the English-American “nekolim” presence in South-East Asia. Since Bung Karno assumed that the Generals Nasution, Yani, Harjono, S. Parman, Soetojo, Soeprapto, Soewarto, Soekendro, etc. would not change their political-strategic stance, the only option was to replace them with other high-ranking officers who were more inclined to follow Bung Karno’s political strategies. Since

the Army's political-strategic stance was laid down at the "Army Seminar", to be followed by all Army ranks, the replacement of Yani and friends was not easy to accomplish. The first step to be taken was to create discord among the high-ranking Army officers, known as the tactic of "divide et impera", among other things by launching the issue of the existence of "loyal" and "disloyal" generals among the high-ranking Army officers, concerning Bung Karno's policies. To cause even more sensation the disloyal officers were said to form a "*Council of Generals*".

- b. According to the testimonies of several witnesses who were very close to Bung Karno, during a meeting at the Tampaksiring Palace in Bali to celebrate his birthday, attended by, among others, 1. Vice-premier Subandrio 2. Vice-premier Chaerul Saleh 3. Vice-premier Leimena 4. Minister Jusuf Muda Dalam 5. Brigadier General Sjafiuddin 6. Governor Sutedja 7. the Bali Head of Police 8. the Bali High Court Attorney 9. Brigadier General Sabur 10. Chief Commissioner of Police Sumirat 11. Assistant Chief Commissioner of Police Mangil 12. Lieutenant Colonel Soeparto and 13. Bambang Widjanarko, Bung Karno stated the following:

- Among the Army Generals there were some who were disloyal towards Bung Karno. They lacked understanding of world strategy, especially of political strategies in South-East Asia. The idea of "danger from the North" among them was a result of indoctrination by Nekolim. The existence of views among top-ranking army officers conflicting with Bung Karno's political-strategic stance based on the "Jakarta-Peking Axis" was confusing for lower ranks.
- Because of these reasons changes were needed within the Army leadership. Brigadier General Sjafiuddin was ordered to investigate the extent of the influence of Generals who did not adhere to Bung Karno's political-strategic stance.

- c. Several witnesses who have been interrogated stated that on *August 4, 1965*, former Lieutenant Colonel Untung was summoned to the palace and had a conversation with Bung Karno in his bed room, in the presence of Brigadier General Sabur. On that occasion Bung Karno asked him whether he was capable of carrying out Bung Karno's orders and taking actions against the disloyal Generals. Lieutenant Colonel Untung answered that he was.

It should be noticed that on this day, Wednesday August 4th, Bung Karno had thrown up eleven times and fainted four times. Bung Karno's state of health led his doctors to conclude that there was a possibility Bung Karno might suddenly die or become incapable to govern.

In the minutes of the Extraordinary Military Tribunal, former Brigadier General Soepardjo, former Lieutenant Colonel Untung and Director of the PKI's Special Bureau Sjam Kamarusaman have declared that during the secret meetings held to prepare what was consequently known as "the 30 September Movement", the sudden illness of Bung Karno on Wednesday August 4, 1965, was the main consideration that led them to speed up their endeavours.

- d. During interrogations it was stated that *on September 23, 1965*, at 07.00 a.m., General Mursid reported to Bung Karno in the rear gallery of the palace, informing him that the top-ranking Army officers were consistently disloyal to Bung Karno. Bung Karno replied that measures against the disloyal Generals should be taken as soon as possible. Brigadier General Sabur was ordered to organize the preparations, and Brigadier General Soediro was ordered to assist him. This conversation was witnessed by: 1. Vice-Premier Soebandrio 2. Vice-Premier Chaerul Saleh 3. Leimena 4. Brigadier General Soenarjo 5. Brigadier General Sabur 6. Mr. Djamin 7. Air Vice-Marshal Omar Dhani.
- e. According to information from witnesses close to Bung Karno, *on September 29, 1965* Bung Karno held a meeting at the Djakarta Palace attended by: 1. Air Vice-Marshal Omar Dhani 2. Gen. Mursid 3. Briggen Sabur 4. Briggen Soenarjo 5. Minister Jusuf Muda Dalam 6. Mualif Nasution 7. Henny and 8. the President's Adjutants. The following was discussed during this meeting:
 - Bung Karno asked Brigadier General Sabur about the preparations for actions to be taken against the disloyal Generals, on which the latter answered that preparations were in progress and actions could be taken as soon as all was ready.
 - Bung Karno asked General Mursid whether he was willing to replace General Yani as Minister/Commander of the Army; he readily agreed.

Note:

According to interrogations of several witnesses close to Bung Karno the term “Council of Generals”, meaning the disloyal Generals, was already frequently used.

- f. Through the results of interrogations it was proven that via Air Vice-Marshal Omar Dhani there had been contact between Brigadier General Soepardjo and Bung Karno.

On *September 29, 1965*, Brigadier General Soepardjo, together with Air Vice-Marshal Omar Dhani, reported to the president, informing him about a “Council of Generals” who were disloyal to Bung Karno. He also informed him about the readiness of the *Progressive Army Troops* to defend and follow any order of Bung Karno/Great Leader of the Revolution.

- g. On *September 30, 1965*, at about 10.00 p.m., while Bung Karno was in the Senajan Stadium attending a congress of technicians, he received a letter from Lieutenant Colonel Untung, which was delivered by *Sogol* (alias Nitri), a body guard. The letter was handed to Bung Karno by Adjutant Colonel Bambang Widjanarko. After receiving the letter Bung Karno went to the restrooms, accompanied by Colonel Saelan, Assistant Chief Commissioner of Police Mangil and Colonel Widjanarko, and read the letter on the outside veranda. He then nodded his head without saying anything and returned to his seat. The letter from Lieutenant Colonel Untung was apparently very important and could be used as incriminating evidence. This can be concluded from the fact that the next day, while Bung Karno was at the house of Commodore Susanto on the Halim Air Base, he summoned Lieutenant Colonel Soeparto to collect the suit he had worn the previous night from his wife Dewi’s house. He took the letter out of the suit’s pocket and tore the letter to pieces in front of his adjutants.

Note:

It should be kept in mind that Bung Karno in his speech at the technicians congress in the Senajan Stadium, a few hours before the troops of Lieutenant Colonel Untung kidnapped and killed the generals, quoted a part of the “*Bagavad Gita*”, in which Sri Krishna told Ardjuna *never to hesitate on the battle field, regardless of who your enemy might be*. Sri Krishna gave him

this advice because Ardjuna hesitated to go to war and fight Reshi Bhisma, his own grandfather.

- h. Brigadier General H. Soegandhi—former Adjutant to Bung Karno—declared on oath in a written statement for the Central Investigation Team [Teperpu], that on the morning of Thursday September 29, 1965, he reported to Bung Karno in his bed room what he had heard from Sudisman and Aidit the night before, concerning that the PKI would soon “come into action” and that this was already known to “Bapak” [Bung Karno]. At the end of their conversation Bung Karno quoted Thomas Carlyle, stating that in a revolution “a father could eat his own children”. Brigadier General Soegandhi’s statement was included in the Report of the Chairman of the People’s Consultative Assembly [MPRS] on the prologue and epilogue of the 30 September Movement in connection with Bung Karno’s speech “Nawaksara”, held in front of the MPRS.

3. *Some facts that indicate involvement of Bung Karno in the “30 September Movement”*

Apart from the facts discussed above, there were some events after the 30 September affair which indicate involvement of Bung Karno in the 30 September Movement, among other things:

- a. On Friday October 1, 1965, after Bung Karno arrived in Commodore Susanto’s house on the Halim Air Base, Brigadier General Soepardjo came to report everything to him, which was witnessed by: 1. Air Vice-Marshal Omar Dhani 2. Brigadier General Sabur 3. Colonel Saclan 4. Assistant Chief Commissioner of Police Mangil 5. Brigadier General Soenarjo and 6. Lieutenant Colonel Soeparto. Bung Karno treated him as a Commander who was given the task to lead a purge, instead of a leader of a rebellion against the legal government headed by Bung Karno. According to witnesses Bung Karno seemed content after receiving the report, and while tapping Brigadier General Soepardjo on the shoulder he said: “*You have done well. Why did Nasution escape?*”
- b. As long as Bung Karno stayed in Commodore Susanto’s house, Brigadier General Soepardjo came in and went out several times through the back door to talk with Bung Karno, acting as a messenger between the leadership of the 30 September Movement and Bung Karno.

Among other things Brigadier General Soepardjo brought a stenciled list with the composition of the Revolutionary Council and the decree to dismiss the Dwikora Cabinet. The fact that Bung Karno did *not* reject or oppose these two declarations shows that Bung Karno at least had ideas that went in the same direction as those of the leaders of the 30 September Movement.

- c. Brigadier General Soepardjo, who was searched for by the Army and the RPKAD because he was known to be the highest Commander of the 30 September Movement, was given shelter by Bung Karno in the Bogor Palace from October 2 till October 5, 1965, in the right pavilion, close to the Botanical Gardens.
- d. Bung Karno did not order to search the kidnapped Generals, as he did before when Premier Sutan Sjahrir was kidnapped. On the contrary, after Bung Karno was informed by Air Vice-Marshal Omar Dhani that according to a radiogram received from the Halim Air Base Commander on *October 2, 1965*, traces were found which could lead to the place where the victims were hidden, Bung Karno ordered Colonel Saelan and his team on *October 3, 1965*, to find and remove the bodies in an attempt to cover up the tracks.
Colonel Saelan and his team who brought a light aggregate with them, heard on arrival in Lubang Buaja that RPKAD troops were coming their way, forcing them to abandon their plan.
- e. Bung Karno followed Brigadier General Soepardjo's advice and appointed General Pranoto as caretaker replacing the Minister/Commander of the Army, while according to a standing order from General Yani he should be represented by General Soeharto if he would not be present himself.
- f. Bung Karno repeatedly stated that the 30 September affair was of minor importance within the revolution, and called the kidnapping and the murder of the Generals just "a ripple in the ocean".
- g. Bung Karno didn't want to condemn the 30 September Movement, just as he didn't want to accuse and abolish the PKI, although he was pressed to do so by several parties.

APPENDIX VIII

THE WIDJANARKO REPORT

BRIEF NOTE ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE “WIDJANARKO REPORT”

The Indonesian language Interrogation Report of Bambang Widjanarko, former Adjutant to President Sukarno, by the Chief Interrogation Team of the Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order (KOPKAMTIB) was put before me in the form of a typewritten copy of an original document which clearly originated from Indonesia.

This typewritten text is identical to, but should not be confused, with the text as reproduced in the volume *The devious dalang* (The Hague: Interdoc, 1974)—the typewritten copy of the original Indonesian document was of bad quality and needed retyping in its entirety, for the sake of readability, on an electric typewriter. In the late 1960s/early 1970s few Xerox machines were available in Indonesia, so the usual method of copying was simply retyping a document, usually with a lot of badly readable carbon copies. Physical appearance therefore should be no reason to question the authenticity of the Report. Some of the Proceedings of the Extraordinary Military Tribunal (MAH-MILUB) were multiplied in the same way, and their authenticity has never seriously been questioned. It means however, that such extrinsic factors as letterheads and signatures could not be checked, and that the authenticity of the Report had to be confirmed by internal factors, such as use of language and internal cohesion, supplemented by knowledge of the way in which Indonesian military agencies conducted interrogations.

As to the way the Indonesian language is used, it is certain that the questions were put in the normal form of legal or semi-legal Indonesian, and that the answers by the person interrogated—within the context of time and place and in view of the personal background of Bambang Widjanarko—are as they might be expected to be: mostly to the point in military fashion, full of acronyms comprehensible today only to Indonesians well on in life (and a few foreign experts), full of virtual synonyms joined by a slash, all as was

usual among people of the background and education of the person interrogated: a Colonel of the Marines, who had finished his general education at secondary school level, and who began his army career early in the Japanese Occupation.

The internal consistency of the Report can easily be checked by the reader who makes use of the English translation which is true to the spirit, albeit (for the sake of readability) not always completely to the letter of the Indonesian original as put before me. In general, it can be said that these are the questions that an interrogator would have put to a person who had spent six and a half years in a close working relationship with the former Indonesian President and the Jakarta Palace entourage, and to which the person interrogated has given answers that make sense.

If, however, the interrogator asked questions about matters that Bambang Widjanarko had not himself witnessed, his answers make less sense, and he starts theorizing a little (see, for example Interrogation of 21 October 1970, question and answer 8).

Sometimes slight lapses in the answers can be detected, but these are always details as, for example, he supposes that the Presidential jet plane—the Jet Star—was standing ready to take the President from Halim airbase, whereas in reality at the time this plane was in Sumatra with Subandrio's group, but it would be strange indeed if such lapses were not present in view of the five years that had passed between most events and the time of the interrogation.

Attention should also be drawn to the fact that sometimes the person interrogated does not know the answer to certain questions, and that he admits this. Important too is that if certain questions, such as the relationship between the former Indonesian President and the Communist Party are too leading, Bambang Widjanarko gives a qualifying answer (see Interrogation of 21 October 1970 question and answer 6).

All this underlines the internal consistency of this Report of Interrogation.

The way military agencies conducted interrogations can easily be checked from the Proceedings of the Extraordinary Military Tribunal, available in printed or typewritten form at many libraries with a good collection of Indonesian materials. These contain trial proceedings of persons suspected of having been involved in the coup attempt of 30 September 1965, in two of which, viz. the trial of Pranoto and the trial of Supardjo, Bambang Widjanarko was heard

as a witness. The way in which questions are put, and the answers given there tallies with the style of this Report of Interrogation. As said above, the authenticity of these trial proceedings has never seriously been questioned.

Finally, from the use of certain expressions, it is clear that the person interrogated in the post-coup years has been influenced by the political jargon and the political thoughts of what was known as the New Order. This would have disposed him to testify in the way he did. But, as he himself states in his last interrogation of 4 November 1970, answer 117 b.1., many of the persons who, like himself, spent a long time in the vicinity of the former Indonesian President and who worshipped him, *had their minds thickly wrapped with reverence for the President*. It is, in a Javanese-Indonesian cultural context, understandable that statements like those of Bambang Widjanarko could only have been made after the death of this revered personality in June 1970. This would explain the rather late conducting of his interrogation.

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February 2006

WIDJANARKO

OPERATION COMMANDO FOR THE
RESTORATION OF SECURITY & ORDER
CENTRAL INVESTIGATION TEAM

PRO JUSTITIA

REPORT OF INTERROGATION

This day, Saturday, 3 October 1970, we:

1. S. SOEGIJARJO—Lieut.Col. CPM-NRP: 12688
2. AZWIR NAWIE—Ass. Chief Commissioner of Police

both in the function of member of the Central Investigation Team, interrogated a man admitting he was:

BAMBANG SETIJONO WIDJANARKO

having the rank of Colonel KKO, function: ASKA-PERS/MIL (Chief Assistant Military Personnel, Navy/Military brand), age/date of birth: 43 years/19 September 1927, place of birth: Karanganyar Kebumen, religion: Roman Catholic, address/place of residence: Djalan Widjaja 2/121 Kebajoran Baru Djakarta.

He was heard as a witness in matters relating to the G-30-S/PKI.

In reply to the questions we put to him he, the witness (BAMBANG SETYONO WIDJANARKO) gave the following replies:

Question:

1. Are you prepared to be interrogated on this day and make your statement?
Yes, by all means.
2. Are you in good condition?
Yes.
3. Will you please tell us about your experiences relating to:
 - a. Training
 - b. Service experience
 - c. Party/organisation activities

- a. Training
- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|------|
| General: | Elementary school | |
| | Secondary school (SMP) | |
| Military: PETA training – | | 1943 |
| KUTP – KKO | | 1952 |
| Basic School USMC (USA) | | 1954 |
| Adjutant to a General of the Army | | 1960 |
| SESKOAD | | 1968 |
- b. Service Experience:
- 1943 – PETA
 - 1945 – BKR/TKR/TNI (ALRI CA IV Tegal)
KKO ANGKATAN LAUT up to the present
- c. Experiences in party/organisation:
Never been in a party/organisation.
4. State your family relationships:
- a. Father – died ± 1931
- b. Mother – Mrs. Karjosupadno, Dj. Setasiun
No. 7. Karanganyar Kebumen.
- c. Brothers and sisters:
- | | |
|--------------------------|---------|
| 1. Tuty Kartini, elder | sister |
| 2. Sutjipto ,, , ,, | brother |
| 3. Sumijati ,, , ,, | sister |
| 4. Sunarsih ,, , younger | sister |
- d. Wife: Magdalena Paal
- e. Children:
- | | |
|-----------------------|------|
| 1. Vincent | boy |
| 2. Wanda | girl |
| 3. Joyce | girl |
| 4. Ingris | girl |
| 5. Stella | girl |
| 6. Michael Bharata | boy |
| 7. Bambang Witjaksana | boy |
| 8. Sinta Cisilia | girl |
| 9. Widiatmaka | boy |
5. Do you recollect a letter handed over to Bung Karno containing information that the troops of the RPKAD intended to attack the palace and were going to visit the homes of certain Cabinet-ministers? If you recall this, please make a statement as to the following:

- a. where did the letter come from?
- b. what was its contents?
- c. who was at the time aware of the contents of the letter?
- a.1. On March 10, 1966, at about 18.30 hours, a number of leading officials (Deputy Prime Ministers/Ministers) were present in the Guest House of the Djakarta Palace who had either to sleep there or remain there on the orders of Bung KARNO. At about that time, Brig.Gen. SABUR, Commander of the Tjakrabirawa regiment, brought information that there was a concentration of Army forces on the outskirts of the town and that their intention was to attack the Palace. This information was communicated verbally to Bung KARNO and other officials.
2. At about 19.00 hours Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT (Adjutant to the President) arrived with a letter which was handed over to Bung KARNO. This letter, it appeared, was written in Javanese. Bung KARNO gave the letter to me and told me to read it and translate it into Indonesian.
 - b. The contents: the letter was addressed to Bung KARNO.
 - It reported that troops of the Army, in particular the RPKAD, were at the ready to attack the Palace.
 - The letter was sent and signed by Gen. SUADI (Army).
 - c. Present were: Bung KARNO, Deputy Premiers LEIMENA and CHAERUL SALEH, Gen. SABUR, Col. SAELAN, Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT, Assistant Chief Commissioner of Police MANGIL and other persons whom I can no longer recollect.
6. How did Bung KARNO, Brig.Gen. SABUR and other officials who were present, react to the contents of the letter?
Please also make reference to the reaction to the information given.
 - 6.1. The information given, both verbally by Gen. SABUR and in the letter itself, which Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT had brought (from Gen. SUADI) was taken seriously by Bung KARNO, Gen. SABUR and other officials. All believed that the information was correct and that the intentions therein reported would take place.
 2. On the basis of the assessment of this information it was decided that Bung KARNO and the officials present should leave the Djakarta Palace immediately for a destination out-

side the city. After a number of alternatives had been considered it was finally decided by the Commander of the Tjakrabirawa regiment that Bung KARNO and the party should leave immediately by land for Bogor via Kebajoran Blok P, Kemang, Tjilandak, Pasar Minggu, Depok. During the discussion on the accuracy of the information I proposed that the leadership of the Tjakrabirawa regiment should first of all check with the PANGDAM DJAYA. I proposed this because I was convinced that the KODAM DJAYA was fully informed.

This proposal was rejected.

Pak Bandrio said it was unnecessary to check because the KODAM DJAYA would give false information anyway.

Gen. SABUR, too, who completely believed the information, thought it unnecessary to contact the KODAM DJAYA.

During these discussions it was particularly Pak BANDRIO who strongly protested against checking with the PANGDAM DJAYA. It was repeatedly argued that the information had originated with the army, or with Chief Officers of the Army, who were completely to be trusted.

It was also argued that the PANGDAM DJAYA would certainly camouflage any troop movements of the Army, Bung KARNO finally decided that it was unnecessary to get in touch with the KODAM DJAYA.

7. Why was not the information relating to this problem of the Army troops (in this case the RPKAD) conveyed to the leadership of the Army to achieve a solution of this problem in cooperation with the Army leadership?
 7. In my opinion information of this kind concerning the troops of the Army (RPKAD) was not released to the Army for the following reasons:
 - a. The Palace (i.e. the President) was able to establish direct communications with the PANGDAM V/DJAYA because it was the KODAM DJAYA which was responsible for security in the capital.
 - b. The situation at the time (March 1966) was very disturbed, Bung KARNO and the Tjakrabirawa not trusting the whole army—either RPKAD, KODAM DJAYA, KOSTRAD or the Army Staff.
 - c. The considerations given under a. and b. were the reasons

why there was prejudice with respect to the Army, so that problems arising from the presence of troops of the RPKAD were not conveyed to the leadership of the Army. This decision was taken by Bung KARNNO after hearing suggestions made by leadership of the Tjakrabirawa (Brig.Gen. SABUR and Col. SAELAN).

8. Please comment upon the activities of Bung KARNNO and Brig.Gen. SABUR aimed at ensuring military support against the troops of the RPKAD which were going to attack the Palace.
 - 8.1. After the decision had been taken that Bung KARNNO and his party should leave Djakarta in the direction of Bogor, and the route had been worked out, the Commander of the Tjakrabirawa regiment went to make his preparations. These included an order to the Batalion-commander of the KKO-AL (belonging to the Tjakrabirawa regiment) to make security arrangements along the route and to contact the KKO-AL of Tjilandak, which the party would pass.
 2. During the discussions in the Guest House Pak BANDRIO (in particular) explained that, in dealing with the situation generally, and with the RPKAD troops who were reported to be planning to attack the Palace, the troops of the KKO-AL, the BRIMOB as well as the AURI could be relied upon. Other officials, including Pak ACHMADI, confirmed this. As far as I can recollect those present at this discussions were:
 Bung KARNNO, Pak BANDRIO, Pak CHAERUL SALEH, Pak ACHMADI, Pak HARTAWAN, Pak JUSUF M.D., Gen. SABUR, Col. SAELAN, Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT and myself.
 3. Gen. SABUR kept on insisting that the groups should leave the Palace as soon as possible.
9. Witnesses Dr. LEIMENA and Dr. SUBRANDIO and Brig.Gen. SABIR told the investigators that Marine Gen. HARTONO had a meeting with Bung KARNNO on March 10th at approx. 12.00–02.00 hours in the KKO quarters in Tjilandak. What is your view of those statements?
 9. As far as I can remember these statements were correct. Marine Gen. HARTONO was in Tjilandak when Bung KARNNO's group arrived and met Bung KARNNO.

10. Give us some comment on the discussions between Bung KARNO and Marine Gen. HARTONO at Tjilandak, about matters relating to a report that the troops of the RPKAD were to attack the Palace.
10. After Bung KARNO's party had arrived at Tjilandak, Bung KARNO was taken to the office of the Commandant of the Officer's camp in order to rest there. During this rest period there were dialogues between Bung KARNO and Gen. HARTONO and myself about the situation which prevailed at that moment: namely, the report that troops of the RPKAD were to attack the Palace. Bung KARNO asked whether the troops of the KKO were prepared, if necessary, to resist the troops of the RPKAD. The answer was that they were prepared to do so. Bung KARNO asked whether the troops of the KKO were strong enough. The answer was that they were. Bung KARNO asked whether the troops of the KKO were able to ensure the security of the President. The answer was that they were prepared to ensure his security. During the discussions it was also stated that the troops of the KKO could be deployed immediately, if necessary.
11. Please give us a statement concerning the meeting between Bung KARNO and the Commanders of the Forces to discuss the Gylchrist (sic!) document in May, 1965.
11. In May 1965 there was a meeting between Bung KARNO and Pak BANDRIO and the four Commanders. The meeting was held in the morning. At that moment, I was not yet aware of what was being discussed, because I was not present at the meeting.
A few weeks later I heard from Brig.Gen. SABUR that the existence of a very important document was discussed at that meeting, and that it could be fetched from the British Embassy when the embassy building was to be attacked/burned down by demonstrators. This was the document that henceforth was to be known as the Gylchrist (sic!) document.
12. Please give us a statement on:
 - a. when and where did you become aware of the problems connected with the Council of Generals?
 - b. what was the significance of the Council of Generals about which you had heard?

- c. what did Bung KARNNO say about Council of Generals?
 - 12.a. I first heard about the existence of the 'Council of Generals' in the first quarter of 1965. I do not know for sure from whom I first heard about it. I heard it at the Palace, where many officials either called or were employed.
 - b. (1) When I first heard about the existence of this Council of Generals I did not pay so much attention to it, because, in my opinion, it was quite an ordinary matter, in other words, that a Committee in the Forces whose task it was to regulate promotions or to keep up the officers' honour, was necessary.
(2) Quite a time afterwards (about the middle of June, 1965) I heard that the existence of this Council of Generals in the Army was being reported as having a purpose opposed to the Government, or to Bung KARNNO.
 - c. As far as I know, and have witnessed, Bung KARNNO was very much influenced by and believed there existed this Council of Generals that was opposed to Bung KARNNO. From several incidents it could be seen that Bung KARNNO was displeased with certain Army Generals and, in turn, often received visits from certain other Army Generals who were trusted by Bung KARNNO.
13. Please explain:
- a. when and where did you first hear or know that Bung KARNNO was displeased with some Army Generals, including Gen. PARMAN, and Gen. SOETOJO, because they were regarded as being not loyal to Bung KARNNO?
 - b. who were the other persons who were also appraised of the situation at that moment?
 - c. was the accusation made by Bung KARNNO against the generals to the effect that they were not loyal, caused by the suspicion that those Generals were members of the Council of Generals?
- 13.a. I have forgotten the exact date or time but one morning (before October 1, 1965) I both saw and heard in a hall of the Merdeka Palace that Bung KARNNO was angry with some of the Army Generals, including Generals PARMAN and SOETOJO. His anger was caused by the fact that

these Generals were not regarded as being loyal to Bung KARN0.

- b. As far as I know, the others who were appraised of this, were the adjudants present, Pak DJAMIN and Deputy Premiers SUBANDRIO and LEIMENA, and Gen. YANI, who accompanied the Generals.
 - c. The accusation of Bung KARN0 that they were not loyal, was in fact due to the suspicion that the Generals were members of the Council of Generals.
14. The witnesses, DJAMIN, YUSUF MUDA DALAM and HENNY, gave the following explanation to investigators:
- a. on September 23rd, 1965 at 07.00 hours Gen. MURSID reported to Bung KARN0 in the rear gallery of Djakarta Palace that the Army Generals, the leadership of the Army, were still not loyal to Bung KARN0.
 - b. at that stage Bung KARN0 already said that he would act against the disloyal Army Generals. Bung KARN0 then asked Gen. SABUR about preparations to be made for measures to be taken.
 - c. Bung KARN0 then ordered that Gen. SUDIRGO should be summoned to take part in the measures to be carried out against the Army Generals.

Are the statements by those witnesses true, without exception?

If they were, please comment:

- a. who were the other officials who were also present?
 - b. what was the nature of the dialogue which you witnessed between Bung KARN0 and Gen. MURSID and Gen. SABUR?
 - c. any other matters also discussed at that time?
14. To my knowledge all the statements made by the witnesses are true.
- a. Other persons present: Pak BANDRIO, Pak LEIMENA, Pak CHAERUL SALEH, Brig.Gen. SUNARJO, Brig.Gen. SABUR, Pak DJAMIN and Air Marshal OMAR DANI.
 - b. The dialogue I was able to hear:
 - (1) Bung KARN0 to Gen. MURSID: 'Is what you report true?'—'Watch out, if necessary I shall arrange a confrontation.'
 - Gen. MURSID to Bung KARN0: 'Indeed, Pak.'

- (2) Bung KARNO to Gen. SABUR: 'Sabur, the measures against them must be carried out.'
- (3) Marshal OMAR DANI: 'The AURI is at the ready and is behind you Bapak.'
- c. As I recall it, the discussion also related to the Ministry of Trade, particularly between Pak BANDRIO and Pak CHAERUL SALEH, during which there was a difference of opinion. Bung KARNO intervened in the dispute and ruled at the time that it should no longer be discussed.
15. The witnesses HENNY, DJAMIN and YUSUF and MUDA and DALAM told investigators that Gen. SUDIRGO had called on Bung KARNO on several occasions to report to him on matters relating to the Army Generals who had been said to be disloyal to Bung KARNO and who belonged to the organisation of Generals who were planning a coup against the government of the Republic of Indonesia.
- Are the statements made by those witnesses true? If so, please comment:
- a. do you recall the tenor of the conversation between Gen. SUDIRGO and Bung KARNO?
- b. who were the other persons who were present at this meeting?
15. The statements by the witnesses are correct,
- a.1. I do not recall the tenor of the conversation sentence by sentence. I recall only the main outlines and the gist: Bung KARNO asked for the outcome of the 'checking out' of the existence of a Council of Generals whose aim was to carry out a coup; Gen. DIRGO answered that it was true. Bung KARNO also said that he had given Generals SABUR and SUNARJO an order to take measures against the disloyal Generals and at the same time ordered that Gen. DIRGO and the CPM should give them their support.
2. Before the aforementioned meeting at the end of September, 1965 Gen. DIRGO had on occasion been to see Bung KARNO and was told by Bung KARNO about the existence of a report and Council of Generals and, at the same time, Gen. DIRGO was ordered to investigate the matter.
- b. Other persons who were present at the time were: the Deputy Premiers SUBANDRIO, LEIMENA, Brig.Gen.

SUNARJO, Brig.Gen. SABUR, YUSUF MUDA DALAM, MUALIF NASUTION, Adjutants Col. SAELAN and DJAMIN.

16. Please make a statement about an alleged meeting between Bung KARNO and Gen. SABUR and a number of other Generals in the Djakarta Palace on 29 September, 1965 to discuss the measures to be taken against the Council of Generals/Chief Officers of the Army who were not loyal to Bung KARNO.
 16. As far as I recall the meeting of 29th September 1965, it was like this:
 - a. Present were: Marshal OMAR DANI, Gen. MURSID, Gen. SUNARJO, YUSUF MUDA DALAM, MUALIF NASUTION, HENNY and the Adjutants.
 - b. What I was able to hear of the conversation between Bung KARNO and Gen. SABUR: Bung KARNO asked about the measures against the Army Generals who were not loyal, and Gen. SABUR replied that everything was being prepared and would be carried out when everything was ready.

Bung KARNO said that the preparations had to be speedily carried out. Gen. MURSID, who was then present, said that there was already an Army unit which could be kept in reserve. Marshal OMAR DANI said that the AURI was at the ready and would back Bung KARNO.
 - c. On that occasion Bung KARNO ordered Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT to command General YANI and some other officials to appear before the President on October 1st, 1965.
 - d. Apart from the above conversation, there was a further exchange between Bung KARNO and General MURSID, on roughly the following lines: 'Bung KARNO wishes to replace Gen. YANI as Minister/Commander of the Army and to transfer to Gen. MURSID the command of the Army. Gen. MURSID replied: 'I am ready to accept.'
17. Witness HENNY and witness DJAMIN told investigators that, on September 30th, 1965, at about 08.00 hours, Gen. SABUR called on Bung KARNO at the Djakarta Palace with a file containing the letters of appointment of Gen. MURSID as Minister/Commander of the Army to be signed by Bung KARNO.

Please give your comments on these statements and your personal opinion about them.

17. I can state the following with conviction: On the morning of September 30th, 1965, I saw Gen. SABUR arrive with a file which he gave to Bung KARN0; Bung KARN0 signed the letter in the file. Gen. SABUR then gave the letter to the Secretary of the President, Pak DJAMIN. The contents of the file and the letter it contained were unknown to me, while Gen. SABUR and DJAMIN made no statement to me about them.
18. Do you recall that, in the Tampaksiring Palace talks were held between Bung KARN0 and Gen. SJAFIUDIN on:
 - a. the existence of Army Generals who were not loyal to Bung KARN0?
 - b. the existence of groups in the Army at officer level which were loyal to Bung KARN0 and groups which were disloyal to Bung KARN0?
 - c. the measures that had to be taken against the Army Generals which were not loyal to Bung KARN0?

If you do recall this, please comment on:

 - a. when and where was the discussion between Bung KARN0 and Gen. SJAFIUDIN?
 - b. what was the tenor of the discussion and who were the other persons who took part in it?
 - c. please also mention any others who were present.
18. I do recall a discussion between Bung KARN0 and Gen. SJAFIUDIN.
 - a. Place—the Tampaksiring Palace, Bali
Date—June 6th, 1965 (Birthday of Bung KARN0)
 - b. The people then present at the dinner were: Pak BANDRIO, Pak CHAERUL SALEH, Pak LEIMENA, JUSUF MUDA DALAM, Gen. SJAFIUDIN, Pak SUTEDJA, Head of Bali Police, the Public Prosecutor, Gen. SABUR, Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT, Ass. Chief Commissioner of Police MANGIL, Lieut.-Col. SUPARTO and myself.
 - c. The discussions proceeded roughly as follows: Bung KARN0 said that the Generals should not think only about tactics but also try to understand world strategy, in particular the political strategy of South-East Asia. The theory that danger threatened from the North (People's

Republic of China) was a neo-colonial imperialist concept and we ought to reject it. The Djakarta-Peking axis was Bung KARNO's strategic concept which had to be observed by the Generals.

General SJAFIUDIN said that the existence of other theories than Bung KARNO's policies prevailed in leading circles of the Army, and gave rise to difficulties in the lower ranks assigned the task of carrying them out. This fact was also the cause of the rising of 'groups' in Army circles; for that matter, there were some who followed Bung KARNO's policies and some who didn't.

Bung KARNO, responding to Gen. SJAFIUDIN's remarks, said that if that were true, then changes or improvements were in fact necessary in the top echelons of the Army. Bung KARNO also said that Gen. SJAFIUDIN should sound out the accuracy of reports that there were Generals who either did not follow his policies or were disloyal to him. Pak BANDIO suggested that Gen. YANI should be summoned and questioned as to the accuracy of this matter.

- d. After that meeting at Tampaksiring, I recall that Gen. SJAFIUDIN occasionally turned up at the Merdeka Palace to call on Bung KARNO (I don't exactly remember when, but I think it was round about July–September 1965), and that Gen. SJAFIUDIN reported to Bung KARNO on the results of his investigations, which showed that there were, in fact, Officers and Generals of the Army who either did not agree with his policies or were disloyal to him. On the basis of this report Bung KARNO stressed the necessity for speedy changes and replacements in the top echelons of the Army. When Gen. SJAFIUDIN was asked which Army General was eligible to become Minister/Commander of the Army, Gen. SJAFIUDIN mentioned the name of Gen. MURSID.
19. Do you recall that, in July 1965, Bung KARNO and CHOU EN LAI had a talk in Shanghai? If you do recall this, please make a statement on:
- a. when and where did that meeting take place?
 - b. who were present?
 - c. what was the chief matter in the discussion between Bung KARNO and CHOU EN LAI?

19. I recall that there was, in fact, a meeting between Bung KARNO and CHOU EN LAI in July, 1965.
 - a. The meeting was early in July 1965 (the exact date escapes me) in Shanghai in the building where the Bung KARNO party was staying.
 - b. As far as I remember, present at this meeting were: Bung KARNO, Pak KUSOMOWIDAGDO, CHOU EN LAI and a Chinese interpreter.
 - c. I was not aware of the topic of the discussion behind the closed doors: later, I heard from somebody (possibly Pak KUSUMOWIDAGDO) that the result of the meeting was: the formation of the Djakarta—Pnom Penh—Peking—Pyongyang axis.
That arms aid would be given by the People's Republic of China to establish a Fifth Force in Indonesia.
 - d. Apart from this aforementioned special meeting (b) there had previously been a meeting attended by the Indonesian officials Bung KARNO, AIDIT, ALI SATROAMID-JODJO, SJAFIUDIN, SUHRI, KUSUMOWIDAGDO, and from the side of the People's Republic of China, CHOU EN LAI, several Chinese officials and the interpreter.
20. Please name the generals who were not regarded as being loyal by Bung KARNO and say in what respect they were not loyal to Bung KARNO.
 20. As far as I know the Army Generals who at one point or another were called disloyal by Bung KARNO were: Gen. PARMAN, Gen. SUTOJO, Gen. NASUTION, Gen. HARJONO. They were regarded as disloyal because they refused to follow the policies of Bung KARNO, or did not want to cooperate with the Communists.
21. The witnesses SURATNI, SUKARTI and AMANDA JACOBS told the investigators that, on August 4th, 1965, ex-Lt.-Col. UNTUNG called at the Palace for an audience of Bung KARNO. Please comment on:
 - a. are the statements by the witnesses correct?
 - b. was Lt.-Col. UNTUNG accompanied by others and if so, who were they?
 - c. what was the topic of conversation between Bung KARNO and Lt.-Col. UNTUNG?
 - d. what other persons were informed of the conversation?

- 21.a. The statements of the witnesses are correct. Ex-Lt.-Col. UNTUNG arrived in the bedroom of Bung KARNO in the Palace on August 4th, 1965.
 - b. As I recall it, ex-Lt.-Col. UNTUNG was not alone. He was accompanied by Gen. SABUR.
 - c. Bung KARNO asked Lt.-Col. UNTUNG if he was prepared to accept orders that measures should be taken against the Army Generals who were disloyal. UNTUNG replied that he was.
 - d. I no longer recall who the others were who were informed of this conversation, except Gen. SABUR.
22. Please give us some clear facts about the presence of a team of Chinese physicians of the People's Republic of China.
22. I can make no clear statement about the presence of a team of Chinese physicians of the People's Republic of China. All I can recount is what I myself saw and heard. The presence of a team of physicians of the P.R.C. was the result of an offer made by the P.R.C. (CHEN YI or CHOU EN LAI), to reinforce the Indonesian doctor's team. This offer was accepted by Bung KARNO. The Indonesian doctors' team also accepted the offer or was forced to accept it, because they were interested in seeing the results of the technique of acupuncture applied by the Chinese physicians. The teams of physicians (both the Indonesians and those of the Chinese People's Republic) were presided over and coordinated by Dr. SOEHARTO. There was always a member of the Indonesian physicians' team present when Bung KARNO received medical treatment from the physicians' team of the Chinese People's Republic.
- Ingenieur LAUW and Dr. TAN, who also belonged to the Indonesian physicians' team acted as liaison the Indonesian and Chinese doctors.
23. Please comment on:
- a. is it true that Bung KARNO, on September 30th, at 22.00 hrs, received a letter at the Senajan stadium from Lt.-Col. UNTUNG?
 - b. who delivered the letter?
 - c. where did Bung KARNO read the letter and what was its contents?

- 23.a. On September 30th, 1965, at about 22.00 hrs, Bung KARNO did in fact receive, at the Senajan stadium, a letter from ex-Lt.-Col. UNTUNG.
- b. I myself handed over the letter to Bung KARNO and I received the letter from one of the bodyguards, whose name was either SOGOL or NITRI, and he said that there was an important letter for the President.
- c. Bung KARNO received the letter and pocketed it. He then stood up and went outside to the toilet, followed by Col. SAELAN, Ass. Chief Commissioner of Police MANGIL, the bodyguards and myself. In the outside gallery Bung KARNO read the letter and returned it to his pocket. I knew nothing of the contents of the letter.
24. Do you recall that on Oct. 1st, 1965, that you were ordered to summon Gen. PRANOTO to Halim airbase. If you do, would you please explain:
- a. who gave you this order to summon Gen. PRANOTO to come to Halim airbase and what were the reasons?
- b. where did you meet Gen. PRANOTO and what did you hand over to him?
24. As I recall, the events of October 1st, 1965, were as follows:
- a. Gen. SABUR gave me instructions to summon Gen. PRANOTO to appear before Bung KARNO immediately, because he had been assigned the responsibility for the Army. Gen. SABUR also explained that Gen. PRANOTO was regarded by Bung KARNO as a progressive senior General of the Army.
- b. I did not meet Gen. PRANOTO, and therefore went to the KOSTRAD and reported to Gen. SOEHARTO that I had been instructed by Bung KARNO to summon Gen. PRANOTO (approx. 19.00 hrs). Gen. SOEHARTO asked me: where is Bapak now? I replied: at Halim. Gen. SUHARTO added:
- Tell Bapak that Gen. PRANOTO cannot come.
 - For the time being I am head of the Army (Gen. SOEHARTO) and that is why, from now on, all instructions must go through me.
 - BAMBANG, see to it that Bapak leaves Halim.
- I then left the KOSTRAD and went back to Halim to report to Bung KARNO (approx. 20.00 hrs).

25. Do you recall that Minister NJOTO visited the Bogor Palace and met Bung KARNNO? Furthermore was NJOTO also present at the session of the Paripurna Cabinet in Bogor?

If you happen to recall that, please comment.

- a. when did NJOTO meet Bung KARNNO in the Bogor Palace and who were present at their meeting?
- b. is it true that NJOTO handed over the letter from D.N. AIDIT to Bung KARNNO and what was the contents of that letter? Who knew of the contents of the letter and discussed the contents of the letter and discussed the contents with Bung KARNNO?
- c. do you recall the statement of the PKI which was read out by NJOTO at the Cabinet meeting in Bogor and what was the substance of that statement? Please state, also, whether the Bogor statement was drafted in cooperation with Bung KARNNO?

25. I recall that NJOTO once went to the Bogor Palace and met Bung KARNNO.

- a. NJOTO arrived during a Cabinet meeting (6 Oct. 1965). Just before the meeting began NJOTO met Bung KARNNO in the President's study. Also present in the room were: Deputy Premiers Pak BANDRIO and Pak LEIMENA, Minister YUSUF MUDA DALAM and Gen. SABUR.
- b. I was unable to see and did not know whether NJOTO handed over a letter to Bung KARNNO at that moment. But I heard on from Gen. SABUR and Pak BANDRIO that it was in fact true that NJOTO delivered a letter to Bung KARNNO. As far as I can remember the letter had the following contents:
 1. the statement of G-30-S/PKI is entirely in the hands of the President Supreme Commander;
 2. law and order is essential. It is therefore forbidden to all parties concerned to condemn the Council of Generals or the G-30-S/PKI;
 3. the whole apparatus of the revolution must function as it did before the existence of the G-30-S/PKI;
 4. security problems will be submitted to the Police with the support of the National Front;
 5. the whole revolutionary apparatus must compete to win the Five Sacred Talisman of the Revolution;

6. it is forbidden to utter accusations or recriminations in respect of each other.
- c. As far as the statement by the PKI is concerned, the following:
 1. the PKI statement contains the declaration that the PKI was not involved in any way with the G-30-S/PKI and that the whole question of G-30-S/PKI was an internal affair of the Army;
 2. that statement was read out by NJOTO at the Cabinet meeting at the Bogor Palace;
 3. I do not know whether the statement was drafted at Bogor in consultation with Bung KARNNO.
- d. As regards the letter from AIDIT, which was handed over to Bung KARNNO by NJOTO, its influence was immediately noticeable in the attitude of Bung KARNNO. I can give clear facts to illustrate this:
 1. Bung KARNNO had always adopted a protective attitude towards the PKI. Bung KARNNO always refused to liquidate the PKI, in spite of heavy pressure from the Society at large. I equally had received a message from Gen. SOEHARTO to have the PKI immediately disbanded and had passed on the request to Bung KARNNO. (At that time Gen. SOEHARTO lay ill in his old house at Djalan Sabang.) It was then that Bung KARNNO's determination not to disband the PKI became clear to me;
 2. Bung KARNNO kept insisting that law and order must be restored first before a political solution could be found. This was clearly in accordance with the will of the PKI;
 3. Bung KARNNO kept stressing that the PKI had also had its glorious share in the Indonesian Revolution.
26. Do you recall that the Commander of the Halim Perdana Kusuma airbase handed over a radiogram to Air Marshal OMAR DANI? If so, please comment:
 - a. when and where was aforementioned radiogram handed over to Marshal OMAR DANI and what was its contents?
 - b. was the radiogram passed on to Bung KARNNO?

- c. who were the persons who dealt with the contents of the radiogram together with Bung KARNO and Marshal OMAR DANI?
 - d. what were the activities of the leadership of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment on Bung KARNO's orders in connection with the aforementioned radiogram?
- 26.a. I cannot say anything with certainty about the radiogram but I can say the following:
On October 2nd, 1965 in the afternoon I heard from Col. KARDJONO (one of the Adjutants) or Gen. SABUR that a report had been received from Halim Airbase that traces had been found near Halim which seemed to give strong indications of the presence of corpses. This information—the radiogram—was handed over to Marshal OMAR DANI.
- b. Aforementioned radiogram was also passed on to Bung KARNO. I did not know for certain who passed it on.
 - c. Who else was involved in discussing the contents of the radiogram, I do not know for certain. On that afternoon there were a number of people with Bung KARNO. They were: Pak BANDRIO, Pak LEIMENA, Marshal OMAR DANI and Pak SABUR. At that moment there was activity around Bung KARNO in order to record Bung KARNO's voice on tape with the purpose of declaring that Bung KARNO was safe.
 - d. The next morning, the 3 October, 1965, I heard from Col. SAELAN a report of the activities of the Tjakrabirawa regiment the gist of which was:
 - 1. on the basis of the abovementioned radiogram Bung KARNO gave orders to the Tjakrabirawa regiment, to Col. SAELAN with a team to go to the place and look for the corpses;
 - 2. because it was evening the team took lights with it;
 - 3. when the team arrived at the place (Lobang Buaja), and had just started the search, a unit of the RPKAD arrived on the scene. Owing to the arrival of the troops of the RPKAD the mission given to Col. SAELAN and his team by Bung KARNO to find and remove the corpses, failed;

4. the purpose of the removal of the corpses was to wipe out all traces.
27. Please explain the tenor of the discussions in the house of Commodore SUSANTO on October 1st, 1965 on the candidature or appointment of Gen. PRANOTO as Minister/Commander of the Army. Also refer to the approval of the leadership of the G-30-S/PKI with regard to this appointment of Gen. PRANOTO.
 - 27.a. The candidature or appointment of Gen. PRANOTO as Minister/Chief of the Armed Forces was discussed on October 1st, 1965 in Commodore SUSANTO's house in the afternoon. Bung KARNO and the officials: Pak LEIMENA, the Minister/Commander of the Navy, the Minister/Commander of the Police, the Minister/Commander of the Air Force, Gen. SUTARDJO, Gen. SUNARJO, Gen. SABUR held the talks in the central gallery behind closed doors. We, Col. SAELAN, Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT, Ass. Chief Commissioner of Police MANGIL, myself and members of the bodyguard were in the outside gallery and were unable to hear and did not know what was being discussed.

On that afternoon, at approx. 17.00 hrs, Gen. SABUR emerged from the central gallery and instructed me to summon Gen. PRANOTO because he was to be appointed Minister/Commander of the Army.
 - b. It was only a few days later that I learned that, during the aforementioned discussions ex-Brig.Gen. SOEPARDJO took part in the discussions by entering and leaving by the rear door in the central gallery. I learned only later from Gen. SABUR of the presence of ex-Brig.Gen. SOEPARDJO at the discussions and also of his function as liaison with the leadership of the G-30-S/PKI.
 28. Will you say what you know about the list of members of the Revolutionary Council? Was Bung KARNO aware of the list before it was made public? What did it look like and who signed it?
 - 28.a. I knew of the existence of the Revolutionary Council when I listened to a radio broadcast at 14.00 hrs on October 1st, 1965 in the front room of Commodore SUSANTO's house.

- b. At approx. 14.30 hrs when a number of officials arrived (Pak LEIMENA, Adm. MARTADINATA, Gen. SUTARDIO and Gen. SUNARJO), Bung Karno instructed Gen. SABUR to hand over a list to Pak LEIMENA. This list contained the names of the members of the Revolutionary Council.
 - c. As I remember it, the list was stencilled and was signed by ex-Lt.-Col. UNTUNG and was, it is true, already in the hands of Bung KARNO and Gen. SABUR before the radio announcement.
29. Did you appreciate the significance of the fact that the uniform of the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of the R.I. had to be collected by SUPARTO and SOGOL from DEWI's house at Djalan Gatot Subroto? If you did, will you then explain what was the purpose of it and who was ordered by Bung KARNO to search the pockets of the uniform?
29. At about 12.00 or 13.00 hrs on October 1st, 1965 I saw Lt.-Col. SUPARTO, carrying drinks from the palace for Bung KARNO, arrive with the uniform in a plastic bag. After the uniform had been put into the room, Bung KARNO ordered me to see if there was a letter in one of the pockets. I searched the pockets of the aforesaid uniform and I took a letter that was in one of the pockets and gave it to Bung KARNO without reading it. Bung KARNO took the letter and tore it up. That was the letter that was handed over to Bung KARNO and read by him the previous evening in the stadium (September 30th, in the evening) and sent by ex-Lt.-Col. UNTUNG.
30. Will you describe the departure of Bung KARNO from Halim to Bogor and explain the reasons to go to Bogor.
- a. who accompanied Bung KARNO to Bogor?
 - b. what was the substance of the conversation during the journey from Halim to Bogor?
- 30.a. When I arrived at Halim (at Commodore SUSANTO's house) from the KOSTRAD at approx. 20.00 hrs I reported immediately to Bung KARNO. Present were at the time a number of officials, including Pak LEIMENA. I conveyed the message of Gen. SOEHARTO, that Gen. PRANOTO was unable to come, that for the time being, the command of the Army was in the hands of Gen. SOEHARTO

- and for that reason it was requested that all instructions should be handed to him or should pass through him. I then requested, and greatly hoped, that Bung KARN0 would decide to leave Halim (I did *not* say that this was a message which Gen. SOEHARTO had given me).
- b. While I was making my report and conducting the discussion ex-Brig.Gen. SOEPARDJO entered by the rear door. After he had greeted Bung KARN0 and the other officials he sat down in the empty chair next to me.
 - c. I told Bung KARN0, while those present listened, about everything I had seen on the way between Halim and KOSTRAD: the movements of the KOSTRAD troops and the troop concentrations which I saw earlier in the morning in the neighbourhood of the palace and which, that evening, were located at the Djakarta Bypass.
 - d. Marshal OMAR DANI, who was also present, said to Bung KARN0 that a plane was ready if he wanted to go to Madiun or Djogja.
 - e. In the middle of the conversation DEWI arrived, accompanied by Lt.-Col. SOEPARTO. The company rose when Bung KARN0 welcomed DEWI and she greeted all those present. Then Bung KARN0 retired with DEWI to a room and the company broke up.
 - f. At that moment I took Pak LEIMENA aside and explained to him how serious the situation was and hoped that Pak LEIMENA would persuade Bung KARN0 to leave Halim. But I did tell Pak LEIMENA that Gen. SUHARTO had given me the message to get Bung KARN0 out of Halim.
 - g. After I had spoken to Pak LEIMENA in the front gallery I got in touch with Col. SAELAN and Ass. Chief Commissioner MANGIL and told them they should get cars ready to leave Halim. I also explained the situation to them and we finally decided to take Bung KARN0 to Bogor.
 - h. At approx. 22.50 hrs Pak LEIMENA came out and said that Bung KARN0 would be leaving Halim immediately. When Bung KARN0 came out I requested him quickly to get into the 'Princess' car. Pak LEIMENA sat on his left. Three people sat in front: Lt.-Col. SUPARTO, as driver, in the middle SUHARSO of the bodyguard and

myself as Adjutant. Marshal OMAR DANI, who accompanied Bung KARNO to the car, saw that it was full and was therefore unable to join us.

- i. When everyone was seated I ordered an immediate departure (approx. 23.00 hrs). The car drove from Halim in the direction of the Djakarta Bypass. After we had joined the Bypass we turned left and went straight to Bogor.
- j. Shortly after we had departed, and when Bung KARNO saw that we moved to and in fact joined the Bypass Bung KARNO asked: 'Where are you taking me?' Pak LEIMENA who was sitting just behind me, pressed my shoulder to indicate that I should answer. I replied: 'My apologies, Pak, but we are taking you to Bogor'. Bung KARNO asked: 'Why to Bogor?' I answered: 'I have three reasons, Pak: 1) Halim is not safe, and I figure that Halim will be attacked either tonight or at the latest tomorrow morning. Therefore, Bapak must leave Halim. 2) I drew the conclusion from what I heard at the KOSTRAD that the AURI cannot be trusted, therefore Bapak should not go by air. 3) It is safer to go by land and we are taking you, Bapak, to Bogor because Bogor is safe and not too far away from Djakarta. That will make it possible for Bapak to put a speedy end to the present confusion.'
Pak LEIMENA: 'Yes Pak, Bogor is safe and not far away from Djakarta.'
Bung KARNO: 'Is it true, Bang, are we now safely on the way to Bogor?' On the journey he asked this question three times. I: 'yes Pak, I guarantee your safety.' (I acknowledge that this was an exaggeration on my part, but it was necessary at the time to put Bung KARNO's mind at rest.)
- k. The party arrived safely in Bogor at 24.00 hrs. When we were nearly at the gateway Bung KARNO asked me: 'What is your opinion about the troop movements of the KOSTRAD?'
I: 'When I saw the troops in the city and when I heard the discussions in the KOSTRAD I concluded that an attack on Halim was imminent.'
As we arrived in the garden of the palace I said to Bung KARNO: 'Pak, my task of taking you to safety is completed.'

1. When we arrived at the pavilion in the Bogor Palace and Bung KARNO went inside I immediately rang up the KOSTRAD and reported to Gen. SOEHARTO that Bung KARNO had meanwhile arrived in Bogor and that my task was completed. Gen. SABUR did the same, speaking as Commander of the Tjakrabirawa regiment, and reporting to Gen. SOEHARTO.
31. Please explain:
 - a. when did ex-Brig.Gen. SOEPARDJO arrive at the Bogor Palace and how long did he stay?
 - b. what discussions did ex-Brig.Gen. SOEPARDJO have with Bung KARNO?
- 31.a. Ex-Brig.Gen. SOEPARDJO was in the Bogor Palace between 2 and 5 October 1965 to hide from pursuit. He lived in the right hand pavilion, near the Botanical Gardens.
- b. I know nothing of the nature of the discussions between Bung KARNO and this ex-Brig.Gen. SOEPARDJO.
32. Have you any other statements to make?
 - 32.a. At present I have nothing to add to what I have already said.
 - b. I am always ready and prepared to make any statement as to my knowledge in order to establish justice and truth.
33. Are all your statements according to truth, and are you prepared to take oath on them?
 33. All my statements are true and I dare to take oath on them.
34. Do you have the feeling that, in making the above declarations, you have been dictated or have been put under pressure or in any other way forced?
 34. I do not feel to have been dictated, put under pressure or forced in any other way in making the above declarations.

After this Report of Investigation had been read to the interrogated person in question in a language which he understands, he placed his signature upon it as reproduced hereunder, as proof that he had understood and approved the contents of the Report of the Investigation.

The interrogated:
BAMBANG SETIJONO WIDJANARKO
 Col. KKO-NRP: 582/P.

HEREWITH, therefore, this Report of Investigation is compiled in all truth, and in accordance with the oath taken prior to accepting the function, done at Djakarta on the aforementioned day and date.

The interrogators:

S. SOEGIJARJO

Lieut.-Col. CPM-NRP.
12688

AZWIR NAWIE

Ass. Chief Commissioner
of Police

IN THE NAME OF JUSTICE

REPORT OF INTERROGATION

This day, Wednesday, 21 October, 1970, we:

1. S. SOEGIJARJO—Lieut.Col. CPM-NRP: 12688
2. AZWIR NAWIE—Ass. Chief Commissioner of Police

function:

both members of the Central Investigation Team, undertook an investigation of a man whom I do not yet know and who himself admits to be:

BAMBANG SETIJONO WIDJANARKO

rank: Col. KKO, function: ASKAPERS/MIL (Chief Assistant Military Personnel, Navy/Military brand) age/date of birth: 43 years/19 September 1927, place of birth: Karanganyar—Kebumen, religion: Roman Catholic, address/place of residence: Djalan Widjaja 2/121 Kebajoran Baru Djakarta.

The person in question was interrogated as witness in matters relating to the G-30-S/PKI.

In reply to all the questions which were put to him by the interrogator he, the interrogated, made the following statements and confessions as indicated below:

1. Do you adhere to your statements, reproduced in the Report of Investigation of 3 October 1970 at 10.00 hrs?
 1. Yes, I adhere to the statements given in the Report of Investigation of 3 October 1970 last.
2. Are you completely healthy at this moment?
 2. At present I am healthy and well.
- 3.a. From what time were you appointed Adjutant of the President of the RI: tell us about the circumstances of your appointment as Adjutant of the President of the RI.
- b. Since when were you no longer Adjutant of the President of the RI and explain why. After you were no longer Adjutant of the President of the RI what functions did you then occupy?
 - 3.a. I was appointed Adjutant of the President of the RI on the order and warrant of the Commander of the Navy

Admiral R.E. MARTADINATA, in December 1960. At that time there was already an officer of the Navy who acted as Adjutant of the President of the RI: Col. SUSATYO MARDI (now Vice-Admiral, Deputy Commander of KOWILHAN II), and I was appointed Adjutant of the President of the RI as his replacement because Col. SUSATYO MARDI was transferred back to the Navy. Accompanied by Col. SUSATYO MARDI, I reported for duty and commenced my duty as Adjutant on 27 December, 1960.

- b. I was no longer serving as Adjutant at the end of July 1967 (approx. 29th) on the grounds of an Order of retirement of the (Minister/Commander of the Navy) Admiral MULJADI. My replacement was an officer of the Navy, Major GURITNO, who continued the duties of Adjutant of Bung KARNO. After I had ceased to be Adjutant of Bung KARNO I returned to the Navy and was assigned the following tasks:
 1. Inspector-General KKO-AL Aug. 1967–Dec. 1967.
 2. Training at the SESKOAD Jan. 1968–June 1968.
 3. Inspector-General KKO-AL July 1968–May 1969.
 4. Commander PASKOARMA I May 1969–March 1970.
 5. ASKAPERSMIL (MPAL) April 1970–until now.
4. In addition to your function as Adjutant of the President have you during that appointment, or thereafter, in your later functions in the Navy, also occupied any unofficial posts, or were you a member of any political organization or mass organization?
 4. As long as I was Adjutant of the President of the RI or thereafter and up to the present day, I have never been a member of or held a position with any political organization or mass organization. I have at one time been Chairman of the Committee for Reconstruction of the Roman Catholic Church of Block B in Kebajoran Baru from 1963 until the church was completed in December 1965.
5. Since the emergence of the G-30-S/PKI affair did you at any time make statements concerning matters relating to the G-30-S/PKI affair or with respect to ex-President SUKARNO and the Palace, apart from the investigation of October 3, 1970 and the investigation being held this day, the 21st of October 1970?
 - 5.a. I have before given statements, regarding events which related to the G-30-S/PKI affair, in 1967, as a witness in the trial of Gen. PRANOTO and ex.-Brig.Gen. SUPARDJO.

- b. No statements have been made by me about ex-President SUKARNO and the Palace apart from the investigation taking place today, 21 October, 1970.
6. Facts which were noticeable and could be supposed to show that the activities of the PKI greatly increased in 1965, to the extent that these activities of the PKI overshadowed everything in all fields. Please tell us why ex-President SOEKARNO at that time greatly favoured the PKI, to the extent that one could say that the political ends of the PKI were completely accepted by ex-President SUKARNO?
6. In my view the reasons for this were:
 1. Bung KARNÓ's career shows that, ever since his youth, he had continually struggled against and suffered from colonialism: that is to say, white people from the West, and Bung KARNÓ consequently developed a dislike of people from the West. In this respect the PKI with all its doctrines and methods agreed with Bung KARNÓ and pushed him.
 2. Ever since the colonial period (the Dutch and the Japanese) Bung KARNÓ had always been the leader and later President of the RI from 1945–1965. As a result he developed a feeling of power and strength to the extent that Bung KARNÓ felt that he could control all existing groups including the PKI, whereas, in reality it was the PKI that could use Bung KARNÓ.
 3. Bung KARNÓ always praised the organization of the PKI as well-ordered disciplined and militant. Vice-versa, Bung KARNÓ repeatedly criticized and was dissatisfied with the organization of the other mass organizations or political parties. To achieve his ideals and ambitions Bung KARNÓ needed a proper militant organization and that is why he loved the PKI.
 4. In particular, at the beginning of 1965, Bung KARNÓ received reports about the existence of groups who were opposed to his policies: in this case the Generals of the Army. At that time the PKI continually demonstrated its loyalty to and support for Bung KARNÓ. For that reason Bung KARNÓ grew continually more attached to the PKI and gave it increasing trust because it, in Bung KARNÓ's view, could be used to counter the recalcitrant groups.

5. On many occasions Bung KARNNO declared that he was a Marxist. This was certainly music in the ears of the PKI and accorded with its political aims.
6. Finally, owing to Bung KARNNO's personality, his way of thinking and his ideals and ambitions, and owing to the existence of groups who were opposed to him, there was common ground between Bung KARNNO and the PKI. This was the reason why Bung KARNNO continually favoured the PKI and accepted its programme.

My above declarations were based on occurrences which I had either seen or heard or of which I myself was a witness.

- a. Bung KARNNO was not at all keen on the importation of Western culture. This was evident from the ban on 'ngak-ngik-ngok' music. On the other hand, Bung KARNNO was clearly delighted that the PKI stimulated national culture.
 - b. During some rather more intimate, unofficial gatherings, Bung KARNNO declared on occasion that the leaders of the PKI were still very young and immature, while Bung KARNNO himself was a political veteran and felt that he could easily control the PKI.
 - c. Both on official and unofficial occasions Bung KARNNO frequently praised the effectiveness of the organization of the PKI; he even said that the PKI was the most revolutionary of all and that this was necessary for a country like Indonesia, which was passing through a revolutionary period at that time.
 - d. Bung KARNNO frequently said that the leaders of the other mass organizations and political parties were too weak, less revolutionary, less militant etc. This was often heard or known by citizens and officials.
 - e. In the period preceding the 17th August, in the years 1963/1964/1965 I myself heard Bung KARNNO say to AIDIT and NJOTO that the PKI should join in directing the masses and actively safe guard law and order during the 17 August ceremonies. It is clear from all this how much confidence Bung KARNNO had in the PKI.
7. Will you explain in what respect ex-President SUKARNO favoured the PKI to the extent that the way of thinking between ex-President SUKARNO and PKI followed the same lines, as you have declared above in answer number 6.

7. I can explain the similar line of thought between Bung KARNNO and the PKI from the following facts:
 - a. NASAKOM
The NASAKOM idea, which had as its aim, according to Bung KARNNO, to unite the People, was clearly to the advantage of the PKI. The PKI moved speedily and cunningly so that, from top to bottom, the NASAKOMISASI became a fact. This move by the PKI was welcomed by Bung KARNNO, with the result that Bung KARNNO accepted and even ordered NASAKOMISASI everywhere.
 - b. Land Reform
The Land Reform Act was very much to the advantage of the PKI and was exploited by the PKI for its own political ends. In this particular case Bung KARNNO always choose the side of the PKI if a clash arose about the implementation of land reform.
 - c. Council of Generals
The whole issue relating to the existence of a Council of Generals had frequently been reported to Bung KARNNO. Although Bung KARNNO had on occasion given orders for the reports to be checked, he ultimately rather believed people who reported to him, that the Council of Generals actually existed. Most of these people were either consciously or unconsciously either left-wing or orientated towards the PKI.
 - d. Speeches by Bung KARNNO
Some of Bung KARNNO's speeches, which had a political character, originated in theme or spirit from leading figures of the PKI; for example the TAVIP and TAKARI speeches and the speech by Bung KARNNO on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the PKI. The speech of 17 August 1965, was clearly drafted or inspired by AIDIT and NJOTO who had been specially recalled from Peking before 17 August, 1965 in order to draft Bung KARNNO's speech.
 - e. During one of the sessions of the Cabinet at the State Palace after the G-30-S/PKI, Bung KARNNO said in a loud voice, and with constant repetition, that the PKI had clearly earned its laurels in the revolution and that the PKI was not to be blamed as a political organization and could not be disbanded.

These declarations of mine are true, as I either saw or heard or knew them at both official and unofficial meetings organized by Bung KARNNO or during Cabinet sessions at which I myself was present.

8. On the grounds of your above replies, saying that ex-President SUKARNO had continually favoured the PKI, so that there was eventually a correspondence of views and thinking between Bung KARNNO and the PKI, will you please explain from what time Bung KARNNO had relied on the PKI and for what reasons?

8. It had been clear to me since the beginning of 1963 that Bung KARNNO was getting ever closer to the PKI and was relying more and more upon it.

This was noticeable because of the clear participation of leaders of the PKI in Cabinet sessions; frequent meetings between Bung KARNNO and PKI personalities including AIDIT, NJOTO, Ingenieur SAKIRMAN and LUKMAN; the contents and tenor of the speech of 17 August 1963 (Genta Suara Revolusi—the Ringing of the Voice of the Revolution) and the other speeches which displayed a Marxist/Leninist revolutionary spirit.

a. The reason why Bung KARNNO eventually came to rely upon the PKI and Communism in general was:

1. at that moment the RI was engaged in a confrontation trying to secure West Irian. The Communist countries gave firm support and promised continuing support to Indonesia and to Bung KARNNO. Vice-versa, the Western countries would give no support. This latter fact clearly irritated Bung KARNNO and drove him more and more into the arms of Communism;
2. on several occasions Bung KARNNO had declared that he too was a Marxist, causing an increasing closeness or identification in the thinking of Bung KARNNO and the PKI. That was another reason why the Communist countries relied upon Bung KARNNO;
3. Bung KARNNO was ambitious, he very much wanted to be recognized as a world figure and a world leader. Among other things he created the NEFO idea which made Bung KARNNO the most important leader. This idea received support from the Communist countries but was rejected in the West;

4. the meetings and talks between Bung KARNO and leaders of the Communist countries, in particular China, had, I think, produced a concept or strategy of close relationship and strengthened co-operation between the two countries. The meeting in Shanghai in the first week of July 1965 between Bung KARNO and CHOU EN LAI still further strengthened agreement between them;
5. as regards the result of talks between Bung KARNO and the leaders of the Communist countries, I can remember the following:
 - a. Bung KARNO-KRUSCHOV in Moscow
The Soviet Union promised support in the struggle for West Irian in the form of arms, warships and aircraft. I was present at these talks.
 - b. Bung KARNO-CHOU EN LAI in Shanghai
China promised support in the confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia. China promised to supply 100.000 arms to equip the FIFTH FORCE. These arms later appeared to have been used by PKI people in the G-30-S/PKI. It was a result of this agreement that the OMAR DANI-mission was sent to China in September, 1965. I was not present at these talks but was able to learn of their outcome after the talks were over.
9. What were the views of the PKI, in particular in relation to the Army, resulting eventually in an 'issue' arising about the existence of a Council of Generals, which consisted of Chief Officers of the Army who were not loyal or did not support Bung KARNO's policies, which 'issue' about the Council of Generals in the end reached the Palace and Bung KARNO?
 9. About this I can declare the following, to my knowledge:
 - a. the aim of the PKI was to dominate the nation and government of Indonesia. In its efforts to achieve this aim the PKI became aware that the main obstacle in its path was the Army which it was not easily able to break;
 - b. the Army, in particular its leadership, clearly did not agree with Communism, its ideals or its methods. This was due to a number of causes, including:
 - most of the officers of the Army were fighters from the 1945-period and had high ideals of an independent Indonesia based on the Pantjasila;

- experience during the revolution (1945–1949) had proved the treachery of the PKI during the Madiun-affair, when it was mainly the army which destroyed the PKI;
 - the military doctrines of the Army were chiefly based on the military doctrines of Western countries.
- c. in view of points (a) and (b) it was very clear that the PKI regarded the Army with great disfavour. For that reason the PKI made every effort to eliminate the leadership of the Army. The PKI therefore fabricated the ‘issue’ of the existence of the Council of Generals and its anti-Bung KARNNO policy and this ‘issue’ clearly was believed by Bung KARNNO. In launching this ‘issue’ the PKI was also supported by a number of Army officers who either consciously or unconsciously reported and strengthened the ‘issue’ which was a fabrication of the PKI.
10. Finally, Bung KARNNO, who was already close to the PKI and had moreover the reports of the above Army officers, gave orders that measures be taken against the Army Generals who were regarded as opposing him.
- Could it be said that there was an identity of aim between Bung KARNNO and the PKI in connection with the assassination of the Commanders of the Army (the late Gen. YANI etc.) in the G-30-S/PKI affair? Was Bung KARNNO either directly, or indirectly, involved or can one say he had involved himself in the G-30-S/PKI affair, both before and after?
10. In the light of events there was, as I have stated in my previous evidence, clearly a common aim shared by Bung KARNNO and the PKI in their efforts to eliminate the Generals of the Army.
- a.1. It was clear that the Army leaders were in disfavour with the PKI and that the PKI therefore launched an ‘issue’ about the existence of Army Generals who were opposed to Bung KARNNO. The object of the PKI was that Bung KARNNO should take action against these Generals.
2. Bung KARNNO, who in fact was close to the PKI, accepted this ‘issue’ and, to such an extent, that he actually gave orders that action should be taken against the Army Generals. In any case it was clear that, whatever the motives of the various persons involved may have been, both Bung KARNNO and the PKI shared common aims.

- b. Bung KARNO was involved, either directly or indirectly, in the G-30-S/PKI affair.
1. On the night of 30 September, 1965, Bung KARNO received a letter from ex-Lt.Col. UNTUNG.
 2. On the morning of 1 October, 1965, Bung KARNO was present at Halim airbase and received reports from ex-Brig.Gen. SUPARDJO but did not bother to seek reports from the Army itself.
 3. Bung KARNO took no measures against the announcement by leaders of the G-30-S/PKI on October 1st, 1965, that the Cabinet was demissionary.
 4. Bung KARNO did not bother to obtain information about the abduction or murder of the Army Generals after the events had been reported to him. (The following sentence is handwritten in the text:) On the contrary, he gave orders that all traces should be removed (report of Investigation Procedure page 13 no. 26).
 5. Bung KARNO had always said that the whole G-30-S/PKI affair was insignificant in a revolution, which was the same attitude towards the affair adopted by the PKI.
 6. Bung KARNO never wanted to condemn the G-30-S/PKI.
 7. Bung KARNO never wanted to either to condemn or liquidate the PKI; on the contrary, he always favoured the PKI.

Done this day, this Report of Interrogation was compiled according to truth, and taken account of the official oath the interrogated, after having had the text read to him or asked to read the text back signed it as evidence of his approval.

This Report of Interrogation was, moreover, provisionally concluded on the above-mentioned day at Djakarta and the investigation will be proceeded with on Thursday, 22 October 1970.

The interrogated:

BAMBANG SETIJONO WIDJANARKO
Col. KKO

The interrogators:

1. S. SOEGIJARJO
Lt.Col. CPM NRP: 12688
2. AZWIR NAWIE
Ass. Chief Commissioner of Police

This day, Thursday, October 22nd, 1970, we:

1. S. SOEGIJARJO—Lieut.Col. CPM-NRP: 12688
2. AZWIR NAWIE—Ass. Chief Commissioner of Police

both being members of the Central Investigation Team, continued our interrogation of a man named:

BAMBANG SETIJONO WIDJANARKO

rank: Colonel KKO, functions: ASKAPERS/MIL (Chief Assistant Military Personnel, Navy/Military brand) age/date of birth: 43 years/19 September 1927, place of birth: Karanganyar Kebumen, religion: Roman Catholic, address/place of residence: Djalan Widjaja 2/121 Kebajoran Baru Djakarta.

Furthermore, he—the investigated person—makes the following statements or confessions with regard to all questions put to him:

11. Were the Chief Officers of the Army, who were not loyal to Bung KARNNO, the same as the Chief Officers of the Army which were in disfavour with the PKI; if they were, will you explain the similarity and the connection between the PKI and Bung KARNNO, with reference to the murder of these Officers?
 - 11.a. As far as I know the Chief Officers who were murdered in the G-30-S/PKI affair, were the same officers who were regarded by Bung KARNNO as being disloyal and they were also the officers who were in disfavour with the PKI. In other words: it is correct that there was a similarity.
 1. I did see and hear (in accordance with my statements during the interrogation of 3 October, 1970) that there were Chief Officers of the Army with whom Bung KARNNO was angry and whom he had admonished because he did not regard them as loyal. Those Chief Officers were: Gen. YANI, Gen. PARMAN, Gen. SUTOJO, Gen. HARJONO and Gen. SUPRAPTO.
 2. I knew Gen. YANI and Gen. PARMAN well. I knew from the utterances of these gentlemen and their attitude and actions that these officers were in fact anti-Communist. I also heard that the other Commanders of the Army took the same view. The PKI was aware of the attitude and views of these Chief Officers and because of this, the PKI was even more opposed to

these Commanders, who would certainly have obstructed the plans of the PKI. It was this consideration, mainly, which was a reason for the PKI to eliminate these Commanders as soon as possible.

- b. As regards the connection between the PKI and Bung KARNNO with reference to the murder of the aforementioned Chief Officers, it was clear that both parties (the PKI and Bung KARNNO) had a common interest. Bung KARNNO wished to remove the Commanders whom he did not regard as loyal and the PKI wished to eliminate these Commanders who were anti-Communist. This connection also existed with reference to the elimination or murder of the Commanders, that is, Bung KARNNO trusted ex-Lt.Col. UNTUNG and ex-Brig.Gen. SUPARDJO, although it was apparent that they belonged to the PKI. I can explain the following:
 - a. On various occasions I either heard or knew that Gen. YANI and Gen. NASUTION had advised Bung KARNNO not to give way too much to the PKI on the grounds that Bung KARNNO should be mindful of the treachery of the PKI in Medium (1948).
 - b. On one occasion Gen. YANI had explained to Bung KARNNO during a meeting at the Palace that there were dangers which could be caused by the PKI, in view of the increasing strength of the PKI at that time (1965).
 - c. When Bung KARNNO, during a meeting of the FORCE (Supreme Command) at the Palace put forward the idea of a Fifth Column, this was rejected by Gen. YANI and the Commanders of the other Armed Forces.
12. Will you comment on the relationship between Bung KARNNO and the leaders of the PKI; which of them were in regular contact with Bung KARNNO and continually advised him (so that such advice was continually followed by Bung KARNNO) both during the prologue and during the events of 1 October, 1965 and after the G-30-S/PKI affair?
 - 12.a. Before the G-30-S/PKI affair the leading personalities of the PKI whom, I know, met Bung KARNNO regularly, were NJOTO and AIDIT. In addition to visits to the Palace in accordance with the formal procedure (prescribed in the Staff Instructions for Presidential Adjutants) they

sometimes appeared suddenly at the Palace because they had been summoned by Bung KARNNO. This was therefore not registered in the Staff Instructions. The suggestions and recommendations made by PKI leaders which were conveyed to Bung KARNNO or adopted by him were, among others:

1. The implementation of the suggestion by CHEN YI (PRC) about the formation of a Fifth Force. According to the PKI the object of this was to achieve more success with regard to the revolution and, at the same time to contain the strength of the Army, which was anti-Communist.
 2. That Bung KARNNO should increase his opposition to the importation of western culture and art and promote national culture in which cause the Institute for Peoples Culture (a Communist organization) was a pioneer.
 3. Bung KARNNO's conviction with regard to the existence of 'our local Army friend' as mentioned in the so-called Gilchrist Document and reports of the existence of a Council of Generals which was not loyal to Bung KARNNO.
- b. During the G-30-S/PKI affair, 1 October, 1965, I did not know whether there was a direct contact between Bung KARNNO and leading figures of the PKI. However, I did know that ex-Brig.Gen. SUPARDJO called on Bung KARNNO and reported to him at Halim, so that a contact existed between Bung KARNNO and PKI personalities through the mediation of ex-Brig.Gen. SUPARDJO.
- c. After October 1, 1965.
1. While Bung KARNNO was staying in the Bogor Palace he met NJOTO on October 6, 1965. On that occasion NJOTO handed over a letter to Bung KARNNO and gave him verbal suggestions about the solution of the G-30-S/PKI affair. The instructions of Bung KARNNO were based on that letter and suggestions:
 - the solution of the G-30-S/PKI rests with the President/Supreme Commander;
 - there must be law and order and there should be no condemnation either of the council of Generals or of the G-30-S/PKI;

- the whole revolutionary apparatus must function normally;
 - security shall be the responsibility of the Police;
 - the whole revolutionary apparatus must achieve, in competition, the 5 Sacred Talismans of the Revolution;
 - it is forbidden to accuse each other.
2. During the meeting of the Cabinet at the Djakarta Palace Bung KARNNO insisted that he was not prepared to accuse or disband the PKI and he constantly spoke in favour of the PKI.
 3. NJOTO, who was then still Minister of State, also suggested to Bung KARNNO that a ‘Sukarno Front’ should be formed in the interests of the continued authority of Bung KARNNO, which implied the protection of the PKI and would serve us an equilibrium to the strength of the Army and other mass forces which were anti-Communist or anti Sukarno. NJOTO also suggested, or at least supported, the candidature of Lt.Col. SJAFIIE as Minister of State charged with security affairs who would later be authorized to take charge of the Sukarno Front.
13. Were there, before the events of G-30-S/PKI or, let us say, after the emergence of the ‘issue’ on the existence of a Council of Generals, as launched by the PKI group, occasional talks between Bung KARNNO and the leaders of the PKI, or others who were PKI-minded, regarding measures to be taken against or changes in the leadership of the Army? If that was the case, who were the persons concerned, what was discussed and where did it all take place?
 - 13.a. As regards the changes in the leadership of the Army I knew for sure that there had been talks between Bung KARNNO and some officers of the Army, such as Gen. MURSID, Gen. SJAFIUDIN, Gen. SUDIRGO, Gen. SABUR and Gen. SUNARJO, in accordance with statements I made during the interrogation of October 3rd, 1970.
 - b. As to the question of the Council of Generals, which was launched by the PKI it was clear that it was important to the PKI which Chief Officers were able and suitable to lead the Army in terms of PKI thinking. In August and

September 1965, the leading personalities of the PKI, NJOTO and AIDIT held talks with Bung KARNO in the Djakarta Palace. This was quite clear from the recall of AIDIT and NJOTO from abroad at the end of July 1965, especially in the case of NJOTO, who arrived later than AIDIT. NJOTO was summoned immediately and had a talk with Bung KARNO from which it was clear how important NJOTO was to Bung KARNO. I was not present at this meeting between Bung KARNO and NJOTO and I did not know what they discussed. However, I knew later that bung KARNO has asked NJOTO to draft the speech for August 17th, 1965, and it is also very probable that they discussed the question of the Army officers and the replacement of the leadership of the Army.

14. In accordance with your reply in the Interrogation Report of October 3rd, 1970, nr. 23, where Bung KARNO is said to have received a letter from UNTUNG, what was the mood and the reaction of Bung KARNO after he had read the letter on the terrace of the Senajan stadium on the evening of September 30th, 1965?

14. As far as I can recollect Bung KARNO looked satisfied after reading the letter and continually nodded, without saying anything. He then put the letter in his jacket pocket. He then returned to his seat at the celebration. When Bung KARNO gave his welcome speech it was clear that he was enthusiastic and pleased. His speech was passionate, both as regards content and the manner of its delivery. Bung KARNO invited Dr. LEIMENA to come to the rostrum and sing a Moluccan song, which was given an enthusiastic reception by the audience. There were no incidents on the return journey from the stadium to the Palace. Upon arrival at the Palace (approx. 24.00 hrs) I reported to Bung KARNO the list of guests to be expected the next morning (1 October, 1965). These were: Gen. YANI, Pak LEIMENA, J.M. DALAM, Gen. HARTAWAN, and others whom I can no longer remember although they can be looked up in the guest book of the Adjutant of the President, October 1965. Bung KARNO, upon receiving my report, simply nodded and said 'all right'. I then took my leave, said goodnight, and went home (approx. 24.00 hrs).

15. Did you then suspect that the contents of the letter of UNTUNG, which was handed over to Bung KARNO on 30 September, 1965, on that evening, contained the information about measures to act against the Generals who were not in favour of Bung KARNO's policies or were actively opposed to them?
 15. In the light of the knowledge I now have of the existence of the Generals of the Army, whom Bung KARNO disliked; the order to Gen. SABUR to act against the Generals; the summoning of ex-Lt.Col. UNTUNG by Bung KARNO on August 4th, 1965, the reaction of Bung KARNO, who looked satisfied after receiving the letter from ex-Lt.Col. UNTUNG, I can now believe that the contents of the letter was the announcement to Bung KARNO that the campaign against the Generals had begun.
16. In accordance with your reply number 14, that you, after you and Bung KARNO arrived at the Palace from the stadium on September 30th, 1965, at approx. 24.00 hrs, reported to Bung KARNO about the guests who were to be received at Merdeka Palace on the next morning, 1 October, 1965 (including Gen. YANI, etc.) why was it that Bung KARNO, on 1 October, 1965 did not go directly to the Palace, as was his custom in the morning?
 16. The reason why Bung KARNO, on 1 October, 1965 did not go directly to the Palace from DEWI's house, but made a detour to the house of HARJATI, in Grogol, was in my view because: Bung KARNO had given orders to Gen. SABUR and UNTUNG (Tjakrabirawa regiment to take action against the Generals. Bung KARNO felt certain in his mind that it were the troops of the Tjakrabirawa regiment who would carry out the operation and as usual, it were the troops of Tjakrabirawa regiment who guarded the Palace.
On the way from DEWI's house to the Palace that morning the Commander of the bodyguard MANGIL, who escorted Bung KARNO, on Djalan Tamrin, received a radio report from Col. SAELAN to the effect that the Palace was surrounded by unknown troops and that Bung KARNO should not go to the Palace but to the house of HARJATI in Grogol. The presence of those unknown troops, and not the troops of the Tjakrabirawa, was the

reason why it was decided not to go directly to the Palace but to Grogol.

17. In view of your above answer it can be concluded that the departure of Bung KARNNO to Halim on 1 October, 1965, was not a coincidence. Will you please tell us more about this and was it known, after Bung KARNNO arrived at Halim airbase what troops had surrounded the Palace?
 - 17.a. In my opinion Bung KARNNO's departure from Grogol to Halim was certainly not a coincidence.
 - (1) Before the events relating to G-30-S/PKI took place Bung KARNNO had always appreciated the Airforce as being most revolutionary and progressive à la Bung KARNNO. OMAR DANI, as Minister/Commander of the Airforce continually displayed his loyalty to Bung KARNNO and during the talks before 1 October, 1965, OMAR DANI had on many occasions showed that he agreed with the campaign against the Generals of the Army who were not loyal to Bung KARNNO. OMAR DANI also said that he backed Bung KARNNO. Bung KARNNO would therefore feel calmer and safer at Halim.
 - (2) From Grogol contact was made with Halim and OMAR DANI invited Bung KARNNO to go to Halim. This persuaded Bung KARNNO even more strongly to go to Halim.
 - (3) Bung KARNNO was aware that there was close contact between OMAR DANI and leading personalities of the PKI. Because of this, Bung KARNNO also knew that leaders of the PKI would also be present at Halim, where OMAR DANI also was. In view of the common wish, shared by Bung KARNNO and the PKI to eliminate the Army generals, Bung KARNNO felt an even greater urge to go to Halim where he would be among people of like mind.
 - b. When Bung KARNNO was at Halim he knew that the troops which had surrounded the Palace that morning were the troops of the G-30-S/PKI, on the grounds of the reports of ex-Brig.Gen. SUPARDJO who reported it to Bung KARNNO.
18. Please explain:

- a. the contents of the report by ex-Brig.Gen. SUPARDJO, which Bung KARNO received on October 1, 1965, in Halim as a result of the execution of the measures G-30-S/PKI;
 - b. the knowledge of Bung KARNO concerning the position of Brig.Gen. SUPARDJO at that time in the campaign G-30-S/PKI;
 - c. what was the reaction of Bung KARNO to Brig.Gen. SUPARDJO's report?
 - d. who else had heard the report and what was their reaction?
18. On the morning of October 1, 1965, when ex-Brig.Gen. SUPARDJO arrived in Halim and reported to Bung KARNO I was not yet present. I arrived in Halim at about 11.30 hrs. After I arrived in Halim and had met the Bung KARNO group I heard for the first time the story of the meeting between Bung KARNO and ex-Brig.Gen. SUPARDJO. This was told to me by Col. SAE-LAN, ass. Chief Commissioner of Police MANGIL and SUPARTO.
- a. Ex-Brig.Gen. SUPARDJO had reported to Bung KARNO that the assignment which had been given to him to take measures against the Generals of the Army had been carried out. The following Generals had been successfully taken from their houses: 1. Gen. YANI, 2. Gen. PARMAN, 3. Gen. HARJONO, 4. Gen. SUTOJO, 5. Gen. SUPRAPTO, 6. Gen. PANDJAITAN while Gen. NASUTION, who had also been marked down, had escaped.
 - b. Bung KARNO both regarded and treated ex-Brig.Gen. SUPARDJO as Commander in charge of the purge and he seemed to have foreknowledge that ex-Brig.Gen. SUPARDJO was the leader of the action.
 - c. Both during and after receiving the reports from ex-Brig.Gen. SUPARDJO, Bung KARNO looked very pleased and while he tapped him on the back he said to SUPARDJO: 'You have done well. Why did NASUTION escape?'
 - d. Those who were witnesses to and heard the reports of SUPARDJO were: OMAR DANI, Brig.Gen. SABUR, Col. SAELAN, ass. Chief Commissioner MANGIL, Brig.Gen. SOENARJO, SUPARTO. I do not know what their reaction was.

Done this day, etc.

This report was then provisionally terminated on the above-mentioned day and date in Djakarta and the investigation will be continued on Friday, 23 October, 1970.

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| <p>The interrogated: <u>BAMBANG SETIJONO WIDJANARKO</u> Col. KKO-NRP: 582/P.</p> | <p>The interrogators: <u>S. SOEGIJARJO</u> Lieut.-Col. CPM-NRP, 12688 <u>AZWIR NAWIE</u> Ass. Chief Commissioner of Police</p> |
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This day, Friday, October 23rd, 1970, we . . . etc.

19. What were Bung KARNÓ's reactions when it was made known that the Cabinet had been declared demissionary; that it was known that there was a 30 September/PKI movement and that there was a Dewan Revolusi (Revolutionary Council), on October 1st, 1965, when Bung KARNÓ was in Halim?

19.a. From my own personal observation I can say that, when Bung KARNÓ had heard the announcement on the radio that the Cabinet had been declared demissionary by the G-30-S/PKI, he was quite calm, was not shocked and did not appear to reject or oppose the announcement. I concluded from the attitude from Bung KARNÓ that he approved of the announcement.

The officials who then arrived and were in the inner gallery were: OMAR DANI, Gen. SUTHARDIO, Gen. SOENARJO and Gen. SABUR.

b. They were joined later by the officials who had individually been summoned to Halim; such as Admiral MARTADINATA, Police General SUTJIPTO, Pak LEIMENA. Bung KARNÓ talked to these officials in the inner gallery. As for myself, I was with the other adjutants and security officials in the front gallery, while Gen. SABUR was also in the inner gallery. In the course of the afternoon I heard that, during discussions between Bung KARNÓ and those officials, Bung KARNÓ made the following pronouncements.

1. 'Do you know the composition of the Revolutionary Council? Here is the list.' He put this question continuously to each official as he arrived.

2. 'Such an event' (G-30-S) is normal in a Revolution.' Bung KARNO made this comment as he explained his view of the G-30-S/PKI.
 3. 'It is only a ripple in the ocean.' This was his comment on the abduction/murder of the Generals of the Army.
20. In what respect was the attitude of Bung KARNO one of approval with respect to the composition of the Revolutionary Council and the fact that the Government of the Republic of Indonesia had been declared demissionary and what was the attitude, conveyed to SUPARDJO, when Bung KARNO received the list containing the composition of the Revolutionary Council?
20. Bung KARNO was in possession of the list giving the composition of the Revolutionary Council long before it was announced on the radio and received it from SUPARDJO in the morning.
- It was clearly that, by receiving the list and failing to oppose it or reject it or to take any measures against SUPARDJO, that Bung KARNO approved of all announcements made on the radio, as from that morning, when he received the report from SUPARDJO.
- I cannot report to you with any certainty about the attitude toward or the statements made by Bung KARNO to SUPARDJO when Bung KARNO had received the list directly from SUPARDJO because, at that moment, I was not yet present in Halim.
21. What proposals did the officials such as Dr. LEIMENA, Police Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO, Admiral R.E. MARTADINATA, Gen. SUTARDHIO, Gen. SOENARJO, Gen. SABUR and others, who were at that time in Halim, make to Bung KARNO in connection with the situation at that time (October 1, 1965) after they knew about the composition of the Revolutionary Council and the announcements of the Revolutionary Council, including the fact that the Cabinet was declared demissionary?
- 21.a. With the exception of OMAR DANI, all officials who were then present appeared to be most shocked by the declarations made by the G-30-S/PKI. Their attitude was one of rejection towards those announcements and they made proposals to Bung KARNO with regard to the situation which then existed.

1. Pak LEIMENA, who had had his house bombarded, reported about the abduction and murder of the Generals and suggested to Bung KARNO that he should be extremely cautious in tackling the situation and should not be too credulous about reports emanating from the G-30-S/PKI. As I recall, Pak LEIMENA also proposed to Bung KARNO on that afternoon that he should leave Halim. This was the result of our pressure upon Pak LEIMENA, that is to say, pressure by SAELAN, MANGIL and myself, after hearing the radio broadcasts.
 2. Adm. MARTADINATA, who had first contacted the KOSTRAD before going to Halim, had reported to Bung KARNO that Gen. SUHARTO had taken over the command of the Army. He suggested to Bung KARNO that contact should be established between Bung KARNO and the KOSTRAD and also that Bung KARNO should pay attention to the reports of the KOSTRAD.
 3. Police Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO adopted an extremely cautious attitude and the proposals he made to Bung KARNO were also extremely cautious.
- b. Bung KARNO, on receiving the reports and proposals of these officials showed by his attitude that he was very favourably disposed towards G-30-S/PKI.
1. Bung KARNO had never condemned the abduction and murder of the Generals of the Army.
 2. Bung KARNO made it apparent from his attitude that he approved of all the announcements made by the G-30-S/PKI on that day.
 3. Bung KARNO rejected the proposal that he should take up contact with the KOSTRAD because he believed that all the KOSTRAD forces backed the council of Generals.
 4. Bung KARNO would not listen to a proposal that he should leave Halim because he felt safe there.
 5. Bung KARNO repeatedly said that an event such as the G-30-S/PKI was perfectly normal in a revolution.
22. Can you explain why Bung KARNO, when ex-Brig.Gen. SUPARDJO reported to Bung KARNO (as you say in your reply to no. 18, point c) he praised SUPARDJO, saying: 'You have done well' the while patting him on the back?

- 22.a. Prior to the events of the G-30-S/PKI there was already contact between Bung KARNO and SUPARDJO through OMAR DANI. On September 29th, 1965, SUPARDJO appeared before Bung KARNO together with OMAR DANI, and as I heard later, SUPARDJO reported to Bung KARNO about the Generals of the Army who were not loyal to Bung KARNO and about the readiness of SUPARDJO and the progressive troops of the Army to go into action. As a result of this contact and the reports of SUPARDJO, Bung KARNO knew that SUPARDJO, SABUR and UNTUNG were co-operating in a purge of the Generals of the Army.
 - b. It was against this background on October 1st, 1965, when, in the morning, SUPARDJO reported to Bung KARNO about the murder of the Generals of the Army that Bung KARNO praised SUPARDJO and showed his satisfaction. Next morning, October 2nd, 1965, Bung KARNO ordered SUPARDJO by letter to stop all action and ordered that there should be no more shooting.
23. Can you explain why Bung KARNO did not immediately order a search for the victims, consisting of Minister/Chief of the Army A. YANI and the other Chief officers and why Bung KARNO did not give orders to seize the guilty? Also, why did Bung KARNO not act, as Head of State, against the declaration that the Cabinet was demissionary and against the persons who were behind the G-30-S/PKI?
 - 23.a. As I have said before, there was an agreement between Bung KARNO and the PKI to eliminate some Army Generals, and in fact, the names of these generals were identical. When Bung KARNO received the report about the abduction and murder of the Army Generals it was for this reason that he did not immediately issued orders for a search for the victims, because the victims were the Generals who were out of his favour.
 - b. The fact that Bung KARNO did not order action to be taken against those guilty of the abduction and murder was quite natural, because those who had carried out those orders were the very same persons he had given instructions to via UNTUNG and SUPARDJO.
 - c. Bung KARNO himself admitted he was a marxist, i.e. of

the same conviction as the PKI. He thought, moreover, on October 1st, 1965, on the grounds of reports that he had received from SUPARDJO, OMAR DANI and SABUR, that the G-30-S/PKI was strong and victorious. For these reasons he took no action at all against the G-30-S/PKI for declaring the Cabinet demissionary.

24. After you returned from the KOSTRAD to meet Gen. SUHARTO, as part of your assignments from Bung KARNO to summon Gen. PRANOTO, Pak HARTO had asked you as mediator to pass a message to Bung KARTNO 'that the command of the Army lies with Pak HARTO', and also made a proposal from the Minister/Chief of the Navy, the late Adm. R.E. MARTADINATA, your reply no. 21. Can you explain why Bung KARNO did not immediately get in touch with Gen. SUHARTO?
 - 24.a. From the beginning Bung KARNO had made clear his suspicion that all forces within the Army were pro-the council of Generals and anti-Bung KARNO. To judge by the reports of SUPARDJO it was these very Army troops, under the command of the KOSTRAD, *casu quo* Gen. SUHARTO, which were fighting against the G-30-S/PKI. Because Bung KARNO was more inclined towards the G-30-S/PKI, Bung KARNO did not want that morning to contact the KOSTRAD or Gen. SUHARTO.
 - b. When I reported on the evening of October 1st, 1965, and passed on the message of Gen. SUHARTO to the effect that the command of the Army had been assumed by Gen. SUHARTO, Bung KARNO was angry. Bung KARNO's plan had been to appoint Gen. PRANOTO as caretaker Commander of the Army. Because he disagreed with Gen. SUHARTO Bung KARNO refused on that evening to contact Gen. SUHARTO.
25. Can you explain, or did you know, that Bung KARNO, on October 1st, 1965, at Halim airbase, already knew that leading personalities and the command of the PKI were already at Halim and in control of the G-30-S/PKI action? If that was so, how did SUKARNO know that and from which persons?
 - 25.a. As far as I can see, Bung KARNO must have known about the presence of PKI personalities at Halim on October 1st, 1965. Bung KARNO was with the Operational

Command or at the house of Commodore SUSANTO in Halim. SUPARDJO, who at that day frequently saw or contacted Bung KARNNO reported about the presence of PKI representatives. In the afternoon as well, when the candidature of the caretaker of the Army command was discussed, SUPARDJO got in touch with PKI representatives, who finally informed Bung KARNNO that the command of the G-30-S/PKI proposed Gen. PRANOTO as candidate.

- b. Next morning, October 2nd, 1965, in Bogor Palace, we first knew for certain that, on the previous day, October 1st, 1965, AIDIT had been in Halim and that AIDIT left Halim at midnight on board a Dakota aircraft in the direction Jogja. We knew this after Bung KARNNO had summoned OMAR DANI but it appeared that he was not in Djakarta and that he took off in a Hercules aircraft on that same night. I heard reports of this from Gen. KARJONO, adjutant to the President from the Air Force.
26. Was it a fact that, on October 1st, 1965, Bung KARNNO was either convinced, or had come to the conclusion, that G-30-S/PKI would be victorious? If this were the case, can you explain on what grounds Bung KARNNO had this conviction?
26. Bung KARNNO was between the morning and the afternoon of October 1st, 1965, convinced, or had come to the conclusion, that the G-30-S/PKI would be victorious. The reasons were:
- a. Prior to October 1st, 1965, Bung KARNNO received reports that many Generals of the Army were still loyal towards him. Bung KARNNO received reports from SUPARDJO that there were sufficient military forces who would support him. Bung KARNNO received a report and a promise from OMAR DANI that the whole of the AURI would back him.
 - b. Bung KARNNO was certain of and cooperated with the PKI, and trusted that the PKI would support him with its organization and its masses.
 - c. On the morning of October 1st, 1965, Bung KARNNO received a report from SUPARDJO that the task of abduction and murder of the Generals had been effectively carried out. According to Bung KARNNO's calculations this

would certainly weaken the Army or cause of loss of command. Gen. SABUR submitted a report to Bung KARNNO to the effect that it was true that troops of SUPARDJO, Batallion 328, Batallion 454, Batallion 530, was well as the Tjakrabirawa regiment were already in control of the city and the main public services which, in fact, meant that the whole of the capital was in the hands of the G-30-S/PKI. According to OMAR DANI, and also according to what Bung KARNNO himself had seen in Halim, the whole of the Air Force was ready to support the G-30-S/PKI this included military aircraft being at the ready and shock troops being on the alert.

- d. It is clear from the above, and from the fact that Bung KARNNO himself wished to eliminate the Army Generals, that Bung KARNNO was convinced that the G-30-S/PKI would be victorious.
27. What do you know about the meeting between Bung KARNNO and the First Deputy Prime Ministers Dr. SUBANDRIO and the Second Deputy Prime Minister Dr. LEIMENA on approx. September 26th, 1965, in the evening, at the Palace, where discussions were held about the division of territories i.a.: Dr. J. LEIMENA in Djakarta, Dr. SUBRANDIO in Sumatra, Bung KARNNO in Central Java or Bali, in connection with impending actions against the Generals who were not loyal?
- 27.a. I am ignorant of both that meeting and discussions between Bung KARNNO and Pak BANDRIO and Pak LEIMENA.
 - b. What I do clearly remember was that, on September 28th, 1965 Dr. SUBRANDIO left for Sumatra and returned to Djakarta on October 2nd, 1965. On October 1st, 1965 when I was in Halim, I knew that there was an aircraft standing ready to take Bung KARNNO to Central Java. I first heard from Gen. SABUR and later from OMAR DANI, that the Presidential Aircraft, Jet Star, stood ready to take the President to his destination.
28. Will you tell us what you know about the death of Adm. R.E. MARTADINATA following a helicopter accident in the mountains of Puntjak on October 6th, 1966. Was this an accident or the result of sabotage?
28. All I can tell you about the accident of the late Adm. (L)R.E. MARTADINATA is what I heard from friends in

the Navy and from the results of an investigation team of the Navy which was specially set up for this accident.

1. On October 6th, 1966, in the afternoon, Adm. R.E. MARTADINATA invited a guest of the Navy (from Pakistan) and his wife to take tea in the Puntjak. They left by Navy helicopter and the passengers were: Adm. R.E. MARTADINATA, the guest, the wife of the guest and a pilot.
2. After they had taken tea in Puntjak they returned to Djakarta. At that moment Adm. R.E. MARTADINATA himself was piloting the helicopter. When they had passed over the Puntjak it appeared there was a thick fog north of the Puntjak Pass and the helicopter penetrated too far into the fog. Because they could no longer make out in what direction they were going the helicopter hit a hilltop and crashed in flames. All four persons in the helicopter were killed in the accident. As far as I know, there have been no indications, so far, that this accident was caused by sabotage.

Done this day, . . . etc.

Today, Saturday, October 24th, 1970, we . . . etc.

29. Would you like to explain the following, in view of the orders given by Bung KARNO to Col. SAELAN on the afternoon of 2 October, 1965, in the Bogor Palace to either remove or wipe out all trace of the bodies of the Commanders of the Army who had been killed by the G-30-S/PKI at Lubang Buaja.
 - a. whose idea was it to remove all trace of the bodies?
 - b. what was the reaction or attitude to this of the officials then present at Bogor Palace?
- 29.a. In view of:
 1. The existing common intention of Bung KARNO and the PKI, to eliminate some Army Generals, who, as it ultimately turned out, were murdered.
 2. Bung KARNO's awareness, as from the night of October 1st, 1965, of the failure of the G-30-S/PKI.
 3. The reception of a report from the Commander at Halim about the discovery of certain traces indicating where the bodies were to be found, namely near Halim,

which meant that it was close to the place where Bung KARNNO was present on October 1st, 1965.

4. The efforts of the PKI to remove from themselves any suggestion of involvement in the G-30-S/PKI, in order to serve the interests of the continuation of the PKI itself—in view of all this it was clear that the idea of removing all traces of the bodies originated from the PKI and was conveyed to Bung KARNNO by SUPARDJO and Gen. SABUR. I heard this from Gen. SABUR. Bung KARNNO himself, who clearly felt involved in the elimination of the Generals of the Army, accepted and approved the idea and finally gave Col. SAELAN orders to remove all traces of the bodies. In this way, provided it had been successful, all proof could have been hidden or destroyed that Bung KARNNO and the PKI were either involved or had been directly responsible for the G-30-S/PKI. The ones who certainly knew about the removal of all traces of the bodies were OMAR DANI and Gen. SABUR. Both officials approved of the idea because both were directly involved in plotting and carrying out the elimination of the Army Generals on the orders of Bung KARNNO. OMAR DANI himself would also have felt a lot easier if the bodies were not found near Halim.
30. In connection with the letter from UNTUNG to Bung KARNNO on September 30, 1965, in the evening at Senajan Stadium as recorded in your answer in the hearing of 30-10-'70, no. 23, could you perhaps confirm that the contents of the letter from UNTUNG was a statement of the G-30-S/PKI to Bung KARNNO about the beginning of the action against those commanders of the Army (Minister/Chief of the Army Gen. YANI, etc.) who were disapproved of by Bung KARNNO.
 - 30.a. As I have said before, I did not know at that moment (September 30, 1965) or the next day (October 1, 1965), what the contents of that letter was.
 - b. It was not until considerable time afterwards, therefore, that I realized that the contents of the letter was a statement from UNTUNG to Bung KARNNO about the plan to set the action against the Generals of the Army in motion. I based this on facts that I can still remember namely:

1. that there were Commanders of the Army who reported to Bung KARNNO about disloyal Generals of the Army and that these officers agreed to take measures against these Generals;
 2. there was an order from Bung KARNNO to UNTUNG on August 4, 1965, in which UNTUNG was commissioned to carry out the measures against the Generals;
 3. there was an order from Bung KARNNO to Gen. SABUR, Gen. SUNARJO, Gen. SUDIRGO on September 29, 1965, to take swift measures against the Generals of the Army;
 4. the attitude of Bung KARNNO on the evening of September 30, 1965, in the Stadium when he was most enthusiastic and gay (the next in handwriting Ed.) even quoting the 'Baghavada Gita';
 5. Bung KARNNO tore the letter to shreds on October 1, 1965, in Halim after he had removed the letter from his uniform, of Supreme Commander which SUPARTO had been ordered to fetch from Dewi's house.
31. You were given an order by Gen. SUHARTO on October 1, 1965, to inform Bung KARNNO that he should leave Halim as soon as possible because Halim was to be attacked by the KOSTRAD. What in your opinion were the forces which were to be destroyed at Halim?
31. I should inform you that when I appeared before Gen. SUHARTO at the KOSTRAD on October 1, 1965, at night time, Gen. SUHARTO did not order me to inform Bung KARNNO that he should leave Halim quickly; neither did Gen. SUHARTO say he would be attacking Halim as soon as possible.
- The actual situation was as follows:
- a. When I appeared before Gen. SUHARTO and reported to him that I had received orders from Bung KARNNO to summon Gen. PRANOTO, Gen. SUHARTO replied:
 1. I am assuming command of the Army for the time being. I request to pass on to me all instructions issued by Bapak (Bung KARNNO);
 2. Gen. PRANOTO cannot appear before Bapak (Bung KARNNO);

3. addressing me personally: 'Bambang, see to it that Bapak (Bung KARNO) leaves Halim quickly.' The above statements under 1. and 2. I had to convey to Bung KARNO. I regarded 3. as an order by Gen. SUHARTO which it was my duty to carry out.
- b.1. Before I went that evening to Gen. SUHARTO at the KOSTRAD I saw activity of troops (Infantry, Cavalry) in the neighbourhood of KOSTRAD. I also saw troops of the RPKAD start moving in the direction of Djalan Merdeka Selatan/Barat. In the quarters of the KOSTRAD I saw Gen. NASUTION and other Commanders of the Army. I also saw the arrival of Admiral R.E. MARTADINATA who called on Gen. SUHARTO. When I called on Gen. SUHARTO (in the central hall of the KOSTRAD) there was a lot of activity going on; a lot of officers were present and I heard a great deal of discussion among them. Among others things I heard gen. NASUTION say: 'The important thing for us now, is to restore security as soon as possible. This means military action. As far as the political solution is concerned, leave that to the old man.'
 2. When I left the KOSTRAD and went back to Halim via Djalan Prapatan, Senen, Tjempaka Putih, the By Pass and finally Halim, I both saw and passed the Army troops in trucks while driving on the Djalan Djakarta By Pass to the South of Rawamangun golf course.
When I observed the troops more closely I saw that they were the same troops I had seen that morning near the Palace, wearing green and yellow scarfs.
- c. From everything I had seen and heard, namely:
 - the alert and troops movements of the KOSTRAD;
 - the meeting of the leaders of the Armed forces in the KOSTRAD during which gaining control of the situation was discussed;
 - the statement by Gen. NASUTION (Minister/Coordinator of Defence) who wanted immediate military action;
 - the statement by Gen. SUHARTO who appeared to be angry at the Air Force statement issued on that day;
 - the presence of troops of the G-30-S/PKI which were already withdrawing in the direction of Halim;

- the meeting of such people as OMAR DANI and SUPARDJO (who were pro G-30-S/PKI) in Halim;
- the orders Gen. SUHARTO gave to me to try and get Bung KARNO out of Halim,

from all this I drew the conclusion that an attack on Halim by the KOSTRAD was imminent.

- d. When I arrived at Halim and reported to Bung KARNO that Gen. SUHARTO was taking over the command of the Army and that Gen. PRANOTO was unable to appear, I asked Bung KARNO immediately to leave Halim quickly because in my view Halim would soon be attacked and destroyed by the KOSTRAD. I explained to Bung KARNO about the preparations and troop movements of the KOSTRAD and the withdrawal of the troops of the G-30-S/PKI. Bung KARNO was furious at Gen. SUHARTO's message. Bung KARNO disagreed with Gen. SUHARTO taking over the command of the Army. The reason for this, of course, was that Bung KARNO believed that all the Armed forces of the KOSTRAD including Gen. SUHARTO, were pro the Council of Generals, which implied that they did not share Bung KARNO's convictions. Bung KARNO was also furious because his order (as President and Supreme Commander) to summon Gen. PRANOTO had been rejected by Gen. SUHARTO.

It was very apparent that Bung KARNO was disappointed and worried about the failure of the appointment of Gen. PRANOTO as caretaker of the Army. As to my request that Bung KARNO should leave Halim, it was clear to me from Bung KARNO's attitude, after I had explained that the KOSTRAD would certainly succeed in attacking Halim, that he would accept my suggestion. OMAR DANI said at that moment to Bung KARNO that the aircraft was ready to take off at any time to take Bung KARNO to Jogja or Madiun.

At that moment, before the discussion was over and a decision taken, Dewi arrived, so that the discussion practically ceased. I took the opportunity to attract the attention of Pak LEIMENA and explain to him how serious the situation was and we, together with SAELAN and MANGIL, arranged for a car to be ready to take Bung KARNO out of Halim.

- e. From that moment on I knew that all the forces of the G-30-S/PKI which were in Halim would be destroyed by the KOSTRAD.
32. Can you explain why, on October 31, 1965, (sic Ed.) at 23.00 hrs, Bung KARNO was taken to Bogor and not to an area already in the hands of the KOSTRAD?
32. The reasons why we had to take Bung KARNO to Bogor and not to an area already in the hands of the KOSTRAD were:
- a. that the order given to me by Gen. SUHARTO was simply that Bung KARNO should be taken away from Halim and not that he should be taken to the KOSTRAD;
 - b. I knew for certain that Bung KARNO was most unhappy about Gen. SUHARTO and the KOSTRAD and it was unwise at that moment to take Bung KARNO to the KOSTRAD;
 - c. Bogor was the official residence of Bung KARNO, it is not far from Djakarta and communications between Djakarta and Bogor were easy.
33. According to your statement, made in reply to question no. 21 by the interrogator after the officials knew of the list of names of members of the Revolutionary Council and also after they had heard the broadcast and the announcements of the Revolutionary Council concerning the intention to declare the Cabinet demissionary, etc. they, the officials, made their proposals to Bung KARNO. Would you comment upon the suggestion made to Bung KARNO by the Chief of the Police, Police General SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO, at that juncture (October 1st, 1965, at Halim) and what was Bung KARNO's attitude and reaction to that suggestion?
33. From what I heard later from Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT or Assistant Chief Commissioner MANGIL I understood that during the meeting in Halim on the afternoon of October 1st, 1965 the Chief of Police, Police General SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO had said:
- that he was shocked to find and had not known beforehand, that his name was on the list of the Revolutionary Council;
 - that the action and the announcement by the G-30-S/PKI was a coup;

– that he left everything to Bung KARNO and would obey Bung KARNO's orders.

Bung KARNO was satisfied at these words and this statement by Police General SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO.

34. Did you know that Bung KARNO had on occasion sent a mission to the PRC under the chairmanship of Dr. SUBRANDIO and whose members i.a. comprised delegates of the four Armed Forces?

If you were aware of this please tell us about:

- a. the object of that mission;
 - b. the connection between the mission and: 1) the meeting between CHENG YI-Bung KARNO; 2) the meeting between CHOU EN LAY-Bung KARNO, in Shanghai;
 - c. what message and what instructions were given to the mission by Bung KARNO;
 - d. the result of the mission, as reported to Bung KARNO;
 - e. the names of the members of the mission.
34. I remember that Bung KARNO once sent a mission to China headed by Dr. SUBRANDRIO.
- a. As far as I know the aims of the mission included:
 1. to strengthen the ties between Indonesia and China;
 2. to discuss details of the supply of arms by China to Indonesia;
 3. to urge upon China that it give genuine support in the event of Indonesia being attacked by its enemies (in particular England) in connection with the withdrawal of Indonesia from the UN and the confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia.
 - b. The dispatch of this mission was connected with meetings previously held between leading figures of the Republic of Indonesia and the People's Republic of China:
 1. when CHENG YI arrived in Indonesia one of his suggestions had been that of the Fifth Force;
 2. when Bung KARNO went to Shanghai he had a talk with CHOU EN LAY during which China said it was prepared to supply 100.000 arms in order to arm that Fifth Force.
 - c. What I can remember of the message and instructions given by Bung KARNO was that the mission of Indonesia had to sound out the real attitude of the PRC concerning

- their willingness to give material support to Indonesia, because this was most important for a further determination of Indonesia's attitude.
- d. As regards the results of the mission, as reported to Bung KARNO, they were, as far as I can remember:
- China would rapidly provide arms aid;
 - China was prepared to support Indonesia should Indonesia be attacked;
 - together with Indonesia, China would give still more active support in the arena of the New Emerging Forces.
- e. As I recall, the names of the members of the mission were: Dr. SUBRANDIO, Gen. MURSJID, Admiral MULJONO HERLAMBAANG, and others I cannot now remember.
35. Do you remember that Bung KARNO once sent a mission headed by former Air Commodore OMAR DANI? If you remember, please tell us about:
- a. the task and instructions given to that mission by Bung KARNO;
- b. the connection between that mission and: 1) arms aid by China to Indonesia; 2) the support given to Pakistan by Indonesia in the form of two MIG aircraft;
- c. the result of the mission.
35. I remember that Bung KARNO did once sent a mission to China headed by OMAR DANI.
- a. The task of the mission was to fetch the arms promised by China.
- b.1. This mission, which secured arms support for Indonesia from China further increased the influence of China in Indonesia and her interference there. The aforementioned arms, intended for the Fifth Force represented a strengthening and arming of left-wing groups and communists in Indonesia.
2. This mission also reported to China that Indonesia had given Pakistan two MIG's by way of support. China had much at stake in Pakistan. At that time ties between China and Indonesia were very close, they even formed a compact axis in the New Emerging Forces. In actual fact China derived more benefit from the support of two MIG's to Pakistan because:
- China supported Pakistan chiefly against India which was an enemy of China;

- owing to the support of Indonesia to Pakistan, under pressure from China, the success of the policy of expansion of China to other countries was again demonstrated;
 - Pakistan in this way would lean even more on China. Apart from the above it was very clear from this support to Pakistan that the position of the Djakarta-Peking-Pyong Yang axis was even further strengthened, which was the intention of Bung KARNO and CHOU EN LAY.
- c. The Mission headed by OMAR DANI resulted in their taking back the Chinese arms with them.
36. Tell us about the advantages of the results of that mission for the preparation and carrying out of the G-30-S/PKI action.
- 36.a. The result of this mission was:
1. a large number of arms;
 2. a further expansion of Communist thinking;
 3. a demonstration to the nation that China, so to speak, was Indonesia's best friend.
- b. In its efforts to achieve its aims and spread its doctrine the PKI had chiefly relied upon the workers and farmers, who were organized and activated by the PKI more than anybody else.
- c. In considering the question of the Fifth Force: it was to be these very workers and farmers who were to form the core of the forces and would be armed with the weapons obtained as a result of the mission.
- d. As a matter of fact part of the arms had already been distributed to some of the workers and farmers and other cadres of the PKI for the carrying out of the G-30-S/PKI even before the Fifth Force was officially established.
- e. It was clear from all this that there was a direct connection between the dispatch of the missions, their results and all preparations for and the carrying out of the G-30-S/PKI.

Done, this day . . . etc.

Today, Monday, 26 October, 1970, we . . . etc.

37. You have told us (see reply to question no. 35), that the OMAR DANI mission went to China with the purpose of securing arms aid from China for Indonesia.

Please tell us about the following:

- a. what did OMAR DANI report to Bung KARNNO on the results of the OMAR DANI mission?
 - b. how were the arms to be carried; who was given the task of organizing the deliveries?
 - c. when, where and in what way were the arms distributed to the cadres of PKI members and to the troops of the G-30-S/PKI?
- 37.a. I was not personally aware of the actual contents of the report submitted to Bung KARNNO by OMAR DANI after the return of the OMAR DANI-mission from China because I was not present when OMAR DANI actually submitted his report. However, I heard later that OMAR DANI had reported to Bung KARNNO on the success of his mission in obtaining arms aid from China. The plan was to transport the arms by a Hercules aircraft of the Air Force and by a vessel of which I heard next day it was to be the *Guning Kerintji* which was frequently used as a ship for pilgrims.
- b. As stated above the transport of arms was carried out by:
 - a Hercules aircraft of the Air Force;
 - the *Guning Kerintji*.The Supreme Operational Command and for the Crashing of Malaysia was responsible for this transport.
 - c. As I heard after the events of G-30-S/PKI the arms from China were distributed by the Air Force to cadres of the PKI or members of the G-30-S/PKI, using the mediation of trainers of the Air Force who trained members of the Peoples Youth and the Movement of Indonesian Women (PKI youth and women's organizations Ed.) in Lubang Buaja, before the G-30-S/PKI affair and also to PKI youth and cadres on the evening of October 1, 1965, near Senajan.
38. You have explained to the interlocutor that the arms which were received by the Republic of Indonesia from China were distributed to:
- a. members of the People's Youth and the Movement of Indonesian Women at Lubang Buaja before the G-30-S/PKI affair;

- b. members of the People's Youth and young men of the PKI, on October 1st, 1965, in the evening at Senajan.

Please tell us about the following:

- a. was Bung KARNO also informed about the distribution of these arms? Please tell us when, where and in what way Bung KARNO knew about this affair;
- b. the attitude or reaction of Bung KARNO after he had been informed of this distribution of arms;
- c. what other government officials knew about the distribution of arms?
38. I only knew after the G-30-S/PKI affair that the arms from China received by the Government of Indonesia had been distributed to members of the People's Youth and the movement of Indonesian Women and the PKI young men.
- a. Bung KARNO was certainly aware of the distribution of arms in Senajan on October 1st, 1965 in the evening, because on October 2nd, 1965, in Bogor, General SABUR reported to him on this subject. At that time the following were present: Bung KARNO, who received the report, and as far as I can remember Pak LEIMENA, Col. SAE-LAN, Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT, MANGIL and myself. As far as I know Bung KARNO must certainly have known about the distribution of arms in Lubang Buaja before October 1st, 1965, by reports from OMAR DANI or SUPARDJO, or both.
- b. I knew the following about the reaction of Bung KARNO to the distribution of arms:
- Bung KARNO has never condemned the distribution;
 - Bung KARNO once said that actually such revolutionary forces should be armed.
- c.(1) I do not know for sure which other officials of the Republic of Indonesia knew of the distribution of those arms before October 1st, 1965.
- (2) All the officials who were in Bogor on October 2nd, 1965, knew about the distribution of arms at Senajan.
39. Please tell us about:
- a. how did you learn that a part of the arms from China were transported on board the *Gunung Kerintji*?
- b. where were those arms from China stored, both those which were transported by the ship *Gunung Kerintji*?

- c. who arranged or was responsible for the collection of those arms?
- 39.a. I knew that part of the arms from China had been transported by the Gunung Kerintji, after the ship returned and it became a general topic of conversation (approx. the end of October 1965). I do not remember with any certainty from whom I heard this; I simply was informed about the arrival of the arms on this particular vessel.
- b. I learned later, sometime after the events of the G-30-S/PKI, that arms from China were stored in the warehouse of the Air Force at Mampang (now Air Force Headquarters). I do not know for sure whether the arms stored in the Air Force Warehouse in Mampang were only those arms that had been transported by the Hercules aircraft from China, or whether they also included the arms which had been transported by the Gunung Kerintji. Neither do I know whether there were other places where the arms were stored.
 - c. I did not know who arranged for the arms to be stored or who was responsible for this.
40. Were you aware that, in addition to the two MIG aircrafts which the Indonesian Government had given to Pakistan, there were perhaps other supplies to that Government? If you were informed, please tell us about it.
- a. What other supplies did Indonesia give to Pakistan?
 - b. When was the above-mentioned aid given by Indonesia to Pakistan?
 - c. Who organized that aid?
- 40.a. I knew that, apart from the MIG's belonging to Air Force, the Indonesian Government gave other supplies to support Pakistan, namely Navy supplies, being:
1. the activities of a warship;
 2. field artillery;
 3. Russian tanks.
- b. Number 1. above was, as far as I remember, never carried out. The support of the above 'Russian tanks' was given before the events of G-30-S/PKI, although I do not know exactly on what date. I do not know whether the support in the form of 'field artillery' was never carried out.
 - c. As far as I know, all this support was organized by the

Supreme Operational Command. To give an example of tank support: the Supreme Operational Command ordered the Navy to ready one squadron of tanks. The Navy readied this material in the harbour of Tandjung Priok. Following prior arrangement, a Pakistan ship arrived and transported these tanks. I do not know which mode of relations existed between the Supreme Operational Command and the Government of Pakistan.

41. What was the political background of the support given by Indonesia to Pakistan?
 41. In terms of quantity the support given by Indonesia to Pakistan was on a small scale, the emphasis was rather on the political advantages.
 - a. China, which had Pakistan and India as neighbours, was much interested in the support given by Indonesia, because China's relations with India were hostile. Indonesia's support to Pakistan was given at the suggestion or under pressure of China and this meant that Pakistan had to be grateful to China.
 - b. The support to Pakistan by Indonesia also represented support from the Djakarta-Peking axis, with the object of drawing Pakistan more into this New Emerging Forces axis so that support would be given to the idea of the Conference of the New Emerging Forces which according to Bung KARNO, was destined to be the counterpart of the UN.
 - c. This support was expected to result in the conflict between Pakistan and India either being continued or becoming more violent. The violence of this conflict in addition to all the other conflicts in the world, was expected to distract the attention of the world from preparations by the PKI and China for the coup G-30-S/PKI.
 - d. It was also hoped that Pakistan would display sympathy for the coup G-30-S/PKI.
42. Do you recall the Indonesian mission to the African countries, headed by Dr. SUBANDRIO, after the failure of the Asia Africa conference in Algiers?

If you do recall this, please tell us about:

 - a. what was the task and instructions given to that mission by Bung KARNO?

- b. who were the members of that mission?
 - c. which countries were visited by the mission?
 - d. what were the results of the SUBANDRIO-mission?
42. I can remember that there was in fact a mission headed by Dr. SUBANDRIO which was dispatched to the African countries after the failure of the Asia Africa conference in Algiers in 1965.
- a. I knew at the time that the mission was given the following instructions by Bung KARNO:
 - 1. To consolidate the opinions of the African countries, because the Asia Africa conference had been cancelled, so that a common effort would be made to combat imperialism and colonialism and, in particular, to support the New Emerging Forces and the ideal of establishing a Conference of the New Emerging Forces.
 - 2. To explain to the African countries the significance of the Gilchrist document. Now I know what the object of the explanation of the Gilchrist document was, namely:
 - to prove that Britain was engaged in subversive actions in Indonesia and intervened in the domestic affairs of Indonesia, so that the African countries would choose Indonesia's side in its confrontation with Malaysia;
 - the second object was to get the African countries to justify Bung KARNO's actions, on the basis of the expression in the Gilchrist document 'Our local army friends', if, at any time, action should be taken against the Army Generals.
 - b. I do not remember the names of the members of the mission.
 - c. Many countries were visited by the mission, but for my part I recall only Ghana.
 - d.1. I am not aware of the result of the mission in the form of a report by Dr. SUBANDRIO to Bung KARNO, upon his return. I only heard that the establishment of the Conference of the New Emerging Forces was reported to Bung KARNO and discussed with him. The plan was to establish the Conference of the New Emerging Forces as a focal point for the New Emerging Forces and it was also intended to be a counterpart of the UN, because Indonesia, at that time, was to withdraw from the UN.

The role played by China and its interest in the Conference of the New Emerging Forces was very great because China was then not yet able to become a member of the UNO and would have a great deal of influence in countries of the New Emerging Forces. This idea of establishing a Conference of the New Emerging Forces came officially from Indonesia i.e. Bung KARNO and was actually powerfully supported by China.

2. The results of that mission was very evident from the attitude of some African countries (for example Ghana) which, after the G-30-S/PKI, gave fanatical support to Bung KARNO and this was clearly the result of the work of that mission.
43. Do you recall a speech by Bung KARNO, in which he said that Indonesia was able to manufacture its own atom bomb and have it explode? This speech was supported by a statement by Brig.Gen. HARTONO on the occasion of the launching of the A. YANI-rocket on the south coast of Java. If you recall this would you please tell us about:
 - a. when did you hear those speeches, and what was their content?
 - b. what was the aim of Bung KARNO's speech?
 - c. had there been discussions on this between Bung KARNO and Brig.Gen. HARTONO and what was the substance of those talks?
43. I can remember that Bung KARNO once said in one of his speeches, that Indonesia would be able to make and explode an atom bomb.
 - a. I do not know for sure when (on which date) and on what occasion this statement was made, but I think it must have been about July–September, 1965. This statement by Bung KARNO was inserted into a long speech. This speech emphasized the strength of the Indonesian people, who were not afraid of imperialism and capitalism and that, in the near future, Indonesia would be capable of manufacturing and exploding its own atom bomb.
 - b. I believe this was only bluff on Bung KARNO's part. It's object was:
 1. to boost the morale of the Indonesian people and undermine morale in Malaysia within the framework of the Indonesia-Malaysia confrontation;

2. to attract even more attention from other countries belonging to the New Emerging Forces, so that they would have even more confidence in the strength of Indonesia, in order that the Conference of the New Emerging Forces should be established as a counterpart of the UN.
- c.1. I knew nothing about talks between Bung KARNO and Brig.Gen. HARTONO concerning the manufacture of an atom bomb. I also knew nothing about the tenor of the discussions, if indeed they ever took place.
 2. I did hear and read once in a newspaper about a statement by Brig.Gen. HARTONO, who said that Indonesia was in fact capable of making and exploding an atom bomb. That statement by Brig.Gen. HARTONO was made in connection with the launching of the A. YANI-rocket of the Army.
44. Tell us about:
- a. what influence did Bung KARNO's speech on the atom bomb have abroad?
 - b. the talks between Indonesia and China in connection with the manufacture and exploding of an atom bomb in Indonesia.
- 44.a. Bung KARNO's speech on the atom bomb had the following results:
1. Those countries which were united within the New Emerging Forces developed feelings of pride and respect. This applied particularly to those countries which were still in a development phase. There was an even greater degree of confidence among these countries in the 'leadership' of Indonesia on the New Emerging Forces front. On the other hand, the advanced countries displayed uncertainty and disbelief. I myself heard this from various ambassadors and consuls representing friendly nations in Djakarta.
 2. As to the great powers the United States, Britain and Australia, Bung KARNO's speech got some publicity in newspapers and magazines. However, after an investigation, it was reported in those countries that Indonesia could not possibly explode an atom bomb in that year (1965). This analysis was based chiefly on Indonesia's skill and equipment.

- b. I was not aware of any talks between Indonesia and China about either the manufacture or explosion of an atom bomb.
45. Please tell us about the existence of a plan of China and Indonesia to open sea communications between Indonesia and China and how it was to be achieved.
- 45.a. I do actually know about an attempt or a plan to establish sea communications between Indonesia and China. On one occasion a mission was sent to China to discuss the matter. If I am not mistaken this mission was, led by the Minister for Sea Communications, Gen. ALI SADIKIN or Adm. JATIDJAN. The mission left round about the second quarter of 1965.
- b. As to the results of the mission, I have no information; neither have I any knowledge or information about sea communications ever having been established between Indonesia and China.

Done this day, . . . etc.

This day, Tuesday, October 27, 1970, we . . . etc.

46. Did you know that, in September 1965, the Indonesian Government sent several missions to China? If you knew about this would you please tell us about:
- a. what kind of missions had previously been sent to China; who were their leaders and who were their members?
 - b. what were the purposes of those missions?
 - c. what were the instructions given to those missions by Bung KARNANO?
 - d. what were the results of those missions?
46. I recall that the Indonesian Government did in fact send many missions to China in September 1965.
- a. Some examples of such missions were:
 1. the mission of the Provisional People's Deliberative Council headed by CHAERUL SALEH;
 2. the economic mission headed by Minister SURJADI;
 3. the mission of the Air Force Staff and Command School headed by the Commander of the Air Force Staff and Command School (I do not recall his name);

4. the mission of the National Defence Institute, headed by the governor of the National Defence Institute (Gen. WILUJO PUSPOJUDO).
 5. the cultural mission headed by IBU HADAJAT;
 6. the journalists' mission (I do not remember with certainty who was in charge, but if I am not mistaken, it was DJAWOTO).
- b. I am unable to say with any certainty what the aims and the tasks of those missions were individually. As far as I recall they were divided into three categories:
1. talks from government to government; the economic mission, whose aim was to promote import and export between Indonesia and China;
 2. then there was the Air Force Staff and Command School mission, which was part of the Study Tour;
 3. there were missions in response to an invitation by China to attend the celebration of October 1, 1965, in China. They were the missions of the Provisional People's Deliberative Council, the National Defence Institute, the cultural mission and the mission of journalists.
- c. As to the instruction given to these missions by Bung KARNANO I can tell you the following:
1. each mission had as its object the strengthening of ties between Indonesia and China;
 2. each mission had to keep its eyes and ears open to learn what it could in China which could be of use to Indonesia at a later date.
- d. I do not know what the results of these missions were.
47. You have stated that, in the month of September, 1965, Bung KARNANO sent a mission to China of the Provisional People's Deliberative Council. Please tell us about the following:
- a. in connection with what problem was that mission sent to China?
 - b. who were the other members of that mission?
 - c. what task was given to that mission by Bung KARNANO?
 - d. how long did that mission stay in China?
 - e. what were the results of that mission?
47. As regards the Provisional People's Deliberative Council's mission which was sent to China in September, 1965:

- a. As I recall, the mission was sent in connection with the celebrations in Peking on October 1, 1965, at the invitation of China.
 - b. I still remember that some of its members were: CHAERUL SALEH, ALI SASTROAMIDJOJO, Gen. MASHUDI; I cannot remember who else.
 - c. Apart from what I already told you I do not know what special instructions or tasks were given to the mission by Bung KARNO.
 - d. I no longer know with any certainty how long this mission stayed in China. If I am not mistaken the mission left for China in the last week of September 1965 and its members returned to Djakarta individually, sometime after October 3, 1965.
 - e. I do not know what the mission reported in the way of results.
48. According to your declaration made to the interrogator, a mission of the National Defence Institute left Indonesia for China in September 1965. Please tell us about the following:
- a. when did the mission of the National Defence Institute go to China and what were its members?
 - b. what was the object of the mission?
 - c. what instructions did Bung KARNO give to the mission?
 - d. was it true that Army Gen. MURSID, who was originally due to leave with the mission, was not allowed by Bung KARNO to leave with it?
 - e. why did Bung KARNO not allow Gen. MURSID to go to China at that time?
 - f. was there any connection between this decision by Bung KARNO not to allow Gen. MURSID to go to China and Bung KARNO's plan to take action against the Generals of the Army and, in particular with the replacement of Gen. A. YANI's command of the Army.
48. With regard to the mission of the National Defence Institute to China:
- a. The mission left for China at the end of September, 1965 (I no longer remember the exact date). I did not know the names of those who went with the mission. However, the mission was headed by the Governor of the National Defence Institute (Gen. WILUJO PUSPOJUDO) and

students of the Navy (I recall them) they were Adm. SUDOMO and Gen. of the Marines SUWADJI.

- b. As far as I know, the object of that mission was to join in the celebrations in Peking of October 1, 1965 at the invitation of the Government of China.
- c. Apart from what I stated earlier I know nothing of any special instruction Bung KARNO gave to that mission.
- d. It is indeed true that Army Gen. MURSID who was due to join the National Defence Institute's mission, did not in actual fact leave with the mission. At the time the mission left I did not know that Gen. MURSID did not join them on the orders of Bung KARNO.
- e. After I learned about Bung KARNO's plan to replace the Army command and after the G-30-S/PKI it became clear to me that there was a connection between the fact that Gen. MURSID did not leave for Peking at the order of Bung KARNO:
 - 1. before G-30-S/PKI, Bung KARNO gave every indication, both in what he said and what he did, of his dissatisfaction with the Generals and the Army command, whom he did not regard as loyal to him;
 - 2. Bung KARNO issued orders that measures should be taken against those Generals of the Army;
 - 3. Bung KARNO, to judge by his attitude, approved the appointment of Gen. MURSID as a substitute commander of the Army.

I realize now, from the above facts, that Gen. MURSID did indeed receive orders to stay in Djakarta or was not allowed to follow the National Defence Institute's mission to China, and that it was in connection with the plan of Bung KARNO to act against the Generals of the Army and the changes in the Army command.

- 49. Were the instructions of Bung KARNO to Gen. MURSID to join the National Defence Institute's mission to China discussed previously by Bung KARNO and other officials? Please tell us whether Bung KARNO informed Gen. YANI, as Commander of the Army about the ban on Gen. MURSID's visit to China?
- 49. As I recall it, Bung KARNO never discussed with other Government officials forbidding or delaying Gen. MURSID to join the National Defence Institute's mission in China.

Whether Gen. YANI, as Commander of the Army had been informed of this I am unaware. However, I did know that Gen. YANI was ordered to appear before Bung KARNO on October 1, 1965.

50. You have said that Bung KARNO dispatched an economic mission to China in the month of September, 1965. Please tell us about:
 - a. the members of the mission;
 - b. the tasks and instructions given to that mission by Bung KARNO;
 - c. the object of the mission, and in connection with what problems was it sent to China.
50. I can tell you the following about the economic mission to China in September 1965.
 - a. The persons or the names of the members of the economic mission were unknown to me. All I knew was, that the mission was headed by Minister SURJADI.
 - b. I cannot add to what I have already said with regard to the tasks and special instructions which Bung KARNO gave to this mission.
 - c. The improvements of economic relations between Indonesia and China was in general its goal. I can say, with respect to the problems discussed by the mission of which I learned later:
 1. in view of Indonesia's withdrawal from the UN, Indonesia would have to try to cushion the results economically by strengthening her economic ties with China;
 2. Indonesia wanted to strengthen its economic ties with China as part of the plan to establish a Conference of the New Emerging Forces so that the Djakarta-Peking axis would become genuinely strong;
 3. as to the Singapore question: China had urged Indonesia to wait for the 'green light' from China before recognizing Singapore (which at that time adopted an attitude that it did not want to join Malaysia). The object of this attitude of China was that it would give China time to arrange its banking problems with Singapore before Indonesia recognized Singapore.

51. Please tell us about the appointment of Police Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO as Minister/Commander of the Police in May 1965.
51. Generally, I can explain the appointment of Police Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO as Minister/Commander of the Police as follows:
- a. At the beginning of 1965, there were rumours in circulation that there were differences of opinion among the Police Force. It seemed that there were a number of groups within the Police Force, each of which had a candidate for the position of Minister/Commander of the Police. Bung KARNO was well aware of all the events on the grounds of the reports which he received from Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT, Gen. SABUR and other officials. Finally, Bung KARNO decided to appoint from a number of candidates Police Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO as Minister/Commander of the Police.
 - b. Before his appointment became official Pak TJIPTO was received in audience by Bung KARNO in the Palace. There was then an exchange as follows:
 - Pak TJIPTO said he was loyal to Bung KARNO and would obey him;
 - Pak TJIPTO swore allegiance to the Revolution;
 - Pak TJIPTO promised to sway the whole of the Police in the direction of the ideals of the Revolution, using as a basis the doctrines of Bung KARNO. On May 17th, 1965, Police Gen. TJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO was appointed Minister/Commander of the Police officially, in succession to his predecessor.
52. What do you know about the relationship between Bung KARNO and ex-Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO, both before and after G-30-S/PKI?
52. As regards relations between Bung KARNO and Minister/Chief of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO, according to what I know:
- a. Prior to the events of G-30-S/PKI: relations between Pak TJIPTO and Bung KARNO were as I saw, quite normal and there was a good relationship as already existed with the other Ministers/Commanders of the other forces.

If compared with the relations to the Minister/Commander of the Army, Gen. YANI the relationship between Bung KARNO and YANI was closer, as Bung KARNO saw in YANI a strong man (with his Army) and a resolute man; in addition there existed a personal relationship between Bung KARNO and YANI.

If compared to the relationship with the Minister/Commander of the Navy, Adm. R.E. MARTADINATA, the relations between Bung KARNO and MARTA were not very close, since Bung KARNO did not see in MARTA someone very revolutionary.

If compared to the relations with the Minister/Commander of the Air Force, Airmarshal OMAR DANI, the relationship between Bung KARNO and OMAR DANI was closer, as Bung KARNO saw in OMAR DANI a young revolutionary man, who stuck to Bung KARNO.

Just before G-30-S/PKI Pak TJIPTO visited Bung KARNO on a number of occasions together with the other Ministers/Commanders.

- b. After the G-30-S/PKI events it appeared relations between Pak TJIPTO and Bung KARNO were getting closer than before. In the atmosphere then prevailing, at the end of 1965 up to and including 1966 the firmness of Pak TJIPTO in defending Bung KARNO was clearly visible, which resulted in Bung KARNO being more sympathetic to Pak TJIPTO, so that both men became closer.
53. Will you please tell us about the following:
- a. prior to the events of G-30-S/PKI was ex-Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO present on occasion at the meetings held in the Palace (as part of the action is considered by Bung KARNO against the Commanders who were not loyal towards Bung KARNO)?
 - b. what proposals did SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO make to Bung KARNO when they were in Halim on October 1st, 1965, and how did SUTJIPTO then behave?
 - c. as you have already said, after the events of G-30-S/PKI 'the firmness of Pak TJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO in defending Bung KARNO was clearly visible'. Would you please

tell us what was the nature of the firmness you have described whereby Bung KARNO became more sympathetic and closer to SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO?

- 53.a. As far as I know the Minister/Commander of the Police Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO was never present when Bung KARNO discussed actions against the Generals. The fact that Pak TJIPTO was never present at those meetings does not preclude the possibility that Pak TJIPTO knew about the action to be undertaken before October 1, 1965. This was possible, because:
1. Bung KARNO himself had, in the month of September 1965, informed Pak TJIPTO about the existence of a Council of Generals;
 2. in his conversation Pak TJIPTO continually used the term GESTOK, the same term used by Bung KARNO, and not G-30-S/PKI or Gestapu;
 3. I did once hear from Pak MANGIL of the Presidential bodyguard that efforts had been made by the Police—that is to say Pak TJIPTO—to remove Bung KARNO from Djakarta to another area, because Pak TJIPTO did not believe that Bung KARNO was safe in Djakarta;
 4. I never heard of a suggestion or a proposal by Pak TJIPTO either on October 1st, 1965 in Halim, or after G-30-S/PKI, that measures should be taken against the persons who had committed the murders or that the PKI should be liquidated despite the fact that he knew that the PKI was involved in the G-30-PKI. I noticed this particularly because I knew from other officials, Pak LEIMENA and Pak SJAFIUFIN ZUHRI that they had on occasion made such suggestions to Bung KARNO.
54. On September 1–4, 1965, during a meeting of the Indonesian Police Force in Djakarta there was a declaration of the ‘Determined Will of the Police Force’. Will you tell us what you know about this?
- a. Was that meeting held on the orders of and with the blessing of Bung KARNO?
 - b. What was the purpose of that meeting?
 - c. How did Bung KARNO react when he received a report

from ex-Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO about the result of this meeting which produced the 'Determined Will of the Police Force?'

- d. What do you know about the connection between that meeting and Bung KARNO's plan to take measures against the Commanders of the Army who were not loyal to Bung KARNO?
- 54.a. As to the meeting of the Police Force, from September 1-4, 1965: as far as I know the meeting was not ordered by Bung KARNO but did have his blessing. Before the meeting took place the Commander of the Police Force, Police Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO called on Bung KARNO on August 30th, 1965, in order to report that the meeting would take place. Bung KARNO gave his blessing and promised to send a Presidential message.
 - b. The meeting of the Police Force was organized to unite the forces in the Police into a progressive and revolutionary force, and to turn the policy of the Police in accordance with the speech by Bung KARNO on August 17th, 1965 (TAKARI) and aimed at pursuing Bung KARNO's policies. The TAKARI speech was drafted by NJOTO of the PKI.
 - c. Bung KARNO was delighted when he heard from ex-Minister/Commander of the Police Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO, about the results of the Police Force meeting which had produced the 'Determined Will of the Police Force'. It was apparent from his attitude that he had even greater confidence in the Police Force as being an organization which supported him.
 - d. It was apparent that there was a connection between the meeting of the Police Force and the plans of Bung KARNO and the PKI to take measures against Generals of the Army who were regarded as not loyal. This was clear from the facts, which showed that there was cooperation between Bung KARNO and the PKI, or even a common goal shared by Bung KARNO and the PKI, with respect to the Generals of the Army, who were regarded as disloyal to Bung KARNO. Also indicative of this were the contents and sentences of the TAKARI programme of Action in the 'Determined Will of the Police Force', the same sentences which were also continually used by the PKI.

55. Were you aware, in connection with the G-30-S/PKI, that there was a movement in a certain group to take Bung KARNÓ out of Djakarta and hide him? If you know about this, give a clarification:
- a. when, where and how did you know about this affair?
 - b. why did they want to hide Bung KARNÓ by taking him away from Djakarta?
 - c. did you know where Bung KARNÓ was to be taken and kept in hiding?
 - d. who were the persons who devised the plan?
 - e. was ex-Minister/Commander of the Police, Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO, among those who wanted to take Bung KARNÓ out of Djakarta?
55. As regards the existence of a plan to hide Bung KARNÓ by taking him out of Djakarta:
- a. About the middle of 1966, I heard about the 'issue', that there was a plan to take Bung KARNÓ out of Djakarta to another place. Eventually I heard from Assistant Chief Commissioner MANGIL, Commander of the Bodyguard, that the Police had devised the plan and prepared for it.
 - b. The motives for this plan, I understood, were:
 1. Djakarta and West Java—in particular Bogor—were completely under the control of persons who were against Bung KARNÓ;
 2. the revolutionary struggle according to the concept of Bung KARNÓ was impossible to be continued, so long as Bung KARNÓ was held in custody by anti-Bung KARNÓ elements;
 3. from a point of view of security of Bung KARNÓ personally and for Bung KARNÓ's struggle, it was considered safer to move him to an area which was more advantageous.
 - c. The planned destination was East Java or Central Java.
 - d. I do not know for certain who the persons were who had devised this plan and would carry it out.
 - e. According to what I heard from MANGIL of the Presidential Bodyguard, the Minister/Commander of the Police, Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO, was informed of this plan.

Done this day, . . . etc.

This day, Wednesday, October 28, 1970, we . . . etc.

56. Did you know that, on or about 26–27 September, 1965, UNTUNG reported to Bung KARNO that the action to be undertaken by the progressive officers could be carried out?
 - 56.a. I did not know, neither did I recollect that ex-Lt.Col. UNTUNG was received by Bung KARNO between 26 and 27 September 1965. I also am not aware that UNTUNG reported that the action of the progressive officers could be carried out.
 - b. That I did not in actual fact know anything about this affair does not mean that I regarded it as impossible. It was always possible that UNTUNG would report to Bung KARNO either in BOGOR or in Djakarta because Bung KARNO often summoned somebody suddenly or Bung KARNO would receive someone disregarding the standing procedure.
 - c. I did, however, know for certain that UNTUNG appeared before Bung KARNO on August 4, 1965 and declared that he was prepared to take measures against the Generals of the Army whom he did not regard as loyal, in accordance with the statement I have already made.
I also know and remember that UNTUNG handed over a letter to Bung KARNO on the evening of September 30 in the Stadium. I only knew much later that the contents of that letter were a report about the actual date on which the action was undertaken. It was therefore logical, in view of the above facts, that UNTUNG had reported to Bung KARNO before September 30, 1965 and possibly on or about 26–27 September, that the action of the progressive officers could be carried out.
57. On September 30, 1965, General SABUR was not in Djakarta, but in Bandung. Could you tell us:
 - a. whether, in addition to UNTUNG, who was ordered by Bung KARNO to take action against the Commanders, who practised passive resistance against Bung KARNO, Gen. SABUR was also given orders in connection with the same affair by Bung KARNO? How was it that Gen. SABUR himself was at that time not in Djakarta?
 - b. why was it that UNTUNG had been selected to carry out

the orders of Bung KARNNO with respect to the measures which were to be taken against the Commanders of the Army?

- 57.a. It was true that, in addition to UNTUNG, Gen. SABUR received orders from Bung KARNNO to act against the Generals of the Army who were not regarded as loyal. From the point of view of organization SABUR, as Commander of the Tjakrabirawa regiment, was the first person to be eligible to receive the orders and implement them. The reason why Gen. SABUR was not present in Bandung at that very time when the G-30-S/PKI took place, or, to be more precise, on September 30, 1965 in the afternoon and in the evening, was:
1. the peccadilloes of Gen. SABUR, who was always out to avoid critical situations or difficult work. I say this on the grounds of experience based on years of cooperation as the Adjutant of the President. Gen. SABUR was always out to take the credit for certain activities, but he left the actual work to others. As to experiences I had with regard to critical situations I can mention the following:
 - shots aimed at Bung KARNNO during prayers Idul Adha in the Djakarta Palace,
 - a hand grenade thrown at Bung KARNNO in Macassar,
 - the G-30-S/PKI itself, when Gen. SABUR was in Halim on October 1, 1965;I myself was able to observe the weakness of Gen. SABUR from the events of which I was myself a witness. Gen. SABUR did nothing at those very moments when action by a commander was necessary. This applies particularly to measures to ensure the safety of Bung KARNNO, which was his special province;
 2. the departure of Gen. SABUR to Bandung could also be regarded as a precautionary measure to protect himself if it should appear later that the UNTUNG action had failed. In this way he would have been able to clear himself with the Army command.
- b. The reasons why UNTUNG carried out the action against the Chief Officers of the Army were:
1. he was ordered to do so by Bung KARNNO;

2. military speaking, he was ordered to do so by the Commander of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment, Gen. SABUR;
 3. from a party-political point of view he was given orders by the PKI.
58. You have told the interlocutors that you had heard from Assistant Chief Commissioner MANGIL of the police plan to transfer Bung KARNO from Djakarta to another area, for example East Java or Central Java. Djakarta was not regarded as safe for Bung KARNO and was not considered to provide opportunities for the continuation of the struggle as conceived by Bung KARNO. Please make a statement about the following:
- a. when, and where, did you hear from Assistant Chief Commissioner MANGIL about the transfer of Bung KARNO from Djakarta and what other persons heard about it?
 - b. did you hear about this affair from other people and in what way did you hear about it?
 - c. what organization was to be made use of in transporting Bung KARNO from Djakarta?
 - d. what persons were involved in the organization of this? Did Police Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO know about the existence of this organization or was he directly involved in the organization?
 - e. what was the further role of Police Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO in the activities concerning the transfer of Bung KARNO from Djakarta?
 - f. please give actual details of the plan.
58. As regards the plan for the transfer of Bung KARNO from the Djakarta/Bogor area:
- a. As I stated earlier, I heard about the middle of 1966 that attempts had been devised by people who were pro-SUKARNO to have him transferred from the Djakarta/Bogor area to some place in Central Java or East Java. I remember that Assistant Chief Commissioner MANGIL, Commander of the Bodyguard spoke to me once about this business, in the pavilion of the Bogor Palace. A number of officers of the Bodyguard, whose names I no longer remember, also witnessed this conversation.

- b. I also heard about this plan from Chief Commissioner Drs. SIDHARTA SH, who replaced Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT as Adjutant; Chief Commissioner SIDHARTA said casually to me that certain persons who were attached to Bung KARN0 would try to transport Bung KARN0 from the Djakarta/Bogor area to East Java.
- c. What sort of organization was to be used for the transfer of Bung KARN0, I do not know and I have not heard the name mentioned of any such organization. I did, however, know that there were a number of groups: the Police and its Mobile Brigade, the Navy and its Marine Corps, a group from the Brawidjaja division, the Marhaenist Youth (Indonesian Nationalist Party Youth Organization, Ed.). According to Pak SIDHARTA all these people were to cooperate in the transfer of Bung KARN0.
- d. The chief name mentioned in connection with the transfer attempt was that of Gen. BAMBANG SUPENO. I heard from Chief Commissioner SIDHARTA that Gen. BAMBANG SUPENO and his Brawidjaja group were far advanced with their preparations. Police Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO knew about these plans to transfer Bung KARN0 and was clearly in support of them. I am not aware whether he was in the organization itself.
- e. As to the further activities of Police Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO in the plan to transfer Bung KARN0 from Djakarta I can state the following:
 - 1. I heard from Chief Commissioner SIDHARTA that Pak TJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO had ordered the East Java Police District Commander to prepare for the arrival of Bung KARN0 in East Java;
 - 2. I knew that Pak TJIPTO, in the course of his speech in East Java had said that it was perfectly clear that the people of East Java should defend Bung KARN0 and would form a bulwark for him.
- f. I did not know what the details of the plan were. Generally, I knew that Bung KARN0 was to be quietly transported from Bogor (not Djakarta) and was to be taken directly to East Java, incognito, and that this was to be done directly by members of the Presidential Bodyguard.

59. Please tell us whether the plan to transfer Bung KARNO from Djakarta was not one of the tasks of the organization 'SOE-KARNO Front'. In addition, please tell us about the object, the task and the composition of the 'SOEKARNO Front'.

59.a. I knew the following about the 'SOEKARNO Front':

1. owing to pressure from the masses, a pressure which arose after the G-30-S/PKI, and which rejected the G-30-S/PKI and condemned it, and which further criticised the Government and the policy of Bung KARNO, Bung KARNO began to assemble forces bearing the name 'SOEKARNO Front'. The original aim was to support Bung KARNO, to defend him and also act as a task force for Bung KARNO in his attempts to proceed with his doctrines. The 'SOEKARNO Front' was also specially used to combat demonstrators who were against Bung KARNO. The members of this 'SOEKARNO Front' consisted of persons who supported Bung KARNO fanatically and without reserve;
 2. after the idea of the 'SOEKARNO Front' had been launched and after clashes arose in Indonesia between the two forces, the Commanders of the Armed Forces, declared that all Armed Forces belonged to the 'SOEKARNO Front' and they decided that the Commanders of the Military Districts were (local) Commanders of the 'SOEKARNO Front' for every district. As a result the 'SOEKARNO Front' consisted not only of fanatical persons, who supported Bung KARNO unconditionally but they also consisted of people from all levels of society. As a result the original aim of the 'SOEKARNO Front' became blurred. It was also possible for the local Commanders to maintain supervision over the 'SOEKARNO Front' because they were its Commander too;
 3. I knew that, on the highest level, Bung KARNO relied upon Pak CHAERUL SALEH to lead the 'SOEKARNO Front'. It was only later that I knew that the leadership of the 'SOEKARNO Front' had been delegated to Lt.Col. SJAFIIE.
- b. From the above statements I can say that the persons or groups whose plan it was to transfer Bung KARNO out-

- side Djakarta or Bogor, belonged to the 'SOEKARNO Front' as clarified under no. 1. They were persons who fanatically supported Bung KARNNO, without reservation.
60. Did Bung KARNNO, when he took measures in connection with the reports that troops of the RPKAD were to attack the Palace on the evening of March 11, 1966, mobilize the 'SOEKARNO Front' to oppose such attacks by the RPKAD?
60. On the evening of March 10, 1966, as I have already stated, there were many officials and Ministers present in the guest house of the Djakarta Palace. Among them were the Ministers ACHMADI and ACHADI. After reports were received that troops of the RPKAD of the Army were to attack the Palace, there was a great deal of talk. I recollect a dialogue between Bung KARNNO and ACHMADI and ACHADI, the main features of which were as follows: they related to the question by Bung KARNNO to ACHMADI and ACHADI about the strength of the supporters of Bung KARNNO and, finally, the orders given by Bung KARNNO to ACHMADI and ACHADI to persuade those forces to protect and defend Bung KARNNO. My belief is, that these forces of ACHMADI and ACHADI were known as the 'SOEKARNO Front'.
61. What was the role of Police Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO and of other officers of the Police in dealing with the possibility of an attack by troops of the RPKAD as reported to Bung KARNNO on the evening of March 10, 1966?
61. After the events of the evening of March 10, 1966, when Bung KARNNO and his party left the Palace for Bogor, I heard the following from Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT:
1. when Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT handed over a letter to Bung KARNNO on the evening of March 10, 1966, he also reported to Bung KARNNO on a message from the Minister/Commander of the Police, Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO. The contents of this message was a suggestion that Bung KARNNO should leave Djakarta and that Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO should have available the troops of the Mobile Brigade to protect and defend Bung KARNNO. Pak TJIPTO also reported that he would spend the night with his troops;

2. I knew from the statement by Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT that Pak TJIPTO played an active role on that night of March 10, 1966.
62. You have told the interlocutors that, in September 1965, Bung KARNO gave orders to Gen. SABUR and Lt.Col. UNTUNG to take action against a number of Chief Officers of the Army i.e. Gen. NASUTION etc., because those Chief Officers were not regarded as loyal to Bung KARNO or were not in agreement with the policies of Bung KARNO. Please tell us about the following:
- a. in what respect were the Chief Officers of the Army not regarded as loyal to Bung KARNO, or what specific policy of Bung KARNO was not approved, according to Bung KARNO, by the Chief Officers?
 - b. what was the attitude and the line of thought of Police Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO towards the policies of Bung KARNO?
- 62.a. The Chief Officers of the Army were in disagreement about: the policy of Bung KARNO, because it leaned heavily towards Communism and, in particular, the policy of the Djakarta-Phnom Penh-Peking-Pyong Yang axis.
- b. The attitude and views of Pol. Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO were the same as those of Bung KARNO. This implied that he approved of Bung KARNO's policies. I never understood from what he said, or from his behaviour, that he did not agree with these policies.
63. Were you aware of the departure of Pol. Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO to East Java in June 1966 and that he held a speech there, during which he said: 'The people of East Java must be a bulwark for SUKARNO'. If you know about this, please tell us about the following:
- a. was the departure of Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO part of the preparations to transfer Bung KARNO from Djakarta to East Java?
 - b. was Bung KARNO informed of the purpose of the departure of Pol. Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO?
- 63.a. It was clear from the activities of Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO (who had clearly proved his loyalty to Bung KARNO) and from what I heard about Pak TJIPTO knowing about the attempts to transfer Bung KARNO from Djakarta or Bogor, and supporting them, that the

departure of Pak TJIPTO to East Java was part of the preparations for the transfer for Bung KARNO from the Djakarta/Bogor area to East Java.

- b. Bung KARNO knew about the departure of Pak TJIPTO and the purpose of his journey to East Java because Pak TJIPTO had reported to Bung KARNO before he left for East Java. It was customary for a Minister of Commander of the Armed Forces to report to Bung KARNO before leaving Djakarta.
64. In view of your reply to no. 53, namely that Bung KARNO, in September 1965, had told Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO about the 'Council of Generals', did you also know whether SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO also informed Bung KARNO that within the Police organization there were Generals who belonged to the Council of Generals, who were opposed to Bung KARNO? If so, who were the Generals who were reported to Bung KARNO?
64. After Pol. Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO had been received by Bung KARNO in September 1965, I heard that Bung KARNO had also been told by Pak TJIPTO that there were Generals in the Police force who were not loyal to Bung KARNO. These included: Pol. Gen. K. SUROSO, Pol. Gen. MUDJOKO, Pol. Gen. MUR-DJAMAN, Pol. Gen. SUTJIPTO DANUKOSUMO. There were other names, but I do not remember them.
65. To what extent did you know whether it was true that there was a direct connection between the District Police Command VII/Greater Djakarta and the Palace? If that was true, was this with the knowledge of Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO, and why was that direct communication justified?
- 65.a. It is true that there was a direct communication between District Police Command VII/Greater Djakarta and the Palace. I knew, on several occasions, that the Djakarta District Commander of Police was summoned to Bung KARNO without consultation with the Minister/Commander of the Police. That actually was not according to the usual proceeding. The only persons at that time who were allowed to go straight to the President were the Governor of the Autonomous District of the Capital/Greater Djakarta and the Commander of Military District V/Greater

Djakarta as District Administrator and Director of the Twofold People's Command or as Commander of the Garrison. The District Commander of the Navy or the District Commander of the Air Force had no direct contact with the Palace.

- b. The direct communication between District Police Command VII/Greater Djakarta and the Palace was clearly with the foreknowledge of the Minister/Commander of the Police Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO.
 - c. The direct communication was both possible and justified because:
 1. at that time the policy of Bung KARNO was to achieve direct control over the Commanders of the Armed Forces of the Districts, so that they could be used as his instruments;
 2. Bung KARNO was particularly pleased about the District Police Command VII/Greater Djakarta because the behaviour of its leadership ran parallel with his own policy and because from them information could be obtained which accorded with the wishes of Bung KARNO.
66. Will you please tell us about the radiogram compiled by the Director of Intelligence at Police Headquarters on behalf of the Minister/Commander of the Police on October 1, 1965 (the evidence is read out).
- a. Did Bung KARNO know about that radiogram? If he knew about it from whom, where and when?
 - b. What was Bung KARNO's reaction at the time?
 - c. Were there instructions given by Bung KARNO to Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO and what instructions were given by Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO to the Police Force?
66. With regard to the radiogram from the Police on October 1, 1965:
- a. As far as I know, Bung KARNO received a report in Bogor, on October 2, 1965 from the Minister/Commander of the Police Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO saying that the Police had sent this radiogram to the Police Districts, the gist of which was that the whole of the Police apparatus was loyal to Bung KARNO.

- b. Bung KARNO was delighted at the contents of the report.
 - c. I was not aware of the complete instructions given after that report by Bung KARNO to the Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO. However, I heard that Bung KARNO had given instructions to the Minister/Commander of the Police and to the Police Force as a whole, to remain loyal and obedient to Bung KARNO.
67. Will you tell us about reports that, on October 1, 1965, Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT wrote a letter to Assistant Chief Commissioner of Police ANWAS TANU MIDJAJA from the Military District VII/Greater Djakarta (sic. should be Police District Command VII/Greater Djakarta Ed.) of which the contents i.a. were that all orders of the Great Leader of the Revolution/Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, President SOEKARNO, should be obeyed.
- a. Did you know that that letter was handed over to the Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO by Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT when he was in Halim on October 1, 1965?
 - b. What purpose was served by the letter of Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT to this ANWAS TANUMIDJAJA?
67. From Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT I once heard, after we had been in Bogor, that:
- a. Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT had reported on the existence and contents of this letter to Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO, when Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO arrived at Halim on October 1, 1965.
 - b. The purpose of that letter was that, as far as the Police were concerned, only and exclusively the commands of Bung KARNO should be obeyed whatever might happen or what ever orders might be given from other quarters.
68. On October 1, 1965 in Halim, Bung KARNO gave to every official there (including Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO) a list of the membership of the Revolutionary Council, in which next to himself (SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO) was member of the Revolutionary Council also was included his subordinate Assistant Chief Commissioner ANWAS TANUMIDJAJA, as Deputy Chairman IV of the Revolutionary Council. Could you tell us about the reaction of Bung KARNO and Minister/

Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO with respect to the mention of the name of ANWAS as Deputy Chairman IV of the Revolutionary Council?

68. The reaction of Bung KARN0 to that appointment was quite calm. There was no indication that he did not agree to the appointment of a subordinate officer to a position higher than that of his superior. Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO himself appeared to be rather disappointed about the appointment of this ANWAS because he as his superior as listed below ANWAS. Finally, however, Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO left everything to Bung KARN0.
69. Can you tell us why Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO, on October 1, 1965 (after he had complied with the summons by Bung KARN0) did not try to leave Halim (like Minister/Commander of the Navy, Adm. R.E. MARTADINATA) for example to get in touch with Gen. SUHARTO and others, in order to become more acquainted with the true state of affairs?
69. The reasons why Minister/Commander of the Police S. JUDODIHARDJO, after arrival in Halim, did not try to leave Halim were:
1. he had received the report from Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT about the letter sent by Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT to Police District Command VII/Greater Djakarta the contents of which was that only Bung KARN0 should be obeyed. With regard to the situation in town and in the KOSTRAD, Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT had already been in touch that morning with the Commander of Military District V/Greater Djakarta at the KOSTRAD. Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO completely trusted the report of this Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT;
 2. Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO believed that he should obey only Bung KARN0 and no-one else. Because Bung KARN0 was at Halim he himself should be at Halim and there was no need to go to the KOSTRAD;

3. listening to Bung KARNO and/or SUPARDJO Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO himself believed that the KOSTRAD was on the side of the Council of Generals, which was anti Bung KARNO.
70. When Bung KARNO and his party left Halim for Bogor on October 1, 1965, Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO left the same night for Djakarta (October 2, 1965, approx. 01.30 hrs). Do you know what instructions Bung KARNO gave to Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO when he was about to leave for Djakarta that night?
70. After we arrived in Bogor October 1, 1965 at night, at approx. 24.00 hrs, the officials who had accompanied Bung KARNO from Halim, went straight to Bung KARNO's pavilion. I myself went to the next pavilion, the office of the Adjutant, in order to ring up Gen. SUHARTO at the KOSTRAD and make my report. For this reason I do not know of the conversation between Bung KARNO and those officials. Neither did I know what instructions, if any, Bung KARNO gave to minister Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO before he went to Djakarta. I was however aware, that about 1½ hours later, on October 2, 1965, at 01.30 hrs, Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO left Bogor Palace to return to Djakarta.

Done this day, this Report of Interrogation was compiled according to truth, and taken account of the official oath. The interrogated, after having had the next read to him or asked to read the text back signed it as evidence of his approval.

This Report of Interrogation was, moreover, provisionally concluded on the abovementioned day at Djakarta and the investigation will be proceeded with on Wednesday, 28 October 1970.

The interrogated:
BAMBANG SETIJONO WIDJANARKO

The interrogators:
S. SOEGIJARJO
Lt.Col. CPM NRP: 12688
AZWIR NAWIE
Ass. Chief Commissioner of Police

This day, Thursday, October 29th, 1970, we:

1. S. SOEGIJARJO—Lieut.Col. CPM-NRP: 12688
2. AZWIR NAWIE—Ass. Chief Commissioner of Police

both in the function of member of the Central Investigation Team, interrogated a man admitting he was:

BAMBANG SETIJONO WIDJANARKO

having the rank of Colonel KKO, function: ASKAPERS/MIL (chief Assistant Military Personnel, Navy/Military brand), age/date of birth: 43 years/19 September 1927, place of birth: Karanganyar Kebumen, religion: Roman Catholic, address/place of residence: Djalan Widjaja 2/121 Kebajoran Baru Djakarta.

He was heard as a witness in matters relating to the G-30-S/PKI.

In reply to the questions we put to him he, the witness (BAMBANG SETIJONO WIDJANARKO) gave the following replies:

71. Those involved in the G-30-S/PKI who were members of the Indonesian Police, among others, Assistant Chief Commissioner ANWAS TANUMIDJAJA (Deputy Chairman IV of the Revolutionary Council), after being interrogated by the Police Headquarters and later by Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO, were reported to Bung KARNNO. What was Bung KARNNO's reaction to this report and what did he say?
 - 71.a. Before, during and after the trial by the Department of Police of Assistant Chief Commissioner ANWAS, I know, Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT had been reporting regularly on the investigations to Bung KARNNO.
 - b. After the conclusions of the Department of Police from which it was apparent that Assistant Chief Commissioner ANWAS was not guilty and not involved, this was also reported to Bung KARNNO by Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO.
 - c. The reaction of Bung KARNNO was that he agreed with the policy pursued by the Minister/Commander of the Police and approved of the conclusion that Assistant Chief Commissioner ANWAS was innocent and was not involved.
72. In March 1966 (2 days before the Ministers were arrested, this was on March 18, 1966), Minister ACHMADI fled and spent

one night in the house of Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO.

- a. Will you tell us what you know about this?
 - b. Please tell us what you know about Ir. SURACHMAN and his relations to the Police.
- 72.a. I only heard about the disappearance of Minister ACHMADI and night he stayed at the house of Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO some considerable time after it had taken place. As far as I can remember Bung KARNO must either have known about it or have received a report about it through the reports of Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT and/or MANGIL, after it took place.
- b. I heard from Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT that Bung KARNO had given instructions to the Police to place Ir. SURACHMAN (a leading figure of the PNI) under protective arrest because it was very clear at that moment that the safety of Ir. SURACHMAN could no longer be guaranteed.
73. After the G-30-S/PKI the New Order was created.
- a. Can you tell us what agreement was reached between Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO and Bung KARNO (or vice versa) during the development phase of the New Order, which was opposed to the PKI and the Old Order?
 - b. Could you also tell us about the activities of Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO with regard to the Palace (Bung KARNO), both before and after the inception of the Mandate of March Eleventh (1966, according to which SUKARNO had to renounce his executive powers Ed.).
- 73.a. The situation at the time was very tense and I knew that Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO continued to be faithful to Bung KARNO although it could be felt at the time that there were already very strong anti-PKI and anti-President SUKARNO currents. Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO had always told Bung KARNO that he would continue to be faithful to Bung KARNO and

his doctrine. I was not aware what Bung KARNO might have promised to Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO.

- b. Apart from the above declarations I knew nothing about the further activities of Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO before the inception of the Mandate of March Eleventh. After the Mandate of March Eleventh I knew that the position of Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO was still sound and that he remained loyal to Bung KARNO.
 1. Bung KARNO continually explained to Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO and the other Commanders of the other Forces what the contents of the Mandate of March Eleventh was, in particular that its accent lay on the duty to protect the personal safety of Bung KARNO and to continue his doctrines and ensure their safety;
 2. as a result of this exposition by Bung KARNO Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO took the attitude of carrying out everything that was said by Bung KARNO;
 3. Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO always agreed to the attitude of Bung KARNO, who was both dissatisfied and furious about the measures of the supporter of the Mandate of March Eleventh (Gen. SUHARTO), which were regarded as incorrect by Bung KARNO, for example:
 - the dissolution of the PKI,
 - the arrest of the Ministers;
 4. Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO also expressed his displeasure with Gen. SUHARTO, who had never consulted with the Commanders of the other Forces on the implementation of the Mandate of March Eleventh.
74. You have told the interlocutors the following:
- a. the ‘SUKARNO Front’, which was formed at the wish of Bung KARNO, consisted of persons who were fanatically in favour of Bung KARNO;
 - b. because of the declaration that the Commanders of the Military Districts also had the functions of Commanders

of the SUKARNO Front on their own territories, the task and aims of the SUKARNO Front, which consisted of pro-Bung KARNNO fanatics, had become vague. Please tell us again about the following:

- a. the background of the formation of the SUKARNO Front, which consisted of persons fanatically attached to Bung KARNNO;
 - b. the relationship between the aforementioned SUKARNO Front under point a. and the Commanders of the Military Districts, who declared that they themselves were Commanders of the SUKARNO Front;
 - c. the aims of the SUKARNO Front;
 - d. the way in which the organization SUKARNO Front, which consisted of persons who were fanatically attached to Bung KARNNO, was formed;
 - e. personalities or officials of the Government of Indonesia or of other organizations who supported the establishment of the SUKARNO Front which consisted of fanatical adherent to Bung KARNNO;
 - f. the activities relating to the implementation of the tasks of the organization of the SUKARNO Front, and what were the implications of these activities which endangered the security or could disrupt the State and society?
74. I can tell you the following with respect to the 'SUKARNO Front' from the facts which I either saw, or heard, or knew:
- a. Background:
 1. the attitude of Bung KARNNO himself, who relied upon a letter from AIDIT, dated October 6, 1965, which laid down that Bung KARNNO was the only person who had the authority to resolve the G-30-S/PKI. It was the aim of the PKI, in reality, to bring about this attitude of Bung KARNNO, because, through Bung KARNNO, the continued existence of the PKI could be guaranteed, and this in its turn meant that the PKI would be able to continue to pursue its ends;
 2. as a result of the rise of certain forces, which at the time were opposed to the PKI and Bung KARNNO, Bung KARNNO felt that his position was threatened. For that reason all the forces which were genuinely

faithful to Bung KARNNO had to be mobilized to meet that threat.

- b. As to the declaration of the Commanders: Bung KARNNO's idea of uniting forces to support the SUKARNO Front was officially launched by Bung KARNNO in his position of Head of State and Great Leader of the Revolution. Bung KARNNO hoped for the approval and support of the Commanders of the Armed Forces without their interfering with the implementation. However, the Commanders understood this hidden motive and the result was that a joint statement was issued to the effect that the whole of the Armed Forces would join the SUKARNO Front with the District Commanders as Commanders of the local SUKARNO Front. Because of this action of the Commanders Bung KARNNO's objectives in establishing the SUKARNO Front were not achieved because:
 - the aims of the SUKARNO Front became vague;
 - all the activities of the SUKARNO Front could be directed and checked by the District Commanders. Nevertheless, some persons who were fanatical supporters of Bung KARNNO, continued their activities in accordance with their original views and aims.
- c. Aims: the aims of the SUKARNO Front (according to Bung KARNNO's own draft) were:
 1. to combat in every possible way those forces which were opposed to Bung KARNNO and aimed to overthrow him;
 2. to retain Bung KARNNO as Head of State, to protect him and ensure his safety.
- d. Formation:
 1. after Bung KARNNO had given expression to his idea there was a spontaneous reaction among persons who were fanatical followers of Bung KARNNO. At the top Dr. SUBANDRIO actively supported the idea, both morally and by providing facilities. Pak CHAERUL SALEH was given the assignment of implementing the idea;
 2. Pak CHAERUL SALEH held meeting in his house with Ministers and other persons who were of a like mind in order to achieve the idea of this SUKARNO

Front. Finally, Pak CHAERUL SALEH appointed Lt.Col. SJAFIIE to lead and continue the ideas that had been discussed. Pak CHAERUL SALEH reported all his activities to Bung KARNO;

3. Lt.Col. SJAFIIE, who had been assigned this task, had continued his activities by contacting persons of a like mind (fanatically pro Bung KARNO) and finally decided to entrust the organization and command over the Front to Gen. BAMBANG SUPENO. Lt.Col. SJAFIIE had also applied to the Government for a budget to finance his activities;
 4. Gen. BAMBANG SUPENO, who on various occasions called on Bung KARNO, took an active part in assembling persons who were fanatical supporters of Bung KARNO, in order to achieve the formation of this organization. As a result, campaigns were conducted in Djakarta, Central Java and East Java.
- e. Persons who were fanatical supporters of Bung KARNO and took an active part in the formation and implementation of the SUKARNO Front were:
1. CHAERUL SALEH, Dr. SUBANDRIO, ACHMADI, ACHADI, TUMAKAKA, HANAFI, ANWAR SANUSI, Lt.Col. SJAFIIE, BAMBANG SUPENO;
 2. the ALI-SURACHMAN PNI youth group, JOHN LUN-INGKEWAS, TIRANDA, PAHALA, SLAMET SUROJO.

They visited Bung KARNO and declared that the whole of the Marhaenist Youth stood ready to join the SUKARNO Front;

3. Police:

Assistant Chief Commissioner Drs. UTORO
 Assistant Chief Commissioner ANTON SUDJARWO
 Assistant Chief Commissioner SUROSO
 Assistant Chief Commissioner SIDHARTA;

4. persons who were in support:

Police Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO, Marine Corps Gen. HARTONO, Army Gen. SUADI.

- f. In carrying out its task, the SUKARNO Front (which fanatically supported Bung KARNO) carried out the following actions:

1. combating demonstrations or opposition to Bung KARNO, as in the case of the Universitas Indonesia Tandjong Priok, Jogja etc.
 2. attempts to take away Bung KARNO from Djakarta.
- g. In this connection Gen. SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO, Minister/Commander of the Police had also reported to Bung KARNO about police activities in Central Java headed by Brig.Gen. SABUR and in East Java headed by Brig.Gen. SUMASONO. This was done as part of the unqualified support to Bung KARNO by means of the organization and the implementation of the tasks of the SUKARNO Front.
75. Tell us about the activities of BAMBANG SUPENO in connection with the SUKARNO Front.
- 75.1. Before G-30-S/PKI BAMBANG SUPENO was a General of the Army and a leading figure in the Brawidjaja Group. It was also known that BAMBANG SUPENO was disappointed in the Army.
 2. This BAMBANG SUPENO was recommended by CHAERUL SALEH to Bung KARNO as a person who was capable and had sufficient influence to command the SUKARNO Front. Bung KARNO agreed to this and afterwards received BAMBANG SUPENO on a number of occasions.
 3. When he met Bung KARNO, BAMBANG SUPENO declared that he was willing to assume his task and promised to remain faithful to Bung KARNO and protect him. Bung KARNO told BAMBANG SUPENO to go ahead, and instructed him to see to it that he carried out his task strictly according to the ideas of Bung KARNO.
 4. I heard at one time that BAMBANG SUPENO, after he had seen Bung KARNO, held discussions at his house in connection with the activities of the SUKARNO Front. If I am not mistaken BAMBANG SUPENO, either at the end of 1966 or the beginning of 1967, reported on occasion to Bung KARNO in Bogor Palace on the results of his work. The gist of this was that the nation was still behind Bung KARNO and that the forces which supported him were still ready to defend him.
 5. I also heard that BAMBANG SUPENO reported to Bung KARNO about the Military District Command Brawidjaja,

the gist being that the leaders and the troops of Brawidjaja were behind Bung KARNNO.

Done this day, this Report of Interrogation was compiled according to truth and taken account of the official oath. The interrogated, after having had the next read to him or asked to read the text back signed it as evidence of his approval. This Report of Interrogation was, moreover, provisionally concluded on the abovementioned day at Djakarta and the investigation will be proceeded with on Thursday, October 29, 1970.

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| The interrogated: | The interrogators: |
| <u>BAMBANG SETIJONO WIDJANARKO</u> | <u>S. SOEGIJARJO</u> |
| Col. KKO | Lt.Col. CPM NRP: 12688 |
| | <u>AZWIR NAWIE</u> |
| | Ass. Chief Commissioner of Police |

This day, Friday, October 30th, 1970, we:

1. S. SOEGIJARJO—Lieut.Col. CPM NRP: 12688
2. AZWIR NAWIE—Ass. Chief Commissioner of Police

both in the function of member of the Central Investigation Team, interrogated a man admitting he was:

BAMBANG SETIJONO WIDJANARKO

having the rank of Colonel KKO, function: ASKAPERS/MIL (Chief Assistant Military Personnel, Navy/Military brand), age/date of birth: 43 years/19 September 1927, place of birth: Karanganjar Kebumen, religion: Roman Catholic, address/place of residence: Djalan Widjaja 2/121 Kebajoran Baru Djakarta.

He was heard as a witness in matters relating to the G-30-S/PKI. In reply to the question we put to him, the witness (BAMBANG SETIJONO WIDJANARKO) gave the following replies:

76. You have told the interlocuters that JOHN LUNINGKEWAS, SLAMET SUROJO, PAHALA and TIRANDA were active in the formation of the 'SUKARNO Front' and sometimes called on Bung KARNNO for discussions relative to the 'SUKARNO Front'. Please tell us about:
 - a. when and where did they meet Bung KARNNO to discuss matters relating to the 'SUKARNO Front'?

- b. who was there?
 - c. what did they talk about and what instructions did Bung KARN0 give?
 - d. which Government officials, or Palace officials knew about those meetings?
 - e. how were the results of those discussions with them carried out?
76. I can tell you the following about the meeting of the ALI SURACHMAN PNI youth group and Bung KARN0;
- a. As I recall they called on Bung KARN0 in the first months of 1966 in the Merdeka Palace in Djakarta and were received at about ten hours in the official visitors' hall.
 - b. In addition to the four youths (JOHN LUNINGKEWAS, SLAMET SUROJO, PAHALA and TIRANDA) also present were Pak ALI SASTROAMIDJOJO and Ir. SURACHMAN.
 - c. In broad outline the substance of the talks was:
 1. the PNI youths were completely ready to stand by Bung KARN0, to protect him and to fight those who were against him;
 2. they agreed to be the 'SUKARNO Front's active core during its inception;
 3. the formation of the 'SUKARNO FRONT' in Central Java was the responsibility of SLAMET SUROJO and was to have the support of certain persons drawn from the Central Java Police, in particular the troops of the Mobile Brigade and the Marines there. The formation of the 'SUKARNO Front' in East Java would be directly carried out with the complete support of the Police in East Java. It would be possible to form a 'SUKARNO Front' in Djakarta with a base in Tandjong Priok, where the Banteng Djakarta (another pro SUKARNO organization Ed.) had already been formed;
 4. movements designed to counter anti-Bung KARN0 forces could be directly carried out;
 5. they asked for funds for this from Bung KARN0 in order to finance the movements;
 6. these young men of the PNI once more swore their loyalty and assured him that they would carry out his

- orders in the conviction that they would succeed and be victorious;
7. for his part, Bung KARNNO gave them instructions to carry out the plans and fulfil their promises and also promised to give them funds.
- d. As I recall, there were government and Palace officials present at the time who knew about those meetings: Pak CHAERUL SALEH and Gen. SABUR.
 - e. This is what I know about the implementation of what had been agreed upon as a result of the discussions:
 1. SLAMET SUROSO did in fact go to Central Java and it was noticeable that there were pro Bung KARNNO actions; for example clashes in Jogja;
 2. in East Java, it is proven, was a movement to defend Bung KARNNO which in particular was headed by the East Java Police District Commander;
 3. in Djakarta there were clashes between demonstrators who were against Bung KARNNO and youth of the ALI SURACHMAN PNI group;
 4. I heard later that Bung KARNNO had in actual fact supplied money to these youth;
 5. the existence of a plan to get Bung KARNNO out of Djakarta because it was thought that Bung KARNNO was not safe in Djakarta in view of the fact that anti-Bung KARNNO forces were growing in strength.
77. You have told the interlocutors that clashes between groups of youths demonstrating in the streets to draw the attention of the Government to the Three fold People's Demand (i.e. disbanding of the PKI, Communists out of the Cabinet and a decrease in foodprices Ed.) and youths who were pro Bung KARNNO and belonged to the 'SUKARNO Front' movement was a result of the implementation of the 'SUKARNO Front'. Please tell us:
- a. when and where did the clashes take place?
 - b. when, where and how did Bung KARNNO know about those events?
 - c. what was Bung KARNNO's reaction when he knew?
 - d. what was the reaction of Brig.Gen. SABUR and what advice did Brig.Gen. SABUR give to Bung KARNNO?
- 77.a. I do not recall the exact date, but I do remember that

the aforementioned clashes did in fact take place, as well as actions in favour of Bung KARNNO.

1. At about the beginning of 1966 there were clashes at the Universitas Indonesia Salemba between students and the pro Bung KARNNO group.
 2. At about the beginning of 1966 there were clashes between demonstrators and the pro Bung KARNNO Banteng Djakarta group.
 3. In 1966 there were clashes in Jogja between student demonstrators and a pro Bung KARNNO group.
 4. In 1967 there was a so-called Show of Force by the Mahaenist youth (pro Bung KARNNO).
- b. Bung KARNNO was aware of those events on the grounds of reports he received. Firstly through Gen. SABUR or Col. SAELAN and, secondly, through Dr. SUBANDRIO or CHAERUL SALEH, in Djakarta. I remember in particular that a report was made to Bung KARNNO about the Snow of Force in Central Java by the Mahaenist youth. This was in Bogor Palace and Bung KARNNO was shown photographs of the incident. I have seen those photographs.
 - c. Each time that Bung KARNNO received a report about the clashes and actions he expressed satisfaction and was full of praise for the people who were defending him.
 - d. As far as I can remember, Gen. SABUR was both satisfied and proud when he presented those reports to Bung KARNNO. The advice he gave to Bung KARNNO contained suggestions about how to give increasing support to and build up pro Bung KARNNO forces.
78. Tell us about:
- a. when and where did Gen. SUADI meet Bung KARNNO for discussions connected with the 'SUKARNO Front'?
 - b. what was the course of those discussions?
 - c. what other people knew about them?
 - d. what were Gen. SUADI's activities in connection with the 'SUKARNO Front'?
78. I do not know very much about Gen. SUADI's connections with the 'SUKARNO Front'.
- a. It is true that Gen. SUADI has on a number of occasions called upon Bung KARNNO, but I never knew when they talked about the 'SUKARNO Front'.

- b. I know nothing about the course of the talks, or their contents.
 - c. Neither do I know who knew about the discussions.
 - d. I know nothing at all about the activities of Gen. SUADI in connection with the 'SUKARNO Front'. I can recall only one instance of Gen. SUADI submitting a report to Bung KARN0 (March 10th, 1966).
 - e. I would like to add that I do in fact know from the attitude and statements of Gen. SUADI that he belonged to the devotees of Bung KARN0 both before and after the G-30-S/PKI.
79. Tell us about the relationship between Bung KARN0 and the Army Gen. SUADI, before as well as after the G-30-S/PKI affair.
79. I can tell you the following about the good relations between Bung KARN0 and Gen. SUADI.
- a. Before the G-30-S/PKI Bung KARN0 had given his personal blessing and permission for Gen. SUADI's wedding. I had heard that that permission to marry had not been approved by the leaders of the Army. However, Bung KARN0 allowed his rights as President and supreme Commander to prevail and maintained his approval. Through this incident the close relation between Bung KARN0 and Gen. SUADI became even clearer than they already were.
 - b. One of the results of this good relationship was the appointment of Gen. SUADI to an Ambassadorial post.
 - c. After the G-30-S/PKI I knew that Gen. SUADI met Bung KARN0 several times, both in Djakarta and in Bogor, on unofficial occasions—for example to drink coffee, at a Krontjong musical evening in Bogor, at lunch, etc.
80. Tell us about:
- a. the role played and the activities of Marine Corps Gen. HARTONO in matters relating to the 'SUKARNO Front'.
 - b. when and where did Marine Corps Gen. HARTONO meet Bung KARN0 to talk about these matters and what was the substance of those talks?
 - c. what other persons knew about these talks between Bung KARN0 and Marine Corps Gen. HARTONO?
80. Before I answer these questions I would like to explain

how Marine Corps Gen. HARTONO got to be appointed Minister.

When Bung KARNO decided to replace Adm. R.E. MARTADINATA as Minister/Commander of the Navy, Bung KARNO had played with the idea of appointing Marine Corps Gen. HARTONO as Minister/Commander of the Navy because, in his view, there were no senior officers in the Navy (from other Corps) whom he found suitable. After I stressed to Bung KARNO that it was impossible to nominate anybody from the Marine Corps as Commander of the Navy (because that post definitely had to be filled by somebody from the sailor's Corps), Bung KARNO decided to appoint Navy Adm. MOELJADI as Minister/Commander of the Navy and Marine Corps Gen. HARTONO as Minister/Deputy Commander of the Navy.

- a. As to the part played by Marine Corps Gen. HARTONO:
 1. to judge by his attitude and statements as I saw and heard them, Gen. HARTONO did in fact approve and support the 'SUKARNO Front';
 2. Gen. HARTONO agreed and gave his blessing to officers of the Marine Corps who supported the 'SUKARNO Front';
 3. Gen. HARTONO once said: 'If Bung KARNO is white, then the Marine Corps is white, if Bung KARNO is black, then the Marine Corps is black'. This statement had far-reaching consequences;
 4. I am not aware of any other activities of Gen. HARTONO;
- b. In 1966 Gen. HARTONO visited Bung KARNO on a number of occasions. I was never present at these meetings, but I did observe:
 1. the deployment of troops in Djakarta either on or after March 10, 1966;
 2. the deployment of troops in the Marine Corps (two battalions) in Jogja in 1966;
 3. Gen. HARTONO's support of both Bung KARNO and the SUKARNO Front.

It is quite probable that the SUKARNO Front was a subject of discussion when Bung KARNO met Gen. HARTONO.

- c. I do not recall if any other persons were aware of these talks between Bung KARN0 and Gen. HARTONO.
 - d. As far as I can see, Gen. HARTONO's activities, insofar as they related to the SUKARNO Front, were channelled through Dr. SUBANDRIO and CHAERUL SALEH.
81. Please tell us:
- a. was the placement of troops of the Marine Corps at various points in Djakarta and other areas, and the demonstration 'Show of Force' of Marine Corps troops everywhere in 1966, connected with the aims and objects of the 'SUKARNO Front' organization, or were they at least a result of the talks between Bung KARN0 and Marine Corps Gen. HARTONO on the evening of March 10, 1966?
 - b. did Gen. HARTONO know about the plan to take Bung KARN0 out of Djakarta? What was Marine Corps Gen. HARTONO's part in this?
- 81.a. The placement of troops of the Marine Corps in other areas at the beginning of 1966 had no official connection with the SUKARNO Front. These placements were based on the policy of the leaders of the Navy which was aimed at the extension of the Maritime sphere of influence. At that time the leaders of the Navy felt that they were pushed into the background and, compared with the Army, had too little territorial power. That is why Marine Corps troops were moved that officially fell under the Commanders of the Maritime Districts. The subordinates of the Marine Corps, where ever they were stationed, followed the attitude of Gen. HARTONO as leader of the Marine Corps. This attitude ran parallel with the activities of the SUKARNO Front. We may therefore say that the movement of those troops was in accordance with the activities of the SUKARNO Front. As far as I know, the deployment of the Marine Corps troops was not the result of talks between Bung KARN0 and Gen. HARTONO. As to the movement of Marine Corps troops in Jogja after the Mandate of March Eleventh in 1966: these belonged in fact to actions to strengthen pro Bung KARN0 elements, or the SUKARNO Front which, at that time, found itself confronted with anti Bung KARN0 demonstrations.

- b. I never heard from Gen. HARTONO himself about plans or attempts to transfer Bung KARNO. I heard that there were groups or troops within the Marine Corps who were involved and to judge by the attitude of Gen. HARTONO at the time, I think that Gen. HARTONO knew about this. But I do not know what part he played in this.
82. You have told the interlocutors that Marine Corps Gen. HARTONO had said: 'If Bung KARNO is white, then the Marine Corps is white; if Bung KARNO is black, then the Marine Corps is black'. You also said that this pronouncement had far-reaching consequences. Please explain to us:
- a. what was the significance and what was the purpose of this statement by Marine Corps Gen. HARTONO: 'If Bung KARNO is white, then the Marine Corps is white, if Bung KARNO is black, then the Marine Corps is black'?
- b. what were those far-reaching consequences which this statement could have?
82. I can tell you the following from my knowledge:
- a. When Gen. HARTONO said 'If Bung KARNO is white, then the Marine Corps is white; if Bung KARNO is black, then the Marine Corps is black', he meant that both he and his Marine Corps backed Bung KARNO unconditionally and would defend Bung KARNO, who at that time was President and Supreme Commander. This was because Gen. HARTONO was loyal to Bung KARNO. During a staff meeting at the Marine Corps Headquarters at the end of 1967 and in 1968 when Bung KARNO was no longer President, Gen. HARTONO said that the policy of the Marine Corps from then on was no longer to defend Bung KARNO but to give full support to the New Order.
- b. The statement had wide repercussions:
1. internally.
As a result of the doctrine and discipline of the Marine Corps which was constantly emphasized, all members of the Marine Corps, wherever they were, continued to be loyal and obedient to their leader, i.e. the Commander of the Marine Corps. The result of that statement was that the subordinates of the Marine Corps were influenced and acted according to their convictions in defending Bung KARNO. Because of this atti-

tude there were frequent clashes in various district which we regarded as undesirable. Fortunately, there were still enough officers in the middle echolon of the Marine Corps command who were sensible and were able to control their subordinates and this prevent larger and more general clashes with other forces;

2. externally.

The statement by Gen. HARTONO had a great deal of influence as regards reaction from outside the Marine Corps. The pro Bung KARNO group felt they got good opportunity and support from the Marine Corps so that they felt strenghtened in continuing their efforts. The anti Bung KARNO groups, or the forces of the 'New Order' were dissatisfied with the Marine Corps and labeled the whole of the Marine Corps as defenders of Bung KARNO or anti New Order. Because of this attitude the forces of the New Order mistrusted the Marine Corps and there were even some attempts to use armed force against the Marine Corps.

83. Tell us about the part played in the SUKARNO Front by Assistant Chief Commissioner Drs. UTORO, Assistant Chief Commissioner ANTON SUDJARWO, Assistant Chief Commissioner SUTOTO, Assistant Chief Commissioner SIDHARTA. Please also tell us when and where they appeared before Bung KARNO to discuss the problems of the SUKARNO Front and what did they talk about?

83. Actually, I knew very little about these figures of the Police you mentioned.

1. It is true that, in 1966, I did hear Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT or Assistant Chief Commissioner SIDHARTA or Assistant Chief Commissioner MANGIL mention those names as leading figures in the Police who played an active part in the SUKARNO Front. However, I was not aware of the nature of their activities.
2. I did not know and do not recall that they ever called on Bung KARNO to discuss the problems of the SUKARNO Front; if they were, I do not know what they talked about.
3. I can tell you only about Assistant Chief Commissioner SIDHARTA, whom I got to know after he had replaced Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT as Adjutant: I was able

to discern from some of the talks I had with Assistant Chief Commissioner SIDHARTA, as a colleague Adjutant, that Assistant Chief Commissioner SIDHARTA was loyal to Bung KARNO and would always defend him. He also referred to his work with the SUKARNO Front in uniting and training persons who were pro Bung KARNO.

Done this day, this Report of Interrogation was compiled according to truth and taken account of the official oath. The interrogated, after having had the next read to him or asked to read the text back signed it as evidence of his approval. This Report of Interrogation was, moreover, provisionally concluded on the abovementioned day at Djakarta and the investigation will be proceeded with on Friday, October 30th, 1970.

The interrogated:

BAMBANG SETIJONO WIDJANARKO

Col. KKO

The interrogators:

S. SOEGIJARJO

Lt.Col. CPM NRP: 12688

AZWIR NAWIE

Ass. Chief Commissioner of Police

This day, Saturday, October 31, 1970, we . . . etc.

84. You have said that Bung KARNO received a letter from D.N. AIDIT on October 6, 1965. Parallel with that letter to Bung KARNO, AIDIT had raised points in Solo to a number of cadre members of the PKI, including MUNIR and BONO:

1. he (AIDIT) had written a letter to Bung KARNO;
2. the struggle of the PKI (G-30-S/PKI) was to be continued and to that end the PKI had to await the orders of Bung KARNO.

Please tell us about the form and contents of the instructions of Bung KARNO for AIDIT.

84. I did not know either directly or concretely what instructions there were from Bung KARNO for AIDIT. However, from concrete facts such as:

1. that Bung KARNO never condemned G-30-S/PKI;
2. that Bung KARNO had in fact received such a letter from AIDIT;
3. that Bung KARNO gave the following instructions:

- not to be angry with each other,
- not to condemn the G-30-S/PKI or the Council of Generals,
- to carry out the 5 Sacred Talisman of the Revolution,
- all G-30-S/PKI problems were to be solved only by Bung KARNNO;
- 4. that Bung KARNNO had never liquidated the PKI;
- 5. that Bung KARNNO was very angry and dissatisfied about the Threefold People's Demand made by demonstrators.

I am led to believe that the orders of Bung KARNNO to establish the SUKARNNO Front were in accordance with the expectations of AIDIT. With the establishment of the SUKARNNO Front (on the lines suggested by Bung KARNNO), or the core of which consisted of PNI (ALI SURACHMAN) youth and of persons who were fanatically pro Bung KARNNO, among which there were also many cadres of the PKI—it appeared that this was the opportunity for the PKI to infiltrate, in order to ensure the continuation of the PKI—its ideals and plans.

85. Please tell us about the connection between the interests of the PKI and those of Bung KARNNO as embodied in:
- a. the G-30-S/PKI movement;
 - b. the formation of the SUKARNNO Front.
85. As to the connection between Bung KARNNO and the PKI:
- a. Political peace between Bung KARNNO and the PKI was already apparent prior to the events of the G-30-S/PKI.
 1. Owing to his ambition to demonstrate that he was a great world leader Bung KARNNO met with a great deal of opposition in Western countries. This annoyed Bung KARNNO and finally resulted in his attacking Western countries.
 2. In pursuing his policies, in particular the policy of leaving the United Nations and establishing the Conference of the New Emerging Forces as a rival to the U.N., Bung KARNNO worked to establish the Djakarta-Pnom Penh-Peking-Pyong Yang axis; a policy clearly desired by the Chinese People's Republic. The PKI, which at that time was more pro-Peking than pro-Moscow, shared this policy with Bung KARNNO.

3. There was a meeting in Shanghai between Bung KARNNO and CHOU EN LAI. The result was an agreement:
 - Indonesia was to continue its struggle on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and in this would have the complete support of China;
 - China would give support in the form of arms to establish the Fifth Force.

This was clearly an advantage, according with the wishes of the PKI.

4. Bung KARNNO disapproved of people who did not like his policies. That is the reason why Bung KARNNO was displeased with the Generals who were reported to be disloyal to him and did not agree with his policies, in particular:

- cooperation with the PKI,
- the Djakarta-Pnom Penh-Peking-Pyong Yang axis,
- withdrawal from the United Nations and the establishment of the Conference of the New Emerging Forces.

Bung KARNNO wanted to eliminate the Generals whom he did not regard as loyal. The PKI, which also had its own ideals and plans, based on its doctrines, were also displeased with the Generals because they were so obviously an obstacle to the plans and intentions of the PKI. From this, the accord in aims and purposes between Bung KARNNO and the PKI to eliminate the Generals was clearly apparent, the result being the events of G-30-S/PKI.

- b. When it appeared that the effort of G-30-S/PKI had failed both Bung KARNNO and the PKI would not give up and continued to make every effort, despite everything, to achieve their goals and policies.
 1. The statements and instructions of Bung KARNNO in relation to G-30-S/PKI, as I have said earlier, were aimed at restoring calm, so that the forces which were both pro-Bung KARNNO and pro-PKI could be consolidated.
 2. The instructions to establish the SUKARNO Front was meant to unite those forces which were pro-Bung KARNNO, to resist the pressure of the anti-Bung KARNNO forces and were also designed to protect the PKI and give it freedom of movement.

86. You told the Government that the arms which had been sent to Indonesia as aid by China had been partially distributed to members of the PKI, the People's Youth and the troops of the G-30-S/PKI in Senajan on the evening of October 1, 1965. A report had been made on this by Brig.Gen. SABUR to Bung KARNO in the Bogor Palace. Please tell us about:
- a. what kind of arms and what quantity were distributed?
 - b. what was the purpose of the distribution of the arms and what consequences were foreseen?
 - c. what was the substance of the report to Bung KARNO by Brig.Gen. SABUR?
 - d. what was the reaction of Bung KARNO to Brig.Gen. SABUR's report?
86. I first heard about the distribution of those arms (on October 1, 1965) on the evening of October 2, 1965, in Bogor, at about 10 o'clock. Bung KARNO knew about these events from the report submitted to him by Gen. SABUR.
- a. The type of arms distributed were rifles manufactured in China (Tjung) plus ammunition.
 - The exact quantity distributed was not known, but there must have been hundreds.
 - The distribution was carried out by the Air Force.
 - b. The object of the distribution of arms was to arm pro G-30-S/PKI elements so that they could resist the forces whose aim was to destroy the G-30-S/PKI, i.e. the KOSTRAD.

The result of the arms distribution was that shooting broke out near Senajan and Hotel Indonesia (1-2 October 1965) between the troops of the KOSTRAD and the above mentioned armed persons.
 - c. I heard that Brig.Gen. SABUR had reported to Bung KARNO that the Air Force had distributed Chinese weapons to progressive youths in Senajan. These youths also offered resistance to the troops of the KOSTRAD.
 - d. Bung KARNO was satisfied with Brig.Gen. SABUR's report and he justified the distribution of the arms.

Done this day, this Report of Interrogation was compiled according to truth and taken account of the official oath. The interrogated,

after having had the next read to him or asked to read the text back signed it as evidence of his approval. This Report of Interrogation was, moreover, provisionally concluded on the abovementioned day at Djakarta and the investigation will be proceeded with on Monday, November 2, 1970.

The interrogated:

BAMBANG SETIJONO WIDJANARKO

Col. KKO

The interrogators:

S. SOEGIJARJO

Lt.Col. CPM NRP: 12688

AZWIR NAWIE

Ass. Chief Commissioner of Police

This day, Monday, November 2nd, 1970, we . . . etc.

87. Was it true that, on or around September 15, 1965, at about 08.00 hrs, in the rear gallery of Djakarta Palace, a meeting took place between Bung KARNO and Dr. SUBANDRIO, Brig.Gen. SUTARDHIO, Brig.Gen. SABUR, Brig.Gen. SUNARJO and Police Brig.Gen. SUTARTO to discuss plans for measures against the Chief Officers of the Army who were not loyal to Bung KARNO?

- a. What was your knowledge of the plan to act against the Chief Officers of the Army?
- b. How did the talks go? Please repeat what was said as far as you can remember.
- c. Who were actually present at that meeting?
- d. What decisions were taken at the meeting?

87.a. As regards my knowledge of plans to act against the Chief Officers of the Army, I can tell you the following:

1. As I said before, Bung KARNO had previously received reports about the Generals of the Army who were regarded as being disloyal to him. Bung KARNO also believed in the accuracy of the 'Gilchrist document', which referred to 'our local army friends'.
2. Bung KARNO had ordered many officials to check out the accuracy of that information and kept receiving confirmation of the information.
3. Both in his attitude and his statements Bung KARNO displayed dissatisfaction with the Generals of the Army, i.e. the command of the Army whom he regarded as

- being disloyal to him. Bung KARNO had said on occasion (for example in Tampaksiring on 6-6-1965) that it was necessary to reorganize the Army command. On another occasion Bung KARNO was extremely angry with the Generals of the Army (Gen. PARMAN etc.). I concluded from everything I had seen or got to know about all this that Bung KARNO intended to take action against the Chief Officers of the Army prior to G-30-S/PKI. The situation at that time was such that:
- according to ethics I myself as an officer of the Navy had better not meddle with the affairs of other Forces;
 - I observed that leading officials and Chief Officers of the Army were discussing and investigating these problems. So that I, regarding myself as not being competent, did not pay much attention to those problems.
- b. About the middle of September, 1965 (approx. 15th) the above meeting was held. As far as I remember the following is the gist of some of the discussions:
1. Bung KARNO again inquired about a Council of Generals, or about the Generals of the Army who were disloyal. Bung KARNO said that the existence of a Council of Generals had been confirmed from reports which he had received;
 2. it was proposed to Bung KARNO that, assuming the information was true, measures should be taken against this Council of Generals;
 3. Bung KARNO ordered Gen. SABUR and Gen. SUNARJO to prepare measures against those disloyal Generals. I can no longer recall the actual course of the talks, sentence by sentence.
- c. As far as I can remember, the following were either present at the meeting or knew about it: Dr. SUBANDRIO, Gen. SUTARDHIO, Gen. SUNARJO, Gen. SABUR, Police Gen. SUTARTO, MUALIP NASUTION, Pak DJAMIN, Pak HARDJO WARDOJO, Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT and all the Adjutants.
- d. I do not know precisely what decision was taken at that meeting, apart from the abovementioned point, b (3), namely, the orders given by Bung KARNO to Gen.

SUNARJO and Gen. SABUR to prepare action against the Generals of the Army.

88. In your reply to question number 14 in the Interrogation Report of October 3, 1970 as by the interlocutors, you declared, among other things:
- a. on September 23, 1965, at about 07.00 hrs there was a meeting in the rear gallery of Djakarta Palace between Bung KARN0 and Gen. MURSID, Gen. SUNARJO, Gen. SABUR, Air Marshall OMAR DANI, Dr. SUBANDRIO, Dr. LEIMENA, Dr. CHAERUL SALEH and DJAMIN;
 - b. at that meeting Gen. MURSID reported to Bung KARN0 about the problem of the Army Generals who were not loyal to Bung KARN0;
 - c. at that meeting Bung KARN0 ordered Gen. SABUR to take measures against the Generals of the Army who were not loyal to Bung KARN0;
 - d. apart from this the following took place during these meetings:
 1. Marshall OMAR DANI made a statement taking Bung KARN0's side in the conflict with the Council of Generals;
 2. there was a dispute between Dr. SUBANDRIO and Dr. CHAERUL SALEH about matters relating to the Ministry of Basic Industry and Mining.

Please tell us about:

- a. who were actually present at that meeting? What other persons, if any, knew about that meeting?
- b. what was the substance of the report made by Gen. MURSID to Bung KARN0 and how did Bung KARN0 react to it?

Please report on the dialogue between Bung KARN0 and Gen. MURSID at that time; at least what you can remember of it.

- c. What did Bung KARN0 and Gen. SABUR say to each other at the time?
- d. What was the part played by Gen. SUNARJO?
- e. What did Dr. SUBANDRIO and Dr. CHAERUL SALEH say during their dispute and how did Bung KARN0 react to it?
- f. Why did Bung KARN0 summon Gen. SUDIRGO? Was Gen. SUDIRGO with Bung KARN0 as a result of this summons and what did they talk about?

- 88.a. It is true that, on September 23, 1965, in the morning, this meeting took place. Present were: Dr. SUBANDRIO, Dr. LEIMENA, CHAERUL SALEH, Gen. SUNARJO, Gen. MURSID, Marshall OMAR DANI, Gen. SABUR, Pak JAMIN, Pak MUALIF NASUTION, Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT and all the Adjutants.
- b. Gen. MURSID reported to Bung KARNO: 'I have carried out Bung KARNO's orders to check out the truth about the Commanders of the Army who are not loyal to Bapak. It is in fact true that the Generals named by Bapak do not approve of Bapak's policies and are not loyal to him.' Bung KARNO: 'Is what you are reporting true? I warn you, if necessary I will bring about a confrontation.' Gen. MURSID: 'It is true Pak.'
- c. Bung KARNO to Gen. SABUR: 'BUR, what about my orders to take measures against those Generals?' Gen. SABUR: 'We have discussed the preparations with Gen. SUNARJO and Gen. DIRGO (Director of Military Police). However, a more detailed preparation is necessary to carry out your orders.' Bung KARNO: 'Where is DIRGO? Adjutant, call Gen. DIRGO!' 'BUR, the measures against them must be quickly carried out!'
- d. I am not quite sure what part was played at the time by Gen. SUNARJO. All I can remember is that Gen. SUNARJO confirmed the statement by Gen. SABUR.
- e. The dispute that I recollect between Dr. SUBANDRIO and CHAERUL SALEH related to the post at the Ministry of Basic Industry and Mining. Dr. SUBANDRIO said that Pak CHAERUL SALEH, who already had the post of THIRD DEPUTY PREMIER, should give up his post as Minister of Basic Industry and Mining and should give it to someone else. Pak CHAERUL SALEH was opposed to this suggestion by Dr. SUBANDRIO and wanted to continue as Minister of Basic Industry and Mining. Finally, Bung KARNO said: 'Enough of this, stop all this fuss. I have appointed and trusted somebody, carry that out. Leave CHAERUL SALEH as he is. Let us not talk about it any longer.'
- f. When he was talking to Gen. SABUR, Bung KARNO asked for Gen. DIRGO and ordered an Adjutant to call him. This summons was within the context of Bung

KARNO's orders to take measures against the Generals of the Army. At that moment it was announced that Gen. DIRGO was not available, but in Kalimantan. After this had been reported to Bung KARNO, Bung KARNO ordered that a telegram be sent to Gen. DIRGO telling him to report. On approx. September 26, 1965, Gen. DIRGO arrived in Djakarta and reported to Bung KARNO. Bung KARNO to Gen. SUDIRGO: 'How is it DIRGO, have you already checked out the council of Generals?' Gen. DIRGO: 'Yes Pak, and it is correct that there is such information.' Bung KARNO: 'Good. I have ordered SABUR and SUNARJO to take measures against those Generals. You must give your support. I rely upon you and upon the Military Police Corps.' That is all I can remember about the aforementioned meeting.

89. Please tell us about the facilities which Bung KARNO and Brig.Gen. SABUR had provided for Gen. SUDIRGO as Director of Military Police, so that the Military Police Army could carry out its task in accordance with Bung KARNO's wishes in the context of the action against the Commanders of the Army, which were not loyal to Bung KARNO.
 89. I knew, as a matter of fact, that about the middle of 1965, considerable facilities were given to Gen. SUDIRGO and the Military Police of the Army by the Tjakrabirawa Regiment. As far as I know they were vehicles and arms. I also heard from one of the Staff Officers of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment, that Gen. SABUR would be able to provide money and accommodation by way of support to the Military Police of the Army through the mediation of Gen. SUDIRGO. However, I do not know whether that was true. At the time I did not know there was a connection between the facilities and the action to be taken against the Generals of the Army, for the simple reason that I was told that such support was necessary within the context of the protection of the security of the President and Supreme Commander.
90. Did you know at any time that Gen. SUDIRGO sent a letter to Bung KARNO reporting the existence of a Council of Generals in Army circles? Please tell us about:
 - a. when and how did that letter reach Bung KARNO?

- b. what was its contents?
 - c. what was Bung KARNO's reaction to it?
90. Round about August, 1965, I did hear from Gen. SABUR or from SAELAN that Gen. SUDIRGO had written a letter to Bung KARNO.
- a. The letter from Gen. SUDIRGO to Bung KARNO was handed over in July, 1965 (I do not know the exact date). The letter was handed over via the Tjakrabirawa Regiment, that is, Gen. SABUR.
 - b. I did not know the entire contents of the letter, but it seems that it gave in broad outline the report of Gen. SUDIRGO to Bung KARNO about the correctness of the report concerning Generals in the Army who were disloyal to Bung KARNO. According to Gen. SABUR or Col. SAELAN, Gen. SUDIRGO had checked that report.
 - c. Bung KARNO, in receiving the report, expressed his satisfaction with it and his confidence in its entire contents.
91. Please tell us about where and when Marshall OMAR DANI called on Bung KARNO, together with Brig.Gen. SUPARDJO and what they talked about.
- 91.1. As I recall, Marshall OMAR DANI and ex-Brig.Gen. SUPARDJO called on Bung KARNO in the Merdeka Palace, Djakarta, at 11.00 hrs on September 29, 1965. At the time Marshall OMAR DANI came in his official function as one of the Battle Commanders in the Mandala Command.
2. The discussion turned upon the readiness of Gen. SUPARDJO and his Army troops to act against the Generals of the Army and the readiness of Marshall OMAR DANI and the Air Force to support such action.
92. Before the events of the G-30-S/PKI Brig.Gen. SUNARJO, as Deputy Attorney General, had very often seized private property, these included vehicles, gold adornments, jewels (diamonds and brilliants), money, etc. Will you tell us what you know about this and about the property seized by Brig.Gen. SUNARJO being handed over to Bung KARNO. Where did Bung KARNO put the property seized?
- 92.a. I know that, before the G-30-S/PKI, Gen. SUNARJO, as Deputy Attorney General, on frequent occasions handed over property that had been seized to Bung KARNO. I

- heard from Gen. SUNARJO himself that the property seized had belonged to persons who had violated the law. The kind of property seized, as far as I know, included such things as vehicles, antiques, jewels and foreign currency. I do not know the extent of the property seized.
- b. Bung KARNO took possession of that property by signing a receipt. Where Bung KARNO kept the property, I do not know, all I heard was that part of it was given to HARTINI, DEWI and ARIJATI.
 - c. After the G-30-S/PKI it came to my ears that Lt.Col. SUPARTO, a private assistant of Bung KARNO, had also received orders on occasion to take the property with him and look after it.
 - d. In particular, I can tell you the following about Gen. SUNARJO who, on the morning of September 27, 1965, had handed over to Bung KARNO goods that had been seized. After Gen. SUNARJO had been with Bung KARNO in his room he spoke with Col. SAELAN in the rear gallery of Merdeka Palace: 'SAELAN, where is SABUR? The measures against the Generals can be carried out. Tell SABUR to come to Bapak immediately so that he can receive his orders directly from Bapak.' This statement by Gen. SUNARJO was heard by myself, Pak MUALIF NASUTION and HENNY.

Done this day, this Report of Interrogation was compiled according to truth and taken account of the official oath. The interrogated, after having had the next read to him or asked to read the text back signed it as evidence of his approval. This Report of Interrogation was, moreover, provisionally concluded on the abovementioned day at Djakarta and the investigation will be proceeded with on Tuesday, November 3, 1970.

The interrogated:

BAMBANG SETIJONO WIDJANARKO
Col. KKO.

The interrogators:

S. SOEGIJARJO
Lt.Col. CPM NRP: 12688
AZWIR NAWIE

Ass. Chief Commissioner of Police

This day, Tuesday, November 3, 1970, we . . . etc.

93. Please give us some information about transactions relating to the financing of the SUKARNO Front, as follows:
- a. what amount of 'money' was set aside or used to pay for the SUKARNO Front?
 - b. who was in charge of the whole question of financing?
 - c. where did the money for this purpose come from?
 - d. were funds originating from the commissions also used for the SUKARNO Front?
- 93.a. I knew from a decision of the President, that I had heard of in 1966, and I also knew from conversations I had with Ministers, that it was a fact that money was set aside to finance the SUKARNO Front. I did not know how big the amount was, neither do I know how much money was spent.
- b. As far as I can remember Third Deputy Premier CHAERUL SALEH was in charge of the financing.
 - c. The money was derived from state funds, that is to say, from the Expense Budget, this money requires the signature of the Government if it is for the Bung KARNNO Revolutionary Fund or the signature of two Deputy Prime Ministers.
 - d. Bung KARNNO received a lot of commission funds. I do not know individually from where and what amounts of Commissions, I knew that Bung KARNNO did receive these funds from a number of officials. As far as I knew personally from experience: on about 5 (five) occasions I was ordered by Bung KARNNO to go abroad and take up money and then hand it over to him:
 - (1) about the end of 1963 (I have forgotten the exact date) I was ordered by Bung KARNNO to accompany the late Mrs. U. SULARTO to Hong Kong. This Mrs. SULARTO acted as a mediator for business between the PERMINA (State Oil Company Ed.) and a Japanese enterprise, and she was authorized to receive commission funds which were being paid out in instalments. At the end of 1963 Mrs. SULARTO received US \$ 125.000. After Mrs. SULARTO had received the money she handed it over to me and I flew back

to Djakarta. This money I handed over to Bung KARNNO. I do not know what percentage Mrs. SULARTO received from Bung KARNNO;

- (2) about the middle of 1964, I again went to Hong Kong with Mrs. SULARTO for the same purpose. This time Mrs. SULARTO received US \$ 75.000 and I handed over the money to Bung KARNNO in the same way.
- (3) At the end of 1964 I went to Tokyo with Mrs. SULARTO for the same purpose. This time she received US \$ 38.000 and this money I also handed over to Bung KARNNO.
- (4) About the middle of 1965 I went to Tokyo, again with Mrs. SULARTO, for the same purpose. This time she received US \$ 140.000 and that money I also handed over to Bung KARNNO.
- (5) At the beginning of 1965, I was ordered by Bung KARNNO to go to Zurich in Switzerland and to draw from a bank there an amount of US \$ 50.000. This money belonged to the Minister of Agriculture, FRANS SEDA. In order to be able to draw the money I took with me an introductory letter from minister FRANS SEDA. I handed over that money to Bung KARNNO. That is all that I personally know about the commission funds. Honestly I do not know what Bung KARNNO did with the money, although I did hear on one occasion that it was spent mainly on his wives and women friends.

Neither do I know with any certainty what Bung KARNNO did with the money acquired from the sale of property that had been seized and handed over by Gen. SUNARJO, apart from what I have already said. You ask whether the funds were used, among other things, to finance the SUKARNNO Front? I would not be astonished if the answer was positive, it is quite possible. However, since I saw long before G-30-S/PKI how wasteful Bung KARNNO was, I think that the commission funds were being used for his own private purposes.

94. After the G-30-S/PKI and about the end of 1965, and the beginning of 1966 (after the demonstrations) Bung KARNNO

ordered Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO to '(row) against the stream'. Subsequently this order of Bung KARNO was passed on by SUTJIPTO JUDO to all Commanders of Police in the Districts. Will you explain:

- a. is it true that Bung KARNO gave such an order to Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDO? If it is true, what order was given? When was it given and who were the other persons who knew about it?
 - b. what was meant by 'against the stream'?
 - c. what was the result of Bung KARNO's order to Minister/Commander of Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO?
94. It is true that I had heard about that order being given by Bung KARNO, he using the expression 'against the stream'.
- a. Bung KARNO gave that order to Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO on the last week of 1965 at the Palace. I do not remember to whom the order was given or who knew of it.
 - b. The meaning of 'against the stream' was that the Police must counter with all its power all demonstrations which were directed against the G-30-S/PKI or against Bung KARNO.
 - c. As to the results of Bung KARNO's orders to Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO I knew that the Minister/Commander of the Police had given instructions to all Police Districts to carry out Bung KARNO's orders. Minister/Commander of the Police SUTJIPTO JUDODIHARDJO also reported this to Bung KARNO.
95. Will you tell us what you know about the close relation between Bung KARNO and Brig.Gen. SUNARJO (Deputy Attorney General at the time) whereby SUNARJO was one of the supporters of Bung KARNO's plan of action against the Chief Officers of the Army who were not loyal to Bung KARNO?
95. As to relations between Bung KARNO and Gen. SUNARJO, I can tell you the following:
- a. Bung KARNO was very satisfied with Gen. SUNARJO and trusted him, chiefly because of his appearance: he was tall, strong, straight forward and aggressive. Bung KARNO once said that the protector he needed was of Gen. SUNARJO's type.

- b. Gen. SUNARJO was most loyal to Bung KARNO and it was clear from his every reaction and utterance that he would always protect Bung KARNO.
 - c. Bung KARNO once had a secretary named NORMA whom he greatly trusted. Later, NORMA married Gen. SUNJARO. Through this marriage relations between Bung KARNO and Gen. SUNARJO became even closer.
 - d. I very often saw Gen. SUNARJO, in his position as Deputy Attorney General report to Bung KARNO or receive instructions from him, although I did not know the substance of either the reports or the instructions.
 - e. As to the action against the Generals of the Army: I saw from the beginning that there were frequently a conference between Bung KARNO and Gen. SUNARJO, the latter both in his capacity as a confidant and as Deputy Attorney General and as Chief Officer of the Army of the Military Police Corps.
96. Apart from the commission funds to which you have already referred and for which you went abroad (5 times) in order to withdraw money for Bung KARNO, did you ever hear of any other commission funds which were for Bung KARNO? If so, please tell us:
- a. what sort of commissions were they?
 - b. who, apart from yourself, were entrusted with orders by Bung KARNO to collect those commission funds?
 - c. which enterprises offered such commissions and in connection with what?
 - d. in which banks were the commission funds deposited?
 - e. apart from the commission funds deposited in foreign banks, what other sources of wealth did Bung KARNO possess, either at home or abroad?
96. I can tell you the following about the commissions:
- a.
 - oil commissions between PERMINA and other countries;
 - motor vehicle commissions between Gaya Motor Cy. and Japan;
 - commissions resulting from the contract between the Tjakrabirawa Regiment and Nioikenny in Hong Kong;
 - books commissions;
 - rubber commissions;
 - aircraft commissions.

- b. I am not aware and I have never heard of other persons who were instructed to withdraw funds abroad. I did, however, hear that those who were connected with the conclusion of contracts received their commission funds directly from the contractors themselves and only thereafter gave part of it to Bung KARNO. The names I heard in connection with the contracts or commissions were:
- Gen. IBNU SUTOWO, PERMINA
 - CHAERUL SALEH
 - IR. SUGIJO, GAYA MOTOR Cy.
 - Gen. SABUR
 - NIO
 - Pak MUALIF NASUTION
 - Pak DJAMIN
 - KARKAM
 - ASLAM
 - DASAAD
 - HASJIM IVING
- c. I did not know much about the financial circumstances of Bung KARNO neither do I know many enterprises who gave these commissions. Some that I knew of were:
1. oil enterprises in the U.S. and Japan connected with PERMINA;
 2. Japanese shipyards connected with PERMINA;
 3. the Douglas Aircraft enterprises of America with DASAAD;
 4. the Toyota/Mazda enterprises of Japan, DASAAD;
 5. the contractor NIO/KENNY of Hong Kong with the Tjakrabirawa Regiment.
- d. Honestly I did not know where Bung KARNO kept these commission funds, neither did I know in which bank. As far as financial affairs were concerned Pak DJAMIN, Pak M. NASUTION and DEWI were the persons who were most trusted by Bung KARNO in this connection.
- e. The further details of Bung KARNO's wealth of which I have knowledge are the following:
1. a piece of land on the road from Tjiawi to Sukabumi;
 2. a house in Batutulis, Bogor;
 3. a house on the Djl. Gatotsubroto, Djakarta;
 4. scores of cars;

5. paintings with the mark 'property of Ir. SUKARNO';
6. I have also heard that Bung KARNO bought a villa in Switzerland and also one in Manila;
7. royalties of books printed both at home and abroad (some of these managed by CINDY ADAMS).

Apart from the above I know nothing else about Bung KARNO's wealth.

97. In connection with your above answer from which it appeared that you received orders on 5 (five) separate occasions from SUKARNO to withdraw commission funds abroad, could you tell us to what commissions those funds related and how matters were further arranged?

97. The commission funds which I withdraw abroad were, as I have stated above, from 2 (two) sources:

1. from Hong Kong and Tokyo (4 times), representing a total amount of US \$ 125.000 plus US \$ 75.000, plus US \$ 38.000 plus US \$ 14.000 = US \$ 378.000 was derived from a contract for the construction of a ship, the contract being concluded between PERMINA and a Japanese yard in Tokyo (I have forgotten the name of the firm). Until the contract was carried out Mrs. S. SULARTO acted as mediator. I handed over all the money to Bung KARNO;
2. through the Minister of Estates Frans SEDA, I received from a bank in Zürich in Switzerland an amount of US \$ 50.000. It seems very likely that this money was from the receipts of a foreign estate which had been nationalized. I gave the whole amount to Bung KARNO. I do not know what happened to the money after it had been received by Bung KARNO, apart from what I have already stated. I do not know whether there were other persons who were sometimes ordered by Bung KARNO to withdraw commission funds, as I was.

98. As you have explained, the property seized by Gen. SUNARJO (cars, gold adornments, diamonds, brilliants etc.) were all handed over to Bung KARNO. These Bung KARNO distributed among his wife HARJATI, HARTINI and DEWI and others. Will you please tell us about the following:

- a. the existence of a shop in the basement of the Hotel OKURA, in Tokyo, the property of DEWI, who sold

- jewels which originated from the property which had been confiscated?
- b. the sale of antique silver objects, originating from confiscation, in a shop known as International Shop, Djl. Nusantara, Djakarta?
 - c. why were those goods confiscated? Was that simply the whim of Gen. SUNARJO or was it on the orders of Bung KARNO, and what was the background?
98. I should tell you, in further explanation of my earlier statements, that I had heard that Bung KARNO had distributed money and other property which had been confiscated among his wives. I do not know whether what he gave to them was everything or only part of it.
- a. It is true, I did hear that DEWI had a shop in the basement of the OKURA Hotel in Tokyo. It is quite possible that antiques and jewels which had been confiscated were given to DEWI by Bung KARNO and that DEWI took the property to Tokyo and sold it.
 - b. I know nothing about the sale in the International Shop, Djl. Nusantara, Djakarta, of confiscated antique silverware.
 - c. I did not know why this property was confiscated. From what I saw and heard at the time it generally went as follows:
 - 1. somebody was detained on suspicion of having violated the law. After an investigation, Gen. SUNARJO reported it to Bung KARNO and also submitted a list of the possessions of the persons in question;
 - 2. Gen. SUNARJO suggested, and asked permission to confiscate the goods. Bung KARNO gave his permission and the actions had his blessing;
 - 3. the goods were confiscated and handed over to Bung KARNO.
99. Where and when did you first hear that Bung KARNO used the expression 'absolute surprise' in considering the events of G-30-S/PKI? What was the meaning and purpose of those words, as seen from the point of view of the activities of Bung KARNO before and during the events of G-30-S/PKI?
99. I first heard the expression 'absolute surprise' used by Bung KARNO in Bogor on October 2 or 3, 1965. The purpose of those words was to prove to the community that

Bung KARNNO knew nothing beforehand of the events of G-30-S/PKI (at least this is what Bung KARNNO hoped). But the real object of those words was to protect Bung KARNNO himself from criticism by the community after Bung KARNNO knew that G-30-S/PKI had failed.

100. Did you ever hear of the existence of an Order of the Day issued by Air Marshall OMAR DANI, as Minister/Commander of the Air Force, which implied support for the G-30-S/PKI? In addition to commenting on this, would you please also tell us about:
 - a. was Bung KARNNO aware of that Order of the Day of the Minister/Commander of the Air Force? If so, where and how and in which way did Bung KARNNO know about it?
 - b. what was the reaction of Bung KARNNO to the Order of the Day of the Minister/Commander of the Air Force?
 - c. what instructions did Bung KARNNO give to Marshall OMAR DANI in connection with that Order of the Day?
100. I knew about the existence of an Order of the Day issued by Marshall OMAR DANI as Minister/Commander of the Air Force and that it implied support for the G-30-S/PKI, on October 1, 1965 in the evening at about 19.30 hrs, when I appeared before Gen. SUHARTO in the KOSTRAD. Gen. SUHARTO spoke about it and was extremely angry. I heard about the Order of the Day from Gen. SABUR, after I returned that evening to Halim, on October 1, 1965 at 21.00 hrs.
 - a. On that morning, on October 1, 1965, Marshall OMAR DANI reported already to Bung KARNNO regarding the support which the Air Force would give to G-30-S/PKI. He also reported to Bung KARNNO that he (Marshall OMAR DANI) had issued an Order of the Day.
 - b. Bung KARNNO showed his approval and satisfaction at Marshall OMAR DANI's attitude.
 - c. I had no knowledge of the instructions given by Bung KARNNO to Marshall OMAR DANI on October 1, 1965. After arrival in Bogor on October 2, 1965, and knowing about the failure of G-30-S/PKI, Bung KARNNO gave instructions to Marshall OMAR DANI to withdraw the Order of the Day of October 1, 1965. The object of this

was to protect Marshall OMAR DANI or the Air Force from involvement in G-30-S/PKI.

101. Please tell us about the reasons and the object of Bung KARNO's decision to send Marshall OMAR DANI abroad in order to fulfil his task as Commander of the Aviation Industry Command on 19.10.1965.

101. It is true that Marshall OMAR DANI was ordered by Bung KARNO on October 19, 1965 to go abroad in connection with the Aviation Industry Command. I do not remember which countries were visited by him, but I do know that his departure was, in reality, simply an attempt to protect him.

1. The attitude and behaviour of OMAR DANI, both before and during G-30-S/PKI (October 1, 1965) proved that he was pro G-30-S/PKI.
2. OMAR DANI issued an Order of the Day on October 1, 1965, the gist of which was support for G-30-S/PKI.
3. After he knew about the failure of G-30-S/PKI, on October 2, 1965, he withdrew the Order of the Day.
4. From October 2, 1965 OMAR DANI sought temporary protection in Bogor Palace because purges were being carried out by the KOSTRAD.

Because of the above facts Bung KARNO ordered OMAR DANI to go abroad, with the actual purpose of protecting OMAR DANI from the purges.

102. Please tell us about the following:

- a. when and where did Lt.Col. SJAFIIE (Minister Extraordinary in Charge of Security) go to see Bung KARNO?
- b. what problems were discussed by Lt.Col. SJAFIIE and Bung KARNO?
- c. what other persons were present during this interview?

102. Before Lt.Col. SJAFIIE was appointed Minister, I remember that SJAFIIE had been to see Bung KARNO in October, 1965 in the company of Gen. SABUR. I heard, after that meeting, that SJAFIIE had to use his influence with his subordinates to secure support and protection for Bung KARNO. After SJAFIIE became Minister I do not know and I do not remember if there was a conference between him and Bung KARNO or what other people were present, really I do not know.

Officially, I knew that, at that time, Minister SJAFIIE was entrusted by Deputy Premier CHAERUL SALEH with the task of building up the SUKARNO Front. In this connection I also heard that SJAFIIE had asked for funds, but I do not know to what amount.

Done this day, this Report of Interrogation was compiled according to truth and taken account of the official oath. The interrogated, after having had the next read to him or asked to read the text back signed it as evidence of his approval. This Report of Interrogation was, moreover, provisionally concluded on the abovementioned day at Djakarta and the investigation will be proceeded with on Wednesday, November 4, 1970.

The interrogated:

BAMBANG SETIJONO WIDJANARKO

Col. KKO.

The interrogators:

S. SOEGIJARJO

Lt.Col. CPM NRP: 12688

AZWIR NAWIE

Ass. Chief Commissioner of Police

This day, Wednesday, November 4, 1970, we . . . etc.

103. Please tell us about the relation between OEI TJOE TAT and Bung KARNO and Dr. SUBANDRIO in the context of the G-30-S/PKI and the formation of the SUKARNO Front.

103. I can only state the following about OEI TJOE TAT:
- a. OEI TJOE TAT was appointed Minister and was sponsored by the Partai Indonesia, the PKI and Dr. SUBANDRIO.
 - b. It was obvious there was a high degree of mutual support between Dr. SUBANDRIO and OEI TJOE TAT. Bung KARNO also had great confidence in OEI TJOE TAT.
 - c. The fields of activity which I knew had been entrusted to OEI TJOE TAT by Bung KARNO and Dr. SUBANDRIO were, in particular, all those matters relating to China:
 1. as to the relationship with China: from what I saw and heard both Bung KARNO and Dr. SUBANDRIO always asked for the advice of OEI TJOE TAT. Also, OEI TJOE TAT was always involved in conferences with China. It was also quite possible that OEI TJOE

- TAT was informed and also actively participated in the drafting of plans for the execution of armed aid to Indonesia as a gift from China prior to G-30-S/PKI;
2. confrontation with Malaysia: I knew that OEI TJOE TAT had been charged with the responsibility both by Bung KARNNO and Dr. SUBANDRIO to recruit support and sympathy from the Chinese in Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia in the confrontation policy of 1965 against Malaysia. Because of this task I observed that the confidence which Bung KARNNO and Dr. SUBANDRIO had in OEI TJOE TAT grew continually. About the middle of 1965 I learned that Bung KARNNO had authorized that a certain amount of money in US \$ should be transferred to OEI TJOE TAT in connection with these activities;
 3. on the domestic front: OEI TJOE TAT was also trusted as a mediator and adviser in Chinese affairs in Indonesia by Bung KARNNO and Dr. SUBANDRIO. As an example I may mention the case of the Committee for Deliberation of Indonesian Citizenship (for Chinese resident in Indonesia Ed.). In this affair the advice and the involvement of OEI TJOE TAT was constantly noticeable. I also heard on several occasions that contacts between Indonesia and the Ambassador of China in Djakarta were carried out through OEI TJOE TAT.
- d. After G-30-S/PKI I heard that Minister OEI TJOE TAT was among a number of other Ministers who sought protection with Bung KARNNO in connection with the demonstrations etc. As a leading figure with the Partai Indonesia, OEI TJOE TAT was active, in all efforts to protect Bung KARNNO. In particular, as I once heard, OEI TJOE TAT made special efforts to activate Indonesian Chinese youth in defending Bung KARNNO. This was at the end of 1965 and the beginning of 1966. I do not know of any other activities of OEI TJOE TAT which were directly connected with the 'SUKARNO Front'.
104. Please tell us about the relation between Police Gen. SAWARNO and Bung KARNNO in the context of the G-30-S/PKI and the formation of the SUKARNO Front.

104. As regards Police Gen. SAWARNO I can tell you the following:
- a. Before the G-30-S/PKI I did in fact see Police Gen. SAWARNO on several occasions at the Palace or with Bung KARN0 in his function as Commander of Police District VII/Greater Djakarta. Sometimes I saw him with ANWAS. From what I saw it was evident that Bung KARN0 was fond of Police Gen. SAWARNO and trusted him because of his correct and loyal approach to Bung KARN0. In my view, Police Gen. SAWARNO was aware, as a confidant of Bung KARN0, at that stage, of the plans to act against the Generals of the Army. This was possible through Police Gen. SUTARTO, Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT or ANWAS.
 - b. In the morning of October 1, 1965, Police Gen. SAWARNO came to the Palace as arranged, according to the guest book of visitors of Bung KARN0. When it appeared that, on that particular morning, Bung KARN0 was not in the Palace, Police Gen. SAWARNO and other guests departed. I heard later that Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT had on that morning sent a letter to Police District Command VII/Greater Djakarta containing instructions to the police organization to be loyal and obedient only to Bung KARN0.
- On that afternoon, October 1, 1965, Police Gen. SAWARNO also called at the KOSTRAD and met Gen. SUHARTO. Gen. SUHARTO told Gen. SAWARNO that the events of G-30-S/PKI represented a *coup-d'état* and that Gen. SUHARTO would act against anybody who supported the G-30-S/PKI. Gen. SAWARNO was given white ribbons which had to be worn by the Police to show that the wearer was 'a friend'. When Police Gen. SAWARNO returned to the Police District Command/Greater Djakarta he did not convey to the lower ranks what had been told him by Gen. SUHARTO.
- The influence of the letter of that morning from Chief Commissioner SUMIRAT was clearly noticeable in this. In the afternoon of October 1, 1965, Gen. SAWARNO issued an order for the arrest of a number of Chief Officers of the Police (whom he did not regard as being loyal to

- Bung KARNO). He sent a copy of the order to the 'Revolutionary Council'.
- c. Gen. SAWARNO knew that one of his subordinate officers, ANWAS, had been appointed Deputy Chairman IV of the Revolutionary Council. As District Commander of Police Gen. SAWARNO did nothing, either on October 1, 1965, or on succeeding days, after the intentions of the G-30-S/PKI became clear.
 - d. As to the replacement of Police Gen. SAWARNO as Commander of Police District VII/Greater Djakarta in November 1965, I heard that this was proposed by the Minister/Commander of the Police and approved by Bung KARNO, because, at that moment, that position was no longer defensible owing to pressure from the KOSTRAD.
105. Please tell us about the role and activities of Gen. SUADI in the context of the G-30-S/PKI and the SUKARNO Front and also tell us about the relations between Gen. SUADI and Bung KARNO and Dr. SUBANDRIO in the performance of that role.
105. I would like to add the following to my previous declaration:
- a. Before the events of G-30-S/PKI and up to and including his appointment as Ambassador, I knew that there was a good relationship between Bung KARNO and Gen. SUADI, as I have stated. I have never heard that there was a report from Gen. SUADI to Bung KARNO about the Chief Officers of the Army, before the events of G-30-S/PKI. However, there was a possibility that Bung KARNO inquired and that SUADI made a statement about this because I myself know that SUADI was very much pro-Bung KARNO. This pro-Bung KARNO attitude was sometimes accompanied by a condemnation of the policies of the Commanders of the Army at that time.
 - b. After G-30-S/PKI, on October 23, 1965, Gen. SUADI called on Bung KARNO. As Indonesian Ambassador it was protocol that he should call on the President when he returned home. At the time I also regarded this meeting as a question of courtesy.
 - c. After this meeting it appeared that Gen. SUADI did not immediately return to his post (Ethiopia), but he remained for some considerable time in Indonesia and also called

several times on Bung KARNO (I can no longer remember the exact dates).

At these meetings he was sometimes accompanied by Dr. SUBANDRIO and sometimes he was alone. At that stage, I heard that Bung KARNO had actually ordered Gen. SUADI to stay in Indonesia for the time being, and not to return immediately to Ethiopia, in order to support Bung KARNO in the crisis he was going through.

- d. These activities in support of Bung KARNO can be seen as cooperation between Dr. SUBANDRIO and SUADI, quite apart from their positions as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Ambassador. I heard from Gen. SABUR of Col. SAELAN that SUADI was chiefly active in the Army, namely in activating pro-Bung KARNO forces. I do not know what result this produced.
- e. I also heard that Gen. SUADI had submitted an application for an amount of RP. 50.000 new currency in respect of his activities.

This took place approx. in the month of Februari 1966.

106. Please tell us about the relations between Gen. SUDIRGO and Bung KARNO and Gen. SABUR within the context of G-30-S/PKI.

106. I can state the following about Gen. SUDIRGO:
- a. Contacts between Bung KARNO and Gen. SUDIRGO, as Director of Military Police of the Army did in fact increase about the middle of 1965, particularly through contacts between Gen. DIRGO and Gen. SABUR, Commander of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment. The reports received by Bung KARNO also included those of Gen. SUDIRGO.
 - b. As far as I remember, it was in August 1965, at the latest, that Bung KARNO informed Gen. SUDIRGO and asked him about the information received about the existence of the Council of Generals, that as, Generals of the Army who were not loyal to Bung KARNO. It was then that Bung KARNO ordered Gen. SUDIRGO to check those reports.
 - c. From August through September I saw an increase in contacts between DIRGO and SABUR and I was certain that they were discussing this information.

- d. The Tjakrabirawa Regiment supported Gen. DIRGO and the Military Police of the Army through facilities in the form of vehicles and arms. I also heard that Gen. DIRGO received support in the form of funds, but I do not know the amount.
 - e. Gen. SABUR had also said that Bung KARNO had been told that all the plans and preparations for action against the disloyal Army Generals had been discussed with Gen. SUDIRGO.
 - f. On the occasion of the meeting in Djakarta Palace on September 23, 1965, when Bung KARNO asked SABUR how things stood with regard to the orders to act against the Generals of the Army, Bung KARNO asked where Gen. DIRGO was. Finally, Bung KARNO issued orders that Gen. DIRGO, who was in Kalimantan at the time, should be summoned.
 - g. On the occasion of the meeting of September 29, 1965, when Gen. DIRGO appeared before Bung KARNO, Bung KARNO again asked Gen. DIRGO for information about the Council of Generals and Gen. DIRGO had answered that the information was correct and that it actually existed. Bung KARNO then ordered Gen. DIRGO to assist Gen. SABUR and Gen. NARJO who had received orders from Bung KARNO to take measures against the Army Generals who were disloyal.
 - h. I was further ignorant, both during and after the events of G-30-S/PKI of the activities of Gen. DIRGO. However, I did know, that after October 1, 1965, relations between the Directorate of Military Police of the Army and the Palace continued to exist, particularly between Gen. DIRGO and Gen. SABUR. Gen. DIRGO also occasionally appeared before Bung KARNO in November 1965, although I did not know what they spoke about.
107. What did you know about the activities of Gen. SJAFIUDIN in relation to the G-30-S/PKI? Tell us about relations between Gen. SJAFIUDIN and Bung KARNO and Gen. SABUR and his role in those activities.
107. The statements I can make about Gen. SJAFIUDIN are the following:
- a. As far as I know there was never a particularly close

- personal relationship between Gen. SJAFIUDIN and Bung KARNO. The meeting between Gen. SJAFIUDIN and Bung KARNO only took place when Bung KARNO visited Bali as President and SJAFIUDIN as Commander of the Police district Udayana appeared before him. The second meeting was in the Djakarta Palace when SJAFIUDIN appeared before Bung KARNO.
- b. On June 6, 1965, Bung KARNO arrived in Tampaksiring in Bali. That particular day was his birthday and, at the dinner, many local officials were present, including Gen. SJAFIUDIN.
 1. During the many discussions Bung KARNO also gave an exposé about relations between Djakarta and Peking.
 2. Gen. SJAFIUDIN then told Bung KARNO that, within the Army and particularly in the command of the Army, there were Generals who did not agree with Bung KARNO's policies. This caused confusion among the lower commanders. These, who had once been loyal and obedient to Bung KARNO, were confused and filled with doubts because they knew that the Commanders of the Army did not approve of Bung KARNO's policies.
 3. Reacting to Gen. SJAFIUDIN's remarks Bung KARNO said that he had received a report about certain Army Generals who were not loyal. Bung KARNO ordered Gen. SJAFIUDIN to make a thorough investigation and then report to Djakarta.
 - c. On September 13, 1965, Gen. SJAFIUDIN called on Bung KARNO in the Djakarta Palace. I heard that he reported to Bung KARNO about what he had checked and the result was there were, in fact, Generals who were not loyal to Bung KARNO.
 - d. I heard nothing more about Gen. SJAFIUDIN either during or after the events of G-30-S/PKI.
108. Please tell us about the part played by Gen. PRANOTO in the G-30-S/PKI and also how the relationship was between Gen. PRANOTO and Bung KARNO during his activities.
108. I can tell you the following about Army Gen. PRANOTO.
- a. A long time before the events of G-30-S/PKI, I heard Gen. PRANOTO frequently mentioned as a modest Chief

Officer of the Army, a follower of Javanese mysticism and that he was not western orientated. Before October, 1965 (I have forgotten the date and the month) Gen. PRANOTO visited Bung KARNO at the Palace. They talked about the plan of the Army, which was presided over by Gen. PRANOTO, namely to organize a big parade in honour of the Armed Forces Day, October 5, 1965. That parade had been proposed as an historic procession, starting with the Mataram/Madjapahit period up to the independence of the Republic of Indonesia with the most authentic costume and decor. The idea was accepted and approved by Bung KARNO and he promised his full support. Among other things, Bung KARNO was prepared to use his influence to have the 'Golden Coach' brought from Jogja/Solo. I heard that the purpose of the procession was to stimulate the anti-neocolonialist and imperialist fighting spirit and also feelings of national pride.

- b. In the afternoon of October 1, 1965 (the day of G-30-S/PKI) I was ordered by Gen. SABUR in the name of Bung KARNO, to summon Gen. PRANOTO to meet Bung KARNO in Halim as he was appointed by Bung KARNO as caretaker Commander of the Army. As regards the selection of Gen. PRANOTO I heard the following:
1. on the afternoon of October 1, 1965 a conference took place between Bung KARNO and officials who were then in Halim, about persons who were suitable to be appointed as substitute Commanders of the Army. Several names of Army Generals were mentioned during those talks. One of those to speak was ex-Brig.Gen. SUPARDJO. It was finally decided to appoint Gen. PRANOTO as caretaker Commander of the Army. SUPARDJO hastily left the meeting to visit the Command of the G-30-S/PKI which at that time was elsewhere in Halim and discussed the candidature of Gen. PRANOTO. The Command of the G-30-S/PKI gave its approval. SUPARDJO then returned to Bung KARNO to report that the G-30-S/PKI approved the candidature because Gen. PRANOTO was one of the progressive revolutionary Chief Officers of the Army;

2. only after SUPARDJO's confrontation Bung KARNO gave orders to summon Gen. PRANOTO.
 - c. I went to the KOSTRAD with these orders of Bung KARNO and appeared before Gen. SUHARTO on October 1, 1965, at 19.00 hrs and conveyed the orders to him. I did not meet, neither did I speak with Gen. PRANOTO himself. As I have repeatedly said, Gen. SUHARTO spoke about three matters on that evening:
 1. the command of the Army is in the hands of Gen. SUHARTO;
 2. Gen. PRANOTO cannot report to Bung KARNO;
 3. I should try and get Bung KARNO out of Halim.
 - d. After the events of G-30-S/PKI, on or about 3 October 3, 1965, Gen. PRANOTO appeared before Bung KARNO in Bogor. Actually, the Senior Officers of the Army had already advised Gen. PRANOTO to reject the decision of Bung KARNO to appoint him as caretaker Commander of the Army. However, when Gen. PRANOTO appeared before Bung KARNO in Bogor, I knew that he did not talk about rejection and left everything to Bung KARNO. Gen. PRANOTO then also told Bung KARNO that he remained loyal to him and would always protect Bung KARNO.
 - e. After these incidents I had no knowledge of the activities of Gen. PRANOTO or his relations with Bung KARNO.
109. What were the relations between Police Gen. SUTARTO and Bung KARNO and Dr. SUBANDRIO and Gen. SABUR, within the context of G-30-S/PKI?
109. I can tell you the following about Police Gen. SUTARTO:
- a. Police Gen. SUTARTO was one of those people who belonged to the 'in-group' of Bung KARNO. Bung KARNO was very fond of him and trusted him. I had known this since 1961 when he was Head of Police in Bali. Every time Bung KARNO visited Bali, I was struck by the close understanding between Bung KARNO and SUTARTO. This understanding continued after SUTARTO was attached to the Army Headquarters. In addition to his service obligations, SUTARTO also received invitations for other events, such as artistic events, wajang, etc. SUTARTO was also on several occasions a

member of the so-called 'advance group' in connection with foreign visits, whose task it was to arrange for bookings, security, etc.

- b. In the field of intelligence I was able to see the close relations between SUTARTO and Bung KARNO and SUBANDRIO and SABUR, or between the three of them. SUTARTO either gave or received information and they always studied it together.
 - c. As far as I remember SUTARTO played a very important part in the Gilchrist (sic) document affair. He made many reports about it and studied it. I heard from Gen. SABUR that it was SUTARTO who convinced Bung KARNO that the document was authentic.
 - d. In connection with that document there was increasing activity in checking and information about the Generals of the Army who were not loyal to Bung KARNO. I heard that SUBANDRIO and SUTARTO with their Central Intelligence Service were mainly responsible to Bung KARNO in checking the accuracy of information about the Council of Generals.
 - e. About the middle of September, 1965, there was a meeting between Bung KARNO and a number of officials, among whom SUBANDRIO and SUTARTO. I later heard from Gen. SABUR that that meeting had made a deeper investigation into the existence of disloyal Generals in the Army and preparations to take measures against them. It was at that moment that SUTARTO, as a Chief of Staff of the Central Intelligence Service, had given the assurance about the accuracy of reports about the Council of Generals or the disloyal Generals, so that all doubts that at that moment still existed were removed.
 - f. Apart from his relations with Bung KARNO I knew that SUTARTO was very often in contact with Gen. SABUR as Commander of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment. Gen. SABUR received a great deal of information from Gen. SUTARTO and on the other hand Gen. SUTARTO also received a great deal of information from SABUR, particularly about Bung KARNO's course of action.
110. Tell us about the activities of Gen. SUTARDHIO in the context of the G-30-S/PKI. Please also tell us about relations

between Gen. SUTARDHIO and Bung KARNO and Gen. SABUR during those activities.

110. I can tell you the following about Gen. SUTARDHIO:
- a. Relations between Bung KARNO and SUTARDHIO: Bung KARNO was very favourably disposed towards Gen. SUTARDHIO. This was because SUTARDHIO was modest, intelligent on the quiet side and loyal. The affection that Bung KARNO had for SUTARDHIO was mixed with a feeling of moving in unison. Before he was appointed Minister and Attorney General, SUTARDHIO, as an officer of the Military Police very often went abroad as a member of Bung KARNO's entourage, in particular as a member of the 'advance group' to arrange security etc., especially for Bung KARNO as President. Chiefly as a result of these activities a good personal relationship developed between Bung KARNO and SUTARDHIO.
 - b. I concluded from a number of things which I observed and knew that SUTARDHIO was always calm and not emotional. All the recommendations he made to Bung KARNO were well thought out and calmly presented. Sometimes there was a difference of opinion between SUTARDHIO and Bung KARNO, in which SUTARDHIO, though maintaining his point of view, remained correct and polite. But ultimately loyalty to his superior was the basis of his decision. The spirit of the soldier was evident in the attitude of SUTARDHIO.
 - c. In his capacity as Attorney General SUTARDHIO very often called upon Bung KARNO. SUTARDHIO was among the officials who called upon Bung KARNO on the morning of September 23, 1965. On that occasion I heard Bung KARNO order SABUR and SUNARJO to take measures against the Generals who were disloyal.
 - d. On October 1, 1965, I observed that SUTARDHIO and other officials were together with Bung KARNO in Halim. I was not present myself at this meeting, and did not join in the discussions, but the next day I heard the following about this meeting:
 1. when the list of members of the Revolutionary Council was handed over to SUTARDHIO, he appeared alarmed and said that he knew nothing of the list. He simply waited and allowed Bung KARNO to decide;

2. during talks about the caretaker of the Army SUTARDHIO had proposed that Bung KARNNO should consult with the Army. However, he finally bowed to Bung KARNNO's decision to appoint Gen. PRANOTO.
 - e. I cannot remember, after G-30-S/PKI in Bogor, whether there was a meeting between Bung KARNNO and SUTARDHIO and what they spoke about.
 - f. The service relationship between SUTARDHIO and SABUR was clearly not very close because it was apparent that all problems were dealt with by Gen. SUNARJO. As to the personal relationship between SUTARDHIO and SABUR, and I know about this because I often chatted to SUTARDHIO, this was not so favourable because SUTARDHIO did not approve of some of SABUR's personal actions.
 - g. I do not know about SUTARDHIO's activities in connection with the SUKARNO Front, and never heard anything about them.
111. Did you know anything about the activities and role of Adm. MULJADI in connection with the G-30-S/PKI, and what was the relationship between Adm. MULJADI and Bung KARNNO in this role.
111. I can tell you the following about Adm. MULJADI:
- a. Before the G-30-S/PKI, at the beginning of 1965, there was the Movement of Progressive Revolutionary Officers in the Navy, which had left-wing tendencies. During this affair Adm. MULJADI, who was then First Deputy (Navy Commander Ed.) firmly acted against this Movement.
 - b. During the G-30-S/PKI it was Adm. MULJADI who, on October 1, 1965, pressed to Minister/Commander of the Navy to contact the KOSTRAD immediately i.e. Gen. SUHARTO. When Minister/Commander of the Navy Adm. MARTADINATA was in Halim, Adm. MULJADI was in constant touch with the KOSTRAD all day. Thanks to these precise documents it was possible to issue a joint statement (Army, Navy, Police) condemning the G-30-S/PKI.
 - c. After the G-30-S/PKI and after Adm. MULJADI became Minister/Commander of the Navy there was direct communication between Bung KARNNO, as President and Adm. MULJADI as Minister/Commander of the Navy.

1. From what I know Adm. MULJADI always displayed honesty and was always loyal to his superiors and the Government.
 2. I know that there were contacts, as 'colleagues' between Adm. MULJADI Minister/Commander of the Navy and Gen. SUHARTO, Minister/Commander of the Army. I once heard from Adm. MULJADI that Gen. SUHARTO would always respect Bung KARNO, in the words of Pak HARTO: 'Raise it high, bury it deep'.
 3. According to Adm. MULJADI it appeared that Pak HARTO had later treated Bung KARNO less respectfully. From that moment on there was a difference discernible between those two personalities the attitude of Adm. MULJADI being regarded as not suitable to the times.
112. If Bung KARNO knew of the list of the Revolutionary Council, as signed by UNTUNG in Halim on October 1, 1965, before it was published or broadcast, does this not mean that the announcement of the Revolutionary Council was approved of by Bung KARNO and that he knew about it, and that there existed cooperation between Bung KARNO and the G-30-S/PKI?
112. The fact that the list of members of the Revolutionary Council was in the possession of Bung KARNO before it was broadcast on the radio, shows that, at the least, Bung KARNO had been informed beforehand and this in its turn means that there was contact between the command of the G-30-S/PKI and Bung KARNO.
- The fact that the radio had broadcast the list, mean that it had been approved by Bung KARNO. This in its turn means that there was cooperation between Bung KARNO and the G-30-S/PKI—as I have already stated.
113. Did you know about the evacuation of the children of Bung KARNO (for example RACHMAWATI, SUKMAWATI, GURUH) from the Merdeka Palace on October 1, 1965, at about 16.00 hrs, and that they were flown by helicopter from Halim to Bandung? If you know about this, who gave orders for the evacuation of those children and what was the reason?

113. I knew about the evacuation of Bung KARNO's children from the Merdeka Palace to Halim and further to Bandung by helicopter on October 1, 1965, in the afternoon.
 - a. The evacuation was ordered by Bung KARNO, who instructed Assistant Chief Commissioner MANGIL and the Presidential Bodyguard. MANGIL next issued an order to a subordinate to go to the Palace.
 - b. As far as I know, the reason for the evacuation was the prevailing insecurity of the situation in Djakarta or in the Palace. It was also very possible that Bung KARNO began to feel that G-30-S/PKI would fail.
114. The question of a takeover of power by the G-30-S/PKI was clearly never mentioned in all the discussions and meetings that took place while Bung KARNO and other officials were at Halim on October 1, 1965. Could you tell us:
 - a. how was it that Bung KARNO never referred to this matter and that all announcements by the G-30-S/PKI on October 1, 1965, did not refer to it or discussed it during that period in Halim?
 - b. why was only the question of a caretaker Commander of the Army discussed while ex-Brig.Gen. SUPARDJO took active part in the appointment?
- 114.a. As I said before, there was similarity in the intentions of Bung KARNO and there was cooperation between Bung KARNO and G-30-S/PKI. For that reason Bung KARNO no longer discussed matters which were already announced on October 1, 1965 by the G-30-S/PKI.
 - b. At that moment Bung KARNO felt that the only force which could oppose him was the Army. That is why he thought it was necessary to appoint a caretaker of the command of the Army, who definitely would be loyal to Bung KARNO, so that he would have the whole of the Army in his power, particularly the forces of the KOSTRAD, at that time.
115. Can you explain to us the part played by Lt.Col. ALI EBRAM (First Assistant) of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment in the context of the G-30-S/PKI, whereby ALI EBRAM carried out operational activities?

115. I saw Lt.Col. ALI EBRAM on October 1, 1965, in the afternoon at Halim. I heard that, on that morning, Lt.Col. ALI EBRAM was also in the house of HAR-JATI in Grogol. I knew nothing about his activities. At that moment I knew that he was a member of the First Staff (Intelligence) of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment, so I naturally thought that Lt.Col. EBRAM had to carry out a security task.
116. After G-30-S/PKI, Gen. SABUR at one time gave a briefing during which he said that Lt.Col. Ali EBRAM was not involved in the G-30-S/PKI. Will you explain what you knew about that pronouncement by Gen. SABUR?
116. I did in fact hear from a member of the Presidential Bodyguard, possibly MANGIL, that Gen. SABUR had given an occasional briefing to his subordinates in the quarters of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment during which he said that Lt.Col. ALI EBRAM was not involved in the G-30-S/PKI. I forget when the briefing took place but it was a long time after October 1, 1965.
117. In view of the declarations you have made, there is some difference with statements made by other witnesses. Is it true, in the light of those differences, that an instruction was issued to close collaborators of Bung KARNNO to make an agreement upon answers to be given with regard to certain subjects relating to the activities of Bung KARNNO in connection with G-30-S/PKI?
- 117.a. As honestly and straight forward as I can truthfully say, with due respect to my oath, I declare that, from what I knew and experienced myself, there was never at any time an agreement between close collaborators of Bung KARNNO not to be completely frank and honest in making statements relating to Bung KARNNO and the G-30-S/PKI.
- b. The fact that some or many of the collaborators of Bung KARNNO have so far maintained silence is, in my opinion due to the following facts:
1. worship for Bung KARNNO personally, which thickly wrapped their minds from 1945 and ever since to the present day;

2. the existence of a moral obligation to Bung KARNNO whom they consider to have been always good to them;
 3. lack of understanding by them for the duty of all of us to obey the law.
118. Do you feel that you have in any way been subjected to pressure, dictated to, or forced to make the above declarations?
118. No, I do not feel I have been put under pressure, dictated to, or forced to make these statements.
119. Is there anything else you would like to say?
119. I have nothing else to say.
120. Can you say that all the statements you have made are true? If they are true, are you prepared to swear by them?
120. Yes, all the statements I have made are true and I can swear by their truth.

Thus, was this Interrogation Report made according to truth, bearing in mind the official oath and after it had been read out and re-read by the interrogated person, this interrogated person stood by his aforementioned statement and, as proof of his agreement, his signature attached hereunder.

Furthermore, this report was *provisionally* concluded on the above-mentioned day and date in Djakarta, and the interrogation will be continued at a day and date further to be determined.

The Interrogated person:

BAMBANG SETIJONO WIDJANARKO

Colonel of the Marine Corps

The Interrogators:

S. SOEGIJARJO

Lt.Col. of the Military Police

Reg.no. 12688

AZWIR NAWIE

Ass. Chief Commissioner of Police

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 Volkskrant
 Wallstreet Journal
 Washington Post

BIODATA

| Name | Rank/Position During the October 1 Affair | Other Information |
|---------------------------------|---|---|
| Ahmadi Aidit, Dipa Nusantara | Minister of Information Chairman of the PKI | Born on July 30, 1923 in Medan. Original name Dja'far Nawawi Aidid. Chairman of the Central Committee of the PKI, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Politburo, Coordinating Minister in the Dwikora Cabinet, Vice-Chairman of the People's Consultative Assembly [MPRS]. Director of the PKI's Bureau for Special Affairs [Biro Khusus]. Arrested in the village of Sambeng Gede, Solo, on November 22, 1965 and shot dead without due process. |
| Ajic, Ibrahim | Major General, Commander of the West Java Military District [Siliwangi Division] | |
| Anwar Sanusi, Amir | | Member of the Central Committee of the PKI, member of the Politburo. After being arrested Anwar Sanusi died in prison. |
| Bambang Supeno | Infantry Major, Commander of the 530th Battalion | Born on October 10, 1930 in Kapanjen, Malang. |
| Bambang Setyono Wijanarko | Navy Colonel, Adjutant to President Sukarno | Born on September 19, 1927 in Karang Anyar, Central Java. Adjutant to President Sukarno from November 1960 until June 1967. |

(cont.)

| Name | Rank/Position During the October 1 Affair | Other Information |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| Basuki Rahmat | Major General, Minister of Veterans' Affairs | Born in 1921. Died in 1969. |
| Chaerul Saleh | Dr., Deputy Premier III | After the 1 October affair he was arrested and died in prison. |
| Dharsono (Sudharsono) | Brigadier General, Chief of Staff of the West Java Military District [Siliwangi Division] | |
| Dul Arief | First Infantry Lieutenant | Commander of the attack force "Pasopati", responsible for kidnapping the army generals from their homes during the 30 September Movement. After the 1 October affair he disappeared without trace. |
| Frans Seda | Drs., Minister of Agriculture | Fransiscus Xaverius Seda was born in 1926. |
| Gatot Sukrisno | Air Major | Born in Malang on July 15, 1922. Commander of the reserve force Gatotkaca, responsible for the coordination of activities on the Halim Air Base during the 30 September Movement. |
| Haryono, M.T. | Major General, Deputy III of the Minister/Commander of the Army | Born on January 20, 1924 in Surabaya. On 1 October 1965 he was kidnapped and shot dead by the 30 September Movement. |
| Heru Atmojo | Air Force Lieutenant Colonel, Assistant Director of the Department of Intelligence of the Air Force | Born in Jember on January 24, 1929. |
| Kuncoro Yudowijoyo | Infantry Captain, Vice Commander Battalion 454/Diponegoro | Born on August 9, 1927 in Yogyakarta. |

(cont.)

| Name | Rank/Position During the October 1 Affair | Other Information |
|--|---|--|
| Latief, Abdul | Infantry Lieutenant Colonel, Commander of the First Infantry Brigade of the Jakarta Military District | Born on 27 July 1926 in Surabaya. Member of the Central Command (SENKO) of the 30 September Movement. Arrested on October 9, 1965, sentenced to death, subsequently this sentence was changed to life imprisonment in 1982. In December 1998 he was granted clemency by President Habibie and was released from prison. In 2005 he died of natural causes. |
| Leimena, Johannes Lukman, Mohammad Hatta | Dr., Deputy Premier II | Born in 1905. Died in 1977. Born in 1920. Vice Chairman I of the Central Committee of the PKI, Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Politburo, Vice Chairman of the People's Representative Council. After the 1 October affair he was shot dead without due process. |
| Mangil Martowijoyo | Assistant Chief Commissioner of Police, Commander of the Body Guard Detachment/Tjakrabirawa | After the 1 October affair he was imprisoned for approximately 4 years. A year after his release he died of natural causes. |
| Martadinata, R.E. | Vice Admiral, Minister/Commander of the Navy | |
| Mursyid | Major General, First Deputy Commander of the Army | |
| Muskita | Brigadier General, Army Staff officer | |
| Nasution, Abdul Haris | General, Coordinating Minister of Defense and | Born on December 3, 1918 in Kotanopan, South |

(cont.)

| Name | Rank/Position During the October 1 Affair | Other Information |
|----------------------|---|---|
| | Security, Deputy Supreme Commander of the High Command | Tapanuli, North Sumatra. Chairman of the People's Consultative Assembly [MPRS] (1966–1972). Nasution was one of the targets to be kidnapped by the 30 September Movement but managed to escape. Nasution died on September 6, 2000 of natural causes. |
| Ngadimo | First Lieutenant, Intelligence officer of Battalion 530 | |
| Nyono bin Sastrorejo | | Alias Tuginin, alias Rukmo; born on August 28, 1925 in Cilacap, Central Java. Member of the People's Representative Council [DPR-GR] and the People's Consultative Assembly [MPRS], member of the PKI's Central Committee, Chairman of the Trade Union Federation (SOBSI). Arrested on October 3, 1965 in Jakarta, sentenced to death and executed. |
| Nyoto | Minister of State | Born on January 17, 1925 in Jember. Vice Chairman II of the Central Committee of the PKI, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo, Minister of State in the Presidium of the Dwikora Cabinet. After the 1 October affair he was executed without due process. |
| Oei Tjoe Tat | Minister of State | Born on April 26, 1922 in Solo. Minister of State in the Presidium of the Dwikora Cabinet. |

(cont.)

| Name | Rank/Position During the October 1 Affair | Other Information |
|-----------------------------|--|--|
| Omar Dani | Air Vice Marshal, Mandala Siaga Commander, Minister/Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force | Arrested on March 12, 1966. As late as the beginning of 1976 brought to trial and sentenced to 12 years imprisonment. Released however in December 1977. Born on January 23, 1924 in Solo. |
| Pandjaitan, Donald Ignatius | Brigadier General, Assistant IV of the Minister/Commander of the Army | Arrested on April 21, 1966 and sentenced to death. After almost 30 years in prison released on August 16, 1995. Born on June 9, 1925 in Balige, Tapanuli. On October 1, 1965 shot dead by the 30 September Movement. |
| Parman, Siswondo | Major General, Assistant I of the Minister/Commander of the Army | Born on August 4, 1918 in Wonosobo, Central Java. Chief of Army Intelligence. On October 1, 1965 shot dead by the 30 September Movement. |
| Peris Pardede | Member of the People's Representative Council [DPR-GR] and the People's Consultative Assembly [MPRS] | Born on January 26, 1918 in Lumbanrau, North Tapanuli. Secretary of the People's Democratic Front (FDR), leading member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the PKI. |
| Pono (Supono) Marsudijoyo | | Born in Cilacap in September 1919. Second member of the PKI's Bureau for Special Affairs (Biro Khusus). Member of the Central Command (Senko) of the 30 September Movement. After October 1, 1965 arrested and sentenced to death. According to the Suharto regime he was subsequently executed. |

(cont.)

| Name | Rank/Position During the October 1 Affair | Other Information |
|------------------------|---|---|
| Pranoto Reksosamudro | Major General, Assistant III [Staff Affairs] of the Minister/Commander of the Army | Born on April 16, 1923 in Purworejo, Central Java. After the 1 October affair appointed by President Sukarno as care-taker Minister/Commander of the Army. Pranoto died of natural causes. |
| Sabur, Mohammad | Brigadier General, Commander of the Palace Cakrabirawa Regiment | Sabur was imprisoned for approximately 4 years. He died of natural causes. |
| Saelan, H. Maulwi | Colonel, Deputy Commander of the Cakrabirawa Palace Guard | Born on August 8, 1926 in Makassar. In 1966 appointed as Adjutant to President Sukarno. |
| Sakirman | Member of the People's Consultative Assembly [MPRS] | Member of the Politburo and the Central Committee of the PKI. |
| Sarens Sudiro, Herman | Lieutenant Colonel, Assistant Chief Staff of the High Command | Born on May 24, 1930 in Pandeglang, West Java. |
| Sarwo Edhie | Infantry Colonel, Commander of the RPKAD para-commando troops | Born in Purworejo in 1925. As commander of the RPKAD in charge of crushing the 30 September Movement. Died in 1989. |
| Sri Mulyono Herlambang | State Minister | Born in 1930 in Solo. Replaced Omar Dani in 1966 as Minister/Commander of the Air Force. |
| Subandrio, Haji | Dr., Deputy Premier I, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Head of the Intelligence Bureau [BPI] | Born on September 15, 1914 in Kepanjen, Malang, East Java. After the 1 October affair sentenced to death, which was subsequently changed to life imprisonment. On August 16, 1995 released from prison. Died on July 3, 2004. |

(cont.)

| Name | Rank/Position During the October 1 Affair | Other Information |
|---------------------------|---|---|
| Sucipto Yudodiharjo | General of Police, Minister/Commander of the Police Force | |
| Sudisman | | Born on July 27, 1920 in Surabaya. Member of the PKI's Politburo, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo. Brought to trial in 1967, sentenced to death and subsequently executed. |
| Sugandhi, Kartosubroto | Brigadier General, Member of the People's Representative Council [DPR-GR] and the People's Consultative Assembly [MPRS] (1963–1970) | Born on January 3, 1923 in Blitar, East Java. Adjutant to President Sukarno (1946–1960). |
| Suharto, H. Muhammad | Major General, Commander of Kostrad [Army Strategic Reserves Command] | Born on June 1, 1921 in Godean, Central Java. On October 2, 1965, appointed by President Sukarno as Commander of the Operations Command to Restore Order and Security [Kopkamtib]. Since the President's warrant of March 11, 1966 [Supersemar], Suharto de facto took over state power. In March, 1967 the MPRS appointed Suharto as acting President. On March 27, 1968 he was appointed President of the Republic of Indonesia. On May 21, 1998 he was succeeded by Dr. B.J. Habibie. |
| Sujatmoko | Dr., Ambassador to the United States of America (1968–1971) | Born on January 10, 1922 in Sawah Lunto, West Sumatra. |
| Sukarno | President, Commander- in-Chief of the Armed | Born in Blitar, East Java, on July 6, 1901. First |

(cont.)

| Name | Rank/Position During the October 1 Affair | Other Information |
|-------------------------|---|---|
| | Forces, Great Leader of the Revolution | President of the Republic of Indonesia (1945–1966). Died in Jakarta on June 21, 1970 and was buried in Blitar, East Java. |
| Sukirno, Bambang | Infantry Major, Commander of the 454 Battalion | |
| Sumirat | Chief Commissioner of Police | Adjutant to President Sukarno |
| Sunaryo | Brigadier General, Assistant Chief Prosecutor | |
| Suparjo, Mustafa Syarif | Brigadier General, Commander of the 4th Combat Group of Kostrad in Menggaian, West Kalimantan, during the Confrontation with Malaysia | Born on March 23, 1923 in Gombang, Central Java. On September 28, 1965 he joined the Untung Group. Sentenced to death and executed. |
| Suprpto | Major General, Deputy II of the Minister/ Commander of the Army | Born on June 20, 1920 in Purwokerto. On October 1, 1965 shot dead by the 30 September Movement. |
| Suradi Prawiroharjo | Infantry Captain | Born on July 4, 1928 in Klaten, Central Java. Commander of the territorial force “Bhimasakti”, responsible for securing public objects in Jakarta during the 30 September Movement. |
| Susanto | Air Commodore, Director of Operations of the Air Force | Prepared his house in Halim to be used by the President. |
| Sutoyo Siswomiharjo | Brigadier General | Born on August 28, 1922 in Kebumen. |
| Suwardi | First Air Sergeant | The house of Suwardi was used by Aidit during the coup attempt of the 30 September Movement. |

(cont.)

| Name | Rank/Position During the October 1 Affair | Other Information |
|--|---|---|
| Suyono | Air Force Major, Commander of the Air Force Security Regiment at the Halim Air Base | Commander of the volunteers trained in Lubang Buaya. Member of the Central Command [Senko] of the 30 September Movement. On June 3, 1966 sentenced to death and subsequently executed. |
| Syam Kamaruzaman (Kamaruzaman bin Achmad Mubaidah) | Director of the Bureau for Special Affairs [Biro Khusus] of the PKI | Alias Achmad alias Syam alias Djimin alias Syamsudin etc. Born on April 30, 1924 in Tuban, East Java. Often considered a double agent. Arrested in West Java around the end of 1965 or beginning of 1966. In February 1968 sentenced to death. According to the Suharto regime subsequently executed, but many people suspect he was released and changed his identity. |
| Tendean, Pierre | First Lieutenant, Adjutant to the Coordinating Minister of Defense and Security | Born on February 21, 1939 in Jakarta. In 1965 adjutant to General Nasution. Tendean was kidnapped from the house of Nasution because he was mistaken for Nasution. He was brought to Lubang Buaya and shot dead. |
| Umar Wirahadikusuma | Major General, Commander of the Jakarta Military District | Died of natural causes on March 21, 2003. |
| Untung bin Samsuri | Infantry Lieutenant Colonel, Battalion Commander of the Cakrabirawa Palace Guard | Born on July 3, 1926 in Kebumen, Central Java. Chairman of the Central Command (Senko) of the 30 September Movement. Arrested on October 11, 1965. After being sentenced to death executed in 1966. |

(cont.)

| Name | Rank/Position During the October 1 Affair | Other Information |
|-------------------------------|--|--|
| Wahyudi | Artillery Captain | Born on August 17, 1929 in Bojonegoro, East Java. |
| Waluyo (Mulyono bin Ngali) | | Alias Bono. Born in October 1926 in Ambarawa, Central Java. Third member of the Bureau for Special Affairs (Biro Khusus) of the PKI. Brought to trial, and according to the Suharto regime subsequently executed. |
| Yani, Ahmad | Lieutenant General, Minister/Commander-in-Chief of the Army | Born on June 19, 1922 in Jenar, Purworejo. On October 1, 1965 shot dead by the 30 September Movement. |

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