

DOS REVIEWED 31-Mar-2008: DECLASSIFIED FOR RELEASE IN FULL

Some recently expressed views by Ault
on Sino Soviet Split & other matters

See Pol/Personalities: Ault file



Sukarno says Indo Socialism not that of
Sov Union or China to apparent
embarrassment of PKI

See 1965 Political Scene file



6 Dec 1965

1. ARTICLE BY FRENCH COMMUNIST JOURNALIST, JEAN-MAURICE HERMANN, IN DEMOCRATIE NOUVELLE, "THE TRAGEDY OF DJAKARTA," CRITICIZES INDONESIAN CP FOR HAVING FOLLOWED "HARD LINE" REGARDING FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DUBIOUS TACTICS INTERNALLY. THIS RESULTED IN SUCCESS FOR IMPERIALISM AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION RISKING POSSIBLE PERMANENT CONSEQUENCES.

2. HERMANN SAYS, "THESE CONSEQUENCES MAY WELL EXTEND BEYOND LIMITS OF IMMENSE ARCHIPELAGO. WAS NOT INDONESIAN CP PRINCIPAL SUPPORT OUTSIDE CHINA FOR THESES OF CHINESE CP AND ONLY LARGE PARTY WHICH RALLIED TO THEM?"

3. COMMENT: HERMANN SEEMS TO SAY THAT COMMUNIST MOVEMENT HAS SUFFERED PERMANENT LOSS IN INDONESIA BY FOLLOWING CHINESE LINE. WHILE THIS CRITICISM MAY BE IMPLICIT IN SOVIET AND OTHER NON-CHINESE COMMUNIST COMMENT, HERMANN'S CHARGE, WHILE CAUTIOUSLY PHRASED, ACCUSES CHINESE OF RESPONSIBILITY IN WHAT HE IMPLIES MAY BE IRREPARABLE LOSS TO INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

4. ALSO INTERESTING THAT HERMANN CRITICIZED INDONESIAN CP ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDONESIA'S "HARD" EXTERNAL POLICY WHICH IMPLICITLY IS INCONSISTENT WITH "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" AND SERVED CHINESE, RATHER THAN INDONESIAN COMMUNIST INTERESTS.

5. ASSUME THAT HERMANN IS SAYING WHAT SOVIETS THINK OR SAY WITHIN PARTY CIRCLES BUT DO NOT WISH TO STATE PUBLICLY AT THIS TIME IN ORDER NOT TO SPOIL POSTURE DURING PAST YEAR OF BEING REASONABLE AND NON-POLEMICAL ABOUT THEIR CLASH OF INTERESTS WITH PEKING.



10 Dec 1965

The PKI Hunt in Central Java

1. The "Coordinator" of Catholic Party activities in the Pati residency of Central Java, Suhandjo (of Chinese extraction), provided the reporting officer with the following description of anti-PKI operations in that region which may be typical of activities throughout the province.

2. Paracommando (RPKA) troops on arrival in Kudus solicited the assistance of the Catholic, IP-KI and Nahdlatul Ulama party organizations in rooting out PKI elements. All cooperated and the Nahdlatul Ulama as the region's principal anti-communist party provided the bulk of the support. The NU youth arm Ansor, however, has caused problems as its brutal attacks on PKI elements in villages surrounding Kudus have been extended to non-PKI victims involved in personal feuds with Ansor members.

3. Suhandjo was responsible for singling out members of the Chinese association Baperki for the military. He showed the reporting officer a list of over 100 Baperki members which he had furnished the Army and which constituted a "Who's Who" of the Kudus business community. Suhandjo noted that all on the list would eventually be interrogated and those who had clearly been Baperki activists would be detained indefinitely. A separate list of 20 names included Baperki leaders who were due for more intensive grilling but many of whom had disappeared.

4. The Paracommando units, Suhandjo added, had a generally good rapport with the local population as most were Central Javanese. They were very tough on the communist sympathizers, however.

5. Suhandjo said Kudus was now free of PKI elements but the countryside was as yet not safe.

FOR THE AMBASSADOR:

Robert J. Martens

Robert J. Martens
First Secretary of Embassy



17 Dec 1965

SUBJECT : Claimed PKI Strength on the Eve of the September 30
Movement
REF :

1. Harian Rakjat of August 20 quoted PKI Chairman
D. N. Aidit for the following membership claims as of that
date:

PKI	"more than" 3,000,000
Pemuda Rakjat	3,000,000
SOBSI	3,500,000
BTI	"almost" 9,000,000
Gerwani	3,000,000
LEKRA	"more than" 500,000
CGMI	"more than" 70,000

2. COMMENT: As the Embassy stated on earlier occasions, PKI membership claims must be regarded with considerable skepticism as they were designed to give an appearance of continuous growth and an inevitable approaching victory of Communism in order to support the main thrust of Party strategy which was infiltration and eventual takeover of central institutions through the protection of the Presidency.

FOR THE AMBASSADOR:

Mary Vance Trent

Mary Vance Trent
First Secretary of Embassy



17 Dec 1965

PKI Leadership List & Fate of PKI Leaders

1. The Embassy has received a number of reports concerning arrests of prominent PKI leaders although the evidence is often suspect. There is widespread falsification of documents such as alleged confessions, some of which can be easily detected and some not. An example of this is the alleged Njono confession wherein Njono, a PKI Politburo member, appears to be unaware of the composition of the Politburo. His alleged remarks on the composition of the Politburo are based on the Politburo as it existed prior to May, 1965 Central Committee plenum and fail to take into account the promotion of Peris Pardede to be a candidate member of that body or the transfer of Rewang from leadership of the Central Java PKI to the Central Committee Secretariat.

2. Enclosed is an unclassified list of the PKI leadership bodies as they existed after the May, 1965 plenum when the last changes were made. Also enclosed is a (secret) fragmentary compilation of information on the present whereabouts of PKI leaders based on the limited information available.

FOR THE AMBASSADOR:

Mary Vance Trent

Mary Vance Trent
First Secretary of Embassy



Full Members P-2D-6-24-2

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 1. D. N. Aidit | Chairman of CC |
| 2. M. H. Lukman | 1st Deputy Chairman of CC |
| 3. Njoto | 2nd Deputy Chairman of CC |
| 4. Sudisman | Head of Secretariat |
| 5. Sakirman | CC Economic Expert |
| 6. Njono | Member of Secretariat |
| 7. Jusuf Adjitorop | A Deputy Head of Secretariat,
in China since July 1964 |
| 8. Rewang | Member of Secretariat |

Candidate Members

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| 1. Anwar Sanusi | Member of Secretariat, PKI
rep. in National Front |
| 2. Peris Pardede | Deputy Head of Secretariat |

CENTRAL COMMITTEEFull Members

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Achmad Sunardi | ? |
| 2. Jusuf Adjitorop (Politburo) | A Deputy Head of Secretariat |
| 3. D. N. Aidit (Politburo) | Chairman of CC |
| 4. Amar Hanafiah | 1st Secy CDB, S. Kalimantan |
| 5. Anwar Kadir | A Deputy Head of Secretariat |
| 6. Anwar Sanusi (Cand.
Politburo) | Member of Secretariat, PKI rep.
in National Front |
| 7. Dahlan Rivai | Member of Secretariat |
| 8. Djokosudjono | Member of Secretariat (Head of
Planning Bureau) |
| 9. A. Imron | Secy CDB, S. Sumatra |
| 10. Ismail Bakri | Secy CDB, West Java |
| 11. M. H. Lukman (Politburo) | 1st Deputy Chairman of CC |
| 12. Muhammad Samikidin | Secy CDB, Atjeh |
| 13. Djalaludin Jusuf Nasution | Secy CDB, N. Sumatra |
| 14. Njono (Politburo) | Member of Secretariat |
| 15. Njoto (Politburo) | 2nd Deputy Chairman of CC |
| 16. Nungtjik | Head of PKI parliamentary faction |
| 17. Nursuhud | A Deputy Head of Secretariat |
| 18. Peris Pardede (Cand.
Politburo) | A Deputy Head of Secretariat |
| 19. Rewang (Politburo) | Member of Secretariat |
| 20. Ruslan Kamaludin | Member of Secretariat |



21. Sakirman P-2D-6-24-2'o)	CC Economic Expert
22. Sidartojo	Member of Secretariat
23. Siswojo	Member of Secretary (Head of Education Dept.)
24. Sajid Ahmad Sofjan	Secy CDB, West Kalimantan
25. Sudisman (Politburo)	Head of Secretariat
26. Sudojo	Member Daily Council CDB, Djakarta Raya
27. Nj. Suharti	Chairman, Gerwani and Head of Women's Dept. of Secretariat
28. Sundjono	Member of Secretariat
29. Karel Supit	Member of Secretariat (Head of Foreign Dept.)
30. Suwardiningsih	Semi-retired
31. Tjoa Tek Tjun	?
32. Tjugito	Member of Secretariat
33. Wikana	Ranking PKI representative in '45 Generation
34. M. Zaelani	Member of Secretariat
35. Adenan Rachman	Secy, CDB Djambi
36. Abdullah Alihamy	Secy, CDB Riau
37. Sajid Fachrul Baraqbah	Secy, CDB East Kalimantan
38. Banda Harahap	Head, Dept. of Culture, CC PKI
39. Ktut Kandel	Secy, CDB Bali
40. Umar Lestelehu	Secy, CDB Maluku
41. Aminuddin Muchlis	Secy, CDB South Sulawesi
42. Muslimin Jasin	Secy, CDB West Nusatenggara
43. Tobias Paulinus Rissi	Secy, CDB East Nusatenggara
44. Sukatno	Secy General, <u>Pemuda Rakjat</u> and probably head of Youth Dept. of Secretariat
45. Messer Tanggap Peleng	Secy, CDB Central Kalimantan
46. M. A. Pane	Secy, CDB Lampung
47. Rachmat	Secy, CDB West Sumatra
48. Sidik Kertapati	A Deputy Head of BTI and probably head of Agriculture Dept. of Secretariat
49. J. Suak	Secy, CDB North Sulawesi
50. Suwandi	Secy, CDB East Java

Candidate Members

1. Anwar Nasution
2. Nj. Setiati Suraato
3. Nj. Sundari Ar
4. Thaib Adamy
5. Nj. Umi Sardjono

Dep. Secy Gen., Pemuda Rakjat
4th Deputy Chairman, SOBSI

Deputy Secy, CDB Atjeh
General Chairman, Gerwani



CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION

No Objection To Declassification in Full 2010/08/30 : HIA-R JONES HOWARD

1. Peris Pardede (rman) Also Member of Secretariat & CC
2. Dahono
3. Mangkudun Sati
4. Suhaemi Rachman
5. Towidjan
6. Surja

CENTRAL VERIFICATION COMMISSION

1. Sujono Pradigdo (Chairman)
2. Tambunan L. D. (Deputy Chairman)
3. Laurens Darman (Deputy Chairman)
4. Busjari Latif
5. Djodo Wirosubroto
6. Ngadiman Hardjosubroto
7. Singgih Tirtosubroto
8. Supeno
9. Tan Ling Dji
10. Ir. Thajeb Thaher
11. Djamhari
12. Nj. Mudjiatun
13. Drs. J. Piry

SECRETARIAT CC-PKI*

1. Sudisman (Head)
2. Jusuf Adjitorop (Deputy Head)
3. Anwar Kadir (Deputy Head)
4. Peris Pardede (Deputy Head)
5. Nursuhud (Deputy Head)
6. Anwar Sanusi (National Front)
7. Djokosudjono (Plans)
8. Siswojo (Education)
9. Karel Supit (Foreign Countries)
10. M. Zaelani
11. Njono
12. Tjugito
13. Ruslan Kamaludin
14. Dahlan Rivai
15. Rewang
16. Sundjono
17. Sidartojo



*Below are persons who have been named in the press as "Members of the Secretariat." The heads of several Secretariat Departments who have not been named as "Members of the Secretariat" are not included here.

REPORTS ON WHEREABOUTS OF PKI CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS

No Objection To Declassification in Full 2010/08/30 : HIA-R JONES HOWARD

P-2D-6-24-2

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. D. N. Aidit | Reported dead. |
| 2. Njoto | " " |
| 3. Lukman | " captured. |
| 4. Sudisman | Conflicting reports. Most recent are that he is loose. |
| 5. Sakirman | Reported arrested. |
| 6. Njono | Known to be arrested and in a Djakarta prison. |
| 7. Rewang | Believed to be arrested, but only on basis of report that all Politburo members were arrested except Sudisman and Adjitorop. |
| 8. Anwar Sanusi | Believed to be arrested on same basis as Rewang. |
| 9. Peris Pardede | Captured in North Sumatra according to Army press release.. |
| 10. Djalaludin Jusuf Nasution | Same as Pardede. |
| 11. Dahlan Rivai | Reported arrested by press. |
| 12. Amar Hanafiah | Believed to be arrested on basis of press reports which did not say he was in custody but implied it. |
| 13. Ktut Kandel | Reported arrested by reliable source. |
| 14. Umar Lestelehu | Reported to have made anti-PKI statements by the press implying that he was under Army control. |



15. Nursuhud No Objection To Declassification in Full 2010/08/30 : HIA-R JONES HOWARD
P-2D-6-24-2 in mountains of West Sumatra.
16. Thaher Thajeb Identified by reliable source
as in prison.
17. Tobias P. Rissi Arrested according to Sokoguru
Revolusi of November 17, 1965
18. Jantje Suak Arrested according to Antara
of December 1, 1965.

