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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

REPORT NO. [REDACTED]

INFORMATION REPORT

25X1A2g

COUNTRY Indonesia

DATE DISTR. 3 December 1948

SUBJECT A Statement of the Situation in Indonesia by an Influential Official of the Indonesian Republic

NO. OF PAGES 3 25X1A6a

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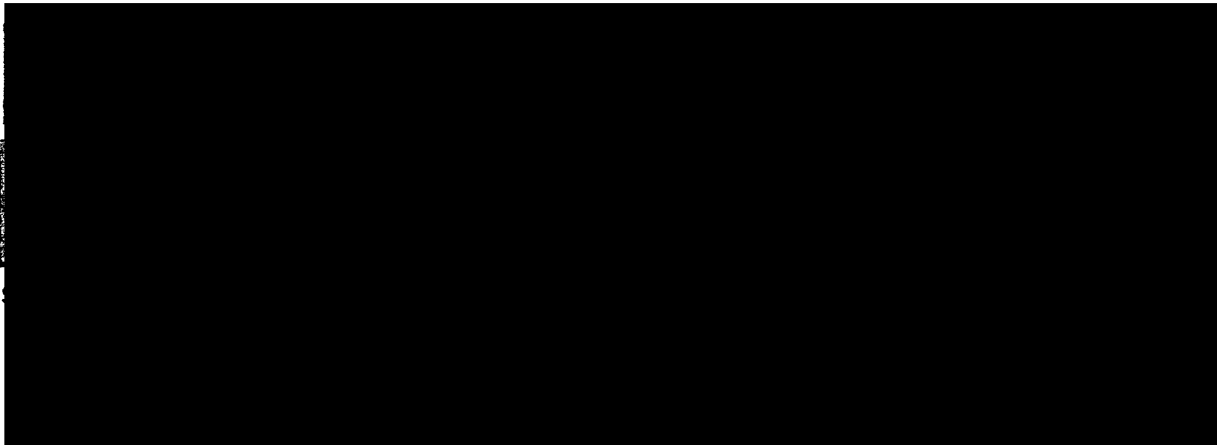
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SUPPLEMENT TO REPORT NO. [REDACTED]



1. The military police dragnet to disarm the gangs employed as units of force by Moeso's Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI) and to arrest the PKI leaders is gradually completing its work. Moeso's PKI is being eliminated gradually, since the army has automatically justified a course of action which the Soekarno-Hatta government proper was loathe to institute.
2. Unfortunately this has cost lives. Moeso's PKI, the gangsters and mercenaries, used as tools in the occupation of and withdrawal from Madioen, beastially murdered many administrators, policemen, and other officials and Pasjoemi leaders. We were luckily able to restrain the revengeful feelings of our youth and the Pasjoemi, but when Madioen was retaken, they were not prevented in time from applying "summary justice". It was evidently necessary.
3. The exact figures of the victims of Moeso's PKI are still unavailable, but it may presently be estimated at 1500, including the missing. Fatalities were limited chiefly to the Madioen Verder (Farther Madioen) Residency, with a small number in the Poerwodadi and Wonogiri Residencies.

The number executed through "summary military trials" is presently estimated at 600 to 700. This is still going on.

The military police action was and is being carried out according to four planned phases:

Phase I: The arrest of PKI and Front Demokrat Rakjat (FDR) leaders and other undercover operatives in the areas outside Madioen simultaneously with the isolation of the Madioen Residency.

Phase II: Thrusts to Madioen from the east and west for the purpose of recapturing Madioen City, as the headquarters of the Moeso Republic, known as the "Republik Front Nasional".

Phase III: The clearing of the Madioen Residency and the pursuit of the Moeso army ("military justice").

Document No. [REDACTED]

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Auth: DDA [REDACTED]

Date: 10 MAY 1978

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Phase IV: The recapture of the northern residencies, Semarang, Pati and Bojonegoro.

6. This procedure is fully in accordance with the current police action. Practically all the leaders have now been either arrested or executed in the field.
7. The number of persons arrested throughout the residencies is certainly not small. It is estimated at 6,000 to 7,000. The motto now is: better to arrest ten extra than one too few. After the bitter experience of a humane, super-democratic government, we are not taking any more chances. If a messenger crosses the status quo line he must be searched, as required by us. This is logical, for the Moeso-Amir Sjarifoedin plan covers occupied territory too, judging by documents we found.
8. In case mass confusion sooner or later breaks out in occupied territory, such outbreaks would occur in our territory too. We must be careful that no more PKI leaders are free to circulate in society, and the fighting forces (Angkatang Perang), the police and various authorities should see to it. Unfortunately, there are also some hard-headed democrats and so-called "super-humane" men who have never agreed with this group and who would just as soon bring about the immediate release of many acknowledged PKI and FDR members.
9. To this group of "super-democrats", alias idiots, generally belong the men and authorities who have not the faintest idea of administering a country, but imagine they know it all. However, we are keeping a firm hand on what we have.
10. The northern residencies are easily coming over to our side. In the beginning the rebel brigade commander, Soediarso, delayed a few days before surrendering, and now the four remaining cities, Pati, Koesoes, Djoeono and Rembang, are occupied and have come over to us. Whenever the surrender and transfer of authority is troublesome, the Republican government settles the matter, leaving it to police action and technical administration to restore order, stabilize the political and economic situation, and to prepare for an eventual breakthrough.
11. We are not allowed to lose sight of the last. The Dutch are now busy with a press and radio campaign asserting that the Republic cannot remain master of the situation. They exaggerate the destruction and acceptance of Communism. The Dutch radio at Soerakarta, on 19 October 1948, became so fanatic as to make the mistake of saying: "The Republic pretends to have eliminated the PKI-Moeso, but is now faced with the Masjoemi and the Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI), which are the same as the PKI." The Dutch commentator evidently does not know that these two are white-hot right wing politically, and 100 per cent behind the government. In the meantime, the Dutch clearly blame the Republic for the confusion in the occupied territory and Radio Batavia made it known on 20 October 1948 that the Dutch will protest to the Good Offices Committee (GOC) against infiltration by armed troops of the Republic. This is all very naive. The confusion is in their own territory and the Republic is blamed and held responsible! The unrest in the occupied territory is indeed such that no Dutchman dares to wander from the cities alone and unarmed. The Indonesian administrative officials working with the Dutch must all travel with an armed escort. Many could commute to their homes, but choose to live in the city. Places where such conditions exist are Garoet, Tjiamis, and Tasik. The plantations are far from secure.
12. These are good barometers by which to measure the peace, order and security in the occupied territory.

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13. There are factors which point to a new police action: a) the resignation of van Mook, followed by that of Abdoel Kadir (Widjojoatmodjo) and van Mook's secretarial staff; b) the non-acceptance of Cochran's proposal; and c) the radio and press campaigns. The Americans must now realize that an eventual breakthrough would mean a war for all concerned - the Indonesians, the Dutch, and the interested powers, including the Americans.
14. Our government flirts with no country, and that is a fact; it desires no object from any other country. That is the reason for our delegation's answer to the Cochran proposal which was radically amended by the Dutch, who are obstinate and constricting. We will accept only the Da Bois proposal.
15. Yesterday (20 October 1948) evening a report, which has not been traced or confirmed so far, announced that Amir Sjarifoedin, Wikana, Abdoel Rachman (of the PKI's Bagian V) and Setiadjit have been apprehended in the neighborhood of Madioen. Since this report must be reliable, only Moeso remains at large; but that is a question of time.
16. The Madioen police must be completely replaced. The shake up is in progress. The number of dead and missing police in the Madioen area is approximately 150. In the Pati, Semarang, Bodjonegoro, and Solo areas the highest figure is ten. The half-buried bodies we find are difficult to identify.
17. It appears that we expect a second crisis, unless the outside world intervenes. We will tackle it, however, and we must come through.
18. Our hope is founded on obtaining foreign materiel such as transport, weapons, clothing, etc., for this means not only a relief for us, but a breach in the Dutch blockade. The latter is of especial interest to us.
19. Toeban and Sempos (near Patjitan) will be open and safe for any ship, beginning next month.

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