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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY REPORT NO.

INFORMATION REPORT

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COUNTRY Indonesia

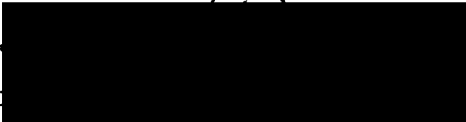
DATE DISTR. 7 December 1948

SUBJECT The Activities of the Front Demokrat Rakjat and of Moeso's Partai Komunis Indonesia

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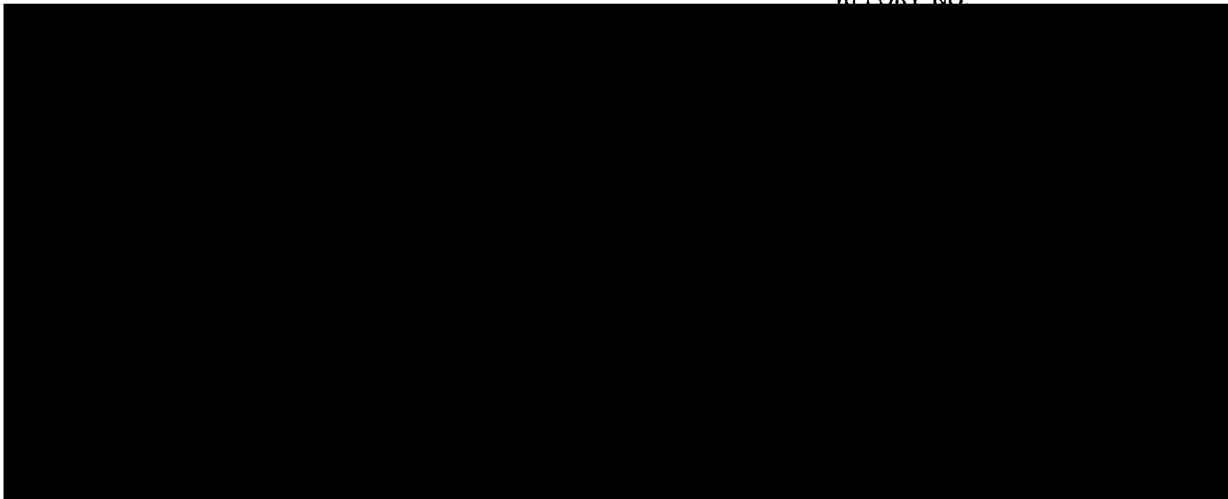
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SUPPLEMENT TO REPORT NO.

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I. Situation Prior to the Revolution

1. The FDR (Sajap Kin - Partai Sosialis Indonesia (PSI) ) succeeded in infiltrating the government, especially in the sphere of the military within the Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI) Masjarakat and the components of the people's defense (i.e., FDR: the influence of the FDR reached 35 per cent of the armed forces including the Lasjkars, the Angkatan Laoet Repoeblak Indonesia (ALRI), the Polisi Tentara Laoet (PTL), 50 per cent of the Sosalit Division, and 40 per cent of the Speadi Solo Brigade).
  2. After the fall of the cabinet of Amir Sjarifoedin (Renville Agreement), the FDR carried out illegal activities, such as pillage, criticism, terrorization, strikes, etc., in order to bring about the collapse of the Hatta cabinet.
- After the arrival of Moeso and Soeripno, the FDR and the PKI united, becoming an enlarged PKI. Action was taken to force the government to exchange consuls with the USSR.

As their very last parliamentary act, the members of the Working Committee of the Komite Nasional Indonesia Poesat (KNIP), in a meeting held the first part of September 1948, in which most of the members supported the government, turned down a seemingly legal request of the PKI to the government to form a new (parliamentary) cabinet.

In Solo, the FDR/PKI became provocative. Terrorization by the FDR increased and the Gerakan Revolusie Rakjat (GRR) began activities in September. The Siliwangi Brigade, which had about one company in Solo, was in charge of this activity. The Tentara Laoet Repoeblak Indonesia (TLRI) of Jadan, assisted by about three battalions of the Solo Division, attacked a company of the Siliwangi Division at Srambaton, Solo, in order to dislodge it; this attempt failed. The Siliwangi strengthened itself with reinforcements from Klaten and Jogjakarta. It quickly took charge of affairs in the city until the TLRI Division and the Solo

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Division of the TNI left the city. The TLRI Soejoto Brigade and a part of the Solo Division went northward. The TLRI Jadan Brigade, one battalion of the TNI Masjarakat and some TNI battalions went southward with Brigade Commander Soeadi.

6. For comparison the plan of the FDR is given. Since the rationalization plan met with failure among the army leaders, with men in only two key positions, Djoko-soejono as Acting Commanding Officer of the Territory of Java and Sakirman as Chief of the Masjarakat Section, the situation was not as rosy as they had pictured it and it was necessary for them to attempt a new plan: 1) to take over the leadership of the government and 2) to form a new government. Item 1 was to be carried out first in a seemingly parliamentary phase and afterwards in a non-parliamentary phase.
7. For military purposes, Solo was to be made into a "Wild West" and Madioen was to become a guerrilla center for a long period; pressure was to be put on Kediri and Kedoe; dislocations within the military were to be brought about in accordance with the above plan so that they might strengthen their positions and consolidate the territory they occupied. There was also the task of gathering weapons and the expulsion of Polisi Keamanan (PK), security police, in Repaking and the few police troops which were active.
8. During the first half of September 1948, Moeso, Amir Sjarifoedin, Setiadjit, etc., went in a group from Solo to Madioen, via Bodjonegoro, Pati and Poerwodadi, propagandizing on a large scale.

## II. Situation During the Revolution.

9. At 3:30a.m., 18 September 1948, the FDR/PKI, making use of three battalions of the 29 Brigade (Pesindo) which had arrived from Kediri, expelled the army, the GFM army, and the police. They established a Soviet government (later called Pemerintah Front Nasional - PFN) with Moeso as president, Amir Sjarifoedin as Prime Minister, Soemarsono as Minister of Defense (later Military Governor), Abdoel Moetalib as Army Resident, Djokosoejono as Commanding Officer (CO), Dahlan as Field CO, etc. Steps taken by this government were: the seizure of all persons criticizing the revolution; the removal of all officials, even to the village level; the distribution of "bengkok" land and land of enterprises; the release of all prisoners; infiltration among those people easily swayed; and the dispatch of cadres. In Madioen there were summary executions of leaders loyal to the Republic, expulsion of the right wing leaders; pillage, disregard of rights and assassinations on a large scale. Student groups carried out illegal activities against the Moeso government, such as sabotage.
10. Moeso governments were established by Jadan on 19 September in the Kabupaten (Washington Comment. A region administered by a Bupati) of Soekohardjo and on 20 September in Wonogiri. Alimin and Maroeto Daroesman were in Wonogiri. Police officials and members of the Pamong Prodjo were made prisoners.
11. Shortly afterwards Soejoto's troops were attacked by the Siliwangi Division from Solo; a People's Army Government (Moeso) was established in the Kabupaten of Poerwodadi (Semarang) by Brigade CO Soejoto.
12. The Residency of Pati, excepting Tjepoe, for a while could not be held by the Republican Army and fell into the hands of Soejoto's Revolutionary Army (Tentara Pemberontak) and the Soedlarto Brigade of the Soerakarta Division.

## III. Steps taken by the Republican Government

### Phase One

The President reveals that the nation is in a precarious situation:

13. The army and police, on 19 September 1948, undertook in Jogjakarta to seize FDR/PKI leaders, among others Tan Ling Djie, Hendromartono, and a large number of other outstanding leaders; other arrests took place outside the city. FDR troops were driven away. Up to the present, about 2,000 prisoners have been taken.

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14. Left wing newspapers and periodicals have been banned.
15. Censorship of person, speech, correspondence (telegrams), etc., is in force.
16. Vital activities are being protected.
17. Similar steps have also been taken in Solo; up to the present about 1,500 prisoners have been taken.
18. Kedoe delayed action for three days due to the attitude of Soesalit. Afterwards Lt. Col. Sarbim took charge of the leaders of the army and took steps in conjunction with the police. Since the measures taken were sufficient, the situation in Kedoe has improved.
19. In Soerabaja and Kediri a delay of two days occurred because the Field (Pertempuran) Chief of Staff for East Java, Col. Mahadi, was taken prisoner in Madioen and it was necessary to replace him with Col. Soengkono. Two battalions of the 29 Brigade were pursued in Kediri. Also Brigade CO Dahlan, Chief of Staff Koesnander, and TIRI Admiral Atmadji (who had sided with Moeso) and others were captured. (According to reports, Atmadji and Koesnander have meanwhile been executed and Dahlan is being prepared for the death penalty.)
20. The Malang Residency took early steps to seize the left wing leaders (600 prisoners).
21. Bodjonegoro unexpectedly was able to handle the situation, since it had made a timely change in the leadership of the Bodjonegoro army. They seized about 300 local left wing leaders; although this step was perhaps a month overdue.
22. The Pati Residency initially began to arrest the left wing leaders in the Pati Kabupaten, but later they were overpowered by the TIRI and the Soediarto Brigade from Solo. The Sub-Territorial Commander (STC), the Resident, and the Chief of the Residency police fled and others of our officials were taken prisoner.
23. The Banjoemas Residency (Bandjarnegara) skillfully took all steps in time.
24. Total number of prisoners taken up to the present is about 8,000-9,000 (not including Madioen).

## Special arrests in Djogjakarta:

25. After the fall of Madioen, Lt. Col. Martono Brotokoesomo, supreme leader of the People's Defense (PDR), was arrested in Jogjakarta and Alimin, propaganda and agitation leader of the PKI/PDR, was arrested in Delanggu.

## IV. Steps taken by the Republican Government

## Phase Two

## Military-Police Operations:

26. On 18 September 1948, Col. Gatotsoebroto was Military Governor of Soerakarta, Semarang, Pati, and Madioen. After the city of Soerakarta had been cleared of left wing elements, the Siliwangi, reinforced by a few battalions of the Soedi Brigade, (formerly 4 Division), undertook mopping up activities towards the south (Soekoharjo and Wonogiri) and towards the north (Salam, Kalioso and Poerwodadi). Two Siliwangi battalions were sent via Tawangmangoe to relieve Sarangan, Ploasan and Magetan and to head towards Madioen; three battalions under Brigade CO Sakikin set out from Solo towards Madioen via Walikoen, splitting into two groups, one going towards Ngawa, the other southeastwards. One battalion of the TNI and one battalion of the National Police under M. Jasin, headed towards Madioen via Ngandjak from Kediri. One battalion left Kediri over the ridge of Mt. Willis to intercept Moeso's army which might withdraw towards

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Mt. Willis for guerrilla activity. One battalion left Trenggalek (south) for Ponogoro and the Madioen area.

27. On 30 September 1948, troops of the Sadikin Brigade entered the city of Madioen from the area of Walikokoan-Geneng. Immediately thereafter the troops from Ngandjuk, moving via Tjaroebae and the police battalion of Jasin also entered the city and immediately set to work on reorganization. The police battalion of Jasin on the previous day was only three kilometers from the city but had to wait for additional troops before entering the city. Messo's Army withdrew to Doengoes and Kandangan opposite the slopes of Mt. Willis and were thrown into confusion by the Sabarodin troops which had crossed over the ridge of the mountain. A large number of weapons and radio parts captured by our army were brought in by motor vehicles and horses. Meanwhile all of our Kabupaten were being brought under control and more police offices were occupied by our troops. A part of Patjitan was still controlled by the FDR/PKI. (It should be noted that the leaders of the revolution had undertaken a proper "purge". Several Bupati, Kommando Keamanan Kota (KKK) Madioen, and about 200 police officials were killed in the confusion. The total dead and missing is about 1,000, including leaders of the right wing parties.)
28. The army and police are at present carrying out pacification activities. The directors of the revolution and disturbances are being arrested and executed. Our situation is improving. A part of Messo's disorganized army, robbing and kidnapping on route, entered the forests along the foothills of Mt. Willis and headed towards the southern part of Kediri Residency. Another part of this army headed for the Wonogiri area, and another part sought to join the Red Army in Pati/Peerwodadi. Still others broke up into small groups and mingled with the population.
29. The Soekohardjo Kabupaten and the Wonogiri Kabupaten have been further strengthened by our side. Many of the troops of Jadan have surrendered. The rest of the troops have hidden in the areas towards the south coast in the hilly terrain of Tirtomodjo in Wonogiri Kabupaten. Our operations against them have almost reached a successful conclusion since we are massing forces from Wonogiri (Soerakarta) and Wonosari (Jogjakarta). To the north the Red Army was driven from Salam and then pursued from Kalioso and Goendik. By 4 October, we had reoccupied Peerwodadi; afterwards we improved the situation in the Peerwodadi Kabupaten.
30. On this same day the Red Army attacked Tjepoe and, beginning with the third day and before the fifth day, they occupied the northern part of Tjepoe (Pati Residency). Although previous to this time the army and police had captured the outstanding local FDR/PKI leaders, the Lasjkar Boeroeh still considered itself strong and assisted the Red Army. They were unable to take the oil factory. The refinery was intact and still in operation on 10 October. Only one residue tank and one gasoline tank were burned, due to artillery fire. Since reinforcements arrived quickly from Ngawi, we were further able to consolidate our occupation of Tjepoe. Meanwhile a part of the troops of Soediarto came back to the Republican Army, including some of the leaders of the Soediarto Brigade. Soediarto also wished to return.
31. Thus our army is now exerting strong pressure on Blora, the last strong point of the Red Army. Our army has assembled one battalion each from the following: Tjepoe, Worosari and Koedoes. Also one battalion has come from Bodjonegoro via Djatirogo towards Rembang, in order to shut in Blora from the north.
32. At Parakan in the Kedoe Residency there had also been a revolution. Major Mahmud, a member of the Pesindo, used his battalion to expel the TRI and the police in Parakan and to terrorize the leaders of the army, police and Pamong Prodjo. This revolution was immediately suppressed by our army and the leaders retreated to the mountainous regions (Dieng). The greater part of these troops

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surrendered. Major Mahmud and about thirty of his followers were forced to escape across the status quo line on 8 October 1948, where they were protected by the Dutch Army from our pursuit.

33. In Wonosari (Jogjakarta) the FDR/PKI, supported by the Red Army from Wonogiri, was also active, but it was suppressed by army and police troops from Jogjakarta, supported by Republican troops in Wonogiri. The opposition was slight because our leaders were on guard prior to the action.
34. The situation in Banten Residency is stable. The government remained perfectly capable of handling the situation, because prior to the revolution it had removed all undesirable elements. The FDR/PKI was sufficiently controlled by simple regulations (house and city arrest).
35. Wherever our army retrieved a place from the hands of the revolutionists, the National Police undertook to eliminate dangerous elements and to disarm those not qualified to carry arms. Pamong Prodjo and the information officials immediately took up their duties. Coordination among the various officials was good. In Jogjakarta, Wonosari, Soerakarta, and Poerwodadi cleaning up activities were carried out in a systematic manner. In Jogjakarta frequent cleaning-up activities are carried out.
36. In the areas continuously held by the Moesists, executions were carried out by the army after a summary trial of the revolutionists and their collaborators.

#### V. Steps Taken by the Republican Government

##### Phase Three

37. The steps in this phase plan to bring about a cleaning up in the political sphere. This plan includes the necessity of enlarging the Masjarakat, which will be organized and controlled by the government. If it is a dangerous movement the Masjarakat will be isolated; if neutral it will be channelized; if healthy it will prosper and cultivate those things which are good for it. The political sphere will be directed by the information office and the Pamong Prodjo. The plan also stipulates that the Masjarakat will be predominantly national-democratic, with the Masjoemi and PNI as the leading factors.

#### VI. Other Matters

38. It is reported that the members of the FDR/PKI have carried out illegal acts everywhere, especially those aimed at sabotage and possible assassinations. We are constantly on the alert and are prepared.
39. It is obvious, according to information, that left wing armed troops are no longer in evidence in the area controlled by us.
40. Loyal Hisboellah troops added strength to the government's means of control. The Barisan Banteng was at first active in support of the Republican Army. It appears that this was purely for the purpose of their material profit. Later they withdrew and became unconcerned. This group is becoming weaker day by day.
41. Several Sentral Organisasi Boeroeh Seloeroeh Indonesia (SOBSI) branch labor unions withdrew from SOBSI and supported the government. Most of the unions, however, remained within the SOBSI with the intention of choosing new leaders.
42. All units of the Mahasiswa supported the government.
43. The Badan Kongres Pemoeda Indonesia's attitude is ambiguous. On our side new youth groups have arisen. Among others, there are some in Soerakarta which support our idea.

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44. The Gerakan Revolusi Rakjat (GRR) (Dr. Moewardi was killed by the FDR), the Akoma and other communistically oriented parties and unions are at present under observation.

Note:

45. Moeso, Amir Sjarifoedin and Djokosoejono are presumed to be following GRR troops which are withdrawing to the southern part of Kediri Residency and Madicoen (Patjitan). It is reported that Setiadjit was murdered by a soldier of the FDR/PKI.

46. Many railroad bridges and ordinary bridges were destroyed (blown up) by the Red Army, but the damage was quickly rectified or new bridges built. Communications are now good. The city of Poerwodadi was half burned to the ground by the Red Army.

Jogjakarta, 14 October 1948

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