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The following is a composite picture of Communist strength in Indonesia drawn from opinions expressed by a cross section of persons in Indonesia. These persons include a Masjumi leader, a high-ranking APRI officer, an important socialist leader, Chinese supporters of Sjahrir, a Dutch businessman, and high Indonesian police officials.

- During the last six months both the Indonesian and Chinese Communists have enjoyed a period of increasing activity and progress in organizational structure and membership growth and of success in extending their influence in the fields of labor and in youth movements.
- Rivalry between the Indonesian and Chinese Communists has lessened because of the increased financial and propaganda assistance the latter are giving the Indonesian leftist groups and the confidence which the Indonesian Communists have in being able to hold their own in Indonesia. The latter generally think in terms of Indonesian national Communism while the Chinese Communists think first in terms of Chinese Communism and secondly in terms of Moscow Communism.

The following is a summary of Communist influence in Indonesia:

### Labor Unions

- The majority of labor unions are Communist controlled through the Jentral Organisasie Buruh Seluruh Indonesia (SOBSI) in spite of the fact that the bulk of the union members are ignorant of the ideologies involved.
- The most important labor unions are:

Sarekat Buruh Perkebunan Republik Indonesia (SARBUPRI) (Estate Workers Union)

PRTSI (Textile Union)

Carekat Buruh Kapal dan Pelabuan (SBKP) (Ship and Harbor Workers Union)

Transport Workers Union) Sarekat Burul

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Rukun Tani Indonesia (RTI) (Indonesian Peasants Union)

Sarekat Buruh Kereta Api (SBKA) (Railway Workers Union)

Sorekat Buruh Minjak (SBM) (Oil Workers Union)

Persatuan Buruh Betjah (PBB) (Trishaw Drivers Union)

Prison Workers Union

Printers Unions

Some of these unions, such as the last three, are only slightly Communistic or pink.

The non-Communist labor movement is small and currently lacks vitality and funds. This movement comprises only two groups, the Persatuan Organisasie Buruh (POB) (Union of Labor Organizations) and the Himpunan Sarekat2 Buruh Indonesia (HISSBI)\* (Federation of Indonesian Trade Unions). Communist labor union membership is claimed to be 900,000 as opposed to a claimed membership of non-Communist labor unions of 20,000.

#### Youth Groups

The Majority of the youth groups are Communist controlled. These groups are listed in order of their importance:

Pesindo

Strength concentrated in the Solo, Jogjakarta and Surabaya areas; membership is increasing by the addition of dissatisfied demobilized TNI soldiers and the poorly educated classes.

Angkatan Komunis Muda (AKOMA)

Strength concentrated in West Java around Krawang and Tjikampek.

Ikatan Pemuda Peladjar Indonesia (IPPI) (Union of Indonesian Student Youth)

Pinkish group composed of university and secondary school students; leadership is definitely Communist, membership is divided.

PPCI (also received PPMI) (Federal Union of Indonesian Students)

Now has Communist leaders.

Peladjar Islam Indonesia (PII) These last two groups are smaller and (Moslem Student Youths)

less effective than the other youth groups.

Muda Katholik Indonesia (MKI) (Catholic Youths of Indonesia)

Communist youth membership is estimated at 45,000 as opposed to a non-Communist youth membership of 15,000.

# <u>Parliament</u>

There are 17 factions, 2 fronts, 1 block, and 4 groups in Parliament. There are 238 members, 9 of whom have not yet been inaugurated. Some members belong to two factions.

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8. Communist representation in the Parliament comprises the following:

Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI)

13 Representatives

Partai Murba

A Representatives

Partai Sosialis (radical)

1 Representative

Leftist groups are represented in Parliament as follows:

Partai Buruh

7 Representatives

Front Buruh

7 Representatives

SKI Group

3 Representatives

All of the above are well organized.

9. While non-Communist representation in Parliament greatly exceeds the Communist representation, the non-Communists are far from realizing their potential strength because of party dissension and the lack of a combined offensive. Communist infiltration of Sjahrir's Partai Sosialis, the divided Partai Nasional Indonesia and the differences within the Masjumi contribute to this weakness.

## Indonesian Army

- 10. The armies difficulties are primarily caused by discontented discharged soldiers, irregular pay in many areas, dishonest officers engaged in smuggling and dissension between old Tentera Nasional Indonesia (TNI) officers and officers recently absorbed from the Royal Netherlands Indonesian Army (RNIA).
- 11. For political reasons it is not possible at present to discharge some of the dishonest officers who are known to be involved with Chinese smugglers. Most of the trouble in the estate areas is being caused by discharged TNI members, but the blame is being put on army regulars.
- 12. Top eschelon officers are not Communists, but many in the lower eschelons have been effectively indoctrinated with Communist ideas. Army units in the Cheribon area have been extensively infiltrated by Communists.
- 25X1A Comment The PKT has taken advantage of the natural aftermath of revolution, which is not unduly extensive in Indonesia, and has made more progress than its efforts deserve, mainly because the resistance of the democratic forces in Indonesia is unorganized and weak despite the friends the United States has in high Government offices. In addition the international situation as regards Communism is still not fully understood by many Indonesians in important positions.

If the Masjumi and associated proups get down to work and start reaching the laborers and farmers there is still a good chance that the tide can be turned. Certainly if Moslem efforts to turn the tide fail, it is not likely that non-Moslem efforts could succeed.

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July 1950 delegates representing various so-called Federations of Indonesian Trade Unions met and organized a new consultative body of labor union leaders to be called the Badan Permusjawaratan Buruh Seluruh Indonesia (BPBSI) (Consultative Council of Indonesian Labor Organizations. The BPBSI was to replace the HISSBI.

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