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**SUPPLEMENT TO
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Activities of the Front Demokrasi Rakyat

1. To begin with it must be clarified that the Front Demokrasi Rakyat (FDR) is attempting to gain supremacy over the masses of uneducated people, Indonesian workers, farmers, youth leaders, etc., in Republican areas. This is attempted through mass agitation under the leadership of Mr. Amir Sjarifoedin, Dr. Maroeto Daroesman and Alimin. Their ideological expansion is based on the following:
 - a. Winning of support.
 - b. Influencing public opinion with the ultimate goal of gaining members in the Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat (KNIP) and obtaining a majority of the seats; toward the eventual control of the Republican cabinet's most important portfolios as well as the parliament. During March the activities of the FDR spread considerably with satisfactory results from their point of view.
2. In a large number of cities in the Republican interior a considerable amount of propaganda was spread by the FDR advocating open resistance to the present Hatta cabinet. This aggressive attitude was nurtured in many ways, but primarily by stressing that the present officials did not represent the Indonesian "proletariat" (this resolution was reached by the FDR in Poerwoerdjo, Kebomen, Solo, Madioen and Kediri).
3. The FDR has its greatest influence among the broad mass of Indonesian workers (Tani), the military, white collar workers and the youth. The mass activities under the leadership of Sjarifoedin, Dr. Maroeto Daroesman and Alimin, swept the masses to a fury.
4. Soekarno is not mentioned to any great extent, consequently both Hatta and Soekarno organized a propaganda tour during the months of May and June to counteract the FDR's influence (Soekarno's going to Sumatra for instance).
5. The urgency program of the FDR consists of the following:

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- a. Doing away with all remains of the feudal land laws; doing away with the "imperialistic stamp" of ground parcelling; reducing the number of land concessions; etc.
- b. Organization of mass activities for obtaining the above mentioned objectives, and eliminating ground rental--which would be paid for from a percentage of the production.
- c. Granting credits to farmers.
- d. Organization of an overall functioning distribution apparatus.
- e. Reduction of heavy taxes in favor of the workers and members of the Republican civil service.
- f. Setting up a cooperative system between rice workers and rice exploiters.
- g. Attempt to set up satisfactory irrigation water allotments.
- h. Recognition of the right to strike, recognition of the existing rights of trade unions to act as representatives of the workers and as protector of their interests.
- i. Encouraging the Republican government to give all working organizations a voice in production.
- j. Setting up a new cooperative system.
- k. Medical assistance for the people at reduced costs.
- l. Perfection of existing peoples' cooperatives: labor making plans to aid in unstable productive systems, distribution of transportation and credit control.
- m. Opposition to the investment of foreign capital.
- n. Maintenance of relations with, and the calling for assistance from, foreign groups for the purpose of obtaining aid and guarantees of support in the fight against capitalism in order that Indonesia shall not become a prize in the coffers of the "Neo-Imperialists".
- o. Taking the leadership of a national revolution for the accomplishment of the following objectives:
 - (1) An Indonesian people and government free of imperialistic influences.
 - (2) Reconstruction without the help of capitalistic investments, thus preventing exploitation.
 - (3) Reconstruction based on the principles of the cooperative system.
6. The preceding program contains the most important objectives of the group. The national program of the PDR in addition brings out the following points:
 - a. As soon as possible change the presidential cabinet into a parliamentary cabinet.
 - b. Set up a national economic program for improvement of the peoples' welfare under the supervision of the government.
 - c. Centralization of production and distribution of textiles and foods for the advantage of workers.
 - d. Set up an institution for controlling citizen work duty, for the state.
 - e. Taking legal actions favoring workers' agreements, trade unions, and the like for the eventual elimination of all differences between workers and employers.

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- f. Setting up a new wage scale in which there will be very little difference between maximum and minimum.
- g. Undertaking to inform the Indonesian masses so well on this program that they will be filled with a desire to bring about these changes. This will result in the KNIP being filled with persons chosen from the FDR--which stands as the leading opposition to the Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI) and the Masjoemi.
7. The latter organization, the Masjoemi, has been holding mass demonstrations in an effort to increase its influence.
8. In a recent report the FDR was opposed to the Republican export policy, the Republican distribution system, the PNI and the Masjoemi, with the result that Republican labor organizations, for the time being, were opposed to these groups.
9. This has resulted in a much clearer definition of left and right. It is especially noticeable in the break between Hatta and Sentral Organisasi Boeroeh Seloeroeh Indonesia (SOBSI), which is closely affiliated with the FDR. The controversy grew out of the economic program set up by the Republican distribution apparatus. It has increased the rift between the Republican government and the FDR.
10. The FDR does not imply that there should be a coup d'etat. It points out, as Dr. R. N. Setyadjit Soegodo clarified, that it is not necessary to create an international situation such as is now existing in Greece and Czechoslovakia. The FDR's primary targets should be "opposition to aggression from the outside which is directed against the national struggle of the Republic".
11. He feels that the economic reconstruction of the Republic will reach its highest peak through the nationalization of industry and eventual socialization. This is in conflict with Tan Malaka, who is a revolutionary.
12. A national company, states Setyadjit, "consists of various categories: workers, small ground holders, small merchants and middle men, and nationalized bourgeoisie." Most of these categories bear labels of "anti-imperialism". Most of the land owners should be made to consist of the national bourgeoisie and middle class in the Republic--which categories have the greatest political influence and should have the greatest strength, in Setyadjit's opinion. He interprets this as "the beginning of a reduction and a gradual elimination of the so-called landed class."
13. The FDR considers the youth to be the vanguard of the national revolution.
14. They speak of a production system resembling that in the USSR. This propaganda is expounded primarily to Republican workers and youth organizations. Without these groups the FDR would be practically impotent. Propaganda is spread by means of Communist lectures in the so-called "Marx Houses" urging opposition to the KNIP. The FDR further consolidates its position by taking advantage of political controversies in the PNI and the Masjoemi.
15. Here are some of the results: Splitting of the Gaboengan Pemoeda Islam Indonesia and the Pemoeda Demokrat from the Badan Kongres Pemoeda Repoeblik Indonesia, thus breaking the central trade unions into two categories, namely SOBSI and Gaboengan Serikat Boeroeh Indonesia (GASBI) respectively under the leadership of Setyadjit and Danoesoedo. Other workers under the leadership of Samsoe F. Oedaya, a follower of Tan Malaka, compose the recently set up Partai Boeroe Merdeka (PBM).
16. On the other hand, the influence of the FDR in Republican military organizations must not be underestimated inasmuch as this army to a great extent consists of elements assembled out of the above groups. In the volunteer army, the Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI) Masjarakat, one division, stands completely under the control of the FDR. It supplies the bodyguard for Mr. Sjarifoedin and is financed by the FDR.

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17. The personal power of Sjarifoedin is not entirely the result of his tour of duty as Republican premier, however, this did strengthen his personal position. The Republican Government does not have the same political outlook as Mr. Sjarifoedin. It wanted to get rid of him. As a matter of fact, an official order was given to that effect. It applied also to Mr. Setyadjit Soegondo, the would-be "Auctor Intellectualis" of the FDR.
18. Sjarifoedin is a sort of figure head, a symbol of socialism—a sort of father of the Indonesian working classes. Soetan Sjahrir is of the opinion that Mr. Sjarifoedin is under the complete influence of Setyadjit.
19. The foreign influence in the FDR comes primarily via Batavia and the Communist Party of the Netherlands (Communistische Partij Nederland). Connection with Communist organizations in Southeast Asia is carried out through Chinese groups here, primarily by way of Toeban, Soerabaja and Singapore. Before the police action, close contact was maintained between the Sajak Kiri, (FDR) and the Communist organizations in Australia. Setyadjit received directives for the trade unions via the World Federation of Trade Unions in Paris before the police action.
20. During this time the World Federation of Democratic Youth at Prague sent out much propaganda material and the Badan Kongres Pemoda Repoeblik Indonesia was in contact with the World Federation of Democratic Youth. Through Tobing, the BKARI recently received a supply of propaganda material from Prague consisting of brochures and detailed reports on the disastrous results of the Marshall Plan for Southeast Asia, especially in Indonesia, and suggesting that the plan be brought out in open debate at Marx Houses throughout Indonesia.
21. Setyadjit's time limit for setting up a radical social Indonesia on a Soviet basis is two years. He does not believe that there will be a quick outbreak of conflict between the US and the USSR. He is pleased with the "cold war" and sees the USSR winning it because of the Communist expansion with which it is being carried out.
22. On the other hand, he feels that there will be a rapid economic breakdown in the USA. The national struggle here must be brought into harmony with the international opposition to so-called "Neo-Imperialism" in order that a new radical democracy may evolve.

Confidential Plan of the FDR

23. Recently a conference was held at Jogjakarta between Mr. Sjarifoedin, Alimin, Dr. R. M. Setyadjit Soegondo, Dr. Maroeto Daroesman, Mr. TAN Ling Djieran and Mr. Moewalladi, secretary of the Perikatan Saudakar-Saudakar Indonesia (PERSSI). Moewalladi went to Jogjakarta on 17 May concerning the situation existing between PERSSI and the Republican government on the Fox contract. While there he served as representative of SOBSI in place of Soepranto.
24. In Batavia, Mr. Moewalladi is the representative of the FDR and a member of the Partai Sosialis. He stated that the FDR was politically oriented toward the situation in Albania, Bulgaria, Roumania, Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Italy and France, in which states the ideological bases of local Communism existed; and in which the groundwork was organized under the leadership of the USSR-trained personnel. They aided in such activities as the control of labor unions, education, agriculture, etc., or which (sic) the most important step was gaining control of the major labor unions, he said.
25. The FDR thus has no interest in the English and US position, and is inclined toward participation in the Central and Western European expansion scheme. The expansion program, as brought out in the previously mentioned conference at Jogjakarta, concerned Indonesia in the following way:
 - a. To set up an organization and a fifth column which will have representatives in trade unions, universities, left-oriented organizations, etc. The fifth column's leadership would be guided through the Marx Houses, such as those set up in middle Java.

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- b. By agitation and propaganda a campaign would be expanded and intensified, giving especial consideration to control of the peoples' political ideas, the condition of factory workers, minorities, a consideration of the social constructions of the USSR, the "capitalist production system", "colonial reactionaries", American war propaganda, etc. Every single person would be involved in the propaganda by means of brochures, newspapers, mass action and mass meetings.
- c. The FDR leaders are to infiltrate into key positions in labor organizations and left-oriented political and social organizations. Moreover, they are to keep alert for the possibility of infiltrating right-wing groups which now stand in opposition to the FDR, or to brand these groups as reactionaries.
- d. The giving of various positions of leadership to the leaders of the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI) so that by means of agitation and propaganda they can obtain positions in the KNIP.
- e. Formation of a new Republican parliament in conjunction with Socialists, Social Democrats, and eventually other leftist groups.
- f. The securing of key positions in high Republican offices in an attempt to gain control over the Republican police corps, the Republican foreign service, and following that, army, foreign policy and others.
- g. Speaking out against the so-called "rights against the sovereignty of the people", and finally elimination of opposition organizations and their leading officials through a Communist political apparatus which would arrest, accuse, and sentence them.
- h. Carrying out of orders which come out of Moscow and other areas under control of the USSR; to await the exact psychological moment for coordination of their policies with the USSR, with the objectives of gaining possible assistance and intervention by the USSR whenever they should desire to call on her.
- i. Execution of a coup d'etat and gaining complete control of the government; the declaration of a peoples' war in which the protection of the Soviet forces would aid in elimination of the armed opposition.
- j. Complete control would be obtained by the deportation of known anti-Communist elements from Indonesia; complete control of radio communication, press, etc.
26. For this complete program, barring foreign intervention, a time limit of two years has been set. Consequently official open activity will be avoided to forestall intervention by the "State Department" while carrying out systematically the steps of the plan.
27. The FDR expects an eventual third world war which will lead to a battle to the finish between Communists and other ideologies.
28. The USSR sees a world war as an end product of her expansion activities. She sees this war (the war in Indonesia) as one of the beginning phases.
29. The USSR intends to make West Europe and Southeast Asia defenseless through military weakening of these fronts; and through political disturbances.
30. The "State Department", according to Dr. Setyadjit, has its plans built upon the hope that the USSR will be satisfied with internal expansion. According to Mr. Moelan Moewalladi, the Russian regime has no weak points, especially not in the economic field, because of the deflation policy which has had the effect of inflation in surrounding states.
31. The FDR feels that a break will come in Italy, France, the Netherlands and England, the Trieste question in Italy being the danger point. Despite the effects of the recent Italian election, the FDR is of the opinion that the Communists in North Italy will be in a dominant position at the proper time.

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32. In Palembang, the weekly newspaper Sesatuan Indonesia is the mouthpiece of the FDR. The editor is Oemar Ismael of Batavia.
33. The contacts between the FDR and the "progressive concentration" are carried out via Roemah Sakit Pergoeroean Tinggi, a hospital in Batavia, also by Dr. I. A. Mochtar and Dr. Dermasetiawan, friends of Dr. A. K. Gani, and the head of the Dasaad Musim Concern.
34. Dr. Mochtar has had some contact with the Consulate General of India. Further, it was revealed that Mr. Raghavan, Consulate General of India, on his last visit to Jogjakarta, told a representative of the APPI, Mr. A. T. Pohan, "Your struggle is no more in Jogjakarta, but here in the territories controlled by the Dutch." He advised the APPI to ignore the non-violence struggle and invited the leaders to call on him at his dwelling in Batavia.
35. Three leaders of the APPI were arrested in Cheribon by the military police of Cheribon and consequently were unable to make the trip to Batavia. Other leaders were arrested for subversive activities. Thus it has become difficult for this group to do much, and it has tried to stay clear of NEFIS and allied organizations.

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