

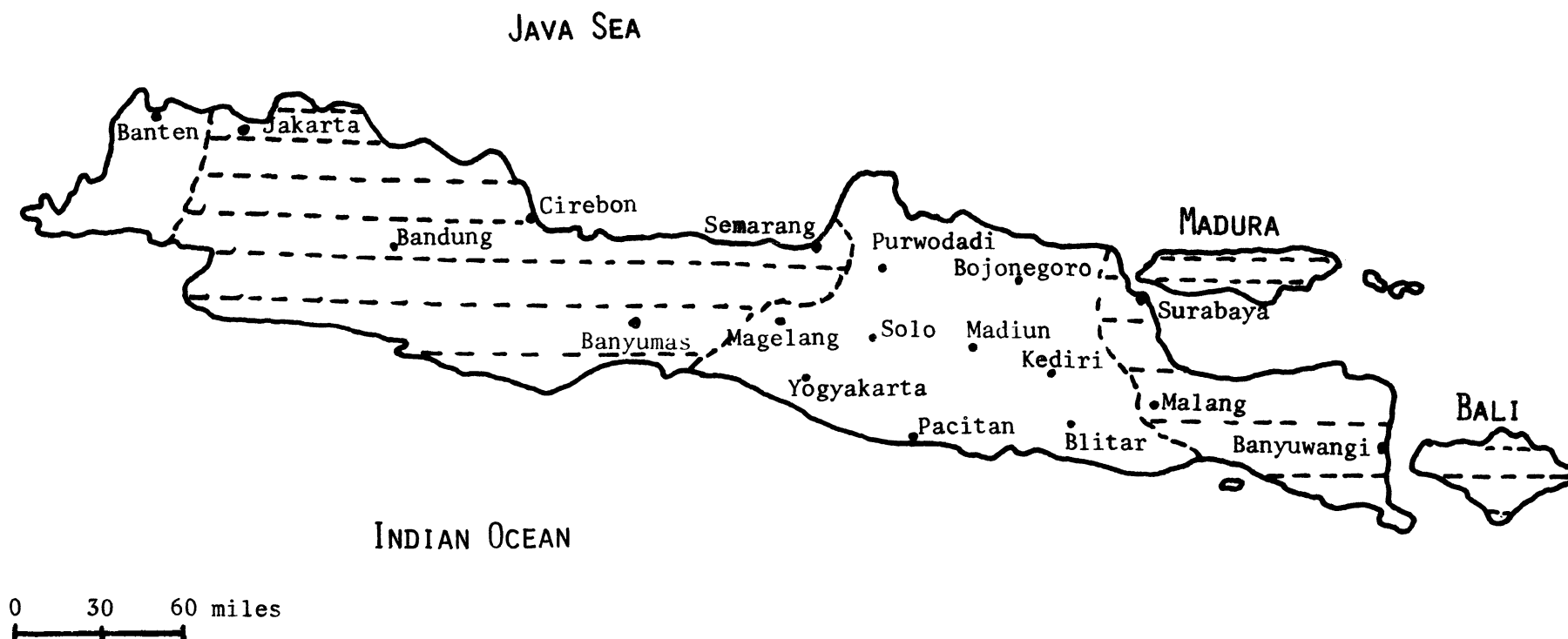


JAVA AFTER THE RENVILLE AGREEMENT (JANUARY 1948)

Dutch occupied areas 
Renville cease-fire lines 



THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF THE MADIUN AFFAIR

David Charles Anderson

In this essay I shall examine the Madiun Affair of September 1948 --arguably the most serious internal political and social crisis the Republic of Indonesia faced during the revolutionary period--not from the usual standpoint of national politics and international relations, but from the provincial perspectives of East and Central Java. By relegating the attitudes of the national leaders in the capital Yogyakarta to the background and focusing the discussion more directly on what local military groups in the Javanese hinterland saw as the real issues and on the numerous pressures with which they had to contend, a picture of the affair emerges radically different from that normally presented. A regional approach highlights not only the steadily deteriorating social and economic conditions prevailing in the Republic at the time, which largely determined the environment in which actors at the provincial and national levels maneuvered during the Affair, but also the depth of opposition among the ethnic Javanese units to the Hatta government's military reorganization program, an opposition which had a decisive bearing on their attitudes to the September crisis.

Economic and social conditions in the Javanese hinterland had worsened appreciably as a result of the First Military Action of July-August 1947 and the subsequent harsh Renville cease-fire agreement of January 1948. Stripped by the Renville settlement of much of its agricultural wealth and centers of population in East and West Java, the Republic was left with the central portion of the island, for the most part a food deficiency area, into which an estimated six million refugees had poured after the First Action. Inevitably, their presence taxed the slender resources of the already overcrowded hinterland and aggravated class and communal tensions. Moreover, the commercial life of the Republic had been brought to a virtual standstill by the disruption of the internal marketing system, the loss of all deep water ports, and by the continued Dutch maritime blockade. These developments compounded long-standing shortages of essential commodities and caused a catastrophic inflation in republican areas. So precarious was the situation in Java in 1948 that many observers feared that any delaying tactics by the Dutch in the political discussions about to begin under the auspices of the United Nations would precipitate the collapse of the Republic from within.

The Hatta government's military reorganization program--unveiled soon after Renville--intensified the conflicts over power and ideology which had been going on within the republican armed forces ever since the beginning of the revolution. Determined opposition to the reform program emanated principally from the Javanese units in Surakarta and Kediri, which were disgruntled that a clique of socially privileged staff officers--drawn mostly from the cosmopolitan cities of Indonesia and overwhelmingly from Dutch educational and military backgrounds--should have had their positions in the General Staff confirmed at the expense of the army commander, General Sudirman (a Javanese), who was allotted the perfunctory role of implementing the policies which they

and Defense Minister Hatta had agreed upon. The new program was as much in the interests of former colonial army (KNIL) officers like the recently appointed chief of staff of the armed forces, Air Commodore S. Suryadarma (of noble Javanese parentage in Banyuwangi) and his two deputies, Colonel R. Hidayat Martaatmaja (a Sundanese), and Colonel T. B. Simatupang (a Toba Batak Christian), who were keen to improve the quality and operational efficiency of the field units, as of the government, which was concerned to reduce the heavy economic and fiscal burdens of the wartime military establishment and to eliminate sections of the armed forces suspected of being actual or potential centers of opposition Socialist party influence. This tactical alliance might not have lasted very long had it not been underpinned by the presence of the largely ethnic Sundanese Siliwangi troops brought over to Central and Eastern Java under the terms of Renville. The Hatta cabinet and its military associates in the Defense Ministry conferred elite status on these Siliwangi forces and, on the basis of their massive deployment around the capital and in other politically sensitive areas of the Republic, raised the former West Java commander, Major General A. H. Nasution, to the new post of deputy commander of the Mobile Forces under Sudirman, thereby diluting still further the Javanese complexion the high command had acquired during the early days of the revolution. Not only were the units in Surakarta and Kediri effectively excluded from the pyramid of power and preferment evolving at the center, but they could not feel entirely secure in their own positions in the regions when the Siliwangi troops had been assigned general policing duties within the Republic. In addition, the regional Javanese forces were seriously alarmed at the ideological direction in which the cabinet and its military supporters appeared to be taking the armed forces. The provincial units had always stressed the populist nature of the revolutionary army, an army closely bound up with the rural and small town communities of hinterland Java, and relying on reserves of fighting spirit and mass support to secure complete independence from Western colonialism. This conception, however, was threatened by the priority the military reformers attached to the creation of a small and highly disciplined cadre army as the first step towards the goal of a federal army of the United States of Indonesia and as an essential ingredient to any final diplomatic settlement with the Dutch.

The Solo Crisis

Opposition to the government's reform measures was expressed most strongly in the Central Javanese residency of Surakarta--some forty miles to the northeast of the republican capital Yogyakarta--by units included within or closely attached to the Fourth Division (Senopati) under the leadership of Major General Sutarto.¹ The Surakarta region

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1. Sutarto had worked for a time as a typesetter in Semarang. In the 1930s he became chairman of the Madiun branch of the Suluh Pemuda Indonesia (SPI, Torch of Indonesian Youth). The SPI was a radical offshoot of the Club Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Education Club), founded by Hatta and Syahrir with the idea of training a select cadre of nationalist leaders who would take the places of those removed from political circulation by the colonial authorities. In 1935, while attending a meeting commemorating the fourth anniversary of the SPI in Malang, he was arrested by the Dutch. During the Japanese occupation he served as a company commander with the principal homeguard organization Pembela Tanah Air (Peta, Fatherland Defense Corps) in Wonogiri, a few miles to the south of Solo. Not long afterwards, Sutarto and Kusmanto were active in the formation of an anti-Japanese cell in Wonogiri known as the Ikatan Putera Tanah Air Sejati

occupied an ambivalent position in the Republic, being, on the one hand, an integral part culturally and ethnically of the Javanese center, but, on the other, far enough away from the capital to constitute an independent entity in its own right. Just as Yogyakarta was the seat of the republican government from the beginning of 1946 until the end of the revolution, so the city of Solo became the natural haven of military and political groups opposed to the central administration.

In March 1948, Nasution's memorandum on the future reorganization of the armed forces had recommended that the Senopati Division and all the *laskar* (irregular forces) stationed in the Surakarta region, together with the regular army regiment in the neighboring Pati residency, be regrouped into a single divisional entity with its headquarters in Solo. Nothing came of this proposal because there was no agreement on the delicate question of who should be entrusted with the leadership of the new division. However, under the reform measures publicly announced in May, the only military leader in the area with sufficient prestige to command such a consolidated unit--Major General Sutarto--was placed on the non-active service list and the forces which he might have led were to be merged into an independent brigade formation operating directly under the army high command in Yogyakarta.²

The local reaction to these far reaching proposals was not long in making itself known. On May 20, 1948, an impressive military tattoo was staged in Solo by several heavily armed battallions of the Pemuda Sosialis Indonesia (Pesindo, Indonesian Socialist Youth) and the Tentara Laut Republik Indonesia (TLRI, Indonesian Republican Marines). This parade, timed to coincide with the celebrations being held in the city to mark the fortieth anniversary of the Indonesian nationalist movement, was an unmistakable gesture of defiance to the Hatta government and its policies.³ Motions were passed affirming support for Sutarto's continued leadership of the Senopati Division, and the demonstration ended with a demand that the cabinet drop the reorganization proposals altogether, not only because they were irrelevant at a time when the country faced pressing domestic and international problems, but also because they threatened the success of the independence movement, since, if adopted, they would undermine the unity and democratic nature of the armed forces in the Solo region.⁴

The deep-seated hostility with which the Senopati forces greeted the reform measures of 1948 can partly be explained by the high degree of autonomy attained by military groups in and around Solo during the

(IPTAS, Union of True Sons of the Fatherland), which was open to all homeguard members of platoon commander rank and below. Sedjarah Militer Kodam VII/Diponegoro, Sedjarah TNI-AD Kodam VII/Diponegoro: Sirnaning Jakso Katon Gapuraning Ratu (Semarang: Jajasan Penerbit Diponegoro, 1968), p. 16. Following the Proclamation of Independence, Sutarto played a leading role in the establishment of the Angkatan Muda Tentara (Young Generation Army) in Solo, which contained former members of the IPTAS as well as other radical youth groups outside the Peta. Sutarto seems to have been a quiet and reserved person with a passionate interest in the wayang (Javanese puppet theater), yet a leader capable of evoking strong emotional loyalties among his followers. Merdeka (Solo), July 4, 1948.

2. Koesnodiprodjo, ed., Himpunan Undang2, Peraturan2, Penetapan2 Pemerintah Republik Indonesia 1948 (Jakarta: S.K. Seno, 1951), pp. 564, 570.
3. A. H. Nasution, Tentara Nasional Indonesia (Jakarta: Seruling Masa, 1968), II, p. 184.
4. Suara Ibu Kota, May 21, 1948.

early days of the revolution. Leaders of the Japanese-founded Peta, such as Sutarto and Suadi from Wonogiri and Sunarto from Solo, had coerced the Japanese military authorities into surrendering huge quantities of arms and other war materiel; in other cases, former members of Japanese-era paramilitary groups had secured their supplies by attacking police and army posts and making off with what they could find. While an assortment of *pemuda* (youth) groups were busy assuming control over government offices and communications centers in Solo, others spread the revolution beyond the confines of the city by seizing the sugar plantations and rice-mills around Klaten and Sragen. Armed members of the Peta, the Angkatan Pemuda Indonesia (API, Young Generation of Indonesia), and the Angkatan Muda Republik Indonesia (AMRI, Young Generation of the Indonesian Republic) rapidly consolidated their control over all civil and military installations during the early revolution, mainly because of Solo's fortuitous geographical position outside the path of the Allied advance from Semarang and also beyond the effective reach of the republican government in Yogyakarta.

The Badan Keamanan Rakyat (BKR, People's Security Committees) established in the Surakarta residency not long after the Proclamation of Independence were made up of veterans of Japanese-period military and paramilitary bodies such as the Peta, the Heihō, the Seinendan, and even of the Dutch colonial army. Initially heading the BKR in Solo itself was a former Peta battalion commander, Mulyadi Joyomartono of the Barisan Pelopor (Vanguard Corps), one of the more powerful political and military groups in the city at the time.⁵ Mulyadi, however, was not in office long before he was replaced by a former KNIL officer, Gusti Kangjeng Pangeran Purbonegoro, who owed his rise to prominence partly to his superior military know-how, but mainly to his social connections with those civilian groups in the city responsible for making the BKR nominations.⁶ As a leading member of the Solonese royal family, Purbonegoro's identification with the feudal cause became even more pronounced when, early in October 1945, he proceeded to pack the staff positions in the newly formed republican army Tentara Keamanan Rakyat (TKR, People's Security Army) with retainers from the Sunanate royal household, many of whom had KNIL backgrounds. His appointment as

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5. Bangun, May 29, 1948. Late in 1945 this Barisan Pelopor (a continuation of the Japanese-period organization of that name) became the Barisan Banteng (Wild Buffalo Corps), with its strength concentrated in the Surakarta region. Its leaders included Dr. Muwardi, a former BP chief in Jakarta; Sudiro, earlier Muwardi's deputy in the BP; and Mulyadi Joyomartono, who later featured as one of the unsuccessful candidates in the election of the army commander in November 1945. Though often later identified with the Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI, Indonesian National party), the Barisan Banteng was in fact much closer in outlook to the Central Javanese Peta and saw itself more as a struggle organization than as a political grouping. Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, Java in a Time of Revolution: Occupation and Resistance 1944-1946 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972), pp. 262-63.
 6. Gusti Kangjeng Pangeran Purbonegoro was a son of Susuhunan Pakubuwono X of Surakarta. He studied at the Breda Military Academy for cavalry officers and also at the Saint Cyr Army College in France. Upon returning from abroad, he enlisted as a captain in the KNIL and later took command of his father's palace troops. He was even considered as a possible Peta battalion commander during the Japanese occupation, though it is unclear whether he actually became one. Harry J. Benda, The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation 1942-1945 (The Hague and Bandung: van Hoeve, 1958), p. 138. His younger brother, B.K.P.H. Jatikusumo, was appointed army chief of staff in the 1948 military reorganization program.

military leader was an affront to the radical sentiment that had been brewing in Solo ever since the outbreak of the revolution and his position proved to be no more lasting than Mulyadi's.

Towards the end of October 1945, an emergency meeting of all TKR and laskar commanders in the Surakarta region was called to discuss the future nature and aims of the military forces in the city. The main issue raised was whether the TKR should form a military dictatorship, a feudal army, or a people's army. An election for the post of divisional commander followed between Purbonegoro, Sutarto and Sunarto, in which Sutarto was pronounced the winner by acclamation. Sutarto's success was not only due to his reputation as a prominent anti-Japanese leader, but also to the connections he enjoyed with the wider pemuda movement in Solo through his influence in the Angkatan Muda Tentara. Sutarto's election as commander of the Solonese TKR division marked the beginning of a process whereby other youthful and radically minded former Peta officers, some with personal followings as large as Sutarto's, moved into positions of importance within the official army. Thus, Achmad Fajar and Mursito, both originally from the Wonogiri Peta battalion, acted as joint chiefs of staff to the TKR unit, and Suadi and Sunarto commanded its First and Second Regiments respectively.⁷

As the election for the TKR divisional commander showed, the revolution in the Surakarta area was as much a social as it was a national movement. Under the stewardship of Sutarto and Suadi the regular army's identification with the social aspirations in the region was vigorously developed. During the early part of 1946 the Solonese official army supported the campaign being mounted by a variety of political and military groups in the city to end the privileged position of the two local royal houses--the Sunanate and the Mangkunegaran--and to replace them with an administration more in keeping with the revolutionary times. The authority of both houses had been undermined by the growth of the plantation economy, the opening up of communications with the more modernized parts of Java, and more recently by the dislocations of the Japanese occupation.⁸ They had long since forfeited any title to rule and, in the eyes of the pemuda, appeared as decrepit symbols of the old feudal order which it was the business of the revolution to eliminate.

Having neither the traditional sanctions of authority, nor real support among "moderate" groups active in the Komite Nasional Indonesia (KNI, Indonesian National Committees), the Solonese rulers looked to the central government to help them deal with the local pemuda. Although the Socialist Party, which dominated the cabinet, realized the dangers of attempting to shore up two obviously discredited feudal institutions, it nevertheless felt obliged to offer the monarchist cause some limited support. This hazardous rescue operation was undertaken partly to prevent the Persatuan Perjuangan (Struggle Front), the principal opposition federation in the Republic, from making political capital out of the turbulent situation in the city and undermining the cabinet's efforts to reach a diplomatic compromise with the Dutch; and partly to forestall the triumph of social revolution in Solo and thus the entrenchment of local military forces which could pose a radical challenge to Yogyakarta. At first the government played a wait-and-see game with the radical groups in Solo, hoping that they would run out of

7. Sedjarah Militer Kodam VII, Diponegoro, Appendices.

8. Anderson, Java, pp. 348-52.

steam or become weakened by internal divisions. However, as the unity of the anti-monarchical movement held firm, and as the district councils in Surakarta one by one declared their independence from the royal houses, the cabinet came to consider that only desperate measures could save the total collapse of the Solonese principalities. Accordingly, in May 1946, a number of political figures closely involved in the anti-feudal campaign, including Mulyadi and Dr. Muwardi of the Barisan Banteng, were arrested.

The gamble, however, failed to have its desired effect, partly because the government underestimated the strength of radical sentiment in Solo, and partly because of the intervention of General Sudirman, the commander of the armed forces, on the side of the oppositional forces in the city. Sudirman's move was undoubtedly intended to counteract the steady accumulation of government power at the national level as evidenced by the detention three months earlier of leading figures in the Persatuan Perjuangan, plans to enlarge the activities of the Staf Pendidikan Politik Tentara (SPPT, Army Political Education Staff), and rumors that the defense minister kept a blacklist of army leaders who might find themselves imprisoned at some point in the future. Sudirman instructed the TKR in Solo to secure the release of all political prisoners, using the pretext that it was necessary to restore national unity to deal with an imminent Allied attack from Semarang. He also announced that there were to be no more arrests in the city unless specifically authorized by the army high command.

Sudirman's action not only sealed the fate of the Solonese royal houses but also buttressed the autonomous position of the TKR in the city. In June 1946, the royal administrations were formally dissolved and replaced by the Pemerintah Daerah Rakyat dan Tentara (PDR&T, People's and Army Territorial Government) in which Sutarto, as the local army commander, was given control over a legislative body on which most of the economic, social, and political interests of the Surakarta region were represented. So firmly entrenched were the Solonese units within the PDR&T that subsequent attempts by the central government to make up lost ground met with total failure. In the 1946 military reorganization program, for example, Major General Sudiro--a conservative TKR divisional leader from Kediri--was nominated by the center to take over the Solonese command, but the idea was quickly dropped when it became apparent that the local units would answer to no one but Sutarto. Rather than risk further trouble, the government acknowledged the de facto situation in Solo and later confirmed Sutarto as commander of the Senopati Division with the rank of major general.

Apart from wishing to maintain their autonomous status, institutionalized in the PDR&T, the Solonese military had other reasons for opposing the Hatta cabinet's reform measures of 1948. Not the least important was the relatively high concentration of laskar groupings in the Surakarta region and the close ties many of them enjoyed with the official army units. Being a generally prosperous area with a good deal of fertile *sawah* (wet rice) land, the residency attracted thousands of refugees and military groups from the forward republican positions around Semarang and from East Java after the First Action. The TLRI marine units in the region were far larger and better armed, and their ethnic composition more uniformly Javanese than those in East Java, where a large proportion were of Madurese and Outer Island extraction.⁹ Moreover, Solo housed the headquarters of Pesindo and there

9. Semdam VIII/Brawidjaja, *Sedjarah Militer Kodam VIII/Brawidjaja: Sam Karya Bhirawa Anoraga* (Malang: Semdam VIII, 1968), pp. 64-66. Nasution (*TNI*, II, p. 210)

was a liberal sprinkling of other leftist forces close by in both the Pati residency and the Blora-Cepu-Randublatung triangle to the north-east. During the fighting against the Dutch, some of the TLRI and Pesindo units had attached themselves directly to the Senopati regiments, while other laskar like the Barisan Pemberontak Republik Indonesia (BPRI, Insurgent Corps of the Indonesian Republic), the Barisan Banteng, and the Islamic Hizbullah (Army of God) troops were grouped within the Twenty-fourth Brigade of the TNI Masyarakat (Community Section of the regular army), which operated under the tactical direction of the Solonese division.

The irregular forces, perhaps more than the official army leaders, viewed the proposed reorganization as a direct threat. These laskar feared the prospect of large-scale demobilization--to which their lower education and military training made them especially vulnerable--not only because it would mean the loss of considerable social prestige and influence within the local community, but even where there were guaranteed alternative sources of employment available, nothing could equal the political and psychological attraction of being directly involved in the struggle for national independence. Few could see the point of returning large numbers of experienced soldiers to the community, or channeling them into "passive" civilian occupations, when further military encounter with the Dutch was a certainty. In addition, the marine regiments of Lieutenant Colonels A. Yadau and Suyoto steadfastly resisted all attempts to incorporate them within the new territorial formations of the regular army (the Sub-Territorial Districts, or STDs), where their activities would be more closely scrutinized by Yogyakarta.¹⁰

Undoubtedly, the resolve of the Senopati and irregular units to oppose the post-Renville reform package was stiffened by the presence of the main opposition grouping, the Front Demokrasi Rakyat (FDR, People's Democratic Front), whose headquarters was in Solo. From the end of February 1948 an implicit understanding seems to have been reached between the Senopati forces, who suspected that the military reforms would unduly increase the power of the Defense Ministry and possibly destroy what chances the Republic had of a military victory over the Dutch, and the FDR coalition of socialist-oriented parties and allied groups, who sought to make political capital out of the dissension the cabinet's policies were causing, in order to prepare the way for their own return to office. There were close ties of friendship between the Senopati leaders and some of the FDR luminaries, and support for the political opposition within the division was reckoned to

assessed the overall strength of the TLRI at eighty thousand, while a more conservative estimate of twenty-seven thousand is mentioned in Kementerian Pertahanan, "Sedjarah Singkat Angkatan Laut Republik Indonesia," Perwira (November 1950), pp. 50-52.

10. Nasution's scheme for remodeling the republican field units involved the creation of a two-tier national army composed of mobile brigades and territorial STD units. The mobile forces were primarily intended to harass the enemy, over-extend his lines of communication, and, eventually, surround his positions until a surrender was negotiated. The STDs, on the other hand, were to be less well armed and assigned the "passive" defensive role of mobilizing popular support for the war effort in their particular regions. In theory, both formations came under Sudirman's Battle Command with Maj. Gen. Nasution placed in charge of the mobile brigades and the STDs entrusted to Col. R. M. Susalit and his deputy, Col. R. Jokosuyono. Koesnodiprodjo, ed., Himpunan 1948, p. 567.

be substantial;¹¹ but there was never any doubt that on such a vital issue as military reform, the stance the Senopati adopted required no prompting from their civilian allies. After all, the Senopati had achieved its autonomous status in 1946 largely as a result of its own efforts and against the will of a cabinet dominated by the Socialist party, and it was no less determined in 1948 to preserve that autonomy, with or without FDR support. The Senopati and laskar leaders, partly because of their own modest social and educational backgrounds, and also because of the strong historical and cultural rivalry between Solo and Yogyakarta, had never considered themselves (nor, indeed, were they accepted) as a fully legitimate part of the military constellation at the national level, and could, therefore, afford to adopt a permanent radical position vis-à-vis the government in Yogyakarta irrespective of its political composition.

Not surprisingly, therefore, the military leaders in Surakarta elected to ignore Nasution's original reform proposal and, early in June 1948, grouped themselves into a new formation called the *Pertempuran Panembahan Senopati* (PPS, Senopati Battle Command) under Major General Sutarto.¹² This "reform" was far from being the substantive

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11. It was fairly well known that the Senopati headquarters in Solo was furnished with huge wall paintings of Marx and Lenin and even the divisional flag had a red star superimposed over a garuda eagle. R. Jokosuyono, appointed by Amir Syarifuddin in 1946 to head the laskar coordination branch of the Defense Ministry (Biro Perjuangan), had been before the war a member of the SPI in Madiun of which Sutarto was chairman. Moreover, the Senopati commander was for a short time a close confidant of Alimin, the pre-war communist leader. *Merdeka*, July 4, 1948. Unlike the other Central Javanese regular army units, the Senopati had a strong and active SPPT section headed by a Sumatran, Lt. Col. Samsudin Musanif, who, along with other Political Education officers in the division, had been a veteran of the Boven Digul camp for political prisoners in the colonial period. *Rapportage Indonesië*, CMI Series: "Interrogatie Rapport van de ex-Generaal Major Didi Kartasamita," dated October 30, 1948, in the *Archief van het Ministerie van Overzeese Gebiedsdeelen* at the Department of Home Affairs in The Hague. (Hereinafter cited as *Rapportage Indonesië*).
12. *Sedjarah Militer Kodam VII, Diponegoro*, p. 135. The line-up of the PPS, which took its title from the legendary founder of the Mataram empire at the end of the sixteenth century, was as follows:

Commander	Maj. Gen. Sutarto (Senopati Div. comdr. Solo)
<u>Fifth Brigade</u>	
Leader	Lt. Col. Suadi (ex-comdr. Twenty-sixth Regt. Solo)
Bn. Suharto	ex-Peta & TKR, bn. comdr. Solo
Bn. Sudigdo	bn. comdr. Solo
Bn. Sunitiyoso	ex-Peta & TKR, bn. comdr. Klaten
Bn. Slamet Riyadi	ex-Peta & TKR, bn. comdr. Pacitan
<u>Sixth Brigade</u>	
Leader	Lt. Col. S. Sudiarto (ex-comdr. Twenty-fourth Regt. Kendal)
Bn. Purnawi	ex-Peta & TKR, bn. comdr. Sukorejo/Weleri
Bn. Yusmin	ex-Peta & TKR, bn. comdr. Purwodadi/Kaliwungu
Bn. Kusmanto	ex-Peta & TKR, bn. comdr. Solo
<u>Seventh Brigade</u>	
Leader	Lt. Col. A. Yadau (ex-TLRI Bde. comdr.)
Bn. Suyadi	
Bn. Marjono	
Bn. Sutarno	
Bn. Esmara Sugeng	
<u>Eighth Brigade</u>	

change that Yogyakarta had in mind: the numbers of men, the leadership positions, and the distribution of weapons among the PPS units were much the same as they had been in the old Senopati. The TLRI, Pesindo, and other laskar forces did not disappear from view, but formed separate units within the PPS. Indeed, so many groups were included within the PPS that hardly any remained for the territorial assignments which the reformers insisted were necessary. Only from Lieutenant Colonel Hollan Iskandar's Twenty-fourth Brigade TNI Masyarakat were significant numbers mustered out and set to work on civilian projects in the agricultural and plantation areas of the Solo valley.¹³

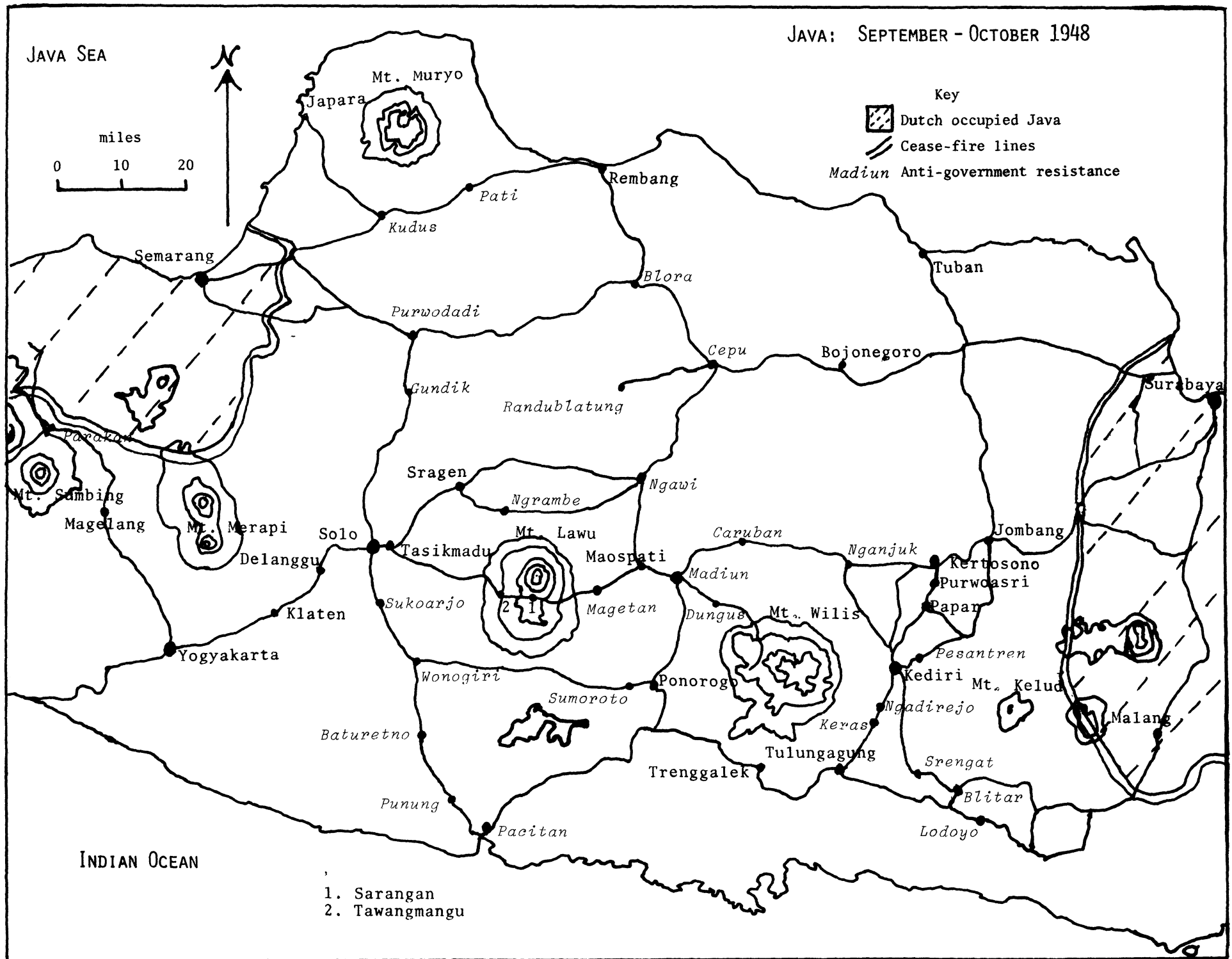
In the post-Renville period, however, a number of factors made the Senopati's resistance to "rationalization" decidedly less secure than it had been in the early days of the revolution. First, the division's relative remoteness in the Surakarta region was eroded by the contraction of the Republic's territorial boundaries and by the deployment in Central Java of the pro-government Siliwangi forces. Reorganization did not promise to undermine the integral unity of the West Javanese forces--formally assembled within a loose catch-all formation known as the Kesatuan Reserve Umum (KRU, General Reserve Unit)--as much as it

Leader	Lt. Col. Suyoto (ex-TLRI Bde. comdr.)
<u>Ninth Brigade</u>	
Leader	Lt. Col. Hollan Iskandar (ex-comdr. Twenty-fourth Bde. TNI Masyarakat)
Bn. Jalimin	ex-bn. comdr. in Fifth Regt. (BPRI) Twenty-fourth Bde. TNI Masyarakat)
Bn. Munawar	ex-comdr. Sixth Regt. (Hizbullah) Twenty-fourth Bde. TNI Masyarakat)
Bn. Suwitoyo	ex-bn. comdr. in Fourth Regt. (Pesindo) Twenty-fourth Bde. TNI Masyarakat)
Bn. Sudrajat	ex-bn. comdr. in First Regt. (Laskar Rakyat) Twenty-fourth Bde. TNI Masyarakat)

Ibid., Appendices.

13. Merdeka, July 5 and 6, 1948. The partial demobilization of the Twenty-fourth Brigade TNI Masyarakat was helped not only by the general availability of alternative civilian work in the Solo region, but also by the fact that some of its members had already been disarmed following the BPRI affair at the end of March 1948. The origins of this affair lay in the disorderly activities of the brigade's Fifth (BPRI) Regiment from West Java under the leadership of Lt. Col. Marjuki. Ever since its arrival in the Surakarta region, Marjuki's unit had engaged in various excesses, many of them directed at the local Chinese, who were a favorite scapegoat in the worsening social and economic climate after Renville. Chinese houses in Solo, whether occupied or not, were taken over by the laskar, and Indonesian refugee families moved into them. Keng Po, April 16, 1948. On March 27, in an attempt to check this activity, the Tentara Pelajar (TP, Student Army), along with the Military Police under Col. Sunaryo and odd detachments of the state police, laid siege to the BPRI headquarters in the city. After two days, the defenders finally gave in and handed over their arms and equipment. Although Marjuki managed to evade capture on this occasion, he was later sentenced to death by Slamet Riyadi. Sedjarah Militer Kodam VII, Diponegoro, p. 128. In addition, pro-government units in the city used the affair to detain Lt. Col. Anwar Santoso, commander of Regiment 2 (Barisan Banteng) in the Twenty-fourth Brigade TNI Masyarakat. Pacific, April 14, 1948. Significantly, General Sudirman endorsed the TP action by pointing out that the government had not moved against any particular ideological group, but only against those who were disturbing the peace. Merdeka, April 8, 1948.

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threatened that of the ethnic Javanese units; indeed, after the reforms the Siliwangi was in a much stronger position to uphold "law and order" in the regions and to take a direct hand in political developments at the national level.¹⁴ With the stationing of Lieutenant Colonel Sadi-kin's Second Siliwangi Brigade in areas as close to Solo as Tasikmadu and Srambatan, the reformers at the center were better able than at any time in the past to control the course of local events. Second, there was no longer the same constellation of political parties in Solo which had successfully defied the Yogyakarta government and helped secure the Senopati's independent status within the PDR&T. Some of these groups, like the Islamic party Masyumi and the PNI, which had earlier backed the anti-monarchical campaign in the city, were now leading components of the Hatta cabinet; others like the Barisan Banteng and the recently formed Gerakan Revolusi Rakyat (GRR, People's Revolutionary Movement), while opposing the cabinet's policy of political discussions with the Dutch, seemed prepared nevertheless to give the government conditional support.¹⁵

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14. Initially, the bulk of the thirty-five thousand Siliwangi troops evacuated from West Java under the terms of the Renville agreement were organized into two main brigades. Included within Lt. Col. Kusno Utomo's First Brigade, based in the Yogyakarta region, were battalions commanded by Majors Kemal Idris, A. Kosasih, Daeng, and Achmad Wiranatakusumah. The Second Brigade, in Surakarta under Lt. Col. Sadikin, contained battalions led by Majors Rukman, Umar, Sambas, and Sentot Iskandardinata. There were also: a Siliwangi reserve brigade in Magelang under Lt. Col. Eddy Sukardi; four thousand West Javanese forces in Madiun; a number of detachments in the important oil-producing region of Cepu; and still others scattered about the Pati and Bojonegoro residencies. Sedjarah Militer Kodam VI/ Siliwangi, Siliwangi dari masa ke masa (Jakarta: Fakta Mahjuma, 1968), pp. 140-41. Nearly all of the West Javanese troops stationed in the Republic belonged to the regular army. This was partly because irregular forces like the Hizbullah and the Laskar Rakyat (People's Militia) had ignored the Renville cease-fire provisions and remained behind in West Java, and also because other laskar troops formally attached to the Siliwangi were mustered out of the army soon after the evacuation had been completed. At the end of March the republican government asked the Dutch authorities to allow demobilized soldiers of West Javanese origin, who were temporarily accommodated in the Brigade Pembangunan (Development Brigade), to return to their province, where they could be gainfully employed in community development activities. Antara, April 1, 1948. Following the May reforms, the remaining Siliwangi troops were grouped into the KRU under Dr. Mustopo, the former head of the now defunct Territorial Commando Jawa Timur (East Javanese Territorial Command). Mustopo, however, was little more than a figurehead in the new arrangement which left the West Javanese units and leadership positions substantially unchanged. The Siliwangi staff officer Lt. Col. A. J. Mokoginta was selected as chief of staff of the KRU, and Kusno Utomo, Sadikin, and Sukardi all became field commanders of the reserve unit. Lt. Col. Prayudi, a regular army regimental commander from East Java, was appointed city commander of Yogyakarta, but, since he was a completely unknown quantity in Central Java, it could be safely assumed that he would lean heavily on the government and the West Javanese military leaders for support. Koesnodiprodjo, ed., Himpunan 1948, p. 569.
 15. The GRR was formed in June 1948 under the general chairmanship of the former Indonesian Workers' party (PBI) leader, Syamsu Harya Udaya, and had its main focus of political activity in the Surakarta region. The GRR's constituent parties included: Partai Rakyat (People's party), Partai Rakyat Jelata (Poor People's party), Angkatan Komunis Muda (Young Generation Communists), Partai Wanita Rakyat (People's Women's party), Persatuan Invaliden Indonesia (Union of Disabled People of Indonesia), and the Laskar Rakyat Jakarta Raya (People's

The Siliwangi forces soon became the object of much discontent in the Surakarta residency, since they were quartered in areas which had barely begun to recover from the sudden influx of war refugees from Semarang and East Java and were being further pressed by the effects of the Dutch economic blockade. The burden of the Siliwangi's weighty presence communicated itself directly to the Senopati units because they had homes and families in the areas most affected. In addition, an undisguised ethnic and cultural friction existed between the local "pure" Javanese forces and the mainly Sundanese and Outer Island Siliwangi troops. This tended to be aggravated by striking differences of style and temperament between the two army units: the Senopati was a heterogeneous collection of Peta and irregular elements which shared a radical populist outlook and attached great importance to their close ties with the local communities in the Surakarta area; the Siliwangi, on the other side, was inclined to be elitist, authoritarian, and conservative, largely because it had many more officers with upper class, cosmopolitan backgrounds and a far higher concentration of educated personnel within its ranks. So well did cultural and ethnic differences and economic difficulties reinforce each other than the local Javanese communities and units looked upon the Siliwangi as something of a foreign occupation force in the region--an impression that gained further credibility when the West Javanese troops were assigned to guard key industries in order to prevent petty pilfering and to be on general stand-by in case of labor unrest.

The strained relations between the Surakarta units and the Siliwangi threatened to explode into open violence when, on July 2, 1948, the PPS commander Sutarto was gunned down in the grounds of his home in Solo and died shortly afterwards.¹⁶ His followers not unnaturally suspected that the assassination was part and parcel of the government's strategy to force the Senopati into adopting the proposed military reorganization. This assessment gained currency from the uncompromisingly tough statement on the day of the shooting by the recently

Militia of Greater Jakarta). In addition, there was the Partai Buruh Merdeka (Independent Workers' party), a revised version of the old Partai Buruh Indonesia (Indonesian Workers' party) and headed by Dr. Muwardi of the Barisan Banteng. The GRR opposed industrial strikes as long as the country still faced a critical situation vis-à-vis the Dutch and was in favor of a neutral foreign policy at least until Indonesia had secured its independence. Pacific, June 8, 1948. By September 1, the GRR's Central Council was demanding an end to all diplomatic discussions with the Dutch, the mobilization of popular resistance in the factories and the armed forces, improvements in internal distribution to satisfy the needs of soldiers, peasants and workers, proper care for the victims of rationalization, and the immediate release of all political prisoners, including the "national communist" leader, Tan Malaka. Antara, September 4, 1948.

16. Merdeka, July 5, 1948. The Solonese leftist leaders suspected the murder was the work of the Barisan Banteng or the GRR. Alimin, however, was more circumspect and warned his followers not to be provoked by what he termed an "excess" of the national revolution perpetrated by groups that opposed Indonesia's independence. Ibid., July 4, 1948. Later, Sudirman claimed, on the basis of a report prepared by the military attorney general, that Sutarto had been shot either by his own men, or by FDR groups with an interest in fomenting trouble in the city. Hidup, October 7, 1948. Other reports mentioned a plan by Siliwangi members to kidnap Sutarto and hold him prisoner, which for some reason never went into effect. Rapportage Indonesië, Nefis Series: Signalement no. 1, dated August 20, 1948.

installed Solo city commander, Major Achmadi of the Tentara Pelajar (Student Army), who declared that the government's patience with stubborn opponents of reorganization had run out and that appropriate action would be taken against those forces which continued to ignore the May reforms.¹⁷ On September 7, there was a mysterious kidnapping in the city involving nearly all the officers and some of the men of Lieutenant Colonel Yadau's TLRI Brigade, together with four staff officers from the other marine unit under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Suyoto. Such evidence as there was pointed to the complicity of the West Javanese forces in the affair, since the detainees were taken to the Srambatan base manned by the Rukman Battalion of the Second Siliwangi Brigade.¹⁸

The Senopati leaders, not without good reason, considered that an indifferent response to these developments would soon lead to the disintegration of the PPS. Accordingly, on September 9, Suadi, who had assumed command of the division following Sutarto's murder, sought and obtained permission from Sudirman to carry out a full enquiry into the abductions in the Solo area and to take such steps as were necessary to end the confusion. Lieutenant Colonel Suharman of the TNI Masyarakat was appointed to lead the investigation, but barely had he begun his work when he too disappeared. The following day the former Solo city commander, Lieutenant Colonel Sumarto, was also kidnapped and taken away to the Srambatan army base where the others were being held. An incensed Senopati leader demanded that the Rukman Battalion return the officers by September 13, underlining the ultimatum by dispatching troops under the command of Major Slamet Riyadi into the Srambatan district. A few hours before it expired, Major Sutarno of Yadau's marine brigade, who had been sent to discover the Siliwangi's reply, was shot as he entered the Srambatan compound. Immediately, the Senopati along with forces from Suyoto's brigade attacked the West Javanese camp, though with little success as the well-armed Siliwangi defenders proved to be more than their match. By nightfall both sides agreed to heed Sudirman's call for a cease-fire.¹⁹

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17. Merdeka, July 5, 1948. The TP, formed in September 1946 under the leadership of Achmadi, Subroto, and Prakosa, soon established itself as one of the most influential laskar groups in Solo. In the middle of 1947 it held a key position in the Gabungan Laskar Perjuangan Surakarta (Surakarta Laskar Struggle Federation), which was responsible for the collection and distribution of supplies for the front line republican troops. Soejatno, "Revolution and Social Tensions in Surakarta, 1945-1950," trans. Benedict Anderson, in *Indonesia*, 17 (April 1974), p. 102. On May 27, 1948, Major Achmadi was appointed Solo city commander. Later, Col. Sunaryo, who had also played a key role in the dissolution of the BPRI in March, was similarly rewarded with a senior position in the army staff but with the acting rank of lieutenant colonel. Pacific, June 15, 1948.
 18. Pinardi, Peristiwa Coup Berdarah PKI September 1948 di Madiun (Jakarta: Inkopak Hazera, 1966), p. 67. Earlier, on September 2, two prominent members of the Communist party (PKI) in Solo--Slamet Wijaya and Pardiyo--had also been abducted in an operation strongly suggesting government involvement. Apparently, both PKI leaders were lured to the Tasikmadu army base, where they were cross-examined about the communist organization in Solo. Subsequently they were dispatched to the Danurejan military prison in Yogyakarta. D. N. Aidit, Aidit Accuses Madiun Affair (Jakarta: Jajasan Pembaruan, 1955), pp. 17-19.
 19. Antara, September 14 and 20, 1948.

The peace conference that got under way on the evening of September 13 under Sudirman's chairmanship was a stormy affair from the beginning.²⁰ Suadi, obviously frustrated that his attack had not brought about the desired results, threatened to ignite the city if the kidnapped officers were not returned soon and in good order. Lieutenant Colonel Sadikin, for his part, denied all knowledge of the PPS officers' whereabouts and declined to accept that his forces had anything to do with their disappearance. Indeed, Sadikin and one or two other Siliwangi leaders present claimed that the Rukman Battalion had been the object of an unprovoked attack by the Senopati. In an attempt to find some common ground, Sudirman suggested moving the Siliwangi out of Solo and possibly out of the Surakarta region altogether, leaving the Senopati with full responsibility for the local maintenance of law and order.²¹

This idea, which had been implicit in Suadi's original instruction from Sudirman on September 9, had two attractive features as far as the army commander was concerned. In the first place, it would do much to reduce, and might even eliminate, the long-standing friction between the Siliwangi and the Senopati which was being exploited by various political groups for their own advantage. Sudirman feared that, if the armed forces degenerated into an arena for interparty wrangling, they would soon lose all sense of revolutionary purpose and merely become extensions of party competition for power and influence. He realized only too well that, if political parties ever gained a firm foothold in the military, not only would the republican forces find it increasingly difficult to carry out their supreme revolutionary mission of defending the country's sovereignty, but a civil war might break out in which army units would be obliged to take opposing sides in the support of partial political causes.²² In the second place, the proposal

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20. Others attending the meeting included: Lt. Col. Suadi, the PPS commander; Lt. Col. A. Fajar, the commander of STD Surakarta and Semarang; Maj. Gen. A. H. Nasution, deputy commander of the Mobile Forces; Lt. Col. Sadikin, leader of the Second Siliwangi Brigade; Lt. Col. Abimanyu, the former commander of the Second Siliwangi Brigade; Maj. Achmadi, the Solo city commander; Maj. Sujono, commander of the Third Detachment of the Military Police; Saleh Sastronegoro of the state police; Tirtawinata, the attorney general; Sudiro, the Resident of Surakarta; and Samsurijal, the mayor of Solo. *Sedjarah Militer Kodam VII, Diponegoro*, p. 138.
 21. Soe Hok Gie, "Simpang kiri dari sebuah djalan: kisah pemberontakan Madiun September 1948" (M.A. thesis, University of Indonesia, 1969), pp. 175-76. At this point Sudirman was benignly disposed towards the Senopati. Earlier he had stated that the Solonese Division had never liked taking orders from above, but this did not mean that they would not go through with the rationalization measures eventually. The reformers had to realize that the Senopati had a proud tradition in defending the republic and that this had to be taken into account when contemplating fundamental military changes in the Surakarta region. *Merdeka*, July 24, 1948. The late General Parman recalled long afterward that he and Nasution had had the utmost difficulty in persuading the army commander not to negotiate but to take a decisive stand against the Senopati. Information kindly provided by Benedict Anderson.
 22. Sudirman's policy of attempting to insulate the armed forces from what were seen as party conflicts in the republic was, of course, increasingly difficult to maintain in practice; this was not only because of the army commander's own limited room for maneuver within the army and vis-à-vis the Hatta cabinet, but also because of the high concentration of opposing military and political factions in the Surakarta area. In the July strike of textile and plantation

to move the West Javanese forces outside the Solo region would serve a more immediate purpose. The placement of the Siliwangi in Central Java following the Renville Agreement not only threatened the traditional autonomy of the Senopati, but had also enabled the government to appoint Nasution deputy commander of the Mobile Forces, thereby significantly reducing the amount of direct influence Sudirman and the Javanese units in the hinterland could bring to bear on the formulation of military policy. If the Siliwangi could be persuaded to move further away from the immediate vicinity of the capital (possibly with some units being dispatched closer to the demarcation lines southwest of Magelang and others to the Pati region in the north), Sudirman would feel a good deal less pressured, and might even regain something of his former influence in the councils of government as well as in the army itself.

The army commander's peace plan, however, was coldly received by the West Javanese leaders present. Nasution, Sadikin, and Abimanyu pointed to the serious consequences that would follow if the Siliwangi troops were moved out of the Surakarta region.²³ Many unit commanders, for example, might interpret such an order as a sign that their presence in Central Java was no longer needed and would make preparations to return to West Java, thereby precipitating a major violation of the Renville Agreement. Few in the Siliwangi had liked the idea of surrendering entrenched defensive positions and forsaking home and family ties in West Java. They had liked even less the often hostile reception they were subsequently accorded in the remaining republican areas of Java. With the political discussions currently in a state of deadlock, the Dutch could be expected to use such a flagrant breach of the cease-fire arrangements as a pretext for mounting another military campaign against the Republic.

Apparently, the impasse at the Solo peace conference convinced the army commander of the need to make several important modifications to his original compromise proposals. The extent of these revisions was made known on the morning of September 15 when an Order of the Day from army staff headquarters appointed Colonel Gatot Subroto, commander of the Corps Polisi Militer (CPM, Military Police Corps), to investigate the disappearance of the Senopati officers and the circumstances surrounding the attack on the Siliwangi base at Srambatan.²⁴ No mention

workers in Delanggu, on the outskirts of Solo, it was not Sudirman but Prime Minister Hatta who ordered the dispatch of TNI regular units to the area. Berita Indonesia, July 16, 1948. The army commander maintained that, because the Hizbullah, Pesindo, and other laskar involved in the strike had elected to remain outside the orbit of the regular army, the dispute was not a TNI problem per se. Merdeka, July 17, 1948. Unable to prevent the movement of regular forces to Delanggu, Sudirman insisted that they not be used to break the strike, still less to intimidate the workers, but rather to preserve a semblance of order until such time as the government, the employers, and the unions could settle their differences. Accordingly, he confined himself to banning all demonstrations in Delanggu likely to incite passions, forbade the movement of all army units, and ordered the withdrawal of the antagonistic Hizbullah and Pesindo forces and their replacement by the TNI. Ibid.

23. Nasution, TNI, II, pp. 234-35.

24. Nasional, September 16, 1948. Gatot Subroto was born in October 1909 in Purwokerto (Central Java). Before the war he served as a sergeant in the KNIL both in Java and the Outer Islands. In 1934, he entered the Police College at Sukabumi, and by the eve of the Japanese occupation had risen to the position of police inspector in the Banyumas residency. In 1943, he was appointed company commander in the Sumpyuh Peta battalion and later became its commander. Following the Proclamation of Independence, he accepted the formal surrender of

was made of deploying any forces outside the Surakarta area and the CPM commander's terms of reference implied that, if there was to be any blame apportioned for the recent disturbances in the region, it was to be shared by the disputing parties. The order described the kidnappings and the accompanying skirmishes in the city as clear violations of the sovereignty of the armed forces which should never be allowed to happen again. In a radio broadcast delivered on the evening of September 16, Sudirman stressed that the armed forces as the *alat kekuasaan negara* (instrument of state authority) had the duty of preserving the integrity of the republic against attacks from within as well as from outside the country. The leadership of the army and the state, he warned, were in complete agreement (*bulat mufakat*) on measures that were needed to ensure public safety in the Surakarta region and would not shrink from applying similar measures in other parts of the republic if the situation required it.²⁵

This forthright statement from the army commander appeared to make his views on the internal security situation similar to, if not completely identical with, those of other military and government leaders at the time. In a speech before the Working Committee of parliament in Yogyakarta on September 3, Hatta promised that the cabinet would take drastic action against what he termed "disturbers" and "intimidators" who were spreading malicious anti-government propaganda and threatening to disrupt the entire democratic process.²⁶ No specific groups were mentioned, but there was little doubt that the prime minister's remarks were a reference to the stepped-up campaign of the FDR parties to secure participation in the government. Even before steps had been taken in early September 1948 to integrate the FDR coalition into a single mass communist party under the leadership of Muso, its constituent socialist-oriented groups were having considerable success in attracting support from the trade unions, peasant associations, demobilized soldiers, and others who for one reason or another felt dissatisfied with the cabinet's retrenchment policies. Concern about the activities of the revitalized left had been the main subject under discussion at a meeting of senior army leaders in Code at the end of August. They seemed particularly worried about the "damage" the new Communist party might do to both the chances of achieving a diplomatic settlement with the Dutch, and to the government's ability to keep the internal security situation within acceptable bounds and implement the main provisions of the military reorganization program.²⁷

The dilemma facing the army commander over the troubles in Solo did not involve internal military problems alone, but encompassed wider

Japanese arms and equipment (one of the largest weapons transactions anywhere in Java at the time) which later supplied the TKR division led by Sudirman. In the middle of 1946, Subroto led the Sunan Gunung Jati regular army division in Purwokerto. He was approached by Hatta and Suryadarma in April 1948 to take command of the CPM, which was to be composed of selected members of such police groups as the Polisi Tentara (Military Police), Polisi Tentara Laut (Naval Military Police), Polisi Angkatan Udara (Air Force Police), and the Pengawas TNI (TNI Guard). Interview with Suryadarma on January 21, 1972, in Jakarta.

25. Antara, September 16, 1948.

26. Merdeka, September 3, 1948.

27. Rapportage Indonesië, CMI Series: "Kort Verslag van de Informele Vergadering inzake Organisatie Wijzigingen," doc. no. 5328, dated January 11, 1949. Interestingly, Sudirman was either not invited or declined to attend this military conference.

political and strategic issues as well. On the one side, there was a distinct possibility that the FDR-PKI would make the most of the delicate situation in Solo and might even take independent action to secure the release of the political hostages and of the PPS officers sympathetic to their cause. Conceivably, the communal tensions which had been expressed earlier in the strike of textile and plantation workers in Delanggu could spill over into the military field and precipitate civil war.²⁸ On the other hand, if the Siliwangi units in the area decided to return to West Java, then almost certainly the republic would face renewed Dutch aggression. In the turbulent military, political, and economic conditions prevailing in the republic at the time, it would be difficult to prevent the Dutch forces from expanding their areas of control in Java, and, possibly, the leadership of the guerrilla struggle in the hinterland from passing into the hands of the left. Because the army commander was aware that the crisis in Solo could bring about one or even both of these possibilities, he moved closer to the firm law and order stand that had been taken by the government and other military leaders. It is indicative of the weighty issues at stake in the fall of 1948 that the same army commander who had been prepared earlier to lend tacit support and encouragement to the populist aspirations of the Solonese military and political groups in their struggle against the feudal monarchies and indirectly against the socialist-dominated cabinet, should have sided two years later with the broadly conservative policies of the Hatta government, which he was now prepared to see implemented whether the local groups in Solo liked them or not.

On the same day as Gatot Subroto was appointed to head the enquiry into the disturbances in Solo, Sudirman deployed a number of Siliwangi troops around the outskirts of the city to be on hand if any trouble arose.²⁹ At the same time discussions took place among senior army

28. The main striking unions at Delanggu--the Lembaga Buruh dan Tani (League of Workers and Peasants) and the pro-FDR Serikat Buruh Perkebunan (Plantation Workers' Union)--had demanded higher wages and better rice and clothing allowances for their own members as well as for seasonal workers employed by the Badan Textil Negara (National Textile Body). Although Delanggu was a comparatively prosperous region, prices of essential foodstuffs were rising much faster than wages. The strike, however, was not supported by the Serikat Tani Islam Indonesia (Islamic Peasants' Association of Indonesia) whose members continued to work as usual. Early in July, a party of strikers clashed openly with the STII and one of the Islamic leaders, Abing Syarbini, was seriously injured. In order to protect the defiant STII workers, Hizbullah units established virtually "no-go" areas in Delanggu, not allowing even the civilian police to enter or leave. Naturally, this move brought strong condemnation from the FDR, the Pesindo, and also from the Sentral Organisasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia (SOBSI, All-Indonesian Central of Workers' Organizations), which blamed the strike on inflation, government maldistribution, and corruption in the upper reaches of the BTN management. The Delanggu strike, which at its height claimed the support of over fifteen thousand workers and brought work to a standstill on seven cotton plantations, was closely watched by employees of other BTN enterprises in East Java, and the Serikat Buruh (Workers' Union) in Madiun even sent a delegation to study the dispute and offer moral support. Eventually, the strikers were given all that they had been asking for and work resumed on July 19. For details, see the June and July issues of Keng Po and Merdeka.

29. George McT. Kahin, Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia, 2nd ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), p. 289.

leaders to find a permanent arrangement for dealing with the precarious state of affairs in Solo. After several lengthy meetings at the army commander's home, it was agreed to appoint Gatot Subroto as special military governor of the Surakarta and Semarang regions and for his CPM duties to be assumed by Lieutenant Colonel A. J. Mokoginta, chief of staff of the Siliwangi-dominated KRU reserve.³⁰ In addition, the former commander of the Second Siliwangi Brigade, Lieutenant Colonel Abimanyu, was made chief of staff of the special military governorship.³¹ Once these appointments had been endorsed by the cabinet, President Sukarno announced on September 17 that the Surakarta region was under martial law and that the governor had been given far-reaching powers to maintain public order and safeguard all civil and military installations in the area. Assisting Subroto in these tasks were Lieutenant Colonel Bambang Sugeng, head of the Central Javanese Regional Command, and Deputy Attorney General Mulyatno.

Just as the republican leaders were devising a formula to contain the situation in Solo, the tenuous truce reached after the fighting on September 13 was seriously threatened by developments taking place in the northern part of the Surakarta residency. As soon as it became apparent that the Senopati officers would not be released and that the Siliwangi were going to remain in the area, Pesindo groups in Purwodadi--some forty miles due north of Solo--kidnapped Dr. Muwardi, the leader of the Barisan Banteng and a prominent figure in the GRR, along with other members of both organizations.³² Most probably the Pesindo counted on using the hostages as a means of securing the immediate release of the PPS officers and also as insurance against any further abductions of leftists. The Barisan Banteng, however, warned that if the captives were not returned in good order by the afternoon of September 15, unilateral action would be taken to obtain their release. Some of the prisoners were returned before the deadline, but not enough to stop a column of Barisan Banteng and Siliwangi forces ransacking the Pesindo headquarters in Solo.³³ A detailed search of the building, now flying the Barisan Banteng's flag, later "revealed" anti-Siliwangi propaganda, several Dutch tricolors, bombs, and other material which, it was claimed, established beyond any doubt that the Pesindo were fifth columnists.³⁴ On the day after this "discovery," the Surakarta district and regional branch of the GRR appealed directly to the army commander to retain the Sadikin Brigade in the city until such time as the central government could maintain security there and prevent acts

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30. Nasution, TNI, II, p. 237. 31. Sedjarah Militer, Kodam VI, Siliwangi, p. 141.
32. Merdeka, September 15, 1948. Apparently, shortly before Muwardi's disappearance on September 13, the Pesindo had kidnapped Ir. Achmad Sofwan, Hendrosudarmo, and Suyoto--all leading members of the STII which had opposed the Delanggu strike. Guntur, September 10, 1948.
33. Antara, September 20, 1948. Earlier, on September 9, the Pesindo headquarters had been attacked by armed groups who seized important documents and a number of military leaders who were there at the time. Merdeka, September 16, 1948. Radio Gelora Pemuda described the raid as a fascist outrage and demanded the replacement of the ineffectual Hatta cabinet by a national front government as the only form of administration capable of defending democratic principles. Keng Po, September 15, 1948.
34. Antara, September 20, 1948. However, according to the Besuki People's Defense Body, the tricolors found at the Pesindo headquarters had been made by their Information Section and by the Badan Kongres Pemuda Madiun (Madiun Youth Congress Body), and were intended to counter Dutch propaganda in the occupied areas of Java. Merdeka, September 19, 1948.

of "terror" allegedly being perpetrated by FDR groups under the leadership of Amir Syarifuddin.³⁵

Dr. Muwardi's kidnapping proved to be a political catalyst. When news came of the Barisan Banteng ultimatum, Yadau's marine units vacated their positions along the Dutch-Indonesian demarcation line and moved on Solo to relieve the hard-pressed Pesindo. Arriving too late to be of much assistance, the TLRI soon discovered they had serious difficulties of their own to deal with as the Siliwangi troops that Sudirman had posted on the outskirts of the city began to close in and establish control. Yadau's relief column was not strong enough to prevent a Siliwangi take-over, nor could it summon support from the bulk of the Senopati units in the southern part of the city, having entered Solo from the north and west. In the fighting that followed, the laskar brigade was completely routed and was forced to seek shelter outside the city.³⁶ On September 17 the rump of the PPS under Suadi, apparently unaware of the setback suffered by the TLRI the previous day, mounted a counteroffensive to regain control of the Solo area. Although Suadi's forces easily brushed their way through the lines of the Barisan Banteng, they found the inner core of Siliwangi defenders much too strong and, like Yadau, were compelled to retire to positions well outside the city boundaries.

Jubilant at the turn of events in Solo, the republican leaders lost no time in rounding off their victory. On September 18, Gatot Subroto announced that all fighting must stop at the latest by September 20, when all commanders were to report to the military governor's office in Solo to discuss ways and means of ending the trouble in the area. Groups rejecting the invitation would be judged to have committed an "army rebellion" and no effort would be spared to bring them to justice.³⁷ Gatot Subroto's announcement was astutely aimed at the scattered remnants of the Senopati Division which had fled to Purwodadi to the north and to Wonogiri to the south of Solo. Coming as it did after the Siliwangi and the Barisan Banteng had ensured government control in Solo, it left the defeated and demoralized PPS forces with practically no choice at all. If they failed to heed the summons, they would be branded as traitors bent on fomenting disorder and chaos outside the city; if, on the other hand, they attended the conference, they would be delivering themselves unconditionally into the hands of the government. However, before the Senopati leaders could make up their minds which of these unpalatable options to take, the decision was made for them by the dramatic developments that had occurred earlier that day in Madiun, some seventy miles to the east.

The Seizure of Madiun

In 1948, Madiun, with a population of two hundred thousand, was the third largest city in the republic after Yogyakarta and Solo. It was situated in a fertile riverine plain bounded by a line of undulating limestone hills to the north, forming the border with the Pati and

35. Pacific, September 18, 1948.

36. For details on the fighting in Solo, see Henri J. H. Alers, Om een Rode of Groene Merdeka: 10 jaren binnenlandse politiek Indonesië 1943-1953 (Eindhoven: De Pelgrim, 1956), p. 187.

37. Statement of the military governor of Surakarta and Semarang on September 18 and cited in Merdeka, September 20, 1948.

Bojonegoro residencies, and flanked on either side by the Lawu and Wilis mountain ranges, which separated the city from Surakarta and Kediri respectively. In the past Madiun had often been the base from which dissident Javanese princes carried out attacks on Solo. In more recent times, the city had developed as a major communications center. It was linked not only to the trans-Java highway and railroad system running between Surabaya and West Java, but also with the rich sawah lands, agricultural plantations, and textile industries in the residency's interior, as well as the port of Pacitan on the southern coast. Largely because of its strategic position at the crossroads between Central and East Java, Madiun evolved a fairly sophisticated urban *priyayi* (gentry) culture and was a political and administrative city of some significance both before and after the Second World War. In the colonial period, Madiun had also been an important center of Western elementary and secondary education, drawing its pupils as much from wealthy *priyayi* families in the more cosmopolitan cities of Java as from within the residency itself.

At the beginning of the revolution, political development in the residency had been led by the Socialist party-oriented struggle groups. They had featured prominently in the broadly based local pemuda movement against the Japanese and had come away with large quantities of arms and equipment. In fact, the Pesindo, under Sumarsono, and the Serikat Rakyat (SR, People's Union), under Sadi Singomentolo and 'pak Diko, soon established such a firm hold over local politics that for a long while the socialists were more influential than the nationalists (PNI) and the Islamic groups (Masyumi) put together.³⁸ While the SR appealed mostly to members of the older generation, the Pesindo was a youth organization par excellence, gathering its support from a mélange of pre-war SPI activists, anti-Japanese underground leaders, and pemuda from the dissolved political and paramilitary bodies of the occupation period. Early in 1946, Sumarsono and another Amir Syarifuddin associate, Subyantokusumo, took charge of the Dewan Pekerja Perjuangan (Working Council of the Struggle)--an offshoot of the Indonesian Youth Congress--whose irregular forces received material support and training from the Socialist party-controlled Ministry of Defense.³⁹ In the same year, the communist leader Maruto Darusman founded a Marx House in Madiun itself, which functioned as a leftist political training and education center.

Some of the left's support in the residency came from the trade unions, especially the strong railroad unions, the plantation workers' union, and the union of civil administration employees; a much larger,

38. Soeloeh Ra'jat, October 11, 1948. Sumarsono had been a member of Amir Syarifuddin's anti-Japanese underground movement in Surabaya. After the Proclamation of Independence, he was active in organizing the Angkatan Muda (Young Generation) branch of the city's oil refinery workers. Subsequently, he played a leading role in the Pemuda Republik Indonesia (PRI, Youth of the Indonesian Republic), one of the most powerful pemuda groups in Surabaya at the time. Anderson, *Java*, pp. 126-27, 129. Following the Battle of Surabaya, Sumarsono, unlike some of his PRI colleagues, did not participate in the affairs of the Pesindo based around Mojokerto. Instead, early in 1946, he retired from the Surabaya scene and took charge of the Pesindo in Madiun. Little is known about Sadi Singomentolo and 'pak Diko other than that they had been veterans of the Boven Digul camp before the war. Soeloeh Ra'jat, October 11, 1948.

39. Hardjito, ed., Risalah Gerakan Pemuda (Jakarta: Pustaka Antara, 1952), pp. 41, 48.

though less well defined part of it came from the *abangan* (nominally Islamic) peasant communities in areas around Ponorogo to the south, Magetan to the west, and Ngawi to the north. The socialist struggle groups were successful in projecting an image that blended well with the syncretic styles and practices of the *abangan* communities. Their analysis, for example, that the traditional harmony and values of Javanese society had been subverted in the past by the forces of feudalism and capitalism and that all social conflicts and divisions would be resolved in the coming revolution, was quite similar to the expectations encouraged by the Ratu Adil (Just Prince) brand of popular messianism. The Pesindo and the SR, in turn, were generally regarded by local *abangan* leaders as useful organizational counterweights in their own struggle against the proselytizing activities of the orthodox (*santri*) Islamic groups. While the Pesindo in Mojokerto and Mojosari secured most of their recruits from an urban constituency that had been forced out of the city of Surabaya at the end of 1945, in the Madiun residency it appeared to make equally prodigious strides among the rural *abangan* youth, who were attracted by its dynamic ideology and relatively firm organizational discipline.⁴⁰ Besides appealing to the subjective cultural perceptions of the *abangan* communities, the socialist-oriented groups were no less successful in turning the objective economic and social conditions in the residency to their advantage. Before the war, areas like Sumoroto and Ponorogo had suffered from acute overcrowding, as evidenced by the fact that many inhabitants from these districts regularly migrated to other parts of East Java and to the Surakarta residency.⁴¹ Moreover, the sawah agriculture in the residency was not always able to produce food in the quantities needed, mainly because powerful European plantation concerns occupied much of the fertile lands and controlled the sources of irrigation. Conditions deteriorated further during the Japanese period as a result of punishing production targets, forced rice deliveries, and the brutal *rōmusha* (labor conscription) program. The socialist-oriented groups, having played no formal part in the occupation, were in a good position at the beginning of the revolution to lead the inevitable social backlash against the *kaum ningrat* (nobility) and those *priyayi* officials who had collaborated with the Dutch and the Japanese and benefited at the expense of the ordinary people. In March 1946, for instance, the Socialist party-dominated Barisan Tani Indonesia (Indonesian Peasants' League) successfully annulled the old estate leases and allowed the peasants freedom to cultivate their land as they wished.⁴²

As time went on, however, the left found that it could not take its dominance over local politics entirely for granted. Following the arrest of opposition leaders belonging to the Persatuan Perjuangan in March 1946, 'pak Diko's followers broke away from the SR and joined forces with the Tan Malaka "national communists."⁴³ At the same time,

40. Robert R. Jay, Religion and Politics in Rural Central Java (New Haven: Yale University, Southeast Asia Studies, Cultural Report Series, no. 12, 1963), pp. 73-74.

41. Departement van Economische Zaken, Volkstelling 1930: Inheemsche Bevolking van Oost Java (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1934), p. 31.

42. Anthony J. S. Reid, Indonesian National Revolution 1945-50 (Hong Kong: Longman Australia, 1974), p. 128.

43. Soeloeh Ra'jat, October 11, 1948.

the Abikusno wing of the Masyumi was attracting considerable popular support from the *perdikan* (tax-exempt) villages scattered around the residency, from the santri pupils in the modernist Islamic school Gontor, and also from Moslem entrepreneurs in Ponorogo, many of whom had been long-standing sympathizers of the pre-war Serikat Islam (Islamic Union).⁴⁴ Early in 1947, the PNI-oriented groups enjoyed something of a political renaissance in the residency with the founding of the Pemuda Demokrat Indonesia (Indonesian Democratic Youth), which had its headquarters in Madiun and arranged conferences in Ponorogo.⁴⁵ Even before the fall of the Amir Syarifuddin cabinet at the beginning of 1948, the combined strength of the Tan Malaka communists, the Masyumi and the PNI in the Madiun residency was thought to be at least equal to and possibly greater than that of the socialist bloc.⁴⁶

If the socialist-oriented parties were disturbed at the changing balance of political power in the residency, then their allied struggle groups and local irregular police units spied an infinitely greater threat to their positions in the declared intention of the Hatta cabinet to make Madiun the new military capital of East Java.⁴⁷ This the reformers sought to accomplish by making Madiun the headquarters of both the Fifth Area Command of the CPM under Captain Badoyo Jatiasmoro and the regular army's Second Mobile Division under Colonel Bambang Supeno. At the end of May 1948, the struggle groups in Madiun put out an anti-reform broadside in which they pledged full support to the army commander; denied that there was a place in the army for either a deputy commander (Nasution) or for staff officers in the Defense Ministry with no actual revolutionary experience; demanded the retention of the popular Madiun police chief, Major General Santoso, who was scheduled to be transferred to the capital; and called for the preservation of the TLRI marines.⁴⁸ This unequivocal condemnation of the reform program reflected the relative isolation of these struggle groups who, unlike their colleagues in Surakarta, found it impossible to shelter behind the protective wing of the local regular army units. The TNI army leaders in Madiun came from high social backgrounds--many of them from outside the residency--and their advanced Western schooling made them impatient to press ahead with the reorganization, since they were confident of justifying their military positions on the basis of technical skills alone and not simply on revolutionary "bravado."⁴⁹ In addition, the laskar groups in Madiun regarded the cabinet's latest utterances on the law and order issue as merely a cover behind which it would first seek to narrow the scope of their activities and then eliminate them altogether. Indeed, the unexplained circumstances surrounding the murder of the Senopati commander in July seemed to indicate that the pro-government forces were already putting this strategy into effect. Still more conclusive evidence came on September 13, when

44. *Ibid.* Originally, *perdikan* villages were Hindu-Buddhist spiritual retreats appropriated by Islam as shrines and centers of learning, and subsequently granted special immunity from taxes and feudal obligations. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries such villages often formed the base for messianic and nativist rebellions against the colonial power and the priyayi administrators. One example of a *perdikan* village in the residency was Tegalsari in the Ngawi district.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Api Rakjat*, August 20, 1948. For the units stationed in the Madiun area at this time, see the Appendix below.

48. *Soeara Rakjat*, May 31, 1948.

49. Interview with Lt. Gen. Rukmito Hendraningrat on March 10, 1972, in Jakarta.

Lieutenant Colonel Suhud's STD Kediri detachment routed a marine battalion of mostly Outer Island groups under Munaji, who were alleged to be endangering the security of the Nganjuk region only a few miles to the east of Madiun.⁵⁰ Suhud, a keen supporter of the government's military reorganization program, had earlier stated that the predominantly Hizbullah troops under his command would act decisively to maintain law and order to ensure the success both of the reform measures and of efforts to reach a diplomatic settlement with the Dutch.⁵¹ Moreover, there were reports of similar repressive action being taken against the First Pesindo Regiment in the Blitar area by the combined forces of Lieutenant Colonel Rivai's Fourth Mobile Brigade and the Mobile Police under the command of Mohammad Yasin.⁵²

Perturbed at these developments, the remaining Pesindo units of the Twenty-ninth Brigade TNI Masyarakat based in Kediri under Major S. Mustofa headed off in the direction of Madiun, where they joined up with the irregular police, BPRI, and Pesindo forces led by Sumarsono.⁵³

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50. Hari Warta, September 17, 1948. Suhud, the former leader of the BKR in the Blitar regency, had served for a brief spell on the staff of the Second Mobile Division before moving across to STD Kediri in July 1948. Almost immediately he set about winding up the local TNI Masyarakat sections and transferring their functions to the territorial command. In the same month he ordered the arrest of Lt. Col. Seno, the TLRI commander in Tulungagung, because, it was claimed, he was actively inciting the marine units in the area into rebellion. Rapportage Indonesië, Nefis Series: Wekelijks Overzicht en Ontwikkeling van den Toestand no. 82, dated August 13 to 19, 1948. Significantly, his next victim, Munaji, had been a pre-war member of the Young Communists (AKOMI) and during the Japanese period was active in the left-wing underground movement in Surabaya. Ibid.
51. Hari Warta, September 1, 1948.
52. Rapportage Indonesië, Nefis Series: Signalement no. 16, dated September 25, 1948.
53. The Twenty-ninth Brigade TNI Masyarakat was composed almost entirely of former members of the Dewan Kelaskaran Daerah Surabaya (DKDS, Surabaya Area Laskar Council), which had been set up at the end of 1946 to coordinate the irregulars in Mojokerto. The brigade itself came officially into being on July 23, 1947, under the following leaders:
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|------------------------------|--|
| Commander | Lt. Col. Muhammad Dachlan (ex-chairman DKDS) |
| Deputy | Kiai Suroto Hadiwiguno (ex-member Mojokerto Biro Perjuangan) |
| Pesindo Regiment (Blitar) | Maj. Sidik Arselan |
| BPRI Regiment (Purwoasri) | Maj. Sumarsono |
| Hizbullah Regiment (Jombang) | Maj. Wahib |

Soeara Rakjat, July 27, 1947. The only representatives of the DKDS not to be included in the Brigade were Saidi's Laskar Buruh Indonesia (LBI, Indonesian Workers' Militia), probably because they saw themselves more as a political than a military struggle group, and Wiryobudiono's T 500 unit, which in any case was absorbed into the Pesindo Regiment in Blitar at the end of September 1947. In theory, the brigade operated under the tactical direction of the Narotama regular army division in Kediri, and all of the laskar commanders, with the exception of Suroto Hadiwiguno and Wahib, had been represented on the Narotama War Council at the beginning of July 1947. Soeara Rakjat, July 7, 1947. In practice, however, the brigade's constituent parts acted fairly independently of each other and, as we shall see, elected to go their separate ways during the Madiun Affair.

S. Mustofa had led the Inspectorate Section of the Biro Perjuangan (Struggle Bureau) in Mojokerto in October 1946. At the end of that year, he was elected deputy divisional commander of the Surabaya Pesindo under Sidik Arselan. Bakti,

In an attempt to stave off the concentration of radical laskar groups in the residency, Lieutenant Colonel Marhadi, the chief of staff of the Second Mobile Division in Madiun, appealed to the Pesindo to remain at their posts along the demarcation line in case the Dutch launched a surprise attack. At this point, however, the Pesindo were less concerned about the possible intentions of the Dutch than with their own survival as a military unit. Discussions were arranged between Mustofa and Sumarsono to see what defensive measures could be taken against the threats posed in Nganjuk and Blitar and the ominous sequence of events that was unfolding in Solo. The officers decided that in the circumstances the best plan was to leave a couple of battalions behind in the city of Madiun and to deploy the remainder of their strength in several of the abangan strongholds around the residency. The battalions which were dispatched from September 14 onwards included: two units to the abangan areas of Ponorogo under the command of Majors Panjang and Abdul Rachman; a single battalion to Sumoroto, a few miles to the west of Ponorogo, under Major Maladi Yusuf; another battalion to Magetan on the slopes of Mount Lawu, under Major Mursid; and elements of Major Darmitoaji's Jayanagara Division, which took up positions astride the key communications corridor around Ngawi.⁵⁴

These placements, however, did not escape the notice of pro-government groups like the GRR, whose Solo branch on September 14 warned that the FDR, with Dutch assistance, was actually preparing to stage a coup d'etat in the Madiun region.⁵⁵ The Pesindo, for its part, might have argued that it was merely strengthening the left's solidarity with a traditional rural constituency and that its intentions were primarily defensive rather than offensive in character. In Madiun itself, the Pesindo units were actively supporting the strike of labor unions that had begun on September 13 as a protest against the rough treatment administered to civil employees and railroad workers by Warsito's CPM

December 12, 1946. During the First Military Action, he headed the Regional People's Defense Section of the TNI Masyarakat in Jombang. Early in 1948, Mustofa's unit, the Barisan Banteng Merah (Red Buffalo Corps), attached itself to the Pesindo Regiment of the Twenty-ninth Brigade TNI Masyarakat.

54. Soeloeh Ra'jat, September 23, 1948. Maj. Panjang Jokopriono commanded the Third Pesindo Battalion of the Twenty-ninth Brigade based in Tulungagung. Maj. Abdul Rachman commanded the Second Pesindo Battalion of the Twenty-ninth Brigade in Blitar. In May 1947, he had been appointed to the staff of the Supreme Leadership of the Navy under Rear Admiral Atmaji. Nasional, October 20, 1948. Later, in March 1948, Hatta appointed him chairman of the Naval Reorganization Committee, which was supposed to take over the functions of the Supreme Leadership until such time as the rationalization of the marine units had been completed. Antara, April 2, 1948. Maj. Maladi Yusuf commanded the Fourth Pesindo Battalion based in Purwoasri. During the occupation period he was employed as a language instructor at the Japanese high school in Surabaya and subsequently became a leading radical figure in the Surabaya branch of the Angkatan Muda. Suara Asia, July 2, 1945. Maj. Mursid probably belonged to the Seventeenth Brigade of the TNI Masyarakat in Madiun. Maj. Darmitoaji's origins are somewhat obscure. During the First Military Action he was accused of kidnapping Sutarjo, the inspector of police in Madiun. Hari Warta, August 28, 1948. Under the May 1948 reforms he was appointed commander of the Fourth Battalion of Lt. Col. Sunarto's Mobile Brigade based in Madiun. Rapportage Indonesië, Nefis Series: Wekelijks Overzicht en Ontwikkeling van den Toestand no. 80, dated June 23 to July 9, 1948.

55. Pacific, September 16, 1948.

Mobile Battalion A.⁵⁶ As far as the rural areas outside Madiun were concerned, the Pesindo units probably calculated that the more they could become identified with the abangan communities, the more difficult it would be for pro-government forces to continue their purges without at the same time raising the spectre of a civil war in which the FDR would be pitted on the side of the abangan and the government drawn to the side of the santri.

However, there were a number of developments taking place to the west from September 16 onwards which made the laskar leaders in Madiun wonder whether their original defensive strategy was really adequate to deal with the situation. On that day, Hatta reiterated his government's determination to use an "iron fist" if necessary to maintain internal security. At the same time he told the Working Committee that Tan Malaka, Sukarni and Abikusno--the PP leaders imprisoned in 1946--had been released on the orders of the Surakarta magistrates on September 15.⁵⁷ Clearly, this decision would have the effect of binding the GRR closer to the government and leaving the FDR politically isolated. Worse still, news came that the Siliwangi and the Barisan Banteng had defeated the Senopati in Solo on September 17 and were preparing to march on the Pesindo citadel in Madiun to round off their victory. Under these circumstances, the laskar leaders were faced with only two possible courses of action. They could either decide to do nothing and allow the pro-government forces to destroy their military organization in Madiun and elsewhere on the pretext that it constituted a threat to internal security, or take over the republican administration in the residency--which the FDR people in the city dominated anyway--and trust that this dramatic indication of their determination to survive would be enough to halt the forward movement of the pro-government forces. It was this latter option which appeared to be the most appropriate course of action in the circumstances. The fateful decision suggested no careful planning and preparation, only hasty improvisation, and it was made from a position of tactical military weakness, not strength. Above all, it was a decision taken solely by the Pesindo and local FDR cadre in Madiun and not by the national opposition leaders, who were on a speaking tour of Java at the time.

In the early hours of September 18, shots rang out in the Rejoagung sugar plantation district to the north of Madiun and the battle for the control of the city was under way. An assault force of something like fifteen hundred well-armed Pesindo, BPRI, and irregular police detachments stormed the Mobile Division's headquarters and the barracks of the CPM, catching the government troops completely unawares. By first light the laskar groups had secured control over key

56. Revolusioner, September 16, 1948. There were numerous reports throughout 1948 --and not only in the FDR press--of military police and Siliwangi repression against members of the radical Serikat Buruh Kereta Api (Union of Railroad Workers), particularly in the south Kediri region. Apparently, Jokosuyono, the former head of the Biro Perjuangan and, since May 1948, deputy chief of staff of the Javanese territorial forces, was the honorary chairman of the SBKA. Rapportage Indonesië, Nefis Series: Publicatie no. 90, dated September 27, 1948. In Madiun itself, the Siliwangi were accused at a very early date of assaulting ordinary individuals, especially Chinese, and plundering homes and warehouses. Rapportage Indonesië, Nefis Series: Militaire Overzicht no. 48/10, dated March 13, 1948.

57. For the full text of Hatta's speech, see Kementerian Penerangan, Mendajung Antara Dua Karang (Jakarta, 1951), p. 68.

government and military installations in the city and taken a number of prisoners, including Lieutenant Colonel Marhadi, the chief of staff of the Mobile Division; Lieutenant Colonel Wiyono, the former head of STD Kediri; Major R. Bismo, the Mobile Division's intelligence officer; Captain Badoyo Jatiasmoro of the CPM; and officers of STD Madiun under Lieutenant Colonel Sumantri's command.⁵⁸ As soon as it was clear that the venture had been a resounding success, the laskar and the local FDR groups jointly set about consolidating their gains. On the strength of a letter signed by Lieutenant Colonel Sumantri and local FDR officials, Supardi, a former deputy mayor and Pesindo member in Madiun, was appointed leader of the regional government and, later, Abdul Muntalip, the former deputy resident of Surabaya and again a Pesindo member, was sworn in as the new Resident of Madiun.⁵⁹ In addition, Sumarsono and Jokosuyono shared responsibility for military affairs in the residency. Elsewhere, FDR groups assumed control over the residential district councils with the support of the Pesindo battalions that had been assigned to the rural areas earlier. Suharyo of the Socialist party, for example, was appointed regent of Ponorogo and the Pesindo leader Sugeng occupied a corresponding position in Madiun.

The FDR-PKI leaders, who were nearly one hundred miles away in Purwodadi at the time, first heard of the dramatic events in Madiun when a jubilant Sumarsono spoke over the radio on the morning of the 18th announcing the formation of a National Front administration in the city. Immediately, Muso, Amir, Suripno and Haryono left in a heavily guarded convoy and headed straight for Madiun. Nearing the outskirts of the residency, they saw masses of red flags and banners flying from the tops of houses and public buildings, and squads of peasants drilling with sharpened bamboo spears in a state of great excitement and expectation.⁶⁰ When the cavalcade eventually arrived in Rejoagung around midnight, they were informed of the latest developments in the city. Later, Muso and his party retired to one of the rooms in Sumarsono's house to consider the implications of the unexpected fait accompli with which they had been presented. However, before any public statement could be made, the initiative was seized by the republican leaders in Yogyakarta.

The Communist "Rebellion"

The republican leaders in the capital most probably learned of the events in Madiun from the same source and at the same time as the national opposition leaders themselves. Hurried consultations ensued between Sukarno, Hatta, and government party representatives, and a cabinet meeting was arranged for later that day to determine what the official stand was to be. Apparently, shortly before this meeting got under way, or while it was actually in session, a compromise offer was received from the FDR-PKI leaders promising to contain the situation

58. Hidup, September 20, 1948.

59. Nasional, September 20, 1948. Signatories of the authorizing letter, which came into effect at 6:30 A.M. on the 18th, included: Lt. Col. Sumantri, the STD Madiun commander; Deputy Resident Isdarto; Mayor Purbo; Hasannudin, the SOBSI chairman in Madiun; Istam, the PKI section chairman; Sukiran, the chairman of the PKI branch in Madiun; Sosrodarmojo, the chairman of the Socialist party in Madiun; and Sadi Singomentolo, who was chairman of both the Serikat Rakyat and Pesindo in Madiun. Ibid.

60. Pacific, October 9, 1948, citing the Antara reporter's eyewitness account.

in the city providing the republican leaders would agree to the inclusion of "progressive" elements in the government, as they had been demanding ever since the formation of the Hatta cabinet at the beginning of 1948.⁶¹

Although the FDR-PKI offer might have spared the government from an embarrassing situation, there were a number of practical reasons why they declined to accept it. In the first place, they considered that communist participation in the cabinet would harm the Republic's international standing and destroy what slender chances remained of the "Indonesian Question" being settled by diplomatic means. It was true, of course, that the political discussions with the Dutch had been suspended at the end of June 1948 and that there was little prospect of their being revived without the Republic agreeing to most if not all of the demands on which the Dutch negotiators were insisting.⁶² This impasse made it seem all the more essential to ensure a third country's intervention on the Republic's behalf. The United States had hesitantly performed this role in the past, but might be unable or unwilling to do so again if the Republic had a government containing communist representatives.⁶³ In the second place, the FDR-PKI compromise offer was bound to be ruled out by the political complexion of the Hatta cabinet, which had been formed on the tacit understanding that the

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61. Alers, Om een Rode of Groene Merdeka, p. 189; Justus M. van der Kroef, The Communist Party of Indonesia (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1965), p. 35. Apparently, a few days before the takeover in Madiun, Army Commander Sudirman dispatched Lt. Col. Suharto (the leader of the Third Brigade of the Central Javanese First Mobile Division) to the area in order to negotiate with the laskar and FDR leaders, but he came away without securing any firm promises about future action. Djamal Marsudi, Menjingskap Pemberontakan PKI dalam Peristiwa Madiun (Jakarta: Merdeka Press, 1966), p. 88.
 62. The Dutch pretext for suspending the talks was the press leakage of the June 10 proposals put forward by the UN mediators to break the diplomatic deadlock. Antara, June 17, 1948. Previous to this, the Dutch were demanding, as a minimum price for meaningful discussions of the projected United States of Indonesia, the dissolution of the Republic's armed forces and an end to its foreign relations. Ibid., May 14, 1948.
 63. This condition of American support was supposedly made explicit at a meeting between Sukarno, Hatta, and the American representative Cochran in Yogyakarta on the morning of September 17, and it would be quite consistent with Washington's Cold War position at the time, which was as rigid as Moscow's. Information kindly supplied by Ruth McVey. It is possible that at the same meeting some informal commitment may have been entered into by the Americans to restrain the Dutch from intervening militarily in the Republic's affairs if, indeed, a crisis over communism arose. This would certainly have suited American interests in Western Europe, where the political situation in 1948 was so tense that it was inappropriate for the Dutch to expend their efforts in tropical military adventures. In Indonesia, too, it was thought much better for the Republic to handle any internal crisis rather than have the issue confused by another Dutch attack, which would only serve to unite all republican groups, including the communists, against the invader, and might, conceivably, allow the left to gain control over the leadership of the guerrilla struggle. The bogey of direct Dutch military involvement in the Republic, however, was emphasized in statements by the national leaders at the time and subsequently, in order to make the FDR-PKI action appear an unpatriotic stab in the back. Compare Hatta's statement that the PKI-Muso seizure of power in Madiun opened up the possibility of the Dutch, perhaps with American support, attacking the Republic and overrunning it completely. Kedaulatan Rakjat, September 20, 1948.

left would be excluded from policy-making in general and denied control over defense matters in particular. Nothing had happened since January to change the minds of the older generation Masyumi and PNI leaders on the desirability of this, and the notion of leftist participation in government became even more of an anathema after the arrival of Muso on the political scene.⁶⁴

The main reason, however, behind the republican leaders' refusal to do a deal over Madiun was that they considered their own military position to be far superior to that of their rivals. The tactical situation in the central region had swung decisively in the government's favor following the Siliwangi and Barisan Banteng victories in Solo on September 16 and 17 which caused great confusion and disarray among the PPS forces and left the pro-government troops in a good position to take further action if that was considered necessary. The communists had assumed power in the city of Madiun, but, as far as could be ascertained, their control over other parts of the residency, including the airbase at Maospati, was by no means completely assured. Although past experience had taught the republican leaders not to underestimate the quantity of weapons and equipment the FDR might have stored away for use in emergencies,⁶⁵ the feeling among military circles in Yogyakarta was that the arms held by potentially hostile forces in Central and Eastern Java were far fewer than those currently in the possession of pro-government units. In many of their takeovers in the residency, the FDR-PKI had employed squads of peasants equipped with nothing more substantial than sharpened bamboo spears, and the hard core of their fighting strength consisted merely of a few Pesindo and BPRI battalions of the Twenty-ninth Brigade TNI Masyarakat, not all of which were up to full complement.⁶⁶ In addition, the laskar in Madiun were not concentrated, but scattered around the residency, and time had not allowed, nor did geographical conditions permit, any effective coordination with such "dissident" groups as there were in other parts of the Republic.

Thus, with the cards heavily stacked in the government's favor, President Sukarno delivered the political coup de grâce with a highly emotional radio broadcast at around 8:00 P.M. on September 19. The events in Madiun and the disturbances that had preceded them in Solo, he asserted, were not isolated incidents, but formed part of a revolutionary FDR-PKI strategy to topple the national government in Yogya-

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64. Earlier both the Masyumi and the PNI had refused to go along with the FDR-PKI view that the interests of democracy and national unity would be better served by a broad coalition of all the main parties in the Republic. Berita Indonesia, September 11 and 14, 1948.
65. Apparently, towards the end of 1947, the army commander told Hatta that Amir Syarifuddin was using government funds to supply the TNI Masyarakat with vast amounts of arms and materiel, thereby making the partisan force a private army nearly one hundred thousand strong serving the Socialist party's cause. See Mohammad Hatta's lecture, "Rasionalisasi dalam Tahun 1948," delivered at the University of Indonesia on March 22, 1972.
66. Hidup, September 22, 1948. At the time the combined strength of the anti-government forces in the Republic was assessed at between three and four thousand men, not all of whom were well armed. Keng Po, September 30, 1948. These figures seem more reasonable than those quoted in the Nefis Signalement no. 19 (dated September 30, 1948), namely that the anti-government side could have counted on the support of twenty mobile and eleven territorial battalions in Central and Eastern Java, a combined total of over twenty-two thousand men.

karta. While the government's attention had been diverted by the troubles in Surakarta, the "PKI-Muso" had quietly assembled the main body of its forces in the Madiun region in preparation for an eventual takeover. Because of their direct involvement in these activities, he continued, it was necessary to discharge from the armed forces the two marine leaders in Solo, Lieutenant Colonels Yadau and Suyoto, and also Lieutenant Colonel Dachlan, the commander of the Twenty-ninth Brigade TNI Masyarakat. Sukarno ended his broadcast with a carefully calculated appeal to the people to choose between the legitimate republican government led by himself and Hatta, on the one hand, and the FDR groups under Muso on the other, who sought to gain power by confusion and disorder.⁶⁷

The effect of the president's speech on the FDR-PKI groups in Madiun was devastating: having had their overtures ignored, they now stood accused of high treason. Under these dire circumstances, the top opposition leaders only had two possible alternatives. They could attempt to save their own necks by repudiating the Pesindo action in Madiun and agreeing to crack down on the rest of the "extremist" elements in their ranks. Yet, even if this were done, there was no guarantee that the republican leaders in the capital and their regional associates would not intensify the campaign against other sections of the left-wing movement, claiming that their activities still constituted a threat to law and order. Moreover, by disavowing all that had happened in Madiun, the FDR-PKI would almost certainly lose the armed support of the Twenty-ninth Brigade and the rump of the Senapati Division; a radical movement without the backing of these and other units disenchanted by the cabinet's rationalization measures would hardly be an effective agent for the political and social change that Muso and many of the younger FDR cadre wished to bring about. The alternative was to fight it out with the pro-government forces even though, as they must have realized, the left's military position after the fighting in Solo was decidedly weak. However unpalatable this option was, it appeared to offer them the best chance of survival and was better than passively presiding over the destruction of their political apparatus. Providing they could mobilize the support of disillusioned army veterans and ordinary people who were suffering from the effects of shortages and chronic inflation, the FDR-PKI forces might just be able to hold on long enough to force a compromise settlement on the government. Accordingly, at approximately 9:30 P.M. Muso announced over Madiun radio that the forces under his control would resist to the last and appealed for a popular crusade against the notorious rōmusha-dealer (Sukarno--who had helped to propagandize for the rōmusha program during the occupation) and the bourgeois cliques in the Hatta government which had failed to fulfill the promise of the revolution.⁶⁸

As soon as Muso's reply had been received, if not before, Sukarno formally entrusted Army Commander Sudirman with the task of restoring republican authority in those areas under the de facto control of the FDR-PKI forces. The cabinet, perhaps, would not have been able to act so firmly and decisively had not its particular interpretation of recent events in Solo and Madiun been shared to some extent by Sudirman himself. It is therefore of some importance to consider the reasons

67. For the text of Sukarno's speech, see Kementerian Penerangan, Republik Indonesia Propinsi Djawa Timur (Jakarta, n.d.), pp. 53-56.

68. Muso's reply was carried in the Madiun newspaper Front Nasional, September 21, 1948, and is reproduced in Pinardi, Peristiwa Coup, p. 91.

which led the army commander to support the government over Madiun (as he had done earlier in the case of Solo) even though, as he must have realized, it could well mean civil war.

Like the republican leaders in Yogyakarta, Sudirman was against the inclusion of FDR-PKI groups in the government; this was not because he shared their concern about the "harm" it might do to the Republic's image abroad, still less because he was afraid of the social changes the left desired, but rather because he saw it as the only way in which the army's autonomous position could be preserved and its role as guardian of the state maintained. To be sure, the army commander was not particularly enchanted by the post-Renville alliance of the reformist staff officers, the Siliwangi, and the Hatta cabinet--a combination of military and political forces which reduced his own position in the army and the amount of direct influence he could bring to bear generally on national policy. Yet, for all these shortcomings and the personal and temperamental difficulties that had attended relations between Sudirman and the Hatta cabinet and its military associates throughout the spring and summer of 1948, the combination at least promised to free the military from civilian interference. If, however, the FDR groups were brought into the government, Sudirman had little doubt that they would redouble their efforts to secure physical and ideological control over the armed forces as in the past and reduce his own authority in the army still further. Thus, there was a tactical understanding between an army commander, who wanted the autonomy of the army upheld, and the Hatta cabinet, which was determined to deny the FDR a place in national politics. A firm law and order stand had satisfied the interests of both parties in the Solo crisis; it now promised to do the same in the case of Madiun.

The army commander viewed the Madiun incident--as he had the BPRI affair in March and the recent fighting in Solo--as a concerted attempt by outside groups to carve out their own spheres of political influence within the armed forces.⁶⁹ If this process of disintegration were not stopped, there would be little chance of the armed forces remaining united, still less of their being able to defend the territorial integrity of the Republic, which had been the army's special mission ever since the outbreak of the revolution. Instead of being the ultimate guarantor of national unity, the military would merely become the stage on which various political parties would continue their petty struggles for power. The armed forces would cease to be the life-spirit of the revolution, the only organized force in the Republic which truly reflected the collective will of the community struggling to rid itself of colonialism and to regain a sense of purpose and national identity. It so happened in the Madiun Affair that the threat to the army's cohesion had come from the left, but the issue was so fundamental to the army commander that particular political complexions of the parties did not matter to him all that much.

69. Following an inspection tour of army units in the Surakarta region on September 21, Sudirman declared that the conflict between the Senopati and the Siliwangi had been aggravated by the activities of unspecified pengacau (agitators) who were bent on destroying the unity of the armed forces. Since the army could not defend the interests of particular groups, but only that of the republican state proclaimed in August 1945, it had been necessary to remove the pengacau from the scene. Kedaulatan Rakjat, September 23, 1948. In a special interview granted to three correspondents of Merdeka in Solo at about the same time, the army commander laid the blame for the Madiun revolt at the door of Amir Syarifuddin, who had merely been "assisted" by Muso in spreading confusion and disorder in the Republic. Merdeka (Jakarta), October 2, 1972.

Just as Sudirman considered it vital for the army to remain outside the rivalries of political parties, so in cases where political infection was proved, the military should take steps to divest itself of such influence, but in such a way as to leave its essential impartiality intact. Sudirman could never agree, as many orthodox Islamic groups associated with the Masyumi asserted, that the task of restoring republican authority should become the occasion for a holy war against the FDR and such bases of support as they enjoyed within the abangan communities. Nor, in theory at least, could he subscribe to the view of many Siliwangi leaders that the recovery operation could be a convenient way of implementing the main provisions of the reorganization program and arriving at a new kind of military professionalism. Rather, the army commander interpreted the order from the president as a strictly limited operation in which only the ringleaders of the Madiun Affair would be sought out and punished. Anything more extended would provoke the FDR-PKI leaders into adopting scorched earth tactics and precipitate a civil war, which would be disastrous not only for the unity of the armed forces but also for the prospects of eventual national independence. After all, in his speech on September 19, Sukarno had referred specifically to the "errors" committed by the followers of the "PKI-Muso," not to those of the left as a whole.

However much the army commander genuinely believed in the wisdom of a limited policy of containment, he now found himself up against intense pressure from junior Siliwangi leaders who could scarcely contain their enthusiasm for a final showdown with the FDR-PKI. At the August conference of senior army leaders in Code, Nasution had strongly argued the case for using the Siliwangi to deal with the threat which the revitalized left-wing parties seemed to represent.⁷⁰ In the same month, a pro-Nasution staff officer, Lieutenant Colonel A. Latief Hendraningrat, was levered into the strategically important post of Yogyakarta city commander, thereby enhancing the government's position in the capital as much as it had been in Solo with the appointment of Major Achmadi as garrison commander at the end of May.⁷¹ Early on the morning of September 19, the Pesindo and SOBSI headquarters in Yogyakarta were occupied, the offices of several left-wing newspapers and journals in the capital, including those of *Revolusioner*, *Suara Ibu Kota*, *Buruh*, *Patriot*, and *Bintang Merah* were raided, and a number of FDR-PKI supporters, perhaps as many as two hundred, detained for questioning--all on the direct orders of the deputy commander of the Mobile Forces.⁷² Thus, by the time the Madiun Affair climaxed, the army commanded and, to a lesser extent, the president himself discovered that they had only a tenuous hold over events in and around the capital and were increasingly obliged to endorse initiatives taken by Nasution's followers acting in cooperation with Prime Minister Hatta. Having consolidated their hold over the capital, the senior army leaders next debated tactics for the recapture of Madiun and other areas under the sway of the FDR-PKI. Because the army commander was said to be "indisposed," the detailed planning of the campaign was left entirely to Nasution and Gatot Subroto, the military governor of Solo and Semarang.⁷³ (Sudirman's "illness" was the clearest indication yet of the extent to which the West Javanese forces and pro-reform groups had

70. Rapportage Indonesië, "Kort Verslag," doc. no. 5328.

71. Nasional, August 14, 1948.

72. Keng Po, September 21, 1948; Berita Indonesia, September 21, 1948.

73. Nasution, TNI, II, pp. 238-39.

gained control over the situation in the center.) The strategy which they arrived at was a simple pincer movement involving the dispatch of the main force of Siliwangi, Barisan Banteng, and Hizbullah units towards Madiun with smaller detachments bearing down on FDR-PKI positions over the pass on Mt. Lawu between Tawangmangu and Sarangan. At the same time, Lieutenant Colonel Sunarto's Mobile Brigade and the West Javanese forces in Cepu together with the Narotama Division in Kediri were ordered to converge on Madiun, thus completing the circle and blocking off all avenues of escape.

The East Javanese Response

Efforts to secure the support of the East Javanese military leaders began soon after Muso's radio address on September 19, when Sudirman appointed Major General Sungkono--the leader of the Narotama Division--as Panglima Pertahanan Jawa Timur (East Java defense commander) with the task of restoring security in the province.⁷⁴ After what must have seemed an agonizing delay, a brief communiqué was issued from Sungkono's headquarters in Kediri some eighteen hours later announcing that the province had been placed under provisional military control and calling on the people to give what assistance they could to the new administration. The following day, when all key offices and installations had been placed under military supervision, Lieutenant Colonel Surachmad, the local territorial commander in Kediri, appealed for calm and ordered all members of the FDR-PKI to register at their nearest district office not later than September 22. While the Narotama leaders had pledged their allegiance to the president and the army commander, they initially refused to have anything to do with the Madiun recovery operation which got underway from Solo on September 21.

Clearly, one important factor holding up the movement of the Kediri forces was the very bad personal relationship between the Narotama leader and Deputy Commander Nasution ever since the publication of the reorganization measures in May. Under the reforms, Sungkono was scheduled to become a mere assistant to Colonel B. K. P. H. Jatikusumo, the army chief of staff, while the leadership of the new Second Mobile Division in Madiun was given to Colonel Bambang Supeno, an officer of much lower rank and revolutionary standing in the province. If this proposal were ever implemented, it would mean not only that East Java would lose the services of a popular and respected *bapak* (literally, father) leader at a time when the Dutch seemed poised for a second attack, but the probable end of Sungkono's career, since in the capital he would be friendless and out of his element in the complexities of administration and national-level politics. Sungkono's

74. Trompet Masyarakat, September 21, 1948. This appointment was announced at 10:00 P.M. on September 19, just after Muso's speech, but the decision to nominate Sungkono must have been taken beforehand, possibly at the cabinet meeting earlier that day and at Sudirman's insistence. Sungkono hailed from the Banyumas region of Central Java. He had enlisted as a cadet in the Royal Dutch Marines and played a minor role in the celebrated mutiny on board the "Zeven Provinciën" in February 1933. During the occupation he served as a Peta company commander in Surabaya and later became BKR leader in the city. At the beginning of 1946, Sungkono was elected commander of the Narotama Division and chairman of the Surabaya Regional Defense Council in Mojokerto. The Narotama forces retreated to Kediri when the Dutch overran the Surabaya Front region in March 1947. Interview with Sungkono on October 12, 1972, in Jakarta.

supporters suspected that the decision to summon him to Yogyakarta was nothing less than a calculated attempt to reduce the status of the East Java forces and at the same time to bolster the claims of the Siliwangi as the premier division in the Republic. Even when it had been clearly demonstrated that the reforms commanded little if any support among the Kediri units, Nasution had led the hue and cry to have the Narotama leader impeached for "insubordination," and later sponsored the East Java Defense Staff, from which Sungkono and other anti-reform officers in the province were excluded.⁷⁵ It was not altogether surprising, therefore, that the Kediri leader should have felt reluctant to fall into line with the Madiun campaign strategy promulgated from Yogyakarta. Indeed, he might have savored the reflection that, but for the reform program and the dogged determination with which it had been implemented in the province, the incident in Madiun might never have occurred.

Aside from clashes of personality and temperament with their overtones of regional and divisional rivalry, there were more practical reasons delaying the movement of the Narotama forces on September 21. After the takeover in Madiun, the atmosphere in the Kediri residency was so tense that it was extremely difficult for Sungkono to know what the reaction of the local forces might be.⁷⁶ Undoubtedly, one of his main anxieties must have been the probable attitude of Lieutenant Colonel Dachlan and the rump of the Twenty-ninth Brigade which had remained behind in Kediri. Already some of the Pesindo units of the Brigade were consolidating their hold over the local people and sugar workers in the Pesantren district near Kediri and in other areas in the Brantas valley down as far as Tulungagung in the south.⁷⁷ Another of his worries was the probable response of the small but heavily armed and intensely Islamic Jokotole unit from Madura and the extreme eastern parts of the province, which had settled in the Kediri residency following the Renville Agreement. Although the Madurese troops had remained largely neutral in the arguments over military rationalization, their support might easily swing in a pro-government direction if, in the present crisis, they interpreted their interests along communal and ethnic lines.

A more perplexing situation presented itself in the Nganjuk and Jombang region a few miles to the north of Kediri and astride the route along which Sungkono had been ordered to dispatch a contingent to attack FDR-PKI positions around Caruban, one of the important gateways

75. As a punishment for his opposition to the reforms, a meeting of the Dewan Tata Tertib (Disciplinary Council) in Yogyakarta decided to reduce Sungkono's rank to lieutenant colonel and to place him on the nonactive service list for three months. *Rapportage Indonesië, Nefis Series: Militaire Overzicht no. 48/19*, dated July 17, 1948. Far from having the desired salutary effect, however, the verdict only succeeded in arousing even stronger opposition to the reorganization measures in the province. Placards appeared in Jombang, Blitar, and Kediri demanding Sungkono's immediate reinstatement and the resignation of Deputy Commander Nasution, who was widely suspected of being the evil genius behind the "trial." *Ibid.* The reformers soon abandoned the Second Mobile Division project and set up a face-saving Provincial Defense Staff towards the end of July 1948. Having lost much prestige in attempting to implement the May reform proposals, Col. Bambang Supeno was withdrawn to the safety of Nasution's staff, and leadership of the Provincial Defense Staff passed to his second in command, Lt. Col. Marhadi, who retained most of the staff officers who had been aboard the ill-fated Mobile Division.

76. *Hari Warta*, September 23, 1948.

77. *Ibid.*, September 24, 1948.

leading into Madiun. The possibility of sustained inter-republican conflict here was much more likely than in Kediri because the region contained fairly large concentrations of Pesindo and Hizbullah forces whose support was firmly rooted in the local communities.⁷⁸ Feelings in the area had been running high ever since the Nganjuk incident on September 13, when, as we have seen, the predominantly Hizbullah units from STD Kediri wiped out Munaji's TLRI forces which were allegedly endangering local security. Apparently, after the seizure of Madiun, the anti-government forces recovered to such an extent that they were able to block the passage of a mobile police detachment under Imam Bachri which had been instructed to march on Caruban.⁷⁹ Such indications as there were suggested that the Madiun Affair was polarizing loyalties still further on a communal basis. Some evidence of this was provided by Major Solichi's Hizbullah battalion of the Twenty-ninth Brigade which announced that it could no longer accept Lieutenant Colonel Dachlan as leader and was giving its full support to the stand taken by the president and the army commander.⁸⁰

Solichi's action was a clear example of communal sentiment asserting itself within the context of the laskar brigade, but it may also have been designed to pressure Lieutenant Colonel Kretarto (the commander of the Thirty-second Regiment of the Narotama Division in Jombang) into taking a more resolutely pro-government line than he had appeared willing to do so far.⁸¹ Kretarto had been one of the Narotama Division's most outspoken opponents of the reform measures, partly because they did not accord with his own views, and partly because of the weight of anti-reform feeling within the regiment, particularly from old Surabaya Front hands like Majors Jarot and Darmosugondo, who regarded the passive territorial status they had been given as an affront

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78. Earlier, in June, there were reports of clashes in the area between the TNI and the Hizbullah which resulted in fifteen regular army and thirty-five irregular soldiers being killed. Keng Po, June 22, 1948. Fighting also broke out between Narotama and BPRI units when the latter attempted to steal supplies from the Purwosari sugar factory just outside Kediri. At the same time, Lt. Kusharto (a company commander in Battalion 131 of the Narotama Division based in Papar, roughly midway between Kediri and Jombang) was inexplicably killed by his own men. Ibid., June 22, 1948.
 79. Kementerian Penerangan, Dua puluh tahun Merdeka (Jakarta, 1965), III, p. 790.
 80. Hari Warta, September 26, 1948. Some indication of the tense situation prevailing in the area can be gauged from the tone of government pamphlets dropped by republican planes from September 23 onwards. These broadsides asserted that the PKI was out to eliminate Sukarno; denied that there was any pact with the Dutch to crush the communists; refuted the charge that the Siliwangi was an imperialist army; and appealed to the people to rally around the president as the living embodiment of the revolution. Rapportage Indonesië, Nefis Series: Wekelijks Overzicht en Ontwikkeling van den Toestand no. 89, dated October 1 to 7, 1948.
 81. Kretarto was born in 1913 in Bandung, West Java. He attended Western elementary and secondary schools in Madiun before continuing his education at the MHS in Surabaya. Trompet Masjarakat, November 26, 1949. In the Japanese period he served as a Peta company commander in the Surabaya residency. Soon after August 1945 he joined the Security Guard Council in Mojokerto and later became BKR leader in the Jombang regency. Suara Asia, September 4, 1945. During the First Action he headed the Thirty-second Regiment of the Narotama Division based in Kertosono. In January 1948 he was one of the East Java front line commanders who negotiated with the Dutch over the Renville demarcation line in the province. Under the reform measures announced in May 1948 he was scheduled to become commander of STD Surabaya in Jombang. Koesnodiprodjo, ed., Himpunan 1948, p. 569.

to their military prowess.⁸² Kretarto was also a leading member of the Ikatan Perwira (Officers' Union), which roundly condemned the reform package on the grounds that it created confusion, sapped mental and spiritual concentration, and undermined the popular defense system in the region.⁸³ In addition, the Jombang leader and his forces enjoyed a long and, apparently, quite amicable relationship with the Pesindo-dominated Regional People's Defense Section of the TNI Masyarakat under Major S. Mustofa, who was now responsible for security in Madiun.⁸⁴

If the northern route out of Kediri was rendered impassable by the uncertainty prevailing in the Nganjuk and Jombang areas, Sungkono also found his way to Madiun from the south blocked by the bitter communal fighting that was already in progress in and around Blitar. On September 12, Masyumi speakers at a rally in Lodoyo, a few miles to the southeast of Blitar, denounced the PKI scheme to abolish *tanah bengkok* (land assigned to village officials) rights and called upon their supporters to arm themselves.⁸⁵ The following day, Mohammad Yasin's Mobile Police and regular army units from Lieutenant Colonel Rivai's brigade arrested a number of leftists in Lodoyo before marching on Blitar to obtain the release of Masyumi and PNI sympathizers within the local *pamong praja* (civil service), who had been detained earlier by the vice-regent and units belonging to Sidik Arselan's Pesindo regiment.⁸⁶ By first light on September 19, Yasin's forces had succeeded in disarming many Pesindo members and had gained partial control over Blitar and its surrounding districts. This action, however, only shifted the scene of the fighting to the Keras and Ngadirejo sugar

82. Interview with Kadim Prawirodirjo on March 1, 1972, in Jakarta.

83. Hari Warta, August 21, 1948. The Ikatan Perwira seems to have been formed by anti-reformist factions within the Narotama under Maj. Kadim Prawirodirjo (head of operations in the divisional staff) sometime in August 1948. Ibid. It was open to junior lieutenants and above which, given the high level of ranks prevailing at the time, effectively meant the entire officer corps in the region. Patterned after the Peta's balai prajurit (soldiers' halls), the IP combined the characteristics of a junior officers' trade union and a democratic assembly for all revolutionary struggle groups. There was much in common, and no doubt a good deal of cross-membership, between the IP and other staunch advocates of people's defense such as the Staf Perhubungan Masyarakat (Community Liaison Staff), the Ikatan Prajurit (Soldiers' Union), and the Ikatan Bekas Prajurit (Veterans' Union).

84. Merdeka, September 20, 1948. Mustofa's appointment was announced by Jokosuyono on September 19.

85. Buruh, September 18, 1948. In return for services rendered by the pamong desa (village officials), the Dutch colonial authorities had set aside certain portions of the village land for their own private use. The size of these tanah bengkok plots varied, but the headman's share was usually large enough to place him at the top of the social and economic hierarchy in the village or hamlet. Following the Japanese surrender in August 1945, there were a number of popular demands, not all of them successful, for reductions in the size of such tanah bengkok holdings. In a speech before the Barisan Tani Indonesia (Indonesian Peasants' League) in September 1948, Muso asserted that essential ingredients of an agrarian revolution included the democratization of village administration, the elimination of feudal elements, and the restoration of bengkok lands to the peasants. Ibid., September 4, 1948. For the left's attitudes to the tanah bengkok question during the revolution, see Reid, Indonesian National Revolution, pp. 62, 138-39, 145, 146.

86. Antara, September 23, 1948.

estate areas between Tulungagung and Kediri, where it assumed ominous communal dimensions. On September 20, the Masyumi Defense Council in Yogyakarta appealed to all Hizbullah and Sabilillah (Path of Allah) commanders in the Ponorogo and Tulungagung areas to support the republican effort against the PKI whose actions in Madiun not only violated state sovereignty but also threatened the *ummat* (community) and religion of Islam.⁸⁷ If the situation in the region was not already serious enough, the Laskar Merah (Red Militia) under Major Jiin announced a few days later that it was renouncing its links with Rivai's brigade and joining forces with the FDR-PKI.⁸⁸

Conceivably, the suspicion lingered within anti-Sungkono circles in Yogyakarta that the real reason delaying the dispatch of the Kediri forces was the political hold the leftist parties had over the East Javanese leader. The FDR, however, was only thinly represented in the Kediri residency and had not enjoyed any direct influence either within the Narotama staff or among the regional commands, partly because of their distance from the capital. It is true, of course, that the recent emphasis the FDR parties were giving to popular defense and the preservation of the TNI's identity within the projected Federal Army were points which the Narotama leaders would have gladly supported. At the same time they also remembered that not so very long ago Amir Syarifuddin had occupied the Defense Ministry and attempted to implement the same centralizing military policies which the Hatta cabinet was insisting upon in 1948.

If there was any question of outside political influence in Kediri, it was more likely to have come from the more moderate elements in the GRR (that is, the "national communist" groups, with the exception of Dr. Muwardi's faction which ended up passionately anti-PKI), who clearly perceived a threat to their own positions in any government-backed drive against the left. For example, Tan Malaka's cautious statement that there must be a thorough investigation into all the circumstances surrounding the Madiun incident before any blame could be apportioned was the kind of moderation the Narotama leaders would have applauded.⁸⁹ Equally, they would have endorsed the warning of the GRR's Central Council to the government not to forget the importance of maintaining national unity when restoring security within the Republic.⁹⁰ Even so, the Kediri leaders had their own ideas about the independence struggle and of the role of the army in the revolution, which would have been asserted without the "national communists" having to remind them. This freedom of action was to be expressed very clearly during the second Dutch attack on the Republic, when the Narotama leaders moved against Tan Malaka and his East Java following, in the belief that their political activities were damaging the independence movement.⁹¹

87. Merdeka, September 21, 1948.

88. Rapportage Indonesië, Nefis Publicatie no. 90.

89. For the text of Tan Malaka's statement, see Kedaulatan Rakjat, September 27, 1948.

90. Merdeka, October 6, 1948.

91. On December 27, 1948, following the Dutch capture of senior republican leaders in Yogyakarta, the "national communist" groups in Kediri proclaimed a new republican administration with Tan Malaka as its president. Rapportage Indonesië, CMI Series: Dag Rapport van de Sectie Inlichtingen, dated January 29, 1949. The Narotama leaders strongly disapproved of this move, partly because they were

The East Java leaders had strong reservations about purging the laskar in Madiun, not because of any political affinities with either the FDR-PKI or the "national communists," but rather because the authoritarian and conservative mentality they perceived as being implied in that sort of exercise was foreign to their populist notions of what the revolution was all about. Unlike their military counterparts in West Java, the Narotama leaders had generally respected and tolerated irregular forces of whatever ideological complexion not only because in the case of the Pesindo and the Hizbullah they happened to be as well armed as the regular units, but also because they were conscious of the complementary role which the laskar had and could continue to play in the struggle for independence. The irregular units were not regarded as some unfortunate by-product of revolutionary exuberance (as Nasution evidently thought), but an indispensable part of the revolutionary whole. Aside from this, the Kediri leaders must have had great difficulty in believing assessments of the Madiun incident which portrayed it as a coup d'état. Those laskar leaders who stood accused of high treason, such as Dachlan, Sumarsono, and Sidik Arselan, were close friends of the Narotama leaders; all three had served alongside Sungkono on the Surabaya Regional Defense Council in 1946; and all three had been represented on the Narotama War Council during the First Action: their revolutionary records suggested they were patriots, not traitors.⁹²

In addition, the East Java leaders suspected that the so-called recovery operation against radical elements involved in the Affair was the thin end of a wedge which would eventually erode the revolutionary elan of the republican armies and end with their partial absorption

still loyal to President Sukarno, partly because of the declared intention of the new administration to bring all of the armed forces in the Republic under its direct political supervision. Towards the end of 1948, Surachmad was given orders to arrest the "national communist" leaders, including Tan Malaka, Syamsu Harya Udaya, and Rustam Effendi, but they all managed to escape when the Dutch forces occupied Kediri. From this point onwards, the story becomes confused. All the available evidence, however, suggests that Tan Malaka was executed by Narotama forces some time between February and April 1949, though it is not clear precisely by whom. One version, perhaps the most likely, is that after escaping from Kediri, Tan Malaka was detained just south of Nganjuk, where he was shot by Yonosewoyo, the former commander of the Seventh TKR Division in Surabaya. Another version is that he was executed on the orders of Sungkono and Surachmad during the first half of April 1949 in the southern part of the Kediri residency. For a summary of the various theories, see Rapportage Indonésien, CMI Signalement: "De Terechtstelling van Tan Malaka," dated July 18, 1949. Surachmad, while admitting that the Narotama units and the CPM were instructed to detain political agitators during the second Dutch attack, strongly denied charges subsequently leveled by Syamsu Harya Udaya that he was directly implicated in the death of Tan Malaka. Pedomani, February 10, 1951.

92. It is interesting to note in passing that Lt. Col. Dachlan played no part in the Madiun takeover because he was in Kediri when it happened. Evidently, at 8:00 P.M. on September 18, a deputation consisting of Maj. Gen. Sutopo, the local commander in Jambi, Lt. Sugeng of the CPM Yogyakarta, and Cokrosantoso from the Welfare Ministry arrived at the laskar leader's headquarters to complain about uniforms which members of the Twenty-ninth Brigade had stolen from army units in Jambi. Antara, October 11, 1948. On September 21, Dachlan set off for Jombang, apparently with the intention of going to Yogyakarta, but he was "persuaded" by the Pesindo to make his way to Purwodadi. Ibid. On the same day, Jokosuyono made him battle commander for the National Front in Madiun, and, probably because he had already been declared a traitor by Sukarno two days earlier, he had nothing to lose by accepting the appointment.

into a Federal Army arrangement unmistakably colored by the Dutch military ethos. An essential precondition for the establishment of a federal military system, as they were only too well aware, was reducing the existing size of the republican armed forces and regrouping those that remained into supposedly more efficient mobile and STD formations. Already some indication of the numbers likely to be mustered out of the army had been given in the May 1948 rationalization program; but not even the most implacable anti-reform groups in the province quite expected the massive cuts apparently being contemplated by the Hatta cabinet in a bid to conclude a diplomatic settlement with the Dutch.⁹³ Even if they escaped the ravages of such a major demobilization program, the provincial military leaders and their followers would still find themselves competing at a distinctly unfair advantage in any federal system with reformist officers like Simatupang, Nasution, Hidayat, and Jatikusumo, who enjoyed the benefits of a relatively advanced military and technical education in the pre-war colonial army. The Kediri leadership was determined, if it could, to prevent the high command from using the Federal Army scheme as an excuse to undermine their positions in the hinterland army and society and to set limits on the pursuit of their own legitimate aspirations within a fully independent Republic. These aspirations were partly based on the relative improvement that had taken place, during the Japanese period, in their social status vis-à-vis traditional regional elite groups like the *pamong praja* and the secular nationalists, and partly on their own achievements and sacrifices in subsequently defending the Republic against attempts by the Dutch to restore the colonial status quo. The East Java military leaders had little doubt that the projected United States of Indonesia would be nothing more than a neo-colonial device, affording the Dutch as much influence over Indonesia's internal affairs as they had enjoyed in the past, and that any armed forces under its control would be nothing more than a conservative constabulary with the principal task of maintaining law and order throughout the archipelago.

The Kediri leaders' reluctance to authorize the movement of forces out of the residency did not escape the notice of the FDR-PKI in Madiun. In a radio broadcast from Madiun on September 21--clearly intended for the ears of the East Java military and pro-Sudirman groups at the center--Jokosuyono asserted that the reorganization program had given members of the "reactionary bourgeois clique" like Nasution, Simatupang, and Jatikusumo, commanding positions within the armed forces and had completely ignored the aspirations of the younger and more radical *pemuda* groups, who had either been downgraded to reserve status, or maneuvered out of the army altogether. He described the Madiun incident as a "corrective" action in the radical *pemuda* tradition, designed merely to put the government back on the revolutionary path from which it had strayed. Jokosuyono ended his speech by calling upon the younger generation to purge the reactionary elements in their midst, so that the armed forces could go forward united and full of flaming spirit to confront the Dutch imperialists.⁹⁴ At the same time,

93. In an interview with Daniel Schorr--the local correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor--Hatta was reported as saying that the republican army would be reduced from 462,000 men to 50-60,000 and placed under a Joint Supreme Command with the Dutch armed forces. Nieuwsgier, June 16, 1948. Shortly afterwards, Hatta stated that 60,000 people had been demobilized already and that presently another 40,000 *laskar* would also find themselves outside the armed forces. Keng Po, June 24, 1948, citing an interview in Siasat.

94. Merdeka, September 21, 1948.

a meeting of the STD Madiun officers was arranged under Jokosuyono's chairmanship to give formal blessing to the corrective line policy.⁹⁵ The next day the assembled officers approved a conference of East Java military leaders in order to restore national unity and pressure the government into reviewing the situation that had arisen in Madiun. Among those invited to attend the conference set for September 24 were Sungkono, the provincial defense commander; Mohammad Yasin, the head of the Mobile Police Brigade; and Kretarto, the Narotama regimental commander.⁹⁶

Of the few cards the FDR-PKI leaders had left to play, this invitation offer was far and way the strongest. In playing it, they were not attempting to enlist the East Java military leaders' support for their actions in Madiun, but, more subtly, by securing their presence in that city, to undermine the credibility of the government's claim that what had occurred was really a coup. If Sungkono and others could be persuaded to come to the conference, it would demonstrate East Java's neutrality and leave the government with the difficult decision whether to allow the recovery operation to turn into a one-sided Siliwangi campaign, which would almost certainly provoke civil war, or to call the operation off and negotiate terms with the FDR-PKI leaders.

The significance of Jokosuyono's overtures to East Java was not lost on the republican leaders in the capital. Army headquarters immediately countered with the warning that anyone attending the Madiun conference would be regarded as a rebel and guilty of the same high treason as the FDR-PKI. Fast on the heels of this move came word that the high command had discharged more officers from the armed forces for their involvement in the Affair. These officers included: Colonel R. Jokosuyono, former deputy chief of staff of the Java territorial forces; Ir. Sakirman, head of Community Liaison in the Defense Ministry; Lieutenant Colonel Pramuji and Major Anas, Pesindo commanders in the Magelang area; Lieutenant Colonel A. Musbach, head of the Twenty-first District of the TNI Masyarakat in Pati; Major Banumadi and Major Usman, both members of Jokosuyono's staff; and Lieutenant Colonel Martono Brotokusumo on Sakirman's staff.⁹⁷ To underline the gravity

95. The officers obliged to attend the meeting included: Lt. Col. Sumantri, commander of STD Madiun; Maj. Guritno, chief of staff of STD Madiun; Maj. Rukmito, an East Java Defense Staff officer; Capt. Yasin and Capt. Sudirman on the staff of the Thirty-first Regiment in Madiun; and other junior staff officers of STD Madiun. *Rapportage Indonesië*, CMI Series: "Vertaling Nota: 'Opstand PKI-Muso,'" doc. no. 5580, dated November 1, 1948.

96. *Keng Po*, September 23, 1948; *Antara*, October 1, 1948.

97. *Nasional*, September 23, 1948. The high command added that Lt. Col. Sumantri of STD Madiun and Lt. Col. Umar Joi of STD Bojonegoro were to be suspended pending an official inquiry into their part in the Madiun events. Doubtless this sword of Damocles was designed to prevent these leaders and their followers from giving any more assistance to the anti-government side than could be helped in the circumstances. Interestingly, the name of the PPS leader Suadi did not appear on the list of discharged officers. This may have been at Sudirman's insistence, bearing in mind his comments after his inspection tour of Surakarta on the 21st, and also because at this stage the republican leaders did not want to alienate associates of the Senopati commander like Major Slamet Riyadi, whose forces were attacking PKI positions around Wonogiri and Sukoharjo to the south of Solo. However, following the defection of Sudigdo, one of Suadi's battalion commanders, pressure for his removal could not be contained and on September 25 he was discharged from the armed forces. *Merdeka*, September 26, 1948. Presum-

of the situation even more, the list of discharged officers was accompanied by a much fuller account than Sukarno had developed earlier of the FDR's strategy for revolution in Indonesia. It was claimed that detailed searches of the homes of prominent FDR leaders in Yogyakarta, including Amir Syarifuddin, had uncovered "new" documentary evidence that the opposition parties were bracing themselves for a coup due to begin in November 1948. In the meantime, their aim was to make Surakarta a "wild west" region in order to divert the government's attention, and to concentrate most of their armed strength in Madiun, the real scene of the revolution. The venture would be crowned with the emergence of Muso as the new president of the Republic and Amir Syarifuddin as his right hand man in charge of defense.⁹⁸

More specific pressure was applied on the Narotama when on September 23 Sukarno announced that, under the terms of the emergency powers he had been granted to deal with the Affair, the province of East Java was to assume the status of a Special Military District with Sungkono

ably, the PPS marine leaders, Yadau and Suyoto, had been deemed beyond the republican pale on September 21, the date set for the expiration of Gatot Subroto's ultimatum after the battle of Solo. Subsequently, Gatot Subroto led the marine rank and file to believe that their funds had been squandered, their idealism abused, and the country thrown into confusion and turmoil by the activities of their leaders. Merdeka, September 24, 1948.

98. Keng Po, September 28, 1948. It seems, however, that the "new" documentary evidence produced by the government at this time first saw the light of day, not at the home of Amir Syarifuddin, but in the columns of the GRR organ Murba, whose April 1st edition carried the substance of it under the title "Quo vadis Sayap Kiri?" The Solo branch of the FDR roundly denied all responsibility for the revolutionary ideas contained in the article and accused the GRR of deliberately fomenting disorder and spreading confusion. In fact, the revolutionary strategy attributed to the FDR could equally have been devised by the "national communists" themselves, since the thinking behind it bore a remarkable similarity to the ideas Tan Malaka had outlined in a tract entitled Naar de Republiek Indonesië (Towards the Indonesian Republic), first published in 1925. Tan Malaka had envisaged the proletarian wing of the Indonesian communist movement drawing its main strength from the Solo and Madiun valleys which, with their sugar factories, machine-tool industries, oil-refining plants, and railroad yards, constituted Java's economic center of gravity. It is difficult, in view of this, to credit the FDR parties in 1948 with the sole authorship of the "Solo-Madiun strategy." Conceivably, they became identified with that strategy after it was known that, while he was defense minister, Amir had secreted large quantities of arms and ammunition in the Madiun residency for use in the event of a Dutch attack. If that happened, Madiun would become one of the hinterland bases from which to prosecute a long-term guerrilla campaign against the invader. The possibility that this could be equally well adapted for a major confrontation with the republican government in Yogyakarta appeared, or rather, was made to have some credibility, when the Pesindo units took up positions around the residency in the middle of September 1948. Yet the weakness in the government's account from this point onwards was why the FDR-PKI forces took the bus to revolution on September 18. In that month there were no major international or domestic crises from which they could have benefited, and their military position after the Senopati's defeat in Solo had never been weaker. Moreover, the FDR-PKI were in no position organizationally to sustain an all-out revolution at this time, since many disagreements were being expressed over the fusion of the FDR coalition into a single communist party under the control of Muso. In fact, the internal conflicts over the proposed merger spread right down to the regional branches, with both Banten and Bojonegoro coming out against the intended political reorganization.

as its military governor.⁹⁹ While this might have accorded the East Java leader the recognition he had always sought from Yogyakarta, it also made him directly responsible for the restoration of law and order throughout the province, including Madiun. With the new appointment, there could be no doubt about Sungkono's specific duties, as there had been to some extent in Sudirman's original order on September 19 confirming his position as provincial defense commander, nor about the likely fate that would await him if these duties were not carried out.

The spate of dismissals from the armed forces, coupled with the creation of the Special Military District, appear to have had the desired galvanizing effect. On September 23, Sungkono announced that the old STD territorial commands were to be replaced by Daerah Militer Keresidenan (Residency Military Districts) and that all governmental agencies outside the regular army and military police were to be taken over by the military governor.¹⁰⁰ In making these formal gestures of solidarity with Yogyakarta, Sungkono did not at the same time entirely abandon the principles he had always believed in, nor alter his own priorities. The arrests which took place in the Kediri residency after September 23 were ordered not on the basis of a group's particular ideological leanings, but on whether their activities undermined the unity of the independence cause. Members of the Twenty-ninth Brigade, for example, were only rounded up after Dachlan had announced his intention of joining Jokusuyono's command in Madiun. Moreover, Sungkono used his new authority to rid himself of the irksome presence of Lieutenant Colonel Suhud and to bring all mobile and territorial forces in Kediri under the single command of the more approachable Surachmad. On September 26, Surachmad announced the subdivision of the residency into a number of Daerah Militer Kabupaten (DMK, Regency Military Districts) which, in all cases except Blitar, were headed by battalion commanders from his own Diponegoro Regiment.¹⁰¹ Operating under the supervision of these commands was a Gabungan Pertahanan Rakyat (People's Defense Association) made up of local administrators, civilian police, and political representatives from the Masyumi, the PNI, and the GRR, whose task it was to look after security in the villages and report any major incidents to the DMK commander. Surachmad was also delegated the task of assembling a token expeditionary force for Madiun. One of his problems was a real shortage of manpower, since most of his own territorial units were already heavily committed in security assignments within the Kediri residency and other forces could only be used at the cost of seriously weakening republican strength along the demarcation line. Eventually, he was forced to draw upon the services of R. M. Yonosewoyo and Zainal Sabaruddin, who had been imprisoned for their part in the Mohammad Affair in 1946;¹⁰² the remainder of the expeditionary force-

99. Koesnodiprodjo, ed., Himpunan 1948, p. 579.

100. Hari Warta, September 24, 1948.

101. Ibid., September 28, 1948. The appointments were as follows: Capt. Kusnadi for DMK Nganjuk; Maj. Banurejo for DMK Kediri; Maj. Harsono for DMK Tulungagung; Capt. Zainal Fanani for DMK Trenggalek; and Lt. Col. Sruji for DMK Blitar. Ibid.

102. At the beginning of 1946, Major General Mohammad--the appointed head of the TKR Provincial Command on the Surabaya Front--found himself the victim of a coup carried out by Sabaruddin, Ali Umar, Hasanudin, and others belonging to the Polisi Tentara Republik Indonesia (PTRI, Military Police of the Indonesian Republic). Previously, Mohammad had turned down PTRI demands for more funds and supplies partly because he had none to spare and also because from reports

was made up of Surachmad's mobile battalion under Mujayin and Kretarto's depot battalion under Sudarsono. Significantly, since it was not intended to be a punitive mission, there were no Hizbullah units included in the force which finally left Kediri on September 27.¹⁰³ The Kediri contingent, however, failed to live up to much of its strategic promise, since, by the time its forward units neared the approaches to Madiun, the FDR-PKI stronghold had already fallen to the Siliwangi.¹⁰⁴

Although the Narotama leaders had gone through the motions of strengthening their hold over the Kediri residency and supplying a token force for the Madiun campaign, there was no question of their supporting the government's cause in the turbulent region of Pati and Bojonegoro in the extreme northwest of the province. On September 25, a National Front administration was proclaimed in the Pesindo citadel of Purwodadi by Lieutenant Colonel Suyoto, the outlawed TLRI leader of the Senopati Division, and S. Karno, the Resident of Semarang.¹⁰⁵ As a reward for opposing the Hatta cabinet, the new regime promised the peasantry immediate and drastic land reform. The radical cause in the area received a substantial shot in the arm with the defection of Lieutenant Colonel S. Sudiarto, leader of the Senopati's Sixth Brigade, following the apparent rejection of his personal appeal to Army Commander Sudirman for the government to reconsider its interpretation of the Madiun incident in the light of the infinitely greater threat posed by the Dutch troops massed along the demarcation lines in Central Java.¹⁰⁶ Sudiarto's example was followed shortly afterwards by Captain

compiled by the pamong praja during the Surabaya fighting he understood that Sabaruddin and his associates were committing arbitrary punishments against anyone remotely suspected of being an enemy agent. Api Rakjat, April 28, 1947. Angered by Mohammad's unhelpful advice to consult Yonosewoyo, the commander of the Seventh TKR Division, about their upkeep and even more incensed that warrants had been signed for their arrest on criminal charges, the PTRI leaders kidnapped the provincial commander while on a visit to Yogyakarta. He was bundled back to East Java, where Yonosewoyo apparently underlined his approval of the operation by leveling a pistol at Mohammad's head. Ibid., May 19, 1947. The high command suspended Sabaruddin and Yonosewoyo from active service and later awarded them prison sentences of seven and one and a half years respectively.

103. Interview with R. M. Yonosewoyo on October 14, 1972, in Jakarta.

104. The bulk of the forces launched against Madiun from the west on September 21 came from Lt. Col. Kusno Utomo's brigade in Yogyakarta and Lt. Col. Sadikin's units based in Surakarta. In addition, there were assorted groups from the Barisan Banteng and the Hizbullah, giving these forces a punitive complexion which the East Java contingent lacked. The pro-government troops appear to have kept to the original Nasution strategy, though small detachments separated from the main body to deal with the unforeseen National Front governments the PKI forces proclaimed in Wonogiri on September 24 and in Purwodadi the following day. The only hold-up the Siliwangi experienced was around the FDR-PKI fortress towns of Magetan, Ngawi and Caruban, where Jokosuyono himself supervised the resistance, using troops from the TLRI and the Twenty-ninth Brigade. Eventually, after heavy fighting, Siliwangi forces under Maj. Sambas broke through the defense lines and entered Madiun late in the afternoon of September 30. Merah Putih, October 6, 1948.

105. Merdeka, October 10, 1948.

106. Rapportage Indonesië, Nefis Series: Dadelijks Overzicht Belangrijkste Inlichtingen no. 744, dated September 27, 1948. On October 8, Lt. Col. S. Sudiarto and Maj. Purnawi were expelled from the armed forces. Antara, October 9,

Sudono, a battalion commander in the Ronggolawe Mobile Brigade based in Kudus, a few miles to the north of Purwodadi. The anti-government forces rapidly extended their authority throughout the Pati residency, partly because many of the regular army units belonging to Lieutenant Colonel Sunandar's STD Pati command had been demobilized during the reorganization program, and partly because the high command was in no position to offer immediate assistance to its supporters in view of the difficult terrain and the priority accorded to the recapture of Madiun.

The success of the anti-government elements in Purwodadi, however, was short-lived. Republican forces under Lieutenant Colonel Kusno Utomo, the commander of the First Siliwangi Brigade, scored an important victory at Gundik on the border between Pati and Surakarta, clearing the way for a direct assault on the seat of the National Front administration itself. News of the advancing government troops plunged Purwodadi into turmoil, and not even the colorful spectacle of S. Karno touring the city of horseback appealing for calm in any way stemmed the flood of people wishing to leave. Before evacuating their positions, the FDR-PKI forces set fire to buildings, destroyed communications, and killed a number of their Masyumi hostages.¹⁰⁷ Suyoto's caravan headed off east in the general direction of Cepu, where they hoped to provide support for the Laskar Buruh Minyak (Oil Workers' Militia) and the Pesindo and BPRI units associated with the Third Regiment of the Seventeenth Brigade TNI Masyarakat, which were locked in battle with pro-government forces for control of the town. Tensions in Cepu had been evident long before the Madiun incident, arising from the heavy-handed actions of the single Siliwangi detachment in the area, which had the task of guarding factories and containing the SOBSI labor unions at the huge oil installations. The government's position in Cepu was actually rather weak, partly because of the size of the opposing forces, and partly because the local Mobile Brigade commander, Lieutenant Colonel Sunarto, had been appointed purely on the basis of Jatikusumo's recommendation and, being Solonese, had no significant local constituency to which he could appeal for support.¹⁰⁸ With the arrival of Suyoto's forces at the gates of Cepu, the beleaguered republican defenders saw no other option but to yield. Relief, however, was soon at hand in the shape of Kusno Utomo's contingent, making steady progress from Purwodadi, and additional Siliwangi troops and Major Cholil Tohir's Hizbullah Battalion which were released for new duties following the capture of Madiun. In the ensuing battle, control of Cepu changed hands four times before the government forces emerged triumphant, forcing the retreat of the FDR-PKI units to areas around Blora and Randublatung. The efforts of the republican forces thereafter were devoted to mopping-up operations, though it was not until the end of October that Suyoto was captured.¹⁰⁹

The Narotama Division maintained an equally low profile much nearer home in the Blitar region, where fighting had been going on

1948. Shortly afterwards Sudiarto was captured by republican forces, but managed to escape and form his own guerrilla base in the Semarang area, which even Gatot Subroto was compelled to recognize. Sudiarto was killed in 1950, fighting against the RMS rebels. Soe Hok Gie, "Simpang kiri," p. 114.

107. Merdeka, October 10, 1948.

108. Interview with Lt. Gen. Jatikusumo on March 16, 1972, in Jakarta.

109. Pacific, October 25, 1948.

intermittently ever since the middle of September. Here there was nothing as dramatic as the proclamation of a National Front Administration, but the Madiun Affair did hasten the demise of the mobile brigade led by Lieutenant Colonel Rivai. The Banyuwangi leader had been appointed mobile brigade commander in May, much against the wishes of the local Malang regular army units, who preferred to see their own Hamid Rusdi get the assignment. Feelings against what was perceived as a none-too-subtle attempt at divide and rule on the part of Yogyakarta persisted throughout the summer of 1948, reaching a climax in August when Rivai arrested Rusdi for insubordination.¹¹⁰ Lacking all cohesion and enjoying no confidence in its appointed leader, the brigade ceased to function as a viable unit soon after the Madiun incident and the subsequent defection of Major Jiin's Laskar Merah unit. Responsibility for restoring order in the region thereafter passed into the hands of the Madurese Damarwulan Regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Sruji, whom Surachmad acknowledged as DKM commander in Blitar on September 26. The Kediri commander was taking something of a calculated risk with this appointment because of the known pro-reform sentiment within the Damarwulan and the danger of ethnic conflict where Madurese appeared as law and order forces in a Javanese setting. A Staf Gabungan Angkatan Perang (SGAP, Armed Forces' Combined Staff) was established under Sruji's direction to take more effective action against Pesindo and Laskar Merah groups still holding out in such areas near Blitar as Lodoyo and Srengat and the slopes of Mount Kelud. BPRI units under Sukandar, however, refused to participate in the SGAP's mopping-up operations, apparently remaining loyal to Bung Tomo's appeal on September 23 that they concentrate their efforts solely on expelling the Dutch invader.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, Sruji's forces succeeded in restoring republican control in the region towards the end of October.

Military Government

The fall of Madiun was something of a triumph for all who had played a part in the planning and execution of the recovery operation. Since international and domestic audiences alike were led to believe a major communist rebellion had been put down, the prestige of the Hatta government was duly enhanced, particularly in the United States. Of all the Southeast Asian countries preoccupied with communist-supported movements of dissent at this time, only the Republic of Indonesia had shown that it could maintain law and order in its area of jurisdiction without outside assistance. The government's apparent achievement seemed all the more impressive because the main objective of the recovery exercise--the recapture of Madiun and the dispersal of the FDR-PKI--had been accomplished within a comparatively short time, despite serious material deficiencies due to the Dutch economic blockade, severe communication difficulties even between units advancing in roughly the same direction, and the constant problem of knowing who the enemy was when loyalties swung one way and then another depending on the state of military play and estimates of its likely outcome.¹¹²

One important effect of the Madiun Affair was that it consolidated the alliance of power and ideology that had been struck at the beginning of 1948 between the Hatta cabinet and reformist military leaders like Simatupang, Nasution, and Jatikusumo. All had agreed on the need to disband the radically inclined laskar forces in the name of military

110. Rapportage Indonesië, Nefis Series: Wekelijks Overzicht en Ontwikkeling van den Toestand no. 83, dated August 20 to 26, 1948.

111. Antara, September 29, 1948.

112. Keng Po, September 30, 1948.

reconstruction and all naturally derived a great deal from their successes during the Madiun campaign. For the government, the affair conveniently disposed of the main opposition parties, including the potentially menacing PKI, as a serious political force for the remainder of the revolutionary period and a little beyond. The reformist officers fared even better because now they could take over the running of the Syarifuddin defense apparatus and turn it into an effective agency to improve military discipline and to control more closely the activities of the republican units in the field. By successfully posing as national saviors during the Madiun Affair, the high command established more fully their right to manage the internal affairs of the armed forces untrammelled by civilian interference, and bolstered the military's assertion of parity with the government in deciding matters affecting the future destiny of the Republic. In addition, the dispersal of radical groups associated with the left in 1948 meant that, after the death of the army commander at the end of the revolution, the reformist officer factions would assume the mantle of military leadership in the newly independent Republic--a position of dominance that was not seriously challenged until the October 17 Affair of 1952.

Other national leaders, however, like President Sukarno and Army Commander Sudirman emerged from the Madiun Affair in a decidedly weaker condition than before. During the Affair, both found themselves compelled to legitimize actions which had already been agreed upon, or even implemented in advance, by the powerful West Java forces backed by Prime Minister Hatta. To be sure, Sukarno was formally the supreme commander of the Armed Forces with far-reaching legal powers to deal with the Madiun crisis, but the effectiveness of his position had been undermined first by the development of a strong General Staff in the Defense Ministry and later by the improved international standing of the Hatta cabinet. In Sudirman's case, the loss of power was even more apparent, since the Affair increased the influence of his deputy Nasution, the successful author of the Madiun campaign, and bolstered the alliance of the cabinet, the Siliwangi, and the military reformers to such an extent that it promised to become a permanent feature of the political and military scene at the national level. Before the Madiun Affair, Sudirman had moved closer to the government's firm law and order stand because he saw no other way of resolving the Solo crisis short of civil war or another Dutch attack; afterwards, he was in danger of tarnishing his reputation in Javanese society by becoming a virtual prisoner of a repressive and an ethnically unrepresentative administration in the capital.

Aside from factional gains and losses at the center, the Madiun Affair was a haunting experience for most who lived through it, exceeding in horror anything the republican leaders imagined when they first decided to confront the FDR-PKI in Madiun. Indeed, it is doubtful whether they could have foreseen, much less controlled, the feverish passions unleashed in the Affair. The all-pervading sense of flux, the material damage and the general upheaval caused by the First Military Action, in addition to acute pressures of inflation and overpopulation, stirred up deep antagonistic impulses within the societies of East and Central Java, which found expression in communal conflict between santri and abangan communities as well as in spontaneous peasant rebellions against pamong praja authority.¹¹³ The atrocities which

113. This pattern of communal and social conflict was aptly demonstrated in the Madiun residency. According to eyewitness' accounts, all the Masyumi houses in the Nglencong district to the north of Ngrambe were set on fire by the PKI and their occupants burned alive. Pacific, September 30, 1948. Many Masyumi leaders and members of the pesantren schools in and around Madiun and Ponorogo

resulted from these outbursts were so appalling in their magnitude and intensity that they could only have been committed by groups roused to highly volatile states of religious and political fervor.

It seems likely that there was a serious difference of opinion among the republican leaders on how to handle the post-Madiun situation, with Sukarno, Sudirman, and certain political parties in favor of magnanimity, and some of the West Java military leaders and orthodox Islamic groups wanting a once-and-for-all settlement of scores with what still remained of the FDR-PKI. In a speech delivered on October 5, Sukarno pointed out that the Madiun Affair was proof enough of what could happen with the narrow sectional interests of party defense got the better of People's Defense. The only ideology the armed forces should accept in future was the Pancasila principles of belief in God, national consciousness, humanism, social justice, and popular sovereignty, which, he believed, were broad and flexible enough for all groups to support.¹¹⁴ Among the civilian leaders Bung Tomo had urged his BPRI followers to adopt a neutral policy during the Affair and to address themselves only to the threat presented by the Dutch. Similarly, Syahrir's Partai Sosialis Indonesia (PSI, Indonesian Socialist party), which had split from the Socialist party early in 1948, warned the government not to forget the danger of Dutch colonialism when restoring law and order in Java.¹¹⁵ As early as September 20, the Kesatuan Aksi Pemuda Surakarta (Surakarta Youth Action Front) had demonstrated before the offices of Major Achmadi in Solo, urging an end to the civil war situation that had arisen over the Madiun incident and calling upon all sections of the community to crush groups of whatever

were killed as the PKI forces retreated under government pressure. Similarly, in the Pacitan region, leading Muslim teachers like Imam Muhdi, Qo'sim Bakrun, Sayid Charan, and Dimyati Termas were detained by the Barisan Berani Mati (Death Defying Troops) and many of them were never seen again. *Ibid.*, October 14, 1948. The inevitable santri revenge passed unrecorded in the newspapers of the time, but in Madiun flying columns of Hizbullah apparently raided abangan villages demanding the surrender of suspected Pesindo members. Robert R. Jay, *Religion and Politics*, pp. 74-75. People interviewed by Benedict Anderson in Madiun in 1962 vividly remembered Hizbullah atrocities, explaining that they had attempted to surrender to the Siliwangi in certain cases in order to escape mutilation and murder. Information supplied by Benedict Anderson. In other places, however, there was less evidence of communal conflict between santri and abangan and more of nativist and messianic reactions against the pillars of the local establishment. In Magetan, for example, the regent (Sudibyo) along with two district heads, and several of their assistants were reported killed or missing after the Affair. *Madiun Post*, October 29, 1948. Later, on November 5, Raden Mas Tumenggung Ario Suryo, the first republican governor of East Java, was also killed in Magetan. *Madjallah Merdeka*, November 20, 1948. The events in Magetan resembled the peasant rebellions in the area in 1934 which claimed the lives of local officials, policemen, and KNIL soldiers who were all regarded by the villagers as agents of an oppressive colonial regime held responsible for shortages and a run of bad harvests. *Merdeka*, December 11, 1948. So many pamong praja in the Madiun residency were killed during the Affair that administrative positions, especially at the district and assistant district level, were either left vacant, or filled up by officials drafted in from the neighboring residencies.

114. *Kedaulatan Rakjat*, October 6, 1948. For a recent discussion of the evolution of the Pancasila and its place in Sukarno's political thinking, see J. D. Legge, *Sukarno: A Political Biography* (London: Pelican, 1973), pp. 184-86.
115. *Antara*, September 21, 1948.

stripe who were bent on causing conflict.¹¹⁶ At its conference in Solo at the end of November, the Barisan Banteng, anxious not to become the target of an anti-radical campaign by the Masyumi and hard-line Siliwangi elements, strongly opposed political groups that wanted a root and branch extermination of communism in Indonesia.¹¹⁷ For his part, the army commander was concerned that the mopping-up operations still going on in areas around Blora, Cepu, and Pacitan should not become the excuse for the establishment of some new political and military orthodoxy. The government forces should only hunt down and punish the ringleaders of the Affair, the men who had violated their Sumpah Tentara (Military Oath) and forsaken the high and noble ideals of the independence struggle in favor of the selfish pursuit of material and narrow political ends. Sudirman stressed that the republican army was not a conservative constabulary like the KNIL out to crush all manifestations of nationalism, but was and would remain a true patriot army, an army of the revolution.¹¹⁸

Members of Nasution's coterie like Kusno Utomo, Sadikin, Abimanyu, and Latief Hendraningrat all looked upon the Madiun Affair as a heaven-sent opportunity to press ahead with the completion of the reorganization program. Having witnessed the uncontrollable passions released during the fighting against the FDR-PKI, the deputy commander was even more anxious to clamp down on the social revolutionary possibilities always inherent in a populist military system that tolerated the arming of much of the populace and left the army units closely bound up with the wider concerns of the hinterland communities. He wanted to place the republican forces on a more disciplined footing and to make them more responsive to central direction than in the past. Nasution strongly denied that this prescription made him a reactionary, and he was particularly sensitive to suggestions being put about by some of the defeated FDR leaders that the Madiun recovery operation was similar to what the British were doing to repress the revolutionary movement in Malaya at the same time.¹¹⁹ The PKI-Muso, he asserted, enjoyed no widespread popular support in the Republic and such as they did have had been gained through the exploitation of bad social and economic conditions for which the Dutch and not the republican government were responsible. Nasution also stated that an effective military organization--such as the one foreshadowed in the May reform package--made a significantly greater contribution to winning national independence than the "aimless" mass armies of the early revolution which were havens for the corrupt and the incompetent. Was inefficiency particularly revolutionary? he asked. And were groups that spend all of their time comfortably behind the front lines, organizing squads of political officers and awarding positions on the basis of favors, more revolutionary than those actually involved in the fighting against the Dutch? It simply was not true that a streamlined army weakened the country's defenses: the promptness and dispatch with which the republican forces [read Siliwangi] had acquitted themselves during the Affair suggested the contrary was the case.¹²⁰ There were other officers, however, who

116. Merdeka, September 21, 1948.

117. Antara, November 27, 1948. "National communist" fears were well founded--shortly afterwards Murba was banned indefinitely in the Solo area and arrests of leftist political figures continued right up until the second Dutch attack at the end of 1948. Berita Indonesia, December 2, 1948.

118. Merdeka, October 3, 1948.

119. Merah Putih, October 13 and 23, 1948.

120. Ibid.

did not consider that their post-Madiun policies required such elaborate amplification and justification. Latief Hendraningrat, the military commander of Yogyakarta, proposed the setting up of special tribunals to purge the armed forces of any remained FDR sympathizers.¹²¹ Moreover, many Siliwangi units engaged in mopping-up operations in the regions adopted a shoot-first-questions-later approach, and at best were interested only in the unconditional surrender of those who had played a part in the Affair however small or unwilling.¹²² As for the FDR-PKI political and military leaders themselves, some were killed during the actual campaign, others after capture, and still others were executed shortly after the onset of the Second Military Action on December 19, 1948.¹²³

121. Kedaulatan Rakjat, September 28, 1948.

122. Rapportage Indonesië, Nefis Series: Dadelijs Overzicht Belangrijkste Inlichtingen no. 757, dated October 12, 1948. According to the army high command, more than thirty-five thousand people were detained during the Madiun Affair. Antara, December 7, 1948.

123. Leftist leaders killed during the fighting included: Setiajit, the former PBI chairman, before October 14 (Berita Indonesia, October 14, 1948); Maj. Sudigdo, battalion commander in the Fifth PPS Brigade, in the Pacitan region fleeing from advancing Siliwangi troops around October 20 (Pacific, October 21, 1948); and Muso, near Ponorogo on October 31 (Antara, November 3, 1948). Those killed some time after capture included: Lt. Col. Sidik Arselan, Pesindo regimental commander in the Twenty-ninth Brigade, and Lt. Col. Munaji, the TLRI battalion commander in Nganjuk, both of whom were detained early in October by the CPM Kediri and Sabaruddin's battalion and brought to Besuki (Kediri), where they were shot on October 11 and 20 respectively (D. N. Aidit, Konfrontasi Peristiwa Madiun 1948; Peristiwa Sumatra 1956 [Jakarta: Pamburuan, 1957], pp. 28-34); Abdul Muntalip, the National Front Resident of Madiun, who was caught on November 4 and subsequently "court-martialled" (Nasional, November 9, 1948); and S. Karno, the Resident of Semarang, who was detained on October 26 and executed in the Purwodadi town square on November 10 (Berita Indonesia, November 17, 1948). Among those senior FDR-PKI leaders executed on the night of December 19, 1948, were Maruto Darusman, member of the General Secretariat of the PKI Politbureau; Jokosuyono, the National Front military governor in Madiun; Amir Syarifuddin, head of the Defense Secretariat of the PKI Politbureau; Suripno, the joint leader of the Politbureau's Youth Secretariat; and Oei Gee Hwat, editor of Front Nasional in Madiun. Their execution was carried out by Gatot Subroto on orders from Hatta, because it was feared that they might escape and rise to power in a guerrilla movement now that the Dutch had attacked a second time. Information kindly provided by Benedict Anderson. Other FDR-PKI followers, however, survived to fight against the Dutch and were subsequently rehabilitated.

Those detained between September and October 1948 included: Lt. Col. Dachlan, the National Front battle commander, and Maj. S. Mustofa, the National Front security commander, who were both caught by Sabaruddin's battalion before September 27 (Keng Po, September 27, 1948); Maj. Gen. Kusnandar, the former head of the DPP Defense Section, and Rear Adm. Atmaji, the former chief of the Navy Supreme Leadership, both of whom were captured toward the end of September (*ibid.*); Maj. Machmud Hermani, the Pesindo commander in Parakan, on October 11 (Nasional, October 16, 1948); Krissubanu, the Pesindo leader in East Java, and Lt. Col. Martono Brotokusumo, a member of Ir. Sakirman's staff, who were arrested in Yogyakarta before October 16 (*ibid.*); Lt. Col. Yusuf Bakri, the former chief of staff of the TNI Masyarakat in East Java, detained in Ngejo before October 20 (*ibid.*, October 20, 1948); Capt. Suhodo, the TLRI leader in Pacitan, before October 20 (*ibid.*); Lt. Col. Suyoto, the commander of the Eighth PPS Brigade, detained in Punekin on October 24 (*ibid.*); Lt. Col. A. Yadau, the

The key issue on which the proponents of reconciliation and orthodoxy struggled to make their views prevail was the appointments to the military governorships which had been hastily improvised in the emergency created by the Solo crisis and then by the Madiun Affair itself. From September 28, the special military governors were made formally responsible to the army commander for all military matters and in a general sense to the president. The governors were granted wide powers to maintain security and consolidate the position of the armed forces in their respective regions. All military commanders in the residencies were directly answerable to them for seeing that both these policies were carried out.

In East Java, there were two important differences between the military governorship created on September 23 and the one that officially came into operation shortly before the fall of Madiun. Built into the second governorship was a civilian affairs section headed by Dr. Murjani, who looked after such matters as economics, politics, finance, community affairs, and information.¹²⁴ In addition, there were a number of civilian advisors appointed to assist Governor Sungkono, including Ruslan Abdulgani, the secretary-general of the Information Ministry, and Dul Arnowo, the former KNI leader from Surabaya. Ever since the dissolution of the Surabaya Regional Defense Council in March 1947, East Java military and civilian affairs had acquired a separate organizational and physical existence. That they should have been brought together again into something resembling the old Surabaya Council in the aftermath of the Madiun Affair was partly a recognition that consolidation and stabilization were as much a civilian as a purely military responsibility, and partly an attempt by the Yogyakarta reformers to mobilize civilian groups as a counterweight to the Nartama's military monopoly over provincial affairs.¹²⁵ The other

commander of the Seventh PPS Brigade, captured in the PKI stronghold of Punung in the Pacitan region around October 24 (*ibid.*); Lt. Gen. Sukono Joyopratiknyo, the former head of the SPPT Section in the Defense Ministry; Lt. Col. Samsudin Musanif, the head of the Senopati's SPPT Section, and Maj. Suwitoyo, the Pesindo commander in the Ninth PPS Brigade, all of whom were captured before October 26 by Slamet Riyadi's forces in the Baturetno region after proclaiming a National Front government in Wonogiri-Sukoarjo on September 24 (*Nasional*, October 26, 1948); and Maj. Purnawi, battalion commander in the Sixth PPS Brigade, who was caught on October 30 (*Antara*, November 3, 1948).

124. *Antara*, October 28, 1948.

125. It was not without significance that early in 1950 a tacit understanding was reached between the older generation politicians and administrators, who wanted the restoration of civilian government in the province, and the younger reformist officers in the army high command, who were committed to a policy of greater military centralization. Taken separately, each would have represented a significant challenge to Sungkono's military governorship; operating together, they removed the last vestiges of the old military order in East Java within six months of the country becoming independent. It was claimed that the emergency powers granted to the East Java military governor at the time of the Madiun Affair and during the second Dutch attack were so formidable, especially in the area of import and export licenses, that they threatened the entire economic strategy of the national government in Jakarta. *Aneta*, June 14, 1950, citing the findings of the Sakirman report on the East Java situation after the revolution. In addition, the military governor steadfastly resisted the restoration of expropriated Dutch estates to their former masters (as the Republic was required to do under the independence settlement) because these constituted an important element in the regional military's budget. For Sungkono's views

significant change was a drastic reduction in the size of the territory under its jurisdiction. The province had already lost its tenuous connection with the Pati residency which was absorbed, soon after the takeover in Madiun, into Gatot Subroto's domain. On September 28, East Java was also deprived of the Madiun residency which also passed into the hands of the Central Java commander.¹²⁶ Thus, all that remained of the provincial military region were the Kediri and Bojonegoro residencies, a small portion of the Surabaya residency as far as Mojokerto and Lamongan, and the southern corner of the Malang residency.

It was perhaps reasonable that Gatot Subroto should have been given Pati, since from a military point of view his forces were in a much better position than any East Java troops to deal with the large concentrations of Pesindo and Laskar Minyak units in that residency. No such explanation, however, can account for the annexation of the Madiun residency, which took place only five days after Sungkono's appointment as special military governor on September 23. Possibly Madiun was purposely left within Sungkono's sphere of influence at the time of his appointment in order to spur him into taking the prompt and decisive action against the FDR-PKI on which the leaders in Yogyakarta insisted. Then, as the enormity of this responsibility appeared to have the desired sobering effect, and as the Siliwangi forces were making good progress towards Madiun, the republican leaders judged the moment was right to place the future control of the residency in the more trustworthy hands of Gatot Subroto, who enjoyed the confidence of Hatta and Suryadarma and, of course, worked closely with Nasution on the recovery operation. Moreover, if the republican leadership had been compelled to appoint Sungkono as special military governor because other possible claimants for the post, such as Bambang Supeno and Dr. Mustopo, lacked the necessary prestige to hold the province in the government camp, they viewed with distaste the prospect of the Narotama commander emerging from the Affair in a much stronger and more entrenched position than hitherto. Clearly, Sungkono could not be dispensed with after the Affair, but the Yogyakarta leaders sought to

on this question, see Siasat, June 4, 1950. Secondly, far from assisting in the return of former pejuang (fighters) to the community, where they were needed for various development projects, the military governor was accused of hoarding vast numbers (the Sakirman report reckoned at least twenty thousand) in special training centers, where, it was feared, they posed a distinct threat to law and order. Aneta, June 14, 1950. Thirdly, the regional political groups and the high command argued that, because the security situation in the province was fairly healthy, responsibility for law and order ought to revert to the civilian police and the pamong praja, so that the army could turn its attention to the business of improving standards of military professionalism. Perdamaian, April 1, 1950. For these and doubtless other reasons, Sungkono was relieved as military governor and as commander of the East Javanese Brawijaya Division on June 9, 1950, and dispatched to Jakarta, where he served as advisor in the Defense Ministry. Suara Masjarakat, June 9, 1950. His place as Brawijaya leader was taken by Col. Bambang Sugeng, the former military governor of the Yogyakarta-Kedu-Banyumas regions during the Madiun Affair. Shortly afterwards, Lt. Col. Dr. Suwondo, the chief of staff of Brawijaya, was packed off to the Military Academy in West Java, and was succeeded by Lt. Col. Dr. Sujono, whose position as military commander in Malang passed to Lt. Col. Abimanyu.

126. On September 26, the Military Strategy Council decided to include Madiun in Central Java, a move that was subsequently legitimized in a Presidential Decree of September 28. Koesnodiprodjo, ed., Himpunan 1948, p. 581.

limit his power by reducing his territorial area of responsibility. Perhaps another reason for the Madiun annexation was that by September 28 it was already apparent that the residency would shortly be "liberated" and subsequently dominated by the Siliwangi, who would not find Sungkono's orders as easy to accept as Gatot Subroto's. Indeed, this was later borne out when relations between Surachmad's forces and the West Java troops in the Madiun area deteriorated to the point where open conflict between them was a distinct possibility. Having shouldered the main responsibility for the recapture of the city, the Siliwangi naturally considered themselves as the local *alat negara* (state instrument) and viewed the dilatory East Javanese with a good deal of suspicion. The Kediri troops, for their part, were not only distressed at the summary justice the West Java units were administering to FDR sympathizers, particularly in the Pacitan region, but also alarmed at the quantity of arms and materiel the Siliwangi were taking from captured PKI forces, which promised to bolster further their claim to be the premier division of the Republic.¹²⁷

Like the army commander, Sungkono considered the Madiun Affair to be as much a moral as a political crisis and insisted that the mopping-up operations still going on in the province should not degenerate into witch-hunts against the left. Indeed, he declared, the intentions of the Pesindo and BPRI groups in Madiun had been "good" insofar as they had wanted to improve existing government regulations and practices.¹²⁸ Where they had gone wrong was in the methods used to secure change, which not only conflicted with all the principles enshrined in the Pancasila, but also caused untold suffering and hardship to the ordinary people whom they were supposed to be defending. Those who had allowed themselves to be swept along by the PKI-Muso torrent had abandoned their obligations as protectors and defenders of the community, tarnished their exemplary characters as *ksatria* (warriors), and damaged the confidence and respect placed in them by the people. In neglecting the higher purpose of the independence struggle, the authors of Madiun had indulged in *pamrih* (personal self-interest), oblivious to anything beyond the satisfaction of their own material and political desires. Yet, in spite of these transgressions, Sungkono appealed to the people of East Java to put the painful experiences of the last few weeks behind them and magnanimously accept the FDR groups back into the communal fold. The FDR people should be pitied more than scorned. They were victims of a sudden bout of blindness and had been beguiled into doing what they did by leaders who ought to have known better. There was no time for recriminations, since the main priority now was to heal the divisions in society, restore solidarity and unity, and concentrate all material and moral energies to face the Dutch colonialists.¹²⁹

The military changes Sungkono introduced following the Madiun Affair hardly represented the positive advance that reformist circles in the capital had been awaiting. Despite a posse of unwanted civilian helpers and a much reduced territorial empire, the East Java leader managed to retain a good deal of his former independence from the center. The military governor restored power to local leaders whom he knew would command the confidence and provide the psychological reassurance that the situation now required. In Kediri this had been done already with the appointment of Surachmad as commander of the mobile and territorial forces in the residency. At the same time, Lieutenant

127. Interview with R. M. Yonosewoyo on October 14, 1972, in Jakarta.

128. Hari Warta, October 26, 1948.

129. Ibid.

Colonel Sudirman was entrusted with similar responsibilities in the Bojonegoro residency. Sudirman gladly accepted the new assignment because he had been the established military leader in the area since the early days of the revolution and probably had felt aggrieved at being passed over in the May reforms in favor of the Solonese outsider Sunarto. Sungkono also took steps to disentangle the potentially dangerous situation in the Blitar region, where the task of restoring republican authority had been left almost entirely to the Madurese Damarwulan Regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Sruji. At the end of November, Yogyakarta's original choice for the leadership of the Malang Mobile Brigade, Rivai, was offered a more lowly position in Sruji's unit, and the remainder of the republican forces in the area willingly agreed to serve under Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Sujono.¹³⁰ According to the army commander's Instruction of October 15, all the military governors were required to survey the strength of the laskar in their respective regions and, after careful screening, to include some of them within the regular army. A number of units from the former Twentieth Brigade, including those of Sumarsono and Solichi, together with Major Abdullah's TLRI Battalion and Sabaruddin's forces were all eventually accepted into brigade and territorial formations under the direct control of Military Governor Sungkono.¹³¹ Nevertheless, from the scanty evidence available it appears that the total number of men under arms in the province was significantly less than it had been before the Affair and that the cutbacks in East Java were almost twice those in Central Java.¹³²

130. Interview with Dr. Sujono on October 26, 1972, in Jakarta.

131. Rapportage Indonesië, Staf "A" Div. Kantoor Inlichtingen: Order van Battle Rep. Strijdkrachten, dated December 8, 1948.

132. Dutch military intelligence assessed the strength of the republican forces before and after the Madiun Affair as follows:

Residency	September 1948	October 1948	Balance
Kediri	31,556	23,800	-7,756
Malang	15,001	12,100	-2,901
Surabaya	19,456	17,000	-2,456
Bojonegoro	10,539	7,900	-2,639
Total East Java	76,552	60,800	-15,752
Madiun	20,490	17,300	-3,190
Pati	10,798	8,800	-1,998
Solo/Semarang	20,000	24,300	+4,300
Yogyakarta	38,100	31,100	-7,000
Total Central Java	89,388	81,500	-7,888
Grand Total	165,940	142,300	-23,640

Source: Rapportage Indonesië, Nefis Series: Wekelijks Overzicht, dated January 15, 1949.

That the Kediri residency suffered the greatest decline in overall strength may have been due to large numbers of leftist forces being killed in the bitter communal fighting in the Blitar region during and after the Madiun Affair, and by the subsequent refusal of the Madurese Damarwulan Regiment and Javanese santri elements in the Malang regular army to accept former members of the Pesindo,

* * *

The Madiun Affair of September 1948 is best understood as an internal crisis of military politics, and not, as so often portrayed in accounts from the national and international standpoint, as an unsuccessful leftist bid for all-out revolution in Indonesia. The struggle between the hinterland Javanese units, determined to preserve a mass populist army, and a high command no less determined to bring the field units under greater central control, was a principal theme of the revolution which pre-dated Madiun and continued well into the post-independence period. Political parties, whether of the left or right, remained on the sidelines of this contest, occasionally forming tactical alliances with military groupings at the national and regional levels, but never really in a position to dictate the ground rules of the intramilitary battle. Within this military struggle over power and ideology, East Java occupied a key position as an entrenched and highly articulate source of opposition to the centralizing policies of the high command and its political allies. To be sure, the Madiun Affair swept aside the dualistic pattern of laskar and regular army co-dominion over East Javanese affairs, clearing the way at the end of 1948 for the creation of the single Brawijaya divisional entity. These reformist triumphs, however, were more apparent than real, and after independence the provincial leaders showed themselves no more responsive to central management than they had been during the revolution. In the October 17, 1952 Affair, there was a community of interests between the East Java units, who feared the prospect of demobilization and loss of autonomy, and civilian groups led by President Sukarno, who suspected the power of the high command at the national level. It was an alliance which brought about the downfall of the reformist army leadership and reduced central direction over the armed forces to one of almost complete impotence until the late 1950s and early 1960s.

BPRI, and the TLRI into their ranks. The other interesting feature about the table is the increase in republican strength in the Solo and Semarang residences and the barely perceptible decrease in Pati. Perhaps this reflected a fairly tolerant attitude on the part of Military Governor Gatot Subroto and some of his Central Java commanders towards the laskar. Of course, quite sizeable reductions were only to be expected in Madiun and Yogyakarta, where the Siliwangi forces were firmly in control.

Appendix
Republican Order of Battle
circa March 1948

Residency	Unit	Commander	Notes
Surakarta	Senopati Division	Maj. Gen. Sutarto	deactivated May '48
	----. C.S.	Maj. Mursito	
	----. Regt. 23	Lt. Col. Sutejo Haryoko	
	-----. Bn. 1	Maj. Sutarwo	based in Salatiga
	-----. Bn. 2	Maj. Ashari Yudopranoto	based in Banyubiru
	-----. Bn. 3	Maj. Sumarto	based in Ambarawa
	-----. Bn. 4	Maj. Wahyu Rochadi	based in Ungaran
	----. Regt. 24	Lt. Col. S. Sudiarto	comdr. Bde. 6 PPS June '48
	-----. Bn. 5	Maj. Purnawi	based in Demak; bn. comdr. Bde. 6 PPS
	-----. Bn. 6	Maj. Martono	based in Purwodadi
	-----. Bn. 7	Maj. Widagdo	based in Purwodadi
	-----. Bn. 8	Maj. Yusmin Singomenggolo	based in Purwodadi; bn. comdr. Bde. 6 PPS
	----. Regt. 25	Lt. Col. A. Fajar	later head STD Solo/ Semarang
	-----. Bn. 9	Maj. Sumantri	based in Wonogiri
	-----. Bn. 10	Maj. Suharso	based in Solo
	-----. Bn. 11	Maj. Supardi	based in Pacitan
	-----. Bn. 12	Maj. Prawoto	based in Tawangmangu
	----. Regt. 26	Lt. Col. Suadi Suromiharjo	comdr. Bde. 5 PPS June '48
	-----. C.S.	Maj. S. Harjodiprono	
	-----. Bn. 13	Maj. Kusmanto	based in Solo; later re- placed by Maj. Sudigdo who became bn. comdr. in Bde. . 5 PPS
	-----. Bn. 14	Maj. Slamet Riyadi	based in Pacitan; bn. comdr. Bde. 5 PPS
	-----. Bn. 15	Maj. Sunitiyoso	based in Klaten; bn. comdr. in Bde. 5 PPS
	-----. Bn. 16	Maj. Suharto	based in Solo; bn. comdr. in Bde. 5 PPS
	----. Regt. 27	Lt. Col. Sunarto Kusumodirjo	made comdr. STD Solo/ Semarang May '48; led Mob. Bde. 1 in Cepu until September '48
	-----. C.S.	Maj. Duryatman	

Residency	Unit	Commander	Notes
	-----, Bn. 17	Maj. Sastrowiharjo	later replaced by Maj. Sugiyarto; based in Tawangmangu
	-----, Bn. 18	Maj. Sukarto	based in Boyolali
	-----, Bn. 19	Maj. Sumardi Jliteng	based in Solo
	-----, Bn. 20	Maj. Suharto Bagus	later replaced by Maj. Banudi; based in Sragen
	--, Bde. 24 TNI Masyarakat	Lt. Col. Hollan Iskandar	appointed Bde. comdr. in KRU May '48; later comdr. Bde. 9 PPS
	----, C.S.	Lt. Col. Tukimin	
	----, Regt. 1	Lt. Col. Subandi	composition mostly Laskar Rakyat
	-----, C.S.	Maj. Surachman	
	-----, Bn. 1	Maj. S. Subagiyo	
	-----, Bn. 2	Maj. Sudrajat	later bn. comdr. in Bde. 9 PPS
	-----, Bn. 3	Maj. Sunardi	
	-----, Bn. 4	Maj. Kaslin	
	----, Regt. 2	Lt. Col. Anwar Santoso	composition mostly BPRI from Solo
	-----, C.S.	Maj. Sudomuro	
	-----, Bn. 5	Maj. Sujiyo	
	-----, Bn. 6	Maj. Sumitro	
	-----, Bn. 7	Maj. Suminto	later replaced by Maj. W. Sudirjo
	----, Regt. 3	Lt. Col. Gunarjo	a Barisan Banteng unit
	-----, C.S.	Maj. Waluyo	
	-----, Bn. 8	Maj. Sumasto	
	-----, Bn. 9	Maj. Kartoyuwono	
	-----, Bn. 10	Maj. Brotosunoko	
	----, Regt. 4	Lt. Col. Budiharjo	mixed composition of Pesindo, Laskar Merah, & Laskar Buruh forces
	-----, C.S.	Maj. Wiyono	
	-----, Bn. 11	Maj. Suyitno	
	-----, Bn. 12	Maj. Suwitoyo	later bn. comdr. in Bde. 9 PPS
	-----, Bn. 13	Maj. Sutadi	
	----, Regt. 5	Lt. Col. Marjuki	mostly BPRI elements from West Java and Semarang
	-----, C.S.	Maj. Maksum	

Residency	Unit	Commander	Notes
	----- Bn. 15	Maj. Sunar	
	----- Bn. 16	Maj. Suharyo	
	----- Bn. 17	Maj. Jalimin	later bn. comdr. in Bde. 9 PPS
	----. Regt. 6	Lt. Col. Munawar	unit of Hizbullah & Sabil-lilah troops from Surakarta; later included in Bde. 9 PPS
	----- C.S.	Maj. Arman	
	----- Bn. 21	Maj. Muchamad Muchdi	
	----- Bn. 23	Maj. Saridi	Laskar Rakyat unit
	2nd Division TLRI		
	--. Bde. 1	Lt. Col. A. Yadau	later comdr. Bde. 7 PPS
	----- Bn.	Maj. Suyadi	
	----- Bn.	Maj. Marjono	
	----- Bn.	Maj. Sutarno	
	----- Bn.	Maj. Esmara Sugeng	
	--. Bde. 2	Lt. Col. Suyoto	later comdr. Bde. 8 PPS in Purwodadi area
	Tentara Pelajar	Maj. Achmadi	based in Solo; later became Military Gov. in the city
	2nd Siliwangi Bde.	Lt. Col. Sadikin	West Javanese regular army unit based in Srambatan-Tasikmadu
	----- Bn.	Maj. Rukman	
	----- Bn.	Maj. Umar	
	----- Bn.	Mah. Sambas	
	----- Bn.	Maj. Sentot Iskandardinata	
	Military Police	Col. Sunaryo	
Pati	Ronggolawe Division		
	----. Regt. 28	Lt. Col. Sunandar	appointed comdr. STD Pati May '48
	----- C.S.	Maj. Sunardi	
	----- Bn. 1	Maj. Partono	based in Pati
	----- Bn. 2	Maj. Warjo Nitiprawiro	based in Japara

Residency	Unit	Commander	Notes
	----- Bn. 3	Maj. Sudono	based in Kudus
	----- Bn. 4	Maj. Munadi	based in Rembang
	21st District TNI Masyarakat	Lt. Col. A. Musbach	comprising Pesindo, Laskar Minyak & BPRI forces in the Japara, Kudus, Rembang & Blora areas
	22nd District TNI Masyarakat	Lt. Col. A. Rachman	made up of Pesindo, Laskar Rakyat, BPRI & Hizbullah in Purwodadi
	3rd Regt. Bde. 17 TNI Masyarakat	Lt. Col. Suprpto	
	----- Bn. 11	Maj. Asa'an	Pesindo unit in Cepu
	----- Bn. 12	Maj. Mulyono	Laskar Minyak unit based in Cepu
	----- Bn. 13	Maj. Karmain Karsolesono	BPRI unit in Kudus
Yogyakarta	Diponegoro Division	Maj. Gen. R. Susalit	appointed chief of staff of the Javanese Terr. Forces in May '48
	---- C.S.	Lt. Col. Sukandar	
	---- Regt. 17	Lt. Col. Wadiono	based on Pekalongan; made comdr. Mob. Bde. 2 Div. 1 in May '48
	----- Bn. 1	Maj. Iksan Sugiyarto	
	----- Bn. 2	Maj. Sudibyo	
	----- Bn. 3	Maj. Juweni Wimbohandoko	
	----- Bn. 4	Maj. Ciptowiduro	
	---- Regt. 18	Lt. Col. Slamet Suharman	based in Wonosobo
	----- Bn. 1	Maj. Salamun	based in Parakan
	----- Bn. 2	Maj. Karjono	based in Wonosobo
	----- Bn. 3	Maj. Kaslan	based in Wonosobo
	----- Bn. 4	Maj. Sarno	based in Temanggung
	---- Regt. 19	Lt. Col. Sarbini	made comdr. STD Kedu in May '48
	----- Bn. 1	Maj. Suryosumpeno	based in Grabag
	----- Bn. 2	Maj. Kusen	based in Muntilan
	----- Bn. 3	Maj. A. Yani	based in Magelang

Residency	Unit	Commander	Notes
	----- . Bn. 4	Maj. Suwito Haryoko	based in Mertoyudan
	----. Regt. 20	Lt. Col. Kun Kamdani	appointed chief of staff, Div. 1 in May '48
	----- . Bn. 1	Maj. Panuju	based in Gombong
	----- . Bn. 2	Maj. Rachmat	based in Kebumen
	----- . Bn. 3	Maj. Slamet	based in Kutoarjo
	----- . Bn. 4	Maj. Sruhardoyo	based in Purworejo
	----. Regt. 21	Lt. Col. Pranoto	based in Yogyakarta
	----- . Bn. 1	Maj. Sukardi	based in Bantul
	----- . Bn. 2	Maj. Hadijoyo	based in Sentolo
	----- . Bn. 3	Capt. Suharso	based in Wates
	----- . Bn. 4	Maj. Daryatmo	based in Cebongan
	----. Regt. 22	Lt. Col. Suharto	appointed comdr. Mob. Bde. 3 Div. 1
	----- . Bn. 1	Maj. Sujono	based in Yogyakarta
	----- . Bn. 2	Maj. Sumiyarsono	based in Kaliurang
	----- . Bn. 3	Maj. Sarjono	based in Tanjungtirto
	----- . Bn. 4	Maj. A. Basyuni	based in Wonosari
	----. Regt. 43	Lt. Col. Sugiri	Laskar Rakyat unit in Yogyakarta
	----- . Bn. 1	Maj. Slamet Warsito	
	----- . Bn. 2	Capt. Sukoco	
	----- . Bn. 3	Capt. Subandi	
	----. Regt. 42	Lt. Col. Turmudzi	BPRI unit in Yogyakarta
	----- . Bn. 162	Maj. Mahmud Wimbohandoko	
	----- . Bn. 164	Maj. Wazir Nuri	Hizbullah unit
	----- . Bn. 166	Maj. Sumantri	Laskar Banteng/Buruh Tani
	----. Regt. 41	Lt. Col. Moch. Anas	Pesindo unit in Magelang
	----- . Bn. 169	Maj. Moch. Unus	
	----- . Bn. 171	Maj. Sunarto	based in Kutoarjo
	----- . Bn. 173	Maj. Basuki	
	----. Regt. 44	Lt. Col. Pramuji	Pesindo unit in Magelang
	----- . Bn.	Maj. Machmud	
	----- . Bn.	Maj. Mashuri	
	1st Siliwangi Bde.	Lt. Col. Kusno Utomo	based in Yogyakarta; made bde. comdr. in the KRU May '48
	----- . Bn.	Maj. Kemal Idris	

Residency	Unit	Commander	Notes
	----- Bn.	Maj. A. Kosasih	
	----- Bn.	Maj. Daeng	
	----- Bn.	Maj. Achmad Wiranatakusumah	
	Siliwangi Det.	Lt. Col. Eddy Sukardi	based in Magelang; made bde. comdr. KRU May '48
Madiun	TCJT/Shock Division	Maj. Gen. Dr. Mustopo	in Madiun; appointed KRU comdr. May '48
	---- C.S.	Col. Iskandar Suleiman	appointed to the Java Terr. Staff in May '48
	---- Condrobirowo Det.	Maj. Sabaruddin	based in Waturejo
	Ronggolawe Division		
	---- Regt. 31	Lt. Col. Sumantri	appointed comdr. STD Madiun in May '48
	----- C.S.	Maj. Guritno	
	----- Bn. 1	Maj. Basuki Rachmat	based in Ngawi
	----- Bn. 2	Maj. Rukmito	based in Madiun; later served on SPJT Staff
	----- Bn. 3	Maj. Suprpto Sukowati	based in Ponorogo
	Bde. 17 TNI Masyarakat	Lt. Col. Umar Joi	appointed comdr. STD Bojonegoro in May '48
	3rd Inspectorate Military Police	Lt. Col. Suyatmo	based in Madiun
	31st Bn. Military Police (PTRI)	Maj. R. S. Kusumotirto	based in Madiun
	3rd Regt. Marine Police (PTLRI)	Lt. Col. Sumadi	based in Madiun
	----- 9th Bn.	Capt. Sudarman	based in Madiun
	TNI Guard Bn. (Pengawas TNI)	Maj. Sidik Suhartoyo	based in Madiun
	12th Bn. TLRI Div. 1	Maj. Lastira	based in Madiun

Residency	Unit	Commander	Notes
Bojonegoro	Ronggolawe Division		
	-----, Regt. 30	Lt. Col. Sudirman	based in Bojonegoro; later bn. comdr. in the 1st Mob. Bde. Div. 2
	-----, Bn. 1	Maj. Suharjono	based in Babat
	-----, Bn. 2	Maj. Dibyosubroto	based in Bojonegoro
	-----, Bn. 3	Maj. Sukarsono	based in Babat
	34th Bn. Military Police (PTRI)	Maj. Subroto	based in Bojonegoro
	4th Bn. 2nd Regt. Marine Police (PTLRI)	Maj. Karnen	based in Rembang
	13th Bn. TLRI Div. 1	Lt. Col. Danu Warsito	based in Tuban
Kediri	Narotama Division	Maj. Gen. Sungkono	scheduled to join army staff; became instead comdr. Narotama Struggle Div. (DPN) in Kediri
	-----, C.S.	Lt. Col. Marhadi	appointed chief of staff 2nd Mob. Div. in May '48; later chief of staff, East Java Defense Staff in Madiun
	---, Section 1	Maj. R. Bismo	head of intelligence sec- tion in Narotama & East Java Defense Staff
	---, Section 2	Maj. Kadim Prawirodirjo	Operations Head
	---, Section 3	Maj. Cipto Harsono	Organization Section
	---, Section 4	Maj. Ibnu Subroto	Supplies chief; in May '48 moved to the Java Cmd. in Yogyakarta
	-----, Regt. 32	Lt. Col. Kretarto	appointed comdr. STD Surabaya in May '48
	-----, Bn. 1	Maj. Sunaryadi	based in Nganjuk
	-----, Bn. 2	Maj. Darmosugondo	based in Ploso
	-----, Bn. 3	Maj. Jarot Subiantoro	based in Ngimbang
	-----, Bn. 4	Maj. Cholil Tohir	based in Nganjuk
	-----, Regt. 33	Lt. Col. Wiyono	appointed comdr. STD Kediri in May '48; later exchanged posts with Lt. Col. Suhud on East Java Defense Staff
	-----, Bn. 1	Maj. Bambang Yuwono	based in Gurah
	-----, Bn. 2	Maj. Isak Idris	based in Pare

Residency	Unit	Commander	Notes
	-----, Bn. 3	Maj. Sucipto	based in Ngoro
	-----, Bn. 4	Maj. Sunandar	based in Pare
	----, Regt. 34	Lt. Col. Surachmad	appointed Bdc. comdr. in Mob. Div. 2 in May '48
	-----, Bn. 1	Maj. Frislan Suryatmojo	based in Blitar
	-----, Bn. 2	Maj. Harisono	based in Tulungagung
	-----, Bn. 3	Maj. Banurejo	based in Kediri
	-----, Bn. 4	Maj. Mujayin	based in Bendo
	----, Regt. 35	Maj. Abu Jamal	the Jokotole Regt. from Madura, based in Jati
	Bde. 29 TNI Masyarakat	Col. M. Dachlan	appointed comdr. Bde. 3 in Mob. Div. 2 in May '48
	----, C.S.	Maj. Suroto Hadiwiguno	
	----, 1st Regt.	Lt. Col. Sidik Arselan	Pesindo unit based in Blitar region
	-----, Bn. 1	Maj. S. Mustofa	based in Pesantren
	-----, Bn. 2	Maj. A. Rachman	based in Blitar
	-----, Bn. 3	Maj. Panjang	based in Tulungagung
	-----, Bn. 4	Maj. Maladi Yusuf	based in Purwoasri
	----, 2nd Regt.	Lt. Col. Sumarsono	mostly composed of ex-BPRI groups
	-----, Bn. 1	Maj. Isak	based in Purwoasri
	-----, Bn. 2	Maj. Suwarno	based in Purwoasri
	-----, Bn. 3	Maj. Kaprawi	
	----, 3rd Regt.	Lt. Col. Wahib	Hizbullah unit based around Jombang
	-----, Bn. 1	Maj. Hasim	based in Jombang
	-----, Bn. 2	Maj. Sudarno	based in Pare
	-----, Bn. 3	Maj. Samiun	based in Kertosono
	-----, Bn. 4	Maj. Mansur Solichi	based in Jombang
	30th Bn. Military Police (PTRI)	Maj. A. Gani	based in Jombang
	32nd Bn. PTRI	Maj. Sugito Mangunasmu	based in Kediri
	7th Bn. 3rd Regt. Marine Police (PTLRI)	Maj. Sutiono	based in Kediri
	8th Bn. TLRI Div. 1	Lt. Col. Munaji	based in Nganjuk

Residency	Unit	Commander	Notes
Malang	Suropati Division	Col. Bambang Supeno	appointed comdr. 2nd Mob. Div. Madiun in May '48
	----. C.S.	Lt. Col. Dr. Suwondo	appointed comdr. STD Malang in May '48
	----. Section 1	Maj. Rusman	Intelligence
	----. Section 2	Maj. Sujanuji	Operations
	----. Section 3	Maj. R. Suwito	Organization
	----. Section 4	Maj. Pirngadie	Supply chief; in May '48 moved to Java Command in Jogjakarta
	----. Regt. 38	Lt. Col. A. Hamid Rusdi	based in Turen
	-----. Bn. 1	Maj. A. Manan	based in Pujon
	-----. Bn. 3	Maj. Mochlas Rowi	based in Bumirejo
	-----. Bn. 12	Maj. Syamsul Islam	based in Garotan
	----. Regt. 39	Lt. Col. Sruji	composed of units from Probolinggo & Lumajang
	-----. C.S.	Maj. Imam Sukarno	
	-----. Bn. 5	Maj. Abdussarif	originally from Probolinggo
	-----. Bn. 8	Maj. Santoso	originally from Lumajang
	----. Regt. 40	Lt. Col. Prayudi	appointed comdr. Yogya city in May '48
	-----. Bn. 7	Maj. A. Rivai	originally from Banyuwangi; appointed comdr. 4th Bde. 2nd Mob. Div. in May '48
	-----. Bn. 9	Maj. Magenda	originally from Bondowoso
	-----. Bn. 14	Maj. Safiudin	originally from Jember
	Bde. 13 TNI Masyarakat	Col. Zainal Alimin	based around Sumberpucung
	----. C.S.	Lt. Col. Supardi	
	-----. Bn. 1	Maj. Wisnu Murty	based in Kepanjen
	-----. Bn. 2	Maj. Sukandar	based in Cungkal
	-----. Bn. 3	Maj. Damar	based in Turen
	-----. Bn. 4	Maj. Jiin	based in Turen
	-----. Bn. 5	Maj. Sukardanu	based in Jaticerto
	-----. Bn. 9	Maj. Haji Dimyati	based in Kediri
	-----. Bn. 11	Maj. Sueb Sugandi	based in Sumberpucung
	-----. Bn. 12	Maj. Umar Maksum	based in Ngebruk

Residency	Unit	Commander	Notes
	TLRI Division 1	Col. R. Sutopo	headquarters Blitar
	----. C.S.	Lt. Col. Lampah	
	-----. Bn. 1	Maj. Sutomo	based in Blitar
	-----. Bn. 2	Maj. Tulus	based in Blitar
	-----. Bn. 3	Maj. Abdullah	based in Blitar
	-----. Bn. 4	Lt. Col. Luntungan	based in Lestari
	-----. Bn. 5	Lt. Col. Halik	based in Babat; unit originally from Madura
	-----. Bn. 6	Maj. Budiono	based in Codo
	-----. Bn. 7	Maj. Markadi	
	-----. Bn. 9	Lt. Col. J. F. Warouw	composed of Outer Island groups
	------. Deputy	Maj. H. V. Worang	
	-----. Bn. 10	Maj. Bintoro	based in Kediri
	-----. Bn. 11	Lt. Col. Seno	based in Blitar-Tulungagung
	-----. Bn. 14	Lt. Col. Sudirto	based in Jojogan
	33rd Bn. Military Police (PTRI)	Maj. Suprpto	based in Sumberpucung
	8th Bn. 3rd Regt. Marine Police (PTLRI)	Maj. Samsuri	based in Ngebruk
	Mobile Brigade East Java	Commisaris Mohammad Yasin	headquarters in Blitar