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The Cold War in the City of Heroes:

U.S.-Indonesian Relations and Anti-Communist Operations in Surabaya, 1963-1965

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy in History

by

Dahlia Gratia Setiyawan

2014

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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Cold War in the City of Heroes:  
U.S.-Indonesian Relations and Anti-Communist Operations in Surabaya, 1963-1965

by

Dahlia Gratia Setiyawan

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

Professor Geoffrey Robinson, Chair

Within a decade of its 1945 declaration of independence from Dutch colonial rule, Indonesia emerged at the vanguard of the global Non-Aligned Movement. Leveraging Western Bloc as well as Sino-Soviet interest in the new nation, Indonesia's president, Sukarno, simultaneously secured economic aid and other support from both sides while maintaining a precarious domestic balance of power between the right-wing of the Army and the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). However, by the early 1960s, as Sukarno began to take a more aggressive anti-imperialist posture toward the West, power began to shift in favor of the PKI and its radical nationalist allies. Indonesia's Cold War "slide toward communism," long a troubling prospect to the United States, thus became a critical and urgent focus of U.S. foreign policy.

Indonesia's second largest city, Surabaya, was one of the strongest bases of support for both Sukarno and the PKI and a hub of overt and covert U.S. anti-communist operations. However, scholars have long overlooked its role as a critical site of the Cold War in Southeast Asia. As U.S.-Indonesian relations deteriorated and street-level anti-Americanism escalated, U.S. officials in Surabaya, forged alliances with local anti-communist collaborators and ramped up operations aimed at overthrowing Sukarno and destroying the PKI. Although it seemed at first that their efforts might not succeed, a failed 'PKI coup attempt' on 1 October 1965 provided the justification for both of these objectives to be conclusively achieved. The campaign of mass violence that subsequently took place conclusively changed Indonesia's political direction and paved the way for improved U.S.-Indonesian relations. This dissertation reveals new details about the 1965-66 purge of the Left in Surabaya and about the bilateral relations and political conflict that preceded it. Examining these topics from the lens of microhistory suggests that this method offers an equally valuable way to approach the broader study of U.S. foreign policy, political violence, and the Cold War itself.

The dissertation of Dahlia Gratia Setiyawan is approved.

George Dutton

Kelly Lytle Hernandez

Valerie Matsumoto

Geoffrey Robinson, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2014

To my family.

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## VITA

2000	B.A., History, Summa Cum Laude University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA
2005	M.S.Ed., Intercultural Communication University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA
2008	M.A., History University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), Los Angeles, CA
2007-2008	Teaching Assistant, UCLA
2008	Fulbright U.S. Student Research Grant, Surabaya, Indonesia
2009-2010	Visiting Lecturer, Airlangga University, Surabaya, Indonesia
2010	Teaching Associate, UCLA
2011-2012	U.S. Department of Education Foreign Language and Area Studies Dissertation Fellowship
2011-2013	Teaching Fellow, UCLA
2012	Graduate Concentration in Asian American Studies, UCLA Department of Asian American Studies
2012-2013	UCLA Graduate Division Dissertation Year Fellowship

### Select Presentations and Publications

Setiyawan, Dahlia Gratia. "I Can Still Hear them Weeping': The Short Story as a Source for Indonesian Conceptualizations of the 1965–66 Mass Killings." *Explorations* 7, no. 1, (Spring 2007): 23-35.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Days of Uncertainty, Nights of Terror: Anti-Communist Violence in Surabaya, 1965-1966." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Atlanta, April 2008.

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## A NOTE ON SPELLING AND TRANSLATION

In 1972, *Bahasa Indonesia* underwent a transformation as Indonesian government language planners introduced a new system of spelling. The major shift was that the Dutch-influenced spelling of words was officially changed to reflect a modernized alphabet. The consonants *ch*, *dj*, *j*, *tj*, and the vowel *oe*, became *kh*, *j*, *y*, *c* and *u*. In striving for historical accuracy as well as consistency I have adopted the new system of spelling with the exception of direct quotes, personal or organizational names, and titles in which the old spelling is more recognized or generally preferred. For instance, the reader will note that in these circumstances ‘Surabaya’ appears as *Surabaja* and ‘Sukarno’ is often spelled *Soekarno*. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from Indonesian sources are my own.

## GLOSSARY

ABRI	Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia (Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia)
<i>aksi sepihak</i>	Unilateral [land reform] actions staged by the PKI and affiliated organizations
Ansor	Nahdlatul Ulama youth front
<i>Arek Suroboyo</i>	Colloq. Javanese ‘Citizenry of Surabaya’
Balai Kota	City Hall
Balai Pemuda	Surabaya Youth Hall
Banser	<b>B</b> arisan <b>A</b> nsor <b>S</b> erbaguna (Ansor all-purpose [paramilitary] unit)
BAPERKI	<b>B</b> adan <b>P</b> ermusyawaratan <b>K</b> ewarganegaraan <b>I</b> ndonesia (Consultative Body for Indonesian Citizenship)
BPAO	Branch Public Affairs Officer (United States Information Service)
Brawijaya	Corps name of the Indonesian National Army’s East Java Division
BRIMOB	<b>B</b> rigade <b>M</b> obile (Mobile Police Brigade)
BTI	Barisan Tani Indonesia (Indonesian Peasants’ League)
CI	Combat Intelijen (Combat Intelligence)
CIA	U.S. Central Intelligence Agency
CGMI	Consentrasi Gerakan Mahasiswa Indonesia (Unified Movement of Indonesian Students)
<i>Dewan Rakyat</i>	Municipal Assembly
DOS	U.S. Department of State
DPD	Dewan Pemerintah Daerah (Regional Government Council)

dr.	dokter (academic degree, medical doctor)
Drs.	Doktorandus (Indonesian pre-graduate academic degree)
Dwikora	<b><u>Dwikomando Rakyat</u></b> (the people's two mandates to Crush Malaysia and defend the Revolution)
ET	Eks-TAPOL (ex-political prisoner)
Front Nasional	National Front
FSN	Foreign Service National (non-diplomatic locally-employed support staff of U.S. Foreign Service missions)
FSO	Foreign Service Officer
<i>ganjang/ganyang</i>	crush, destroy (i.e. "Ganyang Malaysia")
G30S	Gerakan Tiga Puluh September (the September 30 <sup>th</sup> Movement)
Gestapu	<b><u>Gerakan September Tiga Puluh</u></b> (another appellation of the September 30 <sup>th</sup> Movement or G30S)
Gerwani,	<b><u>Gerakan Wanita Indonesia</u></b> (Indonesian Women's Movement)
GMNI	Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Student Movement, PNI)
GOWS	Gabungan Organisasi Wanita Surabaya (Surabaya Coalition of Women's Organizations)
Grahadi	Name of the official residence of the governor of East Java
Hansip	Pertahanan <b><u>Sipil</u></b> (Civil Defense Force)
Inrehab	<b><u>In</u>stalasi <b><u>Rehabilitasi</u></b> (rehabilitation camp)</b>
Jalan	Street
Jalan Raya	Avenue
Kalisosok	Surabaya prison
KAMI	Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Indonesia (Indonesian University Students' Action Front)
<i>kampung</i>	residential area(s), often working class or low-income

KAP-Gestapu	<b><u>K</u>omando <u>A</u>ksi <u>P</u>engganyangan <u>G</u>erakan <u>S</u>eptember <u>T</u>iga <u>P</u>uluh (The Action Command to Crush the September 30<sup>th</sup> Movement)</b>
KAPPI	Kesatuan Aksi Pemuda Pelajar Indonesia (Indonesian Youth and Students' Action Front)
KBM	Kesatuan Buruh Marhaenis (Marhaenis Labor Front)
<i>kecamatan</i>	District
Koblen	Surabaya military prison
KODAM	<b><u>K</u>omando <u>D</u>aerah <u>M</u>iliter (Regional Military Command)</b>
KODIM	<b><u>K</u>omando <u>D</u>istrik <u>M</u>iliter (District Military Command)</b>
<i>Konfrontasi</i>	Confrontation (the campaign to “Crush Malaysia”)
KOPKAMTIB	<b><u>K</u>omando <u>O</u>perasi <u>P</u>emulihan <u>K</u>eamanan dan Ketertiban (Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order)</b>
KORAMIL	<b><u>K</u>omando <u>R</u>ayon <u>M</u>iliter (Rayon Military Command)</b>
KOREM	<b><u>K</u>omando <u>R</u>esor <u>M</u>iliter (Resort Military Command)</b>
KOSTRAD	<b><u>K</u>omando Cadangan <u>S</u>trategis <u>A</u>ngkatan <u>D</u>arat (Army Strategic Reserve Command)</b>
Mahmilub	<b><u>M</u>ahkamah <u>M</u>iliter <u>L</u>uar <u>B</u>iasa (Special Military Court)</b>
Masjumi	<b><u>M</u>ajelis <u>S</u>jiro <u>M</u>uslimin <u>I</u>ndonesia (Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims)</b>
Merah Putih	Lit. ‘the red and white;’ Indonesian national flag
MMI	Majelis Mahasiswa Indonesia (Indonesian University Student Assembly)
NASAKOM	<b><u>N</u>asionalisme, <u>A</u>gama, <u>K</u>omunisme (nationalism, religion, communism)</b>
NEFOS	<b><u>N</u>ew <u>E</u>merging <u>F</u>orces</b>
Nekolim	<b><u>N</u>eokolonial <u>I</u>mperialis (neocolonial imperialist)</b>

NSA	U.S. National Security Administration
NU	Nahdlatul Ulama (Council of Islamic Scholars)
OLDEFOS	<b><u>Old E</u>stablished <u>F</u>orces</b>
Ormas	<b><u>o</u>rganisasi <u>masa</u></b> (mass organization)
Orpol	<b><u>o</u>rganisasi <u>pol</u>itik</b> (political organization)
Pancasila/Pantjasila	The Five Principles; Indonesian national philosophy
Panca Tunggal	Five-in-One (Body of regional authorities)
Panglima	Commander
Pangdam	<b><u>P</u>anglima <u>D</u>aerah <u>M</u>iliter</b> (Regional Military Commander)
Parkindo	<b><u>P</u>artai <u>K</u>risten <u>I</u>ndonesia</b> (Christian Party of Indonesia)
Parpol	partai politik (political party)
Pemuda	Youth
Pemuda Marhaen	Marhaenist Youth (PNI youth front)
Pemuda Rakyat	People's Youth (PKI youth front)
Pepelrada	<b><u>P</u>enguasa <u>P</u>elaksanaan Dwikora <u>D</u>aerah</b> (Regional [Military] Authority to Implement Dwikora)
Permesta	<b><u>P</u>erjuangan <u>S</u>emesta</b> (Rebel Movement based in Sulawesi)
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party)
PNI	Partai Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian Nationalist Party)
PPMI	Perserikatan Perhimpunan Mahasiswa Indonesia (Federation of Indonesian University Student Associations)
<i>priyayi</i>	Javanese bureaucratic elites
PRRI	Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia (Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia)
PSI	Partai Sosialis Indonesia (Indonesian Socialist Party)

R.	Raden (a Javanese title of nobility)
<i>rakyat</i>	the public; the masses
<i>rapat raksasa</i>	mass rally
RK	Rukun Kampung ( <i>kampung</i> association)
RPKAD	Resimen Para Komando Angkatan Darat (Army Para-Commando Regiment)
RRI	Radio Republik Indonesia (Radio Republic Indonesia)
RT	Rukun Tetangga (neighborhood association)
Sarbumusi	<b><u>S</u>arekat <u>B</u>uruh <u>M</u>uslimin <u>I</u>ndonesia (Indonesian Muslim Labor Union)</b>
SOBSI	Sentral Organisasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia (All-Indonesia Central Workers' Organization)
TAPOL	<b><u>T</u>ahanan <u>P</u>olitik (Political Prisoner)</b>
TAVIP	<b><u>T</u>ahun [Ber-]<u>V</u>ivere <u>P</u>erlicoloso[mente] (lit. "The Year of Living Dangerously")</b>
TNI	Tentara Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Army)
Tugu Pahlawan	Heroes Monument [Surabaya]
UNAIR	<b><u>U</u>niversitas <u>A</u>irlangga (Airlangga University)</b>
USIA	United States Information Agency
USIS	United States Information Service
Uterpra	<b><u>U</u>rusan <u>T</u>eritorial dan <u>P</u>erlawanan <u>R</u>akyat (Territorial Affairs and People's Resistance)</b>
VOA	Voice of America

# MAP OF INDONESIA

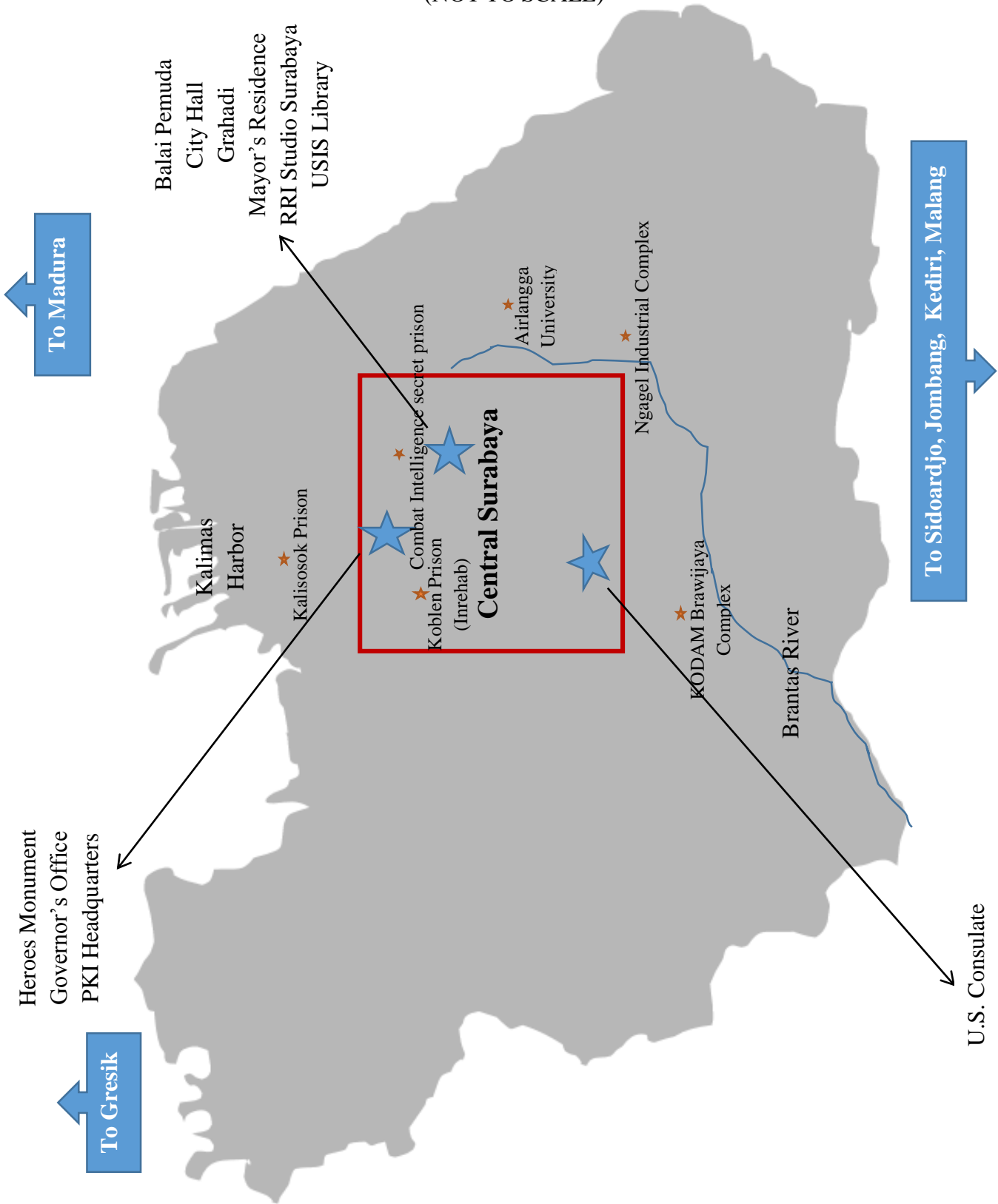


Map No. 4110 Rev. 4 UNITED NATIONS  
January 2004

Department of Peacekeeping Operations  
Cartographic Section



MAP OF GREATER SURABAYA  
(NOT TO SCALE)



## INTRODUCTION

### **Toward a New History of Cold War-era U.S.-Indonesian Relations**

In a confidential airgram dated 19 November 1963, a senior officer at the U.S. Consulate in Surabaya warned his colleagues at the U.S. Department of State about the ascendancy of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in the province of East Java.<sup>1</sup> Vice Consul J. Bruce Amstutz enumerated what he described as rampant signs of communist-style “thought control.” These included the heavy censorship of local newspapers, the banning of pro-Western organizations and political parties, indoctrination courses for government officials, and an increase in Indonesian and Soviet-disseminated anti-Western propaganda. These developments, Amstutz explained, resulted from the growth of “authoritarian socialism a la Sukarno,” his term for the political atmosphere following the Indonesian president’s establishment of “Guided Democracy” in 1958.<sup>2</sup> Communists in the province, he wrote, were “growing in influence and strength.” As proof of this, Amstutz cited the appointment of party members or affiliates to local government positions. He also cited the PKI’s domination of the National Front, which Sukarno created in 1960 to recruit political parties and organizations to support his various national campaigns. The communists’ unrivaled ability to mobilize the masses was another point of concern.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Airgram, “A Case Study: Is East Java Going Communist?” U.S. Consulate Surabaya (SUB) to Department of State (DOS), 19 November 1963. General Records of the Department of State, Record Group (RG) 59, Central Foreign Policy (CFP) 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 3936, National Archives at College Park, MD (NACP), 8.

<sup>2</sup> Guided Democracy (*Demokrasi Terpimpin*), was a period from 1957 to 1966 in which parliamentary democracy gave way to a political system characterized by Sukarno’s sweeping authority and attempt to balance, as well as exploit tensions between, the Right and the Left, chiefly represented by the Army and the PKI. The two seminal works on this topic remain Herbert Feith, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962) and Daniel Lev, *The Transition to Guided Democracy: Indonesian Politics, 1957-1959* (Ithaca: Modern Indonesia Project, 1966).

<sup>3</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, 19 November 1963. RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 3936, NACP.

These political developments had translated, Amstutz asserted, to a rise in anti-Western sentiment and a marked decline in U.S. influence.<sup>4</sup> According to the vice consul, this trend was the consequence of xenophobia “fostered by two years of Sukarno-encouraged anti-Western propaganda” and encouraged by political cadres who feared being labeled as counter-revolutionary. This meant that fewer and fewer Indonesians were willing to identify publicly as pro-American or pro-West or to associate with officials at the consulate and the United States Information Service (USIS) library or with other Americans in the province.<sup>5</sup> Amstutz urged Washington to take heed of these developments for, as he argued, what was occurring in Surabaya and throughout East Java served as a barometer of the political direction of Indonesia as a whole. The prevailing feeling among U.S. officials in 1963, as Amstutz’s concluding assessment aptly summarized, was that East Java had not yet ‘gone communist.’ However this was cold comfort: “the future,” the vice consul forecasted, “is clouded.”<sup>6</sup>

Even prior to U.S. military escalation in Vietnam a major struggle was taking place between the United States and Indonesia, then home to the largest non-ruling communist party in the world. In the context of the Cold War in Southeast Asia during the early-to-mid 1960s, U.S. officials became preoccupied with “losing” Indonesia to communism. As the urgency of Amstutz’s correspondence with the Department of State indicates, this fear overshadowed any

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<sup>4</sup> Of further concern was the fact that the Western population in the province was in rapid decline. Amstutz noted that as of the writing of his report, there were 175 American residents, a mere fifty subjects of Great Britain and an undisclosed number of French and that all of these groups showed signs of continuing to shrink. Amstutz anticipated that by the end of 1964, “the total number of Westerners in East Java may be the lowest in 150 years.” He cited the completion of the construction of various development projects, the nationalization of factories, and fears caused by the September 1963 attack on the British Embassy in Jakarta as the reasons for the cumulative decline. *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>5</sup> Amstutz cited the case of the “fairly pro-American” East Java Immigration Service Chief who “dropped out of a regular tennis foursome with three Americans, hinting that it was probably unwise for him to be seen playing regularly in such a group.” *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

other issues with which the United States might be concerned in their bilateral relations with the then-fifth most populous nation in the world.

Since the 1990s, a number of scholars and former members of the U.S. Foreign Service have written about Cold War-era U.S. policy and relations in Indonesia.<sup>7</sup> Most recently, historian Bradley Simpson has argued that from the 1950s until the mid-1960s, American officials considered Indonesia to be more important politically and economically to U.S. interests than Vietnam. As such, they lavished substantial financial assistance and other attention onto the resource-rich nation. By way of a Western-oriented, military-led economic and political development program, Simpson argues, they sought to create a long-term solution to their immediate Cold War concern that Indonesia would fall to communism.<sup>8</sup> This program stressed military modernization over civilian leadership as the means by which new and emerging states' futures would progress in line with the United States' own objectives in the developing world.<sup>9</sup> Amidst Sukarno's political confrontation with the United States, American officials' scheme initially failed. However, after 1965 their renewed plans at last succeeded under the changed political circumstances that had removed Sukarno from the presidency and had led to Major General Suharto's assumption of power. U.S. Cold War policy toward Indonesia thus involved

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<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, H.W. Brands, "The Limits of Manipulation: How the United States Didn't Topple Sukarno," *Journal of American History* 76 (December 1989): 785-808; Frederick Bunnell, "American 'Low Posture' Policy Toward Indonesia in the Months Leading Up to the 1965 'Coup,'" *Indonesia* 50 (1990): 29-60; Marshall Green, *Indonesia: Crisis and Transformation, 1965-1968* (Washington, D.C.: Compass Press, 1990); George Mc.T. Kahin and Audrey Kahin, *Subversion as Foreign Policy: The Secret Eisenhower and Dulles Debacle in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Paul F. Gardner, *Shared Hopes, Separate Fears: Fifty Years of United States-Indonesian Relations* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997); and Bradley Simpson, *Economists with Guns: Authoritarian Development and U.S.-Indonesian Relations, 1960-1968* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

<sup>8</sup> Simpson, *Economists*, 5.

<sup>9</sup> Military modernization, which had been discussed in foreign policy circles since the 1950s, was introduced by think tank analysis such as the Rand Corporation's Guy Pauker and academics including political scientist Lucien Pye. Anja Jetschke. *Human Rights and State Security: Indonesia and the Philippines* (Philadelphia and Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 61.

the expenditure of many millions of dollars and the covert maneuvering of numerous American officials to encourage right-wing leaders of the Indonesian Army to establish an anti-communist, Western-friendly path of economic and political development.

In the U.S. Cold War mindset, a communist Indonesia would be so detrimental to American diplomatic, economic, and political interests in the country, and the region, that within two years of the Department of State's receipt of Amstutz's case study, the U.S. government supported an Army-orchestrated campaign of mass violence that targeted Indonesia's political Left. The 1965-66 mass violence in Indonesia was based upon the now-discredited pretext of an alleged PKI plan to take over the Indonesian government. Nearly fifty years later, it remains among the most chilling examples of state-sponsored violence in modern world history. When the killings were over, between 500,000 and one million communists and 'fellow travelers' had been murdered nationwide; tens of thousands more had become political prisoners.<sup>10</sup> Given the scale and swiftness of the violence, and the evidence of U.S. complicity in it, one might have expected it to have become the focus of intense public interest and scrutiny. Yet, as compared to the Holocaust, the Cambodian genocide of 1975-79, or the 1994 Rwandan genocide, the killing and incarceration in Indonesia during 1965-66 remains largely unknown to the American public despite decades of work on this topic by scholars of Southeast Asian history.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Scholars are in broad agreement about this range of deaths and incarcerations, but it is impossible to definitively determine how many people actually died or became political prisoners. Indonesian government statistics do not reliably represent the true scale of the mass death and incarceration that occurred during 1965-66 as they were either compiled while the violence was still underway or produced by the Army which, as the architect of the killings, had reason to variously inflate or downplay totals. Regarding problems in the death toll estimate see Robert Cribb "How Many Deaths: Problems in the Statistics of Massacre in Indonesia (1965-1966) and East Timor (1975-1980)," in *Violence in Indonesia*, ed. Ingrid Wessel and Georgia Wimhöfer (Hamburg: Abera-Verlag, 2001), 82-98.

<sup>11</sup> The major works that detail the killings include Benedict Anderson and Ruth McVey, *A Preliminary Analysis of the October 1, 1965, Coup in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1971); Harold Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978; Singapore: Equinox Publishing, 2007), citations refer to the Equinox edition; Robert Cribb, ed., *The Indonesian Killings of 1965-1966: Studies from Java*

The following microhistory sheds new light on the Cold War in Indonesia and the mass violence of 1965-66 by focusing on U.S.-Indonesian relations and anti-communist operations in Surabaya leading up to and during the near-liquidation of the Left. During the early to mid-1960s, Indonesia's second largest city and the provincial capital of East Java was the scene of extreme tension between the Left and U.S. officials and their local military and civilian allies on the Right. In Surabaya between 1963 and 1965, street-level politics and state-level policy-making converged. Protesters against U.S. imperialism in and beyond Indonesia launched numerous campaigns against Americans and their institutions in the city. U.S. officials responded with propaganda, surveillance, and intelligence-gathering operations that ultimately provided instrumental support for the Army-orchestrated mass violence of 1965-66. Examining the actions of U.S. officials in Surabaya helps us to better analyze U.S. government operations in Indonesia. It also provides new evidence of the lengths that U.S. officials were willing to go to stop the spread of communism during the Cold War.

Understanding U.S. Cold War foreign policy in Indonesia and its relation to the 1965-66 mass violence necessitates looking at a more diverse group of U.S. and Indonesian actors than has been previously studied. An expanded approach is warranted because the general trend among scholars is to consider this topic from a top-down vantage point. The advantage of that perspective, as Simpson's work most recently reveals, has been to show how political figures and

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*and Bali*, Monash Papers on Southeast Asia, no. 21 (Clayton: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1990); Geoffrey Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise: Political Violence in Bali* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Iwan Gardono Sudjatmiko, "The Destruction of the Indonesian Communist Party: A Comparative Analysis of East Java and Bali," (Ph.D. diss., Harvard Univ., 1992); Hermawan Sulisty, "The Forgotten Years: The Missing History of Indonesia's Mass Slaughter, Jombang-Kediri, 1965-66," (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State Univ., 1997), Cribb, "Unresolved Problems in the Indonesian Killings of 1965-1966," *Asian Survey* 42, 4, (July-August 2002): 550-63 and Douglas Kammen and Katharine McGregor, eds. *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia, 1965-1968* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2012). The wide-spread success and critical acclaim of director Joshua Oppenheimer's Academy Award-nominated 2012 documentary film, "The Act of Killing," which profiles perpetrators of anti-communist violence in the city of Medan, North Sumatra, offers hope that this might be beginning to change.

agencies conceived and executed foreign policy at the highest levels of the U.S. and Indonesian governments. Such information is vital to our understanding of the way in which these two nations' bilateral relations developed during the twentieth century. But the top-down approach also has a major limitation. By prioritizing the actions of elites in state capitals, it overlooks non-elite actors, street-level politics, U.S.-Indonesian relations beyond Jakarta and Washington, and the design and execution of U.S. foreign policy at the working level. Without this information we lack a complete picture of the complications and nuances that were present in the relationship between the United States and Indonesia, of U.S. Cold War foreign policy, and of the degree that the mass violence of 1965-66 is attributable to it.

My study introduces a new set of actors. They include the participants in the anti-U.S. movement of 1963-65, the officials based at the American Consulate and USIS library in Surabaya, and the members of the municipal and provincial government who were their allies or antagonists. Examining the actions and attitudes of these actors, and the relationships among them, helps to reveal how U.S. foreign policy intersected with local politics during the Cold War. By focusing on how these groups converged at a constituent (subordinate) post of a U.S. diplomatic mission in a non-capital city, moreover, I introduce a rarely-examined site in studies on U.S. foreign relations during the Cold War. From this vantage point, we are also able to see how a diverse group of people shaped and were also shaped by economic, social, and historical conditions present during the height of the Cold War in Indonesia. This study thus provides a more complete history of local politics in Surabaya in the first two decades after independence and puts more recent episodes of anti-Americanism in Indonesia into historical perspective. It also sheds new light on the 1965-66 mass violence in Indonesia and on the U.S. officials outside Jakarta and Washington that supported it. Finally, it complicates and enriches our understanding

of the Cold War by emphasizing how American and Indonesian actors outside state capitals helped to shape national and international politics of this period.

### **De-Centering the Cold War in Indonesia**

“The Cold War,” historian John Lewis Gaddis has written, “was fought at different levels in dissimilar ways in multiple places over a very long time. Any attempt to reduce its history exclusively to the role of great forces, great powers, or great leaders would fail to do it justice.”<sup>12</sup> Indeed, “de-centering” Cold War history, Jadwiga E. Pieper Mooney and Fabio Lanza have recently emphasized, requires acknowledgement of the power of “individual acts, personal decisions, or local-level actions acquired in the midst of superpower politics.” The contributors to their 2013 edited volume, *De-Centering Cold War History: Local and Global Change*, have urged that greater attention must be paid to the roles of what they call “smaller powers” in the economic, cultural, political, and social arenas of the Cold War.<sup>13</sup>

While this may be a newer approach from the perspective of Cold War history, to scholars of Southeast Asia it is hardly a novel construct. For instance, George Kahin was instrumental in showing how U.S. subversion in Indonesia in the 1950s and the wars in Vietnam illuminate the complicated reality of the Cold War as experienced at local and regional levels.<sup>14</sup> In developing and elaborating on what historians of the region such as Kahin have done, I build

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<sup>12</sup> John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin, 2005), xi.

<sup>13</sup> Jadwiga E. Pieper Mooney and Fabio Lanza, eds. *De-Centering Cold War History: Local and Global Change* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 7.

<sup>14</sup> See Kahin and Kahin, *Subversion*, George McT. Kahin, *Intervention: How America Became Involved in Vietnam* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986) and George McT. Kahin, *Southeast Asia: A Testament* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).



on this longer tradition and help to introduce the de-centering approach to the Cold War into mainstream U.S. foreign policy studies. However, my study departs from Kahin's work and recent monographs on Cold War U.S. foreign policy and relations in Indonesia and in Laos in a significant way.<sup>15</sup> Instead of focusing on policy makers, government authorities, and political party leaders, I employ a bottom-up approach.

I argue that examining street politics in the context of Cold War-era U.S. foreign relations helps to better explain the dynamics of U.S.-Indonesian relations during the pivotal era of the early-to-mid 1960s. Indeed, as Pieper Mooney and Lanza point out, street-level politics and grassroots activism are two vital areas of analysis for developing a more nuanced and complete picture of the global Cold War.<sup>16</sup> I emphasize the importance of understanding individual and local-level actors and actions by examining the anti-U.S. movement in Surabaya. During the 1960s anti-American sentiment and actions surged in Indonesia. There, as elsewhere, negative perceptions of the United States gained momentum. Writing about Asia, Warren Cohen and Nancy Bernkopf Tucker have noted: "the image of the United States as a country born in a revolt against imperialism, committed to self-determination and self-government for all peoples, gave way to the less attractive portrait of Americans as imperialists. The promise of liberty and freedom for all, so deeply ingrained in American society, was perceived by countless Asians as hypocrisy."<sup>17</sup> I argue that the Cold War surge in anti-Americanism in Surabaya and elsewhere in Indonesia indeed reflected anger at American hypocrisy. It also reflected the way that national

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<sup>15</sup> See Simpson, *Economists* and William J. Rust, *Before the Quagmire: American Intervention in Laos, 1954-1961* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2012).

<sup>16</sup> Pieper Mooney and Lanza, *De-Centering Cold War History*, 3.

<sup>17</sup> Warren I. Cohen and Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, "America in Asian Eyes," *The American Historical Review* 111, 4 (October 2006): 1103.

politics of this period took on a revolutionary form in which public campaigns against imperialism and other ills were often waged through street-level demonstrations.

The grass-roots mobilization of demonstrators against the United States and its institutions in Surabaya underscores the point that during the early-to-mid 1960s, Indonesians increasingly took to the streets to achieve political objectives. By then street politics was hardly a new phenomenon. It took off after 1957 once the collapse of parliamentary democracy forced political participation away from the ballot box. In the late 1950s, the Army, hoping to increase its political power had pushed hard to abolish political parties. The United States, concerned about PKI gains in the respective national and regional elections of 1955 and 1957-58, also supported the objective of reorienting Indonesia away from an electoral political system. Instead, American officials hoped to see right-wing actors in the military take control of the government. Yet the Army and the United States had miscalculated, for it was Sukarno and the PKI that became the beneficiaries of this political shift. Paradoxically, U.S. foreign policy contributed to paving the road to anti-U.S. demonstrations.

Because the 1963-65 anti-U.S. movement has received but a passing treatment in the literature, we know very little about its participants and their actions. Scholars have not yet shown how street-level actions emerged from, and indeed contributed to, the downturn in U.S.-Indonesian relations during the first half of the 1960s. The only perspective that we have comes largely from the writings of two ambassadors and one Foreign Service Officer who were stationed at the U.S. Embassy in the early-to-mid 1960s.<sup>18</sup> As may be expected of works written by U.S. officials who served in Indonesia during this time, these histories, when they discuss

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<sup>18</sup> See Howard P. Jones, *Indonesia: The Possible Dream* (New York: Random House, 1971), Green, *Indonesia*, and Gardner, *Shared Hopes, Separate Fears*.

anti-Americanism at all, lack depth and nuance regarding why and how it occurred and its relation to U.S. Cold War-era operations in Indonesia.

My dissertation shows that the movement was not just the work of the PKI but also involved the active participation of the left wing of the Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI). The onset of the Cold War and the rise of the PKI following the 1955 and 1957-58 elections led scholars to examine the PNI and its claims to power in greater depth.<sup>19</sup> With the exception of Jose Eliseo Rocamora, however, few scholars have devoted equal attention to the left wing of the Party; his 1971 dissertation remains the definitive study of the PNI.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, neither the studies of the PNI nor the PKI and other political parties have examined their cadres' participation in, or leadership of, the anti-U.S. movement. I make the case that the PNI and several other parties shared an opposition to the U.S. presence in Indonesia and to the actions of the U.S. government during this time than has been typically acknowledged in the literature. In analyzing their actions, I show how their involvement in the movement provided opportunities for both inter-party collaboration and competition during a time of great political flux.

In addition to detailing the groups engaged in political activism in Cold War-era Surabaya, I also introduce the municipal and provincial civilian and military leaders who supported or opposed protesters' campaigns against the United States. As I emphasize, this set of actors did not always conform to American expectations of how people who they broadly

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<sup>19</sup> See for example Ruth McVey "The Development of the Indonesian Communist Party and its Relations with the Soviet Union and the Chinese Peoples Republic," (Cambridge: Center for International Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1954) and *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965); Herbert Feith, *Decline* and "President Soekarno, the Army and the Communists: The Triangle Changes Shape," *Asian Survey* 4, 8 (August 1964): 969-80 and Donald Hindley, *The Communist Party of Indonesia, 1951-1963* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964).

<sup>20</sup> Jose Eliseo Rocamora, "Nationalism in Search of an Ideology: Indonesia's Nationalist Party, 1946-1965." Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1974.

categorized as either allies or antagonists should behave. Details about their interactions with U.S. officials in Surabaya complicate popular perceptions that the Cold War was a black and white struggle between communists and capitalists. As these relationships reveal, at the individual level, Cold War relations were far more nuanced and complex.

My dissertation additionally contributes to Cold War history by examining the little-studied settings of an American consulate and USIS library. By the onset of the anti-U.S. movement in Indonesia, the U.S. Consulate in Surabaya was already one of the United States' oldest diplomatic posts in Asia.<sup>21</sup> It was initially established in the mid-nineteenth century as an enterprise to oversee American economic investments in Indonesia, a role that endures to the present day. However, during the Cold War, the consulate's staff and their USIS colleagues acquired a new purpose: to monitor the growth of communism in the region and its impact upon American interests in Indonesia.

Although constituent posts are often ignored by scholars of U.S. foreign policy, historians of the Cold War in Asia have produced some important works on American consulates. These studies allow us to contextualize American officials' actions in Surabaya within a broader picture of similar activities at other U.S. diplomatic posts in the region. Johannes R. Lombardo's 2000 study of U.S. espionage, intelligence, and psychological operations in Hong Kong between 1949 and 1964 provides evidence that consulates were important loci of U.S. anti-communist

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<sup>21</sup> U.S. diplomatic contact in Surabaya began when Carl von Oven, the United States' first diplomatic representative to Surabaya, was appointed as consular agent on 11 January 1866. At the time of his appointment an actual consulate did not yet exist, nor would one be officially established until over fifty years later when, on 28 May 1918, seasoned American diplomat Harry Campbell became the first U.S. Consul in Surabaya. Historical Records of the U.S. Consulate General, Surabaya. For more on the consulate's early history see Dahlia Gratia Setiyawan, "U.S.– Indonesian Relations in East Java: A History of the American Consulate in Surabaya, 1866–2012" in *Ruang Publik, Ekopolitik dan Budaya Jawa Timur*, ed. Johny A. Khusyairi and Purnawan Basundoro, (Yogyakarta: New Elmatara Press, 2012), 115-55.

surveillance and intelligence-gathering activities.<sup>22</sup> A 2002 study by Joey Long reveals that as in Hong Kong, officials at the U.S. Consulate General in Singapore intervened in local politics and disbursed clandestine aid to right-wing groups during the 1950s.<sup>23</sup>

While scholars of Cold War-era U.S.-Indonesian relations document how U.S. policy toward Indonesia was shaped during the 1950s and 1960s they seldom describe the actors who carried it out on the ground. Beyond the names of U.S. government offices and agencies and those of their senior staff, we know little about the individuals responsible for implementing U.S. policy in Indonesia. Addressing this gap in the literature, my dissertation introduces a widely neglected group, U.S. Foreign Service officers. As the collectors of substantial amounts of data regarding political groups, figures, and their activities, these officials were some of the U.S. government's most important eyes and ears in Indonesia. My research suggests that State Department personnel in and beyond Surabaya played a significant, albeit less recognized, role in efforts to engineer a right-wing, pro-U.S. regime change for Indonesia.

Indeed, the operations originating from the Surabaya consulate and the staff members who carried them out during this period have remained largely absent from historical accounts of U.S.-Indonesian Cold War tensions. This is mainly attributable to two tendencies in works on American-Indonesian bilateral relations. The first is scholars' preoccupation with the activities of the CIA in Indonesia, or more precisely, the activities of the CIA Directorate of Operations. The second is that most of the scant focus on the U.S. Foreign Service presence in Indonesia is centered upon the embassy rather than outposts such as the consulates in Surabaya and Medan or

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<sup>22</sup> Johannes R. Lombardo, "A Mission of Espionage, Intelligence and Psychological Operations: The American Consulate in Hong Kong, 1949-64," in *The Clandestine Cold War in Asia, 1945-65*, ed. Richard J. Aldrich, Gary Rawnsley, and Ming-Yeh Rawnsley (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2000), 64-81.

<sup>23</sup> Joey Long, "The Chew Swee Kee Affair Revisited: Querying the American Involvement in Singapore" *South East Asia Research* 10, 2 (July 2002): 217-39.

the United States Information Agency (USIA) network of USIS libraries.<sup>24</sup> This is not to suggest, as H.W. Brands prematurely argued in 1989, that the CIA was but a minor player in Indonesia during the early-to-mid 1960s.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, CIA involvement in Indonesia during the 1950s and 1960s has been well documented.<sup>26</sup> For instance, Frederick Bunnell's 1990 essay on the United States' strategic approach to Indonesia in the months before the 1965 so-called PKI coup persuasively argued for considerable CIA engagement during this period.<sup>27</sup> Despite the Agency's sustained silence regarding its involvement in Indonesia, Simpson has disclosed important new aspects of CIA activities and operatives in his 2008 study of Cold War-era U.S.-Indonesian relations.<sup>28</sup> Writing the following year, historian Baskara T. Wardaya argued that it was the

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<sup>24</sup> USIA was created in 1953 as an autonomous Executive Branch agency. Its information centers and libraries, along with its Voice of America radio broadcasts became important, albeit habitually underfunded, American public diplomacy fronts. In the 1950s, after the Agency was able to furnish skeptical congressional leaders with statistical evidence of the effect of propaganda in 'converting communists' its utility as a critical Cold War weapon was solidified. See Shawn Parry-Giles, "Propaganda, Effect, and the Cold War: Gauging the Status of America's 'War on Words,'" *Political Communication* 11 (1994): 210-211.

<sup>25</sup> As the majority of Brands' informants were none other than the Bundy brothers, McGeorge and William (respectively the national security and foreign affairs advisors to John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson), and the embassy's Marshall Green, Ed Masters, and George Benson, it is not surprising that he reached the conclusion that the CIA had limited culpability in early-to-mid 1960s covert operations in Indonesia.

<sup>26</sup> See, for instance, Frederick Bunnell, "The Central Intelligence Agency – Deputy Directorate for Plans 1961 Secret Memorandum on Indonesia: A Study in the Politics of Policy Formulation in the Kennedy Administration." *Indonesia* 22 (1976): 131-70 and "American 'Low Posture' Policy Toward Indonesia in the Months Leading Up to the 1965 'Coup.'" *Indonesia* 50 (1990): 29-60 and Peter Dale Scott, "The United States and the Overthrow of Sukarno, 1965-1967." *Pacific Affairs* 58 (Summer 1985): 239-64. For a good overview of the development of U.S. covert operations more generally during the same period see "Note on U.S. Covert Action Programs," FRUS 1964-68, v. XXVI, Indonesia; Malaysia-Singapore; Philippines. CIA activity in Indonesia during the tensions of the early-to-mid 1960s is discussed in depth in Simpson, *Economists*, Chapter 6. In recent years several Indonesian works have also addressed these themes, for example, Baskara T. Wardaya, *Bung Karno Menggugat! Dari Marhaen, CIA, Pembantaian Massal '65 hingga G30S*, rev. ed. (Yogyakarta: Galang Press, 2009) and Mohammad Achadi, *Kabut G30S: Mengungkap Peran CIA, M16, dan KGB* (Yogyakarta: Narasi, 2011). As the titles suggest, however, most of these works are predominantly concerned with the CIA's role behind the alleged "PKI coup" of 1965.

<sup>27</sup> Bunnell, "American 'Low Posture' Policy." The precedent for such involvement occurred during the administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower. As presidential biographer Stephen Ambrose has stated, it was under his leadership (and Allen Dulles' direction) that "the size and scope of the CIA's activities increased dramatically." Ambrose quoted in Kahin and Kahin, *Subversion*, 6.

<sup>28</sup> See, especially, Simpson, *Economists*, Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

Agency, and not the U.S. Embassy, that was the true “field operative” (*pelaksana lapangan*) in contributing to the downfall of Sukarno and the PKI.<sup>29</sup>

Because there is good reason to want to understand CIA actions more clearly, scholars often lament the absence of a complete archive of the Agency’s operational files. However, there are reasons why putting too much weight on CIA Cold War-era operations in Indonesia can be unhelpful. Overemphasizing what the CIA was doing can distract us from the contributions of other groups and agencies that were engaged in U.S. covert and overt operations in Indonesia and other countries. For instance, it can lead us to ignore the available evidence of State Department and USIA subversion. Recognizing the actions of these, and other, groups is essential to determining the scope of U.S. covert operations in Indonesia.

As I have emphasized above, many officials played a vital role in the United States’ anti-communist program in Indonesia and in providing assistance and support to the perpetrators of the 1965-66 mass violence. In Surabaya, these included a contingent of officials at the consulate and USIS library that included a CIA operative, a State Department Sovietologist, and Foreign Service Officers who had served in other Cold War ‘hot spot’ posts. The background, education, and career paths of these actors shaped what they thought and did as representatives of the U.S. government in Indonesia. A grand view that emphasizes government agencies and high-level authorities misses the nuances that a close study of such individuals brings.

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<sup>29</sup> Wardaya, *Bung Karno Menguggat!*, 24.

## **The United States and the 1965-66 Mass Violence in Indonesia**

Within two weeks of the murder of six right-wing generals in Jakarta on 1 October 1965, the Indonesian Army publicly blamed the PKI for what it classified as an attempt to seize power. This account became the official narrative of the Indonesian government for the next forty years and is still widely accepted in Indonesia today. The United States government fell in line with the Indonesian Army's account of events. The Army narrative was endorsed by the Department of State, and in 1968 a CIA report concurred that the PKI was the mastermind behind the "coup attempt" against the right-wing Army leadership. This report claimed that the PKI had engineered the coup attempt to forcibly alter the political direction of Indonesia to the advantage of the communists and their left-wing military allies.<sup>30</sup>

What the CIA report on the coup was careful to omit was the extent to which the U.S. government was culpable in creating the conditions for the political unrest and its role in facilitating the mass violence that occurred as a result. As we now know, the United States was not merely a bystander to the events that unfolded in Indonesia in 1965-66. A growing body of literature has since explored the extent of U.S. involvement in and responsibility for the events of these years.

As in studies of U.S.-Indonesian relations overall, scholars have been primarily concerned with CIA activities and the role played by high-ranking officials in Washington and at the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta. Their works have increasingly acknowledged U.S. culpability while also recognizing the centrality of Indonesian actors in carrying out the 1965-66 mass violence which led to Sukarno's ouster. In the mid-1980s Peter Dale Scott was among the first scholars to

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<sup>30</sup> Central Intelligence Agency. *Indonesia 1965: The Coup the Backfired*. Research Study, December 1968.



show that while local actors perpetrated the mass violence, U.S. anti-communist operations and subversion in Indonesia during the 1950s and 1960s established a precedent for U.S. support for such violence. For instance, Scott demonstrates how officials, journalists, and think tank-affiliated scholars perpetuated the myth that the violence was spontaneous despite clear evidence that it was not.<sup>31</sup> Writing in 1989 Brands also argued that Indonesian actors were ultimately responsible for the killings and overthrow of Sukarno. However, unlike Scott, he downplayed significant U.S. involvement, calling it the “American non-role in Sukarno’s eclipse.”<sup>32</sup> Scott’s main argument that the United States did not engineer the alleged PKI “coup attempt” has withstood the test of time. However, scholars have subsequently proved the ‘non-role’ thesis to be untenable. Writing in the 1990s and 2000s, Historians Frederick Bunnell, Geoffrey Robinson, John Roosa, and Bradley Simpson have provided ample evidence that the U.S. funded, supported and supplied information to anti-communist forces. Crucially, they also demonstrate that the United States and its allies did nothing to stop or slow the violence, and indeed maintained a deliberate silence as it spread across the country.<sup>33</sup>

In 1990 Cribb published the first edited volume offering a regional view of the killings.<sup>34</sup> This volume and subsequent studies have concentrated primarily on how the mass violence unfolded in Bali and Java. Iwan Gardono Sudjatmiko’s 1992 Ph.D. thesis, which compared events in East Java and Bali, was followed by Robinson’s 1995 monograph that situated the

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<sup>31</sup> Scott, “Overthrow,” 244.

<sup>32</sup> Brands, “The Limits of Manipulation,” 788.

<sup>33</sup> See Geoffrey Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise*, 282-86; John Roosa, *Pretext for Mass Murder: The September 30<sup>th</sup> Movement and Suharto’s Coup d’Etat in Indonesia* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 13-16 and Chapter 6; Bunnell “American ‘Low Posture’ Policy” and Simpson, *Economists*, Chapters 7 and 8.

<sup>34</sup> Cribb, ed. *The Indonesian Killings of 1965-1966*.

killings in Bali within a wider examination of the island's history of political conflict and violence.<sup>35</sup> A 1997 dissertation by Hermawan Sulistyو explored the political tensions that led to the killings as well as the violence itself in the East Java towns of Jember and Kediri.<sup>36</sup> More recent regional studies have introduced some newer regions from which to study the violence.<sup>37</sup>

Despite a significant focus on East Java in the existing literature, the city of Surabaya has been largely omitted from the historical record on U.S. involvement in the Indonesian killings and on the violence itself.<sup>38</sup> A few notable exceptions to this pattern have begun to appear, however. Anthropologist Robbie Peters' 2012 study of state and city relations in Surabaya from Independence through the present provides several new details on the mass violence at the neighborhood-level.<sup>39</sup> Indonesian historians have also recently drawn attention to the ways in which the city became a PKI stronghold in the years leading up to the killings as well as the scope of the violence there.<sup>40</sup> None of these studies, however, considers the actions of U.S. officials at the consulate and at the USIS library and how they facilitated the events of 1965-66. Moreover, with the exception of those mentioned above, studies on the violence in East Java

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<sup>35</sup> Sudjatmiko, "The Destruction of the Indonesian Communist Party," and Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise*.

<sup>36</sup> Sulistyو, "The Forgotten Years."

<sup>37</sup> See, for example, Taufik Ahmad, "South Sulawesi: The Military, Prison Camps and Forced Labour," in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 156-81.

<sup>38</sup> The two most significant works on the city to date have respectively focused on Surabaya's importance in the 1945-49 Indonesian National Revolution and on its historical prominence as a center of labor and industry. See William H. Frederick, *Visions and Heat: The Making of the Indonesian Revolution* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1989) and H.W. Dick., *Surabaya, City of Work: A Socioeconomic History, 1900-2000*. Research in International Studies Southeast Asia Series No. 106 (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002).

<sup>39</sup> Robbie Peters, *Surabaya, 1945-2010: Neighbourhood, State and Economy in Indonesia's City of Struggle* (ASAA Southeast Asia Publication Series. Singapore: NUS Press, 2012).

<sup>40</sup> See, for instance, Purnawan Basundoro, "Memerahkan Kota Pahlawan: Pergulatan Partai Komunis Indonesia di Kota Surabaya 1955-1965," in *Kota-Kota di Jawa: Identitas, Gaya Hidup, dan Permasalahan Sosial*, ed. Sri Margana and M. Nursam (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2010), 271-92 and Yekthi Hesthi Murthi, "Pembersihan 'Kelompok Kiri' di Surabaya, 1965-1978." Thesis, Airlangga University, 2007.

have mainly focused on rural areas. Indeed, in East Java as elsewhere in Indonesia, the worst of the violence and the tensions and conflicts leading up to it occurred in the villages. However as I show, Surabaya was the scene of mass killings, government purges, and mass incarcerations in all of which there was evidence of U.S. complicity.

## **Methodology and Sources**

Cold War-era historical research puts a variety of sources and methods at the disposal of the researcher. My study draws from a wide range of Indonesian and English-language sources obtained from archival, library, and oral history research in Indonesia and the United States. Among the sources that I employ are municipal records, declassified government documents, and newspapers. I also draw significantly from original oral histories gathered from retired consulate and USIS staffers and Indonesian political activists as well as from a rarely-used collection of interviews with former U.S. Foreign Service officers.

Archival research in Indonesia was conducted at the Surabaya Municipal Archives and the East Java Provincial Library and Archives. Documents gathered at these sites such as municipal records and Army decrees reveal how actions by, and changes in, the city and provincial civilian and military leadership during the period under study affected the political direction of Surabaya. They also help us to link local political developments and U.S.-Indonesian relations in Surabaya and reveal more about some of the Indonesian actors who play central roles in this dissertation. Archival research in the United States was conducted at the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration in College Park, Maryland. At this location I gathered declassified government documents from the Central Files of the Department of State collection

on U.S.-Indonesian relations during the early-to-mid-1960s. These sources illuminate the perspectives of many of the U.S. officials profiled in this dissertation, the patterns in intelligence that they gathered, what they reported to Washington, and their effects upon U.S. policy in Indonesia.

The archives used in this study yield important information, but they do not provide a full picture of the topics with which this dissertation is concerned. Indeed, as John Lewis Gaddis has warned: “anyone who has looked carefully at declassified government documents from the post-1945 era will know how inadequate the public record is as a guide to what was actually happening.”<sup>41</sup> My study accordingly draws on additional sources collected from Indonesia and the United States to determine more about events of the early-to-mid 1960s in Surabaya. Among these are a range of U.S and Indonesian newspapers and magazines. Of these publications, the *Surabaya Post*, a major Indonesian language daily, provides a particularly valuable window into the 1963-65 anti-Americanism in Surabaya, the wider deterioration of U.S.-Indonesian relations at this time, and the subsequent purges targeting members of the Left.

This study is also based upon ethnographic research.<sup>42</sup> The nine original oral histories that I employ throughout the following chapters are part of a pool of seventeen informants from Indonesia and the United States who I interviewed regarding their experiences in Surabaya during the early-to-mid 1960s. These informants were predominantly recruited using a snowball method in which initial participants recommended, or were asked to suggest, subsequent

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<sup>41</sup> John Lewis Gaddis, ‘Expanding the data base: historians, political scientists, and the enrichment of security studies’, *International Security* 12, 1 (1987): 7.

<sup>42</sup> Of note, Cribb, Sudjatmiko, Sulistyono, Peters and Yekthi all employ ethnographic methodology as do several authors in the Kammen and McGregor volume. See for instance, Greg Fealy and Katharine McGregor, “East Java and the Role of Nahdlatul Ulama in the 1965-66 Anti-Communist Violence,” in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 104-30.

informants. Informants in Indonesia included former staff members of the U.S. Consulate and USIS library in Surabaya. They also include Indonesians who were politically active in the early-to-mid 1960s. At least one of these individuals played a leadership role in the 1963-65 anti-U.S. movement. Others were adherents of the Left who survived the mass violence of 1965-66 only to be subjected to terrible abuses over the following decade as political prisoners. Their willingness to participate in this study is evidence of the emerging public discourse about the violence in Indonesia since the 1999 collapse of Suharto's New Order regime. However, that some of these study participants have requested anonymity is also indicative that many survivors and witnesses to the events of 1965-66 still fear being stigmatized and facing public persecution. As many of the participants of this study were members of the left-wing of the PNI, their stories help to show that the mass violence of 1965-66 affected non-communist groups as well as members and affiliates of the PKI. This is an important detail often lost in histories of this period.

Nine interviews from the Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection of the Arlington-based Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training supplement the oral histories I conducted. This on-line collection is an extremely valuable oral history archive. It contains interviews with numerous American officials, many now deceased, who served at U.S. Foreign Service posts in Surabaya, Medan, and Jakarta during the early-to-mid 1960s. A 2003 oral history from the Veteran's Oral History Project was particularly instrumental to my analysis of the CIA role in Surabaya during this time. It not only provided important details regarding the identity of the Agency's main operative there but also illuminated key aspects of his operations. As in the case of the other sources described above, the full array of oral histories used in this dissertation enriches our understanding of U.S.-Indonesian relations, Surabaya in the 1960s, and the Cold War in Asia and contributes to filling in omissions in the existing literature on these topics.

## **Scope of the Study**

Why was the U.S. government so invested in the political direction of Indonesia at the onset of the Cold War? The opening chapter of the dissertation answers this question by examining the economic and political factors that drove a series of initially futile U.S. attempts to gain and maintain influence in a nation it hoped to shape into a vital Cold War ally. It first addresses the international and national dimensions of the political conflict surrounding the rise of the PKI and deterioration of U.S.-Indonesian relations during the 1950s and 1960s. Surabaya, one of the key theaters in the battle for global influence waged between the United States and the Soviet Union is subsequently introduced as a strategic site in which these events played out.

In Chapter Two, I analyze the genesis and escalation of anti-Americanism in Surabaya to show that the city was a major arena of political conflicts and contestations during the Cold War in Southeast Asia. The fact that the intensification of anti-U.S. actions in 1964-65 in Surabaya occurred within a context of protests directed at American diplomatic posts elsewhere in Indonesia as well as around the world shows Surabaya's relevance to broader Cold War history. Problematizing depictions of the anti-American campaign as solely PKI-led, the chapter reveals the leadership of numerous other political parties, both from the Left and from the Right, in demonstrating against U.S. foreign policy in Indonesia and beyond. It also provides a context for understanding why U.S. officials in Surabaya became increasingly committed to removing the PKI and its allies from power.

Switching focus, Chapter Three offers new perspectives, insights, and evidence regarding the anti-communist operations that originated from the U.S. Consulate and USIS library in

Surabaya concurrent with the acceleration of anti-Americanism in Indonesia. This chapter closely examines the perceptions and actions of key individuals, both American and Indonesian. It dispels the notion so often perpetuated by U.S. officials that American Foreign Service posts were helpless victims of one-sided attacks by the Indonesian masses. This chapter contributes to the literature on the Cold War in which the activities of constituent Foreign Service and intelligence posts are rarely discussed. It also prompts us to recognize that U.S.-Indonesian relations at the individual level were rather nuanced and complex.

Chapter Four analyzes the Indonesian Army-orchestrated annihilation of the PKI and other members of the Left that left upwards of 17,000 people dead and thousands more imprisoned in the Surabaya area alone.<sup>43</sup> The organization, mechanics, and logistics of the Army's Surabaya operations are compared to operations in other regions of Indonesia. The ways in which personnel at the American Consulate in Surabaya aided and abetted the mass violence are also discussed, adding to debates on U.S. complicity in the purge of the Left.

The period upon which this dissertation focuses was a critical one in the histories of the Cold War, Southeast Asia, Indonesia, and the United States. In 1962, the year just prior to the beginning of the escalation of hostilities between the U.S. and Indonesia, the Cuban Missile Crisis and the official break in Sino-Soviet relations took place. In early November 1963 the United States orchestrated the assassination of Ngo Dinh Diem, president of South Vietnam. Three weeks later, President John F. Kennedy was himself felled by an assassin's bullet. In 1964, following the passage of the Civil Rights Act, politically conscious youths in Indonesia and

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<sup>43</sup> A 1965 Indonesian presidential fact finding commission investigating the violence in East Java derived these figures. Although these totals are the best estimates for the region they remain problematic. Since killings and detentions were still underway when they were provided, the actual number of total deaths and detentions is probably much higher. See *Laporan Tentang Hasil Fact Finding Commission KOTI*, Komando Operasi Tertinggi. Djakarta: 10 Djanuari 1966, Lampiran C in Oei Tjoe Tat, *Memoar Oei Tjoe Tat: Pembantu Presiden Soekarno* (Jakarta: Hasta Mitra, 1995), 363.

across the globe increased their demands for equal rights for black Americans. They also increasingly began to protest against U.S. engagement in the developing world, particularly the 1964 arrival of ground troops in Vietnam. By early 1965, a series of failed U.S.-backed regimes there led to the Johnson administration's authorization of military force. The start of the American war in Vietnam thus coincided with the dramatic deterioration in U.S.-Indonesian relations that culminated in the mass violence of 1965-66.

My dissertation is a modest contribution to our understanding of this turbulent time. The information it presents provides new details about the United States' role in Indonesia and in the world during the Cold War. It also contributes to what we know about Guided Democracy-era Indonesian political history and the history of the Cold War itself. My work emphasizes the role of both well-known as well as lesser-examined Indonesian and American figures during the pivotal years of 1963 to 1965. Emphasizing their contributions to the political tensions and subsequent mass violence of 1965-66 adds to the details and voices on this topic that are still coming to light. I introduce the people who brought about the rise of a right-wing military regime that justified its autocratic control of the nation by warning of the dangers of PKI resurgence for the next thirty years. Echoes of the violence upon which this regime was built continue to reverberate in Indonesia today. This is one reason why these details matter and why these voices must be heard. In addition to illuminating the continued legacy of the mass violence, they also contribute to debates about, and evidence of, current-day U.S. intelligence-gathering and security operations in Indonesia and other countries. Finally, they reveal the very real impact and consequences of government maneuvering and foreign policy upon the people who are directly, and indirectly, targeted by it.



## CHAPTER ONE

### **The “Freeze” is On: The United States, Indonesia, and the Cold War in Southeast Asia, 1945-1965**

The morning of 17 August 1964 found the Indonesian city of Surabaya in a festive mood, its residents busying themselves in anticipation of the day's events. The crescendo of a three-day celebration commemorating nineteen years of Indonesian independence from Dutch colonial rule had arrived, marking the triumphant finale of a dizzying schedule of activities. The day's revelry would be an opportunity for the “City of Heroes” to bring honor to the nation and its leader, Sukarno, a chance to display the revolutionary spirit and zeal for which its citizenry had become so well known.

While the laborers and farmers in the urban and peri-urban *kampung* raucously competed in games and contests meant to encourage friendly sparring and neighborhood pride, a more staid and formal-looking group gathered on the front portico of the East Java Governor's Office. The local dignitaries and foreign diplomats present had assembled to attend the day's official ceremonies. As the guests sweltered in their chairs, the portico's shade providing little comfort from the morning heat, the program at last came to its featured moment, a radio broadcast of the president's Independence Day address. The three-hour oration (later famously known as Sukarno's “Year of Living Dangerously” speech) was, at first, received somewhat anemically by the crowd, well-accustomed to Sukarno's repetitive, if dynamic, acronym-laden rhetoric.<sup>1</sup> However, once the president began to talk of economic self-sufficiency by curtailing foreign rice

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<sup>1</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, 25 August 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66, Political and Development file, Box 2307, NACP. For the entire text of this speech see Sukarno, “A Year of Living Dangerously (Tahun ‘Vivere Pericoloso’)” (Jakarta: Department of Information, 1964).

imports, the crowd's attention became increasingly focused on the broadcast emanating from the radio positioned in its place of honor at the front of the portico.<sup>2</sup> It was thus likely that nearly all present at the Governor's Office ceremonies that day were fully attuned to what happened next.

Sukarno's disembodied voice, surging in intensity, began a passionate critique of Western imperialism. The United States, in particular, he noted, had become one of Indonesia's main antagonists. Time and time again, Sukarno stated, he had forgiven the U.S. despite its numerous acts of subversion against him and the Republic.<sup>3</sup> His previous attempts at friendship with America now amounted to little. The United States' support of the neighboring British "puppet" state of Malaysia was "really too much."<sup>4</sup> Its imperialistic "psy-war" was an affront to the Indonesian people.<sup>5</sup> The President's words continued to ring out from the radio's speaker, carrying into the air over the heads of the now deathly silent crowd.<sup>6</sup> Then a figure began to stir on the portico. It was Surabaya's mayor, Moerachman, a progressive recently appointed to office by Sukarno with the backing of the PKI, the reigning political force in the city government since the 1955 Municipal Assembly elections. As Allan F. McLean, Jr., the American consul with whom the mayor was seated would later angrily report to the State Department, the young mayor "slowly and dramatically rose from his chair." Ostensibly, "for purposes of decontamination and in silent protest against the American presence," he then crossed the portico, and erasing any

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<sup>2</sup> SUB to DOS, 25 August 1964, Political and Development file, RG 59, Box 2307, NACP.

<sup>3</sup> Sukarno, "A Year of Living Dangerously," 54.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 55. See also Central Intelligence Agency Current Intelligence Memorandum, "Sukarno's Independence Day Speech," 20 August 1964. Johnson Library, National Security File, Country File, Indonesia, Vol. II, Cables and Memos, 5/64-8/64 [2 of 2]. Confidential. Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), 1964-1968, Vol. XXVI. Document 62, 134-36.

<sup>5</sup> Sukarno, "A Year of Living Dangerously," 72.

<sup>6</sup> SUB to DOS, 25 August 1964, Political and Development, RG 59, Box 2307, NACP.

lingering question as to the purpose of his actions, took the seat directly beside the Soviet consul general. “It was obvious from this moment,” McLean wrote, “that the ‘freeze’ against Americans was on.”<sup>7</sup> Though they could not yet know the consequences of this development in U.S.-Indonesian relations, by the end of the following year its impact upon the people of Surabaya, from the dignitaries on the portico down to the revelers in the *kampung*, would be catastrophic.

The events of 17 August 1964 marked a critical moment in the deterioration of Cold War-era Indonesian-American relations in Surabaya. However, this episode did not initiate the mutual enmity between the two nations. Even as Surabaya’s mayor was publicizing his ideological loyalties on the portico of the Governor’s Office that day, the seeds of change had already been sown. Indonesia’s efforts to establish an autonomous and independent foreign policy in the twenty years that followed its 1945 declaration of independence had previously caused the United States concern over the political direction of the new nation. This concern was exacerbated by the PKI’s rise during the 1950s and was compounded by Sukarno’s political shift toward the left during the following decade. Faced with what they viewed as a formidable foe in Sukarno, one who would not be bribed with promises of economic assistance or withdrawals of aid, U.S. officials increasingly despaired at the prospect of the spread of communism in and beyond Indonesia. So driven, the U.S. government turned to acts of subversion in order to secure the region from what it saw as a global communist threat.

In this chapter I describe the international, national, and local events that primed Indonesia to become such a critical site of domestic and international conflict during the Cold War. I show how three U.S. presidents, the CIA, and the Department of State came to view

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

Indonesia as one of the greatest threats to U.S. political, economic, and military influence in Southeast Asia. My third objective is to restore Surabaya, so habitually overlooked in histories of modern Indonesia and of relations between Indonesia and the United States, as one of the key theaters of the Cold War in Southeast Asia.

### **“Asian Dominoes” and Other Cold War Games**

At least two factors help to explain why the U.S. government placed so much emphasis on its Indonesia policy during the Cold War. First, it emerged from the belief of figures such as Dwight Eisenhower’s Secretary of State John Foster Dulles that the United States was obligated to fill the vacuum that colonial powers had left upon their departure from the region.<sup>8</sup> Second, it reflected American officials’ convictions that Indonesia was too important to U.S. security objectives and economic and political involvement in Southeast Asia to be lost to communism. U.S. officials recognized that American assets, industries, and influence in Indonesia would be at stake should communist growth and Sino-Soviet investment in the country lead to the loss of their burgeoning post-colonial foothold there. Access to the archipelago’s vast natural resources, from which the United States had been generating revenue since the high colonial period of the Dutch East Indies, would be a particularly heavy loss.

The initial inroads that American capitalists made into the Indies coincided with the late-nineteenth century U.S. colonization of the Philippines. The Standard Oil Company quest for concession areas in the Indies in the mid-1890s was finally rewarded when, bowing to pressure from the State Department, the Netherlands allowed the joint venture, Caltex (formed from

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<sup>8</sup> Kahin, *Testament*, 138.

Standard of California and Texaco), to begin mining Indonesian oil.<sup>9</sup> U.S. companies also set their sights on the commodity of rubber. Estates owned by the Goodyear and U.S. Rubber companies began to proliferate in Sumatra as early as the first decade of the twentieth century; by 1926, U.S. Rubber holdings on the eastern coast of the island totaled over 100,000 acres.<sup>10</sup> A series of other multinational corporations joined the oil and rubber firms during the pre-independence period. These included construction and banking firms and manufacturing companies ranging from Singer Sewing Machine to General Motors.<sup>11</sup> During World War II, continued access to rubber, oil, and tin became crucial for the United States. U.S. reliance on Indonesian raw materials before the war is striking. By 1940, between 35 and 40 percent of rubber used in the United States was being imported from the Indies.<sup>12</sup> In the immediate post-war period as Indonesia fought to gain its independence from the Dutch, thirty-one American companies owned local properties which, prior to the war had been valued at \$250 million.<sup>13</sup> The fear of losing these and future assets motivated American industrialists to become one of the earliest groups to sound the alarm about the dangers of a communist takeover of Indonesia and what this would entail for the rest of Southeast Asia.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Simpson, *Economists*, 99-100.

<sup>10</sup> Because of this proliferation of American rubber plantations the area became known as “The Dollar land of Deli.” Ann Laura Stoler, *Capitalism and Confrontation in Sumatra’s Plantation Belt, 1870-1979* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 18.

<sup>11</sup> Simpson, *Economists*, 42.

<sup>12</sup> Robert J. McMahon, *Colonialism and Cold War: The United States and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence, 1945-1949* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 51.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 288-89.

The diplomatic relationship between the United States and Indonesia developed in the context of the Cold War in and beyond Asia. The economic and political motivations that drove the U.S. desire to contain the spread of communism in Indonesia occurred as part of the U.S. government aim to prevent the spread of global communism more broadly. This strategy emerged in the years following World War II as American officials sought to put a stop to Soviet expansionism. By the early 1950s, viewing the containment of communist China as an urgent matter, American officials shifted the distribution of U.S. aid programs and personnel toward Asia and away from the Cold War in Europe.<sup>15</sup>

The American policy of containment in Asia was driven by a concept known as the “Domino Theory.” The U.S. National Security Council first began discussing falling dominoes in Southeast Asia in 1949 following the Kuomintang’s withdrawal from mainland China.<sup>16</sup> The concept was then publicly articulated in 1954 by Eisenhower, who used the term in the context of fighting between the French and Vietnamese communists at Dien Bien Phu.<sup>17</sup>

U.S. officials had reason to hope that Sukarno might become a Cold War ally in their drive to halt the spread of communism in mainland Southeast Asia. Since the days of his youth in Surabaya, he had been an admirer of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln and saw many parallels between his quest for Indonesian sovereignty and the American Revolutionary War.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, during the 1945-49 Indonesian National Revolution, Sukarno and the Republican

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<sup>15</sup> See Jones, *Indonesia*, 37.

<sup>16</sup> Ang Chen Guan, “Southeast Asian Perceptions of the Domino Theory,” in *Connecting Histories: Decolonization and the Cold War in Southeast Asia, 1945-1962*, ed. Christopher E. Goscha and Christian F. Ostermann (Washington, D.C. and Stanford: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Stanford University Press, 2009), 303.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 302.

<sup>18</sup> J.D. Legge, *Sukarno: A Political Biography*, new ed. (Singapore: Archipelago Press, 2003), 63-64.

nationalists were insistent that U.S. support would be critical to winning both their struggle for independence from the Dutch and the backing of the international community.<sup>19</sup>

Yet, while the United States eventually recognized the Republic that the nationalist leadership had declared in 1945, it did not provide unmitigated support for Indonesian sovereignty. Initially, along with Great Britain, the United States had voiced its strong opposition to Dutch attempts to take back their former colony by force.<sup>20</sup> However, by the following year, the U.S. government dramatically changed its approach to Indonesia's bid for sovereignty. The first Truman administration was unsuccessful in pressuring the Netherlands to transfer sovereignty of its former colony to Indonesia as required under the 1948 Renville Agreement.<sup>21</sup> The administration also withdrew its pressure on the Dutch to adjust to other Indonesian demands for independence.<sup>22</sup> As George Kahin has argued, during the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) the United States calculated that the Netherlands would be a far better Cold War ally than antagonist.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> The Revolution has been well documented. George McT. Kahin's path-breaking work, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1952), was followed by, among others, Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution: Occupation and Resistance, 1944-1946* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1972); Anthony Reid, *The Indonesian National Revolution, 1945-50* (Hawthorn, Victoria: Longman, 1974); Audrey Kahin, ed., *Regional Dynamics of the Indonesian Revolution: Unity from Diversity* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985); Frederick, *Visions and Heat*; Anton Lucas, *One Soul One Struggle: Region and Revolution in Indonesia* (Sydney: Asian Studies Association of Australia, 1991) and Robert Cribb, *Gangsters and Revolutionaries: The Jakarta People's Militia and the Indonesian Revolution, 1945-49* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1991). Recent work has argued that the Indonesians' "diplomatic revolution" was instrumental in gaining the support of the international community for Indonesian independence. See Samuel E. Crowl, "Indonesia's Diplomatic Revolution: Lining Up for Non-Alignment, 1945-1955," in Goscha and Ostermann, *Connecting Histories*, 238-57.

<sup>20</sup> Kahin, *Nationalism*, 214.

<sup>21</sup> These obligations included the promise of a Dutch cease-fire and plans for plebiscites to allow inhabitants of Dutch-occupied territories of the Republic to vote for either Dutch or republican governance of their regions.

<sup>22</sup> Kahin has argued that the effect of U.S. backpedaling on Renville was, in fact, so profound, that it could be argued to have been a factor in the communist-led rebellion at Madiun. See Kahin, *Testament*, 53.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

U.S. support for Indonesia increased exponentially following a communist rebellion in the Javanese city of Madiun in September 1948. Still hoping it might find an anti-communist ally in Indonesia, the United States rejoiced in the Republican government's swift crushing of the PKI's poorly-planned revolt.<sup>24</sup> Within weeks of the "Madiun Affair," the CIA began to recruit officers of the Indonesian Police Mobile Brigade to receive special training at American military facilities.<sup>25</sup> By the end of the following year, U.S. appeals to the United Nations Security Council helped Indonesia gain its independence through a transfer of sovereignty from the Dutch on 27 December 1949.<sup>26</sup> Cold War calculations thus were crucial determinants of U.S. policy toward Indonesia, a pattern also observable in its engagement elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

The Republican government was suspicious of U.S. motives, even as it became more dependent on American support. President Sukarno and Vice President and Prime Minister Mohammad Hatta feared their potential manipulation by a world power seemingly more concerned with its own economic and political interests in the region than with liberating Indonesia from colonialism. They saw the United States' 1948 Marshall Plan aid to the Dutch as evidence of covert U.S. backing of Indonesia's former colonizers, allies who shared the Americans' goal of thwarting the advance of the Soviet bloc in Europe.<sup>27</sup> In the wake of Madiun, as political power in Indonesia shifted to the right, leaders increasingly felt dependent on

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<sup>24</sup> Ann Swift, *Road to Madiun: The Indonesian Communist Uprising of 1948* (Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1989), 86.

<sup>25</sup> Kahin and Kahin, *Subversion*, 31.

<sup>26</sup> Kahin, *Nationalism*, 445.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 254.



American support. They could not risk alienating the United States by being too radical or by resisting U.S. urging to compromise with the Dutch.<sup>28</sup>

Yet the United States was not the only world power at which Indonesia cast a questioning gaze. Convinced that Moscow had played a role in the PKI's revolt in Madiun, the Republic's leaders were simultaneously wary of the Soviet Union.<sup>29</sup> They furthermore feared that the Soviets were trying to orientate left-wing nationalist leaders toward Moscow.<sup>30</sup>

The Indonesian leadership accordingly expressed the desire to become regional frontrunners in finding an alternative to choosing between one or the other sides of the encroaching Cold War. In a 1948 speech entitled "Rowing between Two Coral Reefs" (*Mendayung antara Dua Karang*), Hatta underscored the importance of this vision:

Must we Indonesians, who are fighting for our independence as a nation and as a state, choose only between being pro-Russia or pro-America? Is there no other position we can take in the pursuit of our ideals? The government is of the opinion that the stand we must adopt is one of ensuring that we do not become an object in the arena of international political fighting, but rather that we must continue to be a subject with the right to determine our own position, with the right to fight for our own goal, the goal of a fully independent Indonesia.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Kahin, *Testament*, 62.

<sup>29</sup> Though these allegations were unproven, the United States wholeheartedly backed this interpretation of events, using the United States Information Service in Jakarta to circulate statements alleging "Moscow plots." See Swift, *Road to Madiun*, 87.

<sup>30</sup> Ruth McVey, "The Soviet View of the Indonesian Revolution," interim reports series, 3<sup>rd</sup> printing (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Modern Indonesia Project, 1969), 36. While the Soviets promptly recognized the Republic upon its independence, they hardly approved of its leadership or of the fact that its independence had been backed by the United States. This attitude was soundly reflected in a January 15, 1950 article published in the Russian newspaper *Izvestia*: "The first steps taken by the so-called 'government' of Hatta-Sukarno... prove that this clique is ready to serve its real masters—the American imperialists—faithfully and well." Quoted in *ibid.*, 83.

<sup>31</sup> See Mohammad Hatta, *Mendayung antara Dua Karang* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1976), 17-18. "How weak we are as a newly independent nation when compared to those two contrary giants, the United States and Russia," Hatta reprised later in his speech, re-emphasizing that Indonesia could see no alternative to autonomy: "the view of our

Cognizant of Soviet designs on the PKI and American efforts to influence political affairs elsewhere in Southeast Asia such as the 1949 installation of a puppet ruler, Bao Dai, in South Vietnam, Sukarno was determined to maintain an independent foreign policy.<sup>32</sup> The new Republic's subsequent actions reflected this objective, and greatly troubled the United States. In 1950, Indonesia refused U.S. Mutual Defense Assistance Program military aid in order to avoid the perception that it had chosen to ally with the United States in the Cold War.<sup>33</sup> The following year, further piquing the United States, it abstained from joining the 30 January 1951 United Nations condemnation of the People's Republic of China as an aggressor in Korea.

Yet U.S. officials still believed that they would remain an influential presence in Indonesia. Once the Republic established its embassy in Washington, D.C. in 1951, the United States began providing training to Indonesian military and police officials and Indonesian civilians began traveling to the United States to study at American colleges and universities. As the Americans saw it, there was another factor that might work in their favor for tightening U.S.-Indonesian ties despite Sukarno and Hatta's declaration of non-alignment. By 1951, as official British trade with Indonesia dried up, access to U.S. markets and American economic and military aid motivated the Indonesian leaders to maintain good relations with the United States.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, as early as 1945, Sutan Sjahrir, a political opponent of the PKI, had projected that Indonesia would need to rely on the United States in order to achieve its objectives in the post-

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government is that we will continue to base our struggle on the adage: we have faith in ourselves and must fight to the best of our efforts and abilities." Ibid., 20.

<sup>32</sup> The leading work on this topic remains Franklin B. Weinstein, *Indonesian Foreign Policy and the Dilemma of Dependence: From Sukarno to Suharto* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976).

<sup>33</sup> McMahan, *Colonialism and Cold War*, 320.

<sup>34</sup> Greg Poulgrain, *The Genesis of Konfrontasi: Malaysia, Brunei, Indonesia, 1945-1965* (Bathurst, NSW: Crawford House, 1998), 65.

Independence period. As Sjahrir, prime minister during the early years of the revolution and founder of the Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI), remarked in his influential revolutionary-era pamphlet entitled “Our Struggle” (*Perjuangan Kita*): “Indonesia is geographically situated within the sphere of influence of Anglo-Saxon capitalism and imperialism. Accordingly, Indonesia’s fate ultimately depends on Anglo-Saxon capitalism and imperialism.”<sup>35</sup> The United States had high hopes, then, that this necessity would ultimately drive Indonesia into its political orbit. It began to push the Republican leadership toward embracing anti-communism with increasing aggression.

The U.S. stance toward Indonesia caused more harm than benefit to its relations with the Republic. The first U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia, H. Merle Cochran, was instrumental in creating the resulting hostilities. Cochran was one of the most influential figures behind Washington’s adoption of an aggressively anti-communist stance toward Indonesia. From his 1948 arrival in the archipelago, prior to his ambassadorial appointment, Cochran had steadily exerted pressure on the State Department to recognize the potential threat that a communist Indonesia could pose to the “free world.”<sup>36</sup> Tensions increased when the United States attempted to hold Indonesia accountable for its 1950 refusal of U.S. aid and its abstention on the 1951 U.N. vote on Korea. Although Indonesia’s actions in these two matters were in accordance with its foreign policy objective of non-alignment, to the United States, they indicated Indonesia’s lack of commitment to fighting the spread of communism. Early in 1951, Assistant Secretary of State

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<sup>35</sup> Sutan Sjahrir, *Our Struggle*, translated with an introduction by Benedict R. O’G. Anderson (Ithaca: Cornell University Modern Indonesia Project, 1968), 24.

<sup>36</sup> Swift, *Road to Madiun*, 83. Cochran arrived in Indonesia to serve on the United Nations Good Offices Committee, which was helping to mediate between the Republicans and the Dutch following the signing of the Renville Agreement. He was appointed as a replacement for Coert DuBois, who favored the Republic’s position. After joining the committee, Cochran would also move closer to the Republic, albeit to a far less degree than his predecessor. See Kahin, *Testament*, 32-33.

Dean Rusk made a veiled threat to Indonesian Ambassador Ali Sastroamijoyo that the U.S. Congress would be critically reviewing Economic Cooperation Assistance (ECA) programs in light of increasing U.S. defense expenditures. Rusk intimated that the result of this review might be significant cuts in U.S. assistance to Indonesia. As related in a 24 February 1951 telegram sent by Acting Secretary of State James Webb to Ambassador Cochran in Jakarta, Rusk left Ali with the message that this re-consideration of aid, of course, “bears no relation, for instance, to Indonesia’s voting in [the] U.N., although [Ali] might like to discuss this and other aspects [of] Indonesia’s broad foreign policy [on] [an]other occasion.”<sup>37</sup>

In 1951, motivated by U.S. engagement in the Korean War and the rise of McCarthyism in the United States, Cochran increasingly sought the chance to push Indonesia toward anti-communism.<sup>38</sup> Cochran believed his close working relationship with the Indonesian Prime Minister, Sukiman Wirjosandjojo (1951-1952), would be the key to getting Indonesia to finally align itself with the American side. The prime minister, who was also chairman of the Masjumi, a pro-American Islamic party, was himself wildly pro-U.S. and virulently anti-communist. Reflecting these sentiments, and much to the discomfort of Indonesia’s leading political figures who were still committed to non-alignment, most of the Sukiman cabinet’s foreign policy attentions focused on building a good relationship with the United States.<sup>39</sup> Going against State Department recommendations and without authorization, in 1952 Cochran attempted to bring Indonesia into political alignment with the United States on his own terms. To get the Sukiman

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<sup>37</sup> Telegram. Acting Secretary of State James Webb to Cochran, February 24, 1951, FRUS 1951 (Asia and the Pacific) (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1977), 606-07.

<sup>38</sup> Feith, *Decline*, 192.

<sup>39</sup> Robert J. McMahon, “‘The Point of No Return’: The Eisenhower Administration and Indonesia, 1953-1960,” in *The Eisenhower Administration, the Third World, and the Globalization of the Cold War*, ed. Kathryn C. Statler and Andrew L. Johns (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Inc., 2006), 77.

cabinet to sign an agreement for U.S. economic assistance, he falsely claimed that Indonesia would be required to align its foreign policy with the United States in order to be eligible for the funding.<sup>40</sup> Without consulting the rest of the cabinet, Indonesian Foreign Minister Subardjo accepted this offer by private note, claiming that it had the force of an international agreement.<sup>41</sup> When Cochran and Subardjo's deceptions emerged, the Sukiman cabinet was forced to resign in February 1952. American relations with Indonesia, already weakened by the failure of the U.S. government to hold the Dutch to their end of the Renville Agreement, were once again severely damaged.

Following the scandal that caused the resignation of the Sukiman cabinet, its successor, the cabinet of Prime Minister Wilopo (1952-53), remained cautiously inclined toward the United States.<sup>42</sup> However the Wilopo cabinet had barely re-established Indonesia's relations with the United States when it collapsed. Sukarno then tapped Ali Sastroamidjojo to form a new government. Ali was a leading figure in the PNI, the dominant wing of which was then closely allied with the PKI as part of its strategy to attain a parliamentary majority.<sup>43</sup> These PNI-PKI ties deeply concerned the Eisenhower administration. Yet like the Truman administration, it was still hopeful that U.S.-Indonesian relations might yet improve.

The administration's concerns grew when, in April 1955, Indonesia hosted twenty-nine Asian and African heads of state at a conference in Bandung. This weeklong event, occurred at

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<sup>40</sup> Kahin and Kahin, *Subversion*, 35.

<sup>41</sup> Feith, *Decline*, 199.

<sup>42</sup> The Wilopo cabinet reopened negotiations with the U.S. that facilitated Indonesia's receipt of economic and technical, though not military, aid from the U.S. *Ibid.*, 231.

<sup>43</sup> McMahon, "The Point of No Return," 79.

Indonesia's initiative, the idea having primarily come from Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo.<sup>44</sup> The Bandung Conference was symbolic of the protest of its five sponsoring nations – Burma, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India, Indonesia, and Pakistan – as well as many other nations present, over the fact that Western powers had continued to make decisions affecting the countries of Asia without their input.<sup>45</sup> Predictably, U.S. officials treated the Conference with deep suspicion as Bandung appeared to have heightened Sukarno's ambition to lead developing nations in a non-aligned movement. U.S. Ambassador Hugh S. Cumming reported that Indonesian coalition-building during Bandung indicated "a demonstrative step toward closer relations with Peking and toward a more leftist foreign policy."<sup>46</sup>

Bandung was also a reminder that the United States and its NATO allies were not alone in their desire for influence in Africa and Asia. Though Beijing and Moscow had at first been deeply critical of the "reactionary" Sukarno-Hatta leadership, by the beginning of 1950 the former had joined the latter in formally recognizing the Republic.<sup>47</sup> Stalin initially preferred that Southeast Asia be handled by Mao Zedong.<sup>48</sup> However, starting in the mid-1950s the Soviet Union began seeking to create leverage in the region as part of its developing world "offensive."<sup>49</sup> The Bandung Conference proved an ideal opportunity for both of the communist

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<sup>44</sup> See George McT. Kahin, *The Asian-African Conference, Bandung, Indonesia, April 1955* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956), 2.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>46</sup> "Telegram From the Embassy in Indonesia to the Department of State," 29 April 1955. Department of State, Central Files, 756D.00/4-2955. Secret; Priority. FRUS 1955-1957, v. XXII, Document 94, 150-53.

<sup>47</sup> David Mozingo, *Chinese Policy toward Indonesia, 1949-1967* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), 87-88.

<sup>48</sup> Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 44.

<sup>49</sup> Robert C. Horn. "Soviet Influence in Southeast Asia: Opportunities and Obstacles," *Asian Survey* 15, 8 (August 1975): 657.

powers to cultivate the newly-emerging, neutralist countries.<sup>50</sup> It was at Bandung that the Chinese Premier, Zhou Enlai, made serious attempts at ingratiating himself with the Asian and African nations by proposing China's support for Afro-Asian cooperation, a development that increased U.S. worries about non-alignment.<sup>51</sup> And it was following Bandung that Soviet foreign policy under Stalin's successor, Nikita Khrushchev, reversed its opposition to non-alignment and began to welcome Indonesia as a comrade nation.

The State Department and the CIA were aware of the huge disadvantage the United States faced in attempting to compete with the influx of Sino-Soviet aid to Indonesia that followed Bandung. While the United States had placed conditions on its continuation of Economic Cooperation Assistance aid based on whether or not Indonesia would side with the Western bloc as early as the beginning of the 1950s, far fewer conditions impeded access to the Sino-Soviet coffers. Whereas the United States gave \$20 million in military aid to Indonesia in 1958 and the same amount during the following two years, totaling \$59.8 million by the beginning of Fiscal Year 1961, Chinese and Soviet aid during this same period amounted to \$1 billion.<sup>52</sup> Sukarno had expertly parlayed his position of non-alignment into an opportunity to receive aid from both sides of the Cold War divide.

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<sup>50</sup> Rex Mortimer, *Indonesian Communism under Sukarno: Ideology and Politics, 1959-1965* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974), 49-50.

<sup>51</sup> For a detailed discussion of China's participation at Bandung see Mozingo, *Chinese Policy*, 120-25.

<sup>52</sup> Geoffrey Robinson, "Some Arguments concerning U.S. Influence and complicity in the Indonesia 'Coup' of October 1, 1965," unpublished manuscript, 1998, n. 38. Following the 1960 Sino-Soviet split, Beijing and Moscow began to compete to become the primary influence in Indonesia. By early 1965 the Chinese had gained the upper hand in this contest. The Soviets, while maintaining ties with the PKI and Sukarno also began to reach out to the Armed Forces, PNI, and even the NU. Financial support was thus instrumental in these outreach initiatives. See Bradley Simpson, "International Dimensions of the 1965-68 Mass Violence in Indonesia," in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 54.

The United States hoped that the July 1955 national elections that followed on the heels of Bandung would yet provide an opportunity to adjust Indonesia's political direction. Indeed, these parliamentary and constitutional assembly elections, the first since independence, were extremely critical in shaping the direction of the United States' subsequent Indonesia policy. They were viewed as so important, in fact, that the United States took steps to try to influence the voting outcome. Hoping to upset a PNI-PKI coalition, the CIA provided one million dollars to the anti-communist Muslim Masjumi, a party that it been close to since the Sukiman cabinet, when the United States had strongly encouraged the Masjumi's anti-Sukarno, anti-PKI politics.<sup>53</sup> Yet in a development that cast a considerable shadow on any remaining U.S. hopes for improved relations with Indonesia and that were as attractive to the communist powers as they were worrisome to the West, the PKI netted a remarkable electoral success. Reversing its near-decimation following Madiun, the Party gained a fourth place finish with 16.4 percent of the votes. Of the other main parties, the PNI earned the highest percentage of the votes (22.3 percent), followed by the Masjumi (20.9 percent), and another Islamic party, the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), with 18.4 percent.<sup>54</sup>

Growing ever more desperate to pull Indonesia to its side following the 1955 election returns, the United States developed its most comprehensive foreign affairs policy on Indonesia yet. That policy consisted of military and economic aid, propaganda/information, and personal and diplomatic influence as its main components and encouraged manipulation of Indonesia's

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<sup>53</sup> Kenneth J. Conboy and James Morrison, *Feet to the Fire: CIA Covert Operations in Indonesia, 1957-1958* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1999), 13.

<sup>54</sup> Feith, *Decline*, 434.



social and political cleavages.<sup>55</sup> The policy was not only developed in response to a strengthening PKI and the spectacular initial failures at pushing Indonesia to accept its political terms. It was also based on the need to disrupt the advance of the United States' Cold War enemies.

Sukarno's 1956 state tour to the United States provided an opportunity for the Eisenhower administration to "seduce" the Indonesian president.<sup>56</sup> Yet if the success of the visit buoyed the administration's hopes that ties with Indonesia might improve, that optimism was short lived. It was soon thereafter that a major stumbling point in U.S.-Indonesian relations emerged. At issue was Sukarno's campaign for the Dutch to relinquish West Irian (Papua), the one remaining territory that they still possessed following Indonesian independence. Initially, the United States adopted a neutral stance to the Indonesian-Dutch conflict over West Irian. However, by the late 1950s, the United States' Cold War concerns about the rise of communism in the region led to a revision of American policy.<sup>57</sup>

The unexpected U.N. defeat of Indonesia's motion for Dutch withdrawal from West Irian in November 1957 prompted the Left to wage a campaign against Dutch property in and beyond the capital. The mass seizure of Dutch businesses and estates that ensued in early December was conducted primarily by PKI trade unionists and appears to have at first been endorsed by the president. However, events soon snowballed and the government lost control of the takeovers. With nearly all of their enterprises in Indonesian hands, the remaining Dutch residents of

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<sup>55</sup> Robinson, "Some Arguments," 15-16.

<sup>56</sup> During his visit Sukarno addressed Congress and visited U.S. landmarks from Monticello to Disneyland. See Legge, *Sukarno*, 300.

<sup>57</sup> Pieter Drooglever, *An Act of Free Choice: Decolonisation and the Right to Self-Determination in West Papua* (London: Oneworld Publications, 2010), 344.

Indonesia began an exodus from the country. With the assent of Prime Minister Djuanda, the Army ordered an end to the nation-wide takeover campaign and took charge of the seized enterprises. Army control of the enterprises would last until late 1958 when, a year after the initial takeovers, the businesses were finally nationalized.<sup>58</sup>

Eisenhower's Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, fearing the impact of spreading nationalization on American investments, began to have reservations about Indonesia gaining the resource-rich territory of West Irian.<sup>59</sup> While the United States did not deviate from its formal policy of neutrality in the dispute, its worsening relations with Indonesia meant that neither was it prepared to grant any concessions to Indonesia. Although this would change by the following decade, in 1957 from Sukarno's perspective, it seemed as if the United States' ambivalence over the fate of the territory could only mean that it was not as much of a friend to Indonesia as the Soviets and Chinese had the potential to be.

Even before the nationalizations, the results of the regional elections of 1957-58 prompted the Eisenhower administration to shift to a new foreign policy approach: subversion. Still riding high from its surge in the national elections, the PKI increased its 1955 totals in each of the one hundred municipalities and sub-districts (*kabupaten*) located across Java. In the elections, the Party received over seven and a half million votes, an increase of more than two million votes or 37.2 percent from the 1955 elections. The PKI finished in first place with a total of forty-four of the 100 local council districts, emerging as the largest party in Java as a whole. These election returns set the stage for PKI control of key political and economic positions at the

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<sup>58</sup> Lev, *Transition*, 34.

<sup>59</sup> Drooglever, *An Act of Free Choice*, 346.

local level including the city Surabaya, where the party had received between forty and fifty percent of the total votes.<sup>60</sup>

Faced with the prospect that their influence in Indonesia was slipping even further away, the United States began to pursue both routine as well as extraordinary subversion tactics attributable, in part, to the newly increased powers of the CIA. Under Truman, who had established the Agency in 1947, the CIA had limited powers and was largely concerned with gathering and evaluating intelligence.<sup>61</sup> Yet Eisenhower was far more attracted to the Agency's capacity for covert operations than his predecessor had been. Consequently, in the 1950s under the watch of Eisenhower and the direction of CIA Director Allen Dulles, the Agency began to intervene directly in the affairs of other countries, Indonesia among them.

Allen Dulles, and his brother, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, were both extremely committed to the global fight against communism. Since late 1956, they had become convinced that the PKI was taking control of not only the Indonesian government but also the military.<sup>62</sup> The Dulles brothers, accordingly, threw their full support behind a plan to break up Indonesia and overthrow Sukarno.

Among the sum total of the Eisenhower administration's world-wide acts of secret intervention, the CIA's failed operations in Indonesia's 1957-58 rebellions in Sumatra and Sulawesi proved especially notorious. Army commanders in these "outer islands" (from the perspective of the Jakarta-based state) led the rebellions. Their many grievances with Jakarta

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<sup>60</sup> For these figures and more on the election totals and voting breakdown see Hindley, *The Communist Party of Indonesia*, 222-29.

<sup>61</sup> Kahin and Kahin, *Subversion*, 6.

<sup>62</sup> Simpson, *Economists*, 33.

prompted the rebel officers and their allies in the Masjumi and other religious and political groups to establish “revolutionary councils.” They believed these councils would better serve the interests of the regions than the central government, which they viewed as corrupt, neglectful of their needs, and excessively bureaucratic. The CIA station in Jakarta drew upon its network of Indonesian collaborators to establish contacts with the rebels in Sumatra and Sulawesi to determine how the United States might best assist them.<sup>63</sup> In the fall of 1957 the Agency’s Singapore station then began to disburse aid to the Sumatran rebels, who were given several thousand dollars, U.S. arms, and training.<sup>64</sup>

In March of 1957, with the support of the right-wing Army leadership whose power had increased with their suppression of the Outer Islands rebellions, Sukarno declared martial law. Early the following year, he threatened the dissolution of political parties and called for the establishment of “Guided Democracy” based upon a return to the constitution of 1945, a motion that the Djuanda cabinet endorsed. In the old constitution’s provision for a strong executive Sukarno saw the means to replace inter-party sparring with his authoritarian leadership. He was also drawn to the constitution’s provision for a hierarchy of deliberative bodies. These would provide functional group representation of the various sectors of Indonesian society including women, peasants, and laborers, whose representatives would be chosen to join a new national front. Sukarno received the support of the PKI, the PNI, and the Army leadership for this plan; the NU was more ambivalent, hoping that functional representation might still be party-based. The Masjumi was also a critic of the plan, and perhaps its staunchest opponent. The NU, the

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<sup>63</sup> Conboy and Morrison, *Feet to the Fire*, 23.

<sup>64</sup> Kahin and Kahin, *Subversion*, 120-21.

Masjumi and the lesser Muslim parties shared the ideological concern about the loss of the right to Islamic law under the secular 1945 constitution.<sup>65</sup>

While the debates about Guided Democracy were underway, U.S. Ambassador John M. Allison recommended that Washington try to placate Sukarno by backing him in the still-running West Irian dispute. Tired of seeing their hopes for a productive relationship with Indonesia's leader raised only to be dashed yet again, the Eisenhower administration continued on its course of covert support to the Outer Islands rebels.<sup>66</sup> In March 1958, in the midst of this behind-the-scenes maneuvering, the conciliatory figure of Howard P. Jones replaced John Allison as U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia.<sup>67</sup> Despite the continuation of U.S. covert support to the rebels, Jones took pains to assure Sukarno that the U.S. had "no intention of interfering" in Indonesia's internal affairs.<sup>68</sup> Yet, Indonesian officials soon became convinced otherwise, and with good reason.

In late April 1958, Prime Minister Djuanda publicly announced that the Indonesian government was aware that the rebels were benefitting from foreign military intervention.<sup>69</sup> It was now quite clear, Sukarno stated in a speech on 2 May, that Indonesians could not expect the same level of support from the Americans which they had received during their 1945-49 fight for independence: "At that time we could very clearly see the anticolonial attitude of the USA but

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<sup>65</sup> For more on the debates surrounding the transition to Guided Democracy see Lev, *Transition*, Chapter 6.

<sup>66</sup> Kahin and Kahin, *Subversion*, 92-93.

<sup>67</sup> During his 1958-65 tenure as U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia, Jones earned the distinction of becoming the longest-serving American diplomat at a single post after World War II. See Jones, *Indonesia*, 332.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>69</sup> Kahin and Kahin, *Subversion*, 168.

after recognition of our sovereignty, after 1950, America's attitude changed."<sup>70</sup> An enraged Sukarno fumed, "If the outside world is thinking in terms of making Indonesia into a second Korea or a second Viet Nam, there will be World War III."<sup>71</sup> The Eisenhower administration took great pains to deny once again that they had provided assistance to the dissidents. However, the CIA had left ample indications of its involvement in the rebellions. Proof of the agency's subversion ranged from evidence of operatives and arms to a captured American pilot.<sup>72</sup>

The discovery of U.S. covert action in the Outer Islands rebellions disrupted the Dulles' covert attempts to overthrow Sukarno and break up Indonesia. By July of 1958, Guided Democracy had become a reality. Implicated in the revolts, the Masjumi and the PSI were discredited, and in 1960 they were outlawed. Their ban led to the further ascension of the PKI and the Army, the two groups that benefitted most from the Guided Democracy system. Political arrests and severe controls on the press increased and disloyalty among civil servants was punished by "retooling," a euphemism for demotion or removal from office.<sup>73</sup> As the year drew to a close, overt U.S. foreign policy began to emphasize reconciliation with Jakarta. Although Allen Dulles sought to maintain covert CIA ties to the dissidents his was a minority voice. His brother's withdrawal from policy-making on Indonesia and subsequent resignation from office just five weeks before his death on 24 May 1959 weakened his capacity to sustain support to the

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<sup>70</sup> "Capitalism creates poverty." Lecture by Sukarno before students at Padjadjaran University, Bandung, 2 May 1958, Republic of Indonesia Ministry of Information, cited in Poulgrain, *The Genesis of Konfrontasi*, 186.

<sup>71</sup> As quoted in Baskara T. Wardaya, *Cold War Shadow: United States Policy toward Indonesia, 1953-1963* (Yogyakarta: PUSdEP in collaboration with Galangpress, 2007), 249.

<sup>72</sup> Kahin and Kahin, *Subversion*, 179-82.

<sup>73</sup> Feith, *Decline*, 595.

rebels.<sup>74</sup> They surrendered in 1961 within months of John F. Kennedy's arrival in the White House.

### **U.S.-Indonesian Relations under Kennedy and Johnson**

When Kennedy assumed the presidency in January 1961, it appeared that the relationship between the United States and Indonesia might improve. The president, who had visited Indonesia in 1957 while a member of the U.S. Congress, had a greater first-hand familiarity with Indonesia's aspirations than did Eisenhower.<sup>75</sup> He thus began his tenure in office with the perspective that Indonesia should be approached as a strategic regional partner.<sup>76</sup> In a meeting between the President and Sukarno during the latter's visit to the United States not long after Kennedy's inauguration, the two leaders agreed that the United States would not support the Netherlands in the West Irian dispute.<sup>77</sup>

As Kennedy explained to the Dutch Foreign Minister Joseph Luns regarding his support for the transfer of West Papua to Indonesia, the war in Vietnam was his top regional priority. Keeping on friendly terms with the Indonesian president was therefore essential in order to avoid yet another U.S. conflict in Southeast Asia.<sup>78</sup> The West Irian crisis accordingly became a Cold War issue that the Kennedy administration and U.S. security agencies were eager to see resolved.

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<sup>74</sup> Kahin and Kahin, *Subversion*, 208-09.

<sup>75</sup> Wardaya, *Cold War Shadow*, 294.

<sup>76</sup> Mortimer, *Indonesian Communism*, 188.

<sup>77</sup> Poulgrain, *The Genesis of Konfrontasi*, 188.

<sup>78</sup> See Drooglever, *An Act of Free Choice*, 407 and 461.

The resolution at last came in the form of the announcement on 15 August 1961 of an agreement for the gradual transfer of the territory to Indonesia.

Yet, whereas Kennedy was committed to backing Sukarno by way of the continuation of U.S. economic aid to Indonesia, Allen Dulles persisted in his belief that Sukarno should be deposed in order to reorient the political course upon which he felt Indonesia was headed. His approach was spelled out in a March 1961 CIA memorandum addressed to U.S. National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy:

Only [Sukarno's] removal from power would offer some hope that trends that now seem inexorable can still be reversed. Hence, any policy move on our part, designed to shore up Sukarno's power and prestige, would be shortsighted, especially if we are interested in a radical elimination of the economic abuses upon which the Communist movement in Indonesia can be presumed to thrive.<sup>79</sup>

It certainly did appear that even with the U.S. accommodating Indonesia on West Irian and the continuation of aid, the Indonesian president was unlikely to reverse course on what he saw as a fundamental struggle against imperialism. For, although Sukarno still sought at this point to entice U.S. backing and an independent, active foreign policy, he was also developing a radical anti-imperialist stance that received ample communist bloc support.<sup>80</sup> Sukarno's 1963-65 campaign against the federation of Malaysia, which he called *Konfrontasi* (Confrontation), suited these purposes. To Sukarno, *Konfrontasi* was a conflict between Old Established Forces (OLDEFOs) and the New Emerging Forces (NEFOs), to which he claimed the United States and

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<sup>79</sup> The memo was accompanied by a paper, "Indonesian Perspectives," which contained two attachments, one of which is the origin of the above quote. See "Attachment A, Subject: President Sukarno – Key to the Indonesian Situation" in Frederick Bunnell, "The Central Intelligence Agency – Deputy Directorate for Plans 1961 Secret Memorandum on Indonesia: A Study in the Politics of Policy Formation in the Kennedy Administration" *Indonesia* 22 (October 1976): 164.

<sup>80</sup> Mortimer, *Indonesian Communism*, 167.



Indonesia respectively belonged. This development, coupled with a shift in U.S. foreign policy to a hardline stance toward Indonesia following Kennedy's assassination, then ruptured the two states' bilateral relations decisively.

*Konfrontasi* was the manifestation of Sukarno's objection to the formation of the federation of Malaysia, the constituent parts of which consisted of the former British colonies of Malaya, North Borneo, Sarawak, and Singapore.<sup>81</sup> Because of its British colonial origins and American backing, Sukarno portrayed Malaysia as a neocolonial Anglo-American OLDEFO puppet state that would be a threat to Indonesia and other NEFOs and their commitment to non-alignment. In this initiative, he received the enthusiastic support of the Left, particularly the PKI and left-wing of the PNI. They were both at the vanguard of the mobilization of "volunteers" to serve at the front lines should military conflict erupt. They also started a popular campaign against U.S. imperialism. In Sukarno's view, American support for Great Britain was a sign of U.S. imperial designs on the region. Kennedy administration promises of aid to Indonesia were viewed – not entirely incorrectly – as a means to pressure Indonesia into a compromise over Malaysia.<sup>82</sup>

Upon assuming the office of the presidency following Kennedy's assassination on 22 November 1963, Lyndon B. Johnson showed himself to be no admirer of negotiating with Indonesia and even less of an admirer of Sukarno. Johnson was an unwavering anti-communist

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<sup>81</sup> In emphasizing the British engineering of *Konfrontasi*, Poulgrain argues that much of the credit for Indonesian engagement in the conflict lies not with Sukarno but with his Foreign Minister, Subandrio, who "was the prime mover in the confrontation with Malaysia..." as he was already engaged in attempting to suppress the influence of the Chinese population in Sarawak. Poulgrain, *The Genesis of Konfrontasi*, 298.

<sup>82</sup> Mortimer, *Indonesian Communism*, 235.

and a believer in presidential supremacy in foreign affairs.<sup>83</sup> The president was also deeply influenced by the other three members of the administration's "Awesome Foursome": National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, and Secretary of State Dean Rusk. All of these men were hard-liners when it came to the United States' Indonesia policy.

Under Johnson, U.S. assistance to Indonesia dropped from \$100 million in 1963 to a mere \$10 million by 1965.<sup>84</sup> This reduction in aid was questioned as well as editorialized about in the American press. A proliferation of articles questioned the effects of the administration's harsher stance upon efforts to recruit and retain allies in the developing world.<sup>85</sup> Hardliners were outraged that any aid at all was still making its way to Indonesia. Yet despite their objections raised in the face of Sukarno's closer alignment with the communist world and mounting condemnations of the United States during the course of 1964, some aid continued. Hardliner pressure for the U.S. to support Malaysia led to an invitation to Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Malaysian Prime Minister, to visit the United States during the summer of 1964. The "Johnson-Tunku Communique" that resulted from their meeting resolved that the United States would offer military assistance to Malaysia in its dispute with its Indonesian neighbor.

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<sup>83</sup> See Fredrik Logevall, *Choosing War: The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 76.

<sup>84</sup> Robinson, "Some Arguments," 8.

<sup>85</sup> A 1965 *LIFE* editorial took the following strongly-worded position on the matter: "Sukarno and Nasser can both be pretty hard to take on occasion; we don't object to reminding them that U.S. aid is not automatic and our patience not inexhaustible. But there is also a case for keeping in contact with the 104 million Indonesians and the 27 million Egyptians, and foreign aid, like other policy tools, works best when not blunted. We prefer to let the State Department balance present irritations against possible future benefits." See "Foreign aid is for help – not for cheers," *LIFE*, 12 February 1964, 4.

U.S.-Indonesian relations were dealt a further blow in August 1964 when the Senate voted overwhelmingly in support of Republican John Tower's Foreign Assistance bill amendment to stop further aid to Indonesia and halt U.S. military training of Indonesian officers.<sup>86</sup> The Johnson administration was aware that it could little afford to add yet another Southeast Asian crisis to its list of foreign policy concerns. However, the State Department, with the support of AID officials and McGeorge and William Bundy, called on the administration to rescind aid to the Indonesian military and to paramilitary groups.<sup>87</sup> This, predictably, did not sit well with the CIA, Department of Defense, and Joint Chiefs of Staff. As the architects and proponents of the anti-communist Indonesian military leadership, these parties had spent years cultivating ties with the Army and other anti-communist elements.<sup>88</sup>

While cuts were made in training programs and aid to the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI), the Johnson administration maintained its predecessors' practice of providing training to the Indonesian Army and police. Indeed, between 1953 and 1965 nearly 3,000 Indonesian officers, seventeen to twenty percent of ABRI's total officer corps, received training in the United States while fifty-three senior officers attended the U.S. Army's Command and General Staff College in Leavenworth, Kansas.<sup>89</sup> In a late-August 1964 memo to Johnson, McGeorge Bundy stressed the importance of maintaining these ties, writing: "...we ought to keep a few links, however tenuous, to the Indonesian military, still the chief hope of blocking a communist

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<sup>86</sup> Simpson, *Economists*, 135.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 135-36.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> See Gardner, *Shared Hopes, Separate Fears*, 198.

take-over...we want to keep dangling the prospects of renewed aid; and... we do not want to be the ones who trigger a major attack on U.S. investments there.”<sup>90</sup>

During the summer of 1964, officials at the CIA and the Department of State began to meet in secret to discuss their approach to addressing the worsening U.S.-Indonesian relationship. From the U.S. perspective these meetings would prove fruitful. By the fall, the agencies had signed off on a Political Action Paper that established a “future course... of covert action in Indonesia.”<sup>91</sup>

The United States had now firmly shifted into a “low posture” policy. This policy was predicated on exhibiting “consistent restraint” toward an increasingly hostile Indonesia while maintaining covert operations to counterattack the growing power of the PKI; it stood in stark contrast to the approach that the Johnson administration was then pursuing in Vietnam.<sup>92</sup> The agreed upon course of action, approved by William Bundy, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, adopted the following strategies: First, U.S. government agents in Indonesia would use “indirect means” such as propaganda to portray the PKI as an “instrument of... Chinese neo-imperialism” that was a “dangerous opponent of Sukarno and legitimate nationalism.” Second, they would begin to provide “covert assistance... to individuals and organizations prepared to take obstructive action against the PKI.” Third, by way of these efforts and by developing a “broad-gauge ideological common denominator” to which all groups except the communists could adhere (the concepts of the national philosophy of Pancasila was

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<sup>90</sup> Memo to President Johnson from McGeorge Bundy, August 1964 cited in Robinson, “Some Arguments,” 39.

<sup>91</sup> “Political Action Paper,” 19 November 1964. Central Intelligence Agency, DDO Files: Job 78-00597R, FE/State Department Meetings, 1964. Secret. FRUS 1964-68, v. XXVI, Document 86, 181.

<sup>92</sup> Frederick P. Bunnell, “American ‘Low Posture’ Policy Toward Indonesia in the Months Leading Up to the 1965 ‘Coup,’” *Indonesia* 50 (1990): 30.

suggested), they would widen the cleavage between the PKI and its political opponents.<sup>93</sup> To succeed, their strategies required the assistance of local allies. To this end, as stated in the Action Paper, the Johnson administration would ask CIA and State Department officials at its foreign service posts in Indonesia to begin the “identification and assessment of anti-regime elements in order to monitor their activities and strength, and be in a position, in the event of a non-Communist successor regime, to influence them to support such a regime.”<sup>94</sup>

Historian Bradley R. Simpson has noted that the main proponents of this new approach were the State Department’s Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs, the CIA’s Directorate of Operations, and the opponents of Ambassador Howard Jones at the American Embassy in Jakarta.<sup>95</sup> A closer look at the evidence, however, suggests that a more diverse roster of Foreign Service officers in Indonesia, and not just those who were Jones’ critics in the embassy, also influenced the hardline approach. Such officials, moreover, were instrumental in carrying out many of the objectives identified in the action plan. Their network consisted of the staffs of the consulates in Surabaya and Medan and officials at the USIS libraries scattered throughout the country. They were joined in their efforts by CIA operatives, some working under diplomatic cover, and a network of Indonesian informants and allies who wished to work with the United States in their mutual desire to see Sukarno and the PKI lose power. More about who they were and the duties that they performed is discussed in subsequent chapters.

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<sup>93</sup> “Political Action Paper,” 19 November 1964. Central Intelligence Agency, DDO Files, FRUS 1964-68, v. XXVI, Document 86, 181. Pancasila, or the ‘five principles’ of belief in one god, humanity, national unity, democracy, and social justice, first proclaimed by Sukarno, was, and remains, the cornerstone philosophy of the Indonesian state.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. 183.

<sup>95</sup> Simpson, *Economists*, 139-40.

While the United States was reorienting its Indonesia policy, a combination of factors including the Tower Amendment, the Johnson administration's backing of Malaysia, and Sukarno's 1964 Independence Day speech, unleashed an intensified spate of anti-U.S. protests and demonstrations across the country. Between the end of 1964 and early 1965, Sukarno's antagonism toward the West grew even stronger. He withdrew Indonesia from the United Nations, moved closer to China, and told the United States, "Go to Hell with your Aid!"

In February 1965, the CIA submitted a progress report on the joint covert action plan to William Bundy and the senior security and defense officials known as the 303 Committee, a group that reviewed and authorized covert operations. Citing the "growing strength and influence of the Communist Party of Indonesia and Communist China over Indonesian foreign and domestic policies," the Agency requested approval to expand its covert activities in Indonesia. Proposed future activities included "covert liaison with and support to existing anti-Communist groups... black letter operations, media operations, including [the] possibly [of] black radio, and political action within existing Indonesian organizations and institutions." As noted in the memorandum, approval had been secured from the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs and the U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia, who would provide "continuing coordination of specific projects." The memorandum also revealed that "funds are available [text redacted] to support this program." The 303 Committee approved the program's expansion on 4 March 1965.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> "Memorandum Prepared for the 303 Committee," 23 February 1965. National Security Council, Special Group/303 Committee Files, Subject Files, Indonesia. Secret; Eyes Only. FRUS 1964-68, v. XXVI, Document 110, 234-37. The 303 Committee (known before its June 1964 name change as the Special Group) approved 163 covert actions during the Kennedy administration and 142 covert actions through February 1967 of the Johnson administration; the Committee and its predecessors and successors evaluated only those operations deemed as having an elevated risk or cost, a mere 14 percent of the several thousand CIA projects carried out since 1961. See

In the midst of the low posture policy, the administration was also honing the overt dimension of its approach to prevent an irreparable escalation of hostilities with Indonesia. In April 1965, Johnson sent his envoy, Ellsworth Bunker, to Indonesia. Bunker, the former U.S. Ambassador to India, had helped mediate the West Irian dispute. His assignment was to use his reputation as a highly respected figure among the Indonesian establishment to assess the direction in which bilateral relations were moving. There are at least two explanations why Johnson would order Bunker to Indonesia even as U.S. officials continued to plot covert action against the PKI and Sukarno. One possibility is that Johnson was uncomfortable undertaking the kind of diplomatic work that he was requesting Bunker to perform. As political scientist Fredrik Logevall has written, “Neither diplomatic history nor current international politics interested him (as more than a few visiting diplomats were quick to notice), and he was deeply insecure about his abilities as a statesman... ‘Foreigners,’ Johnson quipped early in the administration, only half-jokingly, ‘are not like the folks I am used to.’”<sup>97</sup> Another explanation is that the president and his advisors were seeking an affirmation that low posture was indeed the best course of action to take and were looking for a more honest assessment than Howard Jones, an opponent of the policy, would have provided.

The two-week “Bunker mission” as it became known, determined that relations with Indonesia showed no signs of improving. As such, Bunker recommended to Johnson that, “U.S. visibility should be reduced [but] the U.S. should maintain contact with the constructive

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“Note on U.S. Covert Action Programs,” FRUS 1964-68, v. XXVI, Document XXXIII. Online. Accessed 26 July 2012 from <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB52/docXXXIII.pdf>.

<sup>97</sup> Logevall, *Choosing War*, 79. Indeed, as Logevall points out, “Johnson found the realm of diplomacy and statecraft complicated and frustrating. When as vice president he visited Bangkok, he [bristled] when a U.S. embassy official counseled him against shaking hands with the Thais... Dammit, Johnson exploded, he shook hands with people everywhere and they loved it.” *Ibid.*, 75.

elements of strength in Indonesia,” namely the Army and moderate Muslim political groups.<sup>98</sup> Bunker’s recommendations to the President were yet another indication that the United States was committed to maintaining a low posture and emphasizing covert action in its dealings with Indonesia.

With the course charted for “Bunkering down,” the ambassador lost whatever remaining influence he had in pursuing a policy of accommodation toward Indonesia and Sukarno. In the summer of 1965 the selection of a successor to the retiring ambassador brought the Howard Jones era to an end. Not all who worked under Jones were sorry to see him go. Of course, there were those who thought the ambassador had done as good a job as possible under the circumstances of representing the United States in Indonesia.<sup>99</sup> However, much of the embassy’s staff and their Foreign Service colleagues in Medan and Surabaya regarded Jones as an ineffectual accommodationist whom Sukarno was leading “down the garden path.”<sup>100</sup> According to Fred A. Coffey, Jr., USIS Surabaya director from 1960 to 1964, “Howard Jones... was always apologetic to Sukarno and to the Indonesian government for what he assumed were wrongs against the Indonesians by the United States – far beyond political necessity. Thereby he lost his effectiveness.” Henry Heymann who served under Jones in the political section of the embassy

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<sup>98</sup> “Report from Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker to President Johnson, undated (transmitted on 23 April 1965). Johnson Library, National Security File, Country File, Indonesia, Vol. IV, Memos, 3/65–9/65. Confidential. FRUS 1964-68, v. XXVI, Document 121, 255-63.

<sup>99</sup> One of Jones’ supporters was Jack Lydman, who served as U.S. Consul in Surabaya from 1958 to 1960, then subsequently joined the embassy staff for two tours of duty under Jones and his successor, Marshall Green. Lydman felt that, though the ambassador could have showed “a bit more muscle from time to time,” in his dealings with Sukarno, Jones, overall, was “absolutely right” to try to stay on friendly terms with the Indonesian president to “keep the American-Indonesian dialogue going as healthily as he possibly could” amidst an atmosphere of bilateral tensions and mistrust. See Interview of Jack Lydman by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 27 April 1988, Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection, Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, Arlington, VA, [www.adst.org](http://www.adst.org) (ADST). Accessed 24 July 2012.

<sup>100</sup> Interview of Robert J. Martens by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 13 September 1991, Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection, ADST. Accessed 15 October 2012.



also strongly opposed Jones' style, stating in a 1990 interview, "It frustrated the hell out of you. Jones tried to hoodwink us into joining in on his starry view of Sukarno."<sup>101</sup> To the majority, then, the ambassador's 1965 departure marked a step in the right direction.

Jones' successor, Marshall Green, was not initially considered among the potential candidates to become the United States' top diplomat in Indonesia.<sup>102</sup> When the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved Green's appointment, the decision was widely questioned in the American press.<sup>103</sup> Green's hardline approach to relations with Sukarno and his track record as a dedicated executor of the U.S. anti-communist program in Hong Kong ultimately proved the critical factors in his appointment to Indonesia. Green's non-conciliatory approach to Sukarno came through in a memo that he sent to William Bundy on 20 January 1965 in his capacity as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs. Calling an invitation to Sukarno to visit the United States during the downturn in the two nations' bilateral relations "sheer folly," Green opined: "A presidential meeting... would show that the bad boys are the ones that get the

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<sup>101</sup> See interview of Fred Coffey by G. Lewis Schmidt, 14 September 1990, Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection, ADST. Accessed 15 October 2012 and interview of Henry Heymann by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 15 July 1993. Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection, ADST. Accessed 19 June 2013. While Jones may have been aware of his staff's opinions regarding his leadership, the ambassador attributed the undermining of his reputation to CIA agents working to replace him with a diplomat who would take a more hardline approach toward Sukarno. See Kahin, *Testament*, 158.

<sup>102</sup> In late December 1964, National Security Council staffer, James C. Thompson, Jr. wrote to McGeorge Bundy with his recommendations for Jones' replacement. The suggested successors, which Thompson characterized as the "the unrefined product of my Christmas ruminations," were the current ambassador to Burma, Henry A. Byrode, and, from outside of the Foreign Service, Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., Abram Chayes, Pierre Salinger, and Eugene V. Rostow. "Memorandum from James C. Thomson, Jr., of the National Security Council Staff to the President's Special Assistant for National Security Affairs (Bundy)" 28 December 1964. Johnson Library, National Security File, Country File, Indonesia, Vol. III, Memos, 9/64-2/65, [2 of 2]. Secret. FRUS 1964-68, v. XXVI, Document 97, 206-07.

<sup>103</sup> Green recounts in his memoir that papers such as *The Washington Post* opined that sending the State Department's "China expert" to an "incredibly hostile" Indonesia hardly made sense with Jones' very capable deputy, Francis Galbraith, already stationed in Jakarta. See Green, *Indonesia*, 16. Clearly the authors of such opinions did not recognize that it was exactly Green's expertise in this regard that would be seen as a compelling factor recommending him to the job.

attention. It would have decisively serious impact on countries like Korea, Vietnam and perhaps even Thailand and the Philippines as far as the Far East is concerned. God knows how the Africans would react.” Although the invitation was ultimately extended against this advice, Green’s no-nonsense approach clearly left a positive impression on officials in the Johnson administration.<sup>104</sup>

The new ambassador’s mettle was tested almost immediately after his arrival in Jakarta. On 17 August 1965, Sukarno suggested that the U.S. government was “insane,” and proudly proclaimed Indonesia’s membership in a “Jakarta-Phnom Penh-Hanoi-Peiping-Pyongyang axis.”<sup>105</sup> As Green suggested in a late-August telegram to the DOS, the United States was now in a position to do little else in Indonesia but maintain its diplomatic presence to as great an extent as it could and continue with its intelligence-gathering and reporting, covert operations, and propaganda activities.<sup>106</sup> This admission echoed a remark in a *LIFE* magazine editorial from earlier in the year regarding the best direction for U.S. policy toward an increasingly unfriendly Indonesia. “America can only hold on, keep a clean nose, maintain a presence, and hope for a diplomatic break in the threatening weather,” the *LIFE* editorial advised.<sup>107</sup>

Although Green was committed to the low posture policy, a new round of anti-U.S. demonstrations at U.S. diplomatic posts in early September 1965 resulted in his call for retaliatory measures. U.S. government hardliners were no doubt cheered by the ambassador’s

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<sup>104</sup> “Note From the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs (Green) to the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs (Bundy),” 20 January 1965. National Archives and Records Administration, RG 59, EA/Indonesia Files: Lot 68 D 467, Political Affairs Relations—United States. Secret. FRUS 1964-68, v. XXVI, Document 100, 212-13.

<sup>105</sup> Simpson, *Economists*, 167.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> Thomas B. Morgan “He wants to keep his people steeped in struggle,” *LIFE Magazine*, 12 February 1965, 63.

ultimatum to Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio on 13 September that sanctions against Indonesian diplomats in the United States would result should further incursions at U.S. properties and institutions in Indonesia occur.<sup>108</sup> At the same time, however, U.S. officials in Washington and Jakarta began to make plans for withdrawing their people from Indonesia. Whispers of Sukarno's failing health, and the persistence of rumors concerning communist and anti-communist subversion attempts added to the air of uncertainty and crisis as questions about the direction of the nation began to be raised.<sup>109</sup> By the end of the year, these questions would be answered in a way that few could have foreseen.

### **The National Context**

Between 1955 and the early 1960s, as the Indonesian leadership was negotiating the Cold War pressures outlined above, domestic political conflict was simultaneously becoming more acute. Tensions between the Left and the Right intensified as Sukarno attempted to balance between the two (while playing each side against the other). In doing this, he promoted a philosophy, NASAKOM (*Nationalisme, Agama, Komunisme*), in which nationalism, religion, and communism were to be united. "Whoever is anti-NASAKOM is not fully revolutionary, nay is historically even counter-revolutionary," Sukarno declared in his 1964 "Year of Living Dangerously" speech, openly challenging his political opponents to dare to disagree.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Green, *Indonesia*, 39.

<sup>109</sup> Simpson, *Economists*, 170.

<sup>110</sup> Sukarno, "A Year of Living Dangerously." TAVIP was the official acronym given to "Tahun Vivere Pericoloso," Sukarno's title for the current year of the people's revolution. It was succeeded in 1965 by TAKARI (Tahun Berdikari). This was an acronym for "The Year of BERDIKARI," or standing on one's own feet (*berdiri di kaki sendiri*).

Although this section of the chapter focuses on the national dimensions of inter-party competition of this period, it should be noted that these tensions were not purely domestic in origin. Developments occurring within Indonesia were affected by its international relationships. They were, as historian Geoffrey Robinson has pointed out, a consequence of the fact “that U.S. (and British) policy in Southeast Asia served, perhaps inadvertently, to encourage and to exacerbate a polarization and radicalization in domestic Indonesian politics.”<sup>111</sup> American efforts to weaken the Left and strengthen the Right particularly contributed to further concretizing Indonesia’s domestic political divisions, most of all between the PKI and its various opponents.

The PKI was the oldest communist party in Asia. It emerged following the formation of the Indies Social Democratic Association (ISDV) in Surabaya in 1914, with roots dating even earlier in the twentieth century.<sup>112</sup> The party possessed a turbulent history rife with rebellions. The first of these, an unsuccessful attempt to unite the population of the Indies in a national effort to seize power from the Dutch, was waged in 1926-27.<sup>113</sup> The PKI then staged a revolt against the Republican government leadership during the aforementioned “Madiun Affair” of 1948. After narrowly avoiding being outlawed following Madiun, the PKI went underground but began to reemerge when D.N. Aidit, M.H. Lukman, Njoto, and Sudisman ascended to the party leadership in January 1951.

One of the first major challenges the new leaders took on was to increase the PKI’s political standing, committing to a legal parliamentary strategy rather than insurrection. Building

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<sup>111</sup> Robinson, “Some Arguments,” 7-8.

<sup>112</sup> The ISDV was initially founded by a Dutch Marxist. The Indonesian members who subsequently joined the organization would be instrumental in transforming it in to the PKI in 1920.

<sup>113</sup> For more on this revolt, see Chapter 12 of Ruth T. McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965).

an alliance with the left-nationalist wing of the PNI proved to be a valuable move in that it helped to weaken both parties' main opponents, the pro-U.S. Masjumi and the PSI. The Party also gained international standing by accepting material and moral support from the PRC.<sup>114</sup> But the PKI's comeback strategy rested above all on creating "a united front from below," which, during the early 1950s, was its only true avenue for achieving success.<sup>115</sup> One of its first accomplishments was to consolidate its control over the trade union federation SOBSI (Sentral Organisasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia, All-Indonesia Central Workers' Organization). By mid-decade, SOBSI had become Indonesia's largest labor organization and led the demonstrations and strikes that became the cornerstone of its activism for the PKI. The Party subsequently expanded its other mass organizations. These included a peasants' front, the BTI (Barisan Tani Indonesia, Indonesian Peasant's League), a Women's affiliate, Gerwani (Gerakan Wanita Indonesia, Indonesian Women's Movement), and a youth organization, the Pemuda Rakyat (Peoples' Youth).

The PKI's reputation for integrity, its nationalist credentials and positions, its support for key groups such as teachers, peasants, and trade unionists, and its success in grass-roots organizing led to massive new membership. With fewer than 7,000 members in 1952, by 1954 membership had skyrocketed to more than 150,000.<sup>116</sup> As detailed above, the 1955 elections were further evidence of the PKI's increase in power.

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<sup>114</sup> Ruth McVey, "The Development of the Indonesian Communist Party and its relations with the Soviet Union and the Chinese Peoples Republic" (Cambridge: Center for International Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1954), 69.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>116</sup> Mortimer, *Indonesian Communism*, 41-42.

The PKI's ascendancy during this period intensified its conflict with the Masjumi, the party that represented all Indonesian Islamic organizations including, until three years earlier, the NU. The ideological impasse between the PKI and the Masjumi was compounded by their profound disagreement over Indonesia's foreign policy.<sup>117</sup> The PKI sought to normalize ties with the Russians and Chinese. Conversely, the largely pro-Western and virulently anti-communist Masjumi, together with the smaller PSI, saw danger in establishing relations with communist countries. It leveled the accusation that the PKI was a little-disguised auxiliary of Moscow and Beijing.<sup>118</sup> Their battle led the Masjumi and the PKI respectively to seek alliances with the right and left wings of the PNI. A 1957 political cartoon depicted this struggle for the PNI's favor through a gendered lens. It portrayed the Party as young man caught between the affections of two beguiling ladies: the Masjumi, in the form a westernized and modern woman, and the PKI, in the form of a traditional woman (Fig. 1.1). Radical nationalists in the PNI, allied with the communists in the struggle against imperialism (though not united against accepting U.S. aid), accused the Masjumi of being beholden to the United States, an accusation that was not unfounded.<sup>119</sup> However, the Masjumi leaders' participation in the 1957-58 Outer Islands rebellions proved to be the party's undoing. It also paved the way for the rise of the Nahdlatul Ulama, already a well-established organization in Java, and a new set of political tensions between the NU, the PKI, and the Army.

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<sup>117</sup> Nor did the fact that several Masjumi members had been assassinated by the PKI rebels during the Madiun revolt bode well for fostering a good working relationship between the two political antagonists.

<sup>118</sup> Their major ammunition behind this accusation was the PKI's custom of displaying portraits of foreign communist figures during their meetings. See Remy Mardinier, "Lawan dan Kawan (Friends and Foes): Indonesian Islam and Communism during the Cold War (1945-1960)," in Goscha and Ostermann, *Connecting Histories*, 360-61.

<sup>119</sup> Though, in fact, the Masjumi leadership was divided in their degree of solidarity with the United States. *Ibid.*, 363.



**Figure 1.1.** The Masjumi (left) and PKI (right) compete for the PNI's attention as the NU looks on. Source: *Sin Min*, 1957.

The entwined military and political functions that the Army had assumed during the war against the Dutch became the basis for the armed forces' bid for a similar dual role in the new Republic. Forged from auxiliary military organizations and guerrilla fighting factions respectively formed during the Japanese interregnum and the Revolution, by the mid-1950s the Army leadership had set its sights on the benefits to be derived from gaining political influence.

As Daniel Lev has described, the Army was attempting to develop a role in the national political structure that would “satisfy its political, economic, and social aspirations.”<sup>120</sup>

By the Guided Democracy era, then, the Army possessed both a military function and a political one, a system that became known as “Dwi Fungsi” (Dual Function).<sup>121</sup> Militarily, the Army was divided in several territorial commands. The largest of these were the KODAM, or Regional Military Commands (Komando Daerah Militer). In descending order the remaining commands were the KOREM (Komando Resor Militer, Resort Military Command) followed by the KODIM (Komando Distrik Militer, District Military Command), and then the KORAMIL, the Rayon Military Command (Komando Rayon Militer), known until the mid-1960s as Uterpra (Urusan Teritorial dan Perlawanan Rakyat, Territorial Affairs and People’s Resistance). 1961 saw the formation of a national Army labor union, SOKSI (Central Organization of Indonesian Socialist Employees), created to combat SOBSI.<sup>122</sup> The growth of its power during Guided Democracy led to the Army’s expansion. Formed in 1961 in the context of the struggle for West Irian, the Supreme Operations Command (Komando Operasi Tertinggi, or KOTI) became a body which rivaled the cabinet as source of state-level decision making.<sup>123</sup> In 1963, the KOSTRAD (Komando Cadangan Strategis Angkatan Darat), the Army Strategic Reserve Command, was established, with Major General Suharto as its commander. The following year, the authority of

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<sup>120</sup> Daniel Lev, “Political Role of the Army in Indonesia,” *Pacific Affairs* 36 (1963-64): 349.

<sup>121</sup> The ideology that the Army in Indonesia formed both a military force and a socio-political force, which was formalized into a doctrine at the Army’s first seminar in April 1965 emerged from the concept of the “Middle Way” developed in 1957 by Army Chief of State, Major General Abdul Haris Nasution. Nasution’s Middle Way concept proposed that the Army would stay involved in politics following Martial Law but would not seek to take over the government. See Crouch, *Army*, 24-25.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 65, n. 40.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 47-48.



regional Army commanders was expanded as they assumed the title of *Pepelrada* (*Penguasa Pelaksanaan Dwikora Daerah*). The *Pepelrada* took their orders from the commander of the Army, General Ahmad Yani, in his role as head of the KOTI.<sup>124</sup>

Despite establishing a formidable security apparatus, however, the Army was far from being a politically cohesive unit as indicated by the involvement of military units on both side of the Madiun Affair and the 1957-58 Outer Islands Rebellions. Intra-Army rivalry in the form of political factionalism divided its ranks. Soldiers trained under the Japanese during the war clashed with soldiers who had been guerilla fighters during the Revolution and therefore retained extramilitary political loyalties.<sup>125</sup> Divisions existed along ethnic, religious, and class lines. While there was an over-representation of nominally-Muslim elite Javanese among the officer corps, non-elite orthodox Muslims dominated the rank and file.<sup>126</sup> Still another division was between the minority of officers who were PKI allies or Sukarno loyalists and the majority of staunchly right-wing members of the senior leadership.<sup>127</sup>

Yet while it was constrained by its deep divisions, the Army possessed one great advantage: the ability to assert its power as the guardian of the national interest through shows of force. The 1957-58 Outer Islands rebellions and political cleavages caused by the competing parliamentary factions provided the ideal conditions for the Army leadership to bolster its political role. The Army's suppression of the rebellions became a way for the right-wing Army leadership to subordinate the civilian administration by justifying its right to leadership and

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<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 27-28.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 36-38.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

influence upon the government.<sup>128</sup> The declaration of Martial Law in 1958 and the onset of “Guided Democracy” worked to the Army’s further advantage. Indeed, the Army leadership had actively pushed for both of these things precisely because it recognized the opportunity they provided to officers to drastically increase their political and economic roles and responsibilities.

The Army’s growing political power was evident in the way that it was able to pose a successful challenge to its enemies from among the parties. The Army’s quest for power significantly expanded once Sukarno established a new parliament in which student, laborer, peasant and other “functional groups” would take the place of political parties. As Lev has noted, functional groups would “represent all those interests which the parties had failed to represent – particularly the Army, whose exclusion from the political arena had threatened the state with disaster.”<sup>129</sup>

The declaration of Martial Law in 1958 also increased the Army’s economic role dramatically. As Lev writes, its “rapidly increasing involvement in political affairs was accompanied by a plunge, from the diving board of martial law, into the warm waters of the economy.”<sup>130</sup> Martial Law thus provided an opportunity for Army officers to amass wealth, which they did through lawful as well as unlawful channels in which bribes and kickbacks from business contacts were commonplace. Other beneficiaries were the officers appointed to manage the Dutch firms that the Army seized in December 1957. After these enterprises were broken up and nationalized, Army officers managed the newly established state corporations in areas such

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<sup>128</sup> Lev, “Political Role of the Army,” 351.

<sup>129</sup> Lev, *Transition to Guided Democracy*, 205.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

as plantations, mining, banking, and trade.<sup>131</sup> The Army's economic strength grew further as its officers took control of British and American enterprises in 1964 and 1965.

The Army was certainly not the only beneficiary of Indonesia's 1957-58 political shifts. As Donald Weatherbee has written, "the party system under Guided Democracy was reduced to unqualified support for the actions of the revolutionary leadership. Open party competition was but the vying of the parties to prove they were more revolutionary than the others... In such a competition the PKI had the decided advantage."<sup>132</sup> In the absence of elections, Indonesian political success would be rooted in how well a political group could mobilize public demonstrations in support of Sukarno's agenda. The PKI's political successes in 1955 and 1957 had marked its evolution from a group with a mere few thousand members into the largest non-ruling communist party in the world.<sup>133</sup> But it was equally adept in the non-parliamentary environment of Guided Democracy. Sukarno's threat that parties would be dissolved in favor of functional groups prompted the PKI to throw its full support behind Guided Democracy.<sup>134</sup> Another impetus for the PKI's support was Sukarno's proposal for a "*gotong royong*" system in which the level of political parties' influence in government would be commensurate with demonstrable political support.<sup>135</sup> The PKI also saw the new system as a way to limit the

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<sup>131</sup> Crouch, *Army*, 39.

<sup>132</sup> Donald E. Weatherbee, *Ideology in Indonesia: Sukarno's Indonesian Revolution*, Monograph Series No. 8 (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies Program, 1966), 51.

<sup>133</sup> Mortimer, *Indonesian Communism*, 19.

<sup>134</sup> As Mortimer has suggested, during Guided Democracy a "strong bond of sympathy" emerged between Sukarno and the PKI leadership which saw the former as essentially driven by the same themes which they embraced: national unity, anti-imperialism, and the belief that revolution was the key to Indonesia's growth and strength. *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>135</sup> The Javanese term *gotong royong* describes the principles of mutual assistance and cooperation, key tenets within Sukarno's vision for the Indonesian nation.

growing political influence of the Army. This role would most benefit Sukarno himself for, as noted by Lev:

It was to avoid being engulfed by the army's power that Soekarno developed the second alliance with the PKI, the best organized and strongest of the political parties. The PKI was... the natural enemy of the army, not only because officers regard[ed] it as being internationalist, atheist, and under foreign control, but also because the PKI—as a well-disciplined organization with deep roots in Indonesian labor and the peasantry, and dedicated to radical change—pose[d] a threat to all the political, social, and economic interest of the army elite.<sup>136</sup>

The *Konfrontasi* campaign further exacerbated Army-PKI tensions. The PKI used the Army's reluctance to support *Konfrontasi* as an opportunity to take the lead on the issue and push for greater influence in government under Sukarno's leadership.<sup>137</sup> With the Army's power on the wane upon the end of martial law in 1963, the power of its political antagonists increased as Indonesians participated in the politics of the streets. Taking advantage of the mobilization of *Konfrontasi* volunteers, Aidit proposed to Sukarno that a "People's Army" comprised of laborers and peasants should join the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Police as a "Fifth Force." This challenge was aimed squarely at the Army in that the communists envisioned that the Fifth Force would, "form a powerful counterweight... and might come under leadership favorably disposed to the PKI."<sup>138</sup> While the PKI's proposal was driven by the ambition to counteract its strongest internal foe, it nonetheless drew the attention of the Party's external enemies as well. The CIA, for instance, noted with much alarm that the fifth force proposal received backing from the People's Republic of China.<sup>139</sup> Evidence that the PKI was becoming increasingly militant and

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<sup>136</sup> Lev, "Political Role of the Army," 353.

<sup>137</sup> Crouch, *Army*, 62.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.* 87.

<sup>139</sup> Simpson, "International Dimensions," 53-54.

that this development was being welcomed by the Chinese soon resulted in the United States seeking to push the Army into a confrontation with the PKI.

In taking an increasingly anti-Western stance against the “Neocolonialism-Imperialism” of the West, Sukarno marshaled the power of the National Front, which he had established by presidential decree in 1961. To offset his deepening ideological differences with the Army leadership, Sukarno saw the PKI and left-wing PNI as the most effective organizers in mobilizing popular support for his campaigns. He particularly sought to use their participation in the Front to actualize what he often cited as the Indonesian people’s anger toward the NEKOLIM in Indonesia. In addition to waging a campaign against Western institutions in Indonesia, the National Front also began to attack westernized Indonesians. Members of the Front participated in closing down businesses that catered to “Western tastes” and publicly shamed young people wearing “American” hairstyles and fashions. Indonesians abroad also faced the consequences of Indonesia’s new policies. As U.S.-Indonesian tensions worsened, Sukarno called back the Indonesian scholars and students studying throughout the United States. Shortly before Independence Day of 1965, Sukarno equated anti-communism with anti-Sukarnoism, further making political opposition a dangerous stance to hold.<sup>140</sup> As Indonesia’s Cold War hostilities with the United States and tensions between the Left and Right increased, growing economic and political crises caused turmoil amongst the very masses whose suffering Sukarno professed to represent so well.<sup>141</sup> When this turmoil erupted, and it did so spectacularly,

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<sup>140</sup> Simpson, *Economists*, 166.

<sup>141</sup> During Guided Democracy Sukarno officially gave himself the grandiloquent title, “Bearer of the Message of the People’s Suffering, Great Leader of the Revolution, Mandatory of the Provisional People’s Consultative Assembly, Supreme Commander, President-for-Life.”

Surabaya was at the center of the action.

### **The Cold War Comes to Surabaya**

Over the course of the 1950s and 1960s, in addition to being a critical site of domestic political conflict, Surabaya became a key scene of the conflicts playing out between Indonesia and the United States. One major aspect of Surabaya's modern historical trajectory contributed to this role. This was the distinctively leftist political consciousness of its citizenry at least since the Revolution.

The identity of the citizenry as defenders of nationalism took root during an early epic event in the Indonesian National Revolution, the November 1945 Battle of Surabaya, waged to prevent Dutch repossession of Indonesia after the surrender of the Japanese. For three weeks Republican armed forces and civilian militias, many equipped only with weapons fashioned out of sharpened bamboo, held back the advance of British and Gurkha (Nepali) soldiers. Larger and better-armed, these troops ultimately proved the dominant force. By the end of November the British and Gurkha forces had seized the city.

Calling attention to the larger implications of the Battle, historian Howard Dick has noted that "The significance of this defeat can hardly be exaggerated. The Indonesian people demonstrated to themselves and to the rest of the world their willingness to fight for independence."<sup>142</sup> In addition to the nationalists' portrayal of the city as a site of patriotic revolutionary struggle and defiance, the reputation of Surabaya's citizenry, the *arek Suroboyo*, as

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<sup>142</sup> Dick, *Surabaya, City of Work*, 84.

a heroic united force also emerged at this time.<sup>143</sup> And there would be yet another outcome. As Dick has rightly stressed: “After years of repression, first by the Dutch and then more viciously by the Japanese, the Revolution had ensured that Surabayans became not only politically aware but also actively involved.”<sup>144</sup>

This early political mobilization took root amidst an influx of new inhabitants into a burnt and scarred city, rebuilding itself from the fighting and its aftermath. The municipality’s population, which had initially swelled from 403,000 to 618,000 during the Japanese Occupation, then had fallen during the Battle, was re-ascending to its former height.<sup>145</sup> By mid-1956 a population boom had transformed Surabaya to a city of nearly one million residents.<sup>146</sup> Squatters laying claim to vacant buildings and lands became a routine sight (Fig. 1.2).

Foreign commercial interest in Surabaya also resumed following the war, though to a lesser degree than during its reign as the Dutch East Indies’ industrial center and largest city. Patterns of industrialization, foreign exchange, and credit during the Revolution and into the Independence period placed Surabaya in a subordinate position to Jakarta and West Java and at a disadvantage in regaining its pre-war status as the archipelago’s industrial center.<sup>147</sup> Nevertheless, following independence in 1949, a number of multinational enterprises began or resumed their business operations in Surabaya’s hinterland. These included the Dutch-then-

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<sup>143</sup> According to William Frederick, author of the authoritative volume on the subject, this characterization obscures the actual ambivalence toward leadership exhibited by Surabaya’s various youth groups (*pemuda*) who, along with the city’s elites, could neither control the outbreaks of violence by the masses nor prevent deserters from leaving the city at the moment of battle. For an overview of these arguments, see Frederick, *Visions and Heat*, Chapters 5 and 6.

<sup>144</sup> Dick, *Surabaya, City of Work*, 97.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 367.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 289-90.

German-run Prodentia Toothpaste factory, the American firm Proctor & Gamble, a British-owned Unilever plant, the British-owned, Singapore-based Fraser & Neave (F&N) soft drink manufacturing and bottling plant, the Dutch-run Heineken brewery and a British American Tobacco (BAT) cigarette factory.<sup>148</sup>



**Figure 1.2.** Squatters residing in the former Kempeitai (Imperial Japanese Army Military Police) headquarters building in front of the East Java Governor's Office, Surabaya, 1950. Surabaya Municipal Archive.

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<sup>148</sup> William A. Redfern, "Sukarno's Guided Democracy and the Takeovers of Foreign Companies in Indonesia in the 1960s," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2010, 175-77.



During the late-1950s, Indonesian labor strikes and nationalization efforts resulted in the gradual takeovers of many foreign enterprises in the greater Surabaya region. The Army's response to SOBSI takeovers of Dutch enterprises during the 1950s was to seize these industries and put them under military control. As Dick has emphasized, this action "deepened the cleavage between the PKI, which enjoyed mass political support and exercised control of the city government and the Army, which held the monopoly of military force and now controlled most of the modern sector of the economy."<sup>149</sup>



**Figure 1.3.** Voting in the National Election, Jalan Nias, Gubeng, Surabaya, 29 September 1955. Courtesy East Java Provincial Archives via Surabaya Municipal Archive.

<sup>149</sup> Dick, *Surabaya, City of Work*, 102.

By 1960, SOBSI claimed to have 510,000 members in East Java (nearly a quarter of the organization's total membership for that year) and had a full-time staff of 15 workers in its Surabaya branch office.<sup>150</sup> As SOBSI's membership grew, the organization engineered a new round of foreign enterprise takeovers targeting first, British, then American businesses. On Friday, 24 January 1964 at nine o'clock in the morning, SOBSI-affiliated workers seized the BAT, F&N, and Unilever plants and bedecked the facilities with signs reading "Property of the Republic of Indonesia" ("Milik RI").<sup>151</sup> On the same day, a delegation of youths, students, and laborers marched in solidarity on the British and American consulates. In March, members of SOBSI and the PNI's union KBM (Kesatuan Buruh Marhaenis, Marhaenist Labor Front) seized the American firm of P.T. Filma (formerly Proctor & Gamble); by the close of May 1965 in Surabaya as elsewhere in East Java, not one foreign-owned factory remained.<sup>152</sup>

Following the Revolution, the first opportunity for the *arek Suroboyo* to signal their continuing political importance came in the form of the 1955 general elections, in which they participated enthusiastically (Fig. 1.3). The elections conclusively revealed which *kampung* were sites of support for the PKI's rivals and which were PKI strongholds (Table 1.1). Srenggahan and Sidodadi, neighborhoods that responded to PKI campaigning by destroying party flags and symbols and threatening PKI cadres, also rejected the Party at the ballot box.<sup>153</sup> Predictably, the

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<sup>150</sup> Hindley. *The Communist Party of Indonesia*, 140.

<sup>151</sup> "Fraser & Neave, Unilever, BAT diambil alih buruh," *Surabaya Post*, 24 January 1964, II.

<sup>152</sup> Dick, *Surabaya, City of Work*, 299-300.

<sup>153</sup> While residents of the former removed the PKI's campaign posters and replaced them with Masjumi posters, a group of seventy-five residents of Kampung Sidodadi tore down every PKI symbol in their neighborhood and issued a threat that if any PKI cadre dare re-hang a Party flag or sign, they would take their own life in their hands to do so. See Purnawan Basundoro, "Memerahkan Kota Pahlawan," 273.

party also failed to win many votes in Ampel, the site of a Sufi tomb-shrine and an area in which the majority of residents were deeply religious Muslims, many of Arab heritage. In a 1958 meeting with Howard Jones, Sukarno boasted of the “one hundred per cent Communist” results from Ampel.<sup>154</sup> If Surabaya’s 1955 election results are any indication, however, the claim of a sudden collective embrace of the PKI there was no more than classic Sukarno bravado. Returns showed the PKI’s 553 votes placed the Party at a distant third to the Masjumi and the NU which respectively received 2,102 and 1,607 of Ampel’s total votes.<sup>155</sup>

Among the neighborhoods that voted strongly in favor of the PKI was the harbor region of Tanjung Perak, the base of the Indonesian Navy and several stevedore and other maritime-related unions. The PKI had huge returns as well in the *kampung* of Ngagel and Gubeng, home to a large population of laborers who worked in the factories and plants located in the area’s industrial complex. Another PKI stronghold was Petemon in the city’s western hinterland. The PKI also found support among the landless urban poor who entered Surabaya in the thousands in the years following the war to become squatters on public as well as private land in Surabaya.<sup>156</sup> For example, Wonokromo, an area with a high concentration of urban poor, became a PKI base. In 1965 an intelligence-gathering party from the U.S. embassy passed through the *kampung* and noted a banner strung across the main thoroughfare that bore the hammer and sickle and proudly declared, “Bung [Comrade] Karno is a Communist.”<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Jones, *Indonesia*, 81.

<sup>155</sup> “Di Surabaya P.K.I. unggul,” *Perdamaian*, 3 October 1955.

<sup>156</sup> For a comprehensive study on the emergence of post-war squatter settlements in Surabaya, see Purnawan Basundoro, “Pemukiman Liar di Kota Surabaya 1945-1960” in Freek Colombijn et al., *Kota Lama, Kota Baru: Sejarah Kota-Kota di Indonesia Sebelum dan Setelah Kemerdekaan* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2005), 537-54.

<sup>157</sup> Airgram, “Field Trip to East Java,” JKT to DOS, 23 June 1965. RG 59, General Records of the Department of State. CFP 1964-66, Political Affairs and Relations, Box 2327, NACP.

**Table 1.1.** 1955 Surabaya Election Returns by Neighborhood

No	Residential Area	PKI	NU	PNI	Masjumi	PSI
1	Tambaksari	3,878	842	741	159	76
2	Rangkah	4,361	803	1,342	234	41
3	Jagalan	2,347	1,523	910	268	121
4	Peneleh	828	617	100	273	470
5	Ketabang	1,355	463	656	108	90
6	Pacarkembang	3,696	1,211	1,209	356	59
7	Tegalsari	7,292	1,536	1,933	389	151
8	Genteng	2,058	804	1,074	342	124
9	Sawahan	3,009	691	1,327	385	239
10	Embong Kaliasin	4,542	1,226	1,283	368	176
11	Kedungdoro	6,173	1,512	1,960	514	115
12	Simo	5,881	905	1,839	281	47
13	Wonokromo	4,451	1,965	509	641	174
14	Ngagel	5,565	2,205	1,103	336	68
15	Darmo I	2,982	444	1,321	251	283
16	Darmo II	3,532	1,224	858	233	69
17	Darmo III	5,857	505	3,051	631	262
18	Gubeng	6,870	1,113	2,360	414	362
19	Bongkaran	298	637	180	100	29
20	Pabean Cantikan	148	479	56	63	14
21	Ampel	553	1,607	274	2,102	15
22	Nyamplungan	1,115	3,551	517	1,081	8
23	Kampung Baru	3,534	1,677	755	359	37
24	Semampir	2,415	3,524	692	232	8
25	Ujung	788	433	966	338	55
26	Kapasan	1,984	652	496	119	138
27	Srengganan	1,317	3,208	394	506	6
28	Simokerto	2,658	940	729	288	101
29	Sidodadi	1,280	1,922	306	389	31
30	Kapasari	2,415	1,305	699	176	122
31	Sidokapasan	2,479	3,223	527	299	47
32	Tembokdukuh	3,879	1,862	1,169	406	50
33	Krempangan Utara	3,534	1,677	755	359	37
34	Krempangan Selatan	2,649	1,223	1,064	340	120
35	Tanjung Perak	2,451	960	590	167	67
36	Bubutan	1,430	1,118	765	279	128
37	Aloon-Aloon Contong	640	980	477	231	168
<b>Total</b>		<b>110,244</b>	<b>50,567</b>	<b>34,987</b>	<b>14,017</b>	<b>4,108</b>
<b>Percentage (%)</b>		<b>51.53%</b>	<b>23.64%</b>	<b>16.36%</b>	<b>6.55%</b>	<b>1.92%</b>

Source: "Di Surabaya P.K.I. unggul," *Perdamaian*, 3 October 1955.

The elections of the 1950s thus represented a major shake-up in the Surabaya Municipal Assembly (*Dewan Rakyat*) that strongly favored the PKI. Because of its small membership base following the 1948 “Madiun Affair,” when the *Dewan Rakyat* was formed in 1950 the Party was completely unrepresented. In 1950 the Islamic parties ruled the Assembly with a total of thirteen out of twenty-five seats. The next largest group was the PNI with a total of nine seats. However, following its mass membership drives, the PKI gained the majority of the Assembly seats in the next two elections. Following the 1955 elections, the PKI netted eleven out of twenty-five Assembly seats, thereby reducing the PNI’s representation to four seats and the Islamic parties to a mere three seats. The 1958 local elections yielded even more gains for the PKI.<sup>158</sup> In Surabaya, the Party took control of eight district councils.<sup>159</sup> Perhaps reflecting this extraordinary strength, 1958 also marked the first time that a PKI member, dr. Satrijo Sastrodiredjo, was chosen as mayor. Satrijo’s appointment was a sign of things to come. His successor, Moerachman, was also aligned with the PKI.

By the end of the decade, Surabaya had become an immensely important site for Sukarno who had a strong support base there and throughout East Java. The president was born and spent his early years in Surabaya. During his frequent visits to the city he would invoke the people’s heroism, refer to himself as a native son, and lapse into the Surabaya dialect of Javanese, much to the delight of the throngs of supporters at his orations. Acknowledging Surabaya’s importance as a PKI base, Sukarno hosted leading international communist figures there, making the city a

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<sup>158</sup> Dick, *Surabaya, City of Work*, 99-100.

<sup>159</sup> Fealy and McGregor, “East Java and the Role of Nahdlatul Ulama,” in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 110.

key stopping point, along with Jakarta and Bali, on dignitaries' state visits to Indonesia.<sup>160</sup>



**Figure 1.4.** Ho Chi Minh visits Surabaya, 5 March 1959. Courtesy East Java Provincial Archives via Surabaya Municipal Archive.

For example, the President brought Ho Chi Minh to Surabaya on 5 March 1959 (Fig. 1.4). In a particularly playful mood during this visit, Sukarno emphasized his solidarity with his audience: “I’ve been worried whether there are any among you saying: Why is Bung Karno

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<sup>160</sup> Sukarno did the same in frequent trips to Bali during this same period. See Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise*, 184-85.

going back and forth, back and forth to Surabaya? In February [he], came to Surabaya, now he's here again. Well, I am an *arek Suroboyo* and now I've come, together with *Paman* (Uncle) Ho, to speak to all of you.”<sup>161</sup> The Indonesian leader then returned to the city with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev on 22 February 1960. “From Sukarno's point of view,” Howard Jones has written, “Khrushchev's visit was a great occasion – the first time the head of state of one of the great world powers had visited the new nation.”<sup>162</sup>

Although it had the support of the president, the PKI nonetheless faced opposition from Surabaya's other dominant political parties. Despite having smaller membership bases in the municipality, the NU and PNI aimed to be just as aggressive and active in local politics. Like the PKI, each festooned the city with its own banners and slogans, staged various public meetings (*rapat umum*), and celebrated its respective organizations' yearly anniversaries with large ceremonies boasting huge turnouts.<sup>163</sup>

While the NU, a party of conservative, traditionalist, and Sufi-influenced Javanese Muslims, stood in complete opposition to the PKI, the PNI proved to be a more Janus-faced rival. While its conservative faction viewed the PKI as its strongest political enemy, its left-nationalist faction had a history of collaboration with the party that dated to the 1950s. These collaborations ranged from attacks on the Army's labor federation, SOKSI, and joint PKI-PNI

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<sup>161</sup> “Pidato Presiden Soekarno pada rapat raksasa kedatangan Presiden Ho Chi Minh di Surabaya,” 5 March 1959. Badan Perpustakaan dan Kearsipan Jawa Timur on-line archive, <http://bapersip.jatimprov.go.id>. Accessed 24 July 2012.

<sup>162</sup> Jones, *Indonesia*, 334.

<sup>163</sup> For instance, Tambaksari Stadium was reportedly “flooded” with Communist Party members and affiliates attending the Surabaya PKI's 45<sup>th</sup> anniversary commemoration on 30 May 1965. This event was subsequently followed on 5 July by an equally enthusiastic, if numerically smaller, turn-out for the PNI's thirty-eighth anniversary, in which Pemuda Marhaenists from across East Java similarly “flooded” the field surrounding Tugu Pahlawan. See “Rapat Umum PKI Membandjir,” *Surabaja Post*, 31 Mei 1965, II and “Rapat Raksasa HUT PNI,” *Surabaja Post*, 5 July 1965, II.

labor union seizures of American and British enterprises, to coalitions aimed at destabilizing right-wing elements in universities, the government, and the media.<sup>164</sup> Yet, as the left wing of the PNI grew during the early-to-mid-1960s, it too began to view the PKI as a rival.

The right-wing of the East Java PNI was supported by the region's longstanding Javanese bureaucratic elites (*priyayi*) and was particularly popular among non-communist students and professionals. Its membership was also buoyed by the fact that many considered the PNI to be "Sukarno's Party."<sup>165</sup> Despite the PNI's popularity in these circles, it struggled to match PKI influence among workers and peasants. One weakness was that the elite membership of the PNI in Surabaya failed to prioritize programs for its cadres and leaders to "go down" to the masses (*turun ke bawa* or '*turba*') to the extent that the PKI did.

Writing on the PKI-PNI relationship, Jose Eliseo Rocamora notes, "The PKI was, all at once, villain and hero, enemy and sage—to be feared yet also to be emulated. It was seen as a threat to PNI interests and, at the same time, an ally against common enemies."<sup>166</sup> R. Djoko Soemadijo, a leader of the PNI's university student organization, GMNI (Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia, Indonesian National Student Movement), and a student in the UNAIR Faculty of Law, was among those who often worked alongside, but remained ideologically opposed to, the PKI.<sup>167</sup> Djoko viewed the PNI's political conflict with the PKI as a revolutionary

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<sup>164</sup> Rocamora, "Nationalism in Search of Ideology," 14.

<sup>165</sup> The Party was embraced in Bali for the same reason. See Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise*, 206.

<sup>166</sup> Rocamora, "Nationalism in Search of Ideology," 511.

<sup>167</sup> Djoko was also among the founders of the "Mahasurya" a semi-militant student organization established in 1963 to recruit *Konfrontasi* volunteers. Supported by a government decree passed the same year allowing the formation of student regiments, Mahasurya training was sanctioned by Panglima Basuki Rachmat and occurred under the supervision of the Surabaya-based Indonesian Navy and the Army's Surabaya District Commander, Lt. Col. Soekotjo. See "Sejarah Resimen Komando Mahasiswa Mahasurya," Website Komando Resimen Mahasiswa (MENWA), Mahasurya, Jawa Timur, [www.komenwasurya.or.id/sejarah-3/](http://www.komenwasurya.or.id/sejarah-3/). Accessed 9 October 2012.



competition (*kompetisi revolusioner*), a rivalry that compelled each side to demonstrate to the other that they had the potential to be more radical than their competitors. This sense of competition, he states, prompted him and other PNI activists to show their opposition to the communists as well as the politicians affiliated with them. As Djoko states, “taking on the PKI as our rivals... meant that we had to take on Moerachman as well.”<sup>168</sup>

Political clashes also arose over land reform legislation. The PKI campaign in Bali and Central and East Java occurred in response to delays in carrying out the implementation of the 1959 Crop Sharing Law and the 1960 Basic Agrarian Law, legislation that directed land owners to share their assets with landless peasants.<sup>169</sup> Tired of waiting for the government to put this legislation into action, between April and December 1964, the PKI urged peasants to take the initiative in implementing land reform, using the tactic of unilateral land seizures (*aksi sepihak*). The plan to accomplish the redistribution of land in private ownership to the landless peasantry was led by the PKI-affiliated Indonesian Peasants’ League (Barisan Tani Indonesia or BTI). This break with the Party’s “united front” strategy, Mortimer argues, signaled that the PKI was preparing for “a struggle based on class cleavages.”<sup>170</sup> In East Java, PKI *aksi sepihak* advocacy was violently resisted by the NU, as many of its members were village landlords. Falling far short of the PKI’s efforts as well as the Islamic parties’ popularity in the province, the PNI struggle to find a foothold among the workers and peasants was not helped by the fact that it was late, and in many cases, strongly opposed to land-reform. Unlike the PKI, which began its

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<sup>168</sup> Interview with H.R. Djoko Soemadijo, Surabaya, 22 May 2012.

<sup>169</sup> For more details on the land reform laws and the PKI’s response, see Chapter Two of Rex Mortimer, *The Indonesian Communist Party and Land Reform, 1959-1965* (Clayton, Victoria: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1972). For Land reform conflicts in Bali, see Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise*, Chapter 10.

<sup>170</sup> Rex Mortimer, “Class, Social Cleavage and Indonesian Communism,” *Indonesia* 8 (October, 1969): 18.

campaign with the land reform act of 1960, the PNI's national leadership did not initiate its organizing to rural areas until 1964.<sup>171</sup>

While the most extreme land reform conflict unfolded further afield in East Java, land reform disputes touched Greater Surabaya as well.<sup>172</sup> Some of the BTI's most active Surabaya-area *aksi sepihak* land seizure campaigns occurred in the *kecamatan* (district) of Tandes and the *kampung* of Petemon, both located in the western quadrant of greater Surabaya. In June 1964, the BTI branch in Tandes pressured the local land reform committee to immediately redistribute vacant land formerly owned by two residents to tenant farmers. Using the Guided Democracy process of *musyawarah* (consultative consensus), the Tandes BTI and land reform committee members met over several days but were unable to reach a compromise. Though they submitted a protest on the matter to the authorities, the BTI campaign to redistribute the land was unsuccessful.<sup>173</sup> Another land seizure attempt was waged in Kampung Petemon around the same time. There, over a hundred homes were rapidly constructed on vacant land. The BTI then asked Mayor Moerachman to transfer ownership of the land, formerly in the possession of one Tjan Siong Goh, to a manufacturing company by the name of Bagong Putra.<sup>174</sup> The mayor, however, had already received orders from Jakarta to control the proliferation of squatter settlements in the

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<sup>171</sup> Rocamora, "Nationalism in Search of Ideology," 526.

<sup>172</sup> In the countryside, where the NU reigned supreme, the PKI, though still formidable, held less power than in Surabaya. Consequently, several episodes of open violence sparked largely by issues related to political competition, economic disparities, and land reform sprung up in villages and towns such as Nganjuk, Jombang, and Kediri. In the latter two locales, political confrontations that had begun in the early 1960s between the NU and the PKI intensified in 1964-65 as violent clashes broke out between the respective parties' workers' and peasants' organizations and between the Pemuda Rakyat and Ansor. Hermawan Sulisty, "The Forgotten Years," Ph.D. diss., University of Arizona, 1997, 149-55.

<sup>173</sup> Aminuddin Kasdi, *Kaum Merah Menjarah: Aksi Sepihak PKI/BTI di Jawa Timur 1960-1965*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Surabaya: Yayasan Kajian Citra Bangsa, 2009), 110.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*

city. As he explained in a press release, the razing of illegal structures (*pembongkaran bangunan liar*) would soon take place in the interest of “prioritizing Surabaya’s importance... over the importance of individuals’ personal needs.”<sup>175</sup> In mid-April, Surabaya KODIM Commander, Lieutenant Colonel Soekotjo oversaw operations that resulted in the razing of 400 homes in Girilaya, and nearly 100 illegal structures in the Wonokromo area.<sup>176</sup>

The Petemon incident illuminates a major but little examined campaign in which the PKI encouraged itinerant migrants to move into the city and lay claim to vacant or public space, an action known by its Dutch name, *wild grond occupatie*.<sup>177</sup> Because of the post-war influx of people into the city, by the early 1960s there was almost no unoccupied land remaining within the municipal boundaries.<sup>178</sup> But the PKI remained committed to this campaign making good on their promise during the 1957-58 regional elections to “fight for the immediate legalization of houses built by squatters on disputed land.”<sup>179</sup> When PKI Chairman Aidit visited East Java from April to May 1964, he employed 134 research assistants to help determine how party organizers could further reach Surabaya’s poor, which the PKI judged as being from fifteen to twenty-five percent of the city’s population.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> “Walikota Surabaya: Pada saatnja semua bangunan liar tentu akan dibongkar,” *Surabaya Post*, 2 April 1964, II.

<sup>176</sup> “Komandan KODIM 0830: Bangunan2 liar tetap dibongkar sesuai dng planning pantja-tunggal,” *Surabaya Post*, 18 April 1964, I.

<sup>177</sup> For more on squatters see Dick, *Surabaya, City of Work*, 367-71.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, 373. The additional surge in population was a motivating factor behind city leaders’ successful April 1965 campaign to increase the municipal boundaries.

<sup>179</sup> Hindley, *The Communist Party of Indonesia*, 157.

<sup>180</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, “Political Notes: Surabaya Consular District July 29 to August 9, 1964” 12 August 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66, Political and Development file, Box 2307, NACP.

This political friction provided the backdrop for the grass-roots anti-U.S. movement that occurred between 1963 and 1965. That campaign was waged by a range of political groups and had the support of municipal and national leaders. In the still palpable heat of the moment following Sukarno's 1964 "Year of Living Dangerously" speech, the event with which this chapter began, Consul Allan McLean, offered the following severe and pessimistic assessment:

...[S]ince Sukarno's August 17<sup>th</sup> speech, there has been a crescendo of denunciations of the U.S. and rapid criticism of its policy in South East Asia, attacks against USIS, and threats to freeze the operation of the latter as well as activities of American businesses throughout the country... Although it is difficult to assess exactly the true reactions of East Javanese, they are like sheep and, regardless of inherent goodwill, will undoubtedly follow the Sukarno line out of sheer opportunism or the need to survive. Consequently we foresee a turning point in our relations... officially and otherwise, and can only surmise that they will grow worse before they grow better.<sup>181</sup>

Within a year of Consul McLean's airgram to the Department of State, tensions in Surabaya reached a fever pitch. If he was correct in predicting a deterioration in relations, McLean was quite mistaken in his analysis of the reasons for it. Indeed, the *arek Suroboyo* were hardly sheep-like when it came to political participation and mobilization. Participants in the anti-U.S. movement were globally-engaged activists who sought both to demonstrate their anger at the United States and to engage in political competition with their respective rivals. These dimensions of political life in Surabaya, and not mere opportunism, led to a series of increasingly explosive actions aimed at American commercial and diplomatic institutions. As U.S. officials suspected, these acts received the central government's blessing and Sukarno's endorsement.<sup>182</sup> This was the context in which anti-Americanism in Surabaya accelerated between 1963 and 1965.

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<sup>181</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, 25 August 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66, Political and Development file, Box 2307, NACP.

<sup>182</sup> Jones, *Indonesia*, 326.

## CHAPTER TWO

### **“Yankee Go to Hell!”: Anti-Americanism Surges in Surabaya**

In late September 1965, Paul F. Gardner, a junior political officer at the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, drafted a report at the request of the post's senior staff. Across six chronological tables, he listed the “key events, acts, and documents affecting U.S.-Indonesian relations from August 17, 1964 to September 15, 1965.” Transmitted on 2 October as a confidential cable to the Department of State, the document chronicled at least twenty-nine separate demonstrations at U.S. Foreign Service posts in Indonesia between these dates. Eight of these demonstrations took place at the Surabaya Consulate and USIS library.<sup>1</sup>

Depictions of U.S.-Indonesian relations during the first half of the 1960s have been dominated by scholars and American Foreign Service officers who, in their writings on this topic, have treated the acceleration of the nation-wide anti-Americanism at this time as an aside rather than as a focal point. This lack of historical inquiry has left major gaps in our knowledge of this subject and time period. There has been little perspective on the anti-U.S. movement beyond the point of view of the era's American diplomatic community in Indonesia. Moreover, almost nothing has been written about events in Surabaya, either describing the overall movement or the demonstrations at U.S. institutions of this period in any depth.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Of the remainder of the demonstrations, fifteen occurred at the embassy and six took place at the U.S. Consulate in Medan. See airgram, JKT to DOS, “Tables of Events Adversely Affecting Indonesian-American Relations,” 2 October 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66, Political and Defense file, Box 2328, NACP. USIS libraries were the branch offices of the United States Information Agency, the public diplomacy arm of the U.S. Foreign Service. The libraries provided reading materials and offered film screenings and other programs to their host communities. They were also vital centers of the distribution of U.S. Cold War propaganda.

<sup>2</sup> Among analyses addressing the subject, Bunnell provides the greatest amount of detail, although not on the protests and demonstrations themselves. Rather, he focuses on the final protest of September 1965 at the American

By arguing for recognition of the importance of the anti-U.S. movement in Indonesia, I offer a new perspective from which to approach the Cold War U.S.-Indonesian relationship and superpower-smaller power relations of this era more broadly. This chapter traces the movement in Surabaya from its emergence in the early 1960s to its resurgence and intensification following Sukarno's pivotal 17 August 1964 "Year of Living Dangerously" Independence Day address. U.S. officials' perception of the protests and demonstrations at their diplomatic and commercial institutions is indeed important to understand, for the way that they interpreted the anti-U.S. movement influenced their political intervention in East Java during the Cold War years. However, theirs is but one side of a larger story. Counterbalancing the U.S. point of view by examining the Indonesian street-level politics that drove the anti-U.S. movement in Surabaya complicates our understanding of the anti-Americanism of this historical period. It expands what we know about local politics in Surabaya. It also illuminates the actions of non-state actors in what scholars have typically judged to be a minor locale despite abundant archival evidence which shows that U.S. officials in Indonesia themselves recognized Surabaya as a crucial Cold War theater in Southeast Asia.

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Consulate in Surabaya, describing its impact upon U.S. foreign policy approaches to Indonesia in the weeks before the abortive 1 October coup, which changed the direction of Indonesian politics. Howard Dick mentions the 1964-65 Surabaya-based protests and demonstrations in passing while Harold Crouch alludes to but does not explicitly detail any of the events which occurred in Surabaya. Bradley Simpson writes only that demonstrations against the United States, in which events in Surabaya are included, "continued, as they had nearly every day since" the late July 1965 arrival of Ambassador Marshall Green to Indonesia. Rex Mortimer, in detailing the PKI movement against American imperialism does not specifically mention the demonstrations and protests in Surabaya. Retired U.S. Foreign Service officer, Paul F. Gardner restricts the scant space he devotes to the 1964-65 demonstrations to events in Jakarta. U.S. Ambassador Marshall Green provides more details on the Surabaya demonstrations but, as can be expected, presents a less than objective account. See Bunnell, "American 'Low Posture' Policy," 55-57, Dick, *Surabaya, City of Work*, 103-104, Crouch, *Army*, 63, Simpson, *Economists*, 169, Mortimer, *Indonesian Communism*, 243-44, Gardner, *Shared Hopes, Separate Fears*, 187-192, and Green, *Indonesia*, Chapter 4.

## Global and Local Contexts of Anti-Americanism in Surabaya

The anti-U.S. movement in Surabaya was part of a global movement of anti-Americanism that came to a head in the early-to-mid 1960s. A 1973 study examining anti-U.S. “demonstrations, riots and terrorist attacks” occurring between 1956 and 1965 in sixty-eight countries across the world found that Indonesia had the second highest total of anti-American events during this period.<sup>3</sup> As depicted in a chronicle of anti-U.S. actions that appeared in a March 1965 edition of *LIFE* magazine, attacks on the consulates, embassies, and USIS libraries surged during 1964 and 1965. In addition to Jakarta and Surabaya, these incursions occurred in such far-flung places as Bolivia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, the USSR, Sudan, and Venezuela. Most incidents involved the tearing down of American flags, the smashing of windows, and destruction of other U.S. government property.<sup>4</sup> The economic, political, military, and cultural presence and intervention of the United States in these countries was one factor behind the attacks on American facilities. The attacks also increasingly became reactions to the escalation of U.S. military engagement in Vietnam. Solidarity with the civil rights movement in the United States also motivated global anti-Americanism during this time.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Drawing data from publications that included the *New York Times Index* and *Newsyear*, the study cited nineteen reported anti-American events for Indonesia, second only to Japan’s thirty-seven reported events. The next closest country was Bolivia with nine reported episodes of anti-Americanism. See Table 1 in Chong-Soo Tai, Erick J. Peterson, and Ted Robert Gurr, “Internal versus External Sources of Anti-Americanism: Two Comparative Studies,” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 17, No. 3 (Sept., 1973): 463. While the study’s total for Indonesia does not fully represent the scope and scale of the anti-U.S. movement there, it nonetheless provides a good sense of where Indonesia falls in the anti-Americanism that swept the globe during these years. Although she does not explicitly explore the anti-U.S. movement, historian Katharine McGregor has most recently shown that Indonesians were engaged actors on the world stage. Her work details how members of the PKI’s women’s organization, Gerwani, situated themselves within the global movement against imperialism during the 1950s and 1960s. See Katharine McGregor, “The Cold War and Transnational Links: Indonesian Women and the Global Anti-Imperialist Movement, 1949-1966,” in Pieper Mooney and Lanza, *De-Centering Cold War History: Local and Global Change*, 31-51.

<sup>4</sup> “U.S. Embassies are Under Siege,” *LIFE*, Vol. 15 No. 11, 19 March 1965, 38-38B.

<sup>5</sup> For an analysis of the Cold War-civil rights connection, which includes a discussion of growing awareness of racial inequality in the U.S. in various world regions during the 1950s and 1960s, see John David Skrentny, “The

Politically-active Indonesians approached demonstrations at U.S. institutions as a way to draw attention to and oppose displays of U.S. imperialism in their homeland and across the world. In Surabaya, anti-U.S. demonstrations reflected anger over CIA operations in Indonesia, U.S. support for the formation of Malaysia, and U.S. military involvement in Vietnam and other countries. Activists who participated in the demonstrations were also very attuned to discrimination against black Americans as well as larger issues of inequality and racial unrest within the United States. Factors that created the conditions for the movement's acceleration included an increasingly hostile local press, grassroots boycotts, and shifts in the civilian and military leadership that either favored, or were otherwise unable to counteract, demonstrators' objectives to oust U.S. officials from the region.

Beyond youth anger, anti-Americanism in Surabaya must also be recognized as a product of Guided Democracy (1958-1966), a period in which the suspension of elections meant that party maneuvering played out through the politics of the street. Indeed, the anti-U.S. movement was part of an array of other conflicts. At the height of the unrest in 1964 and 1965, these included clashes over land and contestation between trade unions in rural, urban, and peri-urban areas around Surabaya and further afield in East Java. Political parties also clashed over leadership in the province and its capital, calling for the "retooling" of leaders with whom they stood in respective political opposition, from the right-wing governor to the left-wing mayor.<sup>6</sup> There was discord between and within branches of the military as well. One example of this disharmony was a March 1965 revolt at the Surabaya naval base. Seven hundred "progressive

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Effect of the Cold War on African-American Civil Rights: America and the World Audience, 1945-1968," *Theory and Society* 27, no. 2 (April, 1998): 237-85.

<sup>6</sup> The term "retooling" was a euphemism used under Sukarno for the demotion or removal from one's position or office.



revolutionary” junior officers staged a strike to protest the leadership of the staunchly right-wing, anti-communist navy commander, a close Army ally.<sup>7</sup>

In this atmosphere, East Java’s two dominant secular parties initially sounded the loudest denunciations against all things American. The PKI and the left-wing faction of the PNI had been critical of the United States as early as the 1950s. At that time, PKI chairman D.N. Aidit, recognizing the obligations attached to U.S. support for Indonesian sovereignty, began to warn against U.S. imperialism in the forms of economic aid, political interference, and cultural influence.<sup>8</sup> Concurrently, the foreign relations agenda of the PNI’s left wing opposed Indonesia’s inclusion in the U.S.-led Western bloc and aimed to promote better relations with communist countries.<sup>9</sup> However, due to the need for U.S. economic assistance and diplomatic support in the Indonesian-Dutch conflict over the province of West Irian among other areas, elites in the PNI and other political parties were largely unreceptive to such radical nationalist positions. By 1962, upon the successful conclusion of the West Irian campaign and especially once *Konfrontasi*, the crusade against Malaysia, ramped up in the following years, the parties found a more responsive audience. It was at this stage that the PKI, in a dramatic escalation of its antagonism toward the West, began to publicly pronounce that the United States was Indonesia’s most dangerous enemy.<sup>10</sup>

By promoting its cadres’ participation in the anti-U.S. movement, the PKI established an ideal channel to hone the intensified militancy the party had already begun to cultivate as part of

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<sup>7</sup> Crouch, *Army*, 84-85.

<sup>8</sup> Mortimer, *Indonesian Communism*, 147.

<sup>9</sup> Rocamora, “Nationalism in Search of Ideology,” 569.

<sup>10</sup> Mortimer, *Indonesian Communism*, 198.

*Konfrontasi*. It thus found a way to continue to mobilize its supporters without incurring repression from its bitterest right-wing rival, the officer corps of the Army's East Java Brawijaya Division.<sup>11</sup> The 1964-65 escalation of anti-Americanism in Surabaya posed a significant problem for the United States' closest allies among the Division's senior leadership. These leaders were reluctant to move against displays of anti-Americanism in Surabaya because the protests were often framed by the Left as extensions of the *Konfrontasi* movement. To take a contrary stance would be to imply that the Division was somehow opposed to the cause for which the government considered all Indonesians' support mandatory.<sup>12</sup> Brawijaya Commander Major General Basuki Rachmat, was, in fact, compelled to officially sanction many of the anti-U.S. demonstrations in his capacity as Chair of the National Front, the body that Sukarno had established in 1960 to mobilize all political parties and organizations to support his various national campaigns. His support for the demonstrations occurred in spite of the fact that he was an anti-communist who was sympathetic to the United States.

Though the PKI was a major driving force behind the National Front in Surabaya, and played a leading role in a number of anti-U.S. demonstrations, the party hardly operated alone or unopposed.<sup>13</sup> Accordingly, the demonstrations that occurred at American diplomatic and commercial institutions in Surabaya during the early-to-mid 1960s are best characterized not as a

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<sup>11</sup> Crouch, *Army*, 63.

<sup>12</sup> Indeed, as Harold Crouch has concluded, many Army leaders welcomed *Konfrontasi*, viewing it as a crisis that would "justify the continued central role of the army in politics and administration and might even permit a return to martial law," a condition that would help them undercut the PKI's rapid advance. See *ibid.*, 59.

<sup>13</sup> The composition of groups protesting at the U.S. Consulate in Medan was different. There, the PKI does appear to have led the anti-U.S. movement with the Party's youth front, the Pemuda Rakyat, often at the vanguard of the demonstrations, according to then-consul Ted Heavner. See interview of Theodore J.C. Heavner by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 28 May 1997. Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection, ADST. Accessed 9 August 2013.

PKI project, but as a project of the Front.<sup>14</sup> That different groups played leadership roles over the course of the movement in East Java disrupts the prevailing notion that anti-Americanism in Indonesia should be interpreted as simply “PKI-led.”<sup>15</sup> Such a broad framing is inherently problematic. Not only does an emphasis on the PKI as the sole or dominant perpetrator of attacks against American institutions conceal other groups’ participation in the anti-U.S. movement, it also fails to account for change over time regarding how, when, and why these groups participated.

While initial protests of the 1960s were PKI responses to the Cuban Missile Crisis, following the “Year of Living Dangerously” speech, Sukarno’s adherents in the left-wing of the PNI began to play a major organizational role in the anti-U.S. movement in Surabaya. Waging anti-U.S. protests and demonstrations thus became a significant way for this wing of the PNI to demonstrate that its cadres were just as radical as their communist counterparts. Muslim groups carried out one major demonstration during the movement as well, a September 1965 protest of U.S. support for India in its war with Pakistan. They also joined the PKI and PNI in various boycotts organized during this time.

When the participation of non-communist groups in the anti-U.S. movement in Indonesia is discussed in the literature at all, it is commonly interpreted as being the result of intimidation by the larger, stronger, PKI. Some have argued that non-communist participants, except perhaps the left-wing PNI, went along with the anti-U.S. demonstrations only out of fear of the

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<sup>14</sup> Dick erroneously refers to the National Front as “the Communist Nationalist Front.” Although the Front’s members and leadership included Communist Party cadres, as above, the PKI was part of the Front, not the other way around. Dick *Surabaya, City of Work*, 103.

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, the respective descriptions Harold Crouch and Bradley Simpson have made of “PKI-led demonstrations” and “PKI-led protests” in Crouch, *Army*, 63 and Simpson, *Economists*, 169.

consequences of being labeled counter-revolutionaries.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, in certain circumstances and for certain people such fears appear to account for their participation in the movement.<sup>17</sup> However, in considering developments of this era in Surabaya, I find limited support for such a sweeping depiction. It is simply untenable to suggest that non-communist participants joined the demonstrations merely because they were forced to do so. Secular and religious political parties and organizations on the Left and the Right approached the anti-U.S. movement of the early-to-mid-1960s as a means to assert their own authority, contest the authority of their rivals, and solidify political alliances. In many respects, the intensification of the anti-U.S. movement in Surabaya was a manifestation of the growing schism between Indonesia's major parties at a moment when the political momentum of the Left was on the rise. The movement, moreover, reflected more than merely strategic political calculations. It grew out of the genuine concerns and positions of a wide range of parties.

### **Anti-Americanism Ascendant**

The first major street-level demonstration of anti-U.S. sentiment in Surabaya can be traced to the PKI's political mobilization of its constituency in late 1962. What occurred laid the foundation for the movement's intensification in 1964-65. On 8 November 1962, the PKI sponsored a dockworkers' boycott of U.S. ships and a series of demonstrations at several U.S. government facilities in protest against the U.S. military blockade against Cuba.<sup>18</sup> One group of

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<sup>16</sup> See, for instance, Gardner, *Shared Hopes, Separate Fears*, 190.

<sup>17</sup> This point is explored more thoroughly in my discussion of the Surabaya consulate's anti-communist Indonesian collaborators in the chapters that follow.

<sup>18</sup> Mortimer, *Indonesian Communism*, 200.

demonstrators gathered at the USIS library on 23 Jalan Pemuda. Two other groups congregated several blocks to the south in Surabaya's well-heeled Darmo neighborhood where they assembled in front of the consul's residence and at the nearby consulate building on 33 Jalan Raya dr. Soetomo. While the demonstrations at the USIS library and the consul's residence appear to have been orderly, the gathering at the consulate was not. The protesters there, according to a consulate report, "pasted posters, destroyed a number of articles in the consulate, and smeared the walls with slogans."<sup>19</sup>

Municipal authorities responded forcefully. The Surabaya prosecutor's office accused ten people of having committed six kinds of violations of law in the course of the consulate demonstration. The charges included unlawful assembly and the destruction of U.S. government property.<sup>20</sup> However, it gradually became apparent that further judicial action would not be forthcoming. After numerous postponements of the case over the next two years, a period in which the PKI dominated municipal politics, it appears that none of the defendants actually stood trial.

By 1963, U.S. government property and personnel became subject to periodic brushes with angry youths, even when away from the consulate and USIS grounds. Sometime after President Kennedy's assassination, as he recalls it, Soekaryono, an Indonesian USIS employee, experienced an unpleasant incident on the streets of Surabaya when he made a stop while running errands in the USIS director's Rambler sedan. As the driver pulled up to the curb a group approached. Having noticed the 'CC' on the license plate that designated the car as a

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<sup>19</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, "Persons Involved in November 8 Communist-Inspired Demonstration at Consulate, Consul's House, and USIS and in GAS Affair go on Trial," 1 March 1963. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1963 Politics file, Box 3938, NACP.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

consulate vehicle, the individuals whom Soekaryono claims were “PKI sympathizers” pounded and kicked at the Rambler, shouting “American dogs!” (*anjing Amerika!*) at Soekaryono and the driver. Though not injured, the young USIS administrative officer was left shaken by the experience.<sup>21</sup> As he would later write in a brief autobiography detailing his career as a U.S. Foreign Service National (FSN) in Surabaya, such episodes occurred repeatedly over the next two years.<sup>22</sup>

Shortly after six o’clock on the evening of 6 September 1963, anti-U.S actions at American diplomatic institutions resumed, this time with the participation of affiliates and members of rival political parties uniting with the PKI under the umbrellas of the Youth and National Fronts. As a consulate staffer reported, “communist” youth and student groups (that, as the officer eventually conceded in his write-up, included a number of non-communist leftist organizations such as the PNI’s Pemuda Demokrat), gathered in front of the consulate. It should be briefly noted at this juncture that while demonstrations such as this were largely a project of the young, the concept of ‘youth’ was loosely defined. For instance, as Soepomo, a 1960s-era PNI Pemuda Marhaen leader has said of his organization’s membership criteria, “whoever had the spirit of youth (*semangat pemuda*) was welcome to join us.”<sup>23</sup> Therefore, as during the Indonesian National Revolution of 1945-49, participants in this newer struggle against Western imperialism often included people in their thirties and forties.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Interview with Soekaryono, 6 June 2012, Surabaya.

<sup>22</sup> Soekaryono, “Autobiographies of an FSN Soekaryono Muslimin who joined USIS March 19, 1963 and Worked for the AmConGen until End of June 1997,” unpublished document, 2010, 3-4.

<sup>23</sup> Interview with Soepomo, 13 February 2010, Surabaya.

<sup>24</sup> During the revolution, and due considerably to Japanese influence, the term *pemuda* shifted to encompass not only young, urban intellectuals, but rural youth of various educational levels, while the appellation of youth itself began to characterize a certain identifiable revolutionary spirit over numerical age in many circumstances. Benedict

The 6 September demonstration, authorized by the Surabaya police chief as well as the East Java governor, was held to protest U.S. support to South Vietnam and racial discrimination in the United States, specifically, the “terrorism, persecution, arrest and torture of American negroes.”<sup>25</sup> Because Youth Front representatives had informed the consulate and police in advance that they planned a demonstration for that evening a large uniformed and plainclothes security contingent was on hand when the crowd arrived. Emerging from the midst of approximately one thousand demonstrators, representatives from the nine organizations whose members had gathered outside were granted entry to the building where they were received by Consul Robert S. Black.<sup>26</sup> Once assembled in the consulate’s reception room, the youth leaders, of whom a majority were teenage girls, delivered their oral and written protest against “the cruelty and barbarism of the American imperialists” before dispersing with their respective followers. In his summary of the demonstration to the Department of State, Black offered a prescient conclusion: “Since this type of demonstration, [the] first of its kind at [the] Consulate in several years, has [the] blessing of [the] Surabaya police chief, more of the same can be expected.”<sup>27</sup>

As Consul Black correctly predicted, over the next several months a series of other protests followed. Among the issues upon which these protests centered were derogatory that

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Anderson, in his work on the Indonesian National Revolution has referred to this revolutionary spirit as the “pemuda consciousness.” See Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution: Occupation and Resistance*, xiii and see also Frederick, *Visions and Heat*, 151-52.

<sup>25</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, “Communist Youth/Student Groups Protest to Consulate US Support to South Vietnam and US Discrimination against Negroes,” 10 September 1963. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1963 Politics file, Box 3938, NACP.

<sup>26</sup> Black had been appointed as U.S. Consul in Surabaya on Christmas Eve 1960.

<sup>27</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, 10 September 1963. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1963 Politics file, Box 3938, NACP.

U.S. political figures had made about Sukarno. On 30 November Black received a seventeen-member National Front and Youth Front delegation, this time unaccompanied by followers. Led by a member of the NU, the delegation also included representatives from that party. Representatives of the PKI and the Partindo (Partai Indonesia, Indonesian Party) constituted a majority of the group. Delegates affiliated with the PNI and the Pelajar Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Students of Islam or PII) were present as well. Orally and in writing the delegation delivered its objections against remarks made by two U.S. senators regarding Sukarno.<sup>28</sup> The NU spokesperson also conveyed condolences on the recent passing of President Kennedy; upon their departure, the USIS director presented all with USIS literature and made a gift of a primer on communism to one of the youths who had noticed it in a consulate bookcase.<sup>29</sup>

Toward the end of 1963, demonstrators also organized protests against the expansion of the operational area of the U.S. Navy's 7<sup>th</sup> Fleet in the Indian Ocean, which Sukarno renamed the "Indonesian" Ocean as his relations soured with India and that nation's Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, whose approach to non-alignment diverged from Sukarno's own.<sup>30</sup> On this

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<sup>28</sup> The senators in question were Wayne Morse and Peter H. Dominick; their remarks were not duplicated by Consul Black in his reporting on the incident. However, a Connecticut newspaper's profile of the blustery Morse's vote against the passage of the Foreign Relation Committee's 1963 Foreign Aid Authorization bill indicates that the Senator had, in the context of Committee proceedings on the bill, referred to Sukarno as "corrupt." As Ambassador Howard Jones has written, in Morse's attack on the Committee's approval to continue with aid disbursements, during the summer of 1963 the senator had additionally referred to Indonesia as a "rat hole" and Sukarno as a "tyrant." See Mary McGrory, "Foreign Aid Wanes, But Wayne's Star Waxes," *The Morning Record*, 21 November 1963 and Jones, *Indonesia*, 324. Sen. Dominick, it would seem, made comments that the delegation to the consulate found similarly unpalatable.

<sup>29</sup> Telegram, SUB (Black) to DOS, 30 November 1963. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1963 Politics file, Box 3938, NACP.

<sup>30</sup> A rift in the relationship between the two nations had begun to form in the years following the 1955 Bandung Conference when India's position toward non-alignment proved not as radical as Sukarno's own stance. It then widened over an incident at the 1962 Asian Games in which Indonesia, as host, rescinded Taiwan and Israel's invitations under pressure from China and the Arab states. Indian International Olympic Committee officials' criticism of such politicization of the Games turned into a volley of verbal attacks passed between India and Indonesia. The end result of the international incident thus created by the Asian Games fracas was a ban on



matter, in late December 1963, the consulate received two written protests, the first by mail and the second by hand, respectively from the youth wings of the Partindo and PKI.<sup>31</sup> At issue was the view that the expansion signaled a U.S. threat to Indonesian sovereignty and to the *Konfrontasi* campaign against Malaysia.

Both of these issues drove a large demonstration at the consulate on 3 January 1964 (Fig. 2.1). As Mobile Brigade (Brimob) police with automatic weapons stood at the consulate's entrance, Black received thirty National Front delegates out of a crowd that was a few thousand strong.<sup>32</sup> Similar to prior demonstrations, the delegation inside the consulate read and presented a written version of their protest which was then broadcast by loudspeaker to those assembled outside. The statement (which was also sent to the British consulate in Surabaya) was signed by R. Damanhuri of the NU and Ruslan Kamaludin of the PKI, members of the executive board of the East Java National Front. Expressing shock and anger at the arrival of U.S. and British ships in Indonesian waters, the statement cited this development as "subversive activity and infiltration by the imperialists which undermines the freedom and sovereignty of the Indonesian people." The Front also declared its rejection of the proposed visit of U.S. Congressman Clement J.

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Indonesia's participation in the 1964 Tokyo Olympics and Sukarno's creation of the Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFU). Mortimer, *Indonesian Communism*, 195.

<sup>31</sup> Airgram, "Political and Military Notes: Surabaya Consular District: December 15-29, 1963," 3 January 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2306, NACP.

<sup>32</sup> A police representative reported to the skeptical consul that the crowd, in fact, numbered 100,000 persons. Telegram, SUB (Black) to DOS (Sec. State), 3 January 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2316, NACP. Though not explicitly mentioned in U.S. Foreign Service correspondence on the Surabaya demonstrations of this period, there likely were a number of hired protestors among the crowds that assembled at the Surabaya consulate and USIS. Ambassadors Howard Jones and Marshall Green have both mentioned the presence of such figures, who they respectively call "thugs" and "goons" in anti-U.S. demonstrations and protests of the early-to-mid-1960s in Jakarta. See, for example, Jones, *Indonesia*, 120 and Green, *Indonesia*, 24.

Zablocki due to his distinction as another “one of the U.S. senators [sic] who insulted our president.”<sup>33</sup>



**Figure 2.1.** Demonstration against the U.S. Navy’s 7<sup>th</sup> Fleet in front of the U.S. Consulate, Surabaya, 3 January 1964. Source: Enclosure Four, Airgram, SUB to DOS, “Mass Demonstration against Proposed Expansion of Seventh Fleet Operations,” 13 January 1964, Political & Development file, RG 59, Box 2316. NACP.

This demonstration would be the last to occur at the consulate during the tenure of the largely-popular Black, whose three-year term as consul was coming to a close.<sup>34</sup> As such, it would be a parting gift of sorts from the city’s radical youth, one that contrasted markedly with the mood at the official reception held in the departing consul’s honor at the end of January.

<sup>33</sup> The full text of the statement is included as an attachment in Airgram, SUB to DOS, “Mass Demonstration against Proposed Expansion of Seventh Fleet Operations,” 13 January 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2316, NACP. Zablocki, the Far East and Pacific Subcommittee Chair of the House foreign Affairs Committee had condemned Indonesian expansionism following his return from a two-week trip to Southeast Asia in October 1963. See Simpson, *Economists*, 124.

<sup>34</sup> List of Principal Officers, Surabaya, Indonesia. Historical Records of the U.S. Consulate General, Surabaya.

Attended by over 250 officials and area leaders including the wife of the governor, the Regional Military Commander, Major General Basuki Rachmat, and the East Java police chief, Police Brigadier General Walujo Soegondo, “the reception placed an official stamp of friendliness which the American community appreciated” in light of the recent demonstrations.<sup>35</sup>

Allan McLean, formerly U.S. Consul in Mexico, arrived in Surabaya shortly thereafter.<sup>36</sup> Many of the same dignitaries who had feted Black also turned out to welcome the consulate’s new primary officer at the 6 March buffet dinner arranged to introduce him to Surabaya society. McLean’s guests included many prominent right-wing figures. Among them were Governor Wijono and Major General Basuki Rachmat. Also present was Lieutenant Colonel R. Soekotjo, head of the Surabaya District Military Command (KODIM). However, not all who were invited attended the dinner. Absent were Surabaya’s recently-inducted mayor, Moerachman, and his predecessor, the new East Java Lieutenant Governor, Satrijo Sastrodiredjo, both of whom were aligned with the PKI. While Satrijo had sent his regrets, the mayor, as the consulate’s reporting officer, Jacob Walkin, sniffed in his summary of the event, “did not bother to do so.”<sup>37</sup>

Although the most intense demonstrations of McLean’s tenure did not occur until after Sukarno’s August 1964 “Year of Living Dangerously” Independence Day address, one episode prior to this turning point signaled the approaching storm. At seven o’clock in the evening on 28 May, just prior to the USIS library’s opening for an event, a crowd of 150 people including

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<sup>35</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, “Political, Psychological and Military Notes: Surabaya Consular District, January 12-26, 1964,” 28 January 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2306, NACP.

<sup>36</sup> “Konsol AS ganti,” *Surabaja Post*, 24 January 1964, II.

<sup>37</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, “Political Notes: Surabaya Consular District, February 25-March 8, 1964” 9 March 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2307, NACP.

students from the Airlangga University Faculty of Law forced their way into the building. Rushing into the theaterette, which had been set up for a film screening, members of the crowd pushed over the movie projector and destroyed several reels of film, then ran outside where they were joined by several hundred others. As the swelling crowd sang “Crush Malaysia, Crush USIS,” a local employee forced his way into the building and telephoned the police. Upon their arrival the demonstrators quickly dispersed into the night. Though no group publicly took credit for the raid, consulate officers suspected that it had been planned by the *Consentrasi Gerakan Mahasiswa Indonesia (CGMI)*, a university student organization affiliated with the *PKI*.<sup>38</sup>

A National Front demonstration staged at the consulate on 10 August followed this dramatic turn of events. The resolution that delegates submitted to Consul McLean included condemnations of the recent Johnson-Tunku Communique on U.S. military assistance to Malaysia and of U.S. “barbarism” in Cambodia, Laos, North and South Vietnam, and Korea. Demands were made to expel the Peace Corps and USIS, for Ambassador Jones to be sent home, and for the withdrawal of ground troops from Vietnam. Although attended by a reported crowd of 1,000 people, consulate officials were happy, and perhaps more than a little relieved, that the mass gathering was both “relatively mild and orderly” in nature. “Every precaution was taken by police to provide...protection and to avoid incidents,” McLean noted in a report on the incident to the Department of State, after which he made the following comment: “Reliable information has it that, in the pre-demonstration meeting of the political groups, the *PKI* members stressed for stronger action, and for a demonstration against all American properties in Surabaya.

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<sup>38</sup> Telegram, JKT (Jones) to DOS (Sec. State), 28 May 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political Affairs & Relations file, Box 2327, NACP. Despite its strong affiliation with the *PKI*, having been born in 1956 from the fusion of several communist-led university student associations rather than established by the Communist Party directly, *CGMI* officially identified itself as a non-partisan (as well as non-religious) organization.

However, the more-moderate groups carried the day, and the demonstration was limited to the Consulate.”<sup>39</sup>

If the information that McLean received from his source regarding the tenor of the pre-demonstration meeting is accurate, it is illuminating. It highlights the fact that, as argued in this chapter, and illustrated in the various episodes above, the PKI did not act alone in organizing and staging the National Front protests at the consulate and USIS as is so often suggested in the literature. The so-called moderates said to have “carried the day” unfortunately remain unmentioned by name or political affiliation in McLean’s report. However, they would likely have included the PSI, the Catholic Party, and perhaps even the NU’s youth wing, Ansor. Of final significance, this anecdote reaffirms that despite its position as the most politically dominant party in Surabaya, the PKI did not act alone.

In a massive ramping up of street-level shows of force, by late 1964, anti-U.S. demonstrations and other actions would become a habitual occurrence in Surabaya. As the following section will show, demonstrators hoped that their campaigns against the consulate and USIS library, seen as symbols of American imperialism and generators of U.S. government propaganda, would ultimately force the facilities’ closure. To ensure this, the National Front began to adopt a considerably more hostile approach than in the earlier stage of the anti-U.S. movement described above.

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<sup>39</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, “Political Notes: Surabaja Consular District: July 29 – August 9, 1964,” 12 August 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2307, NACP.

## The Movement Expands

“An American official has said his government will take the Tunku’s charges [against Indonesia] seriously. We consider the accusations of the *arek Surobojo* to be serious too: *Yankee Go To Hell!*”<sup>40</sup>

This statement appeared in an anonymously-authored “Notes in Brief” column of the 10 September 1964 edition of the *Surabaya Post*. Published one day after a major protest at the U.S. Consulate, these two sentences offered a clearly articulated threat: because of their government’s position on Malaysia, Americans in East Java were about to face the wrath of a large and growing grassroots adversary.

As this section will detail, between 1964 and 1965, the anti-U.S. movement expanded beyond demonstrations on Surabaya’s streets. Anti-U.S. campaigns were waged by the press, local political figures, university students, and labor unions which variously supported or participated in boycotts and other actions against the U.S. presence in the province that affected the local economy, academic institutions, and American civilians in East Java.

The demonstrations staged at the consulate and USIS library between the Septembers of 1964 and 1965 ranged in scope and scale. Some followed trends described in the previous section in which small protests led by youth delegations delivered to U.S. officials memoranda outlining issues about which they were concerned. On multiple other occasions, large crowds marched for hours outside the consulate or USIS buildings, chanting slogans popularized by Sukarno such as “Amerika kita setrika, Inggris kita linggis!” (We’ll iron out America and flatten

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<sup>40</sup> “Tjatatan Ketjil,” *Surabaya Post*, 10 September 1964, I. The quote refers to the response of the Malaysian Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, to the landing of Indonesian guerillas in the Malay Peninsula.

England!).<sup>41</sup> Some demonstrations were highly-organized, orderly affairs. Others turned violent either as planned or once control over the large crowds slipped from the organizers' grasp. As in earlier demonstrations many of the anti-U.S. boycotts were not only the work of Communist Party cadre, but involved the participation of other groups, most notably the radical nationalist youth faction of the PNI.

A demonstration at the consulate on 9 September 1964 was the first major anti-U.S. action, outside of a continuing boycott of American films, to occur following Sukarno's "Year of Living Dangerously" speech. According to the consulate's report to the Department of State on this event, the demonstration was motivated in part by a 14 August Surabaya City Council resolution that called for the "freezing" of USIS activities. "The prime mover in this connection, the report claimed, was "the communist Mayor Moerachman and his youthful henchmen in [the PKI youth affiliate,] the Pemuda Rakyat." As the reporting officer, USIS Director James D. (Jim) McHale, noted, Sukarno's speech gave further momentum to the push against the USIS library: "taking their cue from [the resolution] and encouraged by the President's August 17 speech, the leftists [sic] groups in the Youth Front began to foment a movement during the week of August 28 which they hoped would result in a USIS-takeover and force ex post facto approval and legislation of the act by the East Java National Front and Panca Tunggal."<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Mass media coverage of the demonstrations routinely claimed that the protestors numbered in the hundreds of thousands. As Johnson administration advisor Ellsworth Bunker noted in assessing the PKI's strengths following his April 1965 envoy mission to Indonesia, the PKI enjoyed a "virtual control of the national press and radio." This might, accordingly, explain the inflation in numbers of demonstrators reported in journalists' accounts of the anti-U.S. demonstrations and protests. See Bunnell, "America's 'Low Posture' Policy," 41.

<sup>42</sup> Airgram, SBY to DOS, "Political, Psychological, and Military Notes, September 8-24, 1964," 24 September 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2307, NACP. The Panca Tunggal was a governing body established in 1964 that was comprised of provincial, regency, and city authorities. Appointees in a given region included the local governor, regent (*bupati*), or mayor, military commander, city prosecutor, police chief, and National Front leader.

As a confidential source informed the consulate, the planned take-over of USIS was not unanimously supported by the Youth or National Fronts because they could not verify whether such an action would be approved by the Indonesian government. While the leftists wanted to be aggressive, neutral and right-wing groups urged restraint. After a 4 September rejection of the proposal for a USIS take-over in a Youth Front executive session, a CGMI-allied splinter group approached a sympathetic segment of the National Front to obtain permission to carry out the take-over, presenting their plan as a *fait accompli* to the Front's chairman, Major General Basuki Rachmat.<sup>43</sup> It was at this point that the consulate approached Basuki for protection, seeking his assurances that he would do everything in his power as regional military commander and the Front's chair, to thwart the take-over attempt. The Brawijaya Commander assured the Americans that his own intelligence sources were keeping him abreast of developments, that he had warned the demonstrators of personal orders he had received from Sukarno to frustrate the take-over, and that he had every intention of following those orders in full. However, he stated that in order to assuage the protesters he was compelled to permit, and suggested that the consulate also accept, a "peaceful demonstration" from the Front.<sup>44</sup>

What happened next was anything but peaceful. The reported 15,000 youths, university students, laborers, and others who assembled on 9 September to once again express their anger at the Johnson-Tunku Communique and the 7th Fleet's "Indonesian" Ocean activities first headed to the USIS building on Jalan Pemuda. As reported in the newspaper *Pewartu Surabaya*, the

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.



protesters demanded that the library be shut down, calling it “a center for subversive activity in Indonesia.”<sup>45</sup>

Abundantly cautious following the 28 May flash raid on the USIS theaterette and having been forewarned by their sources of the impending demonstration, USIS staff took preventative measures to thwart the protesters’ plan to assemble at their facility; the crowd found the building shut tight in anticipation of their arrival. The demonstrators, changing tactics, then assembled in front of the consulate. Singing revolutionary songs and carrying signs emblazoned with the phrases “Yankee go home!”, “Down with America!”, and “Close down USIS!”, they demanded that all USIS activities cease within seven days and that the building be turned over to the National Front.<sup>46</sup>

After a delegation delivered their protest to Consul McLean, the crowd flooded onto the consulate grounds as police stood by. As the *Surabaya Post* coverage excitedly reported, “With surging enthusiasm the *arek Suroboyo* pulled down the U.S. flag in the courtyard and the United States’ coat of arms above the consulate front door then hoisted the *Merah Putih* [Indonesian flag].”<sup>47</sup> McLean, unsurprisingly, saw the same event through very different eyes. Far from viewing the demonstration as the triumphant expression of an impassioned public, as he cabled the Department of State on 11 September, the “wrath on [the] consulate... at one point caused

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<sup>45</sup> Airgram, JKT to DOS, “Press Reaction to Demonstration against Surabaya Consulate,” 16 September 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2316, NACP.

<sup>46</sup> “Demonstrasi tuntutan USIS Ditutup,” *Surabaya Post*, 10 September 1964, II.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

me serious concern [about a] possible invasion of [the] building, physical harm to staff, and wanton internal destruction.”<sup>48</sup>

In addition to his distress at the ugliness of the demonstration, McLean raised a further troubling concern: with the possible exception of the Brimob, the Surabaya police could no longer be considered a reliable security force. The level of violence to which the demonstration had escalated was, the consul believed, largely attributable to their inaction.<sup>49</sup> Clearly, any hopes he might have entertained that the installation of pro-Sukarno municipal and provincial chiefs of police earlier in 1964 would have minimal impact on the consulate’s relationship with local forces were now irreparably dashed.

The vehemence of the 9 September demonstration raised an additional issue. Namely that, as McLean emphasized in his telegram, both Governor Wijono and Brawijaya Commander Major General Basuki Rachmat were “facing a delicate situation” that would directly impact the U.S. diplomatic presence in Surabaya.<sup>50</sup> Though the governor and the regional military commander did not support the attacks on their American allies, their positions in the Panca Tunggal, and Basuki’s role as chairman of the East Java National Front, meant that they had little choice but to publicly back the Front’s demonstrations. As the two men had separately confided to the consul, they feared that they would not be able to forestall the demonstrators’ demand to close down the Surabaya branch of USIS for much longer.

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<sup>48</sup> Telegram, SUB (McLean) to DOS, 11 September 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2316, NACP.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Telegram, SUB (McLean) to DOS, 11 September 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2316, NACP.

Department of State notations on McLean's telegram of 11 September indicate that after an advance copy was submitted to the Secretary of State, at ten o'clock that night it was passed on to the White House.<sup>51</sup> If they did not already fully appreciate the developments at one of their most important diplomatic posts in Southeast Asia, American officials in Washington were rapidly becoming aware that things were escalating in Surabaya.

The "exceptional opportunity" of an intimate dinner with Sukarno in Jakarta on 12 September provided Howard Jones with a forum to express his own sense of urgency at the precipitous course of events in East Java's capital city.<sup>52</sup> Jones was cognizant of Surabaya's significance not only as a key U.S. diplomatic post, but also as a politically strategic site for the Indonesian President, who took pride in the level of radical nationalism as well as the PKI's growth there.<sup>53</sup> Seeing his chance to tactfully circumvent Foreign Minister Subandrio (of whom Jones was deeply distrustful) by making his case directly to the president, the ambassador raised the topic of the recent demonstration in Surabaya. He urged Sukarno to see the "vital issues at stake here, not only in terms [of] U.S.-Indo relations but in terms [of] [the Indonesian government's] ability to control [the] situation."<sup>54</sup> According to Jones' account, Sukarno directed orders to the commander of the Army, General Ahmad Yani, to prevent any further

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Telegram, JKT (Jones) to DOS, 13 September 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2313, NACP.

<sup>53</sup> Jones, *Indonesia*, 83.

<sup>54</sup> Telegram, JKT (Jones) to DOS, 13 September 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2313, NACP.

demonstrations from occurring at USIS Surabaya. By the evening's end, signaling the successful transmission of his orders with a raised thumb, Sukarno assured Jones that "Surabaya is okay."<sup>55</sup>

Sukarno's orders on the evening of 12 September 1964 appear to have been officially mandated in the form of a KOTI (Supreme Operations Command) decree banning anti-British and anti-U.S. demonstrations. Panca Tunggal representatives from the police and the Army invoked this decree four days later to halt a second attempted USIS take-over orchestrated, according to consulate sources, by CGMI, SOBSI (the PKI-affiliated labor union), and Pemuda Rakyat members.<sup>56</sup> For the next several months demonstrations against the consulate and USIS quieted down, a pattern that also occurred in Medan and Jakarta. However, given the ramping up of anti-U.S. campaigns in other sectors during this period, the absence of protesters outside of U.S. institutions in Surabaya was hardly an indication that the anti-U.S. movement had ended. Indeed, as the left-wing daily *Trompet Masyarakat* had promised in its coverage of the thwarted USIS library take-over on 9 September, "drastic action" from the *arek Suroboyo* motivated by "patriotic tradition" to continue their attacks on U.S. institutions still loomed.<sup>57</sup>

Even as the demonstrations quieted, attacks against the U.S role in Indonesia and elsewhere in the world persisted. Such attacks had already become an important factor in the expansion of the overall anti-U.S. movement in Surabaya. For example, in addition to reporting routine news of local and national developments in U.S.-Indonesian affairs, local publications, from the politically nonaligned *Surabaya Post* to the left-leaning *Trompet Masyarakat* heralded

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Airgram, SBY to DOS, "Political, Psychological, and Military Notes, September 8-24, 1964," 24 September 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2307, NACP.

<sup>57</sup> Airgram, JKT to DOS "Press Reaction to Demonstration against Surabaya Consulate," 16 September 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2316, NACP.

demonstrators' shows of force against the consulate and USIS.<sup>58</sup> The Surabaya media also began to print pieces (either written locally or picked up from the Indonesian wire service, Antara) that portrayed the United States and its institutions in an increasingly negative light. Between 1964 and 1965 the large number of left-wing and pro-Sukarno publications printed in Surabaya, among them the magazines *Liberty* (formerly, *Liberal*) and *Sketsmasa*, made for a particularly resonant chorus against the United States in the East Java press. A brief glance at *Surabaja Post* and *Sketsmasa* coverage during this time suggests that some of the images circulating of the United States might have helped to both inform as well as fuel the growing backlash against the American presence in East Java.

Established in 1953, by the early 1960s the *Post* was Surabaya's leading daily newspaper. The paper's founder, defying a Guided Democracy-era Department of Information mandate that publications declare a political party affiliation, refused to do so.<sup>59</sup> However, this did not mean that that the *Post* was apolitical. In addition to evenhanded coverage of left-wing and right-wing national political developments, the paper featured an impressive selection of international news. As U.S.-Indonesian relations deteriorated during the 1960s, this coverage increasingly included U.S. policies regarding aid to Indonesia, the 7th Fleet's "Indonesian" Ocean operations, and *Konfrontasi*. Much of the coverage on these topics revealed the central government's mounting

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<sup>58</sup> For a concise glance at the range of such publications (as well as of a few right-wing papers) and their coverage of a mass demonstration at the consulate on 9 September 1964, see the translated press clippings included in Airgram, "Press Reaction to Demonstration against Surabaja Consulate," JKT to DOS, 16 September 1964. General Records of the Department of State RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2316, NACP.

<sup>59</sup> This was a stance that the *Post*'s founder, A. Aziz, took from the earliest days of the paper's history, creating a contrast between the *Post* and its competitors such as the NU-affiliated *Duta Masyarakat*, PKI-affiliated *Harian Rakyat* and PNI-affiliated *Suluh Indonesia*. For more on the first decade of the paper's history see *Di Balik Runtuhnya Surabaya Post* (Surabaya: Intersolusi, 2002), 49-56.

criticisms of U.S. engagement in the region.<sup>60</sup> The paper also offered readers a glimpse of the domestic strife from which the United States, despite its world power status, was hardly immune. For example, on 30 August 1964 the *Post* ran a front page wire article comparing Philadelphia to “Hell” chronicling the outbreak of race riots in the City of Brotherly Love.<sup>61</sup>

Some of the *Post*’s journalists who covered conflicts between the United States and other countries also became deeply critical of American foreign policy. A 19 February 1965 article detailed a motion by the Surabaya branch of the Association of Indonesian Reporters (Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia or PWI) to “condemn and vigorously protest the United States’ imperialist aggression against the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam.”<sup>62</sup> One can easily imagine the very demonstrators who, between 1964-65 cited the plight of the “American negro” and the war in Vietnam in their protests and petitions to U.S. officials in Surabaya being among the readers of articles such as those cited above.

Providing more fuel to anti-U.S. sentiment in Surabaya were the numerous exposés about the CIA and its involvement in Indonesia.<sup>63</sup> A particularly interesting example appeared as part of a 1964 series in *Sketsmasa*, during the 1950s and 1960s, one of Indonesia’s most widely-read magazines. The series chronicled the observations of Soeripto, the magazine’s lead editor,

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<sup>60</sup> For instance, while an article that appeared on 6 January 1964 assured readers that, according to Sukarno, the United States of the post-Kennedy era was still committed to building bridges with Indonesia, by 9 March 1965, the prevailing message was that the U.S. was incapable of assuming responsibility for its “imperialistic and reactionary political wrong-doings” which had caused the breakdown in its relations with Indonesia and nations in other areas of the world. See “Politik AS thd RI tidak berubah,” *Surabaja Post*, 6 January 1964 I and “Masih sadja AS tak sadari kesalahannya politiknya di RI pada khususnya dan di Afrika-Asia pada umumnya,” *Surabaja Post*, 9 March 1965, I.

<sup>61</sup> “Philadelphia seperti ‘Neraka’,” *Surabaja Post*, 30 August 1964, I.

<sup>62</sup> “PWI Surabaya kutuk agresi AS,” *Surabaja Post*, 19 February 1965, II.

<sup>63</sup> Such coverage reflected Sukarno’s intensifying public and private statements that the CIA was attempting to eliminate him in its quest to oppose the spread of communism in Indonesia. See Jones, *Indonesia*, 360 and Telegram, JKT to DOS, 24 February 1965. National Archives and Records Administration, RG 59, Central Files 1964-66, POL INDON-US. Confidential. FRUS 1964-65, v. XXVI, Document 111, 237-40.

reporting on his experiences as a U.S. government grantee in residence in the United States.<sup>64</sup>

Soeripto stated that while Americans were a fine people, the CIA, as part of “the invisible government of the USA” had manipulated public and press opinion against Indonesia and its leader. As a consequence, he wrote, “the people of the United States are anti-[Sukarno] and hate Indonesia.” Claiming that the Agency controlled the White House and reminding readers of its backing of the Outer Islands rebellions of the previous decade he continued: “The CIA has agents in Indonesia and is voluntarily helped by [Indonesian] counter-revolutionaries with the aim of destroying the Sukarno government and putting a CIA puppet government in its place.”<sup>65</sup>

In light of the fact that Sukarno’s suspicions that the CIA had engaged in at least one if not multiple assassination attempts against him have been proven valid, these charges, though sensational-sounding were largely accurate.<sup>66</sup> Indeed, such accusations hit so close to home for the Johnson administration that it issued a public statement that the United States was in no way trying to overthrow or kill Indonesia’s president.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Part of what makes the piece so interesting is that the article represented a near complete shift in tone by its author who began the series by criticizing the un-nationalist and materialistic behavior of Indonesians living and studying in the United States while portraying the United States itself in a positive light. See Soeripto, “Orang Indonesia di Amerika,” *Sketsmasa* 15, Tahun VII, 1964: 8-9, 31-33.

<sup>65</sup> Soeripto, “CIA jang Menentukan Politik USA: Pers Amerika Membuat Indonesia Dibentji,” *Sketsmasa* 19, Tahun VII, 1964, 8-9, 32-33. Evidence has since come to light that the Soeripto’s points were not entirely off the mark. Details on CIA activities in Indonesia during the 1960s can be found in Bunnell, “The Central Intelligence Agency,” 131-70 and Peter Dale Scott, “Overthrow,” 239-64. For a good overview of the development of U.S. covert operations more generally during the same period see “Note on U.S. Covert Action Programs,” *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964-1968*, Volume XXVI. [www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB52/docXXXIII.pdf](http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB52/docXXXIII.pdf). Accessed 26 July 2012.

<sup>66</sup> For a concise account of Senator Frank Church’s Select Committee on Intelligence and its sudden abandonment in 1975 of plans to investigate allegations of CIA assassination attempts against Sukarno (and subsequent refusal to release transcripts of its hearings on CIA operations targeting Sukarno and other heads of state) see Kahin, *Testament*, 157.

<sup>67</sup> Simpson, *Economists*, 157.

By the spring of 1965, the *Surabaya Post*, too, was featuring pieces on alleged CIA activity in and beyond Indonesia. Between March and May of that year, two articles appeared in the paper, the latter an Antara wire story with a Moscow by-line, claiming, again with some accuracy, that the Peace Corps and USIS were CIA fronts. Shortly after the appearance of the Antara article, the paper's "Notes in Brief" column also sounded an ominous warning that U.S. efforts to supply newly-developed nations with weapons were merely a chance for the CIA to "stir up trouble" (*huru-hara*) in the world.<sup>68</sup>

During 1964 and 1965, local political figures joined the press in warning against U.S. subversion and imperialism and suggesting that the people of Surabaya were bestowed with a mandate to rise up against the United States and Britain, the OLDEFO (Old Established Force) "puppeteers" behind Malaysia. This notion was also one that had long emanated from Sukarno himself.<sup>69</sup> As this message implied, their heroism during the Indonesian National Revolution meant that the *arek Suroboyo* had a reputation to uphold. As the people had faced down their former Dutch colonizers then, it was now their duty to heed Sukarno's call for revolution against Indonesia's new foes. By reviving the "Spirit of '45," as the *kancil* (mouse deer) of Indonesian fable outwitted the larger and craftier *buaya* (crocodile), so would the tenacity and persistence of the people of the City of Heroes help their country to overcome its more powerful opponents.

A former youth battalion commander during the Revolution, Moerachman, the mayor of Surabaya (Fig. 2.2), was someone who strongly believed that the people of his city must lead this

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<sup>68</sup> See "AS akan lipatkan kegiatan subversinja lewat 'Korps Perdamaian'," *Surabaya Post*, 1 March 1965, II, "CIA bekerdja melalui USIS," *Surabaya Post*, 4 May 1965, III, and "Tjataan Ketjil," *Surabaya Post*, 14 May 1965, I.

<sup>69</sup> See, for example, Sukarno's speech on the occasion of Ho Chi Minh's 1959 visit to Surabaya. Sukarno, "Pidato...pada rapat raksasa," Badan Perpustakaan dan Kearsipan Jawa Timur on-line archive, <http://bapersip.jatimprov.go.id>. Accessed 24 July 2012.



fight. Having “decontaminated” himself during the 1964 Independence Day ceremony at the Governor’s Office by theatrically moving from his seat beside McLean to take a vacant chair next to the Soviet consul general, Moerachman made no attempt to hide where his loyalties lay.

His own 17 August address that year was indicative of his convictions in this regard:

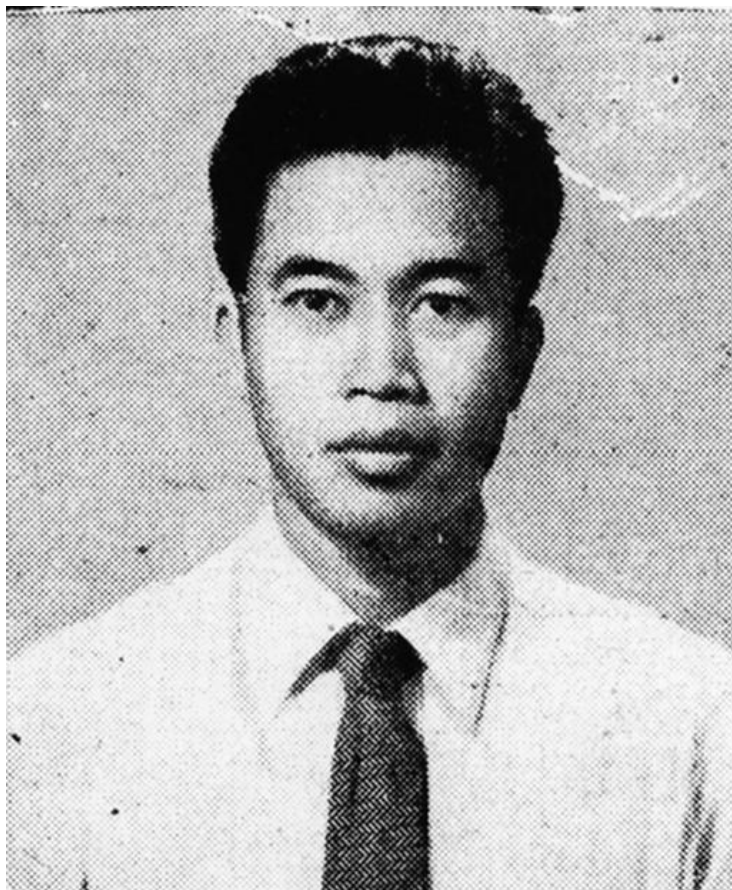
In the struggle for independence the contributions of our city, Surabaya, and its people, especially its youth, who are known far and wide as the *Arek Suroboyo*, have already been great. But we must not rest on these laurels. The City of Heroes must continue to hold the front line in the fight against the enemies of the revolution, especially against the enemies Imperialism and Colonialism.<sup>70</sup>

The following day, Moerachman was among the religious, civilian, and military leaders who addressed a reported crowd of 15,000 workers, students, farmers, veterans, and others assembled at Surabaya’s iconic Heroes Monument (*Tugu Pahlawan*). The mass rally functioned as a kind of closing ceremony to the epic three-day celebrations that, according to coverage in the *Surabaya Post*, had been a triumphant success.<sup>71</sup> This event, held as it was to demonstrate the commitment of the *arek Suroboyo* to actualizing Sukarno’s anger toward Malaysia, Britain, and the United States, would be a springboard for the more focused trajectory of anti-Americanism to come. No clearer signal could have been sent than the burning of an effigy labeled “Imperialism” that took place as the rally’s final act.

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<sup>70</sup> “Kota Pahlawan harus tetap paling depan melawan musuh2 revolusi,” *Surabaya Post*, 18 August 1964, II.

<sup>71</sup> “Perajaan 17 Augustus dikota Pahlawan,” *Surabaya Post*, 18 August 1964, II. The paper’s praise that Surabaya hadn’t seen such a festive 17 August commemoration in years was certainly not shared by Consul McLean who, in his report on the event to Washington, sounded the following dour note: “The celebration of Indonesian Independence Day... encompassed every activity imaginable and seems to have left the city of Surabaya prostrate and grubbier than ever. For any member of the Consular Corps who attempted to attend all of the activities... it would have been a severe test of stamina, patience and fortitude.” See airgram, SUB to DOS, 25 August 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2307, NACP.



**Figure 2.2.** Moerachman, S.H., Mayor of Surabaya, 1963-1965. Surabaya Municipal Archive.

An acceleration of activities related to the above-mentioned national boycott against American films mentioned was one of the first developments to occur after Sukarno's Independence Day excoriation of the United States. The boycott had commenced in May 1964 following the Indonesian-government sponsored Afro-Asian Film Conference in Jakarta.<sup>72</sup> Just days before Sukarno's "Year of Living Dangerously" speech, one Surabaya-based member of the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) enumerated the mounting difficulties his

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<sup>72</sup> In Surabaya, many banners with slogans such as "Reject Imperialist and Colonialist Films" bedecked the city. In one display, satirical either by chance or by design, a local cinema strung such a banner just below its advertisement of the film "Mutiny on the Bounty." Airgram, SUB to DOS, "Political, Psychological, and Military Notes: Surabaya Consular District April 20 – May 3, 1964," 5 May 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2307, NACP.

organization faced. Not only were Hollywood films becoming more and more difficult to obtain, but the income of cinemas in East Java, and especially Surabaya, had dropped forty to fifty percent as more and more patrons stayed away.<sup>73</sup> These problems mounted following the President's Independence Day remarks. On 1 September in a speech before an open meeting for the women of Surabaya, Moerachman voiced his support of the boycott and urged the citizenry to persist in their holdout on Hollywood fare. Though he did not dislike American cinema, the mayor stated as he opened his address, he did find the domination of "imperialist" films at Indonesian box offices objectionable. And so he urged his audience to patronize the "national" films playing at the city's smaller theaters rather than the imported ones screened at the larger cinemas. This would, he said, not only help to support Surabaya's small business community, but also ensure that the city's viewing tax revenue lost from the boycott of the larger theaters would be duly replenished.<sup>74</sup>

Yet for at least one of the theaters that continued to screen American films, the boycott would bring more than declining incomes and empty seats. On 10 September, the projection room of the Bioskop Purnama was raided by members of the PKI-affiliated Pemuda Rakyat following the last showing of the 1961 Steve McQueen film "The Honeymoon Machine." Absconding with the film stills and promotion materials, the youths headed to a local market and burned them.<sup>75</sup> Over the next year, the Pemuda Rakyat participated in takeovers of seven American film distributorships in Surabaya. Members of the PNI's Pemuda Marhaen participated

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<sup>73</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS "Political Notes: Surabaya Consular District: July 29 – August 9, 1964," 12 August 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2307, NACP.

<sup>74</sup> "Boikot film tambah pajak kotapradja," *Surabaya Post*, 2 September 1964, II.

<sup>75</sup> Telegram, SUB (McLean) to DOS (Sec. State), 11 September 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2316, NACP.

as well.<sup>76</sup> These groups were among a total of twenty-three organizations in the East Java branch of the “Action Committee for the Boycott of Imperialist American Films” known as PAPFIAS. The takeovers were part of the larger campaign discussed in Chapter One in which left-wing labor unions seized American businesses in response to the United States’ increasingly public support for the foundation of Malaysia.<sup>77</sup> Those affected by the 15 April 1965 film distributor takeovers included the offices of MGM, Paramount, Twentieth Century Fox, and Warner Brothers.<sup>78</sup> Although all but two of the total number of firms had already suspended operations, this seizure officially put an end to American film screenings in Surabaya for a period that would last through 1966.

Beginning around the same time as the embargo on American films, Surabayans also staged boycotts against mail and freight destined for and originating from U.S. government agencies. In this aspect of the anti-U.S. movement, labor federations took the lead. A boycott by the PKI-affiliated Surabaya Postal Employees Union on 23 September 1964 appears to have been the first action in a wider campaign that eventually also enveloped the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta. As *Surabaja Post* coverage detailed, on that day twelve mail sacks containing 6,521 magazines destined for the USIS library were delivered instead to the Surabaya National Front through a ceremonial handing off by postal union members. On 3 October, the paper reported,

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<sup>76</sup> Interview with Bambang, Surabaya, 8 May 2012.

<sup>77</sup> American business takeovers during this period mostly occurred in the areas surrounding Jakarta and Medan. Because only a few U.S. companies in Surabaya remained by 1964-65 the film offices represented the bulk of the American industries that were seized. A branch office of the National Cash Register Company, taken over by the PNI-affiliated Kesatuan Buruh Marhaenis (KBM) labor federation in early April 1964 and the Surabaya Singer Sewing assembly plant put into Indonesian government control were two additional casualties. See Redfern, “Sukarno’s Guided Democracy,” 448 & 499-503.

<sup>78</sup> “Kantor2 agen film Amerika di Surabaja diambil-alih PAPFIAS,” *Surabaja Post*, 17 April 1965, II.

the Front was holding these materials under joint guard with the Surabaya Panca Tunggal.<sup>79</sup> Samples of the seized magazines were then sent to the Surabaya Public Prosecutor's office for study, ostensibly to determine whether any of the publications contained "subversive or anti-revolutionary material."<sup>80</sup> To make matters worse for the library, SOBSI dock workers also refused to handle USIS cargo destined for Indonesia's outer islands.<sup>81</sup> In response to the 23 September 1964 mail boycott, McLean and USIS director Jim McHale paid a call on the Surabaya postmaster. He told them that the seizure of the USIS mailbags had occurred against his will and that although he had called on the police to intervene, they did not respond. Numerous attempts to meet with the National Front representative went unanswered.<sup>82</sup> By late October 1964, following a protest by Ambassador Jones to President Sukarno, post offices were once again accepting USIS mail. However, postal service was disrupted once more at the end of 1964 when, on 16 December, Indonesia's national carrier, Garuda Airlines, refused to accept USIS air freight for Surabaya, a boycott that continued into the following year.<sup>83</sup>

In addition to American industries and operations a number of affiliates of U.S. educational institutions and exchanges in Surabaya and its surroundings were also affected by

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid., Photo Caption, "Serikat buruh postel...", 24 September 1964, I and "Barang2 USIS dalam pengawasan 5-tunggal" 3 October 1964, II. The consulate's account of this incident essentially repeats the *Post's* reportage. See Airgram, SUB to DOS, "Political, Psychological, and Military Notes for Surabaya Consular District September 8 – 24," 24 September 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2307, NACP.

<sup>80</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, "Political, Psychological, and Military Notes for Surabaya Consular District September 25 – October 6," 6 October 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2307, NACP.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Telegram, JKT to DOS, 25 September 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2316, NACP.

<sup>83</sup> Airgram, "Difficulties Created for Normal U.S. Government and Private Operations in Indonesia," JKT to DOS, 5 January 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2327, NACP.

the escalating furor against the United States. In one prominent example, the growing anti-U.S. movement targeted a team of Americans contracted by the Department of State to teach and develop the medical curriculum at Airlangga University (UNAIR). The professors' assignment to the Faculty of Medicine on a six-year contract was meant to fill a vacuum left by the departure of a number of the predominantly Dutch teaching staff following Indonesia's wresting of West Irian from the Netherlands' control. According to U.S. Consulate Surabaya records, the University of California (UC) professors' affiliation with the Faculty, which had commenced in 1960, was at first welcomed by the majority of the student body, including members of the PNI-affiliated student organization, the GMNI.<sup>84</sup> However, in December 1964, the tide began to turn against the professors and their team leader, U.S. Air Force Colonel Donald Ferris, M.D., following a series of articles published in the left-wing newspaper, *Trompet Masjarakat*.<sup>85</sup> Drafted by a medical student in the PKI-affiliated CGMI, the articles called for the team's removal from the Faculty, alleging that collaborations between U.S. and Indonesian scholars were emblematic of the "sickness of Americanism" currently infecting Indonesian higher education.<sup>86</sup>

The campaign gathered steam when the CGMI, now joined by GMNI students, began to demand the Americans' ouster by way of campus demonstrations and petitions to the university rector. In 1965 the contract was terminated one year shy of its scheduled end date. The movement to end the UNAIR-UC affiliation resulted in consequences for some medical students

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<sup>84</sup> Telegram, SUB to DOS, 31 December 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political Affairs & Relations file, Box 2327, NACP.

<sup>85</sup> Considering the timing of the movement to oust the team, it is important to acknowledge that their Department of State affiliation was likely a major red flag for student activists concerned with U.S. government infiltration in Indonesia. Future research might be useful in determining if the UC team was also assigned to UNAIR, one of Indonesia's leading public universities, for covert reasons.

<sup>86</sup> Telegram, SUB to DOS, 15 December 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political Affairs & Relations file, Box 2327, NACP.

as well. In early July 1965, the CGMI-GMNI coalition exerted pressure on two exchange program candidates who were scheduled to receive training in the University of California system to publicly renounce their plans; less than two weeks later Indonesian Minister of Education and Culture, Sjarif Thajeb, announced that all Indonesian students were to be barred from traveling to the United States for study, effectively curtailing numerous exchange programs throughout the country.<sup>87</sup> Higher powers such as civilian provincial authorities or party leaders were quite possibly directing the action behind the movement to evict the UC team from UNAIR. If this was the case, their involvement was behind rather than in front of the curtain.

By 1965 Americans began to encounter difficulties further afield in East Java as well. Prior to the termination of the UC-UNAIR program, two team members along with their families awoke on 23 February 1965 to an anti-U.S. protest outside of their hostess' home a day after they had arrived in the town of Blitar for a sight-seeing visit. The protesters, predominantly students in school uniforms, sang songs, chanted slogans, presented one of the team members with a petition for the U.S. Consulate in Surabaya regarding Vietnam and other issues and plastered the group's car with various signs decrying the United States. Escorted by police to the town limits, the traveling party was instructed to immediately leave for Surabaya and not to return.<sup>88</sup> In June during an intelligence-gathering tour of East Java, two members of the Political Section of the U.S. Embassy, Richard C. Howland and O.J. (Jim) Emory, reported to the Department of State

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<sup>87</sup> This decision reinstated an initial September 1964 ban which had previously been relaxed to allow some exchanges to take place. Telegram, JKT to DOS, 14 July 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Economic & U.S. Aid file, Box 559, NACP.

<sup>88</sup> For additional details see the following two consulate cables, the latter of which contains the official statement of one member of the traveling party on the incident: Telegram, SUB (McLean) to DOS (SecState), 26 February 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2316, NACP and airgram, SUB (McLean) to DOS (SecState), "First Incident of Harassment of American Sightseers in East Java," 8 March 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2316, NACP.

that they encountered “no hostility or suspicion during the trip.”<sup>89</sup> Indeed, the most virulent anti-Americanism in East Java was still very much concentrated in Surabaya.<sup>90</sup> Others, however, did not enjoy so mild a reception.

In the town of Kediri, the actions of an American couple drew the attention and swift retribution of Major General Basuki Rachmat in his capacity as East Java’s *Pepelrada* (*Penguasa Pelaksanaan Dwikora Daerah*, Regional Authority to Implement Dwikora).<sup>91</sup> On 14 August 1965 at half past ten in the morning, with the assistance of his wife, Dr. R.L. Lambright, a missionary and physician in residence at the Kediri Baptist Hospital, defaced a banner hung in anticipation of the upcoming Independence Day holiday. In a show of anti-communist defiance the Lambrights had, as the Basuki’s report alleged, removed the “KOM” from the letters *NASAKOM* strung across the hospital’s front gate.<sup>92</sup> For this act of “endangerment of the safety

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<sup>89</sup> The contents of the report that Howland and Emory submitted were approved and classified by Robert J. (Bob) Martens, the embassy’s first secretary, acting on behalf of the *Charge d’Affaires*, Francis Galbraith. Howland was in the first decade of what would become a long career in the U.S. Foreign Service. It appears that the trip was made in the course of carrying out his duties as provincial reporter, a major component of his job. In an account of this trip made in the course of a 1999 oral history on his time in the Foreign Service, he does not mention anything about his fellow traveler beyond his name. As CIA operatives were often appointed as political officers, it is possible that Emory was working at the embassy under diplomatic cover. See Airgram, “Field Trip to East Java,” JKT to DOS, 23 June 1965. RG 59, General Records of the Department of State. CFP 1964-66, Political Affairs and Relations, Box 2327, NACP and interview of Richard C. Howland by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 26 January 1999. Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection, ADST. Accessed 27 October 2013.

<sup>90</sup> Conditions in Surabaya, in fact, had caused Consul McLean to express his hesitation to the two political officers about their planned trip through the province upon their arrival at the consulate. According to Howland, the consul, “was nervous about our traveling. I recall his saying that things were dicey, because ‘none of the natives’ would ‘look him in the eye.’ Nevertheless he finally gave us a car and driver from the Consulate, and we set off the next day, our route serendipitous.” See interview of Richard C. Howland by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 26 January 1999, ADST.

<sup>91</sup> With the intensification of the confrontation with Malaysia, in late-September 1964 upon the Army’s restoration of partial Martial Law *pepelrada* were appointed and given the authority to “detain individuals for up to thirty days, impose curfews, restrict the movements of ‘dangerous’ people and seize property.” In nearly every region of Indonesia, Army commanders served as *Pepelrada*. See Crouch, *Army*, 76.

<sup>92</sup> Sukarno’s philosophy of *NASAKOM* united nationalism, religion, and communism (*Nationalisme, Agama, Komunisme*), in order to appease the three main Indonesian political factions during the Guided Democracy-era suspension of parliamentary politics.



and security” of the region, the East Java Military Commander drafted an order for their immediate eviction from Kediri and subsequent deportation.<sup>93</sup> In light of the response of Indonesian officials to other Americans suspected of subversion during this period, the Lambrights appear to have got off rather easily. Another American missionary, Dr. Harold Lovestrund, was not as fortunate. Arrested along with his family in August 1964 on charges that his missionary activity in West Irian was a cover for spying on Indonesia and aiding Papuan dissidents, Lovestrund was imprisoned in Jakarta where he remained in custody until March 1966.<sup>94</sup>

Parallel to the mounting hostilities against American civilians in East Java, in late 1964 demonstrations at U.S. institutions in Surabaya were beginning to ramp up once more. The first stirrings occurred in Jakarta on 4 December when a crowd in the thousands raided the USIS facility. Things came to a head in Surabaya three days later. The student protesters who gathered at the USIS library in the late afternoon of 7 December, the *Surabaya Post* reported, had attacked the USIS building in anger at joint U.S.-Belgian military “acts of viciousness” against anti-government insurgents in the Congo.<sup>95</sup> A GMNI-MMI coalition later claimed responsibility for being the “pioneers” of the demonstration.<sup>96</sup>

The so-called “lightning raid” of 7 December in Surabaya was strikingly similar to the one that had preceded it in Jakarta. At both locations the raids were motivated by protesters’

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<sup>93</sup> Surat Keputusan No: KEP – 010/8/1965, Surabaya, 19 August 1965, L =53168/D: 6656, Surabaya Municipal Archive (SMA).

<sup>94</sup> For Lovestrund’s account of his arrest on charges that he was using mission radios in espionage operations and his subsequent imprisonment see Harold Lovestrund, *Hostage in Djakarta* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1967).

<sup>95</sup> “Djuga USIS Surabaya diserbu,” *Surabaya Post*, 8 December 1964, II.

<sup>96</sup> JKT to DOS, 11 December 1964. RG 59, CFP 1964-66, Political and Defense file, Box 2316, NACP.

objections to “Operation Dragon Rouge,” a late-November U.S. government “rescue mission” to liberate hostages from Congolese rebel territory. In both instances the U.S. flag was torn down and burned and nearly a quarter of the centers’ books were set ablaze.<sup>97</sup> Between \$15,000 and \$17,000 worth of damage was done in each raid.<sup>98</sup> In addition to the nearly four thousand volumes and flag lost to the bonfire in Surabaya, the destruction included the near-demolition of two rooms inside the building and harm to two official vehicles. Consul McLean cabled his superiors that these losses were caused when an estimated half of the 2,000 participants of the “lightning raid” breached the building. As he noted, the seven police on duty at the time were “completely ineffectual” while the reinforcements that arrived twenty minutes later came “too late to help.”<sup>99</sup> Though McLean tried repeatedly to contact East Java civil and military authorities following the Surabaya USIS raid, Ambassador Jones informed Secretary of State Dean Rusk, the consul received no response.<sup>100</sup>

After months of campaigning, the protesters’ efforts finally yielded the sought-after results. By way of an order delivered to the consulate citing concerns for establishing “peace and order particularly to protect the building and inventory of said office,” on 9 December 1964 the Panca Tunggal took control of the facility, putting an effective halt to USIS operations in

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<sup>97</sup> The shockwaves of these actions did not pass unnoticed in the United States. As Jones’ successor, Marshal Green would later write, “Few things in the years of Sukarnoism produced stronger adverse reactions in the U.S. Congress and media than photos of these book burnings.” Green, *Indonesia*, 14.

<sup>98</sup> Airgram, “Tables of Events Adversely Affecting Indonesian-American Relations,” JKT to DOS, 2 October 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2328, NACP and Telegram, SUB to DOS, 8 December 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2316, NACP.

<sup>99</sup> Telegram, SUB to DOS, 8 December 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2316, NACP.

<sup>100</sup> Telegram, JKT to DOS, 8 December 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2316, NACP.

Surabaya.<sup>101</sup> On 12 December, the Surabaya National Front held a mass rally in support of the takeover. The Front called for inventory to be seized from the building and all books and magazines to be burned. They also demanded that all American staff members be withdrawn from the country and that all Indonesian employees be ‘retooled.’<sup>102</sup> On 14 December, Moerachman invited McHale to his office to discuss the takeover. The following morning, representatives from the consulate and USIS sat down at City Hall with the mayor and other Panca Tunggal authorities. The Americans stressed that the decision about the fate of the USIS library must be made at the diplomatic level. They furthermore requested that the Panca Tunggal safeguard the building until that decision was made. As Ambassador Jones cabled Washington, McLean and his staff were growing worried that, as it occurred on the heels of the 12 December demonstration, Moerachman’s summons represented a “prelude to request to sign over USIS premises and equipment to [the] National Front.”<sup>103</sup> The Americans’ worries were justified.

Driven by the momentum of their USIS victory, the protesters continued their activities with a second book burning on 23 January 1965.<sup>104</sup> As reported in the *Surabaja Post*, this latter demonstration was organized by a group called the Crush Malaysia Action Command (Komando Aksi Pengganjangan Malaysia). The crowd, taking books and magazines seized from the USIS library, lit a bonfire in a public park, Taman Embong Matjan, while a reported crowd of

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<sup>101</sup> Telegram, JKT to DOS, 9 December 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2316, NACP.

<sup>102</sup> Telegram, SUB to SecState, 13 December 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2316, NACP.

<sup>103</sup> Telegram, JKT to SecState, 15 December 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2316, NACP.

<sup>104</sup> According to Sulisty, a similar event took place in rural East Java in late January 1965 in which the members of political and mass organizations burned USIS books at an anti-Malaysia rally. This event seems to have occurred in the town square (*alun-alun*) of either Jombang or Kediri, however Sulisty does not specify the exact location. See Sulisty, “The Forgotten Years,” 151.

thousands of students, workers, and women from numerous mass organizations looked on. Following the bonfire, the crowd marched to the USIS library while singing revolutionary songs. At the library, they hoisted the Indonesian flag and strung across the front of the building a banner that read “Property of the National Front.”<sup>105</sup>

These actions, among other incursions against USIS posts in Indonesia prompted United States Information Agency Director, Carl T. Rowan, to send an angrily worded memorandum to Secretary of State Rusk on 18 February 1965 concerning the “intolerable” situation his agency faced in Indonesia. Rowan felt that the proper response to the attacks on USIS libraries in Indonesia was that Ambassador Jones must be recalled in protest and all types of aid to Indonesia stopped. The USIA Director also asked that Rusk seriously consider officially ending USIS operations and closing the consulate in Surabaya and “in turn ask the Indonesians to close their entire New York operation.”<sup>106</sup> Rowan’s suggestions went unheeded. The following day in a memorandum to U.S. National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy, Jim Thompson of the Department of State’s Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs called Rowan’s position “an over-reaction.”<sup>107</sup>

While McHale and his staff were dealing with the takeover of USIS, the consulate was experiencing a new set of troubles. Prompted among other issues by the commencement on 2 March of the U.S. bombing campaign against Vietnam, known as “Operation Rolling Thunder,” in early 1965 numerous attempts were made to disrupt American channels of communication in

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<sup>105</sup> “Buku2 USIS dibakar,” *Surabaya Post*, 23 January 1965, II.

<sup>106</sup> “Memorandum from Director of the United States Information Agency Rowan to Secretary of State Rusk,” 18 February 1965. Johnson Library, National Security File, Country File, Indonesia, Vol. III, Memos 9/64–2/65, [2 of 2]. Confidential. FRUS 1964-68, v. XXVI, Document 106, 223-25.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 3.

Indonesia. On 22 March, two days before a joint boycott by PKI and PNI unions against incoming American mail, telephone calls, and telegraphs in Jakarta, the Surabaya Telex Office cut the consulate's line. This action, ordered by the postal and telegraph workers' unions and the National Front, was followed on 23 March by a further boycott of American mail that would last until the following week.<sup>108</sup> When Consul McLean met with Major General Basuki Rachmat to "complain bitterly" about the Telex cutoff, the Brawijaya Commander and National Front chairman offered a disappointing response. As McLean cabled Howard Jones, "[it is] obvious from [the] conversation that he will not move against local labor union or Surabaya National Front in any anti-U.S. harassment without any specific instructions from Djakarta."<sup>109</sup>

As the fate of USIS hung in the balance following the National Front takeover of the facility, American and Indonesian staff of the library scrambled to forestall the total loss of the building and its inventory. On 6 May 1965 in an attempt to protect USIS assets, Jim McHale signed over two projectors, a generator, typewriters, chairs, gardening equipment, and other items as a "gift" to USIS administrative officer Soekaryono.<sup>110</sup> However, U.S. officials in Surabaya could only hold off the National Front from commandeering the building as its new office for so long. In commemoration of the "National Day of Awakening" (Hari Kebangkitan Nasional), a holiday honoring the formation of Indonesia's first nationalist group, the Front officially took possession of the USIS building. As the *Surabaya Post* reported, the Panca

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<sup>108</sup> Telegram, JKT to DOS, 23 March 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 (Political Affairs & Relations) files, Box 2327, NACP and Telegram, JKT to DOS, 31 March 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political Affairs & Relations file, Box 2327, NACP.

<sup>109</sup> Telegram, JKT to DOS, 23 March 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 (Political Affairs & Relations) files, Box 2327, NACP.

<sup>110</sup> "Surat Keterangan (A)," 6 May 1965 and "Surat Keterangan (B)," 6 May 1965. Private collection of Soekaryono Muslimin.

Tunggal authorities opened the building to the *arek Suroboyo* on 21 May. During an evening reception, Moerachman, in ceding control of USIS Surabaya to Front Chairman R. Damanhuri of the NU, stated that the building's new function would be as distinct as "day was to night" now that the Front had displaced the "imperialist Americans."<sup>111</sup>

Having succeeded in stopping USIS operations, participants in the anti-U.S. movement once again turned their attention to the consulate. The facility was revisited by demonstrators on 21 May 1965 and numerous other times in the months following the mid-July arrival of the new U.S. ambassador, Marshall Green. At half-past-ten on the morning of 7 August, thousands of demonstrators entered the grounds and, as police reportedly once more stood by, threw rocks at the building and tore down the consulate shield.<sup>112</sup> The *Surabaya Post*, which claimed that 15,000 protesters participated in the demonstration, reported that it was organized by the Surabaya and East Java Youth Fronts and the Surabaya National Front. The people who had assembled were protesting against Green's appointment and the use of tear gas at a recent demonstration at the U.S. Consulate in Medan. As reported in the *Post*, once Consul McLean received their delegation, "no longer able to restrain their anger, the thousands of youths screamed 'Crush America,' 'Go to Hell, Marshall Green,' and 'Yankee go home.'"<sup>113</sup> This incident was a "particularly disturbing" affair to the ambassador who was unable to engineer the demonstrators' removal until securing meetings with Deputy Prime Minister Chaerul Saleh and Foreign Minister Subandrio on 11 and 12 August.<sup>114</sup> Much to the frustration of U.S. officials in

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<sup>111</sup> "Bekas gedung USIS diresmikan sbg Kantor Front Nasional Kopra Surabaya," *Surabaya Post*, 21 May 1965, II.

<sup>112</sup> Telegram, JKT to DOS, 7 August 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political Affairs & Relations file, Box 2327, NACP.

<sup>113</sup> "Arek2 Surobojo sangat marah kepada Amerika Serikat," *Surabaya Post*, 7 August 1965, II.

<sup>114</sup> Green, *Indonesia*, 35.

Surabaya and at the embassy, within the next month, conditions for the Surabaya post deteriorated even further.

### **“Open War!”**

“The Surabaya *pemuda* have given the American consulate an eight-day deadline to close its doors. If not: Open War!”<sup>115</sup>

By early September 1965, the moment at which the *Surabaja Post* trumpeted this call for a further escalation in the aggression directed at the consulate, the United States’ diplomatic presence in the province appeared to be in jeopardy. No longer satisfied with mere shows of force, the National Front was now campaigning for the Americans to leave Surabaya or else.

With National Front power at its peak, a series of new demonstrations targeting not only the United States but also its allies, swept through the city. On 7 September the Surabaya Youth Front marched outside of the consulate to protest U.S. aggression in the developing world and to again demand McLean’s recall. Nearly one hundred demonstrators then occupied the grounds and refused to leave after the crowd of 3,000 to 4,000 protesters had dispersed.<sup>116</sup> Fearing that their facility would be breached, consulate staff, on order from the ambassador, slipped into the building and burned the consulate’s classified files.<sup>117</sup> When Subandrio and his ministerial-level colleagues proved unresponsive to Green’s pleas for their assistance, the ambassador later recounted in his memoirs, he turned to an unnamed “friendly general” who ordered troops to

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<sup>115</sup> “Tjatatan ketjil,” *Surabaja Post*, 8 Sept 1965, I.

<sup>116</sup> Telegram, JKT to DOS, 7 September 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2317, NACP.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

disperse the youths the following day.<sup>118</sup> On 9 September youths approached but were not permitted near the consulate. One week later, on 13 September, the U.S. flag was removed once again and replaced by the Indonesian flag as a crowd of 800 demonstrators, this time “composed strictly of Muslim groups” declared their support for Pakistan in its dispute with India over the territory of Kashmir and decried the “subversive” American presence in Indonesia.<sup>119</sup>

By mid-September 1965, a new set of workers joined the ongoing campaign to disrupt U.S. diplomatic operations in Surabaya. On 17 September, in support of an anti-Malaysia National Front demonstration at the consulate, a coalition of United Gas and Electrical Workers organizations declared their plans to cut electricity to the consulate and the American Consul’s residence. They notified local authorities of their intentions by way of a letter to the Surabaya Panca Tunggal, National Front, and Youth Front.<sup>120</sup> The organizations whose representatives had signed the letter were affiliates of SOBSI, the Sarikat Buruh Muslimin Indonesia (the Union of Indonesian Muslim Laborers or Sarbumusi, affiliated with the NU) and the PNI-KBM. As these details reveal, even at this late stage, a wide array of groups participated in the various boycotts detailed above, thus problematizing the statement of Paul Gardner who later claimed that these boycotts were orchestrated by “communist unions” alone.<sup>121</sup> Though it appears that the threat to cut the supply of electricity to the consulate and consul’s residence was never actualized, this sabre rattling by the unions undoubtedly caused more than a little concern at the consulate in light of the numerous prior successful actions enumerated above. However, this action would be

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<sup>118</sup> Green, *Indonesia*, 38.

<sup>119</sup> Telegram, SUB to DOS, 13 September 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2317, NACP.

<sup>120</sup> “Buruh akan putuskan listrik ke Konsulat A.S. di Surabaya,” *Surabaya Post*, 17 September 1965, II.

<sup>121</sup> See Gardner, *Shared Hopes, Separate Fears*, 189.



the last directed at the facility. Although the demonstrators and their targets were unaware of it, looming political upheaval meant that the anti-American movement across Indonesia was nearing its end.

How had the United States' already shaky position in Surabaya declined to such a low? The anti-U.S. movement emerged partly as an expression of the genuine anger of Indonesian youths and their allies responding to American imperialism in their nation and elsewhere in the world. Sukarno himself emphasized this element as one of the driving factors of the anti-U.S. demonstrations, telling an American journalist: "The protests... are a sign of regret that American policy is so bad toward Asia and Africa. Our feelings are reactive – what America did in Vietnam and the Congo, *we* feel. And as a result come these demonstrations. I am not defending the act of burning USIS books. We deplore it. But we can understand the motives of the students."<sup>122</sup>

The escalation of anti-Americanism during the final years of Guided Democracy was also partially a product of inter- and intra-party competition. Proving their commitment to the revolution through demonstrations against the United States, an enemy of the Indonesian Republic, provided a way for the parties to attempt to legitimize and increase their power. Student, youth, and labor organizations thus became the parties' main instruments to regain political authority lost during the Martial Law period of the preceding years.

American officials clearly viewed the anti-U.S. movement as a great threat to U.S. investments and influence in Indonesia as well as to the idea of the "Free World." Yet their pre-

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<sup>122</sup> Emphasis in original. Thomas B. Morgan "He wants to keep his people steeped in struggle," *LIFE*, 12 February 1965, 65.

occupation with communism in Indonesia colored their perception about the events taking place in Surabaya and elsewhere. The Cold War mentality so prevalent among members of the U.S. Foreign Service in Indonesia during the early and mid-1960s meant that the specter of communism loomed large. This led them to view the anti-U.S. movement and the protests and demonstrations that targeted their diplomatic and commercial institutions as being PKI-led even when their own intelligence identified the involvement of a wider range of groups.

The ire and frustration of U.S. Foreign Service officers regarding the effectiveness of the movement to oust them from Indonesia was palpable in their correspondence with Washington. It is observable, for instance, in Paul Gardner's characterizations of incidents at U.S. diplomatic posts that opened this chapter as attacks and invasions by "mobs" and gangs of "hoodlums."<sup>123</sup> Although quick to credit party rivalry as a reason for the attacks directed against them in East Java as well as in Jakarta and Medan, U.S. officials were far less willing to acknowledge the element of youth anger and legitimate political critique that also drove the movement. Nor were they willing to concede that this anger and critique emerged in part from some protesters' identification as participants in a wider movement against U.S. imperialism in the developing world.<sup>124</sup> Their over-emphasis on political competition as the explanation for the demonstrations consequently led to the stance that the demonstrators targeted U.S. institutions out of convenience and opportunism rather than from a legitimate opposition to U.S. foreign policy.

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<sup>123</sup> Airgram, "Tables of Events Adversely Affecting Indonesian-American Relations," JKT to DOS, 2 October 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2328, NACP.

<sup>124</sup> It seems that this viewpoint was shared among junior as well as senior Foreign Service Officers. In claiming that American military involvement in Vietnam had little impact upon the rise of anti-U.S. sentiment during the early to mid-1960s, Henry Heymann, then a political officer at the U.S. Embassy, stated in a 1993 interview, "...as far as Indonesian attention toward Vietnam, Indonesians are very insular. The world begins and ends with Indonesia." See interview of Henry Heymann by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 15 July 1993. Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection, ADST. Accessed 19 June 2013.

The main conclusion that U.S. officials reached, was that American property and personnel were the unwarranted targets of the actions of the misguided masses caught in a left-right power-struggle for influence over the direction of Indonesia's foreign and domestic policy. Allan McLean (for whom Indonesian "opportunism" was a frequent theme in his correspondence with the embassy and Washington) first intimated as much in his August 1964 assessment of where the anti-Americanism was headed. As illuminated by his comment to Department of State officials that the people of East Java were like "sheep," the consul believed that participants in the demonstrations were blindly striking out against the United States to avoid being labeled as counter-revolutionaries by the President and the PKI.<sup>125</sup>

An outgoing telegram from the Department of State dated 7 September 1965 identified the American Consulate in Surabaya as a "victim" and, in an apparent repetition of the embassy's own language in a preceding telegram, a "whipping boy" of warring political groups.<sup>126</sup> By emphasizing their victimization and glossing over the factor of authentic youth anger behind the demonstrations, U.S. officials failed to accept or even consider that overt and covert activities at their diplomatic posts in Surabaya and elsewhere contributed to the swell in anti-Americanism there. For, far from being mindless "sheep," the radical nationalist *arek Suroboyo* behind the movement possessed a keen awareness of global events and were vitally engaged with the wider 1960s youth movement against western domination of developing world nations. This awareness and engagement informed their strategy to push for the ouster of the Americans from East Java. "At that time, I hated America!" R. Djoko Soemadijo claims,

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<sup>125</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, 25 August 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66, Political and Development file, Box 2307, NACP.

<sup>126</sup> Telegram, DOS to JKT, 7 September 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense files, Box 2317, NACP.

reflecting on his role in helping to organize the demonstrations. “I was convinced and convinced others that [if we did not act] in the future the United States would rule Indonesia.”<sup>127</sup> Regardless of their respective political affiliations, the movement’s leaders thus set their sights on the consulate and USIS library not because they were convenient targets. Rather, with good reason, they considered that these institutions were spreading propaganda, attempting to engineer political developments in the favor of America’s allies in Indonesia, and, in so doing, undermining Indonesia’s hard-won sovereignty.

Ambassador Jones characterized the anti-Americanism in Surabaya as a smokescreen for a “clearly domestic political issue.” According to the ambassador, the “real struggle” was not between the Indonesian people and the American diplomatic mission in their country but between the left-wing radical nationalist and right-wing camps. Essentially, as Jones elaborated, the true conflict lay between those wanting to continue *Konfrontasi* and those seeking a peaceful solution to end the movement to “crush” Malaysia. It was thus that the ambassador viewed anti-U.S. actions such as the attack on the Surabaya branch of USIS as a type of “psychological weapon” of the PKI and their PNI allies vying to outmaneuver their rivals.<sup>128</sup> In his interpretation, the otherwise “gentle and loveable” Indonesians who participated in the demonstrations were being exploited by the radical Left.<sup>129</sup> To Marshall Green, anti-U.S. demonstrations were the work of Sukarno’s “goon squads” which included, among

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<sup>127</sup> Interview with H.R. Djoko Soemadijo, Surabaya, 22 May 2012.

<sup>128</sup> Telegram, JKT (Jones) to DOS (Sec. State), 10 December 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2313, NACP.

<sup>129</sup> As Jones would later write, regarding a particularly violent demonstration at his residence, “I guess you have to simply say, with Jesus, ‘Father, forgive them; they know not what they do.’ They are nice people who are being used. It’s happened throughout history.” Jones, *Indonesia*, 339. The ambassador’s capacity for forgiveness, as several of those who worked under him at the embassy have suggested, was attributable to his being a devout Christian Scientist; however, Jones’ comportment angered many of these same staffers who felt that he was too conciliatory toward Sukarno and the participants of the anti-American movement.

representatives from the Youth and National fronts, protesters-for-hire such as pedicab drivers and the unemployed.<sup>130</sup> As such, while Jones and Green expressed their sentiments about the anti-U.S. movement in different ways, both saw the demonstrations as the work of devious and critical bosses, manipulating the people for their own political ends.

As their fears of the strength of the PKI increased and their relationship with their host country declined, U.S. government representatives in Indonesia and in Washington did not stand idly by. They kept an active and increasing watch on political activities, organizations, and individuals in order to identify allies, recruit informants, track the actions of enemies, and assess how to manipulate events to their advantage. Exactly who these officials were, what they did, and the ways they did it will be the focus of the next chapter.

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<sup>130</sup> Green, *Indonesia*, 24.

## CHAPTER THREE

### **“An Extremely Useful Listening Post”: U.S. Anti-Communist Operations in Surabaya, 1963-1965**

In the midst of the seemingly unwavering onslaught of demonstrations against the U.S. presence in Surabaya, American officials at the consulate and USIS library accelerated their efforts to monitor, discredit, and derail the PKI. Despite the prevalence of other political actors in the anti-U.S. movement, their preoccupation with the Party was a reflection of the broad U.S. government mindset concerning communist ascendancy in Indonesia. It also reflected U.S. officials' Cold War era beliefs that the United States must not falter as the Soviet Union's principle rival in winning hearts and minds in Indonesia.

Shifting from the previous chapter's focus on the street politics of Indonesian activists, Chapter Three illuminates how political subversion against local and international communism became the *raison d'être* of U.S. government personnel in Surabaya between 1963 and 1965. In examining the inner workings of what U.S. officials classified as an “extremely useful listening post,” this chapter is a further departure from existing approaches to U.S.-Indonesian relations during this period.<sup>1</sup> Whereas scholars have heretofore dwelled on state-level policy making and its implementation at the embassy, I examine on-the-ground U.S. officials and their operations.

Our understanding of U.S. Foreign Service anti-communist operations is incomplete without details about constituent, or secondary, posts of U.S. diplomatic missions. Though widely-overlooked in the literature, such sites joined embassies and CIA stations in capital cities

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<sup>1</sup> Telegram, JKT to SecState, 27 August 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP Files 1964-66 Political Affairs & Relations file, Box 2327, NACP.

as critical generators of information and intelligence during the Cold War. For instance, an analysis of the relationship between a consulate and a USIS library at a constituent post can provide new information about collaborations between officials from the State Department, USIA, and CIA. Surabaya is a particularly valuable site from which to reevaluate these dynamics in Indonesia. Recognizing that inter-agency relations during the early-to-mid 1960s there were much more harmonious than at the U.S. Embassy expands existing analyses which largely stress embassy-level factionalism and dissent as the defining characteristics of the U.S. presence in Indonesia at this time.

The fact that numerous intelligence specialists and experts on communism were assigned to Surabaya as U.S.-Indonesian relations worsened between 1963 and 1965 emphasizes its importance as a U.S. government Cold War listening post. I profile three of these people, CIA operative Grant H. Ichikawa, State Department Political Affairs Officer, Jacob Walkin, and USIA Branch Public Affairs Officer, Jim McHale. These officials were representatives of the major government agencies that contributed to anti-communist operations of this period. I examine their use of informants and other methods of intelligence gathering, what they did with the information that they obtained, and the use of propaganda as a political subversion tactic. I show that their backgrounds shaped their single-minded obsession with eradicating communism in Indonesia. Experiences such as prior service in other Cold War hot spots and training in Soviet affairs led them to emphasize, as well as inflate, the threat of the PKI and Soviet presence in Surabaya. This provided the rationale and justification for the operations that, ultimately, contributed to U.S. complicity in the eradication of the PKI.

A careful study of relations between U.S. and Indonesian military and civilian officials in Surabaya also suggests a far greater degree of nuance at the interpersonal level than is evident in the historiography to date. This chapter details the relationships among members of the consulate and USIS staffs and the Surabaya and East Java chiefs of police, the East Java Regional Military Commander Basuki Rachmat and the head of the District Military Command, Lieutenant Colonel R. Soekotjo. I also discuss U.S. officials' perceptions of, and relationships with, East Java's governor Mohammad Wijono and the two highest-ranking PKI-affiliated members of the civilian leadership, vice governor dr. Satrijo Sastrodiredjo and his successor as Surabaya's mayor, Moerachman. U.S. officials, reflective of their Cold War mindset, broadly classified these figures as friends and foes. However, Indonesian actors did not always fit neatly into such narrowly-defined categories: whereas Basuki, an anti-communist, often proved unwilling or unable to show public solidarity with the Americans, Satrijo, a communist, maintained very cordial open and personal relations with members of the consulate staff.

Finally, U.S. efforts to halt the ascendancy of Indonesian communism also must be understood within the broader context of the Cold War itself. The political momentum of the PKI in Surabaya attracted the attention of the Soviets, who, like the Americans, recognized that it was a locus of the PKI's strength. As U.S.-Indonesian relations worsened, American officials' obsession and sense of competition with their counterparts at the Soviet Consulate General therefore also intensified. U.S. intelligence on the Russians sought to assess the ties they were building with members of the provincial and municipal leadership in Surabaya and how much their influence affected these figures' own approach to leadership. As the actions of U.S. officials in Surabaya show, the U.S. government's intensifying concerns about China during this period did not mean that the USSR became a non-factor in their Cold War calculations in



Indonesia. Rather, U.S. officials were so obsessed with communism that they made the case that any signs of communist strength were attributable to Soviet machinations. Despite the obvious influence of the mentality that drove this obsession, the fixation itself reveals interesting details about the Russian presence in Surabaya and how U.S. officials were interpreting Soviet actions.

## **Eyes and Ears**

The consulate of the early-to-mid 1960s was a small operation. It occupied an unassuming colonial-era house with a modest front yard located at 33 Jalan Raya dr. Soetomo (Fig. 3.1). The U.S. government leased the building from the property's former Dutch owner. The consul, or primary officer, was supported by a staff of political affairs officers, one of whom, as vice consul of this section, was also the CIA's highest ranking operative in Surabaya, the resident chief. The USIS staff, housed in a separate facility, was even smaller. It consisted of a director, a public affairs officer, and a handful of Indonesian administrative officers.

All told, the consulate's staff of American officials and their Indonesian colleagues totaled no more than ten people. The size of the staff at the U.S. Consulate in Medan, which shared a facility with the USIS branch there, would have been approximately the same.<sup>2</sup> In Jakarta between 1958 and 1965, Ambassador Jones presided over a group of nearly three hundred State Department, USIA and Economic Aid Mission employees, and members of the

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<sup>2</sup> Former consul Ted Heavner provides some indication of the size and composition of the staff in Medan during this period in his 1997 Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training oral history. See interview of Theodore J.C. Heavner by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 28 May 1997, ADST.

military.<sup>3</sup> He also convened meetings of the U.S. government “country team” consisting of the heads of the economic and military aid programs, military attachés and representatives of other government agencies including the CIA.<sup>4</sup>



**Figure 3.1.** The U.S. Consulate Surabaya as it appeared c. 1960s. Undated photograph. Records of the United States Consulate General Surabaya.

The atmosphere at the embassy during the Howard Jones years was rather different from that at the Surabaya post. There, as earlier chapters have shown, a number of Jones’ staff profoundly disagreed with the ambassador’s approach to Sukarno in the face of the intensifying anti-U.S. movement. This created conditions in which dissent, and even subversion, of Jones’

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<sup>3</sup> Jones, *Indonesia*, 332. This would change once Marshall Green arrived. Under his leadership, the staff was reduced as the U.S. diplomatic presence enacted the low posture policy. See interview of Marshall Green by Robert J. Martens, 12 May 1987. Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection, ADST. Accessed 10 June 2013.

<sup>4</sup> In his discussion of this group, Jones avoids any mention of the CIA’s presence among the country team organizations or of the Agency’s Indonesia Station Chief, B. Hugh Tovar. See, Jones, *Indonesia*, 330.

authority were commonplace. The ambassador played down these tensions in his memoirs.<sup>5</sup> However, contemporaneous evidence suggests that much maneuvering was occurring behind Jones' back, by the opponents on his staff and at the Department of State and by representatives of the CIA in Indonesia and the Agency's Directorate of Operations in Washington.<sup>6</sup>

In Surabaya, by contrast, there was a strong working relationship amongst the senior and junior staffers at the consulate and USIS library. According to Fred Coffey, Branch Public Affairs Officer and USIS director from 1960 to 1964: "It was very much a team operation in Surabaya because of the closeness of all the Americans professionally... I enjoyed a great personal and professional relationship with the people in the consulate."<sup>7</sup> The close ties among the employees were partially driven by necessity, given the small size of the institutions' combined staff. But it seems that they were also the result of camaraderie that developed in the face of the mounting on-the-job pressures that U.S. officials faced, including frustrations over the post's relationship with U.S. diplomatic mission headquarters.

While the U.S. government prioritized Surabaya as one of its most vital Cold War posts, embassy and other officials were not always able to meet the needs of the personnel assigned there. For instance, even as the consulate became a favored target of demonstrators, it struggled to get approval for increased security measures. Marshall Green has claimed that he had difficulty obtaining Indonesian government consent to improve the physical security of the

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<sup>5</sup> Jones, *Indonesia*, 144.

<sup>6</sup> Simpson, *Economists*, 139 and 151.

<sup>7</sup> Interview of Fred Coffey by G. Lewis Schmidt, 14 September 1990, ADST.

embassy and its constituent posts in Surabaya and Medan.<sup>8</sup> However, Fred Coffey cites the procrastination of the embassy's administrative office as the true culprit behind the lack of security at the Surabaya consulate. According to Coffey, even in the face of the intensifying demonstrations at the facility, the office was loathe to release funds for the construction of a fence around the consulate's perimeter.<sup>9</sup>

Between 1963 and 1965, in response to the rise of the PKI and worsening U.S.-Indonesian relations, the CIA, State Department, and USIA assigned several new personnel to Surabaya. Selected for their respective backgrounds, prior Foreign Service experience, and areas of academic or professional expertise, this coterie of U.S. officials held a near-uniform propensity both to believe in and to inflate the communist threat. Their education, experience, and training influenced their perceptions, reporting, and operations. The contemporary view of communism that Americans who joined the Foreign Service during the McCarthy era held shaped their ideas and actions as well. Three figures illustrate this point. One of them was Grant Ichikawa, the CIA's resident chief, a second-generation Japanese American intelligence expert. Another was the consulate's political affairs officer, Jacob Walkin. A third was Coffey's successor as USIS director, Jim McHale. A close study of these men – representing the areas of security, politics and economics, and public diplomacy – reveals new details about the level of importance that the Surabaya post held for the U.S. government during the height of the Cold War in Indonesia. It also indicates how various types of U.S. officials in Indonesia contributed to subversion attempts against the United States' Cold War enemies.

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<sup>8</sup> Green writes, "Aside from new fences and grillwork on all first-floor windows, we had asked that our PKI-sympathizing police guards be replaced with ones who were reliable and took their duties seriously." Green, *Indonesia*, 38.

<sup>9</sup> Interview of Fred Coffey by G. Lewis Schmidt, 14 September 1990, ADST.

As conditions in Jakarta attest, during the Cold War, interactions between officials from the CIA and Department of State at U.S. Foreign Service posts were often uneasy. Writing in 1981, B. Hugh Tovar, CIA station chief in Indonesia from 1964 to 1966, classified inter-agency relations as “a forced marriage that has evolved... into a symbiotic relationship from which there is no escape... If State would like to live without CIA, the Agency certainly cannot live without State.”<sup>10</sup> As Tovar explains, conflicts arose from the fact that, in State Department personnel eyes, CIA operatives stationed under cover at diplomatic posts were competitors and usurpers within “territory that has traditionally been a State preserve.”<sup>11</sup>

However, by all appearances, things once again were rather different in Surabaya. Grant Ichikawa appears to have been very much a team player who made every effort to involve the consulate’s primary officer in his operations. For example, in September 1965 he sought the concurrence of Consul McLean before arranging a meeting with Brawijaya Commander Basuki Rachmat to discuss security measures for the consulate.<sup>12</sup> Thus, unlike the operatives based at the CIA station at the embassy, Ichikawa was a part of a cohesive consulate team. This fact suggests that CIA operatives’ relations with State Department officials were not always as fraught with tension as Hugh Tovar suggests.

Ichikawa arrived at the consulate on a diplomatic passport in the summer of 1963. He operated under the guise of being the post’s Vice Consul for Political Affairs (a typical CIA

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<sup>10</sup> Hugh Tovar, “The Not-So Secret War or How State-CIA Squabbling Hurts U.S. Intelligence,” in *Inside CIA's Private World: Declassified Articles from the Agency's Internal Journal, 1955-1992*. H. Bradford Westerfield, ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 186.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 187.

<sup>12</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, “Memorandum of Conversation between Vice Consul Grant Ichikawa and Maj. Gen. Basuki Rachmat, Regional Military Commander,” 16 September 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political and Defense file, Box 2316, NACP.

cover) and was supported by an assistant, a communications officer, and a secretary.<sup>13</sup> He remained in Surabaya until early 1966. A second assignment in Indonesia from 1966 to 1968 followed. During that tour he was posted to the CIA station in Jakarta.

As the CIA's chief operative in Surabaya, Grant Ichikawa exemplified the type of U.S. official whose work history and personal and professional characteristics were valuable to a post seeking to infiltrate Cold War-era Surabaya politics. Ichikawa's career in intelligence gathering began during World War II. In 1942 he was recruited into the U.S. Army's Military Intelligence Service from the Gila River, Arizona Relocation Center. He had been incarcerated there along with his parents and siblings under the terms of the U.S. government's enforced removal of Japanese "enemy aliens" and Japanese Americans from the West Coast. Following his recruitment, Ichikawa was initially assigned to the Interrogation Section in the Pacific Theater. Beginning in 1950, for two and a half years he served in the Counter Intelligence Corps during the Korean War. It was following this second tour of duty that he began his career as a CIA civilian employee. An assignment to Tokyo during the mid-to-late 1950s provided him with training in recruiting and interacting with informants.<sup>14</sup>

His expertise working with informants was instrumental in Ichikawa's successful maneuvering for the CIA in Surabaya. It is certain to have added to the depth and breadth of CIA intelligence on political conditions there. Indeed, he seems to have provided the Agency with

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<sup>13</sup> Interview of Grant Hayao Ichikawa by Paul Y. Tani, 29 August 2003, Veterans' Oral History Project (VOHP) of the American Folklife Center, The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. [www.loc.gov/vets](http://www.loc.gov/vets). Accessed 12 February 2013.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

greater access to key contacts than it had previously enjoyed. Ichikawa claims to have initiated CIA contact with members of the Army, a task that he states his predecessor had not pursued.<sup>15</sup>

Ichikawa appears to have successfully maintained his cover throughout his time at the consulate. While it is possible that the Indonesian officials with whom he was in contact knew that he was CIA, it seems likely that they were unaware of his work for the Agency as they never publically exposed him an operative of the CIA. He certainly appears to have gone undetected in his encounters with the members and supporters of the anti-U.S. movement such as when he received the Surabaya Youth Front's delegation during the group's takeover of the consulate in September 1965. "Grand Isigawa [sic]... [appeared] with a pale and frightened face and disheveled appearance," the *Surabaya Post* portrayed him during this exchange, identifying Ichikawa to readers as the post's vice consul.<sup>16</sup>

Ichikawa believed that his ethnicity was advantageous for the covert intelligence work that he performed for the CIA in Indonesia. Yet, at least initially, his CIA superiors had doubts whether a Japanese American operative would be the right fit for the job as the Agency's resident chief in Surabaya. They specifically feared that he would be unable to make inroads with local allies who might still feel resentment over Japan's World War II-era occupation of their homeland. Instead, the highest ranking military officer in East Java, Basuki Rachmat, became one of Ichikawa's closest contacts following their first meeting soon after his arrival at the consulate:

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> "Konsul AS Mclean [sic] dituntut pergi sekarang djuga," *Surabaya Post*, 7 September 1965, II.

I made a courtesy call on [Major] General Basuki Rachmat, who was the Commanding General for the East Java Army. I didn't know how I was going to be received. I didn't know how he felt toward Japanese. When I went to see him, he greeted me like a long-lost brother. I was 'in'. Later on, he told me that he liked the Japanese Army because they were the ones that trained the Indonesian Army... I got along very good with him. He said 'If there [is] anything you [want] me to do, please don't hesitate to ask me.'<sup>17</sup>

Ichikawa again found his ethnicity to be beneficial during the Surabaya Youth Front takeover of the consulate grounds on 7-8 September 1965. At the beginning of the demonstration he was able to unobtrusively exit the building and re-enter with provisions for his colleagues who, on the order of Ambassador Green, were frantically burning the consulate's classified files:

I was able to go home on a police jeep, [then]... brought the food back, and we stayed up all night at the consulate, hoping that Basuki would send troops; the police did not want to intervene. Sure enough, early the next morning, a platoon of... Army showed up with bayonets and shoved all the demonstrators out. Hindsight, the reason I was able to go in and out on a Jeep, is because I think they thought I was from the Japanese Consulate. Then, I later learned that Subandrio, the Foreign Minister, had asked his ambassador in America to complain to the State Department – Dean Rusk – for using the Japanese Consulate to break up the demonstration. He was previously briefed that America was composed of all kinds of people; we have Irish Americans, German Americans, and so forth, even Japanese Americans. There is nobody from the Japanese Consulate.<sup>18</sup>

While likely aware that he could not pass as Indonesian, Ichikawa felt that, compared to his colleagues, all of whom were white, he had greater anonymity and was less liable to be recognized as an American outside of the consulate. "Being an [Asian] face I blend[ed] very well with the local people," he surmised, reflecting on the ease with which he was able to openly meet with his agents in the field.<sup>19</sup> Both his distinct Japanese American identity and his comparative anonymity thus were assets to his work for the consulate and the CIA. The former in particular

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<sup>17</sup> Interview of Grant Hayao Ichikawa by Paul Y. Tani, 29 August 2003, VOHP.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.



allowed him closer ties with Basuki and perhaps with other local leaders than most of his colleagues who appear to have had more formal or distant relationships with these figures.

Because of his infrequent appearance on the pages of now-declassified consulate files (which give no indication that he was a CIA operative), it is apparent that Ichikawa did most of his reporting to the CIA's Office for Covert Action in the Far East. The main recipients of his intelligence would have been the CIA intelligence analysis and clandestine services wings, then under the respective leadership of the Deputy Director for Intelligence, Ray S. Cline, and the Deputy Director for Plans, Richard M. Helms. Though Ichikawa's name only occasionally appears as a contributor in outgoing consulate correspondence, it is clear that his work also benefited State Department intelligence-gathering operations. Information that he shared with the Department included intelligence on PKI headway in Surabaya, campus politics, and Indonesian military maneuvers in East Java.<sup>20</sup>

The outpouring of intelligence that Ichikawa and his colleagues in Surabaya produced during the mid-1960s is particularly remarkable given the small size of the staff.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, by the time of their arrival in Surabaya, the post was already known to the embassy for its robust

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<sup>20</sup> In a late February airgram, for example, Ichikawa reported on a press account of the firing of two guided missiles that "could reach any altitude in any weather" during an Air Force exercise named "Pantjanaka II." He accordingly assessed that information on the exercise that took place on 11 February 1964 at an undisclosed site near Surabaya would prove valuable to U.S. security officials concerned about the implication of missiles originating from Indonesia upon U.S. national security or American military operations in Southeast Asia. See airgram, SUB to DOS, "Political, Military, and Psychological Notes: Surabaya Consular District, February 10-24, 1964," 27 February 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political and Defense file, Box 2306, NACP.

<sup>21</sup> In another contrast to Jakarta, during Jones' tenure it appears that staff of the U.S. Consulate in Surabaya had much freer rein in authoring the content that went into transmissions that they sent regarding developments in the consular district. According to Henry Heymann who served in the Political Section of the embassy from 1956 to 1958 and again from 1961 to 1965 before being appointed acting consul in Surabaya, the ambassador and political counselor, John Henderson, censored embassy dispatches and telegrams. This would change once Marshall Green took over, as, according to Heymann, "We were free under Green to write the truth as we saw it." Interview of Henry Heymann by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 15 July 1993, ADST.

intelligence output. “We flooded the embassy and the Department with reporting,” Jack Lydman, consul in Surabaya from 1958 to 1960 recalls. “Once in [a] while the Political Counselor would come up from Jakarta and say, ‘my God, I haven't time to read anything except what you're sending from Surabaya.’ But nobody asked us to cut it down.”<sup>22</sup> Indeed, while the CIA seems to have lagged behind State Department and USIA officials in seeking contact with Army leaders, the consulate and USIS had long been diligent in forging ties with right-wing military elements. According to former consul Jack Lydman, American contact with the East Java military had increased in the late 1950s: “We concentrated on important non-Communist and anti-Communist groups, particularly the Army and Navy. The Navy had its biggest naval base in Surabaya. It had been somewhat contaminated by Marxism and it was a very important target for us... The Army was an extraordinarily important target for us because we felt it was the principal barrier to a Communist takeover in Indonesia.”<sup>23</sup> The post continued to forge ties with East Java military leaders during the tenures of Robert Black and Allan McLean. “We worked very hard with the military, made extremely good contacts with... the marines, with the army, navy, air force and the police,” recalled Fred Coffey, who worked with both men.<sup>24</sup>

The consulate's most prolific reporter between 1963 and 1965 was Political Affairs Officer Jacob Walkin.<sup>25</sup> A specialist in Soviet Affairs with a doctorate in Political Science, Walkin joined the Department of State intelligence service (INR) in 1952. He was posted to

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<sup>22</sup> Interview of Jack Lydman by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 27 April 1988, ADST.

<sup>23</sup> Interview of Jack Lydman by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 27 April 1988, ADST.

<sup>24</sup> Interview of Fred Coffey by G. Lewis Schmidt, 14 September 1990, ADST.

<sup>25</sup> Walkin's numerous dispatches to the Department of State later became the basis of his 1969 academic study on Muslim-PKI tensions in East Java during the final Guided Democracy years. See Jacob Walkin “The Moslem-Communist Confrontation in East Java, 1964-1965,” *Orbis* 13, 3 (1969): 822-47.

Eastern Europe, then served as the security officer at the U.S. Consulate General in Hong Kong from 1958 to 1960. Walkin was first assigned to Indonesia in 1961 as chief of the Consular Section at the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta where his primary duty was issuing visas to Indonesians seeking to travel to the United States. Walkin became Consul McLean's deputy upon joining the consulate staff in late 1963.<sup>26</sup> This appointment was an opportunity to put his experience and training to significant use.

Walkin's transfer to the consulate confirms that U.S. officials in Washington believed that the threat of communism in East Java was very real and wanted to obtain more information about it. Indeed in Walkin, the Department found someone who could provide them with evidence that would further validate its mission to subvert the PKI and Sukarno and also the Soviets. His reporting moreover contributed to the Cold War threat inflation in which the U.S. government of this period routinely engaged. So abundant was his output that Walkin's reputation as a prolific reporter and analyst long outlasted his tenure in Surabaya.<sup>27</sup>

Walkin monitored political and economic conditions in Surabaya and compiled a great deal of information on the Soviets in Surabaya. His job requirements included hosting parties for Indonesian guests and accompanying the consul to events hosted by the USSR's diplomatic mission in the city. Walkin reported on the activities and personnel of the Soviet Consulate General, established on Jalan Sumatra in late 1962, and Soviet interactions with and outreach to municipal and provincial figures. He was meticulous in noting the local figures who attended or were absent from events such as public lectures, exhibitions, cultural celebrations, and

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<sup>26</sup> Interview of Jacob Walkin by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 30 March 2000. Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection, ADST. Accessed 22 July 2012.

<sup>27</sup> Walkin has cited the praise of the embassy's political counselor Ed Masters who told him long after their service in Indonesia that, "no one before or since you were in Surabaya has reported on East Java the way you did." Ibid.

commemorations either at the consulate general or organized by its staff at other locales. In documenting what was discussed at them, he assessed their significance as indicators of the degree of Soviet influence in East Java.

Indeed, Walkin and his colleagues put an immense importance on attempting to determine the reach of the Soviet presence in Surabaya and its influence on even greater PKI political gains. At his best, Walkin showed how Indonesian political developments reflected communist or Soviet ideology. His analytical strengths are notable in his account of PKI campaigns targeting the urban poor in Surabaya in which he explained to the Department of State that Marxist doctrine drove outreach that focused upon petty laborers.<sup>28</sup> The nature of the intelligence he gathered and the political and economic reporting he produced consequently reveal much about U.S. government interest in international and local dynamics of Indonesian communism.

Yet Walkin's insistence on linking all aspects of Indonesian politics back to the Soviets was oversimplified and obscured a more complicated set of dynamics. His overreaching Sovietologist's gaze led him to parallel Sukarno's increasingly autocratic leadership with Stalinism. The President's growing alignment with communist foreign policy positions, Walkin further suggested, would lead to his institution of Stalinist tenets in Indonesia.<sup>29</sup> However, Walkin's conclusion about the motivations and influences behind Sukarno's increasing political control was an oversimplified explanation for why he had established Guided Democracy.

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<sup>28</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, "Political Notes: Surabaya Consular District: July 29 – August 9, 1964," 12 August 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political and Defense file, Box 2307, NACP, 5.

<sup>29</sup> See Airgram, SUB (Walkin) to DOS, "East Java Officials Continue Attacks on Independent Judiciary and Rule of Law," 28 January 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political and Defense file, Box 2315, NACP, 2.

While the work of the consulate staff was relatively removed from the eyes of the public at large, in the battle for Indonesian hearts and minds, USIS staffers played the lead role. As the face of U.S. public diplomacy, they were the most visible of all American officials in Surabaya, save for the consul. As such, they became intimately familiar with the difficulties of conducting cultural diplomacy in the midst of the anti-U.S. campaigns. Fred Coffey recalls the situation he faced following his arrival in Surabaya in 1960:

The undercover police of the Surabaya police force came around and told me that the communists had marked me for extinction, and that I either had to leave or be prepared for a tough time, that they would try to provide me personal security, however. I opted, of course, to stay, and I had guards with me, in front of the house, escorting me to work, staying around our building, for many months.<sup>30</sup>

When Coffey left Surabaya in July 1964 to head Voice of America (VOA) operations in Indonesia, Jim McHale became the next director of USIS. Like many of his colleagues, McHale brought previous experience in a Cold War ‘hot spot’ post to his appointment in Surabaya. He had previously served in a remote area of northeastern Laos in 1959, which he characterized as “infested with Pathet Lao communist guerillas.” As part of expanding American operations in this “primitive, high-risk” environment, as he depicted it, he organized mobile military and civil information teams and introduced VOA broadcasts into highland villages. This information structure informed villagers of the Royal Lao government’s backing and provided assurances of forthcoming material support against the Pathet Lao.<sup>31</sup> McHale’s experience cultivating these areas in Laos seems to have prepared him well for his role in Surabaya, where he proved equally adroit at propaganda dissemination and developing information networks. McHale was also a

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<sup>30</sup> Interview of Fred Coffey by G. Lewis Schmidt, 14 September 1990, ADST.

<sup>31</sup> *The United States Information Agency: A Commemoration* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1999), 23.

linguist. His command of Indonesian, far greater than that of Allan McLean and his other colleagues (with the exception of Jacob Walkin), meant that he was able to converse with a wide array of interlocutors, a valuable asset for a branch public affairs officer.<sup>32</sup>

McHale eagerly made contact with potential allies as well as with local antagonists. He prided himself on his ability to mine intelligence during his meetings with his sources. Indeed, intelligence gathering was a major aspect of his work, albeit a more clandestine one than overseeing USIS programming and staff. Accordingly, it was critical in his ability to advise the diplomatic mission and the Department of State regarding where public affairs strategies and policies designed to weaken their Cold War rivals might be needed or enhanced.

Transcripts of discussions that the USIS director held with members of the press, local university students, and labor leaders were typed up and sent to the embassy and Department of State.<sup>33</sup> Mchale convened meetings with these figures ostensibly, “for the purpose of carrying out free discussions on important issues and to obtain the ‘flavor’ of their thinking on current political problems.”<sup>34</sup> For instance, from his conversation with Goh Tjing Hok, the Sukarnoist editor of *Liberty*, Mchale sought to gain insight on the National Front’s December 1964

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<sup>32</sup> Though fluent in Spanish following his time as U.S. Consul in Mexico, Allan McLean struggled with Indonesian and “never tried to use the language afterwards,” according to his Foreign Service Institute Indonesian language training classmate, Dick Howland. See interview of Richard C. Howland by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 26 January 1999, ADST.

<sup>33</sup> See, for instance, *ibid.* and Airgram, SUB (McHale) to DOS, “‘Portfolio’ of Conversations with East Java Student and Labor Leaders Regarding Anti-U.S. and Anti-USIS Sentiment in the Region,” 1 December 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2328, NACP.

<sup>34</sup> See Airgram, SUB (McHale) to DOS, “Conversation with Local Editor Regarding Political Situation,” 11 February 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2311, NACP.

takeover of USIS.<sup>35</sup> “Tell me, Mr. Goh,” McHale said, “when USIS was ‘ganjanged’ [attacked], was this done with Djakarta’s authority or approval or was it a local action which Djakarta later approved?” Goh responded: “It was local. The local authorities gave in to left-wing pressures. They do this frequently. That is why I see little hope left.”<sup>36</sup> Once transmitted to the embassy, the Department of State, or forwarded to other agencies in Washington, information of this nature would have been very easily accepted as evidence that East Java was in danger of falling to communism. It would have provided policy-makers with an illustrative example of why the Indonesian Army or other anti-communist elements should be urged to act against the communists. It also would have justified any actions that the United States and its allies would then take against their political rivals from the Left.

Though the U.S. officials profiled above were specialists in foreign affairs and communism, this hardly meant that they were well informed about Indonesian politics. As suggested by Walkin’s reporting on political developments in East Java, ‘expert’ interpretations of the omnipotence of communism *à la Russe* led to the PKI being viewed as a larger international threat than the party truly was. Moreover, even if they had any degree of doubt about the actual threat that the PKI posed locally or internationally, many U.S. officials saw it as imperative to inflate the PKI threat in order to remove the party – and Sukarno – from power.

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<sup>35</sup> In his write-up of the meeting, the USIS director characterized Goh as growing pessimistic and disillusioned with the regime in the face of mounting restrictions on press freedoms. *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

## **“An Ounce of Prevention”**

In September 1964, Consul Allan McLean and USIS director Jim McHale informed the Department of State of their plans to prevent leftists in the Youth Front from seizing the USIS Surabaya facility: “Acting on advance information and the maxim that ‘an ounce of prevention...etc.’ the consulate with the embassy’s concurrence approached East Java’s Governor Mohammad Wijono to alert him to the threat and to seek his assurances that, in keeping with [Indonesian government] policy, the local authorities would move in promptly to frustrate any such action.”<sup>37</sup>

As this anecdote suggests, the use of informants and other collaborators was instrumental to U.S. officials’ intelligence gathering efforts. They were important figures particularly in situations when direct American engagement proved either impossible or too conspicuous. In most circumstances these informants were Indonesians for, as stated by Barbara Harvey, Public Affairs Officer at the USIS library in the early 1960s, “foreigners [in certain settings] would have stood out too much.”<sup>38</sup> Informants in Surabaya infiltrated local political meetings and other events that U.S. officials either were not invited to attend or to which they were unable to gain access on their own. They proved to be invaluable sources of information as consulate and USIS employees tried to determine where, when, and how anti-American activities would occur. Indeed, it appears that by August 1964, a “highly placed key contact in the Front Pemuda”

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<sup>37</sup> Airgram, SBY to DOS, “Political, Psychological, and Military Notes, September 8-24, 1964,” 24 September 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2307, NACP, 2.

<sup>38</sup> Interview with Dr. Barbara Harvey, Georgetown, 15 September 2010.



informed the consulate that “storm warnings” foretold a possible USIS takeover.<sup>39</sup> Despite providing such tantalizing hints, declassified documents and oral histories otherwise reveal few details about who the consulate’s Indonesian informants were. Also unknown at this time are the motivations that drove them to collaborate with U.S. officials and how they were recruited and compensated.

In other situations, it was American citizens who provided the type of access and information that U.S. officials sought. Among them was an American academic who was enlisted as an informant due to the proximity that his research gave him to the urban poor.<sup>40</sup> U.S. officials in Surabaya were eager to determine the extent of the PKI’s influence within this group, which they considered to be especially susceptible to communist influence. In 1963 they requested that an American graduate student from Harvard University compile notes on the political orientation of Surabaya’s *kampung* residents in the course of his anthropological research on East Javanese folk theater. Excerpts from the seven pages of observations he submitted were then shared with the embassy and officials in Washington.<sup>41</sup>

U.S. officials also gathered intelligence in other ways. Local publications, as today, were employed in the creation of a press summary produced for the Department of State known as the Surabaya News Bulletin. However, as U.S.-Indonesian relations declined, even this routine task

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<sup>39</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, “Political and Psychological Notes for Surabaja Consular District, August 24 – September 7,” 8 September 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political and Defense file, Box 2307, NACP, 5.

<sup>40</sup> This instance followed a long-running precedent of U.S. government efforts to co-opt and even coerce academics conducting research in Indonesia into serving as agents of U.S. Foreign Policy. For evidence of this practice during the Indonesian National Revolution see Kahin, *Testament*, 63-65 and Chapters 5 and 6. For its continuance during the New Order era see Benedict R. O’G. Anderson, “Scholarship on Indonesia and Raison d’Etat: Personal Experience,” *Indonesia* 62 (October 1996): 1-18.

<sup>41</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, “Political Orientation of Surabaya’s Kampung Dwellers,” 8 May 1963. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 3936, NACP.

presented a challenge. Sometimes publications were unobtainable by direct means, as when delivery was interrupted during the 1965 postal strikes or in the event that a paper or magazine refused the consulate a subscription. In late March 1965 the consulate reported difficulty with obtaining two out of the five Surabaya PKI-line papers, *Pemuda* and *Djawa Timur*. The former paper, “despite repeated calls,” had ceased delivering to the consulate. The latter publication took a more direct approach: “A check at the office revealed that it no longer wants the two subscriptions from the Consulate. ‘We will not serve you any longer,’ was the reply given to a consulate chauffeur who went to the office for a second time in a fruitless effort to obtain undelivered copies.” U.S. officials dealt with this roadblock by turning to their Indonesian colleagues to purchase the papers from newsstands.<sup>42</sup>

Under Fred Coffey and his successor, Jim McHale, USIS was a highly productive site of propaganda distribution and other attempts at political subversion. The USIS library was at the center of operations against local and international communism. U.S. foreign policy objectives were reflected in USIS programming and the library’s holdings.<sup>43</sup> By the start of the 1960s, a

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<sup>42</sup> See Airgram, SUB to DOS, “Political, Psychological and Military Notes for Surabaya Consular District, March 22 – April 25 1965,” 28 April 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political and Defense file, Box 2307, NACP, 3.

<sup>43</sup> It bears mention that the notion that shaping the image of the United States to the world was a uniquely Cold War-era development is a major theme in studies of public diplomacy during this period. However, most recently, Justin Hart has called for recognition of the pre-USIA phase of public diplomacy. As he reveals, the roots of the United States’ strategy to become an “empire of ideas” are not a Cold War byproduct but rather are traceable to the U.S. Good Neighbor Policy outreach to Latin America in the mid-1930s. Hart’s approach thus argues that much earlier awareness existed among U.S. officials that their nation’s role in the world was expanding and that, as a new element of U.S. foreign relations, perceptions of the United States abroad must not only be managed but also actively shaped. See Justin Hart. *Empire of Ideas: The Origins of Public Diplomacy and the Transformation of U.S. Foreign Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

decade into its establishment, the library housed approximately 16,000 books and was visited by 500 to 700 people every day.<sup>44</sup>

Placing pro-U.S. articles in local publications was a key tactic by which USIS Surabaya engaged in subversion by way of the spread of propaganda. Indeed, U.S. officials were keenly aware of just how important newspapers were as sources of political information and mobilization. As early as the 1950s, consulate intelligence credited the Surabaya USIS branch with helping to reorient the largely pro-communist news coverage of the PKI-leaning *Perdamian*.<sup>45</sup> In addition to spreading anti-communist messages, propaganda was used to shape positive perceptions of the United States among Indonesians.

Because the Soviets also planted articles in Surabaya newspapers, U.S. officials' use of this tactic during the early to mid-1960s was as much a form of Cold War sparring at the superpower level as it was an attempt at sabotaging a local political enemy. Fred Coffey says that he used personal contacts from among Surabaya's newspaper editors to place articles in various publications in order to counterbalance Soviet-planted anti-U.S. news items. However, according to Coffey, planting articles through these editors became more and more difficult once the Indonesian government took control of the papers.<sup>46</sup>

Stating that the U.S. government wanted to "provide some windows, albeit modest, opened to the outside world," as USIS director, Coffey also spearheaded a campaign to reach out to the people of the Surabaya consular district:

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<sup>44</sup> Interview of Fred Coffey by G. Lewis Schmidt, 14 September 1990, ADST.

<sup>45</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, 19 November 1963. RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 3936, NACP, 10.

<sup>46</sup> Interview of Fred Coffey by G. Lewis Schmidt, 14 September 1990, ADST.

Exploiting a great interest in learning English, we established some 200-plus English clubs throughout the major towns and villages of east Java, part of central Java, and in Sulawesi, and each club might have 15, 20 members in each town. They would consist of the leadership of that town: the appointed government leader, the head of the local police, the head of the local military, the head of the local schools, and some of the professional people in the town who wanted to maintain contact with the United States and also to learn English. They joined at considerable political risk, as the U.S. was considered the nasty imperialist. We scrounged everything we could find in materials, even tapes, and made lots of visits to these English clubs. By the time the explosion did come in September of 1965, and Indonesia was isolated for a couple of years, these clubs were in place, even though USIS had been thrown out of the country. This left us with some residue of ongoing activity there, which we picked up in later years.<sup>47</sup>

The USIS-affiliated English clubs clearly provided spaces in which U.S. officials could retain influence and make contacts with anti-communist elements. It is furthermore possible that these clubs also were a source from which American officials mined local informants. In light of the anti-U.S. political climate of the time, taking a risk to maintain ties with USIS might have meant that some people were likewise willing to supply American officials with information on their antagonists or the political climate as a whole.

The recruitment of informants also occurred at USIS itself. The flow of daily visitors to USIS included students, government leaders, military figures, professionals, and labor leaders.<sup>48</sup> In late 1964 Jim McHale explored the possibility of funding and/or providing training to non-communist student, labor, and religious groups. For instance, in meetings with right-wing labor leaders following the Surabaya Youth Front's seizure of USIS in December 1964, the USIS director raised the question of what kind of U.S. covert assistance might be required to offset SOBSI's influence in East Java and the federation's further growth. In one of these meetings, a right-wing labor leader named Mu'alief hinted that aid ranging from money to mimeograph

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

machines would help. Ultimately, McHale remained noncommittal and the records are silent as to whether the two sides reached an agreement or the requested aid ever materialized. However, the USIS director's line of inquiry suggests that American officials in Surabaya were actively involved in attempts at political manipulation and open to providing financial and technological support to their allies.

Once McHale and his staff were expelled from Indonesia in mid-1965, the initiative for continuing the fight against anti-U.S. elements rested with the consulate, the CIA, and the USIA's VOA radio service. As conditions worsened in Surabaya and in Medan and Jakarta, Francis Galbraith, serving as Chargé d'Affaires in the period between Howard Jones' departure and the arrival of Marshall Green, sought to increase U.S. propaganda. He used his authority as acting ambassador to petition Washington in July 1965 to take action, calling on the White House to "energetically though quietly tool up for [an] effective counter-propaganda effort and other counter-actions against Sukarno's policies."<sup>49</sup> One month later, the embassy reaffirmed the "urgent need for [an] extended propaganda program" to be implemented by its primary and constituent posts in Indonesia.<sup>50</sup>

The extended propaganda campaign that the embassy proposed in late August 1965 by way of a secret airgram to the Secretary of State involved two parts. The first of these was to increase the amount of world and U.S. news in Indonesia. Secondly, embassy officials sought to distribute Indonesian news – with or without U.S. government comment – with the intention "to discredit the [Indonesian government] (as distinct from the Indonesian people) and their spurious

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<sup>49</sup> Quoted in Simpson, *Economists*, 163.

<sup>50</sup> Airgram, JKT to SecState, "Urgent Need for Expanded Propaganda Program in Indonesia," 25 August 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political and Defense file, Box 2328, NACP, 2.

claims and charges” against the United States.<sup>51</sup> The embassy’s Counselor for Political Affairs, Edward E. Masters, recommended that part of the strategy should involve spreading accounts of American achievements as a way to improve the United States’ image in Indonesia. He specifically suggested that the successes of the U.S. space program could win Indonesians’ hearts and minds. Masters stressed that in addition to continuing to plant news items, a stronger VOA signal that could reach into the more remote regions of Java was of critical importance. Sukarno, Masters contended, had long manipulated his people. Indonesians were utterly unaware of the so-called outside world and its perceptions of them. “We are perforce entering an era of psychological warfare with the Government of Indonesia and we may have little time to lose,” he wrote, reflecting the sense of urgency found in U.S. officials’ correspondence during this time.<sup>52</sup> A little over a month later, propaganda became even more of an important weapon for the U.S. diplomatic mission in Indonesia. Indeed, U.S. officials considered planting articles and increasing the VOA signal as so instrumental to destabilizing the PKI that they heavily relied upon both tactics during the 1965-66 anti-communist violence. Great Britain took similar measures. Officials in the Foreign Office and the espionage wing of the British Military Intelligence (MI6) swiftly and continuously issued propaganda against the PKI and Sukarno; the BBC was another channel of propaganda.<sup>53</sup>

As hostilities against U.S. institutions surged, American officials intensified their efforts to turn their “ounce of prevention” into a pound of cure that would reverse left-wing political

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>53</sup> For a concise account of British propaganda efforts during this period see Chapter One of Paul Lashmar and James Oliver, *Britain’s Secret Propaganda War* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), 1-10.

dominance and accelerating anti-Americanism in Surabaya. They collaborated with and used local actors to carry out the post's anti-communist operations and sought, with increasing difficulty, channels through which they could circulate propaganda. U.S. collaborators and intelligence targets have been relatively overlooked in studies of bilateral relations and U.S. Cold War operations in Indonesia. As they are significant figures, it is important to examine who they were and the nuances in their relations with U.S. officials in more depth.

### **Friends and Foes**

In 1963 consulate intelligence identified the groups in the region that were opposed to the communists and reported this information to the Department of State. The Department's Analysis and Research branch forwarded the report to the CIA, National Security Agency (NSA), and other government agencies. Classified in order of political importance, these elements were: "The Army; the NU party; the PNI party; the Police; the Navy; the banned Masjumi and PSI parties; the Christian churches; and certain intellectuals."<sup>54</sup>

A great deal of disunity existed both among and within the organizations and parties on the list. That situation sometimes worked to the benefit of U.S. officials who looked to take advantage of cleavages to forge new allegiances with groups opposed to the PKI. However, at other times, such fault lines proved more disadvantageous than beneficial.

Among U.S. officials' major problems was that few of East Java's ostensibly anti-communist groups actually opposed what they described as Sukarno's "authoritarian socialism"

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<sup>54</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, 19 November 1963. RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 3936, NACP, 15.

in total.<sup>55</sup> In itself, this was not a major issue, for the U.S. government had demonstrated a propensity in its Cold War foreign relations with developing nations to embrace pro-U.S. authoritarian regimes if it meant keeping democratic, but anti-U.S., leaders from power. However, as the consulate's political analysts concluded, most of the anti-PKI elements hoped to substitute themselves for the PKI. Some also wanted to see Sukarno retain power. Both alternatives were problematic to American officials eager to reestablish U.S. influence and prestige in the region.

American officials in Surabaya worried whether any of the anti-communist elements were actually prepared to take or support military action against the PKI before the Left gained even more influence in East Java. As the consulate concluded in 1963, "There is little question that the majority of the rank and file in East Java would be against totalitarian dictatorship in any form, but disliking a form of government and doing something about it—in time—are two different matters."<sup>56</sup> This concern only increased as it became apparent that even the staunchest pro-U.S. allies in the Army, Police, and among various right-wing political and functional groups could not always counteract or prevent the increasingly anti-U.S. surge of activity in Surabaya.

U.S. officials' predominant anxiety concerned their most powerful ally, the Army. As such, even as consulate staffers worked to draw closer to the Army's East Java leadership, they drew certain parallels between what they saw as the Army's objectives in the province and those of the PKI:

Both the leading political forces in East Java, the Army and the PKI, support authoritarian socialism. The only difference is one of degree and emphasis. Though each

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 15.



fears and hates the other – as rivals for political power – neither has much use for real democracy which could only result in reducing each one’s power and influence. Both are nationalistic and ambitious to make Indonesia a world power – to substitute Indonesian for Western influence in Southeast Asia. Neither has an interest in fostering a private enterprise economy or in safeguarding the rights of individuals. Both appear to welcome the elimination of all Western enterprise in Indonesia, although the military would carry this out gradually. The military would also stop at nationalizing Indonesian private enterprise.<sup>57</sup>

American concerns about the Army were not entirely misplaced. The Army’s increased involvement in economic affairs after the 1957 introduction of martial law meant that officers’ own material interests motivated them to see the PKI lose political power much more than did their affinity with the United States. Consulate officials witnessed these dynamics play out when American enterprises in and beyond East Java were placed under military supervision in the spring and summer of 1965. Still, U.S. officials found it favorable that the Army, the group whose ties with the United States ran the deepest of all the anti-communist sectors, emerged as the PKI’s main antagonist during Guided Democracy. After all, many officers were undeniably pro-American which boded well for finding allies among the anti-communists within the corps.

The Army was represented in the province by the Brawijaya Division. In the first decade following its formal establishment on 17 December 1948, the division participated in campaigns to crush numerous domestic uprisings from the Madiun Affair to the Outer Islands rebellions. The division also served overseas. In 1957 in the aftermath of the Suez Crisis, Brawijaya troops were sent to the region as members of the first United Nations Emergency Force deployed on the Egyptian side of the armistice line. The division’s units were then sent to the Congo, and served in West Irian and on the Indonesia-Malaysia border.

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 5.

As the conflict with Malaysia intensified, Army leaders successfully pushed for the partial restoration of martial law, which came into effect in September 1964.<sup>58</sup> It was around this time that the division instituted “Operasi Karya” (“Operation Labor”) a “civic action” program designed to improve East Java’s “agriculture, irrigation, and development” (*pangan, pengairan, pembangunan*).<sup>59</sup> Such programs were critical elements of the United States’ anti-communist strategy of the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>60</sup> They also fit the Army’s agenda of playing both a sociopolitical as well as military function in Indonesian nation-building. Civic action programs had an additional advantage. Whereas most other military assistance programs were conducted on a government-to-government basis, the army-to-army nature of civic action programs meant that they were less accessible to PKI campaigns against Western influences; they were also less affected by the U.S. Congress’ cuts in aid to Indonesia.<sup>61</sup>

Two characteristics suggested that the Brawijaya leadership would be ardent U.S. allies. Firstly, the senior officers were strongly anti-communist. They enthusiastically mobilized the regional branches of various organizations to counteract PKI growth in the province. Among them were the Veterans’ Legion, SOKSI, and the division’s own union, IKABRA (Ikatan Karyawan Brawijaya).<sup>62</sup> Secondly, many officers had received military training from the U.S. Army in Indonesia or through visits to the United States. This combination of traits and

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<sup>58</sup> Crouch, *Army*, 76.

<sup>59</sup> “Sedjarah Divisi Brawijaya,” *Surabaya Post*, 19 December 1964, II.

<sup>60</sup> Ambassador Howard Jones has acknowledged that by 1964, continuing AID and civic action programs and providing training to Indonesian military officers was occurring with the objective of maintaining contact with Army and civilian contacts that “in the post-Sukarno period could be counted on to resist a Communist takeover.” See Jones, *Indonesia*, 345.

<sup>61</sup> Gardner, *Shared Hopes, Separate Fears*, 198.

<sup>62</sup> Sudjatmiko, “The Destruction of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI): A Comparative Analysis of East Java and Bali,” 121.

experiences made for officers who were eager to seek out relationships with Americans in the region. The pro-Americanism Brawijaya officers exhibited was sometimes so fervent in fact, that U.S. officials found it to be overzealous. As Special Assistant to the Ambassador for Civic Action, U.S. Army Lieutenant Colonel (later Colonel) George C. Benson noted following a 1964 visit to East Java, “Their enthusiasm for things American, especially our training, is actually embarrassing at times.”<sup>63</sup> The Americans were encouraged by the officers’ anti-communist, pro-Western leanings. Acting upon their conviction that East Java was not yet completely lost to the PKI but certainly in danger of falling under communist control, they reached out to Army leaders. U.S. officials identified several top Surabaya-based Brawijaya Division figures with whom they hoped to collaborate. A key figure was Regional Military Commander, Major General Basuki Rachmat.

Initial impressions of Basuki were mixed. As Vice Consul J. Bruce Amstutz described him in 1963, “More affable and better educated than his immediate predecessor, he is also much less independent-minded and is more subservient to Djakarta’s wishes.”<sup>64</sup> Basuki’s perceived deficit in “force of character” to stand up to Sukarno and the PKI was wistfully contrasted with that of his predecessor, Brigadier General Soerachman. The latter was much admired for having reportedly told embassy and consulate officials in 1962: “I will fight the PKI to my dying day...

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<sup>63</sup> Airgram, JKT to DOS, “Views of East Java Military Figures on the Communist Problem,” 15 June 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2311, NACP. In Indonesia since 1956, Benson was the U.S. Embassy’s premier liaison with the Indonesian Army, having special access to TNI commander Ahmad Yani, with whom he was close friends. See Conboy and Morrison, *Feet to the Fire*, 93.

<sup>64</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, 19 November 1963. RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 3936, NACP. Amstutz, who was born in Singapore to American missionary parents, cultivated an interest in Indonesia prior to joining the U.S. Foreign Service. His 1958 doctoral thesis filed with Tufts University’s Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy examined Indonesian nationalism during the transition from colonialism to independence. See J. Bruce Amstutz, *Afghanistan: The First Five Years of Soviet Occupation* (Darby, PA: Diane Publishing, 1994), 545 and James Bruce Amstutz, “The Indonesian Youth Movement 1908-1955,” Ph.D. diss., Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1958.

I act first and then inform Djakarta.”<sup>65</sup> This was, in fact, not merely bravado. In August 1960, acting on his own initiative, Soerachman had boldly convened anti-communist commanders for a conference in the Surabaya hill station of Tretes. Because of this propensity to defy the NASAKOM party line, the Brigadier General was one of three Army commanders whom Ahmad Yani replaced with less overtly anti-communist successors.<sup>66</sup>

Although Basuki was fiercely loyal to Sukarno and not as rabidly anti-communist as his predecessor, he was hardly a PKI sympathizer. Indeed, in 1964, apparently to counter-balance the influence of the PKI in the province, Governor Wijono appointed Basuki as head of the provincial National Front. Though he was quick to promise his assistance and cooperation to U.S. officials, the Brawijaya commander was not always able or willing to act on such assurances. Indeed, while Basuki was sympathetic to the United States he was not a mouthpiece for American views on communism. In fact, his affinity toward the president meant that he was more inclined toward the Sukarnoist line. Moreover, he had to maintain at least an overt neutrality or balance between the right and left in representing both the Army as Brawijaya commander and the various functional groups in his role as chair of the Front.

The consulate found a stronger anti-communist ally in the Surabaya KODIM commander, Lieutenant Colonel Soekotjo. Born to an aristocratic family in Tulungagung in 1921, as a youth Soekotjo received the finest education possible for non-European subjects of the Dutch East Indies, becoming a student of the Hollandsch-Inlandsche School (HIS), MULO, and the Algemene Middelbare School (General Secondary School). With the outbreak of war, he joined

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<sup>65</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, 19 November 1963. RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 3936, NACP, 16.

<sup>66</sup> Herbert Feith, “President Soekarno, the Army and the Communists: The Triangle Changes Shape,” *Asian Survey* 4, no. 8 (Aug., 1964): 969.

the Defenders of the Fatherland (Pembela Tanah Air, PETA) one of the auxiliary military organizations set up by the Japanese during their occupation of Indonesia from 1942 to 1945. It was as a member of this group that he received his military training.<sup>67</sup> While a second lieutenant with Brawijaya's Sikatan Battalion Soekotjo ordered the 21 February 1949 shooting of the Indonesian Marxist (and Sukarno's nationalist movement rival), Tan Malaka.<sup>68</sup>

In December 1963 Soekotjo assumed his position as the replacement for Lieutenant Colonel Cholil Tohir, a casualty of retooling. Tohir, who had served as KODIM Commander for nearly three years, was the appointee of Basuki's predecessor, Soerachman. Tohir's mentor had, consulate intelligence noted, "instilled in him a serious anti-communist approach to military government, and as long as Surabaya was in a state of military emergency, he had considerable power." However, upon the conclusion of martial law, Tohir, like Soerachman, became vulnerable. The consulate noted his sacking with some trepidation, calling his removal "the end of an era."<sup>69</sup> As it turned out they need not have worried.

A virulent anti-communist prepared to make no concessions toward the PKI, Soekotjo was far less constrained in displaying his anti-communism than his Panca Tunggal colleagues. Almost immediately after being installed as KODIM commander, he seized the earliest opportunity to inform American officials that he was willing to work with them to destabilize the Party. "Since taking office," a consulate report noted, "Soekotjo has consistently indicated pro-

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<sup>67</sup> Wahyudi 2006 cited in Harry Poeze, *Verguisd en Vergeten: Tan Malaka, de linkse beweging en de Indonesische Revolutie, 1945-1949*, Vol. 3 (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2007), 1467, n. 211.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 1465.

<sup>69</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, "Political, Psychological and Military Notes: Surabaya Consular District: December 1-14, 1963," 17 December 1963. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1963 Political and Defense File, Box 3936, NACP, 6.

West sentiments.”<sup>70</sup> Upon his first official meeting with Fred Coffey, Soekotjo “repeated three times that he was ‘against the communists.’” When the USIS director enquired whether he was appointed as a counterweight to Surabaya’s new mayor, Moerachman, Coffey reported that the KODIM commander “just grinned and said that he hoped that there wouldn’t be any trouble.”<sup>71</sup>

The pattern of U.S. officials’ relations with the police in East Java proved different than that of their relations with the Army: while they entered the 1960s on solid footing with the municipal and provincial police leadership, by mid-decade these relationships suffered setbacks. The police were a rather complicated presence in the region. During Guided Democracy, as Harold Crouch attests, they were the most faction-ridden of the four branches of the armed services with some supporting and others opposing Sukarno’s position toward the PKI; this factionalism was particularly pronounced in East Java, resulting in tensions between the police leadership and the police corps and within the rank-and-file itself.<sup>72</sup> In the early 1960s, however, U.S. officials had productive relationships with Police Brigadier General Walujo Soegondo and Brigadier General R. Soemantri Sakimi, respectively the East Java Police Commissioner and the Surabaya Chief of Police. Both men were noted to be “friends of the consulate” with the former having received training in the United States.<sup>73</sup> U.S. officials thus hoped that their ties with the leadership of the East Java and Surabaya police forces would result in additional protection as

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<sup>70</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, “Political, Psychological and Military Notes, Surabaya Consular District: December 30, 1963 – January 11, 1964,” 13 January 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2306, NACP, 4.

<sup>71</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, “Political & Military Notes: Surabaya Consular District: December 16-29 1963,” 3 January 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2306.

<sup>72</sup> Crouch, *Army*, 85-86.

<sup>73</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, “Political, Psychological and Military Notes: Surabaya Consular District, February 10-24, 1964,” 27 February 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, Political & Defense file, Box 2306, NACP.

anti-American protests and demonstrations ramped up at the consulate and USIS. However, police reliability in this regard began to deteriorate.

By the beginning of 1964, to the dismay of Walujo as well as Army leaders from General Yani to Basuki Rachmat, the police leadership increasingly struggled to secure the corps' loyalty to carry out their orders.<sup>74</sup> Officials at the consulate and USIS could do little else but accept that although they had allies among the police willing to provide intelligence on demonstrators' plans and preparations for targeting their institutions, the municipal and provincial corps as a whole would not always prove a reliable security force. This situation was exacerbated by the removal of the pro-U.S. police leadership from Surabaya on the eve of Consul McLean's arrival in Surabaya. In February 1964, the National Police Commander abruptly informed both the municipal and provincial chiefs of police that they were being transferred to other assignments. Soemantri was notified by radiogram on 11 February of his transfer to South Sumatra, effective 10 March 1964, while Walujo was simultaneously recalled to the departmental police headquarters in Jakarta.<sup>75</sup>

Although Brigadier General R. Soeparto, the new American-trained provincial police commissioner, re-established the ties with U.S. officials that Walujo forged before his recall, his tenure was short lived. In June 1965, at the height of the anti-American movement in Surabaya, Soeparto, too, was replaced. Reporting on his transfer, Jacob Walkin informed the State Department that Soeparto's successor, Drs. Soemarsono Martosudirdjo, would undeniably be a

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<sup>74</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, "Political, Psychological and Military Notes: Surabaya Consular District, January 12-26, 1964," 28 January 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, Political & Defense file, Box 2306, NACP.

<sup>75</sup> "Brigdjen Pol. Walujo Soegondo ditarik ke Dep. Angkatan Kepolisian Djakarta," *Surabaja Post*, 22 February 1964, II.

capable commissioner, but officials in Surabaya were nevertheless anticipating a downturn in their relations with the new East Java Chief of Police. “Since he apparently never has traveled to the United States nor participated in our police training program, it is doubtful that our relations will be as cordial with him as they were with Bg. Gen. Soeparto who... had a soft spot in his heart as far as the United States and American police methods are concerned,” Walkin wrote.<sup>76</sup>

These strategically-orchestrated police transfers affected U.S.-Indonesian relations in Surabaya. For the remainder of 1965, as anti-U.S. demonstrations escalated, the police actively intervened or protected U.S. facilities and personnel less and less. This was noted by Marshall Green who would later write that he still saw much evidence of what he called “police connivance” in Surabaya when he arrived in Indonesia in July.<sup>77</sup> Indeed, according to Crouch, by 1965 police officers in East Java were siding with the PKI over local Army unit commanders.<sup>78</sup> Whatever the reason for it, losing three of their police allies at such a critical moment was discouraging to American officials in Surabaya.

Another area of concern for U.S. officials was the weakening of strong anti-communist leadership and the growth of pro-PKI elements in the municipal and provincial civilian governments. On this issue Vice Consul Amstutz offered the following assessment in late 1963:

...Although decisive political power remains in non-PKI hands, the PKI is now the second most important political force – after the Army – in East Java. It has made a great comeback from the 1948 Madiun Revolt. Its influence is such that no official dares take an open anti-PKI stand. The party is feared. Its organizing ability and mob influence are

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<sup>76</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, “Political, Psychological and Military Notes: Surabaya Consular District, June 21-July 11, 1965,” 14 July 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, Political & Defense file, Box 2307, NACP.

<sup>77</sup> Green, *Indonesia*, 37-38.

<sup>78</sup> Crouch, *Army*, 86.



unmatched. There are no more fervent “patriotic” supporters of Sukarno’s ambitions to eliminate “neo-colonialism” than the PKI... For more than a decade, Djakarta has kept a lid on the East Java PKI, thanks to strong non-communist provincial leadership. There are signs now that the lid is cracking.”<sup>79</sup>

One sign that the political advantage had shifted into the PKI’s favor occurred on 22 May 1963. On that day Sukarno confirmed the appointment of Colonel Mochamad Wijono as governor of East Java while simultaneously appointing Surabaya’s incumbent mayor and Communist Party member, dr. Satrijo Sastrodiredjo as vice governor.<sup>80</sup> The consulate’s assessment of Wijono after his May 1963 appointment was that he was a serious, firm, and staunchly anti-communist leader. It was suggested that his military instruction in the United States – in 1954 he received infantry training at Fort Benning, Georgia – boded well for his ties with U.S. officials in Surabaya.<sup>81</sup> Wijono was specifically praised for his “firmness and courage” in taking on left-wing radical nationalists in East Java, including his 1963 efforts to prevent union take-overs of British firms.<sup>82</sup>

However, as the PKI and left-wing of the PNI ramped up their demonstrations, factory seizures, and labor stoppages in the province, Wijono began to lose the consulate’s confidence as well as that of East Java’s right-wing camp. In 1965 Army intelligence accused him of “flirting” (*main mata*) with the PNI’s radical nationalist faction by offering vacant positions on his staff to

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<sup>79</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, 19 November 1963. RG 59, CFP 1963 Political & Defense file, Box 3936, NACP.

<sup>80</sup> “Keputusan Presiden Republik Indonesia No. 100 Tahun 1963.” Badan Perencanaan Bangunan Nasional, Republik Indonesia.

<sup>81</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, “Acting Governor Colonel Wijono Becomes East Java Governor and Red Mayor, Dr. Satryo, Deputy,” 5 June 1963. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 3937, NACP.

<sup>82</sup> See Airgram, SUB to DOS, 19 November 1963. RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 3936, NACP, 16.

Ali-Surachman supporters.<sup>83</sup> Charges that he was too lenient toward PNI leftists and the PKI also made Wijono a largely disliked and distrusted figure in political and military circles.<sup>84</sup> Wijono's willingness to accept invitations to events hosted by the Soviet diplomatic mission in Surabaya likely reinforced doubts about his commitment to checking left-wing power.<sup>85</sup> The Left, including sympathizers in the Armed Forces – the junior officer corps of the East Java Military Police among them – also saw the governor as a corrupt figure. Wijono particularly drew the PKI's ire; party members accused him of reaping personal profit in the midst of Indonesia's economic turmoil.<sup>86</sup> His unpopularity made him a target for retooling, or being removed from office. By this point he also lost his remaining influence with the consulate. Among U.S. officials he was now perceived to be an opportunistic and foppish figure.<sup>87</sup>

As it turned out, the consulate found an unlikely friend in PKI member dr. Satrijo Sastrodiredjo (Fig. 3.2). U.S. officials in Surabaya were aware that Satrijo was a PKI adherent yet they did not perceive him to be a threatening figure. Indeed they saw him as an ineffectual municipal leader during his 1958-63 tenure as Surabaya's mayor, "a threat to the peace of the city in name rather than in deeds."<sup>88</sup> Jack Lydman's description of Satrijo suggests just how

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<sup>83</sup> "Report from East Java," *Indonesia* 41 (April 1986): 149.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> Consulate intelligence shows that Wijono was a frequent attendee at Soviet-hosted exhibitions, dinners, and other affairs. Though the consulate's reporting officers note his reserved mien at these events in contrast to left-wing figures such as Moerachman, Wijono was hardly a hostile guest, for example mentioning "Indonesia's willingness to work with all countries" in a speech at a 1963 Soviet Consulate General-LEKRA photo exhibition. See Airgram, SUB to DOS, "Notes, August 25-September 7, 1963" RG 59, Political and Defense File, Box 3937, NACP, 4.

<sup>86</sup> Crouch, *Army*, 145-46.

<sup>87</sup> As McLean's successor, Henry Heymann remembers, "In my conversations with the Governor of East Java, I don't recall any conversation containing more substance than his enthusiasm for American cars." Interview of Henry Heymann by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 15 July 1993, ADST.

<sup>88</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, "Acting Governor Colonel Wijono Becomes East Java Governor and Red Mayor, Dr. Satryo, Deputy," 5 June 1963. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political &

unthreatening of a figure Satrijo was in American eyes: “The mayor of Surabaya was a Communist but also a Dutch-trained psychiatrist. Delightful little fellow. I liked him a great deal. He was married to a woman much taller than he was, big woman, a devout Roman Catholic in charge of Catholic welfare for the diocese. All very Indonesian.”<sup>89</sup>



**Figure 3.2.** Mayoral inauguration of dr. Satrijo Sastrodiredjo, Surabaya, 30 June 1958. Surabaya Municipal Archives.

Consulate intelligence concluded that Satrijo’s appointment was a nod to the power of the PKI in the province and an acknowledgement on the part of Sukarno that he needed their support

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Defense file, Box 3937, NACP.

<sup>89</sup> Interview of Jack Lydman by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 27 April 1988, ADST.

to stay in power himself.<sup>90</sup> Once he was installed as vice governor, some hackles were raised at the consulate in response to his new role. Satrijo was now in a position to increase the PKI's standing "in the eyes of the unsophisticated citizenry" as he and his "socially aggressive" wife increased their stature as fixtures at Surabaya social functions.<sup>91</sup> However, consulate concerns on this point again seem to have been minimal. Whatever power Satrijo had gained with his promotion was apparently balanced out by the fact that he was constrained on the one hand by the anti-communist KODIM commander Soekotjo and beholden to Wijono on the other.<sup>92</sup> And in spite of his PKI-affiliation and promotion, he continued to be demonstrably friendly toward U.S. officials. Grant Ichikawa claims that he enjoyed close ties to Satrijo: "I also had good relationship with the [Deputy] Governor of East Java; he was a Communist. I think he was a Communist in name only because he invited my wife to his very, very close family wedding where only family members are involved. He held dance parties, closing all shutters and inviting few people. Communists never dance."<sup>93</sup> USIS Public Affairs Officer Barbara Harvey remembers Satrijo in similar terms. "Satrijo taught me to do the cha-cha," she recalls.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, 19 November 1963. RG 59, CFP 1963 Political & Defense file, Box 3936, NACP.

<sup>91</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, 19 November 1963. RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 3936, NACP, 10. While U.S. officials in Surabaya seemingly enjoyed the vice governor's social side, this rather discourteous tone prevailed in descriptions of Mrs. Satrijo, whose own political engagement and apparent closeness to the Soviet diplomatic mission in Surabaya ruffled American feathers. Such hostility was clearly exhibited on the part of Consul Black, who reported on the 4 June 1963 departure of "[Satrijo's] fat wife and three other women... for Moscow as representatives of women's organizations." See Airgram, SUB to DOS "Political, Psychological and Military Notes: Surabaya Consular District: June 2-15, 1963" RG 59 Political and Defense file, Box 3936, NACP, 4.

<sup>92</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, "Acting Governor Colonel Wijono Becomes East Java Governor and Red Mayor, Dr. Satryo, Deputy," 5 June 1963. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 3937, NACP.

<sup>93</sup> Interview of Grant Hayao Ichikawa by Paul Y. Tani, 29 August 2003, VOHP.

<sup>94</sup> Interview with Dr. Barbara Harvey, Georgetown, 15 September 2010.

When Satrijo accepted the position of vice governor, Sukarno appointed Moerachman, a local government figure and a member of the Airlangga Faculty of Law, to fill the vacated mayoral seat.<sup>95</sup> Surabaya's left-wing political community, particularly the PKI and SOBSI, which had endorsed Moerachman's candidacy to the President, received the news enthusiastically.<sup>96</sup> Members of SOBSI, for example, reportedly burst into applause upon being informed of Moerachman's selection.<sup>97</sup> Embong Kaliasin, an area of the city which had voted overwhelmingly for the PKI in the 1955 elections also openly showed its support for the mayoral appointee. On 13 December 1963, the evening following Moerachman's inauguration, residents held a celebration (*selamatan*) in his honor. Attended by local delegates of the National Front and members of the regional assembly (DPRD-GR), it culminated in a delegation's delivery of a ceremonial Javanese rice dish (*nasi tumpeng*) to the new mayor.<sup>98</sup> Right-wing groups were predictably far less enthusiastic in their response. As an intelligence report from consulate noted, "the audience in the reserve section did very little applauding even when Murachman completed

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<sup>95</sup> The president's relationship with Moerachman was similar to his support of another "favored son," Bali's Anak Agung Bagus Suteja, who Sukarno selected as Governor of Bali in 1957 and whose fortunes, like Moerachman's, fell once Sukarno was forced from power. For more on the Suteja-Sukarno relationship see Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise*, 186-87.

<sup>96</sup> When Moerachman is mentioned in the declassified files of the U.S. Department of State or, far more infrequently, by scholars of modern Indonesian history, he is often identified as a Communist Party member. But this may not have been the case. My informants in Surabaya, in fact, seem quite divided on the issue of whether Moerachman was, or was not, a member of the PKI. Likely a Marxist, it is clear that he was an advocate and sympathizer of the PKI and a figure, like Sukarno, courted both by the Soviets and the Chinese. But his actual membership in the Party during his tenure as mayor remains unclear.

<sup>97</sup> "Menjambut pengangkatan Moerachman S.H. sbg. walikota Surabaya," *Trompet Masjarakat*, 28 November 1963.

<sup>98</sup> "Selamatan menjambut walikota baru," *Trompet Masjarakat*, 14 December 1963.

his speech and accepted the gavel... Not one uniformed military or police officer was observed clapping.”<sup>99</sup>

The days of dance parties, free-flowing drinks, and social mixers with members of the consulate and USIS staffs behind closed doors were over. Moerachman was not a superficial leftist, as Ichikawa suspected his predecessor to be. In the course of his first full year in office, the mayor showed a clear and open dislike for U.S. policies in and beyond Indonesia. His opposition to what he saw as U.S. imperialism in his nation and abroad and his close relations with Sukarno meant that he made no efforts to work or socialize with American diplomats in Surabaya. Moerachman felt that the United States was not and could never be a true ally of his country or of the developing world. By all indications a Marxist, he saw socialism and partnerships with the Soviet Union and China as keys to Indonesia’s future. Unlike Governor Wijono and Basuki Rachmat, his Panca Tunggal colleagues from the Army who readily espoused the NASAKOM party line despite their personal objections to it, his actions suggest that he was a dedicated follower of Sukarnoist ideology.

Moerachman’s alignment with the PKI and anti-Western stance drew the anger of members of the Right. On 6 October 1964, R. Djoko Soemadijo, as head of the Surabaya Presidium of Indonesian University Students, led a coalition of members from the city-wide branches of the Indonesian University Student Assembly (MMI) and the Federation of Indonesian University Student Associations (PPMI) demonstrating for the “retooling” of the mayor. In a statement about this demonstration that the group released later in the year, the

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<sup>99</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, “Political, Psychological and Military Notes: Surabaya Consular District, December 1-14, 1963,” 17 December 1963. RG 59, General Records of the Department of State. Central Foreign Policy 1963, Political and Defense file, Box 3936, NACP, 2.

students accused Moerachman as being “counter-revolutionary, reactionary, and [a] vendor of disunity and division.”<sup>100</sup> As the *Surabaya Post* reported, the demonstration was prompted by a remark the mayor had made during the induction ceremony for new university students held at Surabaya’s iconic Balai Pemuda (Youth Hall) building on 2 October.<sup>101</sup> While the newspaper account of the demonstration left the comment unspecified, according to Djoko, Moerachman had intimated in his speech that *kampung* toughs should be brought in to participate in the annual hazing rituals aimed at new undergraduates.<sup>102</sup>

The demonstration, for which Djoko says he personally sought the permission of the Surabaya district commander, Lt. Col. Soekotjo, began at Grahadi, the grand colonial-era East Java governor’s residence located adjacent to the Balai Pemuda. The crowd then moved to the mayoral residence a few blocks away. The group’s leaders were invited inside to meet Moerachman, who received them and listened to their demands. However, Djoko claims that the mayor was not alone: by his account, a contingent of Pemuda Rakyat bodyguards armed with machetes (*parang*) stood at the ready just outside of the reception room, partly obscured behind a curtain.<sup>103</sup> Oei Hiem Hwie, a *Trompet Masjarakat* correspondent, was also an eyewitness to the

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<sup>100</sup> Telegram, JKT to DOS, 11 December 1964. RG 59, General Records of the Department of State. CFP 1964-66, Political and Defense file, Box 2316, NACP.

<sup>101</sup> “Demonstrasi,” *Surabaya Post*, 6 October 1964, II.

<sup>102</sup> Djoko states that this remark was published in *Trompet Masjarakat* and also claims that the demonstration was also precipitated by a UNAIR GMNI allegation that Moerachman was distorting Sukarno’s ideology. As he alleges, Moerachman, who was an assistant lecturer in the Faculty of Law, had told students “Belief in One God” should be removed from the Pancasila framework. I have neither been able to verify the publication of Moerachman’s alleged remark regarding student hazing in the paper or corroborate Djoko’s account of Moerachman’s Faculty of Law Pancasila lecture(s). Although he was one of the mayor’s students, Djoko was not present for the lecture(s) in question, but rather received the information about the Pancasila statements second-hand from his GMNI colleagues. None of Moerachman’s other writings or speeches of which I am aware suggest that he advocated for the removal of the first of the five tenets of the Pancasila. Interview with H.R. Djoko Soemadijo, 22 May 2012, Surabaya.

<sup>103</sup> Asked how he knew the mayor’s bodyguards were members of the Pemuda Rakyat, Djoko answered, “There’s no one else they could have been. It’s impossible they were military so, absolutely, they were the P.R.” He also claimed

demonstration. He recalls what happened next. The mayor, although receptive to the students' complaints, was defiant of their command that he step down. Emerging from his residence, a letter in his hand, "Moerachman faced to the crowd (*melihatkan dada*). 'If you want to retool me, fine, but I became your mayor on Bung Karno's order and this is that order; I'm under Bung Karno's protection.' The protesters were left with no choice but to disperse."<sup>104</sup>

Declassified documents make clear that Moerachman quickly became a vexing figure to U.S. officials as well. A consulate report captured the shift in U.S. officials' perceptions of the new mayor. "No one seems to have been too concerned about the easy going, opportunistic, and inefficient dr. Satryo, an ardent devotee of western ballroom dancing. Moerachman, on the contrary, clearly comes from the inner circles of the party and appears to be thoroughly detested by all the non-communist intelligentsia of the city."<sup>105</sup>

Beginning with his emergence as a candidate for office in 1963, reporting officers at the consulate sent a steady stream of intelligence concerning Moerachman's activities to the Department of State. Among the things about Moerachman that drew the most concern were his ties to, and courting by, communist powers. Prior to becoming Surabaya's mayor, he had twice traveled to Beijing. These visits likely occurred after Moerachman was elected in 1958 to serve

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that he was able to glimpse through the folds in the curtain that the youths behind it were attired in the Pemuda Rakyat uniform of black pants and shirts and red neck scarves. Ibid. Consulate intelligence seems to corroborate Djoko's account that the Pemuda Rakyat provided guards to the mayor. See Airgram, SUB to DOS, "Political, Psychological, and Military Notes for Surabaja Consular District, October 20 – November 10, 1964," 20 November 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66, Political and Development file, Box 2307, NACP, 3.

<sup>104</sup> Interview with Oei Hiem Hwie, Surabaya, 10 May 2012.

<sup>105</sup> "SBY Catholic Party Split of Issue of PKI Collab." RG 59, Box 2311 Pol & Dev, NACP.



as a representative of the East Java Provincial Assembly.<sup>106</sup> As his political stature increased once he was mayor, so did his contacts with the Chinese and the Soviets. Consulate staffers compiled intelligence concerning his relationships with these foreign powers between the spring of 1964 through the summer of the following year and shared their findings with the Department of State.

At the April 1964 “coming out party” for the new Russian consul general Lev Aleksandrovich Kubasov, consulate intelligence documented the bond that was beginning to form between the mayor and the Russians’ primary officer and other members of the Soviet diplomatic mission.<sup>107</sup> Jacob Walkin, the reporting officer, contrasted the behavior of Moerachman with that of another guest, the Brawijaya commander Major General Basuki Rachmat. Whereas Basuki was diligent in avoiding his Russian hosts, choosing instead to socialize strictly with the British and American consuls, Moerachman became the toast of the party. The mayor, Walkin reported, “seemed to get on quite well with the Russians... agreed to sing a song during the ‘amateur hour,’ and was greeted with enthusiastic shouts of ‘Moerachmananov!’ ‘Moerachmananov!’ when he returned to his Russian ‘friends.’”<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> References to Moerachman’s visits to Beijing appear in “Keluarga Moerachman SH,” *Liberty* 538 (Dec. 1963): 9 and airgram, “Political, Psychological and Military Notes for Surabaya Consular District, June 21 – July 11,” SUB to DOS, 14 July 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2307, NACP, 5

<sup>107</sup> Kubasov’s appointment to Surabaya indicates that the Russians, like their American diplomatic counterparts, appeared to be sending officials to East Java who brought with them significant experience in and exposure to key communist bloc sites, further suggesting its importance as a critical site of the Cold War in Southeast Asia. In Kubasov, the Soviet Consulate General gained a primary officer with significant experience not only in the Moscow offices of the USSR’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1961-64), but also with considerable service in the People’s Republic of China. As a press profile of the new consul general that appeared upon his arrival in Surabaya indicates, Kubasov previously was vice consul in Shanghai (1953-54) and served at the USSR’s embassy in Beijing (1954-61). See “Konsul Djendral Uni Soviet jang baru,” *Surabaya Post*, 25 April 1964, II.

<sup>108</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS “Political, Psychological, and Military Notes: Surabaya Consular District, April 20-May 3, 1964” RG 59, Pol & Defense file, Box 2307, NACP, 5.

Despite this mutual friendliness between the Soviet diplomats and Surabaya's mayor, Moerachman seemed even more favorably inclined toward China, as did the PKI more generally following the Sino-Soviet split. Almost certainly, the fact that the mayor's only overseas travel had been to the People's Republic of China influenced his ideological leanings. Allan McLean seemed to think this was the case, concluding that "as a consequence [of his travel], he has constantly followed the Chinese Communist line."<sup>109</sup> It was not surprising then, that Moerachman was noted to be "the most enthusiastic of hosts" to the visiting delegation of Chinese journalists that spent several days in Surabaya in May 1964. Included in Walkin's write-up of that visit, was the mayor's praise and admiration of the People's Republic of China. "Mayor Murachman," Walkin reported, "is quoted as saying that Surabaya is the Shanghai of Indonesia."<sup>110</sup>

However, by the time the mayor moved from his seat next to McLean to the one next to Kubasov during the 17 August 1964 Independence Day ceremonies depicted in Chapter One, it appears that the Soviets were beginning to make some inroads with him. By the following summer an invitation was extended to Moerachman to visit the Soviet Union. To U.S. officials this appeared to be a clear signal of his growing closeness to the Russians, as well as their appreciation of the opportunity to gain sorely needed ground in Indonesia by courting the mayor of its second largest city.

Moerachman informed the members of the press who were covering his departure that the invitation had come from "the Executive Committee of the Government of the City of Heroes

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<sup>109</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, "Notes June 21-July 11, 1965, NACP, 5.

<sup>110</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, "Notes May 4-17 1964" NACP, 6.

of Volgograd” (formerly, Stalingrad). As he bid his leave to embark on his voyage to the Soviet Union, the mayor, his wife at his side, was quoted as saying that he planned to “study the revolutionary and reconstruction spirit of the people of Stalingrad.”<sup>111</sup> Consul McLean reported that the invitation had actually been arranged by the Soviet Consulate General, surmising that, “It would appear obvious that the... Consulate General hopes to gain some mileage with him by getting together the mayors of the ‘two cities of heroes.’”<sup>112</sup>

Some have argued that by 1964, Soviet attentions had shifted toward the Indonesian Army and away from the PKI while American concerns about a Sino-Indonesian alliance replaced fears about Soviet threats to American interests in Asia.<sup>113</sup> U.S. officials’ fixation on Soviet actions in Surabaya suggests a need for caution in accepting this claim. Indeed, despite their best efforts, officials at the Soviet Consulate General were unable to make any significant headway with Brawijaya Commander Basuki Rachmat. Accordingly, they spent much time and energy courting Surabaya’s mayor in what appears to be a clear attempt to woo him away from the Chinese camp. Consulate officials such as Jacob Walkin, who feverishly marked each new stage in this relationship and in Soviet influence in Surabaya more broadly, inadvertently documented that the USSR continued its overtures to the PKI long after the Sino-Soviet split.

Consulate files reveal significant competitive undertones in comparing the Russian presence to that of the American diplomatic mission in East Java, particularly as concerned the

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<sup>111</sup> Airgram, “Political, Psychological and Military Notes for Surabaya Consular District, June 21 – July 11,” SUB to DOS, 14 July 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2307, NACP, 5

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Simpson, *Economists*, 150.

desire to win hearts and minds in the face of declining U.S. prestige among the *arek Suroboyo*.<sup>114</sup> Numerous examples of one-upmanship appear throughout the information on the Soviets sent to the Department of State. The nearly insatiable need to report to Washington on the Russians' shortcomings included the most trivial of observations. Among them was Consul Black's inclusion of a catty remark that Basuki made to a consular officer during the visit of the three Soviet Cosmonauts to East Java in December 1963. According to Black, the Brawijaya Commander had reportedly stated that because the USSR's first woman in space, Valentina Tereshkova, had not changed her frock during the trip, the ladies of Surabaya "were speculating on whether she had another dress." Walkin's report of what he acknowledged to be an otherwise "impressive" and well-attended reception at the Soviet Consulate General in November 1964 provides another example. The festivities, he wrote, were "marred by such signs of frugality as the absence of whiskey, a shortage of vodka towards the end of the party, the serving of soft drinks in small liqueur glasses, and beer that had not been iced."<sup>115</sup>

American officials' scrutiny of the Soviets in East Java is evident as well in their assessments of the linguistic capabilities of Russians in Surabaya. At least one declassified document shows a near obsession with the Soviets' degree of Indonesian and English proficiency as well as opinions of the local populace regarding their language skills. In this document,

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<sup>114</sup> It should be noted that Indonesian actors also contributed to this competition between the Russians and Americans in Surabaya. For instance, in 1963, after accepting the Soviet Consulate General's proposal of a campus lecture, two local universities then extended invitations to the U.S. Consulate to give a "counterbalance" lecture at their institutions, offers which the consulate, sensing a chance to offset an increase in their rivals' public relations profile, readily accepted. See Airgram, SUB to DOS "Notes June 2-15, 1963," NACP, 5.

<sup>115</sup> See Airgram, SUB to DOS, "Political, Psychological and Military Notes: Surabaya Consular District: December 1-14, 1963," 17 December 1963. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1963 Political and Defense File, Box 3936, NACP, 3 and airgram, SUB to DOS, "Political, Psychological, and Military Notes for Surabaya Consular District November 10-23," 23 November 1964. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964 Political and Defense File, Box 2307, NACP, 3.

reporting officer Amstutz made little effort to conceal his satisfaction at the Americans' stronger command of Indonesian, evidenced in the course of U.S. officials' interactions with Russian diplomats.<sup>116</sup> There was also a great sense of satisfaction that Surabaya newspaper editors and other Indonesians who moved in the Americans' social circles commented on the superior language skills of the Americans. Much less satisfying, however, was intelligence about the perceptions of everyday Surabayans. The same Harvard graduate student whom the consulate asked to assess the political inclinations of *kampung* residents at his field site also reported that in social interactions he was often asked if he was Russian. "The student concludes that if a white person speaks Javanese or Indonesian in the streets, rides Surabaya's streetcars, or goes to *kampung* dramas, that the average Surabaya Indonesian will assume he is Russian."<sup>117</sup>

As conditions worsened for them in the province, U.S. officials attempted to determine who their potential friends and foes might be. These categories, however, were not as rigid as they might initially have seemed. The close and cordial relationship that consulate and USIS staffers enjoyed with Satrijo Sastrodiredjo illustrates this point. Following the loss of key anti-communist allies among the police and provincial government and the appearance of one new formidable enemy in mayor Moerachman, U.S. foes appeared to outnumber friends. Consulate fears about the perceived inroads of the Soviet diplomatic presence in the city exacerbated this concern. All of these issues convinced U.S. officials of the need to maintain their operations against the Left. However, as September loomed, for all of their efforts to discredit the PKI and

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<sup>116</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, "How Good are the Russians in Speaking Indonesian?," 28 August 1963. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1963 Politics File, Box 3941, NACP, 2.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

to halt further displays of anti-Americanism, the U.S. presence in Surabaya appeared to be tottering on the brink of collapse.

### **The Consulate Battens Down the Hatches**

By the beginning of September 1965 U.S. anti-communist operations in East Java had suffered several major blows. The consulate's local allies seemed ever weaker in the face of the growing dominance of U.S. opponents' political power in the province. The American-owned MPAA film distribution offices, East Java branch of the National Cash Register Company, and Singer Sewing machine plant had been seized in labor union takeovers. The U.S. government was under attack in the Surabaya press. The USIS library was in the hands of the Panca Tunggal. Anti-American demonstrations and protests continued at the consulate as calls for its closure increased. Though the United States had invested a huge amount of personnel and resources in trying to counteract the PKI, it appeared that their low posture approach had been futile. Nothing had improved, things had only gotten worse.

U.S. officials accordingly began to express grave doubts regarding the future of their post in Surabaya. Fearing a further escalation in anti-American violence, the Department of State set a timetable for shuttering the consulate and withdrawing its personnel for the first time since World War II. American officials were deeply concerned about the loss of a key Cold War Southeast Asian intelligence site if the consulate were forced to close, but their worries ran much deeper than this. As consulate officials were aware, each new demonstration and incursion put the staff at risk. Should the atmosphere of anti-Americanism in Surabaya escalate, the consulate

projected that dependents and the American community at large in Surabaya might be at risk as well.

On 10 September 1965, days after the Surabaya Youth Front demonstration that ended with a breach of the consulate grounds, officials at the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta received a secret Department of State cable recommending that the consulate be shut down:

...[W]e believe [the] time has come to demand explicit and effective guarantee from [the Indonesian government] of security [of] American persons and property in Indonesia from both mob action and harassment by either public or private Indo groups or people. Failing receipt of such guarantee in credible form in very near future, we intend [to] close Surabaya Consulate... Our current thought is that, if Indos do not follow through, we would close Surabaya late next week...

...We [are] fully aware [of the] value of Surabaya as [a] listening post and that [the] consular district contains [a] number of American citizens, but feel we are too close to end of line to let these considerations outweigh [the] need for action on our part...

...In order to have decks cleared and to minimize danger to individuals next week, [we] believe you should bring dependents and any employees who can be spared from Surabaya to Djakarta, i.e., prior [to] closing, and that Surabaya should complete maximum destruction [of] classified material.<sup>118</sup>

With USIS closed and its staff sent home and the consulate facing protesters' seemingly untiring efforts to shut it down, U.S. officials in Surabaya appeared to have reached an impasse in their attempt to remain a viable presence in East Java.

However, a consensus soon emerged in Washington that the post must not be prematurely closed. As National Security Council Staffer Jim Thomson (formerly with the Department of State's Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs) informed President Johnson, "Our main objective remains

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<sup>118</sup> Telegram, DOS to JKT, 10 September 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense file, Box 2317, NACP, 2-3.

to ride out the long storm with battened hatches...<sup>119</sup> The consulate saw the worsening conditions as a short-term problem, which, if successfully navigated, would yield long-term results.<sup>120</sup>

Part of the strategy to keep the consulate open and operating was the discreet removal of its primary officer. Allan McLean had become a contentious figure in Surabaya ever since Moerachman had publicly snubbed him at Surabaya's 1964 Independence Day ceremonies. As demonstrators' calls grew for the consul to be declared *persona non grata*, the State Department finally acted.<sup>121</sup> In late September, McLean was quietly recalled to Washington. Marshall Green tapped Henry Heymann, a career State Department employee who was working as a political officer at the embassy, to take his place as the post's principal officer. As Heymann remembers:

About a week before the attempted coup... we learned that the government was going to declare the Consul in Surabaya *persona non grata*. This was not surprising. USIS and AID had been kicked out and USIS libraries had been seized... Marshall Green had decided that I would go to Surabaya as Consul and take charge without notifying the authorities. At the same time the former Consul was to quietly depart.<sup>122</sup>

In the days spanning the decision to recall McLean to Washington and his departure from Surabaya, three events occurred to significantly increase the alarm felt at the consulate over the post's fate. The first of these was an anti-India protest held on 18 September at the Taman Apsari

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<sup>119</sup> Bunnell, "American 'Low Posture' Policy," 56.

<sup>120</sup> The storm analogy also appeared in embassy correspondence. For instance, a March 1965 telegram concerning the retention of a staff of defense liaisons and CIA officers in the midst of reductions of embassy personnel, it was suggested, would keep the embassy, "more water tight and storm worthy." See telegram, JKT to DOS, 8 March 1965 quoted in Simpson, *Economists*, 154.

<sup>121</sup> For the details on the demands for the consul's removal from Surabaya see "Konsul McLaine [sic] supaya dipersona non gratakan," *Surabaya Post*, 20 August 1965, II and "Konsul AS McLean dituntut pergi sekarang djuga," *Surabaya Post*, 7 September 1965, II.

<sup>122</sup> Interview of Henry Heymann by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 15 July 1993, ADST.



field located across from Wijono's residence on Jalan Pemuda adjacent to the Balai Pemuda.<sup>123</sup> The second was a Maritime Day rally on 24 September. The third, which took place three days after that event, was a PKI-led breach of the East Java Governor's home, a venerable late-eighteenth century mansion known as Grahadi that had housed colonial administrators during the height of Dutch control of the Indies. In the first two of these instances, participants denounced the U.S. government, demanded Indonesia break relations with the United States and called for the Americans' ouster from Surabaya. While the Grahadi incident had no overt anti-American elements to it, its vehemence did not go unnoticed by the members of the consulate staff. "As usual their duplicity and their crudeness stood out by a mile," Jacob Walkin wrote to the State Department on the PKI's involvement in what he called the "sordid affair" at the governor's mansion.<sup>124</sup>

The incident at Grahadi, the culmination of a series of protests against government corruption and calls for reductions to skyrocketing costs of rice and other staples, was the Left's boldest move in Surabaya yet. On the morning of 27 September, a large contingent of demonstrators from the Surabaya Federation of Women's Organizations (Gabungan Organisasi Wanita Surabaya or GOWS) assembled at City Hall. The reported leader of the group was Mrs. Moerachman, second chair of GOWS. After her husband received the demonstrators at City Hall

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<sup>123</sup> This stretch of Jalan Pemuda has since been renamed Jalan Gubernur Suryo. Taman Apsari was a rather strategic locale for such a demonstration. In addition to its proximity to the residence, its immediate position in front of the Surabaya Press House (*Balai Wartawan*) meant that any event held there would figuratively be taking place at the doorstep of a phalanx of local, national, and foreign reporters, ensuring for ample media coverage. Moerachman himself recognized Taman Apsari's significance as one of Surabaya's strategic public spaces in one of his weekly columns on the municipality for the magazine *Liberty*. See Moerachman, SH, "Penghidjauan Kota Pahlawan," *Liberty* 570, no. XII (18 August 1964), 7.

<sup>124</sup> Airgram, "PKI Leads Violent Demonstration at the Governor's Residence," SUB to DOS, 12 October 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political and Development file, Box 2317, NACP, 3.

the group then moved a few blocks away to the East Java governor's residence, Grahadi. There, the protesters were joined by members of the Pemuda Rakyat who staged a raid on the building. Disrupting Wijono at his breakfast table, they ransacked the lower rooms, removed the furnishings and occupied the mansion's front veranda. (Fig. 3.3).



**Figure 3.3.** Demonstrators and security personnel await further developments in the aftermath of the 27 September 1965 raid on Grahadi. Signs in the foreground demand that the government lower the cost of rice and lift its embargo on the trade of the commodity. Surabaya Municipal Archive.

The raid on Grahadi was part of a wider PKI campaign against “city devils,” corrupt businessmen, “capitalist bureaucrat” government officials, and Army officers employed in the management of state enterprises and economic ministries. U.S. Embassy officials reported this

incident as the action of a “Communist-led mob in Surabaya... bold enough to invade the private home of the East Java Governor in a protest over price increases.” They further noted that the raid took place at the same time as another demonstration in Jakarta in which protesters demanded death sentences for the “city devils” there.<sup>125</sup> The destruction of state property in the course of the raid on Grahadi led Major General Basuki Rachmat, then in Jakarta, to issue a ban on demonstrations in the city.<sup>126</sup>

Consulate officials, already shaken by the increasing ferocity of demonstrators at their properties, found the Pelpelrada’s order unconvincing, particularly as it still allowed for demonstrations against ‘neocolonial imperialists’ (*Nekolim*). Indeed, the raid on Grahadi raised the possibility that a similarly virulent incident, perhaps next time targeting the consulate, might be on the horizon. Yet the political tide was soon to turn dramatically in the United States’ favor. One of the most deadly episodes of mass violence in the twentieth century was about to begin. And U.S. officials in Surabaya would be complicit in facilitating it.

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<sup>125</sup> Airgram, JKT to DOS, “Joint Weeka No. 39” 2 October 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense File, Box 2309, NACP, 3

<sup>126</sup> “Pepelrada sesalkan demonstrasi merusak milik2 negara” *Surabaya Post* 28 September 1965, II.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### **The Purge in the City of Heroes**

Just days after the left-wing show of force at Grahadi, the political situation in Indonesia turned swiftly and conclusively against the PKI. On 1 October 1965, the actions of a group of military officers in Jakarta set in motion a nationwide wave of Army-sponsored mass violence. A legal political party and much of its membership, nearly all of whom had absolutely nothing to do with the events in Jakarta, summarily became pariahs and outlaws. Other members of the Left subsequently met the same fate. By year's end 200,000 people had been killed in East Java alone; another 25,000 people in the province were under detention, many of them held in the notorious Surabaya prisons, Kalisosok and Koblen.

This chapter details the campaign of terror waged against communists and their affiliates in Greater Surabaya, analyzing events there in the context of the abortive coup in the capital and the subsequent nation-wide violence targeting the PKI and other leftists. I argue that the scope and scale of the purge in Surabaya is attributable to at least four factors. First, local Army actors incited violence against the PKI. Second, soldiers and civilians coordinated with one another to carry out the purge. In moving against the PKI in Surabaya the Army received the cooperation of anti-communist right-wing civilian government officials and militant members of the NU. Changes in Surabaya's civilian and military leadership provide a third explanation for the mass violence. Once more aggressive anti-communists were in control, violence against the PKI exponentially increased, then enveloped other groups such as the left-wing of the PNI and members of the pro-Sukarno ethnic Chinese organization Baperki (Indonesian Citizenship Consultative Body). The subjugation of these various targets continued well into 1966 and then

through the initial decade of the New Order. Finally, U.S. officials in Surabaya played a key role in facilitating the violence. What employees of the consulate did and did not do as thousands of Indonesians were incarcerated, tortured, and killed must be further acknowledged and understood.

The turn of events in Indonesia relieved the Johnson administration, which was engaged during 1965 in military escalation in Vietnam. Within weeks of the coup, U.S. officials were proclaiming their elation at the “significant shift... to our advantage.”<sup>1</sup> An analysis of the anti-communist violence in Surabaya offers revealing new details about the ways in which the U.S. government shared complicity in the eradication of the PKI and others among the Left.

Documentary evidence suggests that U.S. Foreign Service officers and CIA operatives at the embassy engaged in the spread of propaganda and provided funding, materials, and support to anti-communist groups in contributing to this shift. Consulate personnel also took part in efforts to discredit and destroy the PKI. American officials in Surabaya, alongside their colleagues in Jakarta and Medan, were complicit in working with their local allies to eliminate a common enemy. However, public solidarity with the Army leadership in East Java occurred at a moment when the embassy was otherwise urging U.S. officials to maintain their distance. The consulate, as an outpost twice removed from Washington policy-makers, appears to have had a relatively free hand in determining how to navigate its response to the violence. This suggests that the Cold War constituent post was not only instrumental in carrying out U.S. foreign policy but, in certain instances, in deciding its own course of action.

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<sup>1</sup> Telegram, JKT to DOS, 23 October 1965, Central Files of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 (Political & Defense) files, Box 2328, NACP.

## **The September 30<sup>th</sup> Movement and the 1965-66 Mass Violence**

In the early morning hours of Friday, 1 October 1965 a group calling itself the “September 30<sup>th</sup> Movement” (Gerakan Tiga Puluh September, or G30S) kidnapped six members of the Army High Command. They alleged that these officers had formed a CIA-backed “Council of Generals” to overthrow Sukarno. The commander of the Army, Lieutenant General Ahmad Yani, and two of the other generals were killed during the first phase of this operation. The remaining abductees were transported to the Halim Air Force base outside Jakarta. Among them was an aide taken in error from the home of an intended seventh target, Army Chief of Staff, General A.H. Nasution, who escaped the attempt to abduct him from his residence. At a remote location near the Air Force base the survivors were executed. All seven corpses were dumped into the narrow opening of an unused well at an area known as Lubang Buaya, “The Crocodile Hole.”

Back in the capital, the movement seized the national radio station, Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI), and the telecommunications building next to the U.S. Embassy. Both were located, along with the Army headquarters and presidential palace, around the perimeter of Jakarta’s Merdeka Square. In a show of force, two battalions of troops whose commanders supported the movement occupied the square itself. One of these was battalion 454 from the Central Java-based Diponegoro Division. The other was Brawijaya Division battalion 530. Major General Suharto, head of the Army’s Strategic Reserve Command (Kostrad), had summoned the

battalions to Jakarta earlier in the week; they had come to participate in a parade scheduled for 5 October, Armed Forces Day.<sup>2</sup>

In a series of announcements broadcast throughout the day, the movement introduced its leader, Lieutenant Colonel Untung (commander of the presidential palace guard), and declared its actions and objectives. The movement claimed that it had engineered an intra-Army purge to stop a coup d'état by the corrupt, right-wing Council of Generals and stated that Sukarno was being held in its protection. By the afternoon the movement announced the formation of a Revolutionary Council. This body, it declared, would take control over the governance of the Republic of Indonesia, ensuring the continuation of Sukarno's guiding principles of anti-imperialism and an independent foreign policy for the nation.

While the Untung group was unveiling itself, Sukarno arrived at Halim. The Indonesian president, who appears to have only learned about the Movement as it unfolded on the morning of 1 October, seems to have neither supported nor opposed the G30S.<sup>3</sup> Once at the base he began to make decisions about how he should proceed. Almost immediately he summoned several military and civilian advisors to Halim to discuss a possible successor for Yani. The name of Sukarno loyalist Major General Basuki Rachmat was suggested during these consultations, and then later proposed once again by Brigadier General Supardjo, acting as the president's liaison to the G30S. However, Sukarno rejected Basuki on the grounds that he was "not in good physical condition" and chose Major General Pranoto Reksosamodra, a member of Yani's own staff, to

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<sup>2</sup> See Roosa, *Pretext*, 57.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

become the new commander.<sup>4</sup> Yet, assuming that Yani had been killed, Major General Suharto had already appointed himself as interim commander of the Army earlier in the morning.<sup>5</sup> When word of Pranoto's appointment reached Suharto he ignored it. Instead, he asserted his control over the military and began to mobilize against the Untung group.

The September 30<sup>th</sup> Movement was over almost as soon as it began. Suharto used soldiers from the Indonesian Special Forces (Resimen Para Komando Angkatan Darat, or RPKAD) along with his own Kostrad troops to clear Merdeka Square and take control of the RRI building. In this effort, he engaged the assistance of Basuki, who he considered to be a trusted colleague.<sup>6</sup> The Brawijaya commander had arrived in Jakarta earlier in the week to participate in the planned Armed Forces Day parade and was present at the Kostrad headquarters.<sup>7</sup> He helped to persuade the troops of battalion 530 to leave Merdeka Square.<sup>8</sup> A few hours after they surrendered, battalion 454 fled to Halim.

At six o'clock, Major General Umar Wirahadikusumah issued an order banning all but the Army's own two newspapers from publishing.<sup>9</sup> By nightfall on 1 October, RRI broadcast a pre-taped message in which Suharto renounced the movement's claim that they had acted in the interest of safeguarding the president. Suharto stated that Untung and his followers were counter-

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<sup>4</sup> Omar Dhani's testimony at Omar Dhani trial (Mahkamah Militer Luar Biasa: Perkara Omar Dhani, Ex Laksamana Madya Udara), Volume II, 136, quoted in Crouch, *Army*, 128.

<sup>5</sup> Previously, Suharto had served as interim commander whenever Yani traveled abroad. Roosa, *Pretext*, 56.

<sup>6</sup> The two men had formed a bond over their grievances against Army commander Ahmad Yani. Both were religious and therefore united in their disapproval of Yani's libertine lifestyle. See *ibid.*, 81 n. 30.

<sup>7</sup> Anderson and McVey, *A Preliminary Analysis*, 35.

<sup>8</sup> Crouch, *Army*, 131 n. 70.

<sup>9</sup> Roosa, *Pretext*, 171.



revolutionaries and their Revolutionary Council was, in fact, a coup against Sukarno. This message was the official signal of the defeat of the G30S.

On 2 October in defiance of the army's publishing ban, the PKI's national newspaper, *Harian Rakjat*, released a morning edition. It contained an editorial that lauded the actions of the G30S while describing them as an "internal army affair." The writer of the editorial seemed to support the movement while denying any PKI involvement in the events of the previous twenty-four hours. It remains unclear whether or not the PKI statement on the movement was printed before its failure became common knowledge. Uncertainty also remains as to whether the Army strategically allowed the morning edition to go to press before seizing control of the paper.<sup>10</sup> Whatever the case, the Army used the editorial as one of its main pieces of evidence in linking the PKI to the G30S.

The PKI was not the only political party to comment on the movement. Its rivals' national and regional branches released statements as well. In Surabaya, for instance, the local PNI statement reflected the Army's declaration of loyalty toward Sukarno and command to maintain local order. The Nahdlatul Ulama's message was very different. Whereas the PNI predictably proclaimed its support for the president, advised the public to await the facts and to be wary of rabbleroxing in the news, the NU explicitly denounced the actions of the G30S.<sup>11</sup>

Over the following two weeks Army allegations that the PKI was the mastermind of the Untung Coup were spread to the Indonesian public by way of a furious propaganda campaign. Army propaganda implicated not only Communist Party leaders such as Aidit and Njoto, but also

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<sup>10</sup> For analyses of the *Harian Rakyat* editorial see Anderson and McVey, *A Preliminary Analysis*, 131-56 and Roosa, *Pretext*, 170-74.

<sup>11</sup> Peters, *Surabaya*, 52.

rank-and-file members of the PKI and its affiliated organizations including the Pemuda Rakyat and Gerwani. To buttress its accusation that the PKI was behind the alleged coup, the Army's official statements about the event began to call the Untung group the "G30S/PKI." In propaganda that began to appear early in October, the G30S was given the name Gestapu, an inventive acronym of *Gerakan Tiga Puluh September* meant to draw associations with the Nazis' secret police. By mid-month this term had entered into wide use.<sup>12</sup> By the end of October, any person thought to be linked in any way to the PKI was considered to be complicit in the abortive coup. An Army command called KOPKAMTIB (Komando Operasi Pemuliah Keamanan dan Ketertiban, the Command for the Restoration of Security and Order) that Suharto created following the coup, engineered the subsequent crackdown on the PKI.<sup>13</sup> Over the next several months, soldiers and civilians systematically annihilated the Indonesian Communist Party and its so-called henchmen (*antek-antek*) in PKI-affiliated and communist-sympathetic organizations.<sup>14</sup>

Scholars have raised debates about the timing, trajectory, parties involved, and the mechanics of the killings and detentions. They have attempted to establish overall patterns to the killings and to account for regional variations in how they were carried out and by whom, and who the victims were.<sup>15</sup> While the definitive account of political imprisonment remains a 1977

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<sup>12</sup> For example, in a *Surabaya Post* editorial the term was applied to PKI-led development and the Party's alleged 'hidden capital' (*modal gelap*), which the paper termed the "Gestapu Economy." *Surabaya Post*, 9 November 1965 as quoted in *ibid.*, 57.

<sup>13</sup> Major General Suharto, acting on the authority that Sukarno had given him in the wake of the September 30<sup>th</sup> Movement's actions, established KOPKAMTIB on 10 October; three weeks later, the Command was formally recognized by the president. As Harold Crouch has noted, KOPKAMTIB became one of the means for Suharto to "strengthen his position within the army and the army's position in relation to the president." See Crouch, *Army*, 160-61.

<sup>14</sup> This term had previously been used during the anti-U.S. movement to describe nations, organizations, or individuals seen as allies of, or collaborators with, the United States.

<sup>15</sup> For a review of the literature see Note 11 of the introduction to the dissertation.

Amnesty International report, newer works have begun to examine the detentions through a regional lens.<sup>16</sup> These studies reveal that some regions had more detainees than other regions, and have helped to answer questions such as who became political prisoners, why people were held when and where they were, and what conditions they endured while in detention.

Mass rallies denouncing and demonizing the PKI were among the initial anti-communist actions in Java, Bali, Sulawesi, and Sumatra in the weeks following the 1 October attempted coup. They were often immediately followed by the destruction of PKI offices and property, and physical assaults against PKI leaders and members. For example, in Medan, the North Sumatra Youth Action Command, supported by the Pemuda Pancasila, an Army-backed paramilitary group, held mass rallies on 2 and 5 October. Following the second rally the crowd smashed windows and looted the provincial PKI headquarters.<sup>17</sup> Following the 13 October Ansor-coordinated rally in the East Java town of Kediri, eleven PKI supporters were murdered at the hands of the enraged crowd attacking the local party office.<sup>18</sup> Because ethnic Chinese were widely thought to dominate the economy and support communism, assaults against Chinese persons and property also took place as in the case of the 5 October violence in Medan. After its

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<sup>16</sup> “Indonesia: An Amnesty International Report,” (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1977). One example of a work that addresses political imprisonment through a regional perspective is Ahmad, “South Sulawesi,” in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 156-81. Several former political prisoners have also produced memoirs detailing their experiences in prisons and labor camps. These memoirs cover the topic from a vast range of perspectives. For instance, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *The Mute’s Soliloquy: A Memoir*, Willem Samuels trans. (Jakarta: Hastra Mitra, 1999), details the author’s imprisonment in the notorious Buru Island labor camp; about the internment of women who were members – or alleged to be members – of Gerwani see Josepha Sukartiningsih, “Ketika Perempuan Menjadi TAPOL,” in *Tahun Yang Tak Pernah Berakhir: Memahami Pengalaman Korban 65, Esai-Esai Sejarah Lisan*, John Roosa, Ayu Ratih and Hilmar Farid, eds. (Jakarta: Lembaga Studi dan Advokasi Masyarakat, 2004), 87-112.

<sup>17</sup> Yen-Ling Tsai and Douglas Kammen, “Anti-Communist Violence and the Ethnic Chinese,” in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 138-39.

<sup>18</sup> Crouch, *Army*, 147.

assault on the PKI headquarters there, the Youth Action Command subsequently widened its attacks to include PKI homes and Indonesian Chinese schools.<sup>19</sup>

The earliest mass killings occurred in Aceh, North Sumatra on 6 October. With the blessing of the regional military commander, civilians rounded up PKI members and sympathizers by the hundreds and turned them over to the Army which, in the following days, systematically released the prisoners back to the civilians to be killed.<sup>20</sup> However, in the provinces of Bali, Central Java, and East Java, the sites of the greatest number of large-scale killings, there was a different pattern. In these places, mandatory reporting and registration of PKI members and associates followed initial outbreaks of violence. Purges of so-called communist elements from government offices, factories, schools, and other institutions and organizations then commenced along with neighborhood and workplace raids and arrests. Mass detentions and killings in most areas of Central and East Java did not take place until mid-October or after. In Bali and Makassar, the provincial capital of South Sulawesi, they did not begin until early December. Arrests and killings appear to have begun later in certain areas for a number of reasons. First, some were sites of local Communist Party strength. A second determining factor was a high degree of PKI and Sukarnoist influence in the civilian government and the Army. Third, the influence of regional Army commanders contributed to delays in

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<sup>19</sup> Tsai and Kammen, "Anti-Communist Violence and the Ethnic Chinese," in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 138-39.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 139. The only attempt made in the literature to account for why things proceeded so rapidly in Aceh thus far has been Cribb's suggestion that "Aceh's history contains a number of instances of the rapid and ruthless elimination of political opponents when the opportunity presented itself." See Cribb, *The Indonesian Killings*, 23.

outbreaks of mass violence in some places. In others, the legacies of regional rebellions played a role.<sup>21</sup>

The earliest works on the killings attributed the mass violence to religious and cultural values that drove Indonesians to enact retribution for the communists' disruption of social harmony and order; these works also often characterized the violence as spontaneous.<sup>22</sup> Robert Cribb, writing in 1990, was one of the earliest to question these explanations although even he chose to ascribe the ferocity of the killings in Central and East Java to "ancient hostility between cultural-religious groups."<sup>23</sup> Cribb and subsequent scholars instead have rightly shown that the Army was instrumental in spurring the violence. The timing and pattern of the mass violence was the result of Army propaganda and the deliberate mobilization of troops and civilians to detain, torture, and kill members and affiliates of the PKI.

Several scholars have contended that the initiation of killings in Central and East Java and Bali can be linked to the eastward movement of RPKAD, Brawijaya, and Siliwangi Division forces out of Jakarta.<sup>24</sup> This argument is strongest when applied to two of these three regions. In Central Java, killings only began once Special Forces troops arrived on 17 October. In Bali they coincided with the troops' arrival on 7 December.<sup>25</sup> However, recent work has shown that in East Java, although mass killings began at the same time as in Central Java, pogroms cannot

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<sup>21</sup> Kammen and McGregor, "Introductions," in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 18.

<sup>22</sup> For an analysis of the prevalence of such themes in early works about the killings see Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise*, 275-80.

<sup>23</sup> Cribb, *The Indonesian Killings*, 27.

<sup>24</sup> See, for instance, Cribb, *The Indonesian Killings*, 247; Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise*, 295-297; Roosa, *Pretext*, 29-30; and Scott, "Overthrow," *Pacific Affairs* 58 (Summer 1985): 244.

<sup>25</sup> See Anderson and McVey, *A Preliminary Analysis*, 63 and Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise*, Chapter 11.

consistently be traced to the arrival of the RPKAD.<sup>26</sup> Instead they appear to have begun on the initiative of locally-stationed forces and anti-communist civilians.

The identity of the perpetrators of the violence varied by region. For instance, in West Java, where the regional military commander opposed the use of civilian auxiliaries, the Army carried out the killings with minimal assistance.<sup>27</sup> Because the Army in West Java and South Sulawesi had a long history of trying to suppress the fundamentalist Darul Islam movement it was reluctant to incite Muslim youth groups to take part in the violence.<sup>28</sup> Consequently, there were fewer deaths in these provinces than in many other regions, East Java and Bali among them, where the killings were carried out by Army and civilian perpetrators.<sup>29</sup> Political tensions between the NU and PKI in East Java pre-dating the violence meant that the NU was the main group assisting the Army in executing round-ups and pogroms. In Bali, that role was played by the PNI.<sup>30</sup>

There has never been a firm total established for the number of people incarcerated and killed in the 1965-1966 anti-communist violence in Indonesia. It is estimated that between 600,000 and 750,000 people became political prisoners and that 500,000 to one million

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<sup>26</sup> See, for instance, David Jenkins and Douglas Kammen, "The Army Para-Commando Regiment and the Reign of Terror in Central Java and Bali" in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 97-99.

<sup>27</sup> Kenneth R. Young, "Local and National Influences in the Violence of 1965," in *The Indonesian Killings of 1965-1966: Studies from Java and Bali*, Monash Papers on Southeast Asia, no. 21, Robert Cribb, ed. (Clayton, Victoria, 1990), 85.

<sup>28</sup> Kammen and McGregor, "Introduction," in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 18.

<sup>29</sup> Cribb, *The Indonesian Killings*, 26.

<sup>30</sup> Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise*, 299-301.

Communist Party cadres, affiliates, and sympathizers lost their lives.<sup>31</sup> As Douglas Kammen and Katharine McGregor have most recently shown, regional variation among deaths and detentions is striking.<sup>32</sup> Scholars have generally considered October 1965 to March 1966 as the most intense period of the violence. Kammen and McGregor have persuasively argued that the violence should be viewed in phases. In their schema the first phase dates from Suharto's initial October 1965 response to the G30S through the end of the year and marks the period of the most detentions and large-scale massacres. During the second phase, which dates from January until May 1966, several thousand more people were killed as political prisoners were released to military and civilian executioners and as mass killings moved to provinces previously untouched by the violence. During the third phase, which they date from June to October 1966, pro-Sukarno elements and non-communist members of the Left were purged from the civil service and the military and arrested. The fourth, and final phase occurred during 1967-68. At this time military "clean-ups" of remaining leftists in places such as and West Kalimantan and Blitar, East Java resulted in a new wave of killings, detentions, and torture; it also was the period during which legal processing and long-term internment took place for the hundreds of thousands of people already in custody.<sup>33</sup>

The number of detainees varied by region. In Bali, most people taken prisoner were killed. The murders of 45,000 people in Bali during the month of December meant that by the

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<sup>31</sup> As the Amnesty International report points out, this total of detainees, the larger of two official totals suggested by Indonesian government officials in the decade after the height of the violence does not account for the arrests and detentions that continued long after the immediate aftermath of the attempted coup. See "Indonesia: An Amnesty International Report," 41-42. For an overview of the estimates of total deaths see Robert Cribb, *The Indonesian Killings*, 12.

<sup>32</sup> Kammen and McGregor, "Introduction," in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 18.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-21.

end of 1965 very few detainees remained; conversely, Central Java and East Java respectively had 70,000 and 25,000 political prisoners by year's end.<sup>34</sup> People who were arrested in the first phase of the violence were held anywhere from a few days to a few months. Some were alleged to have had involvement in illegal activities but far more were detained simply because they were – or alleged to be – associated with the PKI and affiliated mass organizations.<sup>35</sup> An untold number of those who were not “pawned” (*dibon*), or turned over to killing squads in the first and second phases of the violence died in custody as a result of starvation, beatings, torture, and rapes. Those who did survive were detained for years, some for more than a decade. Detainees were classified into three categories: A (directly involved in the G30S), B (leaders and members of the PKI and supporters of the G30S) and C (assumed to have been directly or indirectly involved in the G30S attempted coup). Authorities either moved them from prison to prison within the same region or exiled them to prison camps.<sup>36</sup> Others who were arrested during 1965-66 and after, including Sukarnoists and members of Baperki and of the left-wing of the PNI, endured similar fates.

That East Java was the site of an estimated twenty percent of the total deaths and had a high concentration of political imprisonment means that it is a crucial area to examine further if we wish to learn more about the political violence of 1965-66. Although much has already been written about rural East Java, scholars have paid little attention to how those in the provincial capital fared. By emphasizing that most of the deaths in the province occurred in rural regions, historians have overlooked killings and detentions that happened in Surabaya. This omission of

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 17-18.

<sup>35</sup> “Indonesia: An Amnesty International Report,” 15.

<sup>36</sup> In 1969, the Indonesian government transferred 10,000 prisoners from Java to Buru Island penal colony. Ibid., 33.



Surabaya from the historical record thereby also overlooks important questions ranging from initial responses to the G30S, to how the purge of the Left there began and who carried it out, to the complicity of U.S. officials. The remainder of the chapter is a modest attempt to answer these questions.

As I show in the following sections, the pattern of the killings in Surabaya further clarifies that the RPKAD were less instrumental in carrying out the violence in East Java than has been previously thought. Instead, locally-stationed troops in collaboration with civilians were the main perpetrators of the violence.<sup>37</sup> This does not mean, however, that the Brawijaya Division was united in its drive against the PKI. In fact, initial developments in Surabaya show that there was support for the G30S among some of the division's junior officers.

Events in Surabaya also show that as in the rural regions of East Java, the NU was instrumental in inciting and participating in violence against the PKI. However, as scholars have recently acknowledged, the Army-NU relationship in Surabaya was fraught with more tension than is often depicted. These political cleavages between Ansor and the Army help to further disrupt the prevailing narrative of solidarity between these forces in the drive against the PKI.<sup>38</sup>

Raids, detentions, and killings in Surabaya spiked with the appointment of anti-communist KODIM commander, Lieutenant Colonel Soekotjo, as Surabaya's "care taker" mayor on 29 October. Also accounting for the escalation in violence was the installation of a new,

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<sup>37</sup> This was also the case in the provincial capitals of Medan (North Sumatra) and Makassar (South Sulawesi) where killings respectively began in November and December. For the role of locally-stationed Army troops in encouraging and participating in anti-communist violence in Medan and Makassar, see Tsai and Kammen, "Anti-communist violence and the Ethnic Chinese," in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 138-143 and Ahmad, "South Sulawesi," in *ibid.*, 165.

<sup>38</sup> Fealy and McGregor, "East Java and the Role of Nahdlatul Ulama," in *ibid.*, 126.

more-strongly anti-communist commander of the Brawijaya Division in late November. This information confirms that the killings started later in places of prior Communist Party strength such as Surabaya where the municipal government had been strongly allied with the PKI. Indeed as illustrated by the actions of the junior officers and of SOBSI labor activists, the PKI and its affiliates in Surabaya still had a strong public presence in the initial days after the attempted coup. It also strengthens the case that regional military commanders played an important role in the timing and escalation of the violence.<sup>39</sup>

My account of detentions in Surabaya introduces new sites of incarceration not previously depicted in the existing literature, which largely focuses on Kalisosok and Koblen. In detailing the conditions at Surabaya's various formal and informal prisons, I draw heavily from original oral histories collected from former political prisoners who were members of the PNI and Baperki. Their inclusion is important to reemphasize that there were many other victims of the violence of 1965-66 than avowed and alleged members of the PKI alone.

Finally, I broaden existing analyses of the mass violence by drawing attention to the complicity of U.S. officials in Surabaya in supporting the Army's drive against the Left. The literature, when it does not overlook the Surabaya consulate altogether, has typically only assessed the reporting that the consulate did, but not the actions that its personnel took in the weeks and months after the attempted coup.<sup>40</sup> Although many questions remain regarding their operations, I offer some possibilities that suggest that U.S. officials, who had attempted to help engineer the PKI's downfall for years, were active participants in their opponents' destruction.

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<sup>39</sup> This dynamic occurred in other provincial capitals as well. In Medan and Makassar killings also increased once new regional commanders were installed. See Tsai and Kammen, "Anti-communist violence and the Ethnic Chinese," in *ibid.*, 141 and Ahmad, "South Sulawesi," in *ibid.*, 165.

<sup>40</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*, 120 & 126.

## Surabaya Reacts

By mid-morning on 1 October most of Surabaya was undoubtedly aware that major events were unfolding in the nation's capital. Over the course of the day residents also received their first indications of what their local government and military leaders' response would be to these events. The news trickled out over the airwaves of the RRI Studio Surabaya headquarters near the shuttered USIS library building on Jalan Pemuda (Fig. 4.1). One of the first things that listeners tuned in to the station heard was the September 30<sup>th</sup> Movement's initial broadcast from Jakarta shortly after seven o'clock. Messages from the group followed throughout the morning.

At one o'clock in the afternoon a group of junior officers from the East Java Military Police Corps descended from a truck and entered the RRI Studio Surabaya station. Their intent was to broadcast a declaration of support for Untung's Revolutionary Council. Their spokesperson was Second Lieutenant Sudono, a Brawijaya warrant officer and an alleged PKI sympathizer.<sup>41</sup>

Although the actions of this group have been little analyzed in the literature, they are significant in showing that an element of the Brawijaya Division's junior officer corps publicly supported the G30S. An Army intelligence report on the mass violence in East Java produced in November 1965 suggested that some thirty percent of KODAM Brawijaya's troops were "involved" in the attempted coup. More accurately, this percentage likely represented an estimate

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<sup>41</sup> During his 1967 military trial on charges that he was a G30S conspirator, testimony was given that Sudono joined the PKI in 1957. See "Para tertuduh rentjanakan operasi militer, tjulik Gubernur, tekan Pangdam, ganti pemerintah daerah," *Surabaya Post*, 8 February 1967, I.

of the PKI sympathizers within the division's forces.<sup>42</sup> It would seem that Sudono and his associates thus anticipated the backing of numerous others who were also prepared to act if they believed that a right-wing Council of Generals posed a threat to the nation and Sukarno.



**Figure 4.1.** Radio Republik Indonesia, Studio Surabaya c. 1960. From the American Geographical Society Library, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries.

With guns drawn, Sudono's group breached the studio. They encountered RRI broadcaster Ferdinand Jonkie Tupan, who was in the midst of airing a recording of Major General Basuki Rachmat's daily public safety and security order. Seeing their weapons pointed

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<sup>42</sup> Army intelligence believed that the PKI had infiltrated battalions 511, 512, and 513 and the East Java Infantry Cadre School (Sekolah Kader Infanteri, SKI). For additional details on these and other battalions and armed forces units considered to be infiltrated by the PKI see "Report from East Java," *Indonesia* 41 (April 1986): 147-48.

at him, Jonkie surrendered the microphone.<sup>43</sup> Taking to the airwaves, Sudono addressed the people of Surabaya. He declared that a group of disenfranchised military officers was prepared to establish a Revolutionary Council in East Java that sought to remove Governor Wijono and other corrupt right-wing provincial officials from power. The group's own members as well as Brawijaya leaders they believed would be sympathetic to their cause would then assume leadership of the province. The Revolutionary Council that they proposed was to include Basuki and Colonel Widjaja Soekardanu, his chief of staff.<sup>44</sup> Both men were Sukarnoists who disliked Wijono. Soekardanu had many followers among the Surabaya KODIM forces.<sup>45</sup> He was later suspected to have been supportive of the G30S.<sup>46</sup> Sudono's group had miscalculated, however, in anticipating Basuki's support. Although the Brawijaya commander was pro-Sukarno, he was also an anti-communist and a close associate of Suharto. As their collaboration in the capital on the afternoon of 1 October suggests, Basuki had already chosen the side with which he would ally himself.

Shortly before eleven o'clock that night, Governor Wijono came on the air to make a statement. His remarks reflected the Department of the Army's official explanation, delivered in Suharto's pre-recorded message aired earlier that evening: The September 30<sup>th</sup> Movement was counter-revolutionary, Sukarno was safe, and the people should remain vigilant but calm. The following day the *Surabaya Post* carried the text of Wijono's speech along with a statement from

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<sup>43</sup> "Sidang ke-6 Mahmilub di Surabaya," *Surabaya Post*, 11 February 1967. This account, drawn from a report on the military trials of alleged G30S plotters, naturally leaves more questions asked than answered. However, as it is the only source I have found to date describing the actions of the East Java Revolutionary Council, I reproduce it here, with the acknowledgement that it heavily reflects Indonesian government emphases and biases.

<sup>44</sup> "Para tertuduh," I.

<sup>45</sup> "Report from East Java," 147.

<sup>46</sup> He was arrested at the end of October. See Cribb, *Army*, 151.

Brawijaya Chief of Staff R. Soenarijadi, acting as Territorial Military Commander in Basuki's absence. He pledged the Army corps' loyalty to Sukarno and its commitment to maintaining security and order.<sup>47</sup>

The following morning, the PKI-affiliated labor organization, SOBSI, began a spate of workplace seizures in Surabaya. The labor federation seizures were connected with the PKI's campaign against inflation and corruption which began with the Grahadi stand-off on 27 September. They chose the Ngagel Industrial Complex and State Trading Enterprises as their targets.<sup>48</sup> On 4 October, metal industry workers seized the Barata National Metal Corporation.<sup>49</sup> SOBSI workers at the National Kasa Husada Pharmacy Corporation likewise seized their facility.<sup>50</sup> In spite of a meeting on 5 October between Panca Tunggal authorities and SOBSI representatives at the East Java National Front's Surabaya headquarters, such enterprise seizures continued for nearly a week.

The SOBSI takeovers indicate that in Surabaya the PKI and its affiliates saw no need to lie low or change any of their scheduled actions in the immediate period after the attempted coup. With allies in the municipal and provincial government and among disenfranchised PKI sympathizers in the Armed Forces the labor activists certainly did not anticipate that the

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<sup>47</sup> "Pidato Radio Gub. Wijono" and "Perintah Harian Panglima Daerah Militer VIII/Brawidjaja," *Surabaya Post*, 2 October, 1965, I.

<sup>48</sup> "Report from East Java," 140.

<sup>49</sup> See Yekthi Hesthi Murthi, "Pembersihan 'Kelompok Kiri' di Surabaya, 1965-1978," thesis, Airlangga University, 2007, 44-45.

<sup>50</sup> Details of the SOBSI Kasa Husada takeover as well as the union's efforts to 'retool' the corporation's director, Army Major S. Soenardi, are cited in a 1966 letter from the Kasa Husada Sarbumusi union to the National, East Java, and Surabaya Sarbumusi and NU offices. The letter protested another worker's defamation of the head of the Kasa Husada Sarbumusi union who helped to put down both SOBSI campaigns. See Gerakan Buruh Peratjutan/Pertemuan Sarbumusi, "Protes terhadap fitnah jang ditudjukan oleh Sdr. Boerham terhadap diri Sdr. MARLATIP ketua SARBUMUSI P.N. Farmasi "KASA HUSADA," 23 May 1966. No. 4904, Box 299, SMA.

takeovers were ill-timed. Rather, in light of Sudono's announcement and the Pemuda Rakyat's action against Wijono earlier in the week, it would seem that SOBSI leaders viewed takeovers of enterprises under the control of profiteering Army officers as part of a left-wing wave of solidarity.

However, even as members of the Left in Surabaya were carrying out their plans, cracks in their foundation were starting to form. Unlike the Untung group and another dissident officer uprising in Central Java, the group who seized the RRI Studio Surabaya building ultimately did not follow their declaration with any action.<sup>51</sup> Most of Sudono's collaborators simply returned to their respective units after leaving the radio station. Seeing that he had failed to spur the officers to carry out any of the plans that he had announced over the air, Sudono fled to the town of Madiun. He was arrested there in mid-November.<sup>52</sup> The SOBSI activists' campaign ended when Basuki banned "takeover actions" of state and private enterprises on the eighth.<sup>53</sup> Two days later, Brawijaya troops occupied SOBSI's Surabaya headquarters.<sup>54</sup> The removal of labor federation activists from the sites they had occupied followed. In some instances the NU's labor organization Sarbumusi assisted the Army in evicting the participants of the industry takeovers from their respective workplaces.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> For more on the Central Java operations see Anderson and McVey, *A Preliminary Analysis*, 46-53.

<sup>52</sup> Telegram, SBY to DOS, 17 November 1965. Central Files of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 (Political & Defense) files, Box 2317, NACP.

<sup>53</sup> Panglima Daerah Militer VIII Djawa Timur, "Pengumuman No. 05/Peng. 1965," 14 October 1965. No. 34.056, Box 1141, SMA.

<sup>54</sup> Crouch, *Army*, 146.

<sup>55</sup> Gerakan Buruh Peratjutan/Pertemuan Sarbumusi, "Protes." 23 May 1966. No. 4904, Box 299, SMA.

On 9 October, one day after issuing the ban on takeover actions, Basuki took power over the entire East Java printing industry. All newspapers, magazines, brochures, books, and posters were to be put under the supervision of the provincial police force; furthermore, all copy produced by both state and private printing presses was required to be cleared by military authorities.<sup>56</sup> By mid-October the local PKI and left-wing papers *Djalan Rakyat*, *Djawa Timur* and *Trompet Masyarakat*, along with twenty five journalists had been banned.<sup>57</sup>

Military control of the press and printing enterprises was designed to ensure that only military and anti-communist versions of events were reaching the public. In the Gubeng Trowongan area to the east of the city center and in the hinterland *kampung* of Petemon and Dukuh Pakis to the west, Army intelligence reported that the PKI “had established its own regulations,” through enforcing an evening curfew and prohibiting residents from listening to the radio and reading newspapers.<sup>58</sup> To make sure that Army propaganda still reached these areas, a military jeep traversed the neighborhoods broadcasting anti-Gestapu messages over a loudspeaker.<sup>59</sup>

Accusations in the military papers *Angkatan Bersenjata*, *Berita Yudha*, and *Dinamika* that the PKI was the mastermind of the abortive coup and that the communists were planning to commit additional violence helped to provoke anti-PKI sentiment in Surabaya. Among the most explosive allegations was that on the night of the abductions, Gerwani members had danced

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<sup>56</sup> Panglima Daerah Militer VIII Djawa Timur, “Surat Keputusan No. KEP – 16/10/1965,” 9 October 1965. No. Sementara Lama 53.120/Baru 4214, Def. 9.289, Box 122, SMA.

<sup>57</sup> Peters, *Surabaya*, 52.

<sup>58</sup> “Report from East Java,” 141.

<sup>59</sup> Peters, *Surabaya*, 52.



naked around the kidnapped generals before gouging out their eyes and castrating them.<sup>60</sup> This story was a calculated fabrication. A 1968 CIA paper on the alleged PKI coup and the Army's response to it disavowed that any of the victims had been mutilated or tortured as had been initially reported in the Indonesian press.<sup>61</sup> Decades later upon examining the generals' autopsy reports, Benedict Anderson would also expose this charge as fictitious.<sup>62</sup> Yet when it was first circulated, the story was so inflammatory and presented in such lurid detail that it helped drive home the message of the culpability and imminent danger the PKI posed to the nation. Saskia Wieringa has written the definitive account of the Army's campaign of sexualized slander against Gerwani which, she argues, was a response to the credible threat that politically active women posed to the patriarchal right-wing all-male Army establishment. As Wieringa shows, this campaign linked communism to sexual disorder, "symbolized by women's perverse sexual behavior" at Lubang Buaya. The political equality, autonomy, and public role for Indonesian women that Gerwani had sought as the women's affiliate of the PKI, were also treated as symptomatic of this sexual disorder. By defaming the organization in its cleansing of Indonesia from the taint of the PKI, the architects of the mass violence were able to justify their role as saviors of the nation while returning women to a subordinate role. These narratives subsequently became pillars of the New Order regime once Suharto wrested control of Indonesia from Sukarno in 1966.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Benedict Anderson, "How did the Generals Die?" *Indonesia* 43 (April 1987): 110-11.

<sup>61</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, *Indonesia 1965: The Coup that Backfired*. Research Study, December 1968.

<sup>62</sup> Anderson, "Generals," 111-13.

<sup>63</sup> See *Sexual Politics in Indonesia* (New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2002), 281. Chapter 8 contains the heart of Wieringa's analysis of this topic.

The NU also provoked anti-communist sentiment. On 10 October the Party's Surabaya branch released a statement urging its members to see eradicating the PKI as a religious obligation.<sup>64</sup> Around the same time, responding to the slowness of the Army to initiate violence against the communists, leaders of the NU's youth wing, Ansor, met to decide when and how to begin their attacks on the PKI.<sup>65</sup> This meeting occurred without either the awareness or involvement of military authorities. Sympathetic Army officers were only informed after the fact that the plan involved synchronized rallies to be held on 13 October in towns throughout East Java, after which attacks and killings against the PKI would begin.<sup>66</sup>

Despite the Army's crackdowns on SOBSI, its ban on Communist Party publications and journalists, a virulent propaganda campaign, and the NU's role in creating a climate of fear and hostility toward the PKI, anti-communist sentiment had not yet taken the form of mass killings and arrests. Only by mid-month did large-scale violence against local communists and their 'fellow travelers' truly begin. The turning point was an Army-sanctioned mass rally held on 16 October at Surabaya's iconic Tugu Pahlawan, the monument commemorating the bravery of the City of Heroes.

## **The Purge**

The 16 October rally at Tugu Pahlawan was an important catalyst for the initiation of anti-communist violence in Surabaya. The Heroes Monument (Fig. 4.2), located opposite the East Java Governor's Office, had been a site of large public gatherings since its dedication in the

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<sup>64</sup> Fealy and McGregor, "East Java and the Role of the Nahdlatul Ulama," in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 117 & 121.

<sup>65</sup> Crouch, *Army*, 147.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

1950s. It is notable that in scope, scale, and setting, the assembly very much reflected the types of mass rallies that the Left had held at the height of the Crush Malaysia and anti-American campaigns. However, in this instance, instead of leading the charge against alleged enemies of Indonesia, the PKI was portrayed as the enemy of the Indonesian people.



**Figure 4.2** Tugu Pahlawan. The landscape was nearly identical at the time of the 16 October rally as it was in this photo taken in 1953. Author's collection.

According to the *Surabaya Post* the crowd at the Heroes Monument numbered in the hundreds of thousands. The rally was reportedly organized by the “East Java and Surabaya Action Committee to Crush Gestapu” (Panitia Aksi Mengganjang Gestapu), a group that claimed to have the backing of sixty-seven political and mass organizations.<sup>67</sup> Representatives from the

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<sup>67</sup> As the only reference I have seen made to this group is in the above-mentioned *Surabaya Post* article, future research is necessary to definitively determine whether it was a branch of the U.S.-funded KAP-Gestapu (Kesatuan Aksi Pengganjang Gestapu), a collective of anti-communist organizations enlisted to assist the Army in its

Islamic organization Muhammadiyah, religious parties such as the NU, the Catholic Party and Parkindo (Indonesian Christian Party) and speakers from other right-wing groups addressed the crowd.<sup>68</sup>

The Brawijaya Division's representative, Colonel Sujoto, was the last of the invited guests to take the microphone. He read a statement from Basuki Rachmat decrying Gestapu.<sup>69</sup> The organizers then made a series of declarations. They praised God for protecting Sukarno and Nasution from the Gestapu plotters. They lauded the Armed Forces for its role in safeguarding the nation and expressed their condolences for the deaths of the generals who had fallen victim to the "Gestapu terrorists" (*terroris Gestapu*). They cursed Lieutenant Colonel Untung's Revolutionary Council and pledged their cooperation in assisting the Armed Forces to destroy Gestapu and its allies. They also pledged to continue to stand faithfully behind the Great Leader of the Revolution, Sukarno.<sup>70</sup>

The rally closed with a demand for the dissolution of the PKI and all of its affiliated organizations and the permanent revocation of the publishing privileges of left-wing papers and magazines. Authorities were called upon to take action against the Grahadi protesters and perpetrators of the recent labor takeovers, events that were now categorized along with the September 30<sup>th</sup> Movement's actions as part of a PKI grab for power. A closing warning to remain vigilant and continue the struggle against Indonesia's enemies positioned the "counter-

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takedown of the PKI. My sense at present is that it was a KAP-Gestapu group.

<sup>68</sup> "Rapat Raksasa di Tugu Pahlawan mengganjang 'Gestapu'," *Surabaya Post*, 18 October 1965, II.

<sup>69</sup> Sujoto continued to play an active role in the anti-communist movement in the city, taking charge of the right-wing student coalition KAMI (Indonesian Student Action Front). See "Siapa jg merombak Pantjasila," *Dinamika Harian ABRI*, November 30, 1965: 1.

<sup>70</sup> "Rapat Raksasa," II.

revolutionary” Gestapu alongside the Nekolim nations and the puppet state of Malaysia.<sup>71</sup> As the rally came to an end a group broke off from the crowd and marched one block south to the headquarters of the PKI’s provincial leadership office on Jalan Penghela and set it ablaze.

The Indonesian Army intelligence report that discussed the “burning of the PKI’s...office on Pahlawan Street [sic]” placed the arson in the context of additional “organized acts of destruction.”<sup>72</sup> While the *Surabaya Post* coverage of the rally also mentioned that an “incident” at the PKI headquarters occurred and vaguely hinted at other incidents in the city, the scope or scale of the violence at these locations was not further specified. It is, however, apparent that other targets were homes and businesses owned by PKI members and by ethnic Chinese. Indeed, instructions from Ansor forbidding its constituents from engaging in acts of violence against PKI and Indonesian Chinese persons and properties were published in the *Surabaya Post* only after the mass rally and accompanying violence had already occurred. In fact, these instructions were not printed in the paper until a full three days following the attacks mentioned in the Army’s intelligence report.<sup>73</sup> Notably, they also appeared several days after the NU in Surabaya issued the order that eradicating the PKI was a religious duty. This discrepancy in the orders that the NU and Ansor issued to their members suggests that coordination between the party and its youth wing had not yet solidified at the leadership level. While Ansor cadres rose to the Surabaya NU’s order of 10 October, the Surabaya Ansor leadership seems to have been attempting to distance itself from, rather than claim responsibility for, the 16 October violence. Indeed, during the attack on the PKI’s headquarters, members of the Gresik Street brimob corps

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> See “Report from East Java,” 140.

<sup>73</sup> “Rapat Raksasa,” II, and “Instruksi Ansor,” *Surabaya Post*, 19 October 1965, II.

had protected the Pemuda Rakyat.<sup>74</sup> Ansor leaders might have thus feared reprisals for the attack from the Pemuda Rakyat and its military allies.

Following the Heroes Monument rally, the Action Committee to Crush Gestapu established an “Action Command” and a “brain trust.” They were predominantly composed of the groups whose representatives had spoken at the rally and were dominated by members of the NU and its affiliates. The purpose of these two bodies, according to an Indonesian intelligence report of the period, was to annihilate the PKI by physical and political operations. An additional desired outcome of these operations would be the “radical [transformation] of the police and the leadership of the state, with the cooperation of the Armed Forces, especially the Army.”<sup>75</sup>

On 18 October Major General Basuki Rachmat, acting in his capacity as the East Java *Pepelrada*, issued a decree ordering all provincial state employees with ties to the PKI or its affiliated organizations to begin reporting to their local authorities.<sup>76</sup> Along with his chief of staff, Colonel Widjaja Soekardanu, he also publicly warned the citizenry against committing actions that would result in the loss of life or property.<sup>77</sup> The Army conducted a series of arrests of workers connected to the early October SOBSI labor agitation that same day.<sup>78</sup> These and subsequent arrests helped to support the Army’s allegation that local PKI cadre and affiliates were complicit in the coup. Ensuing press coverage purporting to reveal that the authorities had found evidence of more planned labor agitation added weight to this charge. One alleged

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<sup>74</sup> See “Report from East Java,” 148.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 137. For more on the resulting 1966 police purge, see Crouch, *Army*, 237-38.

<sup>76</sup> “Pimpinan Parpol/Ormas dilarang [...] wajib lapor,” *Surabaya Post* 1 November 1965, II.

<sup>77</sup> Fealy and McGregor, “East Java and the Role of the Nahdlatul Ulama,” in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 118.

<sup>78</sup> “Report from East Java,” 140-41.

discovery, reported in the *Surabaya Post* in late November, was a sharpened bamboo pole found at the Sampoerna Cigarette factory in the northern region of the city; though a common anti-thievery security device not out of place at an industrial site, reports linked the pole to the PKI-affiliated United Cigarette Workers Union of Indonesia (Serikat Buruh Rokok Indonesia, SBRI).<sup>79</sup>

The military next organized workplace purges in industries they already controlled or would subsequently take over. On 21 October the Naval Commander of the Tanjung Perak Harbor indefinitely suspended the mass organizations affiliated with the United Shipping and Harbor Worker's Union (Serikat Buruh Pelabuhan dan Pelayaran, SBPP). The Peperlada's maritime wing arrested and interrogated fifty alleged counter-revolutionary members of the SBPP as a "follow up" to this action.<sup>80</sup> The next day on order of the Peperlada, all activities of the East Java PKI and its affiliated organizations including the Pemuda Rakyat, Gerwani, the BTI, CGMI, and SOBSI, were prohibited.<sup>81</sup> Thereafter all members of these organizations were subject to being "examined" by the Hansip/Hanra (People's and Civic Defense), minimally-trained local militias through which Army authorities could organize violence at the hands of civilian actors.<sup>82</sup> The Army also oversaw the removal of communist workers at the Gresik Cement plant to the northwest of Surabaya. By early November, forty-four persons had been suspended at that site. These employees included the President and Director, Padyo Soerjodiningrat, a PKI member known to favor the SOBSI workers under his employ. Upon

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<sup>79</sup> Peters, *Surabaya*, 55.

<sup>80</sup> "SBPP Surabaya dibekukan dengan semua ormas/orbunja," *Surabaya Post*, 22 October 1965, II.

<sup>81</sup> "Keputusan Peperlada Djatim: Kegiatan PKI & 10 Ormasnja dilarang sementara di Djatim," *Surabaya Post*, 23 October 1965, I.

<sup>82</sup> "Pedoman pelaksanaan operasi pembersihan thd G.30.S.," *Surabaya Post*, 29 October 1965, II.

Padyo's arrest, Gresik Cement was placed under the control of Basuki Rachmat who appointed a Lieutenant Colonel as the plant's new supervisor.<sup>83</sup>

Non-communist unions, often acting with Army oversight, also orchestrated workplace purges. For example, at the National Kasa Husada Pharmacy Corporation, a team of employees that included workers from the NU's labor union, Sarbumusi, staged a "cleansing of the body" (*pembersihan tubuh*) of their workplace. As a result of this cleansing, ninety alleged G30S "elements" were fired.<sup>84</sup> By mid-November, with military backing, purges had swept through the postal service, police, secondary and tertiary educational institutions, the Judiciary, Indonesian Chinese organizations, and the Naval Academy.<sup>85</sup> As reported in the Armed Forces newspaper, *Dinamika*, the dean of Surabaya's Agriculture Academy (AKAPER) suspended eighteen students accused of having either direct or indirect ties to G30S.<sup>86</sup>

Crucially, in addition to removing PKI elements from state industries and placing those enterprises in Army hands, the anti-communist provincial authorities in East Java also began to remove Communist Party members and affiliates who held government leadership positions in the province. On 29 October, Governor Wijono suspended eight regents (*bupati*) and mayors as well as PKI-nominated representatives in regional government bodies and assemblies.<sup>87</sup>

Moerachman, who was accused of being a member of the September 30<sup>th</sup> Movement, was

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<sup>83</sup> Airgram, SUB to DOS, "Pro-PKI President Director of Gresik Cement Plant Suspended," 13 November 1965. General Records of the Department of State. RG 59, Central Foreign Policy 1964-66, Political and Defense file, Box 2318, NACP.

<sup>84</sup> Gerakan Buruh Peratjutan/Pertemuan Sarbumusi, "Protes." 23 May 1966. No. 4904, Box 299, SMA.

<sup>85</sup> Peters, *Surabaya*, 62.

<sup>86</sup> "AKAPER' petjat mahasiswa2nja," *Dinamika Harian ABRI*, 17 November 1965, II.

<sup>87</sup> "Keputusan Gubernur Djawa Timur: delapan bupati dan walikota di Djatim diberhentikan sementara," *Surabaja Post*, 29 October 1965, I.



arrested and imprisoned.<sup>88</sup> The exact circumstances of the mayor's arrest remain unclear. However, he appears to have been among a number of municipal authorities who went into hiding in early-to-mid October as the Army's campaign against the Communist Party began. According to some accounts, Moerachman was captured by KODIM troops in Wonokromo, a PKI-dominant Surabaya suburb.<sup>89</sup> On 29 October Governor Wijono installed Surabaya KODIM Commander, Lieutenant Colonel R. Soekotjo, as Surabaya's "care taker" mayor in his place.<sup>90</sup>

On 30 October Major General Basuki Rachmat ordered the leadership of the PKI and its affiliated political and mass organizations throughout East Java to begin compulsory reporting at military command centers. Provincial-level party and mass organization leaders were required to report to KODIM Surabaya, branch-level leaders elsewhere in the province to their local KODIM centers, and sub-branch leaders to their local Uterpra, the Army's *kecamatan*-level territorial administrative unit.<sup>91</sup> The decree also prohibited these organizations from holding meetings, required that they close all of their offices, and ordered the removal of all political party or organization signage within five days.<sup>92</sup>

Despite the sanctions, crackdowns, and episodic violence in Surabaya and elsewhere in East Java during the month of October, right-wing Army forces were frustrated by the delay in more direct action against the PKI and its affiliates. Military intelligence later reported that the

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<sup>88</sup> "Letkol. Sukotjo, Dan Dim 0830 Care Taker Walikota Sbj," *Surabaya Post*, October 29, 1965: 1.

<sup>89</sup> Interview with Bambang, Surabaya, 8 May 2012.

<sup>90</sup> "Letkol. Sukotjo," *Surabaya Post*, October 29, 1965: 1.

<sup>91</sup> The Uterpra was the predecessor of the KORAMIL (District Military Command).

<sup>92</sup> "Pimpinan parpol/ormas dilarang [...] wadajib lapor," *Surabaya Post*, 1 November 1965, II.

lack of action was partially attributable to a troop shortage.<sup>93</sup> In fact, more than half of the Brawijaya Division's forces were serving outside of Java as part of Sukarno's *Konfrontasi* campaign against Malaysia.<sup>94</sup> Another reason for the delay was the heavy presence of Sukarnoist and PKI-sympathetic elements amongst the East Java Armed Forces. In Surabaya these included some Army and Marine units, as well as the BRIMOB battalion that protected the Pemuda Rakyat during the 16 October arson of the PKI headquarters on Jalan Penghela. The East Java Police Commander, Drs. Soemarsono Martosudirdjo, was also accused of being "obstructive" in cracking down on the PKI and rumors flew that he was involved in G30S.<sup>95</sup> However, military intelligence believed that most of the responsibility for the delay belonged to Major General Basuki Rachmat and Governor Wijono. Both men were depicted as hesitant to coordinate violence against the PKI. Because of their hesitation, it was noted, others in the province such as the KODIM commanders in the Malang and Kediri areas located to the south of Surabaya were compelled to act without waiting for instructions from the provincial capital.<sup>96</sup>

Basuki's actions up to late October were deemed insufficient by the stauncher anti-communist elements within the Brawijaya officer corps eager to mobilize troops and civilians to attack the PKI. Suspicious of his slowness to act because his name had been included in the

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<sup>93</sup> "Report from East Java," 146. According to consulate intelligence, the troop shortage was addressed in November and December with the return of three Brawijaya battalions that had been stationed in other areas of the archipelago. See telegram, SUB to JKT 19 November 1965. General Records of the Department of State. RG 59, Central Foreign Policy 1964-66, Political and Defense file, Box 2317, NACP, and telegram, SUB to JKT, 24 November 1965. General Records of the Department of State. RG 59, Central Foreign Policy 1964-66, Political and Defense file, Box 2317, NACP, and telegram, SUB to JKT, 21 December 1965. General Records of the Department of State. RG 59, Central Foreign Policy 1964-66, Political and Defense file, Box 2317, NACP.

<sup>94</sup> Jenkins and Kammen, "The Army Para-Commando Regiment," in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 78 n. 8.

<sup>95</sup> According to the intelligence officer's report, "A total of 133 people were saved by the pretense that they were being arrested, but later were released." See "Report from East Java," 148.

<sup>96</sup> See Crouch, *Army*, 151-52.

G30S Revolutionary Council, they claimed that they nearly had to force him to freeze PKI activities in Surabaya.<sup>97</sup> They accordingly enlisted the help of Basuki's predecessor, Soerachman, sometime in late October or early November to convince the Brawijaya commander to initiate more violence against the PKI. However, Soerachman's attempt to push his successor to act further was to no avail. Basuki remained hesitant, claiming that he had his "own instructions," from someone other than Suharto, but remained vague as to who this person was, leading to much speculation among his subordinates.<sup>98</sup> The widely-disliked Wijono, who was already viewed as ineffectual, was faulted for not issuing clear directives to the civil service corps and neglecting to brief his representatives in the regencies. He was further disparaged for his failure to cooperate with the military and NU and for making too many concessions to the PKI and PNI prior to G30S.<sup>99</sup>

While the RPKAD did not initiate the violence in the province as directly as scholars have previously thought, RPKAD action and movement was, in fact, still a critical factor in the dynamic of violence in East Java. The start of the RPKAD killing spree in Central Java appears to have sparked Basuki's change of approach from discouraging to encouraging mass violence. Only once this occurred at the end of October did he officially allow his military resort commanders to begin organizing killings in East Java.<sup>100</sup>

Shifting from his previous message dissuading outbreaks of violence, in public remarks on 31 October undoubtedly designed to incite action against the PKI, Basuki compared the

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<sup>97</sup> "Report from East Java," 146.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid. Basuki might have been referring to Sukarno.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 149.

<sup>100</sup> Crouch, *Army*, 151.

September 30<sup>th</sup> Movement to the 1948 communist rebellion in Madiun. The claim that the PKI had once again betrayed the nation was also driven home with the placement of graphic posters depicting the generals' "mutilated" corpses in various areas Surabaya. A caption accompanied each poster citing the murders as proof that Gestapu and Madiun "were one and the same."<sup>101</sup> However, the measures that Basuki began to take toward the end of October were still not enough for anti-communist elements in East Java. The inaction of Basuki and Wijono apparently so vexed the more staunchly anti-communist Army and civilian officials in the province that on 14 November they resolved to send a delegation to urge both men to become more active in moving against the PKI.<sup>102</sup>

While Basuki and Wijono were exercising restraint, Surabaya's new "care taker" mayor, Lieutenant Colonel Soekotjo (Fig. 4.3), sprang into action against the PKI. As the enthusiasm with which he organized operations against the PKI in Surabaya indicates, Soekotjo was a virulent anti-communist. He was clearly elated that the opportunity he had long sought to destroy the PKI had at last arrived. And the anti-communists in the region were equally elated with him. Soekotjo's initiatives were recognized in right-wing military circles.<sup>103</sup> Some civilians in Surabaya praised him as well. For example, residents of the Bubutan area of the city to the immediate south of Tugu Pahlawan lauded him for clearing the city of the PKI.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Telegram, SUB to JKT, 4 November 1965. General Records of the Department of State. RG 59, Central Foreign Policy 1964-66, Political and Defense file, Box 2317, NACP.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 148.

<sup>103</sup> "Report from East Java," 141.

<sup>104</sup> "Terima kasih Pak Kotjo," *Dinamika Harian ABRI*, 19 November 1965.



**Figure 4.3.** Official mayoral portrait of R. Soekotjo. Surabaya Municipal Archive.

Throughout November, Soekotjo ordered purges from City Hall down to Surabaya’s *kampung*. He authorized the ‘cleansing’ of the municipal bureaucracy, claiming that it was no longer a secret that the city government had become infiltrated with “persons embroiled in the G30S.”<sup>105</sup> Other purges reached down to the residential administration level, targeting *kampung* associations (Rukun Kampung, RK) and neighborhood associations (Rukun Tetangga, RT) that

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<sup>105</sup> “Care Taker Walikota Surabaya: PKI sebagai dalang G-30-S semakin terbuka,” *Dinamika Harian ABRI*, 17 November 1965, II.

the NU alleged were predominantly PKI-controlled.<sup>106</sup> Soekotjo also organized a campaign in which KODIM forces launched neighborhood raids that culminated in the arrests of scores of PKI members and affiliates.<sup>107</sup> These raids also caused the deaths of numerous PKI as well as non-communist victims.

In Surabaya and its hinterland the NU was instrumental in inciting violence and in supporting the Army raids. The Party and its youth wing, Ansor, and Ansor's paramilitary corps, known as Banser, were the dominant civilian perpetrators of the violence in Surabaya and elsewhere in East Java. The NU had been one of the PKI's main political enemies in Greater Surabaya since the former's ascension in the mid-1950s. In city and peri-urban *kampung*, political and ideological clashes between PKI and NU cadres had turned into physical ones. Tensions ran high between Ansor and the Pemuda Rakyat in the city proper and in the hinterland. Banser's defense of NU leaders and assets in East Java reached back to its formation in 1962.<sup>108</sup>

NU branches supplied Army and civilian raiding parties with lists containing the names and addresses of communist and PKI-affiliated targets. Black-clad Ansor and Banser cadres participated in these flash raids that were often carried out under cover of night.<sup>109</sup> According to

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<sup>106</sup> Telegram, SUB to JKT, 15 November 1965. General Records of the Department of State. RG 59, Central Foreign Policy 1964-66, Political and Defense file, Box 2317, NACP.

<sup>107</sup> "PKI telah menjiapkan tanda-tanda tertentu bagi rumah2 korbannya," *Dinamika Harian ABRI*, 17 November 1965, I.

<sup>108</sup> Kammen and McGregor, "East Java and the Role of the Nahdlatul Ulama," in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 113.

<sup>109</sup> Planned killings by black-clad Ansor raiders on pre-identified targets are mentioned in numerous sources. See, for instance, Anonymous, "Additional Data on Counter-Revolutionary Cruelty in Indonesia, Especially in East Java" in Cribb, *The Indonesian Killings*, 174 and Sidney Jones, *Injustice, Persecution, Eviction: A Human Rights Update on Indonesia and East Timor* (New York: Asia Watch Committee, 1990), 88. For more details on NU-Army

eyewitness accounts, sometime in mid-to-late November the *kampung* of peri-urban Kecamatan Tandes were raided by NU members and affiliates from other regions.<sup>110</sup> In Kampung Simo Jawar, two active NU leaders and Islamic teachers were known to have compiled lists of names and addresses of people known or thought to have ties to the PKI.<sup>111</sup> Ansor and Banser cadres from the neighboring island of Madura were also ferried in to participate in the PKI killings in Surabaya.<sup>112</sup> “At this time secret kidnappings and killings are being carried out by the Religious groups,” an Army intelligence officer reported to his superiors as the month drew to a close.<sup>113</sup>

A number of incursions also occurred in early November in South Surabaya. Fifty Ansor-affiliated youths from the Bagong neighborhood armed with sickles and bamboo spears entered the *kampung* of Dinoyo to search for rice allegedly being hoarded by the PKI and signs of Communist Party activity.<sup>114</sup> They attacked youth whom they knew or suspected to be affiliated with the PKI, resulting in the deaths of several of Kampung Dinoyo’s young men. A week later, the Bagong vigilantes returned, accompanied by 200 soldiers. They seized people and stocks of rice and other evidence to prove that Dinoyo was a site of communist activity.<sup>115</sup>

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collaboration in raids on the PKI in Surabaya and its hinterland, see Dahlia G. Setiyawan “Terror in Tandes,” *Inside Indonesia* 99 (January-March 2010) [www.insideindonesia.org](http://www.insideindonesia.org) and Peters, *Surabaya*, 64-69.

<sup>110</sup> Interview with “Hadi,” Surabaya, 18 May 2012 and interview with “Sri Sutiarsih,” Surabaya, 7 June 2012.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> “Report from East Java,” 140.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>114</sup> This incursion appears to have been part of an anti-communist Army and ‘loyal youth’ front which had begun seizing Pemuda Rakyat rice stocks. See Peters, *Surabaya*, 53.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 53-54.

Raids on Surabaya's *kampung* were carried out with the intention of arresting or killing PKI targets who were variously legal residents, squatters, or refugees fleeing killings already underway in other areas. By mid-November, the NU daily, *Obor Revolusi*, was alleging that PKI activists in Surabaya were hiding refugees from Banyuwangi, Blitar, Kediri, and other areas. The arrest of fifteen Pemuda Rakyat members from Jember who were "caught attempting [to] poison drinking wells in Surabaya" was cited as proof that dangerous PKI elements had breached the municipality and planned to wreak havoc there.<sup>116</sup>

On 10 November, Heroes' Day, the city and the nation commemorated the twentieth anniversary of the Battle of Surabaya.<sup>117</sup> Within days, KODIM forces launched "Operation Clean-Up" (Operasi Gerakan Pembersihan) to crack down on Surabaya's PKI-dominant *kampung*. On 14 November at four o'clock in the afternoon KODIM troops descended on Kampung Bangunreja and the surrounding area to the west of the city center. Eighty-eight "extremely suspicious" people were arrested. Weapons discovered in the raid, including three machetes and a samurai sword, were alleged to belong to the PKI. Another raid launched in Gubeng Trowongan resulted in the arrests of thirty-two people. KODIM forces claimed that they had also uncovered a system of codes that indicated the PKI planned to commit arson, killings, and kidnappings in the region.<sup>118</sup>

These alleged codes were reproduced in the military paper, *Dinamika* (see Fig. 4.4). No details were given as to where they were found; the accompanying article only stated that

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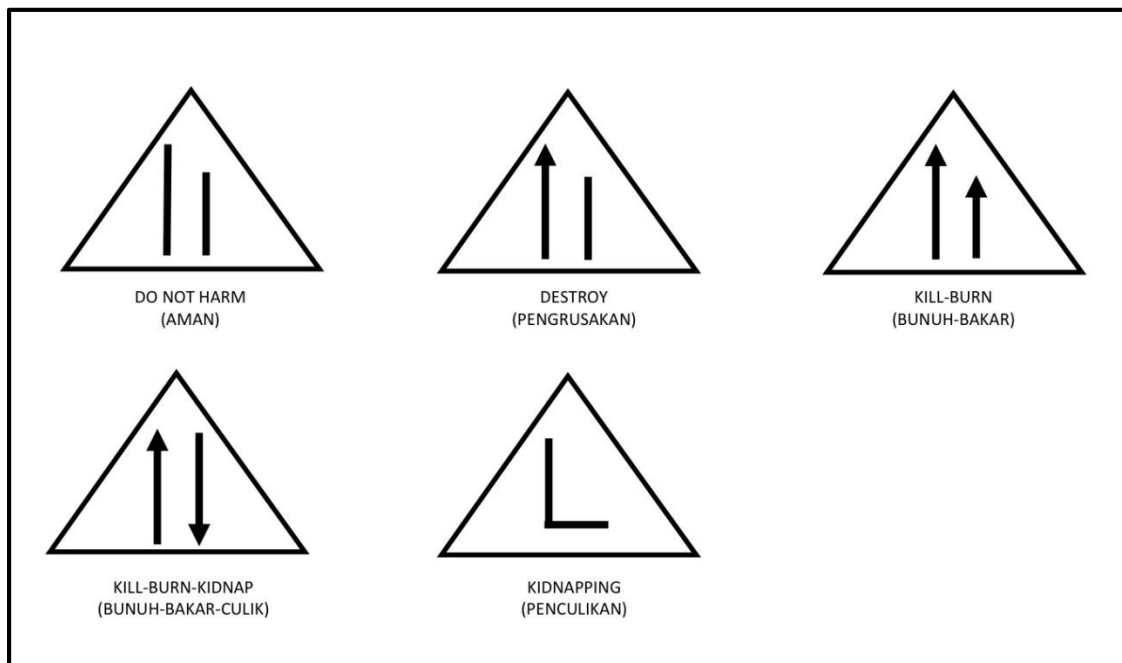
<sup>116</sup> SUB to JKT, 15 November 1965. RG 59, Political and Defense file, Box 2317, NACP.

<sup>117</sup> In Bali a rally marking the holiday became an opportunity for political leaders to incite violence against the PKI. See Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise*, 294.

<sup>118</sup> "PKI telah menjiapkan tanda-tanda tertentu bagi rumah2 korbannya," *Dinamika Harian ABRI*, 17 November 1965, I.



KODIM troops had discovered them in the Gubeng Trowongan raid and that in unspecified “future operations” PKI assailants planned to mark the codes on the outside of homes to indicate their inhabitants’ fates.<sup>119</sup> That the Kampung Bangunreja raid occurred on the same day that East Java officers decided to send a delegation to urge Basuki to take more action suggests that Surabaya KODIM forces also were not waiting for instructions from the Army commander. Rather they were taking matters into their own hands. Basuki, by all appearances, had lost yet more authority among his division’s troops.



**Figure 4.4.** Alleged PKI codes “discovered” in November 1965 KODIM raid in Gubeng-Trowongan, Surabaya. Source: “PKI telah menjiapkan tanda-tanda tertentu bagi rumah2 korbannja,” *Dinamika Harian ABRI*, 17 November 1965, I.

By month’s end a major shakeup in the Brawijaya leadership had occurred. In a 26 November ceremony attended by Suharto, Basuki was officially relieved of his command in East Java. He was promoted to the position of Minister for Veterans’ Affairs and Mobilization and

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

remained Suharto's trusted confidant and advisor until his death in 1969.<sup>120</sup> Suharto appointed Brawijaya chief of staff, Brigadier General Soenarijadi to serve as interim Regional Military Commander. Basuki's transfer removed one of the remaining obstacles to a full onslaught against the communists. In late November, Army intelligence lauded the Brawijaya Division's anti-communist operations in the Surabaya region as "the most 'smooth'" and continuous as compared to other areas.<sup>121</sup> Under Soenarijadi violence against the PKI increased as the Army and members of Ansor and Banser continued to carry out raids and killings in the province.<sup>122</sup>

Army-NU cooperation was often an important aspect of anti-communist operations in East Java. However in Surabaya, their collaboration in acts of violence against the PKI was not nearly as neat as most of the literature suggests it to be either there or further afield. In fact, there were indications of serious tensions in the Army-NU relationship. Brawijaya troops detained around 200 anti-communist Muslims who had participated in the attacks on PKI properties following the 16 October rally at Tugu Pahlawan.<sup>123</sup> Toward the end of November and into December violence took place between troops and Muslims in Surabaya. During these outbreaks Brawijaya soldiers killed several Madurese as a retaliatory measure for the murders of two anti-

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<sup>120</sup> Crouch, *Army*, 307.

<sup>121</sup> "Report from East Java," 140.

<sup>122</sup> By December, anti-communist violence had reached such a level that calls appeared in the press for the civilian perpetrators in East Java to effectively stop acting as 'judge, jury, and executioner' (*permainan hakim-hakiman sendiri*) so that calm and order could return. See, "Djangan mundur lagi," *Liberty* 641, no. XIII (18 December 1965), 5.

<sup>123</sup> Fealy and McGregor, "East Java and the Role of Nahdlatul Ulama," in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 118.

aircraft officers who had tried to disarm a group entering into Surabaya from Madura.<sup>124</sup> Army-NU clashes, some of which resulted in deaths on both sides continued into the following year.<sup>125</sup>

As the drive against the PKI intensified in Indonesia, the perpetrators of the anti-communist violence increased their usage of the language of 'cleansing.' Commonly used in cases of genocide and mass killing, this terminology was an integral element of the 1965-66 violence against the Left in Indonesia.<sup>126</sup> As the year came to an end, 'cleansing' in Surabaya took on a dual meaning. It referred to the detention and killing or enforced exile of avowed and alleged communists as well as a literal cleaning and beautification campaign. Soekotjo and his anti-communist Army colleagues saw these things as intrinsically linked. For instance, demolishing squatters' shacks and other unlicensed structures constructed when the PKI had encouraged the landless poor to claim public land during the height of its *wild grond occupatie* campaign caused the forced relocation of communist elements from the municipality and its hinterland. Soekotjo ordered that operations targeting Surabaya's squatters be increased following an incognito inspection of the city by the Minister of the Interior, dr. Soemarno Sosroatmodjo. Following his tour through Surabaya by pedicab, the minister told the "care taker" mayor that he wanted to see more progress on cleaning and beautifying the city. In a press conference in early December Soekotjo conveyed this message, stating that the people of

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<sup>124</sup> See telegram, SUB to JKT (incoming # 189), 30 November 1965. General Records of the Department of State. RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political and Defense file, Box 2317, NACP and telegram, SUB to JKT (incoming #187), 30 November 1965. General Records of the Department of State. RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political and Defense file, Box 2317, NACP.

<sup>125</sup> Fealy and McGregor, "East Java and the Role of Nahdlatul Ulama," in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 126.

<sup>126</sup> Drawing an analogy to the nature of the violence that accompanied the India-Pakistan Partition of 1947, one scholar has argued that the mass murders are indeed best conceptualized as a ritual cleansing. See Henk Schulte Nordholt, "A Genealogy of Violence," in *Roots of Violence in Indonesia: Contemporary Violence in Historical Perspective*, ed. Freek Colombijn & J. Thomas Lindblad (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002), 46.

Surabaya “should feel ashamed” at the minister’s dissatisfaction. As left-wing political figures had called on the *arek Suroboyo* to safeguard the city from *nekolim* influence during the anti-U.S. movement, Soekotjo likewise invoked their reputation as residents of the City of Heroes to take responsibility for intensifying city-wide clean-up efforts. Speaking even more directly, he warned the citizenry again that “Gestapu remnants” still lingered in Surabaya and were to blame for marring the city’s landscape with their illegal structures. Soekotjo stated that he hoped to have the understanding of those residing in such structures that efforts to raze their residences would be going ahead as planned. If they failed to accept this, however, the authorities were prepared to use violence to evict them from their homes.<sup>127</sup>

On the morning of Wednesday 15 December, in a ceremony that East Java and Surabaya Panca Tunggal authorities arranged to appear as a PKI-initiated event, the Surabaya branch of the Communist Party dissolved itself. In the shade of the Heroes Monument, under heavy guard, representatives from the PKI and from twenty affiliated mass organizations burned the party symbols and flag. They then listened to the rebukes of Soekotjo and Lieutenant Colonel Imam Munandar, his successor as KODIM Commander. Whereas the former admonished the PKI cadres to “atone for their sins” the latter railed against past and present PKI treachery, invoking the analogy that G30S was identical to Madiun.<sup>128</sup> It was not reported whether arrests were made in connection with this event. It is highly probable, however, that the party and organization representatives who participated in the ceremony were already being held in detention and the

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<sup>127</sup> “‘Care-taker’ Walikota Letkol Soekotjo: Kewibawaan Pemerintah Kotapradja Surabaya harus ditegakkan kembali,” *Surabaya Post*, 9 December 1965, II.

<sup>128</sup> “PKI Kopra Surabaya tadi pagi di Tugu Pahlawan membubarkan diri,” *Surabaya Post*, 15 December 1965, II.

ceremony was intended as a show of force or warning directed at PKI members who had gone underground.

The same day that the Surabaya PKI was forced to disband, Soekotjo declared Surabaya a closed city. Again citing the continued presence of communist refugees hiding in PKI-dominant *kampung*, he stated that procedures would be enacted to ensure that only people with proof of legal residence were allowed to inhabit the city. He pledged continued cooperation between the municipal government and armed forces in their campaign to “beautify and secure” Surabaya by cleaning out so-called Gestapu squatters. The “care taker” mayor would not confirm what would happen to the individuals netted in sweeps, though he hinted that they would be placed in what he referred to as “training centers” or exiled elsewhere in the archipelago. Most importantly, he stated, Surabaya must be completely cleansed of squatters.<sup>129</sup>

By year’s end, following a series of meetings involving City Hall and the local military leadership, authorities established a new security protocol for Surabaya. Records survive in the Surabaya Municipal Archives detailing how the NU-dominated sub-district of Pabean Cantikan carried out the new security measures. Located in a particularly diverse and heavily-trafficked region at the northernmost edge of Greater Surabaya, Pabean Cantikan covered a vast area, bordered by the Heroes’ Monument and the Governor’s Office in the south and the entrance of the Tanjung Perak harbor to the north. The district authorities’ headquarters on Jalan Cokelat on the eastern riverbank of the Kali Mas was in the heart of a historic trading district near the great mosque and Sufi tomb-shrine of Ampel and close to many Chinese shops, homes, and temples. These demographics and geography coupled with persistent Army and NU provocations about

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<sup>129</sup> “Dikandung maksud untuk njatakan Surabaja sebagai ‘kota tertutup,’” *Surabaja Post*, 15 December 1965, II.

PKI refugee flows into the city explain the urgency with which local authorities implemented the new screening and surveillance protocol.

The procedures for monitoring visitors to Pabean Cantikan were comprehensive. Hosts were to report the presence of overnight guests of private homes to local authorities within six hours following their arrival in the district. Operators of boarding houses, hotels, and inns were to make their report within two hours. All visitors were further required to furnish proof of their identities and letters of permission for travel from their home region. Civil servants, private sector employees, and laborers traveling on official business were moreover required to submit proof by way of additional documentation from their places of work. The Pabean Cantikan authorities in collaboration with the Uterpra were tasked with administering the new procedures. Representatives from these security forces signed the order, as did the Pabean National Front representative. Included with the decree was a sample visitors log to be used by RK and RT administrators to keep track of visitors to their areas. Information they should record included the name, age, ethnicity, occupation, and point of origin of the visitor, the issuing agencies of the visitor's identity and proof of business documents and a list of political parties or organizations with which the visitor was affiliated. The authorities cited the need to "restore the state of regional order and security to levels pre-dating the terror that calls itself G.30.S" to justify these increased safety measures.<sup>130</sup>

Though most of the NU-Army flash raids on the neighborhoods of Greater Surabaya had died down by year's end, Soekotjo's cleansings of squatters continued well into 1966 and beyond. As District Military Command and militia forces continued to conduct sweeps on

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<sup>130</sup> Tjatur Tunggal Ketj. Pabean Tjantikan, "Keputusan Nomor 913/22 Kpts/65". 57.376/D 6666, SMA.

Surabaya's *kampung*, the PKI's support networks were no longer secure. The refugees who had fled into the city in 1965 were forced to retreat and regroup. They did so in Blitar and other areas of East Java and Central Java.<sup>131</sup>

A massive number of people were killed and incarcerated during the course of the violence. In late 1965, a presidential Fact Finding Commission attempted to detail the number killed in Surabaya and the surrounding area. Their conservative if incomplete estimate recorded 11,000 to 17,000 deaths in the Surabaya region (in which Bojonegoro and Madura were also included). The commission's report also provided unofficial estimates of 54,000 killed in the entire province of East Java. No official totals were given, for at the time this report was issued, killings and detentions were still underway.<sup>132</sup> According to Oei Tjoe Tat, a member of the Commission, these numbers are far too low.<sup>133</sup> As a point of comparison, while Robert Cribb has cited a 1966 KOPKAMTIB combined figure of 800,000 dead in East and Central Java, a 1971 study by Leslie Palmier provided a range of 100,000-250,000 deaths in East Java.<sup>134</sup> Hermawan Sulisty, citing two additional studies, suggests a figure of between 60,000 and 100,000 killed in the province.<sup>135</sup> Most recently, Douglas Kammen and Katharine McGregor cite a total of

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<sup>131</sup> Vanessa Hearman, "South Blitar and the PKI Bases: Refuge, Resistance, and Repression," in Kammen and McGregor, eds., *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 184.

<sup>132</sup> See *Laporan Tentang Hasil Fact Finding Commission KOTI*, Komando Operasi Tertinggi. Jakarta: 10 Januari 1966, Lampiran C in Oei, *Memoar*, 363.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 192.

<sup>134</sup> See Robert Cribb, "Problems In The Historiography of the Killings in Indonesia," in Cribb, *The Indonesian Killings*, 8 and Leslie Palmier, "The 30 September Movement in Indonesia." *Modern Asian Studies* 5, 1 (1971): 11.

<sup>135</sup> See Sulisty, "The Forgotten Years," 54.

200,000 dead in East Java, although this number only accounts for deaths that occurred between October and December 1965.<sup>136</sup>

Approximately one million people lived in Greater Surabaya at the time of the killings.<sup>137</sup> If nearly 17,000 lives were taken there (and as this figure was acquired while killings were still underway the actual total is likely to have been even higher), about two percent of the people in the region were killed. If the estimate of 200,000 victims for East Java is accurate, then about one percent of the province's roughly twenty-two million residents were killed.<sup>138</sup> The highest ratio of deaths per province occurred in Bali, in which approximately five percent of the population was murdered.<sup>139</sup> However, East Java had a higher total of overall deaths than Bali, where 80,000 were killed, or Sumatra, where the 1966 KOPKAMTIB report provided a total of 100,000 dead.<sup>140</sup>

The 1965 Fact Finding Commission also concluded that by the end of 1965 around 25,000 political prisoners (*tahanan politik* or Tapol) were being held in detention in East Java.<sup>141</sup> According to the East Java Directorate of Sociopolitical Affairs (Direktorat Sosial Politik

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<sup>136</sup> Kammen and McGregor, "Introduction," in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 17.

<sup>137</sup> Hindley, *The Communist Party*, 12.

<sup>138</sup> The East Java population estimate reproduces the findings of the 1961 Indonesian government population census. See Table 43. Total Population and area by region, Indonesia, 1961 in Widjojo Nitisastro, *Population Trends in Indonesia* (Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur: Equinox Publishing, 2006), 174.

<sup>139</sup> Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise*, 273.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid. and Cribb, "Problems," 8.

<sup>141</sup> See Lampiran C, Oei, *Memoar*, 363.



Propinsi Jawa Timur) approximately 13,000 people in Surabaya were required to report to military authorities in the period after the coup; of these, over 9,000 were detained.<sup>142</sup>

People who were arrested during workplace or *kampung* sweeps or after reporting to local military authorities as ordered were incarcerated throughout the city. Among the major detention sites were two colonial-era facilities, Kalisosok and Koblen. At the time of the purge, both sites were active prisons. Civilians, government administrators, and some members of the military accused as being participants in the G30S attempted coup were detained at Kalisosok, which was located near the Sampoerna Cigarette Factory due north of the city center. Among them were a number of junior officers affiliated with the East Java Revolutionary Council that Second Lieutenant Soedono had announced over the radio.<sup>143</sup> Koblen, a military prison in the Bubutan area, was euphemistically designated as a rehabilitation camp, or ‘inrehab’ (*instalasi rehabilitasi*). Like the detainees at Kalisosok, those at Koblen were a mix of military and civilians. Members of battalion 530, which had taken over Merdeka Square on the day of the coup, were interned there.<sup>144</sup> So were the SOBSI activists who had staged the 2 October workplace takeovers.<sup>145</sup> For many detainees Koblen functioned as a way station, a temporary internment site before they were shipped to prison camps outside of Java.

The wave of violence in Surabaya that had at first targeted the communists and their affiliates in the weeks after the coup eventually enveloped non-communist groups from the left-

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<sup>142</sup> A. Puji Rahardjo, “Jangan Mau Diperdaya oleh yang Kaya Berkuasa: Beberapa Kisah Kesaksian Para Korban Pasa G30S ’65,” unpublished manuscript, 291-92 cited in Yekthi, “Pembersihan,” 100-01.

<sup>143</sup> “Sidang Mahmilub ke-6,” *Surabaya Post*, 11 February 1967, II.

<sup>144</sup> Interview with former East Java PNI leader, Surabaya, 20 February 2010.

<sup>145</sup> Yekthi, “Pembersihan,” 67.

wing of the PNI to the Indonesian Chinese organization, Baperki. Once the crackdown on the PKI developed into a larger purge of the Left, additional holding centers were needed to house the influx of internees. Detention centers at military posts were used as internment sites. A major location of this type, according to two left-wing PNI activists held there, was the Military Police Jail (Rumah Tahanan Polisi Militer) on Jalan Raya Gunung Sari in the KODAM Brawijaya military complex to the south of the city proper.<sup>146</sup> Many PKI and other left-wing prisoners were also detained in repurposed buildings. Sometime in late 1965 or early 1966 for example, a home that the Army seized from a Chinese doctor in the Undaan area of Surabaya not far from Tugu Pahlawan became a secret prison and interrogation site called “Combat Intelligence” (Combat Intelijen) or, “CI” as it was better known.<sup>147</sup> Other secret prisons were located on the outskirts of the city. One of these was an abandoned factory in the Kemlaten region near the village of Kedurus, located just south of the KODAM Military Police Jail. An eyewitness to the purge in that region described this prison in his 1989 account of his attempt to find a neighbor who was arrested and detained: “Where was there a prison in Mlaten [sic]? That night I went... to see for myself. In fact it was a warehouse that had become a detention center. Now the building was surrounded by a thick fence of woven bamboo so that you couldn’t see it from the outside.”<sup>148</sup> In 1968, yet another secret prison was opened, this time at the Wonocolo Leather Factory in the southern quadrant of Greater Surabaya.<sup>149</sup> The regional government, which owned and operated

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<sup>146</sup> Interview with former East Java PNI leader, Surabaya, 20 February 2010, and interview with Bambang, Surabaya, 8 May 2012.

<sup>147</sup> According to Oei, the homeowner was dr. Tjoa Sek Ing, a member of Baperki. Interview with Oei Hiem Hwie, Surabaya, 4 March 2010.

<sup>148</sup> “Appendix A: Excerpt from ‘By the Banks of the Brantas’: An Eyewitness Account of the 1965 Killings” in Jones, *Injustice*, 87.

<sup>149</sup> Interview with “Suprayitno,” Surabaya, 30 May 2012.

the factory, cited declines in production as the reason for officially closing the facility in November of that year after having first ceased operations there some months before.<sup>150</sup> Beyond the show trials of a handful of junior officers implicated in the East Java Revolutionary Council, none of the prisoners in Surabaya were ever formally tried, a fate they shared with hundreds of thousands of other political prisoners detained elsewhere in Indonesia.

Reflecting nation-wide trends of what Amnesty International cited as “deplorable” conditions in political prisons across the nation, the environments of Surabaya’s prisons were often horrific.<sup>151</sup> As in other prisons across the archipelago inmates were starved, beaten, and held in overcrowded rooms or cells. Many prisoners in Surabaya died of starvation.<sup>152</sup> Some prisoners were routinely interrogated regarding the level of their involvement in G30S or their relationship to left-wing figures who they often did not personally know.<sup>153</sup> As the Amnesty report noted of Kalisosok, “conditions are very bad. Among the 950 political prisoners there are several who were recently reported to have been brutally tortured. Brutal, continuous torture has been the norm at this notorious prison.”<sup>154</sup> Political prisoners who were shuttled between Surabaya’s official and unofficial detention centers report that they received better treatment at Koblen than at other facilities. They were fed regularly, if meagerly, and the guards were not as cruel.<sup>155</sup> Aside from Kalisosok the CI house where interrogations were held was likely the most

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<sup>150</sup> “Pabrik kulit Wonotjolo ditutup,” *Surabaya Post*, 28 November 1968, II.

<sup>151</sup> “Indonesia: An Amnesty International Report,” 71.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

<sup>153</sup> Interview with Oei Hiem Hwie, Surabaya, 10 May 2012, interview with former East Java PNI leader, Surabaya 20 February 2010.

<sup>154</sup> “Indonesia: An Amnesty International Report,” 84.

<sup>155</sup> Interview with Oei Hiem Hwie, Surabaya, 10 May 2012, interview with Bambang, Surabaya, 8 May 2012.

brutal of the city's detention facilities. There, detainees spent their waking and sleeping hours, squeezed approximately sixty to a room, overhearing military intelligence officers torture their fellow prisoners.<sup>156</sup> Some inmates died at the hands of their interrogators. Others from both Surabaya's official as well as unofficial prisons were turned over to civilian executioners. This practice, which routinely occurred throughout East Java (as throughout the country), involved the nighttime releases of several prisoners at a time who were taken away and killed in undisclosed locations.

Historians of the 1965-66 political violence are in wide agreement that mass killings and incarcerations were in no way an inevitable outcome of the actions of the G30S on 1 October. Even building political tensions and antagonisms do not explain why mass murder occurred. The trajectory of events in Surabaya further bolsters this argument. There, a full-scale annihilation of the Left only took place once anti-communists amplified rhetoric and increased actions designed to link the PKI and others with the G30S.

Certainly, one reason for the vehemence with which anti-communists went after the Left in Surabaya was intense political competition and a growing schism between the PKI on one side, and the NU and the Army on the other. However, the mass violence was also a product of propaganda and press hysteria. In Surabaya, Army propaganda construed the Grahadi incident, the disenfranchised Army officers' plans to create an East Java Revolutionary Council, and the subsequent SOBSI labor agitation as evidence of local PKI involvement in the G30S. As in other regions, a mass rally, a change in the municipal leadership, and a new Army commander facilitated the violence as well. Persistent Army demonization of the Left justified post-1965

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<sup>156</sup> Interview with former East Java PNI leader, Surabaya, 20 February 2010.

round ups of alleged subversives. The rhetoric of cleansing and the civilian and Army leadership's cooption of civilians to enact retribution against their neighbors, family members, and colleagues also contributed to the scale of the violence. These campaigns were effective because they made it impossible for ordinary people to maintain political neutrality.<sup>157</sup> In Surabaya as elsewhere the immense pressure that the perpetrators of the purge put on the citizenry to participate in the rejection and the destruction of the Left had predictably deadly results.

One other factor explains how a campaign of violence waged against an entire segment of Indonesian society was able to take place virtually unchecked and without sanctions for the people carrying it out. U.S. support for the perpetrators played a decisive role in allowing the killings and detentions to happen. Many uncertainties remain about precisely what U.S. officials in Surabaya did in the aftermath of the attempted coup. However, a close examination of the evidence suggests that the consulate covertly and overtly demonstrated solidarity with the Army in multiple ways once the purge was underway.

### **U.S. Culpability**

Within twenty-four hours of President Johnson's receipt of a CIA report on the events of 1 October in Jakarta, American officials began to strategize about how to contribute to an outcome that would most benefit the United States. A working group was assembled in Washington. Its task was to devise ways in which the United States might assist the Indonesian

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<sup>157</sup> Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise*, 293.

Army. Such assistance would be particularly important should Army leaders not act quickly enough, in U.S. officials' eyes, to capitalize on the opportunity to do away with the PKI.<sup>158</sup>

National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy and his staff began to plan for the resumption of aid to Indonesia, and a discussion was initiated at the White House regarding the possibility of secretly providing aid to Indonesia's Armed Forces.<sup>159</sup> Indeed, the Washington working group as well as the staff of the U.S. Embassy were fully aware that overt support would politically compromise Suharto and the Army. For the Army leadership to succeed in seizing power it could not be seen to be working hand-in-hand with a Nekom enemy. Indonesian government figures had themselves suggested as much upon making contact with U.S. officials in Indonesia in the days and weeks following the coup. As recounted in a secret telegram from the embassy to the Department of State, Indonesia's First Deputy Foreign Minister requested his allies to be "as quiet and discreet as possible" as "[i]t would be harmful to the Army if it appeared that the Americans were giving it support or that we were deriving obvious satisfaction from current events."<sup>160</sup> "By keeping quiet, the American role, such as it was and laudable as it was, has never received adequate notice," Marshall Green would later state, characterizing this silence as a major U.S. achievement during this period.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Brands, "The Limits of Manipulation," 802.

<sup>159</sup> Simpson, "International Dimensions," in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 50.

<sup>160</sup> Telegram, JKT to DOS 13 October 1965. Central Files of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense files, Box 2328, NACP.

<sup>161</sup> Interview of Marshall Green by Robert J. Martens, 12 May 1987, ADST.

The embassy was admittedly gleeful about what it characterized as the “favorable fruit” that an Army takeover might bring.<sup>162</sup> However, officials there felt that they must temper their overt enthusiasm and adhere to a program of covert assistance and deniability of involvement in the extermination of the PKI. Aid provided to the military in its campaign of violence against the PKI included medicines, food, field equipment such as communication devices, and access to credit to fund its operations. In December 1965 in what amounted to an endorsement of the killings, the State Department also approved a 50 million rupiah covert payment to finance the KAP-Gestapu (Action Front to Crush Gestapu), a collective of civilian anti-communist forces that formed on 2 October to assist the military in attacking the PKI.<sup>163</sup> Robert J. (Bob) Martens of the U.S. Embassy supplied the Army with lists of the names of communist leaders and cadres.<sup>164</sup> Other countries joined the United States in offering assistance to the Army. Great Britain, Australia, and Thailand variously contributed propaganda, rice, or logistical support.<sup>165</sup>

Adhering to a tactic used during (and even before) the deterioration in U.S. relations with Indonesia, American officials created and disseminated inflammatory propaganda about the G30S, the PKI, and their alleged supporters. Eager to see the end of *Konfrontasi*, Britain wasted

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<sup>162</sup> Telegram, JKT to DOS 12 October 1965. Central Files of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political & Defense files, Box 1641, NACP.

<sup>163</sup> “Telegram from the Embassy in Indonesia to the Department of State,” 2 December 1965. Source: Department of State, INR/IL Historical Files, Indonesia, 1963–1965. Secret; Priority; Roger Channel; Special Handling. Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), 1964-1968, Vol. XXVI. Document 179, 379-80. For more on the KAP-Gestapu, see Crouch, *Army*, 141.

<sup>164</sup> For Martens’ account of how he compiled data on the PKI structure and his rebuttal of journalist Kathy Kadane’s claim that he prepared death lists for the Army, see interview of Robert J. Martens by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 13 September 1991, Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection, ADST. Accessed 15 October 2012. According to Martens, his admission to Kadane that he had provided the Army with the lists was taken out of context and inflated in her 1990 *Washington Post* article on the mass killings. In his ADST interview Martens states that Kadane, “simply did not understand the subject or was bent on developing an extreme left-wing theory hostile to the U.S. government,” *ibid.* Regarding the article in question see “U.S. Officials’ lists aided Indonesian bloodbath in ’60s,” *Washington Post*, 21 May 1990. For an excellent analysis of the embassy lists see Cribb, *The Indonesian Killings*, 7 n. 11.

<sup>165</sup> Simpson, *Economists*, 189.

little time in also attempting to exploit the attempted coup as a means to overthrow Sukarno and destroy the PKI. The South East Asian Monitoring Unit (SEAMU) of the British Foreign Office generated propaganda on the generals' alleged torture and mutilation within and beyond Indonesia.<sup>166</sup> UK Ambassador Andrew Gilchrist urged that British propaganda contribute to exacerbating "internal strife."<sup>167</sup> Singapore-based anti-communist propagandists from the Foreign Office's Information Research Department (IRD) under the direction of Norman Reddaway were particularly instrumental in British covert operations. By 9 October they had laid plans to distribute unattributable material that pinned responsibility for the generals' murders on the PKI; propaganda detailing PKI complicity in the G30S was circulated in Indonesia and subsequently reported in news publications in Great Britain.<sup>168</sup>

Post-coup propaganda featured two themes: PKI "guilt, treachery, and brutality" in the coup and murder of the generals and allegations that the September 30<sup>th</sup> Movement was backed by Communist China.<sup>169</sup> Despite losing its USIS centers, the USIA played an instrumental role in continuing to circulate anti-communist propaganda as it had done in the midst of the anti-U.S. movement. The Voice of America proved crucial in this regard, increasing its broadcasts almost immediately following the coup. According to former USIS Surabaya Director Fred Coffey who was tapped to head the VOA Indonesian Service:

[B]y mid-October we had gone from one-and-a-half hours to five hours... At VOA, we had started increasing personnel from eleven Indonesians to ending up with twenty-two,

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<sup>166</sup> David Easter, *Britain and the Confrontation with Indonesia, 1960-66* (London, New York: Taurus Academic Studies, 2004), 168.

<sup>167</sup> Simpson, "International Dimensions," 58.

<sup>168</sup> Lashmar and Oliver, *Britain's Secret Propaganda War*, 7-8.

<sup>169</sup> See *ibid.* and Brands, "The Limits of Manipulation," 802.



and tried to maintain a surrogate-type of radio into Indonesia, telling Indonesians where the military was, what they were accomplishing, the failures of the communists, how they were losing ground. And eight months, ten months later the Indonesian government and military told us that we'd played a very, very useful role in our Voice of America broadcasting during the crisis.<sup>170</sup>

U.S. officials took pains to ensure that propaganda on the coup and killings reached beyond Indonesia. In a telegram featuring the byline “Guidance on treatment [of the] situation [in] Jakarta,” the embassy noted that the appearance of the generals’ “mutilated bodies” in television broadcasts and in newspaper coverage indicated “Army going to exploit this tragedy.” The embassy then provided a number of guidelines to the Far East Bureau (FE) of the Department of State and the VOA for how to report on the events unfolding in Indonesia: “Real villain [is] Peking-oriented PKI and its adherents. Cause of tragedy [is the] poison of hate they have pumped into this country. [Do] not only stress PKI silence, but work in, based on factual info, PKI involvement [in the] aborted Sept. 30 coup attempt.”<sup>171</sup>

This propaganda influenced the way that U.S. lawmakers responded to the coup. In January 1966, the Subcommittee on the Far East and the Pacific of the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs convened hearings on “United States Policy toward Asia.” Its chairman Clement J. Zablocki, the congressman whose visit to Indonesia two years earlier had drawn a boycott from the East Java National Front, invited the testimony of a number of academics, including George Kahin of Cornell University. As Kahin found, the committee members who questioned him believed that the coup leaders were allied with the

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<sup>170</sup> See interview of Fred Coffey by G. Lewis Schmidt, 14 September 1990, ADST.

<sup>171</sup> Telegram, JKT to DOS, 5 October 1965. General Records of the Department of State. RG 59, Central Foreign Policy 1964-66, Political and Defense file, Box 1641, NACP.

Chinese Communist Party and that the Chinese government had backed the coup.<sup>172</sup> It is thus likely that the reports on the coup as being a Chinese-backed plot contributed to the prevalence of such views. This propensity toward threat inflation obscured American politicians' ability – or willingness – to see the facts that, as Kahin testified, the coup was an internal army affair, thereby making U.S. policy-makers culpable in perpetuating rather than problematizing the Suharto-State Department version of events.

Propaganda also influenced reports on the violence in the American press, which were often inaccurate, depicting the killings as a spontaneous civil war or a culturally-determined act of frenzy. U.S. media outlets unquestioningly perpetuated the dominant narratives that the bloodbath was a positive development and that the killings were a spontaneous uprising. “At Sukarno’s fall five years ago, the people ran amok, slaughtering his cadre and the communists as well,” one description that appeared in a 1970 edition of *LIFE* magazine read.<sup>173</sup> Sensational, and patently untrue, accounts of the fate of the generals at Lubang Buaya became a key feature of journalism on the G30S and subsequent anti-communist violence. For instance, as *Time* magazine’s Don Moser reported a year after the coup, “The Gerwanis [sic] had prepared for their big evening by castrating live cats and hacking them to pieces, and by participating in a nude ritualistic orgy called the ‘Dance of the Fragrant Flowers.’ High on narcotics [they] danced naked in front of the generals, then mutilated them with small sharp knives and gouged out their eyes.”<sup>174</sup> Another American journalist writing in 1967 on the events of the previous two years in Indonesia depicted the murders of the generals at the hands of their captors as “a scene of savage,

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<sup>172</sup> Kahin, *Testament*, 179.

<sup>173</sup> “Java: lush and troubled island,” *LIFE Magazine*, 26 June 1970, 48. Although clearly flawed, this depiction was one of the only ones to call attention to the fact that communists were not the only victims of the mass violence.

<sup>174</sup> Don Moser, “Where the rivers ran crimson from butchery,” *LIFE magazine*, 1 July 1966, 27.

revolting, and bloody frenzy.”<sup>175</sup> Having introduced such imagery, it took little to convince American readers that “nowhere but on [Indonesia’s] weird and lovely islands... could affairs have erupted so unpredictably, so violently, tinged not only with fanaticism but with blood-lust and something like witchcraft.”<sup>176</sup>

As news of the massacres reached the United States, some Americans with ties to Indonesia reached out to their friends and associates there. Jim McHale, the former director of USIS Surabaya, was one of them. In a January 1966 letter written in Indonesian and addressed to Soekaryono, his former Chief Administrative Assistant, he expressed his awareness and sorrow about what was happening in Indonesia. “I am ‘optimistic’ about the changes now occurring there,” he wrote from his home in Virginia, “but I am also saddened upon reading about an ‘incident’ in which Indonesians have been killed or an event in which an Indonesian family is divided or separated by political differences. These days there are many tragedies in Indonesia. We must pray that peaceful times will soon return.” McHale’s letter accompanied a parcel of clothing to be divided amongst his now disbanded USIS FSN corps for the Lebaran holiday.<sup>177</sup> The former USIS director’s dismay was certainly heartfelt. By his own account, he saw the violence as an unfortunate outcome of Indonesia’s political realignment. However, McHale himself had helped create the conditions that resulted in the purge now taking place. His successors in Surabaya were currently facilitating its continuation.

Declassified State Department files yield few details about what U.S. officials in Surabaya were doing and saying in the initial week of October. This silence in the archival

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<sup>175</sup> John Hughes, *Indonesian Upheaval* (New York: David McKay: 1967), 50.

<sup>176</sup> Moser, “Where the rivers ran crimson,” 26-27.

<sup>177</sup> Letter, James D. McHale to Soekaryono. 14 January 1966. Personal collection of Soekaryono Muslimin.

record should not be read as an indication of inactivity at the consulate, however. Documentary evidence might be unavailable precisely because it offers facts – still deemed too sensitive for declassification – about U.S. officials’ actions in the days after the attempted coup. Although they are insufficient for drawing any firm conclusions, archives and oral histories do offer some hints about what might have occurred at the consulate.

Clearer evidence exists of the activities of U.S. officials in Medan and these details may provide some insight on U.S. officials’ initial actions in Surabaya. Once aware of the attempted coup, staff at the Medan consulate made contact with embassy personnel and started to reach out to their right-wing allies. On 1 October Consul Ted Heavner cabled the embassy to request permission to provide anti-communist military elements with “non-sensitive information” in order to help them “make the right decisions.”<sup>178</sup> Heavner would later state that his staff also tried to make contact with local authorities in the days that followed the attempted coup.<sup>179</sup>

In contrast to Medan, Allan McLean’s late-September exit from Surabaya meant that the consulate was without its primary officer on 1 October. However, as the previous chapter has shown, officials from the State Department and the CIA were more than capable of carrying out their duties, even without McLean’s oversight. Political officer Jacob Walkin, who embassy officials acknowledged to be the consulate’s most prolific reporter, undoubtedly would have attempted to glean information from his sources. It is furthermore likely that Grant Ichikawa, who had built up CIA contracts with the military, was making contact with his sources as well. The lack of declassified CIA files makes it impossible to know for certain exactly what he was

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<sup>178</sup> Telegram 29, U.S. Consulate Medan to JKT, 1 October 1965. Cited in Tsai and Kammen, “Anti-Communist Violence and the Ethnic Chinese,” in Kammen and McGregor, *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia*, 138.

<sup>179</sup> Interview of Theodore J.C. Heavner by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 28 May 1997, ADST.

doing either in the immediate aftermath or in the weeks and months that followed. However, a tantalizing clue is contained in the fact that upon ending his assignment to Surabaya in early 1966, Grant Ichikawa received a promotion and was awarded the CIA Intelligence Medal of Merit.<sup>180</sup>

The sudden switch of consuls in Surabaya planned at the end of September is perhaps significant in itself. By September 1965, Allan McLean had lost his effectiveness as the post's primary officer. Once he was declared *persona non grata* in late September he would have had trouble representing his government in communications with the Army or civilian leadership. Although delayed by the events in Jakarta, the transfer of embassy political officer Henry Heymann was scheduled to coincide with McLean's surreptitious late September departure. In all likelihood, this personnel shift carried a great degree of political significance. The arrival of Heymann, whose appointment was made by Marshall Green and likely approved by the Department of State, might have signaled that the U.S. diplomatic mission was preparing for a regime change. At the very least it appears that U.S. government agents hoped that a stronger presence at the consulate's helm would successfully help to engineer a political shift.

Heymann finally arrived in Surabaya to begin his assignment as the post's interim consul a week after the coup.<sup>181</sup> Throughout his eight months of service there the consulate kept the embassy and Washington thoroughly informed about developments in East Java. Ambassador Marshall Green would later write that the consulate's reports were particularly valuable to him and his staff during this time. He claimed that because of an Indonesian government ban on

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<sup>180</sup> Interview of Grant H. Ichikawa by Paul Tani, 29 August 2003, VOHP. The Intelligence Medal of Merit is awarded in recognition of performance considered to be above and beyond normal duties.

<sup>181</sup> Interview of Henry Heymann by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 15 July 1993, ADST.

foreigners' travel within the country during the period from 1 October to mid-March 1966, the embassy "had almost no first-hand knowledge or means of accurately estimating what was going on in most of Indonesia."<sup>182</sup> This may not be entirely true. In late 1965, the CIA shared the frequencies of U.S.-provisioned mobile radios in the possession of KOSTRAD with the NSA so that the information on the Army's drive against the PKI, including planned killings of individual targets, could be intercepted and sent to Washington.<sup>183</sup> It is highly probable that during this time Surabaya-based State Department and CIA officials helped to distribute some of the resources that the United States was supplying to Brawijaya troops and local anti-communist paramilitary groups. Confirmation of this theory, however, must await the declassification of additional U.S. government documents.

On 12 October a consulate airgram addressed to the Department of State claimed that the 27 September Grahadi incident was linked to the alleged PKI coup in Jakarta. The person to make this link was Jacob Walkin, who, in the report on the governor's residence raid, wrote to the State Department that, "In retrospect, with October 1 only a few days away, this show of power must have seemed far more important than a possible adverse popular reaction..."<sup>184</sup> Consulate cables also reveal that, in addition to monitoring the local press, officials were employing a diverse network of informants in order to gather information on the purge. By year's end, the consulate was fully aware that orchestrated Army-NU killings had eclipsed episodes of sporadic violence. U.S. officials believed that the NU's part in the campaign of terror

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<sup>182</sup> Green, *Indonesia*, 71.

<sup>183</sup> See Roosa, *Pretext*, 195.

<sup>184</sup> Airgram, "PKI Leads Violent Demonstration at the Governor's Residence," SUB to DOS, 12 October 1965. General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, CFP 1964-66 Political and Development file, Box 2317, NACP, 3.

against the PKI was so fierce that military officials were struggling to reign in the Ansor and Banser murder squads.<sup>185</sup>

As consulate telegrams show, a number of reports on killings and other violence in rural areas of the province as well as other regions of the consular district came from missionaries and other expatriates such as industrialists and factory managers. This suggests that U.S. officials in Java had a very strong idea of the scope and scale of the violence. East Java-based sources informed the consulate that victims of the mass killings in regions such as Banyuwangi, Kediri, and Mojokerto numbered in the tens of thousands.<sup>186</sup> In mid-December, the Japanese consul to Surabaya, newly returned from Bali, reported to Heymann that while “burning of Chinese stores and shooting at night continues... American and Japanese communities [are] well protected by authorities.”<sup>187</sup> By late December an NU source was informing the consulate about how and where victims were being murdered in East Java and where the bodies were being disposed. According to the source, NU killings in areas outside of Surabaya were now taking place in a “discreet manner” with victims being taken away from populous areas and bodies being buried rather than tossed into the Brantas River. Heymann, the author of the telegram containing these details also included the information that East Java Police Chief Soemarsono had admitted to him that he was finding it “very difficult to stop killings.”<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> Of the Muslim-Army violence that sprang up in Surabaya in November, Henry Heymann noted that the report that 200 Madurese had been killed “unfortunately means that Muslims [are] being killed by military.” See SUB to JKT (incoming #189), 30 November 1965. RG 59, Political and Defense files, Box 2317, NACP.

<sup>186</sup> See Telegram, SUB to JKT, 1 November 1965. General Records of the Department of State. RG 59, Central Foreign Policy 1964-66, Political and Defense file, Box 2317, NACP and SUB to JKT, 24 November 1965. RG 59, Political and Defense file, Box 2317, NACP.

<sup>187</sup> Telegram, SUB to DOS, 21 December 1965. RG 59, Political and Defense file, Box 2317, NACP.

<sup>188</sup> Telegram, SUB to JKT, 27 December 1965. General Records of the Department of State. RG 59, Central Foreign Policy 1964-66, Political and Defense file, Box 2317, NACP.

The Americans also turned to their anti-communist allies in Surabaya to provide additional information about the PKI purge in the municipality. In early November Jacob Walkin cabled the embassy and DOS that, despite “clean-up raids” in the city, unidentified sources “continue [to] emphasize some Surabaya kampons [sic] strongly communist.”<sup>189</sup> By mid-month, Walkin, having reached the end of his tenure at the consulate, found Wijono and Soekotjo eager to share details of the Army’s intelligence and ongoing operations. As Walkin noted, Wijono “spoke more openly than ever before despite presence of protocol officer.” Soekotjo, who received Walkin in the official mayor’s residence, confirmed rumors the consulate had gathered from its sources that PKI cadres from rural regions were seeking refuge in Surabaya’s *kampung*. However, as Walkin assured the embassy and Washington, the caretaker mayor “insisted he knew who they are, where they are, and could if necessary always ‘crush’ them.” Soekotjo also informed Walkin that he expected to receive an Airlangga University PKI membership list in a few weeks after which the university would be “cleaned out.”<sup>190</sup> A few days after meeting with these officials, Walkin paid one more farewell call, this time on Brawijaya Commander Basuki Rachmat. The Pepelrada, also soon to depart Surabaya for his next assignment, informed his visitor that he had enough troops to continue with the purge in the province and expected reinforcements to arrive from other areas soon. He also took the opportunity to recommend to Walkin that the Americans take advantage of the Army’s crackdown on the PKI to build a fence

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<sup>189</sup> SUB to JKT, 4 November 1965. RG 59, Political and Defense file, Box 2317, NACP.

<sup>190</sup> Telegram, SUB to JKT, 17 November 1965. General Records of the Department of State. RG 59, Central Foreign Policy 1964-66, Political and Defense file, Box 2317, NACP.



around the perimeter of the consulate, foreseeing that the only demonstrations in Surabaya in the immediate future would be ones against the PKI.<sup>191</sup>

Having gleaned eye-witness reports and other intelligence from these diverse informants, U.S. officials in Surabaya passed the information about the violence in East Java up the line. Consulate telegrams sent to the embassy and Department of State in late November and early December reported “widespread slaughter” and killings going “full steam” in some parts of East Java; they also indicated that there were signs that the anti-communist violence was slowing in other areas, including within Surabaya.<sup>192</sup> Only the declassification of new files can determine the extent to which intelligence from officials in Surabaya can be linked to early December aid disbursements such as the KAP-Gestapu payment and the CIA’s gift of portable radios to KOSTRAD forces. What is clear is that senior U.S. officials had a very clear picture of the nature and extent of the violence before the aid was disbursed.

As reports from Surabaya indicate, at the height of the slaughter, Heymann, as interim consul, was making a concerted effort to engage in public displays of support for the East Java military and its leadership. Heymann’s attendance at several celebrations and shows of force staged by the Indonesian Army and Navy in November and December are rather curious. Indeed, they came at a moment when the U.S. government was otherwise attempting to distance itself publicly from the Army. Because there is no evidence of embassy officials instructing Heymann to stop or curtail these displays following his reports on his actions, it seems that at the consulate-level American officials had a measure of autonomy in determining policy and

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<sup>191</sup> SUB to JKT, 19 November 1965. RG 59, Political and Defense file, Box 2317, NACP.

<sup>192</sup> SUB to JKT, 24 November 1965, RG 59, Political and Defense file, Box 2317, NACP and telegram, SUB to JKT (incoming #187), 30 November 1965. General Records of the Department of State. RG 59, Central Foreign Policy 1964-66, Political and Defense file, Box 2317, NACP.

practice. Heymann's mandate then appears to have been to introduce greater public solidarity with local military leaders. This move paid off.

The Army leadership seems to have appreciated Heymann's presence and reciprocated by showing their solidarity with the consulate. On 26 November, Heymann and other foreign consuls in Surabaya traveled to Malang to attend the official transfer of power from Basuki Rachmat to his temporary successor, Brawijaya Chief of Staff Soenarijadi. Though the latter hung back at the luncheon following the ceremony, Basuki and Suharto who had attended to oversee the transfer and review the troops greeted Heymann "most cordially."<sup>193</sup> On 7 December Heymann attended the Indonesian fleet's sixth anniversary celebration at Tanjung Perak harbor. Also attending this event, the consul noted, were General Nasution and the anti-communist Naval Chief of Staff Eddy Martadinata, both of whom attacked the PKI in their remarks.<sup>194</sup> Ten days later, Heymann was once more in attendance at the Brawijaya celebration marking the Division's seventeenth anniversary celebration.<sup>195</sup> At this event, having settled into his role as acting Brawijaya commander, Soenarijadi seemed much more confident about approaching the interim American consul. At the reception following the ceremony, he made a point to walk over and sit next to Heymann, who was impressed with Soenarijadi's gesture. As Heymann later cabled the embassy and the Department of State, the new commander's overture of friendliness "was certainly not missed by the East Java officialdom."<sup>196</sup> Such shows of solidarity with

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<sup>193</sup> Telegram, SUB to JKT, 29 November 1965. General Records of the Department of State. RG 59, Central Foreign Policy 1964-66, Political and Defense file, Box 2317, NACP.

<sup>194</sup> Heymann noted that Nasution, however, also "had plenty strong words for nekolim." Telegram, SUB to DOS, 9 December 1965. General Records of the Department of State. RG 59, Central Foreign Policy 1964-66, Political and Defense file, Box 2317, NACP.

<sup>195</sup> SUB to JKT, 21 December 1965. RG 59, Political and Defense file, Box 2317, NACP.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid.

members of the new regime offered the first glimmer of hope to U.S. officials that Indonesian-American relations in Surabaya might improve.

Heymann also contributed to the corpus of denials about the scope and scale of the killings of 1965-66 that U.S. and Indonesian officials cultivated long after the worst of the violence had passed. After leaving the Foreign Service, Heymann, like many of his contemporaries who served in Indonesia, sought to cast doubt on the validity of reports of mass violence. His account of the killings, replete with downplaying and denials, is worth reproducing in full:

There were many stories of massacres. The Brantas River, on which Surabaya is located, was reportedly running red with blood. One story had it that a raft had been sighted with decapitated heads on poles. I went to the river frequently to observe, but I never saw anything. I believe all these stories were gross exaggeration. The only seemingly valid report was from the British Consul. The Consulate was located near the river and the Consul saw three bodies which had been washed up on the river bank. It is apparently going down in history that there was a huge massacre of Communists in Indonesia. I forget whether it was supposed to have been a million, or hundreds of thousands. It was probably in the five figures. From my experience in Surabaya, it seems that there was a lot of exaggeration and imagination. Perhaps the reason is that Indonesians like to say things pleasing to their listeners and they thought that the massacring of the Communists was what Americans would like to hear. There may have also been a macho element behind the exaggeration.<sup>197</sup>

Although, as Heymann notes, there were far fewer killings in Surabaya proper than in other areas of East Java, his alleged eyewitness account –offered as conclusive proof that mass killings could not have occurred in Indonesia with the intensity since reported– is worth very little. It is abundantly clear that, although Heymann did not see many bodies himself, he personally received extensive first-hand reports of the scope and scale of killings in his consular

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<sup>197</sup> Interview of Henry Heymann by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 15 July 1993, ADST.

district while they were taking place. Accordingly, his claims of “exaggeration and imagination” on the part of Indonesians eager to impress an American audience are highly disingenuous.

Heymann alone does not shoulder the responsibility for dishonesty about the massacres. Many others are likewise implicated in obscuring the facts of the killings and turning a blind eye to violence against hundreds of thousands of avowed and alleged communists and scores of others. Embassy political officer Richard Howland, sounding a similar note as Heymann, attributed reports of massive amounts of victims to the Javanese custom of “telling an outsider what they think he wants to hear...”<sup>198</sup> CIA station chief Hugh Tovar has likewise derided claims that up to a million people perished during the violence as “irresponsible” and “grossly exaggerated.”<sup>199</sup> Rather than denying the immensity of the violence, others have simply argued that numbers killed did not matter as much as the fact that the killings were occurring. Interviewed by the Australian States News Service in 1990, a former U.S. State Department Indonesia expert was quoted as saying: "No one cared, so long as they were communists, that they were being butchered. No one was getting very worked up about it."<sup>200</sup>

By supporting the rise of a right-wing authoritarian military regime, U.S. officials achieved their objective of helping to ‘save’ Indonesia from communism. That it came at the cost of one of the worst mass killings of the twentieth century seems to have been of little concern. This attitude is aptly captured in the closing words of Marshall Green’s 1990 memoir about his experiences as U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia:

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<sup>198</sup> Richard C. Howland, “The Lessons of the 30 September Affair (Indonesia),” *Studies in Intelligence* (Fall 1977) in Gardner, *Shared Hopes, Separate Fears*, 231-32.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, 232.

<sup>200</sup> “U.S. Officials provided Indonesian Military with Death Lists,” <http://www.wsws.org/articles/1998/may1998/coup-m20.shtml>. Accessed 24 January 2012.

Before 1966, Indonesia had been a negative force in world affairs. After 1966, it became a positive force. The great turn-around in Indonesia during the momentous period from 1965 to 1967 was remarkable in terms of Indonesia's violent repudiation of communism and its rejection of Sukarnoism. But by 1968, Indonesia had become just as remarkable for the sensible way Suharto's New Order had set about the difficult task of bringing down runaway inflation rates to single digits, promoting economic growth and modernization, improving the lot of the Indonesian people, and former cooperative relations with Indonesia's neighbors and friends.<sup>201</sup>

Suharto, who seized the presidency by way of the creeping coup d'état that he engineered as part of the Army's violent removal of Sukarno and the PKI, made lying about the events of 1965-66 the very foundation of the New Order regime for more than thirty years. As historian John Roosa has written, "The tragedy of modern Indonesian history lies not just in the army-organized mass killings of 1965-66 but also in the rise to power of the killers, of people who viewed massacres and psychological warfare operations as legitimate and normal modes of governance."<sup>202</sup> By claiming that events of 1965-66 were justified and by keeping the flames of anti-communism alive, the New Order thereby justified its repressions and human rights abuses against surviving members of the Left, their families, sympathizers, or any group who the regime could portray as posing a threat to the security of the nation. Little has changed in the fifteen years since the New Order collapsed. Indonesian officials have continued to portray the massacres and detentions as necessary actions to "save" Indonesia from communist domination. For instance, in October 2012 the former commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces and then Indonesian Security Minister Djoko Suyanto told the press that the killings were justified. "Don't

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<sup>201</sup> Green, *Indonesia*, 161.

<sup>202</sup> Roosa, *Pretext*, 225.

talk about us having to apologize to the victims” he stated, “You have to see it in the context of that time. This country would not be what it is today if it didn’t happen.”<sup>203</sup>

As events in Surabaya help to show, despite decades of Indonesian and U.S. obfuscations, half-truths, and lies, the evidence that anti-communists on both sides mutually engineered and then benefitted from the mass violence is irrefutable. The funding and training U.S. officials gave to members of the military and other anti-communist elements in East Java since the late 1950s facilitated their collaboration. When the Army finally took the steps to eradicate the Left, American government personnel in Surabaya helped to inflate, propagandize, and perpetuate the myth that the communists had planned to overthrow the Indonesian government and therefore were reaping what they had sowed. They also raised no objection to the massive loss of life, government purges, rapes, torture, and mass incarcerations taking place in their consular district. Perhaps most damning, U.S. officials in Surabaya made public shows of solidarity with the Army and the new municipal leadership who reciprocated in kind.

The Suharto regime’s military modernizers welcomed the return of U.S. investment to Indonesia. In a testament to East Java’s economic importance to the United States, in 1990 the consulate was reclassified as a U.S. Consulate General. Five years later, the consul general wrote to the incoming U.S. ambassador of his post’s role as a facilitator of U.S. and Indonesian commercial interests, noting that several U.S. projects in the Surabaya area “rank among the largest foreign investments in the country.”<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> “1965 survivors condemn Djoko’s remark on PKI,” *Jakarta Post*, 3 October 2012, 4.

<sup>204</sup> Memorandum, SUB (Eaton) to JKT, “Overview of Consulate General Surabaya,” 30 October 1995. Historical Records of the U.S. Consulate, Surabaya.

The U.S.-Indonesian relationship in Surabaya today – and indeed the city itself – bears little indication and provides no public reminders of the terrible events that occurred just fifty years ago. Municipal leaders of the present characterize Surabaya’s identity in two ways. On the one hand, it is a place with a glorious past, whose heroism in the Indonesian National Revolution must be promoted and preserved. On the other, it is a city of the future, increasingly becoming defined by its high-end malls and high rise apartments. These characterizations make it easy to forget, or not even recognize, the horrific mass violence that took place in the years in between.

However the events of 1965-66 and the myth of a PKI comeback are never far from the surface. Indeed, they are often dredged up by civilian and government anti-communist elements who consider it their duty to warn the *arek Suroboyo* to remain vigilant for signs of the PKI’s return. On 9 September 2009, angered at a newspaper serial on PKI nationalist Soemarsono, Surabaya State University history professor Aminuddin Kasdi and a group known as the Anti-Communist Front (Front Anti Komunis) burned copies of Soemarsono’s writings at the headquarters of the *Jawa Pos*.<sup>205</sup> Three years later Kasdi again raised the specter of the PKI threat in a seminar entitled “Beware of the Latent Danger of Communism in Indonesia” (*Mewaspadaai Bahaya Latent Komunisme di Indonesia*) delivered at the Muhammadiyah University Surabaya Faculty of Law.<sup>206</sup> Given the distortion of facts about the PKI, its role in Surabaya’s history and the ensuing violence targeting the Left, it is crucial that what occurred in 1965-66 and the years leading up to it be clearly understood. Failure to do so only perpetuates

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<sup>205</sup> Journalist and *Jawa Pos* founder Dahlan Iskan had called for Soemarsono’s role in “establishing Surabaya as the City of Heroes” to be publicly acknowledged. See Dahlan Iskan, “Soemarsono, Tokoh Kunci dalam Pertempuran Surabaya” *Jawa Pos*, 9 August 2009.

<sup>206</sup> Fiqih Arfani, “Sejarawan: Masyarakat harus waspada munculnya paham komunis,” *Antara News Jawa Timur*, 27 September 2012. [www.antarajatim.com](http://www.antarajatim.com). Accessed 13 November 2013.

the version of events created by the perpetrators who engineered the Cold War-era destruction of their political enemies in and beyond Indonesia's City of Heroes.



## CONCLUSION

### **Riding the Cold War Waves Ashore**

On a spring morning in 1987, as the once-intense flames of U.S.-Soviet conflict were at last showing signs of sputtering out, Marshall Green sat for an oral history detailing his tenure as U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia during the height of the Cold War. The ambassador's interviewer was none other than Bob Martens, who reported to Green at the embassy during 1965-66. Martens asked his former boss to share his views on Sukarno's downfall, the mass killings, and the role that the United States had played in those events. Seasoned diplomat that he was, Green replied obliquely, "Our credit was that of a surf board rider who came through the thundering surf unscathed... We didn't create the waves: we only rode the waves ashore."<sup>1</sup>

The United States indeed "rode the waves ashore." The mass murders and incarcerations of the PKI, its affiliates, and others on the Left cleared the way for the improved U.S.-Indonesian relations of the succeeding years. However, Green's analogy was far from forthright. The course of covert action that U.S. government officials had established in 1964 in response to worsening U.S.-Indonesian relations proved instrumental in helping to bring about the political upheaval of the following years. "To the extent that it almost inevitably meant the killing of many Indonesians," Frederick Bunnell has written, "the low posture policy was a policy of violence."<sup>2</sup> Through the efforts of its officials in Washington and Indonesia, Ambassador Green prominent among them, the United States thus also, undeniably, helped to create the thundering surf itself.

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<sup>1</sup> Interview of Marshall Green by Robert J. Martens, 12 May 1987, ADST.

<sup>2</sup> Bunnell, "American 'Low Posture' Policy," 40.

Increasing academic and popular interest in the Cold War and contemporary U.S. covert intervention in and beyond Indonesia suggests that there is a need for greater recognition of the importance of the events and the time period upon which this dissertation is based. The preceding microhistory represents an effort to shed new light on this past. The arguments and evidence that I have presented are attempts to help us to better understand the era's historical significance. They also may illuminate its broader relevance to the present.

I have suggested that Surabaya is a site from which we may better understand U.S.-Indonesian relations and U.S. anti-communist operations during the Cold War. U.S. officials there collaborated with and showed support for their Indonesian anti-communist allies before and during the 1965-66 purge of the Left. They maintained a deliberate silence as the mass killing and incarceration of hundreds of thousands of people occurred in the region and across the nation. They also contributed to denials and obfuscations about the nature of the violence both while it was taking place and long after it had ended. The evidence from Surabaya underscores the need to look more closely at how consulates and USIS branches implemented U.S. foreign policy, shaped bilateral relations, and contributed to political unrest and violence during the Cold War years. Indeed, there is a pressing need for research on Cold War-era U.S. Foreign Service constituent posts, their overt and covert operations, and their personnel. This dissertation represents a modest step in that direction.

Events in Surabaya during the tumultuous first half of the 1960s likewise reveal important new details about Cold War-era Indonesian political history. The city was a center of intense political conflict, grassroots activism, and PKI ascendancy. I have shown that the anti-U.S. movement in Surabaya was an important outcome of the street-level politics of this period. I

have also emphasized that it was a major way that Indonesians contributed to global protest against U.S. imperialism in the years before the American war in Vietnam. The evidence that I have provided sustains the fact that anti-Americanism in Indonesia certainly is not, as one scholar has recently suggested, “shallower and [more] intermittent” than anti-Americanism elsewhere in the world.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, it has a deep historical precedent. Allowing for this precedent enables us to see both continuities and changes in the phenomenon. Anti-Americanism in Indonesia is not now, nor has it ever been, the project of a single group or segment of the population. Neither is it an “armchair affair,” as it has been referred to in the popular press.<sup>4</sup> However, in a seeming departure from the past, the intention of some anti-American groups in Indonesia today is to cause maximum destruction and loss of life.<sup>5</sup> I point out this particular development neither to downplay nor to wax nostalgic about Cold War-era anti-U.S. actions and sentiment. Rather, I believe that it provides a suitable example of how anti-Americanism in Indonesia has shifted and will continue to transform over time.

Microhistory also offers a new vantage point from which to approach the 1965-66 mass violence. It may prove to be a valuable method for analyzing political violence elsewhere as well. By focusing my analysis on the violence in Surabaya, I have been able to provide evidence that it was far more prolific than has been acknowledged in the existing literature. In accounting for the scope and scale of the violence in Surabaya I have identified factors ranging from Army-

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<sup>3</sup> John R. Bowen, “Anti-Americanism as Schemas and Diacritics in France and Indonesia,” in *Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 227.

<sup>4</sup> “Anti-Americanism: The View from Abroad,” *The Economist*, 17 February 2005, <http://www.economist.com/node/3666271>.

<sup>5</sup> For instance, those were the objectives of a Sunni Muslim terror organization that planned to attack and bomb the U.S. Embassy and U.S. Consulate General Surabaya in October 2012. See Sara Schonhardt, “Plot on U.S. targets cited in arrest of 11 by Indonesia,” *New York Times*, 28 October 2012.

orchestrated anti-communist propaganda to a municipal ‘cleansing’ campaign. These new details about the organization of the purge in Surabaya and the mechanics and logistics by which it was carried out may help us to obtain a better picture about the violence of this period in Indonesia overall. It may also offer helpful information about how intense political rivalry and the intervention of the United States or other foreign powers in local politics can lead to mass violence or genocide.

This microhistory moreover is a modest attempt to reexamine the Cold War itself from the perspective of individual actors rather than from that of amorphous state-level entities. By analyzing a diverse group of American and Indonesian figures in Surabaya I have shed light on the ways that human agency shaped historical outcomes at this time. Marshall Green’s 1987 oral history also once again offers valuable insight in this regard. The following excerpt, for instance, reveals a great deal about U.S. officials’ motivations and beliefs during the early-to-mid 1960s and suggests how their perceptions helped to influence what took place:

Just think of how close Indonesia came to going communist. Supposing they had, then what would have happened? First of all we would have been put in an even more untenable position in Vietnam. All Southeast Asia might have come under communist domination. As it turned out, it was just the other way around, with Indonesia today playing a constructive role in international affairs, enjoying good relations with its ASEAN neighbors. It was a great turnabout. It reversed the whole course of history, not only of that region but probably of the world. The world never grasped the significance of those times.<sup>6</sup>

The ambassador’s views reflect what many Cold War-era decision makers believed: their efforts were not just waged to save Indonesia, but to save the world. If we were to take Green’s comment at face value it would certainly appear that Indonesian communism posed a major

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<sup>6</sup> Interview of Marshall Green by Robert J. Martens, 12 May 1987, ADST.

threat to the safety and security of the United States and its allies. As Green seems to suggest, he and his colleagues in Indonesia and Washington had little choice but to engage in acts of subversion and political manipulation against a nation that they believed to be a major antagonist. Indeed, the amount of personnel, funding, and other resources devoted to Indonesia from the Eisenhower through the Johnson years would never have occurred had this not been the case. However, the ambassador's remarks also expose the Cold War mentality that arguably drove U.S. officials to exaggerate the threat that a communist Indonesia posed to the United States, to Southeast Asia, and to the world.

This dissertation also may help us to gain insight into present-day covert U.S. operations and their possible impact on relations with Indonesia and other nations. For instance, in October 2013 a secret NSA document leaked by former contractor Edward Snowden revealed that the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, among Western embassies in other Asian capitals, was configured as a hub for electronic data collection and surveillance. This revelation was met with outrage in Indonesia. Foreign Minister Marty Natelegawa was quoted as stating: "If it's confirmed, such action is not only a breach of security, but also a serious violation of diplomatic norms and ethics, and certainly not in tune with the spirit of friendly relations between nations."<sup>7</sup> The exact ramifications that these or other details yet to come will have for the future of U.S.-Indonesian relations are still being determined. However, as events in Cold War-era Surabaya suggest, it is possible that the continued discovery of U.S. covert operations in Indonesia and elsewhere will damage U.S.-Indonesian relations and lead to a new wave of negative sentiment toward the United States.

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<sup>7</sup> William Wan, "Outrage at alleged U.S. spying efforts gathers steam in Asian capitals," *Washington Post*, 31 October 2013.

Finally, the events depicted in this dissertation may help us to better recognize possible patterns in the ways that states act in the name of national security. The sense of crisis U.S. officials felt in response to the rise of the PKI and anti-Americanism in Cold War-era Indonesia led them to intervene in a sovereign nation's affairs and facilitate both a mass killing and the rise of an authoritarian regime. Sukarno's Guided Democracy and Suharto's New Order, which were justified as necessary responses to domestic political crises, likewise exemplify how an autocratic security-obsessed state can subjugate its own citizens. When governments collaborate, this subjugation can take on a larger and transnational significance. The security apparatus developed by the right-wing Army leadership that rose to power after the 1965 coup was built, at least in part, upon the training programs, funding, and endorsement of the United States. There can be no better evidence of what historian Alfred McCoy has called the "clear correspondence between U.S. Cold War policy and the extreme state violence of the authoritarian age."<sup>8</sup>

Writing on Cold War-era U.S. foreign policy, historian Jessica Wang has noted: "The American record of individual rights violated at home and misadventure abroad in Latin America, Southeast Asia, and elsewhere, all in the name of containing the communist threat, is not a past in which to take great pride."<sup>9</sup> Yet, as it turns out, Wang was perhaps overly optimistic in her conclusion that we must welcome the post-Cold War era with relief.<sup>10</sup> The "War on Terror" is proof that we have only become immersed in a newer and no less troubling period of conflict that in many regards appears to be a continuation of, rather than a break with, the Cold

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<sup>8</sup> Alfred W. McCoy, *A Question of Torture: CIA Interrogation, from the Cold War to the War on Terror* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2004), 11.

<sup>9</sup> Jessica Wang, *American Science in an Age of Anxiety: Scientists, Anticommunism, and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 295.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

War. The events described in this dissertation shed light on one place over a very short period of time, yet they have provided us with some ways to recognize this continuation. If they are any indication of how the past informs the present, their relevance, and that of the Cold War itself, continues to be great indeed.

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