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22

5 October 1966

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Anti-Chinese Campaign in Indonesia

1. A by-product of Indonesia's anti-Peking foreign policy during the past year has been a popular campaign, sometimes army assisted, directed against the Overseas Chinese community in Indonesia. Government directives have appeared from time to time aimed at limiting or preventing abuses, but their implementation has varied according to the personalities and convictions of local army and civil authorities. In recent weeks, however, the army, aware of the far-reaching economic dislocations which could result from extensive anti-Chinese action, has undertaken an increased effort to prevent popular anti-Chinese outbreaks and to curb local official action. At the same time, Chinese citizens are being encouraged to leave Indonesia.

2. The Chinese community in Indonesia numbers about three and a half million--three percent of the total population. It is divided into three groups roughly equal in size: Chinese citizens, stateless persons, and Indonesian citizens. The Chinese are popularly regarded and resented as arrogant, exclusive, and rich. They do, in fact, control much of the country's wholesale and retail trade. As a result, anti-Chinese sentiment is endemic in Indonesia, and anti-Chinese activity often accompanies any general rise in public excitement and particularly any increase in economic frustrations. In some instances during the past year no distinction has been drawn among the three groups of Chinese; at other times activity has been specifically directed against those who retain their Chinese citizenship. A re-registration of "aliens"--probably meaning all Chinese--is under way in several provinces, and probably is part of a national recount.

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3. During the year, Chinese schools have been closed by various authorities--army, civil government, sometimes Indonesian student groups. Chinese business quarters in many cities have been looted, some hundreds of people have been killed, and more hundreds beaten and humiliated.

4. The peak of the campaign occurred last April when demonstrations against both diplomatic and indigenous Chinese caused Peking to close its four consulates, withdraw its aid program, and reduce its presence in Djakarta. Peking has sent a total of 65 notes to Djakarta protesting the treatment of both official Chinese representatives and the Chinese community.

5. The chief centers of current anti-Chinese activity are the Sumatran provinces of Atjeh and North Sumatra (see map), where the Chinese have largely retained their separate communal character. Last July local civilian officials in Atjeh ordered Chinese who were not Indonesian citizens to leave the province by 17 August. The policy was strongly backed by the district army commander, who apparently did not clear it with national authorities or even with his immediate superior in Sumatra.

6. Most of the Chinese who left Atjeh went to North Sumatra, the province immediately south, and concentrated in the provincial capital of Medan. The last few days before the deadline, those alien Chinese who had not moved were forcibly rounded up by Indonesian youth groups, herded into trucks, and sent south. Refugees who had financial means found places for themselves in the Medan Chinese community or bought air tickets to Djakarta. The others were quartered in former Chinese schools.

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estimated the total Chinese refugees from Atjeh now sheltered in Medan at between three and five thousand. Some two thousand more who require assistance are quartered elsewhere in the province. The army is supplying rice to the refugees.

7. The Atjehnese action and the arrival of Chinese displaced persons in Medan sparked an outcry for similar ejection of the far more numerous alien Chinese in North Sumatra. In August the provincial governor publicly declared that foreign economic domination should be wiped out and called for the implementation of a 1960 decree banning Chinese retailers in rural areas and small towns. The immigration chief ordered the principals of former alien-dominated Chinese schools--about 40--to leave the country by mid-September. Three youth organizations called for the expulsion of all Chinese citizens from North Sumatra and the severing of relations with Peking.

8. As anti-Chinese pressures increased, senior army officers became concerned. They were aware of the severe economic dislocations which would result from a sudden exodus of the Chinese and realized also that abuses against Chinese citizens could quickly turn into persecution of anyone of Chinese descent. In late August, the top-Sumatran commander, Maj. Gen. Mokoginta, publicly called for humanitarianism and social justice for all, including the refugees, and expressed his disapproval of any action which would cause greater suffering. In an effort to halt the flow of refugees, the North Sumatran commander banned movement of Chinese across provincial boundaries without special permission and halted the displacement of Chinese from rural areas to Medan or district towns. To slow the flight of Chinese capital, he temporarily banned the sale or transfer of business shares or property of corporate bodies. There is every likelihood that these army actions in Sumatra have the approval of Djakarta.

9. Only one major anti-Chinese incident has been reported in North Sumatra during the past month: on 26 September students held a parade and then destroyed about 40 Chinese shops in a town south of Medan. Medan, however, which has an estimated Chinese population of 200,000--about 25 percent of the city's inhabitants--has remained quiet.

10. Meanwhile the plight of the refugee Chinese has involved government-to-government relations between Djakarta and Peking. Peking, although actually unenthusiastic about resettling Overseas Chinese, offered months ago to repatriate Chinese who wished to leave Indonesia. Indonesia replied that if Peking provided the ships, the Chinese were free to go. On 21 September, one Chinese ship, said to be capable of carrying only 700 persons, arrived in Medan.

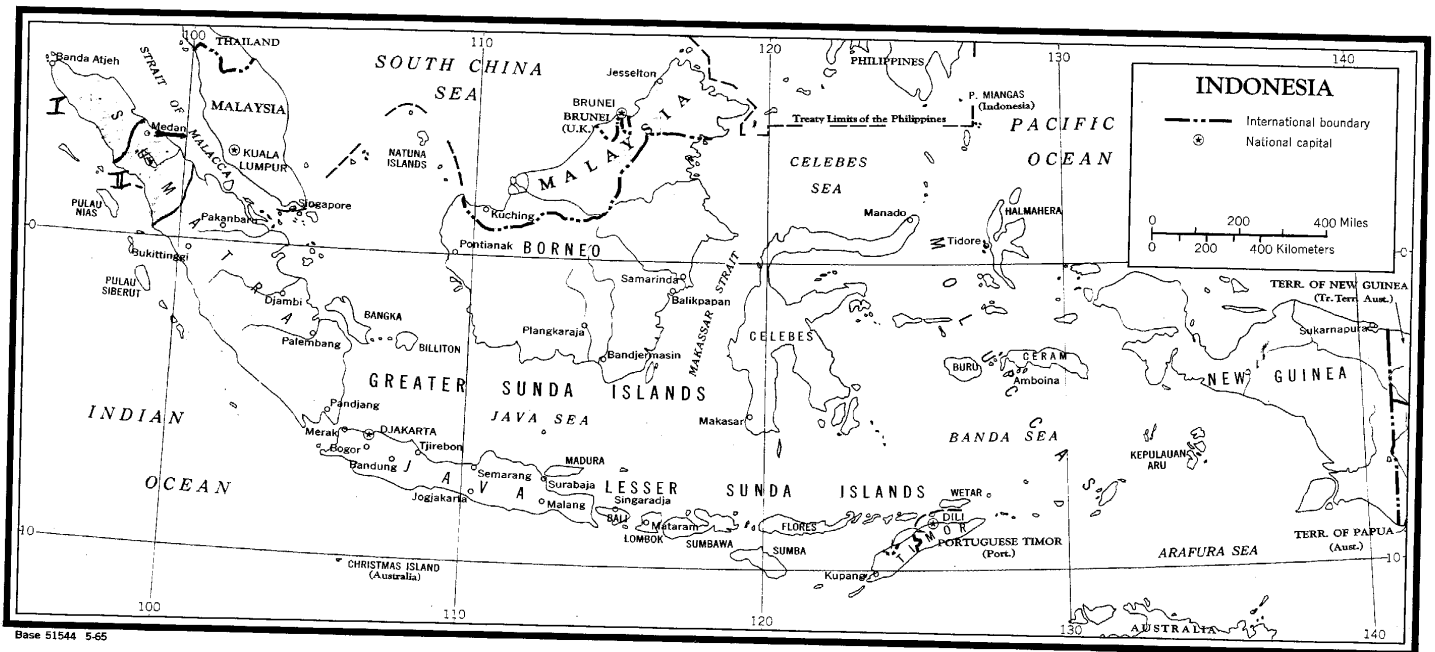
11. A problem immediately arose, as few of the refugees have valid Chinese Communist documentation, and the Chinese Consulate in Medan was closed. After some delay, Indonesia permitted several Chinese officials to go ashore and make arrangements for the repatriation. The ship was finally permitted to dock on 2 October, and approximately 400 persons have so far boarded. The local Indonesian naval commander has told the US consul that the total number to be evacuated by this ship will be 800.

12. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Peking originally planned to send seven ships to evacuate the refugees. Indonesia reportedly has now rejected this proposal and decided that, as a security measure, only Indonesian ships are to be used to evacuate the remaining Chinese refugees in Medan and the smaller numbers elsewhere in Indonesia who have expressed a desire for repatriation. Arrangements are said to have been initiated to charter two ships for this purpose, one of which has an 800-passenger capacity and the other 500.

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VIJAYAN - Main center of anti-Chinese activity

I. ATJEH

II. N. SUMATRA

MEMORANDUM

DDI-4053-66

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

September 28, 1966

TO: Jack Smith
FROM: George Carroll

Can you tell us any hard facts about the extent to which General Suharto's government has authorized, or is acting permissive toward, the execution of Indonesia's Chinese minority?

Every now and then there appears in the press another newspaper report of planned or unplanned killings of the Chinese in Indonesia. We wonder how hard this information is.

TRANSMITTAL SLIP 25X1		DATE 30 Sept. 66
TO: <input type="text"/>		
ROOM NO.	BUILDING	
REMARKS: Will you please write a reply for Mr. Smith's signature attaching your most recent publication on this subject (it could be pages from a Weekly). Add any more recent comments you may have in the letter.		
FROM: <input type="text"/>		
ROOM NO. 7E44	BUILDING Hq.	

Sent 5 Oct

FORM NO. 241
1 FEB 55

REPLACES FORM 36-8
WHICH MAY BE USED.

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5 October 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. George Carroll
Assistant to the Vice President
Room 119, East Building

SUBJECT : Anti-Chinese Campaign in Indonesia

In response to your query of 28 September, I am attaching a memorandum which describes the status of the campaign against Overseas Chinese in Indonesia. I am also including a map showing the location of the main center of anti-Chinese activity. You will note in reading the memorandum that recent newspaper accounts of killings of Chinese in Indonesia have been generally exaggerated.

/s/ R. J. SMITH

R. J. SMITH
Deputy Director for Intelligence

Attachments (2)
As stated

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OCI/Pres: [redacted] /cmh

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