

# 「原口記念アジア研究基金」による 「インドネシア研究に関するプロジェクト」 成果報告

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The Report of a Research Project  
“Holistic Study of the September 30, 1965 Incident:  
Indonesia as Part of Asia-Pacific Relations History”  
Supported by the Haraguchi Memorial Asia Research Fund,  
Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies (WIAPS), Waseda University

Shinzo Hayase

研究課題：「1965年9月30日事件の総合的研究—アジア太平洋国際関係史の中のインドネシア—」は、2011年1月に設立された「原口記念アジア研究基金」<http://www.waseda.jp/gsaps/wiaps/what-is-haraguchi-memorial-asia-research-fund/>による「早稲田大学アジア太平洋研究センターに設置するインドネシア研究に関するプロジェクト」として、2011年から後藤乾一代表の下で活動をはじめ、事件後50周年をむかえる2015年9月に成果報告をすることをめざした。後藤教授の定年退任後の2013年4月からは、早瀬晋三が代表を引き継いだ。

本報告は、2015年9月18-19日にジャカルタのインドネシア科学院（LIPI: Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia or Indonesian Institute of Sciences）でおこなった国際シンポジウムで、英語で発表したものの一部の日本語版である。それらは、ほかの研究者の成果とあわせて、近くインドネシア語で単行本として刊行される予定である。また、英語での出版が、予定されているものもある。

以下、シンポジウムのプログラムおよびインドネシア科学院、早稲田大学それぞれの代表者の挨拶、ならびにシンポジウムで発表した英文ペーパーを基にした論文を掲載する。

International Symposium:

“Indonesian Relations with the World: Japanese Studies 50 Years after 1965”

September 18 (Friday)–19 (Saturday), 2015 @ LIPI, Jakarta

September 18 (Friday)

09:00–10:00	Opening Remarks 1	Adriana Elisabeth (LIPI)
	Opening Remarks 2	Shinzo Hayase (Waseda University)
	Keynote Speech	Asvi Warman Adam (LIPI)
10:00–11:30	Panel 1: “Intellectual Engagements Throughout the Cold War Years”	
	Chairperson: Fadjar Ibnu Thufail (LIPI)	

- 1) William Bradley Horton, "Guy Pauker and American Relationships with Indonesia"
  - 2) Mayumi Yamamoto, "Interpretation of Geertz: Reevaluating Early Footsteps in Postwar Hegemony"
  - 11:30–13:30 Friday Prayer+Lunch
  - 13:30–15:00 3) Kaoru Kochi, "The Creation of the Historical Narrative on the September 30 Movement, and Its Background"
  - 4) Isao Yamazaki, "Nugroho Notosusanto and Japan"
  - 15:00–15:30 Prison Songs Compiled by Taman Bali Introduced by Roro Chorus by "Paduan Suara Dialita"
  - 15:30–16:00 Coffee Break
  - 16:00–18:00 Comment and Open Discussion
- Commentators:
- 1) Mochtar Pabottingi (LIPI)
  - 2) Budiawan (University of Gadjah Mada)
  - 3) Wijaya Herlambang (University Pancasila)

September 19 (Saturday)

- 10:00–11:30 Panel 2: "Asian Connections and the Events of the Mid-1960s"
- Chairperson: Didi Kwartanada
- 1) Aiko Kurasawa, "September 30 Incident and Japan"
  - 2) Shinzo Hayase, "The Political Changes of Indonesia (1965–66) Reported by *The Manila Times*: The Influences to the Region"
  - 3) Toshio Matsumura, "The September 30th Incident and the Failure of an Independent Polity in Sarawak"
- 11:30–12:00 (Memoir) Gatot Wilotikto, "Fifty Years Live in North Korea (1960–2010)"
- 12:00–13:00 Lunch
- 13:00–14:30 4) Zhou Taomo, "China and the Thirtieth of September Movement"
- 5) Kimihiko Baba, "The Post-1965 Structural Change of Relationships with China and Taiwan"
- 14:30–15:00 Coffee Break
- 15:00–17:00 Comment and Open Discussion
- Commentators:
- 1) A Dahana (University of Indonesia)
  - 2) Hilmar Farid (ISSI: Institute Sejarah Sosial Indonesia or Indonesian Institute of Social History)
- 17:00–17:05 Closing Remarks Siswanto (LIPI)

WELCOMING REMARKS  
THE HEAD OF CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES,  
INDONESIAN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCES  
IN INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM LIPI-WASEDA UNIVERSITY  
JAKARTA, 18-19 SEPTEMBER 2015

To Honorable

- Deputy of Social Sciences and Humanity, the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) Prof. Dr. Aswatini
- Director of Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University, represented by Professor Shinzo Hayase
- Distinguished guests, researcher and scholars
- Moderator, discussants, and all participants from abroad and Indonesia

The Honorable guests,

This morning, I am very grateful to be able to attend this special symposium on “**Indonesian Relations with the World: Japanese Studies 50 Years after 1965**” co-organized by Center for Political Studies—the Indonesian Institute of Sciences, and the Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies (WIAPS), Waseda University.

The bulk of materials to be presented today, are mainly from the 4 years research in Waseda University. Using the 1965 tragedy as important axis, scholars devoted their attention to portray the 30th September Movement in a complete picture, beyond the domestic factors, as it was inseparable from the conflict of the cold war and the interest of many foreign countries. So, by commemorating the 50 year tragedy of 1965 that drastically changed the politics, economy and culture of Indonesia, as well as foreign policy, this symposium shall expand new narrative of understanding the tragedy as not solely pertaining to Indonesia and Japan, but also other East Asian countries such as China, Taiwan and North Korea.

One of the subsequent impacts of the 1965 tragedy was that Indonesia freeze diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1967 due to the country's alleged involvement in the coup of 1965. It was believed that China had promised to provide ammunition supports to the 30th September Movement, though the allegation had not been proven as there were not enough archival data supported it. If the PRC is not involved why Indonesia should suspended diplomatic relations with them? How did Japan's role in such cases, as well as China and Taiwan? What's reaction of North Korea? What's happened at the time in the Philippines and Northern Borneo? How did the involvement of academics, such as Nugroho Notosusanto, Guy Pauker and Clifford Geertz? More importantly, how the trage-

dy of 1965 was seen from the context of the current Indonesian politics. These issues will be addressed and discussed in today and tomorrow.

This symposium is in line with contemporary situation in Indonesia. President Joko Widodo's speech in August 2015 stressed the importance of national reconciliation that is dignified. However, the reconciliation necessarily needed the preceded by the disclosure of the truth. This symposium is part of an effort to reveal the truth.

The Symposium, which held in Jakarta, are among other international seminars in Australia and Europe. On September 17, 2015 in Canberra, Australian Institute of International Affairs organized an international conference in "1965 and the Indonesian Coup Fifty Years On". This one-day conference focused on the current state of knowledge, antecedents and consequences as well as what would have happened if the coup had succeeded.

In October 1-2 2015 the NIDO Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, KITLV and The University of California-Los Angeles in Amsterdam organized an international symposium "1965 today: Living with the Indonesian Massacres". The goal is, in addition to commemorate, also discuss the long lasting legacies of this political violence in and beyond Indonesia. Interesting paper delivered by Ariel Heryanto about "Beyond the 1965 Bloodbath Questions", but why do young generation have lack of awareness or attention about the history?

In 2005, Prof. Dr. Taufik Abdullah organized a seminar in LIPI on versions of the G30S masterminds. The results of the seminar published a decade later with the title of "Malam Bencana: Dalam Balutan Krisis Nasional" (Night Disaster in the National Crisis Wrap (three volumes).

Today, ten years after, Center for Political Studies held this symposium in collaboration with Waseda University. We would like to thank the Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University, represented by Professor Shinzo Hayase, to collaborate in this academic meeting. We are looking forward for further cooperation and vibrant academic engagement in the near future. I do thank the steering and organizing committee for making this symposium successful. I also thank all presenters, discussants and participants. Please enjoy, absorb, and be fruitful of the symposium.

**The Head of Center for Political Studies  
Dr. Adriana Elisabeth**

Message from the Director of International Studies Program,  
Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University

I am delighted that this international seminar is being held at LIPI (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, or Indonesian Institute of Sciences) thanks to a grant bestowed by the Haraguchi Memorial Asia Research Fund of Waseda University, Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, of which I am a member.

This research fund was established by a generous donation from the late Ms. HARAGUCHI Uta (1920–2009), a renowned pianist and professor emeritus of the Kunitachi College of Music. Ms. Haraguchi donated her entire estate, wishing to contribute to the development of Indonesian studies at Waseda University as well as to promote academic exchange between Japan and Indonesia. This fund was created in 2011 to commemorate her generous donation. Ms. Haraguchi's father, Takejiro (1882–1951), was one of the noted scholars produced by Waseda University during its early years. He often visited Indonesia to do economic research in prewar times. Ms. Haraguchi, who held her late father in high esteem, donated her private funds to her alma mater to carry out her father's wishes.

Waseda University also produced the first Indonesian research group in 1955. It was led by Mr. NISHIJIMA Shigetada and Mr. KISHI Koichi, both of whom were well known in Indonesia. They produced a voluminous work, *The Study of the Japanese Military Administration of Indonesia*, in 1959. As you all know, the book was translated into English in the United States and made a great contribution to the study of the Japanese military administration in international academic circles. In the course of writing this book, important primary source materials and documents collected in the relevant countries (Indonesia, Japan, and Holland) were donated to Waseda University in 1971. The complete catalogue, *The Nishijima Collection: Materials on The Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia* (Waseda University, The Institute of Social Sciences), was published in 1973. It is known as the Nishijima Collection and has been widely used by Japanese as well as foreign scholars.

Equal important to the Nishijima Collection is the Masuda Collection, which was collected by Prof. MASUDA Ato of Waseda University. This collection contains political, economic, and social aspects of Indonesian history, including materials written in the Indonesian language. These materials are indispensable for the study of Indonesia during the period from the 1950s through the early 1960s. The complete catalogue of the Masuda Collection, entitled *The Masuda Collection: A Catalogue of Materials Pertaining to Post-Independence Indonesia* (Waseda University, The Institute of Social Sciences) was published in 1997.

Immediately after the creation of the Haraguchi Memorial Asia Research Fund, we organized a research group led by Dr. GOTO Ken'ichi of Waseda University, Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, "Holistic Study of the September 30, 1965 Incident: Indonesia as Part of Asia-Pacific Relations History." We were able to report the results of the study in two different academic conferences in Japan, which

generated great interest in academic circles. In the meantime, we interviewed people connected to the incident and deepened our exchange of opinions with our Indonesian counterparts, including Dr. Asvi Warman Adam.

This year is the last year for the research project. I am most grateful for the following reasons: First, it is gratifying to be able to hold the culminating seminar here in Jakarta; and second, the timing is significant; this is the 50-year anniversary of Indonesia's September 30 Incident, which gravely impacted contemporary history as well as international relations in the Asia-Pacific region.

May this be a fruitful, productive, and rewarding seminar for all of us.

HAYASE Shinzo, Ph.D.

Director

International Studies Program

Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies

Waseda University