

## Anti-Chinese Incident in West Java in 1963

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**Abstract:** The paper aims to study the anti-Chinese incident in West Java. The research used the historiography method from Kuntowijoyo with the steps including topic selection, heuristic, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. Ever since Indonesia's independence, the relationship between Pribumi and Chinese people is in social and economic discrepancy as they were experiencing an economic crisis. The strays of PRRI/Permesta and DI/TII still hold their grudge within the tough situation. What comes after is the riot between March and May 1963 that put Chinese people as the main target. On March 27, 1963, a raid happened in Cirebon initiated by the Pribumi. They attack the shops and houses of the Chinese people. The riot spread to Bandung on May 10, 1963, started with a fistfight between Chinese and Pribumi students in Bandung Institute of Technology. A day after, another riot is happening in Sumedang. From May 14 until 16, 1963, a series of property assaults are carried out by youngsters, students, and citizens in Bogor and Tasikmalaya. In Garut, vandalism happened on May 17 and 18, 1963, when the shops, houses, and factories were assaulted. From May 18 until 19, 1963, another riot started in Sukabumi when the mob began attacking the merchandise, properties, food supply, and Sukabumi market. This Chinese attacking incident involving Pribumi youngsters, college and high school students, and citizens. The incident was originally planned to be carried out throughout cities in West Java, but it did not turn out well. The initiators are scattered in every part of the cities in West Java, mostly dominated by college and school students and some residents. The impact of this incident is the spike in commodity prices and further social discrepancy.

**Abstrak:** Artikel ini bertujuan mengkaji peristiwa anti Cina di Jawa Barat. Metode yang digunakan adalah metode sejarah Kuntowijoyo dengan langkah-langkah pemilihan topik, heuristik, kritik sumber, interpretasi dan historiografi. Sejak Indonesia merdeka hubungan Pribumi dan golongan Cina mempunyai kesenjangan hubungan sosial dengan ditambah keadaan krisis ekonomi. Sisa-sisa dari PRRI/Permesta dan DI/TII masih mempunyai reaksi ketidakpuasan ditengah situasi yang sedang tidak menentukan. Akibatnya pada bulan Maret-Mei terjadi tindak kerusuhan yang merugikan golongan Cina. Pada tanggal 27 Maret 1963 pecah kerusuhan di Cirebon yang digerakan oleh kalangan Pribumi yang menyerang golongan Cina dengan merusak toko-toko dan rumah-rumah. Kerusuhan tersebut menjalar ke Bandung pada tanggal 10 Mei 1963 diawali oleh perkelahian di kampus ITB antara mahasiswa Cina dengan mahasiswa Pribumi. Pada 11 Mei 1963 pengrusakan kembali terjadi di Sumedang. Pada 14-16 Mei 1963 di Bogor dan Tasikmalaya terjadi pengrusakan yang dilakukan pemuda, pelajar dan rakyat. Di Garut aksi pengrusakan pecah pada 17-18 Mei 1963 dengan merusak rumah-rumah dan toko-toko serta pabrik-pabrik. Pada 18-19 Mei 1963 dimulai aksi di Sukabumi dengan merusak dagangan, perabotan rumah, persediaan makanan dan pasar Sukabumi. Peristiwa kerusuhan yang terjadi merusak barang-barang golongan Cina yang dilakukan oleh mahasiswa, pelajar dan rakyat. Peristiwa tersebut sudah direncanakan diberbagai kota di Jawa Barat, namun tidak berjalan dengan baik. Dampak yang dirasakan adalah kenaikan harga barang dan kesenjangan sosial yang semakin parah.

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## INTRODUCTION

The diversity of Indonesia has existed along with the vast journey of history. There are not only native people who dwelled in the archipelago of Indonesia for a long time but also those people who came from a massive migration many years ago. Hindu-Buddhist, Islamic kingdom, and even the Dutch Colonization have brought their people to Indonesia. One of the ethnic groups that has a quite large number of people who migrated to Indonesia is the Chinese.

In this article, the term 'Chinese' is used to address the ethnic group and 'China' to refer to the original place where they were coming from. This term was adapted from the idea of La Ode (2012, p. 4) who based his statement on scientific and objective criteria. The term 'Chinese' is used to address the people who came from China, either they are *totok* or *peranakan*. The term 'Tionghoa' which also used to address the people from China was considered to be less objective because of the political means from a tiny group of Chinese people who came to Indonesia. Moreover, the Tionghoa people were also part of a bigger and divert ethnicity in China.

The arrival of Chinese people to Indonesia has a strong influence on the relation between the Chinese and Indonesian people for a long time. According to the chronicle of the Han dynasty (206 BC - 220 AD), it can be known that the Chinese already knew and familiar with Indonesia in which at that moment were addressed as Huang-Tse by the Chinese. Two hundred years later, the record about the course of sails, trading activities, diplomacy, and the existence of Chinese people in Indonesia can be seen from Fa Hsien's journal (Hamdani, 2012, p. 21).

Along with the different ruling dynasties; Sung (420-479), Li'ang (502-527), and T'ang (618-907), the emissary of each dynasty had known to be frequently visiting Nusantara to establish trading and diplomatic relationship. Ever since, the companionship between China and Indonesia had established, including their great and vassal kingdom. Some of the kingdoms that have been visited by China are the kingdom of Kaling, Sriwijaya, Samboja, and Samudra Pasai (Hamdani, 2012, p. 21; Wijayakusuma, 2005, p. 17).

The migration by Chinese people has occurred for various reasons and the rate was increasing over time. Their motive for moving to Indonesia comes not only from political reasons but also from economy or trading as well as a social cause. The Chinese are known as expert traders who were

also capable to sail to every part of the world, including Indonesia. Aside from trading, they were also decided to stay and settling an establishment to keep their business running.

In the near 1860s, there were approximately about 222.000 Chinese people, either they were native or mix-raced who lives in Indonesia, where the majority of them were settled in Java Island. In 1900, the number of Chinese people in Java and Madura increased to 277.000 along with the expansion of Dutch control. The total population of Indo-Chinese was reaching out to 1.233.000 (2,03%) from the total of the Indonesian population in 1930. Towards the end of the 1950s, the number of Chinese who born and settle in Indonesia was increasing to about 80% of the total population of Chinese people. The Chinese people were no longer considered as settlers; thus, they were acquiring permanent citizenship (Soyomukti, 2012, pp. 166-167).

As becoming a citizen of Indonesia, the Chinese were struggling through discriminations, which often led to conflicts. The study about social conflicts in Indonesia commonly came from the thesis about the economic discrepancy, especially between the Pribumi and the minority, the Chinese. The cause of the dispute between the Pribumi and the Chinese was strongly related to cultural and economic reasons, as well as religion, tradition, and other primordial factors (Hamdani, 2012, p. 21).

After the independence of Indonesia, the relationship between Pribumi and the Chinese was full of distrust. The Pribumi was doubting about the loyalty of Chinese people towards the newly-born country. At that time, Chinese people were divided into three factions: those who loyal to their motherland China, those who give their loyalty towards the Dutch, and those who choose their side with Indonesia. The distrust among the Pribumi also comes from the economic factor. During the independence period, the Chinese people were taking control of the economy. All these factors then led to several discriminative policies towards the Chinese people (Wasino et al., 2019, pp. 216-217).

Some of the discriminative policies were issued in the economy sector during the old order period. In 1949 an economic policy known as "Gerakan Importir Benteng" ("The Fort Importeers Movement") was issued by the government (Suryadinata, 2002, p. 184). In August 1951, there was "Razia Sukirman" ("The Sukirman's Raid"), followed by "Gerakan Assat" ("The Assad Movement"), up to the most controversial one when the government enacts the Government Regulations No. 10, 1959. While in the social aspect, several anti-

Chinese incidents occurred in several cities during the year of 1963. The first anti-Chinese incident took place in Cirebon in March, spreading and causing damage during May in Tegal, Bandung, Bogor, Garut, Tasikmalaya, Cianjur, Sukabumi, and different cities in West Java (Suryadinata, 2002, pp. 184-187; Soyomukti, 2013).

This paper aims to study the Anti-Chinese incident in the cities of West Java. The study focusing on the historical point of view. The writing framework consisting of background, the chronology of the series of incidents, solutions, and the after-*come* of the anti-Chinese incident in West Java in 1963. The writing of this article can contribute to the development of Indonesian history, especially the history of the West Java Province which can be a material for reflection of the socio-economic life of the people of West Java and Indonesia.

## **METHOD**

This paper is using the historical research method of Kuntowijoyo (2001, p. 91) with the steps of the preparations including (1) topic selection; (2) heuristics, (3) source criticism; (4) interpretation and; (5) historiography. The topic is chosen based on emotional and intellectual closeness. The emotional reason is that the writer comes from Sukabumi (one region in West Java Province) and the intellectual reason is the writer currently applying as a post-graduate student of History Education Program. The process of Heuristic used primer resources dan secondary resources consisting of newspapers and reports between 1963-1964 and works of literature. These resources are available in regional libraries, regional archives, national libraries, and national archives. Source criticism is carried out using internal and external criticism which is used to obtain the authenticity and credibility of the sources that have been obtained following the study of the anti-Chinese incident in West Java in 1963. Lastly, interpretation used authentic and reliable data obtained the analysis and synthesis. Next, the synthesized data were written in the form of historiography.

## **THE BEGINNING OF THE ANTI CHINESE INCIDENT IN WEST JAVA**

On May 1st, 1963 after the Government retracted the SOB (Staad Van Oorlog en Beleg/State of War and Siege), the people were celebrated in bliss with a sense of safety (Alam, 2003, p. 276). The Government along with the people were started to rebuild their life and planning the development of the country after the series of independence war and revolt that threatening the unity and integrity of the

Republic of Indonesia. However, Indonesia's economic and social conditions were still not showing signs of stability.

The economic issues are still becoming a problem for Indonesia. Various development policies within the crisis causing hyperinflation reaching 650% annually and foreign debt of 3,5 million dollars. This unstable situation resulting in the price spike of various commodities, especially rations (Wuryandari et al., 2015, p. 149). The social issues also become another problem, especially with the relationship between Pribumi and Chinese people. According to Sumardjan (1963) and Bing (1988: 78), the social distance among society between Pribumi and Chinese is not yet to be resolved. This kind of distance resulting in an impression of exclusivity towards a particular group. This impression has existed since the Guided Democracy era and keeps worsening with the economic crisis.

The suspension of the Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI) and Masyumi as the result of PRRI/Permesta and DI/TII also created ripples of conflict, in particular with the closeness between Soekarno's politics and China. In his speech in Woman congress, May 19, 1963, Soekarno affirmed that the racial, contra-revolutionary movements that causing riots in West Java came from the contra-revolutionary groups of ex-PSI, Masjumi, PRRI, Permesta, and foreign subversion ("can be proved by the incident of "10 May" moved by the ex-Masjumi-PSI". Mei, 30 1963, p. 1). The DI/TII also leaving some partisans in various regions around West Java (Hidayat, 2014). The issues related to the economic matters becoming the factors that trigger the anti-Chinese incidents in West Java between March until May 1963.

The particular reason for this 1963 anti-Chinese incident in West Java is because of the traffic accident in Cirebon. The accident was happened in Gronggongan Street in the rural area of Cirebon, involving a pick-up truck that was driven by the son of Dr. Murad (an activist of PSI party) and a scooter driven by a Chinese youngster. The car crash resulting in the death of the Chinese youngster (Sumardjan, 1963, p. 5; Setiono, 2002, p. 825).

The incident that involved the both sides then brought to the court. The judge adjudicated the Pribumi youngster as the suspect in the traffic accident. The court itself led by a Chinese judge. The judge's decision to postpone the defendant's verdict upset the family and relatives of the dead victim. This sparks the quarrel between the Pribumi and the Chinese youngsters. This quarrel followed

by fist fighting in the courtyard between some Pribumi and Chinese youngsters. The Pribumi were a bit outnumbered by the Chinese flocks (Hidayat, 2014, pp. 1-2).

The Pribumi who got lost in the fight then prepared for an act of revenge on the next day. On March 27, 1963, a large group of Pribumi people raided the Chinese group. They raid the shops and houses of the Chinese and burned up dozens of vehicles around the scene (Hidayat, 2014, pp. 1-2).

### **THE DOMINO EFFECT OF ANTI CHINESE INCIDENTS IN WEST JAVA**

The incident in Cirebon has spread out to the neighboring cities. On March 30, the raid happened in Kuningan, a day after it took place in Blambangan, and on April 1st in Jatiwangi. A massive act of incident also occurred in Tegal, Central Java (Sumardjan, 1963, p. 203). A massive act of vandalism also occurred in Tegal, Central Java (Sumardjan, 1963, p. 203). At 5 PM, May 5th, 1963 a fight happened between a Pribumi worker and the son of Chinese milk factory owner in Kalianyar, Tegal. Just in the interval of 1,5 hours since the fight began, thousands of people were reported coming to the factory. They were destroying the goods and releasing the cows in the factory. The mass then moved from the factory to Mirah, the shop of the factory owner. The raid also spread to the neighboring shops and houses of the Chinese people ("Komunike Bersama Gubernur dan Kepala Kepolisian Komisariat Djateng: "Peristiwa Tegal" aims to screw up the society". Mei 15, 1963, p. 2).

After the incidents in Cirebon and Tegal, Mashudi, the Governor of West Java called the Chinese community leaders including Siauw Giok Tjan, the head of Baperki dan Yap Tjwan Bing. The meeting held on May 9, 1963, at 6 PM inside the Governor's office (Bing, 1988, p. 76). Slightly after what they hear about the raiding mob from the Governor himself, another riot was taken place in Bandung on May 10, 1963. The riot started from fistfight between a Pribumi and a Chinese student from Bandung Institute of Technology, the cause of the fight was about the collision between their motorbikes. The Chinese student's motorbike was accidentally scraped by the Pribumi's motorbike. The Chinese student got upset and beat up the Pribumi student who collided with him (Setiono, 2002, p. 826).

After such an incident, a large mass consisting of ITB and Padjadjaran students pulled a mob action by raiding shops, houses, and vehicles of every Chinese people around the city of Bandung. The

riot started from the Tegalega district. The angry mob of students destroyed the shops of the Chinese people who lived in an underprivilege condition (Setiono, 2002, p. 826). Previously, there has been a meeting on Sumbawa Street to plan on shadowing the insolent Chinese students ("Terdakwa2 Peristiwa "10 Mei" Dituntut Hukuman Dua Tahun", December 17, 1963, p. 1). Meanwhile, apparently, the incidents were unexpected, the masses instead did destruction in various places. After that, several students spread to various regions in West Java.

Students come to Sumedang by some vehicles and incite high school student in Sumedang to take part in the destruction. Even though the Regent of Sumedang, Moh. Chafil has already held a meeting with the Headmasters of Junior and High school as well as the Chinese representatives in the morning before. The meeting discussed the incident of May 10th in Bandung and discussed the prevention so that it wouldn't happen in Sumedang. It was later known that the incident has happened right after the meeting is done. Destructive actions in Sumedang turns out to occur when the meeting was just finished. On May 11, 1963, the destruction occurred in Sumedang. Around 20 units of shops have been damaged by the university and school students in an unexpected attack ("Akibat2 "10 Mei" Di Bandung Dan "11 Mei" Di Sumedang, Mei 13, 1963, p. 1).

On May 12, 1963, in Bogor, there was planning developed to carry out the same raid like the May 10th incident in Bandung. Halim came to Samael's house, joining in for a meeting. The meeting explained that what's happened in Bogor will be the same as what happened in Bandung. The condition in Bogor started to tense up on May 14, 1963 ("Teror Rasialis di Bogor memang di Rentjanakan", February 6, 1964: 1; "Bandung ke Bogor", Mei 17, 1963, p. 1).

On Tuesday night on May 14, 1963, at 20.53, a destructive attack occurred in Bogor. Chinese shops and houses were destroyed by young people. The shops and properties of Chinese people were attacked by some youngsters. They were instructed by Mat Uteng to carry out a mob. The incident took place around Jembatan Merah and Tanjakan Empang. They attacked the shops and properties of Chinese people in Jalan Perniagaan, Jalan Sempur, and Jalan Sawo Jajar. After the destruction of the security forces successfully arrested people who did the destruction ("Gerakan Pengatjauan di Bogor", Mei 17, 1963, p. 1; "Dari Pengadilan Perkara Teror Rasialis di Bogor: MU dihukum 3 Tahun, Oktober 24, 1963, p. 1).

The youth and students who come to the Police keep asking their friends to be released. The police promised that their friends would be released after investigations. They were then disappointed because the Police finally dispersed the crowd from in front of the Police Station. Those who are dissatisfied then return to the destruction ("Pengrusakan<sup>2</sup> di Bogor dilaporkan ke Istana Komandan Resimen "Tjakrabirawa" turun tangan", Mei 18, 1963, p. 1).

At the night, a raid was carried out around the district of Sempur, Bogor. The suspects of the raid were eight youngsters. They were throwing the windows of Chinese people's homes. They dealt a bit of damage to the property. Among this attack, a traffic accident was happened involving three students. Two of them were reported having injuries and one reported to be dead ("Pengrusakan<sup>2</sup> di Bogor dilaporkan ke Istana Komandan Resimen "Tjakrabirawa" turun tangan", Mei 18, 1963, p. 1).

The dead casualty of this traffic accident in Sempur was coming from Sukabumi. On May 16, 1963, the dead youngster was brought to his parents in Sukaraja, Sukabumi. His corpse was accompanied by a thousand youngsters and students to the rural border. This convoy was then carrying out another attack around Bogor. This attack brought casualties of one rolled one public transportation car and one burned scooter ("Pengrusakan<sup>2</sup> di Bogor dilaporkan ke Istana Komandan Resimen "Tjakrabirawa" turun tangan", Mei 18, 1963, p. 1).

In the same moment with the raid in Bogor on May 16, a raid also occurred in Tasikmalaya. It was started by 15 youngsters. Then the number was increasing over time until it was hundreds of people joining the scene. The mob attack and burned five Chinese people's houses, two *aci* factories, five cars, three trucks, five bikes, and 53 bicycles. After that dozens of shops in Singaparna, Cihideung, and Tasikmalaya City were also becoming the target of the mob ("Pengacauan di Tjicurug, Tasik dan Singaparna Pabrik, truk dan barang lainnja dibakar", Mei 18, 1963, p. 1).

The riot caused by the angry mob keeps spreading and during the day of May 17, 1963, the incident has occurred in Garut. There was a raid happened towards the Chinese people on Friday, May 17, and the day after ("Peristiwa "17 Mei" di Garut Menampar Muka Sendiri?", Juni 1, 1963, p. 2). The riot in Garut occurred around 10 AM. The mass throwing the shops of Chinese people with stones and pebbles. After the initial attack, they began to raid and burn their goods, house properties, and luxurious items. The main suspect of this incident was the mob of youngsters. The incident was

located in Garut, alongside the road of Jalan Ahmad Yani, Jalan Guntur, Jalan Mandalagiri, Jalan Pasar Baru and Jalan Ciledug (Hidayat, 2014, p. 177-211).

The mass was gathering more and more because students and the general public also participated, and it turns out that many traces of DI/TII sympathizers also participated in the destruction in Garut. They surrounded the Chinese people's shop. The throwing and burning also occurred right after. The attack of the mob began to cease at around 5.30 PM. Shortly after that, a curfew is enacted between 8 PM until 6 AM in the whole area of Garut. However, the next day at 9 AM the raid kept happening anyway. On the second day the mob consisting all the students, the youngsters, and the Pribumi right from the start. They brought logs to ram the doors of Chinese people's homes. They also brought the Chinese people's goods and belongings to take and burned. The vehicles also became the target of destruction (Hidayat, 2014, pp. 177-211).

After raiding the houses and shops, the mob began to attack the factories. They destroyed the production materials in *aci* factories, weaving factory, sugarcane factory, and citronella oil factory. The workers of the factories were also taking part in attacking them. The mob became more furious after finding out stacks of supplies such as rice, flour, sugar, *lantung* oil, and coconut oil inside the Chinese people's houses. The security forces on guard, allowed the destruction to take place. The mass of the action was left and elements of the authorities pretended to fire their weapons up to dispel the mass of the action but showed shops or houses belonging to the Chinese that had not been damaged. In this incident, there were no casualties but damage to homes, shops, and factories owned by the Chinese (Hidayat, 2014, p. 215).

The signs of similar raids in Sukabumi has shown on May 13, 1963. The attack was targeted towards the houses of Chinese people by throwing stones. The attack was causing minor damage. This attack kept happening until May 16, 1963 (Sumardjan, 1963, p. 209). Meanwhile, on the same day, the dead teenager that was transported from Bogor has arrived in the funeral Home in Sukaraja.

The mob convoys were welcomed by the parents and relatives of the deceased son. The body of the teenager then buried in Sukaraja village. The funeral was attended by many relatives and friends. The funeral was also filled with speeches from relatives who work as Law Advocate officials in Kotapradja and the members of the House of Representatives in the Sukabumi (Sumardjan, 1963, p. 209).

On the same day, another attack was happening in Cicurug. Eight students were reported attacking four shops. They pull out the groceries and burned them. Another Mercedes was also becoming the target of this attack (“Pengacauan di Tjicurug, Tasik dan Singaparna Pabrik, truk dan barang lainnja dibakar”. Mei 18, 1963, p. 1).

A meeting to discuss the destructive action took place a few days earlier. This meeting was held in Sukaraja by Iskandar. He said that his action had the support of officials in Sukabumi. Furthermore, he made threats to the people if they did not help the action, then action would be taken (“D. Iskandar dituntut 6 th pendjara”. Januari 25, 1964, p. 1). Towards May 18, 1963, several high school and college students were gathering from around Bandung and Bogor. The college students who attending the gathering mainly came from Sukabumi and seeking higher education in Bogor and Bandung. They spread propaganda towards the students in Sukabumi, encouraging them to take part in the attack. The refusing ones were addressed as ‘*peunyeum*’ a.k.a ‘the soft boy’ (Sumardjan, 1963, p. 203). There were also flyers containing messages related to the attack.

On May 18, 1963, a raid is initiated in Sukabumi. The mob was marching from Sukaraja and started the attack at around 4 PM. The crowd started throwing stones at the windows. After that, they began to take the supplies inside the shops and houses, dragged them, and piling them in the middle of the road. The damaged properties including goods, home furniture, even clothes, and food supplies. They piled them up until it looks similar to a bonfire. In several other places, the rice supplies were dripped with kerosene and set to fire (“Tragedi Di Sukabumi Dalam 2-Hari Toko<sup>2</sup> Megah Berubah Djadi Puing<sup>2</sup> Berserakan”, Mei 25, 1963, p. 1).

The Government was considered having a slow and weak decision upon this matter. The Mayor was having a hard time trying to reach the Governor. The same mistake happened with the head of Cibadak Police Station when the people were unable to call for help during the attack. The attack of the day started to cease around 6.30 PM and completely settled after 8 PM when the curfew siren started to ring and the mobile Brigade aid troops come from Bogor (Sumardjan, 1963, p. 210; “Tragedi Di Sukabumi Dalam 2-Hari Toko<sup>2</sup> Megah Berubah Djadi Puing<sup>2</sup> Berserakan”, Mei 25, 1963, p. 1).

On Sunday morning, May 19, 1963, the second wave of attack was coming with hundreds of people taking part in it. The number has increased significantly, even now children from and outside

of Sukabumi were joining the crowd. They were marching from Cisaat around 8 AM and started the raid at 10 AM. The authorities who were standing by around the houses of the Chinese people began to refrain from a repressive act because they saw the children among the crowd. Numerous quantities of personal belongings were taken in this incident (Firmansyah, 2016, p. 375).

This incident escalated in a more fearsome way as the mob began to burn the house and the vehicles. Houses, shops, cars, bikes, factory building, and market stands were burned. They did not even budge when the authority started to fire a dispersion shot. The fire causes massive burns in the area of Sukabumi Market, tearing down the whole Sukabumi market. The spreading fire burned about 50 houses located near the market (“Tragedi Di Sukabumi Dalam 2-Hari Toko<sup>2</sup> Megah Berubah Djadi Puing<sup>2</sup> Berserakan”, Mei 25, 1963, p. 1).

On Sunday, May 19, 1963, a raid also occurred in Cibadak. Several trucks, buses, and public transportation were burned or rolled down to the Citation river. A car's windows were broken up, then the car itself was rolled into the ditch. Shops were raided or burned. An entrepreneur hid his trucks and cars in a remote area, 15 Km from Cibadak. The mob who discovered this later traveled all over the distance just to burned all of them. (“Djuga di Sukabumi dan Tjibadak”. 21 Mei 21, 1963, p. 1).

The security forces in Sukabumi cannot take repressive measures. They just saw the same as in Garut. They reasoned because many children participated in the destruction so they only warned shots. In contrast to the case in Bogor, the law enforcers dare to take firm stances and seek the actions of the destroyers.

In Cianjur, May 19, 1963, the raid occurred in the daytime and continued to the night. The mob ruined numerous shops and vehicles of the Chinese. This incident even causing Dr. Roeslan Abdul Ghani to be stuck at Ciranjang for one hour because of the potential danger. Dozens of vehicles were burned in the middle of the main road. He even managed to stop by and inspect the remains of the raided locations (“Djuga di Sukabumi dan Tjibadak”, Mei 21, 1963, p. 1; “Pengrusakan di Sukabumi dan Tjianjur”, Mei 28, 1963, p. 29).

In advance, the incidents in Cianjur had been prepared by the perpetrators. They hold meetings and do propaganda to influence society. They told the Indigenous people to rebel against the Chinese. At that incident, several people who used vehicles from Jakarta and Bandung to lead the throwing of shops the provocateurs mentioned were sympathiz-

ers from PSI and Masjumi ("Lagi 80 orang pentolan rasialis diringkus", Mei 31, 1963, p. 1).

The incidents that took place in the cities of West Java were having similarities and even a connection between each incident. Most of the anti-Chinese attacks were including the devastation of the properties of the Chinese people. All incidents were undergoing the same goal: raided their shops, destroyed their vehicles and factories, burned them to the ground. All of these incidents were sparked by a single fight between a Pribumi and a Chinese youngster, then escalated quickly by the participation of some friends, groups, other groups of people, and even children nearing the end of the incidents.

Incidents that occurred in Sukabumi, Garut, Cianjur, and Bogor did not begin with fights between Pribumi and Chinese youths such as those that occurred in Cirebon, and Bandung. The incidents in Sukabumi, Garut, Cianjur, and Bogor were different because they had been planned by people who did not like the Chinese.

Incidents in Sumedang, Bogor, Tasikmalaya, Garut, and Sukabumi have similarities in the implementation of incidents which were carried out by students who came from Bandung. They held meetings with intellectualist actors. Afterward, they met with students in schools. They have the same ridicule for students who doubt by calling "*pemuda peuyeum*". The term indicates that the young man is soft and spineless. After being mocked by the title, they then dare to do the destruction.

The anti-Chinese incidents in several cities in West Java were not perfectly organized even though they were carefully planned. The incidents were occurred simultaneously, thoughtless, with impulsive acts from the participants. The incidents were happened in such a short time, for several hours where the longest streak was about two days including the time delay because of the curfew. According to Locher in Sukmana (2016, pp. 2-3), the characteristics above show the example of collective behavior in the form of mob and riot. Moreover, according to Le Bon in Sukmana, (2016, p. 61), the gathering of a mob or crowd may contribute to the decreasing of their intelligence and the harsh behavior. The mob will be driven by anger, thus making them feel more powerful and brave.

#### **SOLUTIONS OF ANTI-CHINESE INCIDENTS IN WEST JAVA**

After the incident occurred in Cirebon and Tegal, West Java Governor, Mashudi, took preventive measures so that the riots would not spread. He

invited Chinese leaders included the head of BAPERKI Siauw Giok Tjan and Yap Tjwan Bing (Bing, 1988, p. 76). They listened carefully to that explanation, but the feeling of unease settled in their minds. The cause of that was the Commander of the West Java Regional Military Command, Ibrahim Adjie, was not present at the time it was needed. (Setiono, 2002, p. 826).

After the riot in Bandung on Mei 10, 1963, in the evening Governor Mashudi gave a speech on a radio broadcast. He was regret for the destruction that occurred. He appealed to the Chinese people to remain quiet. Governor Mashudi also appealed to students and students to restore the situation and help state equipment. After the outbreak of destruction that occurred on May 10, 1963, in Bandung, the Governor has set a curfew. Curfew was set from 9:00 to 6:00 ("Dlm Pidato Tadi Malam Peristiwa 10 Mei Disesalkan Oleh Gubernur Mashudi, Mei 11, 1963, p. 1).

After a while, Governor Mashudi suggested to Yap Tjwan Bing along with other friends of Chinese descent to write a letter to President Soekarno. The contents of the letter were expecting assistance from the Central Government so that the incident of May 10 would not be repeated. The application letter was then handed over to Governor Mashudi to be forwarded to Sukarno (Bing, 1988, p. 77).

The Curator Board of ITB and Universitas Padjadjaran held a joint meeting chaired by Ir. Ukar Bratakusuma. The meeting was attended by Governor Mashudi, Prosecutor, and several high-ranking officers from the Indonesian Armed Forces and Yap Tjwan Bing. The meeting discussed the destruction that occurred in the city of Bandung. The meeting then produced the following decisions: (1) Preventing the repeat of May 10, 1963, incident as far as possible; (2) Trying to close relationships between youth or students with non-Native people and make them aware that they are a nation that is the nation of Indonesia; (3) So that they as youth and students encourage and help each other in their learning and forgive each other if one of them makes a mistake (Bing, 1988, p. 77).

Previously Governor Mashudi on May 21, 1963, issued instructions to the regents and the Head of the Level II Region of West Java that a Civil COP was held with the main task. The people were asked to remain in their respective jobs and each district/district in their workers. The people were also advised not to enter cities unless they have business objectives. Youth and girls, school teachers, and school children were organized and helped with the COP Sipil ("Rakyat Djawa Barat Supaja

Tetap Pada Pekerdjanya Masing2”, Mei 22, 1963, p. 25).

On May 11, 1963, in Jakarta, the Ministry of Information made an instruction. The instruction contained an appeal from the Minister of Information Dr. H. Roeslan Abdulgani, Department of Police Force, and an exclamation from the Indonesian Student Council. The contents of the instruction were to maintain order after the SOB and were not provoked in the case of maintaining a state of civil order. Students were expected to stick to the Panca Dharma Bhakti that had been established through Keputusan Presiden No. 6 tahun 1962 (“Siaran Kilat Departemen Penerangan Republik Indonesia, Mei 11, 1963).

Under the Presidential Decree No. 6, 1962, the college students should retain themselves to the five points of Panca Dharma Bhakti. College students should lean into USDEK political manifesto, must serve, believe and obey God Almighty; college students must place their loyalty towards The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia that based on Pancasila ideology and lean into USDEK political manifesto; all the defenders and supporters of the ideology and the manifesto must respect the dignity of the teachers, must respect and loyal to the Scientific Guard; learn and devote science for the benefit of the Nation and the whole population on the basis of humanity.

President Sukarno at the Women Congress May 19, 1963 stated that the raging incidents from Cirebon to Sukabumi and Cianjur was a counter-revolutionary act. Later, Sukarno stated more as follows (the Mandate of President Sukarno on the Congress of WANI in Senajan Gelora "Bung Karno", Djakarta, May 19, 1963).

*...Sekarang empat kali ini dicoba, rakyat saja dihasut. Dihasut dengan hasutan-hasutan kontra-revolusiner. Dicarikan biangkeladi saudara-saudara. Apa yang sekarang ini bisa membakar hati rakyat Oo ini sandang pangan Oo ini tidak ketidak senang antara rakyat dengan bangsa Indonesia golongan Cina....*

...now it is already the fourth one, even the citizens were instigated. Instigated with counter-revolutionary provocations. Searching for the scapegoat of you my brothers. What could drive the anger of them? Oh, it's the food and clothes, oh, the discrepancy and hatred between the Indonesian on the Chinese people...

President Soekarno released a Presidential Instruction to settle down the anti-Chinese incidents that take place in the cities of West Java. According to the Presidential Instruction/ The Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces/ Great

Leader of Revolution No. 1/ 1963 dated May 22, 1963, about the restoration of civil order state. The instruction then sent to the Ministers, Governors, Commanders, National Front, and Civil Organizations (“Perintah Harian Menteri/ Panglima Angkatan Laut”, Mei 25, 1963, p. 1).

President Soekarno was giving an order to immediately restore and reconcile the safety of people and their individual/communal property that becomes the target of the raid. The President also asked the people to prevent any kinds of act that could damage anyone's factories as well as helping those factories to restore to their previous state for the sake of Indonesia's economy in general, as for the current condition, Indonesia has suffered a high inflation rate. After that, he encouraged the Ministers, Governors, Commanders, National Fronts, and Civil Organizations to take the necessary actions to execute the instruction (“Perintah harian Menteri/ Panglima Angkatan Laut”, Mei 25, 1963, p. 1).

The destruction act is indeed against the law. The police then investigate the incident by searching and compiling the evidence and information. The police objectively address the suspects according to their accusations. Many of the suspects of the incident are brought to the court (“Peristiwa 10 Mei akan diselesaikan setjara objektif”, Juni 15, 1963, p. 2).

After the riot in Bandung, 8 people were taken into custody and brought to the court resulting in various sentences, from two years, 1,5 year, and 10 months of prison (Setiono, 830; “Terdakwa2 Peristiwa “10 Mei” Dituntut Hukuman Dua Tahun”, December 17, 1963, p. 1). In Bogor, the police swiftly captured 42 people, four of them are the mastermind behind the incident who then sentenced between 5-7 years each (“8 Rasialis Bogor dituntut hukuman 1 sampai 4 tahun”, Oktober 3, 1963, p. 1; “S” dihukum 5 tahun”, Januari 12, 1964: 1; “A” dihukum 6 tahun pendjara”, Januari 13, 1964: 1; “Rasialis “H” divonis 7 tahun pendjara”, Mei 23, 1963, p. 24).

In Tasikmalaya, the riot involving 400 people, about 60 of them are the initiators with two people as the mastermind who then sentenced with 1,5 years and 3 years of custody and the other 60 with 9 months up to two years of custody. In Garut, there are just 11 people who brought to justice. They were sentenced with one to three years of custody. In Sukabumi, 40 people brought to the court and the mastermind was put to prison for six years. In Cianjur, more than 80 initiators were captured and interrogated (“60 Rasialis segera Kepengadi-



lan", July 1963, p. 24; "Pelaku rasial di Tasikmalaya diadili dan dihukum 2-9 bulan", August 8, 1963, p. 24; "Pelaku utamanya dihukum 3 tahun". December 6, 1963, p. 1; "11 Rasialis Garut dihukum 1 sampai dengan 3 tahun penjara", October 28, 1963, p. 1; "DI dituntut 6 th penjara". January 25, 1964, p. 1; "Lagi 80 orang pentolan rasialis diringkus". May 31, 1963, p. 1; Firmansyah, 2016, p. 376)

President Soekarno also created the National Unity Development Institute (*Lembaga Pembinaan Kesatuan Bangsa/LPKB*) through the Presidential Decree No. 140, 1963. This institute has the main goal of developing unity between the groups of Indonesian citizens of any background so that Indonesia can be a whole, strong nation, in accordance with the goals of the revolution, the just and prosperous society.

According to Presidential Decree No. 140, 1963, the LPKB has programs such as situational assessment and offering suggestions towards the first vice minister/ enlightenment minister/ indoctrination committee head about the national unity development policies. Another program is to provide wide-scale, intensive enlightenment/ indoctrination to the society about the unity of Indonesia by the means of assimilation, and dismiss the exclusivism. The last program is to carry out any other means needed, as long as it does not diverge from the main purpose. The leader of this institution is K. Sindhunata S.H.

Other community-based organizations were also created by people who sympathize. One of them is the Committee for the Aid of Counter-Revolution Victims (*Panitia Penolong Korban Kontra Revolusi/PPKK*) that established in Jakarta on May 25, 1963. The organization led by H. Winoto Danuasmoro. The goal of this organization is to help and to relieve the physical and psychological trauma of the victims of these contra-revolutionary incidents. This organization also aims to fulfill the instruction of the President to destroy the contra-revolutionary acts, to ensure the safety of the people, and to provide funds and forces as well as production assets to carry out the Economic Declaration. Building loyalty between the New Emerging Forces to struggle against the contra-revolution and any forms of the Neo-Colonialism subversion means.

The ACRV/PPKK runs their program by gathering donations and distribute them. This organization was supported by three political parties and one foundation: PKI, Perti, Partindo, and Baperki (Sindhunata, 1964). The *Sam Kaw* affiliation of Indonesia also gathering donations for the

victims. They help distribute the donations for the victims in Sukabumi and Cianjur (Setiono, 2002, p. 830).

## EFFECTS OF ANTI-CHINESE INCIDENT IN WEST JAVA

The anti-Chinese incidents in West Java resulting in social and economic impacts. These incidents have loosened the relationship between the Pribumi and the Chinese people, even though some of them were seeing this as a mere disaster. In the early days after the incident settled, the Chinese people grow some feelings of hatred towards the Pribumi. Some of them were also experiencing paranoia, scared, and refusing to approach the Pribumi. Those who lost their trust upon the Pribumi was once becoming the victim of the raid where one of the suspects was once their friends, neighbor, and their workers whom they were once trusted upon. Then, they were feeling suspicious every time they saw a Pribumi came to their house (Sumardjan, 1963, p. 217).

The anti-Chinese incidents in West Java throughout 1963 leaving a prolonged trauma for the Chinese. Until in the late period of the New Order Era, they began to change their names into Indonesian names. The idea presumably comes from the suggestion from LPKB. Around 6.662 people change their Chinese names into Indonesian names (Firmansyah, 2016, p. 384).

The economic impact comes from the loss of property due to destruction, looting, and incineration, which then results in the rising of the food prices. The mark up of the goods was happening in Bogor, Sukabumi, Cianjur, and Bandung. The price mark up in Sukabumi, Bogor, and Bandung including kerosene where the price is going up from Rp.10,- to Rp.20,-, sugar from Rp.125,- to Rp.250,-/Kg, a block of salt from Rp.15,- to Rp.30,-, and cigarettes from Rp.30,- to Rp.40,- ("Akibat Teror rasialis: Bogor, Sukabumi dan Tjianjur menghadapi kelumpuhan ekonomi", May 30, 1963, p. 1). Meanwhile, in Bandung, there was a sign of increasing price in several basic needs after the incident started to cease. The prices that went up including the vegetables like bit and peas. Sugar price and other goods were also going up such as brown sugar that went from Rp.90,- to Rp.120,- per kilogram. The price of salt going up from Rp 20,- to Rp. 30,-, beef Rp. 300,- to Rp. 350,-/Kg, lamb from Rp. 300,- to Rp. 370,- for each kilo, pork from Rp. 500,- to Rp. 600,-/Kg, coconut oil from Rp. 135,- becoming Rp. 150,- for one bottle, coconut from Rp. 35,- becoming Rp. 40,- each (Harga2 Dipasar Bandung Setelah "Peristiwa 10 Mei 1963", Mei 30, 1963, pp. 3-4).

Apart from the price change, the economic impact also comes in the increasing number of unemployment. Not only the Chinese who suffer from this impact, but also the Pribumi. About four weeks after the incident, the economy was halted, workers are losing their job because the factories were burned and the assets were destroyed.

Most actions taken within the anti-Chinese riot are in the form of destroying the Chinese properties. All the action show similarities as the mob always attack the shops, houses, vehicles, and factories. In Cirebon and Bandung, the incident began from the conflict between the youngsters, then spread out until almost all of the people got involved in the riot. Meanwhile, in Sumedang, Bogor, Garut, Tasikmalaya, Sukabumi, and Cianjur, the mob was provoked by the college students from Bandung who spread throughout the neighborhood.

## CONCLUSION

The anti-Chinese incident in West Java happened between March until May 1963. The cause of this incident is the economic crisis that strikes after series of the government's development policies, the social discrepancy between Pribumi and Chinese people, and the suspension of PSI and Masyumi parties as an impact from the separative movement of PRRI/Permesta and DI/TII which then increase the hate of its sympathizers towards the government. These factors are what causes the anti-Chinese incidents. The specific cause of these incidents is the fighting between the youngsters of Pribumi and Chinese after their vehicles collided. The revenge after the fight is the first discovered case when the mob destroying the shops and houses of the Chinese people.

The peaceful civil order government was indeed shocked by the riot that happened in Cirebon. The incident in Cirebon causing a bigger domino effect throughout the regions in West Java. The incidents in Sumedang, Bogor, Tasikmalaya, Garut, and Sukabumi have the same properties, which the execution was carried out by the college students from Bandung. They held a meeting with the masterminds. After that, they recruit high schoolers. They have the same mockery for those who refuse or hesitate to join the action by calling them spineless young (*'pemuda peunyeum'*). The taunt really effective to drive the high schoolers to join the attack. The anti-Chinese incidents in several cities of West Java don't go so well even though they were carefully planned. The incidents happen without full consideration and consent from its participants.

The incidents carried out in such a short time, with the longest one is about two days.

The incidents around cities in West Java possess some similarities and differences and even have a connection between each other. Most of the anti-Chinese incidents were carried out in the form of vandalism towards the properties of the Chinese people. All of the incidents were done with similar patterns: raid the shops, seize the vehicles and factories, then burn them. The incidents were escalated from just a small group of people to thousands of people including children.

Various attempts were taken by the central and provincial governments as well as the sympathizing citizens to overcome this crisis and helping the victims. The government of West Java instructs to stay calm and perform the civil COP and suggest the Chinese community leaders write a letter to President Soekarno. The president then releases a Presidential Decree No. 1/ 1963 about the re-establishment of civil order state to ensure the safety of the people and replenish their private/communal properties that were destroyed in the incidents. President Soekarno also forms the National Unity Development Institute (LPKB) through the Presidential Decree No. 140, 1963. The government officials began to arrest the suspects of the riot, the initiators, the provocateurs, and the mastermind to be brought to justice. They were sentenced to prison for a various duration between nine months to seven years. The attempts to help the victim comes from PPKK and *Sam Kaw* Indonesia to gather some donations.

The anti-Chinese incidents in West Java are resulting in social and economic impacts. A gap between the relationship of Pribumi and Chinese is formed, while the Chinese suffered from the trauma. The economy is also affected by this incident, resulting in an increase in price, while people also lose their job.

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