

The Berkeley Mafia:
A Contemporary Look into Indonesian Political Economy from 1945 to Present
Spring 2022

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Office Hours: TBD

Class: 2 Units P/NP | Cory 273

Course Description:

No, this isn't a class on how to join the Mafia, but, rather, a multidisciplinary look at the Berkeley Mafia — a team of U.S. educated Indonesian economists who were appointed to address dire economic conditions during the 1970s. This course analyzes the colonial period of Indonesia that led to American intervention during the Cold War, and the subsequent militarization of economic development that led to their education and appointments.

This class is a foray into the role of the Berkeley Mafia, the history of Indonesia, its political regime changes, and the economic reforms it undertook throughout its early and tumultuous years. At the end of this class, students will be able to understand the current circumstances of which Indonesian politics and economy stands today.

Course Objectives:

By the end of this course, students will be able to:

1. Examine the influence of the U.S. government and its institutions on Indonesia, from the Cold War period and beyond.
2. Understand the historical role of Gerakan in the regime shift, leading to the rise of Suharto.
3. Have an understanding of developmental economics during the post-war period, in addition to the economic policies implemented by the Berkeley Mafia.
4. Analyze the impacts and effects of the 1997 fiscal crisis in Southeast Asia, particularly the ethnic divisions and Chinese diaspora in Indonesia.
5. Analyze the current circumstances of Indonesian politics and economy.

Methods of Instruction:

Classes will be held in person with the beginning of the class being lecture then discussion integrated throughout class. We want to create an environment to be interactive and engaging, so we encourage critical thinking on class concepts and students to ask questions. No background in

economics, Indonesian political economy, Southeast Asian history, or otherwise is required. We hope that everyone learns something new about Indonesia and some UC Berkeley alumni by the end of the course.

Class Requirements

Grading: The class will be graded on a pass/no pass basis. A final grade of 70% or greater will be considered passing the class.

25% Attendance/ Class Participation

25% Weekly Discussion Facilitation

20% Homework Submissions

30% Final Paper

Attendance/ Class Participation: Attendance is mandatory to your class participation and a key prerequisite for passing this DeCal. Students are allowed two (2) unexcused absences without grade deductions. Following that absence, however, without a reasonable excuse, will lead to further deductions. As for participation, we encourage all students to speak up in class and contribute in discussion, but we also understand not all students prefer to do so. Such students may supplement participation grades for office hours appointments with facilitators.

Weekly Discussion Facilitation: Starting from week 7, students will be prompted to sign up to facilitate discussion following weekly lectures. Students will be expected to coordinate with fellow team members to introduce relevant questions or raise concerns regarding the main topics and concepts for that week's assigned readings.

Weekly Homework Submissions: Students are expected to submit short weekly discussion posts through bCourses the 24 hours before class time. Submissions will have a 250 word limit reflecting on that week's reading to theme and must include at least one in-text citation for that week's assigned readings. They will be graded upon completion, and this class will drop two of your submissions. We will not issue any additional excusals/accept late posts, as these two drops shall serve as such.

Final Paper: Students will be presented with a list of prompts and write a 3-4 page paper, double-spaced, in Times New Roman, with the prompt of their choice.

Class Policies

Late Assignments: Late assignments will result in 1/3 of a letter grade deducted by each day (11:59 PM PST) they are late. For any extension requests, please place them at least 48 hours in advance (unless in the event of an emergency). Any requests will be assessed on a case-by-case basis.

Academic Integrity: Students who engage in academic dishonesty, plagiarism, and or cheating will receive a “No Pass” in the course and will be reported to the Center for Student Conduct. Please read Berkeley's Campus [Code of Student Conduct](#) carefully. Examples of academic dishonesty include but are not limited to: copying the work of others without acknowledgement and collaborating with other students on quizzes, midterms, or on the final. Collaboration and discussion about in-class readings and assignments is encouraged. However, students are expected to complete all assignments in their own words.

DSP Accommodations: Students that need accommodations may request an accommodation letter from the Disabled Students’ Program. <https://dsp.berkeley.edu/> Please submit DSP letters as soon as possible so that we can make necessary accommodations.

Course Outline and Due Dates

Week 1 - Applications are due

Week 2 - Send out acceptances

Week 3 - Introduction/syllabus week

Week 4 - Indonesia in the Colonial Period

- Indonesia has a colonial history of being subject to the Dutch, Portuguese, and Japanese governments which has influenced the social structure, national identity, and political status of Indonesia. Each colonial period has their own legacy and influence on the nation.
- Readings:
 - **NO READINGS ASSIGNED FOR THE WEEK**
 - Optional: Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 2006. Introduction (1-7)

Week 5 - The Sukarno Era--Democracy in Southeast Asia

- Following Indonesian independence, we continue to follow markedly important figures and economic turns-- namely Sukarno and the autonomous development model Indonesia chose to pursue. It’s August 16th, 1945. Indonesia’s history as a Dutch colony has been

confronted on its face, when it declares independence and prepares to fight for its acknowledgement. Japanese occupants.

- Readings:
 - Guha, Ramachandra. *Makers of Modern Asia* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press,, 2014. Chapter 7 (173-197)
 - [Robinson, Geoffrey. *The Killing Season: a History of the Indonesian Massacres, 1965-66.* Princeton University Press, 2019.](#) Chapter 2 (27-54)

Week 6 - Setting the Stage-- The Cold War and the Third World

- Indonesia's independence, however, was a growing concern for U.S. foreign policy makers. The emergence of the domino theory and fears of regimes falling to Communist led to the United States to begin planning and planting vehicles of interference throughout the third world.
- Readings:
 - [Robinson, Geoffrey. *The Killing Season: a History of the Indonesian Massacres, 1965-66.* Princeton University Press, 2019.](#) Chapter 4 (82-83, 86-97, 102-106, 108-117)
 - [Summary of Facts: Investigation of CIA Involvement in Plans to Assassinate Foreign Leaders." June 5, 1975.](#) Pg 4-9, 86

Week 7 - Gestapu and the Mass Killings of 1965-66

- There are various accounts of what happened during Gerakan. Between these three: Suharto's narrative, the PKI's, and the Cornell papers, perhaps we can begin piecing together what led to the systematic killings of suspected members of the Community Party of Indonesia by the Indonesian Military and local militias members-- a toll that estimated anywhere from 500,000 to 3 million people over the span of one year.
- Readings:
 - [Robinson, Geoffrey.](#) *The Killing Season: a History of the Indonesian Massacres, 1965-66.* Princeton University Press, 2019. Chapter 1 (3-26), Chapter 3 (54-81)
 - "US Embassy in Jakarta, Telegram 971 to Secretary of State, Secret | National Security Archive." 1965. Nsarchive.gwu.edu. October 12, 1965. <https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/15700-document-04-us-embassy-jakarta-telegram-971>.
 - Dwyer, Colin. 2017. "Declassified Files Lay Bare U.S. Knowledge of Mass Murders in Indonesia." NPR.org. October 18, 2017. <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2017/10/18/558509184/declassified-files-lay-bare-u-s-knowledge-of-mass-murders-in-indonesia>

Week 8 - Ford Fellowship and UC Berkeley: The Berkeley Mafia

- Finally, the namesake of this class-- *roll credits*. This week, we'll introduce the members of the Berkeley Mafia and how they arrived in the United States.
- Readings:
 - [International Fellowship Program](#) - Watch Video
 - Schoenberger, Karl. 1992. "Berkeley-Trained Group Plays Key Role." Los Angeles Times. June 1, 1992.
<https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1992-06-01-fi-501-story.html>.
 - Gunawan Mohamad. 2003. *Celebrating Indonesia : Fifty Years with the Ford Foundation, 1953-2003*. [Ford Foundation](#). Read pages 9-31, 50, 52-68, and 126.
 - Ransom, David. n.d. "The Berkeley Mafia and the Indonesian Massacre."
<http://la.utexas.edu/users/hcleaver/357L/357LRansomBerkeleyMafiaTable.pdf>.

Week 9 - President Suharto and the New Order

- After the mass killings in 1965-66 and the fall of President Sukarno, Suharto became President under the New Order. How did this transition look? What changes took place in Indonesia at the time? We'll talk this week a bit more about the increasing salience of Chinese Indonesian identity, new forms of foreign policy, and the economic developments that the Berkeley Mafia implemented after they'd been appointed by Suharto.
- Readings:
 - Vatikiotis, Michael R. J.. 1999. *Indonesian Politics under Suharto : The Rise and Fall of the New Order*. London: Taylor & Francis Group. Accessed November 5, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central. Ch [1. Suharto](#) pp 1-31

Week 10 - Five Year Plan System: 1956-1960

- Suharto inherited a country that was in an economic crisis--with high inflation, a budget deficit, and unstable growth. We will start with giving an overview of what economic development in Indonesia focused on, the cause and end of hyperinflation in Indonesia, and then we will be going into more detail about the different Five Year Plans.
- Readings:
 - Secretariat for The Management of Operational Development, Government Policies In The Economic, Financial And Development Field, Progress of Development According To Operational Sectors, pp. 1-13 (FROM 1966-1970)
 - National Development Information Office, Indonesia: Economic Update 1980, Section 1-13 (gloss over)

Week 11 - Indonesia Political Economy Prior to 1997

- We want to give an overview of the Indonesian political economy prior to 1997 and go more into depth on the economic policies of the Five Year Plans Indonesia had. We will go over its effects on economic development.
- Readings:
 - Ananta, Aris, Muljana Soekarni, and Sjamsul Arifin. *The Indonesian Economy: Entering a New Era*. 1 ed., ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, 2011. Chapter [2. Government Economic Policies since the Beginning of the New Order Era](#) pp. 28-60

Week 12 - 1997 Race Riots

- Indonesia's population includes cultural and ethnic minorities including the ethnic Chinese population. We will discuss the history of Chinese diaspora and discriminatory policies toward the ethnic Chinese population.
- Readings:
 - Lembong, Eddie. 2008 Indonesian Government Policies and the Ethnic Chinese: Some Recent Developments. *In Ethnic Chinese in Contemporary Indonesia*. Leo Suryadinata, eds. Singapore: ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute.(57-64) [Chapter 3](#), pp. 48-56
 - Panggabean, Samsu Rizal, and Benjamin Smith. 2011. "Explaining Anti-Chinese Riots in Late 20th Century Indonesia." *World Development* 39 (2): 231–42. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2009.11.036>.

Week 13 - Fall of Suharto

- 32 years after he assumes power, the Suharto regime falls apart. Why and how? From economic crisis to growing unpopularity in the United States, Suharto must grapple with various forces that lead to the toppling of his reign.
- Readings:
 - Vatikiotis, Michael R. J.. 1999. *Indonesian Politics under Suharto : The Rise and Fall of the New Order*. London: Taylor & Francis Group. Accessed November 5, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central. Ch [9. The Fragile State](#)
 - Vatikiotis, Michael and Leifer, Michael.1999. "The Rise and Fall of the New Order": Chapter 9, pp.204-217
 - Rompies, Karuni. "Suharto's Fall Was Bloody and Frightening, and I Was There." *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 2018. <https://www.smh.com.au/world/asia/suharto-s-fall-was-bloody-and-frightening-and-i-was-there-20180517-p4zfw.html>
 - Gajah Gallery. GAJAH GALLERY SINGAPORE PRESENTS SEMSAR SIAHAAN: ART, LIBERATION An Exhibition of 28 works from 1984 -2004. Press Release, 1 October

2017. <https://gajahgallery.com/gg/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Semsar-ArtLiberati-on-Press-release.pdf>

Week 14- After 1998 - Present

- The 1998 period is a turbulent time in Indonesia. After 32 years, the Suharto regime was no more, and changes were underway. Indonesia goes through several years of reforms, and tries to erase the legacy of the Soeharto era, while dealing with multiple ethnic conflicts. We will discuss how various parties and political figures react with the giant power vacuum.
- Readings:
 - Crouch, Harold. *Political Reform in Indonesia after Soeharto*. 1 ed., ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, 2010. muse.jhu.edu/book/18855. Introduction, pp.1-14
 - Mufson, Steven, and Bradley Graham. “U.S. and IMF Move to Isolate Indonesia.” *The Washington Post*, 1999. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/daily/sept99/ustimor10.htm>

Week 15 - What now? The Legacy of the Berkeley Mafia

- Now that we have laid out the foundations of Indonesia’s political economy, let’s take a step back and analyze how America played a role. As the United States continues to get involved in the developing world, what are some of the mechanisms that they influence politics? Are those interventions justified?
- Readings:
 - Easterly, William. *The White Man’s Burden: Why The West’s Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill And So Little Good*, pp. 1-60 (skim through)