

NOTIFIED GOVERNMENT HAD DISCHARGED HIM, REBEL LEADER, COLONEL HUSEIN, RIPS OFF EPAULETS AT MEETING BUT STUDENTS BRING INSIGNIA BACK

EPAULETS TORN OFF IN REVOLT BY INDONESIAN ANTI-COMMUNISTS BEHIND REBEL LINES IN SUMATRA

For months distrust of the wishy-washy Redsmeared central government of Indonesia had been growing in the nation's "outer islands." Patiently, more in sorrow than anger, a group of anti-Communist army colonels had waited for President Sukarno to clean up his regime. Then at last one patient man grew angry. In Sumatra, Lieut. Colonel Ahmad Husein, governor of the province and chief of the dissidents, threw off the insignia of the nation he serves. The die was cast for rebellion. These pictures, taken within the rebels' Sumatran stronghold (*map, pp. 24-25*), give a close look at one of the

strangest—and so far most civil—of civil wars.

Violence was just beginning. Sukarno's aircraft bombed rebel bridges and radio stations. Government gunboats blockaded rebel ports on Sumatra and shelled Celebes towns. The government threatened—and the rebels expected—a land or paratroop assault.

Behind the revolt lay a steady breakdown of the faith placed in Sukarno when he helped lead Indonesia to freedom from Dutch rule in 1949. The breakdown began with resentment at the way the Sukarno regime milked the rich outer islands for the benefit of the central

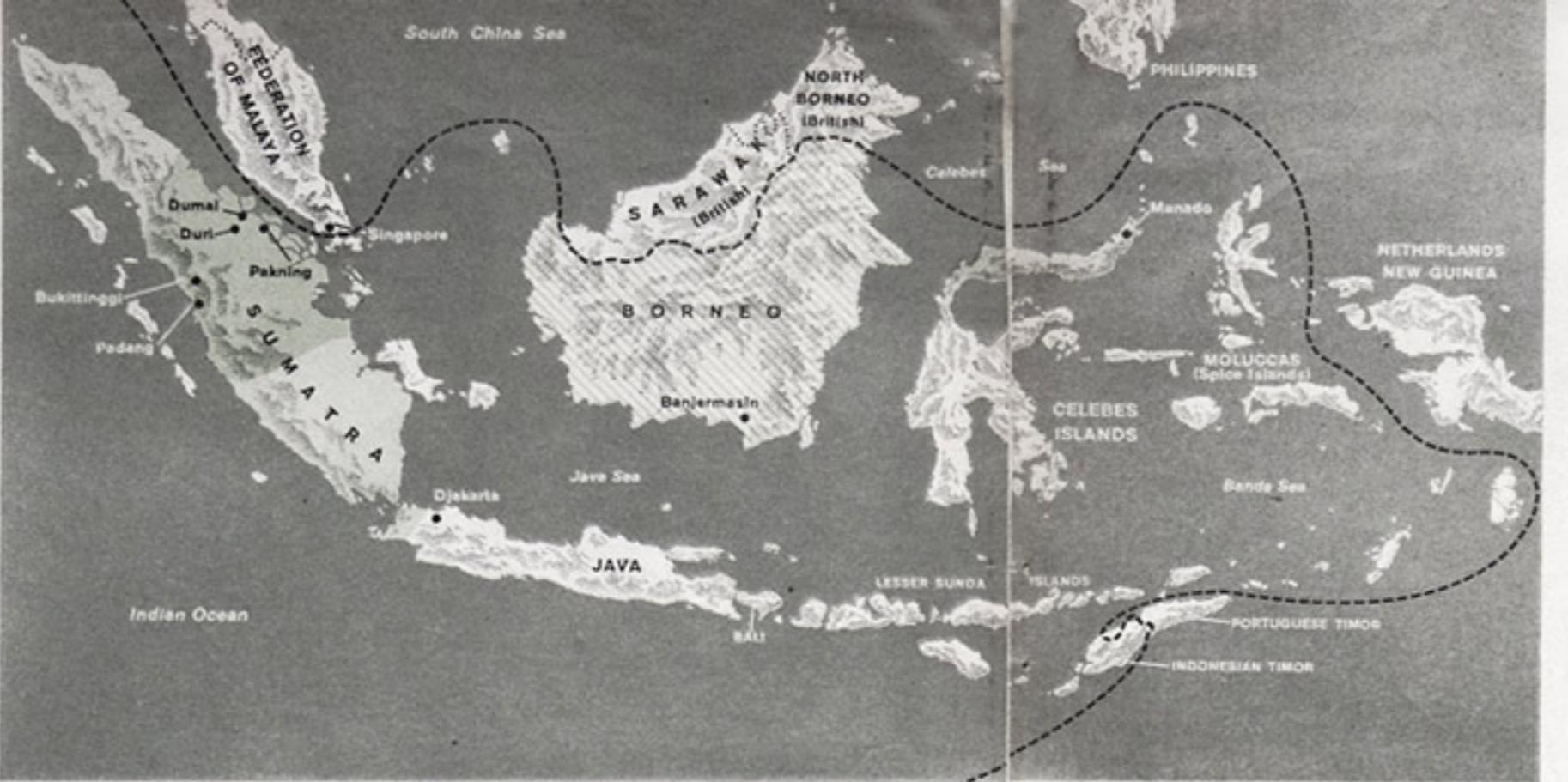
government on Java. It grew as Sukarno, adopting a mystic policy called "guided democracy," drifted further from the constitution and closer to the Communists. It broke last month as the "rebels" served Sukarno with an ultimatum to go back to the law and get rid of the Reds. Sukarno refused.

This strange revolt to uphold the law was one in which the U.S. held a mighty stake. There was a commercial interest in oil (*pp. 28-29*). More important was the danger, if Sukarno should win, that Communism might fatally outflank SEATO, the free world alliance in Asia.



ALLAH'S BLESSING on the rebel government is invoked by Indonesia's chief *ulama* (religious scholar). Rebels pointedly oppose godless Communism.

REBEL GOVERNMENT had just been formed when → its chief members stood here at attention for national anthem. From left are Colonel Djambek, minister of interior; Boerhanoedin Harahap, minister of defense and justice; Colonel Husein, chairman of revolutionary council; Prime Minister Sjafruddin, Indonesia's leading economist; and Colonel Maludin Simbolon, foreign minister. He is the only Christian in the predominantly Moslem revolution.



TROUBLED NATION, with areas held by rebels in dark green and areas sympathetic to rebels in lighter green, is shown on map. Green striped area (Borneo)

is wavering. The dotted line encloses all Indonesia. Djakarta is capital. Revolt began at Padang in central Sumatra and capital was established at Bukittingi.

WITH COURAGE AND AN APPEAL TO ALLAH,

The rebel colonels were assembled at Husein's stronghold in Padang in central Sumatra when word came from the capital in Java that Sukarno was refusing to yield. The rebels were outgunned and outnumbered—14 fully committed rebel battalions against 85 loyal in varying degrees to Sukarno. But they declined to be daunted by the threat of force that came from Sukarno's Premier Djuanda.

The colonels' first act was to establish a

revolutionary government under the protection of Colonel Ahmad Husein, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council. Answering threat with defiance, the rebel's Premier Sjafruddin declared that if Sukarno "gets arms from Russia then we will seek arms from the U.S." and boasted that within three months the Jakarta government would be beaten "to its knees."

Then began a crucial battle for the support of the island nation's 85 million people. This

Pakning is river mouth town where illegal rebel trade is blockaded. U.S. oil activities (pp. 28-29) are centered around new port at Dumai and wells at Duri.

THE REBELS PREPARE

presented no problem in Colonel Husein's own Sumatra stronghold where young men flocked by the willing hundreds to the rebel recruiting stations. But a more pressing and more difficult question was that of winning more widespread military and political allegiance. Sympathetic to the rebellion but still aware of Sukarno's popularity as a person, some of the military commanders, particularly in southern Sumatra, were wary of declaring themselves.



COUNCIL OF WAR brings Colonel Husein (seated, right) and staff into conference with important ally in reception hall of governor's mansion. Man with



RECRUITING DRIVE brings out horde of young men on bicycles eager for duty with rebel army. Here, at new Volunteer Youth Legion headquarters

in Padang, sign at left identifies a recruiting station and lists legion's aims, including "against the Sukarno regime." Sign at right says "Youth Center."



cigaret in holder, listening to Husein, is chief of Padang police whose accession to rebellion measurably increases Husein's control of central Sumatra.



ARREST AT SEA is made by government gunboat (*left*) moving in to stop and search launch near port of Pakning. Blockaders search all vessels they catch.

BLOCKADE HINDERS, PEOPLE HELP

Probably the most important element in the rebels' favor was the people—and the feeling even among schoolgirls that Sukarno was giving them less than the democracy for which they had fought the Dutch. But there were grave rebel weaknesses. The first and most pressing was Sukarno's naval blockade: the central government has the country's only ships, as well as the only planes. Central government warships effectively bottled up rebel ports and river mouths, cutting off not only rebel trade with Singapore but preventing the assembly of reinforcements or arrival of weapons. Some 20 ships were reported searched and seized within two weeks.

But admitting weakness was no part of rebel strategy. Going on the air, rebel Interior Minister Djambek defied Sukarno to "bomb us if you dare." And in the jungles of Sumatra, Colonel Husein's "Buffalo" division stepped up maneuvers for recruits and regulars who may total 30,000.



BLOCKADE RUNNER, successful in eluding the central government patrols, a small steamer discharges its cargo after its nerve-racking run from Singapore.

SYMPATHETIC SCHOOLGIRLS, in white garb of Islamic secondary school at Padang, pause for an intent study of a resolution issued from rebel headquarters.

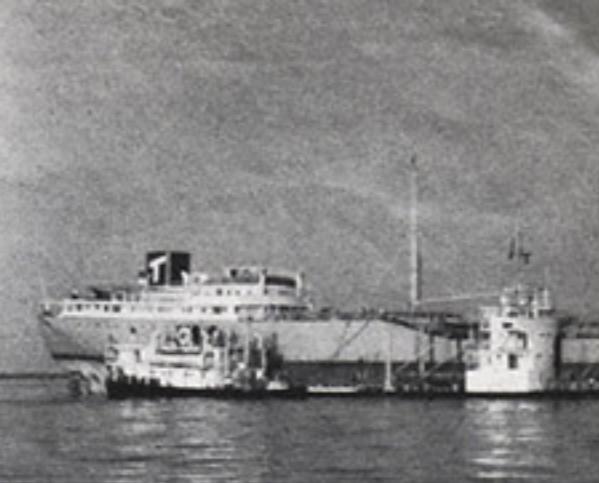


SOLDIERS IN TRAINING, members of a newly activated rebel battalion, take a break for rest and refreshment beside a scenic pool fed by a jungle waterfall.

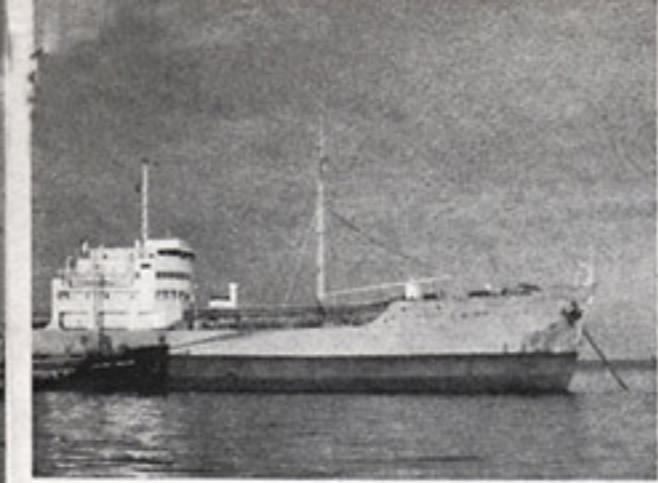


OUT IN JUNGLE on an inspection tour, Caltex official Harmon Harris strides along a catwalk over trees felled for road, which will stretch 35 miles.

IN CALTEX VILLAGE an engineer, Leigh French, → tosses son Dudley. Company wives play bridge as children romp around Indonesian-style playhouse.



SMALL RIVER TANKER (FOREGROUND) TRANSFERS



OIL FROM UPRIVER TO AN OCEAN-GOING TANKER

A SQUEEZED U.S. OIL

American oil companies which extract about 80% of Indonesia's rich flow of oil have been caught in a distressing squeeze. By far the biggest operator is the Caltex Pacific Oil Company, controlled by Standard Oil Company of California and The Texas Company, whose fields lie in central Sumatra. Caltex is in the midst of a \$50 million expansion program. Already the new investment has brought Caltex production up to 180,000 barrels a day and 60% of Indonesia's total. Stanvac, the other U.S. company involved, produces another 20% from wells which also lie in Sumatra.

This golden flood has been paying the Indonesian government well—an estimated \$40

COLONY CARRIES ON

million a year from Caltex alone. Both the rebels and Sukarno covet this income and the rebels have already demanded that Caltex stop payments to Sukarno and put the money due in a blocked account. Awaiting the outcome, Caltex held to its contract with the central government. Both the rebels, in position to stop the flow at its source, and the central government, easily able to blockade the company's tankers, refrained from interfering.

Meanwhile Caltex goes energetically ahead with its expansion program and the Caltex American communities of about 400 go on living as usual in model suburbs in the jungle, uncertain of the future but unwilling to panic.



LAYING PIPELINE, two Texas welders seal joint in a section of the new 30-inch line that will carry the oil from the rich Duri fields to new deepwater

port facilities being built at Dumai on the coast. The truck bearing the Caltex insignia carries motor generators to furnish power for welding machine.

