

# The Jakarta Method

Washington's Anticommunist Crusade & The  
Mass Murder Program That Shaped Our World

# Vincent Bevins



**PUBLICAFFAIRS**

New York

Copyright © 2020 by Vincent Bevins

Cover design by Pete Garceau

Cover copyright © 2020 Hachette Book Group, Inc.

Hachette Book Group supports the right to free expression and the value of copyright. The purpose of copyright is to encourage writers and artists to produce the creative works that enrich our culture.

The scanning, uploading, and distribution of this book without permission is a theft of the author's intellectual property. If you would like permission to use material from the book (other than for review purposes), please contact [permissions@hbgusa.com](mailto:permissions@hbgusa.com). Thank you for your support of the author's rights.

PublicAffairs

Hachette Book Group

1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10104

[www.publicaffairsbooks.com](http://www.publicaffairsbooks.com)

@Public\_Affairs

Printed in the United States of America

Published by PublicAffairs, an imprint of Perseus Books, LLC, a subsidiary of Hachette Book Group, Inc. The PublicAffairs name and logo is a trademark of the Hachette Book Group.

The Hachette Speakers Bureau provides a wide range of authors for speaking events. To find out more, go to [www.hachettespeakersbureau.com](http://www.hachettespeakersbureau.com) or call (866) 376-6591.

The publisher is not responsible for websites (or their content) that are not owned by the publisher.

Print book interior design by Amy Quinn

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Bevins, Vincent, author.

Title: The Jakarta method: Washington's anticommunist crusade and the mass murder program that shaped our world / Vincent Bevins.

Other titles: Washington's anticommunist crusade and the mass murder program that shaped our world

Description: New York: PublicAffairs, [2020] | Includes bibliographical references.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019046069 | ISBN 9781541742406 (hardcover) | ISBN 9781541724013 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: United States—Foreign relations—1945–1989. | Developing countries—Foreign relations—United States. | United States—Foreign relations—Developing countries. | Anti-communist movements—Developing countries—History—20th century. | Autonomy and independence movements—History—20th century. | Political violence—Developing countries—History—20th century. | Indonesia—History—Coup d'état, 1965. | Cold War. | United States. Central Intelligence Agency—History—20th century.

Classification: LCC E744 .B476 2020 | DDC 327.73009/04—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2019046069>

ISBNs: 978-1-5417-4240-6 (hardcover), 978-1-5417-2401-3 (ebook)

LSC-C

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

# Appendixes

## Appendix 1

### The World in 1960: The 25 Most Populous Countries

Country	Population Rank	GDP / Capita (nominal)	Structural Position in 1945
China	1	\$90	Third World
India	2	\$82	Third World
Soviet Union	3	\$991 <sup>*</sup>	Second World
USA	4	\$3,007	First World
Japan	5	\$479	First World
Indonesia	6	\$65 <sup>**</sup>	Third World
Germany	7	\$1,127 <sup>***</sup>	First World
Brazil	8	\$210	Third World
United Kingdom	9	\$1,381	First World
Italy	10	\$804	First World
Bangladesh	11	\$89	Third World
France	12	\$1,344	First World
Nigeria	13	\$93	Third World
Pakistan	14	\$82	Third World
Mexico	15	\$345	Third World
Vietnam	16	\$70 (N); \$110 (S) <sup>****</sup>	Third World
Spain	17	\$396	First World
Poland	18	\$573 <sup>*****</sup>	Second World
Turkey	19	\$509	Third World
Thailand	20	\$101	Third World
Egypt	21	\$191 <sup>**</sup>	Third World
Philippines	22	\$245	Third World
South Korea	23	\$158	Third World
Ethiopia	24	\$61 <sup>**</sup>	Third World
Iran	25	\$192	Third World

All data (including population ranking) from the World Bank Data Bank (databank.worldbank.org) unless otherwise stated.

\* This is derived from the US government estimate of the size of the Soviet economy as 38.1% of that of the United States (See “A Comparison of Soviet and US Gross National Products, 1960–1983,” accessible via the CIA FOIA Reading Room, [www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DOC\\_0000498181.pdf](http://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DOC_0000498181.pdf)) and Soviet census data from 1959 (208,800,000, see [www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/1959-07-01/soviet-population-today](http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/1959-07-01/soviet-population-today)) as well as US GDP data from the World Bank.

\*\* Penn World Tables 9.1 (PWT91) ([www.rug.nl/ggdc/productivity/pwt/](http://www.rug.nl/ggdc/productivity/pwt/))—output side, Year 1961

\*\*\* PWT91, 1960

\*\*\*\* These Vietnamese figures are drawn from contemporary CIA analysis: Economic Intelligence Report, A Comparison of the Economies of North and South Vietnam, December 1961, accessible via the CIA FOIA Reading Room, [www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79R01141A002200070001-8.pdf](http://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79R01141A002200070001-8.pdf).

\*\*\*\*\* Data provided by Branko Milanovic, who relied on World Bank World Development Indicators, and adjusted using PWT91 Price Index.

## Appendix 2

### The World Today: The 25 Most Populous Countries (plus South Korea) in 2018

Country	Population Rank	GDP / Capita (nominal)	Structural Position in 1945
China	1	\$9,771	Third World
India	2	\$2,016	Third World
United States	3	\$62,641	First World
Indonesia	4	\$3,894	Third World
Pakistan	5	\$1,473	Third World
Brazil	6	\$8,921	Third World
Nigeria	7	\$2,028	Third World
Bangladesh	8	\$1,698	Third World
Russia	9	\$11,289	Second World
Japan	10	\$39,287	First World
Mexico	11	\$9,698	Third World
Ethiopia	12	\$772	Third World
Philippines	13	\$3,103	Third World
Egypt	14	\$2,549	Third World
Vietnam	15	\$2,564	Third World
DR Congo	16	\$562	Third World
Germany	17	\$48,196	First World
Turkey	18	\$9,311	Third World
Iran	19	\$5,628*	Third World
Thailand	20	\$7,274	Third World
France	21	\$41,464	First World
United Kingdom	22	\$42,491	First World
Italy	23	\$34,318	First World
South Africa	24	\$6,374	Third World
Tanzania	25	\$1,051	Third World
South Korea	27	\$31,363	Third World

All data (including population ranking) is from the World Bank Data Bank, [databank.worldbank.org](http://databank.worldbank.org).

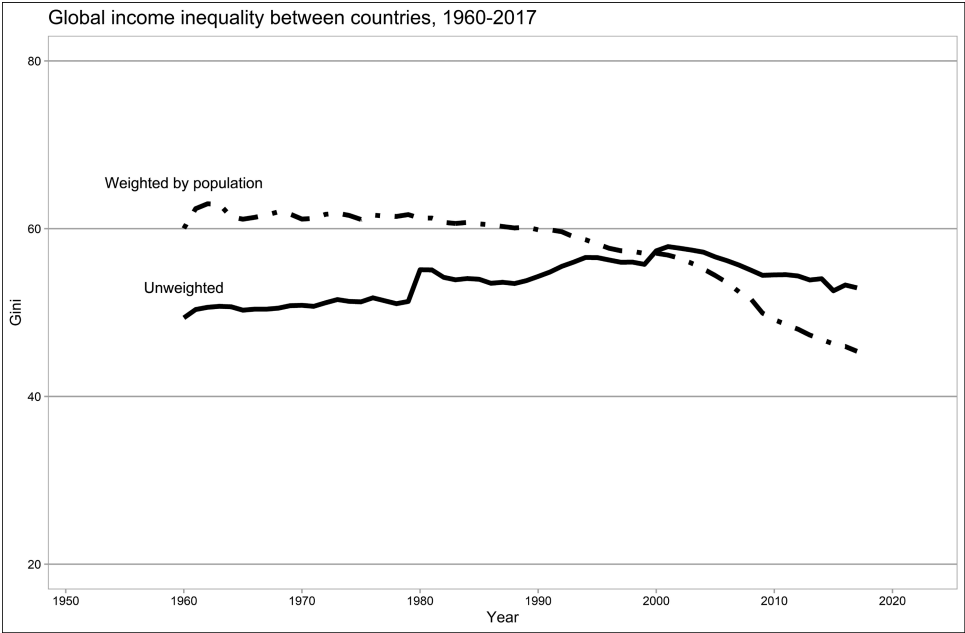
South Korea is included because it is the rare exception of a large country moving from the Third World to First-World levels of wealth. See Robert Wade, “Escaping the periphery: the East Asian ‘mystery’ solved,” United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research, September 2018, for discussion of the exceptional treatment South Korea and Taiwan were given by Washington due to their strategic importance in the Cold War.

\* 2017

# Appendix 3

## Global Inequality Between Countries, 1960–2017

The measure of inequality used here is the GINI coefficient. Purely for reference, inequality *within* the United States is around 41.5 (World Bank estimate). Some of the most equal societies on Earth, often in Northern Europe, hit lows of around 25, and South Africa, one of the world’s most unequal nations, has a GINI index of 65.

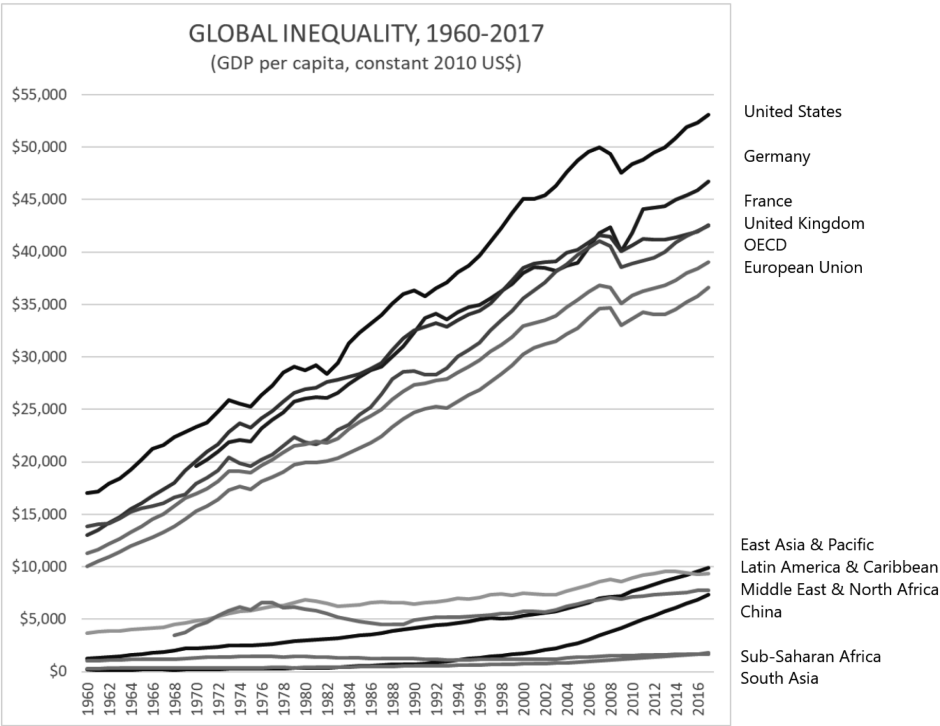


Data for the graph was provided by economist Branko Milanovic. The dotted line (weighted by country population) more clearly shows the effects of Chinese growth. For more on his methods, see Branko Milanovic, *Global Inequality*.



# Appendix 4

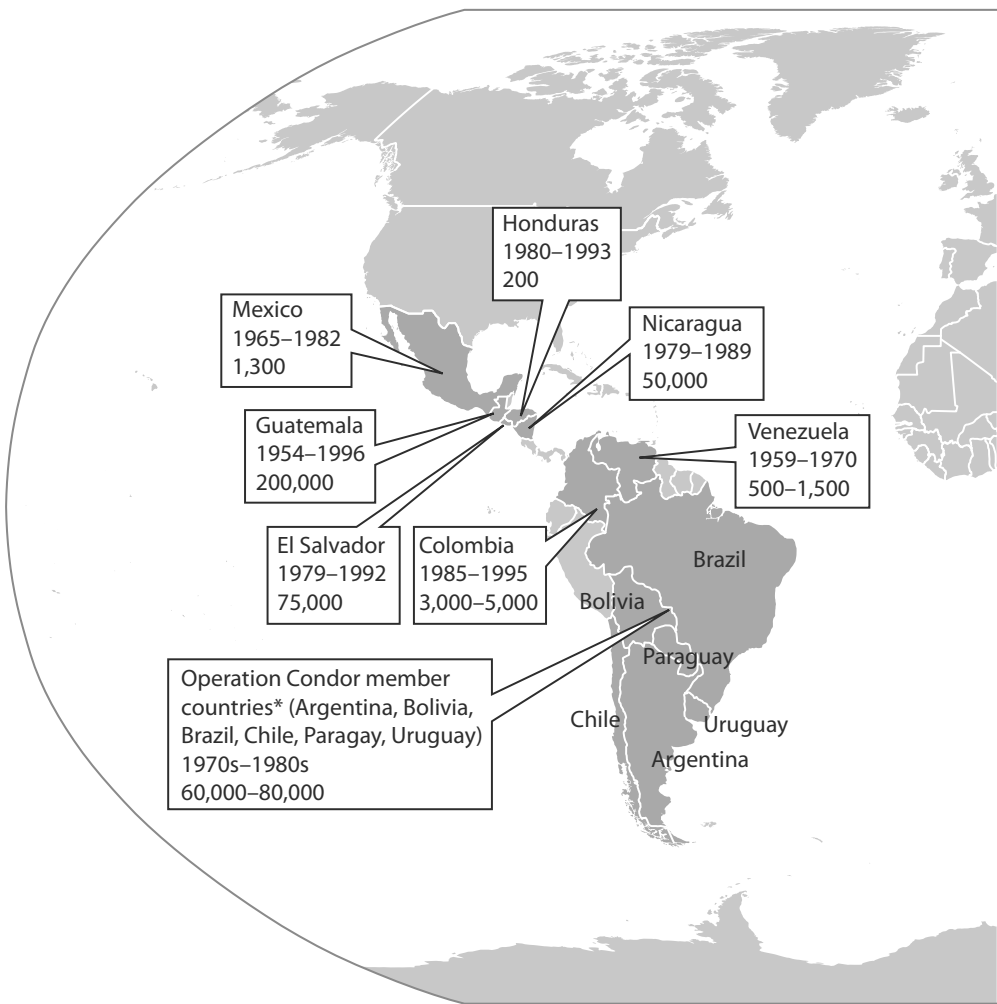
## Global Inequality, 1960-2017



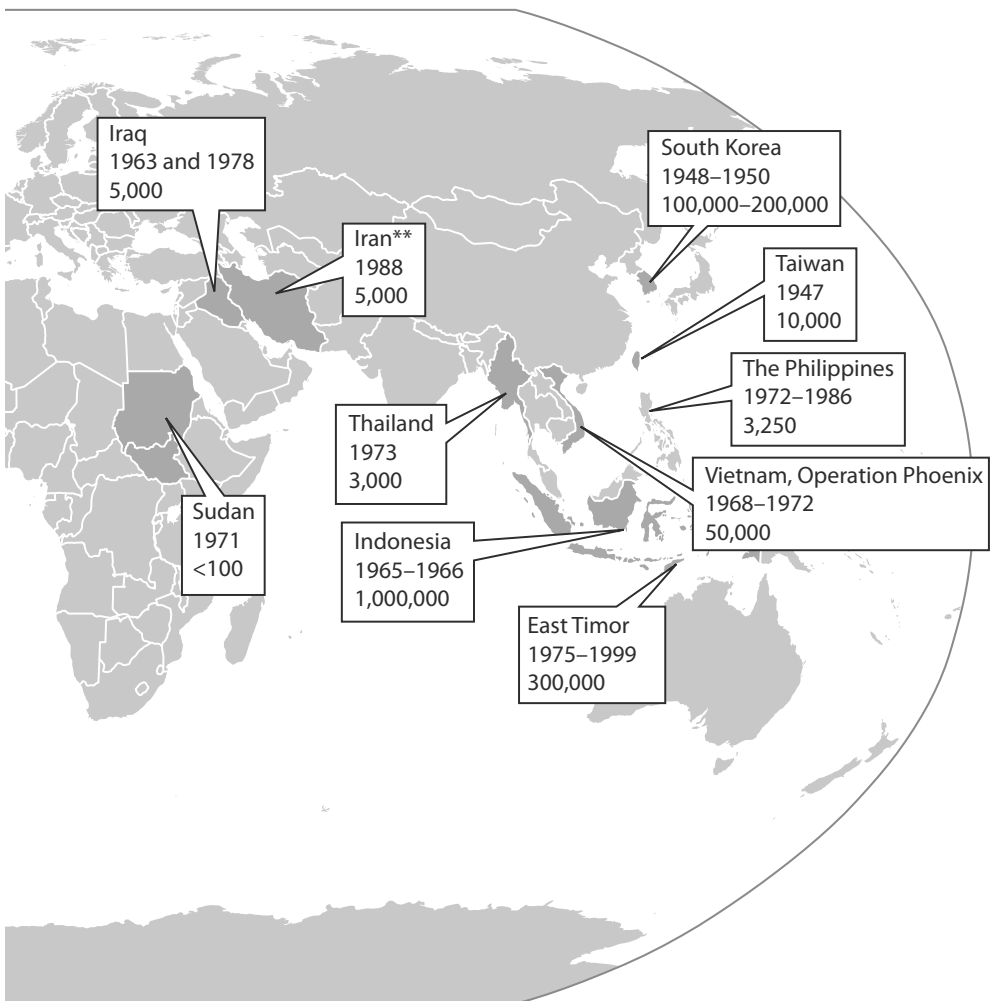
This graph is reproduced with permission from Jason Hickel, *The Divide* (William Heinemann, 2017).

# Appendix 5

## Anticommunist Extermination Programs, 1945–2000



The map above illustrates intentional mass murder carried out to eliminate leftists or accused leftists, and does not include deaths from regular war, collateral damage from military engagements, or unintentional deaths (starvation, disease) caused by anticommunist governments.



\* Operation Condor itself was concerned with cross-border operations, which killed 400–500. This graphic includes all domestic violence employed by states that were part of the anticommunist alliance undergirding Condor.

\*\* Please note that in this one case, the violence was carried out by a geopolitical rival of the United States, not by an ally.” The first sentence will be moved to the map notes page.