

Usman Janatin and Harun Thohir: A Deep Heroic Story of Indonesia-Malaysia Confrontation (1963-1968) for High School History Materials

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ABSTRACT

This study discusses the crucial role of Usman Janatin and Harun Thohir in the confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia in the 1963–1968 period, presenting an in-depth perspective for understanding history at the Class XII high school level. As the two central figures in this conflict, Usman Janatin and Harun Thohir are in the spotlight, presenting stories of heroism and service that shape the history of relations between the two countries. Data was collected through literature study, document analysis, and interviews. Through content analysis which consists of four steps, namely data procurement, unit determination, recording/coding, inference, and data analysis. This article provides a comprehensive picture of the Indonesia-Malaysia confrontation and the cultural, political and military roles played by Usman Janatin and Harun Thohir. It is hoped that this article will be a valuable resource for Class XII high school students who are studying regional history, providing deeper insight into the period of confrontation and its impact on the two countries. By exploring this heroic story, it is hoped that it can motivate students to better appreciate the spirit of patriotism and devotion to their homeland, as well as increase their understanding of the dynamics of relations between countries in the context of modern history.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The development of history material in high school has several significant interests. Historical material helps students understand the roots and development of national identity and national identity. By studying history, students can understand the values, culture, and struggles that shaped their society. History also opens students' global horizons. Through learning world history, students can understand relations between nations, global events, and their impact on political, economic and social developments. The study of history involves developing critical analytical skills. Students are taught to assess and interpret historical sources, understand cause and effect, and develop their critical thinking skills.

Historical material includes events related to human rights, democracy, and civic values. By understanding political history, students can better appreciate and participate in the democratic process. Through understanding history, students can learn from past mistakes and prevent unwanted repetition. This can apply in the context of political policies, interstate conflicts, or social issues. The study of history also helps improve students' cultural literacy. They can understand the origins and evolution of their own culture, and appreciate the diversity of cultures in the world. An understanding of history provides a strong foundation for students' personality and career development. Analytical, critical skills and an understanding historical context can be very useful in a variety of professional fields.

The study of history can strengthen students' sense of pride and patriotism because they recognize and appreciate the contributions of heroes and important events in their nation's history. By paying attention to the importance of developing historical material in high school, history education can make a significant contribution in forming a generation that is more informed, critical and responsible for their future and society as a whole.

The Indonesian people achieved independence on August 17, 1945, but this is not a guarantee that capitalism and imperialism will also disappear from the lives of the Indonesian people. The existence of capitalism and imperialism in Indonesia has also brought in new ideas that have developed a lot in America and Europe. Democracy is a system of government in a country where citizens have rights, obligations, positions, and power both in carrying out their lives and participating in government and politics (Rose & Miller, 1992; Morlino, 2004; Mauk, 2021). In essence, power comes from the people, is used by the people, and is for the people too, because the people use their full voting rights and freedom in political life according to the law.

According to Soekarno (in Hauswedell, 1973), Indonesia must adhere to democracy in accordance with the identity of the Indonesian nation. Not imitating the democracy that was born in the West. In subsequent developments, through a Presidential Decree of July 5, 1959, guided democracy was born in Indonesia (Fakih, 2013; Juwono, 2018; Wisnaeni & Herawati, 2020). With Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as the legal basis. The impact of guided democracy was President Soekarno's full power, and his political competitors seemed dictatorial or authoritarian (Argenti & Istiningdias, 2017). Soekarno was able to carry out all policies that were considered correct and brought Indonesia to stand on its own two feet (*Berdikari*) without help or intervention from foreign parties, but President Soekarno had the support of the Indonesian military (Ellis, 2002; Hasudungan, 2021; Ahmad & Fadillah, 2021). As for the bold policies that had been carried out by Soekarno, namely during the struggle for West Irian and the Indonesia-Malaysia Confrontation.

In the 1960s, there were two major groups in world politics that competed with each other after the Second World War ended. The first is the Eastern Bloc, namely the Russian Soviet Union (USSR) with its ideology, namely, Communist Socialism, and the second is the Western Bloc, led by the United States (US) with its Liberal Capitalist ideology (Graebner, 1960; Cox, 1984; Li, 2020). These two countries bring their own ideological influences to all parts of the world. The competition between the two strongest countries in the world can be felt by all countries down to the Southeast Asian region, including Indonesia.

At the beginning of independence, Indonesia was more inclined to relate to the West Bloc compared to the East Bloc as part of its strategy to attract the sympathy of the United States in the conflict over sovereignty between Indonesia and the Netherlands. The conflict could be resolved through diplomacy by the United States under the Round Table Conference (KMB) agreement signed on December 27, 1949 (Lindblad, 2008; Dasfordate et al., 2019; Ubayanto et al., 2020).

However, relations between Indonesia and the United States became heated along with the Dutch seizure of West Irian. As a result, Indonesia turned to the Soviet Union in an effort to seize West Irian, which was still occupied by the Dutch (Pauker, 1962; Brown, 1976; McGregor & Hearman, 2017). The Soviet Union helped Indonesia by providing more than what the United States had previously provided, such as military equipment, fighter planes, and submarines, and sending pilots for training.

After the completion of this conflict, a new conflict reappeared, namely the formation of the Federation of Malaysia.

Malaya won its independence on August 31, 1957, and Indonesia welcomed this independence. However, the idea of uniting British colonial lands such as Sarawak, Singapore, Brunei, Malaya, and Sabah (the northern part of Kalimantan) to become one unit raised suspicions about Indonesia (Hindley, 1964; Sulaiman, 2018; Irshanto et al., 2019). The basis for the formation of the Malaysian Federation was the similarity of the problems experienced by the countries of Malaya and Singapore and the desire of the British to find a solution regarding the future of their colonial territories in the north of the island of Borneo, such as Sabah, Brunei, and Sarawak.

President Soekarno suspected that there was a re-investment of power in the Southeast Asian region by the Western Bloc. Indonesia's position will be surrounded by neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism. The concern is the birth of a new style of colonialism that will potentially threaten the stability of the country. In addition, Indonesia has a position as New *Emerging Forces* (Nefo) will be pinned down by the enemy nation, Old *Established Forces* (Oldefo), namely Australia and New Zealand to the south and Malaysia to the north (Mustikawati, 2020). This is what prompted Indonesia to implement a policy of confrontation against Malaysia. It was announced directly by Subandrio as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia regarding the politics of Indonesia's confrontation with Malaysia, namely on January 20, 1963.

The Philippines also rejects the formation of a Federation of Malaysia and claims Sabah is its territory. Therefore, President Macapagal sent a letter for negotiations with the British government regarding the Sabah region. However, the results of the negotiations failed. On July 7–11, 1963, a meeting between Indonesia, Malaya, and the Philippines was held in Manila. Indonesia and the Philippines agreed to the formation of the Malaysian Federation if indeed it was based on the right of self-determination determined by the people's authority, which is impartial and free.

However, in the implementation of the taking of these rights, there was interference from the United Nations. The Secretary-General of the United Nations sent teams of workers to exercise the right to self-determination, while Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines could only send observers to North Kalimantan when the right to self-determination was in effect. Until September 16, 1963, the Federation of Malaysia was officially established. The next day, September 17, 1963, Indonesia broke off diplomatic relations with Malaysia. The impact of this incident was anti-Indonesian demonstrators in Kuala Lumpur who stormed the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia, tore up a photo of President Soekarno, brought the Garuda Pancasila symbol to be stepped on by Prime Minister Tengku Abdul Rahman because of Soekarno's anger over the act of stepping on the Garuda Pancasila symbol, and then launched a movement known as Ganyang Malaysia. Demonstrations carrying banners bearing the words "Ganyang Malaysia" and Tengku Abdul Rahman were hanged because he was a Neo-Colonialism henchman who seized the Singapore Embassy, seized the Singapore diplomat's house, and burned the British Embassy (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2014).

President Soekarno held a large meeting on May 3, 1964, in Jakarta. Announced an order for the formation of the Dwi People's Command to strengthen the resilience of the Indonesian revolution. The order to form Dwikora was not to set up a dispute with Malaysia but as a form of struggle to expel British power from Asia and for the sake of increasing a sense of patriotism, militancy, and the spirit of nationalism. The Founding Fathers are the heroic characters of pedagogical and collectivist historical dramaturgy. They show courage and genius that are endemic to the standard archetypal hero and endure as a national symbol that must be emulated to ensure national collective survival (McNamara, 2019). They are perceived as a group of unique and brilliant people who come together organically (democratically) to achieve the extraordinary. Selflessness, foresight, and enlightened action have driven men to war and continue to strengthen the hearts of patriots.

The research carried out by Fikri (2019) was entitled *Sejarah Lokal Riau untuk Pengembangan Materi Ajar Sejarah Indonesia Kelas XI SMA* (Local History of Riau for the Development of Indonesian History Teaching Materials for Class XI SMA) explained that the aim of developing history teaching materials

is for students to know and understand historical events that occurred in their area in the past. Students can directly relate it to current conditions and even project it into the future. The descriptions of national history and world history that are being taught are linked to examples from past events. Meanwhile, research conducted by (Hasudungan, 2021a) entitled *Dwifungsi ABRI dalam Politik Indonesia sebagai Materi Pengayaan Pembelajaran Sejarah Indonesia Kelas XII* (The Dual Function of ABRI in Indonesian Politics as Enrichment Material for Class XII Indonesian History Learning), explains that enrichment material is additional material for students who have mastered the basic material mentioned in Basic Competencies. Creating enrichment materials must pay attention to the basic competencies being studied and the time they are given. Providing students with enrichment material is able to develop critical thinking, historical thinking and historical consciousness. Even in pragmatic terms, students can answer HOTS (Higher Order Thinking Skills) questions and master advanced level material. The results of research from Agustina (2019) entitled *Soekarno, Nasakom, dan buku Di Bawah Bendera Revolusi sebagai materi ajar pelajaran sejarah SMA* (Soekarno, Nasakom, and the book Under the Flag of Revolution as teaching material for high school history lessons), show that history learning should not be a means of justifying a fact or event by relating whether the historical event is true or false but is more oriented towards instilling values that can be absorbed by students from these events. With richer references, students are expected to be able to understand that every ideology has advantages and disadvantages. Nasakom is not just Soekarno's concept but also an ideology that he tried to implement even though it failed.

In the midst of a tense confrontation, a hero from Dwikora named Harun bin Said appears. Harun bin Said, also known as Harun Tohir, joined the Marine Command Corps as a member with the rank of Soldier KKO II (Prako) and received training in the Riau area for five months. Harun and his colleague Usman Janatin managed to complete the task by blowing up the MacDonald House building as a sign of the climax of the heated confrontation. MacDonald House was chosen because it is located in the bustling centre of Singapore, which is inhabited by officers, British private workers, and foreign nationals. Behind this success, Harun was caught by the Singaporean military when he was trying to escape. Harun was sentenced to death by hanging. Because of his struggle, Harun received appreciation from the Indonesian government, namely President Soeharto. The award is in the form of an honorary Bintang Sakti and is designated as a national hero. In addition, the name Harun was enshrined by the TNI as the name of the warship of the Republic of Indonesia, namely KRI Usman Harun 395, which is one of the guards for the North Natuna waters. Based on this description, the researcher conducted a study in depth about the figure of Harun bin Said, from his life background and early career in joining the military to his role as a KKO troop in resolving the Indonesian-Malaysian confrontation, which the writer will write in the form of a thesis entitled *Usman Janatin and Harun Thohir: a heroic story in the Indonesian-Malaysian confrontation (1963–1968) as enrichment material for class XII Indonesian history*.

2. METHODS

This research method is descriptive-qualitative, using a content analysis approach (Sugiyono, 2017). Data collection techniques are literature study, document analysis and interviews. Content analysis techniques are used to emphasize the consistency of communication content, the meaning of communication content, the reading of symbols and the meaning of the content of symbolic interactions that occur in communication. Based on the description above, the primary sources in this research are archives such as presidential decrees, presidential command mandates, attachments to presidential decrees of the Republic of Indonesia obtained from the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia as well as personal documents obtained from the family and heirs of Harun bin Said in Bawean is like a handwritten letter from Harun bin Said. In this study, there are no oral sources for primary data because the figures appointed have died. The secondary source in this research is Harun bin Said's nephew and heir, Muhammad Salim, who knows more or less the life story or background of Harun bin Said. Apart from that, the author also interviewed a veteran figure from the Riau Islands who had fought as a Dwikora

soldier and was detained in the same cell as Harun bin Said in Singapore, named Herman Thio. The third resource person was the chairman of the Batam City Republic of Indonesia Veterans Legion who was once the regional commander in the dual-kora operation named Putri Kaligis. The fourth resource person was Corporal Sudibyo, who also served as a Dwikora soldier and was held in a cell in Singapore for three years. Apart from interviews, researchers used books related to the Indonesia-Malaysia confrontation which were obtained from several libraries in North Sumatra and Batam City.

In this work, the author uses the method of writing history. According to Ismaun (2004), the steps for writing history are divided into four categories as follows: heuristics. Specifically, the effort to trace, look for, and find historical sources such as material, written, and oral. Historical sources can be classified into several groups. There are formal and informal sources. There are also primary and secondary sources. Specifically, it is an attempt to assess historical sources and want, find, or approach the truth from historical sources (Habsari, Basri, & Ekwandari, 2021). Writers can also compare written and oral data sources in the writing process. Historical sources will be criticized internally and externally to obtain facts that are by the problem of writing. The first is external, namely writing on the origin of the source, checking heritage records, or determining whether the historical heritage has been repaired or not. Meanwhile, internal criticism examines the inside of the source, namely the content. The author must examine the contents of the data source before making it writing material. The purpose of this stage is to find out whether or not the source is related to the author's problem. Historiography or historical writing specifically, the process of compiling the writing results obtained so that they become a unified whole in a logical and systematic written form, namely a thesis whose truth can be accounted for. This is the last stage, which is a critical and imaginative reconstruction of the past, where writing can be presented when it has passed the three previous stages.

In this writing, the triangulation technique is used to check the validity of the data that the author will find from the results of interviews with other sources, which will then be confirmed through documentation studies related to this writing. If the three data collection techniques produce different data, then the author's task of checking the data source must include further discussions or observations of the data source to ensure that the data is considered correct. Based on the description above, the purpose of this essay is to describe the heroic story of Usman Janatin and Harun Thohir in the Indonesia-Malaysia Confrontation of 1963–1968 as enrichment material for Indonesian history class XII by a credibility test through the triangulation technique.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. *Enrichment Materials*

Enrichment at school is what students do to see subjects more deeply or from a different perspective. Teachers can encourage students to do further writing on a subject by reading books or doing additional writing on the internet. Enrichment is something that all students should be able to benefit from and helps to make the course more meaningful, memorable, and useful. This is because enrichment activities allow children to explore subjects in greater depth and use their imaginations in ways, they may not be able to in traditional lessons. Successful enrichment programs will prepare children with the life skills they will need in everyday life as adults, soft skills such as time management and teamwork that are respected by employers and universities, and opportunities to discover more about their interests.

As general enrichment allows children to explore, research, and discover new things, so does reading enrichment. Interest in reading offers children the opportunity to read widely for their pleasure, challenge themselves, and discover what they like to read (Hasudungan, 2021b). Reading enriches a child's experience with reading and helps improve key language skills at the same time. Some schools may incorporate reading enrichment into the reading curriculum, encouraging children to read a variety of classic literature, poetry, informational texts, and more. Focusing on reading enrichment allows interested readers to thrive. It also helps struggling readers expand their library and become more confident readers.

3.2. Planning an Enrichment Program

Students in senior secondary education units should get activities that will encourage their critical thinking. These activities can include anything that requires children to be involved in problem-solving. Math games can be great critical thinking activities. One of the most valuable skills students will learn through completing critical thinking activities is persistence. This activity teaches kids to stick with a problem until they figure it out instead of giving up when it gets tough.

In this context, class XII students who were considered to have mastered the compulsory (general) material in Indonesian history subjects were given enrichment material on Usman Janatin and Harun Thohir, heroic stories in the Indonesia-Malaysia confrontation (1963–1968). It's just because of the narrative and justification from Singapore and its people that Usman Janatin and Harun Thohir are terrorists (Hamid & Saparudin, 2014; Ganesan, 2015). So the writer, as a teacher of Indonesian history, feels the need to explain critically and at the same time refute these accusations. It is possible that for the State of Singapore and the people, it is considered true that Usman Janata and Harun Thohir are terrorists. But of course, for the Indonesian people, this is not true; in the concept of confrontation, it may be carried out by sabotage, as was done by Usman and Harun.

Confrontation is a hostile condition between two or more countries that occurs as a result of the incompatibility of different interests between the two countries. So that is the purpose of this confrontation as a means to achieve the goals of each country. The nature of the confrontation is that it involves a conflict of interests, views, and ideologies and the ability to resolve the conflict. Confrontation can occur both on a small scale and on a large scale, between a number of people or entire nations or cultures. Confrontation can be described as a clash of forces involving either one person or many, and the cause of chaos is internal. Blowing up the MacDonald House building is a sign of the climax of the heated confrontation.



Figure 1. MacDonald House Building Blown Up (Boey, 2014)

The magnificent building located in the center of Singapore is the MacDonald House (MHD). This building is on Orchard Road which is not far from the Singapore Presidential Palace.

Initially, Harun, Usman and Gani were going to blow up a water pipe stretching along the sea in Singapore which they saw when they landed. But one of them, I don't remember who didn't agree with just blowing up water pipes. They came all the way to Singapore when they just blew up a water pipe, said one of them. "That's why they decided to look for a more appropriate target to shock Singapore, the Federation and England" (Interview with Mr Herman Thio, Harun's cellmate at Changi Prison on 8-9 March 2021 in Batam City)

This was also confirmed by Corporal Sudibyo as Harun's cellmate when he was detained at Changi Prison.

Harun and Usman initially planned to blow up a water pipe. This water pipe is a clean water pipe for the needs of the local community with a diameter of approximately two meters. This clean water pipe runs along Johor Baru to Singapore City (Interview with Mr Corporal Sudibyo, a member of the KKO AL who once shared a cell with Harun in Changi Prison on April 21 2021).

MacDonald House is the first high-rise building in Singapore. This 10-story building was built in 1949 and was designed by Reginald Eye of the Palmer and Turner Architectural Firm. This building was originally named Malcolm MacDonald by the Governor General of Malaya. This building, located on Orchard Road, is the first fully AC building in Southeast Asia, located in the city center. MacDonald House is used as an office building for major world companies from Australia, America, England as well as the Australian High Commissioner and Japanese Consultants.

3.3. Indonesian Perspective: Usman Janatin and Harun Thohir: Heroic Stories in the Indonesia-Malaysia Confrontation (1963-1968)

The hero plays a role in each nation's founding narrative, embodying the group's strength and courage, its dedication to protecting all who live in it, and its most important traditions and promises. Yet hero images and tropes have not received the attention they deserve in the social science literature on nation and nationalism. Recent theories about character work—the rhetorical constructs of heroes, villains, victims, and lackeys—reveal the challenges of building inclusive nationalism in postcolonial nations. The very definition of a hero may change over time, especially if they have lost some of their greatness (Zuern & Jasper, 2020).

In October 1968, two Indonesian marines were executed for detonating a bomb at the McDonald House along Orchard Road three years earlier, which killed three people and injured 33. Their appeal to the Privy Council was rejected. Before being executed, two marines, Usman Mohammad Ali and Harun Said, had asked to meet with the victim's family and apologize.

Harun bin Said is one of the figures fighting for the confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia. This Bawean-born fighter has the real name Tohir bin Mahdar. From childhood to adolescence, Harun's nickname was Tohir. The name Harun is the name used as a pseudonym when carrying out military sabotage in Singapore. Meanwhile, bin Said is an additional name that Harun got while working in Singapore. Harun was adopted as a child by Haji Said. Bawean Island is one of the remote islands in Gresik Regency, East Java Province. It was on this island that Harun was born, namely on April 14 1943. Born to a husband and wife couple named Mahdar and Aswiyani (Interview with Mr Muhammad Salim as Harun bin Said's heir on March 19 2021).

Harun is a brother and sister figure with a high level of affection for his siblings. Harun is known to like helping, not only his family, but also the local village residents. Harun was once punished by being tied up to provide a deterrent effect for stealing rice. Harun stole from his family's rice barn just to help his less fortunate neighbors.

In the past, Harun was caught stealing rice. Secretly entering the rice barn of her family, namely Salimah, who lives in Pongkok village, Tambak District, Kepu Teluk. This village is in a mountainous area. Luckily he was still a close family member, so it only had a deterrent effect. Harun's intentions were good, because he wanted to distribute rice to poor people. Coincidentally, the family that owns the rice barn has quite a lot of rice (Interview with Mr Muhammad Salim as Harun bin Said's heir on 19 March 2021).

Indonesia was in confrontation with the formation of Malaysia, of which Singapore was a part before becoming an independent republic in 1965. Sukarno, who saw the incipient Federation of Malaysia as a British post-colonial "lackey", initiated the Confrontation and had an arrogant attitude towards Singapore. Recounting the meeting during a visit to Indonesia in 1960, former Singaporean

Ambassador to Indonesia Mr Lee Khoo Choy (in Faisal, 2018), observed Soekarno's behavior towards the Singapore delegation led by Mr Lee Kuan Yew: "He (Soekarno) was serious and brief when talk to Lee Kuan Yew. They spoke Indonesian for about twenty minutes, then he got up, shook our hands, and walked back into the room without noticing the courtesy of sending us to the door. My impression of Soekarno from this experience was that he was arrogant, treating us as delegates from small ones who pay tribute to him.

The bomb attack on Orchard Road is a historical fact, and the latest decision to name the Navy frigate KRI Usman Harun not only opens old wounds but again requires Singapore to ascertain exactly what Indonesia's strategic goals are. As a further insult to Singapore's sovereignty, following the return of the bodies of the two marines to Jakarta in 1968, 400 uniformed students searched the Singapore Embassy and ambassador's residence in the process of burning the Singapore flag. Then-foreign minister Adam Malik then asked for calm by stating that he did not want retaliation against Singapore (Sebastian, 2014).

So, how should Indonesia better understand Singapore's position in the matter of naming warships after these two marines? The Singapore Government's statement on 7 February stressed that the matter had been closed in May 1973 when Former PM Lee Kuan Yew laid flowers on the graves of the two marines (Tuan, 1996). The decision to name the ship after an Indonesian hero is final, and Indonesia considers the two countries to have long resolved the issue after Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's visit to the heroes' graves and the sprinkling of flowers on Usman and Harun's graves.



Figure 2. Lee Kuan Yew at the Cemetery of Heroes Usman and Harun (Wahab, 2014)

The background to Usman and Harun's meeting is an interesting thing to discuss and describe. On Sambu Island, Harun met Usman Janatin and Gani Bin Raoep. The three of them will be combined into one team to carry out sabotage in Singapore. Usman Janatin is also a volunteer from KKO-AL. Usman joined the KKO-AL troops in the 10th class in 1962. Like Harun, Usman also started his education at the KKO-AL Private Candidate School (Secatamko) in Malang, East Java⁸⁹. At that time Usman held the rank of Corporal II KKOAL. Before joining the Dwikora troops, Usman had previously carried out the Sadar Operation which was sent to West Irian.

Harun, who had joined KKO-AL, heard news about the recruitment of volunteers. To become a volunteer soldier, Harun was required to undergo training so Harun was sent to Sambu Island in the Riau Islands. At that time, Astiah, the cousin who lived with Harun in Jakarta, did not know that Harun would carry out his duties as a Dwikora troop who would be sent to Sambu Island. At that time, Harun was picked up by 4 men with tall bodies and hairstyles that were identical to those of the military (Interview with Mr Muhamad Salim as Harun bin Said's heir on March 19 2021).

However, continuing to justify Usman and Harun's actions as heroic and insisting that a frigate named Usman-Harun not only hits raw nerves in Singapore but sends all the wrong signals about the value Indonesia places on bilateral relations. Former Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa has stated that there was no bad intention behind naming the warship after the two marines. The crux of the matter is whether we trust each other's long-term intentions (BBC Indonesia, 2014). It is difficult for the Indonesian government to back down from its decision to name warships after two marines, which is now a common problem in Indonesia. Moreover, two marines, namely Usman and Harun, have been designated as national heroes by President Soeharto.

3.4. The Indonesian Confrontation and its Effects on Singapore

The Confrontation Period (1963–1966) saw Indonesia using military force to engage in acts of sabotage and terrorism against the states that comprised the Federation of Malaysia, namely Malaya, Singapore, and the former British territories of North Kalimantan (now Sabah) and Sarawak (Arifina, 1994; Kusmayadi, 2017). The MacDonald Building bombing is an example of this policy of intimidation, which Indonesian President Soekarno championed as he opposed the creation of Malaysia, which he saw as a cover for the continuation of colonial influence and rule in the region.

Haji Mohamed Ali and Harun bin Said arrived in Singapore on March 10, 1965, at around 11 o'clock. Disguised as civilians, they proceeded into the MacDonald House building and each planted a bundle of explosives in the mezzanine floor stairs near the lift area. After the fuse was lit, they left the building at around 15:00 and got on a bus. An eyewitness testified that he saw a canvas Malayan Airways travel bag on the mezzanine floor that made a hissing sound with smoke coming out of it.

The bomb exploded at 3:07 p.m., tearing open the elevator doors while the inner wall of the mezzanine floor took the full force of the explosion. Windows within a hundred meters of the building were shattered, and the explosion damaged nearly every car parked outside the building. The Hongkong and Shanghai Bank housed in the building had closed for business just seven minutes earlier, and 150 employees had closed their accounts when the explosion occurred. Witnesses described a sudden flash followed by an explosion. The explosion was strong enough to shatter the pillars of the building and expose the steel reinforcements inside. Later inspection of the building showed that 20 to 25 lb (9–11 kg) of nitroglycerine explosives were used for the bomb.

Death, damage, and aftermath two bank employees were killed instantly by the explosion: 36-year-old private secretary Elizabeth (Suzie) Choo and 23-year-old assistant secretary Juliet Goh. The third victim, Mohammed Yasin bin Kesit, 45, a driver for the Malaya Borneo community building, died several days later in a coma after the explosion. About 33 other people were injured in the explosion, with some being treated at the general hospital while others were receiving outpatient treatment (Nirmala, 2014).

After succeeding in blowing up the MacDonald House building, Harun made himself safe for a while. The next day, March 11, 1965, Harun negotiated again with his colleagues about how to return to Sambu Island quickly. Harun must find a way out carefully because, since the bombing, Singapore has been under much stricter police guard to find the perpetrators of the bombing. The tight guard was different from when Harun entered Singapore. They planned to go back and blow up an apartment building not far from the first bombing.

However, because the explosives carried were lacking and coupled with increasingly tighter security, the plan was aborted. So deciding to return to headquarters was the best way to report on the success of Aaron blowing up the MacDonald House. The three of them decided to return to Sambu Island. But to reduce suspicion, they agreed to return by finding their way. Gani will find his way, while Harun and Usman will move together because Usman does not know the layout or way out of Singapore at all. Meanwhile, Harun is used to Singapore and knows it well. The first to reach Sambu Island was tasked with conveying the results of the Singaporean sabotage to the commander.

However, on the way home, Harun and Usman didn't move together; they kept their distance but on the same road so as not to arouse suspicion by Singaporean security officers. Harun plans to return

to the point where they first arrived in Singapore, namely the coastal area directly adjacent to Sambu Island, to try to break through the coast. Unexpectedly, it turned out that the beach was heavily guarded at that time, so their plan failed. It was considered impossible to break through the coast, so Harun decided to return to Singapore via the port. However, this effort is not as easy as one might imagine because the Singapore police carry out patrols by checking anyone who is going in and out of Singapore. Thanks to training and experience in the field of intelligence, they can pass the inspection.

At trial, both Usman and Harun denied the charges. The two reasoned that the action was not of their own volition but an action that had to be taken because it was in a war situation. Usman and Harun also asked the court to treat them as prisoners of war (Raditya, 2018). Like the first examination, more severe torture was given to the two during the examination process. Physical violence was used to force Harun to admit what he had done.

The interrogation succeeded in making Harun admit that he had blown up the MacDonald House building, and then Harun was transferred to Changi Prison 106. This prison has 5 floors, and each floor has 100 doors. Harun was detained for a long time, from March 13, 1964, to October 3, 1965. In the end, Harun underwent trial on October 4, 1965, at the Singapore High Court. At that time, Singapore was no longer a member of the Malaysian Federation. Singapore officially left on August 9, 1965. So Singapore has the full right to deal with this bombing case. With Harun's confession as the perpetrator of the MacDonald House bombing, the Singapore High Court was able to sentence Harun in the trial. This trial lasted for 17 days, ending on October 20, 1965.

Harun can submit a request before the trial is carried out. Harun has requested to be tried as a prisoner of war by the chairman of the assembly. Referred to as "relative to the treatment of prisoners of war." Not without reason, because in reality, Harun is carrying out a state task, namely, carrying out a confrontational movement between Indonesia and Malaysia. However, the request was rejected by the chairman of the assembly session. The judiciary will not be able to try Harun if he is declared a prisoner of war as stipulated in the 1949 Geneva Convention III. Another reason for the chairman's refusal was that Harun was caught not wearing a military uniform and did not have an identity card, so the activities he carried out were illegal not carry out the mission of a country.

The High Court stated that Harun had lost his right to be declared a prisoner of war. The explosion of the MacDonald House building is also considered to not correlate with war relations. Harun's actions were entirely illegal acts of terror and sabotage. Of course, the Indonesian government does not remain silent on this matter. The government is looking for a way, in the form of legal assistance, to defend Harun in this matter. Harun got a lawyer named A. J. Braga, who has an office at Level II Frince Street (Instor) in Singapore.



Figure 3. Usman and Harun Arrested and Their Bodies (Delta, 2019)

On October 15, 1965, the Indonesian government sent an envoy to Singapore to save Usman and Harun's fate. However, the attempt failed and 5 days later, both of them were sentenced to death. Effort after effort was made so that Usman and Harun could avoid death. However, until the last hope of submitting a request for clemency from the then President of Singapore, Yusof bin Ishak, it still did not produce results. In fact, the Indonesian government's request, which hoped that Usman and Harun could be reunited with their families before the death sentences were carried out, was also not granted.

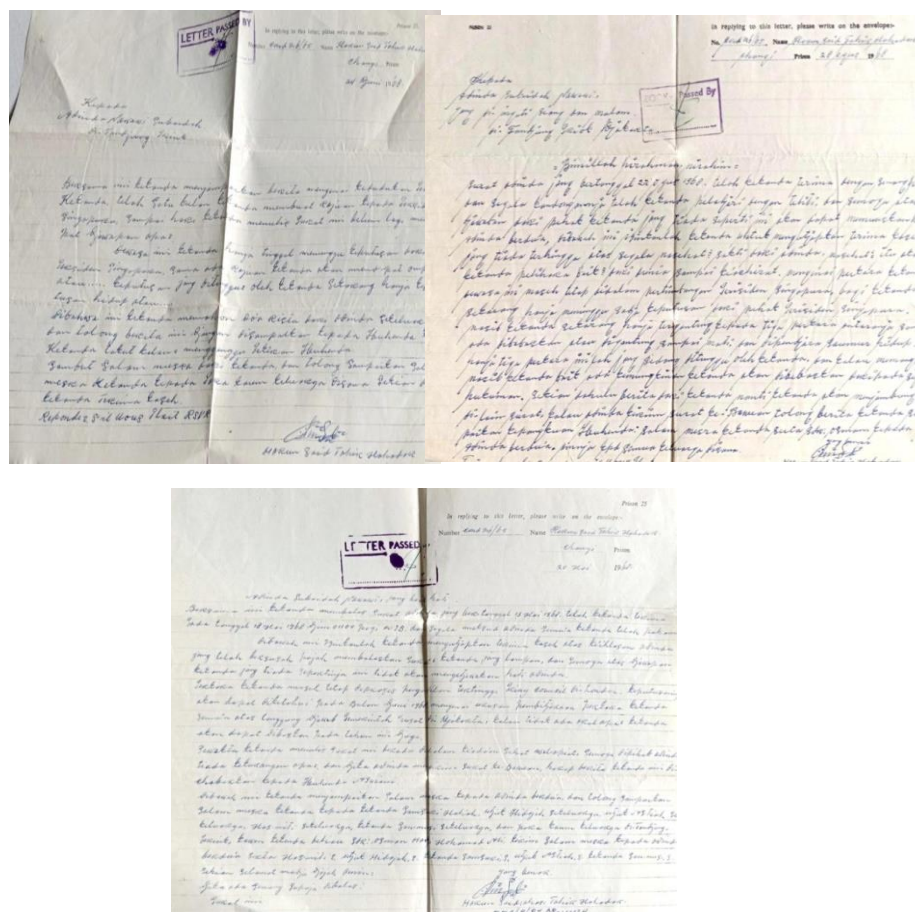


Figure 4. Harun bin Said's Personal Letter One Day before the Execution of the Death Penalty

And finally, the day of execution came. At 06.00 am Singapore time, on 17 October 1968, Usman and Harun were hanged at Changi Prison. In the afternoon, the bodies of the two were returned to their homeland and buried at the Kalibata Heroes Cemetery. That same day, President Soeharto immediately awarded the titles of national heroes to both of them. A Hercules was flown to pick up Usman and Harun's bodies. They were posthumously raised one grade. They also received a sacred star, the highest award in the republic. After arriving in Jakarta, nearly a million people accompanied their bodies from Kemayoran, the Defense and Security Headquarters to the Kalibata Heroes Cemetery. Everyone wept over the fate of these two soldiers and cursed Singapore.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Two members of the Operational Command Corps (KKO), or Indonesian marines, volunteered to carry out acts of sabotage in Singapore, which at that time was still part of Malaysia. They detonated a bomb at MacDonald House on March 10, 1965, killing three people and injuring dozens of others. Usman and Harun are considered Indonesian national heroes who fought for the sovereignty and

dignity of the nation. They were buried in the Kalibata Heroes' Cemetery, Jakarta and their names were immortalized as the names of streets, mosques and warships. The article conveys the deep heroic story of two figures, Usman Janatin and Harun Thohir, in the context of the confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia in the period 1963–1968. This article is intended as historical material for high school students, which may provide in-depth insight into this historical event and the role played by these two figures in the context of the conflict between these countries. This article looks to explore historical details that are relevant and important for students' understanding of Indonesia-Malaysia relations at that time. This research tends to use Indonesian historiography and perspectives rather than Singapore predominantly. This can be considered a weakness and deficiency. Apart from that, R&D or quantitative research is needed to determine the effectiveness of this history material for class XII history learning in high school.

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