RESEARCH ARTICLE

Freedom and Complicity: The Case of Horison and Solidarity, two Congress for Cultural Freedom Journals in Southeast Asia

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The current project is a two-pronged study of *Horison* (Indonesia) and *Solidarity* (Philippines), two journals funded by the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) during the Cold War in its quest to mount a cultural offensive against the rising threat of communism in Southeast Asia. The first part of the project deals with what Ang Cheng Guan sees as the case of the Cold War ceasing to be an actual historical event and, in turn, transforming into an "object" of historical inquiry (1–17). To this end, the article will provide a short account of both journals' genesis and history during the Cold War's peak in the region. Through the use of computer-aided methods, the second part will attempt a "closer" reading of selected editorials from 1966 to 1976 in order to shed light on specific discursive-ideological aspects (i.e., anti-communist intimations) evinced by both journals and their progenitors.

Keywords: anti-communism, freedom, complicity, Horison, Solidarity, Cold War, Southeast Asia

The Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Cultural Cold War

Founded in West Berlin in 1950, the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) was an anti-communist organization that aimed to challenge the burgeoning hegemony of the USSR in the field of culture. With former members, such as ex-communists Arthur Koestler and Ignazio Silone; non-communist leftists like Melvin Lasky and Bertrand Russell; and liberals like Raymond Aron and Karl Jaspers, the organization marked, in many ways, a seismic shift in the alignments of numerous artists, writers, and intellectuals thrust into the trenches of the coming cultural Cold War. As an organization showered with logistical and financial support from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and other allied intelligence units, the CCF was able to establish offices in 35 countries. As an organization devoted to cultural and political freedom (according to its manifesto), the CCF mainly planned and organized conferences for dissident writers, launched numerous satellite publications, and spearheaded various political campaigns until its dissolution in 1979. Considered a

major player before the US–USSR conflict entered its détente phase, the study of the CCF and its imprints remain an important entry point to the history of the Cold War and anti-communism.

While most literature on the Cold War and anti-communism tend to view both from the lens of political science, economics, and international relations, the recent spate of research on the intellectual and cultural history of the Cold War proves that the topic has carved its way out from its former disciplinal domains. These studies include various analyses of the so-called "Liberal Conspiracy" initiated by the CIA and the CCF, literary and intellectual movements, translations studies, memory and archive studies, among many others. Going further down the line to critical literature centered on the CCF and its role during the Cold War, Peter Coleman's *The Liberal Conspiracy: the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Struggle for the Mind in Postwar Europe* (1989), Frances Stonor Saunders's *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (1999), Charlotte Lerg and Gilles Scott-Smith's *Campaigning Culture and Global Cold War: The Journals of the Congress for Cultural Freedom* (2017), and Kerry Brystrom, Monica Popescu, and Katherine Zein's recent anthology *The Cultural Cold War and the Global South: Sites of Contest and Comunitas* (2021) come to mind as outstanding examples. Parallel and homologous works, on the other hand, such as Mark McGurl's *Program Era: Postwar Fiction and the Rise of Creative Writing* (2009) and Eric Bennett's *Workshops of Empire* (2015) focused on individuals (Paul Engle and Wallace Stegner), institutions/programs (Iowa Writers' Workshop), and organizations (Ford and Rockefeller Foundation) that had ties, however tenuous they were, with the CCF.

Inevitably and understandably so, however, most of these seminal works only focused on Western Europe and the United States as the primary arbiter of the cultural Cold War and the CCF's locus of activity and influence. This is notwithstanding the fact that a number of CCF journals have existed beyond the borders of Europe and the United States. Africa, for instance, had *Black Orpheus* (Nigeria) and still has—though now under the aegis of the Hutchins Center of African American Research at Harvard University—*Transition* (Uganda). Latin America had *Examen* and *Mundo Nuevo*. Asia was also well represented in this regard: *Freedom First* and *Quest* in India, *Jiyu* in Japan, *Sasangge* in South Korea, *Hiwar* in Lebanon, *China Quarterly* in China, *Horison* in Indonesia, and *Solidarity* in the Philippines (Rubin 9–12, 59).

In Lerg and Scott-Smith's 2017 anthology, most of the CCF journals were covered and taken stock of, save for *Horison* and *Solidarity.* This glaring absence is of course not without any proper reason. With articles partitioned per continent, the "Asia-Pacific" section of the anthology were represented by articles on *Jiyu*, *Quest,* and the Australian CCF journal *Quadrant.* On the other hand, while admittedly an anthology with a broader scope, Brystrom, Popescu, and Zein's boast one of the rare, if not the only, scholarly essays on *Solidarity*[1] in the context of the Cold War in Southeast Asia. Be that as it may, the fact persists that the two CCF journals in Southeast Asia have thus so far escaped deeper scrutiny. It is within this conspicuous gap in the extant scholarship on CCF journals that I position this essay. While most Cold War scholarship on Southeast Asia from the West has Vietnam as a primary point of reference (Vu 3), I argue that Indonesia and the Philippines provide a novel vantage point through which the Cold War in the region was waged in the realm of culture and, consequently, how anti-communist discourses were initially articulated and localized in the pages of *Horison* and *Solidarity.* Such gesture and pivot away from the usual focus of scholarship on the Cold War hope to bring to light the finer details eschewed in favor of a bipolar view of the period, the nations, the institutions, and the actors involved in various efforts to spread and legitimize anti-communist discourse in the region. However, this shift in focus should not be misconstrued as an attempt to advocate nuance for nuance's sake. If anything, it provides us with a regional and a comparative vantage point of the cultural Cold War in the Southeast Asia.

The current project is thus a two-pronged preliminary essay that will focus on *Horison* and *Solidarity,* the two only known journals funded by the CCF in Southeast Asia. The first part of the project deals with what Ang Cheng Guan sees as the case of the Cold War ceasing to be an actual historical event and, in turn, transforming into an "object" of historical inquiry (1–17). In the case of this project, the first part's primary focus will be the genesis of both journals and their existence during the Cold War's peak in the region. While an argument can be made regarding the sufficiency of contextualizing both journals' existence as something that transforms them into "objects" of historical inquiry—what with the recent efforts of institutions such as the National

University of Singapore to "reconceptualize" the Cold War by creating an oral archive which documents the lived experiences of Asians[2] during the said period—it must be understood that such designation comes from the fact that *Horison* and *Solidarity*, at least in this article, are deemed as objects which afford researchers (such as myself) something "tangible" from an era otherwise characterized by ambivalent and amorphous political discourse, shifting political and intellectual allegiances, and covert and over cultural campaigns . However, this does not mean that both journals should be treated as unimpeachable sources of truth about the cultural Cold War in Southeast Asia. If anything, as will be later shown in the essay, the histories of both *Horison* and *Solidarity* display various expressions of complicity (i.e., toeing CCF's general anti-communist position) and relative, albeit overdetermined, autonomy (i.e., Sionil Jose's nationalist sentiments). The second part, meanwhile, attempts a closer and deeper reading of selected editor's introductions from the 1960s–1980s in order to shed light on specific discursive-ideological aspects evinced by both journals and their progenitors. The said "closer" and "deeper" reading will be conducted through the use of computer-aided methods. In doing so, the article pivots away from the easy Cold War shibboleths afforded by past scholarship reliant on overly interpretive methods.

Horison: Creative and Intellectual Freedom from the Ashes of Genocide

In July 2016, the Indonesian-language literary journal *Horison* celebrated its 50th anniversary. To commemorate this, the journal's current editorial staff released a video entitled "Kisah Majalah Horison" (The Story of Horison Journal). The tribute video looked back on *Horison*'s rich 50 years of history and its influence on Indonesian literature from 1966 onwards. The video also featured short interviews with Indonesian literary giants such as Sapardi Djoko Damono, Helvy Tiana Rosa, and Goenawan Mohamad,[3] among others.

Nothing about the aforementioned is out of the ordinary. Most journals, especially those that have underscored the relationship of politics and culture, will naturally put stock on their quasi-literary or academic influence and contribution to society. In fact, one can argue that the said tribute is what one would expect from a publication such as *Horison*: a journal that was conceived from the ashes of one of the darkest periods of Indonesian history—the 1965–1966 genocide. Again, this is not something unprecedented. Trailblaizing journals in the field of art, politics, and philosophy such as *Tel Quel, Kontinent*, and many others emerged during times of intense crisis and conflict. However, what really catches the eye is the video's persistent messaging about the journal's role in championing "creative" and "intellectual" freedom.

Creative and intellectual freedom. These are the two pillars that *Horison* rested on throughout its half-century existence. Unsurprisingly, these were also the discursive lodestars of more well-known CCF journals such as *Encounter, Preuves,* and *Tempo Presente*. *Encounter*, for instance, was dubbed by former CIA agent (and head of CCF Secretariat) Michael Josselson "our greatest asset" for its unstinting "defense of freedom and the democratic idea" (Shills qtd. in Coleman 59). *Preuves* was considered as journal championing anti-totalitarian ideas and the "defense of liberal values" (Stegner 91).

With a financial aid of $10,000 from the CCF (Lerg and Scott-Smith 17–18), the first issue of *Horison* was released in July 1966, during the latter half of Suharto's brutal and systematic anti-communist pogroms across the country. The journal, mainly published in Bahasa Indonesia, releases 12 issues a year. From 1966 until its last print issue in 2016, *Horison* published more than 500 issues spread across 50 volumes. On average, each issue is 28 to 36 pages long. In 1996, the *Horison* added a new section called "Kakilangit" (Horizon/ Skyline) which intended to feature the literary works of students and teachers of literature. In 2004, the "Anugerah Sastra Horison" (Horison Literary Award) was instituted as an effort to honor the best literary works published in the journal every year. In 2016, the journal completed its move online while retaining most of its main sections (short story, poetry, essay, drama).

Aside from literary works, *Horison*, like other CCF journals, also publishes polemical essays, cultural sketches, manifestos, and policy briefs. When news broke out regarding the CIA's involvement with CCF activities in the late 1960s, funding for most CCF journals, including *Horison*, was temporarily suspended. It was only until 1970, when the CCF completely reconsolidated as the International Association for Cultural Freedom (IACF), will funding for the remaining CCF journals return. *Horison* was,

for the most part, unaffected by this temporary setback. During the height of the controversy, especially when other CCF journals were folding up left and right, issues of *Horison* continued to be published on a regular basis.

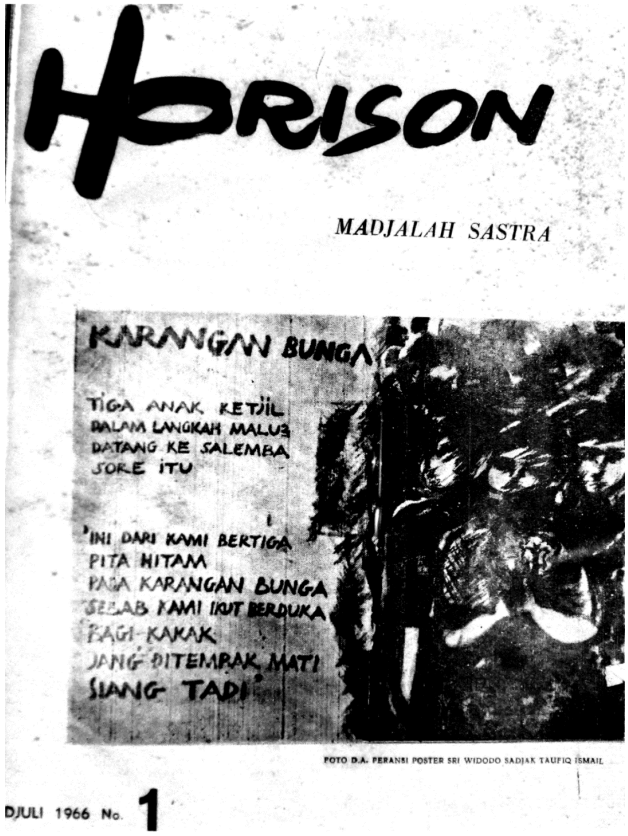

Figure 1. *Front cover of the inaugural issue of Horison, July 1966*

Founded by Mochtar Lubis, and with an initial editorial board consisting of H.B. Jassin, Taufiq Ismail, D.S. Moeljanto, Soe Hok Gie, and Zaini, the first issue's editorial served as an introduction of the ideals *Horison* wished to uphold. For instance, describing the ethos of the journal Lubis writes:

> "We launched 'Horison' in our society that is in the midst of reawakening the spirit to fight for the return of all democratic values, human freedom, and dignity of the Indonesian people. True to its name Horison, the skyline, we thus enjoin our readers to always look out and search for new horizons—in that we consciously eliminate the limits of thought—in the exploration of the possibilities of our creative energies in all fields of our nation's livelihood." ("Kata Perkenalan" 3) (translation mine)
>
> [Majalah Horison kami lantjarkan ketengah masjarakat kita ditengah-tengah suasana kebangkitan baru semangat untuk memperdjoangkan kembali semua nilai-nilai demokratis dan kemerdekaan manusia, martabat manusia Indonesia. Sesuai dengan namannya 'Horison', kaki-langit, maka kami mengadjak Saudara pembaca supaja kita selalu menengok dan mentjari horison baru, dalam arti supaja kita dengan sadar menghapuskan batas-batas pemikirian, penelahaan kemungkinan daja kreatif kita disemua bidang penghidupan bangsa kita.]

Like most CCF journals, the rallying cry is against all forms of attacks on democratic values and creative freedom. This rallying cry is broad enough, if not almost universal, to attract the imagination, sympathy, and energies of intellectuals from all shades of the anti-communist camp. In the case of the aforementioned editorial, this is best exemplified by two conceptual pairs: (1) "nilai-nilai demokratis" [democratic values] and "kemerdekaan manusia" [human freedom] and (2) "horison" [horizon] and "batas-batas pemirikiran" [limits of thought/thinking]. The first pair functions as ideas the journal (and its progenitors) wish to advocate, disseminate, and defend. The second pair, meanwhile, has components that function in contrast with each other, in that the inability (or refusal) to look out or search for new horizons marks the limits of thought, and, in the same manner, the continuous search of new horizons lead to the destruction of all limits that hinder free thought. Later in the editorial, Lubis encapsulates *Horison*'s aspirations and philosophy in a single sentence: "*Horison* hopes to encourage creative activities and thinking that are truly free and constructive values [Majalah Horison kami harapkan akan dapat mendorongkan kegiatan-kegiatan kreatif dan pemikiran-pemikiran kreatif jang penuh kebebasan dan nilai-nilai konskruktif] ("Kata Perkenalan" 3).

Lubis's emphasis on creative and intellectual freedom was not only for the sake of positioning the journal as a steadfast defender of the said ideals. As with all CCF journals, the purpose was almost always to dim the light of the discursive constellation

created by Marxist and communist intellectuals, to position freedom and democracy as ideals that can only be realized in a non-communist dispensation. Furthermore, as will be illustrated in the latter part of this essay, these conceptual pairs, along with other recurring ideas and discourses, will eventually be imbricated in the accumulated sedimentations of Indonesian anti-communist cultural and literary discourse.

While *Horison* was indeed an imprint of the CCF/IACF ("Jejak CIA dalam Sastra Indonesia"), it would be unreasonable and dissembling to claim that anti-communism became widespread in Indonesia solely because of the journal. If anything, it can be considered as a performance of the previously rehearsed overtures of the CIA and CCF to anti-communist Indonesian intellectuals and writers during the 1950s. For instance, reports confirm that as early as 1955, during the CCF conference in Rangoon, Mochtar Lubis was already invited to be a member of the CCF. Years after, with enough funding from the CCF and the help of CIA agent Ivan Kats, Lubis was able to establish *Horison* ("CIA di Beranda Sastra Indonesia" 2021; Utama 2018). In this connection, a more accurate take would be to treat *Horison* as the materialization of the hitherto unrealized liberal utopia of Indonesian anti-communist writers and intellectuals sidelined during the peak of Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat[4] (LEKRA), or Institute for People's Culture, in the late 1950s and early 1960s (Farid; Susanto). Another would be to treat the journal as a clear manifestation of the universal humanist aesthetic propounded by H.B. Jassin, proponents of the liberal magazines *Konfrontasi* and *Sastra* (Foulcher 32–33), and the other disgruntled signatories of the controversial "Manikebu,"[5] or Cultural Manifesto, in 1963. Finally, rather than treating *Horison* as a pioneering purveyor of anti-communism, it is best to treat the journal as one of the many ways the Suharto regime legitimized anti-communism as an official state discourse via culture (*Cultural Violence,* Herlambang; *Kekarasan Budaya Pasca 1965*, Herlambang).

As one of the New Order regime's numerous rapiers against communism, *Horison* got the ground running immediately. During the journal's first three years, in which 30 issues were released, direct and indirect references to the events during the anti-communist pogroms of 1965–1966 were front and center in its editorials and published literary works. In Wiratmo Soekito's old essay republished in the journal's maiden issue titled "Konsepsi Kita Bukan Hanya Ideologi, Tetapi Idea" (Our Program is not merely an Ideology, but an Idea), he begun by expressing that the "greatest danger" [bahaja yang paling besar] and "threat to national indepedence" [antjaman terhadap kemerdekaan nasional] was the "laziness to think" [ketjenderungan untuk malas berfikir] (30). And for Soekito, this laziness found its expression in Indonesian society through the programmatic teaching and application of Marxism in Indonesia. For him, Marxism is dangerous because it does not constitute itself as an idea, but as "mechanical tools that are ready for use" [perkakas mesin jang telah "ready for use"] (31). Hence, for Soekito, Marxism is dangerous because it became an ideology and ceased to constitute itself as an idea.

The essay was of course not only a criticism of Marxism and members of the PKI (Partai Komunis Indonesia), but an indictment of the "indocrination sessions" imposed by the Sukarno administration during the tumultuous "Guided Democracy"[6] period. While Soekito's work cannot by any means be considered as a direct endorsement of the Suharto regime, one cannot help but find the republication of the said essay disingenuous—an underhanded maneuver to justify and reinforce the Indonesian army's systematic anti-communist campaign (Melvin). Republished in *Horison's* maiden issue during the peak of the anti-communist campaign, one cannot help but consider the blatant glossing over of the 1965–1966 atrocities as an indirect endorsement of the illegal incarceration, torture, forced exile, and systematic murder of suspected communist (and sympthatizers) across the country. To this one can ask: was the laziness to think really more of an imminent threat and danger than the actual and systematic butchering of the fledgling regime's political adversaries? This seeming endorsement of the annihilation of communism and communists becomes all the more clear and explicit in the journal's succeeding issue editorials.

In Sok Ho Gie's editorial, for instance, he emphasized the need for a "universal humanism" in order to prevent the rise of ideologies that engender totalitarianism (35). He then proceeded to equate the suppression of Manikebu writers as something similar to what writers like Boris Pasternak experienced at the hands of Soviet authorities. Meanwhile, in the journal's third issue, Zaini described the PKI as an organization

that staged the abortive September 30 coup in 1965. He further added that PKI desired for all its enemies to be "killed (and) hanged" [dibunuh digantung] (67). This portrayal of communists as violent, merciless, and duplicitous beings was a consistent theme in the majority of the anti-communist propaganda materials[7] during the New Order. Following the examples of past editorials, D.S. Moeljanto described the previous regime as a dictatorship and the zenith of cultural intolerance in Indonesia (131). And finally, to complete the first sequence of anti-communist salvos, Taufiq Ismail described the annihilation of PKI as the moment when freedom of expression and thought returned to Indonesia (167).

From the abovementioned anti-communist salvos, one can ask the following: how did *Horison* influence the overall configuration and contour of the Indonesian literary field? More specifically, how did it contribute to the stunted growth of "political," "committed," and "socialist realist" literature in Indonesia? While there are obviously nuanced ways to approach these questions, there are two straighforward answers to them. For the first question, it is instructive to be reminded that *Horison* represented the interests (and sentiments) of the fiercest anti-communist writers and intellectuals in Indonesia, with Taufiq Ismail and D.S. Moeljanto serving as the most notable exemplars—having built long careers as anti-communist poets and critics. Being heralded as sole imprimaturs of the "new literary order" authored by the Orde Baru regime, the majority of *Horison's* editorial board led long and influential careers in various cultural and intellectual fields. This means that the denizens of *Horison* represent the crème de la crème of the post-1965 Indonesian literary regime. In this connection, and to address the second question, the dominance of writers who were part and/or associated with *Horison* also led to the systematic and institutional depoliticization of Indonesian literature, with the inauguration of Taman Ismail Marzuki—Indonesia's foremost arts and cultural center—serving as the final death knell of committed and political writing ("Kemerdekaan Kreativitas," 105–116). In addition, the annihilation of LEKRA and other cultural organizations affiliated with PKI ensured that any possible resistance against the dominant aesthetic regime will be set back for a decade or two. This also ensured that debates and disagreements within the field were limited to abstract concepts such as "freedom," "artistic integrity," and "creativity," among others. And true to form, it was only in the late 1980s—with the emergence of critics like Ariel Heryanto, former LEKRA member Putu Oka Sukanta, and poet-activist Wiji Thukul—will the prevailing literary hegemony be seriously challenged, will the question "Masikah politik jadi panglima?"[8] (Is politics still the commander?) be asked in a debate between artists, writers, and intellectuals.

This choreographed mix of reflections on the importance of creative and intelletual freedom and anti-communist apologetics will figure in *Horison*'s editorials—thereafter titled "cultural sketches" (tjatatan kebudajaan)—for the next 10 years. In contrast to other CCF journals that, at certain points in time, had to rein in explicit anti-communist messaging, *Horison*, by virtue of the abortive September 30 coup in 1965, had all the necessary pretext (Roosa) and latitude to scapegoat communism as the enemy of creativity and freedom of expression. Ironically, *Horison's* insistence in advocating for creative and intellectual freedom came at a cost: its complicity with one of the bloodiest regimes in modern history. Like most CCF journals, this double position—that of someone who gesture towards freedom while ignoring, if not abetting, the actions of opressive forces—became the hallmark of *Horison*. Later in this essay, I will attempt to provide a deeper and closer reading of the specific discursive-ideological qualities evinced by the journal's editorials. Before that, however, let us first look into *Horison*'s fellow anti-communist traveler from the Philippines—*Solidarity.*

Solidarity: Ambivalent (Nationalist) Anti-Communism and its Discontents

On January 6, 2022, just hours before undergoing angioplasty surgery, F. Sionil Jose passed away in his sleep. Arguably the most influential Filipino writer of the 20th century, scores of writers, intellectuals, former mentees, and readers flooded the social media feeds with their own eulogies and in memoriams for Sionil Jose. Award-winning fictionist and essayist Cristina Pantoja-Hidalgo, for instance, referred to Sionil Jose as an "old friend," while underscoring the importance of Solidaridad, the bookstore founded by him in the 1960s, to the spread and preservation of Philippine literature. The poet Jose Wendell Capili, meanwhile, focused on Sionil Jose's contribution to Southeast Asian literary and intellectual culture by highlighting his exploits

as a publisher, editor, and cultural honcho. Activist and poet Angelo Suarez, on the other hand, shared his fractured relationship with the Sionil Jose he deemed as an "important signpost" for Philippine literature, and the Sionil Jose who was an "influential anti-communist fascist enabler." But perhaps the most germane tribute to this essay was the one penned by Virgilio Almario, Sionil Jose's fellow National Artist for Literature. By turns historical and personal, balanced and poignant, Almario imparted his shared history with Sionil Jose as a "Cold Warrior" [Mandirigma ng Cold War], as someone who, like him (Almario) and many others, was involved in the fractious political affairs of the 1960s and 1970s, as someone who struggled to right the path of independence [nakihamok upang ihanap ng tumpak ang landas [ng] pagsasarili…]. And finally, Almario ends in a tenor similar to that of other tributes: by revealing a task that Sionil Jose had left or entrusted to them before going into the night. In Almario's case, it was the "duty to always stand for the welfare of the Philippines, in any way possible, and in spite of any obstacle or danger." […laging manindigan para sa kapakanan ng Filipinas, sa anumang paraan, at sa kabila ng anumang hadlang o panganib.]

One thing is clearly demostrated by the aforementioned eulogies—that Sionil Jose was regarded as one of the most influential literary, intellectual, and nationalist figures during the postwar period. This is, of course, a warranted assessment of his legacy, for as early as the 1980s, he had been a recipient of various awards, such as the Ramon Magsaysay Award for Journalism, Literature and Creative Communication in 1980 and the Cultural Center of the Philippines' Gawad Para sa Sining in 1989. His works, especially his epic Rosales Saga, were the subject of countless research articles, books (see Morales 1989; see also Thumboo 2005), and theses and dissertations (see Klincar 1988; see also Torres 2007). At the turn of the century, he was already considered as the best-known Filipino author internationally, with his works having been translated into 28 languages (Ong 241). And in 2001, he was named National Artist for Literature, making him the eighth writer, and first in the 21st century, to be conferred with the said award.

While a large part of Sionil Jose's fame rests on his literary works, much stock can be also placed in his work as a publisher, editor, and intellectual interested in the cultural and political affairs of Southeast Asia. Having been a recipient of two grants from Asia Foundation, Jose was able to visit and tour the Middle East, Latin America, and Southeast Asia. During his sojourns, he was able to meet and establish close ties with writers, intellectuals, journalist, and various organizations (Capili 60–61). When he came back to the Philippines in 1958, he established Philippine PEN and sponsored a national writers conference in Baguio during the same year. Two years later, he became the editor of *Asia* magazine, a supplement distributed to big Asian cities. The magazine's literary section, which he also edited, featured many writers from the Asia-Pacific, especially writers from Southeast Asia, New Zealand, and Australia (Capili 62–64). Around the same time, Sionil Jose was also managing editor of the quarterly *Comment*, an imprint he considered as the precursor for *Solidarity,* together with intellectual luminaries, such as O.D. Corpuz, Rey Gregorio, Alex Hufana, and Raul Ingles (Ong 246). While serving for the Colombo Plan from 1962–1964, he was already putting in the work to establish Solidaridad—a bookstore cum publishing house dedicated to publishing literary and research titles on Asia and Southeast Asia.[9] Finally in 1966, with the financial support of $10,000 from the CCF, *Solidarity* came into existence.

From 1966 until it folded its pages in 1996, *Solidarity* published more than 140 issues spread across more than 30 volumes. Publishing on average 4 issues per year, the journal had 120–180 pages on average, each with 8 to 13 contributions spread across four sections (Features, Articles, Fiction, Poetry). Similar to the editorial board of CCF journals which extensively covered international affairs, *Solidarity* boasted a roster of editors from different countries and backgrounds such as fellow CCF member Mochtar Lubis; CIA agent Ivan Kats; Philippine academics such as Isagani Cruz and Reynaldo Ileto; and Southeast Asian authors such as Edwin Thumboo, Sulak Sivaraksa and Ungku Maimunah Mohd Tahir.

Like its predecessor *Comment*, *Solidarity* focused on publishing literary works by Southeast Asian writers and articles on the cultural and political affairs of the region. Its first issue came out in March 1966, and in contrast to *Horison*'s unequivocally anti-communist editorial board and contributions, *Solidarity*'s first issue featured contributors from different shades of the political spectrum.

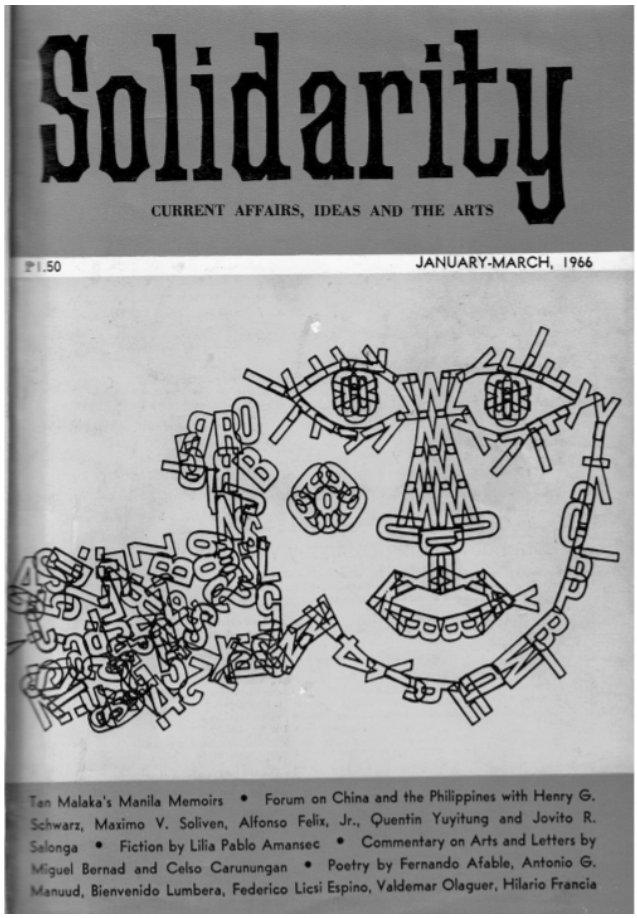

Figure 2. *Front cover of the first issue of Solidarity, January-March 1966*

There were, for instance, articles from liberal journalists and scholars, such as Maximo Soliven, Henry G. Schwarz, and Alfonso Felix, Jr. On the other hand, the issue also featured the work of renowned Indonesian Marxist Tan Malaka and the poetry of staunch nationalist Bienvenido Lumbera. This mixed bag of contributors, and consequently of ideologies, was a consistent refrain during *Solidarity's* 30 years of existence.

While conventional logic dictates that *Solidarity*, like *Horison*, should be adamantly and unequivocally anti-communist, the editorial and publication history of several CCF journals tells a different story. Matthew Spender, for instance, shared how his father Stephen Spender, who was once a co-editor for *Encounter,* served as a "counter-weight to his American co-editors, who always wanted the journal to be more explicitly anti-communist" (Lerg and Scott-Smith vii). *Cuadernos* and *Mundo Nuevo* published the poems of Pablo Neruda and the works of renowned Latin American Marxists. Even *The Paris Review* (albeit not a CCF imprint), a literary magazine that was confirmed by its founder Peter Mathiessen to be a CIA front, published writers, such as Italo Calvino, Jean Genet, and Nadine Gordimer, who were known to have communist sympathies. To naked observers, the aforementioned examples do not seem to arouse any form of suspicion. If anything, it makes it seem that the CIA and CCF have always been on the right side of the cultural Cold War. However, as Whitney notes, these subterfuges were all part of the CIA's ploy to get across the message that there was no censorship nor manipulation involved in the editorial processes of CCF journals, that freedom of expression was put on a pedestal, and dissenting opinions were always welcomed (91–107).

Solidarity, in this regard, operated like most CCF journals during the peak of the cultural Cold War. What made *Solidarity* unique, however, was Sionil Jose's stewardship and editorship, his own brand of localizing anti-communist discourse amid the tension-ridden Cold War era in the Philippines and in Southeast Asia. In contrast to the editors of *Horison*, Sionil Jose couched his anti-communist sentiments in nationalist discourse and performatives. This maneuver of pitting nationalism against communism is not entirely new in the context of the Philippines. During the 1930s, a time when both the PKP-1930 and Sakdalistas were major forces in Philippine politics, the latter would always characterize the former as agents of foreign powers because of their glorification of foreign philosophers (Delupio 99–105; "Mahal si Lenin" qtd. in Sy 232). But perhaps a more proximitous precedent to Sionil Jose's anti-communism would be the formation in 1949 of the Committee Un-Filipino Activities[10] (CUFA), a localized version of the U.S. Congress' Committee on Un-American Activities, which launched witch-hunts against suspected communists. By equating all forms of dissent as manifestations of communist sympathies, both committees, especially CUFA, were successful in portraying communism as antithetical to nationalism.

Sionil Jose, while not always a willing cog in the Philippine government's vast anti-communist machinery, was clearly an overdetermined example of this specific Euro-American and Cold War anti-communist sequence. And despite claiming that he was "pro-communist… until [his] first trip to Eastern Europe in 1968 or 1969" (Ong 248), there were already

clear signs of anti-communism in the initial editorials he wrote for *Solidarity*. For instance, in the journal's fourth-issue editorial titled "The Betrayal of Masses," Sionil Jose wrote a lengthy diatribe on the disguised nature of communist subversion:

> Since a communist may also be a nationalist, communist subversion is most difficult to trace and expose once it acquires the protective coloring and mass following of nationalism. But simply because this is so does not mean nationalism must be abandoned for another ism less susceptible to infiltration and abuse. In fact, nationalism is often discredited not so much by the communists who profess it, but by a simple rendering of the nationalist experience elsewhere. Thus, our Western friends tells us that nationalism is evil, that it is a sentiment which arouses the coarsest and the basest of man's instincts and almost always, the Nazi example is dredged up. We are even made to believe that nationalist industrialization will demean us for we will lose the values of traditional society, the closely knit family, the arcadian life and all the hokum about the simplicity of an underdeveloped Eden being despoiled by a materialistic culture such as that which industrialization and technology have blighted the West with. ("Betrayal of the Masses" 8–9)

There are two glaring observations to be made from the quoted passage. First is, of course, Sionil Jose's charge that communists and communism have had deleterious effects on the prospects of true nationalism prospering in the Philippines. In doing so, he clearly views communism as an ideology that dilutes the purity of nationalism, and that communists only see nationalism as a means to an end. While this charge can be easily countered with other historical examples (i.e., Vietnam), this article is not the place to do so. Second is the clear push for postcolonial modernity through the defense of the project of national industrialization. This is obviously a rallying cry more legible in his later works and engagements, both as a writer and a public intellectual. But what clearly harmonizes these two seemingly discordant polemical notes is Sionil Jose's primary intention: to defend nationalism from the auspices of communism and Euro-American imperialism.

Propelled by this uncanny mix of anti-communist nationalism and protectionist rhetoric, Sionil Jose, in the first-issue editorial of the journal, advocated for the establishment of "…a nationalist party endowed with class consciousness…a third party [which can] develop from out of…our labor unions and farm organizations…a real mass base…[and] better organized proletarian groups" in order for the Filipino people to be able to give new meaning to nationalism, in the same way the Propaganda Movement did ("The Nationalist Sellout" 113–114). Remarkably crucial here is Sionil Jose's usage of words, especially his conscious use of nomenclature usually associated with and imbricated within the Marxist and communist polemical sedimentations, for it established a clear link between him, the non-aligned attendees of the Bandung conference, and the non-communist left members of the CCF. Although terms like "class consciousness," "mass base," and "proletarian" are not necessarily exclusive to Marxist or communist discourse, it would be dissembling to claim that such terms have a long history within the discursive arsenal of, say, liberals or centrists. What is arresting in Sionil Jose's case was his persistent use of the said terms in his attempt to imagine a political program that would serve as an alternative to both American corporate paternalism and localized communist insurgency from the peripheries. And in many ways, *Solidarity* was successful in pulling many of the most brilliant writers, artists, intellectuals, journalists, political organizers, and technocrats in its orbit—in the orbit of non-communist left and/or anti-communist bloc.

However, this strategy of "cannibalizing" and co-opting left-wing discourse (and fashioning it into a third-way political discourse/position) is ironically akin to the tactic of elite politicians who deploy nationalist and populist rhetoric to pander to the interests of the masses (Mendoza 232–233). And while he had admonished American imperialism many times, Sionil Jose's profile (as CCF member and founder of the Philippine PEN) and his ambivalent anti-communism have always betrayed his double position—that of someone who simultaneously believed that American presence will provide stability in the country and that Filipino nationalism could be reclaimed from the local elite ("The Nationalist Sellout" 112). In the end, as with most CCF journals, whether Sionil Jose was conscious of it or not, *Solidarity* became a space where various situated articulations of anti-communism in the fields

of politics and culture could contend, and that his brand of strident nationalism was its most pronounced sequence.

Sionil Jose, through his editorship of *Solidarity* and his position as an anti-communist nationalist, represents the classic conundrum of many local editors of CCF journals: that their exercise of creative and intellectual freedom will always be used and trumpeted by the CCF as means to an end—that is, to portray communism as a foil to artistic and intellectual freedom. And while Sionil Jose did indeed try to make *Solidarity* a publication where contending ideas and ideologies can flourish (i.e., the journal's issues on Agrarian Reform in 1986 and a special volume on Overseas Filipino Workers in 1994), one cannot help—based on the CCF and CIA's history of interefering with the editorship of many CCF journals (see Minear 2007 & Ridenti 2018)—but to think that the said freedom was an all accounted for strategy. It also did not help that his subsequent activities as a public intellectual—especially his egregiously racist and anti-communist column for *Philippine Star*—make it seem that the journal was a subterfuge for his true ideological position: that of a nationalist anti-communist. In this connection, Sionil Jose's politics can be likened to intellectuals such as Zeus Salazar and Isagani Cruz who were, in Garcellano's words, "leery" (52) of Marxism and favored more "emic articulations" in their exegeses.

Corpus Analysis: Deeper Anti-communist Intimations in *Horison* and *Solidarity*

Through the use of digital tools and computer-aided methods, this section will attempt to offer a "closer" reading (Guillermo 1–35) of what I consider as deeper anti-communist intimations in both *Horison* and *Solidarity*. For this iteration of the experiment, 11 years worth of editrials from both *Horison* and Solidarity will be analyzed using Antconc (https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/), a free-to-use corpus analysis program, and Voyant Tools (https://voyant-tools.org/), a web-based application which offers a global environment for reading and analyzing digital texts. This section will focus on the following: (1) the conventional collocational analysis of terms which firmly belong to the anti-communist discursive constellation (i.e., PKI, komunisme, communism, nationalism), (2) the mapping of the "distribution frequency" of the said terms, (3) and the general visualization which will illustrate the proximity of specific terms to each other.

As mentioned, the main data set for the analysis will consist of all editorials published in both *Horison* and *Solidarity* from 1966 to 1976. The rationale for the choice of data set and time frame rests on two reasons: (1) that editorials, in the most fundamental sense, set a definite discursive agenda for publications, and thus can be considered as representative of a whole that is constituted by multiplicities; and (2) that 1966–1976 is a period which represents both the explicit and amorphous articulations of anti-communism in the two journals. The data set for *Horison* is in Bahasa Indonesia, while the *Solidarity* data set is in English. The *Horison* data set was extracted from 126 editorials, spread across 11 volumes, and with a total word count, or "tokens," of 51,756. The data set for *Solidarity*, meanwhile, was extracted from 44 issue editorials, also spread across 11 volumes, and with a total token count of 31,690. The number of unique words, or "types," for the entire *Horison* data set is 5,205. Total types for the *Solidarity* data set, on the other hand, is 2,764. The lexical complexity (which can be derived by dividing the total number of types by the total number of tokens) for both the *Horison* and *Solidarity* data sets are 0.1005680050081 and 0.087219943199, respectively.

Before proceeding any further, it is instructive to be reminded of the significance of the said figures. Generally, lengthy single-authored texts tend to have a lower lexical complexity compared to shorter and compact single-authored texts. This is because lengthier texts tend to lay out their main ideas at the beginning, with the middle and terminal sections serving as reinforcement and reaffirmation of the said ideas. Because of this, the possibility of introducing new words (and ideas) in the latter parts of a text becomes an ordeal, for doing so could compromise the thematic cohesion of the whole work.

A reversal of the abovementioned trend can be observed in both *Horison* and *Solidarity*. This is because editorials, though normally written by a single person (the editor), are always written in response to various issues or ideas as situated in a specific context. This means that each editorial is both a singular text on its own and a constitutive part of a whole (the journal), that an editorial is always being written in response to present events and in order to uphold the ideals and values of a journal. The lexical complexity in the editorials of *Horison*, which yielded a longer

corpus, is explained by the fact that each editorial was written by a different author. This means that each author, though writing with the journal's interests in mind, wittingly brings his/her own writing style into the mix, which inevitably results into a whole gamut of discreprancies in spelling, word choice, tone, sentence structure, etc. On the other hand, the *Solidarity* data set's lexical complexity is accounted for by the sheer range of topics, issues, and themes covered by the journal. Because in contrast to *Horison* which mainly published literary works, *Solidarity* had issues that discussed topics outside art and literature (i.e., land reforms, economic policy, etc). This invariably gave Sionil Jose's editorials (though solely-authored) some sort of stylistic range and variety.[11]

Although some level of lexical complexity is evident in both data sets, the results of the collocational analysis also suggest the presence of ideological cohesion and consensus. In *Horison,* for instance, when looking at the top collocates for the terms "PKI," "komunisme, and "LEKRA" (see Figure 3, 4, and 5), there are very clear expressions of anti-communist sentiments, especially in the field of culture and literature. For example, one of the most frequent pairings for the word "PKI" is "PKI" and "seni" (art), which yielded phrases such as "sastra dan seni PKI adalah propaganda komunis" [PKI art and literature are communist propaganda] or "seni PKI memusuhi nilai-nilai Indonesia" [PKI art is hostile against Indonesian values]. Another frequent pairing is "PKI" and "antek" (lackey or lapdog). This pairing yielded incendiary phrases, such as "LEKRA adalah antek PKI" [LEKRA is PKI's lapdog] or "antek PKI mendalangi G30s" [PKI lackeys orchestrated G30s], with the latter (G30s) referring to the abortive coup against Sukarno on September 30, 1965. Other pairings of the same nature include "PKI" and "musuh" (enemy), "PKI" and "propaganda," and "PKI" and "mengorbankan" (to victimize/sacrifice).

The same antagonistic and accusatory pairings are also present for the term "komunisme." One of the more frequent pairings is "komunisme" and "dibubarkan" (destroy/abolish/erase), which yielded anti-communist shibboleths like "harusnya komunisme dibubarkan sampai seakar-akarnya" [communism should be destroyed down to its roots] and "komunisme harus dibubarkan dari muka bumi" [communism should be erased from the face of the earth]. Another recurrent paring is with "totaliter," which yielded phrases such as "komunisme melahirkan rezim totaliter di Uni Soviet dan Kuba" [communism gave birth to totalitarian regimes in Soviet Union and Cuba] or "komunisme pokok daya khayal totaliter" [communism is the essence of totalitarian imagination]. Other pairings of the similar vein include "komunisme" and "hantu" (ghost/specter), "komunisme" and "ditipu" (deceived), and "komunisme" and menghancurkan (destroy).

The top collocates for "LEKRA" (see Figure 5), a cultural organization affiliated with PKI, also present the same pattern. For instance, its pairing with the terms "otoriter" (authoritarian) and "mengorbankan" (to victimize/sacrifice) produce incriminating phrases, such as "anggota LEKRA berkecendrungan otoriter" [LEKRA members have authoritarian tendencies] and "LEKRA telah mengorbankan seni demi propaganda

Collocates

Term	Collocate	Count (context)
pki	lekra	156
pki	seni	93
pki	propaganda	93
pki	mengorbankan	93
pki	komunis	93
pki	sastrawan	66
pki	musuh	63
pki	antek	63
pki	atas	59
pki	kebudajaan	44
pki	orde	43
pki	terjadi	42
pki	seniman	42
pki	rakyat	42
pki	projek	42
pki	pki	42
pki	tahun	39
pki	pragestapu	38
pki	benarbenar	24
pki	tirani	22
pki	revolusi	22

Figure 3. Top collocates for "PKI"

Collocates

Term	Collocate	Count (context)
komunisme	komunisme	180
komunisme	kaum	180
komunisme	dibubarkan	179
komunisme	komunis	161
komunisme	unisoviet	98
komunisme	totaliter	94
komunisme	rezim	94
komunisme	orang	94
komunisme	melahirkan	94
komunisme	idealis	94
komunisme	diketahui	94
komunisme	indonesia	90
komunisme	ditipu	90
komunisme	bumi	90
komunisme	bangsa	90
komunisme	propaganda	71
komunisme	kecanduan	69
komunisme	diteror	48
komunisme	ketjsanduan	25
komunisme	seni	21
komunisme	menghantjurkan	21
komunisme	meneror	21
komunisme	hantu	21

Figure 4. Top collocates for "komunisme"

komunis" [LEKRA have sacrificed art for the sake of communist propaganda]. Another curious pairing is with the term "menindas" (to suppress/torment/oppress). This pairing implicates LEKRA in heinous acts against art and literature, as illustrated in phrases such as "LEKRA menindas sastrawan dan seniman yang tidak setuju dengan ideologi" [LEKRA supressed writers and artists who do not agree with their ideology] or "pukul-sewaan LEKRA menindas penandatangan Manikebu" [LEKRA mercenaries tormented the signatories of Manikebu]. Other pairings of the similar vein include "LEKRA" and "memfitnah" (to malign/slander), "LEKRA" and "tirani" (tyranny), and "LEKRA" and "menghancurkan" (to destroy).

Some context is in order to explain the ideological cohesion, the seeming anti-communist consensus, of a corpus authored by multiple writers. From September 1965 until the capture of the remaining PKI leaders in 1968, anti-communist sentiment swept all aspects of everyday life in Indonesia. During that period, the Suharto regime went far and beyond with its anti-communist campaign all over the country. Everything related to communism was portrayed as treacherous to the emerging state narrative of order, stability, and development. As the de facto beneficiaries of the power vacuum left by the destruction of LEKRA and other communist cultural organizations, Mochtar Lubis and his cabal of editors in *Horison* were all willing prophets of this new "creative order" afforded by the New Order regime. H.B. Jassin even considered the new political dispensation as a catalyst for the emergence of a new generation of writers—the "Angkatan 66" ("Angkatan 66: Bangkitnja Satu Generasi," 36–41). The aforementioned sentiment, in hindsight, should not come as a surprise. As the head of the New Order regime, Suharto saw himself as "Bapak Pembangunan" (literally: Father of Development). In his public apperances, especially in schools, he implored children to see and treat him like their own fathers. When it comes to governance, like most authoritarian rulers, Suharto's Order Baru was a repressive, paternalistic, and developmentalist regime. As such, Suharto and the Order Baru made politics the exclusive domain of the government and the military. Like the father that he fashioned himself to be, Suharto urged the Indonesian citizens to be obedient and patriotric at all times. This call was echoed by standard New Order slogans (i.e., "floating mass" & "monoloyalistas") which implored citizens to be passive and obedient in order for the country to attain economic stability and development. In the field of culture, Suharto's call meant that intellectuals and writers need not concern themselves with politics—that their best contribution to society is an artistic or critical work unburdened by the perils of politics. And doing the opposite meant that they oppose everything that the regime stood for, which in the New Order's political playbook meant the following: "You are against Pancasilla" or "You are a communist sympathizer."

All of these are corroborated by the frequency of co-occurrence of terms belonging to the aforementioned anti-communist discursive constellation. For instance, in the journal's first five years, the terms "PKI," "komunisme," "LEKRA "totaliter," "musuh," and

Collocates

Term	Collocate	Count (context)
LEKRA	pki	177
LEKRA	otoriter	94
LEKRA	idealis	94
LEKRA	berkecenderungan	94
LEKRA	anggota	93
LEKRA	antek	42
LEKRA	mengorbankan	24
LEKRA	benarbenar	24
LEKRA	unisoviet	21
LEKRA	sukarno	21
LEKRA	soal	21
LEKRA	sewaan	21
LEKRA	selera	21
LEKRA	sastrawan	21
LEKRA	pukul	21
LEKRA	projek	21
LEKRA	pramoedya	21
LEKRA	pragestapu	21
LEKRA	orde	21
LEKRA	menindas	21
LEKRA	menghantjurkan	21
LEKRA	menghadapi	21
LEKRA	memfitnah	21

Figure 5. Top Collocates for "LEKRA"

"algojo" (executioner) consistently appear and co-occur with each other. The said co-occurrence is indicated by the larger circles in the Bubbleline graph (see Figure 6).

On the other hand, during the 1970s, as the Indonesian literary and intellectual class became more homogenous ideologically, the need for explicit anti-communist messaging in the literary field became less urgent. This is evidenced by the subsequent focus of the editorials' messaging on more literary themes, as exemplified by the frequent usage of terms such as "kemerdekaan" (freedom), "kreativitas" (creativity) and the sastrawan (writer) (see Figure 6). This shift, however, did not mean that *Horison* ceased to be anti-communist. If anything, *Horison*'s shift in emphasis and tone constituted its logical evolution as a CCF imprint—a journal that deploys universal ideas and concepts as means of articulating various shades of anti-communist discourse. The strident anti-communism of the journal's early editorials was but a forgone conclusion because of its editors' personal histories with communism and the anti-communist fever dream fomented by the New Order regime. Meanwhile, the subsequent shift in its disposition, its editorials' focus on almost exclusively literary and cultural issues, also coincided with the beginning of a long slumber for the tradition of "committed" or "political" literature in Indonesia. Like most CCF journals, the end goal was never only to list down the crimes of communism against art and literature, but to imagine a world wherein culture will never be subordinated to the command of politics, a world wherein literature and political commitment are not entangled endeavors.

In contrast to *Horison,* one can consider *Solidarity* as the quintessential CCF journal, in that anti-communism was never the journal's primary preoccupation. This, however, does not mean that anti-communist discourse was not part of the journal's repertoire. As argued in the paper, *Solidarity*'s articulation of anti-communism relied on Sionil Jose's unique brand of anti-communist nationalism. No more is this apparent than in the interplay between the terms "nationalism" and "communism," in Sionil Jose's editorials. One of the top collocates for "communism" (see Figure 7) is with the word "true," which yielded phrases like "totalitarianism is one of the true forms of communism" or "no true nationalist will be blind to the horrors of communism." Another related pairing is unsurprisingly with "nationalism" and "nationalist," which yielded categorical phrases such as "true nationalism is not communism" or "a nationalist should be wary of communism." Other related pairings include "communism" and "antithetical" (communism is antithetical to Philippine culture and realities), "communism" and "democracy" (the ideals of democracy are threatened by communism), and "communism" and "opium" (communism and Marxism are the opium of intellectuals).

As expected, one of the top collocates for "nationalism" (see Figure 8) is "communism," which yielded interesting phrases such as "nationalism and communism are strange bedfellows" or "Philippine nationalism is endangered by the incursion of

Figure 6. Compressed and separated Bubbleline graph for Horison *(1966-1976)*

Collocates

Term	Collocate	Count (context)
communism	true	27
communism	nationalism	20
communism	communism	20
communism	opium	14
communism	life	14
communism	democracy	14
communism	communist	14
communism	antithetical	14
communism	form	8
communism	welcome	7
communism	united	7
communism	states	7
communism	repeat	7
communism	philippines	7
communism	people	7
communism	party	7
communism	organizations	7
communism	operation	7
communism	means	7
communism	masses	7
communism	marxism	7
communism	like	7
communism	ideological	7
communism	horrors	7

Figure 7. Top collocates for "communism"

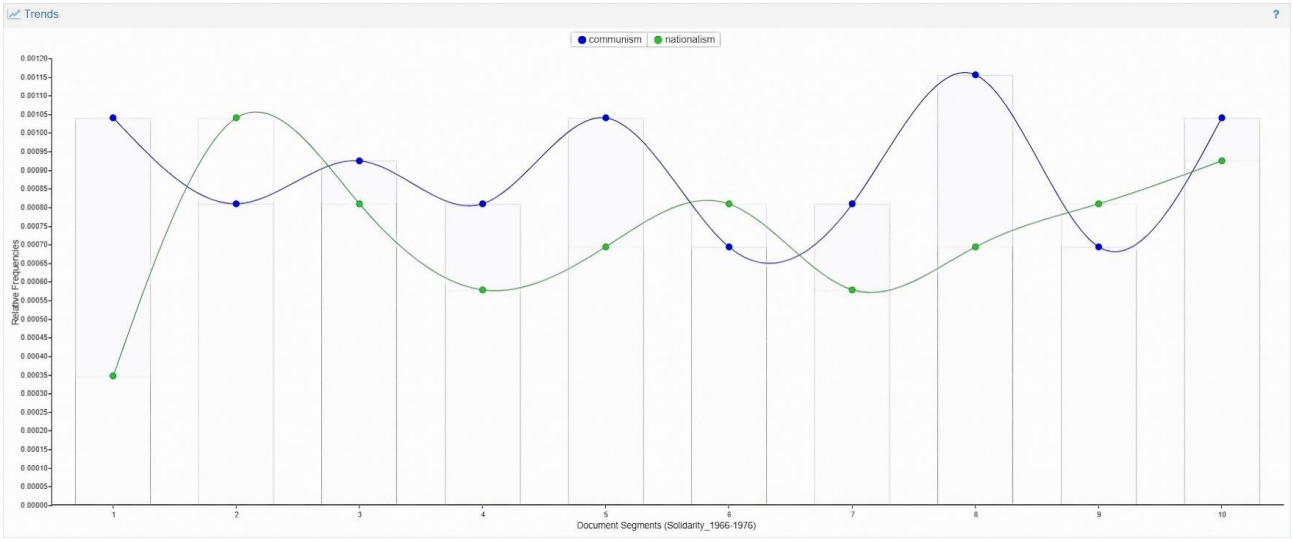

Figure 9. Document Segments of Solidarity (1966-1976) for "communism" (blue) and "nationalism" (green)

communism." Other relevant pairings spring from the words "betrayed" and "respectability," which yielded sharp tirades against tendencies nationalism should be wary of, such as "nationalism has been betrayed by the nationalist themselves because they failed to identify with the masses" or "when nationalism had been given respectability, it was denuded of its social emphasis."

From the collocates and resultant pairings discussed, one glaring observation can be made with regard to the usage of "nationalism" in the editorials—that is, Sionil Jose always defined nationalism through and against the dangers it might encounter and the perversions it might be vulnerable to. This is an effective rhetorical strategy since it doesn't only underscore the role of nationalism in the project of nation-building but portrays communism as a foreign ideology that seeks to imperil the said project. As argued in the previous section, the casting of communism as something foreign or alien has deep roots in past forms of anti-communist imaginings (see Laurel 39; see Salazar qtd. in Guillermo 1; see Fairbank 108). Effective as it may be, this rhetorical strategy has one constitutive trade-off—the imbrication of nationalism, albeit as a negation, to the communist discursive constellation. Looking at the *Solidarity* data set, this is evidenced by the relative frequencies of both terms from 1966 to 1976 (see Figure 9).

As Sionil Jose choreographed between working on the intellectual foundations of a non-aligned nationalist culture and participating in the most important political debates during the Cold War, *Solidarity*, especially its editorials, became a terrain where an agglomeration of competing ideas and imaginings of the world found their footing. Like rebellious CCF journals such as *Encounter* and *Cadernos Brasileiros, Solidarity* existed with a mix of relative dependency and autonomy. Along with the journal's overall thrust and design, this relative autonomy enabled Sionil Jose to explore topics outside the ambit of anti-communist discourse. This is in contrast with *Horison* (especially during its first decade), which was propelled by an ideologically homogenous engine, thus limiting its discursive range to ideas directly and tangentially related to both communism and anti-communism (see Figure 10).

However, since Sionil Jose's primary project—the conception of a nationalism rooted in Philippine culture—has always been imbricated in the sedimentations of both local and global anti-communist discourse, his editorials for *Solidarity* inevitably became overdetermined articulations (albeit localized) of CCF's anti-communist politics (see Figure 11). While *Solidarity*, as evidenced by the journal's ideologically-diverse roster of contributors, was by no means a CCF mouthpiece, it still contributed to the organization's end goal: to prevent communism from gaining added moral and intellectual foothold in the field of culture.

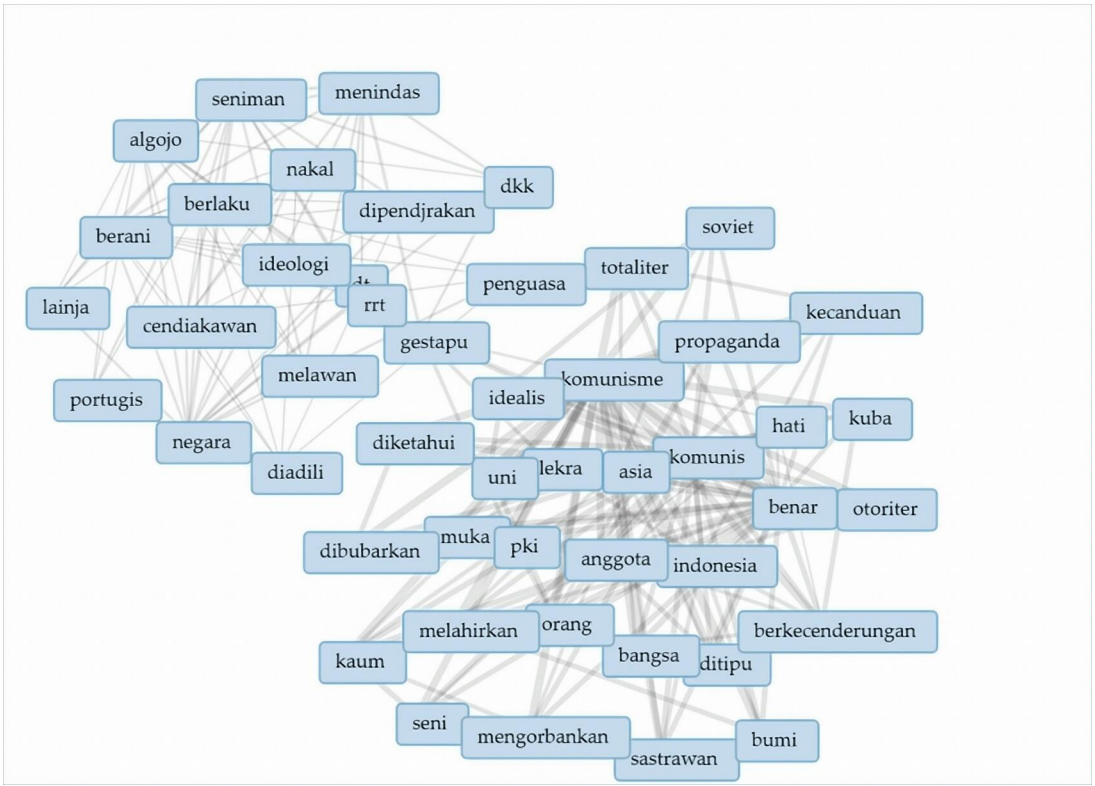

Figure 10. Network visualization, Horison (1966-1976)

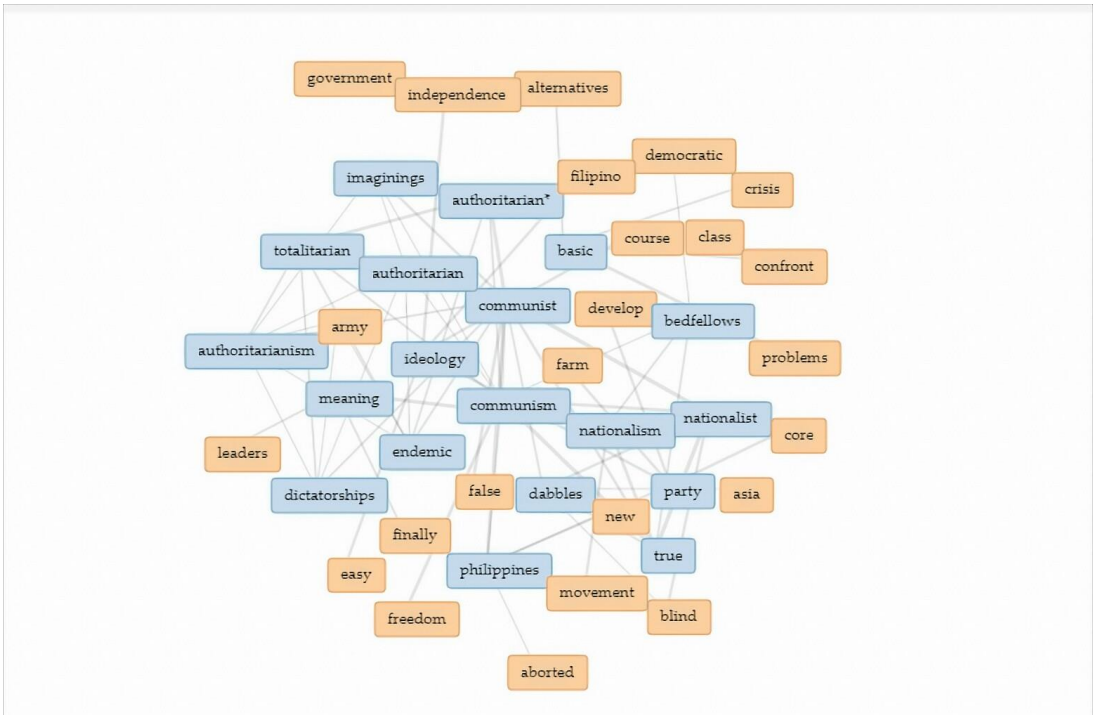

Figure 11. Network visualization, Solidarity (1966-1976)

Conclusion

The publication of both *Horison* and *Solidarity* marked one of the most sustained and significant incursions of the CCF in Southeast Asia during the Cold War. Both were instrumental in the spread of CCF's anti-communist politics through an admixture of appeals to universal discourses (i.e., freedom, nationalism, development), localized anti-communism (i.e., *Horison*'s anti-LEKRA narrative, Sionil Jose's nationalism), and regional campaigns against writers/intellectuals (see Jose 1991) who were deemed as sworn enemies of freedom of speech (i.e., protest against the awarding of the Ramon Magsaysay Award to Pramoedya Ananta Toer). While heterodoxy in publications where ideological cohesion is deemed a foregone conclusion usually triggers pronouncements of a rupture or a significant break from the established line, one must see both journals as parallel yet disparate articulations of CCF's anti-communist politics. In the case of *Horison* and *Solidarity*, this means that the relative freedom (i.e., the ability of Lubis and Sionil Jose to steer their respective journals in certain directions) enjoyed by its editors was something that has been accounted for and overdetermined by the CCF. That their advocacies for creative and intellectual freedom served as a death knell for equally legitimate aesthetic and intellectual imaginings. That part of CCF's overall modus operandi was to use the existence of the said journals to put across the message that unlike publications in socialist states, there is a free exchange of ideas in their sponsored publications. And that, unlike communists, the people behind CCF journals respect the autonomy and integrity of writers and intellectuals. However, as argued in the essay, the CCF's journal's messaging about creative and intellectual freedom were mere subterfuges for the organization's real agenda: to prevent communism from gaining more moral foothold in the field of culture. And although the two journals were propelled by their editors' specific motivations, both became willing prophets of the said agenda despite operating under different political, social, and cultural contexts. In the end, despite both journals' attempts to position themselves as disinterested interlocutors in the Cold War's bifurcated discursive field, *Horison* and *Solidarity* became complicit in the spread of CCF's amorphous anti-communism (Mendoza 212).

With both journals helmed by two of the region's most accomplished writers (Mochtar Lubis and F. Sionil Jose), the CCF found for itself two Cold Warriors who, despite their occasional disagreements with the organization, were willing to go down the trenches of the cultural Cold War. As I have argued in this essay, both journals were able to articulate varying degrees of anti-communist discourse in the fields of art, culture, literature, and politics. Moreover, as demonstrated by the results of the foregoing computer-aided analysis of editorials from both journals, deeper anti-communist intimations were revealed through the unpacking of lexical pairings (i.e., komunisme-dibubarkan; communism-true), relative frequencies (communism-nationalism), and the clustering together of specific words imbricated within the very same discursive constellation. In the case of *Horison*, this is best exemplified by the editorials' focus on three key issues: (1) the legacies left by the demise of PKI and its allies, (2) the crimes of communism against art and literature, (3) and philosophical ruminations on creative and intellectual freedom. These three represent the sliver of legitimized anti-communist discourses in the field of culture during the New Order period. In *Solidarity*, on the other hand, this is best exemplified by the discursive gordian knot tied by Sionil Jose's unique brand of nationalism. In the following years, various invocations of nationalism will be deployed by intellectuals such as Zeus Salazar, Isagani Cruz,[12] and Reynaldo Ileto,[13] among others in order to criticize Marxism's supposedly foreign, reductionist, and deterministic nature—the said articulations represent parallel sequences of Philippine postwar nationalist culture influenced by American imperialist interests.

As publications from a polarized and fractious period in the region, *Horison* and *Solidarity* can provide prospective readers a glimpse of the many entanglements that beset the Filipino and Indonesian intelligentsia. These entaglements are important to unpack for they reveal the various attempts of the CCF to influence the intellectual and political culture of the region, and the responses of Filipino and Indonesian intellectuals to the said overtures. As remaining imprints of CCF and the cultural Cold War, both journals serve as indispensible entry points to the long and contentious history of intellectual complicity in Southeast Asia.

Endnotes

1 See Emily Foister's "The Vatic Bargain: *Solidarity* and the Futures of the Philippine Cold War*"* in *The Cultural Cold War and the Global South: Sites of Contests and Comunistas*. Eds. Brystrom, Kerry, Monica Popescu, and Katherine Zein. Routledge, 2021. In this article, Foister argues that *Solidarity* represented the postcolonial Filipino intelligentsia's attempt to carry out the legacy of the 1955 Bandung Conference of exorcising the ghost of imperialism via the search of alterantive paths to modernization and development. While in many turns insightful, the article fails to take into account the brand of anti-communism, amorphous as it was, that *Solidarity* and F. Sionil Jose was peddlling in the guise of nationalist blandishments and intimations of a third way politics. For a more nuanced and critical look at F. Sionil Jose's nationalism, see R. Kwan Laurel's "Philippine Literary Awards and Nationalism" in *Philippine Cultural Disasters: Essays on an Age of Hyper Consumption*. Willing Ox Publishing, 2010.

2 See https://networks.h-net.org/node/22055/discussions/10047281/online-archive-oral-history-collections-reconceptualizing-cold for details regarding Hajimu Masuda's project of curating an online archive of oral history collectionson the Cold War in Asia.

3 Along with Mochtar Lubis, literary critic H.B. Jassin, political activist So Hok Gie, and several others from the famed "Angkatan 66," Goenawan Mohamad is credited as one of the brains behind *Horison.* He has written numerous editorials for the journal since its inception and has remained as one, if not, the most influential writers in Indonesia after 1966.

4 LEKRA was a cultural organization founded by the leaders of the then reformed and reconsolidated PKI, or Indonesian Communist Party, during the 1950s. See Keith Foulcher's *Social Commitment in the Arts: Indonesia's Institute of People's Culture 1950–1965* (Monash University Press, 1986), Stephen Miller's dissertation "The Communist Imagination: A Study of the Cultural Pages of *Harian Rakjat* in the Early 1950s" (UNSW, Australia, 2015), Muhidin Dahlan and Rhoma Dwi Aria Yuliantri's *Lekra Tak Membakar Buku: Suara Senyap Kebuayaan Lembar Kebudayaan Harian Rakyat 1950–1965* (Merakesumba, 2008) for comprehensive discussions about LEKRA's origins, history, and impact on Indonesian culture.

5 The Manikebu or "Manifes Kebudayaan" is a cultural manifesto signed and released by a group of Indonesian writers, intellectuals, and artists on August 17, 1963. It was a response to what they deem as a repressive artistic and intellectual culture that LEKRA and other left-wing organizations fomented through their activities. See Alexander Supartono's *Lekra vs Manikebu: Perdebatan Kebudayaan Indonesia 1950–1965* (Skripsi STF Driyarkara, 2000) and Dwi Susanto's *LEKRA, LESBUMI, MANIFES KEBUDAYAAN: Sejarah Sastra Indonesia* for a nuanced analysis of the cultural polemic that transpired between members of LEKRA and the signatories of Manikebu. For a perspective from an actual participant of the polemic, see Goenawan Mohamad's essay "Peristiwa Manikebu: Kesustraan Indonesia dan Politik di Tahun 1960-an" in *Kesusastraan dan Kekusaan* (Pustaka Firdaus, 2003). For a perspective of a former LEKRA official, see Joebaar Ajoeb's *Sebuah Mocopat Kebudayaan Indonesia* (Teplok Press, 2004).

6 The Guided Democracy (Demokrasi Termpimpin) was a system put in place by Sukarno in Indonesia from 1959 until 1965 to stem the political instability brought about by the various regional rebellions initiated by the PSI (Partai Sosialis Indonesia) and Masyumi (Majelis Syuryo Muslimin Indonesia) from 1957 until their defeat in the 1960s. .

7 The best example of such material is Arifin Noer's controversial 1984 propaganda film *Pengkhiantan G30s/PKI* (The Treachery of G30s/PKI).

8 "Politik adalah panglima" (literally: "Politics is the commander") is a popular slogan often associated with LEKRA and PKI. The slogan was also often invoked by Sukarno in his speeches during the Guided Democracy period.

9 The first two, and arguably the most successful, titles published by Solidaridad were *Equinox 1* in 1965 and the *Asian PEN Anthology* in 1966.

10 CUFA will be later renamed as the Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities (CAFA) in 1961.

11 For publications like *Horison* and *Solidarity* which feature disparate authors, the use of the Dendogram (https://r-graph-gallery.com/dendrogram.html) is a very helpful way in further analyzing the stylistic similarities, differences, trends, and deviations in one or several issues of a journal. Through the Dendogram, one can, for instance, determine how Sionil Jose's writing style (as the author of *Solidarity*'s editorials) had remained consistent or drastically changed over the years. However, since the main concern of this essay is to shed light on the two journal's anti-communist messaging, the analysis focused on conventional collocational analysis and the mapping of the relative frequency of specific terms.

12 Served as a member of *Solidarity'*s editorial board during 1980s and the 1990s.

13 Served as a member of *Solidarity'*s editorial board during 1980s and the 1990s.

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