Part II

Nationalism
Nationalism in the sense of resistance to foreign rule existed in Indonesia during the whole period of the Dutch presence. In the Dutch East India Company era, when the foreign impact on traditional civilization was slight, armed uprisings against the colonial power were sporadic. In Java, where the power of the Company was centred, the people as a whole tolerated the usurpers with sullen resignation, firmly believing that the wheel of history was bound to turn in the foreseeable future. But during the nineteenth century, when Dutch influence was felt more deeply and by widening circles, the reaction of the Javanese changed and armed uprisings occurred with increasing frequency as the century progressed. In the period 1840-75 there were only six years in which Java was free from anti-colonial rebellions or disturbances.

Most of these uprisings showed distinct millenarian tendencies. The leaders were usually guru ngelmu (mystics), or kiyayi (Islamic teachers), who were reputedly endowed with magical powers and presented themselves to the peasantry as the Ratu Adil, the long-expected Messiah, who would drive out the Dutch and establish a kingdom on traditional lines in which happiness, justice, and prosperity would prevail. The concept of the Ratu Adil is contained in the various prophecies that were current in Java from the end of the eighteenth century. The best known were those attributed to Jojobojo, an eleventh century ruler of the kingdom of Kediri in East Java. With the growing impact of Islam on Java during the nineteenth century, the Muslim concept of the Mahdi, the just ruler who would appear and abolish corruption and injustice, often becomes intertwined with the traditional Javanese prophecies. This is clear from the version of the Jojobojo prophecies published by the Dutch scholar Wiselius in 1872 (see document 36).

Most of these nineteenth century rebellions were ill co-ordinated, localized, and badly planned affairs, which could be easily suppressed by the colonial power.

An important exception was the Java War (1825-30), a fierce guerilla struggle led by the Javanese prince Dipanegara, which
resulted in tens of thousands of casualties and economic destruction on a vast scale.

The major underlying cause of the war was economic. The principality of Yogjakarta, where hostilities broke out, had a long record of stubborn though unsuccessful anti-colonial resistance during which it had lost a great deal of its territory to the Dutch. This meant that the class of noble administrators and other courtiers surrounding the sultan in his kraton (palace complex), who were customarily not recompensed for their services in money but were given the use of land and the seignorial services to be rendered by the peasantry living on it, now had to be content with ever-decreasing parcels of land. This reduction in the standard of living naturally accentuated the already strong anti-colonial feeling of the nobility. However, in order to forego as little as possible of the grandiose style of living they were accustomed to, the nobility through their bekel (stewards) tried to extract as much as possible from the peasantry, which was already overburdened by a host of other taxes, including the extortionate dues levied at the numerous toll-gates, usually farmed out to the Chinese.

When after 1816 a number of private European planters arrived in the principalities of Central Java offering large sums as advance payment for the use of land and the services of the peasants living on it (in order to grow crops for export), it is not surprising that their requests were readily granted by the Javanese nobles. But when Governor-General van der Capellen, a genuine liberal and humanitarian, arrived in the principalities for a State visit, he was horrified to see these European planters living like feudal rulers lording it over the indigenous peasantry; and in 1823 with one stroke of the pen he forbade the renting of lands to Europeans. The Javanese nobility, although they were given their lands back, were now in a serious financial impasse, not only because their income was lowered, but particularly because they were required to reimburse the European planters for the advance payments, which in typical fashion had long since been dissipated, and the various improvements such as roads and irrigation works.

The ensuing discontent and hate engendered among the nobility against the Dutch, together with the great suffering of the peasantry, only needed the determined action of a respected leader to spark off a general resistance movement. This leadership was provided by Dipanegara, who held various grudges against the Dutch and was on bad terms with the immediate entourage of the ruling sultan. He strongly resented having been by-passed for the throne and, living as a recluse and mystic of the more orthodox Islamic kind, he severely criticized the immoral life at the court and the close relationship of the sultan and some of his advisers with the Dutch, the unbelievers.
Various intrigues by his enemies at the court as well as a number of affronts by the Dutch Resident Smissaert finally drove Dipanegara into open rebellion and to proclaiming himself the Ratu Adil and Sultan of all Java; large numbers of the nobility and the vast majority of the peasants thronged to join his forces. Document 37 contains excerpts from a manuscript about the outbreak of the war written by a Javanese nobleman who fought on the side of the Dutch.

It was also during the nineteenth century that the Dutch began to extend their effective control over the whole of the Archipelago via their “pacification policy”. In some areas, such as Minangkabau (West Sumatra) and Atjeh (North Sumatra), this resulted in protracted and bloody struggles.

In Minangkabau the Dutch in 1821 interfered in a civil war fought between the Padri, fanatical Muslim reformers, and the chiefs. Minangkabau was a matriarchical society with a strongly democratic tradition and political organization, which, like so many other areas of Indonesia, had adopted and adapted Islam on its own terms, effecting a synthesis between the Islamic law and the adat (traditional customary law). When at the beginning of the nineteenth century a number of pilgrims returned from Mecca, where they had been imbued by the puritanical Wahabi doctrine, and tried to introduce by force similar reforms that were directed mainly at the power of the adat chiefs, a civil war broke out. By 1821, however, the Padri had occupied most of the country and introduced their system of theocratic rule. The Dutch, who were unaware of this, fell for the story told by emissaries from the adat party requesting military aid against the hated Padri, who, they claimed, could be easily defeated within a few weeks. In return the Dutch were promised the overlordship of Minangkabau, an area known for its coffee production and gold mining. Instead of weeks it took the colonial forces until 1837, when the last major Padri leader, Tuanku Imam Bondjol, was finally defeated. Document 38 contains excerpts from the memoirs of Tuanku Imam Bondjol.

Even longer and more devastating in terms of life and resources was the war against Atjeh (1873-1903), a sultanate at the northern tip of Sumatra, which until then had stubbornly defied any attempts by Europeans to obtain a foothold in its territory.

The piracy practised by the Achinese; the demands for protection of European plantations in the east-coast sultanates of Langkat, Deli and Asahan, which were claimed by the Achinese; and the fear that other imperial powers such as Germany, Italy, or the U.S.A. might establish themselves in the area finally caused the Dutch, with the blessing of the British, to send an expedition to Atjeh in 1873—an expedition that was promptly defeated. Other expeditions, although more successful in open combat, were unable to bring the
Achinese, who resorted to guerilla tactics, under complete Dutch control. Even less successful were a naval blockade, the establishment of a concentrated defence line around the capital, Kotaradja, and occasional attempts by the colonial government to bring the Achinese to heel by negotiations. Military bungling and official indecisiveness made the war drag on for decades, costing the colonial Treasury millions of gilders.

It was not until the acceptance by the colonial government of the advice of Snouck Hurgronje, the noted scholar of Islam who was the first European to make a thorough study of Atjeh and its civilization, that Achinese resistance finally began to crumble. Snouck was the first to point out that three parties were contending for supremacy in Atjeh: a small and unimportant group centred around the sultan, the ulebalang (the traditional nobility), and the ulama, Islamic religious teachers. The ulama were according to Snouck Hurgronje, the soul of the anti-Dutch resistance. They had a strong religious as well as political hold over the common people, who generally felt exploited by the ulebalang, and they exhorted the Achinese to fulfil their duties as Muslims and wage a perang sabil (holy war) against the kafir (unbeliever) invaders. Many hikajat (tracts) about the holy war were circulating around Atjeh as a kind of war propaganda (excerpts from one of them are shown in document 39). Snouck argued that sitting behind a stationary defence line was useless and that if in particular the ulama led bands were relentlessly pursued until they were either annihilated or surrendered, the war would soon be over.

However, it was not until the end of the century that his plan was officially adopted. Its execution was put in the hands of General van Heutz, a fire-eating though capable field commander, who with his mobile columns was able to stamp out open resistance, bringing an uneasy peace to Atjeh until the outbreak of war with Japan in 1942.

Undoubtedly these nineteenth century uprisings and resistance movements form an important chapter in the history of the struggle waged by the various peoples of the Archipelago to retain or regain their freedom. But to classify them as early examples of Indonesian nationalism seems unhistorical. The concept of Indonesia was as yet unknown to the people concerned, who on the whole were interested solely in defending their particular region or sultanate and in protecting and reinforcing their own traditional civilization.

In Java the threat posed by the West to traditional civilization was met in a negative fashion, by ignoring it, by harking back to the past, and by transcending the problem by encouraging the latent popular expectation about the impending arrival of a golden age.

Indonesian nationalism in the sense of the desire to create a nation-state out of the vast agglomeration of ethnic, cultural, and
geographical entities constituting the Netherlands Indies, is a comparatively recent phenomenon, dating from the early decades of the twentieth century.

36 J.A.B. Wiselius: The prophecies of Jobobojo, 1872

At that time there was no king who was more powerful than Djojobojo. He had two residences, one at Daha and the other at Kediri. From there he ruled the people that lived to the east and the west. He was feared by everybody, because he was well known for his greatness, power, and strength in war. All were impressed by his knowledge and obeyed his commands. Even more important, Djojobojo was an incarnation of Bhattara Wishnu, and no king anywhere dared to oppose him. His bearing commanded respect and reverence; he lived quietly as a recluse and never forgot to take account of God in his actions. He greatly desired a son, who finally was born to him ... Around this time Djojobojo was visited in his palace by a priest from Ngroem. He was a priest-king named Sultan Moelana Ali Samsoedjen who ... because of his knowledge of the supernatural, but even more because of his Arabic origin, caused King Djojobojo to treat him respectfully and reverently.

After the necessary formalities had been concluded, Samsoedjen began the conversation, saying: "Well, King Djojobojo, I have come here to familiarize you with the teachings of the Kitab Moesaran, in which it is revealed that your descendants who will remain unbelievers will still reign over Djaha for another three generations. After that your Kingdom will disappear and be succeeded by another.

Djojobojo kissed the feet of the priest-king, his teacher, after which Samsoedjen left.

About a month after the departure of the priest, Djojobojo invited his son Pagedongan to climb Mount Pandan with him to visit a Buddhist teacher and recluse called Soehita, who lived on the summit. He went on this journey equipped with all the gifts which the new religion [i.e. Islam] could give him. After Samsoedjen departed the King had been instructed in the Islamic religion [by] ... a priest from Ngroem. He also had been instructed in the science of the obscure, so that gradually he did not only know what had happened before the world was created, but also what was still to happen with regard to the kings who were to follow in the future and their actions. He could also prophesy about these future kingdoms, using symbols and allegories. All these qualities of the King helped to bring the country to prosperity. The inhabitants hardly needed to work. His army was
the most powerful in all of Java. The great esteem in which the King was held continuously increased so that everybody feared him, because he knew about all the actions of the people on earth.

When Djojobojo and his son reached the top of Mount Pandan, the pandita [the Buddhist teacher] came out to welcome them and, on recognizing the King, he invited them to sit down ... The teacher called for a female servant (a nun), who soon appeared carrying food. She brought a tray with seven different dishes ... The food consisted of: 1. a dish of djoewadah (small cake made of rice flour, sugar, and coconut milk); 2. a basket of koenir (tumeric); 3. a dish of white onions; 4. a large pepper with serøeni flowers; 5. a large pepper with melati (jasmine) flowers; 6. various types of kadjar (herbal plant); 7. a basket of dry rice. Ki Hadjar. [the teacher] kneeled before the King and informed him that the meal was ready.

As soon as Djojobojo saw the food he became very incensed; he pulled out his dagger and killed the teacher and his servant. The pupils who witnessed this from afar were struck with fear and fled. Pagedongan, seeing what his father had done, wanted to say something, but fear prevented him from doing so.

Now Sri Boepatih Djojobojo came down from the mountain with his son and entered his kraton. He sat down and his son kneeled before him and asked his father why he had killed the teacher.

His father replied: "If this teacher had remained alive, he would have stopped the course of events. Also he has sinned against my teacher Sultan Moelana Ali Samsoedjen, because he made his secret public. Moelana Ali instructed me in the secrets of the book Moesaran after I had promised him not to speak about these matters in the island of Java ..."

After that, Djojobojo began to explain future events in connection with the seven dishes of food ...

"The seven dishes put in front of me by the teacher mean that seven eras will come in which seven kingdoms will succeed each other. After me another two generations will rule in Java. Then four kingdoms will arise, but my kingdom will not be among them because it will be erased from the world of states. I myself will depart from here and nobody will know my abode, because I will be contained in the soul of my teacher Sultan Moelana Ali, whose descendants will later be recognized as kings of Java.

"The first four kingdoms will be Djengala, Kediri, Singasari, and Ngoerawan. They will be very prosperous and justice will prevail. But because of vendettas and internecine wars they will later be depopulated. This era will be known as Narpati. After one hundred years another era will begin, called Kala Wisesa. The King will reside at Padjadjaran and his reign will be called Teteken. There will be no war or injustice in the era. After one hundred years this blessed
reign will end. A war will break out between relatives of the King about the succession to the throne. And all of them will be destroyed. Those in power will struggle continuously. There will be discord about the possession of land and the people must pay their taxes in gold. This is so because Ki Hadjar offered me *koenir*.

“When the last King of Padjadjaran has died another era will begin, called Srikala or Sangkala. The King is Praboe Brawidjaja ... he will reside at Madjalenka [Modjopahit] and the era of the government of this Nalendra Sangradja Pati will be called Nandoer Pati. The people will have to pay taxation in the form of money, because I was offered *djoewadah* on Mount Padjan by Ki Hadjar. After one hundred years this kingdom will be destroyed and another one of scented *glagah* [a reed like sugar cane] will come up [Demak]. The era will be known as Kala Wisaja. This will be a period of trouble. A change of religion will take place and the people will stop praying to the deities and there will be general prosperity. The King will be called Kipata Kala Wisesa and his reign will be called Adiati. He will be a just and pious prince who belongs to the order of *walis* or priests. He himself will give religious instruction and will found the holy faith. And everybody will respect him. The people in his lands [from Demak to Giri] will pay taxation in money, and also in silver and gold. This will be so because on the mountain I was offered *melati* flowers.

“After sixty-four years this kingdom will disappear and the era called Kala Djongga will begin in which the kingdom of Padjang will rise. The prince will be just and pious but he will not be succeeded by his children. The people will pay taxation in the form of money and clothing, because I was offered various kinds of *kadjar*.

“After thirty-five years Padjang will be replaced by the kingdom of Mataram, which inaugurates the era called Kala Sekti or Kala Sekti Doepara. Prince Praboe Njakra Buwana Senopati will be the first king. He is a descendant from priests and he will therefore gather all priests and soothsayers around him to dispense justice. This king is the wheel of the earth and his reign will inaugurate a time of prosperity in Java. War will make the kingdom powerful and women and treasures will be obtained as tribute. The king will be rich and feared by the people. Also the people will be rich and will therefore be able to pay heavy taxes. Taxation will be paid in reals [realen], because Ki Hadjar placed a plate with white onions in front of me. Another three generations will rule after him. Then after one hundred years this kingdom will perish because of a very fierce struggle between relatives about the succession to the throne.

“At this time seafarers [i.e. the Dutch East India Company] will come to Java to trade. They will interfere in the war. And they will close off the country from all sides and they will finally gain victory,
after which they will divide the kingdom. One part will be returned to Padjang and will be called Njakra Wati Surja. This era will be called Sangkara because these times will be violent. Tax will be paid in [local] money and reals, because on Mount Padjan I was given melati flowers.

"After four kings have reigned for a period of sixty years over this kingdom a time of confusion will come about. The wrath of God will come over Java, the prosperity of the country will disappear, and great disasters will follow one after the other. God's wrath will increase from year to year. The upper classes will be cursed and the people will be needy. The people will not be able to live peacefully in their houses, and they will be living at the side of the roads and they will wander aimlessly in the market-place. The upper classes will be cruel to the common people, who will also become immoral. Truth will disappear and lies only will be spoken. Honest men will no longer be found, and many will be poor. Women also will have lost all their shame. The justice of the King will be uncertain, labile, and not severe enough. The type of tax he will demand will change but the amount will increase all the time. Masses of... buffaloes, cows, horses, calves, weapons, lances, and daggers, will be paid in tax. Money and the English coins will be exported from the country, and during wartime no food will be found because the harvest will fail and the country will be flooded. It is not certain where the King will reside. His commands will be disastrous for the people. In short, the government will be bad, and it will be as if the devils are ruling. Two seafarers of high rank, who are rich and courageous, will now become powerful in Java. After suppressing the people they will disappear again. Disasters will occur more frequently and will no longer be prevented. The people will move about aimlessly. They will move to the north and to the south and backwards again. They will finally die without having made the pilgrimage [to Mecca]. There will be many robberies committed by hardened highwaymen. But now also the end of this kingdom is near. There will be eclipses of the sun and the moon, and rain, wind, earthquakes, typhoons, and ash rains will come about. The seasons will be confused. And everywhere there will be war and rebellion. The enemies [i.e. the Dutch] will continuously change their tactics. They will become very powerful. Many of them will come to Java and they will act more and more daringly. All this will take place because on Mount Padjan the meal was served by Njai Endang, the nun.

"But then, oh my son Pagedongan, there will appear Si Tandjoeng Poetih [i.e. the Ratu Adil—the Saviour]. This prince will be pure of heart. He originates from Mecca and he is a descendant from one of the walis [i.e. the first missionaries who brought Islam to Java] of God. The name of the King will be Raden Amisan and his power will
extend over the whole of the earth. Now there will be no more crime and all people will be like one family. This king will only desire to lead the people in calling out God’s name, but not to command armies, because God alone will act as the great leader in battle. He will destroy the enemy and also everybody who rejects the appointment of this priest-king. Now justice will take its course. But also the king will forgive and give pardons. He will be fair and just. He will refuse to accept the goods of the people, because he is not interested in gathering treasures, but he will attempt to further the interests of his subjects. He will only charge one dinar on four bouws of land. This will happen because on Mount Pandan I was offered seroeni flowers. There will be prosperity in the whole of the land and the people will be contented. The people will have no difficulty in feeding and clothing themselves, because clothing and gold will be cheap. Also much gold will be brought to Java from overseas. There will no longer be dishonesty, and although there will be no police patrols, theft will disappear. Thieves will not disappear because of magic, but because they will be punished by this priest-king. He will command respect and everybody will fear him. Nobody will have anything to do with criminals and therefore the highway robbers will disappear. The gamblers will run into bad luck, and the criminals will flee into the forests. Cursed by the Almighty they will come to the mosque where, fearing the revenge of God, they will be converted.

“He [the King] will be like gula djawa [a type of brown sugar] and he will look like the kenanga [scented flower]. There will be no treasures in his palace because he is very gentle and generous to his people, yes, to all the people on earth. No longer will there be beggars. He will have them all brought together and he will give them food and clothing, and houses. He will continue to be generous to them and with the help of God they will all soon be prosperous and happy. They will all like to obey his commands and they will all love him. His commands are like gleaming precious stones ... [The kingdom of Tandjung Putih will disappear again. A period of unrest and lawlessness will exist until the coming of another Messiah called Eru Tjakra. After one century another period of confusion and internece warfare will occur.] This confused state of affairs will come to the notice of the King of Pringgi [Holland], who will attack with an army that is immensely large. The noise made by these soldiers is like the sound of the sea when the high tide comes in. He will meet all the boepatihs [royal governors] in battle and will defeat them all, one after the other ... The whole of Java will finally be conquered. People from other countries who come to trade in Java will be pillaged. The King will rule with great severity over the Javanese and will let them feel his superiority. Once a year he will return to Pringgi, taking as tribute a number of families with him, while he will send a number of his own people to Java.
“Finally the great King, the boepatih of Ngroem, hears about this usurpation and suppression. He is very angry and immediately calls for his patih [rank immediately below Regent]. He says: ‘patih, I hear that the island of Java has been conquered by people from the island of Pringgi and that one of them has put himself up as king. But he has not yet recognized me as his overlord, nor has he personally come to submit himself. Moreover he causes great confusion there, pillaging the merchants and transporting people as prisoners, about a thousand men each year. But the island of Java belongs to me. My forefathers did found a colony there ... We must therefore prepare for war and you, patih, must immediately depart for Java, taking a large number of men with you, and drive out the people from Pringgi. If they resist, destroy them to the last man and don’t return until you have driven all of them out.’ The patih immediately equips a force of four hundred thousand men which embarks in two thousand ships. With this force he goes to Java ... After the whole army has landed the war of annihilation will begin. All the people from Pringgi will perish and their bodies will be thrown in the rivers, which will be completely filled ...”

[During the twentieth century, the last part of Jojobojo’s prophesies changed and the King of Ngrum became the Japanese, who would drive out the Dutch. The Japanese would stay in Java for the duration of the life cycle of the mais plant. After that Java would be free again.]


37 \textbf{T. Roorda: The beginning of the Rebellion of Dipanegara, according to a Javanese manuscript, 1860}

[The story begins with the banishment by the English of Sultan Mangkubuwono II in 1812. He was succeeded by his son Mangkubuwono III, who was particularly fond of two of his sons, the eldest, called Dipanegara (or Diponegoro), and the youngest, Raden Mas Bagus Suradja. But when the Sultan offered Dipanegara the rank of crown prince he refused and asked that his younger brother Suradja be appointed instead. Dipanegara offered to act as guardian. This was agreed to by the Sultan and ratified by the Dutch colonial government, and when Mangkubuwowo III died in 1814 he was succeeded by his youngest son Suradja, who was then barely thirteen years old and took the name Sultan Bagus Djarot. Prince
Dipanegara and Prince Mangkubumi were appointed as his guardians.]

The King [Sultan Bagus Djarot] loved his elder brother Dipanegara very much and from time to time visited him in Selaradja. Dipanegara was equally fond of his younger brother and came to see him at least every three weeks. Prince Mangkoeboemi was a man of weak character and only acted as a guardian, but he was on good terms with Prince Dipanegara.

The King was barely thirteen years of age and his mother loved him so much that she gave in to all his whims. In order to develop him rapidly into an adult she gave him a number of pretty girls for company and he was trained and instructed in the lustful arts by his wet-nurse. This sinfulness did not cause any concern [at the court], but when Dipanegara heard about it, he wrote his mother the following letter: "Mother, I write you this letter because the way you are bringing up my younger brother, the King, leads him into sin. Do not let him go too far, but let him practise moderation. Do not let him commit sins. This will later go against him, because he who sins against God will experience the dire consequences". Although the mother replied that she would take heed, the young King continued to be brought up by her in lustfulness and luxury, and she gave in to everything he desired.

He married his cousin, a daughter of the former prime minister, Danoeredja, who had been murdered by the King in the palace because he was suspected of treason.

Somewhat later he ordered an extremely beautiful gold-plated carriage to be made; and when it was ready he ordered all his soldiers in the court to dress themselves in the European fashion and to accompany him on his pleasure tours. A hundred men had to ride in front and a hundred in the rear. He also ordered that they were to exercise within the walls of the palace and he wanted to drive everywhere within the palace precincts in every direction, with the result that the homes of the officials were demolished in order to make way for the new road. And to the east, west, north, and south, everything—whether it belonged to the upper classes or the common people—was damaged. The common people felt very unhappy. Many coconut trees were cut down to make way for the new road. Also outside the palace walls everything, including the Soeranatan [the meeting place of the Suranatas—a corps of armed priests] was destroyed. The people became disillusioned with the King. "What kind of a king is this? What strange ideas! And the great unhappiness he causes! He does not care about the unhappiness of the common people. The future looks grim."

In the mornings the King would go out riding in his gold-plated
coach, dressed in sumptuous clothes, and with a detachment of cavalry in front and behind. The coach would go so fast that it would strike the riders in front; many fell from their horses and some even died. When told about this he did not care. It happened almost every day. On his return to the palace he drank alcoholic beverages as if they were water. He was not interested in acting virtuously, but completely surrendered himself to his pleasures and vanity. He forgot his Maker, the Creator of heaven and earth, but he always showed respect for his elder brother, Prince Dipanegara.

Dipanegara was a very pious person, who spent day and night praying in his chapel. Only on Thursday evenings did he go to his living quarters, but in the morning he would return to his chapel to pray and read the Qu’ran. This chapel was at Selaradja, where there was a beautiful park with a large flat black rock in the midst of all sorts of beautiful flowers and a pond with goldfish. The Prince recited the Qu’ran with a lovely and melodious voice, and when weary from the reciting would read the histories of the conquests of the old kings.

He reflected on the behaviour of his younger brother, who had been elevated to the throne and who now had become a fearless sinner, letting his passions run riot, ignoring the precepts of religion, and not caring to retain the grace of God. “My brother”, he said, “does not care for the grace of God; I fear that he will lose it. I read here in these books about kings who have lived in luxury but whose lives were only of a short duration.” …

He invited his younger brother to visit him in Selaradja. When the young Sultan read the letter, he felt in his heart, “My brother Dipanegara is displeased with me. I have brought this upon myself.”

The King went quickly to Selaradja and, not wishing to be accompanied by a large number of retainers, he only took forty men with him, and instead of his robes of state he wore old clothes. On his arrival in Selaradja his older brother came to meet him at the outer gate. They shook hands and, holding hands, they went inside and sat down on the big black rock in the shadow of a komuning tree [a large, shady tree].

Dipanegara said: “The reason, my royal brother, why I invited you here is that yesterday I read in the book Nasihat-al-moeloek the story of ancient kings of Arabia and other Western countries who were happy and unhappy …” [Dipanegara then told his brother about various kings in the past who had been struck down by God because of their iniquitous lives.] Dipanegara, speaking in a friendly tone, said: “My royal brother, think about these stories which I have read to you from the books.”

The young King thanked him and, realizing that his brother was reprimanding him, made all sorts of good promises, but they were
feigned. He quickly took his leave and returned to his court, where the next morning he again went out in his coach to have fun.

In Selaradja the Prince ordered that all his subjects should say their prayers. "Whoever does not pray, I will drive away, and I will have their houses destroyed, be they old or young."

Prince Dipanedaga continued to live the life of a holy recluse in a cave in the Silarong mountains, which he had equipped and prepared for the purpose. He often stayed there in quiet seclusion. He also liked to go on pilgrimages to holy places. And from time to time he went into the loneliness of Pamantjingen, Paranwedang, Parangkoesoema, the Potiman cave, and the Kamal cavern. Only taking two boys with him, he went along the seashore to the southern mountains to seclude himself in the Soeralamang and Saroengga caves. He did not want to wear beautiful clothes and wore a black coat and black trousers. He tried to attain the dignity of a wali, God willing. He did not want to lead a life of luxury and pleasure, arguing, "How long does one's life on earth last? At the highest only a hundred years, but the life in the other world is without end." And it was on that that he held his hopes, thinking, "If I come to die burdened with sin, then I will be damned. Yes, who will save me, when I am in hell having to suffer eternal punishment? The Qu'ran is the guide for a happy life and a holy death."

The Prince called his subjects together and let them read the Qu'ran, after which he treated them to a meal. He was very sympathetic to the fakirs [mendicant ascetics] and the poor; and he supported the needy and orphans. When persons came to him to ask permission to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca, he would provide them with their travel needs. He acted in this way in accordance with the precepts of the God-given Qu'ran ...

[Dipanedaga went to visit a poisonous cave where he was subjected to various trials, which he believed were a sign that God had forgiven him for his previous sins. Some time after the return of Dipanedaga to Selaradja (December 1822), the Sultan's life came to a sudden end.] The King went to his harem where he sat down among his wives. His mother sat very close to him. He ordered the gamelan [Javanese orchestra] to be played and its enchanting sounds could be heard. Songs were performed with lovely voices and the King enjoyed himself very much.

The King ordered the serving of the food, which had come from the outside from his uncle, Prince Mangkoeboemi. But the King could not enjoy the meal because he was shivering all over. While he put his hand out for a piece of meat, he said to his mother: "Why is it that I am so tired and listless?" When the meat was still on his tongue, he fell forwards with his face on his plate. He became unconscious and then died. He was lying there motionless, like a chicken
that had been attacked by a kite. The mother jumped up in terror and grasped her son, but he was no longer breathing. There were loud laments in the palace and immediately messengers were sent to the [Dutch] fort and Selaradja, and soon all the princes and boepatihs had heard the news.

The Resident arrived soon afterwards and wanted an autopsy. Prince Dipanegara was deeply moved, and with tears in his eyes he said: "What did you expect, my brother? You did not listen to my warnings. It was ordained by the Almighty that your life would be short. The Doctrine says clearly that a Muslim prince who is unjust will have a short life."

The Resident said: "It would be better if the autopsy took place soon. If he really has been poisoned, we will do our best to ensure that the poison will come out by means of medicines. If the poison comes out he will soon recover and live."

The Prince was opposed to this. "No," he said, "this must not happen because after all it is the will of the Creator. My brother the King is surely dead and why should his body be mutilated? Certainly, if he would come to life again we would rejoice, but if he remains dead then he will have a scarred body. We should console ourselves and acquiesce in the will of God."

The mother, however, insisted that the proposal of the Dutchman should be followed up, and the others agreed with her. Quickly the body was opened up in the lumbar region. But no blood flowed and all were sorry. The mother cried uncontrollably, sorry that she had agreed. But after some time she consoled herself with the thought that it had been the will of God. The body was then cleaned and after the performance of the normal observances was interred at Djimatan.

Prince Dipanegara remained three days and three nights in the palace and then returned to Selaradja.

After the Governor-General in Batavia had been notified of the sudden death of the Sultan, it was decided there that the son of the deceased King should succeed to the throne under the guardianship of Prince Dipanegara. After this decision had been received by the Resident a meeting was held, in the Residency house, of the princes and the Prime Minister and his boepatihs. Prince Dipanegara and Prince Mangkoeboemi were the last to arrive. All the important Dutchmen were sitting on chairs in a long row, but none of the Javanese. Almost immediately the Resident jumped from his chair and, suddenly confronting Prince Dipanegara with the order received from Batavia, he said: "Prince Dipanegara, this is a decision which has been received from Batavia. Take it, and please read its contents."

The Prince took it and, thinking about it, acclaimed the decision.
He was opposed to only one point; and after a moment of reflection he told the delegates from Batavia and the Resident: "Resident, I have a request, and I hope that nobody will oppose it. All I wish is that the Government should allow me to live as a pandita and santri [mystic and pious Muslim]. I am pleased at the elevation of my nephew to the throne, but I am not interested in becoming a guardian. I cannot do it. Let my uncle Mangkoeboemi become guardian of my nephew."

But the Resident did not agree with the proposal. Out of fear of the Governor-General he did not dare to change anything in the decision and he kept protesting to the Prince, but in vain. The Resident Bongos [literally "black spot on the face", a nickname for Resident de Salis] became incensed.

The Prince then said: "Send somebody to Batavia and let the elevation of my nephew be postponed for a while. There is no haste; let us wait for the reply from Batavia so that I may be relieved of my burden." The Resident agreed and the coronation of the King was postponed until word had been received from Batavia.

The Queen Mother was very disquieted that the elevation of her grandson did not take place because Prince Dianegara was obstructing it, and the other princes agreed. Would he himself want to become king? The princess was very worried that nothing would come of the coronation of her grandson. "What will happen to me, when Prince Dianegara takes over the government? After all he is the son of a concubine." The Queen Mother did not understand things correctly; her fears were untimely and she misinterpreted the situation ... [The Queen Mother established close contact with the Dutch Resident de Salis and, trying to convince him that Dianegara was a troublemaker, who himself was after the throne, she urged that her grandson should be crowned forthwith without waiting for the reply from Batavia. Other important courtiers such as Danureja and Wiranegara supported the Queen Mother's allegations.]

Finally the letter from Batavia arrived and a meeting was held in the Residency house of all the princes and notables. The request of Prince Dianegara had been granted by the government; and he was very pleased. The elevation of the new Sultan, however, was postponed for a few days ...

[Prince Dianegara returned home and went to his cave at Silarong to pray and meditate.] When he had been at Silarong for three days he heard the sound of successive cannon shots such as was the custom in honour of the arrival of a letter.

"Let us go home quickly," he said to his squires, and sped to Selaradja. When he arrived he said: "Did you hear the shooting? I wonder what it would be about."
Kertjaja said: "Lord, I have been to Sindoedjaja where I heard that Your Lordship's young nephew is being confirmed and installed as sultan."

For a while the Prince remained speechless; he became glowing red, his lips were trembling, and he said to himself: "What could be the reason for not inviting me to the coronation of my nephew? It must be another mean trick by this dirty Danoeredja, and Wiranegara and Mother." He remained silent and locked himself in his bedroom in Selaradja where he remained for three days and three nights. He felt deeply wronged, and said to himself: "It is as if I am no longer myself! I feel no longer human! Danoeredja, Wiranegara, and Mother treat me wrongly. I have no plans to take over the realm by force, but nevertheless they are suspicious of me and they secretly try to trick me." ...  

[Dipanegara, after having consulted a religious teacher, finally calmed down and forgot about the affair. Not long afterwards the Resident de Salis was replaced by Resident Smissaert, who was able to establish good relations with all the princes, including Dipanegara. It had been especially impressed upon Smissaert by the colonial government not to upset Prince Dipanegara, who was left free to carry out his religious calling. He did not call at the court very often, although he was very fond of the young King, who was then four years old, and whom he sometimes took with him for the day to Selaradja.]

Some time later Wiranegara and the Prime Minister, Danoeredja, with the intention of playing a harmful trick on both princes (Dipanegara and Mangkoebboem), made the Resident the following proposal: "If you are agreeable," they said, "it would be a good idea to extend southwards the road that runs to the west of the capital, from the market-place at Koetjen right through to Padakkan Mountain, and from there to Pandawar, Silarong, Pidjenan, and Mangir to the Praga River where it will connect with the road to Senepi; and to the north of the market-place of Pakoentjen it should run straight through the village of Tompean, where there is a garden with all sorts of fine fruit trees; and then it should go further northwards straight through the village of Nagloewes to the village of Terini, where it will connect with the highway. We believe that this will help future development because then the people who live to the south of the capital can travel northwards more easily."

The Resident replied: "The greatest objection I can think of is Selaredja. Think about it again carefully, which does not mean that I have already given my approval. Do not take this matter lightly, and if the Prince does not agree you should not persist. Do not force him, if he is unwilling, because it could have dire consequences and could become a cause of disturbance. I have made an agreement
with Dipanegara that ‘Whoever starts trouble will have to bear the consequences.’ The Resident further said: ‘Of all the princes of Mataram, nobody should be so bold as to offend this one, or the realm will undoubtedly be disturbed ... Think carefully about what I am saying, Danoeredja.’

After Prime Minister Danoeredja and Waranegara had left the Resident’s house and returned home they immediately discussed the matter and decided to have a road running from north to south pegged out. The Prime Minister, intent on causing trouble, wanted the road to run directly past the garden of Prince Dipanegara. He wanted to incense the Prince, who was already a little annoyed.

Dipanegara had laid out a garden in the village of Katompean, with all sorts of fine fruit trees, which were already in full bloom. People were sent from the market-place of Pakoentjen by the Prime Minister and led by Raden Brangta keokoema to trace the road northwards, and without any warning they put pegs straight through the garden. The gardener, who went to tell the Prince immediately, was asked by him who was in charge of the people who had put the pegs in. And when he replied that it was Brangtakoema, the Prince said: ‘Brangtakoema is certainly disrespectful in not having said a word to me about it. He is cheeky to me, because he has been sent by Danoeredja. He should have come and asked me. Go and pull all these pegs out and if Brangtakoema objects, hit him hard around the ears.’

His servants rushed out immediately and pulled the pegs out of the ground, and when Brangtakoema objected he got a box on the ear from Dermadjaja. He ran away as fast as he could, leaving his horse behind. And when he reached the Prime Minister he told what had happened.

The Prime Minister, who was sorry and upset that Raden Brangtakoema had been boxed in the ear, went to the Resident and told him what had happened.

The Resident said: ‘Earlier I told you to treat the Prince with respect and to consult him in all matters. And now this fellow Brangtakoema starts to put pegs in without having first asked permission. Naturally Prince Dipanegara felt hurt and rightly the fellow got boxed in the ear.’ Danoeredja wanted revenge against Dipanegara.

Some time afterwards the court went to pay visits to the western part of the palace—the harem—where the Queen Mother was lying very ill. Prince Dipanegara also went and, sitting on a chair in the square in front of the mosque he asked the Prime Minister to appear before him and ... made clear his displeasure that he had agreed to the request of the Dutch for the rice fields of the village of Redjawinangoen. ‘Even if you wanted to agree, you should have con-
sulted with me. Listen, Danoeredja, in order to get their favours, you render services to the Dutch and you make them presents of things which do not belong to you. You are doing well out of it. You have nothing to lose and can only gain.” The reason why the Prince showed his displeasure so sharply was that he had made the man prime minister in the first place, with the agreement of the Dutch. However, in the heat of the moment Danoeredja forgot about his early beginnings, and he replied to the Prince somewhat sharply. And the Prince hit him with his slipper on the cheek. Danoeredja felt very offended, because many people were present. But he thought to himself: “Who can dismiss me from my post? If I stick with the Dutch, who would dare to do anything against me?”

[Danureja became a strong supporter of the Dutch, while Dipanegara, although not breaking his relations, stayed somewhat aloof from the colonial government. Another incident that incensed Prince Dipanegara was the appointment by the Queen Mother of a new penghulu (religious official). Dipanegara objected that such an appointment could only be made by the King or his legal guardian. After some rather nasty altercations, the Queen Mother finally gave in, and sent the new penghulu to Selaradja, where Dipanegara confirmed him in his position.]

Prince Dipanegara was very much offended because his mother handled all affairs with the Prime Minister, and with Wiranegara and the Dutchman, without consulting the Prince. Moreover, the Queen Mother was on very intimate terms with the Dutchman, from whom she had no secrets. Also in the evenings the Resident went often to the palace, but what he wanted with the Queen Mother nobody knew! “The court has lost its prestige,” Dipanegara said to himself, “the kingdom is in decline.” The Prince was very worried. He heard that the Queen Mother and Danoeredja were using indecent language. He said: “They are doing everything possible to discredit me with the Dutchman and they accuse me of trying my hardest to take over the throne. What shall I do to alienate her from the Dutchman?”

The Prince was very downhearted. From time to time he made pilgrimages to holy places. He was seldom home, staying mostly at Silarong. His behaviour caused the Dutchman and the Prime Minister to comment. The Queen Mother also felt suspicious and consulted the Prime Minister. “Listen, Danoeredja,” she said, “what are the people saying about Dipanegara’s plans? He is seldom home, and he always sits there in Silarong praying. I fear that he has something mischievous in mind, and wants to raise the flag of rebellion; and if this happens it will be difficult to put down. His behaviour is suspicious.” The Prime Minister was out for revenge against Dipanegara because he was still smarting under the shame of
having been hit publicly with a slipper on his cheek, and also because Dipanegara had been degrading him by telling everybody that he had become prime minister through his help.

So the Prime Minister wanted to confirm the Queen Mother in her suspicions and replied: “Your Highness could well be right. I have overheard people saying that the Prince wants to travel because, according to one of his servants, he has said he does not want to be ruled by the Dutch. He has said: ‘The situation in this country is such that even for someone to become king the Company has to agree.’ He cannot bear to be under somebody else. He is too proud. And he has said: ‘The Europeans are continuously asking for rice lands, which in the end will mean that everything here will be in the hands of foreigners.’” The Prime Minister further said: “I have even heard about the plans of the Prince from one of my guards at the outer gate, whose father is a servant at Selaradja. This man has told me that Prince Dipanegara is planning to leave his main house and is going to live at Silarong.”

The Queen Mother commented: “If that is the case, then he is planning something big, and wants to put himself up as king and rule the whole of Java. And even if he cannot succeed, we will have troubles. Well, Danoeredja, go and tell this immediately to the Dutchman. We have to take care that the Prince does not get away from us. If he escapes from his home there will undoubtedly be a rebellion in Mataram which will be very difficult for us to suppress, because the people in the villages support Dipanegara and he certainly will quickly get a large following. The common people will accept his authority.” The Queen Mother was suddenly quiet, worried that perhaps she might be mistaken. She said to Danoeredja: “Go and discuss the matter carefully with the Dutchman and don’t let there be any misunderstandings.”

Danoeredja went immediately to the Resident, with whom he had a long talk. The Resident only nodded and did not speak, although he was pleased.

Prince Dipanegara felt very despondent. Many warned him that the Company was after him and that the Dutch were under the impression that he was planning to rebel. He was restless and could not eat during the day nor sleep at night. He told Djajamoestapa to seclude himself in the loneliness of Djimatan at the base of the grave of Sultan Agoeng. Djajamoestapa departed immediately together with one other man. He arrived there on Thursday evening and was led by the keeper called Kjai Balad to the foot of the grave outside the Tjoenkoeb [a structure over the grave around which curtains are hung], where he spent the whole of the night. Although suffering from the great cold he prayed all night long, hoping to receive a revelation—good or bad—for the Prince.
Kjai Balad came at dawn after he had performed his morning prayers and opened the door of the grave. The envoy entered and sat down at the base. After having cleaned the grave on all sides he sat down again and prayed, thereby showing that he was an envoy. When he had finished praying, he saw in the middle of the curtain a bloodstain, a round red space as large as a dinner plate. He looked at it intently and then went outside, where he asked the keeper Kjai Balad: "Kjai, what kind of red bloodlike stain is that in the middle of the curtain? Has it been there long? Or is the curtain always so red in the middle?"

Kjai Balad replied: "I am also struck by it, I am really amazed, because that red stain was not there yesterday. It is the will of the Lord that much blood will be shed in Java. It is a sign that there will be war. The will of God is irrevocable, be it concerned with prosperity or destruction. Nobody can avert his decision ..."

[Jajamustapa returned home and reported to Dipanegara, who again sent him to other holy places to obtain any further signs if possible. After a long and adventurous journey Jajamustapa returned with further stories about divine revelations.]

After Dipanegara had performed his midnight prayers, he clearly heard a voice. He was startled, and when dawn broke he had Djajamoestapa fetched and told him: "The reason why I had you called is that soon after the performance of the midnight prayer at Selaradja, I very clearly heard a voice which said: 'Listen, you are permitted by God to become King! Take care not to indulge in self-exaltation, because if you sin that way it will not come to pass.' Was this the devil or the voice of an angel?"

Djajamoestapa replied: "I submit to the judgement of Your Highness, but in all probability it was an angel, because Your Highness had just completed the midnight prayer. If it was the devil"—and then the Prince interrupted: "Would that be the will of God?" ...

[The Dutch Resident who for some time had been spying on the movements of Dipanegara finally also began to mistrust the Prince's intentions. And in order to capture him he issued various invitations to Dipanegara to come to Yogiakarta. The Prince refused for some time, but when he finally went he took a hundred of his best soldiers with him and declined to enter the house of the Resident, fearing a trap.]

After the Prince had returned to Selaradja, he was told that it was commonly believed that the Resident in conjunction with the Prime Minister and the Mangkoealam—the Prince's grandfather—planned to attack him at Selaradja. The Prince was incensed, although he did not show it openly. He ordered that all the inhabitants of Selaradja should leave their houses at night and keep guard,
armed with their lances, at the stockade surrounding the village, together with other village heads who supported him.

After the stockade had been guarded for a few nights, more and more villages came to know about it and all who loved the Prince came to keep guard. Soon there were three hundred men who during the day went home again. This could not remain unknown in the capital, where the whole affair was exaggerated and it was said that the Prince was recruiting troops and had ordered all the villagers to be on their guard. Moreover the Prince had set himself up as a kraman [i.e. as a rebel against constituted authority] and would leave his home in the month Soera and proclaim himself King at Silarong.

The Prince became very sad: "It is commonly said that I want to flee from here and proclaim myself king. It is not my intention to plunge the realm into disaster." He asked the eldest of his subjects: "What do you advise me? Everybody suspects me of wanting to put myself up as kraman."

They replied: "We leave this to the judgement of Your Highness; but one thing is certain, Prince, the Dutch will move against Selaradja. We leave it to Your Highness whether we should move against them or should keep ourselves prepared. We have also heard that people at the court of Danoeredja say that Your Highness is accused by the Dutch of getting your troops ready at Selaradja and that there are vast numbers of people present during the night. And they exaggerate and say that there are thousands. The Dutch are sending out spies during the day as well as the night."

The Prince said: "If that is the case then I cannot get out of it any more. But the Company will not get its way yet. I am still in Java and for that reason they accuse me of causing difficulties. Well, prepare letters for the inhabitants of the villages saying 'Who of you love me?' And go to the villages to recruit soldiers. My eldest servants shall have the rank of Toemenggoeng and they must have a letter with my seal, saying: 'This is documentary proof that I want you to occupy village lands by force.'" The Prince further said: "I should not take half-measures. If I submit myself, the Company will certainly arrest me and send me outside Java. So it is better to take bold measures. A human being can have some happiness, and it is not to be expected that I shall live long any more."

Soon after this call by the Prince, masses of soldiers arrived at night, not only from the villages, but also from the capital. Soldiers of the Katanggoengs, Njoetras, palace guards and Pinilhs (legions of the Sultan) came to offer the Prince their allegiance. They said: "If Your Highness is going to depart from your home, then we will sacrifice ourselves for Your Highness."

The Prince answered: "I accept this with gratitude. But be un-
obtrusive and be careful.” Also many princes and other members of the royal house came to see him at night, as well as many Mandoeings, Wirabradjas, Soeranatas, Soerjagamas, and Daengs [smaller corps of soldiers of the Sultan]; and people who lived west of the Winanga River came to submit themselves to the Prince.

The Prince let it be announced that all should come together in the night of the seventh of the month Soera, and that the next morning they should surround the capital ... [Resident Smissaert, trying to prevent the outbreak of a rebellion, made an attempt to capture Dipanegara by sending a courtier, Sindunegara, to Selaradja to invite the Prince to come to Yogjakarta, supposedly to discuss his grievances. But when Dipanegara refused, the Resident became greatly angered and sent the same emissary back with the same request.] Sindoenegara left immediately, and he said to the Prince, who was surrounded by all his servants: “Your humble servant has been sent by the Resident to request Your Highness to come to the house of the Resident or, if Your Highness desires, to the Palace, or the house of Prince Mangkoeboemi, to have a discussion with the Dutchman. If Your Highness does not wish to come to any of these three places, would Your Highness state what he desires and the Resident will fulfil his wishes. It is hoped that this affair will not have any further dire consequences and that Your Highness will have pity on the people.”

The Prince answered in a loud voice: “All right, since the Resident promises to comply with my wishes, I want him to get rid of Danoeredja and Wiranegara because they are a plague in the realm. As long as those two stay the Kingdom of Mataram will not enjoy any prosperity. Go and tell this to the Resident.” ... [Soon afterwards Prince Mangkubumi arrived, having been sent by the Resident to induce Dipanegara to come to Yogjakarta. Prince Mangkubumi was to remain behind as a hostage. However, Dipanegara talked Mangkubumi into joining forces with him.]

The next morning Sindoenegara was again sent to Selaradja to invite the Prince, but this time he was followed by a large number of Dutch soldiers, who were to carry out a heavy attack and take Dipanegara prisoner and, if he resisted, to kill him. It was thought that this would be fairly easy as there were not very many troops in Selaradja and moreover these Dutch soldiers looked very awe-inspiring. The Prime Minister and Wirjanegeara, the son of Kjai Wiragoena, were also there, riding at the front of their troops.

After Sindoenegara, who had been sent to talk the Prince around, had arrived in Selaradja, he said to the Prince: “Prince, Your Highness’s servant has been sent by Your Highness’s friend the Resident to tell you that he will comply with your desires, and invites Your Highness to be present at the arrest of the Prime Minister and
of Wiranegara. Moreover, the Resident leaves to you the decision whether they should be crushed to death or just killed."

The Prince replied: "If the Resident is really serious in agreeing to my demands, then let us go. I want to talk with the Dutchman."

While they were sitting there talking quietly and pleasantly, repeated gunfire was heard. The Prince was startled and, making a threatening gesture with his finger at Sindoenegara, he said in great anger: "What kind of advice are you giving me, Sindoenegara?" In great haste Sindoenegara took his leave, promising that he would have the soldiers withdraw. He galloped away with great speed.

Rifle fire was exchanged across the river. Both sides shouted warcries and were equally courageous. The Prime Minister Danoerajja led the battle and struck the enemy east of Tompean, while Raden Wiranegara hid himself near the spring near the lodge at Boeloel and ambushed the enemy. The battle was hard, with both sides fighting equally well. The battlecries and the cracking of the rifles sounded like a thunderstorm in the mountains. But the troops from Selaradja were swamped by the enemy. They defended themselves as well as possible with rifle fire, but the courageous enemy kept coming on. The fighting was so heavy that one could not distinguish enemy from friend. Soldiers were thronging around each other and the artillery kept on thundering. The attack came from three sides, from the south and from Tompean and from Boeloel where the artillery was stationed. Djajadirja and the leader of the *pradjoerit-panjas*, named Anon-wijaja, made a fierce attack on the Dutch, and many fell. But the Dutch kept on coming courageously and the artillery kept thundering as if it wanted the mountains to collapse. The battle continued unabated. Selaradja was full of people. The son-in-law of Dipanevara, the son of a *rongga* [official], fought fiercely. Djajaprawira attacked the Dutch furiously and many fell, but they kept coming, firing in file. As he had no rifle, he became frightened and fled. Djajadirja, the commander of the Wirabratas, full of fighting spirit, stood firm with his men. But the troops of the Company kept pushing forward. The sky was darkened by rifle smoke. Djajadirja evacuated the field with his men, but his horse was obstreperous and would not run fast. One of the Company’s men ran towards him and hit him with his sword and Jajadirja died. When the troops from Selaradja were shelled from the right, they quickly withdrew. The struggle became too heavy; many died or were wounded and they became frightened. Prince Dipanevara and Prince Mangkoeboemi, who were at the head of their troops, came under heavy artillery fire and the troops scattered. Those who withstood the artillery also soon became frightened, as they were unprotected.

Prince Mangkoeboemi became uneasy and said to his cousin: "Boy, let us retreat. Perhaps God will help us later." Then Prince
Dipanegara and Prince Mangkoebiemi retreated westwards, crossing the River Bajem ...


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Once there was a man called Toankoe Moeda, who was the son of a priest named Toankoe Radja Noedin, who hailed from Alahanpandjang, where also his forefathers came from. When he was thirty-five years old he decided to move his household to a better area, because in the place where he lived food was hard to come by and even water had to be carried from afar. As a result of God’s special goodness he reached, together with his wife, two brothers, and two sisters, a lonely place at the foot of Mount Serdjadi. There he built a house and cultivated the soil, planting rice, palm trees, and other fruit trees. He also established a herd of cows and horses ...

After Toankoe Moeda had lived there for one and a half years he deliberated with the chiefs and people of Alahanpandjang about a fortification and a mosque. After the decision had been made, everybody took part in the work and a fort was erected ... within which six houses and a mosque were built. It was given the name of Bondjol, which means that this fort was erected to maintain the true principles of Islam and to oppose all immoral and forbidden acts, and to tell the people that they should live in accordance with the rules of reason, justice, and morality. It was further decided to appoint judges or administrators ... and Toankoe Moeda, Toankoe Itam, Toankoe Gapoe, and Toankoe Halamat were unanimously elected. After that Toankoe Moeda came to be called Toankoe Imam by the people. These four judges followed the holy teachings of Mohammad and all their decisions were known for their justice ...

[After the death of the other judges Tuanku Imam became the sole ruler of Bondjol, which continued to grow in prosperity, attracting many people from other areas. As a result the fort had to be considerably enlarged.] After the construction of the fort had been completed and the armament had been taken care of, the people concentrated their efforts on commerce. Under these conditions of peace and solidarity the village of Bondjol continued to increase in prosperity. Merchants from surrounding districts came to trade. For a period of twenty-five years the inhabitants enjoyed all the benefits of solidarity, peace, and prosperity. There was no crime and no in-
justice; and everybody tried to remain virtuous and just, and not to sow discord.

In the middle of all this happiness, contentment, and prosperity, there all of a sudden arrived a man from Soengipoa named Padabongso, with the news that the Dutch under the command of Colonel Raaff had occupied the village of Samawang... [This occurred in 1822. Tuanku Imam then gives an outline of the struggle between 1822 and 1831 when the Dutch slowly and after great difficulties were able to subdue most of Minangkabau. In 1831 the Dutch were nearing Bondjol, which was situated in the northern border region and which so far had remained outside the battle area.]

Then the village of Lawan in the district of XII Kotas was occupied. After a one-day struggle the Dutch had been able to subdue the people there. Then a man from Soengipoa... named Toankanoe Tinggi submitted himself to the Dutch Government. A general peace was concluded with the people of the XII Kotas and the troops arrived in Soengipoa, where they camped in the market-place. Three days later a letter was sent to the region of Koempoelan and Alahanpandjang. On hearing the news about the arrival of the Dutch in Soengipoa the people of Alahanpandjang became worried, because Soengipoa is only twelve hours walk away. Many were frightened, but many also remained courageous. Some wanted to flee, while others prepared themselves to resist. In this unstable situation there arrived an emissary from Colonel Elout called Pandita Sari, who had delivered the letter to the Penghoeloe Datoe Bandhara. After Pandita Sari had returned to his region of Passi-lawas, Datoe Bandhara called Penghoeloe Datoe Sati, Toankanoe Imam, and all the chiefs of the people of Alahanpandjang to the market-place. After they had gathered there, a certain Toeangku Lebeh opened the letter of Colonel Elout and read it aloud; its contents were as follows:

This is a letter from the Colonel of the Dutch troops, Elout, to the Penghoeloes Datoe Bandhara and Datoe Sati and Toankanoe Imam in the land of Alahanpandjang. I, Colonel Elout, make it known to you that the Dutch Government requests your country; if you want to surrender the country in peace, let all the chiefs come to us in Soengipoa to conclude peace. But if you do not want to surrender your land, take care, because we will soon march against your country.

When Toankanoe Lebeh had finished reading and all had understood the contents of the letter, the chiefs were divided. Some wanted peace and others wanted to defend themselves. But the majority were for peace, including Datoe Bandhara. Only Datoe Sati was opposed. He argued: "I do not want to conclude peace, because our country is too small and too sparsely populated to perform
seignorial services for the [Dutch] Government."

Then Toeankoe Imam said: "Don't let there be division among you, but be united and true to each other in order to avoid a dis-aster." This admonition of Toeankoe Imam was, however, not heeded, and discord spread more and more among the people. This made Toeankoe Imam think, and he said to himself: "What is the use of staying any longer in Alahanpandjang, because the Penghoeloes are not united, and without them I have no say. It would be better for me to leave here with my wife and children ..." [Tuanku Imam went to Lubu-sikaping, while the other leaders of Alahanpandjang concluded peace with Elout on the condition that the Dutch Government would respect the religion and customs of the people and would not occupy the fort at Bondjol.]

When all this was agreed upon by both parties, the Dutch troops entered ... Alahanpandjang. The people had already prepared atap [split bamboo] to build houses for the Dutch at a certain place called Medang-sebah. But the Dutch refused to live there and, after having kicked out the people, occupied the houss and mosque of Bondjol ... During their one and a half months stay the Dutch troops took by force and without any payment the fruits, cattle, and fish belonging to the people.

Three days after Toeankoe Imam had gone to Loeboe-sikaping, his brother, called Radja Manang, arrived to inform him that the Dutch had occupied the fort of Bondjol and had turned the mosque into a barracks ... he also had been ordered by Colonel Elout ... to request Toeankoe Imam to come and see him. "It is well," Toeankoe Imam replied, "I will go to Colonel Elout ..." Immediately after his arrival in Bondjol, Toeankoe Imam together with his son Joesoef went to see Colonel Elout. The following conversation took place:

"Where is Toeankoe Imam?" asked Colonel Elout.
"That is I," he replied.
"Enter, Toeankoe Imam," said the Colonel. And Toeankoe Imam with his son Joesoef entered the room and as requested went to sit down beside Colonel Elout ... "How are you, Toeanku Imam?"
"I am well, sir."
"Where do you live now, Toeankoe Imam?"
"I live nowadays in Loeboe-sikaping. I fear the Dutch troops ..."
"You must not fear, the [Dutch] Government will not cause you any harm." He further asked: "How old are you now, Toeankoe Imam?"
"I am sixty."
"And I am sixty-one," Colonel Elout replied.
"So we are of the same age ..."
"You are already old, Toankoe Imam. You must no longer work. It is better to enjoy your old age and to leave the carrying of responsibilities to the younger ones."

"I agree," Toankoe Imam replied. "I shall follow your wise counsel and judgement, Colonel, and I hold myself at your disposal ..." [Tuanku Imam was replaced by Tuanku Muda whom the Dutch appointed Regent over Alahanpandjang. Elout left the area with the main body of his troops, leaving a small detachment to guard Bondjol.]

The Dutch troops remained in the mosque and houses of Bondjol ... They brought dogs and other dirt inside and took the fruits and cattle of the people. Yes, they even demanded all sorts of work from the population and large deliveries of rice without any payment. They meted out punishment daily. Once some government stores were brought from Si-pisang to Bondjol to be transported to Loeboek-sikaping. Twenty men from Alahanpandjang had to move these goods escorted by a sergeant and twelve soldiers. When they had gone half the distance and had reached a place called Soengisalassa, they asked to rest for a while in order to eat and to say their daily prayers. This was not allowed. When, however, one of the twenty carriers, named Dara Salam, ignored the refusal, one of the soldiers immediately fired a shot that hit him in the breast and killed him. The others were driven forward with the leash. And they walked in great fear for a whole day. After these goods had been brought to Loeboek-sikaping and had been stored in the mosque there, they returned to Alahanpandjang. On their return the commander [of Bondjol] had left for Pisang, and although everybody went home, this affair did not remain unnoticed.

The severe and arbitrary actions of the troops caused general discontent in Alahanpandjang and brought the people to a general meeting at Tandike where a great many unreasonable and arbitrary matters were brought up, matters made worse because the people had come to terms with the government after mutual promises had been made. These agreements had not only been thrown to the wind, but, instead of the peaceful and quiet rule they had expected from the government, they had been suppressed and mistreated. As a result it was firmly decided by all to take up arms, and to die rather than tolerate this any longer. Immediately, letters were despatched to all regions and it was agreed that on the third of the month Radjab (January 1833), each in his own region would rise up and kill all the soldiers.

In the morning of the third of the month Radjab (it was a Friday), about twenty hoeloebalangs [military leaders], led by two chiefs named Toankoe Nan Garang and Radja Lajang, unexpectedly entered Bondjol. When they reached the mosque they attacked
fiercely, killing within half an hour all the European and Javanese soldiers ... [Bondjol was able to put up such a fierce and courageous resistance to various large attacks that it was not until 1837 that the Dutch were able to reimpose their rule.]

After that General Cochius came from Batavia [at the beginning of 1837], bringing a number of soldiers with him. Neither side gave way. The Dutch troops shot fire shells which burned down the mosque and the house of Toeankeo Imam. This increased the anger of the people even more and they began to return the fire ferociously.

One morning around 3 o'clock when the people of Bondjol, tired from the continuous fighting, were resting for a few moments, the Dutch troops under the protection of a continuous artillery barrage took the opportunity to penetrate into Bondjol through a breach in the wall. Some African and Buginese soldiers suddenly appeared in Toeankeo Imam's harem. They wanted to drag some of the women with them ... The women began to screech tremendously. Toeankeo Imam woke up, took his sword and, accompanied by his son, Oemar Ali, went to the women's quarters from where the screeching could be heard. Fronting the soldiers, he [Oemar Ali] received a bullet wound in his thigh, but he kept on fighting ferociously. Then he was shot in his side; the bullet stuck in the flesh and, unable to bear the severe pain, he went home bleeding severely. Toeankeo Imam, although now completely on his own, kept hitting around him with his sword until the soldiers finally withdrew from Bondjol. Toeankeo Imam pursued them with his sword outside Bondjol, where he received a bayonet wound ... which made him fall down. When he received a second thrust, he immediately stood up again, hitting with his sword right and left into the soldiers, who fled back to their camp. Exhausted, and covered with thirteen wounds which bled continuously, causing tremendous pain, Toeankeo Imam was carried home by the people of Bondjol.

The following day around 5 o'clock the Dutch troops came very near the breach in the wall of Bondjol and attacked. The people were waiting for them and defended themselves courageously. The women also took to arms, aiding their husbands. The battle was so fierce that neither army could recognize the other, while the noise made by both sides echoed into the air. The battle lasted until 12 noon when the Dutch fell back on their encampments. The number of dead and wounded on both sides was great ... [A few days later] the struggle continued with increasing ferocity. The noise of the shooting never stopped and everything was covered by thick smoke. The Dutch troops succeeded in shooting various breaches in the wall and they burned down the bamboo bushes around Bondjol with fire shells ... The number of people killed on both sides was shocking. In Bondjol there were only fifteen hoeloebalangs [officers] left, who
kept resisting day and night for another two and a half months.

About this time three hoeloebalangs ... came at night to see Toeankoe Imam and suggested that he should leave the village and go with them to the village of Merapi in order to discuss what should be done in this precarious situation. Bondjol was badly damaged, the batteries had been destroyed, and all the houses and trees had been burned down and fallen to the ground. Toeankoe Imam agreed with this proposal ...

When the Dutch soldiers saw that the village of Bondjol was deserted they occupied it immediately and restored the batteries. Two days later the Dutch troops moved against the village of Merapi. The people met them in the field. But after only a one-hour battle the Dutch troops retired to Bondjol and the people of Merapi returned to their homes. This was the end of the war. Two days later peace was concluded at Bondjol between two emissaries of Toeankoe Imam and the government.

Later Toeankoe Imam was invited by letter from Padang to go to a fortification in the mountains to meet the Resident there. When Toenke Imam arrived at the mountain, however, the Resident was not to be found. Escorted by a captain, another officer, and twelve soldiers, he was brought to Padang with his son and three followers. From there he was transported to Batavia where he remained for four months in the house of the Commander of the Balinese. After that he was transferred to Tjiandoer and eleven months later he was sent back to Batavia from where he was brought by warship to Ambon.

H.J.J.L. de Stuers, ridder, De vestiging en uitbreiding der Nederlanders ter Westkust van Sumatra. Tweede Deel (Amsterdam: Van Kampen, 1830), Bijlage B. Memorie van Toeankoe Imam aangaande de komst der Hollanders in Sumatra's binnenlanden en de aldaar door hen gevoerden oorlog, pp. 219-40.

39 H.T. Damste: Hikajat Prang Sabi, 1928

In the name of Allah, the merciful and loving! God be praised, I laud the Lord and I beseech the Lord to bless the prophet, and after the prophet his family and friends. This is a hikajat [story] about the conduct of the holy war. It has been commanded to conduct war in the path of Allah; it is the order of God, the very pure. The word of the Lord in the Qu’ran is clear and explicit, oh my brothers: “God has bought the lives and property of the believers. And the price is paradise. They shall go into battle to kill their enemies who will fall under their blows; the promises which have been made to them in the Mosaic law, the Gospel, and the Qu’ran will be fulfilled. After all,
who can be more faithful to his promise than God? Rejoice in your covenant, it is the seal of your happiness."

Take heed, oh believers, of the word of my Lord! God, the Lord of all the worlds, has made it such that he has bought the faithful to let them fight the unbelievers. He did not only buy them to carry out their religious duties and to make their living by gaining profit; no, he has bought the believers in full. Think about this, brothers, who are destined for salvation! Indeed, goods and souls were bought by him, which are to be surrendered for the holy war ... after this verse, in which He says that He is buying you, is it proper, brothers, to be diffident about carrying on the war against the unbelievers, to suspect this sale, and to want to behave freely and to act according to one's pleasures? You cannot commit a breach of contract ...

Be very devoted and do not worry! You will get God's help. "Paradise is in the shadow of the swords", this tradition is also very well known ... This is a road sign to the very beautiful Paradise, which is a haven of comforts. This is the order of things in the after-life, which is different from things in this world. "The eternal life is to be found in the drinking of the cup of death." God gives eternal life after death, oh brothers. Listen again to the following verse which I will read to you about the blessings and pleasures which He will readily give you: "Oh, believers, shall I teach you the means to escape your deep suffering? Believe in God and in His prophet, fight under the banner of the faith, liberally sacrifice your life and goods; that is your road to happiness, if you want to know. God will forgive your sins. He will lead you into the gardens where streams are flowing. You will enter into the exquisite Garden of Eden where you will enjoy the greatest happiness."

The easiest way for the faithful is, according to the directions of God, the great Lord, to do battle in the path of Allah ... then all sins will be forgiven and wiped out, even if they are as numerous as the foam in the surf on the beach, and he will grant the Paradise of Eden, a region of feast and pleasures. There one will get everything that is desired immediately. The Lord gives special pleasures to those who served the cause of the holy war. He will give them heaven, paradise, which glows with an unforgettable light! There will be seventy heavenly nymphs and in addition to that, girl servants. God's reward being so great, is it proper to be slow in taking up battle against the unbelievers? Anybody with good eyes does not throw away gold to pick up iron! When listening to the wiles of the devil, one will mistake diamonds for iron. People have no interest in fighting the unbelievers. It is as if our superb religion is neglected and is no longer dear to us, and nobody any longer runs warm for it. It is as if we confess a false religion when doubts can arise about the need to wage war against the unbelievers ... "Obey Allah and his
It is your duty to follow the commands and interdicts. Trust God and the prophet when the time comes that the soul and matter end; do not worry about the dissipation of your property, and of those in authority follow the congenial king! Do not take notice of the lures of the devil! Do not follow his sinful desires, because they withhold you from living in accordance with the commands of the Lord. They hold you back from your duties, so that you will not get into a war with the unbelievers.

Listen to me, teungku abang [brother religious teacher], so that you will be aware of the wiles of the devil, which are manifold ... Nobody can cope with the tricks of these unbelieving spirits. Even if the faith is destroyed, nobody cares. The devils, who command you to live under the Company [the Dutch], speak as follows: “Surrender yourselves to God! You cannot put up any resistance. How could you? Supposing you are going to fight, then your rice sheds, children, wives, and your many and beautiful possessions will stay behind! Let us stay here in the village and takes things as they are ordained by the Lord. Let us go later when the unbelievers have retreated some distance.” Do not listen to these sophistries of the devil. But trust in God and the prophet! Immediately after the unbelievers occupy the country, rise up and do not acquiesce! Do not hesitate any longer, but go into battle and follow the prophet!

We may not keep quiet, living in this country, and enjoy ourselves. [Holy war] is the duty of every individual just as much as the sembahjang [daily prayers], which must be performed at all the set times if you belong to the [Islamic] community. But the sembahjang and the poeasa [fast] are alone not sufficient if one does not go to the holy war. The poor, old and young, small and big, keutjhi and waki [various types of leader], even slaves, are bound to go to war ... Also listen to the word of God that commands you to take money with you for the holy war: “Use your goods to support the faith. Do not cause your downfall by your own hand. Do good. The Lord loves those who are charitable”. Be serious about paying for the holy war. It is also your duty to surrender your goods and remember “that you cannot fulfil your duty without giving something”. If you do not give anything of value and you do not yourself go, then wait until you are pushed into purgatory. Listen so that I can explain to you what God says in the Qu’ran: “Tell those who are piling up gold in their coffers and refuse to use it for the support of the faith that they will suffer painful tortures. When the time comes, that gold glowing from hell fire will be laid on their foreheads, their sides, and loins, and they will be told: look at it, here are the treasures which you have accumulated; enjoy them” ...

Let us all be thankful that the pleasures which God gives us never abate. These divine pleasures continue to flow without interruption,
but the greatest pleasure given by God's blessing is bestowed upon the pious poor who go to war. If nobody had made war against the Dutch they would have taxed every head; not one sagi [area] would have remained free, and they would have made demands on everybody. In the lands they have conquered, the following high taxes are levied: five dollars are to be paid for one haib of land; they ask one dollar per person when a child is born in the country and one dollar per person when somebody dies. One out of seven days has to be worked for them. This is the adat [custom] and the law of the unbelievers and this situation exists in the lands of the Malays and Singkil, and also in Palembang and the Padang region. And nobody stands up to them! People of good family obey the unbelievers and none of them go to war; all of them surrender themselves to the kafirs [unbelievers]! When they [the Dutch] levy taxation they give a tahil [1 tahil = 0.054 kilograms of precious metal] to a few of them [i.e. indigenous rulers and officials] and to keep their hold on the country they do not mind paying out katis [1 kati = 625 grams].

And that is the reason that nobody goes out to fight. Many can already be considered as having become unbelievers. Not one is strong in his faith, which is a sign that the world is coming to an end. The teungkus have been completely fooled by the spirits, and those who obtained a great deal of knowledge no longer make use of it. When the devil is at work a voice inside the teungku speaks as follows: "Oh, teungku, how could you go into battle? Who would take care of the people?" And he whispers to the teungku: "Who will take care of the castrated billy goat? ... Who will administer the zakat and tehlil [religious taxes]? Why should you nervously put yourself to haste? This war goes slowly and will still take a long time; why should you rush to the lowlands? It would be better if you go later when the problems in the country have faded!" These are the wiles he employs against the keutjhis, teungkus, and wakis, with the result that the people begin to think: "Our teungku has not gone down to the lowlands. Why then should we make great haste? What is so special about this war then? Perhaps this war is not necessary after all? Let us stay put for the time being! If there was an obligation to fight, the teungku, who is a religious teacher, would have followed it up because he is a learned man who is reading day and night, holding discourses from the kitabs [Islamic religious texts] and the Qu'ran, in which after all everything about the holy war is contained." This is how the people argue, even the keutjhis and wakis. The people as well as the teungkus have been fooled; the keutjhis solely concentrate on administration and the teungkus are busy with kenduris [religious feasts]. Everybody works at his job and nobody any longer thinks about the holy war. Everybody is completely taken up with making his living; some occupy themselves with gambling, but the command
of the Lord is neglected. One follows his own inclinations and stays home ...

It is definitely your duty to fight the unbelievers, and you may not associate with them! Allah’s command is to kill them, so do not go around with these unbelievers. Even just looking at them causes already a feeling of guilt. Where does there exist a pure and true relationship with God? There is no faith in their hearts any more, because they call the unbelievers “tuan” [“sir”]. Going to the unbelievers is the same as concluding a pact of friendship, and whoever shakes hands with an unbeliever has no longer any faith; he has already said “tuan”! He talks about all sorts of things to the kafir, he has himself become a kafir, and he will be called that in this world. Why do you continue to live with them? Why, gentlemen, don’t you think? Kafirs are the enemies of God!

Let us have a look at the other side of the picture and the great troubles people have who live under the government of the kafirs. But still you do not follow the prophet! These unbelieving children of whores [the Dutch] are of a wicked disposition; some people they hang; they ruin our religion; moreover they sell everybody into slavery; they kill all the dignified ulebalangs [noblemen] in the regions! And the campkas have become defoliated and have withered away. When nobody fights against the Dutch the punishment later will be great. They kill all peutuas [elders] to the last man! A section of the people they transport to Batavia, others they take to Europe; the young ones are destined to become soldiers, while the aged have to become sailors. They make a great mess in the country, and they immediately appropriate everything they find; they take all property and divide it among the people who have come with them in the same way as they give pay to the soldiers ... They confiscate everything that belongs to people who are not living within the [Dutch-controlled areas], but the people who have subjected themselves are presented with a different bill: the damned kafirs have laid down that they will take half of the property of the total population to pay for their expenditure. They say that they have suffered heavy losses which are impossible to calculate! “You must cede half of your property; the other half you may have yourself. This is the custom of the Company, and if you do not comply, then you can go away.” They leave you one half and that with a great deal of fanfare, and if it is brought before the court, they will take the lot. The wretched unbelievers are changing the laws until nothing is left of them. Moreover they force you to do guard duties. All weapons they confiscate, and they hit you when you object. Even if you have hidden the weapons they will find them.

In order to get hold of these weapons they have devised the following scheme: they introduce gambling and opium-smoking, and some
set themselves up as toll-collectors as in Java. With great devotion they encourage the people to gamble. And three to four hundred men may come to gamble in the hope of gaining a fortune. The losers will only retain their bodies; everything else they have brought with them will be taken and stored away. The unholy *kafirs* execute the other part of their plan: They let their friends take goods in pawn, only accepting pikes, rifles, lances, and sabres, and they supply as many dollars as desired ... After they have taken all weapons, they spy around and take in money; everything they scrape together—they press and look everywhere. And when there are no more weapons in the country, the time has come for them to change the laws. Where are you all, great and small, old and young? They make the law, the damned *kafirs*, and they rule with new methods. “You all have to participate in the business of the Company! Do not disobey the *tuân beusa* [Dutch official]. Whoever, will disobey will have his head split in two and his body pierced.” This is what the *kafir* dogs say to the crowds in the presence of the people of the west coast [i.e. the Minangkabaus, who at that time were preponderant in the colonial police force in Atjeh] ...

After they have got what they wanted, they keep on taking whatever they desire. They call all the beautiful young girls to the fort, leaving not one of the adult virgins who look pretty, and choose their concubines from among them. They take whoever they take a fancy to. Good women become completely corrupted. The actions of the Dutch are criminal. The bridegroom sits home alone, because the *kafirs* have taken his wife. This is what half the Dutch do. Others go about it in a different way: as soon as the man has gone out, they come up to the house, open the door and go and look for the bride. They go behind the *klambu* [mosquito net] and sleep with the woman. They have hung up their hat on the stairs as a sign [this refers to traditional Acheinese beliefs about the way the Dutch were supposed to act in Java]. If you go upstairs they will kick you and throw you out in no uncertain manner. If the husband becomes angry, they bind his arms and legs crosswise with sharp irons. You may go and report the behaviour of the soldiers to the Company: “What is this, *tuân*, the soldiers just satisfy their lusts and fornicate! They take all the young virgins as well as all the married women, they overpower the whole of the people. What about your good intentions now?” Then the *kafir* will answer glibly, arguing: “Oh *peutuas*, listen, the laws of the Company are as follows. In all the countries we have obtained we have introduced a system of equal sharing: all the crops in the fields and the property in the villages is to be shared equally with the owner. So far as the women are concerned, they are partly shared by the husband and partly by the soldiers. You people should not be jealous, because this is how things
are done under the Company. You teungkus should not complain about this: you spent the night with them but during the day, gentlemen, they are for the soldiers."

The kafir dog, of the rank of controleur [lower-ranking Dutch official], calls up all the women of rank, the wives of the ulebalangs, who are still wearing subangs [earrings] in their ears because they are young. He tells the husband: "I have been here for some considerable time now, and I want to conclude a pact of friendship with you. We live here in your land together and we should discuss what work there is to be done. Your wife has never been here to see me yet. Why don't you send her for a day? I would like to see her very much!" The ulebalang thinks: "He tells me to bring my wife, I believe that it would be unwise not to comply. The Company wants to see her." The ulebalang then goes home and orders a number of dishes to be made ready, telling his wife: "You have to go to the Belanda [Dutchman]. Go to the fort tomorrow or the day after tomorrow so that he will get to know you." The wife is then very pleased. If you say to a woman that she can go out, she needs no further encouragement. She picks up the dishes and is soon on her way to the fort. On her arrival the "tuan" receives her properly. He presents her with sirih [betel nut], food, and all sorts of sweets and tasty dishes, such as those sugared things. When the reception is finished and the food has been cleared away, he presents flowers. After that he sends everybody home. He gives clothes of pleated gold and expensive flower arrangements. After he has offered these gifts he says to the woman: "Let there be much love between us, little sister; come and look us up again tomorrow or the day after tomorrow." The woman then goes home in a sprightly mood, after he has accompanied her to the gate of the fort.

About a week later he takes the matter up again and asks her to come. The woman goes again to the controleur in the kota [town]. Again he gives her presents, and tells her to come the day after tomorrow. And the day after tomorrow she returns again, saying nothing about it any more to the ulebalang. She can no longer be held back or forbidden, and the woman is driven impetuously by feelings of love. The kafir then says to the woman immediately after she arrives: "How long do I live here already in this land and in your village, but nobody loves me; it is as if I am being disparaged wherever I go. If you love me, then do what I ask: go inside the klambu and lie down. That is what I would really like, because I am so desirous of you." Hardly has the woman heard this than she goes inside, giving rein to her lusts without asking any questions. This is how women act when somebody is seducing them. The kafir also slips quickly inside and so they are both together behind the klambu. They lie down and pursue their lusts. After he has got what he
wanted, he sends her back home. But the next morning he tells her to come again. The woman is happy and does come again; and so it goes on, with the woman running in and out of the kota. And when her husband forbids her, he has done wrong according to the ideas of the Dutchman, who says: "The husband has no right to judge! You have no right to forbid her!"

Here is another example of the burdensome legislation of the Dutch kafirs. One out of seven days must be worked for the prince, day and night. That is the kind of law they introduce: women and men, small and big, old and young, they force to comply; they make ulebalangs work, even the potjut [high-ranking nobleman] from the big house! They treat everybody the same: one cannot distinguish any more who is potjut, who is Si Laba, who is a slave, and who is a lord. The kafir levels everything down. Keutjhi and imeum [ranks] do not count any longer, and they mix up wazis and mantris [officials]. The opium-smoker becomes frantic, he becomes sick because they do not allow the supply of opium; he has not got enough to smoke and becomes very restless.

People who want to travel are also very much encumbered. If they have no passport, even when they are only planning a short trip, they are arrested and their goods are taken. Even if one only goes to somewhere close for a short time, a quarter of an hour for example, or even if one is in haste because of difficulties with work—however important it may be, if you have no passport you are not allowed to go; they absolutely refuse and you are not allowed to travel. You cannot get done what you want, and even if you want to make footsteps as tiny as those of a louse, you will be halted. The divine law disappears, the adat deteriorates, and nothing remains of religion. However, what has increased very much since the Dutch kafirs have come is gross stupidity. This is how the government is of those who are damned by Allah; oh blessed ones, I am not exaggerating, it is exactly as I am saying; I am not boasting and I do not get any profit out of it.

If you do not believe it, then go and see for yourself; depart today for Java. In Padang and in Deli as well as in Batavia in Java the divine law is not honoured. In every country where the Dutch remain, the women live as prostitutes and those who are married commit adultery, and even if the men know that they are adulterous they are not able to forbid this wretched business ...

The genesis of the modern Indonesian nationalist movement

By the beginning of the twentieth century Liberal colonial education policy had created the nucleus of a new indigenous elite, consisting mainly of Dutch-trained Indonesian doctors, teachers, and government administrators and clerks. The higher nobility for some considerable time considered these new positions in the colonial service to be far below their social status, and most of the sons of the higher priyayi (indigenous administrators usually of noble origin) continued to seek appointment in the far more prestigious—in Javanese eyes—Inlands Bestuur (Native Regional Government Service). The majority then of this new elite originated from the lower priyayi and even commoners (see document 40).

The appearance of this new elite caused friction in both indigenous society and colonial society as a whole, because neither the majority of Europeans nor the higher indigenous nobility were prepared to grant indigenous doctors and teachers the socio-economic recognition due to their educational qualifications, which were often far higher than those of European and native officials.

Many of the European "old-timers" in the colonial service as well as most of the Javanese regents considered the new indigenous intelligentsia as a threat to their authority and their privileged position, and as a whole paid only lip-service to the ideals of the Ethical Policy, which advocated that Western-educated Indonesians should be "associated" as much as possible with Europeans, not only in cultural terms but also in a social and economic sense (see document 25). Indigenous doctors and teachers received salaries which were far below those of most priyayi administrators; they were snubbed socially; and whenever Indonesians managed to acquire the educational qualifications required for higher positions in the civil service they were put on a side-track and prevented from taking up a leading function.

The frustrations suffered by the new elite are illustrated in documents 41-42. Kartini was the daughter of the Regent of Japara, a progressive Javanese nobleman who was one of the few higher priyayi with a Dutch education. She stressed the need for a moder-
nization of indigenous society, although opposing a wholesale imitation of European civilization. Kartini emphasized the need to improve the lot of Indonesian women and is highly revered in modern Indonesia as the great pioneer in their emancipation.

Ahmad Djajadiningrat came from a progressive noble family in Banten (West Java) and was one of the first Indonesians to enter and complete the Dutch High School (H.B.S.). He became one of the showpieces of the Ethical Policy and as a moderate nationalist advocating evolution rather than revolution he occupied important posts in the colonial civil service, was a Member of the Volksraad, and a member of various important government commissions.

Curbed in their ambitions and influenced by Western ideas of social justice as well as by developments in India, China, and Japan, some of the Western-educated Indonesian intellectuals turned to nationalism and the eventual destruction of the colonial system as a solution to their problems and the sufferings of the people. In 1906 Dr Mas Wahidin Soediro Hoesedo, a retired dokter-djawa (native doctor), travelled widely throughout Java to raise money for a study fund for needy Javanese students. He strongly believed that the Javanese could advance themselves only by means of Western education and by invigorating their own culture. Dr Wahidin's efforts met with little response from most of the priyayi, but he was enthusiastically received by the students of the medical school (S.T.O.V.I.A.) in Batavia (Jakarta), who were highly critical of racial discrimination in the colony and the preferential treatment given by the colonial government to the indigenous nobility. Spurred on by the example of the Chinese and the Eurasians, who were organizing themselves to further their own group interests, some of these students came to the conclusion that it was high time to establish a modern organization for the advancement of the people of Java. As a result the first modern Javanese organization, called Budi Utomo—High Endeavour—was born on 20 May 1908 on the premises of the S.T.O.V.I.A.

In criticizing the priyayi for failing to look after the interests of the people and in bypassing this traditional indigenous leadership class as well as their elders, the student founders of Budi Utomo committed a revolutionary act considering the still strongly hierarchical socio-political framework in the Java of 1908 (see document 43). However, the new organization was soon swamped by priyayi who impressed their conservative stamp on it and Budi Utomo remained initially non-political and concentrated on educational and cultural issues. It was not until 1917 that Budi Utomo adopted a political platform demanding a parliamentary government, universal suffrage, a uniform legal system, religious neutrality, and the creation of equal opportunities for Indonesians in the social and
economic field. The following year it joined a group of radical European and Indonesian Members in the Volksraad that demanded the immediate introduction of self-government. Budi Utomo, however, remained politically moderate and its importance in the nationalist movement seriously declined during the 1920s until it finally in 1935 amalgamated itself with another moderate political party, the Persatuan Bangsa Indonesia—the Indonesian People's Union—to form a new party: the Partai Indonesia Raya—Parindra—which believed in political evolution rather than revolution and concentrated on the educational and economic development of the Indonesian people.

Many of the more radically inclined members soon left Budi Utomo and later joined the Indische Partij—the Indies Party—a radical organization which demanded full independence for the Indies. While Budi Utomo was Java-centric, the Indische Partij was Indonesia-wide in its approach and attempted to combine all races in the colony in its fight against colonialism (see document 44). The Indische Partij was founded in 1912 by the Eurasian E. F. E. Douwes Dekker, a distant relative of the famous Eduard Douwes Dekker ("Multafuli"), the author of Max Havelaar (see document 6). In March 1913 the party claimed a membership of seven thousand, the vast majority of whom were lower-class Eurasians.

The better-situated Eurasians, who on the whole were employed in the middle and some of the top ranks of the colonial civil service, stayed aloof, and in 1919 founded the Indo-Europees Verbond—Indo-European Union—which threw in its lot with the Dutch empire, hoping in this way to perpetuate their privileged position in the colony. The majority of Indonesians did not join because they resented the superior attitude with which most Eurasians treated the indigenous people, while the Chinese as usual carefully avoided becoming embroiled in politics and concentrated on tending their business interests.

The ideal of Douwes Dekker to create a vast national, multi-racial, anti-colonial block proved impossible to realize. Moreover in 1913 his party ceased to exist when the colonial government refused to accord it legal recognition and exiled the three main leaders, Douwes Dekker, Dr Tjipto Mangunkusumo, and Suwardi Suryaningrat, to the Netherlands on the grounds that they had endangered peace and order by writing subversive propaganda (see document 45).

Most of the Eurasian followers of the Indische Partij joined the strictly Eurasian organization Insulinde, which because of continuous in-fighting remained politically ineffective. Only in 1919 when Douwes Dekker was allowed to return to the Indies was Insulinde given a new lease of life. The organization changed its name to Nationale Indische Partij—National Indies Party—and became
increasingly radical in its actions, with the result that its leaders were
in and out of jail. In 1923 the colonial government after four years of
"consideration" refused to approve the statutes of the Nationale In-
dische Partij, which now ceased to exist.

40 The social origin of *S.T.O.V.I.A.* students and graduates,
1875—1904

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sons of higher native officials</th>
<th>students</th>
<th>graduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Radja</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pangeran</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regent</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patih</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head-jaksa</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under-collector</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wedono</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head-penghulu</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native army officer</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>146</strong></td>
<td><strong>41</strong></td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sons of middle-ranking native officials</th>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jaksa</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant-wedono</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dokter-djawa</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mantri</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaccinator</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native veterinary surgeon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>278</strong></td>
<td><strong>64</strong></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sons of lower native officials and private persons</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prison warder</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegraph operator</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typograph</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Draughtsman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldier</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village head</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trader</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
R. A. Kartini: Letters of a Javanese Princess

Father sent a note to the government on the subject of education. You must know that many of the native rulers rejoice at the actions of the government. The Javanese nobles are in the favour of the government here and in the motherland, and everything possible is done to help them, and to make them blossom to perfection.

The aristocracy sees with sad eyes how sons of the people are educated, and often even elevated to their ranks by the government because of knowledge, ability, and industry. Sons of the people go to European schools and compare favourably in every respect with the high and honourable sons of the noble. The nobles wish to have rights for themselves alone; they alone wish to have authority and to make western civilization and enlightenment their own. And the government helps and supports them in this, for it is to its own advantage to do so.

As early as 1895 there was a decree that without the special permission of His Excellency the Governor-General no native child (from six to seven years old) who could not speak Dutch would be admitted to the free grammar school for Europeans. How can a native child of six or seven years learn Dutch? He would have had to have a Dutch governess, and before he is able to learn the Netherlands language, the child must first know his own language, and necessarily know how to read and write. It is only regents who
do not have to ask permission for their families to go to the Euro-
pean schools; most of the native officials are afraid of receiving a
"No" in answer to their request and therefore do nothing ... I
remember well from my own school days that many European
children went to school who knew as little Dutch as I, and I hardly
knew any.

Father says in his note that the government cannot set the rice
upon the table for every Javanese, and see that he partakes of it. But
it can give him the means by which he can reach the place where he
can find food. That means is education. When the Government
provides a means of education for the people, it is as though it placed
torches in their hands which enabled them to find the good road that
leads to the place where the rice is served ... 

Father is very proud of his ancient noble race, but right is right
and justice is justice. We wish to equal the Europeans in education
and enlightenment, and the rights we demand for ourselves, we must
also give to others. This putting of stumbling-blocks in the way of
the education of the people may well be compared to the acts of the
Tsar, who while he is preaching peace to the world, tramples under-
foot the good right of his own subjects. Measure with two measures,
no! The Europeans are troubled by many traits in the Javanese, by
their indifference and lack of initiative. Very well, Netherlander, if
you are troubled so much by these things why do you not do
something to remedy the cause? Why is it that you do not stretch
forth a single finger to help your brown brother? Draw back the
thick veil from his understanding, open his eyes; you will see that
there is in him something else besides an inclination for mischief,
which springs principally from stupidity and ignorance ... Here
before you lie the innermost thoughts of one who belongs to that
despised brown race. They are not able to judge us, and the things we
do and leave undone.

Do they know us? No, even as little as we know them ...

The Hollanders laugh and make fun of our stupidity, but if we
strive for enlightenment, then they assume a defiant attitude towards
us. What have I not suffered as a child at school through the ill will
of the teachers and of many of my fellow pupils? Not all of the
teachers and pupils hated us. Many loved us quite as much as the
other children. But it was hard for the teachers to give a native the
highest mark, never mind how well it may have been deserved.

I shall relate to you the history of a gifted and educated Javanese.
The boy had passed his examination, and was number one in one of
the three principal high schools of Java. Both at Semarang, where
he went to school, and at Batavia, where he took his examinations, the
doors of the best houses were open to the amiable schoolboy, with
his agreeable and cultivated manners and great modesty.
Everyone spoke Dutch to him, and he could express himself in that language with distinction. Fresh from this environment, he went back to the house of his parents. He thought it would be proper to pay his respects to the authorities of the place and he found himself in the presence of the Resident, who had heard of him, and here it was that my friend make a mistake. He dared to address the great man in Dutch.

The following morning notice of an appointment as clerk to a controleur in the mountains was sent to him. There the young man must remain to think over his "misdeeds" and forget all that he learned at the schools. After some years a new controleur or possibly assistant controleur came; then the measure of his misfortunes was made to overflow. The new chief was a former schoolfellow, one who had never shone through his abilities. The young man, who had led his classes in everything, must now creep upon the ground before the one-time dunce, and speak always high Javanese to him, while he himself was answered in bad Malay. Can you understand the misery of a proud and independent spirit so humbled? And how much strength of character it must have taken to endure that petty and annoying oppression?

But at last he could not stand it any longer; he betook himself to Batavia and asked His Excellency the Governor-General for an audience; it was granted to him. The result was that he was sent to Preanger, with a commission to make a study of the rice cultivation there. He made himself of service through the translation of a pamphlet on the cultivation of irrigated crops from Dutch to Javanese and Sundanese. The government presented him in acknowledgement with several hundred guilders. In the controleur's school at Batavia, a teacher's place was vacant—a teacher of the Javanese language be it understood—and his friends (among the Javanese) did all in their power to secure this position for him, but without result. It was an absurd idea for a native to have European pupils who later might become ruling government officials, perish the thought! I should like to ask who could teach Javanese better than a born Javanese?

The young man went back to his dwelling-place; in the meantime another Resident had come, and the talented son of the brown race might at last become an assistant wedono. Not for nothing had he been banished for years to that distant place. He had learned wisdom there; namely, that one cannot serve a European official better than by creeping in the dust before him, and by never speaking a single word of Dutch in his presence. Others have now come into power, and lately when the position of translator of the Javanese language became vacant it was offered to our friend (truly opportunely), now that he does not stand in anyone's way! ...
I know an assistant resident who speaks Malay with a regent although he knows that the latter speaks good Dutch. Everyone else converses confidentially with this native ruler but the Assistant Resident—never.

My brothers speak in high Javanese to their superiors, who answer them in Dutch or in Malay. Those who speak Dutch to them are our personal friends; several have asked my brothers to speak to them in the Dutch language, but they prefer not to do it, and Father also never does. The boys and Father know all too well why they must hold to the general usage.

There is too much talk about the word "prestige", through the imaginary dignity of the under-officials. I do not bother about prestige. I am only amused at the manner in which they preserve their prestige over us Javanese.

Sometimes I cannot suppress a smile. It is distinctly diverting to see the great men try to inspire us with awe. I had to bite my lips to keep from laughing outright when I was on a journey not long ago and saw an assistant resident go from his office to his house under the shade of a gold umbrella, which a servant held spread above his noble head. It was such a ridiculous spectacle! Heavens! if he only knew how the humble crowds who respectfully retreated to one side before the glittering sunshade, immediately his back was turned, burst out laughing.

There are many, yes, very many Government officials who allow the native rulers to kiss their feet, and their knees. Kissing the foot is the highest token of respect that we Javanese can show to our parents, our elderly blood relatives, and to our own rulers. We do not find it pleasant to do this for strangers; no, the European makes himself ridiculous in our eyes whenever he demands from us those tokens of respect to which our own rulers alone have the right.

It is a matter of indifference when residents and assistant residents allow themselves to be called Kandjeng, but when overseers, railroad engineers (and perhaps tomorrow, station-masters too) allow themselves to be thus addressed by their servants, it is absurdly funny. Do these people really know what Kandjeng means?

It is a title that the natives give to their hereditary rulers. I used to think that it was only natural for the stupid Javanese to love all this flim-flam, but now I see that the civilized, enlightened Westerner is not averse to it, that he is daft about it.

I never allow women older than I to show all the prescribed ceremonies to me, even though I know they would gladly, for though I am so young, I am a scion of what they consider an ancient, noble, and honoured house, for which in the past they have poured out both blood and gold in large measure. It is strange how attached inferiors are to those above them. But to me, it goes against the grain when
people older than I creep in the dust before me.

With heavy hearts many Europeans here see how the Javanese, whom they regard as their inferiors, are slowly awakening, and at every turn a brown man comes up who shows that he has just as good brains in his head, and just as good heart in his body, as the white man.

But we are going forward, and they cannot hold back the current of time. I love the Hollanders very, very much, and I am grateful for everything that we have gained through them. Many of them are among our best friends, but there are also others who dislike us, for no other reason that [that] we are bold enough to emulate them in education and culture.

In many subtle ways they make us feel their dislike. "I am a European, you are a Javanese", they seem to say, or "I am the master, you the governed". Not once, but many times, they speak to us in broken Malay, although they know very well that we understand the Dutch language. It would be a matter of indifference to me in what language they addressed us, if the tone were only polite. Not long ago, a Raden Aji was talking to a gentleman, and impulsively said, "Sir, excuse me, but may I make a friendly request: please, speak to me in your own language. I understand and speak Malay very well, but alas, only high Malay. I don't understand this pasar [market] Malay." How our gentleman hung his head!

Why do many Hollanders find it unpleasant to converse with us in their own language? Oh yes, now I understand; Dutch is too beautiful to be spoken by a brown mouth ...


42 Ahmad Djajadiningrat: Memoirs, 1936

The position of the government's dokter-djawa was at that time [at the beginning of the twentieth century] considered about equal to that of mantri [overseer], such as mantri for the water supply and police mantri. It is understandable that the dokters-djawa who accomplished such a long and difficult study were not content with this situation. The higher European and also the native B.B. [Binnenlands Bestuur—Local and Regional Government Service] officials were not concerned in the least to treat these doctors with a little more consideration. It was therefore not surprising that on occasions they became rebellious, in particular to countrymen who stood far below them in intellectual development. When I was still a young regent I once attended a party in a club in a remote part of the
country, where the guests were consuming too much hard liquor. Among them was the local Regent and a dokter-djawa. The Regent now and then treated the dokter-djawa somewhat haughtily. After he had drunk a great deal, the latter said to the Regent: "You have become regent by the grace of God. I on the other hand have become a dokter-djawa through my own will-power..."

In the year 1902 it was not yet the custom for a native to dress partly or completely in European style. Even the regents still wore the national dress, that is, a kain [long piece of cloth which is draped around the body], a Javanese-style coat, and a headdress. They did not wear shoes, but slippers. I was dressed in that way when as Regent I made a tour of Java for the first time. In Soerabaja I stayed at the Hotel Simpang, at that time one of the top hotels... One evening after having visited one of my acquaintances I came back to the hotel fairly late and the dining room was already full... When I entered I heard somebody say... in Dutch: "What kind of a monkey is that?" I calmly took my place at the big table and had hardly started to eat—with fork and spoon of course, because I was not in a pesantren—when I heard from the same table the remark: "Look, look, he eats with fork and spoon..." There was cholera in Soerabaja at the time. I did not dare to drink water and so I ordered half a bottle of wine. Again there came a remark from the same corner: "Blimey, he drinks wine!" Across from me there sat a fairly elderly gentleman who seemed to find these coarse remarks very impolite. Annoyed, he suddenly stood up and walked around the table towards me. When he stood behind me he said aloud: "Sir, may I introduce myself? I am Garstens, former Resident of Pasoeroean. I can see on your face that you can understand Dutch. The remarks of these young people behind you greatly annoy me." Again there came a remark from the same table, although now more in a whisper: "What do you know, he also understands Dutch!" I was only slightly angered at this boorish behaviour...

[The People's Credit Service] was an institution which was particularly well suited for leadership by indigenous intellectuals, because they could have acted as an educational lever for the indigenous population. This was unfortunately not realized, because this service was used as a transit office for indigenous academics. A native who had managed to pass the Higher Civil Service Entrance Examination was usually placed temporarily in the People's Credit Service in a low-ranking position. If he was found satisfactory, he would be promoted through the ranks. If he reached the stage where the next move upwards meant a position of leadership, he would—even if he had the capabilities for such a post—be transferred to another branch of the civil service where, although not losing financially, he would not be entrusted with a position of leadership.
Therefore no educated Indonesian was able to give his utmost and the best years of his life to this service, which was of such great value to the indigenous population.

I have never been able to understand the attitude of the government with respect to Western-educated indigenes who wanted to work in the civil service. Over and over again it was argued by European officials that Article 67 of the Colonial Constitutional Regulations [which opened all government positions to all races, providing the necessary educational qualifications had been obtained] could not be applied because from a Western point of view the native officials were still not up to standard. But when there were indigenes who in all respects had the same qualifications as the European officials, who supposedly were so keen to work together with native officials of the same educational and cultural level, there were no openings for them in the native civil service. When the first Javanese who had passed the Higher Civil Service Entrance Examination in the Netherlands applied here for a position in the civil service he was put on a side-track. The resolute and determined Governor-General van Heutz wanted to see this young Javanese, who held the same qualifications as European officials, placed in the European civil service corps. But already the question where he should be stationed as a European official was not easy to solve ... Finally this young man, of course, ended up in the transit office for Indonesian academics ... 


43 Soewarno: Letter of Secretary of Founding Committee of Budi Utomo to the press, 23 July 1908

For a long time now we (the students of the *S.T.O.V.I.A.*) ... have thought about the possibility of improving the situation of our people, in particular the lower classes. We were and are still fully aware of the difficulty of our task, but this is not the reason why we remained quiet. We did not expect actual opposition from our countrymen, but rather we feared that they would completely stay aloof if we came forward with our ideas. How many well-educated men with initiative and energy have not already tried to create an association to improve the intellectual development of the Javanese? A case in point is Soedirokoesoeelho, who travelled throughout most of Java presenting the holy cause to almost every *prijaji*. But alas, all these people were bitterly disappointed in their expectations. It should therefore not be surprising that we were rather hesitant to follow the example of these courageous men and take our case to the native officials.
One of the prescribed duties of the prijaji is supposed to be to help the common man, to raise him from the darkness of ignorance so that he will be better equipped in the struggle for life and will be able to compete more successfully with foreigners. But it is well known that the lower prijaji in particular are unable to free themselves from the pressing yoke of servitude. They always succumb to pressure from above because they feel that opposition would be an act of irreverence and that it would damage the prestige of their superiors. So when the higher prijaji cannot be won over to our side, our cause is surely to be rejected by at least half of the lower officials.

We had to take careful note of this evil, which is apparent almost everywhere and extremely obstructive to a successful outcome. We felt that the best way to tackle the problem would have been to practise casual therapy, i.e. to take away the causes; and the most effective way would in our opinion have been to convince the people deeply and to make them realize the urgent need for an association which unites us, which acts vigorously and presents itself to the outside world as something that is here to stay and of which serious notice will have to be taken.

But this we could not force on people. And therefore we considered it wise for the time being not to propagate our ideas among the older generation. Instead we decided to approach the young people who live under the same pressures as we do. The obvious thing to do was to appeal to the feeling of love for our people of those who thought like us, that is our comrades in the Native Agricultural and Veterinary Science School at Buitenzorg [Bogor], in the Training Schools for Native Officials at Bandoeng, Magelang, and Probolinggo, in the Native Teachers’ Training Colleges... whom we could expect to understand us better, so that our voice would not be calling out alone and in vain in the wilderness. We could also expect that they, as the future advisers of the lower classes, would be willing to do their utmost in the service of the prosperity of their people and country. And we were not mistaken in this. Our ideas were generally accepted and supported by them, because already for a considerable time young Javanese students have been keen to do something for our great people of Java, of which they are only a very small part. After all the happiness of our people is our happiness; its development is also our development; its downfall is also our downfall.

Furthermore, the fact that a number of native officials and private persons have joined us spontaneously is sufficient proof that there are many who are sympathetic to our ideas and that they believe our association is feasible... we are not planning as our first and immediate task to clear the Augean stable. Probably also the abolition of the hormat regulations [prescribing the particular type of homage to be shown to native and Dutch officials] will be incorporated in the programme. But education must be the first point on the platform.
How we are to reach our objectives will have to be decided in more
detail in the coming Poeasa [Fast] month at Jogjakarta where a
central committee will be elected. We invite every organization that
has the same objectives to send representatives to this general
meeting. Also the statutes will still have to be decided. It goes almost
without saying that the young people who while still at school were
forced by circumstances to do the thinking will not lead the associa-
tion. Older, equally genuine, and experienced men, whom we can
trust, will have to lead us. Only then can we act, and show our
countrymen that there is also character and will-power hidden in the
Javanese people.

In the last few days some newspapers have featured interesting ar-
ticles on the activities of the three Raden Adjengs of Japara [Kartini
and her sisters] and the Regents of Japara, Temanggoeng,
Karanganjar, and Koetoardjo, etc. Their [progressiveness] is for-
tunately well received by the press. We were happy to read about
this, because now the great difficulty of “not being understood” by
the appointed leaders of the people is no longer there, and we can
abandon our doubts. The leaders now appear to have the same ideas
as we. They want to go in the same direction, and what is simpler
and more efficient than to go the same way together? This will in the
first place avoid the cutting-up of our forces, which is an important
prerequisite for the success of our attempts. Combination and full
co-operation have so far been lacking. But now, when voices are
raised from all sides, and many feel the need to combine, one must
really try to make this association as strongly and widely based as
possible.

We have immediately informed the three Raden Adjengs of
Japara about our association and its objectives and we have re-
quested them to establish a local branch, while at the same time we
made it known that we also supported their own efforts. We are also
taking measures to inform and keep in close contact with the various
leaders of our people [regents]. We hope that this co-operation will
result in a strong organization.

It is true that this initiative should not have been taken by us, who
are younger in years, and we do not accuse anybody of having for-
saken his duties. The time for action was apparently not yet there.
But now perhaps the dawn of a new life for the Javanese has come.
In any case, the time for sleeping has now undoubtedly passed. And
if the leaders also now remain aloof, inactive, and do not want or
dare to put themselves at the head of this movement, then we
ourselves will be forced against our will to get down to business
without them. However, we believe that this will not be necessary.

S. L. van der Wal, De opkomst van de Nationalistische beweging in Nederlandsch-
What is the objective of the *Indische Partij*? ... The answer is found in Article 2 of the Constitution, which reads as follows: "the purpose of the *Indische Partij* is to awaken the patriotism of all the people of the Indies for the country which feeds them; and to induce them to co-operate on the basis of political equality in order to bring this Indies fatherland to prosperity and to prepare its people for independence ..." Let us begin [by explaining] the last words, which have caused so much fear: "to prepare the people for independence". I doubt whether there is much to fear from these words. In fact we are doing nothing else than subscribing to the government programme. Is it not true that the government in semi-official and perhaps also official statements [has indicated that it] actually desires to gradually develop the colonies to the same level as the mother country? What else can this mean politically than that the colonies will be prepared for statehood? What type of state? Is only self-government envisaged, which in a colonial situation means something very different from independence? Or is perhaps the new state to remain under the sovereignty of the mother country, whatever mother country this may be? Of course [the latter] cannot be true. Unless the colonial political programme, the colonial political task that the mother country has taken upon itself, is a fraud; unless we are given a stack of marked cards; and unless there are dishonest intentions, a mother country that advertises its colonial rule in such a way cannot mean anything else than that the final objective of its policy will be to grant independence. The government should therefore have no objection to our programme. But if she did object, we would have shown up her [real] intentions. And if we were forced to change this aspect of our programme, there would still be sufficient time to do so. Furthermore, we would know then that we were fooled in believing that the government was honest. We would have forced the government of the Indies to take a public stand ... And we would then no longer have to doubt that ... we would be refused our civil rights always ...

I have been asked whether the *Indische Partij* is evolutionary or revolutionary ... The penetration of every new idea brings with it reforms. As we plan to put an end once and for all to the colonial situation, the *Indische Partij* is definitely revolutionary ... Revolutionary action enables people to achieve their objectives quickly. Surely this is not immoral ... The *Indische Partij* can safely be called revolutionary. Such a word does not frighten us ...

[The next point raised by Douwes Dekker was the creation of an Indies nationalism based on the national unity of all races in the]
colony. Pointing to Austria-Hungary, Russia, Switzerland, and the
United States, Douwes Dekker argued that a national multi-racial
society could also be achieved in the Indies.] Truly, it should not be
so very difficult to imagine such a unity, at least not for those Indiers
who are of mixed blood. I admit that it would be more difficult for
Europeans, but also among them some can be found who can be put
up as examples to the majority. There is a difference in the way in
which Indiers of mixed blood and Europeans look at the pure In-
diers, the natives. The Europeans, that is the best and noblest among
them, consider natives persons intelligent people, who after higher
intellectual training are perfectly capable of becoming a great credit
to humanity. The Indiers of mixed blood, however, should see a little
more in them. They should consider the natives as their half-
brothers. They will find in the character of the natives so many traits
that are similar to their own. After all they are themselves partly
native, and an Asiatic, Eastern people. There is no doubt that if the
natives are educated both morally and intellectually and are granted
equal political rights and equality before the law, a general intellec-
tual association will come about that will make the idea of a united
people possible …

[Douwes Dekker also stresses the need for a more Indonesia-
centric education.] It is a fact that we do not know our fatherland …
It is true that we do not need to know our own cultural history to
determine the price of Java coffee or sugar on the Amsterdam
market. On the contrary it might even obstruct the drainage [of
profits] from the Indies … We know to the last detail about such in-
teresting facts as the Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants [two
political-religious factions in seventeenth century Holland] and that
Jacoba of Bavaria fled dressed in men’s clothes—but about our own
fatherland we know nothing or very little … What do we know about
Modjopahit [fourteenth century Javanese empire], which at its
zenith had colonies in Ternate, Pasei, and had its ships sail to Cam-
bodia and even China to trade, causing the land of Java to prosper?
We know nothing about such things … What do we know about the
grandiose ideas that must have fired the imagination of the thou-
sands of artists who built the Borobooder [vast Buddhist shrine in
Central Java], the Prambanan [Hindu temple complex in Central
Java], and the many other temples? … What do we know about the
beauty of the ornamentalism, the mysticism of line and form that en-
compasses a world of aesthetic thought in the golden era of our
architecture? …

[Turning again to the problem of the pluralistic colonial society
Douwes Dekker argues that national unity is possible.] How can the
fraternization of the Indies races and subgroups occur? This is only
possible through intellectual development. Economic differences,
varying interests, yes, even class differences will to a certain extent remain, but racial differentiation will and must disappear. An intellectually developed person does not ask for the place where one was born. Only the ruling classes with their stupid prejudices do this because in accentuating racial divisions they see a means to maintain their privileged position ... Reason reaches across all racial barriers. People with the same education are attracted to each other. A people is divided into several strata because of different levels of intellectual development. The evidence for this is to be found in our own society. We have friends among the natives, who we feel are in no respect below us intellectually. Do we in our dealings with them notice their race perhaps? ...

There is nothing we need so much as self-assurance and self-confidence. We must get rid of our timidity. It is a hindrance to us, it damages us. On the contrary, we must feel in us a strong sense of our own worth, a realization that we are not inferior to anybody. Then there will develop in us a strong moral pride in being ourselves, which will disdainfully suppress in us every desire to put ourselves forwards as different from what we really are ... This will prevent us from becoming renegades. Renegades are small, miserly people who only deserve our contempt. Every Indier should be staunch and proud of being an Indier. He should be proud that he can and may be himself ... When a mother country during long centuries of colonial rule has had no other objective than to exploit and squeeze its colony dry for its own benefit, and when in all these long centuries ... it has not succeeded in accomplishing its task of creating a nation, then its colonial policy and its colonial morality are rotten. And it would be in the cause of morality to push down what is on the point of collapsing from internal decay. This is of course what the Indische Partij aims at in its struggle against racial superiority and racial discrimination ... It will give the final push to make the tree of racial discrimination crash to earth ... But when Indiers of mixed blood complain about this racial superiority they must take care not to become guilty themselves of the same sin with respect to the natives. They must realize that artificially inculcated ideas of belonging to the ruling classes do by no means give them the right to look down on a class of Indiers with whom they are bound together with unbreakable chains ...

The Indische Partij does not support any particular religion. The Indische Partij is of the opinion that religion should remain outside the scope of our and any other political organization ... The Indische Partij will struggle against all expressions of religious sectarianism and all attempts to create religious hate. Instead it must preach the religion of brotherhood ...
terest in technical education and to strengthen such qualities as self-control and intellectual courage. Equality of all races before the law was an important platform in the programme of the Indische Partij. The abolition of legal inequality will cause very great problems. But no problem can be too big to keep us from acting justly... Taxation legislation will have to be completely revised because the natives, that is the Indiers with least capital at their disposal, pay a great deal more than the prosperous whites. Under the existing system the emphasis is on taxing poverty and only as an afterthought does one think about the satchels filled to the brim with gold... The abolition of legal inequality will also result in a change in the judicial system. Some experts warn against such a reorganization. One does not know what to do with the adat [customary Indonesian] law. But there are also experts of equally high standing who advocate the introduction of a uniform legal system...

Legal inequality also exists with respect to land ownership. There was once a big loudmouth who declared that it was a feather in the cap of the Dutch nation that it had left the natives undisturbed in the possession of their land and had protected this land against alienation... In reality it is the big capitalists who have enjoyed the loving care of all successive governments... The natives if they have to suffer from hunger can now at least do so in their own dilapidated huts. By God Almighty, it must be a great feeling to starve in your own house... Why then are the people not prosperous if the possession of land is hailed as such a source of riches...? Why... do the natives earn in proportion no more from their land than a tradesman...? If the natives desire to obtain the same rights enjoyed by the other more privileged groups of the population, then they must from their side also be prepared to share exclusive rights to land with everybody who complies with the conditions laid down by law. I cannot see why an Indier of mixed blood may not be the owner of land in the same way as a native...

[The Indische Partij demands the right for Indiers to defend their own country.] What is our purpose in training the Indiers to defend themselves? It is nothing less than a patriotic duty which they should fulfil and which they should be granted. At present we are not capable of defending our own country. Why not? Only because the Netherlands nation is apparently so convinced of its shortcomings in the fulfilment of its colonial task that it does not dare to put its trust in the gratitude of the people. The government is afraid of us and will take great care to prevent us from getting arms in our hands...

[The Indische Partij also condemned the pluralistic nature of the colonial education system.] At present we have separate schools for Europeans, for Chinese, for natives, and within a short time we will also have schools perhaps for half-whites, three-quarter whites, full
noblemen, half-noblemen, and God knows for whatever other aristocratic gradations there may be. The Indische Partij wants a uniform education system, one type of education for everybody ... The white children can learn a great deal in all fields from the darker-coloured children. The native children are much keener to learn; they are much quieter than the white children ... 

E. F. E. Douwes Dekker, De Indische Partij, haar wezen en doel (Bandung: Fortuna, 1913), pp. 2-50.

45 The Indische Partij in Action

1. R. M. Soewardi Soerjaningrat: If only I were a Netherlander, 1913

At present there exists an abundance of newspaper articles which propagate the idea of staging a big feast here in the Indies to celebrate the centenary of the Independence of the Netherlands ... I can easily understand the feelings of Netherlands patriots of today who want to celebrate such an important date. After all, I am also a patriot, and in the same way as the genuine Netherlands nationalists love their fatherland, so do I love my own fatherland more than I can express in words. What a joy, what a pleasure it would be to be able to commemorate such a very great day. I wish that for a moment I could be a Netherlander, not a naturalized Netherlander, but a real pure son of the Greater Netherlands, completely free from foreign stains. How would I rejoice when later in November the long-awaited day would arrive, the day of the Independence celebrations. How I would rejoice when I would see the Netherlands flag together with the Orange banner flutter in the wind. I would join in the singing until I was hoarse from the “Wilhelmus” [the Dutch national anthem] and the “Wien Nederlands Bloed” [another national song popular at the time] ... All these manifestations would make me feel proud. I would thank God in the Christian church for his goodness. I would send to heaven a wish, a petition for the maintenance of Netherlands power also in the colonies ... I do not know what else I would do; but I would feel capable of anything. I would indeed wish to organize the coming celebrations on as wide a basis as possible, but I would not want the natives of this country to participate in this commemoration. I would forbid them to join in the cheering during these festivities. I would even close off the area where the festivities took place so that no native could see our elation at the commemoration of our day of Independence.
It would seem to me somewhat impolite, coarse, and improper, if we—I am still imagining that I am a Netherlander—let the natives join ... First of all we would hurt their finely attuned feeling of honour, because we would be commemorating our independence here in their country which we keep in subjection ... Wouldn’t we think that these poor slaves would hunger for the moment when, like us, they would be able to celebrate such an occasion? Or are we perhaps of the opinion that because of a long-practised spirit-killing policy of suppression we have killed all human and spiritual feelings in the natives? We would certainly fool ourselves, because even the most primitive peoples curse all forms of imperialism. If I were a Netherlander I would not celebrate the commemoration of independence in a country where we refuse to give the people their freedom ... Especially in these times when the people of the Indies are engaged in finding their feet, although they are still only half awakened, it would be a tactical mistake to show this people how it should eventually celebrate its independence. In this way one would stimulate the passions and unconsciously develop the desire for freedom, the hope for independence in the future ... If I were a Netherlander now at this moment I would protest against the idea of this commemoration. I would write in all the newspapers that it was wrong. I would warn the other colonists that it would be dangerous to hold Independence celebrations in these times. I would dissuade all Dutchers from offending the people of the Netherlands Indies who are awakening and are becoming bolder. It might cause [the people] to become impudent. Truly, I would protest with all the power that is in me. But ... I am not a Netherlander. I am only a brown-coloured son of this tropical land, a native of this Netherlands colony and I would therefore not protest ...

Putting all irony aside ... the centenary celebrations of the Independence of the Netherlands say something for the everywhere so highly regarded fidelity to the fatherland, in this case of the Dutchers. I wish them the greatest enjoyment in their national commoration. But what I and many of my countrymen object to is mainly the fact that here we have another case where the natives must pay for something that does not concern them in the least. What benefit will the celebrations, which we are all helping to stage, bring us? Absolutely none. At the highest we will be reminded that we are not a free people ... I feel therefore far more for the idea mooted in the native daily Kaoem Moeda and in De Express of forming a committee of educated natives in Bandoeng, where the idea for a commemoration was born ... which on the day of the celebrations will send a congratulatory telegram to the Queen in which at the same time it will urge the abolition of Article 111RR [this article in the Colonial Constitutional Regulations controlled
the right of political association] and the speedy establishment of an Indies parliament ...

R. M. Soewardi Soerjaningrat, "Als ik eens Nederlander was" (Onze Verbanning, Schiedam: 1913), pp. 68-72.

2. Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo: Power or fear, 1913

Yesterday we were very fortunate: the assistant public prosecutor came to our office and took possession of the writings of R. M. Soewardi Soerjaningrat, our secretary. Without wanting to challenge the Justice Department or the police, I must say that we felt proud.

Was this seizure meant as a demonstration of power? Does the poor deluded government really think that we will be discouraged because we are confronted by superior might? On the contrary, it will stimulate us to provoke that superior power, to force it to do its utmost to get us down. The stronger its action, the stronger our power will grow.

Was it fear that already at this stage forced the government to stop our power? If so, it is a compliment for our secretary, because it would follow that the "libellous article of the muddle-headed R. M. Soewardi Soerjaningrat", to quote the Bataviaasch Handelsblad [conservative Dutch newspaper], was not insignificant after all. So, after all, one of these "intellectual pariahs" has stood up whose "confused writings" are considered to be able to bring the "dull, indolent masses of natives" into motion. This would not be very pleasant for the Netherlands.

There is still a third possibility. We do not believe that the product of an "intellectual pariah" can draw the attention of the higher European authorities unless these authorities had been hit in the soft underbelly. We suspect that the "libellous article" contained something that was offensive to our white masters. We cannot remember that a European newspaper was ever prosecuted because it offended us. But then, of course, the "amoral" native people are after all only a nation of slaves who therefore would not be easily offended. But it is still possible that the prosecution of a [European] newspaper for sowing racial hatred might eventuate. If this prosecution does not occur, it is clear that there is no justice here. Happily, we cannot be blamed.

The time has come to take a stand. We call on our brothers, the Young Javanese, to take careful note of the reactions of the European press. From what we have already seen, it appears that they want to challenge us. We have already been told: "We are the
strongest, and so you must keep your mouth shut; we are the posses-
sors of your land". This is simply misusing power to stop us from
speaking, because they do not want to hear anything unpleasant. But
by Allah, this won't be so easy. Our Committee firmly intends to
continue the struggle to the end by intellectual means—we are, of
course, not allowed to arm ourselves! Brothers, support that Com-
mittee! ... While later everybody who calls himself a Netherlander
will be in a festive mood listening to toasts and speeches ... about the
sweetness of freedom, the same sweet freedom will be taken away
from our own brother Soewardi.

Tjipto Mangoenkesoemo, 'Kracht of Vrees', (Onze Verbanning Schiedam: 1913),
pp. 73-75.
The Islamic Movement

Islam, which gradually began to penetrate the Indonesian islands in the fourteenth century, was never able to replace traditional Indonesian civilization in its entirety. This was particularly so in Java. Admittedly Islam brought change to Java, but its impact was often not very deep and many elements of traditional Javanese culture can still be seen fully alive today.

Islam came to the Indies after it had first filtered through the civilizations of Persia and India and was therefore presented to the Indonesians in a familiar mystical garb. And in most parts of the Archipelago the conversion to Islam was initially little more than a formality. The royal courts and the nobility still adhered firmly to the traditional culture into which some select Islamic concepts were gradually absorbed. The Islamic law never succeeded in completely supplanting the adat, nor was the Islamic concept of theocracy ever accepted by the traditional ruling classes; and whenever ulama (Muslim teachers) attempted to interfere too drastically with the traditional social and political status quo they were ruthlessly suppressed. Later during the colonial period the Dutch consistently supported the nobility and the adat chiefs against any encroachments on their authority by “fanatical” Muslims.

At the village level many of the old traditions were gradually covered with an Islamic veneer. Animist and Hindu/Buddhist beliefs and practices continued alongside and often were closely intertwined with the performance of Islamic religious duties. In many ways, then, Java was not Islamized, but Islam was Javanized (see document 46).

Still, more orthodox Islamic pockets have existed since the fourteenth century in the coastal areas of Java, from where they have gradually spread their influence into the interior, mainly through the establishment of pesantren, centres of orthodox religious learning. Document 47 contains a survey of the number of pesantren in various parts of Java in 1831 as well as a description of the teaching methods and types of books used in these institutions. This proselytizing process intensified during the second half of the
nineteenth century when as a result of improved communications more Indonesians made the pilgrimage to Mecca, where they were imbued with the more authentic spirit of Islam. Many of these *haji* (pilgrims) on their return to Java set up *pesantren* to spread the true faith.

Yet the number of *santri*—pious, more orthodox Muslims—remained relatively small compared with that of the *abangan* (the more syncretic nominal Muslims). It was the Dutch missionary Poensen who was among the first to point out this important distinction between *santri* and *abangan* (see document 46). This primordial cleavage within Javanese society was popularized in the 1950s by the American anthropologist Glifford Geertz in his book *The Religion of Java*.

During the nineteenth century when the West was beginning to penetrate more deeply into indigenous life, the orthodox Muslims began to react more strongly against colonial rule. Muslim teachers preached hate against the *kafir* (unbeliever) colonial government and its European and native servants; and it condemned Western concepts, methods, science, and education as *haram* (heretical). An interesting example of this strong anti-colonial feeling in the *pesantren* is provided by Ahmad Djajadininvarat, who as a young man spent some time in one of these teaching institutions in Banten (see document 48).

From the beginning of the twentieth century, however, a number of *ulama* took up the challenge of the West in a far more positive manner. Influenced by modernist Islamic ideas from the Middle East, these Indonesian Muslims set about with great energy and zeal to stave off the threat posed by both Western secularism and Christianity.

Islamic reformism or modernism was an attempt to revitalize Islam in its struggle for survival against the ever-increasing impact of Western political and intellectual superiority. This Islamic renewal had been gaining strength during the second half of the nineteenth century in the Middle East, particularly in Egypt, where such prominent Islamic scholars as Djamal-al-Din-al-Afghani and his pupil Mohammad Abduh through their writings and activities had exerted a far-reaching influence throughout the whole of the Islamic world.

According to these reformers the decline of Islam as a political power and as a civilization was due to the fact that it had not been able to keep up with intellectual and social developments in the rest of the world. During the ages the originally simple and rational core of the Islamic faith—the Qu’ran and the Hadits—had been overgrown by such a burden of irrational beliefs and superstition that any intellectual progress had become impossible. Muslims had
succumbed to heresy, which was the major reason why Islam no longer was able to fulfil its divinely ordained purpose of being the most powerful community on earth. To enable Islam to rise again, al-Afghani argued that as a first step religion should be cleansed from impurities and heresy. He also dreamt about the re-establishment of a powerful empire uniting all the Muslim peoples of the world under the one great caliph (pan-Islamism) and advocated direct political action. Mohammad Abduh was less sanguine in his approach and emphasized religious and educational reform.

Most of the efforts of the Indonesian Muslim reformers went initially into the remodelling and reconstruction of the existing Muslim education system, because the colonial education system was considered to be one of the greatest dangers to Islam. As Snouck-Hurgronje (see document 25) had foreseen, the lack of religious instruction in government schools and the closer contact of students with Western thinking and ideologies tended to “eman-cipate” them from Islam. In particular students from a prijadi or adat-conscious background, where orthodox Islam had never been able to penetrate fully, succumbed more easily to the lure of Western rationalism and secularism. But also among students with a more orthodox Islamic background a weakening or even a complete abandonment of the faith was not uncommon. The other danger to Islam was the proselytizing efforts of the Christian missions, which since the relaxation from the middle of the nineteenth century of the old-established rule forbidding missionary activity in predominantly Muslim areas, had penetrated into many parts of Java and Sumatra, establishing schools and hospitals.

Between 1909, when the first modern Islamic school was established in Padang (Minangkabau), and 1942, Indonesian Muslims created a vast network of modern educational institutions ranging from elementary schools to university. In 1934 there were in Minangkabau alone 452 modernist Muslim schools with 25,292 pupils.

It was also under the aegis of Islam that the first modern organized Indonesian mass movement—the Sarikat Islam—was established. The Sarikat Islam was founded in 1912 and under the energetic leadership of Tjokroaminoto, a fiery and charismatic speaker, it rapidly grew out into a vast movement with branches all over Indonesia, claiming 2.5 million members in 1919. Most of the rank and file were Abangan and not particularly interested in furthering the cause of Islam, which was one of the major platforms. But rather they saw the Sarikat Islam as a sounding-board for their social and economic troubles, viewing the charismatic Tjokroaminoto as the long-promised Ratu Adil, who was on the verge of inaugurating an era of prosperity and happiness.
While the national leadership consisted on the whole of modernist Muslims, who considered Islam as the only proper vehicle to further the national and economic interests of the people, the local leadership was rather motley in its composition, consisting of religious teachers of the old and new orthodox variety, disgruntled school teachers, union leaders, native officials, and unemployed school-leavers, who all had their own personal axes to grind.

This uneven commitment to the Islamic cause on the part of many of the local leaders and the rank and file caused serious problems of discipline and eventually resulted in the disintegration of the movement.

The initial programme of the Sarikat Islam was politically very moderate and stressed that the main purpose of the organization was to further the interests of Islam in Indonesia and to work for the social and economic advancement of the people in co-operation with the government’s Ethical welfare programme (see document 49).

A deterioration in economic conditions during and immediately after World War I and, even more important, the infiltration of Communists into the movement drove the Sarikat Islam into a far more radical direction. This caused a serious split in the party between the more conservative Muslim elements led by the modernist leader Hadji Agus Salim and the radicals led by the Communists. Attempts by Tjokroaminoto to find a modus vivendi between the two groups, by claiming that in terms of social and economic objectives there was very little difference between the precepts of the Qu’ran and Marx, failed to heal the breach. And finally in 1923 the Communists were ousted from the organization, taking with them the vast majority of the rank and file, who apparently were more interested in finding an immediate solution to their social and economic problems than in religion.

In 1923 the organization constituted itself into an official political party—the Partai Sarikat Islam. While the Sarikat Islam under the leadership of Tjokroaminoto had attempted to accommodate the whole spectrum of Indonesian nationalist aspirations within its organizational structure, the P.S.I. became more specifically Islamic in its objectives. Like other Islamic organizations it strongly objected to the secular nationalism of leaders such as Sukarno, Hatta, and Sjahirir and strove for a free Indonesia with a constitution based on the precepts of the Islamic law (see document 50).

The P.S.I., however, only played a comparatively minor role in the Indonesian nationalist movement during the late 1920s and 1930s. In 1939 the party joined the nationalist agitation for the establishment of a full parliament in the Indies. But the P.S.I. was further weakened when Kartosuwirjo and his followers, who accused the party of compromising too much with the secular nationalists,
separated themselves (see document 51). (In 1948 Kartosuwirjo founded the Darul Islam [Islamic state], which fought both the Dutch and the Indonesian Republic.

After the rapid decline of the Sarikat Islam in the early 1920s the leadership of the Islamic revival movement passed to the Muhammadyah, an organization founded in 1912, which concentrated its efforts in the social and educational field and refused to become directly involved in politics. The objectives of Muhammadyah, as laid down in its constitution, were to spread the true Islam among the Indonesian people and to improve the religious life of its members by means of holding public meetings to discuss religious subjects; the founding and maintaining of modern Islamic schools; the founding and maintaining of mosques for public religious services; and the publishing of religious books, newspapers, and tracts.

Taking a leaf out of the book of the Christian missions the Muhammadyah, in addition to founding schools, also established hospitals, orphanages, and organizations for poor relief. Its efforts met with a great deal of success and in 1925 there were already twenty-nine branches with four thousand members; eight Dutch-Native Schools; a teachers’ training college; thirty-two vernacular primary schools; and fourteen madrasah (religious schools)—altogether including one hundred and nineteen teachers and four thousand pupils. Two clinics had also been established, one at Yogjakarta and one at Surabaja, and an orphanage and house for the poor at Yogjakarta.

By 1929 membership had grown to sixteen thousand and the Taman Pustaka (publishing section) had during its fifteen years of existence published and distributed seven hundred thousand books and pamphlets. Also the Aisijjah, the women’s branch of the Muhammadyah, had made considerable progress and by 1929 counted forty-seven branches and fifty groups with five thousand members, supporting thirty-two schools for girls with seventy-five teachers.

In 1938 Muhammadyah had 852 branches with 250,000 members; it maintained 834 mosques and langgar (prayer houses), 31 public libraries, and 1774 schools, some of which received subsidy from the colonial government. At that time the organization had also 5516 male and 2114 female muballigh (missionaries) in the field. Document 52 contains excerpts from one of the national congresses of Muhammadyah.

Another important modernist Islamic organization was the Jong Islamieten Bond (the Young Muslims Union), which had been founded by Hadji Agus Salim to protect Islamic students in Dutch high schools and institutes of tertiary learning from the evil of secularism. The Jong Islamieten Bond became more directly in-
volved in politics, opposed the secular Indonesian nationalist youth organizations, and refused to join the *Indonesia Muda* (Young Indonesia) organization, which had amalgamated within itself most of the earlier regional youth groups such as *Jong Java*, and *Jong Ambon*, etc. (see document 53).

The progress made by Islamic reformism caused conservative religious scholars to organize themselves also along Western lines. In 1926 a number of prominent *ulama* in East Java founded the *Nahdatul Ulama* (Association of Scholars) in Surabaja (see document 54) for the purpose of furthering the cause of traditionalist orthodox Islam and to encourage believers to adhere strictly to one of the four *madzhab* (i.e. the traditionally recognized legal interpretations of the Qu’ran) as opposed to the stress placed by the modernists on individual interpretation. The organization planned to work towards achieving unity among the *ulama* who adhered to any of the four *madzhab* and would scrutinize *kitab* (religious books) for their orthodoxy. Moreover the *Nahdatul Ulama* was to spread the faith by every means allowable within the law; to further Islamic education; to take care of the running of mosques, prayer houses, and *pesantren*; to engage in pious works such as giving support to widows and the needy; and to further agricultural, trading, and industrial enterprises in so far as this was not in conflict with the law. The organization spread rapidly throughout Java and also established breaches in Borneo. By 1942 the number of branches had grown to 120.

Similar to the *Muhammadiyah*, the *Nahdatul Ulama* was ostensibly non-political, although in the schools and boy scouts sections the nationalist spirit was very much cultivated. Both organizations, however, became somewhat more politically orientated towards the end of the Dutch colonial period. And it was largely on the initiative of K. H. Mansur, the *Muhammadiyah* leader, that in 1937 the *Madjilisoeel Islamil A’laa Indonesia* (Council of Indonesian Islamic organizations) or *M.I.A.I.* was founded. The *M.I.A.I.* was a federation of Islamic organizations, and although it was primarily religious, the membership of such parties as the *Partai Sarikat Islam* naturally brought the organization into closer contact with politics.

46 C. Poensen: *Letters about Islam from the country areas of Java, 1886*

There was a time when hardly anything was known about the religious thinking and activities of the native world. The natives were blandly dismissed as “superstitious Mohammedans”; and the Dutch
East India Company and the later Netherlands Government agreed with this conclusion and made it the basis or main principle of their policy ... This situation has changed completely in the last few years ... and now one hears not only that Islam exists in Java ... but also that there is a so-called Javanism—a term that, although perhaps not entirely correct, has been coined to describe the mixture of the old Javanese animism, Hinduism, Mohammedanism etc ...

The Javanese are all (with an unimportant exception) Moham medans. This is what the government says and what the natives themselves say, as well as what reality teaches us ... and the pesantren and the pilgrimage are continuously spreading a better understanding of the true spirit and essence of the Islam ... How true this is could be seen recently when Raden Ario Tjondra Negara made a point about the salat in connection with the performance of religious duties on Friday. A man such as Dr Juynboll [Dutch Islamic expert] rejected this explanation, but later was found to be wrong ... So we should now ... begin to get some inkling of the meaning Islam has in present-day Java and of what is happening in the world of the pesantren scholars and the hajjis, and the influence they exert on the masses. These large masses are completely manipulated by them. And although they [the masses] continue to live in stupidity, heresy, and poverty, they in fact know, especially in the eastern and southern parts of the island, little more about Islam than the circumcision of the children, fasting, not to eat pork ... that there are ... a number of feast days ... that all prijaji are naturally Mohammedans and that all Christians are kapir londa [unbelievers] ... But all this ignorance and foolishness will gradually diminish, and this is already to be noticed in some classes. The result will be that the masses will become stronger in their Islamic beliefs and its teachings will be better known. In short the people will become better Mohammedans.

But to have a proper understanding of the situation it is necessary to make a distinction between the formal and inner life of the people. And the inner life of the masses, the prijaji of course excepted, can at present hardly be called Mohammedan. What do we mean by this? For example, the Netherlands people we can call both formally and inwardly a Christian nation ... The whole of life and thinking—the public spirit—of the people is permeated by Christianity, although many do not think and act in a Christian manner. In this sense the Javanese people cannot be called a Mohammedan nation. It is true that formally the religion of the masses is, however defective it may be, undoubtedly Mohammedanism ... but inwardly there are other and older forces still at work. This has become clear especially during the last few years. And it is not possible to understand fully the inward life of the people if one concentrates solely on the outward
forms and ceremonies of Islam ... The only way to understand this is to observe carefully the more intimate religious customs, manners, and actions in the daily and homely sphere, to talk with the people, etc. It will become clear then that outwardly the people certainly must be called Mohammedan, but that the inner soul is motivated by a religious feeling that expresses itself in all sorts of non-Mohammedan ideas and practices, and that the people do not yet live and think in a Mohammedan way. [It will become clear] that we are dealing with a Mohammedan people, which is and wants to be called Mohammedan, not because it prefers Islam and is permeated by its spirit, but because it has to be Mohammedan and finds it difficult to be anything else, because all the ruling powers desire it that way, and this is difficult for the lower classes and the better situated as well to oppose.

In the daily life prayers can be heard in which the names of all sorts of spirits are called, while the name of Allah is either lacking or is treated equally with those of the many other [spirits]. People can be seen to bring offerings to the spirit of the village, and to other spirits in rocks, trees, graves, caves, rivers, etc., while in their own mosque they never bring a single offering to Allah. One also will learn that the people divide themselves into two classes: the bangsa poetihan and the bangsa abangan [whites and reds]. The first group consists of a fairly small number of people who could be called "pious", orthodox Mohammedans, although their orthodoxy too could be questioned sometimes. The other group consists of the vast majority of the people, who are not Mohammedan in their religious thinking and actions, but who live in accordance with the precepts of their forefathers. They can do well without Allah, the only exception being when a wedding is to be performed before the penghoeloe [Muslim religious official] ... and when one is forced to recite the Mohammedan creed. And then after all Allah is only a new Lord, who has been added later, and with whom one is not as familiar yet. On these occasions one calls out loudly that Allah is the only one, while at home in a far happier frame of mind offerings are prepared for the village spirit ...

If more evidence is wanted, one should observe the villager when he is sick, when somebody dies, when his wife is pregnant or in childbed, if he wants to undertake something special, for example to transport a buffalo or cow to another village, or to build a house or something of this kind. One should even spy upon thieves, when they decide to go and steal somewhere, and how they then need the protection of special spirits in order to carry out their plans unnoticed, to become invisible and go without interference. But Allah ... Yes, the villager uses formulas, called rapals, in which Allah's name is mentioned, but he has to share this honour with many others! ...
In my previous letter I spoke about the more intimate religious actions in the daily life of the natives. As in this month a number of religious actions must be performed, this is a good occasion to look at them more closely. The month Sja'ban (Saban in Javanese) is especially dedicated to the memory and veneration of the dead and it is therefore also called the “Roewah month”, the month of the spirits ... Most of the Europeans would not know about this ... And yet there is hardly a religious duty that is so generally performed by the natives as this roewahan, or the veneration of the dead with a sacrificial meal ... Certainly, the festivities at the end of the fast [lebaran] are much better known by Europeans, because they cause a greater stir and movement among the natives than their spirits or All Souls day.

But all this movement and stir still do not provide us with a proper gauge to estimate what is important in the inner life of the natives. The Javanese roewahan is a real Javanese religious feast with an Arabic name, but Javanese or Polynesian in origin. Already before the coming of Islam were the dead venerated here ... How do the natives celebrate the commemoration and veneration of the dead? ... [The celebration] consists of a meal, although some of the better situated give first another meal—kendoeren—near the poenden, a sacred grave, of the village. The closest neighbours and people who are encountered more or less accidentally are invited to the meal ... A special preparation of rice—called sega poenel—seems to be generally considered necessary for such a meal. The rice is served in eight ambeng—certain quantities of rice on special plates—to the guests who sit on mats around a ninth ambeng in the middle of which a small banana tree has been planted. Poorer people will have to be content with two or four ambeng. Each ambeng is dedicated to a particular spirit such as that of Adam, Eve, Mohammad, Fatimah, and imaginary personalities such as heaven and earth, etc., because the food must be considered as an offering ... Once everybody is sitting happily around this food the meal cannot start until after the oldest person present, or preferably the modin [religious official who calls people for prayers], has uttered the so-called oedjoeb, i.e. a declaration that all the friends present ... old and young ... are witness that the host has prepared this meal in eight ambeng dedicated to Adam, Eve, etc. in order to obtain their blessing—called sawab pandonga, for house and family ... And when this speech has ended he ... will ask the guests to start eating ... The offering made in this way is considered to be partly in honour of the dead and partly for the benefit of the living. The idea behind this is that the dead are close to the living and can either protect them or—in the case of neglect or disregard—can harm them.

There are also people who bring offerings on the 30th of the
month Roewah, that is the day before the beginning of the fast, for the specific purpose of honouring the dead. This is called ngintoen donga and megengan. The first term means that "prayers are sent" for the benefit of the deceased. This also occurs after the fast on the 1st of the month Sawal early in the morning. The second word derives from megeng, i.e. to prepare oneself for the fast, and it actually means "the performance of the ceremonies for the preparation of the fast" ... Sometimes the housewife will at the same time prepare a few sega apem—i.e. small pancakes made of rice flour, yeast, and sugar—and the first one that comes out of the pan will be considered sacred and may not be eaten by anybody. A coin is put in the middle and a second pancake is put on top ... This double pancake is put away and is destined for the deceased; it is called kedoekoeng-ing lelampah or ... a travelling hat. It serves to protect the deceased while travelling to the regions of eternity, because he is surrounded by dangers and bad spirits sometimes will surprise the traveller and cause him to lose the right way ...

You have of course already noticed yourself that the natives also in the fulfilment of their duties during the month Roewah have not renounced their peculiar syncretism, and it should be clear how far they are orthodox followers of the Arabian faith. We have already pointed out that the veneration of the spirits is a remnant of the pre-Islamic era, of the era when the name of Allah was as yet totally unknown to the natives, and when numerous offerings, as is still happening today, were made to the spirits of nature, the spirits of the deceased and—because of the influence of the Hindus—to the gods of the Hindu pantheon. All this has not yet been forgotten, and one has simply added Allah of the Islam and his prophets and saints and a religion has been formed, consisting of the original Polynesian, Indian, and Arabic ideas ...

Polygamy and the harem are the cancer of family life; and also in Java we learn every day that this is true ... The "small man" usually has only one wife, although there are some who have two. In the higher classes the largest number is four in accordance with the Islamic law. But there are also some who have only one wife, while they sometimes have a number of concubines. It is well known how easy it is for the "common man" to change wives. And there are many men who after having been divorced have lived together with many wives—we know of a case of twenty and another of thirteen different wives ...

The nature and character of the people still exert an influence on many occasions in family life. The woman is here not a "slave", as may be the case elsewhere [in the Muslim world], and shows herself everywhere without a veil. In line with local customs the woman has often still a great deal of power in the house. And although the man
may be the head of the household, the woman is the neck on which the head turns in the direction she desires ...

Most European inhabitants only know that the fast has begun when their servants ask to borrow some money, or pre-payment of their wages, or for permission to give a meal—djagongan—in the evening, or to buy clothes ... Those who, however, are a little more familiar with the life of the natives are reminded [of the fast] every night for the thirty days of this month by the shouting of the santris [pesantren students] ... What is this shouting about? It is praying and glorifying God with Arabic chanting. After the waktoe-Isja [evening prayer], it is the praying period of Ngisa, which begins when the twilight is disappearing, the bedoeg [drum] is struck with a special beat for this occasion. This is called tidoe [sleep] and it serves to call the people together for the tarawih prayer ..., i.e. a prayer which ... is interspersed with rekas, with bowing. One can hear this at about seven o'clock in the evening during the whole of the month. One of the elders leads the prayer, which is loudly ... repeated through all those present. After the tarawih prayer has finished, readings are held from the Qu'ran, called daraessan. This daraessan can last until midnight, after which each santri in turn treats his colleagues to coffee and cakes ...

The fasting month commences as soon as the new moon is visible. One is obliged to fast from the beginning of the day, i.e. from the moment a white thread can be distinguished from a black one ... until sundown. With the exception of children below the age of seven, the sick, travellers, and soldiers at war, one is obliged to abstain completely from eating and drinking, bathing, in short all sensuous pleasures, for example also smoking, sirith-chewing, kissing, and even the brushing of teeth, etc. But nobody, so the Prophet is supposed to have said, is allowed to harm his health ...

And so one keeps Allah to his word that he wants to make things easy for the people ... and by excessive eating and drinking some of our natives compensate themselves at night for the deprivations of the day. Mostly our natives eat after sundown—this is called boeka—and just before the morning—which is called sahoer. And they sometimes eat more and more dainty food than usual. I have also met now and then pious persons who only ate once and very simply at about one o'clock in the morning. There are officials who only fast on the first and last day of this month ...

Especially the 21st, 23rd, 25th, and 29th of this month are important days in Java. The night of the 27th is called the night of fate—lailat'oe! quadri. According to the legal scholars, numerous miracles occur during this night. It is best to pray during this night rather than any other night ... After sundown on these five days the so-called Malemmans take place. In the principalities it is customary
that food is distributed to the people on the 21st by the Sultan, on the 23rd by the Crown Prince, on the 25th by the princes at the court, on the 27th by the Vizier, and on the 29th by the toemenggoengs [officers]. It is said that this is done to commemorate Mohammad who, after having secluded himself in a cave, did not want to eat the food that had been prepared for him, but gave it to his followers.

The villages celebrate these Malemmans in their own way. The offerings are said to be especially dedicated to the prophet Adam on the 21st, the prophet Noah on the 23rd, the prophet Abraham on the 25th, the prophet Moses on the 27th, and the prophet Mohammad on the 29th. At sundown one sees everywhere men and boys running towards the house of the village chief, and it is not long before one hears many voices call out loudly "inggih" ["yes"], repeatedly, agreeing with the explanation of the modin ... as to the meaning of this offering, to whom it is dedicated, and to what purpose.

The offering also consists of a meal in which all male inhabitants of the village participate ... who each in turn take care of the food (i.e. a fifth of the participants have to take care of the food for one of the five nights), which has to be brought to the house of the village chief, who usually himself gives his share on the fifth night ...

On the 29th and 30th those whose parents are deceased—or as others say: everybody who has to take care of a grave—are busy with the preparation and baking of sega apem or rice flour cookies ... which are made in large quantities because they are already eaten from four or five o'clock on the afternoon of the 30th of Ramadan, thus actually before the fast is finished. But this is the custom in the village. Mutual visits are made during which these rice cookies are presented to the visitors, who eat as many as they like and take the rest home with them. But as this happens to each in turn nobody actually gains a great deal. Only kijaji or santri just take without returning anything and it sometimes happens that these people have vast quantities of these cookies at home, which they dry and keep, and later eat or sell ... But more still has to be done. On the last two days of the month the men go and clean the graves ...

Very early on the morning of the 1st of the month Sawal a bath is taken, the cattle are washed, nice clothes are put on ... and the graves are visited and an offering of flowers is made. These flowers are scattered on the graves, prayers are said, sometimes fireworks are lit, after which one goes home to eat ... After that the necessary visits are made to the village chief, the goeroe, the modin, and every other old or worthy person ... And this is the end of the fast for the vast majority of people ...

The Resident of Batavia reports that in his region there existed a large number of so-called native schools which, however, did not teach anything else than the parrot-fashion reading or rather intoning of the Qu’ran, while some pupils were also taught to write with Arabic characters. This education was given by priests [sic] who, although they were not supervised, all followed the same methods. For their trouble they enjoyed a salary the size of which depended on the wealth of the parents of the children. Some children, particularly orphans, were educated free of charge.

Buitenzorg [the present Bogor]. There were no permanent schools, but in some places the children of natives were instructed either by priests or other natives mainly in the reading and writing of Arabic characters. This education, however, was very defective.

In Cheribon there were 190 pesantren with 2763 pupils who, however, learned nothing else than to read the Qu’ran and some other Islamic books. In some pesantren instruction was also given in writing with Arabic characters. The pupils were duty-bound to work part of the day for the goeroe, who was recompensed for his troubles by the fruits of their labour. Those natives who desired to learn to read and write Malay and Sundanese asked for help from one of their relatives or friends. Most natives of standing would send their children to a pesantren for some years. Every pesantren had from one to a hundred or more pupils, depending on how highly the goeroe was regarded by the population, either on the grounds of his piety or because of his knowledge. The goeroes were mainly religious ministers.

Tegal. About a thousand children were instructed in the reading of the Qu’ran and the reciting of prayers. Only few priests were familiar with the Javanese script. The Regent of Tegal reported that it was always very difficult to provide his children with a different type of education and the available teachers were very deficient. Since the English interregnum, some good results had been obtained even by those sub-standard means. Before that time there were even children of regents who could neither write nor read.

Pekalongan. There were nine pesantren in which the children of chiefs and of a few Javanese of lower status received some religious instruction. The teachers (priests) were happy with what they were given voluntarily by the parents and with the sedekahs [religious meals] to which they were sometimes invited.
Semarang. There were only pesantren here too. They were divided as follows:

Regency of Semarang 95 pesantren with 1140 pupils
Regency of Kendal 60 pesantren with 928 pupils
Regency of Demak 7 pesantren with 519 pupils
Regency of Grobongan 18 pesantren with 365 pupils

The pesantren were not only visited by children but also by adults of both sexes. Few reached the stage where they understood what they learned to read. Some goeroes also gave instruction in the reading of the Qu’ran in the Javanese language.

Kedoe. There were five schools which gave some instruction mainly in religious subjects. Children of chiefs, who stayed longer at school than the children of commoners, also received instruction in the reading and writing of Arabic and Javanese characters. Many children of chiefs, however, learned this by their own volition outside school with the help of relatives or other capable people.

Bagelen. In various villages there were priests, who gave very deficient instruction in religion. The most important of them was kiai goeroe Koetoebu at Alang Alang Ombo, who had been given a fairly large piece of land by the court of Jogjakarta for his troubles.

Banjoemas. There were only religious schools and very few at that. The teachers were even less capable than on the north coast. A few sons of regents received instruction in the reading and writing of Roman characters at the Residency office.

Rembang. There were various pesantren. The priests who acted as teachers did not get any salary, but lived from gifts which during feast days were given to them by their pupils or the parents.

Soerabaja. The following statistics were presented. In the Regency of Soerabaja and Japan there were 410 langgars [small prayer houses used also for religious instruction], with 4397 pupils, of which 355 were girls. In the district of Grissee there were 238 langgars with 2603 pupils; and in the district of Bawean there were 109 langgars. Whoever had some wealth and could read Arabic usually set up a langgar beside his house, in which he himself became the teacher, first for his own children and those of relatives and later also for other children. People with some wealth but who could not read Arabic employed a priest from the outside. A decline in wealth or loss of interest, etc., often caused such schools to disappear again.
The Regent and other important chiefs, if they wanted their children to learn reading, writing, and arithmetic, used private teachers. The instruction in the langgars lasted usually from three to four years.

From Bawean many children taking sums of thirty to forty reals with them went to Pasoeoean to further their education. They would usually return after two to three years.

Madoera. There were thirty-four langgars in Soemenep, ninety-seven in Pamekasam, and ten in the district of Madoera. The Sultan of Madoera considered these institutions as sufficient, because the Madurese were still in the lowest stage of civilization and the langgars were the appropriate institutions to develop their intellectual powers.

Besoeki. There were between five hundred and six hundred religious schools. Some young men in the retinue of the regents were taught to read, but some chiefs could not write at all.

Japara. There were ninety pesantren with 3150 boys and 326 girls.

The reason why there is little emphasis on the teaching of Javanese is that, according to the Qu’ran, human beings are incapable of understanding any other subjects before they have completely familiarized themselves with the teachings of religion. Also anybody who had completed his studies in Mohammedan doctrine and then had gone on the pilgrimage to Mecca was considered a scholar for whom all other knowledge was unnecessary.

Important is the description of the teaching methods in a pesantren by a native commission at the time, consisting of the Regent of Pati, the head-djaks a [legal official] and the head-penghoeloe [religious official] of Japara. I quote as follows:

The first instruction in the pesantren or pengadjian is in the alip-alipan or the Arabic alphabet. Then a book called toeroetan is used, which explains the various characters used to form the words contained in the Qu’ran. The next step is the reading of the Qu’ran and then in succession the book semoro-kandi, which explains the doctrine, and the book kitab sittin, which teaches the accepted way of prayer.

Instruction in these pesantren is more concerned with the reading than the writing of Arabic. There are many who can read it well. The main purpose is the reading of the Qu’ran, and therefore writing is considered unnecessary.

The persons who teach in these pesantren are usually the best-trained persons in religion in the villages and kampoens [urban native quarters]. The parents send their children to be educated by these persons who, on the basis of doctrine, are obliged to teach the children without requesting any payment. However, they are recompensed by voluntary gifts.
Most of the children who visit the *pesantren* are of lower-class origin. However, there are also some children of chiefs who receive their education there, but they sit separately. Girls go to the *pesantren*, but less than boys. The girls are usually taught by the wives of the teachers, or also sometimes at home by their parents.

Very seldom are the children of regents educated in the *pesantren*. Usually they are educated by priests belonging to the Regency, who carry the same Suronoto.

The number of youngsters who visit these *pesantren* reaches in the case of the larger *pesantren* to about one hundred and fifty, while in the smaller ones the minimum is ten. In this Residency, however, there are no large *pesantren*.

The *pesantren* teachers, when there are a large number of students, are assisted by the most advanced youngsters. Generally they use their own children for this purpose.

Very seldom is it found that the pupils, yes, even the most advanced ones, understand what they read, because it is in Arabic. However, the Qu’ran is understood by means of the *kitab tapsiir*, which is a translation into Javanese of the Qu’ran.

The *goeroes* or teachers usually receive the following gifts. Every Thursday evening the *santri* [pupils] who are taught in the *pesantren* go out to visit the people and after chanting prayers are given alms, ranging from ten to thirty *duit* [brass coins], which they bring to their goeroes, who usually buy oil with it to burn in the *pesantren*.

When a young man or a candidate for the priesthood has advanced to the stage where he has read through the whole of the Qu’ran, he is obliged to offer his teacher a meal to celebrate the occasion, consisting of rice and other native dishes, as well as a quantity of money ranging from ten to thirty *duit*.* This money is known as *oeang selamat*.

Each year after the *poeasa* [fast] has ended, every pupil presents his teacher with five *katis* of rice. This gift is called *pitra*.

Every year after the rice harvest the parents give part of the rice—usually from two to eight bunches—to the teacher. This gift is known as *djakat*.

When a boy gets behind with his studies, then from time to time he must give some oil for burning. This gift refers to the fact that his intellectual capacities are in need of enlightenment.

When the school building needs some repairs, the pupils have to contribute from one to thirty *duit* towards the cost.

The students are also obliged to give a helping hand without being paid when the house of the teacher or the schoolroom, the so-called *langgar*, needs repairs. At all times they also have to be ready to carry out other work for their teachers.

As I seemed to have an aptitude for the study of religion, many people advised my father to let me continue my studies. My father apparently liked the idea, because shortly afterwards he decided to send me after the coming lebaran to the village of Karoendang, where one of my cousins ... was running a pesantren ... The day came near when I would leave home again, this time to be introduced into the deeper secrets of Islam.

Until then I had always been dressed in short trousers, a jacket, and a small cap. But when it was decided that I would become a santri, I had to look very different. My head was completely shorn. This was done by my mother personally while the so-called Abda’oe, i.e. the little book containing a list of the names of the prophets and a part-genealogy of the last prophet, was recited. My clothing was changed for a coarsely woven sarong, a white kabaja without buttons (badjo sangsang), so that my breast would always be visible, and a cheap headdress. Like other santris I was given ... some clothes, a small bag of rice, dried meat (dengdeng), and an earthenware pot to cook rice. Soap and towels were not included. So, fully equipped as a boedjak or botjoh pondok (pesantren student), I left my closest relatives full of courage and with the intention of not returning before I could be called Alim (learned in religious matters). Walking—as a santri should—I left Kramawatoe carrying my clothes, kitchen utensils, on a stick over my shoulders.

Close to the outskirts of Karoendang there stood at the side of a small stream a little brick mosque, which then had an atap [split bamboo] roof, but which is now tiled. Beside this small mosque there were a few small bamboo houses, which now have been replaced by small brick buildings. The one situated closest to the stream served me, my two cousins, and another ten boys or so as sleeping and cooking quarters and as study room. Almost the whole of the space was taken up by a large bale-bale [low bed] of bamboo covered with pandan mats on which lay some cushions. Near each cushion there was a small bamboo case (kepek), a few kitabs (religious books) and writing utensils. On the bale-bale we slept and wrote, laying on our stomachs. (Only older santris with parents a little better situated could afford the pleasure of having an empty kerosene tin as a writing desk.) Under our bale-bale all sorts of things were stored, such as food, kitchen utensils, firewood, etc. The only part of the building left free was for cooking.

I could easily have been given better housing, but my father insisted that I should lead the same life as the other santris. There were about forty pupils in my pesantren, and they came from various districts of Banten. The pupils were divided into two groups: one of
older and more advanced students, and a younger group of beginners to which I belonged. The older ones were taught personally by the goeroe. The younger ones were instructed and supervised by older santris (the so-called loerah pondok) who were selected by the goeroe. Every loerah had his own area in the pesantren and his own students. One of my cousins ... was also a loerah. I would have liked to be under him; but our goeroe decided otherwise. He probably did have his reasons for this. I was given another santri as my loerah, who was a clever and very pious man, but whom I found a very unpleasant person. He was extremely anti-government and hated everybody who was connected with the government. Instruction was mainly given in two ways. The younger ones among us sat around the teacher, who recited and explained the text like a professor giving a lecture. Later everybody was given the opportunity to ask questions (this method of teaching is called sorangan). The older santris on the other hand came one by one with a particular text to the goeroe, who then would recite it, giving the necessary explanations. After that the student would have to read the text himself and repeat the explanations (bandoengan).

As the son of a [government] official I had to suffer a great deal from my loerah, who had little liking for the government. If for example I pronounced an Arabic word incorrectly he would immediately spit at me in a hateful way: “You will never learn it, because you have filled your stomach too much with rice which was bought with unclean money.” (A government salary was in his opinion haram, i.e. unclean.) ...

Life in a pesantren is very different from that in a normal native household. Unconditional obedience to the teacher, a regular life, equality and fraternity among the students, are laws which are strictly maintained by the goeroes. Our daily activities were regulated as follows. We had to be in the mosque from five to six in the morning to take part in the morning religious service (salat soeboeh). Before the actual religious service commenced, we, the santris, had to sing aloud all sorts of pious songs (sasalawatan), which remind Muslims of their religious duties. [These songs] contained many hateful references to people of other religions. Sometimes also the Sultans of Banten were glorified in these songs. We were free from six to seven o’clock. Only some pupils whose turn it was had to clean the mosque and the pondoks [living quarters]. From seven to nine the older santris followed instructions from our goeroe and the younger ones from the loerahs. (Our goeroe in addition to instructing santris had other functions. He was a member of the council of oelamas [priestedraad] at Serang and he did not teach regularly every day but only a few days a week). After that we prepared and ate our meal, which lasted until about 11 o’clock. The santris had no plates, etc.
Instead we used a piece of the leathery bark of the pinang tree (oepih). Water was contained in earthenware gendis (jars) and we used empty coconut shells as cups. Of course we ate with our fingers.

On pasar [market] days we were allowed to go to Serang to ... beg for salt, lombok [red peppers], and other cheap food. The santris had to do this because there was never any money. If they wanted to eat something special, they were dependent on the generosity of other people. As I have already remarked, equality and fraternity were practised literally in the pesantren, so that my cousins and I, sons of native officials, were spoken to without any reference to our status by children of simple farmers. I considered myself then as their equal and I joined them in everything, even begging, in which I was always more successful than my co-pupils, perhaps because I was still small and looked different from the average santri. I did not only beg in the market-place but also sometimes in the villages. If, for example, I did not feel very much like cooking my own meal, then I went with a begging bowl (an empty coconut shell) along the houses, and often I did not only get some rice but also something tasty such as meat or fish, which was also enjoyed by my cousins, who always ate together with me. This begging sometimes led to naughty tricks unbefitting to a santri.

The first little book I was given to study was the Sittin (a small book written in Arabic with a Javanese translation printed between the lines), which dealt with the five pillars of Islam and other matters of importance to the Mohammedan. The lessons were given in the mosque.

In the evenings before going to bed the santris talked a great deal, discussing the events of the day and also telling jokes. Usually it was the native officials from high to low who were made the butt of the fun.

One evening I heard a santri assert: "I attended a wajang [puppet or shadow play] performance today."

Whereupon somebody else retorted: "But surely you cannot give a wajang performance during the day?"

"And yet", the first speaker said, "I saw Petroek and Nalagareng [clownish figures from the wajang] in a beautiful carriage." Apparently he had seen the Regent and the controleur. The Regent was in fact short and fat and the controleur was long and thin.

"And I", somebody else said, "have attended a topeng [masked dance] performance. I only saw Pentoel [clownish figure] but with an incompletely made mask before his face. This Pentoel, with his concealed face, told the people that they—including the women and children—must have themselves inoculated against smallpox, because then they would never get it. He just acts as if he is a setan koeris (a bad spirit causing smallpox)."
"He may not be a setan", somebody else said, "but he certainly has met with such a setan." By Pentoel was meant the assistant wedono of the sub-district in which our pesantren was situated. He had a pock-marked face and a large nose ... This little story caused one of the younger santris to ask one of the loerahs whether inoculation was against the religious law.

"Of course," was the reply, "it is after all pus that you get into your body, and according to our religion pus is impure."

I made good progress with my studies so that after only a few months I was given a second booklet called Tafsiran (elements of Arabic grammar). This little book was not as easy as the first one ... It is said sometimes that the study of the nahoe (Arabic grammar) can send people out of their minds. It is at present one of the greatest obstacles to Javanese santris. The person who has mastered this [grammar] may call himself "kijaji". My eldest cousin had succeeded in this and he was therefore allowed to teach Arabic. He was not older than eighteen, and of all the santris studying in our pesantren he was the only one who continued his studies in Mecca. And on his return he was recognized as a great theologian ...

In the moonlight on the grass in front of our pondok we learnt "oedjoengan" and "mentjak" (the first is fencing with a short wooden staff, and the second is a type of jiujitsu).

As the santris had to wash themselves ritually (woedhoe) at least five times a day for the salat, one would have expected that they and the pesantren would have been exceptionally clean. This is actually not the case at all. One could not find any more unhygienic people than the santri and more unhygienic conditions than in a pondok-pesantren. This should not be surprising if it is realized that the ritual washing, according to the letter of the law, is restricted to certain parts of the body. Moreover the way of life of the santris and the circumstances they live in are not conducive to the continuous practice of hygiene. The santris seldom wash their clothes and avoid soap when they do. Instead the cheap lerek fruits are used (these are round brown fruits which when put in water produce a little soap-like foam).

Ahmad Djajadiningrat, Herinneringen (Batavia: Kolff, 1936), pp. 35-38.

49 Tjokroaminoto: Speech at the Sarikat Islam Congress, 1916

We have done a great deal in furthering the interests of the native population ... I wish to point out at this congress that our association has among other things always co-operated with the govern-
ment and has pointed out to it various matters that the people object
to, various regulations that we consider are bad for the native pop-
ulation. And we must co-operate as much as possible in showing how
the lot of the natives can be improved—how to increase the
prosperity of our race, of our country of birth, the Netherlands Indi-
dies. We love our bangsa (people), and aided by the strength of the
teachings of our religion we are doing our best to unite the whole or
the greater part of them; we love the land that gave us birth; and we
love the government that protects us. Therefore we have shed our
timidity and we draw attention to everything we think is right: we
ask for what we think will improve our people, our country, and our
government.

In order to reach our objectives, to facilitate our work, and to
realize our great plan, it is necessary to create legislation giving us
natives the right to co-operate in the construction of all these regula-
tions of which we are thinking at present. We sincerely hope for such
legislation. It should no longer be allowed that laws and regulations
are made for us, that one governs without us, without any participa-
tion from our side. Although we strongly desire and hope for change,
we have never dreamt about the coming of a Ratu Adil or other ab-
surd and impossible things. But we will continue to hope honestly
and openly for the realization of self-government in the Netherlands
Indies, or at least the birth of a colonial council, so that we can par-
ticipate in discussions about government matters. Gentlemen, do not
be frightened because we dare to use the word “self-government” at
this meeting. We may use this word without fear, of course, because
there exists a law—which should be read by every citizen—that also
uses the word “self-government” (the Decentralization Law of 1903)

... It is felt more and more in the Netherlands as well as in the Indies
that self-government is necessary. It is felt more and more that it is
not right for Holland to rule the Indies like a squire administering
his lands. It is not right to consider the Indies as a cow, which is fed
only because of its milk. It is not right to consider this land primarily
as a place where people go for the sole purpose of profit. And now it
is no longer right that the inhabitants, who are mainly natives, do
not have the right of a say in a government that regulates their lives

... We realize and completely understand that to institute self-
government will involve great difficulties. This cannot be achieved
immediately and at present it is still like a dream to us. In fact,
however, it is no dream, but a continuous feeling of hope that can be
fulfilled only if we apply ourselves to the utmost and use all possible
means within the bounds of civility and honesty. In this way it is cer-
tain that self-government for the Indies will eventuate within ten
years ...
Who would ever have dreamed that our "Central S.I." would come about, which on this day has the power to collect here the representatives of dozens of local S.I. associations, that is, representatives of hundreds of thousands of natives from all parts of the Indies? Who would have dreamed that all these representatives genuinely desired to co-operate in furthering the interests of all castes, races, and needs of the fatherland? This is the fruit of these three years. How much more then shall we achieve if we really work with all that is in us and unabatedly during the next ten to twenty years? For us natives it is even easier to concentrate on the objective of self-government because the majority of our people have one religion, the same belief, a genuine belief, the same view of life, the same faith, and the same needs and interests...

[Referring to the growing pressure of the Communists on the S.I., Tjokroaminoto continues:] Among our people there are a few who are so obsessed with the idea of political action that they begin to think about impossible things and foolish schemes. These are signs of the times that we must note carefully and struggle against if necessary. On the other hand we must be pleased that these aberrations are coming into the open and that they do not remain hidden as a disease that might spoil a good cause... All this does not mean that our expectations and desires are opposed to the interests of a greater Netherlands. Our objective is the unification of the Indies and the Netherlands, to become citizens of the self-governing "State of the Indies". We do not want to cry out: "Down with the government!" On the contrary, our motto is: "Together with the government and in support of the government to go in the right direction..."


50 Report of the meeting of the Partij Sarikat Islam held on 26 January 1928 at Yogjakarta, to commemorate its fifteen years of existence

In spite of the extensive propaganda of the last few months and perhaps partly because of the late starting-hour... this meeting was only attended by about a hundred persons, among whom were representatives from only eighteen of the forty P.S.I. branches in Java. Moehammadijah was surprisingly not represented at this meeting, while at another meeting where the Qu'ran translation of Tjokroaminoto was scrutinized, the members of this association
were present in large numbers. On the other hand B.O. [Boedi Oetomo], P.N.I., P.P.P.K.I., Wal Fadjri, and a few other unimportant associations were represented at this meeting. The P.N.I. and P.P.P.K.I. delegate was Dr Samsi from Bandoeng.

After the customary reading from the Qur'an, on this occasion by H. Abdoelh Siradj, Panghoaole Pakoealam, the Chairman, H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, opened the meeting. He welcomed everybody sincerely, but in particular the delegates from the nationalist and Islamic associations, because their presence was of great importance in view of the discussions about the founding of a national bank and a madjelis oelama (council of religious scholars). The speaker then pointed out why 26 January should be considered the foundation date of the S.I. It was because on that date in 1913 the large S.I. meeting in the City Gardens in Soerabaja took place, after which the S.I. became widely known. Despite many difficulties, according to the speaker, the P.S.I. has until now managed to stay alive, and it never was dead, not for one moment. He was thankful to Allah for this, the Almighty. As only few members of the P.S.I. were present, he requested all other Muslims to participate in the "sembahjang hadjat" (a religious service for a special purpose) after the closing of the meeting in the Pakoealam mosque.

The speaker then invited H. A. Salim to give an outline of the history of the S.I. H. A. Salim began his talk with the remark that the Chairman had already pointed out that the S.I. had to struggle with many difficulties in its life. He was happy about this because all progress in life is the result of contrast and opposition. The fact that the S.I. experienced difficulties was actual proof that it was alive.

Before the S.I. was founded, the Javanese, according to H. Salim, were called the most docile people on earth. When the S.I. was founded many facets of suppression had already been defeated. After all the fact itself that the S.I. could be established was proof that the characteristic of "being the most docile people on earth" was already fading.

The founding of the movement in 1912 was not because suppression had reached its zenith just at that time. He explained that the [association] was founded on the example of what had happened in China. China had learned to acquiesce in the superior power of the Europeans, the fearful "foreign devils". But when the Japanese, a similar type of people, were able to make their importance felt, the Chinese found the courage to resist. Furthermore, there was the victory of Japan over Russia, which shocked the magical prestige of the West. All this led to the revolution of 1911, in which the old ruling dynasty was dethroned and the old humiliating institutions were demolished.

After that the Chinese felt a free people, equal to the Japanese and
the Westerners. In this country they no longer wanted to be treated on an equal footing with the natives and they became rather arrogant to them. And the indigenous inhabitants who had come to accept three centuries of Netherlands rule as a matter of course were awakened when the Chinese, hitherto their equals, joined [the Dutch suppressors]. According to Mr Salim, this then was the reason for the awakening of the native people.

He admitted that Boedi Oetomo and the N.I.P. were older, but they could not be considered representative of the people as a whole because they recruited their members from certain classes.

It has sometimes been said that S.I. has continuously changed direction. This may be true, according to Mr Salim, but one thing runs like a red line throughout the whole life of S.I., and that is the wish to see national demands satisfied. Mr Salim illustrated this point with the following simile: a baby that has just been born cries; a somewhat older child asks for food when he is hungry; an adult looks for it himself. The one cries, the other asks, the third one is trying to find, but in the final analysis all three of them are motivated by the feeling of hunger.

Then H. Salim outlined how at first S.I. was a type of complaints bureau, because at that time it was difficult for the common people to have justice done. This was partly because of the attitude of the higher authorities, who were not used to listening to complaints from the common people, and partly because no witnesses could be found who dared to tell the truth. In this respect S.I. had brought change.

This change in mentality was not only advantageous for the people themselves, but also for the government and the administration, because now one could get to the truth of the situation.

Also this awakening of the people had its advantages for the prija-ji class. Previously natives and Europeans with equal capacities and qualifications were paid on different scales. The speaker illustrated this point with examples from his own experience. Although he possessed the final diploma of the H.B.S. [Dutch High School], he was not able to get a position as clerk. But later when he had returned from Djeddah [where he had an important position at the Dutch consulate], he was offered a position of commies [medium-echelon position] with the S.S. [State Railways] at 150 guilders per month. When he mentioned that he was gelijkgesteld [literally, equalized: Indonesians with certain educational qualifications could opt to become Europeans before the law] with Europeans, it appeared that the salary would be 225 guilders per month. He politely refused the offer, because it offended his self-respect, and it was this fact which, according to the speaker, determined the future course of his life. But now this discrimination had stopped. And was this not of great importance to the intellectuals, Mr Salim asked.
Then the speaker touched on the difficulties the S.I. had experienced during its existence, such as the difficult years 1919-26, when the S.I. was attacked on both sides. The Communists tried to gain influence in the party with the result that the weaker brothers separated themselves. But the heaviest blow was the Section B affair [supposed attempt at open rebellion by a West Java branch of the S.I.], which killed the S.I. outside Java and caused many in Java to turn their backs on the association.

When the first Al Islam Congress was held in 1922 at Cheribon, one thought, according to Mr Salim, that the S.I. had already expired, because the influence of Tjokroaminoto, so it was said, had been broken.

The speaker, however, is convinced that the life of the S.I. is not dependent on the influence of Tjokroaminoto or anybody else, but on the will of the people. In any case the S.I. is today still fully alive. Admittedly the membership has declined since 1918 from about two million to at the most twelve thousand people, but on the other hand there is the advantage that now the P.S.I. has only convinced members. Our present motto is: "Innamaloe minoena ichwah", i.e. all Muslims are brothers, with the result that when we make a summons this does not solely concern the twelve members of the P.S.I. at Batavia or the twenty members in Bandoeng, but it concerns the whole of the Islamic people in this country. The commemoration of the S.I. is thus the commemoration of the new will of the people. In the beginning the motto of the S.I. was: "Kerso, koewoso, mardiko" ("will, power, freedom"), i.e. one must begin with the development of the will, because the will creates power and when that power is there, freedom will come by itself. This motto, according to Mr Salim, still needs to be adhered to strongly today. (Applause.)

Then Hadji Salim tried to explain that it was impossible for a people's movement to stay out of politics. One could hardly move without coming into contact with politics. Moreover it was not possible to properly execute the orders laid down by Islam without wishing to become involved in politics. Everywhere in this country one hit against that single thing called colonial policy. At first the S.I. was also not political, but it soon realized that it was necessary to become familiar with the world of politics.

Looking at it superficially, it is remarkable, according to H. Salim, that the ban on political parties in this country was lifted just after the S.I. became involved in politics. However, in reality, this is how things usually happen. History teaches that no government has ever granted new rights to its people voluntarily. The people always had to show clearly first that they strongly demanded such rights. The speaker pointed to the Magna Carta, which the King granted to the English people when it stood ready to act sword in hand.
The Prophet also, so H. Salim continued, was only able to make Islam great after he entered the political sphere. And the speaker pointed to the political treaties concluded by the Prophet in the interest of Islam with the people of Mecca and other tribes.

Islam is the legal basis for the whole of society including political life. And when the members of Sarikat Islam take Islam as the foundation of their actions, then this is not to use this religion as a type of mask (topeng), but indeed from the conviction that there is no better basis than Islam ...


51 P.S.I.I. Congress held at Palembang, January 1940

This twenty-fifth Congress of the P.S.I.I. is of particular importance because it was influenced by the Kongres Ra'jat Indonesia [Indonesian People's Congress: see document 70] held the previous month in Batavia. In particular the action for an Indonesian parliament was strongly emphasized ... and the congress hall was decked out with red and white flags and a large banner inscribed with the words: “Parlement Indonesia”. A large crowd was in attendance, while the women were accommodated separately in an adjoining school building ... where they could listen to the various speeches through loudspeakers. The scouts of the Sarikat Islam branch Pandoe (Siap) acted in their customary roles of guard of honour and stewards at the congress ... The Chairman of the congress was Mr W. Wondoamiseno ... who in accordance with the nature of the various functions sometimes delegated his function to Mr Abikoesno Tjokrosoejoso ...

After the singing of the “Indonesia-Raja” Mr Wondoamiseno opened the congress with an address in which he immediately outlined the major points to be treated by the congress: to direct criticism at existing conditions, which could only be overcome if Indonesians had their own parliament, and the need to strengthen the ties between the various population groups, preferably on the basis of Islam. Mr Wondoamiseno recalled that the problem of a fully fledged parliamentary system had been brought up as early as 1918 by the late Tjokroaminoto and that from the beginning the P.S.I.I. had agitated for such a parliament. He also pointed to the decision of the Kongres Ra'jat Indonesia in selecting the red-white flag and “Indonesia-Raja” as the flag and anthem of the unitary Indonesian movement.
Mr Abikoesno Tjoekrosoejoso on the basis of a quotation from the book *Aufsteig und Niedergang der Nationen* [The Rise and Fall of Nations] by Hugo Marcus argued that the rise or fall of a nation depends on whether a nation is capable of acting at the right moment. When the right psychological moment is allowed to pass then the chance to rise to power is lost. The speaker used the Prophet Mohammad as an example of a person who was able to use the right psychological moment to bring unity to a divided country.

As a result of a letter received by G.A.P.I. and the Kongres Ra'jat Indonesia from the Colonial Commission of the S.D.A.P. and the N.V.V. [Dutch Socialist Party and Organization of Socialist Labour Unions] in the Netherlands, supporting the action for a parliament, Mr Abikoesno stated that it had been decided to shorten the duration of the congress in order to enable the P.S.I.I. delegates to return home as quickly as possible to make arrangements for further local action on the question of a parliament. He finished his propaganda speech by saying that he considered the present point in time to be important because the question whether the nation would rise to power or would completely decline was at stake.

It was announced during the first public session that in order to obtain a parliament more speedily, a spiritual mobilization by means of a fast was to be organized on Sunday, 18 February 1940. After the fast there would be held at midnight a “*salat at-tatawwu‘*” (a recommended but not compulsory devotion) and a “*do‘a qoenoei*” [prayer] would be read, while all P.S.I.I. branches would be instructed to continue the action for a parliament by means of public meetings and instruction courses. The text for the prayer would be chosen from the “*soerah Al-‘Imran*”, a chapter of the Qur'an which deals with a controversy with the Christians and the battle of Oehoed and which explains that the Muslims are invincible, although it may happen that they are humiliated for a certain period.

More explicitly Mr Abikoesno declared that this decision was the first step taken by the P.S.I.I. in the action for an Indonesian parliament. “Economic awareness and spiritual mobilization are the key to progress; and an Indonesian parliament is the way to achieve this. If this objective has been achieved, the drainage of capital from the country will stop, illiteracy will disappear, the true representatives of the people will deliberate about the country’s affairs”. Mr Abikoesno added: “Our action is not only just, but is also made compulsory by Islam.”

The other speeches were largely based on the same theme: the establishment of a parliament was necessary to bring about improvements in economic and religious matters, because nothing in this respect could be expected from a colonial government.

It was also important to note the analysis made by Won-
doamiseno about Islam as a religion which in contrast to Communism recognizes the right to individual private property, although with certain limitations.

It was announced during the last public session that the expulsion of Mr Kartosoewirjo from the party was endorsed by the Congress ... this means the definite separation of the group of P.S.I.I. members who under the leadership of Kartosoewirjo had set up the Komite Pertahanan Kebenaran P.S.I.I. [Committee for the Maintenance of Truth of the P.S.I.I.]. Kartosoewirjo was the Vice-president of the P.S.I.I. Council and was in charge of a party cadre training course which was to be established at Garoet. The separation of the Kartosoewirjo group had weakened the P.S.I.I. quite considerably in many parts of Java.

Although the party leadership stated that the P.S.I.I. had at present about twenty-five thousand members and that during 1939 more than five thousand new members joined, this organization is in a rather dormant state in many parts of the Netherlands Indies. Only a few branches such as in Palembang, the west coast of Sumatra, and Bolaang Mogonday in North Celebes, appear to be active.

If then in terms of size the P.S.I.I. is no longer what it once was in the past, its spirit still appears the same: it is discontented and critical about existing conditions and seeks refuge in the far future, in which Islam will not only be the basis of all religious activity but also of the system of government itself ...

Text of the special prayer for the spiritual mobilization

Oh, God! Owner of the Kingdom! You grant the Kingdom to whom You please and take away from whom You please, and You raise to prominence whom You will and humiliate whom You will; what is good rests in Your hand; truly You are almighty. You let the night penetrate the day and the day penetrate the night and You create life out of death and death out of life, and You provide in abundance whom You will.

Oh, God! Truly, we beseech Your help and Your guidance and we beseech You for forgiveness; we make an act of contrition to You and we believe in You; we surrender ourselves to You and we give You the highest praise; we thank You and we do not disavow our faith in You; we stay away from those who rebel against You and leave them.

Oh, God! In case this matter [i.e. a parliament] is good for me in a religious sense, and for my life and future, let it then be predestined for me and let me be predestined for it. And if it is bad for me in a
religious sense and for my life and future, then keep it far away from me, and me from it. Let what is good be predestined for me wherever I may be. God, may You bless our lord Mohammad, our illiterate prophet, his descendants and companions, and give them peace …

Koloniaal Archief. 


52 Report of the 23rd Congress of Muhammadyah held at Yogjakarta, July 1934

The twenty-third yearly Congress of Moehammediyah at Jogjakarta from 19 to 25 July 1934 was clearly affected by the adverse times [i.e. the economic depression]. Previous Moehammediyah congresses were great events, particularly when they were held in the founding city of the organization: Jogjakarta. Representatives, men as well as women, thronged together from the whole of the Netherlands Indies, and I was never more deeply impressed about how Moehammediyah with its numerous branches spans the whole of the Archipelago than when at the 1931 Congress I was present at the reception of all the representatives, from the remotest corners of Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, and Java, who each in their own national dress and in their own language spoke their blessings over the Congress, ending with the Islamic prayer: “Blessed be you, and Allah’s forgiveness and His gifts.”

Although this twenty-third congress was announced as a “Congres Akbar”, i.e. a major congress, its organization was kept on a moderate scale and the attendance remained below expectations. Preparations had been made to accommodate six hundred male representatives, but only three hundred and three turned up. Naturally thousands of interested people from Jogia itself and surrounding places attended the public meetings and the enormous temporary congress building erected on the northern aloon-aloon [city square] was on those occasions almost totally filled by a crowd estimated at between seven and ten thousand people. The women, associated in the Aisjijah organization, met separately. The strict separation of the sexes advocated by Moehammediyah prevented the men, with the exception of the police, of course, from attending the women’s meetings … There was one public meeting attended by both men and women, but the latter were hidden behind screens of white cloth …

After some considerable struggle Hadji Hisjam has been elected President of the head office. This may be considered as a fortunate
choice because Hadji Hisjam is one of the peaceful figures in the national leadership of *Moehammadijah*. Moreover the decisions taken at the congress at Semarang in 1933 were confirmed—an important development, because it means that the struggle of *Moehammadijah* against all sorts of religious *adats* in the Outer Possessions... has been approved and will be continued... The congress has discussed the problem—current in many other national organizations—of sending young people overseas to study. A commission has been appointed to study this problem. There seem to be two trains of thought in *Moehammadijah* on this point: one group, considering the restrictions imposed by the government on educational expansion, wants *Moehammadijah* itself to get into education on a larger scale; the other seeks the solution in sending young people to Cairo, Mecca, Japan, and if necessary even to British India. But the mention of British India conjures up in the minds of many the unhappy experience of sending young *Moehammadijah* members to Lahore, the centre of the *Ahmadijah* movement [modern Islamic sect], with which initially friendly relations existed but which later became deeply hated...

During the two public meetings in the evening, as has always been customary with *Moehammadijah*, no deliberations or debates were held, but the programme consisted solely of religious lectures. And considering the final objective of *Moehammadijah*, which is to make Islam victorious in all aspects of life, naturally political ideals sometimes came to the fore...

The Chairman, H. Soedjak, presented a talk on the topic, “The Netherlands Indies is a Muslim country”. This country has been Muslim since Raden Patah founded the realm of Demak and since the Nine Saints of Java carried out their missionary task. Until today the princes of Java have been Muslim rulers. The mosques and smaller prayer houses in all the towns and villages are proof that this is a Muslim country; even in the *Kratons* [palace complexes] of the princes of Solo and Jogia one finds mosques. The Muslim character of this country is also obvious from the dispensing of law. No judgments by the *Landraad* [regional courts] are pronounced unless first the Penghoeloe—the Muslim legal adviser—has been consulted. So why is an organization such as *Moehammadijah* still necessary? Because Islam has not yet penetrated this country completely. Islam must be brought to all inhabitants of the Netherlands Indies. Islamic doctrine should not only be heard at meetings and *tabligh*-meetings, but it should penetrate into the houses, yes, into the sleeping quarters. Only then will the objective of *Moehammadijah* have been achieved.

A speaker from Makassar talks about the subject of Islamic education. He argues that the progress of a people depends largely
on its education. The people of this country are duty-bound to take their education in their own hands. The present deeply humiliating state of Islam is due to the fact that the Muslims are not true enough Muslims. It is the task of the educators to solve this problem. The hearts of the children, which are very receptive must be filled with Muslim ideals. Muslims should be deeply convinced of the idea that only their own initiative can bring improvements in the situation of Muslim nations. This is in accordance with the word of the Qu’ran (chapter 13, verse 12): “Allah does not change the situation of a people, until it changes its condition itself.”

Mohammad Masboellah from Madoera spoke about world peace. Nations and rulers sometimes think that they control the world, but in reality only Allah rules. In his time Alexander the Great wanted to bring the whole of the world under his control, and at the present time the League of Nations is trying to bring the nations together, but dynamite and other means of destruction are more powerful than the League of Nations. More than thirteen centuries ago Muslims received the revelation in the Qu’ran as to how world peace can be achieved. One only has to remain true to the great truths embodied in the Muslim Creed (Sjihadah). The pilgrimage to Mecca and its complete equality of all races, nations, and classes make up the symbol of political and social unity which can flow from the unity of one creed. The Qu’ran says: “The faithful are brothers” (chapter 49, verse 10). If the true meaning of the pilgrimage has been understood, there is no need for a Peace Palace [Court of International Justice in the Hague], because then one recognizes that on the basis of Islam the whole of humanity can feel as one united whole and differences of race and nation will disappear. Also from the daily prayers prescribed by Islam, in particular from the Friday service, it appears over and over again that Islam stands for the equality of and peace among all people ...

“Young Muslims and Science” was the title of a lecture presented by Moehammad Earid Ma’roef, a young teacher at the Teachers’ College of Moehammadiah in Jogjakarta, which as is well known produces religious leaders for the whole of the Indies. This Moehammad Farid Ma’roef has studied in Cairo for a number of years, which perhaps partly explains his attitude towards Western education. Furthermore, one should keep in mind that the Moehammadiah has always been wary of both the secular as well as the Christian character of Western civilization.

Mr Farid Ma’roef argued that it is necessary for the development of a nation to obtain knowledge in the widest sense of the word. Knowledge has brought the nations of America, Europe, and Japan to their position of power in the world, and lack of knowledge has caused the peoples of the East to fall behind. The Muslim peoples
must make it their objective to lift themselves from their state of decay by means of modern knowledge. The Qur'an itself exhorts Muslims to seek knowledge. And scholars are treated with distinction in the Holy Book. There are also many sayings by the Prophet in which the faithful are exhorted to engage in the arts and sciences. There was a time when Muslims diligently adhered to these prescriptions: in the Middle Ages under the Caliphs of Baghdad and Spain the arts and sciences were flourishing, while Europe was still steeped in stupidity and barbarity. But, although it is the duty of Muslims to obtain knowledge, there are great dangers in following Western science blindly. Western style education estranges Muslims from their people and their religion. This danger posed by the West must be countered by strengthening Muslim education. We must not look towards Europe for guidance, but to the highly developed Muslim countries such as Egypt, Palestine, and Syria where, owing to a strong Muslim consciousness, primary schools, secondary schools, and even universities have been established based on Islam; and where all branches of science can be studied free from the Western danger ...

Koloniaal Archief. Geheim Mailrapport 984x/34.

53 Proceedings of the 3rd Congress of the Jong Islamieten Bond (Young Muslims League), held 23-27 December 1927

When the Chairman had just completed reading the notices, a group of about twenty women, mostly young, but also with some adult and even old ones among them, entered the hall. In contrast to procedure at the previous congresses, they sat down in specially reserved places, which were only separated from the men by a narrow corridor, about half a metre wide. If it is recalled that during the second congress in 1926 when the girls were still forced to hide themselves from the sinful looks of the men behind a specially erected white screen, and Hadji Salim tore down this screen, even the Chairman was rather shocked, we are witnessing here an important evolutionary—if not revolutionary development—in the thinking of the members of this Islamic youth organization.

As is customary, the meeting began with the reading of a verse from the Qur'an, which was then translated into Dutch ...

Wiwoho [president of the League] first welcomed the representatives of the government, and the Sunan [Sultan of Yogyakarta], and then all the participants ... The speaker pointed to the rapid growth of the Jong Islamieten Bond, which at the first congress had
seven branches; at the second there were already ten, and now at this third congress it was a pleasure to announce that the number of branches had increased to fifteen, of which two were outside Java: one at Fort de Kock [the present Bukittinggi], and the other at Medan, while the number of members had passed the seventeen hundred mark.

This, according to the speaker, showed clearly that the League was not only viable but also that it fulfilled a strongly felt need among the younger Indonesian intellectuals ...

Mr Wiwoho then touched on the idea of unity that lately had become more popular among the intellectuals. The fact, however, that so far attempts to federate the various regional youth organizations such as Young Java and the League of Young Sumatrans had failed miserably made the speaker conclude that the idea of unity could only be realized in the future through a fusion of the various ethnic groups in Indonesia. So far as the youth movement was concerned, this fusion could only be based on one of the following two principles: on Islam or Indonesian nationalism, which in the view of the speaker meant that in the future only the Jong Islamieten Bond and Jong Indonesia [Indonesia Muda] would be viable and able to develop strongly (applause) ...

[Speech by Miss Soepinah] before beginning her talk Miss Soepinah first thanked Mr Salim for the action taken during the previous congress, which now enabled the female members of the J.I.B. to participate in the discussions as they no longer were required to sit behind a screen ... In her speech she upheld the Islamic faith, arguing that the fact that hitherto Mohammedan women—read native women in general—held a low position in society was not due to Islam, but to a lack of education. And so during marriage negotiations the older relatives did not take any notice of the wishes and desires of the woman concerned. According to the speaker, Islam gives equal rights to men and women, but the men are to be responsible for their families. Even the divorce procedure was not attacked by Miss Soepinah. However, she found it difficult to acquiesce in polygamy. She pointed out that here in Java polygamy customarily means that there is only one first wife, while the others, although legally married, are considered and treated only as concubines, which is actually a disguised form of prostitution. According to Islam a man is only allowed to have more than one wife if he is able to treat his wives on an equal basis in all respects. However, the speaker would rather see that also in the Islamic world monogamy would become the rule.

This first lecture by a girl member, which indeed was well done, received enthusiastic applause ...
[Speech by Hadji Agus Salim] Before starting on the subject under discussion, Hadji Salim repeated the advice given to members of the J.I.B. at previous congresses, that the Qu'ran must be studied. It would be wrong to think that study should only be carried out by the so-called clergy. Also the Qu'ran should be translated into all languages, so that everybody would be able to study its contents.

Then after having criticized the reticence of women and having praised the courage of the three girls who had spoken before him, he finally came to the actual subject of his talk, which was the importance of the hadj [pilgrimage to Mecca] to Muslims. He spoke at length and in great detail, but did not put forward any new views. In summary he argued that the hadj had a stimulating effect on believers, because it increased their thriftiness. Moreover the pilgrimage to Mecca, for which so many difficulties had to be overcome, was a great experience and very educational for the pilgrims. And finally every Mohammedan was duty-bound to go on the hadj in accordance with the fifth pillar of Islam. But what about the argument that so many millions were drained from the country? According to Salim these millions would otherwise be spent in different—and perhaps sinful—ways. One only needed to remember the World War when also a great deal of money was made by Mohammedans in this country, but as there was no opportunity to go on the pilgrimage, they squandered their surplus money on cars, gambling, and women, etc., etc ...

[Speech by] Mr Sam, the founder of the League and Registrar of the County Court in Jogyakarta, who presented a lecture on Islam and nationalism. The speaker commenced with a survey as to how nationalism was born in Europe and how it brought various countries to great might, but how finally this same nationalism caused the great European war. That type of nationalism, according to Mr Sam, should not be adhered to by a Muslim. Nationalism to a Muslim means love for country and people, but also for Muslims in other countries, yes, for the whole of humanity. The Qu'ran says that humanity is divided into various tribes and nations in order that they should recognize and appreciate each other. That type of nationalism the speaker considered infinitely higher than what has been meant until now by nationalism in the West. Of course one's own fatherland must first be made independent, or at least one should strive towards that objective. In the most difficult task of achieving this objective the National Council should be assisted, according to the speaker, by a number of "core" members.

The attitude which members of the J.I.B. should take with respect to non-Muslims is expressed in the Surah: "Qoel, ja, ajoehal kafiroena", meaning that everybody should confess his own religion without any hindrance …
[Another speech by] Hadji Salim, who now spoke about Islam and socialism. The speaker explained in great detail why and how socialism came about in Europe and how various countries were at present already governed by Socialist majority governments. It looks, according to the speaker, as if in the near future most countries will be governed under this system.

According to the speaker many of the Socialist principles can be found in Islam. The only differences are: Socialism, at least in theory, denies the existence of nationalism, while Islam does not, but instead tries to unite the various nations as much as possible. Islam forbids the acceptance of interest, Socialism does not. Islam recognizes the right to private property, but makes the zakat [religious tax] obligatory and strongly recommends the giving of alms. Socialism wants to nationalize as much as possible. Islam is actively defensive, while Socialism is offensive in nature (great applause) ...

Koloniaal Archief. Het 3e Congres van de Jong Islamieten Bond gehouden op 23 t/m. 27 December 1927 te Jogjakarta. Geheim Mailrapport 162/28.

54 Government report on Nahadatul Ulama, 1928

The above-mentioned association consisting of orthodox Mohammedan scholars has evolved from a committee which was set up in February 1926 in Soerabaja in order to send a delegation to Ibn Sa’oed to confer about the interests of pilgrims from the Netherlands Indies and about the demolition of the holy graves by the Wahhabites.

This committee at the time despatched a telegram to the King of the Hidjaaz, the Sultan of Nedjd, asking him whether he would be willing to receive this mission, and when the Islamic World Congress (Moe’tamar al Alam al Islami), which had been announced by His Majesty, would take place.

The setting-up of this committee, of which people such as Kjahi Hasjim from Djombang and H. Abdoel Wahhab from Soerabaja, who are strictly orthodox, are members, must be seen as a reaction to the mission of Tjokroaminoto, H. Mansoor, and H. Soedjjak to Mecca and against the kind of reform advocated by the association Moehammadijah and the objectives of the modernists in general. This committee has by now gradually evolved into an association called the “Perkoempoelan Nahadatoe’l Oelama” “the evolutionary urge of religious scholars”, which held its first congress during the Islamic Congress in Mecca (Moe’tamar). This first congress was
characterized by the strong opposition against the Wahhabites and there was violent agitation against the pilgrimage as long as the Wahhabites were in control of the holy cities. At this congress, which liked to be considered as the highest organ of the Javanese Muslim world, a few resolutions were passed concerning religious and Mohammedan legal questions such as the decision that a believer must adhere to one of the four schools (madhabs), that is of asj-Sjafi'i, Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Malik ibn Anas, or Aboe Hanifah, while also the sequence was indicated in which the works of Sjafi’ite scholars should be consulted in case of disputes.

This resolution was solely a reaction to the modernists who do not feel bound to any particular school or the works of any particular scholar, but who on the contrary declare themselves to be capable of deducting religious precepts from the Qu’ran and tradition which, as is well known, is not allowable from an orthodox point of view ...

From a report about the last day of the Congress of the Nahadatoel Oelama at Soerabja on 13 October 1927

I estimate that about two hundred people were present, all of them religious scholars. The chairman was Kjai Hasjim ... The most remarkable thing about this meeting was that while the scholars attacked each other vehemently about matters that to outsiders appeared futile, they all agreed about really important things. Moreover it looked as if the oelama wanted to come into the good books of the government, because almost without exception they bestowed excessive praise on the government’s religious policies, adding every time that without the protection of the government Islam would be under great pressure; and they requested the government to continue this policy, i.e. to guarantee the freedom of true Islam without interfering in the actual religious aspects.

During the public meeting held in the evening in the mosque at Ampel, which was attended by an estimated fifteen thousand people, the government policy was highly praised as the only correct, just, and suitable one for Islam. And the behaviour of those people who wanted to misuse religion for political purposes (this referred, for example, to the P.S.I.) was criticized.

Although the speakers were too guarded to mention any names, the praises sung of people who adhered to the four orthodox and safe madhab, in contrast to those who do not do so “or belong to one of the numerous other madhab” ... makes the position obvious. Like the P.S.I. (one of the speakers said: “the misuse of religion for political purposes leads to Digul [concentration camp in West-Irian]”), the Moehammadijah is considered an enemy against
which one would like to deploy the government as an ally ...

The orthodox oelama, when questions of religious finesse are not involved, are realists and practical conservatives who have a really classical ability to portray the existing situation as legal. They still have the support of the masses. And there is a sharp contrast between the handful of people who listened to [Hadji Agus] Salim’s nationalistic speeches at Pekalongan (which they did not understand) and the enormous masses of people gathered in and around the mosque at Ampel, milling around to hear a non-Muslim government being praised! It must be admitted that curiosity must also have been a factor.

At the closed meeting only Javanese scholars were present, with the exception of the Director of the Egyptian school (Madrasah Assasijah) in Soerabaja, Ahmad Ghanain al Amiri (who in his speech underlined the loyal and political character of the association), and Moehammad Abdul Aleem Siddiqui Quadiri from British India (who in beautiful Arabic exhorted people to stay true to orthodoxy and warned against the modernist know-alls, in particular the Ahmadijah) ...

The most important were the discussions about marriage regulations, divorce, child marriages, and the mosque trust funds ... The practice of divorcing a woman soon after marriage or when she is getting older is strongly condemned as being opposed to the spirit of Islam ... The penghoeloe of Tangerang takes the strongest possible stand against child marriages, emphasizing the moral and social evils of this institution ... The N.O. requests the government to introduce at least one and a half hours of religious instruction into its schools according to the Sjafi’ite interpretation ... It was pointed out that the government was not unaware of the fact that the number of pupils in the village schools was declining because of the lack of religious instruction ...

Communism

Communism was brought to the Indies by Dutchmen who in 1914 founded the Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereeniging or I.S.D.V. (the Social Democratic Association of the Indies). Among its founders were such international Communist stalwarts as Sneevliet, who later under the pseudonym Maring played an important role in the founding of the Chinese Communist Party.

In order to spread the Marxist ideals more widely among the indigenous masses the organization proceeded to infiltrate with some considerable success into existing indigenous nationalist organizations such as the Sarikat Islam and the Indische Partij. And it was able to attract to its ranks a number of able young Indonesian leaders such as Semaun, Alimin, and Musso. Another influential Indonesian Communist leader at this time was Tan Malaka, who had come into contact with Marxism in the Netherlands where he was studying at the Teachers’ College in Haarlem. On his return to the Indies he played an important organizational role in the movement. He was banned by the colonial government in 1922 and became a Comintern agent in Asia. Tan Malaka returned to Indonesia towards the end of 1944 and became a prominent revolutionary leader. By this time he had broken with the Comintern, but his attempts to establish a National-Communist government in the Indonesian republic failed. He was murdered in 1948, probably by anti-Communist republican guerillas. Document 55 contains excerpts from a number of private letters by Tan Malaka to van Wijngaarden, a Dutch friend from the Teachers’ College, in which he exposes his views on colonialism, capitalism, and Communism.

By the end of 1916 whole branches of the Sarikat Islam had come under Communist control. The most prominent of these was the Semarang branch led by Semaun, which rivalled in importance the head office of the Sarikat Islam in Surabaja, led by Tjokroaminoto.

The continuous pressure of leftist leaders to drive the Sarikat Islam into a more radical direction caused strong opposition from the more conservative and more directly Islamic-orientated leaders, causing a serious split in the movement. This caused the Com-
munists eventually to dissociate themselves from the *Sarikat Islam* and to set up their own mass movement. In 1920 the *I.S.D.V.* changed its name to *Partai Kommunis Indonesia—P.K.I.*, or the Indonesian Communist Party—and in 1921 decided to regroup all leftist *Sarikat Islam* branches into “Red” branches. Finally at the *Sarikat Islam* Congress in 1923 the *P.K.I.* was ousted from the central organization of the movement and set up its own *Sarikat Rakjat* (People’s Association) branches in direct competition with the *Sarikat Islam*. This *P.K.I.* decision contravened the directions of the Comintern, which in 1922 had re-emphasized the importance for Asian Communist parties of using the “block within” tactic, i.e. working within existing nationalist mass organizations.

Soon the messianic expectations of the masses were transferred from the *Sarikat Islam* to the *P.K.I.*, because the majority of Indonesians were not interested in specifically Islamic questions or Pan-Islamism. The people used the *P.K.I.*, as initially had been the case with the *Sarikat Islam*, as a vehicle for their protests about deteriorating economic and social conditions; and the *Sarikat Rakjat* branches were generally far more highly valued as local complaint bureaux than as dissemination centres of Marxist doctrine.

But also the *P.K.I.* leadership was often less than doctrinaire. Sophisticated leaders such as Tan Malaka, with a sound grounding in Marxist theory, were few; and most of these had been exiled by the colonial government by 1923. In particular most of the medium echelon and lower level leadership had joined the party rather for pragmatic reasons and was drawn from widely different social and educational milieux. Some were urban intellectuals and semi-intellectuals who were disgruntled with their socio-economic status; others were traders or farmers hit by the post-war depression, or well-to-do villagers, often orthodox Muslims, who complained about the burdensome taxes; others again were *ulama* (Islamic teachers), who opposed *kaifir* rule; or government officials who had been treated unjustly by the colonial authorities. This rather uneven commitment by the party leadership to the Marxist cause worried the national party leaders a great deal, as it caused serious problems of discipline. It was on Tan Malaka’s suggestion that indoctrination courses were set up to overcome this problem—the so-called *Sarikat Rakjat* schools, of which there were thirty-eight in Java with 2100 pupils in 1924-25.

However, these attempts at indoctrination were unable to stem the often undisciplined and unco-ordinated activities of party members, which culminated in the abortive and ill-conceived insurrections in Banten (West Java) and Minangkabau (Sumatra) in 1926-27, insurrections easily suppressed by the colonial authorities.

An official investigation (*see* document 56) into the causes of these
uprisings shows how diverse the objectives and expectations of the participants were and that in many respects these rebellions were very similar to their counterparts in the nineteenth century. Uprisings had also been planned in other parts of Indonesia but did not get off the ground, usually because they had been prematurely discovered by the colonial intelligence service. As the report of the Resident of Blitar (East Java) shows (see document 57), the motives underlying the planned action appear to have been far more pragmatic or nationalist than Marxist. An investigation held in 1927 as to the social and educational background of a sample of captured Communist leaders indicates that the P.K.I. leadership on the whole originated from the lower classes and had little education behind it (see document 58).

These Communist-inspired rebellions caused a wave of harsh suppressive measures by the colonial government. Of the 18,000 persons initially arrested, a few were sentenced to death and executed while 4500 were sent to prison. The colonial government, which hitherto had been fairly lenient in the treatment of radical nationalist offenders and had allowed a number of them to go into exile in Holland or other countries, now took a much harsher line, and 1308 Communists were sent to the infamous Tanah Merah prison camp at the Upper Digul River in West Irian. This suppressive policy and the greatly increased vigilance of the Politieke Inlichtingen Dienst (Political Intelligence Service) effectively prevented the P.K.I. from rising again during the remainder of Dutch rule.

55 Tan Malaka: Letters to D. J. L. van Wijngaarden, 1920-1921

Tellorawa, 16 Febr. 1920.
Dear Dick,

I got a shock when I received your letter. I am jubilant that the old cynical, humorous Dick all of a sudden shows himself as one of the fiercest opponents of all ideologies and parties. Never just parrot the opinions of others. This does not mean that I fully agree with you. Also I am still seeking, or rather I am investigating. I have already chosen my main direction in social and religious life, if I may describe the latter in this way. At present I am occupied with the question: “Is the supernatural possible?” I am at present living among a mystically inclined people, and one of these days I will strike a real mystic. There are charlatans, but there are also some who are convinced. And the latter you have to look for, because they do not show themselves off in public.

I also feel that I have found how to look at society. We live at a
time when the various philosophies of life are clashing. The idea that
this will produce chaos is unconditionally destined to be supported
for a shorter or longer period. Good and bad after all are relative
concepts. What is usually called good is what complies with the de-
mands of the times. And that is Communism, to which we, Dick,
because we are still open-minded, must direct ourselves. It is useless
to argue that it will not succeed or that it is chimerical. Also we can-
not consider the criminals who can be found among the Communists
as professing true Communism, because the fact that there are also
honest ones is proved by the arming of the whole of the world against
this damnable system. For the time being the political reality is that
it will be victorious in the whole of the world or that it will remain
one of the strongest organizations, which will be built up even
further. Until ... yes, until perhaps, as is the fate of everything or
every idea in this world, it will after having reached its zenith begin
to decline and finally disappear from the world.

As you see, I am only an onlooker—I am waiting. And I will leave
my remarks at that for the time being and will refrain from trying to
refute your arguments. Surely you can read about Marxist doctrine
yourself. And if you had done that, then you could never have said
that the Communists are destructive and the members of the
S.D.A.P. [Dutch Socialist Party] are workers. I say again I do not
have to refute your ideas because this has already been done so
often. I also know that not long before my departure [from the
Netherlands] many young people as well as others began to think
very differently about this.

Also here the Europeans never take the trouble to fully under-
stand the people. It has always been like this [in the Indies] and it is
still like it. That is what is generally felt. If there is some ferment
among the people then it is considered the work of agitators and
false leaders. And the thousands of Europeans will remain blind to
the true nature of the movement and the real needs of the people.
[According to the Europeans] they [the people] live senang [happy]
lives and have no wants. They are stupid. You cannot do anything
about it. And whatever argument is put up, the inevitable reaction is:
they are not yet ripe, etc., etc. ... In other words, what you are say-
ing is not true. So I no longer talk about this to Europeans. It would
be useless. And then in addition there is the feeling of racial
superiority. It is impossible for them [Europeans] to give up their old
position and power. One becomes lazy in movement and thinking
and if I stay too long among the Europeans here I will become com-
pletely stupid. In Holland one tried now and then to talk about
various things, but here the only topics of conversation are salaries,
profit bonus, and leave. Nothing else. I am not exaggerating, Dick,
and I am not trying to belittle your compatriots. If you were here
you would also become like that. In my opinion you people do not belong here. I do not want to be nasty, Dick. The climate, the people, and civilization here are different, if I may say so, and nobody of course thinks about adaptation to the majority. Instead one does nothing; one lets everything be done by others, one acts the great lord, one roars, yes, kicks, which is considered the best way to keep up prestige. East is East, etc. . . . but that is not entirely true. It is not impossible for Nordic man to understand the man from the East and vice versa. Believe me. Well, Dick, if you write to me, I will of course always reply. I am always pleased to receive a letter from you.

As ever,
Yours, Ipie

Telorawa, 19 May 1920

Dear Friend,

I was very pleased to receive your letter. You must forgive me that I am somewhat late in replying. I really cannot help it. At present I have to work very hard. I am almost all day on the job and I regularly get up at half past four to study. Furthermore, recently I have written three articles for the Bolsjewist paper in the Indies (Het Vrije Woord—so a Dutch paper). So, do I hate every Dutchman or white man? Believe me, I will always have respect for people who are concerned about the lot of my people. Dick, I understand very well what the difference is between national struggle and class struggle . . .

Dick, you should not expect any panacea from the system of proportional representation which has been introduced in Holland [in 1919]. Do you really think that there will be even the slightest change so long as the means of the production process remains the same, and private property remains intact, so that a small proportion of the people lives at the cost of the masses, so long as education, the police, and the army are class institutions? Do you really think that a hundred Troelstras [Troelstra was a Dutch Socialist who led his party to the verge of revolution in November 1918], with similar loud mouths, a hundred times magnified but without a revolutionary and purposeful mass of people behind them, would ever be able to drive out the capitalists from their privileged positions? As long as the production process and private property are not changed, the existing social contrasts will remain, although personalities may perhaps be changed or moved.

Are you really so frightened, Dick, of these destroyers? Marx says (I cite from memory): “The organs of state of the bourgeoisie must not be simply taken over, they must be demolished”. Surely one cannot get a Titanic by repairing the rotten ship De Wilis of the Rotterdam Lloyd? However, gentlemen such as Schaper, Vliegen and Ebert, and Scheidemann [Socialists] believe this; and because of
their horse-trading with the rightists they have become so dependent on the military that it is impossible to speak any longer about reforms. So much for parliamentary government! Look also at Lloyd George-Northcliffe. It is all one kettle of fish!

Admittedly, these destroyers are not ideal Communists, Dick. But they create the conditions for Communism, in the same way as the dictatorship of the proletariat. What is happening now in Russia is only the beginning of a transition period and in the meantime a great deal is already being done to provide education for all children. Yes, even the hours that illiterates spend in school are counted as working hours and paid for by the State! Men such as Loenakarsky and Maxim Gorki are the guarantee for the future education of the people. You know that Gorki at first was opposed to Bolsjewism, even very strongly. Only later did he come to support Bolsjewism, just as Krussin and Nogin, who now conduct trade for Soviet Russia with the representatives of the Western countries, were formerly capitalists. However, to go back to Gorki, you should realize that your friend Shaw before the war had exactly the same ideology as Gorki, Anatole France, Romain Roland, and many others. But who is now more useful to society? Is it the reflective Shaw, who because of the war began to glorify the nationalist-imperialist idea, or is it Gorki, who together with Loenakarsky has translated into Russian more than five thousand books of all kinds?

The monotony you fear so much under a Socialist system will not, I think, be so bad, providing that all aptitudes and gifts are allowed to develop without the obstructions that exist now. For that, however, peace and quiet are needed and Russians are not allowed this by capitalist Western Europe: all sorts of armies are directed against them. I would not be surprised if one of these days Bolsjewism will be suppressed. But that would not be its own fault. Its spirit will live one and, purified by struggle, it will appear again so that power will come into the hands of labour, so that people will no longer be ruled by depressions, speculations, and other niceties of that kind; in short, so that humanity will apply the natural resources for the benefit of the whole.

Well, I had better stop for the time being. Otherwise you may think perhaps that I have already been in Russia or a Socialist heaven ... Dick, expecting to hear from you soon.

As ever,
Yours, Ibrahim.

In all probability I will get 420 guilders per month soon. It fairly makes my mouth water. Would’n’t that cause me to be quieter and stop shouting in Het Vrije Woord! Don’t laugh. Others would be snapping it up.

Yours, Ipie
Telorawa, 4 Aug. 1920

Dear Dick,

I received your letter last night ... We certainly hold very different opinions, Dick. But that does not mean of course that we should have to become estranged from each other. On the contrary, it is just because of that that we can either help each other on the right track or strengthen each other in our opinions ...

Let me take you up point by point.

[Your argument] that the class struggle can easily degenerate into national struggle is of course true. But in fact I did not argue that the whole of the Indies nation has already reached the point of a class struggle. The Indies is only just beginning to struggle, and it is as yet not completely clear how and in what direction it wants to go. But when it realizes that the whole of the capitalistic world is united against the colonized and the proletariat then it will automatically extend its arms towards the rest of the world proletariat.

Dick, I do not want to become personal. Moreover I know my friend Dick only too well. But when you say that you do not seek your salvation in the treasures of the world, such as proportional representation, but rather in God and your soul, then I must counter this by saying that millions and millions of people cannot do this because they are slaving from morning to night for a few capitalists. They are not sure whether they will have the barest necessities of life, while there is abundance in the world. They are devoid of any sort of higher education and civilization, etc., etc., etc.

You cannot actually take Holland as a normal example, because it is supported mainly by trading and colonial capital, which is less oppressive than industrial capital. Moreover Holland gains a great deal from its colonial possessions. You should look at the Ruhr, Saxony, and the extensive mining districts in England; and you should look around in Java, British India, and Egypt, where millions are sacrificed at the cost of the soul, yes the lives of millions. And this is putting it mildly. I am not even mentioning child labour, the labour of women, the destruction of family life, war, imperialism. And all this for the sake of surplus value, i.e. the blood of the workmen.

The question of being a "minority" is not important, although it is the hobbyhorse of the bourgeoisie and its servants in the West. According to you the Communists are in the minority; and you are right, because nine-tenths of humanity are capitalists or their sympathizers or servants. They do not realize this, and even if they do, they are too weak or too disinterested to rise up, or they let themselves be taken in by the inexhaustible store of capitalist bribes.

You say you do not like to rule, nor do you yourself want to be lorded over. Correct. But if the latter is your objective, what would
you do if you were not as lucky and capable as you are now? Would you then have to be the eternal victim of somebody with money? You consider all governments, restrictions, and organizations as evil and "an insult to the royalty of our free soul". The Bolsjewists think exactly the same and they only differ from you in this, that this royalty of the free soul cannot come into being as long as there are haves and have-nots, as long as nine-tenths of humanity must slave for the sake of a number of idlers.

The Sanembah Mij [a Dutch plantation concern] now earns according to a rough estimate 5 million guilders on an investment of 1½ million guilders. Of these 5 million guilders 65 per cent goes to the shareholders in Holland, while the coolies who work all day long earn 46 cents per day. Morality, refinement? Oh, my dear soul. Gambling, adultery, all the vices of man are encouraged [among the workers] ... as long as they work. This is the purest form of capitalism.

The Bolshevists want first to create the conditions for the soul to be free and royal.

Also the "improvement of the human race" [which Wijngaarden mentions] is contained in the programme of the Communists, and not only on paper—something will actually be done. Read about the attempts of Maxim Gorki and Loenakarsky. Read about the direction that modern education is taking, that is, education is to be for everybody, and to fit in with practical life, so that not only conceited gentlemen clerks and ink coolies are being produced. Selection, specialization, and individualization will be applied. I tell you again, read about it, and then you will realize that the "reforms" you want so much will of necessity be implemented, together with the basis of freedom. It will take at least another generation before this "rebirth" will come about, but nothing will result from talking alone. We have to do something about it. We must demolish what we are opposed to; attempts to patch things up won't work. In fact Shaw's ideas are not that far removed from those of the Bolshevists, and like all the Russian intellectuals of all ranks who first considered the Bolshevists as a lower form of human, as adventurers and bandits, Shaw and other notabilities in England have come closer to them. Read the proclamation of these Russian intellectuals (professors, engineers, writers of note) to the Western intellectuals, to which Shaw has declared his solidarity.

It is always true that when things begin to go well the wavering rush to join the tail end of the movement.

Also [the Communists] have taken adequate measures in the legal field in order to increase the sense of justice. There are no longer class courts, where the simple but honest minds get lost, because the experts of the bourgeoisie have the monopoly of legal knowledge and subtleties ...
Time is needed for the renaissance, because first the State must disappear (Lenin says, die) and also the dictatorship, because the State and also the dictatorship of the proletariat are according to Marx a recognition and a result of the fact that the antagonism between classes is unbridgeable. In other words every State has something superimposed on it. In our system this means the rule of the workers, the majority, over a minority of capitalists; and finally the State must die off.

Before everything else time is needed, but that is what the Bolsheviks are not allowed by the capitalists of the world, who do not say "let us be constructive", but rather "let us fight", and send their slaves against them. They also say that these Bolsjewiks cannot do anything else than destroy, but they forget to mention that these despicable bandits when they came to power despite hunger, economic upheaval, and mass famine, have still been able to defeat the last capitalist armies, such as in Poland. And the common citizens of course do not give it any further thought.

I won't elaborate on this, Dick. All I want to say is that because of this fighting, the ideals can be destroyed, yes, that the task must be interrupted for the time being and be left for completion by other generations of Communists.

You despise dictators, you say (also including of course Lenin, Bucharin, Krassin, and many others, whom I certainly do not esteem less than Shaw). Although I agree with you, I must point out to you that dictatorship does not only mean to rule. This is only necessary for the present, because otherwise the ex-capitalists would certainly try to obtain military aid from inside and outside the country. The present dictatorship of the proletariat, however, also contains the germ of Socialism, which will have to be protected for a long time before it can be completely purified from all vestiges of capitalism. You can also despise that, of course.

So, Dick, the Communists continue to argue that what is happening in Russia today is only the beginning of a transition period.

You sighed in your letter that it is such a horrible beginning. But let me tell you that this is nothing compared with the murder of millions in the last great capitalist war ... which was sustained by greediness, a greediness that will never be satisfied, a greediness that expressed itself and still does today in competition, speculation, and imperialism at the cost of the masses. That is the nature of capitalism; it cannot do otherwise.

Wait a little while and the danse macabre will certainly begin again. Only listen to the sabre-rattling in Asia and America. Wherever capitalism settles it cannot belie its nature.

You will perhaps say to me again: I agree with you. But that is
why we should have an inner rebirth. I would also say that, if I did not consider it to be Utopian ... 
As ever Yours,
Ipie

Tj. Morawa, 5 Jan. 1921
Dear Dick,
... These are great times in which we are living. I count myself lucky to be alive at this time and I will try to be worthy of its spirit ...

6 Jan. 1921
With respect to your hate of the Catholic Church, I must tell you immediately that it is also part of my programme of action to destroy her. Only I do not go to the S.D.A.P. [Dutch Socialist Party] for help. Friend, that organization is not in the habit of destroying anything. The S.D.A.P. roars, but when it comes to deeds, it retires frightened of the consequences. It tries to mend things; it does not destroy, and therefore cannot build things, because in order to construct something solidly one must first flatten everything. Look at the Ebert party in Germany. What are they doing? Or rather what can they do, what can they achieve only by talking? Give it a little time and the Ludendorffs will come to the fore again with the ... Crown Prince. And give it a little more time and then also the S.D.A.P. will belong to the past like Liberalism. And even now it begins to look very much like it. They only chatter and temporize all the time!

About the Catholic Church we do not have to waste many words. It is simply an economic institution, Dick. This started as early as the pronouncement of the principle, “Render unto Caesar ... ” Already then the pure glow of fire was being extinguished. A spirit of compromise is a spirit of regression, exactly like S.D.A.P.ism and Kautskyism. What do you expect if both ideals and riches are in the hands of the great lords? The Catholic Church is in my opinion also the meanest form of capitalist exploitation, because it drags in God. But that sort of Judasism you can find in every religion. I can save you the trouble of having a look at Islam or Buddhism and so on. I saw in Colombo—and it is supposed to be even better in the much-renowned Further India where it is maintained in a purer state—I saw in Colombo then a few priests who were beautifully adorned, although in yellow as a sign of supposed poverty. With their eyes downcast they held a sort of little bell, with which they called on the people to give alms. The Buddhist priests are not allowed to own property. But this disdain for filthy lucre goes apparently so far that in that Further India where Buddhism has remained in its purest form they use a gold bell instead of a copper one, just for good measure.
We may as well remain quiet about Islam, which also does not practise what it preaches. So far all practice seems to be mostly directed at filthy lucre, an excellent job, or riches. There is only to be peace for those who own the greatest amount of capital or the largest palace. There may be no change or disturbance of the relationship between the capitalist lord and the workers, between the ministers of state—or rather capitalist slaves and the masses. Peace among the brethren on this earth. That is the recipe in Christian Europe, Buddhist Further India and Brahmanist or Muslim India. Peace, as long as you slave your guts out for a handful of rulers or capitalists and their equivalents.

Once I even let myself be initiated, very secretly, because I was ashamed that I was so curious and wanted to see with my own eyes what Islamic mysticism was about. For days I submitted myself to a teacher. My conclusion was: that all this mysticism was in all probability nothing else than hocus-pocus or trickery or both. Bah, I am disgusted with all this trickery that is found wherever religion creeps in.

Not that I am opposed to virtue, which was also the objective of, for example, Islam. Yes, I say was, because virtue was the only objective when Mohammad himself still lived very soberly. But when his followers came out of the desolate desert and entered fertile lands and prosperous cities, then the well-known recipe came into vogue again: peace between the owners of property and the powerful and the exploited. Nature became stronger again than dogma. Then virtue became restricted and had to be restricted to the very few, who supposedly could not influence the whole.

I am all for virtue. But first we must prepare the soil in which virtue can grow and ripen. Virtue and peace are in my opinion only possible by way of revolution. And in fact the materialist Marx has really an idealistic background. But in the first place whatever obstructs virtue and peace must be destroyed. By now we should all have come to know what is good and what is bad, if not in a philosophical sense then at least intuitively. Everybody, it does not matter how stupid he is, knows immediately if something is just, isn’t that so? He also would know what hunger is, and a child from the Jordaan [poor quarter of Amsterdam] would like to have a pair of nice skates just as much as a child from het Spiegel [more prosperous area]. Again Dick, until next month!
I will write to you soon.
As ever, Yours,
Ibrahim

H. J. Benda and R. T. McVey: Communist uprisings, 1926-27

The police have now stated that there was a total of approximately four thousand party members; this figure is far smaller than the number of people who bought membership cards at one time or another. This difference is easily explained, for a number of those who bought cards did not at the time know anything about a definite rebellion...

The persons who were ready for action came from all sections of the population; there was in proportion an equal number of those possessing no land, common desa (village) people, desa heads, the more well-to-do, and religious leaders. There was a proportionally large number of hadjis and djawaras [religious people]. Only a very small number of officials or former officials joined in and there was not one administrative official or real intellectual among the active rebels. There were, it is true, two members of the regency council of Pandeglang among them and some desa heads. There were various members among the Chinese, but otherwise the latter kept cleverly in the background...apparently the Communists are to be found particularly among the youth; they were sought there intentionally: "there were cards for sale for the young people", one of the participants in Menes has said.

Nevertheless there were very many middle-aged and old people among them. Women remained entirely in the background in this religious country. Despite this fact there were some who had bought cards and there was one female promoter.

Relations between the participants concur with the social structure of the society...This is also proved by the fact that the number of members was increased by persons with a certain influence going over to the movement and bringing with them virtually all those who came under their influence. Nevertheless a group of this sort did not join all at once. The most prominent went over first, often members of one family which little by little joined in its entirety; only after this had happened did the hangers-on follow suit quickly or gradually. Soon after some influential person had been won a large increase in membership would become apparent.

The Causes of Rebelliousness

In analysing the causes of the rebellion three motives may be distinguished from each other: (a) grievances against the existing order; (b) expectations for the future; (c) the possibility of revolution.

The aggregate impression of the inquiry has been that the main causes of the rebellion were those under (b) and (c). It is certain that neither the economic situation nor the existing religious sentiments
alone could have given rise to any serious reasons for unrest. The feelings which were intentionally motivated by a third party, and which otherwise also made the grievances weigh more heavily, are what tipped the balance.

Grievances

Nevertheless it would be incorrect and incomplete if we were not to mention everything which was capable in some way or other of moving things in the direction of discontent. In Bantam (West Java) too there are repercussions of the international events which bring disturbances in their wake everywhere.

Here too as elsewhere many experience the feeling of dissatisfaction and an undefined discontent which usually accompany what we call “awakening” or “becoming conscious”. But this is neither more intense nor more important than the same feelings elsewhere ...

The rebellion broke out in what were economically the most prosperous areas (i.e. in West Java and in Minangkabau [West Sumatra] and many of the rebels could by no means be called poor. Special investigations have been made to discover whether indebtedness could have perhaps been the cause of refractoriness or despair but in this respect also it has appeared that the rebels were not as a rule among the most oppressed; there are fewer credit abuses in Bantam than elsewhere in Java ...

The list (of specific grievances) is not impressive ... it is quite obvious that they alone cannot have been the cause of the rebellion.

There is not a district in Java and probably not a country in the world where it would not be possible to compile exactly the same sort of lists. There has probably not been one period in Bantam’s history when lists of this kind could not have been made, but this fact did not cause an uprising then.

Finally there have also been some personal questions at stake in the disturbances. The man who played an important part behind the scenes at Menes, the dishonourably discharged desa head Entol Enoh, bore a personal grudge against the wedana (district head) because, while he had been made to collect the back taxes of his desa, which he partly paid from his own pocket, and had then been discharged after all ... Personal motives of this kind are of course of little importance for the question as a whole.

The Promised Utopia

The Communists showed great skill and keen insight in the way in which they spread expectations of the success of the rebellion and
promises of a Utopia. For every group they had ready a separate ideal suited to the group's conditions. This ideal was always called Kemerdekaan (freedom), but each group has its own ideas of what that meant.

The more well-to-do were promised a Utopia where they could keep everything they possessed, would not have to pay any taxes, and would even get positions with the new government.

The descendants of the sultan and the other title-bearers were promised the establishment of a new sultanate and "their own sultan"; this state was represented as an Islamic state to the religious orthodox.

The followers of the religious leaders who were preparing for the rebellion were enticed with the prospects of the glories of paradise, the reward which would await them as warriors victorious in Allah's name, or as martyrs who have died for his cause.

Where it was of service the common man was given visions of sama rasa sama rata (equality for all), but this did not often occur, as it proved sufficient to win the support of eminent citizens. However, everyone was led to expect the blessings of cheap rice or free rice and free transport in cars and trains, etc. But nothing much was said about distribution of property belonging to the wealthy because an attempt was made to get the wealthy to join also.

Side by side with the illusions of fortune for those who would rebel were of course the threats of those who would not. They would not partake in the advantages of Utopia; on the contrary they would be oppressed; their property would be confiscated for the founders of the new community.

The Possibility of Success

Even more important than the notions formed about a Utopia were those concerning the possibility of success of the rebellion.

The crux of the whole problem is that the Bantamese do not like rule, whether it be Dutch or other. And thus the main feature of the Communist action apparently consisted of impressing upon the minds of the population the possibility of rebellion succeeding. To put it even more forcibly, the Communists convinced the people that a rebellion would arise and that the pergerakan [movement] was strong and powerful, irresistible and inevitable.

Thousands of members were prepared, part of the police was on the side of the Communists, together with the majority of "the soldiers of Tjimahi" and "Batavia", likewise various prominent gurus (mystical teachers), among them the kiai of Tjaringin. This even made an impression on members of the constabulary. What
will you be able to do with sixty men if we turn up with two hundred thousand? The rebels in Menes and Labuan were instructed that after the first rebellious actions "the soldiers of Tjimahi" would arrive and decide what was to be done with the officials who had not yet been murdered.

By intentionally suggesting that the rebellion must succeed the Communists were cleverly taking into account the milieu in which they were working. While the aid of Russia and China was promised elsewhere in Java, here it was the irresistible Mustafa Kemal who would bring real aid in airplanes. The reason why suggestions of the certainty of success are so dubious is that one of the conditions under which the holy war may or even must be started is that there must be a chance of success. Threats were often employed in this unusually vague description of what was going to happen.

Religion

Religion is, generally speaking, of such paramount importance in Bantam that a separate study of its influence on the movement cannot be considered out of place here. The opinion expressed by many, even prior to the uprising, that a mass rebellion—for this is what it became in the Labuan area—would not be possible in Bantam without the religious sentiments of the population becoming involved, has proved to be correct.

Whereas other areas endeavoured to liberate themselves of the foreign tyrant in order to attain the promised Utopia, many of the Bantamese wished to free themselves of the infidel tyrant in order to pay greater honour to Islam. Perang sabil (Holy War) was the means to this end.

The advantages expected in this world were the same in both cases and the propaganda was also mainly aimed at the realization of these advantages.

In troubled times the dukuns (faith healers), the possessors of ngelmu (magical knowledge), prove to play a not insignificant part. When there is a movement on foot or when there is unrest among the people, they know that they can convince the common man that he can become invulnerable by means of their half-religious, half-magical practices.

The resident officials who once every twenty-five days presided at the village meetings had not noticed anything alarming, and neither had the staff of the many plantations experienced any labour troubles.

It was fear that stopped most people from informing the administration. The interrogation of people who joined the conspiracy, consciously or unconsciously or out of fear, has, however, thrown some light on the motives that made so many people join.

Neither the top leaders nor the masses have any idea about the particular direction colonial policy has taken in the last few years. Naturally there were complaints about the pressure of taxation, but when this question was pursued it appeared that it was mainly local taxes that were felt to be too heavy ...

Relatively, Blitar is a prosperous district with ample opportunities for employment, although coolie wages on the plantations are as low as thirty-five cents per person.

In my opinion a distinction should be made between the motives of the leaders and the followers, which are similar only to the extent that both groups consider that the time has come when, according to the old prophecies, Dutch power shall be thrown off.

The current view that the purpose of the Sarikat Islam soon after its foundation must have been to gradually undermine the government's authority is also applicable in this district.

The leaders, originally of the Sarikat Islam and later of the Sarikat Rakjat, always emphasized in the closed meetings that the traditional forms of etiquette towards government servants should no longer be adhered to. And these officials could not do anything about this as long as the criminal code was not contravened.

At the public meetings during 1925 the people were regularly told that the "kemenangan S. R. soedah akan datang" ["the Sarikat Rakjat will be victorious"] because of the suppression by the capitalists. The leaders have unfortunately succeeded in completely destroying the people's trust in and respect for the Binnenlands Bestuur [Dutch and Indonesian regional administrators] and they themselves now enjoy the trust and confidence of the people.

Both I myself and the Regent agree that among the top leaders there is not one who has not pushed himself forward in this way other than for purely selfish reasons. However, among the second-echelon leaders many have acted from the deep conviction that they were doing their duty with respect to their people and country by expelling the cruel government. This is the impression I gained from their naive replies and their deep disappointment about the turn of events. They have been misled and some have become insane, while one took drugs and another one committed suicide by hanging himself.
I can see only a gradual difference between the actions of the Sarikat Islam and those of the Sarikat Rakjat, although so far as the leaders are concerned it stands out that the leaders of the Sarikat Rakjat openly confess that they no longer believe in the authority of the Qu’ran.

Santri have thrown their Qu’rans in the slokans [ditches] and in general the masses are not very strongly attached to the doctrine of the Prophet.

While the proud people of Mataram mostly kept away from the Sarikat Islam, they have all joined the Sarikat Rakjat. According to the Regent the reason for this is that the Sarikat Islam originally began in Solo, while the ideology of the Sarikat Rakjat reminds them more of Dipanegara, who originated from Mataram [see document 37].

But there are also material ties with Jogja, because they receive their goods on time payment from the merchants in Kota Gede, who have nearly all joined the Sarikat Rakjat and have given financial support to the movement in Blitar. Earlier they also financed the foundation of the bicycle corps of the boy scouts.

Many rich land-owners joined in order to ensure that during the period of great instability which they foresaw would result from the possible success of the movement, they would get off lightly. A number of them approve unconditionally the mass arrests and the forceful measures of the administration.

Among those arrested are a number of well-to-do people, who gradually became convinced members of the Sarikat Rakjat. Initially they were told at the meetings that the Sarikat Rakjat wished to help them in these difficult times and they were promised a happy life ... if they joined. Next they were deluded into believing that they could no longer expect anything from the Netherlands Government, and finally they were persuaded or forced to join the plot.

The masses joined because the false hope of sama rata sama rasa [equality for all] was repeatedly held out to them, which after all according to the old prophesies is supposed to be the basis on which the Kingdom of the Ratu Adil is founded.

The so-called little man, who is only concerned with providing himself with the necessities of life, complains about the restriction on his freedom caused by regulations and the many kinds of taxation.

A number of regulations, in particular those stemming from the Regional Council, are considered to be obstructive and tormenting and the concomitant financial obligations make the people poor. The village chiefs mention in particular the market taxes, the transport dues, house improvement tax, and stamp duties and legal costs to be paid for building construction, marriages, and divorces.

Annoying regulations are, for example, the forest regulations,
which try to compensate for a shortage of forest inspectors by restrictive rules. Then there is the regulation about the cutting-down of fruit trees, which is no longer appropriate, and the tax on fireworks, which practically stops the enjoyment of a harmless popular pleasure. But what hurts the sense of justice of the whole of the native population in all its gradations most is the house improvement tax, which is considered an interference of the government into something close to their hearts: the design and construction of their homes. Many improvements such as beautiful market halls, paid for by high taxes, and asphalted roads, paid for by road taxes, are called “pengisep” [literally, “sucking” (extortionate)], while the native officials are called penindes [oppressors].

People have taken a great dislike to the exaggerated interference by the government. The native Inspector of Public Works here met a well-to-do native at the house of an acquaintance in Kesamben, who after he had heard what position the visitor held, told him: “Then you are the enemy of the Javanese people.” This was apparently a reference to the implementation of the housing improvement regulations.

I have by no means yet exhausted all the possible reasons for the resistance movement; I have only tried to give an explanation for the complete loss of trust of the native population in their chiefs, who in the first place are the executors of national and local regulations.

When this type of mentality is prevalent, village conferences in which the meaning of new regulations is explained are of no use.

An important role in the organization of the plot was also played by young people who had completed school and, lacking professional qualifications, rummaged around, sponging on the general population by writing letters of request or complaint.

A few village heads were of the opinion that the restless agitation of recent times must be ascribed to the undermining activities of “Tyang inkang saged saged, namoeng boton wonten pandelanipoen” [“those people who are knowledgeable (educated), but unemployed”]. The fact is that many of the leaders of the top and second echelon are younger people who have failed in their previous professions or never had one since they left school. The fact that various teachers sympathize with this movement has been brought to light during the last few years also in Blitar. It would deserve serious consideration not only to strengthen the inspection of the Native Primary Education system, but also to change the curriculum in such a way that it was no longer solely designed to impart academic knowledge. The present education system does not satisfy the population’s desire for practical knowledge, but instead it tends to uproot the pupils from their spiritual surroundings without giving them the capacity to move themselves up to a more advanced stage of living …
The deeper causes of the unrest are, as is known, contained in the rapidly changing economic conditions as well as in the complete change in the spiritual attitude of the people ...

An undefinable spiritual power, which also has moved other peoples, is at present converting all feelings into deeds, caused by obvious defects in the social structure and by needs which are difficult to fulfil.

Plots such as have been brought to light in Blitar will be found in other area of Java, and I am definitely convinced that it would be foolish to believe that the masses stand completely aside from this movement ...


58 The Assistant Director of Education and Religion: The educational background of arrested Communist leaders, 1927

On the order of the Director of Education and Religion an investigation has been held into the background, age, education, and profession of Communist leaders who are to be detained. The purpose was to find out from what kind of social milieu these people originated, and whether there would be a correlation between the provision of education to the indigenous population and the appearance of political extremism. It was also investigated whether the native movement is essentially a reflection of an economic process, i.e. the birth of a native middle class.

The data were obtained from the official hearings and are based mostly on what the accused themselves were willing to release about their past. In addition, the degree of response differed a great deal, although all of them were probably concerned to present their curricula vitae in the most favourable possible light. The results therefore may not only perhaps be somewhat untrustworthy but also are a little vague, as the information obtained was often inexact and insufficient. Moreover the conclusions are based on a sample of only 331 persons. So, in summary, the conclusions do not have full evidentiary proof, although on the other hand they contain indications that are certainly useful to know.

The geographical origin of the 331 Communist leaders investigated was as follows: Java—294, or 88.8 per cent; other regions—37, or 11.2 per cent ...

According to race the 331 persons were divided as follows: Europeans—0; Chinese—6; natives—325 (among whom there was one female) ...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-20</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-25</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-35</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-40</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-45</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-50</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 years and above</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>331</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the average age is 29.7 years, it follows that the general impression that most of the Communist followers are young people is incorrect.

During the interrogations questions were also asked about the education that had been received. Based on the replies that were given, the following picture about education emerges:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Received schooling</th>
<th>Not received schooling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-20</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-25</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-35</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-40</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-45</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-50</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 years and above</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>277</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>54</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the fifty-four persons without schooling—who account for 16.3 per cent of the total sample—indicated that they had received some education at home. However, there is no evidence that this education was sufficient to enable them to read and write. If we include these few people among the illiterates, then 83.7 per cent of the Communists were found to be literate. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics no more than 5.91 per cent of the male native population in the whole of the Netherlands Indies is literate, while in the case of Java and Madoera this percentage stands at 5.07. Furthermore, the percentage of boys of school age who actually attended school in 1925 stood at 15.2 for the whole of the Netherlands Indies, and at 14.2 for Java and Madoera. It is clear from these statistics that the Communist leaders belong to the comparatively thin top layer who know the art of reading and writing, and that proportionally there were more illiterates among the older leaders than the younger ones, which of course was to be expected.

The 277 persons who had received some education attended a
total of 389 schools or special courses. As will be explained later, this was only partly due to people continuing their studies at more advanced schools. The fact that such a large number of schools was attended was caused for the greater part by the frequent changing of schools.

If the number of schools attended is divided according to type, the following picture emerges:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary education</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary education</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational education</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary education</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>83.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the figures for persons having attended secondary and vocational schools are actual, the number of persons that only attended primary schools is $277 - 66 = 211$.

Proportionally speaking, the Communist leaders had received the following types of education:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary education</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary education</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational education</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary education</td>
<td>63.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterates</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is some uncertainty as to the effectiveness of this schooling, because often the data do not show whether a school was attended for a limited period or for the normal duration of the course.

In so far as this was expressly mentioned or could be gained from the other data, in not more than 118 or 30.3 per cent of the 389 schools were the particular courses successfully completed. As this figure refers to 277 persons, it appears that at the highest, 42.6 per cent could have been in possession of a diploma, although in fact this figure is lower because a number of the more accomplished ones attended, for example, a vernacular primary school, a Dutch-Native School, and a vocational school in succession. Not one of the persons who attended secondary school was able to obtain the final diploma. Of the 51 persons who attended a vocational school only 15 or 29.4 per cent obtained the final diploma. In only 103 cases or 31.9 per cent of the 323 primary schools that were attended was the whole of the course completed.

However, it is well known that a high wastage rate in schools is a general phenomenon. In the highest class (grade seven) of the Dutch-Native Schools only between 43 and 50 per cent of the total number.
of pupils remain of those who seven years previously entered these schools. In the Second Class Primary Schools (vernacular) one finds in the third grade still 90 per cent of the pupils who entered these schools for the first time, while in top grade (form 5) only between 30 per cent and 45 per cent are left.

Although the educational achievements of the persons investigated so far as primary school is concerned were somewhat below average, they were not so bad as to be considered failures. On the other hand those who received more advanced education showed themselves up rather poorly; and furthermore their number is conspicuously small.

The vast majority then has only received primary education ... Of the 323 primary schools ... there were 99 where the language of instruction was Dutch—or proportionally speaking, in 30.6 per cent of the primary schools and 25.4 per cent of the total number of schools that were attended. Among these [99 schools] there were 73 Dutch-Native Schools or 22.6 per cent of the primary schools and 18.7 per cent of the total number of schools attended. The percentage of Communists who attended Dutch-Native Schools was 22; of these only 27 persons gained the final diploma, or 37 per cent of all persons who attended the Dutch-Native Schools, and only 8 per cent of the total sample of Communists investigated. These socially exclusive schools seemed to have been attended with less success when compared with the normal figure of wastage in the Dutch-language primary schools. If we add to this the rather poor performance in the schools of more advanced education, then the impression is that the intellectual capacity of the persons concerned is not particularly high.

The majority then of Communist leaders have been to schools where the vernacular was the medium of instruction ... However, the question as to how many have been in Dutch-language and how many in vernacular schools cannot be answered exactly ... At the highest 35 per cent and perhaps closer to 30 per cent of the total number of Communists [in the sample] have been in Dutch-language schools, of whom twenty-seven students have successfully got through Dutch-Native Schools and four have got through European primary schools, that is together thirty-one persons or 9.3 per cent of the total sample.

If it is taken into account that we are dealing here with so-called leaders and not followers, then the number of persons educated in Dutch-language schools is not particularly large. In any case it is too insignificant to establish a certain correlation between the incidence of Communism and the provision of Dutch-language school facilities to the indigenous population ...

So far as employment is concerned, 12 people indicated that they
were never employed and 123 only had one profession. Of the remainder:

117 held successively 2 different jobs
47  3
27  4
 4  5
 1  6

This is a total of 632 different jobs for 319 persons, or almost two jobs per person (Not included were changes in employers within the same profession or promotion within the same service. The holding of office in a trade union or sections of the P.K.I. or Sarikat Rakjat was also not included.)

These jobs can be categorized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Government Service</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>34.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Western sector of the economy</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Indigenous sector of the economy</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Journalists</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Teachers in private schools</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total 632</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Category 1 can be divided again as follows:

- **Jobs**
  - (a) Central, local, or village government: 41
  - (b) Public corporations or utilities: 146
  - (c) Public schools: 29
  **Total 216**

Category 2, the Western sector of the economy:

- **Jobs**
  - (a) Plantations: 20
  - (b) Industry: 20
  - (c) Commerce and transport: 76
  - (d) Shipping: 6
  - (e) Various professions: 16
  **Total 138**

Category 3, the indigenous economic sector:

- **Jobs**
  - (a) Agriculture: 47
Under category 3(b), of the thirty-one jobs, eleven were connected with the batik industry.

The majority do not indicate how long they worked in a particular job, and with respect to those who often changed jobs it is difficult to say what their actual profession was. It seems that they changed jobs with the same ease with which they changed schools. Thus the 215 jobs in the indigenous sector of the economy do not mean that 215 persons or 64.9 per cent of the Communists found their major means of existence in this sector. On the contrary most of them fell back on the indigenous sector for want of better jobs.

For this reason the category of persons who only had one type of employment deserves more attention. They were in the service of the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The government</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western enterprises</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous enterprises</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various professions</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>123</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only the group that was permanently employed in the indigenous sector can be considered with some certainty to have found the major means of existence there; they carried out the following types of work:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various professions</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>66</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It would be incorrect to consider all these sixty-six persons as belonging to the native middle class. In the first place five Chinese who were in business and secondly, twenty-six persons who worked as coolies in native enterprises have to be subtracted. Thus there were only thirty-five persons left, or 11 per cent of the total number of Communists in the sample, who were exclusively employed or
carried on business on their own account in the native sector. The majority of them were farmers and traders. It is not possible to determine how large their various enterprises were.

If one wants to include in the definition of middle class everybody who at one stage, irrespective of how long, has worked on his own account, then also a number of people who fell back temporarily on the native sector must be counted. Of the 215 jobs under category 3 there are 113 cases where persons either worked for some time on their own little piece of land, worked on their father’s farm, traded in agricultural produce, or had a warong [small shop]. If these 113 cases of self-employment are considered to be within the native middle class, then even the most insignificant types of business such as the sale of sate [skewered roasted meat] must be included, and no account is taken as to how permanently these people were self-employed in the native sector. If this unsatisfactory gauge is used, 17.9 per cent of the total number of jobs held must be considered to be native middle class occupations. It would be possible to determine how many persons were involved, but it would hardly serve any purpose because again they would have to be divided into persons who have remained in the native sector (and it is not possible to determine whether this category wants to get back to better-paid employment as soon as possible), and those who in the meantime have returned to the public service or Western private enterprise.

In any case it can be concluded that of the 632 jobs, 519 or 82 per cent refer to wage employment and only 40 or 12 per cent to self-employment …

It is possible to determine from the data in which particular departments of the public service the majority of the Communists were employed. The 146 persons mentioned under category 1(b) were employed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of total sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head offices of Central Government</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Railways</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harbour Service</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postmaster-General</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Service</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topographical Service</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawn Shop Service</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opium Monopoly</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>44.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Another 29 persons or 8.8 per cent were employed in public and village education.

Thus the State Railways and Education were the major departments. If the total number of persons employed in the transport sector is added, the following picture emerges:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State Railways</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private railways and tramways</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Transport</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>60</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Or, proportionally speaking, 18 per cent of the total number of Communists or 9.4 per cent of the total number of jobs held were connected with transport.

Only in a few cases was it possible to collect data about the social origin of the accused, that is in cases where the persons concerned were forced by circumstances to fall back on their relatives, who are usually farmers. The general impression is that the Communist leaders originate from neither the higher classes nor from the middle classes, but rather from the poorer sections. The type of school most frequented also points to this. However, there is in addition a fairly large number of people of better background who have had bad luck or whose career has been ruined by their own fault. For example, there were four persons belonging to the higher nobility with the title Raden Mas and fifteen of the lower nobility with the title Mas or Raden; moreover there were seven *hadjis* [i.e. persons who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca]. Generally these people held lower-ranking positions in society.

Of the persons who were in wage employment only 58 held positions such as *toekang* [tradesman], *mandoer* or *mantri* [foremen], against which there were 380 copying clerks, labourers, and coolies. Another 71 teachers and journalists have to be added to the more prestigious category.

We were able to obtain some information about the reasons for the changing of jobs. Of the 196 persons who had more than one type of employment, totalling 509 jobs, there were 59 persons who kept completely silent on this point, while the remaining 137 gave reasons for one change of jobs but kept silent on the others. The following reasons were given: 38 persons were dismissed honourably or on their own request; 6 because of sickness; 28 dishonourably; 40 because of Communism; and 25 because of striking.

Sixty-five or 19.6 per cent of the Communists were dismissed at least once because of their political convictions and 8.3 per cent because of dishonourable actions. By no means were all able to obtain a new position quickly and in thirty-eight cases there was un-
employment for a considerable time. It is not surprising that many fell for the offer made by persons who stayed in the background to work as teachers in the Sarikat Rakjat schools or as propagandists. And the paid functions of the labour unions, and the P.K.I. and Sarikat Rakjat sections were a blessing for many.

However, in addition to those who were driven into politics by hunger, there were also quite a few persons who sacrificed their careers to their convictions.

Before the present arrest 29 persons had already had a brush with the law, although the number of criminals is very small. Of these 29 persons, 18 were convicted for breaking the laws controlling the press and public speaking; 4 were convicted for breaking the laws concerning public assembly; and 11 (or 3 per cent of the total number of Communists questioned) were convicted for other criminal activities.

It is not possible to gain an exact picture of the organization of the P.K.I. from the interrogations, because in general the prisoners were fairly reticent on this point.

According to their own declarations, which are obviously incomplete, there were among them: 57 members of the P.K.I.; 38 members of the Sarikat Rakjat; 13 members of various labour unions; 14 office-bearers of P.K.I. sections; 16 office-bearers of Sarikat Rakjat sections; 21 office-bearers of various labour unions; 1 member of the Central Committee of the P.K.I.; and 17 propagandists. Various persons were members or office-bearers of various organizations at the same time. The P.K.I. seems to have been fairly strict with respect to the moral behaviour of office-bearers. At least in two cases mention is made that office-bearers were dismissed because of immoral behaviour.

Summarizing the various impressions gained, it can be concluded that the sample of Communist leaders investigated did not in general belong to the agrarian section of the community, and that only few were self-employed permanently in native commerce or industry. So they do not constitute a middle class in the economic sense. The majority are in wage employment in the public service or Western private enterprise and usually in lower-ranking positions.

If the term middle class is defined in the sense of not belonging to the nobility or the clergy, then these people according to European norms can only for a very small part be classed as belonging to the third estate; the vast majority belong to the fourth estate. According to native and especially Javanese norms, which proportionally grade position higher than prosperity, the demarcation line between third and fourth estate must be drawn somewhat differently. And only the coolies and day labourers would be classed decidedly as fourth estate, while clerks and other lower-ranking officials, who in Europe
are classified with the proletariat, still belong to the lower prijaji or the third estate.

The vast majority have only attended primary school in which the vernacular is the medium of instruction. The number of persons who successfully completed Dutch-language primary and more advanced schools is small.

To apply the term native intellectuals to this group would be to exaggerate; all that can be said is that most of them are literate, unlike the majority of the population, who can neither read nor write. And only in that sense is there a connection between Communism and education, although there is no correlation between Communism and particular types of schools.

The Indonesia-centric nationalist movement, 1922-42

With the P.K.I. out of action after 1926-27 its leadership role in the nationalist movement was taken over by a group of second-generation nationalists, who rejected both Islam and international Communism as the basis of their policies and instead emphasized the need for an Indonesia-centric approach in the struggle to gain independence.

The initiative for this new departure in Indonesian politics was taken by Indonesian students in the Netherlands, who were members of the Perhimpunan Indonesia (the Indonesian Association), a political-activist society that had been formed in 1922. It is difficult to overstate the historical significance of the Perhimpunan Indonesia because many of its prominent members, such as Mohammad Hatta, Sutan Sjahrir, Sutomo, Subardjo and Ali Sastroamidjojo, exerted on their return home a profound influence on Indonesian politics both in the colonial period and during the free Indonesian republic. Inspired by Marxist anti-colonial ideas as well as the non-cooperative movement in India, the Perhimpunan Indonesia in its action programme issued in 1923 emphasized self-reliance and self-help as the only feasible way to obtain independence; and it exhorted every Indonesian to strive for a free and democratic government without relying on support from outsiders. The organization also strongly condemned the various regional organizations that had emerged in imitation of Budi Utomo, because they caused unnecessary political division, and urged that all efforts should be directed at establishing a national Indonesian unity. In 1925 another important platform was added, which emphatically stated that Indonesian freedom could only be obtained by conscious, self-assured, and self-reliant mass action.

The ideas of the Perhimpunan Indonesia were disseminated in the Indies through its journal Indonesia Merdeka (Free Indonesia) and by its members on their return. During 1924-25 a number of so-called Study Clubs were established for the discussion and implementation of the programme of action outlined by the Perhimpunan Indonesia. The most radical of these clubs had been founded
in Bandung by Sukarno and Anwari, both recent graduates in civil engineering from the Technological University in that city. The Bandung group was unequivocally opposed to co-operation with the colonial government and when in 1926 the Perhimpunan Indonesia in Holland advocated the establishment of a national Indonesian people's party in order to disseminate its ideas among the masses, it was a number of radical revolutionaries from the Bandung Study Club who took the initiative and on 4 July 1927 founded the Perserikatan Nasional Indonesia (National Indonesian Union). The founding committee consisted of Sartono, Iskaq, Samsi Sastrawidagdo, Budiarto, and Sunario, all former members of the Perhimpunan Indonesia; Sukarno and Anwari; Sujadi, the official representative of the Perhimpunan Indonesia in the colony; and J. Tilaar, an employee of a Jakarta bank. At the first national congress in 1928 in Surabaja, the party's name was changed to Partai Nasional Indonesia (the Indonesian National Party)—P.N.I.—and Sukarno became its first chairman.

The P.N.I. stood for the complete independence of Indonesia and the party programme stressed that non-cooperation, national unity, and self-reliance were the only means by which this ideal could be realized (see document 59).

While it is clear that the Perhimpunan Indonesia played a very important role in getting the non-cooperative radical movement off the ground, it was Sukarno who was able to give this movement, in particular the P.N.I., the imprint of his own ideas, which were not always in accordance with the views and philosophies of other prominent and more Western-orientated leaders such as Hatta and Sjahrrir, who were convinced Social Democrats and envisaged a Western type of parliamentary democracy for Indonesia.

Sukarno, on the other hand, was more complex in his political ideas. Influenced by an amalgam of traditional Javanese and Marxist concepts, he strongly believed that the modernization of Indonesia did not necessarily have to occur at the cost of losing the national cultural identity. In a typically Javanese vein he suggested a syncretic solution to the problem of division within the Indonesian nationalist movement and in a number of articles in the journal Indonesia Muda in 1926 he argued that it was both possible and feasible to unite the three major streams of political thought in Indonesia—Islam, Marxism, and nationalism—into a harmonious whole, without having to suppress any of these ideologies as long as they did not disturb the general harmony (see document 60). However, unity in the nationalist movement could not, according to Sukarno, be achieved on the basis of a Western system of parliamentary democracy with its tyranny of the majority (fifty per cent plus one). A system of decision-making that was far more suitable to In-
Indonesian conditions was, so Sukarno argued, a federation of all nationalist groupings, using the procedures of traditional Indonesian village government where unanimous decisions—mufakat—were reached after a full process of deliberation and compromise—musjawarah (see document 61). Endowed with a charismatic speaking talent and considerable political acumen, Sukarno was able at the end of 1927 to have the major parties and groupings—including the Muslims—agree to join such a federation of all anti-colonial forces in the country, which came to be called Permufakatan Perhimpunan Politiek Kebangsaan Indonesia (P.P.P.K.I.), or the Unanimous Consensus of the Political Organizations of the Indonesian People.

The P.P.P.K.I., however, was too restricted in its activities by the mufakat principle to perform the great national deeds Sukarno had hoped for. The ideological differences within the federation were too sharp and only a few general and rather lame declarations were made (see document 62).

When in 1929 Sukarno was imprisoned by the Dutch, the P.N.I. disbanded itself and the P.P.P.K.I. quickly disintegrated. The P.N.I. ideals were incorporated in a new party—the Partai Indonesia (Partindo)—which was set up in 1931 by Sartono (see document 63).

But an important minority of the old P.N.I., which always had been rather dubious about the views and methods of Sukarno, now became openly critical of the new party’s programme. And although the Perhimpunan Indonesia in Holland (see document 64) deplored the split in the left wing of the movement and remained officially neutral in the dispute, some of its prominent members, such as Hatta and Sjahrrir, severely attacked Sukarno for his one-man rule of the party, which had brought the organization into complete disarray after his imprisonment, and they dismissed his ideas about unification as chimerical, insisting that a class struggle was inevitable (see document 65). In particular, Sjahrrir objected strongly to the cultural nationalism of Sukarno and his followers and argued that there was little to be found in traditional Indonesian civilization that could be of value in the twentieth century (see document 66). Moreover, the sweeping-up of the masses in which Sukarno so excelled and delighted seemed to be of little practical value to the more rationally inclined Hatta-Sjahrrir group, which insisted that the first priority should be to train a corps of well-educated cadres to diffuse the nationalist ideals among the people. And to this end a rival party, Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Education), was founded by Sjahrrir in 1932.

Sukarno, after his release from prison in December 1931, attempted to heal the breach in the radical revolutionary movement, but he was unsuccessful. The differences were fundamental and con-
continued to divide the radical nationalists until long after Indonesia gained its independence.

Increased harassment by the colonial authorities of both the Partindo and the Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia, and finally in 1933 the exiling of the top-echelon leaders such as Sukarno, Hatta, and Sjahrir almost totally lamed the radical wing of the nationalist movement; and the P.P.P.K.I. expired in 1935, with the Partindo and the Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia following suit in 1936.

The vacuum left by the radical nationalists was now partly filled by the more moderate nationalist groupings, which as "co-operators" were represented in the various government councils such as the Volksraad. The most important "co-operative" party was the Partai Indonesia Raja—Parindra (the Greater Indonesia Party—which had been founded in 1935 as a fusion of two older organizations, Budi Utomo and the Persatuan Bangsa Indonesia—P.B.I.—the latter having been set up in 1924 by Dr Sutomo, an important national figure who had been one of the founders of Budi Utomo in 1908 and also played an important role in the Perhimpunan Indonesia in Holland. Like its parent organizations, the Parindra stressed evolution rather than revolution and concentrated on the educational and economic development of the Indonesian people, setting up banks, farmers' cooperatives (Rukun Tani), and advisory services (see document 67).

The decline of the radical-revolutionary parties and the division within the nationalist movement as a whole were strongly criticized in 1936 by the Perhimpunan Indonesia (see document 68), which pointed out that in view of the growing threat of Fascist Japan, all nationalist parties should unite in a national front to face both the imperialism of the West and of Japan. Soon afterwards the Perhimpunan Indonesia, expecting a more reasonable treatment from a Social Democrat Holland than from Fascist Japan, exhorted Indonesians to co-operate with the Dutch Government in the struggle against Fascism in return for political concessions.

The action programme of the Perhimpunan Indonesia was taken up by the Gerakan Rakjat Indonesia—Gerindo—a radical nationalist party set up in 1937 to counteract the activities of the Parindra. The Gerindo was led by younger leftists such as Mohammad Yamin and Amir Sjarifuddin and was joined by many former P.N.I. and Partindo members. Its platform was very similar to that of the old P.N.I., with the important exception that the principle of non-cooperation was dropped as unrealistic in view of the international situation.

However, the rejection in 1938 of the Sutardjo petition by the Dutch Government (see document 21) made it clear that much greater pressure was needed to extract political concessions from the
Dutch. This drove the various nationalist organizations together again and in 1939, on the initiative of the Parindra, the Gabungan Politik Indonesia—G.A.P.I. (Indonesian Political Union)—was founded, which reiterated the need for co-operation between the Netherlands and Indonesia in the fight against Fascism. This co-operation, however, could only be effective if Indonesians were given a greater stake in their own country and as a first step the G.A.P.I. demanded that Indonesia should be given a full parliament. "Indonesia berparlemen" ("Indonesia with a parliament") became the catchcry of the nationalists during 1939 and 1940 (see documents 69, 70, and 71), but the action was to no avail.

The stubborn refusal of the Dutch to give in to Indonesian political demands and the rebuttal of the Indonesian offer of help in the coming Pacific war caused many Indonesian leaders to turn their backs on the Dutch and to seek an accommodation with the Japanese about their political aspirations (see document 72). And during the fateful months of December 1941 to March 1942, when the colonial armed forces fought the Japanese invaders, the Indonesians as a whole kept aloof as disinterested bystanders.

Report of a meeting of the Partij Nasional Indonesia held at Bandung, 27 October 1929

At 8.30 a.m. the Chairman, Gatot Mangkoepradja (P.N.I.), opens the meeting, which is attended by about two thousand people, of whom about three hundred are women. He announces that because of the expected great interest by the public two public meetings will be held at which the same items on the agenda will be dealt with:

1. The right of assembly and association outside Java, by Mr Iskaq;
2. Illiteracy, by Mamadi;
3. Non-cooperation (self-help), by Gatot Mangkoepradja;
4. Religion, by Ir Soekarno.

After the customary expressions of welcome and gratitude, the Chairman requests the meeting to stand for a moment to sing "Indonesia-Raja", after which Mr Iskaq is asked to speak ... The public is somewhat bored by the way the speaker presents his talk; he is moreover three times interrupted by the police.

Mr Iskaq related that before 1919 the Indies people did not have the right of assembly and association; but when this was finally granted in 1919 regulations were instituted which in practice made it impossible to make full use of this right ...

The speaker mentioned the arrest by the police of Adang (member of the P.N.I.), but when he wanted to elaborate, the police requested
the Chairman to tell the speaker not to continue with this subject.

Ostensibly with great calm, the speaker continued and spoke about the regulations forbidding the holding of meetings. He also wanted to criticize the attitude of the judges when dealing with cases of infringement of these regulations, but he was interrupted by the police.

He further talked about the powers of the heads of local government in the Outer Possessions, who were empowered to stop leaders of political parties from entering their region. And he mentioned the latest case in point, that of H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, who first had been refused entry into the west coast of Sumatra, but later had been given permission on the condition that he would not hold any meetings ...

Accompanied by enthusiastic applause and shouts of: “Bapak toeroen”, “Hidoep Partij Nationaal Indonesia” [literally, “Father (term used for older and important persons) is coming”, “Long live the Indonesian Nationalist Party”], which lasted for a few minutes, Ir Soekarno appears on the platform. He first expresses his joy and gratitude for the enormous interest shown for this public meeting of the P.N.I., which as on the many previous occasions is again an irrefutable proof that indeed everywhere in Indonesia the national spirit (soemangat) has spread, the national spirit which later will bring about the freedom of Indonesia (applause) ... He then presents a very clear explanation of the meaning of non-cooperation, which can be used either as a matter of principle or on an incidental basis. The P.N.I. adheres to non-cooperation as a matter of principle. In order to reinforce his arguments and also to keep the public spellbound, he often repeats emphatically the following words: “Tidak maoe tjampoer dalam soeatoe apa djoega dengan Pemarentahan Blanda” [“We must have nothing to do whatsoever with the Dutch Government”], which is of course every time answered with shouting and applause.

He then refers to the two places on the Council of the Indies to be filled by natives (Inlanders) (he says: “Inlanderrrr”—laughter), and hints at the mentality of Mr Koesoemojoedo [one of the appointees to the Council of the Indies]. He further says that he could not care less whether such heroes would be members of the Council of the Indies; even if there are a thousand Koesoemojoedos in the Council of the Indies, the P.N.I. does not want to have anything to do with government councils ... Why does the P.N.I. adhere to the principle of non-cooperation? Because the P.N.I. is convinced (Insjaf dan berkejakinan) that colonial rule is bad everywhere in the world and is the result of a clash of interests. Laughingly he tells the story that a friend offered him a seat in the Volksraad, saying that the daily allowance of 30 guilders was not to be despised. His answer was that
even with a daily allowance of 100 guilders or more he would not want to become a member of the Volksraad. In short he is and will remain a non-cooperator.

The P.N.I. will not ask for anything, but will put its trust in its own power and adhere to the principle of "self-help". Whatever may happen in the world and however loud the thunder may rumble and however bright the lightning may flash, the P.N.I. will not retreat (applause).

The P.N.I. must live up to its symbols, red-white and the buffalo head, because red means courage (Berani karena benar), white means innocence (Soetji), and the buffalo head (Kepala Banteng) means self-reliance (Mertjaja pada kakoeatan sendiri) (applause).

Because of this and also the fierce activity of the P.N.I., he is often accused of hating the Europeans (Koelit-putih); this he does not deserve because he does not hate the Europeans, but he hates colonial rule ...

Then he changes to the subject of religion. In particular religious associations have argued that the P.N.I. is opposed to religion (bertentangan). The speaker argues that these statements are not true and are nothing else than libellous accusations. The P.N.I. adheres to a position of neutrality with respect to religion. This is logical, because the P.N.I., although keeping religion in high regard, has nationalism as its ideal. To the P.N.I. it does not matter what kind of religion a person adheres to, be it Christianity, Islam, or any other religion. As long as one is an Indonesian one can become a member. He asks the religious associations not to obstruct him unnecessarily in the future (bikin sakit hati), because he also leaves them alone. Moreover, to criticize and obstruct one another was useless, because it would not bring them one step closer to the ideal of Indonesia Merdeka (the Freedom of Indonesia). All religions surely would support the ideal of freedom. In order to illustrate his argument he quotes from an article in Fadjar Asia entitled "Orang djaman sekarang gila" ("Today's people are mad"), which describes the homage shown by members of the P.N.I. to the party flag as mad and non-religious. He explains that the flag is only a symbol, and that one does not pay homage to a piece of white-red cloth with a buffalo head on it but to the spirit (soemangat) of Indonesia Merdeka. He says: "Yes, I have so much respect for our national flag that when I am bingoeong [upset, confused] I give our flag a military salute." (Laughter and applause.)

Against the accusation in the newspaper mentioned that the P.N.I. is anti-Islam because it is opposed to polygamy, he argues that the P.N.I. does not intend to root out polygamy but rather wants to spread the idea of monogamy in order to improve the position of women.
At the end of his speech he said that he had received an anonymous letter (he called it *soerat kaleng*), which he read out aloud to the meeting. In short the writer of this letter asked Soekarno whether in view of the increased repressiveness of government measures he would continue to speak out so bravely, or would he, as the writer feared, become a case of "*Ati brandi, kaki lari*" [literally, "courage and run"].

When he read out this letter Soekarno became obviously incensed and shouted angrily: "What is this letter talking about? After all here is Soekarno standing in front of you all; and like Abi Tjandra Birawa [a figure from the wayang] he will not let himself be discouraged; *mati satoe, datang doeа, mati doeа, datang empat* (when one goes, two will come in his place, when two go, four will come in their place)." (A great deal of shouting and applause.) He further explained that this letter did not originate from a religious association but from one of his enemies. So he ended his speech and left the platform ...

Koloniaal Archief. *Afschrift Mailrapport, Geheim, 1080x/29.*

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60 **Sukarno: The quest for national unity, 1926.**

The *Boedi Oetomo*, the "late" *Nationaal Indische Partij* which is still "alive", the *Sarikat Islam*, the Minahasan Federation, the Indonesian Communist Party, and many other parties—were either motivated by the spirit of nationalism, Islam, or Marxism.

Is it possible for these spirits to cooperate and form a common front against the colonial authorities and combine to form one great spirit, the spirit of unity which will bring us to greatness?

Is it possible in a colonial situation for a nationalist movement to join with an Islamic movement, which is part of an international struggle? Can Islam, a religion, cooperate in facing the colonial authorities with nationalism, which is primarily concerned with the nation, and with Marxism, which is based on the philosophy of materialism? ...

We say with firm conviction: "Yes, it can be done". Admittedly nationalism does not concern itself with factions which do not follow in "the desire to live as one" with the people. It is true that nationalism belittles all factions which do not feel as "one group, one nation" with the people. And it is true that nationalism fundamentally opposes all forms of action which do not originate from the "common experience of the people". But it should be kept in mind that the men who built the Islamic and Marxist movements in
our country did have a "desire to live together as one" with the men who built the nationalist movement. They felt to be "one group and one nation" with the nationalists, that all groups in our movement: nationalists, Muslims, and Marxists alike, have a history of shared experience behind them, a common fate of being deprived of freedom for hundreds of years ...

The nationalists who are reluctant to seek contact with Marxists and work together with them show great ignorance of history and of the way the world’s political system has evolved. They do not realise that the Marxist movement in Indonesia and Asia generally has the same origins as their own movement. They forget that the objectives of their own movement are often similar to those of the Marxist movement in their country. They forget that to oppose those of their countrymen who are Marxists is to reject comrades in the same struggle and to add to the number of their enemies. They forget or do not understand the significance of the policies of their fellow fighters in other Asian countries, such as the late Dr Sun Yat-Sen, that great nationalist leader who happily and wholeheartedly cooperated with the Marxists, even though he realised that a Marxist organization of society was still impracticable in China because the necessary conditions did not exist ...

We are convinced also that we can bring the Muslims and the Marxists together, although the differences of principle between these two are really very great. We are very sad when we recall the blackening of the Indonesian sky several years ago when there was a civil war-like clash, an outbreak of enmity between Marxists and Muslims, when we saw the forces of our movement divided into two factions warring with each other.

This split represents the blackest page in our history. While our movement should have been growing in force, this conflict resulted in the useless dissipation of our strength. It set our movement back by decades.

Alas! How strong our movement would now be if this conflict had not occurred. Our organization would certainly not be as inadequate as it is now; our movement would undoubtedly have advanced further than it has, no matter how great the obstacles in its path.

We are convinced that there are no important obstacles to Muslim-Marxist friendship. As we have explained, true Islam has some characteristics of Socialism. It is true that Socialism is not necessarily Marxism, and we know that this Islamic Socialism is different from Marxism—because Islamic Socialism is spiritual, while Marxist Socialism is based on materialism. But it is sufficient for our purposes to show that true Islam is Socialistic in character.

Muslims should not forget that Marxism's materialist interpretation of history can often serve them as a guide when they are faced
with difficult problems of economics and world politics. Moreover, they should not forget that historical materialism as a method explains events that have taken place in the world, that it is a means of predicting future events, and that it can be extremely useful to them!

Muslims should not forget that capitalism, the enemy of Marxism, is also the enemy of Islam! This is so because what is called surplus value in Marxism is fundamentally the same as usury in the teachings of Islam. Surplus value is that portion of profit which rightly belongs to the workers who produced it. This theory of surplus was worked out by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels to explain the origins of capitalism. It is this surplus value which is the basis of capitalism; in attacking surplus value, the Marxists are attacking capitalism at its very roots!

The true Muslim should immediately realise that it is wrong to regard Marxism which opposes surplus value as an enemy. He will realise that true Islam also struggles against such things; and that true Islam strongly forbids usury and the taking of interest ...

Marxism, which was previously so violently anti-nationalist and anti-religious, has now altered its tactics, especially in Asia, so that its previous bitter opposition has turned into comradeship and support. Today there is friendship between the Marxists and the nationalists in China, and between Marxists and Muslims in Afghanistan.

Marxist theory has also changed. In fact it had to; Marx and Engels were not prophets who could determine eternally valid laws. Their theories have to be changed with the times; they must be adapted to fit a changing world if they are not to become bankrupt. Marx and Engels themselves realised this and in their writings they often showed that they had changed their minds or changed their interpretation of certain events of their time ...

This ability to make tactical and theoretical changes explains why the "younger" Marxists, whether they are "patient" or "tough", especially the younger Marxists in Asia, are all supporters of genuine nationalist movements. They know that in Asia, where there is no proletariat in the European-American sense, their movement must change its character to fit in with prevailing conditions of life. They know that the Marxist movement in Asia must employ different means than in Europe, and that they must "work together with petty-bourgeois parties", because the prime target here is not to achieve power but to fight feudalism.

The workers in Asia can only organize a socialist movement, if these countries are free, and the workers have national autonomy. As Otto Bauer said, "National autonomy is a goal which must be pursued by the proletariat in its struggle, because it is very necessary for its policies". That is why national autonomy is something which
must be put before all else by the workers' movement of Asia. That is why it is the duty of the working class in Asia to work with and support all movements aimed at achieving national autonomy, irrespective of the philosophies of these movements. That is why the Marxist movement in Indonesia must support our nationalist and Islamic movements which also have national autonomy as their goal...


**61 Sukarno: Towards the Brown Front, 1927**

Some time ago Zentgraaff of the *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad* [conservative newspaper] propagated the idea of a white front to put up a stronger opposition against the "native" masses, which in their various organizations are beginning to gain steadily more power—at the cost of the prestige of the white man, which in the past was sufficient to protect the usurper against the "murderousness and bloodthirstiness" of the indigenous people.

His voice went on calling in the desert, and did not get a positive reaction from the white press in our country. The *sana* [other] party answered in the negative and dismissed the idea of a white front.

The attitude of this press can be explained in two ways: we could say that the white man in fact wants to strive towards fraternization and a mutual appreciation between the brown and the white man. Or we could explain it as follows: it is felt that just because of the formation of a white front, just because of this consolidation, one would weaken oneself; it is felt that the formation of a white front will irrevocably cause the birth of a "brown front", which could throw its numerical superiority into the balance, and would be impossible to neutralize by a tightly organized group of white men on its own.

Which of these explanations would be the more plausible one? One could argue against the first explanation by saying that in the past one never felt the need for fraternization. The white man carefully kept himself separate; he kept away from everything that was not "white"; he dismissed all overtures from our side; he has constructed a society which has no points of contact with the Indonesian one. Why then suddenly these lovely smiles? And why these ideas about brotherhood?

We Indonesians find this suspicious!

The second hypothesis is supported by the fact that these profuse expressions of brotherly love occur just at the time when we Indonesians, through marshalling our power in various organizations, have
managed to gain strength; at present we are no longer just a mass of illiterates but a mass of organized illiterates, who know that what we lack in scholarly knowledge, in organization talents and techniques, is amply compensated for by our numbers.

We Indonesians certainly realize that relations will continue to deteriorate, because we have become increasingly conscious of the power that rests in our numerical superiority, while the prestige of the ruling power has continued to decline. We realise that the drawing of a mathematically exact demarcation line between the brown men, who desire power, and the white men, who want to hold on to power, means that a climax is being reached in the deterioration of the relations between the brown men and the white men. But we also understand that the character of the struggle will depend on how accurately and quickly the antithesis is put; and that the better this antagonism is understood, the more exact the purpose of the struggle will be.

If we understand this, then the next step we Indonesians must take becomes clear.

Assuming that we are prepared to accept and make our own everything that is reasonable; and that we are even willing to learn from our opponents—although in an amended form and in accordance with our interests—then we should follow up the advice of Zentgraaff.

If a "white front" weakens the position of the Europeans in our country, then it follows naturally that a "brown front" will reinforce our position!

What is rejected by the opponent can only be good for us. We must create a powerful political force, which is possible only if we pursue realistic policies. Such a force can only be achieved through the formation of a brown front.

Let us hope then that this brown front will eventuate. Let us hope that all Indonesians realize that a lack of unity has been the cause of our defeats in the struggle against the West. They should learn from the history of our national degradation, from the court intrigues of the Mangkoerats, from the fighting during the times of Mangkoeboemi and Mas Said, from which not the Indonesians but only the Dutch ended up victorious.

The foreigners should not be confronted with thousands and thousands of "natives"; they should not have to struggle against millions of brown people; no, they should be confronted by the one indivisible Indonesian people—yes, by the one indivisible Indonesian nation!

But how can this be possible if in reality our people is divided over so many organizations, which all have their own ideologies and methods of struggle?

First of all: I must warn against any attempt to achieve a unifica-
tion of all these parties. One should fully realize that it is impossible to shackle within the one single organization a people of fifty million souls living in a highly variegated social structure. And even if this were possible, there would be superimposed on Indonesia a kind of ideology and a spiritual poverty which would exclude a free and independent existence and would condemn our people to carry the yoke of slavery until Doomsday.

Therefore we must work towards a federation, which must leave intact the personality, the individuality, the character of the member parties. And the link that is necessary to bind the parties together must be a very loose one. It should not be oppressive, in order not to detract from its durability. It should be like the loose ties which bind the various parts of the British Empire together. Its strength should lie in its flexibility.

The agreement to be reached by the Indonesian parties can therefore not be one based on principles. Otherwise the members would have to submit themselves to a certain ideological discipline, which would mean a sacrifice to some extent of the independance and freedom of action on the part of the member parties.

Such a federation, which does not insist on ideological discipline nor force the member parties to sacrifice their freedom and independance for the sake of the federation—such a federation is possible. Yes, such a federation is possible when one is satisfied with *incidental* co-operation, that is, when it is unanimously felt by the members that such action would be urgent. Co-operation, for example, would be given in the case of the right to hold public meetings, about the penal sanctions, about the mass arrests resulting from [the use by the Governor-General of his] exorbitant powers; co-operation with respect to our student martyrs in Holland. We Indonesians, should be ashamed that over and over again our attacks on the penal sanctions and the capitalistic sugar industry are successfully parried. We should be ashamed that after hearing about student razzias or arrests none of us immediately packed our cases to find out at first hand further particulars; and that until now we have not been able to infuse some force into our movement!

Let us hope therefore that the *Permoefakatan Partij Politiek Indonesia* may be born soon. And that we, realizing the difficulty of our task, may find strength in each other in order to form an indivisible nation, to create a free and sovereign community of independent [organizations]. Let us forge the iron chain of the brown front! Let us be One!

Report of the 2nd P.P.P.K.I. Congress held at Solo on 25 December 1929

Seated behind the table on the platform were, among others: Dr Soetomo, President, Ir Anwari, Secretary, M. Soendjoto, Mr R. Ng. Soebroto, R. Roeslan Wongsokoesoemo, Soekaris, Abdullah, Dr Samsi, Mr Singgih, R.M.A.A. Kesoemo Oetoyo, Ir Soekarno, Dr Soekiman, Mr Ali Sastroamidjojo, Gatot Mangkoedipradja, M. H. Thamrin, R. Oto Soebarta, and Mr Hadi. Moreover all indigenous intellectuals of any political importance were present, originating from widely differing backgrounds ... Only the higher-ranking members of the self-governing princely houses were not present. All indigenous associations of any importance were represented, including the National Council of the Perkoempelan Politiek Katholiek Djawa [Catholic Political Association of Java].

Mr Handoko, the Chairman of the Welcoming Committee, opens the meeting with a word of welcome. Then Ir Anwari reads out a number of telegrams including one from the Chairman of the S.D.A.P. [Dutch Socialist Party], "which for thirty years has struggled by legal means for the independence of Indonesia".

Dr Soetomo opens the meeting with a word of thanks to the hospitable city of Solo. He also expresses his gratitude to the European press because it always slanders the people's movement and to the Chinese press for its faithful support of the movement. He stresses that it is the duty of the indigenous press to first consult the P.P.P.K.I. before publishing anything about the movement.

Then he directs himself to Mr Saronto, who the previous evening had asked what Boedi Oetomo had in fact been able to achieve. Dr Soetomo puts him sharply in his place. Against the argument of Saronto "that nothing had changed", the speaker gave a number of examples to illustrate how much things in fact had changed. He said that a number of regents often came to visit him not on official business but just to drink a cup of coffee. After the government had instructed the regents to wear the old feudal robes of state and carry the old feudal symbols of power, one regent had told him: "I went out with my yellow songsong [umbrella] in front of me, dressed in my robes of state. The people gathered around shouting, 'Look, the regent is getting married!' I put my songsong away, covered the car with cloths, and drove home rather embarrassed." Another regent told the speaker: "I was really thrilled to be able to get my koeloek [cone-shaped head-dress worn at the Javanese court] out of mothballs! But now my young son runs around the kaboeponen [dwelling of the regent] with it saying 'I am Dipanegara.'" (Laughter.) According to the speaker it is not true that nothing has changed. On the contrary, things are moving so fast that the problem is no longer:
how do we awaken the people but rather are we strong enough to
tone down the powerful spirit of the people? Previously Indonesians
were accused of only being interested in finding employment in the
civil service, but now one has to appeal desperately to the younger
generation to enter the civil service in order to co-operate with the
foreigners in building up society.

Boedi Oetomo has made the nobility a part of the people’s move-
ment. It has been due to Boedi Oetomo that the “Indonesian” first
estate, instead of being an obstruction which later would be
demolished by the people, has become a valuable element in the people’s movement ... [Dr Sutomo then continues his speech emphasizing
the need for the establishment of a united and Indonesia-wide
modern labour union movement, which should be led by intellectu-
als.] Ir Soekarno has been pleased to accept the invitation of the
Advisory Council to speak about the need to establish a farmers’ un-
ion. In fact, he argues, such a speech should be held in the villages
and not in the kota [city] where it would have the same effect as a
wajang performance in a European club. He therefore asks the intel-
lectuals who are present to disseminate his ideas in the villages ...

According to Professor van Gelderen [Dutch economist] the wage
level in the cities is determined by the situation in the villages,
because the largest portion of foreign capital has been invested in
agriculture. If we want to combat the evil outgrowths of capitalism
then we must take a stand against agrarian capitalism. The speaker
then explains the various stages of imperialist capitalism and his
story is taken almost word-for-word from the third editorial in Het
Volk [Dutch Socialism newspaper] about the colonial programme of
the S.D.A.P. ... the peasant has always been worst off. And the
speaker outlines the burdens of indigenous feudalism.

After the coming of the white man and foreign capital another
burden was added: forced deliveries of goods and forced labour, and
later the Culture System and seignorial services. The third burden is
an internal matter: the enormous population growth. With 270 peo-
ple per square kilometre it is almost the most densely populated area
in the world. It is not surprising therefore that according to the
report of Dr Huender the Javanese are living below the breadline.

The misery of the people has led in the past to many uprisings
such as the one by the Padri the one at Banjermassin, and by
Dipanegara. However, today one has become wiser and follows a
different way, i.e. through the modern labour union movement.

There are two diseases, one an external one and the other internal.
The second one, overpopulation, can be remedied as follows:
1. By expanding the sawahs (e.g. by means of irrigation).
2. Improvement of agricultural production methods.
3. The creation of employment possibilities.
4. Emigration.
   The only remedy against the first disease is to organize and set up
   labour and farmers' unions. The time has come to combine the peo-
   ple's power in the same way as Rama organized the monkeys
   [reference to the Ramayana epic].

   The speaker mentions that modern capitalism furthers the idea of
   inheritable private property, because it disperses power. Many then
   look laughingly at R.M.A.A. Koesoemo Oetoyo [an important of-
   ficial in the People's Credit Service], the great fighter against com-
   munal land ownership. The speaker notices this and says: "I know
   very well that many think differently about this, but I, Soekarno,
   have my own theory about this and I maintain that I am right." He
   tries to illustrate his point with statistics about the number of vil-
   lages with communal land ownership.

   On the basis of the Meyer Ranneft-Huender Report [official in-
   vestigation into the tax burden on the indigenous population, 1926],
   the speaker argues that the people of Java, who have a net income of
   140 guilders per family per year, that is, eight cents per person per
   day, are the most heavily taxed people in the whole of Asia ...  

   The speaker also argues that the peasants suffer particularly
   because of the sugar industry that uses their land. These lands, which
   according to the Meyer Ranneft-Huender Report produce about 140
   guilders per bouw, are rented for 70 guilders. In addition there is the
   fact—the speaker wants to be quite honest about this—that the In-
   donesian people have the great fault of not being able to handle
   money: the money received from rent is immediately consumed and
   the people go hungry. Sugar is a poison for us. It is the worst of all
   poisons, the worst of the worst, which we must combat first and with
   all our might. The speaker then elaborates on all the ruses and
   devices used by the sugar industry to get hold of land above the legal
   limit: "We must combat the sugar industry in its present form until
   it has disappeared."

   Then there is the following debate: Roro Wadining demands strict
   answers to the following questions arising from the speech by
   Soekarno:
   1. How does the P.P.P.K.I. plan to replace the indispensable capital
      of the foreign capitalists which it opposes?
   2. Will the P.P.P.K.I. go into agriculture itself?
   3. In what way does the P.P.P.K.I. envisage achieving a situation
      where commerce, which is now totally in the hands of foreigners,
      will be partly again in the hands of compatriots?
   4. Is the P.P.P.K.I. planning to equip ships in order to take control
      of the transport of raw materials and agricultural produce from
      Indonesia and the import of industrial goods into Indonesia,
      which according to the speaker is such a highly profitable
      business?
Wignjo asks how Ir Soekarno plans to implement the inter-Indonesian emigration.

Safioeddin (from Djember, P.S.I.) supports Soekarno’s call to make his speech known in the villages, but he is very sceptical whether this would be practicable because in the countryside even the smallest remark of this kind causes the people to call you a Communist and they practically avoid you. And although his village is not exactly small he has during the last three and a half years had many difficulties. Therefore the training of cadres on a large scale is necessary. If there are only one or two leaders in a village they are powerless . . .

R. Pandji Soeroso (the Volksraad Member) feels that he should speak because his name has been mentioned.

He argues that a powerful organization is needed . . . He gathers that both speakers have the following programme in mind: 1. Proletarians unite! 2. The nationalization of industry. 3. Struggle against capitalism. He concludes that the P.P.P.K.I. is Socialistic and asks whether this is true . . .

Mr Thamrin announces that Ir Soekarno does not wish to speak.

And after Mr Soeroso, who points out that he has not received an answer to his question, is refused the right to speak, the Chairman closes the meeting . . .

Koloniaal Archief. Geheim Mailrapport 72x/1930.

63 Report of the first public meeting of Partindo held at Batavia, 12 July 1931

The first public meeting of the P.I. has caused considerable interest. The large hall is completely filled to the extent that hundreds of people have to be refused entry. Among the approximately 1500 people in attendance there are approximately 150 ladies. Behind the dais on which the leadership is seated there is the red-white flag, which shows in the middle the abbreviation “P.I.” in large black letters . . .

At 9 a.m. the President of the National Committee, Mr Sartono, opens the meeting. In his speech he expresses satisfaction at the large attendance and hopes that the P.I. will be sympathetically received by all layers of society.

The P.N.I. had been brought down by the authorities, which meant that the nationalist movement had lost its left wing. In these dark days a few nationalists, believing in the ideal of Indonesia Merdeka quietly founded the P.I. . . .
Work-programme

In line with its objectives, the Partai Indonesia shall:

I

1. Generate the awareness that a free Indonesia is the right of the Indonesian people, and that this will certainly be achieved if our people are properly organized in political groups which together will translate their power as an unfree nation into a national policy.
2. Strengthen the feeling of unitary nationalism.
3. Strengthen the feeling of Indonesian unity and pursue a policy based on a united fatherland, a united nation, and a united purpose.
4. Deepen the knowledge of national history in the widest sense of the word, and disseminate feelings designed to honour and respect Indonesian national heroes and leaders.
5. Improve the people's law (adat law) in the widest sense of the word and persuade the government to use legal principles which are based on the will of the Indonesian people.
6. Take away the present obstructions to personal freedom: freedom in one's own house and yard, freedom of self-expression by means of the printing press, freedom of religion, freedom of association and to hold public meetings, freedom from mail censorship.
7. Take united action to have removed from the Criminal Code the articles which threaten political and labour union leaders; cooperate with other parties to obtain proper judicial and prosecution procedures.
8. Make a study of and compose a draft constitution which reflects the will of the Indonesian people.
9. Strengthen the ties between Asiatic peoples and improve the political situation of colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

II

1. Further the advancement of society, which must be based on self-help and independence.
2. Improve the commerce of the Indonesian people.
3. Improve the industrial development of the Indonesian people.
4. Ensure that the farms of the Indonesian people will have the necessary capital available and ensure the establishment of national banks.
5. Promote as much as possible the use of articles manufactured by the Indonesian people themselves.
6. Establish co-operative societies.
7. Oppose usury and inculcate thriftiness and simplicity.
III

1. Combat illiteracy.
2. Establish independent national schools and courses.
3. Promote national independent education in such a way that a completely nationalist-orientated education system ranging from primary to tertiary level will be created.
4. Publish journals, books, and pamphlets for the benefit of the people.
5. Improve the position of women.
6. Promote Indonesian trans-migration.
7. Help to strengthen the land rights of the people or restore them, and have the right of free disposal fully recognized.
8. Further the establishment of farmers' organizations and labour unions.
9. Devote attention to public health.
10. Combat child marriages, the use of opium and alcohol, and prostitution ...

Mr Soedarmo Atmodjo presents a lengthy discussion about national education. He argues that in a colony there are always clashes of interest between the rulers and the subjected people. The government schools as well as the private schools subsidised by the government do not take account of the demands of a truly national education. The P.I. intends therefore to further the establishment of schools which take account of national interests.

Mr Winoto speaks about the economy and argues that in addition to political interests, the economic interests of the people must be promoted. So the P.I. is planning to establish an information office, to advise the people on commerce, agriculture, etc. He particularly points to the usefulness of co-operatives. The speaker warns people about the dire results of certain popular customs such as holding too many Slametaus [parties], and the thoughtless borrowing of money from usurers, and advises the audience to live more soberly. In order to further national industry, local goods made by the people should be bought, and not imported goods ...

Mr Sartonc comments on this point by saying that the party will continue to make propaganda for "swadeshi" [Hindu word for "indigenous"]. Gandhi led this movement urging Indians to consume nationally produced goods], and he urges the ladies to prefer homespun materials to imports from Paris.

Mr Soejoedi begs the meeting's pardon for wearing a Palm Beach suit. His subject is non-cooperation and he points to the success of this movement in Ireland and British India. The P.I. is non-cooperative in the sense that it does not want to participate in the various representative bodies, which can hardly be considered to represent the people. The Volksraad is only a pseudo-parliament
based on a very imperfect system of elections. If the nationalist movement would gain a victory at the elections, this would be made useless by the government's right to appoint a number of members. Moreover the Volksraad is only an advisory body and its decisions can be ignored. In a subjected country even a fully-fledged parliament would be of little importance for the nationalist movement and the speaker mentions the Egyptian parliament as a case in point ... 

Under loud applause Mr Mohammad Yamin approaches the dais ... Government officials whose salaries have been reduced by 5 per cent are protesting against this curtailment and are sure that they will be paid their full salary. Indonesia has lost 100 per cent of its freedom, but we are also sure that freedom must come. Freedom must be achieved by organizing a mass popular movement. And although it will be difficult to organize 60 million people, the speaker reminds the audience of the words of Ir Soekarno not to withdraw for the obstacles which have been put in the way of the popular movement. He makes a comparison between nationalism in a free country and in a colony. While in the first case nationalism grows like a beautiful flower, in the second instance it struggles upwards like a djamboe kloetoek [fruit tree] that is covered by parasitical vines. The speaker refers to the dictum of Professor Snouck Hurgronje: "There are too many ants licking at the honey jar". However, the remedy against the problem as suggested by this scholar is a mass exodus (applause).

The speaker argues that nationalism and democracy are the backbone of the freedom struggle and he rejects the nationalism of Notsosoeroto [a well-known Indonesian supporter of the Dutch Commonwealth idea]. Indonesia Merdeka cannot be achieved through action in the Volksraad, but only by the action of the people themselves. Self-help is the only means to obtain the right of self-determination, particularly since the policy of trust [in Dutch promises] has failed and has been replaced by a policy of distrust, politiek tjoeriga ...


64 Open letter from the Perhimpunan Indonesia, 8 November 1931

To the Indonesian People!

The greatest economic crisis that has ever been known in world history has also dislocated the colonial economy of the imperialists. In the repressed colonial and semi-colonial countries it is especially
the enslaved masses of workers and peasants, who have no rights, that are hardest hit. The imperialist rulers of Indonesia have lately intensified their terrorizing campaign against the revolutionary resistance of the masses, which is the direct result of the deterioration in the economic condition of the Indonesian people. Mass retrenchments by the public service and private enterprise; salary reductions, which are especially severe for the lower officials; a decline in exports; a considerable fall in the price of indigenous produce, which has reduced the national indigenous income to the minimum; rigorous economizing in all branches of the government service in order to achieve a balanced budget, while at the same time taxes have been increased in all sorts of ways—all these are factors which have radicalized the Indonesian masses, and have thus created all the objective conditions for the development of a wave of revolutionary mass action against Dutch rule in Indonesia.

At this point in time when the Dutch imperialists are intensifying their policies of robbery and starvation, it is very sad to see that a split has occurred in the left wing of our national freedom movement, just at this time when A STRONG UNITED REVOLUTIONARY FRONT is more necessary than ever because the bourgeois-national groups are showing a dangerous tendency to consolidate their power in order to strengthen the ruling imperialists. The reformist policies and the highly dangerous opportunism of the bourgeois, liberal, narrow-minded nationalist groups are taking on dangerous proportions.

The Partai Bangsa Indonesia, the Boedi Oetomo, Pasoendan, and other petit-bourgeois parties of the same mentality, which are a refuge for half-hearted co-operators and non-cooperators, aspiring capitalists and industrialists, self-contented intellectuals and cultural nationalists, prosperous officials and private citizens, are in fact hostile to revolutionary action.

These organizations and groupings have always played an obstructive role in the mass national freedom movement, as is obvious from their attitude during the P.K.I. and the last P.N.I. affair, because they benefit directly or indirectly from the PRESERVATION OF COLONIAL RULE AND THE MAINTENANCE OF THE CAPITALIST "PEACE AND ORDER".

Therefore they pursue a misleading policy of reformism and opportunism that is ostensibly Socialist in principle, and they attempt, by means of misleading, radical phrases such as dominion status, the development of national banks and industry, and the consolidation of power in a bourgeois-controlled national united front, to involve the working masses, the peasants, and the labourers in their bourgeois action. They only want to parade the Indonesian masses as the star pupil in order to further their own historical, capitalist,
and petit-bourgeois interests, and thereby at the same time to aid the imperialist rulers in the economic exploitation of the Indonesian masses!

At present there is again an urgent need for us to form a UNITED REVOLUTIONARY FRONT, in order to be better equipped in the coming exacerbated class struggle between the imperialist groups, which are supported by the Social Democrats, petit-bourgeois nationalists, prijaji and intellectuals on the one side, and the Indonesian peasants, workers, and proletarian intellectuals on the other.

Concomitant with the need for a realistic revolutionary united front, there is the urgent need to clearly establish the principles of our freedom struggle, on the basis of which the present split may be mended. It is at present necessary more than ever to give the PROPER GUIDELINES to the defenceless and leaderless masses. These guidelines have already been drawn up in the last edition of our journal Indonesia Merdeka, in which we wrote that national freedom must be seen as identical to the ABSOLUTE LIBERATION of the Indonesian masses, i.e. political, economic, and social liberation. In this journal we gave an advance warning not to fall for the possible illusion that after the foreign imperialist rulers have been chased away the coast will be free for another system of suppression of the masses by our own bourgeoisie, capitalists, prijaji, and dictatorial intellectuals!

We must therefore build up a revolutionary mass organization which is based on the principle: WITH THE MASSES AND FOR THE MASSES.

And the masses are not the small group of intellectuals, and the other privileged classes, but the large strata comprising the nation, the farmers, workers, the landless, and the proletarian intellectuals, who form 90 per cent of the Indonesian people.

Therefore the interests of these groups are the interests of the INDONESIAN NATION.

Thus the correct policy to achieve national independence must be based on the interests of the masses and the Indonesian Independence Struggle must therefore be inextricably tied to the struggle of the masses!

Viewed in this light, then, our action must make the Indonesian masses realize that only the unconditional national liberation of Indonesia will create the possibility of fully developing the potential power of the Indonesian people for the benefit of the masses. Our mass action must result in a massive combination of the lower strata of the Indonesian people in a struggle for a concrete objective. The masses must be made aware of their power and their task. They must be made more conscious of and familiar with the most effective methods to be used in the struggle.
Only an organization that has this major outline of revolutionary action before it can consciously accept the consequences of all its deeds and actions. Its mass propaganda must be directed at ALL INDONESIANS WITHOUT EXCEPTION, who, although they are not aware of it yet, have an interest in the achievement of the national liberation of Indonesia …

In all these actions we must not lose sight of the concrete objectives of our freedom struggle, of which the most important one is: THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE LAND, OF ALL THE IMPERIALIST INDUSTRIES, PLANTATIONS, AND MINES, AND THE ABOLITION OF PRIVATE DOMAINS AND LANDLORDISM, for the benefit of the people, that is: the workers, farmers, the landless, the proletarian intellectuals. The control of the whole of the people's economy must be in the hands of the working masses as a result of the unconditional surrender of ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Decisive leadership in the nationalization of the land must be vested in workers' and peasants' councils, elected on the basis of popular suffrage; there must be the future perspective of peasants voluntarily combining in order to increase the productivity of the land taken over by them, although also the State will use its means to achieve this purpose. Moreover our freedom struggle must concentrate on the right of self-determination of the nation; on obtaining the right of free speech, the right of association, and the right to hold public meetings; the abolition of the government's right of arbitrary imprisonment; and the introduction of social service legislation (legal determination of minimum working hours; unemployment, old age, and sickness insurance; the assurance of hygienic labouring conditions). It must obtain equality before the law of men and women (politically, economically, and socially); and lighten the burdens of taxation on the workers and poor farmers, so that the latter can use most of their production for themselves, to further the establishment of unions and farmers' organizations, to further the establishment of people's agricultural, consumers', and production cooperatives …

If in this way our political principles are exactly determined, then we can do nothing else but struggle relentlessly against the foreign Dutch imperialism and its social-democratic support, and the bourgeois-nationalist props on which Dutch imperialism is basing its power.

We must especially involve the students and the people's youth in our struggle, who must always be in the forefront of the mass revolution! The connection with the mass party and the close cooperation of the nation's youth—inherently radically inclined—is of great importance for the Indonesian freedom movement!

So our programme of action must contain within it all the ele-
ments that point to the final objective of our struggle.

Naturally, as we are in Europe away from the actual front line, we do not want to be so presumptuous as to suggest how such a programme should be implemented in detail. All that is necessary is that our co-fighters for the independence of Indonesia should leave their own narrow confines and put themselves into contact with the popular masses, listening carefully to what they suggest and in consultation with them construct a programme, which must be a PROGRAMME OF STRUGGLE FOR THEIR DAILY NEEDS, and against all forms of exploitation! For example:

**STRUGGLE AGAINST WAGE CUTS AND MASS RETRENCHMENTS!**
**STRUGGLE AGAINST INCREASES IN DIRECT AND INDIRECT TAXATION!**
**STRUGGLE AGAINST THE USURIOUS INTEREST CHARGED BY GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS AND PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS!**
**STRUGGLE FOR UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS!**
**STRUGGLE TO OBTAIN LAND AND EMPLOYMENT FOR THE THOUSANDS OF UNEMPLOYED FARMERS AND WORKERS IN THE VILLAGES AND CITIES!**
**STRUGGLE FOR GOOD POPULAR EDUCATION!**

Finally a few words about the co-operation with Dutch organizations such as the *N.V.V.* [Socialist Unions] and the *I.T.F.* [International Transport Federation] by some Indonesian labour unions. In our opinion, we can only co-operate with those organizations in the colonialist countries that have not only unconditionally recognized the right of our country for immediate independence but also actively and strongly support our struggle for an independent Indonesia. Nice words are of little benefit to our people! The organizations in question, such as the *N.V.V.*, and the *I.T.F.*, and the *S.D.A.P.* [Dutch Socialist Party], and its small branch the *I.S.D.P.* [Indies Socialist Party], do not fall into this category. The *S.D.A.P.* has never been willing to recognize unconditionally the right of our country for immediate independence, and its leaders, such as Muhlenfeld, Stokvis, and others, have an important place in the colonial suppression apparatus.

We only need to point to the Social Democratic Congress in Brussels, which put Indonesia within the last category of colonial countries, those least ripe for independence, not in the least, of course, because our country is rich in profitable resources.

The actual policies of the international social-democratic movement, such as the actions of the "Labour" government in England with respect to India, and the French Government in Indo-China, show us that this policy which the *S.D.A.P.* wants to follow in our country arouses the hostility of every Indonesian who is really concerned about freedom, and it also has had the immediate effect that
labouring masses of the world are gradually turning away from social-democracy.

This unavoidable hostility of the revolutionary nationalists is even more accentuated by the undeniable fact that the N.V.V. and I.T.F. leadership even refuse to struggle for the principle of EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK for our compatriots who work on ships. These leaders actually want to maintain the subjection of Indonesia, because they will also benefit a little from the enormous profits made by Dutch imperialism in our country. It is therefore our duty to warn our compatriots in the various labour unions against such co-operation, which can only lead to a strengthening of foreign rule and a weakening of the INDEPENDENT LABOUR UNION MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA.

In this political crisis we must guard ourselves first of all against the penetration of social-democratic ideas into our ranks, ideas and dark subterranean powers that intend to tear down and weaken our revolutionary front for the benefit of the imperialists. It is in this context that the urgency is seen of the need for the solid unification of all parties that are truly battling for the interests of the whole of the Indonesian people and an independent Indonesia.

It is therefore not our intention to judge how much the present split in the leftist grouping is justified, a split that hitherto has only led to personal altercations, to fruitless disputes, theoretical wrangling among leaders, and academic polemics about "self-help" and "non-cooperation", which have never been objectives in themselves and should never be made to be. So far we have not been able to observe any difference of principle between the Partai Indonesia and the independent groups, on which we could base our justification for taking a particular stand against one of these parties.

Future political developments will show us which parties will follow the correct revolutionary path, as we have outlined above.

To us, who as a revolutionary nationalist organization are not actually in the front line, it is only important which organizations and parties in our country, under whatever name, will put our guidelines into practice! Those are the groups that certainly will be accorded our fullest sympathy and moral and active support.

We express the hope, then, that when our co-fighter Ir Soekarno has been released from prison, he will find that the revolutionary united front, which he has built up with such energy and self-sacrifice, has closed its ranks again on the basis of our political principles, which are the only correct principles with which to realize the LIBERATION OF OUR LAND AND PEOPLE.

*Perhimpunan Indonesia.*
The Hague. 8 November 1931

Koloniaal Archief. *Open Brief van de Perhipoan Indonesia, 8 November 1931.*
Geheim Mailrapport 20x/32.
Mohammad Hatta: The crisis of the P.P.P.K.I., 1930

As leaders in the struggle for the idea of Indonesian unity we were delighted at the birth of the P.P.P.K.I. Not that we ever had any illusions about the possibility of fusing all political parties into one large organization, so that the differences of opinion between political parties would disappear! No, we have never seen the ideal of Indonesian unity in that light. It would be absurd to believe that because of the rise of the P.P.P.K.I. arguments in Indonesian politics would no longer exist. Anybody who believes that this would be possible is living in the realm of dreams and fantasies. Such a political unity does not exist anywhere in the world, not even in the politically most homogeneous nation. Indonesia would truly be a rare exception if it managed to create such a miracle, and in that case we would become rather dubious about the capacity of the Indonesian leaders and of our people to discern political differences, and we would have reason to despair about our national future.

No, the idea of Indonesian unity has nothing to do with uniformity of political thinking. It poses the idea of a united and indivisible Indonesia and of a united and indivisible Indonesian people. The propaganda for unity must be concerned with the education of the masses into Indonesian citizens; and the population groups of the various islands must be made to realize that they belong to one and the same nation, the Indonesian nation ...

Our delight about the establishment of the P.P.P.K.I. as a sort of political concentration was caused mainly by the fact that we hoped that this body would develop itself into a representative organ of the Indonesian people, into a true Indonesian national parliament, in which the voice of the people can be heard ...

Two years have now passed; and instead of a consolidation of national power, we can see that a greater confusion of political ideologies has occurred and that there are signs of a crisis. What then are the reasons for this?

A superficial observer of the Indonesian national movement, or one who dreams about a policy of [ideological] unification could perhaps ask us in amazement with what right we could speak about the crisis of the P.P.P.K.I. He could direct our attention to the undeniable fact that recently everywhere and at almost every meeting people are speaking about unity. He could remind us how the youth organizations, which until recently were proud of the island of their origin, have hastened to disband themselves and have thrown themselves into the mighty stream of the unitary movement ...

These facts will not be denied! But they cannot camouflage the signs of crisis in the P.P.P.K.I., which are of a serious nature. Two facts are coming strongly to the fore: there is an ideological crisis
and there is a manifestation of powerlessness ... ideological confusion has occurred since in wide circles of the P.P.P.K.I. one began to believe that the idea of unity must also be realized in politics. There is a strong tendency present to make the P.P.P.K.I. into a supreme [political] organization rather than let it develop into a national parliament ...


66 Sutan Sjahrir: Out of Exile, 1949

For my relative unpopularity in nationalistic and intellectual circles in Indonesia, I can largely thank what they call my "Western inclinations" and sometimes even my "Hollandophile" sentiment. I have always known that such attitudes were inevitable in every nationalist movement that pits itself—as an independent movement—against a ruling nation. Masaryk was obviously anti-German, the Egyptians anti-English, and so one finds among us an always growing anti-Dutch—and even anti-Western—disposition or ideology.

This disposition is, in fact, strongest among some intellectuals and petty bourgeois, and hence precisely among those who are not yet active contributors to the political movement. In these circles one finds the most unreasonable attitude toward Westerners, and especially toward the Dutch. Most of them are civil servants or white-collar workers, and because they are afraid of losing their jobs, or because they pay too little attention to political affairs and too much attention to the subordinate but connected issues, they merely grumble bitterly to one another. Although I understand this, I have never been sympathetically inclined toward such an attitude, and I have never wished to make any concessions in this direction ...

For me, the West signifies forceful, dynamic, and active life. It is a sort of Faust that I admire, and I am convinced that only by a utilization of this dynamism of the West can the East be released from its slavery and subjugation.

The West is now teaching the East to regard life as a struggle and a striving, as an active movement to which the concept of tranquility must be subordinated. Goethe teaches us to love striving for the sake of striving, and in such a concept of life there is progress, betterment, and enlightenment. The concept of striving is not, however, necessarily connected with destruction and plunder as we now find it. On the contrary, even in Faust, striving and struggle have the implica-
tion of constructive work, of undertaking great projects for the benefit of humanity. In this sense, they signify a struggle against nature, and that is the essence of struggle: man's attempt to subdue nature and to rule it by his will. The forms that the struggle takes indicate the development and refinement of the individuals who are engaged in the effort.

What we need is not rest—or death—but a higher form of living and of striving. We must extend and intensify life, and raise and improve the goals toward which we strive. This is what the West has taught us, and this is what I admire in the West despite its brutality and its coarseness. I would even take this brutality and coarseness as accompanying features of the new concept of life that the West has taught us. I would even accept capitalism as an improvement upon the much-famed wisdom and religion that make us unable to understand the fact that we have sunk to the lowest depths to which man can descent: we have sunk to slavery and to enduring subjugation.

What we in the East admire most in the West is its indestructible vitality, its love for life and for the fulfilment of life. Every vital young man and young woman in the East ought to look toward the West, for he or she can learn only from the West to regard himself or herself as a centre of vitality capable of changing and bettering the world.

The East must become Western in the sense that it must acquire as great a vitality and dynamism as the West. Faust must reveal himself to the Eastern man and mind, and that is already going on at present.

It is, I suppose, not so unusual that I am sometimes called a "half-Westerner", and that I am often distrusted by those who are fanatically inclined towards Eastern civilization and culture, and who reject Western "materialism". It is true that I hate self-deception and submissiveness, and that instead I support the desire and courage to live the life that the West represents.

This does not, however, mean that I idealize the West as it now is. On the contrary, I am quite aware that there is deceit and decay in the West as well, but I nevertheless feel that it represents an improvement over what is generally and commonly implied by the term "Eastern". What I value most highly in the West is its resilience, its vitality, its rationality—and it is only rationality that can possibly control human life ...
Report of the 2nd Congress of Parinda, December 1938

The President of the National Committee, Mr R.M.H. Woerjaningrat, invites the public to rise in memory of the late Dr Soetomo, the founder of Parinda and pioneer of the Indonesian movement, and Mr Soepratman, the composer of "Indonesia-Raja". Then the speaker reviews the situation in the world, Indonesia, and finally of the Parinda.

It is difficult to obtain a proper picture of the international situation after the recent happenings in Europe. The powers are stepping up the armaments race and a new world war can break out at any time. This is not surprising because the policies of most countries are based on materialism, with the result that armed conflict cannot be avoided.

This situation is even more difficult for the colonies ... If the colonial power loses the war, the colonies are automatically surrendered. But what would happen if the colony itself was attacked and the colonizing country stayed out of the war? The colonies are still being considered as chattels, and the speaker refers to the Brussels conference where decisions were taken that contravened the principle of self-determination of nations.

The Parinda strives towards unity and does not like conflicts. The Parinda is looked on as an association of the upper classes. This is not correct. On the contrary, it acts on behalf of the common people (shouts of hidoep [hear, hear]). For example the party has established Roekoen Tani [farmers' associations] in the villages. Another thing: Parinda is not a Javanese association. All Indonesians are accepted as members and the official language is Indonesian (shouts of hidoep).

It has been the wish of Her Majesty the Queen that the colonial government should be just, and recently Her Majesty has advocated a "moral rearmament". If this is taken to heart by us, the conditions in the colonies will improve.

The Parinda programme should concentrate on:
1. Setting up Roekoen Tani branches everywhere so that the Indonesian economy will remain agrarian, which means that at the same time the capitalist system will be kept at bay.
2. Combating illiteracy.
3. Making Indonesian mothers aware of their motherhood in terms of the Parinda spirit.
4. Improving the administering of justice for Indonesians.
5. Striving for a change in the composition of the representative councils. The people must have more representatives in these councils and the fact that the membership of the regency councils is largely composed of government officials is undemocratic ...
The next speaker is Mr L.N. Palar, who on behalf of the *Sociaal Democratische Arbeiders Partij* [Dutch Socialist Party] and the *Nederlands Vakverbond* [Dutch Socialist Federation of Labour Unions] expresses the hope that the contacts between political associates in the Netherlands and the national movement in this country will remain strong. And the speaker points to the colonial platforms and colonial working programmes of both parties ...

After the intermission the *Volksraad* Member R.P. Soeroso speaks on the subject of "Unemployment and Indonesiation".

This problem, according to the speaker, is urgent and of great importance for Indonesia in connection with the large increase in population, particularly in Java (about half a million per year). Indonesia has become an essential link in international trade and has therefore also become part of the capitalist system, with the result that the country is now subject to variations in economic conditions and unemployment, which are felt more strongly in Indonesia because the country is agrarian-based and dependent on exports. The measures taken by the government with respect to emigration are not sufficient to cope with the population increase. Also the area under cultivation in Java does not increase in proportion with the increase in population and therefore secondary industry must be expanded. Employment must be diversified and the ability of the people to cope with the struggle for life must be improved. The open-door policy of the government certainly causes employment diversification, but at the same time it weakens the economic independence of the people.

Owing to the impact of the economic depression on the sugar industry and the plantations in the Outer Islands, many contract labourers have been sent home and the number of unemployed has increased because of the economizing policies of the government. And although the Department of Economic Affairs has taken numerous measures to improve the cottage industries, they are not effective enough in lowering the number of unemployed.

The speaker then talks about the problem of unemployment among the young people, which endangers the existing social system while the number of young unemployed increases every year ... The speaker then makes the following proposals:

1. Unemployment statistics should be gathered. If this is too difficult, statistics of "skilled labour" should first be compiled and then of "unskilled labour".

2. The economic position of the people should be strengthened by:
   (a) the construction of various public works, which will absorb a number of unskilled labourers. The money for this could undoubtedly be found. The speaker said that two or three years previously he would not have believed that at present the
government would be able to spend so much on defence.
(b) the furthering of secondary industries. The government
should ensure that Indonesians themselves could become in-
dustrialists so that profits would remain in the country and
investment capital be created ... For example the government
could advance loans for the establishment of small
enterprises such as fruit and fish canneries.
3. The Indonesiation must be intensified both in the civil service and
in private enterprise.
4. Emigration of the people of Java to the thinly populated Outer
Islands.
5. Lands granted under hereditary leases must return to the people
after the leases have expired.
6. Unemployment insurance must be set up.
7. Maximum working hours must be established in the civil service
as well as in private enterprise.
8. Minimum wages must be laid down.
9. Financial help should be given to the unemployed.
   M.H. Thamrin is applauded when he begins his talk on "Defence
and the division of defence costs" ... Every independent country is
spending extra money on armament's in order to be able to defend its
freedom. The situation in Indonesia is such that there is nothing for
the Indonesian people to defend and the cost of defence should
therefore be totally born by the rulers. If the Indonesian people is to
be drawn in, then it must first be convinced that everything should be
sacrificed for the greatness of the country and people. But then the
people must first be given a stake in the country far larger than they
have today. The people must also be trained to protect themselves
against the horrible consequences of modern warfare, but such a
training can only be successful if the people have become fully con-
vinc'd of the necessity to defend their own rights ...
   Are the rights of the Indonesians so important and precious that
they will make people defend them to the death? The Indonesian
people are not independent, and they have no right of self-
determination. Their interest in the defence of the country is small
and their rights are few ...
   "In conclusion," the speaker argues, "as long as the situation in
Indonesia and the position of its people do not improve con-
siderably, and as long as the Indonesians do not have the right to im-
prove the humble situation of their land and people, it will not be just
and proper to let the Indonesians sacrifice their goods and lives in
order to maintain present conditions."

Report of the Perhimpunan Indonesia closed meeting held at Leiden on 12 June 1936

In the small meeting hall, which was almost totally filled, there were about forty people in attendance, of whom three were women. Recognized were: Raden Mas Abdoel Madjid Djiojadhiningrat ..., Mas Soewarso ..., Mas Sidartawan ..., Mas Doelhak ..., Goesti Ketoet Djelantik ..., Raden Mas Soegeng Notohadinegoro ..., Raden Prijon ..., Gele al Rasjid Haroen ..., Mas Harjono Adi Tjondro ..., Raden Mas Ariono ..., Amir Hamzah ..., and Raden Soenito ...

The meeting was opened at about 9 o'clock by Mas Soedario Moelawadi (also named Moekim) ... The speaker ... announced that the Perhimpoenan Indonesia had felt the need to call this meeting in order to discuss various problems concerning Indonesia and to spread more propaganda among the younger Indonesian students. He first presented a short survey of the general political situation in the world. He then outlined the economic difficulties confronting the capitalist countries in Europe, which also affect the colonies. The Netherlands, according to the speaker, is in economic difficulties, which one is trying to solve by all sorts of means, such as economizing and pauperization—the policy of this government not only here but also in Indonesia. Roestam Effendi [Indonesian Communist Member of the Dutch Parliament] has highlighted in various speeches in parliament the policy of exploitation of this government. Because of the growing pressure of the danger of Fascism the colonial problem is becoming even more difficult. How should we defend ourselves against this? The only possibility is to set up a political national united front of all leftist and rightist national parties in Indonesia. The Perhimpoenan Indonesia, the party which has the motto, "The Indies free from Holland", must now take the leadership. More than any other organization we have fought and are still fighting against the colonial exploitation by our rulers; against the policy of keeping the Indonesian people stupid, of treating them as a third-rate nation. Various organizations and associations are trying to work for an independent Indonesia, but they are totally apolitical in this. We must realize that these organizations, however useful they may be, will not achieve anything in the final analysis. The Perhimpoenan Indonesia shows its true colours and is a purely leftist national movement, and she must take the lead in order to bring about a concentration of all forces that can work together to achieve a free Indonesia ...

In connection with the future conflict in the Pacific in which the Netherlands will undoubtedly become involved, we must determine our position now. Because of the attitude of imperialistic Japan, the
point has been reached where our colonial rulers in Indonesia have no say any more in economic matters. Japan brings in as many goods as it likes. The trade conference between the Netherlands and Japan, which was announced with so much fanfare, has totally failed. However, we must not underestimate our colonial rulers, because they are backed by the British and the Americans, and the way the situation is now, also by the French fleet. A solidly united national Indonesian people will be able to withstand these powers. As at the moment the hate against the colonial rulers in Indonesia is general, the time can be considered to be ripe for our task of setting up a national front in which all national forces are united. There will have to be a common struggle against colonial rule, exploitation, hunger, misery, and educational deprivation. It will be a heavy struggle, but it is our great duty. With an exhortation to join the Perhimpoenan Indonesia, the only organization that struggles for a free Indonesia, the speaker ended his talk ...

Raden Mas Hadjono Koesoemo Oetoyo ... made a short, rather disconnected speech in which he emphasized that it would not be possible to combine all parties in Indonesia into one national front, and that in any case the tempo at which this would occur was too slow. He discussed the programmes of the various national organizations and youth groups and the encouragement given to them by the colonial rulers in order to keep the Indonesian masses divided. He urged that the Perhimpoenan Indonesia should speed up its actions.

Then Djowoadjiningrat spoke. He first hailed the beautiful speech of Moewaladi and dismissed the opinion of Oetoyo that it would be impossible to set up a national front. In the struggle for an independent Indonesia there are two streams, one of which is to the right and can get away with a few things with the colonial government, but the other is leftist and is a thorn in the side of our colonial rulers. The rightist stream submits requests, but the leftists demand. We must follow Western tactics. In the West also there is a great deal of division, but in the struggle against Fascism a united front has been created. Only look at France and Spain. This has happened because Fascism is considered as the common enemy, which can only be defeated by concentrating all opposing powers. In Indonesia we consider the colonial rulers as the common enemy, who can only be defeated by a combination of all national powers. Without this union the outcome of the final struggle can never be in our favour. We must struggle to achieve equality with our rulers. To request, as various right-wing organizations have done, that Indonesians will have the right to become army officers is senseless. We must demand the establishment of a people's militia, because such a people's militia can help us in the final struggle for an independent Indonesia
with their arms and can even be of decisive importance. It will not be long now before the great struggle in the Pacific will break out and then the *Perhimpoenan Indonesia* must have a definite plan of action...

The next speaker was Masdoelhak, who agreed completely with the previous speakers. He also advocated the establishment of a national front in order to wage the final struggle against the colonial rulers. If all parties were willing to compromise on some of their principles, agreement could well be achieved. In the final struggle the Western, in our case the Dutch, revolutionaries must co-operate and we must work towards that purpose. The speaker suggested to the Chairman that the discussions of this meeting should be published in a pamphlet and sent to our fighters in the Indies.

Then Djojoadhiningrat spoke again. He agreed with the ideas of Masdoelhak about the co-operation of the workers in the Netherlands. This point had the full attention of the *Perhimpoenan Indonesia* and Roestam Effendi would, when the time came, take care of this matter...

Koloniaal Archief. *Geheim Mailrapport 619x/36.*

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**69 Manifesto of the Gaboengan Politiek Indonesia, 20 September 1939**

The plenary session of the *G.A.P.I.*, held on Tuesday evening 19-20 September 1939 in Jakarta, and attended by the representatives of:

1. GERINDO, 2. PERSATOEAN MINAHASA, 3. PARTIJ ISLAM INDONESIA, 4. PERSATOEAN PARTIJ KATHOLIEK INDONESIA, 5. PARINDRA, 6. PASOENDAN, 7. P.S.I.I. being of the opinion that:

1. in view of international developments there is an ever-growing threat to the security of the government in the Netherlands Indies and Indonesian society;
2. and that it would be most appropriate to effect co-operation between the Indonesian people and the Netherlands people;
3. and that this co-operation should be effected by way of granting the Indonesian people more rights in conducting the government of the country;

Resolves:

1. that the members of *G.A.P.I.* shall not take action independently but shall be prepared to work together with other organizations under the aegis of *G.A.P.I.*;
2. that a government ought to be instituted with a parliament
elected by and from the people and that this government is to be responsible to parliament;
3. if what has been stated under 2 can be conceded within a previously determined period of time, the G.A.P.I. is prepared to urge the Indonesian people to give as much support as possible;
4. to notify all layers of the Indonesian people of this resolution, calling on all Indonesian movements and the press to support it.

Jakarta, 20 September 1939
The Secretariat of G.A.P.I.

S.L. van der Wal, *De Volksraad* ..., p. 403, note 3.

70 Indonesian People’s Congress, 23-25 December 1939

Unlike at the G.A.P.I. meeting of 1 October 1939, this time the congress hall was decked out with nationalist flags and slogans that propagandized the demand for a parliamentary form of government. The whole organization this time was also very different from the rather matter-of-fact atmosphere of the first G.A.P.I. congress. The Congress Committee entered in solemn procession, flanked by uniformed members of youth organizations and preceded by the flags of the various bodies. Military-sounding orders were shouted when they entered and the public rose in deference, singing “Indonesia-Raja”.

The large attendance consisted mainly of intellectuals and the people from the lower middle classes, among whom were many women. The indigenous organizations and the press were very well represented. Some members of the Volksraad as well as departmental officials were present. However, no interest was shown by the Europeans. The Congress Committee consisted of the representatives of the various organizations that have joined G.A.P.I., while Raden Abikoesno Tjokrosoejoso, the general secretary of G.A.P.I. and chairperson of the executive committee of the P.S.I.I., acted as chairman of the congress ...

In his speech the Chairman, referring to a statement by Chamberlain, expressed his hope that after the conclusion of the present war changes would occur in the Netherlands Indies. “Whatever the outcome of the struggle may be, the world of tomorrow will not be the same any more as the world of today ... all nations will be granted their rights.” Mr Abikoesno emphasized the need for the “Indonesian people” to unite and ended his speech by calling on the Netherlands to grant the wishes of the people ...

In this open session the following resolutions taken during the
closed sessions of the congress were made public:
1. As from 24 December 1939 the Indonesian People's Congress has become a permanent body. 2. Its purpose is to increase the happiness and prosperity of the Indonesian people. 3. The first step towards the achievement of this goal is the establishment of an Indonesian parliament. 4. **G.A.P.I.** is to be the executive body of the congress. 5. Membership is open to organizations and political parties. 6. Decisions will be arrived at democratically, i.e. by majority vote. 7. The drafting of the programme is to be delegated to a commission ... 8. A fund is to be opened and gifts are to be accepted to finance the activities of the congress. 9. The action for an Indonesian parliament will be continued under the direction of the **G.A.P.I.**, which will issue general instructions as to the action to be taken. It is to be solemnly announced that the red-white flag has been accepted as the symbol of unity, and that "**Indonesia-Raja**", which was composed by the late Soepratman, is to be the national anthem. The Indonesian People's Congress legalizes the use of the Indonesian language in the various representative bodies, and it exhorts in particular the various organizations which are represented in these councils to continue to use the Indonesian language. The Congress urges support for the Indonesian press and the national press bureau ...

Rather striking was the presence at the congress of Achmad Jacobi gelar Datoek Simaradjo, who spoke on behalf of the **Madjlis Tinggi Kerapatan Adat Alam Minangkabau** ... the well-known association of Minangkabau adat-chiefs. And although the appearance of this Datoek will perhaps only be supported by a part of the Minangkabau adat chiefs, the fact that this organization has joined the congress demonstrates in a way the "Unity of Indonesia". The same can be said about the expression of adherence given by the representative of the **Geredja Merdeka Minahasa**, the independent Minahasan Church.

In the speech of the representative of the **M.I.A.I.**, the federation of Islamic organizations, the following paragraph is rather important: "that the objective we have in mind may be achieved speedily, because the many outstanding problems concerning Islam can only be solved satisfactorily when Indonesia has its own parliament" ...

Dr Ratu Langie draws attention again to the problem of "drainage". And because of the present growing interest in nationalist circles in this problem, it can be expected that new attempts will be made to obstruct the transfer of business profits overseas and to further the Indonesiation of the public service to prevent millions of guilders flowing from the Indies in the form of pensions ...

The chairman of the indigenous Roman Catholic organizations, Mr Kasimo Endrowahjono, concerned himself with the difficult
social problem of the need for minimum wages. Although many indigenous leaders apparently believe in "Statism", i.e. the power of the State to considerably improve by means of legislation the lot of the citizens and especially to improve the standard of living of the masses, it cannot be denied that more could be done to combat without delay and more systematically any abuses in the wage structure ...

The lecture of Mr Aroedji Kartawinata about "The Burdens of the People" exemplifies how the P.S.I.I. poses as the advocate of the poor by bringing its grievances to the fore. The examples used by Mr Kartawinata, which nearly all refer to the Outer Possessions, could also be an indication that the P.S.I.I. has lost a great deal of ground in Java, and is only still important in a few parts of the Indies.

The most important speaker was Dr Soekiman, who presented a clear and sober explanation of the development of the parliamentary system in Western Europe. My impression was that he tried to impress upon his listeners the need to keep in mind the fact that the evolution of a country's governmental structure into a parliamentary structure can be a slow process, and that a rejection of their demands should not discourage them from going on trying. It is important to notice that Dr Soekiman also strongly emphasized that a powerful defence structure should be organized in the Indies to repel a foreign enemy. However, this could only be done in his view on an Indonesian national basis, for which the independence of the country was a necessary condition. The speaker concluded that if this condition were satisfied, "We would be mad not to co-operate with the Netherlands" ...

A number of other proposals submitted by members of the congress were dealt with in the closed sessions, of which one submitted by the Perhimpoenan Peladjar Indonesia (P.P.P.I.), the well-known students' organization, caused an incident. Section 4 of this proposal read as follows: "If the government rejects out of hand this demand for a parliament, then all members of the various councils [i.e. colonial representative councils] who have joined the Indonesian People's Congress should by way of protest withdraw themselves for a certain period from the elections." Also these students (apparently referring to the well-known slogan of the P.N.I. in 1929: "Indonesia Merdeka Sekarang"—"Indonesia Free Now") want to change the slogan "Indonesia Berpalement"—"Indonesia with its own parliament"—to "Parlement Indonesia Sekarang"—"An Indonesian Parliament Now". Although this proposal was received with a great deal of sympathy and applause, it was immediately rejected by the congress, and the students' delegation rather demonstratively left the meeting ...

This action for a parliament was criticized as a matter of principle
by two prominent indigenous figures: Hadji Agus Salim, the leader of the Pergerakan Penjedar, and Dr S.G. Moelia, the Volksraad Member. The two large organizations of indigenous public servants, the P.P.B.B. and the V.A.I.B., kept themselves completely aloof from this action ...

One of the most important resolutions of this first “Indonesian People’s Congress” was that: “the action for a fully fledged parliament shall be continued”. It is still too early to give a definite appreciation of this action and similarly it is not yet possible to indicate how it will develop. The enthusiastic beginning of this movement for a parliament must be followed by a period of reflection during which it will become apparent that the many parties united under the banner of the G.A.P.I. must have different views as to the final implementation of the parliamentary idea. Whatever the case may be, what I consider so far as the most important result of the G.A.P.I. action is the fact that it has succeeded in gaining the support of the most diverse parties for a common ideal. Never in the history of the indigenous political movement has unity been so strong as now ...

S.L. van der Wal, De Volksraad ..., pp. 496-502.

71 Petition of G.A.P.I. to the Governor-General, 9 August 1940

We the undersigned:
1. R. Abikoesno Tjokrosoejoso
2. R. Soekardjo Wirjopranoto
3. Drs Adnaan Kapau Gani

constituting the Secretariat of G.A.P.I. (Gaboengan Politiek Indonesia), Kwitang 12 Batavia-C, acting in this matter on behalf of the G.A.P.I., have the honour to submit respectfully to Your Excellency the following resolution taken during the plenary session held at Batavia on 8 August 1940 ...

1. Starting from the assumption:
   (a) that permanent peace and the progress and prosperity of humanity can only be achieved and maintained by the complete political, democratic, and social democratization of society;
   (b) that in view of the present worldwide struggle between democracy and totalitarian Fascism it is necessary to defend and reinforce democratic principles and to introduce them where they do not yet exist;

2. Considering:
   (a) the fact that the Netherlands and therefore also Indonesia participate in the war on the side of the democratic countries;
(b) and that this fact implies that both countries are fighting for the victory of the principles of democratic freedom over the suppressive methods of totalitarian Fascism;

(c) and that therefore the introduction of democratic principles, although for the time being only in relation to the Indonesian constitution, will put the relationship between the Netherlands and Indonesia in the proper context of and in harmony with the stated objectives of the war;

(d) that to join the side of the democracies is in agreement with the democratic principles advocated by the National Movement of Indonesia, the speedy realization of which is demanded in the manifesto mentioned above;

(e) that therefore the democratization of the constitutional organization of Indonesia will reinforce the moral as well as the total power of resistance against the arbitrary and repressive policies of totalitarian Fascism;

3. **Declaring itself prepared:**
   to co-operate and consult with the government and political parties of all the population groups in this country in order to achieve the complete democratization of Indonesia;

4. **URGES THE GOVERNMENT:**
   as a first step towards the general democratization of the country to democratize government by means of introducing within the near future, making use of its emergency powers, the following constitutional reforms:

(a) As an intermediate stage in the achievement of a full parliament, the *Volksraad* should be transformed into a parliament, the members of which are to be elected from and by the people using an electoral system which guarantees a fair representation of the various population groups;

(b) to transform the departmental heads into ministers to be responsible for their policies to the transformed *Volksraad*, i.e. the parliament.

5. **Calls:**
   on other political, social, and cultural organizations to express their agreement with this resolution ...
Views of an indigenous lawyer on the Indonesian political situation in 1940

While it is already difficult in normal times for Europeans to gauge the inner life of the Indonesians, this is even more difficult in this time of worldwide confusion, because they [the Indonesians] rather pretend to be unmoved—while in fact they are very much moved—in order to stay out of all conflicts and difficulties. And indeed the Indonesians are very much on edge. Everything that happens around them, be they small or big things, they absorb carefully; they discuss these things with their friends in the greatest secrecy and they keep the impressions they have gained to themselves as a great treasure. They mistrust everybody who may ask about their views and they evade the question with such answers as: “After all it is wartime.” They have now grasped the meaning of Longfellow’s words: “Think, others see as well as you”, and they wisely keep their mouths shut. Europeans who especially now pretend to completely understand the psychological make-up of the Indonesians will one of these days only be disillusioned. At this time the “real face” of the Indonesians and what is hidden behind it is a mystery to the Europeans, and even more an Eastern mystery. The face will only express what the Europeans wish it to express. And this is even more so because the Dutch have always taught the Indonesians to appreciate nolens volens [whether they wanted to or not] all blessings which were brought down from above, and to acquiesce in everything in accordance with the recipe: “chez vous, sans vous, sur vous” [“with you, without you, above you”]. And at this particular time they just maintain their passive attitude partly because of force of habit, and partly because of necessity. It is therefore very doubtful whether the Indonesian expressions of adhesion to the Netherlands and the House of Orange are the result of a true understanding of Indonesian interests and an intense feeling of fellowship. Similarly, it is to be doubted whether the various collections for defence purposes were responded to spontaneously by the Indonesians or whether a certain amount of compulsion was used. It should also be taken into account that the voluntary collection for the needy in Mecca has had very little response from the people.

The disposition of the Indonesian people towards the Dutch and the Netherlands Government is dependent on a great many factors, such as differences in race, culture, religion, intellectual development, and differences in interests and purpose. These in themselves cause differences in the judgement of and the attitude to the Netherlands Government. This disposition is dependent on the extent to which the interests of individual or groups of Indonesians are served by the maintenance of Netherlands rule in these regions. The
Indonesians do understand very well that the Dutch need their expressions of adhesion and generosity for internal and external propaganda purposes. But why should they not participate? They have nothing to lose and can only gain ... After the outbreak of this war the government has indeed enlarged the number of privileged Indonesians. And this patronage was not only extended to those Indonesians who because of their unquestionable loyalty in the past and in the present towards the Netherlands Government indeed deserved to be rewarded, but also to those who earlier and even immediately before they obtained their certificate of loyalty had taken part directly or indirectly in disloyal actions against the government. The latter category will in spite of everything remain opportunists. In the hour of need one can count on them as little as or perhaps even less than on the other privileged class, which consists mainly of self-governing rulers, chiefs, and administrative officials of the rank of Assistant Wedana upwards, and which in general has the power over the people but no authority. This class will have to share the fate of the Dutch who have helped them into the saddle.

While the privileged class counts few intellectuals, the non-privileged class consists of many intellectuals and other Indonesians. The Indonesians in this last group can be distinguished into the politically conscious and those who are not politically conscious.

The politically conscious, in as far as they are organized, are to be found mainly in the Gaboengan Politiek Indonesia (G.A.P.I.) and the Madjelis Islam Ala Indonesia (M.I.A.I.) ... While the Parindra and the Gerindo set the tone in the G.A.P.I., in the M.I.A.I. the main role is played by the Moehammadiah [sic] and the P.S.I.I., while this last party is peculiarly enough also represented in the G.A.P.I.

The Parindra, which is pre-eminently an association of intellectuals, shows many inconsistencies in its policies. While it considers that the Indo-Arabs and the Indo-Chinese do have political interests in the Indies commonwealth, it tries at the same time to keep both groups completely out of the economic life of Indonesian society. It takes on a co-operative attitude towards the government, but in important matters it leaves the government in the lurch. It must also be pointed out that especially after the moral defeat suffered in the Volksraad because of Thamrin cum suis, it [the Parindra] now considers any compromise with the government as impossible, and this in spite of the fact that many of its members are higher and lower government officials and that the government is taking account as much as possible of its desires. [Motions by Wiwoho, Sutardjo, and Thamrin, dealing respectively with the democratization of government, the institution of an Indies citizenship, and the replacement in laws, ordinances, etc. of the words Netherlands Indies and Native by
Indonesia and Indonesian, were withdrawn by the proposers on 23 August 1940 on the grounds that owing to the government's recalcitrance there was no possibility of agreement on these matters.

It [the Parindra] and all the other associations which are combined in the G.A.P.I. are of the opinion:

1. that even at this time the government in line with the policy followed by European capital wants to be friendly to the Chinese and the Arabs rather than to the Indonesians;

2. that the Commission Visman does nothing else than ridicule the political desires expressed in the Volksraad . . . and even worse, it is trying to create confusion among the nationalist parties. [The Commission Visman or the Commission for the Study of Constitutional Reforms was set up on 23 August 1940 in order to study the political demands in Indonesia, to advise the government, and to consider the possibility and consequences of the introduction of an Indies citizenship and the replacement in legislation of the name Native by another term. The Commission's report was published in 1941 just before the Japanese invasion.]

3. that "Indonesia berparlement" ["Indonesia with a parliament"]... cannot be achieved through negotiations. The interest gap between the people and the government, it is felt, cannot be bridged;

4. that the Dutch, who apparently without the help from the mother country can still manage their affairs in the Indies, can also do in all aspects without the help of the Indonesians, so that from its side it was logical to oppose the establishment of city guards and other defence measures.

The Parindra leaders are now following with more than usual interest what is happening in British India and South-east Asia.

The arrival of the Japanese delegation in this country was a welcome excuse to them to discuss with these foreigners all sorts of political and economic questions. [On 12 September 1940 a Japanese delegation arrived in Batavia led by the Minister of Trade and Industry, Kobayashi. The purpose of the delegation was to secure large supplies of vital war materials such as oil and rubber for Japan.] Messrs Douwes Dekker, P.F. Dahler, and Thamrin played an important role in these discussions. And there was some talk of exchanging blueprints on how the Netherlands Indies would be eventually governed within "the new order" aimed at by Japan. It hardly needs saying that these gentlemen used the political and constitutional set-up of the Philippines as a model. [Soon afterwards Douwes Dekker and Thamrin were arrested. Thamrin died on 11 January 1941 and Douwes Dekker was imprisoned and transported to Surinam (the Dutch West Indies).]
The members of the Japanese delegation have made good use of their stay in the Indies in more than one respect. The indigenous press receives financial help from the Japanese in the form of advertisements and other ways. It is generally known that the Dagblad Radio [newspaper] at Padang has been bought by Mr A. Madjid Oesman with Japanese capital and that Mr Mohammad Yamin is supposed to have applied for a licence on behalf of the said Madjid Oesman to establish a printing office ... which would be paid for by Mr Sakata, the representative in the Indies of the Osaka Nichi Nichi and the Tokyo Mainichi.

It must also be born in mind that Mr A. Madjid Oesman has been in Japan for four years to study political science, that he was a member of the Committee of the Pan-Asiatic Movement in Tokyo, and that during a demonstration in Tokyo he spoke as the representative of "Indonesia Merdeka" ... and unfurled the "red-white" flag as the flag of "Indonesia". He is married to a Japanese woman and professes to be a relative of Mr Sakata. In Padang he is treated with a certain amount of respect by the group of modernist Muslims and lately he has been assisted in word and deed by Mr Mohammad Yamin, the representative in the Volksraad for Minangkabau. Considering the inflammability of the Minangkabaus for new ideas, the government should be doubly vigilant.

How intense the Japanese propaganda is can be seen from the fact that pre-eminent leaders of the National Movement have been presented ... with the strongly pro-Japanese book The Drama of the Pacific by Major R.V.C. Bradley, while the Japanese Information Service in Tokyo takes the greatest trouble to make the prominent Muslims in Indonesia happy by sending them reading matter in Arabic. Indeed the Japanese Government spares no costs to familiarize the world with Japanese feelings and ideas. According to the semi-official newspaper Nipon Dempo 2,500,000 yen has been appropriated for the establishment of an "international cultural bureau"; 9,150,000 yen for a special diplomatic fund; 3,600,000 yen for maintaining relations with Japanese in foreign countries; 7,150,000 yen for the improvement of relations with the Manchukuo subjects. In addition to these official measures the Japanese Government has also created a so-called "Society for International Cultural Relations", which also receives strong financial support from the Mitsuis and the Misubushis, the real masters of Japan ...

The Indonesian nationalist leaders are convinced that the Japanese-Indies discussions will result in complete failure. Just to take one point of the discussions, it is not reasonable to expect that the Netherlands Indies Government would agree to admit at least 60,000 Japanese immigrants into the Indies. But Japan considers the fulfilment of this demand by the Indies as a conditio sine qua non for the continuation of the discussions.
The arrogant attitude of almost all Indonesian spokesmen during the deliberations in the Volksraad about the 1941 budget when the question of the status quo of the Netherlands Indies was brought up can be partly explained as a result of the general policy agreement which has been reached among the various nationalist parties, but also partly as an underestimation of the ability of the present authorities to control the [international] political situation. They are convinced that one of these days the status quo of the Netherlands Indies will be violated. And one cannot help being reminded of the words of Antoine Zischka, who wrote in his *Le Japon dans le monde* (page 63): “Et si les indigenes, tout autour de Pacifique, n’aiment pas beaucoup le Japon, ils haissent les Blancs” [“And although the indigenous people all around the Pacific might not love Japan a great deal, they hate the whites].

I am wondering whether the government has considered the possibility that as a result of an eventual Japanese-American war, an Indonesian Government abroad might be proclaimed, e.g. in Tokyo. After all in London there are also legal Polish, Czecho-Slovak, Belgian, Norwegian, and Netherlands governments. It may not be forgotten that there are leftist-oriented Indonesians abroad, especially in Tokyo, who are ready at the first sign to form a preliminary Indonesian government with the aid of a foreign power. The failure of the Indies-Japanese trade negotiations will be explained as an unsympathetic deed of the Dutch against the Indonesians ... who are opposed to export restrictions and licences ... because such measures are solely designed to “exploit” the people for the benefit of European and American capital. The arrival of the Japanese will be hailed as a happy event which will bring [the people] cheap goods. The rest will be done by the Djojobojo legend, which after all says that first Java will be ruled for a long time by the whites, then there will be a short period of rule by the yellow race, after which there will be independence. In executing its plans the Parindra is prepared to drop if necessary those members who work for the government. One should not lose sight of the fact that although Thamrin might not be so popular in his own circle, he is still the man who is recognized abroad as the leader of the nationalist movement ... and as such draws respect. He is a gifted politician who knows what he is doing. And like any other ambitious politician he believes in the doctrine that the purpose sanctifies the means. In an independent country he would go as far as to cause a bloody civil war and have many innocent victims killed in order to realize his ideals ...

While the Parindra draws its support mainly from the intellectuals, the members of the Gerindo belong mainly to the petit-bourgeoisie, while this party has also become a refuge for former
members or sympathizers of the Partai Kommunis Indonesia (P.K.I.) and the Sarikat Rakjat. The ex-P.N.I. members have in line with the decision taken at the conference in Semarang in March 1940 spread themselves over the Parindra, Gerindo, Parpindo, Moehammadiah [sic] and P.S.I.I. in order to obtain the control over all these organizations in the long run.

They are all of the opinion that the government purposely gives preferential treatment to the Chinese and the Arabs and therefore that the intervention of Japan in the Netherlands Indies will not be unwelcome to them.

The Islam-oriented associations are complaining that the government has still not done anything to minimize the unequal treatment of Christians and Muslims. They are well aware of the fact that the British Indian Government has given its Mohammedan subjects all possible facilities to make the Hadj [pilgrimage to Mecca], such as the payment of passage money and shipping convoys in the dangerous zone. Compared with this the help granted by the government to needy Indonesians in Mecca appears to them as a drop of water in the desert. They have now come to the stage where they are indifferent to what the government elects to do for them. It is a fact that the National Board of the Moehammadiah [sic] and the P.S.I.I. in September last year held a closed conference with a few Japanese Muslims ...

Here follows a description of the political organizations and their membership ...

1. United in the G.A.P.I. (using a generous estimate)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parindra</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerindo</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.S.I.I.</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.A.I.</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perdi</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasoendan</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persatoean Katholiek Indonesia</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarikat Ambon</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persatoean Minahasa</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persatoean Peladjar Peladjar Indonesia</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>47,300</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. United in the M.I.A.I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persatoean Oelama Seloeroeh Atjeh</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahdatoe Oelama</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pembela Islam [probably refers to Persis]</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.S.I.I.</td>
<td>(See under 1. above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Not associated with 1 and 2
Parpindo 200
Partij Penjedar 500
Persatoeoean Tarbijatoel Islamiah 9,000
Persatoeoean Tionghoa Islam Indonesia 500
Persatoeoean Goeroe Goeroe Agama Islam 200
Persatoeoean Soepir Indonesia 1,000
Total 11,400
General Total 80,700

The number of politically or socially conscious Indonesians can be estimated at 200,000 or about 1 in every 300 inhabitants...

It must be admitted that the government has done its best to induce the people of the Netherlands Indies to make common cause against the enemy. It has used new ideologies and slogans such as being bound by the same fate. The interests of the Chinese and the Arabs, who are people with a dual fatherland, are served by the maintenance of Netherlands rule over this country, because in case of victory of the totalitarian states and the eventual formation of an Indonesian Government they would lose many of their [present] rights. In any case they would have to be content with being foreigners in this “Indonesia”. The indigenous people of this country have a very different frame of mind. Various answers will be given to the question whether the Indonesians are fully aware of being united in the same fate with the Netherlands people and whether ... they want this to continue and if not whether they will cordially accept it. The feeling of being united by the same fate and “le désir d'être ensemble” exist and are indeed felt by the so-called privileged classes, or to use the words of Dr Meyer Rannjet, by the “the group of Netherlands and indigenes who stand above the masses”. But the existence of this [being united by the same fate] is denied and not desired by the vast majority of the 200,000 politically oriented Indonesians, while those not politically oriented could not care less whether there is a feeling of being united by the same fate with the Netherlands people or not. These people look at reality and are more than happy enough when they can lead a decent existence and are not overburdened with new taxes and new orders. They desire above all a just government.

Until now the government has only directed its attention to the expressed and unexpressed desires of the 200,000 politically conscious [Indonesians], and it has apparently been under the impression that if it gave in to their reasonable demands they would no longer make trouble. But nothing is further from the truth. Their desires can only be satisfied at the cost of the government. They will gratefully accept every concession made by the government but they will not stop until
they are completely "boss in their own house". The well-intentioned measures of the government such as the appointment of some politicians to certain offices ... they take to be expressions of the weakness of the government, and they will draw the utmost profit from it. The present situation is too favourable to them to let it pass by unused ... The defence measures and the war materials ... are costing a great deal of money ... The masses, not knowing how to carry all the heavy financial burdens which are pressing on them, could eventually be placed in a position where they have to make a fateful choice. And this is the moment for which the political leaders are waiting. It will be welcomed as the moment when they will unasked for take matters in their own hands. It will be the beginning of the introduction of the new Japanese order in South-east Asia.

A chaotic situation may well occur if the government continues to bargain with the political leaders and their organizations. It is the duty of the government to push back the sphere of influence of the political leaders to its normal proportions. If the government does this, then it will notice that this sphere of influence is very small, because hero worship is still foreign to the Indonesians. The fate of the vast majority of the people, on which the government is actually dependent and which silently bears the heavy burdens put on them from above, deserves special attention. It [the people] wants a just government; and this justice cannot be given by either a Japanese or their own Indonesian government ... There is in my opinion still time for the government to neutralize the fatal influence of untrustworthy leaders on the masses by means of sound propaganda and heart-to-heart talks ...
