

ASIAN CIV. IIISE - LECTURES THIRD TERM 1971.

MALAYSIA / INDONESIA.

Lecture II - from the " Liberal Period " to the Ethical Policy.

Last lecture - appointment of v.d. Putte as Minister of Colonies - he started to re-organize things acc. to the Liberal tenets on colonial govt. The Liberals generally tended to regard the Regent as a survival from the old days of arbitrary oppression, and van der Putte began a complete reorganization of the admin. machinery to lay the foundations of a regular native civil service. The civil servants were no longer appointed on a quasi-hereditary basis, but just like any govt. employes, and the Regent ~~was~~ became more of a mere ornament than an instrument of the power of the govt.

On the ec. side, v.d. Putte began by abolishing the forced culture of some products such as spices, tea and tobacco, but these were the products wh. were no longer v. profitable. He did remove some abuses - e.g. the so-called percentage system, whereby Europ. officials got a commission out of the proceeds of the forced cultures. However the end of the Culture System is generally dated at 1870, the year when the so-called " Sugar Law " was passed. This law provided ~~for~~ that the govt. wld. give up its <sup>forced</sup> ~~sugar~~ cultivation of sugar in 12 yearly stages beg. in 1878, and also permitted the free sale of sugar in Java. This shews how slow the whole process of moving out of the forced cultivation system actually was - coffee, which was by far the most profitable product, <sup>remained a forced culture right up until</sup> ~~under this system it remained~~ 1917. In fact the <sup>transition</sup> ~~changeover~~ from the " Culture System " to the " Liberal Period " was more significant for the Dutch minority than for the Jav. peasants - the colony was still regarded as a business concern, except that now with the progressive abolition of the govt.-controlled forced cultures ~~the~~ individual Dutch planters and businessmen were able to have a greater share in things.

Apart from the changeover from the " Culture System " to a more largely private-enterprise type system, the years from 1870 saw other devts. in the Dutch East Indies. Up until about this time, the archipelago's political set-up had been rather different from the modern system of interlocking national states with precisely defined boundaries. Instead there had been a number of " centres of Power " - e.g. Batavia, Manila, Singapore, with relatively small areas around them wh. were directly administered. Then the influence of the power centre tended to fade away through

what might be schematically represented as a series of concentric circles, made up of vassal and tributary small states, until it reached the outskirts of the circle of influence of another power-centre ( like throwing some stones into water - ~~produce~~ their force produces a series of circles which gradually fade out ). From about 1870, however, much of the outlying circles and their small states and principalities were incorporated much more directly into the Dutch empire ( the same process was taking place in British Malaya )." Around the old core of Java, the Dutch built up a 3,000-mile arc of island possessions into a new Netherlands Indies, wh. was to become Indonesia - much the largest, most heavily populated and culturally diverse of the new states of 20th-century Southeast Asia " ( paraphrased from SSEA p. 186 ).

At about 1870, the sit. was as follows - the Dutch G-G was centred at Batavia, controlling a fairly small Dutch admin. and a fairly small army ( only <sup>??</sup> SSEA - but about 35,000 - but well trained ). The chief base of Dutch power was Java, wh. had then a pop. of about 17m ( w. Madura ). As well as the Dutch admin., Java had a Jav. " prijaji " class engaged in the business of govt. and admin. - also a relatively small body. Outside Java there were a few areas under direct Dutch admin. e.g. the Moluccas and the tin island of Bangka ( off Sumatra on the Borneo side ). <sup>The</sup> Beyond Minang. area of W. Sumatra was also fairly directly admin. after the eventual defeat ~~these areas were under Dutch govt. at Batavia~~ of the " Padris " ( pilgrims went to Mecca via Pedir - connected w. Port. " padre " on linguistic principle of lucus a non lucendo ) in 1837. Padris influenced by Wahabbi reform movt. in Arabia. Beyond these areas the Dutch govt. at Batavia exercised a more general sort of <sup>Overlordship</sup> ~~sovereignty~~ over small native states - often had to send expeditions to maintain this overlordship.

From <sup>about</sup> 1870 on, however, these small native states and peripheral ~~states~~ <sup>societies</sup> ~~states~~ until then not organized into any larger state or polity began to be increasingly affected by the presence of Europeans in the archipelago. This was brought about in a variety of ways, wh. can be illustrated by 3 examples from Sumatra. The first is Toba Batak society - the Tobas are a fairly large community, growing wet-rice, to the north of the Minangkabaus. Unlike most of the Sumatran communities, the Tobas were still pagan up to 1860, and from this period onwards they were influenced by German Protestant missionaries. By the end of

the century, a large proportion of the Tobas had adopted Christianity - became for them a sort of medium of modernization - in the 20th century they became much more important in Indonesian affairs than their nos. wld. seem to justify. During the same period of time, the Dutch govt. at Batavia brought the Tobas under a more direct admin.

To the north again, in the area around Medan, the presence of the European society and economy made itself felt in a different way, that is through the devt. after about 1863 of Dutch tobacco plantations, all done by private enterprise ( see table in Furnivall, Netherlands India p. 169 ). The success of these plantations led to a need for more labour than the local pop. cld. supply and so Chinese and <sup>Malay</sup> immigrants were brought in ( in the Chinese sometimes not only worked on the plantations but even owned them ) <sup>/</sup> Furnivall says about 10% of plantations were Chinese-owned.

This influx of immigrants completely changed the nature of local soc. ( Some Sumatrans still rather ~~wild~~ look down on Javanese - see them all as " kuli kontrak " ).

Still more to the north we come to ~~the Sultanate of~~ Atjeh, a large indep. sultanate, in fact the last native state to put up a significant resistance to absorp-  
/ military  
tion into the Dutch East Indies. The Dutch campaign, stimulated by fear of a British takeover from the other side of the Straits of Malacca ( see Anthony Reid, The Contest for North Sumatra, Atjeh, the Netherlands and Britain 1858 - 1898 ) began in 1873. Their spectacular lack of success may be measured by the fact that the war went on until 1904. They faced the same sort of thing as the British had in their Third Anglo-Burman war ( began 1885, lasted to 1890 ) - i.e. it was easy enough to occupy the capital and shackle the ruler, but guerrilla resistance continued throughout the countryside. Vlekke says that in 1880 some Atjehnese claimed that more than 17,000 Dutch soldiers had been killed to date, and not surprisingly the Dutch govt. began to get worried. Atjeh had for several centuries been one of the most strongly Islamic parts of Indonesia ( still is - a fact wh. gave the Djakarta govt. quite a bit of trouble after indep'ce ) and the Dutch govt. decided to seek advice on this aspect of the prob. The man for the job was obviously Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, Prof. of Islamic Studies at Leyden. He had spent 6 months in Mecca in 1884 ( claimed to be a Muslim although he seems to have actually found nth. to admire in Islam despite his tremendously scholarly knowledge of it ). He came to Java, and then went

and spent 7 months in Atjeh in 1892-3. ( then aged about 35 ). His advice to the Dutch govt. may be briefly summarized as follows: although ~~not~~ not all hadjis ( Muslims who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca ) should be considered as automatically being the enemies of the Dutch govt., there were among them fanatic relig. leaders who would take up the concept of " Holy War " and never agree to live under an infidel govt. For this element there was nth. to be done but to meet force w. force. The ~~r~~ great mass of the population, however, would welcome peace as long as they felt assured that they would not be stopped from practising their religion under Dutch rule. Therefore the Dutch should try to win them away from the fanatic leaders by giving them this assurance. From about 1897-8, the Dutch began to get in control in Atjeh - hard to say how much of this was due to <sup>or</sup> nouck's advice and how much to the devt. of a better military strategy - used a strategy of ceaseless attack and patrol, with a special force, lightly armed but highly mobile, to combat the guerrilla tactics of the Atjehnese.

After the Atjeh ~~war~~ <sup>war finally</sup> came to an end, the Dutch troops were released and ~~old.~~ then bring other areas of the archipel. under Dutch control. <sup>By the end of</sup> ~~In~~ the first decade of the 20th century, more than 200 petty rulers had signed the so-called " short declaration ", introd. in 1898, under wh. they ~~promised~~ acknowledged Dutch rule and promised to obey all Dutch orders. One of the areas wh. had to be subdued by military expeditions was Bali - puputans at Badung and Klungkung in 1908. <sup>- see Govarrubias, Island of Bali.</sup> This was the last of the Dutch military expeds.

At the same time as this expansion of <sup>the Dutch</sup> ~~their~~ empire was being undertaken, ~~a great deal of modernization was~~ <sup>a great deal of modernization was</sup> changing its character, <sup>his</sup> period saw a gt. deal of railway construction ( from 150 miles in 1873 to 1,200 in 1900 ) as well as the setting up of telegraphs, ~~banks~~ <sup>mod. banking services</sup>, newspapers etc. The more specialized nature of govt. and amin. meant that they Regents were <sup>left further and</sup> ~~more~~ further behind, ~~Atjeh~~ From 1879 the Dutch govt, inaugurated a policy of educating the Regents for modern times, but by then it was getting to be too late for them to recapture their old importance - times were moving faster than they were. For a while both the Dutch officials and the Regents maintained the old-style status symbols ( maintenance of retinues, use of pajung pajung ) but this style of life began to look more and more obviously out of place in a govt. dependent ~~on~~ an increasing amount of paperwork and the devt. of specialist brances like <sup>irrigation, forestry.</sup>

Next major re-thinking in Dutch colonial policy @ the so-called Ethical Policy.

Like the Liberal period, ~~this~~ the Ethical Policy got under way with 2 influential pieces of writing. - The first was ( C. Th ) van Deventer's article " A Debt of Honour " published in 1899, in which the author said that between 1867 and 1878 the Netherlands had taken f. 187 m. from the East Indies, and that this ~~was~~ formed a debt of honour wh. ~~was~~ <sup>had to</sup> be repaid. The second publication was P. Brooshooff's brochure entitled " The Ethical Trend in Colonial Policy " from wh. the movt. took its name. This was publ. in 1901. Brooshooff said that in the name of free enterprise the planters had seized all the best land and worked it for their own profit, that the pauperized natives were driven to the factories to work for a slave wage, that there was inequality everywhere - in the colonial admin., where Europeans got better pay, in the law courts etc. These calls for reform on moral grounds were re-inforced by an ec. crisis in Indonesia at the turn of the century - the Dutch govt. appointed a commission into the " diminishing welfare of the people of Java ". The commission reported that one of the chief causes of the bad ec. sit. was that the pop. had grown much faster than its resources in f agric. products and capital. The members of the commission recommended various things e.g. the estment of native industry ( until then virtually non-existent ) to supplement income from agriculture. ( The Dutch govt. did not admit that it had to pay back the money previously drawn from Indonesia ( the " debt of honour " ) but did agree to take over the colony's debt wh. at the time amounted to f. 40m. )

What were the aims of the advocates of the Eth. Pol.? Some of them talked of the creation of an entirely new soc. " E. Indian Soc. " wh. was neither Jav. nor Dutch but in some way a blend of the two. ( It was not clear whether this was to be achieved by assimilating Indonesians to w'n civ. or by the co-existence w'in one pol. entity of diverse ~~mixtures~~ cultural trads. Both ideas had their supporters. )

On the pol. and admin. side, the Eth. Pol. men were supporters of decentralization, <sup>of power</sup> <sup>In</sup> ~~Under~~ the Liberal period, the penetration of a w'n economy and institutioans had weakened the village, so that now the idea was to strengthen it again - seen as a sort of training-ground in the procedures of parlt.'ary democracy. The Village Act of 1906 aimed at converting the Indon. village into a sort of w'n municipality, w. a village council wh. had power to adminster village affairs e.g.