

ASIAN CIV. IIIISE - LECTURES THIRD TERM 1971.

Lecture III - Social background to " Indonesian nationalism ".

Common picture of the devt. of Indonesian nationalism - sort of line running from B. Utomo (1908) through Sarekat Islam (1912) EKI (1920) to PNI (1927) - the party wh. was to be most influential in the winning of Indonesia's independence and after. Some people e.g. van der Meulen, see various ~~phases~~ ^{stages} in this line - he classifies nationalism in SEA into 3 phases - 1). a xenophobic phase marked by loc. risings often monarchical in tone; 2). an " intellectual " phase - rep. by the Y.M.B.A. in Burma and Budi Utomo in Indonesia; and 3). emergence of pol. activists, using such mod. weapons as pol. organizations, boycotts, non-co-operation, pol. campaigns, and in extreme cases, planned rebellion.

However not as simple as all that - although these various movts. follow one another chronologically, they do not really represent a logical devt. - one does not ~~develop~~ ^{/ necessarily} develop into ~~the next~~ ^{the next} in dialectic fashion. You cannot even say that the earlier movts. died out and were superseded by the later ones - in fact they may have represented currents of thought or power or pressure groups wh. still exist - see the tripartite division of power in Sukarno's Indonesia - Muslims, communists, the army - wh. was supposed to have represented a sort of equilibrium. Another consideration ~~is~~ is that the various " parties " (to ~~use~~ ^{use} apply a word wh. is only partly appropriate) were often no more than labels wh. covered a gt. many diff. ideas, interests and aspirations over the years - in fact, sometimes even at the same time. Partly the prob. is that in using categories wh. have been devd. in a quite diff. context we are imposing upon the Indon. situation a sort of neatness and simplicity wh. it didn't actually have (and still hasn't, for that matter). Take the term " Indonesian nationalism " for instance - both words represent concepts wh. were ~~only~~ only slowly accepted, by a quite small no. of people at first. Not used as a pol. term until the mid-20s (originally an ethnic or geographical term - see Enc. Brit. - entry under " Indonesia " includes an area beyond the wildest dreams of neo-Madjap. imperialists). Up until that time the few people who could be descr. as " politically active " joined organizations ~~wh. were~~ ^{wh. were} had quite diff. things as their unifying ethos - e.g. B. U (vaguely Jav.-cultural) S.I. (Islam - or perhaps anti-Chinese sentiment to begin with - all sorts of other things later) and various regional associations e.g. Jong Java, Jong Minahassa, Jong Celebes etc. How did the idea of a common

Partly it was created by the Dutch presence - not
 " Indonesian " unity catch on? ~~was the reality of the~~
 as the Conservatives ~~Dutch East Indies~~ thought by the wild radicalism of the Eth. Pol., but simply
 by the reality of the Dutch East Indies - some sort of unity did actually already
 exist. ~~the~~ The fact of its existence did impinge more and more on the lives of the
 members of the various societies wh. were its components - as the Dutch govt. introd.
 an increasing degree of govtal and ec. modernization there grew up a small class of
 Indonesians whose lives were bound up much more w. the govt. ~~of~~ and admin. of the
 whole of Indonesia than w. the concerns of their own soc. - people who worked in the
 admin. or in Balai Pustaka or in hotels or whatefer - they had training wh. was not
 really at all relevant to their trad. socs. ^{est. 1908} signif. that the word Indonesia was first
 used by those people who were furthest removed from these trad. socs. - Indon. stud-
 ents in Holland, who in 1908 founded their first association, called the Indies Assoc.
 - shews they recognized some common identity (also since they were only a few dozen
 all told, wld. have been pretty silly to have regional assocs.) This " Indies
 Assoc. " was in 1922 reconstituted as the Perhimpunan Indonesia (Indonesian Assoc.)
 Dutch-language education to some extent moulded those who recieved it into a common
 mould - meant they had more in common than they otherwise would have had. (Note
 that it only reached a v. small minority - in 1937 the pop. was about 68 million,
 and only 93,000 Indon. children were receiving Dutch-language education, the vast
 majority in primary schools, and there were only 496 university students - prob.
 the smallest proportion of the pop. being educated of any country in SEA - explains
 the smallness of the mod. Indonesian elite).

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Second word - " nationalism " - ob-
 viously connected w. the existence of the concept of Indonesia. Another consideration
 is the fact that even if people recognised the existence of a more or less unified
 Indonesia or East Indies, doesn't necessarily follow that it was therefore the chief
 focus of their loyalties. Sometimes other things were much more important - first
 thing wh. springs to mind is religion. Religious beliefs had a diff. effect on diff.
 groups however - e.g. in the case of the S. Ambonese, who ~~are~~ are about 50% Christian
 (conversion begun by Portuguese, changed over to Calvinism of a sort by the Dutch,
 who used them as mercenaries) it completely alinated them from the rest of Indonesia
 - in 1950 tried to set up an indep. Repub. of the S. Moluccas (i.e. indep. from the

II Indon. Republic. Many Ambonese now in Holland - no prospect of their becoming assimilated there, and also ~~many~~ v. little of their going back to Indonesia. ~~It~~ / in large nos. In contrast are the Toba Bataks - began to convert to Christianity at about the end of the 19th century. (previously pagan / animists). ~~It~~ ever they have not tried to set up a separatist state - in fact many of them have ~~achieved~~ attained prominent positions in commerce (after the Chinese) and also in the central govt. - Nasution etc. (various factors explain the diff. - Bataks converted by Germans, not by the Dutch - not assoc.w. Dutch rule like the Ambonese. Also not such a long process of acculturation - in the Moluccas by contrast some of the native langs. have completely disappeared and been replaced by Dutch and Malay). ~~These~~ these are cases of minority religions - but the operation of the majority religion, Islam, has also been quite varied. The Sarikat Islam included ~~next~~ within its fold a lot of aspirations wh. cld. hardly be described as religious - from ~~it~~ getting a bigger share of certain industries ~~for~~ Indonesians to ~~push~~ the estment of a Marxist state in Indonesia. ~~In fact~~ So the party labels were really no more than the name on the front of the shop - inside, the management might change or a totally diff. line of goods be offered. Prob. more illuminating to look at the social bases for the various pol. organisations - who supported which, and why.

In an earlier lecture (no. VII, Second term) have discussed the interaction of Dutch and Indon. civ. in the early colonial period - beginnings saw the ~~gradual~~ of a change from a status system based on religion to one based on race (of course ethnic Dutchmen had always been on top, but formerly ~~they~~ ~~and~~ native Christians had to some extent been associated w. the Dutch - see e.g. edicts forbidding the sale of firearms to natives "who are not Christians " - shews religion was considered an important consideration.) This changeover, wh. was in process during the 19th century, seems to have accelerated ~~during~~ after 1900. Whereas once the Dutch ~~20th century~~ had adopted many aspects of Indonesian life (from the material and obvious, such as the wearing of sarongs, ~~sarongs~~ speaking Malay ~~and~~ eating Indon. food and chewing betel, to the more subtle and less obvious, ~~changes~~ involving changes in their code of values) from this period they ~~became~~ put more and more store on their separate identity and culture. This was partly due to an increase in size in the Dutch comm-

unity resulting from a). expansion in govt. and business activities b), greater ease of travel between Europe and Asia (steamships, Suez etc.) wh. meant that more Dutch women came out - women always preservers of the culture. From this time the trekkers (those who came out to fill a job, periodically went home on leave, and - like Brits. in India retired in Holland) were a bigger part of the Dutch community than the blijvers. (those who made the Indies their home).* Paradoxically, the Eth. Pol., whose leading lights were so concerned about the welfare of the natives, prob. actually increased the gap between the Dutch and the Indonesians - the programs of the Eth. Pol. were x.highly organized along European admin. lines w. practically no connexion w. native ways of doing things - whereas in the old days the Dutch had tolerated what were now considered the slipshod ways of the Jav. prijaji class under their system of indirect govt. The new idea of direct govt. actually made the Dutch look more foreign - now appeared in the villages w. their strange and unintelligible suggestions - formerly had simply been the highest ranks of an admin. system wh. was still organized in the old (Jav. etc.) way.

One group who might perhaps have been sth. of a bridge between the Dutch and the Indonesians were the Eurasians - who in fact formed the majority of those who were classified as " european " by law (Dutch in fact did intermarry quite a bit and were never so racially exclusive as the English - it was possible for a Eurasian to occupy a high position in the govt.) At one time it did seem that the Eurasians wld. put forward an alternative to the status and power system based on race wh. was then developing. IN 1912 E.F.E. Douwes Dekker founded the Indies Party (Indische Partij).- This party's slogan was " the Indies for those who make their home there " - wanted an independent state (i.e. indep of the Dutch govt.) wh. wld. be governed by the people of whatever race who actually lived there. Most of the party's members were Eurasians. Not v. popular w. the Dutch govt. and not a v. big affair - prob. most Eurasians did not want to make themselves unpopular w. the govt., upon wh. they depended for their living.

In 1919 there were a no. of ^{local} rebellious

* The old " Indische " style of life gave way to an increasingly European style - already beginning in Kartini's ^{time - see her letter} ~~writing~~ about the ~~high~~ disapproval w. wh. the G.G.'s wife (check) regarded the sarong and kabaja.

incidents that not only ~~meant~~ meant the beg. of the end for the Eth. Pol., but also marked the point of no ~~return~~ return whereby the Eurasians attached themselves firmly to the skirts of Dutch power. ~~The Eurasians~~ ^{Since those Dutch} who had no Indon. blood ~~were~~ now ~~tended~~ ^{tended} to regard darker skin and ~~Indon.~~ an Indon. life style as definitely inferior, the Eurasians made an effort to prove their Dutch-ness by speaking more Dutch etc. - spent most of their energies in this effort. In 1919 the "Indo-European Union" was founded by Eurasians - symbolized their now definitely European orientation.

Between the Dutch (~~and~~ inc. Eurasians) and the Indonesians on the status scale were the Chinese. Don't hear so much about the Chinese in Indonesia because they are ~~much less numerous than the~~ ^{much less numerous than the} Malaysian Chinese. However, it is a fact that there were still more Chinese in Indonesia than Dutch - in 1930 about 2% of the pop. was Chinese (about 39% of the pop. of Malaya ~~in 1931~~), and that they were a signif. group - otherwise it is hard to explain the massacre of 1740. - between them the 2 groups They formed a sort of second elite alongside the Dutch. You have to bear in mind more or less monopolized trade and commerce. their presence in order to understand the motivation ~~and behaviour~~ ^{and behaviour} of some Indon. movts. in the earlier part of the 20th century - e.g. Sarikat Islam. ^{his} ~~his~~ organization ~~was~~ ^{actually} grew out of a trading society, the Sarekat Dagang Islam ~~is~~ (Islamic Trading Assoc.) formed in 1909 by R.M. Tirtoadisoerjo, a Jav. aristocrat and merchant whose trading co. was then being liquidated. He and other Jav. merchants got tog. to form a co-operative trading assoc. - concerned w. Chinese business practices, prepared to boycott the Chinese if necessary. In 1911 they got the support of an important Jav. merchant and batik manufacturer of Surakarta (Solo), Hadji Samanhoedi, who was also a leading Muslim. The movt. organized boycotts against the Chinese - also some general anti-Chinese propaganda ^{see} ~~see~~ v.d. Meijden. p. 34ff. This anti-Chinese feeling eventually led to actual physical violence against the Chinese, and in 1912 the loc. Dutch administrator was forced to curb the activities of the Surakarta Sarekat Dagang Islam. After this setback, Samanhoedi looked for someone to rebuild the assoc. - found H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto - sort of man commonly described as "charismatic" . Came to Surakarta and on Sept. 10 1912 established the legal statutes of a new assoc., Sarekat Islam. Spread like wildfire. Retained its anti-Chinese bias - Tjokroaminoto in one speech said it was not a pol. assoc., ~~was~~ but an attempt

to awaken the commercial spirit of the Indonesians and to form a co-op. union against the Chinese. Its newspaper, the Ceboesan Hindia (Indian Messenger) continued to print attacks on the Chinese both as unbelievers and as competitors.

The membership of S.I. represented a new devt. in 2 things: it was entirely Indonesian (mostly Javanese - pol. devts. at this period and even much later tend to centre on Java - a reflection of the fact that education, whether Dutch organized or native as ~~the~~ in the case of the Taman Siswa schools, was largely concentrated here - Bousquet: only 1 Secondary school ~~schools~~ outside Java in 1938). and it was v. large - grew to more than 2 million in 1919. What was its ethos and what people or groups or classes did it attract? Have already mentioned the anti-Chinese element in its motivation. ~~Thereafter~~ ^{Its name} indicated the other factor - Islam. In its religious affiliation it reflected a devt. wh. had originated in the middle East in the last years of the 19th century - the rise of Reform Islam. Represented a Muslim response to the position of Muslims in the modern world, and ~~stood for~~ ^{stood for} a return to what its adherents saw as ~~the~~ ^{the} fundamental truths of the Quran, discarding both the accretions of medieval scholasticism and the compromises w. local animistic beliefs, thus clearing the way for a thoroughgoing modernization of Islam. Offered a way to become modern while remaining a separate Muslim identity. In Indonesia the Reform Islam school of thought was represented by 2 movts - firstly Sarekat Islam, and secondly the Muhammadiyah (^{in Jogja} founded 1912 also). Muhammadiyah ^{at least to begin with} was not a pol. but a soc. organization - organized along modern lines, and had youth and women's associations, clinics, orphanages, and a large school system, also modern in nature - taught the same curriculum as the Dutch-language schools w. Islam in sep. " relig. instruction " periods as the Dutch schools taught Christianity. The pesantren schools had not made this separation of relig. and other learning - their teaching was centred on learning the Quran by heart. Muhammadiyah spread quickly to other parts of Indonesia, e.g. Sumatra.

The spread of reform Islam aroused quite a bit of opposition - not only from the govt. wh. feared its pol. consequences, but also from the trad. Islamic ulama and pesantren teachers - accused the modernists of being half Christianised and not true Muslims. ~~But~~ Controversy went on throughout the 1910's and 1920's and is still alive - pesantren schools still suspicious of

aspects of the ~~process of secularization~~ ^{process of secular govt.} wh. they regard as, if not actually hostile to the faith, at least not sufficiently based upon it. But though the trad. Muslims were hostile to the modernists they were inevitably influenced by them - forced to organize themselves into the sort of organizations wh. were essentially new and modern and to have proper school systems instead of only loc. pesantrens. The most important of the pol. organizations of the conservative Muslim was the Nahdatul Ulama (/ founded in 1926 and still in the 1950s one of the 4 chief pol. parties, along w. the PNI, / the party of the progressive Muslims or " relig. socialists ", subsequently Masjumi, and the PKI). banned by Sukarno along w. the PSI.

To return to the composition of the membership of S.I.

Firstly the founders: v.d. Mehden (p. 39) says: " It should also be recognized that the S.I., unlike the aristocratic Budi Utomo, was primarily a union w. middle-class commercial leadership wh. was vulnerable to economic factors ". However there was not really ~~any~~ much difference in actual birth between the founders of the 2 movts. - Tirtoadisoerjo, ~~then~~ for instance, was a Raden Mas (founder of B.U., Wahidin Soediro Hoesodo - a retired Jav. physician - was only a Mas.) More difference in the ^{occupations} orientation of the founders of the 2 groups - B.U.'s founder was joined in his project of educating the Javs. in both w'n learning and their own, by students at the Mokter Djawa school in Batavia. Its members (c. 10,000 in 1909 - see Kahin, Nationalism and Rev. in Indonesia, p. 65) were largely civil servants and members of " white-collar " professions. S.I.'s founders on the other hand were often engaged in trade and small-scale industry (batik, kretek cigs. etc) for their living. Also as you can see from the names of the 2 movts., B.U. was orientated more to Jav. cultural trads., and S.I. was orientated to Islam.

S.I., unlike B.U., rapidly acquired a mass membership wh. extended well beyond the circle of its original founders. Came to have many loc. branches and included large nos. of peasants. Obviously not all of them were in ec. competition w. the Chinese (though some may have been anti-Chinese because of contact w. Chinese moneylanders) and not all of them were interteded in reforming Islam. Why did they join? AS v.d. Mehden says, the loc. S.I. branches acted as sort of clearing-houses for their grie^vances: the spirit of the movement was diff. from one locality to another because the central body of S.I. did not make any gt. effort to impose uniform policies. One thing should be noticed about the nature of peasant

also v.d. Mehden
also R. Mas

protest: it was more often directed against change and modernisation (of wh. they had felt the unpleasant consequences - e.g. the disruption caused by the introd. of a money economy) than directed towards changing things further. Where the peasant uprisings were sth. more than an immediate reaction to a loc. grievance (usually the " last straw that broke the camel's back ") they usually looked backward to a golden age, real or imagined (" Arcadian " idea). This is one reason why it is s'what misleading to call S.I. a " nationalist " movt. - word wld. not have had any meaning to many of its members. A second qualification of the " nationalism " of S.I. is that Islam is an international religion - Muslims may have loyalties beyond the national state.

The history of S.I. is further complicated by the fact that after it had built up this large following it attracted people w. quite diff. ideas on how the lot of the Indon. peasant and worker should be bettered - the socialists. Socialism in Indonesia had been introd, largely as a result of the work of Dutch socialists - men like Sneevliet and Baars, who worked to organize trade unions. After 1916 there was an increasingly strong socialist wing in the S.I. - led by people like Semaun. The specifically Muslim wing centred around Hadji Agus Salim.

After the loc. ~~insidentz~~ rebellions (in W. Java and Celebes) of 1919 the govt., formerly tolerant of S.I. as a native movt. for self-improvement, began to clamp down. As a result of its measures, S.I. lost a lot of its following - ~~peasants~~ ~~peasants~~ w. particular grievance did not, when it came to the point, feel strongly enough about the movt.'s aims to stick it out in face of repression. Many of the Reform Muslims went over to Muhammadiyah. In what was left of S.I., the Muslim and Socialist wings were bitterly divided. Both found it necessary to redefine their position in the light of current events. / After the Russian Rev. The Socialists ~~weren't~~ looked to the Comintern - in 1920 they founded the Perserikatan Komunis di India (PKI - later Partai Kom. Indonesia) wh. joined the Comintern. The Muslim wing also adopted an international rather than a national orientation - focusing on the Pan-Islamic movt. wh. wanted to restore the Caliphate. In 1921 this Muslim wing forced the Communists out of S.I.

In Dec. 1926 a rather feeble sort of revolt broke out in various areas of W. Java and central Sumatra - led in most cases by the loc. P.K.I. Easily suppressed, but made the Dutch govt. determined not to let it happen again - rounded

up everyone they considered subversive, and exiled 1,000 to N.G. (^{cf. Mecca} Digul) This finished the communists for a generation. The S.I. was still there - mainly concerned w. the caliphate, although by now = actually a dead cause.

So by the end of the '20s both these internationalist-orientated movts. (~~z~~ internat. communism and pan-Islamic movt.) had played themselves out. The vacuum was filled by a new ~~gr~~ movt. - the first wh. can properly be called nationalist - the P.N.I. - ^{Perserikatan (later Partai)} Founded in July 1927, led by Sukarno. October 1928 - famous congress of youth organisations produced the " sumpah pemuda " - " one nation - the Indonesian nation; one people - the Indonesian people; one language @ the Indonesian language ". Also adopted the present flag and nat. anthem. The idea of " Indonesia " gained wide currency from this period - the S.I. reformed itself as the Partai Sarekat Islam Indoneisa, B.U. became the " Partai Indonesia Raya " ~~and~~ Note importance of the nat. language - based on Malay (minority language, democratic in ~~z~~ structure when compared to Javanese, already in use as a lingua franca , used by the indig. press from the turn of the century - see S.I.'s newspaper the Oetoesan Hindia).

1930s - time of gt. repression in Indon. pol. life - Eth. Pol. definitely abandoned, Dutch forbad ~~xxxxxx~~ even the use of the word " independence " (Gebrandy says in his book that " no-one asked for indep'ce " - quite true!). Most of the Indon. pol. groups went along w. the Dutch by participating in the largely powerless Volksraad, but a few refused to co-operate. The 3 most prominent leaders of this period were Sukarno - concentrated on getting a mass following - Hatta, and Sjahrir (who were concerned w. the organising of small nat'ist cadres). In 1933-4 h'ever all 3 of them were banished from Java (Sukarno to Benkulen, Hatta and Sjahrir to Digul). ~~Thus the Dutch~~ They were only released when the Japanese occupied Indonesia - in the intervening period = no ^{effective} ~~xxxx~~ pol. opposition to Dutch rule.

beg. of 1942 - Japanese defeated the Dutch and occupied the Dutch East Indies. This meant tremendous changes for Indonesia - Japs. had quite diff. policies from the Dutch. Imposs. to give an adequate account here - some of the main changes: the Japanese, unlike the Dutch, at least made a show of encouraging Indonesian nationalism (" Greater ^{East Asia} ~~Asia~~ co-prosperity sphere " - all Asians tog. etc.) Wanted to enlist the Indonesians in the Japanese war effort. Sought the co-op