

of people like Sukarno and Hatta, which they obtained. Although the Japanese in fact kept the nationalist leaders on a pretty tight rein, they nevertheless provided them, as part of Jpa. policy, with propaganda organizations by wh. they could reach a v. wide public - the sort of opportunity the nationalists had never had under the Dutch. They also replaced the old Dutch education system ( divided into Dutch-lang. and native schools ) w. a unified school system, using Indonesian as the vehicle of instruction. This too had its effect on the growth of nationalist sentiment. Heve to remember h'ever that it was a war sit. and the Japanese were making a pretty grim and desperate effort - many Indonesians have no higher an opinion of them than Aust. POWs did - lots of Indon. peasants used more or less as slave labour, rice taken for the Japanese armies etc. The ~~Japanese~~ Japanese occupation has been descr. as both " ruthless and inefficient " - inefficient in the sense that the Japanese cld. not cope w. probs. such as galloping inflation and the resultant corruption, the virtual collapse of most of Indonesia's export industries etc.

One other Japanese policy had v. important consequences for the struggle for independence and also for the period after independence - this was their decision to ~~hmi~~ create an Indonesian army - the PETA ( Pembela Tanah Air ), a well-trained force of about 65,000. It is true that the Dutch had made consid. use of Indon. soldiers, but the ~~Q~~ thing about the PETA was that it was officered by Indonesians up to the level of the battalion - so for the first time an Indon. officer cadre was created. Thus the fourth of the post-Independence power groups came into being - the others being the secular nationalists ( Sukarno and the PNI ) the Muslims ( divided into two groups - the traditionalists and the modernists ) and the <sup>v</sup>ommunists, who re-emerged as an effective pol. force in 1945, the year when the Japanese occupation came to an end ( in August ).

Two days after the Japanese surrender, Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed the independence of Indonesia. A committee was set up wh. drew up a constitution ( the famous " Constitution of '45 " ) and set up a cabinet - Sukarno was President, Hatta Vice-P.

This was the beg. of a long and bitter struggle wh. went on until December 1949. It was as well a period of near-anarchy - no-one was really in control. The Japanese admin. had virtually collapsed overnight. Of



the Dutch, and in fact each of the 5 cabinets wh. fell during the period of the Rev. had to resign because of public outcry against the concessions it had made to the Dutch. Actually the changes in cabinet were not v. signif. - the process of negotiation went on and Sukarno and Hatta remained the chief figures. This ~~xxxxxxxx~~ difference in style and commitment ~~xxxxxxxx~~ between the pol. élite and the youth movts. is another legacy from the Revolution wh. has continued to be important in post-indep. Indonesia.

( Indonesians practically invented student politics - remember the time when student demos. only occurred in underdeveloped countries? )

Negotiations between the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ leaders of the Indon. Repub. and the Dutch dragged on until the end of Nov. 1946 when the Linggadjati agreement was signed, partly as a result of Brit. pressure on both parties. Under this agreement the Netherlands agree to recognize the Republic as the de facto ( N.B. only de facto ) power on Java and Sumatra and consented to co-operate w. it towards the achievement of a sovereign federal Indonesia. However, Kahin describes this Linggadjati pact as " little more than an agreement to agree ". Meanwhile, the Dutch had re-taken the islands outside Java and Sumatra w. little difficulty ( sparsely-populated areas ). IN Dec. ( 1946 ) they estd. the state of East Indonesia, comprising Celebes, Bali and the rest of the e'n islands, wh. was to be the first in a series of regional member states in a projected federal system, wh. they were hoping to be able to control in by a central govt. wh. wld. tie the various states tog.

By July 1947 the Dutch had 150,000 soldiers in Indonesia - / in the so they charged the Indon. Repub. w. breaching the Linggadjati agreement and seized so-called " First Police Action " W. and E. Java and areas of S. and E. Sumatra. In these areas they set up new regional states as part of their federal system, setting up govts. in these ~~xxxx~~ states wh. were usually composed of the old hereditary élites or groups such as the Chinese, Eurasians, etc. who had suffered at the hands of the pemuda groups. They compelled the Repub. of Indonesia to accept these conquest - had to sign the Renville Agreement in Jan. 1948 ( Republic was now in a fairly bad military position ). In December of the same year the Dutch launched the " Second Police Action " and quickly took all the remaining Republican territory, inc. the capital, Jogja ( the siege of Jogja has become a central point of the story of the struggle for indep'ce in Indonesia ). They also captured most of the leaders, inc. Sukarno and Hatta, who were exiled to

Bangka.

H'ever this military success contained the seeds of its own defeat. World opinion was by now fairly strongly against the Dutch, esp. in the U.N. ( Austrzlia and India had been protesting against Dutch actions from the time of the First Police Action ). Also the Indon. army ( and indeed most of the populace? ) began guerrilla war - no longer hampered by the politicians' penchant for negotiations ( politicians now out of the way ). Dutch found it almost impossible to administer the territory they had conquered, because of the guerrilla activity. The Dutch had to accept that Indonesia would have to be given independence - opened negotiations w. the pol. leaders of the Repub. ( still willing to negotiate ). A settlement was made by the Hague Agreement of Nov. 2 1949. Set up the federal Republic of the United States of Indonesia, to consist of the 15 Dutch-created regional states plus the Indonesian Republic, wh. wld be in a dominant position.

H'ever the Republican leaders had made some concessions to the Dutch even at this stage - e.g about N.G. It was eventually agreed that the Dutch cld. keep N.G. for the time being, and that its eventual status wld. be decided by negotiations between the Indon. Reoub. and the <sup>N</sup>etherlands over the next 10 years. ( Note: it is said that N.G. is peopled by peoples who are racially and culturally v. diff. from the Indonesians. This is true, but the Indonesian viewpoint is that Indonesia is not based on racial ties but on " common suffering under the Dutch ". Any idea of a racial unity for the Indon. state wld. be pretty hard to maintain even apart from N.G. - Indonesia includes Kalimantan pygmies etc. ) Also the Indon. Repub. agreed to certain guarantees to Dutch investors in Indonesia, and, most importantly, that it wld. take over the large Netherlands Indies public debt of 4,300 million guilders of wh. 1,291 million guilders was external debt and thus had to be repaid in foreign f currency. This was a tremendous burden on the new Repub. wh. already had a bad enough financial sit owing to the amount of paper money printed by the Japanese ( and later by the Repub. itself ) and the general dislocation, collapse of export industries etc. H'ever Sukarno, Hatta, and the 2 biggwat parties ( PNI and Masjumi ) accepted these concessions so they were included in the Hague Agreement. Can see therefore what sort of sit. existed when the new Repub. of Indonesia was created - had made concessions wh. were to be a heavy burden

and wh. a lot of people ( pemuda, etc. ) ~~politicians~~ who were prepared to go on fighting felt the politicians shouldn't have made. Sukarno's role at this time explains a lot about his subsequent career - on the one hand v. popular because he had declared independence and been imprisoned by the Dutch ( martyrization ) on the other hand driven to what we may have thought extravagant actions ( the West Irian Confrontation campaign, Malaysia ) to prove that he really ~~wasn't making~~ was fighting colonialism.

On Dec. 27, 1949, the Dutch flag was hauled down for the last time, and Indonesia became free.