

ENCOMPASS Conference I

States of Transition: Modernization, Performance and Meaning of State and Authority in the Era of Decolonization

Medan, 6-8 January 2009



Universiteit Leiden



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Please remember:

- Presentations should last no more than 15 minutes.
- Commentators are asked to keep their comments limited to 10 minutes.
- We would like to ask the chairs and/or commentators of the parallel sessions to give a short report of their session during the final meeting on Thursday the 8th.

Conference program

Day 1, January 6
Host: Pussis-UNIMED,
Centre for History and Social Sciences
State University of Medan (UNIMED)

Opening

9.00 – 9.30 registration, coffee and tea

9.30 – 10.00 Welcome address

Prof. Leonard Blussé, Leiden University

Prof. Syawal Gultom, M.Pd, Rector UNIMED

H. Syamsul Arifin, SE, Governor of North Sumatra

10.00 – 11.00 Keynote lecture

Chair: Peter Romijn (NIOD)

Bob Elson (University of Queensland) - *States of transition – or, the transition of states: the Indonesian case*

11.00 - 11.30 Coffee/tea

Session 1: The central state

11.30 – 13.00 Plenary session

Chair: Peter Romijn (NIOD)

1. Remco Raben (Utrecht University) - *The rise of the state in Indonesia Political performance and administrative practice in the late-colonial and early-independent period, 1910s-1960s*

2. Eric Tagliacozzo (Cornell University) - *The Indies and the world: state-building, promise and decay at a trans-national moment, 1910.*

2. Kwa Chong Guan and Ho Chi Tim (NTU) - *Archives in the making of post colonial Singapore*

13.00 – 14.30 Lunch

14.30 – 17.00 Parallel sessions

1a: Ideologues and Nationalists

Chair: Remco Raben (Utrecht University)

Discussant: Roger Tol (KITLV)

1. Farabi Fakhri (ENCOMPASS Leiden) - *The Nationalist Arguments in the Netherlands Indies during the Great War (1900-1918)*
2. Rachel Leow (Cambridge/NUS) - *Intellectuals from the inside*
3. Marije Plomp (NIOD) - *Money, media exposure and ethnic mediation. A civil servant's strategy to survive three states in transition: The career of Pieter Andreas de Queljoe (1895-1960).*

1b: The Rule of Law

Chair: Tengku Lukman Sinar (Sumatra Heritage Trust)

Discussant: Bambang Purwanto (UGM)

1. Robert Cribb (ANU) - *Illegality and the Indonesian state: colonial and revolutionary origins of the system of exemptions*
2. Marieke Bloembergen (UvA/KITLV) - *The late colonial state and the good policeman. Policing, intelligence and change in the Netherlands-Indies*
3. Annelieke Dirks (Leiden University) - *Judges and Juvenile Delinquents: The modern colonial state and (mis)communication between officials and civilians, 1918-1940*

18.30 Dinner at restaurant TIP TOP

Day 2, January 7
Host: Restaurant Omlandia
Medan

Session 2: The Local State

9.15 – 10.30 Plenary session

Chair: Djoko Suryo (UGM)

1. Bambang Purwanto (UGM) – to be announced
2. Henk Schulte Nordholt (VU/KITLV) - *Independence or modernity?*

10.30 – 11.00 Coffee/tea break

11.00 – 13.00 Parallel sessions

2a: The Interventionist State

Chair: Thomas Lindblad (Leiden University)

Discussant: Muridan Widjodjo (LIPI/UI)

1. Abdul Wahid (ENCOMPASS Leiden) - *The changing faces of colonial state: The abolition of revenue farming and its consequences for the Chinese, 1870s-1910s*
2. Li Wen (ENCOMPASS Leiden) - *Public Health Care on the Tobacco Plantations in Early Twentieth-Century Sumatra's East Coast*
3. Dewi Yuliaty (Diponegoro University) - *Frustration – aggression: the base factors of workers' strike. A case study on railway workers' strike in Semarang in the colonial era*

2b: Connecting to Civil Society

Chair: Henk Schulte Nordholt (VU/KITLV)

Discussant: Mona Lohanda (ANRI)

1. Monique Erkelens (Leiden University) - *The Kong Koan in Crisis 1890 – 1929: the Dutch ill-fated plans to abolish the Chinese officers system.*
2. Agus Suwignyo (UGM) - *Indonesian Teacher Training during the Japanese Occupation: A Case Account for the Emergence of Mass Intellectual Elites*
3. Ben Arps (Leiden University) - *The treatment of a treacherous teacher Mythology, nationalism, and education in Javanese Indonesia, 1930s to 1950s*

13.00 – 14.00 Lunch

Session 3: From Local to Global

14.00 – 15.15 Plenary session

Chair: Swaran Singh

1. Tim Harper (Cambridge University) - *Besides empire and nation: transnational perspectives on decolonization*
2. Thomas Lindblad (Leiden University) *Economic globalization and Indonesian decolonization?*

15.15 – 15.30 Coffee/tea break

15.30 – 17.30 Parallel sessions

3a: Transnational Perspectives

Chair: Tim Harper

Discussant: Swaran Singh

1. Jean Louis Margolin (University of Provence) - *Views on colonial Singapore, outside influences in Singapore independence leaders' thinkings*
2. Sunil Amrith (Birckbeck college, London) - *India and Southeast Asia: Connected Histories 1910-1960*
3. Carolien Stolte (Leiden University) - *Situating India: the development of Asianism in India from the late colonial to the early independent state, 1928 – 1955.*

3b: Geographies of Decolonization

Chair: Charles Jeurgens

Discussant: Sri Margana

1. Singgih Tri Sulistiyono (Diponegoro University) - *National Interest and Global Pressure: Decolonization of Maritime Law in Post-Independence Indonesia*
2. Chiara Formichi (SOAS/UGM) - *From cooperation to opposition - changes in the relationship between the Darul Islam and the Republic of Indonesia*
3. Bernarda Meteray (UI Jakarta) - *The New Guinean council: an icon of Papuan nationalism*

18.30 – 20.30 Dinner at Omlandia

20.30 – 21.00 Frank Okker – *Madelon Székely-Lulofs, a DELicious author*

21.00 – 22.00 Film: *Rubber* - introduced by Frank Okker

Day 3, January 8
Host: Department of History
Faculty of Letters
University of North Sumatra (USU)

Session 4: Medan and North Sumatra

9.00 – 11.00 (plenary only)

Chair: Leonard Blussé (Leiden University)

Discussant: Soehardi Hartono (Sumatra Heritage Trust)

1. Dirk Buiskool - *Local politics in Medan 1890-1942*

2. Yen-Ling TSAI (NUS) - *Displacing Chineseness in post-independence Medan*

3. Ichwan Azhari (UNIMED) - *Reconstruction of the role of Sumatran Intellectuals in Indonesian Nationalism*

4. Budi Augustono (USU) - *Religious Conversion: From Pelbegu, Local Religion, to Christianity in Karo Regency, North Sumatera in 1965-1970*

11.00 – 11.15 Coffee/tea break

Concluding session

11.15 – 13.00

Chair: Alicia Schrikker (Leiden University)

1. Reports from the 6 panels (5 min. per panel)

2. Peter Romijn (NIOD): *Global comparisons*

13.00 – 14.00 Lunch

14.00 – 17.00 Historic city tour through Medan (Dirk Buiskool and Soehardi Hartono) & drinks at Dharma Deli (formerly Hotel de Boer)

Research agenda and conference proposal

1. The meaning and performance of the state

The historiography of twentieth-century Southeast Asia (and elsewhere) often represents the state as a given thing, which reflects the dominant viewpoint of statist modernizers of the era. This is even the case for the period of transition from colonial to independent rule (the colonial state, state bodies under Japanese control, the different successor states after the Japanese occupation and decolonization).

In the first place, in any given period, 'the state' was less centralized, homogeneous and generally accepted than is often supposed. The colonial order was based on a fundamental tension between fragmentation and centralization, and essentially failed (nor did it aspire to) create a unitary government. Ever since the breakdown of colonial power at the onset of the Pacific War, countries became the theatre of war and were fractured between different military command structures (Japanese, Allied, former colonial and contending revolutionary armed forces). The end of Japanese rule enhanced a development of parallel orders, in the shape of incomplete successor states and breakaway regions. The discourse of central authority of late colonial times re-appeared in the shape and claims of the independent republics in the late 1940s and 1950s. But as an outcome, it may be argued, the early independent state had as much a provisional and experimental character as its predecessors.

Secondly, not only the content of the state (as an expression of identity) was in need of invention, but its functioning and meaning as well. Historical research has primarily focussed on the national character of political history and has applied a primarily institutional bias. Little attention has been paid to issues of performance of the state, its effectiveness, its processes of legitimation, or the expectations and experiences of citizens.

2. The state, its contenders, and its citizens

Many contenders have been involved in shaping the state and usurping its central functions in this period of transition and formation. Political contenders try to seize control of state and bureaucratic institutions for a number of reasons that may very well be interrelated, but should be separated analytically in order to grasp the underlying dynamics. When political actors, as parties, factions, or individuals, take control of the structure of the state they will initiate a broad repertoire of actions that serve quite different purposes: they use the political bodies for what they produce (make laws, enforce public order, broadcast messages), make new rulers visible as the ones who 'get things done', claim legitimacy for the appropriation of even more power, deny the use of such institutions to contenders, or even render institutions irrelevant and prepare their breakdown.

A research agenda directed towards the changing relations between state and society in times of transition should take account of what the state really means to all contestants. This can be discussed in terms of the search for legitimacy (modernity,

politicization, participation, representation), instrumentalisation (exercise of power, distribution of resources, provision of 'good government') and restructuring the state (acquisition and devolution of powers, creating new balances between centre and region, re-institutionalizing the meaning of ethnicity, redefinition of competences of the different power elites).

An analysis of the state as a site of contestation cannot remain limited to the central state. In the upheaval of the mid-twentieth century, countries of Southeast Asia became fragmented in many respects – political, ideological, religious, ethnic and legal. Moreover, such fragmentation did not necessarily occur within fixed geographical boundaries. Especially during transition, different state structures within a given territory were subject to competition for authority and the allegiance of different categories of people. The usual dichotomy between regionalism and central state loses significance, if we are able to understand how and which competing political ambitions, mind-frames and organising capacities were interrelating at different levels.

Specific attention should be directed towards so-called 'temporary', 'emergency' and 'revolutionary' institutions that are generic in regime transition, like political militias, courts of justice, purge boards, or offices for requisitioning and provision of food and other vital commodities. The same goes for representative bodies, elected or composed arbitrarily and constitutional assemblies, councils or courts.

3. Interpretative frames

- **Competing modernities**

The political transitions in mid-twentieth century Southeast Asia were heavily influenced by and were indeed directly connected to the events of the Pacific War, but at the same time, they should be considered part of a longer process of mental and political re-orientation in Indonesian society. The expansion of modern outlooks and practices had a strong potential for rising expectations of social and political change, as well as a stronger belief in the effect of self-development and agency. The mid-twentieth century gave rise to modernising tendencies, which actually ought to be studied as competing modernities. Different visions of modernity were being formulated and propagated by various contenders in Southeast Asia. Thus, more and more people learned to project their ambitions to the political order, as represented by the state and its institutions. The nationalist movement started to contest the political order of the colonial state, and when World War II occurred, intensified the attention to the state institutions as an arena for political struggle and instruments for change worthwhile to take over.

- **Legitimation and state performance**

The projection of visions of political modernities to the colonial polities in Asia started soon after the turn of the century, with the rise of the interventionist colonial state, the crystallization of decentralized local administrations, and the development of proto-democratic institutions. The idea of legitimacy by popular acceptance or even acclaim became gradually stronger since the 1910s. This was not an unambiguous call for democratic institutions, but enhanced the idea of state performance as a legitimating process. Under the wings of the political and social emancipation movement, freedom as

popular sovereignty and social justice became the main slogans of modernity. The contents of these terms continued to be debated until long after independence.

- **Geographies: from local to global**

Twentieth-century modernity called for, and facilitated, communications of people, ideas and ideologies. Identification and rejection across borders were part of the same process of defining one's place in the world. The international flow of ideas and people were an essential part of the political recreations of this transition period. It became possible for actors old and new to relate in their thinking and actions to what happened in the outside world that had hitherto remained fundamentally unknown.

The primary geographical framework of the ENCOMPASS research agenda is Southeast Asia, in its dynamic relations with the outside world, both within an Asian and a global perspective. The ENCOMPASS programme should therefore not confine itself to national geographies or even regions, but establish an analytical geography on different levels, from the local to the global.

4. Programmatic intentions

The fundamentally erratic, contentious and blurred picture of statehood in twentieth-century Southeast Asia suggests several important matters that the ENCOMPASS project tries to explore:

- 1) The functioning, the role and the meaning of 'the state' should be an important object of fundamental research.
- 2) We should try to find workable alternatives to the top-down approach of the state. The perspective of the political and bureaucratic centres ought to be challenged in order to promote a stronger understanding of key issues in political transitions: the changing modes of operation of the state, the contested nature of central authority, the variable effectiveness of state authority, the changing participation and expectations of citizens into the state.
- 3) We need to depart from the myth of a clear and unbroken lineage of state institutions developing from the colonial to independent times. What is required now is to study the state in its sequences of development as a series of politically driven, overlapping institutions, within a broader context of social ambitions, and political upheaval.
- 4) Ruling out path dependency, legacies and continuities should be explored and analysed. This could explain why, for instance, the territory of the Netherlands Indies in the end remained intact and went integrally into the hands of the Indonesian Republic. Similarly, the 'postcolonial' character of the independent state, often described in terms of its 'national' character, deserves further analysis.
- 5) It seems important to overcome the traditional debate about 'developing' states, i.e. is it a strong state, a weak state, or an unfinished state. The 'bricolage' that the many

postcolonial states in some sense were, meant more than such a static disqualification. The issue would be to study the flexibility of the institutions that shaped postcolonial Indonesia during a specific period of its existence, even if they were abandoned, or not fully developed.

6) The emphasis needs to be on acquiring more knowledge about grass-roots political life, about the local level, about the participation and agency of 'ordinary people' and in particular the middle classes. We need to explore what it was that defined political participation, sense of belonging and loyalty, as well as definition of one's own interests in the form of political purpose, before it will be possible to know more about crucial forms of politicisation of daily life and integration with larger scale political frameworks in the region and the nation.

7) Political interregna are pivotal times of renewal, experimentation, and mobility. Especially on the local level it is possible to study the essential phenomenon of how political interregnum works. How do temporary structures develop, and is such a development driven by intervention from the part of old elites, or do *homines novi* step forward? And, perhaps even more significant: is there continuity in political actors and personnel that transcends one or more regime changes? How do such people acquire the legitimacy of their positions?

Abstracts

Session 1: The Central State

The rise of the state in Indonesia

Political performance and administrative practice in the late-colonial and early-independent period, 1910s-1960s

Remco Raben (Utrecht University)

The presentation explores the operation of central power and regime legitimacy in Indonesia in the transition from the late colonial to early independent state in Indonesia. In the end, few Indonesians appear to have been satisfied by the promise of the modern independent state. Democracy bore the brunt, but state performance is crucial to understand the problems and disaffections in Indonesia in the late colonial period and first decades of its independence.

The emphasis will be on the ability of the state to perform crucial services to the population and on its effects on the legitimation of state power. Main topics will be:

- 1) The character of the late-colonial state and its legacies for the postcolonial state. The question whether the late colonial state was weak or strong leaves many questions unsolved. The late colonial state was in essence non-hegemonistic and therefore offered a weak starting-point for the modernist claims and aims of the independent state.
- 2) The issue of state legitimacy and legitimation. Whereas most literature emphasizes the importance of the political identity of the government and the issue of citizenship as main sources of legitimacy, state performance deserves some consideration as another key to the people's appreciation of a regime.
- 3) An exploration of bureaucratic and administrative practice in Indonesia. Bureaucracies and bureaucratic procedures are commonly considered to be the defining characteristic of the modern state. An assessment of the trappings and workings of the Indonesian bureaucracies helps to understand the effectiveness of the state and its relations to the people.
- 4) The workings of representational politics. Although the democratic institutions were considered to have been deficient in colonial and independent Indonesia, they set a tradition and a norm to which was constantly being referred by the leadership and the population. Also outside the formal democratic institutions, ideas of popular representation and people's sovereignty were often strong and brought people into action – not as part of the state but often directed against its inability to deliver and fulfill the expectations of the people.

The Indies and the World: State-Building, Promise, and Decay at a Trans-National Moment, 1910

Eric Tagliacozzo (Cornell University)

Scholars such as Ray Huang in his ground-breaking book *1587: A Year of No Significance* have shown how examining a single year in some detail can often say interesting and unexpected things about longer-term trends of a particular time and place. Huang did this to look at the patterns of China in the late Ming period, and he presaged not only the extraordinary cultural florescence that was beginning at the time, but also the seeds of Ming decay which would give way (very violently, in fact) to the imposition of Ch'ing rule a few decades later. A similar exercise might be attempted profitably for the Dutch East Indies, and the Malay world more generally, in the early part of the twentieth century. Soon after the *fin de siècle* the Indies was a thriving place: the Dutch appeared to be at or near the height of their rule of the islands, and serious anti-colonial sentiment in the form of organized actions, movements or parties had yet to appear. Yet even at this apex of colonial power, in many ways, seeds were being sewn just as in Ming China for cataclysms that were just over the horizon. The Dutch East Indies state was indeed vital in a number of ways, several of which we will examine in this essay. The future looked favorable for continued conquest and control, in other words, and in the eyes of the Dutch themselves, this validated their authority and gave them the moral right to rule. Many of these same Dutchmen would have been aghast to see the changes that would come merely three decades later, when all that had been built in the preceding three centuries by their forefathers came tumbling around their feet in the matter of a few months.

The present essay tries to freeze-frame this moment around 1910 – with a few years' leeway in either direction to accommodate extant sources – and ask how the Dutch colonial state looked at this pinnacle of power. It was the moment before the gangrene set in. Optimism was everywhere, Dutch technology and the theater of rule were omnipresent and more or less unchallenged, and the colony felt like a true “success”, except maybe to those who found themselves ruled in it. Critically, this was very much a transnational moment: though Dutch power was predicated on internal control of a variety of Indies populations, much of this legitimacy was granted from the colony taking its place vis-à-vis other European colonies as an example of “just and effective rule”. I outline this process in its many administrative and organizational parts below, following the evolution of state knowledge-projects in the first third of the piece, coercive projects in the second third of the article, and maintenance efforts in the final third of the essay. In each rubric I show how the Dutch achieved things they had not achieved before in the Indies with regard to the image and actuality of rule. I also suggest throughout, however, the tenuous nature of this gathering dominion, even in the face of those who saw the Indies as a “thousand year project” of the Dutch people – a beacon to white rule which showed off the very best that European civilization had to offer.

Archives in the making of post-colonial Singapore

Kwa Chong Guang and Ho Chi Tim (NTU Singapore)

Within the context of decolonisation, nationalism and independence during the immediate post-WWII period, the archives cannot continue to fulfill its perceived function as a passive uniform repository of documents or as a diligent neutral record of past activities. Deliberate choices have been, unwittingly and otherwise, and will continue to be made in deciding the contents and consequently, the scope and direction of any archives. This paper argues that records held by archives should not be seen as mere factual documentation of the past, but as memories of those who chose to document and store the information in the archives. For instance, should British records documenting transition of power to the Malaya and Singapore after 1945, be seen as a factual account of historical events or as the social memory of British officials working through a difficult situation? This shifting definition of the archives is further illustrated by several Singaporean historians contesting the dominant national narrative of Singapore's history, arguing that such a narrative has excluded unwanted and unhelpful elements in crafting a national past. The intellectual and institutional contest moreover lays bare the problems confronting the National Archives of Singapore (NAS) in adjusting to a post-colonial situation where younger historians are challenging the dominant historical frameworks. The so-called Singapore Story has been institutionalised by the holdings and the somewhat contradictory objectives of the NAS to be the corporate memory of the Singapore government as well as the collective memory of the Singapore nation. To that end, the paper also argues that the historian, more than ever, plays more than a significant role in determining and defining the role and function of archives, as seen by the active role played by historians of Singapore in questioning the scope and character of the NAS.

Session 1a: Ideologues and Nationalists

The Nationalist Arguments in the Netherlands Indies during the Great War (1900-1918)

Farabi Fakhri (ENCOMPASS Leiden/UGM)

The paper investigates the rise of nationalism in the Netherlands Indies during the period leading to and within World War I. It represents a time of flux with increasing transference of political ideas between borders and areas and the build up of political angst as nationalist and imperialist sentiments reached fever pitch. Through reading the nationalist arguments of various political leaders, such as Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, Douwes Dekker and Noto Soeroto, within the backdrop of a changing geopolitical world and a century's worth of colonial knowledge-gathering, the kinds of ideas that were present and had important influences can be analyzed. At a time when the idea of the Indonesian nation-state was still in unformed infancy, the various and often times contradictory ideas of nationalist thinkers represented possibilities for different kinds of

Indonesian nationalism. Ideas came from either the knowledge-gathering project of the colonial state or within the international discourse that had become accessible to an increasing number of Indonesian. The precarious position of the Netherlands Indies, the awakening of Indonesian, especially Javanese, political consciousness and the realization of an Indonesian/Javanese past had contributed to the types of nationalist sentiments that were at play at the time. Reappraising this gives us the opportunity to understand how much (or how little) the ideas of present day Indonesian nationalism were rooted within the discussion of the early 20th century.

Intellectuals From The Inside

Rachel Leow (Cambridge/ NUS)

In this paper I look at four interpretations of the role of the intellectual in developing nations as perceived 'from the inside', through four texts produced by four Malaysian and Indonesian thinkers within about a decade of each other: Syed Hussein Alatas, Usman Awang, Pramoedya Ananta Toer and Soedjatmoko. Each of these thinkers took different routes to the public, but whether through academia, poetry, literature or diplomacy, each brought certain themes and concerns to bear on their messages to, as much as on behalf of, the communities of people who looked to them for leadership. Through an examination of the themes that arise in these texts, the lives of these authors themselves, and the extent to which they embodied or achieved their own prescriptions, I present a picture of Third World intellectuals as they emerge in these texts, both prescriptively (how they ought to be) and empirically (how they in fact are). By bringing together the words and actions of these intellectuals and embedding them in the global and local contexts in which they move, I examine the idea of what role an intellectual can play in developing societies, and in particular their role as mediators between audiences, communities, ideas, languages, governments and contexts. In a region like Southeast Asia, where national boundaries exercise their homogenizing forces over heterogenous areas, intellectuals, these eclectic mediators, are a constant reminder of continuing plurality at the most basic levels of the nation, and these self-assessments I explore in the paper are an enduring testimony to their vision and sensitivity to the most pressing issues of modern Malaysia and Indonesia.

Money, media exposure and ethnic mediation. A civil servant's strategy to survive three states in transition.

The career of Pieter Andreas de Queljoe (1895-1960)

Marije Plomp (Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, Amsterdam)

The working life of civil servant and publicist Pieter Andreas de Queljoe (1895-1960) spans three different political orders: the Dutch colonial, the Japanese occupational and lastly, the Indonesian independent republican order. From an insignificant civil servant in the colonial administration, he became a well-known public figure in post-war Jakarta

and self-proclaimed representative of the republican Moluccans. Because of this status, he was able to exercise considerable influence on the leading politicians concerning government policy towards the Molucca's and the Moluccan communities living outside the Moluccan islands.

De Queljoe was an ardent nationalist, whose main goal was a unified, modern, Indonesia, where all the different ethnic groups would co-exist in a harmonious manner. Although his efforts pertaining to this goal – and there were many – differed considerably in each consecutive period, they were all directed to gaining influence: in the political, as well as in the public arena.

Apart from the media exposure he got through the publication of his 'political' novel *Di dalam kamus gunung Salak* (1949) and his own radio talk show, perhaps the most important device for De Queljoe was money. Despite his meager income from the government, he had a conspicuous luxurious style of living. The mansion, the Cadillac, the parties: it all enabled him to mingle with the Jakartan political elite. It is therefore no coincidence that his career – pre-war and post-war - is marked by four cases of fraud and embezzlement. In the colonial society, the money brought him the status he could not attain otherwise, because of his dark skin. After the war, it made up for his lack of the university degree: in the early years of the republic, most seats in the government were taken by nationalists with a university education.

This paper will address the following questions: How did De Queljoe act on the changed circumstances after 1942 and 1945 in order to safeguard his position? Which strategies were successful and which were not? In what way did state policies on race and labor regulations of the consecutive periods shape De Queljoe's career? How did his affiliations with ethnic, religious, political and sociocultural organizations strengthen his position

Session 1b: The Rule of Law

Illegality and the Indonesian state: colonial and revolutionary origins of the system of exemptions.

Robert Cribb (Australian National University, Canberra)

Indonesia's contemporary legal order is marked by a far-reaching system of exemptions from law. That is to say, Although the statute book is relatively clear about what is permitted and what is illegal, in practice those with sufficient power or with good connections to government enjoy an exemption from the force of the law that far exceeds the discretion that is a normal part of all legal systems. Explaining how this system of exemptions arose is an important element in devising strategies for remedying it. This paper will examine the roots of the exemption system in colonial legal pluralism, in the late emergence of a development programme and the nationalist response, and in the circumstances of the revolution.

Judges and Juvenile Delinquents: the workings of colonial courts in the Netherlands Indies, 1918-1940

Annelieke Dirks (Leiden University)

A closer analysis of the juvenile reform policy of the Dutch colonial authority in the early twentieth century can offer a fresh perspective on the late colonial state and its rule of law. Combating juvenile delinquency and ‘rescuing’ criminal children was on the agenda of both the colonial state and civil organizations like Pro Juventute and Moehammadijah. After the establishment of the first state re-education institutes for juvenile delinquents in 1918, more and more Indonesian youth were re-educated each year. In 1918 just 73 children between the ages of eight and sixteen years old were living in a reformatory, while in 1930 this had grown into a total of 1139 youngsters.

The colonial courts played a crucial role in the re-education system, since the judges had to decide if children who had committed a criminal act should pay a fine, serve time in prison, could be sent home with a warning or should be re-educated in an institution. This paper analyzes how the colonial courts operated with regards to juvenile delinquents and shows the divide between the ideals of the law and the problematic reality of its implementation. It deals with the origins and consequences of miscommunication between judges, children and their parents and compares the different attitudes of far-away state officials in Batavia with those of local judges.

The late colonial state and the good policeman Policing, intelligence and change in the Netherlands-Indies

Marieke Bloembergen (Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean studies/KITLV, Leiden, The Netherlands)

The study of modern colonial policing provides helpful insight in the workings of the late colonial state, which was neither completely weak nor omnipotent, but by nature fragmented in its authority. This fragmented nature of colonial authority was also the problem of colonial policing. Through its organization and hierarchy the colonial police force, moreover, makes clear how the colonial state worked both on principles of cooperation and inclusion, and on difference and exclusion: in the 1930s the police force was for 96 % staffed by Indonesian recruits; only a very small minority of Indonesian policemen could, however, reach the higher ranks, and this only fairly late in the course of the 1930s.

The modern police of the Netherlands-Indies, created in the first two decades of the twentieth century were an answer to a typical colonial problem: the struggling of a colonial state that wanted to be civilized but saw its legitimacy founder, and that based its authority on violence but also strove for consensual authority. The police were, moreover, the face of the colonial state. It was therefore in the interest of the colonial state, if it wanted to be trustworthy to its civilizing promise, to provide in good policing, in policemen that would be effective but also professional and civilized, forceful but also careful, and contributing to colonial order and civilization. This ‘good policeman’ was the ideal of modern colonial policing. It was an ideal, because it was hard to combine

with the practice of permanent political policing, and because of abundant examples of police violence to be found in the colonial police's archives and in newspaper reports.

Focusing on individual examples of the policing of crime and (political) changes in Sumatra in the 1930s, this paper will examine how and to what extent the ideal of good policing functioned within the Netherlands-Indies' colonial police force, and with which effects. The aim is to get further insight in the dilemmas of colonial policing – and in what was colonial about it – and thus in the functioning of the late colonial state.

Session 2: The Local State

Independence or modernity?

Henk Schulte Nordholt (KITLV Leiden/VU Amsterdam)

The nationalist interpretation of Indonesia's history has for too long monopolized Indonesia's picture of the transition from the late colonial period to independence. At the same time the Dutch interpretation of the late colonial period has overestimated for too long the role of the Dutch in maintaining colonial control. Both approaches either misinterpret or ignore the central role played by the indigenous (lower) middle classes in sustaining colonial rule. The majority of the indigenous middle classes was not automatically drawn into the nationalist movement. Instead, they were more interested in achieving modernity, which implied instrumental loyalty towards the colonial state. This, on its turn helps to explain why so few Dutchman managed to maintain control over such a large archipelago.

An analysis of the quest for modernity leads us into an investigation of everyday life of Indonesian middle classes. As a first stage of this research I suggest to see how a colonial education of desire tried to persuade Indonesian middle classes through advertisements and educational illustrations to achieve a nonpolitical sort of modernity in which the nuclear family appears as the key vehicle to happiness.

Session 2a: The interventionist state

The changing faces of colonial state:

The abolition of revenue farming and its consequences for the Chinese, 1870s-1910s

Abdul Wahid (ENCOMPASS, Leiden University)

Taxation lay at the heart of Dutch colonialism in Java. It served as main bureaucratic device of the colonial state to strengthen political control and extract available economic resources of the colony. It was not purely adopted from a Western administrative

tradition but partly an improvement of the existing traditional-feudal systems. During the height of colonialism in the 19th century Java, the colonial government created various kinds of taxes to meet the increase demand of revenues to finance the colonial state and the motherland. Beside the well-known cultivation system (*cultuurstelsel*), the colonial state also continued to develop the *pachtstelsel* or revenue farming, which had been practiced since the VOC period. It was the practice of the state to farm out the licence to collect taxes to the non-state parties by means of auction. The Chinese, with their vast experience, economic network, and capital played instrumental role and dominated the tax farming system.

The alliance between colonial state and the Chinese tax farmers on the one hand reveals the limits of state power, but on the other hand it shows its unlimited authority in creating alternative ways of revenue extractions. In the course of time, the *pachtstelsel* developed into an effective system and filled the government's treasury with revenues particularly from profitable commodities like opium. But in the longer run, the system became more problematic for the government, since it provided opportunities for the Chinese to expand their immeasurable control over the local economy. In the end of the 19th century, the colonial government worried about the growing influence of the Chinese on the local economy, which threatened the Dutch business and impoverished indigenous people. Responding to these conditions, the colonial government gradually abolished the *pachtstelsel*, and launched a new revenue system that was to lead to a modern fiscal system. By using colonial documents and other relevant sources, this paper tries to uncover the aims and reasons of those changing policies and the Chinese response.

Public Health Care on the Tobacco Plantations in Early Twentieth-Century Sumatra's East Coast

Wen Li (ENCOMPASS, Leiden)

From the late nineteenth century, large-scale tobacco plantations developed on the thinly populated Sumatra's East Coast. The demand of a considerable input of labor was met by indentured labor, the so-called coolie labor, first largely coming from the Straits Settlements and China and then from Java. The existing studies on the coolie issues in Sumatra's East Coast, done both by anthropologists and by historians, focus on the role played by the colonial state and European planters. On the one hand, Ann Stoler and Jan Breman highly criticize the colonial state and those European planters in terms of their exploitative practices toward laborers. On the other hand, several historians argue against Stoler and Breman by offering a more benign view of the role played by the colonial government and emphasizing that improvement occurred over time in the living and work conditions of coolie laborers. In this paper, by investigating the Medical Journal (*Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch- Indië*) and reports from the Laboratory for Pathology in Medan (*Verslag van het Pathologisch Laboratorium*), I'd like to join this controversy by reconstructing the historical development of coolies' public health care in Sumatra's East Coast in the early twentieth century. With the contributions from such experts as Dr. Schuffner and Dr. Kuenen, public health was significantly improved by the

application of the practical hygiene and therapy on the tobacco plantations, and one of the most advanced tropical public health systems was finally established.

**Frustration – aggression: the base factors of workers’ strike.
A case study on railway workers’ strike in Semarang in the colonial era**

Dewi Yulianti

This research aims to analyse the base factors of the railway workers’ strike in Semarang, Central Java, in the Dutch Colonial Era. Historical method, that is finding and examining the historical records, is used to get authentic and credible facts. The historical analysis is supported by other relevant social sciences concepts, especially psychology, sociology, and politics, to reach the objective constructions of the history of railway workers’ strike in Semarang.

The result of this research can be summarized as follows. Semarang, a city which has been industrialized since the middle of the 19th century, was a nutritious area for the growth and the development of industrial community which consisted of employer and worker classes. In this industrial community, capitalism lacking appreciation to the workers’ force led the workers to be frustrated. Frustration could make every human being or animal to be aggressive. This research shows that frustration-aggression is the base factors of the workers’ movement, among others in the form of strike. Besides these frustration-aggression factors, this research also finds some factors that move the workers to strike, namely sociological and political factors. Organization, economic and political interests, cultural system, and ideology (nationalism, marxism, and communism) are the theoretical frames needed to reach the whole story of the railway workers’ strike in Semarang in the colonial era.

Session 2b: Connecting to Civil Society

**Indonesian Teacher Training during the Japanese Occupation:
A Case Account for the Emergence of *Mass Intellectual Elites***

Agus Suwignyo (Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta)

The period of the Japanese occupation in Indonesia, although relatively short, laid a critical foundation to the future ideological shift of teacher training of the country. One notion dealt with the emergence of *mass intellectual elites* that both the teaching profession and the short-lived system of teacher training had made effects under the Japanese military government.

This paper attempts to identify some ideological aspects of the changing nature of Indonesian teacher training and teaching profession during the Japanese occupation. It aims to account for a case in which a colonial layer of intellectual elite class was, through

changing policies of schooling, transformed and relegated into a social class of the mass among the Indonesian society.

Several studies have discussed fundamental changes in Indonesia's social class structure that the Japanese occupation brought about (W.F. Wertheim 1955; Leslie H. Palmier 1955; Justus M. van der Kroef 1956). The occupation stimulated a widening participation of the mass in social and political public affairs. In the meantime, there also arose what Anthony Reid (1975) calls 'dangerous chasms' between three major rival groups: the secular nationalists, the Islamic leaders and the *Pamong-praja*. The changing class structure is particularly important to notice. While mass participation could have meant dispersal of the colonial segregated society, the mounting rivalry among elites signified a diminishing status of the elites as socially ascribed.

It is quite obvious that students of the Dutch-Indonesian teacher training schools were, by training, to be bound to an elite status in colonial society. However, when the colonial society fell apart following the Japanese arrival in Indonesian islands, those students lost opportunities of being ascribed to an elite status that their education would have implied. Some of the students returned home and some others got stranded in different places after the Japanese closed down the colonial schools and dormitories somewhere in March 1942. In August/September 1942, when most public schools were re-opened including the teacher training schools in Yogyakarta and Jakarta, only some of those former Dutch-educated Indonesian students got back to schools. Some others were taken to the Japanese military training camps, for example that close to Sukabumi. One or two found a job, teaching at Elementary Schools, the *Sekolah Rakjat*, or resuming administrative posts, which the Dutch officials had had to leave. But all these seemed not to last long as school boys and girls were then prepared for war mobilization.

Generally speaking it is hard to argue, at least until a later stage of the Japanese occupation, in how far the Indonesian would-be teachers formerly trained in Dutch schools did belong to any one of the three categories of elites Anthony Reid mentions. Those Indonesian students had followed a colonial school system that almost totally isolated them from the nationalist movement and idea of Indonesia. For example, while eye-witness testimonies and other studies indicate that a number of Japanese military personnel had been present in Indonesian towns and cities years before the Japanese landing on Java, it took most students of Dutch-Indonesian teacher training schools a great deal of time—even until the moment of the shutting down of the schools by the Japanese military early in 1942—so as to get aware of the changing macro political context. In addition, there is evidence that upon the Japanese arrival in 1942, identity politics as regard to religious diversities among students of the teacher training schools began to spark out in a conscious manner only by way of 'natural' mode at individual levels, rather than in intended design by the Japanese authorities as Harry J. Benda (1955) pointed out. Finally, at least for the last decade before the landing of the Japanese troops on Java and Sumatra, many students of the Dutch-Indonesian teacher training schools in the islands had come from families of non-aristocracy background. Some even had come from low-class families according to the colonial standard of social stratification so that they had had to follow a longer structured way of schooling before entering the teacher training schools. These different characteristic situations of students of the teacher training schools, but more crucially the changing political context of the period which

they had been in, seemed to have transformed the social status of those Indonesian intellectuals into the public mass status of the society.

Along the line of investigation, curriculum materials and schools books during the Japanese occupation provide information about the school practices. However, the changing political and ideological context that the Japanese authorities had implemented in school lives, for example in the form of open system of school admission, serves a critical point as to understand the disruption of the colonial school function of social class reproduction. In this paper, the changing nature of the teacher training schools and teaching profession—especially with regard to social class reproduction—is studied on the basis of oral history data and, to a lesser extent, written archives.

The Kong Koan in Crisis 1890-1929: the Dutch failed plans to abolish the Chinese Officers System

Monique Erkelens (Leiden University)

The Chinese Council (Kong Koan) played an important governmental and social role in the Chinese community of Batavia from the eighteenth until the twentieth century. It was a semi-autonomous ethnic organization that collaborated with the Dutch colonial government in administering the Chinese community by collecting taxes, explaining government rules, settling disputes etc. Other activities included the supervision and coordination of social and religious matters, including education, marriage registration, cemeteries, public ceremonies and temple management.

The Council consisted of carefully selected members, directly appointed by the governor-general. They were civil officers who were given the military titles of major, captain and lieutenant. The major was chairman of the Council and head of the Chinese community. The officers were assisted by wardmasters, secretaries, clerks and messengers, all non-government officials. Only wealthy Chinese from the local elite were eligible. Therefore, membership of the Council guaranteed authority, high prestige and influence. Lower jobs such as wardmaster, secretary or clerk also were attractive as the Chinese Council was regarded as a prestigious organization.

In the early twentieth century the prestige and authority of the Kong Koan was challenged owing to several factors. The Dutch colonial administration intensified its direct rule over the archipelago, taking over several core activities from the Council, making the latter gradually more and more redundant. Furthermore, the Council was attacked by emerging Chinese nationalist interest groups. Influenced by the new nationalist movement in China, Java's leading Chinese and Malay newspaper Sin Po accused the Chinese officers of serving the colonial administration like lackeys, and successfully pleaded for the abolition of the Kong Koan in the early twentieth century. Ironically, the Council in Batavia was partially resurrected afterwards because the community could not do without its social tasks.

The aim of this presentation is to show how the colonial government attempted, but failed, to abolish the Chinese officers system in Batavia. Detailed plans had been drawn up to make the Chinese Council defunct and to place the Chinese community under direct European administration in the three main cities on Java, i.e. Batavia,

Semarang and Soerabaja. However, the government completely misjudged the situation of Batavia and the Council managed to survive the plans of the colonial government. In fact, *majoor der Chineezen* Khouw Kim An was reappointed in 1927 and the Council maintained most of its functions until the death of major Khouw in 1942.

The treatment of a treacherous teacher

Mythology, nationalism, and education in Javanese Indonesia, 1930s to 1950s

Bernard Arps (Leiden University)

Among the most celebrated Javanese stories is *Dewa Ruci*. Known in many versions and presented in many media including literature and shadowplay, it tells of Bima's studying with the pandit Durna, Bima's arduous quest for the purifying water, his encounter with the Deity in the ocean, and his eventual enlightenment having entered the Deity's body through His ear.

The historical variability of this story is apt for examining crucial changes in the representation of teaching and teachers after Indonesian independence and the use of mythology for advocating new perceptions in the educational realm. In the 1930s, Bima's quest focused on deeply personal mystical enlightenment and his *guru*'s role was dubious: he intended to send Bima to his death. Certain renditions of *Dewa Ruci* were even concluded with Bima giving Durna a severe beating for his treachery. In the ideological climate of the early 1950s, Durna was "rehabilitated" through a recasting of his character, while Bima's quest and his faithfulness to his teacher were reformulated as heroism.

I will refer particularly to the depiction of this teacher–pupil relationship in two influential exegeses of the *Dewa Ruci* story: a mystical one expounded by the Javanist Prince Mangkoenagoro VII in 1933 and an Indonesian nationalist one published by the Ministry of Education, Teaching, and Culture in 1954.

Session 3: From Local to Global

Besides empire and nation: transnational perspectives on decolonization

Tim Harper (Cambridge University)

Not least of the transitions of the end of empire was the entrenchment of historical narrative within a national framework. This has been remarkably enduring, and successive trends in post-imperial historiography, from conceptualisations of the 'late colonial state', the 'new imperial history' of colonial cultures, to new work on memory and colonial-metropolitan interactions have infrequently challenged this. More recent 'transnational' or 'cosmopolitan' turns to scholarship have often promised more than they

have delivered in this regard. This is particular the case with decolonization itself: ideas and experiences that were lived beyond, or besides, empire and nation, remain marginal. This paper suggest ways in which broader geographies and different chronologies of transition might help us look at these processes in a fresh way.

Economic globalization and Indonesian decolonization?

J. Thomas Lindblad (Leiden University)

Indonesia inherited an economy from the colonial period which was highly integrated into the international economy with Indonesia serving as a major supplier of vital raw materials to the world market. After the Japanese occupation and the Indonesian Revolution, Indonesia re-entered the world economy in the early 1950s at a time of booming international trade. However, although political independence had been fully acknowledged, economic decolonization was yet to take place and in fact was substantiated during the 1950s. This contribution studies the interplay between outside forces of economic globalization and the transition of control over economic resources at home from Dutch private capital to Indonesians. This is done by looking at, amongst others, the record of the 1950s in terms of foreign trade. In addition, the successive deterioration of the climate in Indonesia for incoming foreign investment is also considered. The paper focuses on the 1950s but also gives some attention to the first half of the 1960s.

Session 3a: Transnational Perspectives

Views on colonial Singapore, outside influences in Singapore independence leaders' thinkings

Jean-Louis Margolin (University of Provence, Aix / Research Institute on Southeast Asia, Marseille)

Early in 1959, a People's Action Party (PAP) triumph at the incoming Parliamentary elections looked highly probable; it was going to put Lee Kuan Yew's team at the helm for the last steps on the road to independence. Hence the major importance of the abundant, thoughtfully-worded programmatic statements then published by the party. They offer an assessment, surprisingly balanced, of 140 years of British colonial rule. They dress a portrait of the island, of the Malay peninsula and of Southeast Asia at a crossroads in their history: the proposed political agenda is based on an evaluation of resources and potentialities. At the same time, the obvious proximity of independence induces a preoccupation for careful economic planning: Singapore's financial and intellectual resources have to be tapped, and combined with Malaya's own, without provoking the wrath of the British. A liberal and open political system is projected, but the emphasis already is upon efficiency and pragmatism. Democratization is an essential

goal, but it seems to mean not much more than a clean and effective government. A merger with Malaya is presented as the best hope for a future prosperity, taking for granted the “natural complementarity” of the two territories. Finally communism, still influent inside the PAP itself, is rejected in favour of a vaguely defined socialism.

That programme shows the dominant influence of European social-democracy (first and foremost Attlee’s British Labour Party experience) and of India’s Nehruvite socialism. Sukarno’s Indonesia, Nasser’s Egypt and Mao Zedong’s China are more infrequently mentioned as valuable models, and considered as potential friends. But the idea of a semi-planned economy, with the government as the major actor, should also be related to Lee Kuan Yew’s team formative years, in the late 40s and 50s. They seem then to have been influenced by thinkers such as John Strachey (a “revisionist” British Labourite), George Padmore (the famous Trinidad-born Pan-African leader) and Ashok Mehta (close to India’s Prime Minister Nehru since 1955, he became in 1962 his Economic Affairs and Planning Minister). All three of them had been Marxists, close to the international communist movement, but had converted later on to social-democratic conceptions focussing on economic and social planning, welfarism, social justice and equal opportunities. They rejected widespread nationalisations and egalitarianism, and were staunch anti-communists. More discreetly, Lee Kuan Yew –as many if not most leaders of postwar Southeast Asia- had been deeply marked by the ability of the occupying Japanese to mobilize people and resources, as well as to make themselves respected through ideology and through fear.

As early as the 60s, many of the 1959 views will be thoroughly reviewed, and sometimes abandoned. Thus Sweden or Israel will be considered as more valuable models than India or Indonesia. But, much more than most people think, the PAP’s formative years have left their marks on what Singapore is today.

India and Southeast Asia: Connected Histories, 1910-1960

Sunil S. Amrith (Birkbeck, University of London)

This paper aims to explore the changing nature of the historical connection between India and Southeast Asia in the first half of the twentieth century. The basic argument is that the historical experiences of the lands either side of the Bay of Bengal were deeply connected in this period; but the nature of the relationship between India and Southeast Asia changed as a result of new ways of governing the circulation of peoples, ideas, and ideologies. Looking at the shifting nature of the connection between India and Southeast Asia may thus illuminate the broader themes of this conference: political transition; the overlapping dynamics of transnational, national and regional histories; and changing representations of political authority.

The paper will focus on three particular ‘moments’ of transition, in which the connections between India and Southeast Asia underwent significant change.

1. The debates surrounding the end of indentured labour from India to Southeast Asia, in the 1910s. The political and legislative controversy over Indian indentured labour sparked important debates on the movement of people across imperial boundaries in Southeast Asia; about the rights of ‘immigrant’ labour in

- the Dutch East Indies, Burma and Malaya; and on the nature of the economic and political relationships linking both sides of the Bay of Bengal.
2. The second moment of transition I focus on is the discovery (or rediscovery) of the narrative of 'Greater India' in the 1920s and 1930s: archaeological discoveries, and the scholarship of both colonial Orientalists and Indian nationalists, revived the idea that the local cultures of Southeast Asia were heavily 'Indianized' in nature. This imagination of a particular deep cultural connection between India and Southeast Asia, came at a time when local nationalists in Southeast Asia sought other, more 'autonomous' narratives of their own national pasts, and at precisely the moment when the position of Indian labour was called into question by colonial administrations and local nationalists during the Depression.
 3. The third 'moment' in the paper is the post-colonial moment, from c. 1946-9. In this period, the relationship between India and Southeast Asia—in particular between India and Indonesia—was reconstructed. The paper argues that this post-colonial transition marked a fundamental shift in the nature of connections between India and Southeast Asia, which were now channelled overwhelmingly through *states*. As a result, the historical narrative linking Indian and Southeast Asian history itself underwent a transition, towards the traditions of nationalist historiography.

Situating India: the development of *Asianism* in India from the late colonial to the early independent state, 1928-1955

Carolien Stolte (Leiden University)

From the nineteenth century to the opening decades of the twentieth, most leading Indian intellectuals envisaged a modern India that would be similar to the nation-states of Europe. However, as the Independence Movement gained in strength, a notable shift away from the European model occurred. In order to become a participant in the international comity of nations, India had to redefine its geographical identity and cultural individuality. Gradually, more emphasis was laid on India's distinctive cultural and historical identity as well as its Asian surroundings. The discourse on India's international positioning as it developed towards Independence was more in line with Gandhi's principles of *ahimsa* and *satyagraha* than with European political concepts, and was strongly directed towards the political awakening of Asia and pan-Asian cooperation.

After Independence, these ideas looked for expression in the postwar international arena. India had to consolidate itself internationally as a sovereign nation-state. It also had to consolidate itself domestically through the processes of electoral democracy, which empowered groups and individuals in civil society to become more vocal. The question then, is how the various elements of civil society viewed India's Asian relations, and in how far they challenged the political idiom of the new state in this respect. The state did not have a monopoly on Asian relations, given the existence of strong civil organisations with Asian networks predating Independence. It will be seen that the theatre of India's Asia-policies became an important site of contestation, in which dissent over

the question of 'Western modernity' versus the 'Asian self' was voiced. The state sought legitimacy for its policies through a rhetorical mode of reasoning, appealing to (perceived) Indian traditions, while both proponents and opponents provided feedback. Looking at key political figures as well as influential civil society bodies and the press, it is with these dynamics that this paper is concerned.

Session 3b: Geographies of Decolonization

National Interest and Global Pressure: Decolonization of the Law of the Sea in Post-Independence Indonesia

Singgih Tri Sulistiyono (Diponegoro University, Semarang Indonesia)

The main objective of this paper is to answer the question of why decolonization of the law of the sea in Indonesia took place much earlier than those of decolonization in, for example, the Dutch colonial criminal law which is still in use until the present day. One of the most important factors which can be used for answering that question is the ongoing Indonesia-Dutch conflicts both during the independence revolution and the consecutive period when Indonesia-Dutch relation became increasingly tense in connection with the West Papua dispute. Indonesian experiences during independence war (1945-1949) and RMS (Republik Maluku Selatan) Movement in 1952 gave lesson on the important step to control territorial sea for its defence and security. Only by the shrewdness of Soekarno and his diplomatic staffs in benefiting 'cold war' could Indonesian national interest in implementing the law of the sea, especially the principle of archipelagic state and controlling West Papua be avoided from global pressure.

From cooperation to opposition - changes in the relationship between the Darul Islam and the Republic of Indonesia

Chiara Formichi (SOAS London/UGM)

Alternating foreign dominations induced alternating fortunes for indigenous political groups, so if the Dutch had preferred the Nationalists, the Japanese chose as first interlocutors the Muslim elite, thus creating an internal conflict at the time of independence. Both groups had been developed as potential administrators of the new Indonesian state, and depending on ever-mutating local circumstances the one or the other managed to impose itself as the given authority.

Following the plans for a federal Republic and the signing of the Renville agreement some regions were transitionally returned to Dutch authority adding to anti-colonial attitudes opposition to Sukarno's Republic.

A clear example of this dynamic is the later development of the established Islamic State in West Java (and its spread to other outer provinces such as Aceh, South Sulawesi, South Kalimantan).

The *Darul Islam* was created as a transformation of the West Java branch of *Masyumi* as a response to the new invasion of European troops; its legitimisation through Islamic symbols found fertile grounds in this Sundanese-dominated area of Java, where religion has often been seen as an integral part of everyday life, as also contemporary politics shows us.

Kartosuwiryo – leader of the Islamic party in West Java since 1929 – filled the power *vacuum* left by the Republic and despite the original idea was to complement (and neither substitute nor oppose) Yogyakarta's government within the project of the Federal Republic, it is arguable that Sukarno's option for a unitary state pushed the DI to challenge the Republic in the name of grass-root support based on traditional allegiance structures which relied upon religious leaders's networks.

The movement – having built a parallel state with its own Army and ministries – has been first officially condemned in December 1949 and of course it has been considered rebellious by the Sukarno administration, which succeeded in militarily end the DI in West Java only in 1962, after 13 years of fighting. It has been argued that especially since the mid-1950s DI's support was shrinking and that the movement only survived because of its terrorist methods. Nevertheless, as a result of several interviews, I have concluded that despite its support had been gradually fading because of military and discrediting campaigns, backing for the scope of establishing an Islamic state *in lieu* of the West-oriented, Javanese-dominated and Secular Republic was still present.

The analysis of the Darul Islam's early days and founding ideologies has long been denied in favour of studies focussed on its violent actions in the 1950s and the Military operations to crush it; Kartosuwiryo has constantly been dismissed as a power-thirsty terrorist with little or no interest in the Islamic state he was advocating for.

This paper would like to re-direct the attention to the dynamics behind the NII's (*Negara Islam Indonesia*, Islamic State of Indonesia) origins, its early connection with the Republican state – which also saw military cooperation until the second half of 1949 – and its later antagonism.

New Guinea Council: An Icon of Papuan Nationalism

Bernarda Meteray (Universitas Indonesia)

This paper focuses on New Guinea Council (Nieuw Guinea Raad), how it was formed and its impact to the Papuans in 1960s. It discusses firstly about how the Dutch government dealt with the establishment of New Guinea Council in (West) Papua. This policy demanded acceleration of development program in each field such as politics, economic, social and culture. Difficulties faced not only by the Dutch government but also by the Papuans are discussed as well. Even though this development process was slow, it had brought about a greater sense of identity and feeling of solidarity amongst the first young educated Papuans. Secondly, this paper also shows how the Papuans reacted to this new institutions. In one side the presence of Nieuw Guinea Council as a

representative body was a new attribute amongst the Papuans society particularly the council members but on the other side they were expected to maintain relationship with Papuan grassroots and to accommodate the peoples aspirations.

Evening Program Day 2: Film *Rubber*, introduced by Frank Okker

Madelon Székely-Lulofs, a DELicious author

Frank Okker

Never before any journalist or writer delivered a more thrilling and revealing image of the Delian society of the 1920s than Madelon Székely-Lulofs did in her first three novels: *Rubber* (1931), *Coolie* (1932) and *The other world* (1934). She was rewarded for her sharp insight with an immediate worldwide success. But who was she and how did she obtain her experience with the atmosphere of Deli?

Madelon Székely-Lulofs (1899-1958) was the oldest daughter of a highly ranked public servant of the Binnenlands Bestuur in the former Dutch East Indies. Claas Lulofs operated as an important advisor of the governor-general in Buitenzorg (Bogor) and was the right hand of Hendrikus Colijn, who would become the prime minister of the Netherlands.

Born in Surabya, Madelon grew up in the northern and middle parts of Sumatra, but she attended during the secondary school in Deventer, Holland. One of her school friends was a certain Hein Doffegnies. After only three years Madelon returned to the Dutch East Indies because her mother had to undergo a serious surgery. There she met once more Hein, planning to build up a career in a private colonial enterprise as many young Europeans did at that time. Madelon and Hein married in August 1918 in Meester Cornelis at Java.

They moved to the north eastern part of Sumatra, better known as Deli. Hein entered into the service of the Hollandsch-Amerikaansche Plantage Maatschappij (HAPM), the largest rubber company in the world, and soon became a skilled rubber planter. Madelon raised their two daughters, but she was bored stiff leading the life of a planters wife in her isolated house and watching the slowly growth of the tiny rubber trees.

Soon she made her entrance in journalism, publishing a large number of articles, stories and travel reports in a freshly started weekly magazine, *Sumatra*. In the editorial office in Medan she met László Székely, a handsome Hungarian rubber planter, who contributed his humorous drawings to the magazine. Shortly afterwards Madelon and László became lovers. She divorced Hein and followed László on his leave to Budapest. In September 1926 they married in the Hungarian capital and returned after a year to Deli where their only child, a daughter, was born.

They spent another three years on the rubber plantations. But in the first half of 1930, when the prices of all products have drastically diminished, Madelon and her

family departed for good to Europe. Due to an unfortunate investment they lost almost all their money. Madelon decided to earn her living by writing a novel about the rough life of the rubber planters in Deli, their extravagant behavior at the club and their ruthless actions towards the Javanese and Chinese workers in the plantations.

Her first novel, *Rubber*, proved to be an enormous international success. The book was translated into 15 languages. In several countries tens of thousands copies were sold and in Germany *Rubber* reached a circulation of over 130.000 books.

Session 4: Medan and North Sumatra

Local Politics in Medan 1890-1942

Dirk A. Buiskool

From 1886 existed in Medan an areacouncil and a municipalityfund to serve the interests of the new city. In 1909 Medan became a municipality with a town council. In 1912 limited democracy came to Medan; only European males and 'equals' having a certain minimum income had the right to vote and the election went via electoral associations. In 1918 for the first time elections for the town council were open to the other ethnic population groups with different political parties. In this paper I focus at the question to what extent Chinese and Indigenous members were able to influence decisionmaking in the Dutch dominated town council. In the council extensive discussions were held about a wide range of topics like public works, roads, citycleaning, hospitals, firebrigade, spatial development, schools, ricksjaws or hongkongs, sport, cinema and musical entertainment. Openhearted discussions were held about democratic principles and racial discrimination, language problems and equal salaries for Europeans and Indigenous. In several cases we saw that Chinese members took one line with the indigenous representatives like in the rickshaw question. In other cases we saw that Chinese representatives did not follow requests of the indigenous members, for instance on the suggestion to appoint a Chinese member in the commission for land affairs. The general impression of the town council meetings is of goodwill, the members sincerely wanted to develop Medan, the Dutch together with indigenous and Chinese members. The meetings were held in a amiable atmosphere, albeit with the usual conflicts. Nearly every town council agenda included consideration of social projects such as kampong improvement, construction of public markets, social housing, education for indigenous and matters for public hygienics and health. The last recorded meeting of the town council was from December 1941.

From *Pelbegu* to the Cross: The Conversion of Local Religion to Christianity in Karo Land, North Sumatera in 1965

Budi Agustono and Junita Setiana Ginting (Universitas Sumatera Utara)

Before the arrival of Hindu, Islam and Christianity, most of the population in Nusantara archipelago held local belief popularly called animism. Although Hindu, Islam and Christianity penetrated into many areas of Nusantara, however those major religions cannot exterminate this local religion, even today its followers are still practicing it. Local religions such as *kaharingan* in Kalimantan and *parmalin* in North Sumatera are the examples of these beliefs uninfluenced by major religions and are still practiced by their followers. Besides *kaharingan* and *parmalin*, local religion also lived in Karo land long before the arrival of Christianity and Islam in this area called *pelbegu*. *Begu* means ghost, and *pelbegu* means the one who has ghosts. *Pelbegu* was much influenced by Hindu, and Hindu had developed in Karo land long before the twentieth century, even the clans of ethnic Karo were influenced by Hindu. After decolonization, the Indonesian government (local power) showed their displeasure to the followers of *pelbegu* and labeled them as satanic worshippers. This label gave psychological burden to this adherents and they involuntarily had to change their name of *pelbegu* into *pelmena*.

As it did in other places, in the period of Indonesia independence political parties grew in Karo land. Two influential parties were the Indonesian National Party, PNI and the Indonesian Communist Party, PKI. In 1965 on the national level political tense took place which ended failed coup which caused hundreds of casualties. Meanwhile the breaking out of the coup, which leaves debate on who the main triggers of the event that becomes biggest violation of human rights, brought an interesting events in Karo land, namely the mass conversion of *pelbegu* adherents who in the 1960s were seventy percents of the population of Karo- to Christianity. The open campaign saying that people with no official religions were accused of being communist was a major cause to encourage the *pelbegu* followers to release their belief by embracing Christianity. Other than that, after the 1965 rebellion, there was an organized efforts from the Toba Protestant Church (HKBP) and Karo Protestant Church (GBKP), with the support of the local rulers to jointly carry out mass baptism in Karo land which was regarded religious battle to be conquered by posting tens of evangelists, made more *pelbegu* followers embraced to Christianity in the post of 1965's bloody coup.

Displacing Chineseness in post-independence Medan

Yen-ling TSAI, S.E. (National University of Singapore)

Drawing from both ethnographic and historical materials, this paper focuses on Indonesia's 1950s, a period that witnessed intense political struggles both internationally (between the different camps of the Cold War) and domestically (between the parties, the President Sukarno, and the army). Amidst the political turmoil, the Indonesian government implemented differential policies that aimed at disadvantaging its Chinese-identified population---often regardless of their citizenship status. In this process, Chinese

schools and community clubhouses became sites of intense political struggle and contention. Both in 1957-8 and 1965, the military authority took actions against these organizations, before finally banning them and confiscated their landed properties in 1966.

Instead of viewing these policies as “expressions” of “anti-Chinese” sentiment, this paper understands them as part of Indonesia’s nation-building process---a process that strove to displace the Chinese from various public spaces as the nation increasingly came to understand the Chinese presence in Indonesia as undermining its territorial integrity. In sharp contradiction to the colonial emplacement of the “natives” in bounded locality, the Chinese in the Netherland East Indies had historically been situated in the cosmopolitan milieu of the port cities, where Chinese schools and organizations were important nodal points in a trans-border Chinese social geography. This paper argues that the racialized displacements of the 1950s and 1960s were symptomatic of a larger process through which the trans-border social geography was gradually fissured by the geography of nation-states. Consequently, the mediating character of the Chinese schools and organizations were gradually seen unfavorably by the postcolonial state and thought of as the loci of foreign “colonies” indoctrinating and threatening Indonesia’s sovereignty.

Reconstruction of the role of Sumatran Intellectuals in Indonesian Nationalism

Ichwan Azhari (Pussis UNIMED)

The construction of Indonesian nationalism movement for many decades was wrong, whether it was for Indonesian historian or Dutch historian or others. The practice of construction revealed that the nationalism movement was merely happened in Java; the movement pillars were also about 1908 (Budi Utomo), 1928 (Sumpah Pemuda) and 1945 (the Independence period). The wrong construction has reduced the nationalism movement and it showed that the movement is only for certain organization and figures in the organization, and it is in one mainstream into one Indonesian nationalism movement. It seems that there is no other nationalism movement the outside of the main movement.

This paper is to reveal the faulty in understanding Indonesian nationalism movement for many decades. This paper also shows that the pillars of Indonesian nationalism movement, organization, or figures, place, and date can not be determined. In contrast, the Indonesian nationalist movement is like an emerald which is happened in many places and phases of time. The movement does not concern with certain centre, figure, and organization which claim to be the pioneer. One example of nationalism movement case through printed medium in North Sumatera will show one nationalism movement which grows and develops through mass media.

Mass media have a big role and contribution on nationalism movement in many regions in Indonesia without any relations into the mainstream of nationalism movement initiated and ended in Java. In history the hidden figures and organizations in mass media were not mentioned or written correctly; this was distorted by Indonesian historiographic javacentrism.

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