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INDONESIA AND THE DUTCH



LESLIE PALMIER

LONDON
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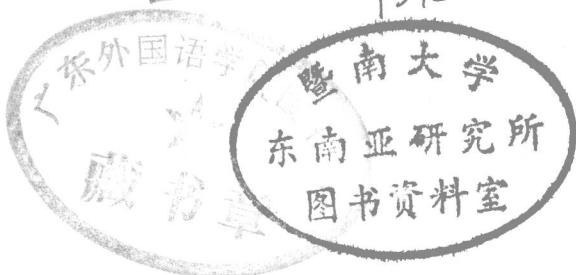
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LESLIE H. PALMIER

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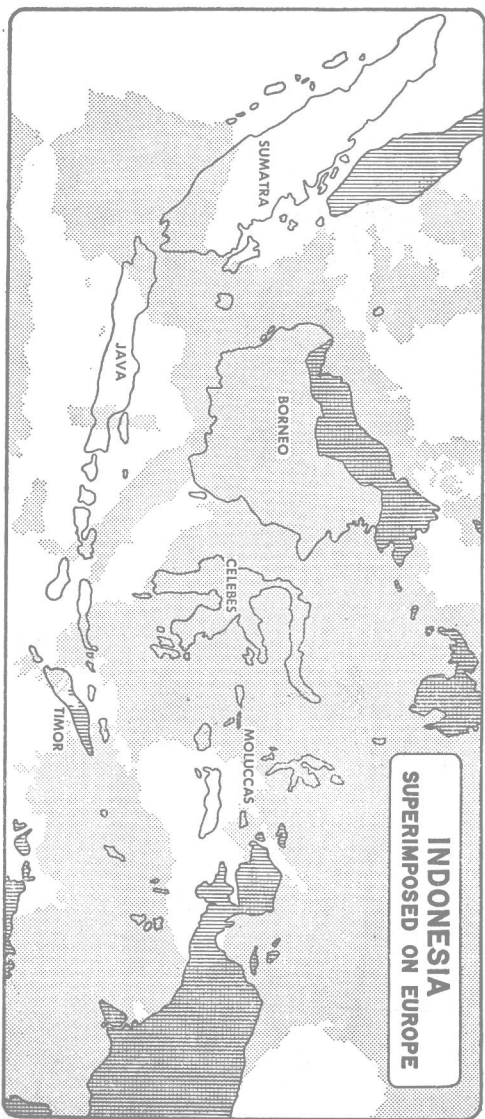
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INDONESIA AND THE DUTCH



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Non-Indonesian territory

TO PAT

PREFACE

PROBLEMS of nomenclature naturally arise in discussion of a country such as Indonesia, which has emerged from colonial status to independence. The rule followed here has been to adopt the form used at the period under discussion. Thus I have referred to the country as the 'Netherlands Indies' when analysing events prior to the 1948 revision of the Netherlands constitution, which changed the name to 'Indonesia'. Similarly, 'Batavia' is so called until it becomes 'Djakarta' with the transfer of sovereignty in 1949. However, I have called the people 'Indonesians' throughout.

The territory called 'Western New Guinea' before the transfer of sovereignty is known to Indonesians by its translation, *Irian Barat*; the Dutch called it 'Netherlands New Guinea' when their constitution was revised in 1953 to take account of the loss of Indonesia. In most instances I have used the form 'Western New Guinea'.

No great violence will be done to the pronunciation of words in Indonesian if the reader gives to its alphabet much the same sounds as in English with, however, the following exceptions, which are pronounced more like the English equivalents shown:

<i>dj</i> : j	<i>sj</i> : sh	<i>oe</i> or <i>u</i> : oo as in 'boon'
<i>tj</i> : ch	<i>j</i> : y	<i>i</i> : i as in 'pin'

The reader should also note that 'tion', as in '*Nasution*', is not pronounced 'shun' but 'tyon'.

I am very grateful to the following publishers: Cambridge University Press, for permission to use the quotations from J. S. Furnivall's *Netherlands India*, 1944; Cornell University Press, for the map on p. 74, and a quotation, from G. McT. Kahin's *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, 1952; Macmillan, New York, for the quotation from *Asian Nationalism and the West*, edited by W. L. Holland, 1953; Meridian Books, for the quotations from Mr. Nehru's *The*

Discovery of India, 1956; Netherlands Institute of International Affairs, for the quotation from *Indonesia's Struggle 1957-58*, 1959; Smithsonian Institution, Washington, for permission to use R. Kennedy's *Islands and Peoples of the Indies*, 1943, as the source for the map on p. xv; Stevens & Sons, for the map on p. 60, and quotations from A. M. Taylor's *Indonesian Independence and the United Nations*, 1960; The John Day Co. for the use of R. Kennedy's *The Ageless Indies*, 1942, as the source for the table on p. 2, and for the quotations from Sutan Sjahrir's *Out of Exile*, 1949, and from C. Wolf's *The Indonesian Story*, 1948.

No less am I indebted to Mrs. A. L. Symmers for the quotations from her translation of Kartini's letters published under the title *Letters of a Javanese Princess*, 1920. Unfortunately, my efforts to locate Mrs. Symmers have proved vain; if she sees this, I trust she will forgive the reproduction of her work without prior permission.

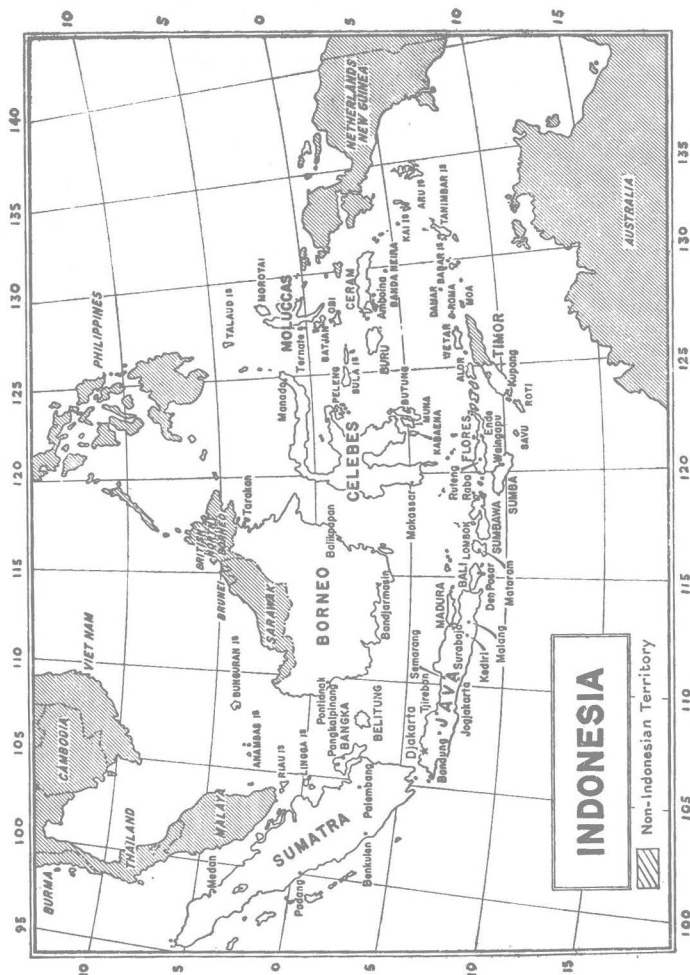
The quality of the maps of 'Indonesia' and of 'Indonesia showing Ethnic Groups' is enough to indicate my great debt to their draughtsman, Mr. D. R. Winchester, of Wellington.

It was support from the United Kingdom Treasury Committee for Studentships in Foreign Languages and Cultures which first permitted me to study Indonesian developments; I only hope this book goes some way to fulfil one of the objects of the Studentships: the dissemination to the lay public of the fruits of study of foreign societies. What success these pages do achieve in that direction will be due in large measure to two people: Mr. Guy Wint, who has encouraged me over several years to write for that public; and Sir Edmund Hall-Patch, G.C.M.G., who enabled me to make a stay in Indonesia in 1957, when its basic internal conflict had burst into the open.

Of course, those who have been kind to me must not be held responsible for the errors I make.

Victoria University of Wellington,
May 1961

L.H.P.



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I

SOIL AND SEED

The Indies in 1900

As the world has been compelled to know, relations between Indonesians and Dutch have steadily worsened since the end of the Second World War; some would put the beginning of the deterioration considerably earlier. The climax came in 1957, when large numbers of Netherlands nationals were expelled from Indonesia and virtually all Dutch property was seized. Finally, in 1960, President Sukarno of Indonesia decreed the severance of diplomatic relations with the Netherlands. The protection of Dutch nationals and interests in Indonesia was then assumed by the United Kingdom, but in March of the following year Indonesia requested that this should cease. Thus Indonesia and the Netherlands have now no diplomatic channels whatever open between them.

It is the object of this book to account for the Indonesian attitude towards the Dutch. Our first task is to survey the course of Indonesian-Dutch relations, and for that the turn of the century makes a convenient point of departure. It was then that Indonesian nationalism first stirred; whilst among those born about that time were the older generation of Indonesian nationalists who won their independence from the Netherlands in 1949.

Until the achievement of Indonesian independence there were three important social groups whose interactions affected the Netherlands Indies (as Indonesia was then called). First, in order of power, there were the Dutch at home represented by the Netherlands Government at The Hague. Second, there was the local Dutch community, which increasingly came to be represented by the Netherlands Indies Government at Batavia (now called Djakarta). Third, there were the Indonesians, who were governed by

both the preceding groups, but themselves affected government very little.

There is no need here to detail the history of the Netherlands Indies before the opening of the century. Suffice it to say that the Dutch East Indies Company founded Batavia in 1619 and was wound up in 1800, when the Indies came under Crown government. The focus of attention shifted from the spice islands of eastern Indonesia in the seventeenth century to Java (a term which includes the smaller island of Madura) in the eighteenth and nineteenth; in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the less populous islands of Sumatra and Borneo came under increasing attention, while the Dutch expanded the frontiers of their empire to keep the British out.

THE LARGER ETHNO-LINGUISTIC GROUPS OF INDONESIA¹

<i>Name</i>	<i>1930 Population (in thousands)</i>	<i>Percentage of Total Population</i>
Javanese	27,000	45.0
Sundanese	8,500	14.2
Madurese	4,500	7.5
Coastal Malays (Sumatra and Borneo)	4,500	7.5
Makassarese-Buginese	2,500	4.2
Menangkabau	2,000	3.3
Balinese	1,200	2.0
Batak	1,000	1.7
Atjehnese	750	1.3
Totals	51,950	86.7

In consequence, at the beginning of this century, the Dutch were ruling over a conglomeration of disparate

¹ From R. Kennedy, *The Ageless Indies* (New York, The John Day Co., 1942), pp. 23-6.