

INDONESIAN REVIEW

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APRIL - JUNE 1951

THE NATIONAL CABINET
(WITH BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS)

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CITIES OF INDONESIA: DJOGJAKARTA, SOLO, BANDUNG AND BOGOR
(ILLUSTRATED)

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THE NATIONAL CABINET

THE political crisis following the resignation of the Natsir Cabinet on March 20, 1951, lasted 37 days and ended with the successful formation, through the joint efforts of Dr. Sukiman of the Masjumi and Sidik Djojosukarto of the Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI), of a "coalition Cabinet on a broad, national basis". The Cabinet, as approved by President Sukarno on the night of April 26, 1951, comprise 20 members divided among 8 political parties. The division of seats, with the names of the new ministers, is as follows:

1. Prime Minister — Dr. Sukiman
Wirjosandjojo (Masjumi)
2. Deputy Prime Minister — Raden Suwirjo (PNI)
3. Foreign Affairs — Dr. Ahmad
Subardjo (Masjumi)
4. Home Affairs — Dr. Iskaq
Tjokrohadisurjo (PNI)
5. Defence — Raden T. A. Sewaka (PIR — Persatuan Indonesia Raya — Greater Indonesia Union)
6. Justice — Dr. Mohammad Yamin (non-party)*
7. Information — Arnold Mononutu (PNI)
8. Finance — Jusuf Wibosono (Masjumi)
9. Agriculture — Dr. Suwanto (Catholic Party)
10. Economic Affairs — Dr. Sujono
Hadinoto (PNI)
11. Communications — Dr. Djuanda (non-party)
12. Labour — Iskandar Tedjasukmana
(Labour Party)
13. Education — Dr. Wongsonegoro (PIR)
14. Public Works — Dr. Ukar Bratakusumah (PNI)
15. Social Affairs — Dr. Sjamsuddin (Masjumi)
16. Religion — Kyai Hadji Wachid Hasjim (Masjumi)
17. Health — Dr. J. Leimena (Christian Party)

*) Resigned on June 15, 1951 and replaced by Mr. M. A. Pellaupessy (ad interim)

18. General Affairs — M. A. Pellaupessy
(Democratic Faction)
19. Personnel Affairs — Raden Pandji Suroso (Parrindra — Partai Indonesia Raya — Greater Indonesia Party)
20. Agrarian Affairs — (PIR)

Cabinet Programme.

The programme of this new Cabinet contains six main points:

1. **Security.** Clear and drastic measures will be taken to secure peace and order. The organization of the State's security apparatus will be strengthened.
2. **Welfare.** A national welfare plan will be drafted and implemented on short term to bring the social economic life of the people to a higher level. Agrarian laws will be revised in accordance with the interests of the farmers. Attempts to find employment for ex-servicemen in the implementation of the reconstruction programme will be speeded up.
3. **Organization of the State.** Preparations for the holding of general elections for the Constituent Assembly, which are to be held soon, will be completed within the shortest possible time. The granting of autonomy to special territories (daerahs) will be speeded up.
4. **Labour.** New laws will be drafted. Special attention will be paid to the recognition of labour organizations, the signing of collective labour agreements, the fixing of minimum wages and the settlement of labour disputes.
5. **Foreign policy.** The Government will pursue an independent and active foreign policy aimed at peace. The Netherlands-Indonesian relations based on the Union Statute will be reduced to normal relations based on the customary international treaty. Reconsideration of the

Round Table Conference agreements will be speeded up and those agreements harming the interests of people and state will be annulled.

6. **West Irian.** To incorporate as early as possible the region of West Irian, now still occupied by the Dutch, into the Republic of Indonesia.

Why the Natsir Cabinet Fell.

After weeks of endless negotiations alternating with deadlocks among the political circles and increasing unrest among the public, the ultimate formation of the Sukiman Cabinet was received with a general feeling of relief. To better understand and appreciate the composition of the present Cabinet, however, a short survey of the fall of the Natsir Cabinet may be helpful.

The Natsir Cabinet, which had led Indonesia for six months since its formation in September of last year, tendered its resignation on March 20, 1951. Many factors contributed to the downfall of this cabinet, the immediate one being the sudden withdrawal of support by the PIR (Greater Indonesia Union) in the resignation of their ministers Johannes and Wongsonegoro from the Cabinet. The main and basic reason was, however, not far to seek. It lay in the continuous controversy between the two biggest political parties in this country, the Masjumi and the PNI (Indonesian National Party), ever since the former led the Natsir Cabinet and the latter led the opposition in Parliament.

Among the causes for controversy, the hottest was the motion put forward by the PNI member of Parliament, Hadikusumo, asking the Government to freeze and dissolve the regional representative bodies which were set up on the basis of Government Ordinance No. 39, to revoke said ordinance and replace it with a more democratic one. This motion was adopted by Parliament on Januari 22, 1951.

The adoption of this motion caused the resignation of Dr. Assaat, then Minister for Home Affairs, since he was of the opinion that said motion could not be implemented on formal, juridical and political grounds. The Cabinet, after serious discussions, supported the standpoint of Dr. Assaat, and Natsir made a statement in Parliament to this effect on January 27, 1951, giving as reason that the establishment of the regional administration, based on Ordinance 39, had contributed to the consolidation and stabilization of the various areas, and its freezing and dissolution would only lead to unjustifiable confusion amongst the people.

The conflict between Cabinet and Parliament now came the open. The situation demanded one of two solutions: either the Cabinet should resign or Parliament be dissolved. Neither happened yet. Parliament went into recess early in February, after having arranged an agenda providing for an open discussion of the Government Statement on

March 20, 1951. The discussion, however, never took place due to the simple fact that members of the PNI faction and those who supported the Hadikusumo motion boycotted Parliament on that day. Out of 229 members, only 90 were present!

During the recess of Parliament, Natsir, aware that growing tension between his Government and the PNI, which constituted the bulk of the opposition, must somehow be relieved, sought to alter the composition of his Cabinet by the addition of PNI members. Two seats, those of the Ministers of State and Defence, had been opportunely vacant. His efforts, however, were not successful, as the PNI wanted not two seats but a complete change and a new Government programme.

The refusal of the opposition members to rediscuss the Hadikusumo motion on the principle that it would damage the prestige of Parliament dashed what little hope the Natsir cabinet cherished for having the matter clarified. The withdrawal on the same day of the PIR ministers, on whose support the Government had somehow counted, was the last straw. Nothing remained for the Natsir Cabinet but to resign.

The crisis of the Natsir Cabinet made it clear that Indonesia needed a stronger Cabinet in the future. This could only be achieved if the Masjumi and the PNI could be brought together. While the fall of the Natsir Cabinet proved that it could not successfully fight down the opposition of the PNI, it was just as obvious that the same fate would await a PNI Cabinet if it had to function with the Masjumi taking up the opposition. The instruction of President Sukarno to the new Cabinet formateurs was therefore precise, "to form a national coalition Cabinet on a broad basis".

The mandate for the forming of a new Cabinet was first given to Dr. Sartono of the PNI who took up 28 days in endless negotiations with the different political parties, chiefly with the Masjumi, and achieved nothing. The mandate was returned and, on April 18, President Sukarno charged the Chairman of both Masjumi and PNI, Dr. Sukiman and Sidik Djojokusarto, with the formation of a new Cabinet, also "on a broad, national, basis". The result of this combined effort was the present Cabinet.

One of the difficulties in forming the present Cabinet was the fact that Indonesia had never before had a coalition Cabinet. Now that a coalition Cabinet has been established, there is every reason to expect that it will last longer than its predecessors, since in accordance with party discipline, the parties represented in the Cabinet will support the Government. With the two biggest parties in the Cabinet, the Government is assured of a big majority of Parliamentary votes and can therefore concentrate its efforts in implementing its programme.

President Sukarno's Role

In the course of the formation of the Cabinet, President Sukarno has been criticized as having exercised his great personal influence in bringing the PNI and the Masjumi together. This is, of course, inevitable if the shifting political system, introduced as a result of the first Sjahrir Cabinet, is to be brought to an end. The first Republican Constitution of 1945 attempted to establish political stability by the introduction of the Presidential Cabinet system which, unfortunately, was unpopular with the politicians who had at that time not yet been able to free themselves from the mental confinement they had suffered during colonial period.

In a meeting at Sidoarjo on May 13, President Sukarno thus gave his own version of the events leading to the development of the Sukiman-Suwirjo Cabinet. He first pointed out that with every change of Government the national problems have remained the same. "Security must be guaranteed, State Finances must be put on a healthy basis, and West Irian must be returned to Indonesia's fold." No special emphasis should be put on the discussions of the Cabinet Programme. In many respects this is only a question of words. There may be differences of opinion on several points, but, in the end, everyone is faced with the same problems as far as the most important matters are concerned. One must therefore not lose time in endless debates on the programme of the Cabinet, but give all energy to the implementation thereof.

"After the fall of the Natsir Cabinet, I held discussions with the leaders of 19 political parties, and by far the most of them considered participation of the two biggest political parties — the PNI and the Masjumi — a necessary condition for a new Government. Various leaders proposed to name two formateurs and some of them even wanted three, the third formateur to work for closer relations between the PNI and the Masjumi. Then I started consultations with representatives of the PNI and the Masjumi. The Masjumi wished only one formateur and when I asked to give the name of a person they considered acceptable in this connection, they mentioned: Dr. Sartono. Then, I requested Dr. Sartono to form a national coalition Cabinet on a broad basis."

President Sukarno explained that he had remained passive during Dr. Sartono's attempts to form the Cabinet, contrary to newspaper allegations that he had named Dr. Sartono because he was a personal friend of his.

"After one month of unsuccessful attempts to form the Cabinet, I approached the PNI and Masjumi parties in separate meetings and put the question whether they did not consider it high time to name two other formateurs. I asked the Masjumi leaders which PNI member would be acceptable as a formateur and I asked PNI leaders which Masjumi

member they considered suitable for the post of formateur. Then I decided to name the Presidents of both parties and gave them a five-day time limit to form a national coalition Cabinet on a broad basis while I stressed my desire to see both the Masjumi and PNI represented on this new Government. The programme of Messrs. Sidik Djojokusarto and Sukiman Wirjosandjojo did not differ much from Dr. Sartono's which in turn was in broad lines similar to that of the Natsir Cabinet."

The President then explained that he had been "active" in the formation of the Sukiman-Suwirjo Cabinet at the request of the formateurs and also as a result of articles in the press.

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It is expected that the new Government will make its first statement after the next parliamentary recess at the end of May or early in June. Meanwhile some of the new Ministers have given press conferences and interviews in which some of their views and standpoints have come to light.

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In a press conference in Djogja on May 6, Dr. Sukiman stated, among other things:

"The present composition of the Cabinet is the best that can be attained. A broad coalition is not possible unless the Cabinet contains as many seats as the parliament itself. The desire of both the President and the Government was to relieve the tension between Cabinet and Parliament in order that the administration can work smoothly without losing a great deal of time and energy in fighting the opposition in Parliament.

"Although the difficulties concerning the opposition in Parliament have been conquered, it does not mean that all difficulties have been wiped out. To achieve that, support, cooperation and understanding on the part of the people for the Government are necessary.

"Even with a strong backing, it will not be a simple task for the Government to clear all difficulties, as the domestic conditions are strongly influenced by the situation abroad. The assistance of the press is on this account necessary to give the mass a clear and fair understanding of the difficulties of this time which are the consequence of factors entirely beyond our control.

"The increase in the number of seats in the cabinet is urgent and also necessary to obtain support in Parliament. The task and duty of the new ministries will be further investigated to determine whether or not full staffs will be required as in the other ministries. Their ministers are, however, not to be referred to as ministers without portfolio.

"The Cabinet will benefit by the experiences of the Natsir-cabinet in the execution of its task".

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Dr. Subardjo, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs,

in his first press interview on May 7, 1951, declared the following:

"Indonesia will refrain from joining any bloc which is directed against a Third Party. A change of Government does not imply abandonment of Indonesia's independent policy.

"Indonesia does not desire the dove of peace from Moscow or from Washington; what she wants is the dove of peace in her own land.

"The possibility of an arms embargo against communist China by the United Nations, as proposed by the United States of America, will be discussed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. No instruction on this matter has yet been sent to Mr. Palar, the Indonesian representative in the United Nations.

"The United Nations being a democratic body, no pressure should be put on the member-States to enforce the embargo proposed by the United States.

"As regards raw materials produced in Indonesia, such as rubber, Indonesia should be allowed to sell her raw materials to everybody, even to the devil, whoever he may be, if it is in the interest of Indonesia to do so.

"Our democratic system of government is built on the conception of the continental parliamentary system; this system is not conducive to bring stability to the Administration. This is inevitable, for the political thinking of the Indonesian intellectuals is greatly influenced by this conception of parliamentary government, as transmitted to us by the Dutch.

"The mental imprisonment that we experienced during the Dutch colonial period has limited our range of reading material only to those books imported or produced by the Dutch, making it difficult for us to read foreign books. The result is that we have now in Indonesia many parties, just like in Holland. This influence we have inherited from the Dutch and cannot be eradicated overnight, but may take years.

"What Indonesia needs most, politically, is stability, not a blind imitation of the continental political-group system. That is why the drafters of the first Republican Constitution in 1945 devised the Presidential system — which was upset by those who favoured the shifting Dutch party-system.

"Geopolitics and national interest are two factors which have to be taken into account in relation to Indonesia's foreign policy, and to these must be added the postulates of the Pantjasila.

"Indonesia committed to an independent policy in its foreign affairs in the belief that such a policy will contribute towards global peace and lessen the danger of a third World War.

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Another interesting statement has been obtained from Arnold Mononutu, who is entrusted with the portfolio of Information in this new Cabinet. He was thus quoted:

"We must acknowledge that in the colonial period there was no chance for us to develop as a nation, materially — achieving national welfare and not welfare for the benefit of other nations — as well as morally.

"The sovereignty of Indonesia has made it possible for Indonesia to develop as a nation with the unconditional condition that in its development, Indonesia will, in principle, not be influenced by the ideals of other nations or nation-blocks.

"This does not mean that Indonesia does not seek cooperation with other peoples, but in the first place we must be ourselves in order to achieve the Indonesian way of life.

"I envisage the Pantjasila — the five principles that form the pillars of our State philosophy — as the basis for the realization of our ideal; we must substantiate the Pantjasila; we must raise the Pantjasila from a slogan to the sphere of our daily life as a nation.

"We must act independently in determining our relationships with other nations.

"I am convinced that we can herewith raise our people to an important factor in the international struggle. We will continue our revolution in the international field until, at a given moment, Indonesia shall be recognized as an important factor in the international apportionment and division of power. In order to achieve this, we must strive to develop as a nation free from ideological obligations outside of the boundaries of our country.

"I conclude that "active independent policy" is entirely different from what is usually called "neutral policy". Our independent policy is based on an ideological principle. A neutral policy is, in my opinion, incidental and utilitary. With our ideology as our starting-point, we can determine our relation with other nations at any moment.

Mononutu further explains that the basis of the national information policy is:

- a. to implant the Indonesian national spirit;
- b. to give information (enlightenment) to all strata of society in order to effect national welfare, as ideals can only be materialized with the attainment of national welfare. Otherwise all just remain slogans."

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Raden Pandji Suroso, the new minister of the newly created Ministry of Personnel Affairs, states that uniformity of salaries and general improvement in the Government's Personnel policy are the aims of his Ministry. He will strive after finding a solution for the outstanding problem of the "non's and co's", civil servants who refused to cooperate with the Dutch authorities and those who cooperated.

According to Minister Suroso, uniform salary regulations will be introduced for all civil servants, native or foreigners. Exceptions may be possible in the case of foreigners whose services are

specially needed by the Indonesian Government. The present short-term contracts, for instance, may be fulfilled unchanged. Mr. Suroso ended his statement by saying that the new regulations for salaries would be drawn up after consultations with labour organizations and that the regulations would be of such an excellent standard that might serve as example for general labour contracts.

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The new minister of Economic Affairs, Dr. Sujono Hadinoto, declared in an interview on May 8, 1951, that personally he would not object to the setting up in Indonesia of a permanent Japanese trade agency and he saw no reason why Indonesia should eventually not take the initiative toward negotiations in this connection.

"It will only be natural that Indonesia will enter into closer commercial relations with Japan. Japanese industry has practically recovered from war damage and is again able to deliver textiles which Indonesia urgently needs.

"Japanese competition would not harm Indonesia's national industry if appropriate protective measures were taken. To date, no discussions had been held on the setting up of a Japanese trade representation in Indonesia but Indonesia might eventually take the initiative. The Government is not expected to oppose the setting up of such a Japanese commercial agency in Indonesia. The

Indonesian commercial mission presently in Japan had been charged with establishing direct trade relations with Japan, which would have the advantage that payments would be made in SCAP dollars instead of in Pounds Sterling as was the case in trading via Singapore.

"The present circumstances demand foreign capital investments if we are to succeed in the implementation of our plans to promote the national economy.

"The directives for foreign capital investments laid down in the Indonesian industrialization urgency programme are sufficient to protect the national interests. It is expected that, on basis of these directives, foreign capital could successfully be interested in Indonesian enterprises; negotiations in this connection are already underway with representatives of various big foreign enterprises, including the Netherlands Cement industry.

"It is intended to carry out the economic urgency plan for 1951 and 1952 drafted by my predecessor. This programme should be seen as part of an even bigger, national plan not only concerning trade and industries but the whole of Indonesia's economic life, independent of changes in the Government.

"Emphasis should be laid upon the maintenance of pace and security. Security and the economic problem constitute the core of Indonesia's difficulties.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Dr. Sukiman Wirjosandjojo.

Dr. Sukiman Wirjosandjojo, the new Prime Minister, was born at Sewu, Solo, on June 19, 1896. He studied medicine, first at the Medical College (STOVIA) at Batavia, now Djakarta, and later at the University of Amsterdam where he took his M.D. degree in 1925. During his stay in Holland, he was Chairman of the "Perhimpunan Indonesia", an association of Indonesian students in Holland, in fact, the political training center of many of the present outstanding Indonesian leaders. Dr. Sukiman continued his political activities after his return to Indonesia and, together with R. Wiwoho, founded the "Partai Islam Indonesia" (Indonesian Moslem Party), of which he was Chairman until 1942, when all political parties were dissolved due to the Japanese occupation. After the Japanese capitulation he became a member of the Republican High Advisory Council and concurrently member of the KNIP, the Provisional Republican Parliament at Djogja. In 1948, as Chairman of the Masjumi, he was appointed Minister of Home Affairs in the Hatta Cabinet. Following the second Dutch military action in December of the same year, he became Minister of Home Affairs in the Emergency Republican Government. His last ministerial post

was as Minister without Portfolio after the reshuffle of the Hatta Cabinet in 1949. He attended the Round Table Conference in Holland as a member of the Indonesian delegation.

Raden Suwirjo.

The Deputy Prime-Minister Suwirjo, was born on July 17, 1904, at Ponorogo, a town East Java. After finishing high school at Djogja, he took up the study of laws in the Law College at Djakarta. He started his political training early as a committee member of "Jong Java" while still in the lower middle school at Madiun, and was secretary of the Djakarta branch of the same association while he was a law student. From 1927 to 1928, he was secretary of the P.N.I., Djakarta Branch.

From the time he left college in 1927 until the Japanese invasion in 1942, Suwirjo had a variety of working experience. Starting as a civil servant at Djakarta, he was successively a teacher, editor, head of a drug store, and ended up as a bank-employee. During the Japanese occupation he worked for a time in the Gunseikanbu and later in the "Putera" office at Djakarta.

He resumed his political activities in 1945 and was a member of the executive committee, first of the "Serindo" and, after the fusion of said party

with the P.N.I., of the Djakarta Branch of the new P.N.I. After the Proclamation of Independence in August, 1945, he became Secretary of the provisional Republican Parliament. In July, 1947, he was nominated Mayor of Djakarta, the first Indonesian mayor of that city. In 1948, he was Chief of the Kantor Urusan Daerah Pendudukan (Office of Occupied Area Affairs) at Djogja, and the following year saw him as the High Commissioner of the R.I. at Djakarta. In March, 1950, he was again elected mayor of Djakarta City, a post which he held until his present appointment as Vice-Premier.

Dr. Ahmad Subardjo.

Ahmad Subardjo, who for the second time assumes the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, was born at Krawang, Java, on March 23, 1897, and completed his education at the University of Leyden in Holland, specializing in international law and labour problems.

Upon his arrival in Holland in 1914, he was elected Chairman of the Indonesian Students Union which was then a purely cultural and social organization. Together with others who left Indonesia after the first World War — among them Vice President Hatta and Premier Sukiman — Dr. Subardjo was instrumental in injecting the element of political activity into the Union, thus transforming it into the potent "Perhimpunan Indonesia" (Indonesian Association) which spearheaded the fight for national independence.

As political activity in Indonesia itself was rigorously restricted by the Dutch colonial Government, the Perhimpunan Indonesia soon received the mandate of the whole Indonesian national movement to represent it in Europe. Even the word "Indonesia" — to represent the Archipelago known as the Netherlands East Indies — was coined and popularized by the Perhimpunan Indonesia until it gained universal currency.

On his return to Indonesia in 1934, after a life of extensive travel and political activity in Europe, Subardjo adopted a policy of non-cooperation with the Dutch and refused the tempting jobs offered him, preferring the free atmosphere of private life.

In 1935 and 1936, Subardjo, accompanied by his wife took a honeymoon trip through South East Asia and Japan, studying political developments and international relations.

During the trying period of the Japanese occupation, Subardjo, in concert with other national leaders, set in motion the chain of events which culminated in the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence on August 17, 1945, and the immediate post-war period found Subardjo as first Minister of Foreign Affairs of the new independent Government headed by President Sukarno.

Subsequently, Dr. Subardjo was appointed Adviser-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

and in that capacity accompanied President Sukarno in his various tours to India, Pakistan, Burma and the Philippines.

Originally a non-party man, Dr. Subardjo later joined the Masjumi Islamic Party and once again became Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Cabinet formed by Dr. Sukiman on April 26, 1951.

Dr. Raden Pandji Iskaq Tjokrohadisurjo.

This new Minister of Home Affairs was born on July 11, 1896, at Ngoro, a small town near Djombang, East Java. He first studied law in the Law College at Djakarta and then at the University of Leyden, Holland, where he subsequently obtained his degree as doctor of laws in 1925.

While still a law student at Djakarta, he worked in the Department of Justice between the years 1917 — 1922. After obtaining his law degree, he returned to Indonesia and practised law for many years in Surabaya. From 1944 to September 1947, he was successively assistant-resident and resident of Banjumas and then resident of Solo.

In November 1947, he was appointed secretary of the Indonesian delegation under Amir Sjarifuddin at the "Renville" negotiations and held the same post in the 1948 negotiations under Dr. Roem.

Dr. Tjokrohadisurjo is one of the founders of the PNI of President Sukarno at Bandung and was for many years active in Surabaya as member of the executive committee of the "Partindo" and the "Parindra". In 1943, he was a member of the Peoples' Council established by the Japanese.

Dr. Mohammad Yamin.*

Mohammad Yamin, Minister of Justice in the new cabinet, was born at Sawah Lunto, Sumatra, on August 23, 1903. After trying several schools during his secondary education period, he eventually joined the Law College at Djakarta and there took his law degree in 1932. During the ten years after his graduation up to the Japanese invasion in 1942, he practised law at Djakarta. From 1938-1942, he was a member of the Volksraad (Peoples' Council) set up by the Dutch colonial government. During the occupation period, he was for some time adviser to the Japanese propaganda and intelligence bureau. In 1945, just before the capitulation, he was arrested by the Japanese military police, charged with participation in subversive activities.

He joined the guerillas after the second Dutch military action and was arrested by the Dutch Provisional Government. He returned to Jogja after his release in June, 1949, and was appointed adviser to the Republican delegation for the Round Table Conference in July of the same year. Since 1950, he became a member of Parliament, at the same time serving on different missions, such as the Parliamentary Mission to Mos-

*) Resigned on June 15, 1951.

cow and the Irian Commission on which he was first leader of the mission to Irian and then adviser of the Indonesian Delegation to the Irian Conference at The Hague.

Yamin is a veteran in politics, having joined the nationalist movement when he was still in middle school. From 1926 to 1942, he was successively and continuously chairman of, in chronological order, the "Jong Sumatranen Bond", "Indonesia Muda", "Partindo" and "Parpindo". He is at present not attached to any party.

Besides being a lawyer and politician, Yamin is also a writer of no small merit. When he was only seventeen years old, he was already a regular contributor to the "Jong Sumatra", the organ of the "Jong Sumatranen Bond". He published poems and articles on the history of Malay literature and played a great part in nationalizing the Bahasa Indonesia. He also wrote novels and plays. His latest works are the translation of Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, "4000 Years Red-White" and "Ajitjawardman", a book on the statesmanship of the Majapahit period.

Dr. Jusuf Wibisono.

Jusuf Wibisono, the successor of Sjafruddin Prawiranegara as Minister of Finance in the new Cabinet, was born at Magelang, Middle Java, on February 28, 1909. He graduated from the Law College at Djakarta in 1942, and, while still a student, was working first at the Industry Section of the Department of Economic Affairs and then at the Central Statistics Office. From 1942 to 1945, he was "djaksa ekonomi" (economic expert) at the District Court at Djakarta. In 1945-1946, he became a member and later on Vice-Chairman of the Working Committee of the Provisional Republican Parliament at Djogja. From October 1946 to June, 1947, he was Vice-Minister of Welfare in the Sjahrir cabinet. In 1948, he returned to Djakarta and became the director of the Banking and Trading Company in that city. He was also Editor of the weekly "Mimbar Indonesia" and became a member of the R.I. Parliament in the Masjumi faction. He is a member of the "Muhammadiyah" and sits on the Party Council of the Masjumi. Before the Pacific War, he was an active member of the "Jong Islamieten Bond" and the "Islamitische Studenten Studie Club". For a short time after the first Dutch military action in 1947, he was chairman of the Front Nasional at Djakarta. He is the author of "Marriage, Divorce and Polygamy in the Islam", published before the War.

Dr. Sujono Hadinoto.

The new Minister of Economic Affairs, Sujono Hadinoto, belongs to the younger generation of the PNI. He was born in Blora, Middle Java, in 1915. He studied law and was graduated from the Law College at Djakarta.

During the Dutch colonial administration, he was superintendent of the State enterprises of the Mangkunegara in Solo. He became a member of the Working Committee of the provisional Republican parliament at Djogjakarta and in 1949 was appointed member of the Republican Delegation to the Round Table Conference. He is known as the economic expert of the PNI.

Dr. Djuanda.

Djuanda, who has the unique experience of being appointed minister for the eighth time, remains in his post as Minister of Communications in this new cabinet. He was born at Tasikmalaya, West Java, in 1911. He took his engineering degree at the Technical College at Bandung in 1933 and was for some time director of the "Muhammadiyah" Middle School at Djakarta. From 1937-1942, he was employed as engineer at the West Java Provincial Waterworks, stationed at Djakarta. In 1942, he was a member of West Java Regency and during the Japanese occupation continued his work in the Departement of Communications and Waterworks.

In January 1946, he was appointed Chief of the Railway Service in Java and Madura and later as Minister of Communications both in the first and second Sjahrir's cabinets. In July, 1947, he was again appointed Minister of Communications in the Sjarifuddin's cabinet. In the same years, he was a member of the Republican Delegation in the "Renville" negotiations and a member of the Committee for the Struggle of West Java.

In February 1948, he held the post of Minister of Communications in Hatta's Cabinet, acting for Hatta during his absence. In 1949, he participated in the consultations with Sukarno and Hatta during their internment on the island of Banka by the Dutch and in the following months was a member of Republican delegation in the Inter-Indonesian Conference. He joined the Hatta Cabinet again after its reshuffle in August, 1949, as Minister without portfolio. He was attached to the Indonesian delegation to the Round Table Conference at The Hague as Chairman of the Finance and Economics Commission.

After the transfer of sovereignty, he became Minister of Welfare in Hatta's Federal Cabinet. With the change of the R.U.S.I. into the R.I., and the formation of the first parliamentary cabinet of Moh. Natsir in September 1950, he was again appointed Minister of Communications.

Dr. Wongsonegoro.

Wongsonegoro, who is appointed Minister of Education, Science and Culture in the new Cabinet, was born on April 20, 1897, at Surakarta. He finished his middle school in 1917 and held various positions as well as took an active part in various political associations before continuing his study in the Law College at Djakarta. He graduated as doctor

of laws in 1929. From 1930 to 1942, he held various juridical functions in the Surakarta Sunanate, culminating with his nomination as regent of Sragen in 1939.

In October, 1945, he was made the Republican Governor for Central Java and in 1948, he was a member of the Republican Commission for Central Java. In the same year, he was elected Chairman of the "Persatuan Indonesia Raya" (PIR).

During the second Dutch military action, he went to East Java. Upon his return to Jogjakarta, he was appointed Minister of Home Affairs in the reorganized Hatta's Cabinet. He was later Chairman of the Republican delegation on the Central Joint Board.

After the transfer of sovereignty, he was Secretary-General of the Ministry of Home Affairs in the federal Government. On the formation of the first parliamentary Cabinet by Moh. Natsir in September of last year, he was appointed Minister of Justice.

Dr. J. Leimena.

This appointment as Minister of Health in the new Cabinet is Leimena's sixth appointment in his career as Cabinet Minister, invariably holding the same portfolio. He started in 1946 as Vice-Minister of Health in the second Sjahrir's Cabinet and retained his portfolio in Sjahrir's third Cabinet. In 1947, he was appointed Minister of Health in Sjarifuddin's Cabinet and had since then held the same position in succession in Hatta's federal Cabinet and Natsir's parliamentary Cabinet.

Johannes Leimena was born in Ambon on March 8, 1905. He began his medical studies in the STOVIA and later in the Medical College at Djakarta where he graduated as medical doctor in 1939. After his graduation, he first worked in the City Hospital at Djakarta and later joined the Mission Hospital "Baju Asih" in Purwakarta. He was director of said hospital from 1942 to 1945.

Leimena was one of the founders of the "Perkumpulan Pemuda Maluku" (Moluccas Youth Association) and became a member of the "Parkindo" (Indonesian Christian Party) in 1946. In the same year he became a member of the provisional Republican parliament. He headed the Indonesian Technical Commission during the "Renville" negotiations and was Chairman of the military commission attached to the Indonesian delegation to the Round Table Conference in The Hague.

Iskandar Tedjasukmana.

The new Minister of Labour, Tedjasukmana, was born in Tjiandjur, West Java, in 1915. He finished his middle school in Djakarta, and followed some courses in the Law College for one year. In 1942, he was an official in the department of justice at Bukittinggi, Sumatra. In 1946 he became a member

of the Executive Committee of the West Sumatra civil administration and in 1947 was elected member of the provisional Republican parliament. He joined the Labour Party and represents the party in the R.I. Parliament. He is concurrently Chairman of the Office General Elections.

M. A. Pellaupessy.

Pellaupessy, ex-minister of Information and now Minister of General Affairs, was born at Saparua, Maluku, on May 25, 1906. He was educated in the Netherlands. On his return to Indonesia in 1925, he took up a post in the civil administration of the Dutch-Indies Government. In 1937 he became department chief in the government service at Macassar and remained in that position until the outbreak of the Pacific War. At the end of the war, he resumed his work with the Dutch Government and was first secretary to the resident at Macassar and later as trade adviser in Amboina. After the establishment of the East Indonesian State in 1947, he became its representative at Djakarta and in 1948 was appointed Head of the South Moluccas residency. He further attended the Round Table Conference at The Hague as member of the Dutch-sponsored BFO delegation. *)

After the transfer of sovereignty he became a President of the Senate and on the formation of the Natsir's cabinet in September 1950, was appointed Minister of Information.

Kyai Hadji Wahid Hasjim.

Wahid Hasjim retains his old post as Minister of Religion in this new Cabinet. He was born at Djombang, East Java, on February 12, 1913, was educated at a special Moslem institute and was a teacher of religion before the outbreak of the Pacific War. He was an active member of several religious-political associations and in 1943 was acting-chairman of the Masjumi. In 1945, he was a member of the Preparatory Committee for the Proclamation of Independence and later a member of the provisional Republican parliament. He was named minister without portfolio in the first presidential Cabinet of Sukarno and once again in the third Sjahrir's Cabinet. After the transfer of sovereignty he was successively Minister of Religion in the Federal Cabinet of Hatta and the first R.I. Cabinet of Moh. Natsir.

Raden Pandji Suroso.

The new Minister for Personnel Affairs, Pandji Suroso, was born at Sidoarjo, East Java, in 1893. From 1913 to 1916, he was Chairman of the Probolinggo branch of the Moslem Association and later became a member of its executive committee.

*) BFO = Bijeekomst voor Federaal Overleg — Federal Consultative Assembly — Pertemuan untuk Permusjawaratan Federal.

In 1922, he became Chairman of the Association of Government Officials and Workers in Private Enterprises which function he held until 1942. In 1929 he also became a member of the East Java Provincial Council, later acting mayor of Modjokerto. In 1942, he joined the Parindra and represented that party in the provisional Republican Parliament. He was Minister of Home Affairs ad interim in the Emergency government of Sjafrudin in Atjeh, Sumatra.

Dr. Ukar Bratakusumah.

This new Minister of Public Works born at Tjiamis, West Java, on October 16, 1911. He graduated as civil engineer from the Technical College at Bandung in 1936. After graduation he was successively middle school teacher, director of a Pasundan middle school, private engineer and director of the technical department of the municipality at Bandung. In 1946, he was nominated mayor of Bandung by the Republican government.

From 1938 to 1942, Bratakusumah was also managing director of the daily "Sipatahoenan". In 1945, he became a member of the Peoples' Council established by the Japanese and later in the same year until 1946 was a member of the provisional Republican parliament in Djogja. Early in 1949, he was appointed deputy governor of West Java and played an active part in incorporating the Pasundan State into the Republic of Indonesia.

Arnold Mononutu.

Mononutu, the new Minister of Information, was born at Menado, Northern Celebes, in 1898. After graduating from the commercial high school at Djakarta, he went to Europe to continue his study. He first studied the Dutch language at Hague, then attended the University of Leyden to study Dutch literature and history, and lastly studied political science at Paris.

In 1927, he took up a job as correspondent of the Japanese firm Mitsui Bussan Kaisha and in 1930 he was made director of the Indonesian Cooperative at Minahasa. In 1945, he was head of the Rationing Service in Ternate and the following year saw him as editor-in-chief of the daily "Merdeka" at the same place. In 1947, he was elected vice-chairman of the provisional East Indonesian parliament, where he was leader of the

progressive faction. He attended the Round Table Conference as member of the East Indonesian delegation. Lastly, he was appointed Minister of Information in the federal Cabinet of Moh Hatta.

Raden Tumenggung Aria Sewaka.

The new Minister of Defence belongs to the P.I.R. (Greater Indonesia Union) and was born in 1895 at Tjirebon (Cheribon). He received his training at the College for Government Officials (Bestuurs-School) at Djakarta and has served at various administrative and judicial bodies at several places (Serang, Pandeglang, Bogor, Indramayu, Tjirebon) before, in March 1947, he became Republican Governor of West Java. During the first Dutch military action in 1948 he was Governor on special assignment at the Ministry of Home Affairs in Djogja.

During the second Dutch military action he was arrested by the Dutch. After his release, he settled in Djakarta. In June 1949, he returned to Djogja. In August 1949, he went to the Round Table Conference as a member of the Republican Delegation.

Dr. Suwanto.

The new Minister of Agriculture was born at Karanganyar in the residency of Surakarta on May 19, 1910. He attended the Technical College at Bandung where he graduated in 1936. In 1938, he became an engineer on the estates of the Mangkunegara Principality at Solo. From 1939 to 1944 he was Director of Public Works at Rembang. In 1945 he became Chief of the Irrigation Service of the Mangkunegara where he held various other posts until the end of 1948, when he joined the Ministry of Welfare in Djogja as Chief of the State Textile Corporation (Badan Tekstil Negara).

In August 1949, he joined the Round Table Conference as an Adviser to the Republican Delegation for financial and economic affairs. On his return from Holland he became Chief of the Central Bureau for Industry (Kepala Pusat Djawatan Perindustrian/Kerajinan) at Djogja, to be transferred to the same post at the Ministry of Trade and Industry at Djakarta in September 1950.

Dr Suwanto has been a member of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Catholic Party (P.K.R.I.) since 1938.



DR. SUKIMAN WIRJOSANDJOJO
Prime Minister



SIDIK DJOJOSUKARTO
President of P.N.I. and Joint Cabinet Formateur



RADEN SUWIRJO
Deputy Prime Minister



DR. AHMAD SUBARDJO
Minister of Foreign Affairs



DR. ISKAQ TJOKROHADISURJO
Minister of Home Affairs



RADEN T. A. SEWAKA
Minister of Defence



DR. MOH. YAMIN
Minister of Justice (resigned)



ARNOLD MONONUTU
Minister of Information



DR. JUSUF WIBISONO
Minister of Finance



DR. SUWARTO
Minister of Agriculture



DR. SUJONO HADINOTO
Minister of Economic Affairs



DR. DJUANDA
Minister of Communications



ISKANDAR TEDJAKUMANA
Minister of Labour



DR. WONGSONEGORO
Minister of Education



DR. UKAR BRATAKUSUMAH
Minister of Public Works



DR. SJAMSUDDIN
Minister of Social Affairs



KIJAI HADJI WAHID HASJIM
Minister of Religion



DR. J. LEIMENA
Minister of Health



M. A. PELLAUPESY
*Minister of General Affairs
(and Minister of Justice a.i.)*



RADEN PANDJI SUROSO
Minister of Personnel Affairs

OUR WAY OUT

By Dr. SUMITRO DJOJHADIKUSUMO

(Minister of Commerce and Industry in the Natsir Cabinet)

THIS is an effort to appraise the present situation, subsequently to project it into a perspective of the future. I will refrain from a mere statistical treatise on the different aspects of today's economy. Rather, it is an interpretation with due account to prevailing facts and figures. In view of the diverse complexities of problems and conflicting reports pertaining to present-day Indonesia, I feel that there is a need for a realistic appraisal in which we see trends and figures in their true proportions.

There are those who, looking exclusively from the point of view of the balance of payments, are inclined to hold that the economy of this country is well on its way towards advancement. Referring to the balance of payments at the end of 1950, the improvement is indeed striking.

It should be recalled that only nine months ago we did not know how to get the wherewithal to meet our obligations. Yet, we entered the new year with a slight surplus in our balance of payments. From the short term point of view, there is no indication that this increase will soon vanish in the near future. Where the countries of Western Europe are still suffering from inherent dollar-shortages, the dollar-sphere can be named as the best of our currency-areas. For various reasons the guilder-area is the weakest point in our currency position. On the other hand, the increase of our export values is such that our proceeds of non-guilder currencies enable us to sufficiently cover our guilder deficits. No difficulty was experienced in selling our primary produce.

An extremely opposite view is being held by those who base their judgment almost exclusively on existing huge budget-deficits, fearsome amount of money in circulation, inflationary dangers with domestic prices skyrocketing, decreasing productivity with labour strikes on the order of the day; numerous non-economic factors in addition, such as grave deterioration of internal security, lack of moral and material authority of the central Government, traces of anti-foreign feelings, inefficiency of the Government machinery, added with corruption and inexperience.

This latter category is completely discouraged. It embraces both foreigners as well as Indonesians. Whatever hope they had, they have lost it. Whatever concept of the future or whatever sense of imagination they may have had, they see no perspective anymore.

They see Indonesia moving along a downward spiral of which the end is not in sight, under

circumstances where time is rapidly running out. Neither one of the two pictures given above, presents of course the complete truth.

Those who contend that Indonesia's progress is an established fact are optimistic without adequate justification. It is equally true, however, that the dark and somber views of the pessimists cannot be considered as well-founded.

* *

Let us try then to approach our problems in a realistic manner, giving due credit to all factors involved.

The present situation is neither unequivocally good, nor is it hopeless. Difficulties there are many, some of them of a grave nature. But I venture to say that they are not insuperable. I sincerely believe that we will manage to overcome them, that we will be able to pull through. Judging from mere figures, our balance of payments is far from unfavourable. At least, we will be able to meet our obligations in terms of debt-services and invisibles. By the same token, we may theoretically be able to supply our people with a reasonable flow of needed goods; we are able to allocate the required amount of foreign exchange pertinent to a reasonable quantity of imports.

However, looking more closely at the actual world situation in which we find ourselves today, such would be a hasty and erroneous conclusion. It is well to realize that the high level of world market prices for basic commodities (still the main basis of our economy) is being accompanied by an equally-sustained high price-level of manufactured goods. Moreover, it is subject to doubt whether we can get in adequate quantities the goods required for the rehabilitation and the upkeep of our domestic economy. There is a war-psychosis going on almost all over the world. The economy of the industrial countries has been geared again to the needs of war potentials. Consequently, a shorter supply of consumer goods and capital goods for reconstruction and development has made itself felt again. With all the foreign exchange at our disposal, we may only be able to disburse part of it for a quantity of goods which might prove inadequate to stabilize the internal situation. We may find ourselves in the position of King Midas. Already difficulties in maintaining a sufficient flow of goods have caused an upward trend in domestic prices. Furthermore, how long will these profitable prices for raw materials continue?

A country such as ours, with an economy still

dependent on a relatively small number of export-goods, is highly sensitive to the fluctuations of world markets. We owe the improvement of our balance of payments for a great deal to factors beyond our own control. What if sooner or later the tide turns? Will we be able to keep up a good fight for our markets? It would be a dangerous thing if in our efforts to safeguard, let alone improve, the standard of living, we are at the mercy of our export-markets.

Foremost in our minds, therefore, is the question of production and its organization. All these are matters to be considered when we want to use the balance of payments as an indicator for the state of our economy. In making a prognosis on the basis of present and anticipated figures of our balance of payments, it is well to proceed cautiously.

On the other hand, we refuse to accept the defeatism prevalent among a number of people, who see no way out of their day-to-day troubles. Throwing up their hands in despair, they let themselves drift and allow a dangerous mood to take the upper hand. I exclude the minority, which derives a certain kind of joy from the bad aspects of present conditions; in these circles, with hardly controlled and morbid sense of satisfaction, word is privately being passed "I told you so".

Certainly, the picture as presented by budget-deficits, great amount of money in circulation, low productivity, frequency of labour-strikes, growing insecurity, is not a cherishing one.

Let us face it squarely. Even a cursory glance makes one fully realize that the job to be done is a most difficult one. Far be it from me to give a rosy interpretation of the hard facts and figures that we have before us. I could myself name numerous other factors which would darken the picture even more. I am a daily witness to the sad reality of a lack of "managerial skill", both within the administration as well as among private Indonesian business. I am painfully aware of the slackness and slowness of the government machinery; in addition to the usual kind of bureaucracy that one finds everywhere in government, there are only a small number of administrators, able to combine experience with bold imagination and decisive action, badly required by the present situation. Worse even is the lack of follow-up people in the middle ranks.

I am also conscious of the ever-present danger of corruption, mainly due to enduring hardships which the ordinary civil servants have to face. They can hardly meet the minimum requirements of daily life. Nor do I wish to conceal that the masses in the rural areas are being restive. Outside the cities dissatisfaction prevails. They were, in the past, brought under the impression that freedom would bring them the moon—now they ask for the moon.

They do not comprehend why things have

remained as they are. The youth find it difficult to adjust themselves. Quite a few have become disappointed and pose the question: "What did we fight for?" Having been used to handle a rifle, they resort to it too easily when they do not get what they want soon enough.

Too many don't realize that years of Japanese occupation, internal strife, two military actions, disruption of productive output, disintegration of authority, social dislocations and all that these things entail, cannot fail to mark their effects for years and years to come.

I am not blind to all such things, at times they are quite disheartening. But by the same token I have come to the conclusion that there definitely are bridgeheads — from which we can meet the challenge of the situation with more than a fair chance of success. The past seven months after the inception of the Unitary State have been a tedious period, both as to economic problems as well as other issues. In spite of difficulties and disappointments, we could observe a dogged determination among many groups in all sections, not only to prevent disintegration, but to make and do things with fervour and zeal.

There is a continuous process of destruction as well as of growth. To the superficial onlooker the constructive forces have hitherto been overshadowed by the elements of disruption. They have not come sufficiently to the fore as to catch the imaginative eye. But they are there just the same.

* * *

Close observation and analysis of the experience of the past half year seems to warrant the conclusion that the Government was on the right track when in September of last year in its Statement before Parliament, the main accent of its economic policy was stressed on organizing the economic strength of the small producers. It boils down to giving highest priority to stimulating and organizing the productive activities in rural areas. This equally and simultaneously refers to the agricultural as well as the industrial field. The majority, by far, of our population comprise small producers, foodcrop-peasants, growers of rubber, copra, etc., as well as people engaged in small scale industries.

The key to the manifold problems of Indonesia is the question to what extent we will succeed in what we may call our "community approach in rural development". The plight of the small producers is indeed something to think about. Even with booming prices for our basic commodities, the producers only receive a small fraction of the total proceeds. The bulk goes to commercial houses in the big cities or to middle-men, collecting the produce. In small scale industries aspects of organization are even more important than the mere technical process of production.

Improvement of transportation and communications, engineering works, specific projects such

as those submitted to the Eximbank, modernizing industrial equipment of large-scale units, are necessary conditions; but they should be regarded as supporting elements to productive activities connected with rural development. They should be planned and implemented within the framework of increasing the economic strength of small producers.

Should we lose sight of this fundamental principle, there would be the danger that too much attention would be focussed on setting-up large-scale units and big factories as projects in themselves. While giving urban centers a modern industrial outlook, it would leave the plight of the small producer in the same state, if not worse.

Ultimately, it would bring about inevitable social dislocations and unrest which in turn would turn loosen forces disruptive to the productive output of the country as a whole. Events in several other countries with the same basic economy as ours, stand there as an example. The economic strength of Indonesia and its ability to resist disintegration, stands and falls with the plight of the small producers.

Much will be gained already with an increase in the producer's bargaining-power vis-à-vis other economic groups. It is a matter of organizing credit facilities and the commercializing aspects.

With this fundamental concept in mind we have gone ahead this past half year with our program for economic development of the rural areas. This stage was primarily an experimental one. We continuously had to keep in mind that failures of some importance would create disappointments with more than ordinary consequences. Reorganization of extension services was implemented with a view to rendering State credit facilities for village cooperatives as well for cooperatives on a higher level. Credits were actually granted in various areas covering both farmer's as well as industrial cooperatives. The farmer's cooperatives considered eligible included rice-growers as well other producers. Activities in the field as growers of tobacco, sugar, kapok, copra and of rural industries have been intensified. Industrial centers for finishing processes have been established with Government's help, both technical as well as financial.

During the period under review, sixteen centres in the country were set up where representatives from various villages get an intensive training in the management of village cooperatives. The number of training centres will be increased as we go along. Judging from the experiences and the results up till now, the tentative conclusion seems warranted that we will be able to achieve our target for the end of 1951, namely to have trained 5,000 people, who each represents a village and who will form the backbone of the village cooperative-movement throughout Indonesia.

The transition of former village credit banks into village credit cooperatives has been imple-

mented in certain parts of Indonesia, e.g. in West Java, Central Java and in some areas of the other islands. The channels and methods of rendering credit and other aid to cooperative associations are getting organized. For the purpose of credit aid, a central credit foundation is already at work. It is the ultimate aim that after a certain number of years this central credit foundation, now still under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Commerce & Industry, will be transformed into an autonomous central cooperative credit bank, servicing the village and other cooperative associations, for which the spade work is now being laid.

* * *

In the meantime, we have worked on our short-term economic plan*. This plan covers a period of two years. It includes a program for intensified development of cooperatives, sponsoring and strengthening organizations and associations of small and middle-class business enterprises, and also our industrial program. In the industrial program emphasis is laid on the development of small scale industries as a matter of national concern, which therefore should be treated as a national problem on a large scale. It will be the foundation for the future long term industrialization and economic development of Indonesia.

Apart from strengthening the bargaining-power of the producers in the small scale industries, there is the very important consideration that sound small-scale industries as a source of steady employment and income will to a considerable extent alleviate the burden of "disguised unemployment", which is rampant especially in the agricultural areas in Java. It can furthermore mean a source which would attract former guerillas and demobilized men who, for lack of constructive work, up till now have very often disrupted law and order by roaming about the country. In this industrial program are also included a number of large-scale industries.

But as I stressed before, the idea is that the large scale industries function as a supporting element to facilitate and strengthen the development of domestic rural industries. We have included in the short-term program, those large industries, which can be started and made ready for operation within a period of two years. In the meantime we will continue with projects of other industries, which for technical reasons can only be set up in large units and which require a much longer period as to implementation and putting into operational stage. Some of them will require four to five years, or even more, before they will reach the stage of completion.

I mention the above as a concretization of the underlying principles which guide us in our economic policy. To my mind, the implementation of

* See Below, "The Industrialization of Indonesia".

those principles form the only solution for the economic impasse, which our country now faces in more than one respect.

I should however like to draw the attention to one striking feature. We fully realize that we have drawn up our short-term plan for economic reconstruction in a rather unorthodox way. Usually, a government or a country starts to draw up a plan for a rather long term, covering a period of five years for instance, or even several five-years' periods. However, in view of the particular situation we decided under the circumstances that it would not get us one step further.

On the basis of "first things first", considerations of expediency had to be given priority. From an overall point of view, we decided to start immediately with drafting a program, the implementation of which will enable us to prevent further disinflation, and subsequently to achieve a satisfactory degree of stability. Only then, can we have a foundation, upon which to build our long-term plans for further economic development. It is in this light that the short-term economic program should be regarded. Allowance must be given for some flexibility in the program itself. It needs polishing, alterations and, if necessary, deviations must be possible as we go along and gain experience during the actual implementation.

* *

The problem of obtaining goods for domestic economy is a matter of concern. We are for the greater part dependent on imports from abroad, both in the consumptive sector as well as to raw materials for our domestic industries. It is realized that, in view of the international situation, more difficulties will have to be faced in this respect. The possibility to get goods is one of the determinants to soften inflationary trends caused by money in circulation in the domestic sphere. This aspect of our economy is the principal consideration which guides us in our policy on foreign trade. It explains our position and for a system of for international pooling and for a system of allocation of commodities, considered of strategic importance by the industrial countries.

It is all very well to speak of untenably high prices of raw materials in the world markets, but it only gives one side of the picture. I would like to stress, as I repeatedly did before, that the benefits, assertedly gained by producers of primary produce are only of relative importance. The producers are highly dependent for the supply of their daily requirements on manufactured goods of the industrial countries. This certainly is true in the case of Indonesia. The price-trends of manufactured goods for which the proceeds of our commodities are being spent, have shown a similar increase at the same rate.

In addition, manufactured goods have become more and more difficult to obtain as a result of various kinds of restrictions. It does not seem quite

fair, therefore, to demand the establishment of controls on production, exports and prices of raw materials only, while no provisions whatever are contemplated to safeguard the domestic economies of producers' countries from falling into pieces.

This is what actually will happen, if they will not be put in a position to obtain consumer's and capital goods in quantities and at prices, bearing a reasonable relation to the raw materials they supply. We have consistently taken this position at international conferences, as well as in our bilateral trade-agreements with other countries. It is not a matter of "emotional hardheadedness", but sheer necessity from the point of view of economic and political stability within our country.

We have to do what we can to facilitate and speed up the importation of goods, making due allowance for our efforts to give Indonesian national enterprises more than a fair chance to participate in foreign trade. We have to adjust the present system to changed conditions.

The procedures hitherto followed have often caused unnecessary and harmful delays; particularly so, as day-to-day changes of offered quantities and prices of finished commodities are no exception any more.

In view of the vital interests at stake, the Government, if necessary, should not hesitate to actively engage in providing facilities for imports. The actual implementation of the imports itself can best be left to private organizations. It is not likely that financial facilities as here envisaged would increase inflationary tendencies, as long as such money-outlay will be covered by an adequate quantity of commodities. It is more a matter of intermittent financing to bridge the interval between confirming the order and the actual arrival of the goods in Indonesia. It is meant to aid the commercial houses in their liquidity-position. Their liquid assets are, under the circumstances, being tied up for a considerable period of time. Money as such does have to go into circulation. Furthermore, it can give the Government more control over the kind of commodities which will be brought in. There is more possibility to see to it that goods will be ordered which are really necessary to keep the economic machinery in Indonesia going. Up till now, considerations of high and speculative profits have been given undue importance in the importation of goods by private enterprises.

* *

In more than one respect our budget position gives cause for apprehension. But again, it would be a grave error to attach a judgment on the state and prospects of our economy, almost exclusively to figures of the budget. In so doing we would erroneously apply an utterly static criterium to the dynamics of economic life.

While it is of urgent necessity that we drastically cut down many unjustifiable expenditures, we should not give the (obsolete) concept of a "balan-

ced budget" the meaning of a "deus ex machina" which would save us from all economic evils. That might only give disastrous effects. It would inevitably decrease initiative (now more needed than ever), eliminate perspective and vanish all hope by sacrificing economic possibilities for the sake of balancing static figures. It would not help us in getting over the many "humps" that we have now before us. Looking at the objective possibilities and potentialities, a policy of budget deficits during the next number of years is justified, as long as everything is being done to enable economic life in general and productive activity in particular, gain momentum again.

This depends, under the present particular circumstances, predominantly on the lead and impetus that will be given by the Government. Only a policy, bold in concept and perspective, can instill hope for the future in our people so that they can live up to the challenge of the times.

By the same token, it is my considered opinion that it furnishes the only satisfactory solution to get the problems of internal security ultimately under control. I do not agree with the notion that the only thing to do should be the application of the iron and armed action to establish "law and order" and then (but only then) to lay the foundations for economic work. Only police and military actions will prove far from adequate because they do not go to the roots of the problem.

The issue of security is to a great extent an economic problem, directly connected with loss of perspective, among many groups, concerning their future. Let it be clearly understood, however, that it does not in any way exclude drastic action by the Government against criminal violations of the law. My point is that it should simultaneously be accompanied and readily followed up by stimulation of economic activity; where necessary by pump-priming to get through prevailing bottlenecks. Any efforts with a view to achieving economic stability, must also incorporate the objective to ensure security by increased economic activity. This, too, must be one of the basis considerations in our economic policy, with particular reference to the implementation of our short-term economic program.

* *

A word about labour-problems and the wave of strikes that has been going on until recently. It is a matter of life and death to keep production going in Indonesia. It implies that, in the overall interest of the country, it is our first duty to maintain and safeguard the productive sources now available to our community. It goes without saying that the Government should firmly adhere to the principle of an equitable distribution of the national income amongst the social sectors which together form the productive forces of the country. For this purpose, the organization of production

should be adjusted to make such equitable distribution possible.

But it stands to reason that before we even can start the process of distribution, we must at least have something that can be distributed at all. In other words it is a matter of **produce or perish**. Actually, the two desiderata — production and equitable distribution of the national income — are not inconsistent with each other; they are two aspects of the same problem and objective.

It would, therefore, be disastrous to allow available productive sources being hampered and disrupted just for the sake of agitation, slogans and false popularity. It may seem brave to scream at "foreign interests" and to demand their confiscation or even destruction. Should we be tempted to give in to such tendencies, where would the interests of the common people come into the picture?

There would hardly be anything left to meet their basic material needs. After these years of hardships, it would mean to them an additional burden; their suffering would be beyond imagination. No responsible Government would ever allow such thing to happen. I would like to submit that in many instances the demand for wage-increases have real economic justification, as a result of the increased costs of living. But the problem will not be solved by resorting to increased money wages as such. If not followed up or accompanied by an increase in productive output, the community would be even worse off; soon enough will we find ourselves in the maelstrom of a vicious circle of inflationary trends, because of the greater flow of money amongst the social groups.

Furthermore, we are faced with the hard fact that the national output of the country is still considerably less than before the war. Accordingly, it is unavoidable that for a number of years we have to go through a process during which the community as a whole has to be content with less than would be possible under normal conditions. Up till now, it has been the group of peasants and small producers who suffered most from decreased productive output. As total output is lower than in prewar times, it would not be justified should we allow a small group to receive a much greater share in relation to the rest of the community. It would be at the cost of the peasants who form the majority of our people and who have truly been the only productive factor all along. Which Government, responsible government that is, can allow a further exploitation of the peasants and small producers to take place?

Last but not least, it became increasingly clear that a certain pattern was discernible in the frequency and methods of numerous strikes. It was obvious that to a large extent strikes were called, not in the interests of the workers concerned, but as a political weapon of certain groups;

not with the objective to improve actual conditions for the common people, but to make it difficult for the Government, any government for that matter. A strategy is being carried out to disrupt production and thereby the economic basis of the country.

According to well prepared plans, political capital is being made out of bad economic and social conditions, not with the interests of the Indonesians at heart, but solely for reasons alien to Indonesia and its people.

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It is a mere truism to say that our ability and possibility to pursue an independent policy in foreign affairs (because of our conviction that such will be to the best interests of Indonesia) bears a direct relation to our ability to get things internally under control. In other words, with our ability to ensure production and, consequently, achieve economic as well as political stability.

Lack of "managerial skill" applies equally to the administration as well as to private business. Even the dyed-in-the-wool chauvinist must have realized by now that more important than potential wealth of a country is the power to create wealth and transform the potentialities into realities. Our best plans will remain paperwork, unless we have people to carry them out.

It is here that the various technical assistance programs, as envisaged by agencies of the United Nations, the United States and by the Colombo-Plan can prove of invaluable aid to implement the programs that we projected for our economic reconstruction. It is necessary, however, that a great deal more coordination be achieved amongst afore-mentioned agencies themselves. Because of the various and diverse proposals, suggestions, overlapping, crosswiring by those agencies, such lack of coordination tends to create a dangerous kind of confusion amongst our own people that should not be underestimated in its consequences. Secondly, the kind of aid — both material as well as in terms of technical experts — should be completely geared to the plans and programs as formulated by the Government of the areas involved.

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As far as Indonesia is concerned, it boils down to strengthening and improving the extension services, setting up training-centers, teaching the people in the field how to do the job. It means aid to put the deplorable state of our laboratories on their feet again, to set up and implement pilot-

projects in the agricultural as well as in the industrial sectors. On the whole, the dominant issue in Indonesia is the problem of training and educating the people for the purpose of obtaining the required managerial skill. Training in the fields of administration, commerce, finance, economic field work, engineering, and an endless number of other sections.

On our part, we have gone ahead with our work in getting trained people. Some months ago, we have formally opened our Graduate School of Business Administration where theoretical study is being combined with actual practice. The courses are given during the evening hours, as almost all students work during the daytime either in private business or in government-agencies.

Before long, courses will be opened for civil servants, engaged in industrial extension services. They are meant to improve the quality of consultants to small industries in the rural areas. As to our extension services for development of co-operatives, we are ready to open a similar course. Moreover, we are sending out young people to get training abroad during a period of approximately two years. A beginning has been made with the first group. They will be stationed with our missions in various countries. They will be trained under the supervision of qualified Trade Commissioners, chiefs of economic sections of embassies, technical experts working in our mission and so on. It will also be necessary to send more groups abroad to get them placed in foreign banks, commercial houses, economic organizations so they can get a thorough practical training in the day-to-day work of the organizations and learn their business right from the start.

It is in this way, added with technical assistance that we hope will be provided, that we try to solve the problem of trained people. It would be foolish to assume, as is being actually done in certain quarters, that we can do without technical experts from abroad. We have to bring them in, either through the technical assistance programs, or at our own initiative, or both. The success of our economic plans is greatly dependent on the degree in which we can increase within the shortest possible time, both the quality and the number of the people that must do the job.

We will encounter numerous disappointments and discouragements, but we will face them with our eyes wide open.

The job ahead is more than tough — but it can be done: it is a matter of "never say die".

(First Published in the Special Edition of "The Economic Review of Indonesia", Djakarta, March 19, 1951).

THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF INDONESIA

MODERN Industry in Indonesia is still in its infancy. Dutch colonial policy was mainly responsible for Indonesia to remain an almost exclusively agrarian economy, dependent for her manufactured goods on imports — largely from Holland — and for her exports on a fluctuating world market determined by factors over which she has no control.

Government policy must therefore aim at the creation of a balanced economy by expanding the existing fields of production and the development of new resources. The steadily increasing population and the solution of the problem of unemployment demands the industrialization of the country, the broadening and strengthening of the nation's economic basis. In the first place, an industry plan must pay attention to an increase in production of primary foodstuffs — of consumer goods which the people need in daily life and which thus far had to be imported on a large scale. In the second place, each opportunity to work Indonesian materials in the country itself must be used.

After a production increase has been attained in this manner, there will be more ample opportunity for the import of capital goods for the basic industries which, in their turn, can supply other enterprises with raw materials and unfinished industrial products.

The Sumitro-Plan

Only in this way can general standard of living of the Indonesian people be improved. To this effect the Directorate of Trade and Industry has recently drafted, an Urgency Programme for Industrial Development — the Sumitro-Plan, named after the incumbent Minister of Trade and Industry — which contains:

- a. Projects on short-term which will be carried out and made ready for operation in 1951 and 1952;
- b. Long-term projects, preparations for which will start in 1951 and 1952; a larger time space will be necessary to make these projects ready for operation in connection with their nature and size.

This Urgency Programme aims at promoting the development of the Indonesian industry in all its layers, viz. small, medium and large-sized industries. This is based on the consideration that, if the State wants to obtain in the shortest possible period the necessary production apparatus to increase welfare, the Government must give the lead in economic life.

In the field of people's industry (small and medium sized industries) attention can be focussed on modernization and mechanization and on the improvement and strengthening of the organization of these enterprises. Large industries will then mainly have to assist in developing the small and medium-sized industries.

In the matter of industrial administration, attempts must be made to promote the development of industry to such an extent as to make it the mainstay of the productive capacity of Indonesia

The results of this will be:

- a. That there will sufficient goods in Indonesia to meet the normal needs of the population. This, in turn, will result in an increase in the purchasing power of the Rupiah.
- b. That national and people's income will increase.
- c. That there will be more employment, and.
- d. That Indonesia will be less dependent on the price-fluctuations in the world market.

To achieve these aims, expanded basic industries are to be established. These industries will mainly work the resources available in this country; they should, besides, be able to produce goods to strengthen the existing industries and to open the opportunity to establish new enterprises. Furthermore, the existing productive capacity of those enterprises which supply primary foodstuffs will be enlarged.

In principle, these new enterprises should be based on economic productiveness, but other enterprises may be established which give no direct yields but whose establishment will increase the general welfare. In considering the establishment of such enterprises, all establishment-factors will have to be taken into account.

In addition, an Act on the Establishment of new enterprises is necessary so that the Government can control the factors around these establishments and has a means to prevent the establishment of industries which, for certain reasons, are considered harmful to the interests of the country.

Foreign Investments.

The Urgency Programme gives a number of directives regarding Government conditions on the investment of foreign capital. In these directives distinction is made between already existing and newly-to-be-established enterprises.

Establishing new conditions for already existing enterprises would be in violation of Article 26 of the Provisional Constitution of the Republic, where individual rights are recognized, without prejudice, however, to the Government's right to supervise.

Regarding the establishment by non-Indonesians of new enterprises, certain conditions must provide allowing for participation of Indonesian capital and inclusion of Indonesians in the management. Reference is made to the Government Statement of September 21, 1950:

"Foreign enterprises should, in an ample and clear manner, give Indonesians the opportunity to be included in the management of enterprises and open the opportunity for participation of Indonesian capital both from the side of private persons and the Government, in the form of credits or capital".

As mere participation in a limited company does not give any authority, the majority of common and preference shares must be in the hands of private Indonesians or the Government, and the majority of the Board of Directors should be made up of Indonesians. These conditions must be included in the statutes of the limited companies.

The Key-Industries.

The Government must have unchallenged majority in the Key-industries of Indonesia, such as cement factories, chemical basic-industries for the production of caustic soda, ammonium and nitrogen compounds; arms and ammunition industries; scrap-iron conditioning factories as well as power-plants, waterworks and transport enterprises.

To achieve this, the Urgency Programme lists two methods:

(a). The Government participates for at least 50%, is in the possession of two-thirds of the preference shares and controls more than half of the seats on the Board of Directors; the rest is in the hands of private Indonesians.

The third party only takes part as technical experts in the construction of the enterprise or as managers. This will be laid down in a management-contract which also stipulates the conditions for this management.

In any case, there must be a statutory stipulation for the management to train Indonesians for leading functions in that enterprise.

(b). In the second case, the third party can take part with private Indonesian participants. There is always, however, the condition that the Government takes part for at least 50%, possesses two-thirds of the preference shares and occupies more than half of the seats on the Board of Directors. The third party here acts solely as managers for the construction of the enterprise.

„Non-essential" Industries.

The Urgency Programme lists a number of industries needed in Indonesia, which require a high degree of technical knowledge and extensive capital investments. This list includes factories for the production of motorcar-tyres, margarine and similar products, radio equipment, telephone equipment, electric bulbs, civilian aircraft, automobiles and fertilizers.

If on the part of Indonesians sufficient interest is present for participation in such factories, or if this interest of Indonesian capital may be expected in the near future, the following structure might be applied:

Indonesians participate for at least half of the capital, own more than half of the preference shares and occupy more than half of the director's posts. The third party (foreign capital) participates for the remainder. In this case, the Government may act as temporary financier to bridge any possible gaps. The Statutes are to provide for the gradual transfer of the ordinary and preferential shares from the foreign shareholders to Indonesians. The foreign participants take upon them the duty to train an Indonesian staff.

In the establishment of other „non-essential" enterprises, in which Indonesian capital does not show any interest, private initiative may be active, provided that these new enterprises fit into the framework of the general economic plan, that are willing to cooperate with Indonesian capital or at least willing to accept Indonesian participation within a reasonable time, and that they are willing to accept Indonesian employees for staff functions or at least train them for these functions so that later these enterprises can be taken over by Indonesians. As a matter of course, these new enterprises have to comply with existing foreign exchange, social and labour regulations.

Existing enterprises wanting to expand, might receive Government loans, provided these credits are converted within a certain time into shares of Indonesian ownership. Such Government credits will include provisions that Indonesians shall be included in the staff or be given the opportunity to be trained for the higher staff functions.

Scientific Research.

The development of Indonesia's scientific organizations must be one of the corner stones for the industrial development.

To this effect, laboratories and institutes should be improved and enlarged, providing better opportunity for research and experimental work.

1) Plans are underway to establish the following departments at the Raw Materials Research Laboratory in Bandung:

- a) A department for research on the possibility of improving building materials (improving the durability of bamboo).
- b) A department for research on corrosion (corrosion causes a yearly loss of 2% of iron and steel; improvements of anticorrosives).

2) The Laboratory for Chemical Research in Bandung will be enlarged with a department for Glass and Enamel Technology (the replacement of glass scrap as raw material for Indonesia's glass industry. By better materials, improving efficiency, so as to enable factories to work at lower furnace temperatures and making a better product).

3) Research for improvements in the foodstuffs industry.

- 4) Establishment of an institute for fibre research, a laboratory for leather research and training of experts for textile production.
- 5) Experimental enterprises for the processing of Rami fibre and for the purification of Damar (gum).

The estimated costs for the expansion of the work of these laboratories and institutes are for the years:

1951	R. 3.814.000
1952	R. 2.427.000
1953	R. 1.552.000

In a separate attachment the Plan gives a detailed specification of these costs.

The Urgency Programme calls these expansions "the creation of a favourable atmosphere, commercially as well as industrially, for the development of Indonesia's industry".

Promotion of Small-Scale Industries.

To stimulate the development of small industries 23 central workshops will be established in the centres of local industries, to be called "centres". These centres aim at the introduction of systematic production methods and the improvement of the quality of the products. Also to be introduced are standardization, new working methods, better tools and new products, stimulation of the organizational spirit of the proprietors and better training possibilities.

At the same time the "centres" are expected to improve the sales methods and the purchase of raw materials.

Plans have been drafted for the establishment of centres for weaving, ceramic, iron, copper, woodwork, leather and leather-processing industries and for the processing of rubber. The costs are estimated at:

R. 14.462.900	for 1951.
R. 12.504.100	for 1952.

Of these amounts, the textile centres are to receive R. 6.000.000, the leather centres R. 1.600.000, the ceramic R. 798.000, the woodwork centres R. 1.398.000, the iron centres R. 400.000, the metal casting centres R. 502.000 and the centres for rubber processing R. 565.000.

The Two-Year Urgency Programme also includes a draft for the granting of credits to handicraft and partly-mechanized industries. The measures for the development of these industries are intended to be continued after 1952. The amount for the granting of credits for the coming two years are estimated at:

1951	R. 66.470.000
1952	R. 59.500.000

The credits will be granted in the form of capital or working credits. The enterprises will have to

comply with the demands of the national economy, which means that they must fit into the urgency programme. At the same time, certain technical and economic conditions must be fulfilled; applicants must be experts at their trade and be of good character. The credits may not exceed twice the amount of the capital invested in the plant.

Large-Scale Industries.

Concerning large-scale industries the Urgency Programme differentiates between short-term and long-term projects.

The first category includes 7 projects, to be realized in 1951 and 1952. Total capital investments for these projects are expected to amount to R. 178.685.000. These projects are:

1. printing plants	— 6 units
2. rubber remilling plants	— 7 units
3. portland cement plants	— 1 unit
4. tyre factories	— 1 unit
5. spinning mills	— 1 unit
6. knitting plants	— 3 units
7. jute bag factories	— 1 unit

The 6 printing plants will probably be located at Medan, Palembang, Djakarta, Semarang, Sourabaya and Macassar.

It is intended to promote the printing of newspapers. In view of the shortage of capital of the Indonesian press, the Djawatan Perindustrian (Industrial Service) has come to the conclusion, after consultations with the Ministry of Information, that for this purpose 6 units of plane-print rotation presses are needed from abroad.

The initial costs will have to be borne by the Government. Later on, the units are to be sold to press organizations. The 6 units will cost, including foreign exchange certificates, building costs and three months' exploitation, R. 13.260.000.

The possibility of processing "slabs" (coagulated rubber) to blankets in the country itself, is of prime importance to Indonesia. This means direct export, more work and savings of transport. One of the 7 remilling units needed for this purpose will be a continuation of the former Nomura plant in Bandjermasin. The others will be placed in South Asahan, Sibolga, Djambi, Palembang, Pontianak and Sampit. Procurement costs are approximately R. 24.000.000.

The cement factory in Padang only produces 40 to 50% of Indonesia's needs, which are estimated at 400,000 tons. Construction will be started in 1951 of a new factory with a capacity of about 200,000 tons per year, costing R. 21,800.000.

The consumption of weaving yarns in Indonesia is about 15,000 tons per year, 4,000 tons of which are home produced. The procurement of a spinning mill with 10,000 shuttles is planned. This mill will

in the beginning produce 800 tons per year, but its eventual capacity will be around 2,400 tons. Total costs: R. 6.650.000.

The tyre factory in Bogor produces 260,000 sets of car and truck tyres, while 450,000 sets are needed. The main raw material is home produced, which constitutes a considerable exploitation advantage for a tyre factory. The factory which is to be established must have a capacity of about 200,000 sets per year, and even this is not much, taking into consideration the fast expansion of motor traffic in Indonesia. Total costs: R. 25.250.000.

Only about 10% the 2,000,000 dozens of singlets needed here every year, are home produced. The three projected knitting factories will increase production with about 330,000 dozens. Costs: R. 4.050.000.

Indonesia's export products are mostly transported in gunny-bags. The factory which before the war produced these bags in Indonesia, is not yet back in production and 80% of the bags has to be bought abroad. As consumption is estimated at about 30 to 40 million bags per year, a gunny-bags factory would be no luxury for Indonesia. The planned factory will be able to produce 12 million bags per year. Total costs are estimated at R. 11.800.000.

So much for short-term plans for big industry. Although the estimates have already been introduced, ways still are being sought after to alleviate this budget, by private participation of foreign aid.

Caustic Soda.

Concerning the long-term projects for big industry the „Sumitro-Plan" states that in 1951 and 1952 preparations will be started for the realization of several projects. These will largely comprise complicated units so that the completion of these projects will be reached after 1952.

The long term projects are:

A factory for the production of caustic soda; the large consumption in Indonesia of toilet and laundry soap makes the establishment of such a factory a prime necessity. In 1940, Indonesia imported almost 15,000 tons of caustic soda, of which quantity about 10,000 tons were used by soap factories. Sugar factories and oil mills also use this important basic commodity. Salt, the most important raw material for the production of caustic soda, is found in abundance in Indonesia. Such a factory also will make possible the production of a large number of chemicals, if combined with the production of a fertilizer plant.

The factory which will be established is planned for a production of 15,000 tons electrolytically produced caustic soda. Secondary products will be 1,000 tons of hydrochloric acid, 3,000 tons caporite, 12,000 tons phosphates and 150 tons oxygen. The cost of such a unit is estimated at R. 80.000.000

Fertilizers

A fertilizer plant for the production of sulphuric acid ammonia.

Indonesia imports an average of about 60.000 tons of fertilizer. The raw materials for the production of sulphuric acid ammonia are abundantly found; sulphur, hydrogen and nitrogen can be produced. As for the production natural gas is used, the plant will be located at Tjepu. The construction cost of this factory, capable of producing 55,000 tons sulphuric acid ammonia and a number of by-products for use by the chemical industries, are estimated at R. 75.000.000.

An aluminium factory.

Indonesia now exports bauxite, which involves extremely high transportation expenses. If this bauxite would be processed to aluminium and aluminium concentrates, firstly, the home market could be supplied with the metal for use by the industries, while the export revenues would be considerably higher by the export of aluminium concentrates instead of bauxite. Aluminium production takes large amounts of electrical power and a ten-year old plan provides for the construction of a power plant utilizing the Asahan river as a power source. The programme now does not mention any particular location for the construction of a power plant, although it does mention such a plant. For the production of 10,000 tons of aluminium per year, a capital expenditure of R. 92.500.000 will be needed.

Scrap Processing.

Before the war, Indonesia exported yearly between 30.000 and 40,000 tons of scrap-iron. This quantity would, however, be sufficient to form the basic source of raw material for the establishment of a scrap-processing plant in Indonesia. Such a plant would produce concrete-iron, profile-iron, sheet-iron, steel and tin-plate. The vicinity of Semarang is thought to be best for the construction of this factory. The import of iron might be reduced by some 40,000 tons per year. The cost of a plant, capable of processing 30,000 tons of scrap per year, is estimated at R. 48,200,000.

Indonesia needs ply-wood as packing material for tea and other products. This material is being produced already by some factories, but their production only covers about a quarter of the 3,000,000 crates needed yearly. To establish a factory with a yearly production of 5,000 cubic metres about R. 10.000.000 is needed.

Paper and pulp factories.

Indonesia now imports the major part of its paper supply, even while there are sufficient raw materials in the country for the production of paper and pulp. A plan, which was drafted before the war, and which provides for the establishment of a wood-paper factory in Takengon (Acheen) with a capacity of 25,000 tons of newsprint and

18,000 tons of cellulose, has been adopted in the Urgency Programme. Capital needed is estimated at R. 67.500.000.

Miscellaneous Production.

Indonesian glass factories, numbering ten at the moment, still work on a primitive level and are not able to produce quality products. The demand greatly exceeds the supply. In East Java, a quality of sand is found, near Tuban and on Madura, which is suitable for glass production. A glass factory with a capacity of 10,000,000 beer bottles per year, will be established in Sourabaya. This plant at the same time will be able to produce other glass products. Capital investment: R. 12.500.000.

Although the two-year Urgency Programme (short-term programme) mentions the establishment of spinning-mills and knitting plants, it is necessary to expand the production of these items after these two years. To this end two spinning units are projected with a capacity of 9,000 tons of weaving yarn and a spinning mill for the production of hosiery yarns with a yearly capacity of 3.500 tons. The three spinning mills are expected to cost R. 105.000.000. Also to be established are 6 knitting plants, each with 15 knitting machines, at a total cost of R. 19.500.000.

The production of tannin is to be found in Indonesia on a small scale and many tannic acids, such as divi and quebrache are being imported. In the country several kinds of bark can be found which are extremely suitable for the production of tanning liquids in sufficient quantity. A tannin factory with a capacity of 2,500 tons of dry tannin per year has been planned at a cost of R. 3.730.000.

The coconut is used for the production of copra and coco-oil. The so-called dessicated coconut is a material for the food industry, which is in

high demand and which is relatively easy to produce. To produce 5,000 tons per year of this product a plant will be needed, which will cost about R. 8.300.000. Possibly construction on this factory will start in 1951, in the Minahasa. A power generator is included in this estimate.

Cost of Industrialization and Rehabilitation.

The long-term projects demand investments to a total of R. 522.230.000; the short-term programme will take about R. 178.685.000. The complete programme for the industrialization of Indonesia will cost about R. 700 millions.

To raise the total industrial production capacity of Indonesia as much as possible, sufficient attention should be paid to the rehabilitation of existing plants. After the Japanese occupation many industries were over-taxed, others were neglected with the result that several plants were damaged to such an extent that a paying exploitation was not possible. Between 1946 and 1949 rehabilitation was impossible. The reconstruction of all these enterprises cannot be realized and so a plan has been drafted to re-establish those industries which produce goods needed for home consumption.

A total amount of R. 58.000.000 is needed for this purpose:

textile industries	R. 2.700.000
clothing industry	R. 2.000.000
foodstuffs	R. 8.350.000
cigarettes	R. 4.350.000
techno-chemical	R. 5.300.000
tanning and shoe industries	R. 3.500.000
heavy technical industries	R. 17.700.000
construction workshops	R. 3.600.000
building materials	R. 3.300.000
rubber industries	R. 7.200.000

Total Cost of "Sumitro-Plan":

	1951.	1952.	After 1952.	Total.
Laboratories and Institutes	3.814.000	3.814.000	1.552.000	7.813.000
Central production units	14.462.900	12.504.100	p.m.	26.967.000
Small industries	66.470.500	59.500.000	p.m.	125.970.500
Large scale industries (short term)	106.685.000	72.000.000	p.m.	178.685.000
ditto (long term)	p.m.	p.m.	522.230.000	522.230.000
Total:	R. 191.432.400	146.431.100	523.782.000	861.665.500

The plan includes a foreign exchange budget, showing that foreign exchange to a total amount of R. 197.637.000 will be needed, including foreign

exchange certificates. The actual foreign exchange expenditures can be put at one third of this amount: 65.879.000 "foreign exchange-rupiahs".

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FREEDOM FROM SPIRITUAL OPPRESSION

By NASROEN A.S.

THE Indonesian nation is at present entering a new era amidst all the other nations in the world. However, before Indonesia can devote herself to material (outward) reconstruction, she has to cure herself of numerous diseases which had attacked and well-nigh destroyed her soul and spirit during the former colonial regime. These diseases did not owe their growth to natural circumstances but were intentionally planted by the colonial authorities. They were seen in little things, insignificant by themselves, but which proved strong enough to oppress the spiritual and mental growth of the Indonesian people for several centuries.

We shall now go back thirty years, that being the period immediately preceding the national awakening of the Indonesian people. At that time, spiritual mines were laid almost in every field and layer of the community. Racial discrimination was practised in a very obvious way. Motorcars, for instance, were exclusively used by Europeans or people who had been "Europeanized". In trains, a "native", as an Indonesian was then called, was only allowed to ride in the second and third class carriages, the first class being entirely reserved for Europeans and those that were of equal standing with them. This racial discrimination even was extended to the second and third classes. To illustrate: Polan, an Indonesian, before entering the carriage, told his son to take off his shoes. His son was surprised at the order as he thought that shoes should be worn to protect the feet. Polan then explained in the following words: "If your shoes are on, we may have to pay double the fare. Shoes are supposed only to be worn by European children, you see". (Special half-fare tickets were then sold to Indonesians in the public transportation services and in entertainment places.)

A small and insignificant incident, but enough to leave a dangerous impression on the spirit of the Indonesian people. A simple matter of dressing was made the means to discriminate between European and "native" children!

The education field was an especially fertile field for the sowing of the seeds of spiritual diseases. Schools were divided into different sorts to suit racial differences. "Natives" were only admitted to the "sekolah desa" (village schools) or the "sekolah kelas II" (second class schools), which were also known as Malay or Government schools. Native children who were half "Europeanized" could enter the "Hollands-Inlandse School" (Dutch Native School), a Government institution in which the Dutch language was taught to "native" children. Aside from these two kinds of schools, there was another outstanding sort, the "Europese Lagere School" (European Elementary School) which, as

the name implied, was attended by chiefly European children and those colored children, far in the minority, whose parents had been "equalized" ("gelykgesteld") with Europeans.

All the schools described above were elementary or primary schools. The chance for "native" children to obtain secondary education was very "thin". In fact, there were no continuation schools in the "native" or Malay languages, and graduates from the so-called village schools or second class schools had, in most cases, to be content to work as "writers" or minor clerks in the native administration. The "half-europeanized" graduates from the Dutch Native School had to pass a very heavy examination in order to be admitted to secondary schools. Their biggest handicap was in the language, the chief requirement in the examination being a high efficiency in the Dutch language, disregarding the pupils' qualifications in other subjects, such as mathematics, geography and history. This handicap to the "native" was, on the other hand, an advantage to the European children. Their admittance to the secondary schools was an easy matter, became in fact a matter of course, although they might compare unfavourably with the Indonesian children in other subjects.

This unfairness was carried to the educational budget. The educational budget of 1941, the last complete year of the Dutch colonial rule, showed a great inequality between the expenditure reserved for the education of European and that for "native" children; roughly what was spent on one European child would suffice for twenty children.

The educational system also showed the intentional planting of the seed of inferiority complex in the minds of the Indonesian children. Textbooks prepared for the Indonesian children almost invariably pictured the greatness, the progress and the cleverness of the Europeans on the one hand, and the backwardness and stupidity of the so-called "native" population. Their illustrations showed, more often than not, the luxurious way of living of the Europeans and the poverty of the Indonesians. When learning to draw, the Indonesian children were only taught to copy and follow what the teacher drew on the blackboard, the one who could produce the best imitations getting the best marks and the highest praises. In such simple ways did the liking to copy and imitate, the habit to do what one was told to, grew upon the innocent children. The desire to achieve something on their own initiative and resource disappeared, indeed, had no chance to develop. After leaving schools, these pupils could not work independently but could only occupy minor positions in offices under the direction and management of others.

History, however, did not stop here. The spiritual oppression imposed on the Indonesian people could not continue for long. The faults in the education and training of the people became more and more apparent. Beside those enveloped in the wretchedness of colonialism, there were born people who were aware and conscious of the danger that threatened the spiritual growth of their nation. These educated leaders took the initiative in establishing private schools where the educational system could be nationalized. Among these champions of national education could be mentioned Ki Hadjar Dewantoro, founder of the "Taman Siswa" and Mohamad Sjafei.

The task undertaken by these leaders was not easy as they had to overcome a good many obstacles and hindrances put in their way by the Government then in power. These difficulties did not, however, discourage them and they continued

slowly and steadily in their efforts to help their compatriots in regaining their national dignity. Gradually, as a product of their system of education, youths were graduated who could work independently and could enrich society with what they had learned in schools. An active and dynamic spirit began to replace the passive and imitative one and a new period, the era of national aspirations, had dawned for the Indonesian people.

The Indonesian people have now attained their freedom. The traces of these spiritual oppressions can certainly not be eradicated at one stroke, as they have been embedded too long already. But these spiritual diseases will soon be cured by steadfastness of purpose and perseverance of efforts in spiritual and mental edification. Especially at this time, when Indonesia is joining the other nations in the world in their effort to create world peace and promote international reconstruction.

CUSTOMS AND TRADITIONS IN INDONESIA

By R. SOEMARNO SOEROHARDJONO

IT is hardly possible in a short article like this to give a comprehensive review of the great diversity in the customs and traditions in Indonesia. The Indonesian Archipelago consists of a great number of different groups of people. Each of these groups have their own specific customs and traditions, different from those of the other groups. In spite of the differences, however, which may in some cases be very substantial, there are distinctly certain common traits and similarities.

If two peoples come from the same land of origin, they are likely to show common traits in customs and traditions, even though the one may have settled down much later than the other. Investigations in the field of archaeology, anthropology, biology and philology have led to the hypothesis that the present inhabitants of the Indonesian Archipelago are not the original inhabitants. According to a theory of Prof. Kern, they must have originated from areas in Further India, from where they migrated to the Indonesian Archipelago in several batches, with intervals of hundreds of years between one batch and the next. The original inhabitants they encountered, either fled into the inaccessible forests and mountains or were exterminated. What has especially strengthened scientists in their belief that the peoples of Indonesia must have come a common land of origin, is similarities in the languages of these people and in their domestic tools.

It is natural that geographic conditions greatly influence a people's customs and traditions. People living on the seaside will naturally have different customs from people in the mountains. It is similarly easy to understand that people living in a cold climate must have different customs from people in the tropics. A nomad life of continual

going, leaving and travelling, typical for poor and barren areas, will not likely be found in rich and fertile countries. In the light of these considerations, it is hardly surprising that, widespread though the Indonesian people may live, over an extensive archipelago, they nevertheless show similarities in customs and manners, as a result of the same geographic and climatological conditions.

Contacts with other people with different cultures have a great influence upon the customs and traditions of a people. This is especially apparent when we consider to what extent the western culture has brought about changes in the ways of living of the Indonesians. As a matter of fact, the educated part of the Indonesians have to a very large extent discarded traditional customs and manners, and adopted the Western way of life.

As a general rule, people with a higher degree of civilization will influence people with a lower standard of culture.

The closer the contact, the more intensive the influences will be. A glance on the map will make it quite clear that the various parts of the extensive Indonesian Archipelago are not equally favourably situated for contacts with foreigners.

The coastal areas of West Sumatra, situated on the important navigation route between China and India in the old days, were most favourably situated. On the other hand, large parts of the interior of Borneo are entirely inaccessible for foreigners.

This explains the great differences in civilization between, for instance, the inhabitants of Java and Sumatra and those of Central Borneo and Irian.

Considering the three most important factors that determine the nature of customs and traditions in certain areas — country of origin, geographical conditions, foreign contacts — we arrive at the

conclusion that customs and traditions in Indonesia are bound to show not only great diversity, but also traits of conformity. There is great diversity due to the nature and the extent of influences from outside, but at the same time there is unity on account of one common land of origin and equal geographic and climatological conditions.

There is a close connection between religion and customs.

The most important religion in Indonesia is the Mohammedan religion. Of late years, Christianity has made many adherents among the Indonesians, especially in the Minahassa (in Northern Celebes), and in Ambon. There is, however, the remarkable fact in Indonesia that not every person who calls himself a Mohammedan is indeed one.

This is, for instance, the case in Central Java, where part of the population is poor and uneducated. Though these people call themselves Mohammedans, they often know very little of the Mohammedan doctrines. Most of them still have a strong belief in evil spirits which must be propitiated in order to ward off bad luck and disasters. A great many still believe in magicians and miracle workers, witches and wizards, and are very often an easy victim for unscrupulous imposters who call themselves magicians.

This explains why, in a Mohammedan country like Java, customs and traditions very often show fundamental features of primitive animistic beliefs.

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The principal events in a man's life being birth, marriage and death, it is understandable that the most remarkable customs and traditions of a people centre around these three milestones.

BIRTH CEREMONIALS

When a woman is expecting a child she has to observe all kinds of rules and prohibitions:

1. She has to keep herself clean, wash her hair, cut her nails, etc. The basic idea underlying this custom is that a woman in this position is regarded as physically unclean. Since the rate of death caused by childbirth is naturally very high among uneducated people, the fear of death is very strong in the minds of mothers expecting a baby. In the event of death by childbirth the mother should therefore return to her Creator in a condition of physical cleanliness.

An expectant mother is, however, not allowed to wear ornaments, jewels or flowers, since this is believed to cause miscarriage or, at least, a difficult childbirth.

2. The expectant mother must keep a strict diet.
3. Offers should be brought to ward off evil influences and special formulas and prayers said at fixed times.

At the seventh month a special ceremony, called "tingkeban", should be held, consisting in the bathing of the expecting mother by a "dukun". The water used for this purpose is kept in a bowl

and strewn with flowers. Special formulas are said. After the bathing, the expecting mother puts on, and immediately takes off, again seven sets of clothes in quick succession. Each time an older person, preferably one of the parents of the women, says: "No, this doesn't suit you. Put on another dress".

This procedure of putting on and taking off clothes in quick succession is to induce an easy and quick birth. The nearest relatives and friends, are invited to attend the ceremony. The foods served on this occasion are of a definite kind, each having a special significance, mostly bearing on easy childbirth. In the evening, a wayang performance is usually given, the story preferably dealing with the birth of the hero Gatotkacha, a popular figure in the Hindu epic Mahabharata.

After the child is born, the placenta is cut with a sharpened piece of a special kind of bamboo. This scalpel is carefully preserved, to be used again later when a brother or sister is born. The placenta is regarded as a younger brother of the baby, who will, from the spiritual world, watch further over the well-being of the older brother or sister. Accordingly, special care should be taken of it. It should be put in a new earthen pot, which should then be provided with special articles, e.g. a coin a pencil, a sheet of paper with Arabic characters, a needle, salt, some grains of red rice, flowers and perfume. Each of these articles has a special significance. The paper with the Arabic characters, for instance, is believed to have a favourable influence afterwards on the ability of the child in learning to write and to read, particularly the Qur'an. The pot with the placenta should be buried with special ceremonial by the father of the baby. For this special purpose the father should be formally dressed. He carries the pot in a "slendang" (a sling or scarf) while holding an umbrella over his head.

Immediately after the birth the baby should be washed. This again should be done according to fixed rules. "Golden water" should be used. The name is derived from the yellow colour, obtained by mixing the water with the yellow juice of a kind of root with medicinal merits. A brightly polished coin should be immersed in the water. After being rubbed in with a wet and sticky mixture, prepared from many kinds of spices and other ingredients, the baby is then very tightly wrapped up in strips of cloth, so tightly that it cannot even move its arms or legs. Before putting the baby in bed, a special charm should be read. Curiously enough, this charm is in Arabic and characteristically Mohammedan in words and spirit. Immediately after the child has been laid in bed, three crashing blows are dealt on the bed. This is to prevent the baby from growing into a jumpy and easily startled child.

The first few days after the baby has been born are the most dangerous. Special precautions

should, therefore, be taken for the safety of the baby. An oil lamp should be kept burning day and night. Under the baby's bed there should be provided rice, moulded into the shape of a mountain, with a red "lombok" (Spanish pepper) on top. The rice should be kept in a semi-global coconutshell. An egg is mostly added to the rice. This offering is intended for wandering spirits so as to put them in a friendly mood.

The most dangerous time, however, is the day on which the last remnant of the navelstring falls off. On that day thousands of spirits, each with evil intent, are believed to be swarming around the baby. In order to guard it against these evil spirits, it should be borne on the mother's, or a relative's, lap for a period of 24 hours. In the course of this period, the baby must under no condition be laid down on the bed. In order to mislead the evil spirits from their real objective, a cylindrical stone, roughly painted with lime so as to give it a face, eyes, a mouth, in order that it shall more or less resemble a human being, is laid in the immediate neighbourhood of the baby. The spirits will then take the stone for the baby and direct their attacks on it. Finding an unusually hard substance, they will soon give up and retreat. The cylindrical stone used for this purpose is an instrument for crushing medicinal herbs, roots and spices, and on that account it is believed to have magical powers to resist evil spirits.

MARRIAGE.

Also in this respect much has changed owing to modern influences. Ceremonies attending an Indonesian marriage nowadays do not differ substantially from those in other countries.

In former days, the choice of a wife or a husband was not made by the young people themselves, but by their parents. When a boy has reached the age of eighteen, the parents begin to look seriously out for a suitable partner for him. As soon as they have found one they send a trusted person to the parents of the girl. In veiled terms the person of confidence tries to find out whether the parents of the girl are willing to consider a marriage between their daughter and the boy in question. If so, an agreement is made on what day the parents of the young man can come and see them in order to have a look at the girl.

On the fixed day the young man's parents, accompanied by their son and a few older relatives pay a formal call on the young girl's parents. An Indonesian house being in fact a double house, composed of a front one which serves for a reception hall, and a back one where the people actually live, the male guests are received in the front house and the female guests in the back one. Care should be taken that not a word should be mentioned about the real purpose of the visit. Both sides should make it appear as if the visit is just a casual friendly call. The guests should not be offered anything but tea or coffee and cigarettes

or sirih. After talking for a while about unimportant things, the host invites his male guests to join the women in the back house. This is the important moment, for very soon the future bride is expected to come and serve sirih for the women. She is not allowed to look at anyone, but should keep her eyes fixed downwards and say nothing. Feeling all eyes fixed on her she, is, of course, very nervous. And indeed everyone watches her attentively, especially the young man. It is therefore that this visit is called "nontoni", i.e. taking a look. After serving the sirih, the young girl immediately withdraws again, without even for a moment having looked at the man who will perhaps be her husband.

Shortly afterwards, the guests go home where they discuss the merits or imperfections of the future bride. The young man is not allowed to take part in these discussions. Sometimes his opinion is asked on this matter, but this is by no means necessary. If the parents should decide in favour of the young girl, they send a formal letter to her parents asking for her hand. Then it will be entirely up to the parents of the girl whether the suit is accepted or not.

In case the suit is accepted, the wedding day is fixed forthwith. This is done according to a rather complicated calculation of favourable and unfavourable days. Mohammedans, for instance, prefer to contract marriages during the month when the religious pilgrimage is made to Mecca.

Some time, however, may elapse between the formal letter of acceptance and the wedding day. This is especially true in the case when the young girl has one or more elder unmarried sisters. The usual custom is for her wedding to be deferred while the family members take all possible steps to marry off the older sisters.

In such a case, the young man's parents usually send presents to the parents of the girl as a concrete confirmation of the agreement reached by both parties. These presents vary in quantity and quality according to the financial standing of the givers, but they must include three important articles that really form the nucleus of the gift: a special kind of ring made of two diamonds set in a band of gold, a batik kain and a batik breastcloth. Rich families often give other valuable ornaments in addition to the ring and also more kains and more breastcloths, but these are kept apart from the three articles mentioned before. Foodstuffs and fruit are also included in the gift. If for some important reason or other, the girl's parents should change their minds and decide to cancel the marriage, custom requires them to send double the amount and the value of the gifts to the young man's family. It is therefore easily understood that the parents of the young man are usually lavish in their gifts, since the more valuable the gift, the surer are they that their son will get the desired bride.

A few days before the wedding takes place, more presents arrive in the home of the bride from the future parents-in-law. Meanwhile, the bride's house is being busily prepared for the coming festivity. A provisional open building of very light material, mostly bamboo, with wooden planks and a thatched roof, is erected in the yard surrounding the house. A profusion of pale green coconut leaves gives the house a festive aspect. In most cases, an arch, decorated with palm leaves, is erected in front of the house to enhance the festive aspect of the whole.

When the "day" arrives, early in the morning, the bride is woken up. Immediately after her usual morning bath, she is dressed in her marriage splendour. The dressing, which is quite a long and complicated affair, is usually supervised by a middle-aged woman who is an expert in such matters, assisted by some other married women, mostly relatives and close friends.

The bride in Sumatra wears a two-piece ensemble, consisting of the bodice and the lower part or skirt. The bodice is a kind of blouse of a red colour which reaches down to the knees, embroidered with gold threads. The lower garment is called the "kain". Over this ensemble is draped a sort of veil, called the "slendang". Both "kain" and "slendang" are, like the bodice, of a red colour richly embroidered with gold threads.

The bride's hair is knotted in a certain special fashion. The whole head is then decorated with golden hairpins. Rings, necklaces and bracelets adorn the bride's fingers, wrists and breast.

The Javanese bride wears a black velvet "kabaya", an upper garment which reaches to the hips and which is also edged with gold threads. Her lower garment is a richly embroidered "kain", the background of which is of a reddish-brown colour and falls in a train in front.

Round her neck, the Javanese bride wears three necklaces of different lengths. A golden belt encircles her waist with a large clasp in front richly set with jewels. Above her forehead she wears a comb, also jewel-set. Her long hair is rolled into a knot which is covered with melati flowers. Golden hairpins and a garland of melati flowers which is pinned to the hairknot and falls to the shoulders, complete the headdress. After the ceremonials, these melati flowers, as in the case of the bride's bouquet in a European wedding, are given to the bridesmaids in order that they may soon follow suit.

When the bride is fully dressed, she is conducted by her bridesmaids — two, four or at most six — who are all dressed in black costumes with special headgears, to the bride's room where she has to sit on a richly decorated sofa. There she waits for the most exciting moment in the day for her, the moment when she will behold the man who has been chosen to be her husband.

Meanwhile, the bridegroom is fetched by some

middle-aged women of the bride's family. On his arrival, he is welcomed by other women who throw rice-grains at him and wash his feet.

In Java, the bridegroom is welcomed by the bride herself who, accompanied by the bridesmaids, goes outside the house to meet him. At a distance of two metres from each other, they throw flowers or sirih leaves at each other. If the bridegroom gets the first throw, it means he will be his wife's protector in their life together; if the bride throws first, it is an unpleasant token that he will be a henpecked husband. The funny thing about this is that the bridesmaids all do their best to make the bride get the first throw.

In Java, the feet-washing is also done by the bride. On the floor a basin of water is put ready and beside it, a plate with an egg and sirih leaves on it. The bridegroom stands before the basin, the bride bends down on her knees and makes the "sembah" for him, subsequently washing his feet and breaking the egg. She then rises to her feet and conducts him to her house.

The official, religious marriage ceremony is performed by a Mohammedan priest prior to the actual meeting of the bride and bridegroom, and is usually attended by a small circle of male relatives and friends. At this ceremony only the bridegroom is present, the bride being represented by a male relative, usually her father.

DEATH CEREMONIALS.

Since the majority of the Indonesians are followers of Islam, the rites performed in case of death are Islamic, mixed with some traditional ceremonies which are the remains of Hinduism. Only in areas like Bali and Lombok where the people still cling to the belief in Hinduism, cremation of dead bodies still takes place according to the requirements of Hinduism. Then there is a minority group of Christians, chiefly in the Minahasa, Ambon and the Moluccas, who of course follow the dictates of Christianity in performing their funeral ceremony.

When a member of an Islamic family dies, he is at once placed in such a way that he lies with his head in a North-Westerly direction, and his hands crossed over his waist. The direction is prescribed by Islam in connection with the Holy town of Mecca lying to the north-west of Indonesia. Incense is then burnt on a charcoal fire and is kept burning near the bed on which the dead person lies. This habit is a relic of Hinduism.

As soon as possible the nearest relatives and friends are informed of the sad news and the time set for the funeral. In the villages this is done simply by beating the "bedug" or sounding the "tongtong". On hearing these sounds the people will assemble on their own accord, eager for the news.

In areas where the people are strict observers of Islamic customs, they usually dress in black when visiting a house of death. They usually bring some

contributions to the bereaved family in the form of rice or money or white cotton, according to the custom in the different localities and of an amount in proportion to the circumstances of the givers. Everybody lends a helping hand in the preparations of the funeral.

When relatives and friends have arrived, the body is washed. No matter how many people participate in this washing, their number must be odd. If the dead person is a man, the washing is done by the sons or, in their absence, by male relatives; if a woman, by the daughters or female relatives. A deceased possessing neither sons nor daughters is laid out on banana trunk, pulled out in thin layers, while the washing is going on.

After being washed, the body is wrapped in a shroud of white cotton and laid on a bier, while prayers are offered according to Islamic rites. The male relatives then carry the bier out of the house. On arriving at the front door, the bearers stop awhile to allow relatives of the deceased who are still under-age to walk three times the bier. This again is not an Islamic custom.

On the way to the graveyard, prayers are said and coins are scattered at the cross-roads. The bier is carried shoulder-high, while an umbrella is held by a relative or friend to shade the head of the deceased. Some one in the procession carries a sirih box, a spittoon and a mat wrapped up in white cotton.

Mohammedans do not bury their deads in coffins but directly in the earth. On arrival at the grave, the body is taken from the coffin and lowered into the earth, whenever possible, in such a way that the earth does not fall on the body when the grave is filled up. This is usually contrived by digging a side passage at the bottom of the grave, making a sort of shelf for the body to rest on. The dead is then laid down on its right side, with the head in a north-western direction to face Mecca.

Islamic people believe that the dead undergo an examination whilst in the grave as to his/her beliefs and behaviour during his/her life on earth. To equip their deceased for this examination, a set of questions and answers is chanted before the grave is filled in. After the grave has been filled again with earth, wooden slabs are placed at both the foot and head of the grave.

At fixed times after the funeral, namely the third,

seventh, fortieth, hundredth and thousandth day, offerings or "sedekahs" are offered and friends and relatives are invited to join in the prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased. This last custom is not prescribed by Islam.

The Hindu rites, as mentioned before, are still practised in Bali and Lombok. According to these rites, the dead must be burnt in order that his soul may be cleared from impurity and thus may be reincarnated. This is a rather expensive ritual and not every Balinese can afford it. In consequence, a modification has come about. The dead body is first buried, the bones being ritually burnt if and when circumstances permit. The cremation will then take place in the form of a burning in effigy.

In case of a cremation, the body or bones are carried to the cremation site in a high tower, "wadah", constructed from bamboo and draped with stuff, paper and tinsel. The funeral procession zig-zags across the road again and again, jolting the bones or body, going in circles at cross-roads, all with a view to confusing the spirit of the departed that he will not be able to find his old home but proceed right away to his future domain.

Upon arrival at the place of cremation, the bones are taken down from the tower and placed in a coffin made in the form of some animal. The Brahmins make their coffins in the shape of cow, the Katriyas in that of a lion, the Waishtyas in a figure from a fable, and the Sudras in that of a fish. Prayers are then said and both coffin and remains vanish together in the flames.

This brief sketch is merely intended to give a very general idea of traditional customs in Indonesia and, particularly, in Java. Details may vary in other islands, but the underlying general philosophy is greatly alike.

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DJAKARTA SOCIETY WEDDING:— *Mohammedan Priest performing the wedding ceremony at the marriage of Dr. Assaat with Siti Huzah, attended by President Sukarno and Vice-President Hatta*



Dr. Assaat Putting on the Wedding Ring on his Bride.



Djakarta Wedding in Hadji Dress



WEDDING IN CENTRAL JAVA
Signing the marriage document



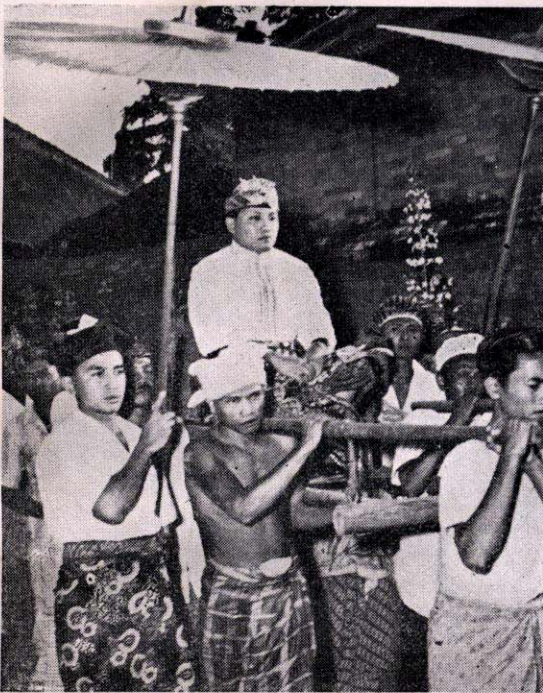
Bridal Pair in Javanese Dress



Javanese Wedding in Javanese Dress



Indonesian Bride in Modern Dress



WEDDING IN BALI:
Bridegroom proceeding to the Bride's Home



Bridal Pair leaving the Temple after the marriage Ceremony



Balinese Priest performing the Marriage Ceremony



MINANGKABAU WEDDING:
Bridegroom arriving at Bride's Home



Bride awaiting Bridegroom's Arrival



Bridegroom arriving at Bride's Home



WEDDING ACCORDING TO SOUTH CELEBES CUSTOM



THE BRIDAL CHAMBER



FUNERAL CEREMONY IN MEDAN: *Proceeding to the Graveyard*



Mohammedan Priest praying over the new grave

MOHAMMAD HATTA - ADMINISTRATOR AND ECONOMIST

DR. MOHAMMAD HATTA was born on August 12, 1902, at Bukittinggi (Central Sumatra). He attended the elementary schools at Bukittinggi and Padang until 1916, when he entered the Secondary School (Mulo) at Padang. While a student of the Secondary School at Padang, he became Treasurer and Secretary of the Padang Branch of the Sumatran Youth Association, "Jong Sumatranen Bond" (1917-1919). In 1920, he became Treasurer of its Central Office at Djakarta. In 1921, he left for the Netherlands to continue his studies at the Commercial College (Nederlandse Handelshogeschool) at Rotterdam. During the period 1922-1925, with a brief interruption in 1924, Hatta was Treasurer of the "Perhimpunan Indonesia" (Indonesian Association) and Manager of the party organ, "*Indonesia Merdeka*". In 1926, he was elected Chairman of the Association, which post he held until 1930. For many years, however, he neglected his studies in order to be able to devote his entire time to Indonesian propaganda in European countries outside Holland.

He contacted other Asian students and progressive groups in the western world in general. In August 1926, he attended the Fourth Congress of the "Congrès Démocratique International Pour la Paix" at Bierville near Paris, and as representative of the "Perhimpunan Indonesia" put forth the demand for Indonesia's Independence. Together with representatives from India, Siam, China, Annam and Azerbaidjan (Caucasus), Hatta formed the "Bloc Asiatique" which, in a manifesto, declared that world peace can only be reached and maintained after Asia, imbued with a spirit of peace and brotherhood, is emancipated and delivered from western colonialism.

In February 1927, Hatta attended the Congress of the "League against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression" at Brussels. He was elected Indonesian representative on the Executive Board of the "League against Imperialism" which was elected at that Congress and which subsequently had its seat in Berlin. His friendship with Sri Jawaharlal Nehru dated from that time.

In 1929, two years after its establishment, communist infiltration and influence in the League had become so great that, after a sharp dispute, Hatta—together with Jawaharlal Nehru, the late Edo Fimmen (Secretary of the International Transportworkers' Federation) and the late James Maxton (leader of the Independent Labour Party) — were driven out of the League.

When he returned to the Netherlands after his travels through Europe, Hatta was arrested by the Dutch police, together with his friends, among whom were Nazir Datuk Pamuntjak, Dr. Ali Sastroamih-

djojo and Abdulmadjid Djojodiningrat, all members of the Executive of the "Perhimpunan Indonesia". The charge was inciting the Indonesians against the Dutch Government. He was imprisoned from September 23, 1927 till March 9, 1928, when he appeared before the court. His defence entitled "Indonesia Free" is well-known and has become a subject of study for many Indonesian youths in their struggle for freedom. On March 22, 1928, Hatta was finally acquitted.

Mohammad Hatta remained leader of the "Perhimpunan Indonesia" after his release, until 1930. When Hatta opposed the dissolution of the Indonesian Nationalist Party (Partai Nasional Indonesia) while its leader, Dr. Sukarno, was being imprisoned by the Netherlands Indies Government at Sukamiskin (near Bandung), Hatta was expelled from the "Perhimpunan Indonesia" by a new board whose members were siding with the P.N.I. It was not long afterwards that Mohammad Hatta, then still in Holland, urged his compatriots in Indonesia to form a new movement, based on the principles of spiritual and political education for the masses in Indonesia. This new party was formed at Bandung in 1931 under the name "Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia" or new P.N.I.; it emphasized spiritual education, for the idea was to strengthen people *spiritually* in their national struggle. In 1932, Hatta returned to his native country, and immediately took over leadership of the new P.N.I. The following year he visited Japan, causing no little suspicion on the part of the Dutch. His visit was actually only an observation trip, as Hatta was eager to learn about Japanese politics and economics in view of the expansive character of the Japanese.

Therefore, upon his return on February 25, 1934, Hatta was detained by the Netherlands Indies Government and remained in prison till the end of January 1935. Afterwards, he was expelled from Java and interned at Boven Digul (New Guinea) from February 1935 till the end of January 1936, when he was removed to Banda Neira, where he stayed till January 1942. His last place of internment was Sukabumi in West Java, whence he was released on the surrender of the Netherlands Indies Government to the Japanese Army.

On March 22, 1942, Hatta was met personally by a high Japanese official, who brought him to Djakarta upon instructions of the Japanese Military Government. Hatta refused to become an official in Japanese service in spite of the Japanese entreaties. He only consented to become an Adviser of the Japanese Government on condition that he was free to state his opinions to the Japanese Military Government on matters of administration.

Hatta's idea was to lighten the burdens and sufferings of the people at the hands of the Japanese militarists. He calculated that the war would last at most three years, because he was convinced that the Japanese Government could not fight the Americans successfully. Moreover, with his position as an adviser of the Japanese Government, he would be able to organize the people and prepare them for real independence.

On April 14, 1942, Hatta opened his office at Pegangsaan Timur 56, named the Gunseikanbu Kikakuka Daiti Bun Situ, which was maintained until October 1943. At that time Hatta's office was the only one in Indonesia, where there was no Japanese to be seen, neither as a clerk, nor as head of a department.

From October 1942, Hatta was also a member of the "Panitia Memadjukan Bahasa Indonesia" (Committee for the development of the Indonesian Language). In November 1942, he became a member of the "Kyukan Seido Tyoosa Iinkai", i.e. the Research-committee for Traditional Indonesian Laws and Customs, until its dissolution in September 1943. From December 1942, Hatta was one of the "Empat Serangkai" (four in one frame), comprising Dr. Sukarno, Ki Hadjar Dewantoro, Kiai Hadji Mas Mansur and himself, to prepare for the birth of the "Putera".

On March 9, 1943, he was made General Director of the "Putera". In September of the same year, Hatta was appointed member of the Tyuuoo Sangi-In, the so-called House of Representatives.

Hatta was a great disappointment to the Japanese, because in his capacity of leader of the "Putera" he promoted the nationalist feelings of the people. In the end, "Putera" was suppressed and to replace it the Japanese established the "Djawa Hookoo Kai", which was entirely under their supervision.

The Japanese Government respected Mohammad Hatta because of his honesty; the Japanese Kempeitai (Military Police), on the other hand, distrusted him greatly. Hatta was once cross-examined for hours by the deputy chief of the Kempeitai about his political views and about the documents which he wrote in 1941 and in which he attacked Japanese imperialism. A Gunseikanbu officer, who stood by and wanted to help Hatta, asked him, whether he was forced by the Dutch to write the documents.

Hatta replied, however, that he wrote those articles of his own free will, and reasserted that he was not anti-Japan, but opposed to its imperialism.

Because of this obstinacy, the Japanese authorities decided to remove Mohammad Hatta to Tokyo for ten months; they called it "to study the Japanese fighting-spirit". But when Hatta arrived in Tokyo, the Japanese Government there was of a different opinion. Hatta spent no more than 20 days in Japan and returned to Indonesia together with the other Tyuuoo Sangi-In representatives.

In the "Djawa Hookoo Kai" which was formed in 1944, Hatta was no longer entrusted with a leading position by the Japanese. But the terrible conditions of the "romushas" — slave labourers — which went from bad to worse, shocked the whole Indonesian community, and so in the end of 1944, Hatta headed a new office named the "Penolong Peradjurit Pekerdja" (Office for the Assistance of the Labourers). This office had also a supervisory function.

This time Hatta also demanded that there should be no Japanese officials in his office. It was therefore quite natural that Hatta's office was always in disagreement with the Japanese Bureau whose task was to recruit as many romushas (labourers) as possible.

Early in 1945, Hatta was appointed member of the Committee of Investigation for Indonesian Independence (Panitia Penyelidik Soal-Soal Kemerdekaan Indonesia) which made a draft Constitution for Free Indonesia "in the future". In the beginning of August of the same year, Hatta became a member of the "Committee of Preparation for Free Indonesia" (Panitia Persiapan Indonesia Merdeka).

On August 17, 1945, Hatta, together with Dr. Sukarno, proclaimed Indonesia's Independence on behalf of the people.

Hatta was elected Vice-President of the Republik Indonesia by the Constitutional Committee (Panitia Penetapan Undang-Undang Dasar Republik Indonesia). This was later ratified by the Komite Nasional Indonesia, which functioned as a Provisional Parliament in its session on August 25, 1945, when at the same time the ratification of the Constitution and the election of President took place.

In November of that year, Mohammad Hatta quietly married his present wife, Rahmi Rachim. By this deed Hatta expressed to the world that Indonesia was at last free and independent, for Hatta had pledged not to marry until Indonesia had become free.

After the Presidential Cabinet was changed into a parliamentary cabinet, Vice President Hatta travelled widely throughout Indonesia, visiting remote districts where the people were more or less isolated from the outside world, and there he aroused their fighting-spirit and clarified the new Constitution and the Government's policy.

In 1947, Hatta undertook a tour through Sumatra. He intended to stay for not more than 1½ months, but on account of the military action of the Dutch at that time, Hatta was forced to remain on that island for 7 months. During that time, Hatta had his headquarters at Bukittinggi and took over the leadership of the Emergency Republican Government in Sumatra.

In connection with the signing of the Renville Agreement, Hatta was visited by the Republican Premier, Amir Sjarifuddin, in January 1947 and returned to Jogjakarta.

It was apparent that Premier Sjarifuddin needed the support of Sukarno and Hatta in order to make the Renville Agreement acceptable, since it was obviously not popular with the people. Hatta's original intention to return to Sumatra to continue his work of construction could not be carried out. Instead, Hatta headed the Presidential Cabinet which replaced the Cabinet of Amir Sjarifuddin, after it had to be dissolved following the political struggle which ensued after the signing of the Renville Agreement.

Hatta's Cabinet remained in office from January 1948 till the transfer of sovereignty on December 27, 1949. By a firm policy, this Cabinet succeeded in overcoming two great dangers that confronted the Republic of Indonesia, i.e. the notorious Madiun Affair (September 1948) and the second Dutch military action in December of the same year.

Together with President Sukarno and several other leaders of the Republic of Indonesia, Premier Hatta was captured by the Dutch when they launched their second military action in December 1948, and subsequently interned on the island of Bangka. But instead of being isolated from his people, Hatta and his colleagues, succeeded in invigorating the national feelings of the Bangka population, and were even more successful when President Sukarno and Hadji Agus Salim joined them there from their exile in Prapat (Sumatra). "Back-to-Djogja" was the basis underlying the policy pursued by Sukarno-Hatta from Bangka.

After the Rum—Van Royen Agreement, Hatta together with President Sukarno and the other republican authorities, at the beginning of July 1949, returned to Djogja, where he resumed his office as Head of the Republican Cabinet.

By Presidential Decree, Hatta was appointed head of the Delegation of the Republic of Indonesia at the Inter-Indonesian Conferences which were held successively at Djogjakarta in July 1949, and at Djakarta in August 1949. Hatta subsequently led the delegation of the Republic of Indonesia to the Round Table Conference at The Hague, where he negotiated the transfer of sovereignty from the Dutch to the Indonesian people.

After the results reached at the Round Table Conference had been ratified by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and by the other States and autonomous territories (established at the instigation of the Dutch authorities), President Sukarno appointed Mohammad Hatta Premier of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia.

After the Federal Cabinet had been formed, Hatta left for the Netherlands heading a delegation which was to receive sovereignty over Indonesia from the Netherlands Government on behalf of the United States of Indonesia.

After the break-up of the Federal Republic and

its transformation into the unitary Republic of Indonesia, Hatta was elected Vice-President. In this as well as in his previous various offices, Hatta's qualities as a clear-headed leader, a tough fighter and a hard worker are clearly seen. He toured the country to observe at first hand the conditions in different areas, delivering speeches to the crowds that thronged around him everywhere and urging them to become useful and responsible citizens of a sovereign nation. Adverse to empty slogans and nice-sounding phraseology, he set cold, bare facts before his audience, made no grand, idle promises and exhorted the people above all to work and again work. The following are extracts from various recent speeches in which he expressed his views on various urgent problems of the day:

"Since August 17, 1945, we consider ourselves independent and since the transfer of sovereignty on December 27, 1949, practically the whole world has recognized us as an independent and sovereign State. This freedom and sovereignty is, however, not the final goal, not even an object as such, but is only the initial stage of our struggle. Freedom alone is for us of no use or value; it only constitutes a *conditio sine qua non* for the achievement of our ideals, including a just and prosperous country where every person, compatriot or foreigner, feels contented and enjoys security. And we never arrive at such a situation through empty slogans and by making all kinds of demands, for our country is not a country out of the Arabian Nights and our Government is not Aladdin's magic lamp.

"There is no country on the globe where the Government pays the costs of the people, but rather the other way around. We can fulfil none of our ideals, however beautiful, by going on strike or sitting idle. There is only one way to realize our objectives, our aspirations of a free, sovereign, just and prosperous Indonesia, namely by the exercise of all the strength we have in us, day and night, and through work, work, and once more work."

In regard to "the fight against foreign capital", he fiercely and adversely commented upon the existing insecurity on the plantations, which are substantially the basic capital of Indonesia's economy and reconstruction. A nationalization of foreign industries is not necessary, particularly those estates which always became the object of world "conjuncture". If we had more capital we had better establish new industries to provide a source of living for the unemployed. We deem it imperative to protect the interests of those labourers in foreign industries by the implementation of social regulation to improve their lot.

Those who impeach the Government for favouring foreign capital, must think over the fact that 75% of the profits gained by the oilwinning, and other, enterprises flows into the Treasury, thus

constituting a source of foreign exchange for the reconstruction, so that every damage to these enterprises is felt three times more seriously by the country than by the enterprises concerned. This does not only apply to losses suffered by wanton destruction, but as much by those caused by the many strikes and the ever-increasing wages (= less profit = less taxes); for it inevitably will result in inflation on the one hand and the closing down of the sources of foreign exchange on the other. So it is killing the hen with the golden eggs.

Also in the struggle for better social condition, we ought to base ourselves on the reality and the hard facts and not on "wishful thinking" and empty slogans which, in the long run, only lead to destruction of this country, which has obtained its independence and sovereignty at the cost of so many bloody sacrifices.

During our struggle for independence we imputed all unpleasant and inadmissible conditions to foreign domination. This time is over now. If at present something is wrong in our country, if unpleasant things occur and inadmissible conditions prevail, then we and we alone are responsible therefor and we cannot put the blame on a foreign Power, for we are independent and have the full power in our hands. It completely depends on our own deeds and we fully bear the responsibility for the outcome of the thousands of sacrifices in lives and property during the last few years.

We must take a serious lesson in the lot of the once so mighty Powers of Sriwidjaja and Madjapahit, which collapsed and vanished from the earth not as a result of outside influence but through their own faults.

He turned in fierce wordings against the irresponsible groups who by arbitrary action undermine the country and take away the basis for every activity toward reconstruction. The combat of these groups have already extracted a great many millions that otherwise could be used for national reconstruction.

At present the restoration of security in many vast areas still forms the principal object of the Government, which has already to cope with the much too extensive apparatus of officials and soldiers. The Government now can do nothing else but asking, like in the past few years, for sacrifices, even for extremely high sacrifices; now, however, for sacrifices devoid of romance and heroism, sacrifices for peace and reconstruction, sacrifices in the form of hard labour in which there is little poetry. Indonesia started with a negative capital, viz. firstly, destroyed sources of prosperity as a result of three times of scorched-earth policy (the Japanese, the Dutch and the Republic) and years of guerilla-struggle; secondly, an empty Treasury and thirdly, a very poor people. Furthermore, we have to do with many organizations which demand the immediate fulfilment of the promises given during the

years of conflict without, however, thinking over the ways and means how to make it possible.

Before setting out with making demands, we should create the possibility for the compliance with those demands; this is only possible by intensification and stepping up of production in general and on a large-scale. This does not only apply to the production in the national enterprises, but, even to a higher degree, also to the foreign enterprises.

The Indonesian worker ought to work voluntarily longer than the legally provided working hours and it would only be to the good of the State if they, on their own account, were willing to work 12 to 16 hours daily, like in the Soviet Union where the people are forced to do so.

It is no less than a matter of life and death, chaos or prosperity, happiness or ruin, to the people and country of Indonesia. And let us not be afraid for "exploitation by the foreign capital", for it is the Indonesian Government (so our own representatives), that states the terms in the social field and that will protect us at any time.

We are further free to join the existing organizations which fight for our interests and these organizations ought to base their actions on facts and not on empty slogans that cannot change the reality. And this reality is far from rose-coloured. Just mind the fact that Java in 1939 could export 130,000 tons of rice, whereas now, it has to import 300,000 tons annually, which means a fall in value of \$ 11,000,000 or R 100,000,000.

This means once again sacrifices and, in this matter, laziness and strike is equal to withdrawing one's responsibility as citizen of this country.

* *

Besides being a political leader and an economist, Mohammad Hatta is also a writer and a poet. One of his sonnets was published in "Jong Sumatra", as November, 1921. He has since written many articles in various dailies and magazines, as the *Indonesia Merdeka*, *Daulat Rakjat*, *Pemandangan*, *Utusan Indonesia*, *Ilmu dan Masyarakat*, *Pedoman*, *Masyarakat Dunia Dagang*, *Pembangun*, etc. Besides these articles and documents, Hatta has written several books, the most important of which are:

Economische Wereldbouw en Machtstegenstelling, 1926; *L'Indonésie et son problème de l'indépendance*, 1927; *Indonesia Vrij* 1923; *Tudjujan dan Politik Pergerakan Nasional di Indonesia*, 1931; *Krisis Ekonomi dan Kapitalisme*, 1943; *Perdjandjian Volkenbond*, 1937; *Mentjari Volkenbond dari abad ke abad*, 1939; *Rasionalisasi*, 1939; *Penundjuk bagi rakjat dalam hal ekonomi, teori dan praktek*, 1940; *Alam pikiran Junani (I)*, 1941, *djilid II*, 1950; *Perhubungan Bank dan Masyarakat di Indonesia*, 1942; *Beberapa fasal Ekonomi (I)*, 1943 dan *(II)*, 1946; *Indonesian Aims and Ideals*, 1945; *Ekonomi Indonesia dimasa datang*, 1946; *Kedaulatan Rakjat*, 1946; *Dasar Politik luar negeri kita*, 1947; *Ilmu dari pada masyarakat*, 1947.

MODERN NATIONALISM IN INDONESIA

BY T.P.C.

THERE were many periodic uprisings in the history of colonialism in Indonesia, but no nationalist movement of an organized character actually appeared until the early years of the present century. This tardiness in the national awakening, as compared to India and the Philippines, can be accounted for by different factors, especially the geographical and the educational factors.

Geographically, Indonesia is not one land mass like India. It is made up of a large number of islands, not clustered together like the Philippines, but spread over a vast area — a distance of about 2,000 miles separating Sumatra, in the west of the archipelago, from Irian (New Guinea), in the east, or as far as Madrid to Moscow in the direction east-west, and Stockholm to Rome in the direction north-south.

As a matter of course, the inhabitants of these widely separated islands, although basically one in race and language, differ greatly in the stages of their development. Many islands and, even big islands, have no modern means of communications and contain isolated communities, each in itself a virginal social, economic, and political unit. To weld these peoples into a political, social and economic unity, which is the essence of any nationalist movement, is at best but a slow process and, as will be seen later, an island consciousness preceded the nationalist movement in Indonesia and characterized its early stages.

In point of education, the Dutch who, for three and a half centuries were responsible for the administration of the Archipelago, were also greatly behind the British and the Americans in their Asiatic colonies. They were slow in providing the mass of the Indonesians with elementary Western education, and the establishment of higher educational institutions took place only within the last thirty years. The first decade of this century saw only a few secondary schools, and, at the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941, Indonesia had not even one full-fledged university to boast of. Java, the best developed socially, economically and educationally among all the islands, had only a few scattered colleges. Indonesian students had to go to Holland for advanced study and, naturally, only very few could afford to do so. Indonesia had, therefore, to wait a long time for educated leaders to awaken the masses into national consciousness, as understood in the modern world.

Another retarding factor in the Indonesian nationalist movement is undoubtedly the Dutch adoption of the so-called "ethical" policy. The Dutch tried to preserve the local customs, making them the basis of their administration; modern political ideas and administrative principles were regarded as highly dangerous. This gave to the ignorant and

uneducated masses a feeling of security and thus weakened their resistance to the colonial rule. It was only later, when the administration penetrated deeper and deeper into native life, that the common people began to feel oppressed and became susceptible to modern political ideals and anti-colonial nationalist agitation.

Social, Economic and Religious Elements.

These and other factors retarded the national awakening of the Indonesians and it was only in 1908 that the first approach to political activity was made. On May 20 of that year, a group of medical students in Djakarta (then Batavia) founded an association named the **Budi Utomo**, meaning "Sublime Endeavour", on the initiative of Dr. Wahidin Sudiro Husudo, a retired Government physician, who felt that the native intellectuals ought to take the lead in the advancement of the masses. Among the founders was the late Dr. Sutomo who, until his death, was one of the prominent Indonesian national leaders.

The Budi Utomo aimed at bringing about better social conditions and the improvement of the standard of life of the great masses in Indonesia by the furtherance of popular education. The movement spread rapidly and by 1910 the Budi Utomo had 10,000 members enrolled in forty branches. It drew its members from the educated class of Indonesian society and the nobility, largely Javanese, and had its center of activity in Djogja, around the Paku Alaman (the junior Royal House).

Originally, this association had a non-political character, being simply concerned with the furtherance of popular education and, in some cases, the furtherance of native commerce and industry. Later on it became a political party, essentially Javanese, which still talked of loyalty to, and cooperation with, the Government. This was probably the reason why, of all political parties, it remained longest in existence. In 1935, it combined with other parties to form the **Partai Indonesia Raya** (Greater Indonesia Party), or, for short, "Parindra".

The next sign of national consciousness among the Indonesians was the organization of a second and more popular political party, the **Sarekat Islam** or the Islamic Union. This party, based on Islamic religious principles, was founded in January, 1911, at Surakarta by Mr. M. Hadji Samanhudi, and was originally composed of the so-called Hadjis, many of whom are engaged in trade and industry. Its aim was originally to back up the small indigenous industrialists then suffering from a depression in the batik industry in Central Java. Resentment was then strong against the Chinese, upon whom the indigenous batik industry was dependent, and the first activity of the Sa-

rekat Islam was to stage a boycott against the Chinese dealers.

The religious element was introduced chiefly for the purpose of obtaining popular support from the masses who, especially in Central Java, were solidly Mohammedans. If the Sarekat Islam had confined its activities to the economic field, it would probably not have been anything more than a middle-class movement. But combining the promotion of economic welfare with opposition to all wrong conceptions of the religion of the Faithful, the Sarekat Islam grew gradually into an organization of great importance. Then clear political tendencies showed themselves both in the congresses held respectively in 1913 and 1917, in the first, moderate and mild, in the second, more radical. The resolutions of the first Congress demanded a self-governing Indonesia within the Dutch empire, to be attained along evolutionary lines; the second Congress wanted independence, by force, if necessary. In 1918, the Sarekat Islam took on a doctrinaire socialist character, singling out capitalism as the common and supreme enemy and identifying the Netherlands Indies Government with capitalism. The late Dr. Tjokroaminoto and Hadji Agus Salim were the prominent leaders of this party.

Rise of Indonesian Nationalism.

The third current in the nationalist movement was the advocacy of the ideal of an Indonesian nationalism by the late Dr. E. F. E. Douwes Dekker,* R. M. Suwardi Suryaningrat (later known as Ki Hadjar Dewantara), and the late Dr. Tjipto Mangunkusumo. These three leaders founded in December 1912 the *Indische Partij* (Indies' Party) at Bandung with the aim of popularizing "East Indies nationalism", a compromise-nationalism between indigenous Indonesians and those who identified themselves with the Indonesian group. The membership was in consequence composed of Indonesians and Eurasians who called themselves "Indiers" and advocated a brotherhood between them in an independent East Indies.

The propaganda for Independence of the *Indische Partij* became sharper and more insistent and, although the mixed membership of the party did not appeal to the Indonesians in general, its activities caused no small amount of anxiety to the Dutch Government. In August, 1913, the Government took measures against the *Indische Partij*, and its three leaders were subsequently exiled. The party then became less radical. Its name was later changed to *Partij Insulinde* and still later, to the *Nationale Indische Partij* (N.I.P.).

Another reaction to the propaganda of the *Indische Partij* was the penetration of political conceptions into the Sarekat Islam, so much so that it abandoned its original plan of promoting economic welfare along Islamic lines, confining itself to definitely political objectives.

*) Later known as Dr. Setiabuddhi.

Meanwhile, revolutionary-socialist ideas, brought over from Europe by some Dutch officials, began to infiltrate into Indonesia. These ideas found a champion in the person of Sneevliet, who was later joined by Brandsteder, Dekker, and Bergsma. In May, 1914, these four people founded a socialist association in Semarang, the *Indisch Sociaal-Democratische Vereniging* (East-Indies Social-Democratic Association) or I.S.D.V. for short.

With a view to spreading these revolutionary-socialist ideas among the native population, the I.S.D.V. sought contact with the Sarekat Islam and found ready cooperation in the persons of Semaun and Darsono, young Indonesian leaders noted as brilliant orators. Very soon, the socialist ideology spread itself among the numerous adherents of the Sarekat Islam which was manifest when, at its third Congress in 1918, the Sarekat Islam singled out capitalism as its common and supreme enemy.

However, not all of the followers of Sarekat Islam took so favourably to the socialist ideology. A Left Wing, headed by Semaun, Alimin and Darsono, was formed within the "Sarekat Islam" and gained more and more influence among the younger members. These young people opposed the constitutional steps maintained by the older leaders; they based their political creed on Marxism and used the weapon of non-cooperation against the Dutch Government. That the "Sarekat Islam" did not at once split up was due to the efforts of the older leaders who resorted to compromises in order to preserve at least the appearance of unity within the party.

The Volksraad.

What was the reaction of the Dutch Government to all these political activities? The First World War was raging in Europe. In 1917, the Bolshevik Revolution broke out in Russia, followed by the founding of the Third International in Moscow. Even Holland, who had managed to keep out of the war, was threatened by a brewing revolution. The East Indian Government could no longer ignore the nationalist awakening that was taking place in Indonesia, the most precious of all their colonies. In the midst of the feverish conditions at home and abroad, a central consultative body, the *Volksraad* (People's Council), was at last set up and inaugurated in May, 1918. It was, however, only endowed with advisory functions and its meagre powers disappointed the nationalist leaders who were appointed to represent their respective parties in the Council. Under the original rules, the use of only the Dutch language was permitted in the Council, but upon the demand of the indignant Indonesian leaders, the Government then permitted the use of Malay also.

The first meetings of the Council were a revelation to the Dutch Government. Although it was already aware of the nationalist spirit of the native members, it received a shock when storms

of fierce criticisms broke loose; it was also unprepared for the flood of amendments and resolutions that came from the floor. The Government Spokesman could only put up a weak defense and for a moment it looked as if the Government was losing control. Order was restored, however, and the rest of the first session passed off quietly.

The Government had not yet recovered from the fright inspired by the events of the first session when the Council held its second session in November of the same year. A Radical Concentration had meanwhile formed among the Council members and, on November 18, 1918, one of its spokesmen made a critical speech defending the right of revolution. The Governor General, Count van Limburg Stirum, afraid of more turbulence and unrest, appeared before the Council and issued a hastily prepared declaration promising speedy and far-reaching constitutional reforms. A few weeks later, he appointed the Revision Commission to recommend proposals for a revision of the East Indian Government Act. This was the famous **November Promise** that relieved the tension of the moment and aroused high expectations for the future in the breast of the Indonesians. Having served its purpose, however, it was shelved and quickly forgotten, at least by the Dutch.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 had its far-reaching influence on the nationalist movement in Indonesia. The Third International held in Moscow in March, 1919, declared in a manifesto to the workers all over the world that "the colonial yoke can only be thrown off when the labourers have obtained their liberty". To the oppressed colonial peoples in Asia and Africa it assured that "when the dictatorship of the proletariat is established in Europe, they will all obtain their freedom". The Pan-Asia Congress in Baku in September 1920 further witnessed the coupling of the international struggle of communism with the national struggle for freedom among the colonial and semi-colonial peoples in Asia.

Communist Influences

Conditions in Indonesia at the time made it receptive to communist propaganda. As a result of the introduction of the plantation system of agriculture, the products of which were mainly for export to the Western countries, village life — primitive, static and uneventful — was breaking up and the villagers became accessible to the new and strange influences of press and propaganda. At the same time, the Government had become more and more bureaucratic and had gradually lost the little contact it had with the masses. Local grievances went unnoticed and uncorrected. The communists were not slow to exploit these local grievances for the furtherance of own purposes. A large number of labour unions sprang up, and strikes, almost unknown in Indonesia before, became a frequent occurrence.

Another reaction to communistic influence in Indonesia was the re-organization of the I.S.D.V., which changed its name to **Persarekatan Komunis Indonesia** (Indonesian Communist Union) P.K.I. for short. Semaun, together with Darsono, Bergsma and Dekker, assumed the leadership of this new party, whose aim was to protect and maintain the interest of the common people against the Dutch Government by means of the boycott and other non-cooperative methods.

At this time, Semaun, Darsono and some other ardent communists, such as Muso and Alimin, were all still members of the Sarekat Islam. They continued their opposition to the old leaders and tried to gain more and more followers for their own cause among the party members. Conflicts within the party became more frequent and the long overdue split was now unavoidable. The "old guard" mustered all their strength and in the Sixth Congress of the Sarekat Islam, held in October, 1921, at Surabaya, they succeeded in passing a resolution prohibiting the party members from joining the Communist Party. In this way they got rid of Semaun and other influential leftists, but their victory was short-lived. A great many of their followers flocked to the enemy's camp, and the Sarekat Islam never again enjoyed the prestige and power of being the biggest and most influential political party.

Meanwhile, the P.K.I. as a proletarian party, gained more and more followers among the working masses. After their ejection from the "Sarekat Islam", the communist leaders organized a rival party in the **Sarekat Rakjat** and continued their opposition to the old party, stamping it openly as "capitalistic".

Dutch Counter-Measures.

In 1922, the communists organized a strike in government pawnshops. Bergsma and Tan Malaka, a new Red leader, tried to extend the strike into a general strike. As a result, the Government took drastic steps. Both Tan Malakka and Bergsma were declared "dangerous" and exiled, followed by Semaun a year later.

The post-war economic depression was then beginning to be felt in Indonesia and provided fertile ground for communistic propaganda. The drastic steps taken by the Government did not intimidate the communists for very long. After the exterment of Semaun, who had chosen Russia as his place of exile, the leadership of the party fell into the hands of Darsono and activities were continued with new vigour. Communist organizations were consolidated all over Indonesia. Strikes became rife in 1925. The communist revolutionary campaign culminated in a number of simultaneous uprisings in Java in 1926. The greatest disorders took place in and around Djakarta and in many other places in West Java.

The Government took strong measures and had no great difficulty in suppressing the disorders. In December 1926, the Government resorted to its "exorbitant rights" (*exorbitante rechten*) under which the Governor-General could intern or banish anyone without trial. This power was exercised on a very large scale. An internment camp was established at Boven Digul, in the heart of New Guinea, and more than a thousand communists were deported there, together with their families. Some of the exiles returned to their native places but the majority were kept there until the outbreak of the Pacific War. Boven Digul is a wild, formerly uninhabited place, notorious for its unhealthy climate. A large number of the exiles died there from malaria and other tropical diseases, while others simply died of "causes unknown".

In spite of this repressive measure, another uprising broke out in Sumatra in January, 1927. This was also put down. The leaders joined their comrades in exile and the remnants of the communist party were put under strict control. The control was also applied to the general public. Freedom of speech and meeting was practically non-existent. Newspapers were severely controlled. Political parties may be declared unlawful and teachers suspected of leftist tendencies dismissed.

The suppression of the communist outbreaks marked the end of an old trend and the beginning of a new one in the nationalist movement in Indonesia. The old trend was more or less the seeking and hoping for foreign aid. The Sarekat Islam leaders were influenced by the Pan-Islam movement and looked for support successively from Turkey, Egypt and Arabia; the communist leaders were of course affiliated to their comrades in Moscow and elsewhere. But the nationalist movement after 1927, except for a small element which desired to keep the movement in religious channels, threw off outside influences and became steadily more purely nationalistic in character.

Political Nationalism.

While the nationalist movement took on a new aspect in Indonesia, the Indonesians overseas, notably those in Holland, had not remained inactive. At about the same time that "Budi Utomo" was born in Djakarta, the Indonesian students in Holland under Notoesoeroto organized the "*Indische Vereeniging*" or "*Perkumpulan Hindia*". This organization did not at first have any political tendency. Its object was to promote the common interest of East Indians in Holland and maintain contact with the East Indies. Its membership was open to all who regarded the East Indies as their home, but the awakened political-mindedness of the Indonesian members after the coming of Tjipto Mangunkusumo and Suwardi Soerianingrat soon led to the withdrawal of the other racial groups, leaving the association

purely Indonesian.

In 1922, at the instigation of Ahmad Subardjo, its Chairman from 1919 to 1922, the "*Indische Vereeniging*" changed its name to "*Indonesische Vereeniging*" or **Perhimpunan Indonesia**, a name that reflected its sharpened nationalistic spirit.

"Every Indonesian should strive towards one end — to form a government that is responsible to the people, the only kind of government that is acceptable to the people — and to attain that end through his own strength and ability and not depending on the help of other nations".

The "Perhimpunan Indonesia" had grown considerably in strength with the increased number of Indonesian students who came to Europe after the war to complete their studies. After the change of name, the association adopted the principle of non-cooperation with the Dutch colonizers.

The official organ of the association which hitherto bore the name of "*Hindia Putra*" (Son of the Indies) was renamed the "**Indonesia Merdeka**" (Free Indonesia), to show clearly the aspirations of its publishers.

The association made use of every means to advance the cause of Indonesian nationalism. To obtain a broader international outlook and to free themselves from the narrow Dutch spirit which they had unconsciously imbibed in the Dutch colonial schools at home, Subardjo, already in 1921, advised his fellow-students to take trips to foreign countries and study political and social conditions there. He himself organized several tours to France, Switzerland, Germany, Austria and Hungary. In 1925, the Perhimpunan Indonesia began actively to make contacts with students' associations in foreign countries and took part in the different congresses.

It entered into relations with the Executive Committee of the Communist International and joined the League against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression which was organized in Berlin in 1926. Dr. Mohammed Hatta, who was then Chairman of the association, attended the opening meeting as well as the second conference of the League held at Brussels in 1927. On both occasions, Hatta presented a plea against colonialism and gave an unfavourable picture of the Dutch colonial rule, much to the discomfiture of the Netherlands Government. In September, 1927, the police raided the quarters of the association and the leaders, including Dr. Hatta, were arrested on the charge of inciting rebellion*. They were imprisoned for six

* Seven leaders of the Perhimpunan Indonesia were then on the Dutch blacklist: Hatta, Ali Sastroamidjojo, Nasir Pamontjak, Abdul Majit Djoeningrat, Mononutu, Gatot Mangkupradja and Subardjo.

Only the first four were arrested, since they were available in Holland. Mononutu and Gatot happened to be on their way to the homeland (where the Dutch writ did not apply) and Subardjo was in Berlin to attend to the implementation of the resolutions of the Brussels Conference.

months. After a sensational trial at The Hague, the charge against them was dismissed through insufficient evidence. The association then resumed its propaganda activities, and extended their sphere to the Indonesian student colonies in Cairo and Mecca. The police case of its leaders, of course, helped to stimulate the national cause in the homeland.

The Study Clubs.

While members of the association were engaged in foreign propaganda work in Europe, those who had returned to Indonesia continued their political activities in the motherland. An organization, based on Javanese nationalism, named the "League of Intellectuals" was founded in 1923 in Surabaya, and another one, based on Indonesian nationalism, came into existence one year later. The second league, also in Surabaya, was called the "**Indonesian Study Club**". It sought to make the Indonesian intellectuals nation-conscious and social-minded and, by regular discussion of national and social questions, to urge them to initiate and organize constructive social labour. The example set by Surabaya was quickly followed by other cities and study clubs sprang into existence in all large cities in Java. In 1926, the various organizations set up a **Comité Persatuan Indonesia** (Committee on Indonesian Unity) for the purpose of unifying the different political currents. Some of the clubs, like the Surakarta Club, are island-conscious and stood for Javanese rather than for Indonesian nationalism. Some clubs held moderate view and did not object to cooperation with the Government, while other clubs like the Bandung Club, which was most deeply influenced by the *Perhimpunan Indonesia*, strongly opposed any form of political cooperation with the Government.

These study clubs although of a political nature, were as a rule more concerned with immediate social and economic problems. Along with some other organizations, such as the *Mohammedijah* and the *Budi Utomo*, they exerted themselves in improving the social and economic conditions of their compatriots. They have come to realize that so long as the social and economic status of the masses remained as it was, they could not hope for great political power. The most active of the clubs, the Surabaya Study Club, conducted several information offices for the benefit of the ignorant masses and opened evening courses in Malay, Dutch, English and bookkeeping. Under the able leadership of Dr. R. Sutomo, this club of some 200 young nationalists also ran a boys' boarding school, an orphanage, a women's home, a co-operative bank and a commercial bank!

Cultural Nationalism.

Another significant phase of the nationalist movement along social lines is the **Taman Siswa** system of schools, created and sponsored by Ki Hadjar Dewantara (Soewardi Soerianingrat). The

first **Taman Siswa** (Children's Garden) was founded by Dewantara in 1922 at Djogjakarta, and in less than ten years, forty other schools in the same system have been opened in various other cities. Dewantara is the pillar of the "Back-to-the-Old Culture" group of educated Indonesians, and in founding the **Taman Siswa**, he was attempting the creation of an Indonesian national education, in contrast to the education given in the Government schools. Instruction in the **Taman Siswa** is based on the old Javanese system of the boarding school. The pupils of the **Taman Siswa** are required to live with the teachers and class instruction is subordinated to the general development of the children. The native tongue is used as the teaching medium and the children are further instructed in Javanese and Indonesian culture, art, history and customs. Stress is put on vocational training, one of the **Taman Siswa** slogans being, "A craftsman who makes beautiful and useful objects is much more valuable than a clerk". Spontaneity and self-activity are also encouraged. In short, Dewantara aims to make his pupils into useful, self-reliant, intelligent Indonesians, proud of their own land and culture.

Sukarno and the other Nationalists.

For a while, after the drastic suppression of communist activities by the Government in January, 1927, the nationalist movement in Indonesia seemed to be at a standstill. But national consciousness, once awakened, could not be lulled to sleep again. It might be suppressed for a time but not for long. So half a year later, in July of the same year, on and from the ruins of the dissolved Communist Party, Dr. Sukarno founded the "**Persarekatan Nasional Indonesia**" (later changed to **Partai Nasional Indonesia**) (Indonesian National Party), the party that was destined to play a fateful role in the history of the Indonesian national movement.

With the organization of the "**Persarekatan Nasional Indonesia**" in July, 1927 at Bandung, the nationalist movement entered into a new phase. It became essentially nationalistic, based not on religion as the *Sarekat Islam*, nor on party doctrine as the Communist associations, but on nationalistic principles. The "**Persarekatan Nasional Indonesia**", or P.N.I. for short, was an organized political party with a definite aim — "**Indonesia Merdeka**", that is, the liberation of Indonesia from the colonial yoke through a conscious popular movement, based upon native force and ability. By means of non-cooperation with the colonial government, it attempts to attain political independence and to erect a national administrative system within the framework of the existing general administration.

The moving spirits behind the P.N.I. were the repatriated members of the *Perhimpunan Indonesia* and other members of the *Algemeene Studieclub* (General Study Club) at Bandung. The

first executive committee were composed of the following persons: Chairman, Sukarno; Secretary, Iskaq Tjokrohadisuryo; Commissary, Samsi Sastro-widagdo. Other important leaders of the Party were Budiarto, Sartono, Sunaryo and Anwari. Under the leadership of these persons who, belonging to the intellectual class, have also had political training, the P.N.I. soon became a dynamic power in nationalist movement.

Sukarno was the leader of the propaganda activities of the party and soon shone not only as a great orator but also as a natural leader of the masses. During the first year, the party held a number of propaganda meetings at Bandung and other large cities, each meeting drawing more crowds than the last. Speeches on different subjects were delivered, but especially on the aims and principles of the P.N.I., on national independence, with the history of colonial rule and the development of national awakening as a background. Many of the P.N.I. leaders were brilliant speakers, but the most popular and outstanding was Sukarno who, by power of his simple and straight forward orations, did the most in bringing home to the common people the ideals and principles of a free Indonesia.

The propaganda activities of the P.N.I. were continued with even more vigour in 1928. They were extended to cover small town and villages, and leaders were sent out to remote places to meet and talk with the masses at their native haunts. For this purpose, the P.N.I. set up a sort of "people's university" in which members of the party, who had been tested for their loyalty and discipline, were given courses in propaganda work. These trained propagandists not only sought followers for their party among the village and mountain people, but they also preached their party-principles in other associations and institutions. In this way, the membership of the P.N.I. increased rapidly. Within one year, the party had already 6,000 members, most of them were found either in Djakarta or Bandung.

The P.N.I. leaders now stressed the Indonesian-unity idea in their speeches. They used the Indonesian language in their meetings and also in their party organ, the "**Persatuan Indonesia**", in which the principles and aims of the party as well as its non-cooperation tactics were set forth for the benefit of those who could not come to their meetings. They adopted a White and Red flag with a bull's head on it as their party flag, and held it up to the the masses as the symbol of "Free Indonesia". They were also the first to use the "Indonesia Raya" now accepted as the Indonesian National Anthem, in their meetings.

Aside from propaganda work, the P.N.I. also sought to bring unity among the different political associations, in order to form a national front. For this purpose, they took the initiative in the organization of a federation of nationalist societies in

December, 1927. This federation, called the **Per-mufakatan Perhimpunan-perhimpunan Politik Kebangsaan Indonesia**, P.P.P.K.I. for short, was composed of seven political societies: the P.N.I. the Sarekat Islam, Budi Utomo, Pasundan, Kaum Betawi, the Surabaya Study Club and the Sumatra Bond. The main purpose of this federation was to unify and stabilize the activities of the member societies and to carry out this purpose an advisory council, comprised of a representative of each society, plus a Chairman and a Secretary, was set up. Dr. R. Sutomo, leader of the Surabaya Study Club, was chosen as the first Chairman.

In a meeting held at Bandung in December 1928, the P.P.P.K.I. decided to fight for the abolition of the "penal sanction" and certain other articles of the Criminal Code, to set up a commission on national education and to devise means for the release of the exiles at Boven Digul. The Perhimpunan Indonesia in Holland was meanwhile appointed as their advance post for foreign propaganda. The effort of the P.P.P.K.I. in the economic field was seen in the organization of the **Persatuan Coöperatie Indonesia** (Indonesian Cooperative Union) for the support of native industries and the development of cooperative societies in Indonesia.

Arrest of P.N.I. Leaders.

Meanwhile, the East Indies Government had regarded the nationalist movement, especially as represented by the activities of the P.N.I., with anything but equanimity. In May, 1928, in his speech before the Volksraad, the so-called People's Council, the Governor-General alluded to the propaganda carried on by the P.N.I., calling it "revolutionary-nationalistic" propaganda, hinting that its revolutionary nature would hurt its own cause. In July, 1929, when the propaganda speeches of the P.N.I. had become almost violent in their attack on colonialism and capitalism, the Government informed the People's Council that the P.N.I. leaders had been sufficiently warned that they would be held responsible for their words and deeds and the reactions that might be expected from the uneducated masses. In a later note, the Government stated clearly that it would not hesitate, in case the leaders concerned should resort to inciting actions, to take strong measures against the leaders and perhaps also against the whole movement. In October, 1929, with a view to protecting the police and soldiers from being infected by revolutionary diseases, the Governor of West Java forbade the members of his police corps from joining the P.N.I.; the same prohibition was laid down by the Commander of the Dutch East Indies Army (K.N.I.L.) for his entire personnel.

In December 1929, upon hearing some rumours of coming disorders, the Government caused searches to be made in the houses and offices of the P.N.I. leaders. Eight persons were arrested,

four of whom were later prosecuted, namely, Sukarno, Gatot Mangkupradja, Maskun and Soepriadinata. The subsequent trial, which took place from August 18 to December 22 in the following year, was followed with great interest by the public, and the sentence — imprisonment of from fifteen months to 4 years — caused great consternation and indignation, a feeling that was shared even by some Dutch people. The sentence of 4 years passed on Sukarno was later reduced, while Gatot Mangkupradja was released after one year of imprisonment.

The immediate effect of the arrest of the leaders of the P.N.I. was to remove it for the time being from the field of political activity. The direction of the party fell into the hands of Sartono, but activities came practically to an end. On April 25, 1931 after a short but stormy existence, the P.N.I. was officially dissolved.

As a result of the removal of the P.N.I. from the political field, the Surabaya Study Club, which had been organized as an intellectual aristocracy, reorganized itself on a broader basis in the hope of capturing the leadership of the popular movement which formerly belonged to the P.N.I. In October, 1930, the club changed its name to "**Persatuan Bangsa Indonesia**" (Indonesian Unity) and opened its membership, formerly reserved for the educated class, to all Indonesians. It assumed a cooperative attitude towards local government councils but its members must refuse sitting in the People's Council as a protest against the Government treatment of the P.N.I. leaders. However, notwithstanding its efforts along nationalistic lines, the "**Persatuan Bangsa Indonesia**" achieved more in its social and economic activities than as a popular political party.

Hatta and the New P.N.I.

The ex-members of the P.N.I. split up into two groups after the official dissolution of the party. Those rallying around Sartono organized a new party called the "**Partai Indonesia**", shortened into **Partindo**, at the end of April, 1931. The Partindo had the same aims as the dissolved P.N.I. that is, to strive for a free Indonesia on self-help and self-ability. The fundamental principle of the party was: every people has the right of self-determination. The remainder formed a so-called independent group which after several changes was finally organized in 1931 into the "**Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia**" (Indonesian National Education Party) or the New P.N.I.

When Sukarno left Sukamiskin Prison in December, 1932, he found his party split into two. For some time he joined neither the one nor the other but bent his efforts in bringing the two together to form a united front. His attempts being unsuccessful, he joined in 1933 the Partindo, and resumed in that party his agitation activities against the Government.

The New P.N.I. had meanwhile got new leaders in the persons of Mohammad Hatta and Sutan Sjahrir who joined the party in 1932. With new vigour then, the Partindo and the new P.N.I., both based on national independence, took the lead in the organization of the Indonesian national movement. They were, however, not allowed to function in peace. The Government again stepped in with its strong measures. Early in 1934, Sukarno was re-arrested and was interned on the island of Flores until 1938, whence he was removed to Bengkulu and lastly, in February 1942, to Padang. Both Hatta and Sjahrir were also arrested in the same year and exiled first to Digul and then to Banda Neira. Their two parties were suspended under the Meetings Prohibition Act.

Spread of the Nationalist Ideal.

The nationalist movement which had acquired a leftist character under the leadership of Sukarno, Hatta and Sjahrir, and had consequently caused the Dutch great worries and anxiety was more or less suppressed after the exile of the leaders. The Partindo was dissolved in 1937 and the new P.N.I. remained in a frozen state under the Meetings Prohibition Act. Ex-Partindo members, however, did not give up their political activities altogether. In May, 1937, they organized a new party in Djakarta called the "**Gerakan Rakjat Indonesia**" (Indonesian People's Movement), or Gerindo for short. This party aimed at the liberation of Indonesia, like its predecessors, with the fundamental principles of political, economic and social democracy, but accepted as a new strategy the political tactic of co-operation with the colonial power, a new precedent in the history of national movement. Among leaders of this new party were Amir Sjarifuddin and A.K. Gani, later to become important figures in the Republican Government.

In a more moderate way, the nationalist ideal could also be observed in the activities of other parties, such as the Budi Utomo and the various regional associations known as "Sarekats", of Ambon, Madura, Sumatra, Celebes, etc. In 1935, on the initiative of Dr. R. Sutomo, the leader of the Surabaya Study Club (in 1930 reorganized into the **Persatuan Bangsa Indonesia**), a fusion of all, or nearly all, these parties (including the Budi Utomo) took place. This step resulted in the formation of a new party under the name of "**Partai Indonesia Raya**", (Greater Indonesia Party) or Parindra.

The youth movement in Indonesia was also not immune to the nationalist influence. The first youth organization was the "**Young Java**", established in 1915 by some Javanese secondary schools students. It was soon followed by "Young Sumatra", "Young Snuda", "Young Ambon" and other similar societies on a sub-racial basis. Falling under the influence of the general nationalist movement, these regional societies fused them-

selves into a new society, the "Young Indonesia". In its second congress held in October, 1928, "Young Indonesia" adopted the following resolutions:

- 1) We sons and daughters of Indonesia are of one fatherland, Indonesia,
- 2) we are one people, the people of Indonesia,
- 3) we accept one language, the Bahasa Indonesia.

Nationalism in Religion.

Along religious lines, political activities were confined chiefly to the afore-mentioned "Sarekat Islam". This party changed its name into "Partai Sarekat Islam" in 1923 and, in 1930, to "Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia" or P.S.I.I. Other religious parties such as the "Indische Katholieke Partij" (later the Partai Katholik Indonesia, or Parki) and the "Christelijk Staatskundig Partij", later the Partai Keristen Indonesia, Parkindo, had a mixed membership of Indonesians and Eurasians and concerned themselves only with social reforms along religious lines.

Federation of the Parties.

The nationalist movement in the late 1930's showed three distinct currents: the leftist group as represented by the suspended P.N.I. and the Gerindo, the national Islamic group of the P.S.I.I.; and the moderate national group represented by the Parindra. All aimed at attaining independence for Indonesia; they differed only on the question of the tactics employed. In 1939, the tense international situation led the different leaders to feel more than ever the need of a united front. Seven political parties, chief among which were the Gerindo, the Parindra, and the P.S.I.I., joined forces to form the "Gabungan Politik Indonesia" (Indonesian Political Union), Gapi for short. In this way all three currents in the national movement were united. As members of the first executive committee were elected Abikusno of the P.S.I.I., Thamrin of the Parindra and Amir Sjarifuddin of the Gerindo.

The main activities of the Gapi centered around the demand of a Parliament, elected by and for the people, to which the Government should be responsible. It next demanded the transformation of the existent People's Council into an elected Parliament in order that each political group in Indonesia could have a satisfactory number of representatives. It further demanded that the institution of Chiefs of Departments be changed into that of a Cabinet of Ministers to be responsible to Parliament.

As an answer to these political demands, the Dutch Government, with war imminent in the motherland, made a compromise by setting up a Commission under the chairmanship of Mr. Visman, charged with the task of collecting and studying reports from all political societies in this

country. This compromise was anything but satisfactory to the nationalists and was therefore received very coldly by the Gapi.

The last stage in the nationalist movement under colonial rule was reached in Djogja in September 1941, when a congress of Indonesians met there and initiated the establishment of a "Madjelis Rakjat Indonesia" (Indonesian People's Council). This council was meant to be a representative body of all Indonesian people. Only well organized progressive associations of Indonesians were to be admitted and where other nationalities were concerned, they could only be admitted on approval of the Council. Members included the Gapi, the Federation of Islamic associations, the Federation of Government Officials and Trade Unions. It represented the highest point yet reached in the Indonesian nationalist movement.

Utilization of the Japanese.

Such was the political condition in Indonesia when the Japanese invaded the country in March, 1942. With their arrival, all existing political parties were dissolved and political activities suppressed. The nationalist spirit, however, was very much alive and soon found a new outlet. The Japanese conquerors put on the mask of brotherhood and propagated the idea of "Asia for the Asiatics". The first thing they did was to liberate the interned Indonesian leaders with the obvious intention of using their popularity to further their own ends. The Indonesian nationalists, on the other hand, were not slow in grasping the situation. Some of them, like Sukarno and Hatta, openly accepted cooperation with the conquerors, on the tactical principle that every opportunity that came their way to strengthen Indonesian nationalism must be utilized.

The unconditional surrender of the Dutch thus accomplished in a short time what would otherwise take the nationalists years to do — the undermining of the Dutch prestige in the eyes of the Indonesian masses. Then, the anti British-American propaganda, initiated and encouraged by the Japanese, was subtly made to include the Dutch and transformed into an anti-Dutch movement. Furthermore, the ejection of the Dutch language and its replacement by the Indonesian language in every walk of life added to the strengthening of the nationalist idea.

For a very short time following the Japanese invasion, a movement known as the 3-A (Nippon Tjahaja Asia, Pelindung Asia, Pemimpin Asia) was started for tactical reasons, by Mr. Samsudin; in this movement, curiously enough, many prominent Chinese leaders, formerly associated with the Dutch, also took part. The 3-A movement however failed to achieve anything and soon died a natural death.

While Sukarno and Hatta worked at their self-imposed task of collaboration with the conquerors,

other leaders led an anti-Japanese movement underground. This movement led to several uprisings in the later years of the occupations at Singaparna, Indramaju, Blitar (East Java) and West Borneo, which brought torture and imprisonment to the leaders and for which many the followers had to pay with their lives. It did serve, however, to keep the nationalist fires burning in the heart and soul of the Indonesian youth.

Another important factor in the shaping of the national destiny of Indonesia was the military training enforced on the Indonesian youths by the Japanese regime. This training, which was enforced on a large scale, gave the Indonesian youths the first realization of their fighting capacity and very providentially provided Indonesia with its first army. The "Peta" (Pembela Tanah Air or Fatherland's Defenders) formed the backbone of the uprisings mentioned in the preceding paragraph, and was one of the bases of the subsequent founding of the Republic of Indonesia.

Independence.

In 1945, when the Japanese began to realize that their occupation was coming to end, rather than return Indonesia to the hated Dutch, they promised the Indonesian their complete independence. The Indonesian leaders who had been watching and waiting for this opportunity, lost no time in setting about the realization of their national aspirations. A Preparatory Committee, composed of representatives from all parts of Indonesia, was set up on August 15, 1945, to draft the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and to make general preparations for the taking over the administration of the country from the Japanese. Two days later, on August 17, 1945, Sukarno and Hatta jointly proclaimed the birth of the Republic of Indonesia, not, as was assumed by the world at large, as a Japanese puppet creation, but the deserved accomplishment of centuries of bitter struggle for freedom and independence against an oppressive colonial regime.

CITIES OF INDONESIA

DJOGJAKARTA

DJOGJAKARTA (or Djogja for short) bears a proud reputation in Indonesian recent history. From 1946 to 1950 it was the capital of the Republic of Indonesia; it was from this city that our struggle for Independence was chiefly directed, fought and won.

Djogjakarta's chief contribution to Indonesian life was mainly cultural. There were educational facilities up to college level. Students of Javanese history, customs and culture were specially attracted to the Kraton (palace) of the Sultan, the surrounding cultural relics and the old influences kept alive in the customs of the people.

When the Madjapahit Empire crumbled, it left behind it the powerful Sultanate of Mataram, which reigned over most of Madjapahit's former territories on the inland of Java. One of the two mid-eighteenth century descendants of this Kingdom was the Sultan of Djogjakarta.

The Djogjakarta Special Area of this day coincides roughly with the boundaries of the old Sultanate, which is now co-ordinated with other local aeras (daerah) of the Republic. The area is approximately triangular in shape, with the Indian Ocean as base and the volcano Merapi as apex. The Merapi rises to over 9,500 feet above sea level, the only really high peak of the entire area. From this uptilted slope the land falls, none too gently at first, down to the coastal plains at the Ocean. Merapi's watershed is drained by the river Opak, and its lava is carried away safely in special canals. The other main river of the area

is the Progo, which wanders away to the west and to Magelang, and whose mouth lies between the sand dunes lining the western part of the shores of the region for many miles.

In the eastern sector of the area is an arid, chalky mass of hills, on whose soil grows very little, but which provides Djogjakarta and environs with two industries — the production of school chalk, and the manufacture of kalsomine. This Djogja area is not noted for its fertility, and for many years past has had to obtain quite a lot of rice from other parts of the country in order to feed its population.

* *

Djogja was a quiet place before the war; the city had a population of only about 150,000, and no one could have thought that it would leap into world prominence within a few eventful years.

When fighting broke out at the end of 1945 and the Dutch began to occupy parts of Indonesia again, it became obvious that Djakarta would have many disabilities as a capital for the Republic. Djogja was chosen: its position was central and far from the areas of Dutch penetration, its communication system was adequate, and, last but by no means least, the Sultan of Djogja had, with all his resources, joined the Republic.

Djogja is not a big city — you can walk across its greatest extent from the rice-fields on one side to the vegetable patches on the other in a couple of hours. The north-eastern part of the city is mainly a residential area.

One long main street links the northern part with southern sector where the ruins of the old Water Palace lie. Here also the Kraton is situated, where Princes of the Royal House have their separate establishments. The main shopping centre is down this main street, but markets are scattered in the different areas. The quarters of the junior Royal House of Djogjakarta, that of the Paku Alam, lie to the east of the centre of the city, with another new extension of the city further out.

During the period that Djogja was the capital of the Republic, government offices were scattered almost all over the city. It was the centre of the political life of the country; political parties, trade unions, and all manner of associations and commercial enterprises had their headquarters there.

It became, however, an extremely poor city as a consequence of the Dutch blockade of the Republic. Buildings and houses fell into dis-repair; it was nothing unusual to see quite a number of people dressed in patched sacking as you walked in the evening down the main street; most of the motorized vehicles had to be pushed along half their journey; the shops lacked stocks, and the people had no money to buy anything, anyway; the population slept on floors, cooked outside, and worked often enough by candle light after dark. But, though troubled by the economic conditions, the people were happy — and they worked harder than most of them had ever done before, and have done after, under much better conditions. Moreover the difficulties knit the people into one resolute unit; they were determined to succeed in their endeavour, whatever the sacrifice.

After the temporary parliament, the Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat, or K.N.I.P. for short, had settled in Djogja, it was possible for the citizens to attend many of the debates, which were conducted in its Working Committee.

The airfield at Maguwo just outside the city was the scene of many comings and goings; visits were paid by foreign pressmen, by consuls and other representatives of foreign countries, by representatives of the United Nations, and also by Dutch delegations. For after the Renville Agreement was signed, it had been arranged that negotiations would be held alternately in Djakarta and in Djogja where the discussions took place at Kaliurang, a hill town on the lower slopes of Mt. Merapi, about 16 miles out of Djogja.

Situated next to the main post office, the Republican Radio not only ran a home service, but also broadcast under the call signature of "The Voice of Free Indonesia" to all parts of the world, its news of Indonesian affairs serving for a considerable period as practically the only link between the Republic and foreign countries.

From Djogjakarta, President Sukarno himself opened the first anti-illiteracy campaign of post-war Indonesia, later on taken up by other parts

of the country. New schools were opened, and from this period began a number of entirely new industries.

It was from Djogjakarta that leadership came for the rest of Indonesia, and there, at last, President Sukarno was sworn in as the first President of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia.

* * *

In spite of the decreased population, and the withdrawal of many government offices and of much political activity since the transfer of sovereignty, Djogjakarta is still a vastly different city from what it was before the war.

The war damage inflicted during the armed struggle with the Dutch has now for the most part been repaired, though here and there still stand some blackened shells, all that remains of former buildings. Roads have been re-surfaced, houses repaired, and the well-stocked shops now have bright new coats of paint. Shiny post-war cars run all over the city, and a bus service has started serving several outlying parts. Even the andongs and betjaks no longer squeak and groan with the exertion of travel, but instead sparkle with polished brass and gay lacquers. The public gardens and parks have been almost re-made, and fish ponds, new flowers and shrubs now decorate them.

Pre-war educational facilities have likewise been enlarged. In addition to the new schools, which include an excellent pre-kindergarten play school with several branches, Djogjakarta is the site of the Indonesian National "Gadjah Mada" University, the embodiment of the new spirit of Indonesia. This university comprises the faculties of Law, Engineering, Social Sciences, and Medicine; attached are also a Teachers' College, and an Academy for Political Science. It is probable that this university will ultimately be housed in the former Presidency; in the meantime the various faculties and attached academies have found temporary quarters in different places, mainly by courtesy of the Sultan of Djogja.

The famous Djogja handicrafts have, if anything, received a boost because of the new situation, but most of them have been hard put to it for raw materials. Hand-tooled silver is still produced to a high standard in Kota Gedeh, just outside Djogja.

Djogjakarta batik is distinctive in its traditional patterns and its indigo and dark brown colouring, the latter produced by a lime-bath reaction on a medium brown natural dye. Wood-carving, leather goods, including practical bags and cases as well as lacey parchment for lampshades, dress belts, and book-markers, hand polished and carved horn goods, complete the list of the most interesting crafts of the area.

Reconstruction still continues on the large group of Hindu temples at Prambanan, just inside

the border of the Djogjakarta area, and the old ruins of earlier days may still be seen in the city. The Prambanan group seems to have included a seminary at one time, for a large area around the temples shows where individual cells have been for the monks. This group has decorations of very close affinity with those in Hindu India.

The main buildings and courtyard of the Kraton may be visited by permission. The Kraton exhibits some of the most beautiful examples of the arts of Javanese interior decoration. Courtyards are shaded by great trees and link together the more public buildings and the reception halls. They have exquisitely carved, painted and gilded wooden pillars and cross beams, polished tile floors, with an atmosphere of great peace and charm pervading them all.

On the surface, Djogjakarta is only a small city, without physical pretensions and without many amusements, except those you can make for yourself, without great industries, without many commercial products, without much grand scenery. But it is endeared forever to those who lived there during the long struggle against the Dutch, and it is embedded in the hearts of those who contributed to that struggle. And the same spirit of great moral endeavour still lives in Djogjakarta, the quality that has made the city famous.

SOLO

SOLO is a very old seat of Javanese culture. Whereas Djogjakarta has recently been a little disinterested in the old traditions, Solo has until very recently, maintained them most rigidly; Solo is the centre of Hindu-Javanism, par excellence, much more so than Djogja. According to the rules of kingly precedence, the ruler of Solo has a higher rank than Sultan of Djogjakarta; he is known as "Susuhunan", not as "Sultan".

Many Indonesians maintain that the Royal House of Solo has not moved with the times to the same extent as has that of Djogjakarta, that Solo is still too much influenced by the spirit of feudalism. This, of course, is contested by the Solo protagonists, who say that their rulers are just as modern, and every bit as much in accord with the spirit of the times; the only thing is that the Solo rulers insist that Indonesia shall not forget her own values. Argument has now got to the stage for an out-and-out dissolution of the principalities as such. The matter is now settled by the reorganization of the principalities in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic, which provides for a council of representatives and an executive council, to be elected by the people. This leaves the princes in the position of Heads of their principalities, but allows for the business and affairs of the areas to be conducted democratically.

The ancient history of Solo was a troubled one; the troubles starting already at the time of the Ma-

taram Kingdom of Kartasura. First of all, there was fighting with the Chinese over a certain succession — the Chinese favoured the descendant of a Princess whose appearance was Chinese, while the Sultan had other ideas. Then, later on, Mataram became involved in troubles with the Dutch, and troubles with Surapati. The seat of the Kingdom at Kartasura was badly damaged, and the Sultan was weary of the trying memories the old walls contained. So he decided to remove, and settled on the village of Solo as a suitable position.

A new Kraton was built at Solo, with an almost complete township within its walls, to which the Sultan gave the name of Surakarta, hoping perhaps to reverse his fortunes just as he reversed the name of his capital. The two names, Solo and Surakarta, continue to be used almost interchangeably to this present day; this is indeed quite correct, for the original village was never pulled down, but flourished because of its juxtaposition to the new Kraton. It has become a city outside the walls, just as there is now almost a city within. In ordinary conversation, most Indonesians nowadays use the name "Solo", probably only because it is shorter.

Later on, when the Dutch came, they built a fortress, with bastions, moats, and stone embankments in their best 18th century style. It seems they were none too sure of the allegiance of the Susuhunan, and wanted to be assured of effective control at close range. This same pattern is repeated, obviously for the same sort of reason, in other cities of importance in Indonesia, including Djogjakarta.

Before the war, Solo was one of the centres of the Nationalist Movement in the Central Java area; it was also one of the centres of political activity after the Proclamation of Independence.

* *

No matter what have been the political problems, and troubles, Solo has been thrice blessed in its cultural affairs, for this city is truly one of the great cultural centres of Indonesia.

Solo was one of the havens of refuge during the earlier fighting with the Dutch; it housed some university faculties evacuated from other areas. Solo is also a centre of handicrafts, of leather-work, goldsmithery, batik, and horn carving and polishing. A people's art of the area, well-known throughout Indonesia, is the production of small earthenware figurines and money-pigs, playthings, and toy dinner sets.

It is the figurines which are so delightful — after baking, they are hand-painted, and so one sees almost anywhere in Indonesia streetsellers with rows of most life-like tiny dolls which represent Indonesian women and children in the dress of the day, the heroes of Wayang stories, resplendent in gold paint and gay colours.

But the city is chiefly renowned for its dancers and musicians, who certainly excel in their art. Although modelled upon the same stories and upon the same tradition, there is a distinct difference between the styles of Solo and Djogja, among whom there is keen rivalry for the leadership in these Hindu-Javanese arts. The Djogjanese contend that the Solo art has become static, and therefore moribund; Solo maintains that the Djogjanese have made so many concessions to modernity that their art is hardly worthy of the name. To outsiders, these are hard words indeed, too technical for their understanding; they are thus content to sit and watch the artists from either city! And to those who wish to study Hindu influences in Indonesia, there can be no better way than to begin with a visit to one of the courts of either Solo or Djogjakarta and witness an exhibition of dancing.

But the city, its Kraton, and its dancing are not the whole of the area which is approximately twice the size of that of Djogja, and includes the important towns of Sragen, Bojolali, Klaten, and Wono-giri. In contrast with nearby Djogjakarta, Solo is a fertile region, but its heavy population, along the river valley rising to as much as about 1,200 per square mile, is a heavy drain on its products.

The principality has a shorter seaboard than any other political division of its kind in Java, being a mere four miles or so of coast along the Indian Ocean, bordering that of Djogjakarta to the east. Through the centre of the region flow the swift waters of Bengawan Solo, the largest river of all Java, on one of whose tributaries the city is built. Around that valley in all directions lie the foothills of the mountain chains, the rice fields rising on their heights like outspread skirts. Sugar, tea, coffee, and tobacco, also grow within the boundaries of the Residency; market produce includes cassava and maize, whilst indigo, cocoa, cinchona, pepper, kapok and vanilla are grown in sufficient quantity for their surplus to be exported abroad.

BOGOR

SIXTY kilometers south of Djakarta, lying at the foot of the island's backbone of mountains, stands the ancient city of Bogor*.

Ideally situated with an average mean temperature of 25.4 degrees centigrade, the city lies between two rivers, the Tjisadane and the Tjiliwung, whilst a third, the Tjiangke, has its source just north of the town; these three rivers empty their turbid contents into the Java Sea to the north, the Tjiliwung at Djakarta, and the other two further to the west. 870 feet above sea level, Bogor escapes the steamy humidity of the coast. But there

is a fly in the ointment of its climatic attractions — the average annual rainfall is very high, with rain every day, and heavy pelting falls which are near-cloudbursts ever so often.

Above the city to the south rises the peak of Mt. Salak, while off to the south-east are the twin peaks of Pangrango and Gedeh, both over 10,000 feet above sea level. The Salak and Pangrango are both active volcanoes, the soil all around the city being of obvious volcanic origin.

On the plains to the north of Bogor in the direction of Djakarta there are rubber and tea plantations of some extent, and rice is cultivated in the neighbourhood, mostly by the wet-field process, with some dry fields on the mountain slopes.

Bogor, the capital of the Bogor Residency, is a residential and a scientific centre. The present population is in the neighbourhood of 124,000, with a population rate in the surrounding area of two to three hundred head per square kilometre (about 500 to 750 per square mile). A number of the city's inhabitants "commute" every day to Djakarta, with which city Bogor is connected both by a good motor road and by an electric train.

In 1745, the land covering the entire area of the city was taken over by Governor General Van Imhoff, who built a palace there. The land remained the private property of successive governors-general until the time of Daendels (early 19th century), when parts of it were sold privately.

Bogor's reputation as a scientific centre rests upon a number of well-known institutions, including the General Agricultural Experimental Station (the largest of its kind in the whole of Indonesia), the Forestry Experimental Station, the Laboratory for Chemical Research and the Institute for Rubber Research. The activities of these institutes have led to great improvement in the various fields they cover. They have an international reputation, and are especially looked to for guidance in agricultural practice in Indonesia.

Apart from the usual hospitals, clinics, etc., Bogor has a large Red Cross Hospital; it is also the location of one of Indonesia's most up-to-date lunatic asylums.

This is not all. For Bogor is the site of the Botanical Gardens, renowned all over the world. The Gardens cover about 275 acres of land, and include a herbarium, a zoological museum, a library of scientific works, and a laboratory. They were laid out in 1817 by C.G.E. Reinwardt, a former professor of botany at Amsterdam University, who began the collection for the herbarium.

The gardens and herbarium are not only extensive and beautiful; they represent one of the most successful attempts to gather in natural surroundings complete species of tropical growths. Anyone is at liberty to judge the beauty of these gardens, but it would take an expert to assess

*) Bogor was renamed Buitenzorg by the Dutch, but the latter name was never popular with the Indonesian public who have always called it by its original name Bogor.

their worth; perhaps it is sufficient to note here that the gardens have 10,000 species of trees, and the herbarium 500,000 species of plants.

The attached library was started in 1842, and has a collection of about 60,000 volumes, some of them now extremely valuable. Next came the beginnings of the laboratory in 1884, which was intended as a research station for foreign scientific workers investigating tropical conditions on the spot. The museum is the youngest collection of the group, begun in 1894; but it already has a collection of more than three million specimens of insects, mammals and reptiles. The entire complex of gardens and attached institutions thus represents a collection of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, together with the library and laboratory necessary for their effective study.

In 1860 a branch of the Botanical Gardens was established at a higher elevation to accommodate vegetation requiring a colder climate. The branch gardens cover almost 200 acres and are situated on the volcanic slopes of the Pangrango and Gedeh at Tjibodas, about 27 miles southeast of Bogor.

In spite of the fact that Bogor is not a commercial centre, some manufacturing is conducted there, the largest concern being the Goodyear Tyre Factory. Besides this there is a factory, nine textile mills and several tapioca mills. Home industries include leather tanning, toy-making, shoe making and the manufacture of furniture. A famous Bogor delicacy is the pineapple, which grows there abundantly.

* *

There are many historical relics in Bogor which was the capital of the old Sundanese Kingdom from the 12th to the 16th centuries, and the inhabitants of which still use the old Sundanese language. At Batutulis, 2 miles out of the city, may still be seen the inscribed stone, now an archeological relic, which tells of the feats of Prabu Radja Purana, founder of the Pasundan Kingdom which had successfully resisted all attempts of Madjapahit to conquer it and which in fact was one of the influences which ultimately led to the downfall of Madjapahit.

BANDUNG.

BANDUNG, liked for its climate and famed for the charm and beauty of its women, is situated in the regency of the same name whose total population was given in the 1930 census as nearly a million and a quarter people. *) Bandung city itself only accounted for some 107 thousand of the million and a quarter population of the regency; the population of the city is very

mixed, with a high proportion of European (mostly Dutch) and Chinese residents who together make up more than one third of the city's inhabitants. There are no later official figures, but popular estimates ascribe to present-day Bandung city a population of about half a million souls.

The whole area is a plateau and has an average height above sea level of well over 2,000 feet. Long ago, it was the bed of a great lake, and many mountains tower more than 3,400 feet above and around the plateau (5,400 feet above sea level), especially to the south, where the volcanic peaks of the South Preanger Highlands reach above the height of 8,500 feet. In the west, the plateau is deeply scored by the Tjitarum, the largest river of West Java, and its tributaries on their combined way to the Java Sea in the north, where their mouth lies to the east of Djakarta. By the way, "tji" is the West Java. (Sundanese) word for "river", and "tarum" is the local name for the plant from which indigo, that powerful, all-beating, natural dye, is extracted; so you may think of it as being "River of the Indigo Plant" if you like, for the name is quite descriptive of its actual characteristics, at least along certain of its stretches.

One of the mountains to the north of the Bandung plateau is the volcano, Tangkubanprahu, whose recent outburst caused considerable anxiety in the neighbourhood, and much activity on the part of our volcanologists — until things quietened down again. Of the Tangkubanprahu an interesting old tale is told of a faithful mother, a worthless son, and a fairy, who wrecked the son's boat and sent him and his riches to the bottom of the sea; the name actually means "overturned boat".

Very little is now left of the natural forests of the Bandung region, whose mountain slopes are now for the most part converted into tea plantations and cinchona estates.

The cold is such on the heights to the south of Bandung that young tea leaves are sometimes killed by frost, for the temperature occasionally drops to a few degrees below frost level.

Some of the cinchona estates around Bandung are Government concerns, and there is a famous quinine factory in the city. All the plains and other suitable lands of the area are given over to rice cultivation, wet fields being used, for there is a plentiful and handy water supply.

The Bandung area is a recognized holiday and tourist resort on account of its magnificent scenery and its cool climate. Besides the city of Bandung itself, there are half a dozen smaller towns in the area which are almost equally attractive for holiday-makers.

* *

Bandung city is the capital of the Province of West Java, lying on the Djakarta-Tjilatjap Railway.

*) The name Bandung actually applies to three different areas — the city, district and regency. The regency Bandung has an area of 1175 square miles and is divided into ten districts.

It is noted for its clean tree-lined streets, its parks and gardens, and the rapidity of its development during the last twenty years or so, which has largely been the outcome of improved communications.

Alone in Indonesia there is in Bandung city a local bus service whose drivers and conductors are all women and girls.

Bandung city boasts of a big railway workshop, a canning factory and a caoutchouc (india-rubber) factory, besides the quinine industry already noted. It is also the centre of a growing textile industry, started in 1928 by Indonesian craftsmen as a home industry, but during the Japanese occupation turned into a factory industry, owned and managed almost entirely by self-made immigrant Chinese (the so-called Hoktjia, who came from Northern Fukien province).

Bandung is however not so much an industrial city, any more than a commercial one. Its forte is mainly in the educational line. Here is established the Technical Faculty of the University of Indonesia, from which President Sukarno obtained his architectural engineering degree. Here also are many specialized schools and establishments for secondary education. Then there is the famous Pasteur Institute which sends its serums and its vaccines all over Indonesia.

The city now lies at the centre of a network of transport services. Good motor roads in all directions, good rail communication to several important cities besides Djakarta, and a direct air-link with the Indonesian capital, all go to show the rising importance of Bandung in Indonesian affairs.

* * *

Bandung is sometimes called the Paris of Java, not only for its fashions and its clothes-conscious people; the inhabitants of the region also display that light-hearted gaiety so often ascribed, erroneously, perhaps, to the inhabitants of Paris; they laugh, play and sing even in the middle of a revolution, even when they themselves have suffered war's heaviest toll.

As for Bandung fashions — they are legion. The batiks are brightly coloured, and so too are the

flowered jackets the women wear; reds, bright or soft, glowing or dull, are much in favour. Long ago, the discriminating feminine eye of Bandung realized what a clog, a "wedgie", made of a graceful foot; so they cut a hole in the carved and painted wooden wedge heel of the Indonesian "kelomp" thus allowing one the comfort of a wedge without the disfigurement of one's arches. Bandung women have also adopted special hair styles, by which you may recognize them even when they are scattered in the other cities of Indonesia.

* * *

Somewhere around the ninth century of the Christian era, there was a great kingdom in West Java, called the Pasundan Kingdom. Its capital lay somewhere in the neighbourhood of Bandung, and was named Pakuan. That name has been perpetuated to the present day by being given to the residence of the chief administrative dignitary, and you will find it in modern Bandung if you go there to see it. But that's not our story, which concerns the downfall of the ancient Pasundan Kingdom.

You must know that there was a very beautiful Pasundan Princess and there was also an ardent and seemingly very self-willed young Prince. But he came from Central Java, from the growing Madjapahit Kingdom, later to rise as a vast empire. That young man saw but a portrait of the Princess, and decided that she must be his; he persuaded his counsellors to go to arms, and the resulting clash brought down Pasundan for ever. But, alas! the fair Princess was also destroyed, and the doughty Prince was left lamenting alone.

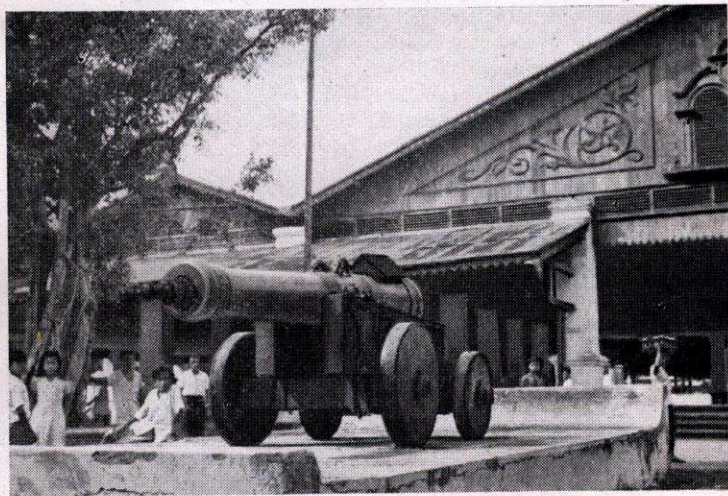
And not only he; old people will tell you that West Java still mourns its lost kingdom and its fair princess, and that all Pasundan singing to this day is tuned to the key of lament.

Come here, and listen on a still, starlit night to Pasundan songs, in a graceful old pillared hall around whose ceiling the bats flitter and the swallows dart, and you will surely be moved by the plaintive note; you will sympathize with the singers who still cry for their lovely princess, slain all those hundreds of years ago.



*DJOGJA: The Famous
Needle in the Centre of
the city at the Crossroad
Tugu — Kranggan —
Djetis — Gondolayo.*

*DJOGJA: Small Cannon
in front of the Kraton*



*DJOGJA: The former
Governor's Mansion where
President Sukarno was
once interned*



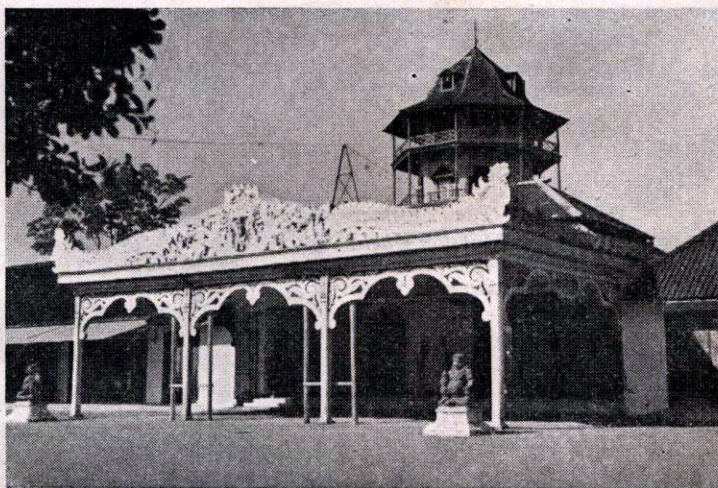


BOGOR: *The Palace seen from one of the Lotus Lakes in the Botanical Garden*

BANDUNG: *The former Governor's mansion*

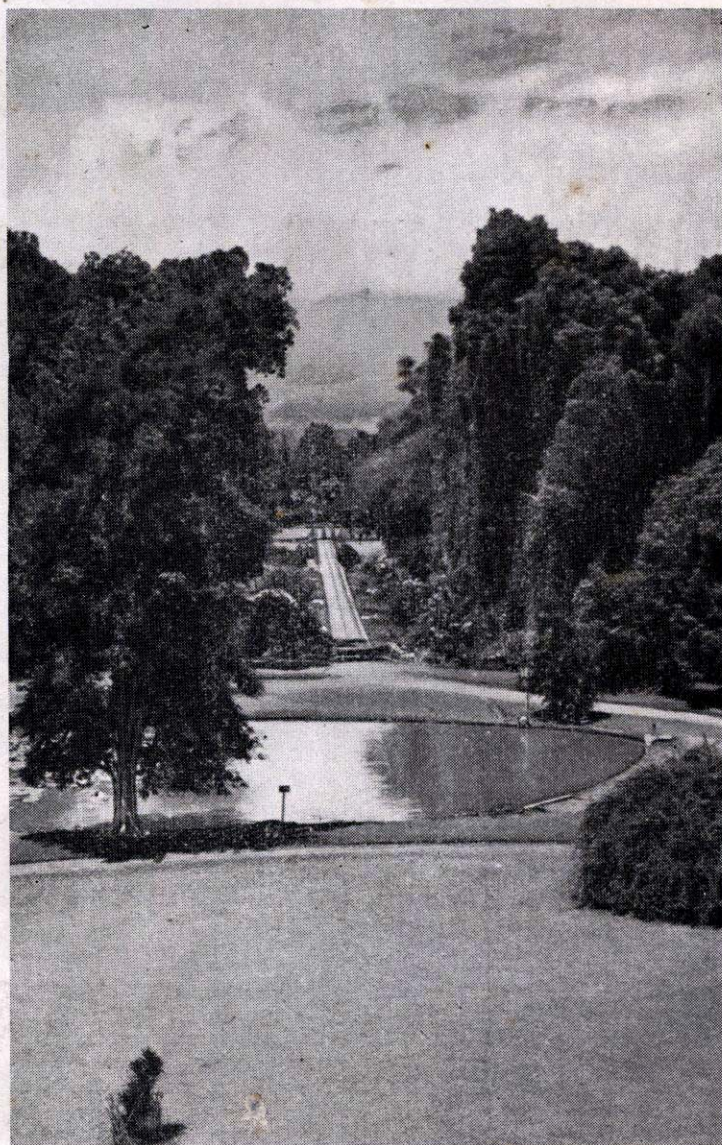


SOLO: *Front of the Kraton*





BOGOR: BOTANICAL GARDEN
A Spathodea Campanulata seen from below



BOGOR: BOTANICAL GARDEN

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