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A Prince *in a* Republic

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THE LIFE OF SULTAN HAMENGKU BUWONO IX
of YOGYAKARTA

**A Prince *in a*
Republic**

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CONTENTS

<i>Foreword by Virginia Hooker</i>	vii
<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>Glossary</i>	xix
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xxiii
<i>Editorial Points Including Notes on Referencing</i>	xxvii
1. Introduction and Theoretical Considerations	1
2. Early Days	28
3. Dorojatun Becomes Sultan	60
4. The Japanese Occupation	95
5. Revolution — First Phase	133
6. Revolution — The Dutch Attack and Aftermath	173
7. The Problems of Independence	213
8. The End of Guided Democracy and the Rise of the New Order	239
9. Hamengku Buwono in the New Order	269
10. Conclusions	304
<i>Bibliography</i>	331

FOREWORD

A FINE BALANCE: THE PROFESSIONAL LIFE OF SULTAN HAMENGKU BUWONO IX

This book is a political biography of Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX (1912–88), one of Indonesia’s most respected founding fathers. Although revered and admired at home and abroad, this is his first biography in English. This is largely because the Sultan was an intensely private person who meticulously guarded his public persona, and information about his life is not readily accessible. In 1971, although he was one of Indonesia’s best-known public figures, the Indonesian daily *Kompas* described him thus:

The Sultan resembles a ‘Sphinx’; he is usually quiet but has charisma. As a long-standing national-level leader, he has the affection of the public, but always maintains his integrity.¹

Writing the biography of such a figure — a royal, an active member of the Suharto and Sukarno administrations, and ruler of his own principality — yet a person who revealed little of himself on the public record, presents any scholar, Indonesian or foreigner, with major challenges. It is hardly surprising, then, that a full critical examination of the Sultan’s life has been long in coming. As his first and final chapters show, Dr Monfries has approached the Sultan’s biography in the full knowledge of these challenges.

Dr Monfries brings to this enterprise an unusual, even unique, set of skills and experience. He graduated from The Australian National University in 1968 with an honours degree in Southeast Asian Studies, specializing in Indonesia and Indonesian language. In late 1967, he applied for entry to the Australian diplomatic service (the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade) and was accepted in 1968. He had a long and distinguished career with postings in Indonesia, as Counsellor in the

Australian Embassy in the Netherlands, and as Australian Commissioner to Brunei. His first trip to Indonesia was in late 1967 when, as a newly graduated student, he witnessed the poverty and desperate condition of post-Sukarno Indonesia and the shock of a population which had experienced mass killings on a scale beyond comprehension.

He was posted to Indonesia as a diplomat between 1969 and 1971 and observed the early years of Suharto's New Order government, a vital period of transition towards economic development, increasing military influence, and enforced political stability. During this posting, Dr Monfries married the talented and vivacious Isti (as she is affectionately known), whose family was closely linked with the ruling line of Yogyakarta. During his diplomatic career, Dr Monfries and his wife returned often to Indonesia and now, in retirement, maintain their close ties with Yogyakarta. Soon after retirement, Dr Monfries returned to academia to start a second career as an active researcher and lecturer.

These experiences, his academic training as a historian, his linguistic skills (Dutch, Indonesian, and some Javanese), and an extensive personal network in Southeast Asia and Europe, have enabled Dr Monfries to access sources and weigh up evidence with admirable skill and judgment. In short, he knows what is needed and he knows where to seek the necessary materials.

Dr Monfries has taken seriously the particular challenge of doing justice to an individual whose culture and background are so different from his own. Conscious that this might be an issue of concern for some readers, he explains how he has responded to this difference.² He has, he tells readers, paid careful attention to facts and sources, "allowing them to lead where they may". As a reader I can say that Dr Monfries has been painstaking in his search for sources and that they have led in some intriguing directions. Materials such as war records in the Netherlands, interviews with prominent Indonesians who worked with the Sultan, diaries of his contemporaries as well as a wealth of public documentation have all contributed to a meticulously assembled analysis of the man and his times. An unexpected source of inside information about the period of transition between the Old and New Order was the unpublished personal observations of long-time Indonesia watcher, the late Professor Herb Feith, included among his personal papers in the National Library of Australia. However, where gaps or uncertainties in the evidence are important for an understanding of Hamengku Buwono's thinking, Dr Monfries acknowledges this and suggests a range of best guesses.

The wide array of sources provides the evidence which underpins the biography, but how has the evidence been used? The lifetime of Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX, father of the present Sultan of Yogyakarta, spans the most significant periods of Indonesian history — from Dutch colonial rule, through the Japanese Occupation of the then Netherlands East Indies, to the bitter struggle for independence, the intense nationalism and chaos of the Sukarno years, the removal of Sukarno and the establishment of Suharto's New Order. The Sultan was, in fact, appointed by Suharto to the long-vacant office of Vice President and served a five-year term between 1973 and 1977. As Dr Monfries notes, "If a list were made in 1940 of the top twenty Indonesian figures in official positions, followed by a similar list in 1975, the only name in common between the two would be Hamengku Buwono IX."³ This continuity of public service at the highest level has given Dr Monfries the opportunity to use the Sultan's life as a window on to his times and, conversely, to situate the Sultan in a range of contexts which have been critical to the shaping of modern Indonesia.

Set against his historical and social context, Dr Monfries analyses the Sultan's public persona using a set of perspectives that together reveal the complexity of his actions and decisions. These perspectives include the concept of power, sacred and political; leadership, royal and political; identity, Javanese and Indonesian; nationalism and the principality of Yogyakarta; democracy working at the national and local levels. It becomes clear that the Sultan was committed to service to a degree that is rare and impressive, but distanced himself from political advancement. Not all his decisions were well founded, and the reasons for this are suggested in the study.

In his discussion of the range of historiographical possibilities on offer to a writer of biography, Dr Monfries mentions the approach of "subaltern" history and, in a lighter vein, adapts the concept to ask "can the Sultan speak?"⁴ He invites readers to judge whether they consider he has been able to use the available sources to enable the Sultan's positions and views to be heard. It is indeed for the reader to make that call. For my own part, I felt that Dr Monfries has convincingly and persuasively used his sources to show how successfully the Sultan preserved his private life. Dr Monfries has read his sources against the grain in a way which reveals the subtle methods the Sultan used to present a particular public persona while maintaining the integrity of his private one. The recognition of the dichotomy, or perhaps better complementarity, between the outer and inner man, is one of the achievements of this biography.

The Sultan's public life, as recorded and analysed so professionally in this book, was finely balanced, deliberately so, in ways which enabled his reputation and his principality to survive intact despite serious challenges. Dr Monfries is to be warmly congratulated for revealing those balances and the means by which they were achieved. Along the way, readers also learn how the Republic of Indonesia came into being and began its journey from developing to developed nation status.

Notes

1. Quoted by Monfries in Chapter 9.
2. See Monfries Chapter 10.
3. See Monfries Chapter 10.
4. Also in Monfries Chapter 10.

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PREFACE

This book is based on my doctoral thesis written at the Australian National University (ANU) several years ago, about the life of Hamengku Buwono IX of Yogyakarta, who was long prominent in Indonesian affairs but had not attracted much scholarly interest from foreigners.

I would like to thank the supervising panel for their care and attention, especially my supervisor Ann Kumar, and the other panel members Virginia Hooker and the late and much-missed Ian Proudfoot. At ANU, I am indebted to various colleagues for much useful advice and dialogue, including my fellow PhD students at the time, Mary Kilcline Cody, Peter Quinn and Mark Emmanuel. David MacRae provided me with a useful information statement for informants, which I used virtually verbatim.

I would also especially like to thank David Reeve, Shigeru Sato, David Jenkins, McComas Taylor, Liudmila Mangos, and Chris Manning and the Indonesia Project. I appreciate the help of Oliver Mann, then of the National Library, and others there, as well as Mrs Betty Feith for permission to examine her late husband's private papers in the Library. My thanks go to Monash University, especially Brenda Le Grand, for access to Herb Feith's public archives in the library there. Particularly warm thanks are due to my wife, Isti Monfries, who helped and supported me in a wide variety of ways.

In Yogyakarta, I have to thank H.H. Hamengku Buwono X for his help and reminiscences of his father, as well as that of several family members, especially G.B.P.H. Prabukusumo, Romo Noordi Pakuningrat and K.R.T. Jatiningrat, Pak Suwignyo and staffers at the Kraton Archives, as well as personnel of the Yogyakarta Special Region Archives, such as Bu Ikrar and Pak Hardo.

In Jakarta, the large numbers of necessary acknowledgements make it difficult to single anyone out, but I should particularly mention the late (and also much missed) Geoffrey Forrester and his partner Peter Kelly, Nono

Anwar Makarim, G.B.P.H. Pakuningrat, and Princess Nindyokirono. My research afforded me the unique opportunity to meet and converse with a number of distinguished older-generation Indonesians, some of whom are now alas deceased. It was a real privilege to meet and interview such figures as the late Sudarpo Sastrosatomo, Rosihan Anwar, Radius Prawiro, Frans Seda and Wijoyo Nitisastro. I also need to express appreciation to Pak D. Ashari, Pak Emil Salim, Pak Mashud Wisnasaputra, and Pak Muchlis Paeni (former Director of the Arsip Nasional). I hope I may be forgiven if some who helped have been overlooked.

I was fortunate enough to make two productive fieldwork visits to the Netherlands, the second on a fellowship from the National War Documentation Institute (NIOD), Amsterdam. I am especially grateful to the staff of the Dutch National Archives, notably Sierk Plantinga and Francine van Anrooy; and also to the NIOD and its Director Hans Blom, as well as several staff members there, such as Peter Post. Others in archive-related positions who helped were H. Verbruggen of the Central Archive Depot, Rijswijk of the Defence Ministry, and Hans Hollander of the Foreign Ministry Library. At KITLV Leiden, I especially wish to thank Rini Hogewoning, and in Haarlem, Florence Koorn of the local archives.

Others in the Netherlands who were most helpful included my former teacher Professor Heather Sutherland, as well as Madelon Djajadingrat-Nieuwenhuis, Mr and Mrs Fred Adam, Pim Westerkamp and Alois Gronert.

It is customary to add that any errors in this book are of course my own; but as and when errors appear, I'm sure I'll find a way to blame someone else.

EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

Terms

In re-examining Javanese ideas of power and kingship and in using Hamengku Buwono IX as an intriguing example of these, I draw on work by Anderson, Geertz, Kumar, Mudjanto, Ricklefs, and Soemarsaid Moertono. As Anderson¹ and others point out, English words like "power", "kingship", "royalty", and "authority" are sometimes difficult to translate

into Indonesian or Javanese, and equivalent terms in those languages are sometimes lacking or shift subtly in meaning. Nevertheless, if we are to review or illuminate the Indonesian and the Javanese political processes, we must attempt to tackle these concepts. In this book, terms commonly used about Indonesian history not surprisingly occur frequently. These include “revolution”, “kingship”, “power”, “influence”, “Gestapu”, “democracy”, “administrators”, and “solidarity-makers”. Some explanation about some of them, including their relationships with equivalent Indonesian terms, is in order. I have tried throughout for example to use the word “Revolution” as a time marker for the historical period 1945–49 — when the Indonesians were seeking political independence from the Dutch — and not to employ the word in any other sense. In Indonesian the equivalent term “*revolusi*” can have this meaning, but can also mean something akin to both “political revolution” and “social revolution”, and terms commonly used for the period under discussion have changed in the interim, e.g., *perang kemerdekaan*, *revolusi kemerdekaan*.²

I prefer to describe the armed actions by the Dutch in 1947 and 1948 as the first and second “attacks”. Indonesian sources commonly call them “Dutch military aggression no 1” and “Dutch military aggression no 2”, while the Dutch government (and some modern scholars) used the phrase “police action”.³ Where available, a neutral term would seem preferable.

During the Revolution, two largely opposing streams of thought emerged among Republicans as to how to deal with the challenges they faced from the Dutch. These are usually described as *diplomasi* and *perjuangan*. I have normally used the Indonesian terms for both of these. It should be noted that *perjuangan* (literally “struggle”) carries an important ambiguity, in that it can imply either violent conflict, or relatively peaceful revolutionary agitation such as demonstrations, posting of placards, holding of meetings, etc.⁴

During the Suharto period, the term “New Order” came into existence. I use this to designate the government of the time and have tried not to use it in other senses. I have avoided using the word “Gestapu”, preferring “30 September Movement”, because the New Order coinage of “Gestapu” carries a strong ideological and emotional charge. Finally, I have also tried to avoid sexist language (e.g., the use of “he” or “his” where a gender-neutral term is needed), but may have not always succeeded in this.

THE SOURCES

The scope, range, and availability of the sources vary according to the period of the subject's life. The inner workings of the Yogyakarta kraton in the 1920s when the young Dorajatun was growing up are especially obscure. In political terms, this may be of little moment because of the kraton's political impotence in the period, but it means no inside story about his early life is available. Sources on his period in the Netherlands are limited to the scanty official records and a few reminiscences long afterwards. Voluminous Dutch official reports on Hamengku Buwono's early period as Sultan are useful, but there are contradictions between these and Hamengku Buwono's later account. The brief memoir by Hamengku Buwono's doctor provides a chatty and informative additional perspective.

The Japanese period is especially poorly documented, a circumstance which perhaps helps to explain why some conventional accounts of the period have gone unchallenged and even unexamined. It is thus more than normally difficult to ascertain the exact relationship between Hamengku Buwono and the Japanese occupiers, although contemporary press accounts are useful in building a picture of Hamengku Buwono's activities in the period. By contrast, Hamengku Buwono's role during the Revolution is reasonably well documented, especially the crisis of 1948–49, although the weight of Dutch material, irreplaceable though it is, may be a distorting factor in some cases. The period as Defence Minister has generated much relevant material, especially the media reports, parliamentary records, eyewitness accounts by major players, and Feith's magisterial work, later qualified in some respects by Sundhaussen. Some judgments on these two periods could be made with a reasonable degree of confidence.

Hamengku Buwono's role in the 1960s and 1970s generated an extensive public record, but the inside story was harder to discern, particularly because many who knew him were reluctant to speak frankly about a figure of such eminence. Only three of the informants were of the same generation as Hamengku Buwono, who was thus very senior to nearly all of them, and this too seemed to intensify the constraints. On the period when Hamengku Buwono was Vice President, much remains unclear, because of the obscurity of the relationship with Suharto at the time and because of the paucity of official records, giving rise to suspicion that much material had been suppressed. Nevertheless, although his own family knew little about his early career, they had some information about the

vice presidency period, and I was also able to obtain some fascinating details from various other informants.

Thus, several informants did speak frankly to me, and I have adopted the practice of referring to them anonymously; they are identified in the footnotes therefore as “Informant no 1”, or similar. This awkward compromise is aimed at avoiding possible embarrassment to them, as some still sensitive issues were canvassed in their remarks.

I have consulted as many of the accessible primary sources as possible, in the Netherlands, Indonesia, and Australia. The latter included the holdings at the ANU, the National Archives of Australia, and the National Library. In Jakarta, I was able to visit the Arsip Nasional, my research assistants obtained further Indonesian-language material from the Indonesian National Library, and I interviewed over thirty Indonesians who had known Hamengku Buwono.

In Yogyakarta, I visited the palace archives and the Yogyakarta Special Region Archives, as well as conducting further interviews. A two-week visit to Cornell University in the United States enabled me to sample some of their extensive material. I visited the Netherlands twice and found invaluable material at the Haarlem Regional Archive, the Nationaal Archief (Dutch National Archives), the Central Archive Depot of the Ministry of Defence, the Military History Institute (IMG), and the War Documentation Institute (NIOD). My knowledge of Indonesian and Dutch eased the task of consulting the relevant archives. Access to sources in Javanese has been more limited, although I have in fact found only a few relevant Javanese-language documents. The bibliography provides a comprehensive list of sources.

Spelling

Except where today’s usage retains the old form, I have changed Indonesian names to reflect the current system of Indonesian orthography; this complies with current trends in Indonesian usage, especially where the name is of a dead person (e.g., the spelling “Syahrir” is now commonly used rather than the old form). For example, Hamengku Buwono’s early name is spelt “Dorojatun” throughout, rather than the former version “Dorodjatoen”. I have also used the official spelling of “Yogyakarta”, illogical though that spelling is (it does not reflect normal pronunciation), rather than “Jogjakarta”. An exception, however, is in the spelling of the

names of authors and book titles (in the footnotes and bibliography), where a change to modern orthography would inhibit ease of reference. The spelling of Dutch words will also reflect modern Dutch spelling, with the same exception. Similarly, where book or article titles use the old spelling of “Jogjakarta” or variants, I have retained that original spelling.

Permissions

The photographs presented here cover all periods in Hamengku Buwono’s life, although coverage is spotty in some cases, especially his early years. I have used some photos that very commonly appear in accounts of his life, but have been fortunate enough to find some that have not previously been published, and in this context, I especially repeat my appreciation to K.R.T. Jatiningrat, and also to the Yogyakarta Regional Archives, for some of the rarer and more interesting images.

Every effort has been made to obtain appropriate permissions for reproduction of the photographs in this volume. In most cases, copyright holders have been approached, and permissions received; and suitable acknowledgements are made in the sections where images are presented. In a few cases, however, especially images from the 1950s or earlier, it has not always been possible to trace whether copyright still holds. In Indonesian law, copyright ceases after fifty years. Images attributed to the “Indonesian Government” are reproduced in accordance with the permission granted under Article 14 of the Indonesian Copyright Law (Law no. 22/2002). Unfortunately, some of the older images are of poor quality; I hope the reader will indulge this unavoidable defect.

A slightly changed version of Chapter 6 of this book, on Hamengku Buwono’s role in the Indonesian Revolution, was published in 2008, as an article entitled “The Sultan and the Revolution”, *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, 164–2/3, 2008, pp. 269–97. I wish to thank Koninklijke Brill N.V. for permission to republish this material.

Finally, I have to express my gratitude to my son Jeremy Monfries, for technical help and advice about the images used here.

Notes

1. Anderson, “The Idea of Power in Javanese Language and Culture”, in *Language and Power*, p. 19.

2. On the various connotations of “revolution”, see Reid’s instructive discussion, *An Indonesian Frontier, Acehnese and Other Histories of Sumatra*, pp. 321–24.
3. Even the massive twenty-five-volume series of Dutch official documents, *Officiele Bescheiden Betreffende Nederlands – Indonesische Betrekkingen 1945–50* (cited throughout as “NIB”) habitually uses the loaded term *politienele actie* — “police action”. See Bibliography.
4. An ambiguity picked up by the editor (Mula Marbun) of Nasution’s massive eleven-volume work *Sekitar Perang Kemerdekaan* (On the War of Independence), who preferred to use *bertempur* (= fighting), implying a sharper distinction with the *diplomasi* approach.

GLOSSARY

(Non-English words not otherwise identified are Indonesian; Jp = Japanese; Jav = Javanese; D = Dutch)

abdi dalem (Jav)	palace retainers
adat	customary law
aksi sefihak	unilateral action
Bale Agung	Supreme Council, colonial-era representative body in Solo
bapak	father, patron; also term of address, equivalent of “Mr”, or “sir”
bhuta (Jav)	ogres
Budi Utomo (Jav)	Noble Endeavour, early semi-nationalist organization
Chuo Sangi-in (Jp)	Central Advisory Council
Dewan Penasihat	advisory council in the colonial era
diplomasi	diplomacy, used during the Revolution to connote negotiations with the Dutch
dukun	mystical adviser, soothsayer
garwo padmi (Jav)	queen, principal wife of a ruler
Gerinda	Jogjakarta regional political party in 1950s
Gestapu	Gerakan September Tiga Puluh — 30 September Movement
Golkar	Golongan Karya — Functional Groups; presented as a government-sponsored alternative to political parties in the New

	Order; survives to the present as a major political party
gotong royong	cooperation
halus	refined
Hokokai (Jp), especially Jawa Hokokai	(Java) Service Association
Joyoboyo	a medieval Javanese prince who supposedly made a series of predictions about Java's future history; the Javanese equivalent of Nostradamus
kabinet ndelik (Jav)	secret cabinet
kabupaten	regency
kasar	coarse, rude
kawula-gusti (Jav)	lord and subject (refers to the bonds linking the Javanese king and his subjects)
kedaulatan rakyat	people's sovereignty
Keibodan (Jp)	auxiliary police
keistimewaan	special status
prinsip kekeluargaan	family principle
Kempeitai	Japanese secret police
kepatihan	vizier's office, i.e., kraton government
kesaktian	charisma
koo or ko (Jp)	prince
kooti or kochi (Jp)	principality
korte verklaring (D)	Short Declaration, document where minor local rulers acknowledged Dutch suzerainty in the colonial era
kraton (Jav)	palace
Kyai Joko Piturun	sacred kris, an important heirloom of the Jogjakarta kraton
Laskar Rakyat	People's Militia
merdeka	independent (kemerdekaan — independence)

negara	state or nation
ngoko	low Javanese
nusa dan bangsa	homeland and people
Nyai Roro Kidul	goddess of the south seas
Pakempalan Kawula Ngayogyakarta (PKN)	Union of Subjects of Jogjakarta
Pakualam	Jogjakarta prince, junior to the Sultan
pamong praja (Jav)	Javanese civil service
Pancasila	Five Principles, Indonesian national ideology
panewu	sub-district head
Patih	colonial-era vizier or prime minister
pemuda	(radical) youth
Pejabat Presiden	Acting President
perang kemerdekaan	War of Independence
perang sabil	holy war (similar to jihad)
perjuangan	struggle
permaisuri (Jav)	queen
Peta	Japanese-era Indonesian army
priyayi	Javanese aristocracy
pusaka	sacred heirloom
Putera	early Japanese-era political organization
Raadsman voor Studeerenden (D)	Student Counsellor, senior official of the Ministry of Colonies
raseksa (Jav)	giant
revolusi	revolution
romusha (Jp)	Japanese-era labourers
sabda pandita ratu ora wola-wali (Jav)	a king's words cannot be taken back
sanyo (Jp)	Indonesian adviser to major government departments
Seinendan (Jp)	army youth auxiliary

Serangan Umum siap!	general offensive (literally) get ready! (denotes the period of a few months after the Proclamation of Independence in 1945)
Somutyokan (Jp)	vizier, equivalent to the Dutch-era Patih
Sunan or Susuhunan	traditional ruler of Solo
tanah sabrang (Jav)	lands across the sea
tapa (Jav)	meditation and self-abnegation
Tentara Pelajar	Student Army
Volksraad (D)	People's Council, the colonial-era representative assembly
Vorstenland (D)	princely state
wahyu (Jav)	divine inspiration, legitimacy
wisik (Jav)	mystical guidance

ABBREVIATIONS

(Note — Abbreviations of the names of some documents or document series commonly cited in the endnotes are provided in the main bibliography.)

ADB	Asian Development Bank
Bapekan	Badan Pengawas Kegiatan Aparatur Negara — State Apparatus Supervising Board
Bappenas	Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional — National Planning Board
BB	Barisan Banteng (Buffalo Legion)
BFO	Bijeenkomst voor Federale Overleg — Federal Consultative Assembly
BPI	Badan Pusat Intelijens— Central Intelligence Body
BPK	Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan — National Audit Board
BPUPKI	Committee to Investigate Preparations for Indonesian Independence
BULOG	Badan Urusan Logistik — Logistics Board
CAD	Centraal Archief Depot (Central Archives Depot), Dutch Ministry of Defence, Rijswijk
CMI	Centrale Militaire Inlichtingsdienst (Central Military Intelligence), the former NEFIS
EKUIN	Ekonomi, Keuangan dan Industri — Economy, Finance, and Industry (ministerial portfolio under the New Order)
GOC	United Nations Good Offices Committee
HBS	Hoogere Burger School — Dutch-era high school

IGGI	Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMG	Instituut voor Militaire Geschiedenis (Institute of Military History), Ministry of Defence, The Hague
KAMI	Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Indonesia — student action front of the 1960s
KNI or KNIP	Komite Nasional Indonesia, Indonesian National Committee (i.e., proto-parliament)
KNID	Komite Nasional Indonesia Daerah (Regional Indonesian National Committee)
KNIL	Netherlands Indies colonial army
KOTI	Komando Operasi Tertinggi — Supreme Operations Command
LBD	colonial-era air raid warning service
LKB	Lembaga Kesadaran Berkonstitusi — Institute of Constitutional Awareness
MPRS	Majelis Permusyawarahan Rakyat Sementara — Provisional People's Consultative Congress
NA	Nationaal Archief (National Archives), The Hague
NAA	National Archives of Australia, Canberra
Nasakom	N asionalis, a gama, k omunis — nationalist, religion, communist; a unifying slogan of Guided Democracy
NEFIS	Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service — later CMI
NICA	Netherlands Indies Civil Administration
NIGIS	Netherlands Indies Government Information Service, English-language radio service in Melbourne, monitoring radio reports from the Indies during the Japanese occupation
NIOD	Nationale Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (National Institute for War Documentation), Amsterdam
NMM	Netherlands Military Mission
NSB	Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging, National-Socialist Movement, the Dutch counterpart to the Nazis

ORI	Oeang Republik Indonesia, Republic of Indonesia currency
Parindra	1930s nationalist party
PI	Perhimpunan Indonesia, Indonesian Association, a 1930s organization of radical Indonesians in the Netherlands
PIR	Partai Indonesia Raya — Greater Indonesia Party
PKI	Communist Party of Indonesia
PKN	Pakempalan Kawula Ngayogyakarta — Union of Subjects of Jogjakarta
PKS	Pakempalan Kawula Surokarto — Union of Subjects of Surakarta (Solo)
PNI	Partai Nasionalis Indonesia — Indonesian Nationalist Party
POPDA	Panitia Oeroesan Pengangkoetan Djepang dan APWI — Committee for the Evacuation of Japanese and Allied Prisoners of War and Internees
PPKI	Committee for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence (Panitya Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia)
PRN	Partai Rakyat Nasional — National People's Party
PRRI	Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia — Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia
PSI	Partai Sosialis Indonesia — Indonesian Socialist Party
RAPWI	Organization for the Recovery of Allied Prisoners of War and Internees
RIS	Republik Indonesia Serikat — United States of Indonesia
RMS	Republik Maluku Selatan — Republic of the South Moluccas
Roepi	Rukun Pelajar Indonesia (Indonesian Students Association), a 1930s organization in the Netherlands
SPRI	Staf Pribadi Republik Indonesia — Republic of Indonesia Private Staff

SSKAD	Sekolah Staf dan Komando Angkatan Darat, army staff command college in Bandung (now with the same name, but different abbreviation — SESKOAD)
Supersemar	surat perintah sebelas Maret — 11 March Order, under which Sukarno ceded executive power to Suharto
SVIK	Student Organisation for the Advancement of Indonesian Culture, a 1930s organization in the Netherlands
TKR	Tentara Keamanan Rakyat (People's Security Army), later TRI — Tentara Rakyat Indonesia — Indonesian People's Army, later TNI q.v.
TNI	Tentara Nasional Indonesia — Indonesian National Army

EDITORIAL POINTS, INCLUDING NOTES ON REFERENCING

Footnotes will normally quote the author's name, the title of the work quoted, and the page number (only). Full details of referenced works, including publisher, place and date of publication, and edition number where applicable can be found in the Bibliography. Where websites are referenced, I have tried consistently to provide the website address, the author's name (if available), the date of the document (if available), and the date the website was accessed.

In the footnotes, in accordance with normal practice, the names of books and journals are italicized, while titles of journal articles are provided in double quotes. I have provided volume numbers and issue numbers for all journal references where available. Translations of the titles of foreign-language texts are also provided in the footnotes, as well as in the Bibliography. Some sources are so commonly cited that their names are abbreviated in the footnotes (e.g., *TUR* for *Tahta untuk Rakyat*); in these cases, the full title and author's name are given at the beginning of the chapter, with an indication of the abbreviation to be used thereafter. A list of these abbreviations is in the Bibliography.

Foreign-language words (e.g., *revolusi*, *kooti*, or *Vorstenland*) are italicized the first time they appear in each chapter, but not thereafter.

