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Towards the Indonesian Republic

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Towards the Indonesian Republic

Marxist Lineages in the National Revolution

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My interest in Indonesia goes back to my first travels through the archipelago in the late 1960s as a student of Indonesian studies at Melbourne University. To acknowledge my late teachers of that era, I simply mention the names of Hendrata, Muhammad Slamet, J.P. Sarumpaet and J.A.C. Mackie. Similarly, at the University of Queensland, I acknowledge the support given by Chr. L.M. Penders and Ulf Sundhaussen, a student of Herbert Feith at Monash University (and I would follow in his wake). To these names, I would add the late Harold Crouch, who initiated me into some of the intricacies of civil-military relations in Southeast Asia. Further in my career, I would teach Indonesia at the University of New South Wales; the National University of Singapore, in part with local expert Leo Suryadinata; Universiti Brunei Darussalam (where I taught regional history in Malay); and, in an international relations context, at Nagasaki University in Japan. Mostly written during the Covid pandemic, I faced several constraints. In this sense, I am obliged to James Cotton, a distinguished scholar of Australian diplomatic history, not only for passing on hard-to-access sources, but also for a long conversation on regional affairs. In Japan, I acknowledge the support of my wife Chieko, who accompanied me on several visits to Indonesia, including occupied East Timor in great adversity. I acknowledge the support of Ng Kok Kiong, Director of the ISEAS Publishing Division, for arranging a reading of the manuscript by the external referees, to whom I am also grateful for sharing their expert knowledge and critiques. In the same

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My only connection—however vicarious—with the cast of individuals about which I have profiled in this work, is to have met in Jakarta in August 1968 the surviving family of Soekarno's unofficial nationalist historian and acclaimed progenitor of the Pancasila, Muhammad Yamin. As Yamin was long deceased, his widow gave me the run of her late husband's spacious private library, offering me copies of several of his books, which included *Sang Merah-Putih*, Yamin's blueprint for a Greater Indonesia based upon real and fictive historical empires.[1] An early Tan Malakaist himself, I regret that his biographical work, *Tan Malaka Bapak Republik Indonesia/karya Muhammad Yamin*, was not among the gifts.[2] With the Soeharto New Order witch hunt for underground Soekarno loyalists, surviving communist party members and other "enemies" still under way, neither did we discuss politics much or at all. On one visit to this patrician household, an assembled gamelan orchestra changed the mood and drowned out conversation anyway.

Notes

1. Muhammad Yamin, *Sang Merah-Putih: jaitu hasil-penjelidikan sedjarah dan arti jang dikandung Sang Merah-Putih sebagai warna-Kebangsaan dan bendera-negara Republik Indonesia* (Djakarta: Pertjetakan Dharma, 1951).
2. Muhammad Yamin, *Tan Malaka bapak Republik Indonesia/karya Muhammad Yamin* (Jakarta: Yayasan Massa, 1981).

Note on Archival Sources

Astute readers will observe that I have consulted a range of archival sources. The blanket term "Netherlands archives" goes far beyond Dutch-language materials to include translations into English, including intelligence sharing with Allies. The official Netherlands Archives, or Nationaal Archief, also incorporates large segments of British, Australian and US archives, from which tens of thousands of pages are currently accessible online. For several chapters, I also consulted the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI), which has a vast collection of Communist International (Comintern) documents. Only becoming accessible to researchers on-site in 1992, and subsequently made accessible online, such documentation simply wasn't available to an earlier generation of researchers on Indonesian communism. Russian is the default language, but documents relating to Indonesia may also appear in Bahasa, Dutch, German, English, French or other languages. A single document may sometimes appear in multiple translations. Authorship, provenance and dates may not always be clear, and the use of pseudonyms doesn't help the reader either. For the record, the date range for Indonesia in the RGASPI archive appears to be limited to 1919–34, and many other documents remain classified or inaccessible.

Note on Orthography

To strike a note on orthography, I have adhered to the spelling of Indonesian names in the manner most commonly used in the pre-war period. And so the name of the communist boss on Java, Sardjono, remains true to his times, and that holds for Soekarno and Soeharto. Sometimes I have had to strike a standard, as with Musso (Moeso; Muso), Semaun (Samoean, Semuan, etc.) or Sarekat (Sarikat). Adding to the complexity, reports entering Comintern archives reveal that the Indonesians in Moscow had already adopted their simplified spelling system for Indonesian names, as with Ir. Sukarno or Dr Sutomo (but they were not consistent). I have also retained the original spelling of the titles of books and other published material from that era. But for place names, I have run with *ejaan baru*, or new spelling, and so I render Djakarta as Jakarta.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AAS	Archief Algemene Secretarie van de Nederlands-Indische
Acoma	(Akoma) Angkatan Comunis Muda
ACZNI	Archief van de Commandant Zeemacht in Nederlands-Indië
AI	Afscheid van Indië
Aintel	Archief van de Marine en Leger Inlichtingendienst, Netherlands
ANOM	Archives Nationales Outre-Mer
ANRI	Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia
API	Angkatan Pemuda Indonesia (Indonesia Youth Force)
APWI	Allied Prisoners of War and Internees
BBI	Barisan Buruh Indonesia (Worker's Formation)
BBRI	Barisan Banteng Republic Indonesia (Republic of Indonesia Buffalo Corps)
Beppan	Sanbobu Tokubetsu-han (General Staff Special Section)
BKR	Badan Keamanan Rakyat (People's Security Organization)
BOMPA	Badan Oentuk Membentoek Pertahanan Asia (Body to Support the Defence of Asia)

BPRI	Barisan Pemberontakan Republic Indonesia (Forces of the Indonesian People's Rebellion)
BPUPKI	Badan Penyelidik Tentang Persiapan Usaha-Usaha Kemerdekaan Indonesia (Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Independence)
BU	Budi Utomo (Boedi Oetomo)
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CENKIM	Central Committee of Indonesian Independence
Comintern	Communist International
CP	communist party
CPA	Communist Party of Australia
CPH	Communistische Partij Holland (Dutch Communist Party)
CPN	Communistische Partij Nederland (Netherlands Communist Party)
CRA	Commander Royal Artillery
CRD	Centrale Raad Digul (Central Council Digul)
CSI	Central Sarekat Islam
DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (House of Representatives)
ECCI	Executive Committee of the Communist International
FCP	French Communist Party
FDR	Front Demokrasi Rakyat (People's Democratic Front)
GAPI	Gabungan Politik Indonesia (Indonesian Political Association)
Geraf	Gerakan Rakyat Anti-fasis (Anti-fascist Popular Movement)
Geram	Gerakan Rakyat Merdeka (Free People's Movement)
Gerindo	Gerakan Rakyat Indonesia (Indonesian People's Movement)
Gerpolek	Gerilya-Politik-Ekonomi
GPII	Gerakan Pemuda Islam Indonesia
GPP	Gabungan Pembelah Proklamasi
GRR	Gerakan Revolusi Rakyat (People's Revolutionary Movement)

HBS	Hogere Burgerschool (Higher Civic School)
HIS	Hollandsch-Indisch School (Dutch School for Natives)
IPO	Overzicht van de Inlandsche Pers (Overview of the Native Press)
ISDV(A)	Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereeniging (Indies Social Democratic Association)
KNI	Komite Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Committee)
KNIL	Koninklijk Nederlands Indisch Leger (Royal Netherlands Indies Army)
KNIP	Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat (Central Indonesian National Committee)
KPM	Koninklijke Paketvaart-Maatschappij
Lekra	Lembaga Kebudajaan Rakyat (Institute for the People's Culture)
Masyumi	Madjelis Sjuro Muslimin Indonesia (Indonesia Muslims Consultative Council)
MCP	Malayan Communist Party
MPR	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People's Consultative Assembly)
MULO	Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs (advanced [post] primary education)
NA	Nationaal Archief Netherlands
NAA	National Archives of Australia
NAI	National Archives of India
NAS	Nationaal Arbeids-Secretariaat (National Labour Association)
NEFIS	Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service
NEI	Netherlands East Indies
NICA	Nederlandsch-Indische Civiele Administratie (Netherlands Indies Civil Administration)
NIOD	Instituut voor Oorlogs-, Holocaust- en Genocidestudies
OSVIA	Opleidingschool Voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren (Training school for native civil servants)
PARI	Partai Republik Indonesia (Indonesian Republican Party)

PARI	Proletaria Aslia Republik Internasional (from September 1945)
Parinda	Partai Rakyat Indonesia (Indonesian People Party)
Parpim	Partai Politik Indonesia Maluku
Partindo	Partij Indonesia (Indonesian Party)
PBI	Partai Boeroeh Indonesia (Indonesia Labour Party)
Permi	Persatuan Islam Indonesia (Union of Indonesian Muslims)
Pesindo	Pemoeda Sosialis Indonesia (Indonesian Socialist Youth)
PETA	Pembela Tanah Air (Defenders of the Fatherland)
PI	Perhimpunan Indonesia (Indonesia Association)
PID	Politieke Inlichtingendienst (Political Information Service)
PKH	Perserikatan Komunis di Hindia (Communist Union in the Indies)
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party)
PNI	Partai Nasionalis Indonesia (Indonesian Nationalist Party)
PNI-Baru	Pendidikan National Indonesia Baru (Indonesian National Education-New)
Poetera	Pusat Tenaga Rakyat (Concentration of People's Energy)
PP	Persatuan Perjuangan (Fighting Front)
PPKI	Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence)
PPM	Persatuan Pegawai Minjak (Oil Workers Union)
PPPKI	Permoefatan Perhimpoenan-Perhimpoenan Politiek Kebangsaan Indonesia (Consensus of Indonesian Political Associations)
PPTUS	Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat
PRI	Pemuda Republik Indonesia
Profintern	Red International of Labour Unions
PS	Partai Socialis (Socialist Party)

PSII	Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Islamic Union Party)
RAPWI	Recovery of Allied Prisoners of War and Internees
RGASPI	(РГАСПИ) Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History
Sapelindo	Sarekat Pelayar Indonesia (Indonesian Seaman's Union)
SBBE	Serikat Buruh Bengkel Elektro (Union of Metallic and Electrical Workers)
SBG	Serikat Boeruh Goela (Sugar Workers' Union)
SEAC	South East Asia Command
SI	Sarekat Islam (Islamic Association)
SKBI	Serikat Kaoem Boeroeh Indonesia (Union of Indonesia Workers)
SOBSI	Sentral Organisasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia (Central All-Indonesian Workers Organization)
SPLI	Sarekat Pegawai Laut Indonesia (Indonesian Seaman's Union)
SPPL	Sarekat Pegawai Pelabuhan dan Lautan (Seamen, Dockers, and Harbour Workers Union)
SR	Sarekat Rakyat (People's Association)
SWPA	South West Pacific Area
Tapol	Tahanan Politik (political prisoner)
TKR	Tentara Keamanan Rakyat (People's Security Force)
TKR	Tentara Keselamatan Rakyat (People's Safety Force)
TNI	Tentara Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Army)
TRI	Tentara Republik Indonesia (Indonesia Republic Army)
VOC	Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company)
VSTP	Vereeniging van Spoor- en Tramwegpersoneel (Serikat Buruh Kereta Api dan Trem) (Railroad and Tram Workers' Union)

Glossary

A: Arabic C: Chinese D: Dutch I: Indonesian,
M: Malay J: Japanese Jv: Javanese S: Sanskrit

adat istiadat (I)	custom law; tradition
agama (I/M)	religious teaching
aliran (I/M)	stream
arek (Jv)	local-born
ayat (A/I)	Quranic verse
bahasa (I/M)	language
bambu runtjing (I/M)	lit. sharpened bamboo spear
bangsa (I/M)	nation
barisan (I/M)	formation; troop
Bukanfu (J)	Naval Liaison Bureau
bumi hangus (I/M)	scorched earth
bumiputra (I/M)	natives
bung (I)	brother
butai (J)	force; brigade
ceramah (I/M)	lectures
Chuo Sangi-In (J)	Central Advisory Council

Dai Toa Kensetsu Undo (J)	Movement for the Building of Greater East Asia
dalang (I/M)	wayang puppet master
Darul Islam (A/I/M)	lit. "House" of Islam
desa (I/M)	village
diplomasi (I/M)	diplomacy, especially as a tactic to achieve independence
dokuritsu (J)	independence
Dokuritsu Junbi Iinkai (J)	Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence
Domei (J)	Japanese news agency
ejaan baru (I/M)	new spelling
exorbitante rechten (D)	special law privileging executive action
fatwa (A)	juridical decision
fujinkai (J)	women's association
gerakan (I/M)	movement
golongan (I/M)	groups
gotong royong (Jv/I)	reciprocal labour; mutual assistance
gunseikanbu (J)	military administration headquarters
guru (I/M)	teacher
haatzaai (D)	incitement to hatred
heiho (J)	auxiliary forces
hijrah (A)	migration; journey of prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina
Hisbu'llah (A/I/M)	Army of Allah; Masyumi armed auxiliary
hokokai (J)	patriotic service leagues
hoofdbestuur (D)	central committee
huruf Arab (A/I/M)	Arabic script; Jawi
ianfu (J)	comfort women; sex slaves

ilmu (A/I/M)	knowledge
jago (I/M)	fighting cock; champion
jihad (A/I/M)	struggle; holy war
kaigun (J)	navy
kampong (I/M)	village
kawan (S/M)	friend; comrade
kecamatan (I/M)	district
Kempeitai (J)	Japanese military police
kiai (I/M)	title for Muslim scholar
kromo (Jav)	language of the masses of ordinary people
lasjkar (I/M)	militia
laskar (I/M)	partisans; guerrillas
merantau (I/M)	journeying; wandering
merdeka (I/M)	free; independence
murid (I/M)	pupil
Nakano-gakko (J)	Nakano (intelligence) school
naraka (S/I/M)	hell
Nationale Staat (D)	nation-state
naturalisten (D)	naturalist
negara (I/M)	state
ningrat (I/M)	bourgeois; aristocratic
nyai (I/Jv)	concubine
pahlawan (I/M)	hero
pamong praja (Jv)	servants of the realm; native officials
Pancasila (S/I)	five foundational principles
pangerans (I/M)	nobles; representatives of the traditional rulers
panglima besar (I/M)	great commander
pangreh praja (Jv)	indigenous administrative corps
pelopor (I/M)	vanguard; pioneer

pemuda (I/M)	youth
penghancuran (I/M)	lit. the process of crushing; psychological demoralization
penghinaan (I/M)	lit. humiliation; sell-out
penindasan (I/M)	repression
penjajahan (I/M)	colonialism
peranakan (I/M)	mixed blood
pergerakan (I/M)	national anti-colonial movement
perjuangan (I/M)	struggle; connected with the revolutionary period
persdelict (D)	press offence articles of the Penal Code
pesantren (I/M)	Islamic boarding school
pesisir (I/M)	Java north coast
petani (I/M)	peasant
poenale sanctie (D)	criminal breach of contract
pondok (I/M)	Islamic boarding school
pribumi (I/M)	natives
priyayi (Jv)	nobility; upper class
proklamasi (I/D)	proclamation
raja (I/M)	ruler; king
rakyat (I/M)	people
rakyat jelata (I/M)	common people
rampokkers (D, I)	robbers; looters (from *rampok*, meaning to rob)
romusha (J)	labour mobilized by Japanese
rukun tani (I/M)	village cooperatives
rust en orde (D)	peace and order
santri (I/M)	member of devout Islamic community
sayap kiri (I/M)	left-wing political factions
seinendan (J)	youth organization
semangat (I/M)	spirit

sesepuh, (I/M)	elder council
Shu Sangi-kai (J)	Regional Advisory Body
siap (I/M)	watch out; get ready
somubu (J)	general affairs
sukarela (I/M)	volunteers
surat warisan (I/M)	testament
syutyo or shityo (J)	city office
tanah ayer (I/M)	native land
tani (I/M)	contraction of *petani*, peasant
tengku (teuku) (I/M)	Malay title; member of nobility
Tokkeitai (J)	naval police
ulama (I/M)	Muslim theologian
ummat (I/M)	community of believers
Volksraad (D)	People's Council
warok (Jv)	guide; martial arts practitioners
wong cilik (Jv)	ordinary people; masses
zaman (A/I/M)	time; period; age; epoch

Introduction

Less than two years after the end of the Japanese occupation of the former Netherlands East Indies (NEI), the founding president and co-founder with Mohammad Hatta of the Republic of Indonesia, Soekarno, offered a short address that was pregnant with meaning. The venue was a congress of student radicals, and the date was 24 April 1947—just two months before a full-scale Dutch military assault upon the beleaguered Republic. As Soekarno stated,

> When justice is chained, there arises a movement which shall gradually become greater. In 1926 the communist revolution broke out. Possibly there are members of your family who, during these days, were exiled to Digul by the Dutch or even worse were hanged.

This was a reference to a series of uprisings in West Java and West Sumatra in late 1926 to early 1927 that were crushed within days by the Dutch colonial forces, following which captives were dispatched to Boven Digul, a prison camp in remote West New Guinea.

> During those times the Partai National Indonesia knew nothing of retreat. In 1929 again a revolution broke out. Thousands of our leaders were exiled to Digul. But still, our people knew nothing of retreat.

In mentioning the Partai National Indonesia (PNI)—the political party he founded after the failure of the 1926–27 rebellions—Soekarno is referring here to his own arrest, imprisonment and trial that led to the dissolution of the party. Skipping over the three-and-a-half years of

the Japanese occupation, under which he gained his freedom, he then referred to the historic—albeit vexed—proclamation of Indonesian independence of 17 August 1945 by himself and Hatta. Adapting the tone of his address to the audience, he continued:

> And then came 1945 and, through us, the freedom of Indonesia was proclaimed. Lenin was called by the Russians the great general of revolutions. Who would ever have thought that following the Second World War, Indonesia would become independent?

The backdrop to his speech was the chaotic period under which nationalist forces and militias confronted the Allied forces charged to accept the Japanese surrender. Soekarno also flagged the Linggadjati Agreement of 15 November 1946 as "the springboard for the fight". Under this agreement, the Dutch recognized the de facto authority of the Republic in Java, Madura and Sumatra, albeit neither side was happy with the outcome and the Dutch brought in armed reinforcements in an attempt to reimpose colonial rule.[1]

As it played out, it would be another two years of *perjuangan* (lit. struggle) or guerrilla warfare and skirmishing with Dutch forces punctuated by diplomatic interventions before the Republic gained *de jure* international recognition of its sovereignty as an independent nation, going on to become a leader of the Non-Aligned bloc of nations, signalling yet another *zaman*, or era, of no less historic import. The Dutch fell in line but, until this writing, The Hague has failed to recognize 17 August 1945 as Indonesia's day of independence, as opposed to 27 December 1949, when the Netherlands formally handed over sovereignty. With the war of independence thought to have cost over a hundred thousand Indonesian lives, it has taken practically seven decades before public opinion in the Netherlands forced a re-evaluation of this wrenching period of Indonesia's national history (this is discussed in the book's conclusion).

To be sure, anti-colonial nationalism was not a monopoly of those inspired by the Bolshevik revolution, as even Soekarno appeared to acknowledge. In its sprawling tropical possession, the Dutch had long confronted rebellions, such as those that simmered in Aceh practically over centuries, or, no less rousing for the population at the time, the rebellion by the Javanese prince Diponegoro (Dipanagara) of 1825–30.[2] With the founding in the early twentieth century of several such proto-nationalist associations, anti-colonial nationalism continued to draw upon deep-rooted cultural and religious drives. Even among the small cadre of Indonesians who graduated through the Dutch school system, either in the Indies or in the Netherlands, anti-colonial nationalism still

found strong support from reformist and/or social democrat elements antithetical to the Leninist project. Importantly, from 1914, Dutch socialists residing in the NEI would seed the first political groupings that, by the end of the decade, would morph into a communist organization with local members on board before emerging in May 1920 as the Perserikatan Komunis di Hindia, the first communist grouping in Asia beyond the former Russian empire.[3] As well noted in the literature, and as described in this book, the vicissitudes of the communists in their struggle to win over the majority Muslim population—such as represented by the dominant Sarekat Islam movement—make up a major strand in the early history of the anti-colonial movement in Indonesia. Nevertheless, colonial suppression of the communist movement by the Dutch authorities in 1926–27 appeared to offer new opportunities for Soekarno, as with his allusion to the creation of the PNI, as well as the return to Indonesia of former Netherlands-based nationalists around Hatta and the younger socialist Soetan Sjahrir. Yet, when it came to the Japanese occupation, out of which all sides saw the promise of change, the two co-proclaimers of the republic demonstrated their willingness to collaborate with Japanese militarists when Japan removed the Dutch from power and harnessed the archipelago to its own industrial and political needs.

As Soekarno acknowledged, and as this book brings to the fore, Indonesia's independence struggle was a "long road" and not just a gift of Japan, much less a putsch or outcome of a Leninist-style revolution. Whereas in North Vietnam a highly disciplined nationalist-communist army around Ho Chi Minh levered itself into power at the moment of the Japanese capitulation in large part by co-opting or rolling over traditional leadership, the contrast could not have been greater in Indonesia. In the former Dutch colony, power devolved to the Japanese collaborationist duo of Soekarno and Hatta backed by the radical *pemuda*, or youth group, joined by the socialist-inclined underground Soetan Sjahrir, along with the crypto-communist Amir Sjarifoeddin, freshly released from a Japanese prison. Charged with disarming the Japanese, rescuing prisoners, imposing law and order and, as initially conceived, facilitating the restoration of Dutch colonial rule, arriving Allied forces were met by militant nationalists, some of them armed with Japanese weapons, even before a suspected Dutch invasion. In other words, there was no "decolonization" in the language of post-war international relations parlance (at least until the United Nations stepped in)—and more the pity given the huge human and material losses suffered in Indonesia's war of independence, and the

comparison can be made with the post-war attempt by the French to restore the colonial status quo ante in Indochina. Yet, at the time—and with some justice—the illegality of the Japanese-sponsored declaration of independence and the defence of it rankled the Dutch and the Allies.

Such was the degree of violence met by the arriving Allied forces in the North Java coastal cities of Jakarta (then known as Batavia), Surabaya and Semarang that they were obliged to re-evaluate their mission plan, just as mass support for the Republic was overwhelming from across the political spectrum, including on the part of the pro-Moscow communists, who were just beginning to make their presence felt after violent repression by both the Dutch and the Japanese. How such scenes played out in different parts of Java or the Outer Islands has been the subject of much introspection and scholarship. At a juncture when the Republic could not impose centralized military command, all the political tendencies—Muslim and secular, not excluding nationalist-communists around Tan Malaka—supported their own militia forces. With socialists around Sjahrir and communists around Amir Sjarifoeddin joining the first Republican cabinets, the latter would return phoenix-like to centre stage. But with the return of such communist veterans as Sardjono arriving from Australia, Alimin Prawirodirdjo arriving from China, and Musso arriving from Moscow, the tensions between the Moscow-aligned current and the nationalist-communists sharpened dramatically just as old wounds were reopened, and with both communist wings setting up rival fronts and armed partisans.

The subjects of this work are individuals, invariably male, with most born around the end of the nineteenth century or in the first decade of the twentieth century. Without ignoring the Western-trained intellectuals who eventually inherited power in the newly proclaimed Republic, a particular focus of this book is upon a parallel group of mostly autodidact actors who were no less intellectually productive in their writings and translations and no less skilled in mobilizing mass political parties and associations towards a shared goal—namely, freedom from Dutch colonial rule and the implantation of a republican form of government in a new nation-state based on the right of colonial succession.[4] Dutch repression weighed even heavier upon the avowed communists than the reformists, sending the former into semi-permanent exile in Holland or Moscow, where they were not cast into a gulag of prisons—of which Boven Digul was the most notorious—following the failed rebellions of 1926–27. With the transportation of the Digulists, as they were known, to Australia in 1943 ahead of the Japanese advance, it was a

strange quirk of fate that Soekarno, Hatta, Sjahrir and Amir were not part of this cohort (and this was at a time when the white population of the Indies was incarcerated and with the Japanese eager to capture and manipulate the anti-Dutch native elite).

Certainly, various historiographic traditions contend in the writing of the Indonesian National Revolution, some stressing the role of Islam, others the army, others "nationalism" or some broad notion of anti-colonialism, others regional studies or even political biographies. By contrast, my research explores yet another dimension latent in the literature but seldom made explicit. Namely, this work brings to the fore the salience of the schism in the Indonesian communist movement between pro-Moscow loyalists of the Indonesian Communist Party (or Partai Komunis Indonesia, PKI) and those "national communists" that reach back to the 1920s, which survived even the Japanese occupation and surfaced in the throes of the National Revolution. At the heart of the schism, this book will argue, lay contrasting visions of revolutionary tactics, the salience of Islam in an Islamic majority society, the vexed question of alliance between leftists and "bourgeois" nationalist forces, and even the concept and definition of state and national ideology. As such, we cannot ignore the lineages of Indonesian Marxism in the National Revolution that trace their roots to pioneer actions by Dutch socialists and communists on Java, themselves influenced by the Bolshevik Revolution. While looking ahead vaguely to an Indonesia without the Dutch in control or some kind of *merdeka* (independence), once the concept of an Indonesian Republic entered the vocabulary of some, such as articulated by Tan Malaka, it would carry through to a new vision of state once the key actors and their mass support bases from among the broader population were released from the Japanese occupation by the Allied victory. Precisely, it is the daunting influence of Marxism such as both touched and inflamed the National Revolution with which this book is concerned.

The Political Cultural Landscape

Notwithstanding its Muslim plurality, with some eighty-six per cent of the population professing Islam, the sprawling archipelagic nation is host to a bewildering number of ethnic and religious minorities, including ethnic Chinese (many of them Christian) alongside Hindu Balinese, Christians (Protestant and Catholic) and a large substratum following animist beliefs. Even amongst Muslims, distinctions can be made, as in the classic study by the American anthropologist Clifford Geertz. Setting aside a miniscule *priyayi*, an aristocratic-bureaucrat class

that had mostly been co-opted by the Dutch, Geertz identified two major cultural-religious-sociological *aliran*, or streams, that described Muslims on Java—namely, the more orthodox believers (sometimes called *santri*) versus those of a tradition closer to or syncretic with indigenous practices and beliefs.[5] Sometimes called *abangan*, this latter group largely encompasses the rural masses of densely populated Java, with Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese being the largest ethnolinguistic groups on the island. It is also a fact that, having undergone an indigenization process, Islam was traditionally received in Indonesia in less militant ways than in the Middle East.

In any case, organized Islam, which spearheaded the early anti-colonial struggle in the former Dutch colony, was overshadowed by the early communist movement around Semaun and Tan Malaka and the non-communist nationalists around Soekarno. After independence, political Islam emerged in the form of two major rival Islamic parties, Masyumi and Nahdlatul Ulama, roughly equal in strength and thus weakening their political clout at the national level. Manipulated by the Japanese, Islam did take on a political form in West Java under the Darul Islam movement launched in May 1948, with echoes reaching to today, but—with the capture and execution of the movement's leader, the Islamic mystic Kartosuwiryo, in 1962—the state also drew boundaries around its founding principles.[6]

Notably, in a speech entitled "Lahirnyna Pancasila" (the birth of Panca Sila), delivered on 1 June 1945—even before the declaration of independence—Soekarno set out his concept of a national ideology based upon indigenous principles and reflecting the syncretic nature of Javanese Hindu-Buddhist-Muslim traditions. As the printed version of this speech reveals, he went out of his way to develop an inclusivist concept of state. Addressing Muslim leaders and proponents of an Islamic state along with his Islamic brethren, he stated,

> Ma'aafkan saja memakai 'kebangsaan' ini! Sajapun orang Islam. Tetapi saja minta kepada saudara-saudara, djanganlah saudara-saudara salah faham djikalau saja katakan bahawa dasar pertama buat Indonesia ialah dasar kebangsaan.
>
> (Pardon, I am using the term 'people' in this instance! I am certainly a Muslim. But I ask my sisters and brothers, do not misunderstand me if I state that the fundamental basis of Indonesia is nationality.)[7]

In other words, in declaiming himself a Muslim, he also pointed out that the basis of a *Nationale Staat*, or nation-state, was *bangsa* (nation), not Islam, not Christianity, or any other religion. On 18 August 1945, Soekarno's Pancasila entered the preamble of the new

nation's constitution.[8] However, it also negated the Islamic concept of a theocratic state, leading to major challenges that still simmer. Nevertheless, continuing under Soekarno's successors, the Pancasila serves as an amorphous national ideology that has been the touchstone of Indonesian identity until the present.[9]

Intra-imperialist Rivalry and the Economic Landscape

The doctrine of anti-colonialism is not only one of reclaiming political sovereignty but also an economic one. Once the first arriving Westerners in the eastern archipelago put down roots in establishing foreign-controlled enclaves—notoriously under the Dutch East India Company (VOC) regime—a process of unequal exchange set in with forced deliveries, indentured labour and other defining elements that would stimulate the first acts of resistance long before the modern era. But, with colonial "pacification" having mostly been achieved, and with export-oriented production under the plantation system (which included rubber, tea, coffee and other agricultural products) being firmly established, along with the archipelago's natural riches (including tin and petroleum) harnessed by foreign capital, the NEI became a byword for the extroverted character of the economy. Late colonial Indonesia also became an object of attention by Western economists seeking to explain such phenomenon as, for example, J.H. Boeke's theory of "dual economy", implying the emergence of a modern export economy versus a laggard labour-intensive traditional economy.[10] Not all the capital investments in the NEI were Dutch, but they were intermeshed with other foreign capital, with considerable percentages owned by British, American and Franco-Belgian interests. While 75 per cent of the oil industry was in the hands of Royal Dutch Shell, the corporate roots of which go back to pioneering efforts in Borneo, still 40 per cent of shares in the company were British-controlled, and the remaining portion was controlled by the US major, Standard Vacuum Oil Company (with its major refinery in southern Sumatra).[11] By contrast, less than 2 per cent of total investment in the economy was contributed by national capital. At the time when communist circles entered debates on the political economy of the NEI, it was noted that, unlike the case of India, Indonesia scarcely hosted a national bourgeoisie. Until today, political economists debate the scale of "colonial surplus"—income transferred overseas from the Dutch colony.[12]

Japanese imperialism was no less rapacious, with Indonesia's natural resources and riches well surveyed even before the invasion, and with the seizure of these resources and assets achieved in a major display

of military planning and execution. As Howard Dick explains, the Japanese economic penetration of the NEI between the outbreak of World War I and the Pacific War involved a "dramatic shift in the balance of economic power".[13] The contest over Indonesia's still largely untapped mineral and forest resources also entered the equation during the National Revolution, especially on the part of the communists, who looked to the nationalization of foreign investments, as opposed to the moderates, who pledged to work in partnership with foreign capital, albeit under new rules. With the Cold War already in full flight, voices on the side of Moscow would decry the interference of Anglo-Dutch and American interests in seeking a restoration of the colonial status quo ante (and, with the Dutch forces equipped with US military material support at the time, they waged their full-scale re-invasion).

Approaches

Undeniably, the Dutch pioneered archaeological, linguistic and ethnological studies as part and parcel of their administrative project, and I shall allude to some of these sources. Post-war, however, a succession of social scientists, mostly North American, produced a compelling analytic around which to comprehend Javanese culture, identity and even political loyalty (as with the Geertzian analysis of *aliran*, in turn replayed in myriad works). Others include Cornell University scholar Benedict Anderson, who researched questions of power in Javanese society and penned a now standard study of the National Revolution on Java. As he demonstrated, traditional Javanese culture offered a systematic and logical explanation of political behaviour quite independent of—or even opposing—Western political beliefs. In his view, power is seen to flow out of a concentrated centre and not from a diffuse perimeter, and ministerial behaviour should reflect the wishes of the former rather than the latter. Such helps to explain why Javanese came to accept authoritarian figures like Soekarno and his successor as president, General Soeharto, and power groups outside of the "rational-legal" structure of the bureaucracy.[14]

It is somewhat paradoxical that we know more about the suppression of Indonesian communism inside the Dutch colony following abortive rebellions in 1926 than the years when the leadership gravitated to Europe, Moscow or China some five years earlier. To be sure, while such authors as Arnold Brackman,[15] Ruth McVey[16] and Harry A. Poeze[17] have examined extensively the history of Indonesian communism from its origins, it has only been in the last decade or so that a full suite of documentation from former Soviet archives touching

upon Indonesian leadership struggles of the 1920s and 1930s has come to light (although, as far as I know, this has not yet been examined systematically). This documentation is important not only in revealing Soviet critiques of the premature rebellions but also in offering a fresh optic upon the "world in motion", or the *zaman bergerak*, such as evoked by Shiraishi Takeshi in his study of "popular radicalism".[18]

Issues of translation were necessary for the Indonesian communists to reach an audience in a standard code, and, as Oliver Crawford has demonstrated, so was transliteration.[19] Given extremely low levels of literacy in the NEI, the issue was practically insurmountable, at least until Malay gained even wider acceptance as a lingua franca (although this hardly took place at all in the Javanese heartland). It is almost as if the Comintern did not comprehend such realities, just as they worshipped print and dogma as opposed to patient education, the hallmark of Hatta's conception once he had returned to his homeland. Against the grain, as it were, the first generation of PKI activists carried on their trailblazing print operations regardless of all other difficulties, including the negating force of the legal environment. While practically none of the Marxist translations sent from Europe ever made it past colonial censorship (and the contrast with French Indochina is stark, where a legal communist press flourished under the Popular Front period of the mid to late 1930s), it is surprising to learn that the first translations of Marx appeared in Indonesian/Malay during this period (and that would far surpass parallel efforts by the Vietnamese). Such a fluorescence of print and creative publishing activity inside Indonesia in the age before the physical repression of the rebellions and the arrest and deportation of thousands to prisons also attended an era of profound social and economic change. With the print revolution unfolding at such a frenetic pace in the first two decades of the century, this was truly a *zaman bergerak*. Given the pace of change, it is hard to believe, as the Dutch evidently did, that the clock could be turned back. Of course, not all anti-colonial messaging was in print. The defence oration of Hatta in the Netherlands and the oratory of Soekarno and others in political meetings and *ceramah* (lectures and seminars) may have been just as critical, and I shall return to messaging and other forms of communication in the following chapters.

The events surrounding the National Revolution have also led to considerable literature by both Indonesian and non-Indonesian scholars. In the English language, such works as those of George Mc.T. Kahin[20] and, as already noted, Benedict Anderson[21] have acquired practically iconic or even hegemonic status, with the "Cornell School",

through its journal *Indonesia*, defining the parameters of research over the decades. Added to these, the collection authored by Audrey Kahin, *Regional Dynamics of the Indonesian Revolution,* admirably fills many of the gaps left by the generalizations implied by earlier national-level studies.[22] With Surabaya absent from the Kahin collection, William H. Frederick's study on the East Javanese port city is also important. Though focused on place and time, Frederick is also philosophical as to the intermeshing of three *zaman*, or eras, in terms of intergenerational influences and thought processes—namely, the *zaman Belanda* (or Dutch era), the *zaman Jepang* (Japanese era) and the z*aman Merdeka* (that encompassing the War of Independence). As he puts it, it is not possible to consider the *pemuda*, or youth, as a category belonging exclusively to the 1945 generation, since their fathers were also probably engaged in the pre-war *pergerakan* when the country was still under Dutch rule.[23] Even earlier, John Smail, practically pioneering, produced a locally researched monograph on Bandung during the early revolution.[24] Having surveyed or sampled the American "school" as well as the Dutch writings on Indonesia, perhaps we should not neglect the Waseda University "school", concerning Japanese scholarship, or the contribution of Australians or Australia-based Indonesianists, or, for that matter, other nationalities.[25]

Today, a newer genre of history writing has identified transnational linkages in anti-colonial movements, acknowledging their metropolitan foci alongside indigenous wellsprings. This has been established concerning French anti-colonialism, noting the bonding role of anti-colonial activists in Paris in particular.[26] More recently, Klaas Stutje has entered this field with his micro-historical studies of anti-Dutch colonial actors based in the European capitals—Amsterdam and Berlin included.[27] An even more global approach is adopted by Xie Kankan with his concept of the "fugitive networks" of the Indonesian communists-in-exile.[28] Such an approach has been mirrored by John T. Sidel with his comparative study on the "cosmopolitan" origins of revolution in Southeast Asia, published in 2021.[29] In contrast, the opus by Tim Harper published in the same year explores even more expansive transnational connections of Asian revolutionaries.[30] A contemporary concern for identity politics has also led to research interest in such less-revealed facets of anti-colonial struggle as the use of print media and the use or even invention of a national language in creating a shared community of speakers (such as now transpiring in Timor-Leste around Portugalized-Tetum).[31] Political Islam can never be ignored in any discussion of Indonesia's history and politics, and this is brought

to the fore by the recent scholarship of Kevin Fogg on what he terms "Indonesia's Islamic Revolution" in the independence struggle. But even Fogg hedges that Islam was not the only "prism" through which to view the war.[32] Lin Hongxuan has gone further in admitting a "coexistence" between Islam and Marxism.[33] Of particular interest to the present study, in her book on Darul Islam, Chiara Formichi exposes a Tan Malaka–Islamicist connection.[34]

The writing of history does not stand still. Relative to the past, the historian of today is captive to a "presentist" enumeration that necessarily must incorporate new sources and interpretations. Moreover, we are now several generations on from the 1945–49 datum point. In the interim, Indonesians have produced an array of writings on the National Revolution, some of them officialized as national histories or textbooks, and this text will introduce a number of them. Without a doubt, the end of the authoritarian Soeharto regime in the wake of the Asian financial crisis in May 1988 and the advent of a new democratic space has offered Indonesian scholars a great stimulus to re-examine their past; many of this present generation have published documented interpretive studies of a calibre to rival or surpass those of their counterparts' writings from outside.

Writing in the 1960s, but only entering print in 2005, Soe Hok Gie offered a clear profile of the communist movement as it emerged on the cusp of the National Revolution, also noting its factionalization reaching back to earlier debates over the failed 1926–27 rebellions.[35] It is impossible to introduce all the emerging studies alongside the old and obscure, but they would include Mestika Zed, with a focus on South Sumatra;[36] Hersri Setiawan's re-examination of Madiun;[37] Fikrul Hanif Sufyan's study of the Islamic-Marxist convergence among West Sumatran youth;[38] Syamsul Bakri's study of communism and Islam in Surakarta;[39] and the innovative studies by Muhamad Yuanda Zara on Western media images of the National Revolution.[40] Yet closure is also a reality when it comes to exposure or re-examination of critical events touching upon reified national narratives, and there are many of these.[41] Such is exposed in *Revolutionary Worlds*, a multi-authored collection bringing together both Dutch and Indonesian scholars, inter alia introducing a new set of regional studies of the National Revolution with particular attention to revolutionary and counter-revolutionary violence.[42] Practically coinciding with the democratic space offered by the post-Soeharto era, the digital age has given way to a plethora of Indonesian web postings and discussions on national history, documentaries included, so breathing new life into old texts and textbooks (at

least within the limits imposed by self-censorship and official "cyber policing").

Distinctive Features of the Book

While, as explained below, the implantation of the communist movement in Indonesia is well-travelled terrain in historical writing, a singular concern of this work is to expose the surprising aptitude on the part of the concerned Indonesian actors not only in assimilating Marxist doctrine but also in translating and propagandizing this and other anti-colonial literature in local idiom inside the Dutch colony, notwithstanding colonial repression, infighting and other setbacks. Drawing upon little-accessed archival material reaching back to the 1910s, the book profiles the life histories of the key concerned personalities and anti-colonial nationalists—never more than about a dozen at the core, albeit with scores of close disciples.

In common with such works stressing transnational sponsorship and alliances (Stutje, Xie, Sidel and Harper), this study does not neglect the respective journeys of young Indonesians out of their homeland—sometimes expressed as *merantau* in the case of the Minangkabau of West Sumatra. Thus, for example, it is important to examine infighting among the Indonesian communists in Moscow or the tensions in Holland besetting the nationalists and the Marxists, especially around tactics and ideology. For that matter, it is also important to acknowledge the clandestine meetings of Indonesians in Singapore, Bangkok or Guangzhou (then known as Canton). Consistent with its overarching theme, the present study is also concerned with the localization of imported ideas and ideologies that informed a significant segment of the politically aware population both before and after the 1926–27 rebellions and carried through the National Revolution struggle from 1945 to 1949, with major assistance from the leading Marxist and national-communist returnees from Holland, Russia, China and Australia. It may be a bold claim to make, but even inside such an evident rift, a more autonomous left wing emerged in Indonesia—something practically unthinkable in Western Europe, much less the Soviet Union—where individuals moved between categories of nationalist, socialist, communist and, at the same time, Islam according to circumstance. This will be examined in the conclusion to the book concerning the career tracks and legacies of the key actors.

In sum, the book offers a novel—even revisionist—interpretation of the Indonesian National Revolution such as was first pioneered by Western researchers in the 1950s and 1960s (Kahin, Anderson, McVey,

Reid). The distinctive features of this book are varied, especially around scope, use of sources—Indonesian and archival—and my background in writing about war and revolution in several Southeast Asian countries.[43] As well acknowledged, the official and scholarly literature on the Indonesian revolution of 1945–49—read, historiography—is large (as with the "Cornell School"), but to my knowledge, none of this literature has connected the dots reaching back to the creation of an Indonesian communist organization in 1920 and treating it in a single text.

Ultimately, as this book demonstrates, during the countdown to the Dutch concession of sovereignty in December 1949, it was the national communists (the Tan Malakaists) who would hold the Republic hostage, just as their elimination breathed new life into the diplomatic push. The vision of an Indonesian republic outside of Dutch rule such as embraced by the secularist political parties in general and Soekarno in particular was first articulated in print by Tan Malaka in his Dutch-language book *Naar de 'Republiek Indonesia'* (Towards the Indonesian Republic), first published in China in 1925. I thus allow that not all in the anti-colonial movement looked ahead to a republic; not the rajas and sultans, not the separatists, not the Muslims who looked to a theocratic state, and not those who in the future would fall victim to the social revolution. Still, in this narrative, we cannot ignore that the Indonesian Republic such as proclaimed in August 1945 was an ideational construct that emerged from elite discourse engaging especially a core of Indonesian intellectuals, thinkers and political theorists who mostly, but not exclusively, had been touched by the Dutch Ethical policy via its school system.

Thus, by threading a narrative across several *zaman*, or epochs, the book stands on the shoulders of those many scholars who have produced part of or more focused histories on the Nationalist Revolution and its antecedents. To restate it, my claim in this present work is to bring to the fore the hitherto overlooked importance of ideological—and sometimes personal—divisions between Indonesian Marxists dating back to the failed rebellions. Such divisions were never forgotten, even by those imprisoned or exiled, such as in Australia or Holland under German occupation, and they continued through the National Revolution. But just as Indonesian nationalists argued that their independence proclaimed in August 1945 was not "made in Japan", I am not prepared to concede, as some Cold War specialists contend, that Indonesian sovereignty acknowledged by the Dutch on 27 December 1949 was "made in America". And neither was it "made in Moscow", albeit not for want of trying if we accept a conspiratorial version

of the Madiun Affair. In my reckoning, such views would derogate Indonesian agency in terms of diplomacy, as with the activities of the young socialist Soetan Sjahrir, or ignore the struggle on the part of the Tan Malakaists, certainly in league with the military, and others siding with radical Islamicists, or simply defence on the part of the Republican armed forces. This may be seen as a teleological reading of the anti-colonial movement in Indonesia back to its origins, but, in the event, political Islam did not emerge at the vanguard of the anti-colonial struggle coming out of the Japanese defeat. Rather, it was the secular parties at the forefront—at least until the Darul Islam movement showed its hand, which was considerable. Still, for a sprawling archipelago traditionally ruled over by sultans, princes and chiefs, it would require a major progression in knowledge and awareness of the statecraft required to embrace a republican form of government led by a president. With political theory little acknowledged in standard histories, this work also helps to fill this gap.

In a word, the trend in the new century's historiography on Indonesia such as exemplified in this book is transnational, micro-historical when it comes to the role of personalities, networked when it comes to external stimuli (cash provided by Moscow in the case of the 1920s–30s generation), and ideational when it comes to inventiveness, as with print publications, translation and concepts of nationhood outside of colonialism, such as would carry on practically to the present concerning new media (reflecting upon the role of electronic media). Europe is not the only stage here, and we should not ignore such locales as Guangzhou, Singapore, Manila, Australian cities, and even New York, nor the crossover between Chinese, Filipino, Indian, Vietnamese and other influences. But true to the title of this work, "Towards an Indonesian Republic", my emphasis is upon the cadre of secular activists who not only gave gestation to the republican ideal but also defended it to the last—and they included PNI nationalists, the PKI-Moscow, the national communists around Tan Malaka, and not excluding the armed forces of the Republic once it was proclaimed.

Structure of the Book

The book is divided into five parts, each reflecting major stages or phases in the unfolding of the anti-colonial movement, through the final decades under Dutch colonial administration, the Japanese occupation, proclamation of independence, Allied intervention, and guerrilla struggle in defence of the National Revolution. In other words, this is a broadly chronological approach, each chapter of which could

be read independently but with each adding an interpretive element as opposed to the flow of events and historical minutiae characteristic of the descriptive chapters.

The first part of the book, titled "Oppression", made up of one chapter, reveals how the colonial authorities reacted to the failed rebellions of 1926–27 by removing young bodies and minds from their abodes and workplaces in Java and Sumatra, shipping them along with families and babes in arms to a concentration camp in primeval malarial forestland in West New Guinea in the vain endeavour to psychologically crush them of any subversive anti-colonial sentiments. Part two comprises a set of five chapters about the "world on the move" during this era of change, as signalled by one rebel editor in a publication of the same name. Chapter 2 discusses the origins of anti-colonial nationalism, the localization of a communist party in Java, and the first overseas activities on the part of the first generation of Indonesian communists. Chapter 3 discusses the failed rebellions in relation to the socio-economic context of Java, the controversial decision by the communists on Java to launch a rebellion, new revelations on Moscow's thinking about the affair, and local Indonesian communist responses to the failure. Chapter 4 shifts to the sometimes conflictual activities of the Indonesian exiles in Moscow, notably engaging communist party founder Semaun, party theorist Darsono, the staunchly Moscow-loyalist group around Alimin and Musso, and the national communist Tan Malaka. Chapter 5 revisits the attraction of Holland as a launch pad for anti-colonial activities and exposes tensions between the Dutch and Indonesian comrades. Without ignoring separate streams within the anti-colonial movement—such as the PNI, of which Soekarno was the leading light—Chapter 6 brings to the fore the advent of the secularist political parties that filled the space, as it were, of their defeated communist counterparts. The first two chapters of the third part of the book are devoted to the Japanese occupation. Chapter 7 exposes acts both of collaboration and resistance under the Japanese, alongside propaganda and population control. Chapter 8 introduces key narratives on the independence process, including the role of the Naval Liaison Bureau in Jakarta, discussions on constitutional drafting, and the laying down of embryonic state structures. Chapter 9 examines the political advocacy of the Digulists removed to Australia and their pro-Republican activities in tandem with local Leftist Australian supporters before their homegoing. The fourth part of the book, "Defence of the National Revolution", includes four chapters. Chapter 10 turns to Republican-nationalist-Allied power plays on Java, such as the Battle

of Surabaya of November 1945, among other crises. Chapter 11 focuses on the struggle for power outside Java, as on the Sumatra East Coast, in South Sumatra and Eastern Indonesia. Chapter 12 discusses the dynamics of the *Sayap Kiri* (left wing) front in the Republican political domain. Chapter 13 turns to the fortunes of returnee communists and the failed Madiun Uprising. In part five, "Struggle/Diplomacy", Chapter 14 discusses the rise of the Tan Malakist *Persatuan Pejuangan*, with its strident rejection of diplomacy and the correlated emergence of armed militia from across the political spectrum. Finally, Chapter 15 addresses the Tan Malaka end game in the guerrilla war against the Dutch, right to his "stabbed-in-the-back" demise months before the redemptive actions of the pro-diplomacy line would win international recognition of the Republic. Summing up, the Epilogue looks back upon the historical legacy of the key individuals profiled in this work, touching on such issues as the legacies of colonial and counter-colonial violence, truth-seeking, apologies, and redemption.

Notes

1. Communistische invloeden in de republiek, "The Significance of the Communist Influences in the Republic of Indonesia", *NEFIS Bulletin* 25, 24 December 1947, p. 26. Speech at the reception of the 3rd Congress of the Ikatan Peladajar Indonesia, Malang, 23 April 1947, NEFIS/CMI publications nos. 71–80. AAS, no. 3975, NA. Author's translation from Bahasa Indonesia.
2. For the locus classicus on this national hero, see Carey, *The Power of Prophecy*.
3. For the details, see McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism*, pp. 46–47. McVey is also misleading as it was not until 1924 that the name of the party was appended to the title.
4. See Legge, *Intellectuals and Nationalism*.
5. Geertz, *The Religion of Java*.
6. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, p. 216.
7. Anon, *Bahan-Bahan Pokok Indokrinasi*, p. 35.
8. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesi*a, p. 197.
9. Numerous political scientists have sought to explain the form of government or national ideology in Indonesia over the decades. See, for example, Weatherbee, "Indonesia". For my own understandings, see Gunn, "Ideology and the Concept" and "Indonesia in 2017".
10. For a broader discussion of Boeke and the colonial economy, including the "Ethical Policy", see Legge, *Indonesia*, p. 8.
11. The "penetrative power" of such American oil majors as Caltex and Stanvac in investments and exploitation of oil in pre-war NEI, as well

as the importance of such other strategic commodities as rubber to US interests, is well discussed in Southwood and Flanigan, *Indonesia, Law, Propaganda*, pp. 22–23.

12. See Gordon, "How Big Was".
13. See Dick, "Japan's Economic Expansion", p. 244.
14. Anderson, "The Idea of Power".
15. Brackman, *Indonesian Communism*.
16. McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism*. Running to 510 pages and highly informational, McVey's work nevertheless lacks clear chapter introductions, is without chapter conclusions, and is totally void of subheadings.
17. Poeze, *Tan Malaka: strijder voor Indonesië's vrijheid*. Running at 2,300 pages, Poeze's Dutch-language writings on Tan Malaka are encyclopedic. Nevertheless, with his magnus opus translated into Bahasa Indonesia and published in separate volumes, it becomes more accessible to readers of that language. Especially I have consulted Poeze's *Tan Malaka: Pergulatan menuju Republik*, vol. 2, noting that it carries a long citation from one of my own works.
18. Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*. The Indonesian version of this book better captures the phrase *zaman bergerak*.
19. Crawford, "Translating and Transliterating".
20. Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*.
21. Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution*.
22. Kahin, ed., *Regional Dynamics*, pp. 10–11. Besides Kahin writing on West Sumatra, the collection includes Anton Lucas (Tiga Daerah), Michael Williams (Banten), Eric Morris (Aceh), Michael van Langenberg (East Sumatra), Robert Cribb (Jakarta), Barbara Harvey (South Sulawesi), and Robert Chauvel (Ambon).
23. Frederick, *Visions and Heat*. Usefully, Frederick writes of *tiga jaman* defining Indonesian modern history, which I have modified according to my own reading of *zaman* (p. 293).
24. Smail, *Bandung in the Early Revolution*.
25. The individuals are too numerous to mention, but the writings of Anthony Reid are distinctive in addressing the national revolution in significant ways, especially with a dedicated book on North Sumatra. See Reid, *The Indonesian National Revolution* and *The Blood of the People*. For a series of reflections on the Australian "school" of Indonesianists, also touching on Monash University, especially the role of Herbert Feith, see Purdey, ed., *Knowing Indonesia*.
26. See Goebel, *Anti-Imperial Metropolis*, and Gunn, *Ho Chi Minh*.
27. Stutje, *Campaigning in Europe*.
28. Xie, "Estranged Comrades".
29. Sidel, *Republicanism, Communism, Islam*.
30. Harper, *Underground Asia*.

31. See Anderson, *Imagined Communities*. On East Timor identity, see Gunn, "Língua e cultura".
32. Fogg, *Indonesia's Islamic Revolution*, pp. 2–3.
33. Lin, *Ummah Yet Proletariat*, p. 1.
34. Formichi, *Islam and the Making*.
35. Soe, "Simpang Kiri".
36. Zed, *Kepialangan, Politik*.
37. Setiawan, *Negara Madiun*.
38. Sufyan, *Menuju Lentera Merah*.
39. Bakri, *Gerakan komunisme Islam Surakarta*.
40. See, for example, Muhammad Yuanda Zara, "Wandering Through".
41. For a major attempt to overcome the decades-long closure on the National Revolution on the part of both Dutch and Indonesian scholars, see Purwanto et al., eds., *Revolutionary Worlds*. Not only does the volume introduce a new set of regional studies with particular attention to revolutionary and counter-revolutionary violence, but it also offers translations into English of the writings of the concerned Indonesian scholars. They include Abdul Wahid, Galuh Ambar Sari, Farabi Fakih, Muhammad Yuanda Zara and seven others.
42. Purwanto et al., eds, *Revolutionary Worlds*.
43. I am referring to my dedicated monographs on Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and East Timor, each researched in situ.