A History of Modern Indonesia

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A History of Modern Indonesia *c. 1300 to the present*

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For Norman, Charles and Deborah

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Preface

This is a textbook designed for the serious student who wishes to investigate the history of Indonesia since the coming of Islam. It is intended to meet a need found by those whose study has been hampered by the large number and specialised nature of the major works on the subject, the high proportion of these which are written in foreign languages and the difficulty of gaining access to some of them. Students have also found that the existing literature sometimes over-emphasises either colonial aspects or the exoticism of Indonesia, and fails to provide a clear chronology within which to orient their study. This book therefore aims to provide a basic but detailed narrative of Indonesian history since *c.* 1300, an introduction to the major issues of the period and a guide to the most important published secondary sources (or primary sources where no adequate secondary sources exist). My aim is, thus, to facilitate students' progress to more advanced levels of study. The need for such a book has been evident for some time, but it is only recently that the study of Indonesian history has reached a sufficient level of coverage and sophistication over the whole period for such a textbook to be possible. Significant gaps remain in our knowledge, but the major lacunae have now been investigated.

Indonesia's recorded history does not begin where this book begins, but about a thousand years before. The earliest inscriptions of the Indonesian archipelago are on seven stone pillars from Kutai in East Kalimantan, which on paleographic grounds are dated to *c.* AD 400. Chinese references are also available from a very early time. Indigenous sources and Chinese records have enabled scholars to reconstruct much of the history of the pre-Islamic states of Indonesia, which included some of the major empires of the ancient world. One of the greatest of these, Majapahit, is discussed briefly in chapter 2 simply because it falls within the chronological limits of this book.

These pre-Islamic states were Hindu–Buddhist, and they left major literary and artistic legacies which, as will be seen in chapter 5, continued to be influential long after the coming of Islam. The social, administrative and political traditions of these states also had an abiding influence. This early period has many problems of evidence and interpretation and is in much need of further study. For this reason, I decided not to attempt to cover it in this book. Some important works on Majapahit are listed in the notes and references for chapter 2. On the other pre-Islamic states see Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis*; Coedès, *Les états hindouisés* (in English as *Indianized states of Southern Asia*); Wolters, *Early Indonesian commerce*; and van Naerssen's essay in van Naerssen and de Jongh, *Economic and administrative history of early Indonesia*.

The period since *c.* 1300 appears to me to make a coherent historical unit,

which this book calls Modern Indonesian History. There are of course significant sub-periods within modern Indonesian history, as is reflected by the division of the book into parts and chapters. Three fundamental elements give the period historical unity. The first is cultural and religious: the Islamisation of Indonesia which began *c.* 1300 and continues today. The second is topical: the interplay between Indonesians and Westerners which began *c.* 1500 and still continues. The third is historiographical: primary sources throughout this period are written almost exclusively in the modern forms of Indonesian languages (Javanese, Malay, etc., rather than Old Javanese or Old Malay) and in European languages. Between *c.* 1300 and *c.* 1500 these elements emerged, and have remained ever since.

The writer of any history textbook must decide whether to give preference to broad interpretative themes or to the detailed, and sometimes confusing, progress of events. My experience suggests that students find interpretative treatments more readable but less useful than detailed narratives. I also prefer a detailed narrative in principle, for if the basic evidence is presented, readers are more able to arrive at their own generalisations or to question others'. I therefore decided that this book should give first place to the detailed historical evidence. There is no attempt here to impose any new synthesis upon Indonesian history, although of course my views are implicit throughout the volume.

This book gives the history of Java greater precedence than it may seem to deserve. There are four reasons for this. First, Java has received more historical study than the other islands and is therefore better known. Second, its people represent over half the population of Indonesia. Third, it has been the centre of much of the political history of both colonial and independent periods and exerted an influence over other areas greater than their influence outside their own regions, and thus carries greater significance for the history of Indonesia as a whole. And fourth, it is the area upon which all of my own research has concentrated and this personal element has naturally coloured the book. Further research will undoubtedly make it possible to study outer island areas more adequately in the future than is now the case.

No scholar masters more than a small portion of the primary sources for the topics covered in this book, nearly seven centuries of history over the world's largest archipelago. Much of this volume is thus a paraphrase or summary of the work of others, whose publications are listed in the Bibliography. Like any textbook, this one may at times simply repeat, and even add to, the mistakes of others. To minimise this problem I have called upon several colleagues and friends for comments upon draft chapters. Very substantial parts of the book have been read by Prof. C. D. Cowan, Prof. C. Fasseur, Dr H. J. de Graaf and Dr A. J. S. Reid. Dr J. S. Bastin, Dr P. B. R. Carey, Prof. James J. Fox, Dr E. U. Kratz, Prof. J. D. Legge, Dr Ruth T. McVey, Dr P. Voorhoeve and Prof. P. J. Zoetmulder, S. J., have also given me valuable suggestions on sections of the book. To all of them I am deeply indebted. The errors which remain are, of course, entirely my responsibility. I owe special gratitude to my students who read most of the book in draft, helped me to decide what was needed and encouraged me to believe that the book was worth writing. Many Indonesians gave me information which was invaluable for the last chapters of the book, but mostly on the understanding that it was not attributable to them.

M. C. Ricklefs

A Note on Orthography

The various Indonesian languages which appear in this book sometimes have differing transcription systems or orthography. For all words and proper names in modern Indonesian languages, I have used a standardised spelling based upon the reformed Indonesian system of 1972. Old Javanese appears in the standard Sanskrit transcription. For words which exist in both Indonesian and regional languages, I have ignored regional spellings (thus, Indonesian *dalang* rather than Javanese *dbalang*). For the twentieth century, however, there are exceptions which are explained below. Since the 1972 system does not distinguish among the different pronunciations of the letter *e*, I have added ě to represent /ə/ (like the *e* in 'fallen'). The character *e* is pronounced either /e/ or /ɛ/ (like either the *a* in 'fate' or the *e* in 'set'). In some names which are commonly used in English, I have used the conventional spelling (thus, Malacca rather than Mělaka and Java rather than Jawa).

Consonants have generally the same value as in English except for *c* which is pronounced like the *ch* in 'chair' and *sy* which is pronounced like the *sh* in 'share'. Vowels are also pronounced as in English, except for the *a* in Javanese words which is pronounced rather like English *o* when it appears in penultimate and final syllables without final consonants. Thus, Mangkuněgara is pronounced 'Mangkuněgoro' but Mangkuněgaran is pronounced as it is spelled. As an aid to pronunciation, it is generally true that the stress in Indonesian languages falls upon the penultimate syllable.

As local scripts gave way to romanisation in the twentieth century, a variety of spellings was used. In this book I have followed the principle of spelling personal names and publication titles as they were spelled at the time. Organisations, however, have been spelled according to the standard 1972 system unless there is a clearly established convention in modern scholarly works (thus, Budi Utomo rather than the correct form Budi Utama).

In the twentieth century individuals used Dutch orthography and either pre-1972 or (now) post-1972 Indonesian orthography. Javanese commonly use *o* rather than *a* where the latter is pronounced 'o'. The pre-1972 orthographies differ from the 1972 system primarily in using Dutch rather than English consonants: *tj* rather than *c*, *dj* rather than *j*, and *j* rather than *y*. Dutch orthography additionally differs in using *oe* for *u*. Thus, in the twentieth century the Javanese name Sujana (pronounced 'Sujono') might be spelled Soedjana, Soedjono, Sudjono, Sudjana, Sujana or Sujono. In the last two cases, there is no way of knowing whether this is a person named Sujana using the 1972 system or one named Suyana using the pre-1972 system.

For Arabic words, names and titles, a conventional transcription system is used. Chinese names are given in Pinyin, but the first time a name is mentioned it is also given in the Wade-Giles transcription if this differs from Pinyin. Wherever I have been able to establish them, life- or reign-dates are given when an individual is first mentioned.

Abbreviations

AD	<i>Anno Domini</i> , the Christian era
AH	<i>Anno Hijrae</i> , the Islamic era
AJ	<i>Anno Javano</i> , the Javanese era
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
b.	born
CSI	Centraal Sarekat Islam, Sarekat Islam Central (headquarters)
d.	died
DPR(–GR)	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (– Gotong Royong), (Mutual-Cooperation) People's Representative Council
f.	Dutch florins/guilders
HIS	Hollandsch-Inlandsche School, Dutch-Native School
ISDV	Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereniging, Indies Social-Democratic Association
KNIP	Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat, Central Indonesian National Committee
MAI	Majlis Islam A'laa Indonesia, Supreme Islamic Council of Indonesia
MPR(S)	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (Sementara), (Provisional) People's Consultative Assembly
MULO	Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs, More Extended Lower Education (school)
NU	Nahdlatul Ulama/Nahdlatul 'Ulama, Rise of the Religious Scholars (organisation)
OSVIA	Opleidingschool voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren, Training School for Native Officials
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia, Indonesian Communist Party
PNI	Partai Nasional Indonesia, Indonesian Nationalist Party
PNI-Baru	Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia, Indonesian Nationalist Education (party)
PRRI	Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia, Revolutionary Government of the Indonesian Republic
PSI	Partai Sosialis Indonesia, Indonesian Socialist Party
PSII	Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia, Indonesian Islamic Union Party
r.	reigned
Rp.	Rupiah
Š	Šaka era
SI	Sarekat Islam, Islamic Union
SOBSI	Sentral Organisasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia, Central All-Indonesia Workers' Organisation
STOVIA	School tot Opleiding van Inlandsche Artsen, School for Training Native Doctors
UN	United Nations
VOC	Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, (Dutch) United East India Company