



## ‘Collaboration is a Very Delicate Concept’:

Alliance-formation and the Colonial Defence of  
Indonesia and Malaysia, 1945-1957

Roel Frakking

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to  
obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization  
of the European University Institute

Florence, 08 May 2017



European University Institute  
**Department of History and Civilization**

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## **Abstract**

“Collaboration is a Very Delicate Concept”: Alliance-formation and the Wars of Independence in Indonesia and Malaysia, 1945-1957’ is a case study in the interface between late colonial empires and colonized societies. Unlike traditional studies that continue to focus on British or Dutch (military-political) efforts to open specific avenues towards independence, the thesis analyses how local elites, their constituencies or individuals determined and navigated their own course—through violent insurgencies—towards independence.

The thesis dispenses with (colonial) notions of ‘loyalty’ and ‘colonized-colonizer’. Instead, it takes the much more fluid concept of local alliance-formation and combines it with theories on territorial control to elucidate why certain individuals or groups co-operated with colonial authorities one moment only to switch to the freedom fighters’ side the next.

In showing the complexities and ambiguities of association, the thesis advocates and executes an agenda that transcends the narrow political-diplomatic scope of decolonization to restore the agency and motivations of local political parties, communities and individuals. The red thread throughout the thesis, then, is that Indonesians, Chinese and Malays pursued their own, narrow—often violent—interests to survive and secure a (political) future beyond decolonization.

Ultimately, the limits of alliance-formation are probed. The search for territorial control by colonial and anti-colonial forces necessitated zero-sum outcomes to pre-empt alliance breakdowns. As such, coercion remained the major motivational force during decolonization: coercion local communities participated in more than has been hitherto acknowledged in relation to the decolonization of Southeast Asia.

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## Introduction.

Transformative connectivity lies at the heart of colonialism. Colonial expansion and ‘colonialism’, defined as such, constituted ‘an encounter’ wherein communities that were ‘already [...] living in those places where colonies were established’ were subjugated by incoming others. At the points of contact, ‘the original inhabitants and the newcomers’ locked ‘into [a] most complex and traumatic relationship’ that changed both—predominantly because power-relations were decided in favour of the colonizers.<sup>1</sup> The effects of these changes, encapsulated in shared histories, continue to link Asia and Europe and spark heated debates regarding the relations between the two. In April 2017, more than 500 Indonesians sought to litigate against the Dutch state to seek justice for their fathers who had been killed by Dutch troops during the war of decolonization between 1945-1950.<sup>2</sup> To this day, the Malaysian government continues to enforce sedition laws it has copied directly from the British colonial playbook to, according to Amnesty International, ‘silence, harass and lock up hundreds of critics’.<sup>3</sup>

This thesis deals with the vicissitude and ambiguities of colonial connectivity during the wars of decolonization in the Netherlands East Indies and British Malaya between 1945 and 1957. In this period, Dutch and British administrators for the last time attempted to add to the already established legacies of oppression through enforcing a continuation of colonial

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<sup>1</sup> Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London: Routledge, 2015), 19-20. Loomba controversially added that these relationships were ‘the most complex and traumatic [...] in human history’; Ronald J. Horvath, ‘A Definition of Colonialism’, *Current Anthropology*, 13, 1 (1972), 46; colonialism belongs to ‘imperialism’, a ‘großräumiger, hierarchisch geordneter Herrschaftsverband polyethnischen und multireligiösen Charakters, dessen Kohärenz durch Gewaltandrohung, Verwaltung, indigene Kollaboration sowie die universalistische Programmatik und Symbolik einer imperialen Elite [...] gewährleistet wird’, Jürgen Osterhammel, ‘Europamodelle und Imperiale Kontexte’, *Journal of Modern European History*, 2, 2, (2004), 172.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Nieuwe Rechtszaken op Komst over Nederlands-Indië: Honderden Nabestaanden van Mannen die in Nederlands-Indië zijn geëxecuteerd, Bereiden Schadeclaims Voor’, *Trouw*, 2 April 2017, <https://www.trouw.nl/home/nieuwe-rechtszaken-op-komst-over-nederlands-indie~a0c342d0/>. Last visited on 13 April 2017.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Malaysia Must End Unprecedented Crackdown on Hundreds of Critics Through Sedition Act’, *Amnesty International Press Release*, 26 January 2016, <http://www.amnestyusa.org/news/press-releases/malaysia-must-end-unprecedented-crackdown-on-hundreds-of-critics-through-sedition-act>. Last visited on 13 April 2017; K. Loganathan, A. Salman and E. M. Wati Mohammad, ‘Fetters on Freedom of Information and Free Speech in Malaysia: A Study of the Licensing and Sedition Law’, *e-Bangi. Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 10, 2 (2015), 297-309.

connectedness. Naturally, connections within the colonized territories between colonial authorities and those they subjugated abounded; they are the subject of this study. During the Indonesian War for Independence and the Malayan Emergency, however, nationalists also peered outside the colonies. Across the Strait of Malacca and the Java Sea they searched for reciprocal inspiration and support. Indonesian and Malay students in Cairo already in the 1920s felt their shared religion and language united them, although this idea largely remained tied to the students in Cairo.<sup>4</sup> Still, Malay leaders joined the early nationalists organized *Partai Nasional Indonesia* (PNI; formed in 1927) and agreed to a conceptualization of a ‘Greater Indonesia’ wherein the Malays constituted ‘part of the Indonesian people’.<sup>5</sup> Nationalist leaders in both Malaysia and Indonesia revived the idea of Greater Indonesia in 1945 during the final months of the Japanese occupation, but Japanese pressure—undoubtedly coupled with the return of the British and Dutch—forced the nationalists to relinquish the idea once more.<sup>6</sup>

Mutual admiration and intellectual support remained. In 1949, the Malay Dato bin Ja’afar Onn, then leader of the nationalist United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), said Malays sympathized ‘100% [...] with the struggle’ of Indonesia which they considered a ‘brother nation’. Malays and Indonesians both wanted independence but unfortunately, he continued, his organisation could not actively support the Indonesian freedom fighters as that would go against the British intentions of granting self-rule incrementally. He did, however, reiterate his belief that ‘Indonesia is the champion of Malaya’s future’.<sup>7</sup> In Central Java, a Yogyakarta printing house in 1951 published *Sejara dan Perjuangan di-Malaya* (*History and Struggle in Malaya*), written by Ibrahim Haji bin Yaacob, another early stalwart of Malay nationalism who propagated Greater Indonesia.<sup>8</sup> Former

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<sup>4</sup> Angus McIntyre, ‘The “Greater Indonesia” Idea of Nationalism in Malaya and Indonesia’, *Modern Asian Studies*, 7, 1 (1973), 77; William R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 88-89.

<sup>5</sup> McIntyre, ‘The “Greater Indonesia” Idea’, 78.

<sup>6</sup> McIntyre, ‘The “Greater Indonesia” Idea’, 81, 83.

<sup>7</sup> Onderhoud met Dato Onn en Prof. Dobby, 22 January 1949, No. 836/D/I, Koloniën/Geheime Mailrapporten 2.10.36.06/184, Ministerie van Koloniën: Geheime Mailrapporten, serie AA, The National Archives, The Hague.

<sup>8</sup> *Precis of Book* (144 Pages.), annex to Director, Special Branch, Singapore to Commissioner of Police, Singapore, 8

Malay anti-Japanese fighters would cross into Indonesia and take up arms again; Singapore developed into a hub for weapon smuggling into Indonesia and a safe-haven for revolutionaries.<sup>9</sup>

For the colonial authorities, connectedness entailed the monitoring of each other's territories. For the Dutch, outside observation began with the arrival of British Commonwealth troops in Indonesia in 1945. Ostensibly, they would see to the orderly withdrawal of the surrendered Japanese garrisons, the safeguarding of prisoners of war and internees and, initially, prepare for a Dutch return.<sup>10</sup> United Nations-mandated military observers and officers of the Good Offices Committee remained in Indonesia throughout most of the conflict. In 1949, for example, an anti-Dutch 'high official' told a group of Belgian, American and British observers that at least in Purwokerto, Central Java, peoples' fear of Dutch soldiers had dissipated, certainly after the guerrillas fighting them had stripped their village of food.<sup>11</sup>

Observation often degenerated into acrimonious critique. One observer, United States Army Lieutenant-Colonel Dixon, in 1947 opined that the aggressive stance of the Dutch themselves had galvanized Indonesian sentiments against taking a more conciliatory approach vis-à-vis the Dutch.<sup>12</sup> '[A]ll the friendly' international mediators felt alienated by Dutch administrators. When Dutch politicians proposed to collaborate with the British on 'the "systematic suppression" of communism' in 1948, officers in the British Foreign Office were sceptical. The situation in Malaya was straightforward, they reasoned:

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November 1951, REF SSB.1615, CO 1022/46, Colonial Office Records, The National Archives, London.

<sup>9</sup> Mochtaruddin to Vice President, Minister of Defence, 20 June 1948, translated CMI Document No. 5423, *Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië*, 2.13.132/591, Ministerie van Defensie: Strijdkrachten in Nederlands-Indië, The National Archives, The Hague; for weapon smuggling and the wider role of Singapore in the Indonesian struggle for independence, see: Yong Mun Cheong, *The Indonesian Revolution and the Singapore Connection 1945-1949* (Leiden, KITLV Press, 2003) and Suryono Darusman, *Recollections of Suryono Darusman: Singapore and the Indonesian Revolution 1945-1950* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1992).

<sup>10</sup> Richard McMillan, *The British Occupation of Indonesia 1945-1946: Britain, the Netherlands and the Indonesian Revolution* (London: Routledge, 2006), 10.

<sup>11</sup> Uittreksel uit Rapporten van Militaire Waarnemers, St.no.102/49, NL-HaNA, Spoor, 2.21.036.01/38, Collectie 216 S. H. Spoor, 1946-1949, 2.21.036.01, The National Archives, The Hague.

<sup>12</sup> Verslag van Bevindingen Inzake het Verblijf van de Amerikaanse Waarnemers te Semarang Gedurende 2, 3, 4 en 5 October, 7 October 1947, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/4989, Algemene Secretarie van de Nederlands-Indische Regering en de daarbij gedeponeerde Archieven, The National Archives, The Hague.

‘communists had decided to try to seize power by violence’. The Dutch in Indonesia, conversely, were countering Indonesian nationalism, not communism as such. The British decided on a weapons embargo for the Netherlands.<sup>13</sup>

Stung, the Dutch tried to counter such international opprobrium by pointing an accusatory finger to British activities in Malaysia from 1948 onwards where the British and their local allies fought a communist uprising. The difference, one Dutch newspaper bitterly pointed out, was that when the British acted violently, ‘the United Nations refrained from [...] meddling, [...] Australia [...] actively supported the British and [...] socialist England expressed little to no criticism now that it concerns part of the British Empire’. If the British could have their military action certainly the Dutch had the same right, the paper concluded.<sup>14</sup> To the Dutch, the British had first shown their proclivity for violence in Indonesia. There, incoming officials had complained about how British inaction had allowed the situation to deteriorate into ‘a “Wild West”’. Where they did react to Indonesian resistance, however, British (Commonwealth) troops had done so disproportionately and razed villages. Soon enough reports spoke of ‘a system’ of punishments.<sup>15</sup> British violence had become the benchmark with which to offset and mitigate instances of Dutch (systematic) violence. In 1947, the Attorney General, for example, downplayed the impact of Dutch violent terror in South Celebes (South Sulawesi), saying that Dutch ‘methods’ at least spared ‘women, children and the elderly’. They would not have survived, he claimed, if they had been subjected to such ‘shooting and bombardment from the air [...] as recently

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<sup>13</sup> Views of Mr. Reuchlin, Dutch Minister to the United States, on the Dutch Authorities at Batavia and The Hague, 5 August 1948, F11067/5/62; Dutch Proposal to Issue a Proclamation With a View to the “Systematic Suppression” of Communism in Indonesia, 7 August 1948, F11066/5/62; Mr. Mayhew to E. H. Keeling, 7 August 1948, F10854/5/62, all in FCO 141/7353, Foreign and Commonwealth Office and Predecessors: Records of Former Colonial Administrations: Migrated Archives, Malaya, The National Archives, London.

<sup>14</sup> ‘Rode Draad’, *Algemeen Dagblad*, 4 August 1948, in Federabo 2.20.50/58, Federatie van Verenigingen van Bergcultuurondernemingen in Indonesië (FEDERABO), 1913-1981, The National Archives, The Hague.

<sup>15</sup> Helfrich (Bevelhebber der Strijdkrachten in het Oosten) aan De Booy (Minister van Marine), 2 Dec. 1945, in S. L. van der Wal, P. J. Drooglever en M. J. B. Schouten, eds., *Officiële Bescheiden Betreffende de Nederlands-Indonesische Betrekkingen 1945-1950* [hereafter *NIB*] (’s-Gravenhage: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1971), 2, 271; Idenburg (Directeur van het Kabinet van de Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal) aan Van Mook (Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal), 20 dec. 1945, *NIB* 2, 388, note 1. The British accused the Dutch of the similar disproportionate behaviour: McMillan, *The British Occupation of Indonesia 1945-1946*, 85-88.



witnessed in Malacca'.<sup>16</sup>

### *Concepts, arguments and structure*

The connections and encounters ignited by colonialism and its corollary, decolonization, were, however asymmetrical in nature, transformative. They form the thread that weaves through the chapters that follow. Those who interacted could not stay the same. Colonial authorities, as we shall see, could not necessarily order their indigenous allies about. In turn, local elites were quite frustrated that their co-operation with colonial power-brokers always seemed to come at a prize.

In the context of this study, violence, specifically during the transitional period into independence constituted a major force that connected, mobilized and transformed all parties: the colonial authorities and their local allies, but also the anti-colonial factions, politicians and, lastly, local communities and individuals. Violence, as defined in this research, is more complicated than mere 'behaviour involving physical force intended to hurt, damage, or kill someone or something'.<sup>17</sup> Beyond the 'somatic', violence served specific ends and has properties. It could be invoked to safeguard certain symbols and beliefs and take on the guise of 'cultural violence'.<sup>18</sup> Violence is '*the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual*'; a means used by one group to thwart another from attaining certain interests and force the latter to fall in line with what the former wants. Violence, then, was certainly physical, but more importantly in relation to the colonial state, it had latent properties—the threat of it was always there. Colonial authorities ostensibly possessed this capacity for violence. Violence needed no actors: it 'was built up into the [colonial state] structure'.<sup>19</sup>

Yet, actors did make the colonial state function; just like opposing actors

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<sup>16</sup> Inzake Zuiveringsactie in Zd.Celebes, Mr. H. W. Felderhof, Procureur Generaal, to Van Mook, 2 August 1948, No. 4211/GB, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/3742, The Hague, Algemene Secretarie van de Nederlands-Indische Regering en de daarbij gedeponeerde Archieven, The National Archives, The Hague

<sup>17</sup> Source: <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/violence>. Last visited on 20 April 2017.

<sup>18</sup> Johan Galtung, 'Cultural Violence', *Journal of Peace Research*, 27, 3 (1990), 291.

<sup>19</sup> Johan Galtung, 'Violence, Peace, and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research*, 6, 3 (1969), 168-172. Emphasis in the original.

implemented the policies of groups poised to destroy it. With that statement, the main argument of this thesis is brought to the fore. I argue that if the processes of decolonization in Indonesia and Malaysia and their complexities are to be charted and understood, the indigenous actors that acting in tandem with or against the colonial state and its policies need to be treated as central nodes of analysis. More precisely, the actors in question are *not* the white, European administrators, businessmen or planters—although they will receive ample attention—but local, colonized elites, their constituents and individuals. This thesis is an attempt to identify these indigenous actors in British Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies, unearth their interests, make visible what consequences such interests had and how those holding these interests tried to attain them—and at what cost. By dispensing with the more traditional approach of colonial studies—that is, to view decolonization as a diplomatic, almost zero-sum undertaking largely between colonial powers and (nationalist) ‘insurgents’—this thesis seeks to dig underneath that top layer. It argues that decolonization involved locals manoeuvring themselves into positions that gave them the biggest chances for coping with the violent wars of decolonization. In doing so, we find that ‘subjugated’ individuals and communities were connected more closely with and played a much more active role in the violence associated with colonial insurgency and counter-insurgency than is usually assumed. Contrary to what recent currents in colonial studies have suggested, mobilization did not always rest on a basis of coercion.

With indigenous manoeuvring thus centrally placed, this thesis contributes to further exposing another flaw within traditional colonial studies, which has for a long time persisted in presenting those living in colonized territories as mere subjects. In terms of decolonization, this meant that indigenous peoples, for example, were seen as being herded into the colonial security forces in a bid to turn the tide against ever-growing popular discontent. The image of these ‘subjects’ as being powerless and faceless parties to wars being waged in their name or against them—from both the perspectives of the authorities the freedom

fighters—needs to be redressed. Primarily, the chapters that follow do so by challenging the notion of loyalty to both the colonial state and its adversaries. The evidence suggests that so-called loyalist elites, the men and women in the security forces but also anti-colonial insurgents were not necessarily loyal at all: they tried to safeguard their own short- and long-term interests and goals.

Therefore, most connections between locals and the colonial state or locals and opposing, anti-colonial forces were highly volatile and unstable. The thesis argues that the very nature of the interests that needed safeguarding made stable connections near impossible. To this end, the thesis engages with various, indigenous interest. They range from the means to gain access to long-term benefits the colonial state offered (citizenship, regional autonomy, group/communal rewards) and highly personal, short-term interests (revenge, lust) to the pull of family ties and personal development (education, a pension) and the most vital interest: survival. All interests, however, proved very susceptible to the influence of outside forces. Once territories in which locals tried to safeguard their interests became violently contested, people and organisations bowed to the power-broker who could maximize the possibilities of safeguarding local interests.

Throughout the thesis, the intricate interplay between transformative connections, violence and local interests is paramount. In light of this, the first chapter details the conceptual and methodological frameworks of the thesis. Its main objective is to explore how a concept of alliance-formation can restore local agency and the interests connected to it as central nodes of analysis to understand the complexities of decolonization. Before arriving at that conclusion, the chapter locates agency by probing the historiography of colonial studies—spatially and temporally—to explore the various ways in which both colonizers *and* subsequent commentators and historians have dealt with the indigenous.<sup>20</sup> From the perspective of the incoming colonial powers, the co-operation of indigenous communities was indispensable to the functioning of colonial states.

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<sup>20</sup> Aníbal Quijano, 'Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality', *Cultural Studies*, 2, 2-3 (2007), 174.

Co-operation on a basis of equity was quickly phased out, however: the nature of the foreign colonial project—with its domination, the ubiquitous (threat of) violence and economic predation—simply prohibited parity between invasive foreigners and autochthonous populations. The establishment of empire therefore depended on the active participation of both local elites and security personnel in their own subjugation and that of others. What the colonial authorities were interested in was the structural suppression of the agency of indigenous populations; they wanted acquiescence through subordination.

The chapter then problematizes the notion that, once subjugated, troops developed a sense of loyalty to the colonial state. It presupposes, in addition, that histories of empire or decolonization, subsequently, have not necessarily challenged or engaged this notion of loyalty. Instead, colonial enforcers are simply there. In doing so, local indigenous agency was further removed from sight. By problematizing loyalty, the chapter proceeds to bring agency back in. This restoration then culminates in the introduction and exploration of alliance-formation. Colonial relations, specifically in times of strife, are better characterized as fluent alliances. Contrary to loyalty—which diminishes local agency's visibility—alliances give weight to the fact that relationships between colonial authorise and subjected societies were rather flexible, transformative, multi-layered and not without merit for the so-called colonized. The closing paragraphs of chapter one will then explain the methodological ramifications of the thesis as well as their limits.

After this conceptual framework, chapter two introduces two indigenous, politicized elites—the Partai Rakyat Pasundan and the Malayan Chinese Association—to elucidate how, at the highest levels of indigenous society in Indonesia and Malaysia, respectively, the wealthy and educated classes sought the support of the colonial state to safeguard interests—linked to political autonomy—that could possibly carry over into the period after decolonization. The Partai Rakyat Pasundan wanted its own state, the Pasundan State, whereas the Chinese leaders of the Malayan Chinese Association wanted political power to

protect the interests of the Malayan Chinese communities. The analysis underlines that with the post-World War Two colonial state largely dismantled, indigenous elites could operate with more autonomy than previously possible, claim to speak for specific constituencies and through the latter, establish themselves as power-brokers situated next to their colonial overseers. Colonial officials were willing to take these indigenous objectives into account precisely because their wish to re-establish control over society coincided with the local elites' wish to gain influence with the same population. To attain their objectives, the colonial authorities and the Partai Rakyat Indonesia and the Malayan Chinese Association needed each other to violently counter anti-colonial forces. In the Netherlands East Indies, those forces were gathered in the *Republik Indonesia*, whereas in Malaya the Malayan Communist Party took up arms against the colonial oppressor. When interests no longer matched properly, however, indigenous elites in Indonesia and Malaysia found that the colonial authorities could still muster enough pressure to have them fall back in line.

Whereas chapter two details how members of the local elites tried to gain influence with high colonial officialdom and presented themselves as a means for the latter to re-establish contact with the population, chapter three maps how elites gained influence in a downward direction, towards indigenous society. The chapter contends that the alliance with the colonial state required that, in exchange for a modicum of power, the Partai Rakyat Pasundan, the Pasundan State that followed it and the Malayan Chinese Association had to prove their usefulness to the colonial state. In practice, this meant that indigenous elites were made to 'create' constituencies and pushed to solve an acute post-World War Two manpower crisis. They had to find recruits to breathe new life into the colonial security apparatus needed to parry the blows of a powerful and violent anti-colonial movement. In return, the elites created the circumstances that allowed them to speak to and ensconced themselves in the communities they claimed to represent.

The fourth chapter descends one more rung down the colonial hierarchical

ladder, into the ranks of colonial security forces. It brings local agency further into perspective. The focus lies with how these enforcers of empire navigated violent decolonization through recruitment, training and deployment. The object of this chapter is to argue that through serving, those in the security forces could demand certain rewards from the colonial state. First, it shows that professing support for the colonial state—becoming the state’s agent—yielded rewards, such as pensions, land titles and education or vocational training. Second, the chapter illustrates that as the conflicts of decolonization heated up, it was not a deep-seated support for the colonial state that engendered indigenous support. Instead, violence exerted a mobilizational force that, combined with the need for survival (and, to no small extent, state coercion), prompted indigenous women and men to join the security forces.

Lastly, by highlighting the micro-histories of individual fighters, chapter four shows that those serving had to alternate between various identities under the pressure of mounting violence, which led to oscillating alliances. For example, when Indonesian fighters specifically targeted Chinese communities for being Chinese, some joined up with Dutch-sponsored, Chinese security forces. Underneath ostensibly fixed alliances (to the colonial state, for example), however, other identities simultaneously undermined said alliances. Colonial enforcers used the violent means given to them by the state to chase their own interests that ran quite opposite to what the colonial authorities in Indonesia and Malaysia had in mind.

In doing so, indigenous enforcers interacted with the very indigenous populations they had been recruited from. The final chapter has these indigenous populations in Indonesia and Malaysia as its core. It tries to understand the choices of ‘regular’ people: men, women, youths, tappers or labourers. Naturally, the instances of agency under consideration cannot be said to represent *all* communities or individuals. The chapter should be understood as an attempt to discern how the unmooring of (rural) society during decolonization combined with violence geared towards territorial control. This combination, it will be argued,

dictated the range of choices individuals had and how specific alliances were created. The chapter is an attempt to disaggregate specific groups of people and their agency in the forms of the choices they had under the difficult circumstances of decolonization. This is needed as contemporary sources and the subsequent studies on the wars in Malaya and Indonesia that followed show a strong tendency to lump various communities—Chinese, for example, and Indonesians—together.

Broadly speaking, the analysis deals with three sorts of indigenous actors. First, there are indigenous organisations that demanded peoples' support. Four organisations will be identified. Two are the recurrent Partai Rakyat Pasundan and the Malayan Chinese Association. Against them stood two anti-colonial organisations that vied for the support of the same populations, but for diametrically opposed reasons. In Malaya, this was the *Min Yuen* or Masses Organisation. In Indonesia, villagers encountered the *Komando<sup>2</sup> (Onder) Distrik Militer* or Military (Sub) District Commandos. These organisations, by their very nature, tried to enforce alliances by turning by-standers into participants. In doing so, they provided the context wherein people acted.

The second group of actors was constituted by those who were disinterested in the general war and outside the ranks of security forces or their opponents. For these people the contest for territorial control meant they had to enter in multiple, unwanted alliances in a bid to remain neutral and, in effect, escape being subjected to violence. At first glance, it may appear that these people, thus subjected to violence, were mere victims. However, their agency lay in the fact that by catering to two or multiple power-brokers they could maximize their chances on survival. In doing so, they created a live-and-let-live system. The last group of indigenous 'regular' actors were, in fact, connected to the war, either on the side of the colonial authorities or on the insurgents'. On the one hand, they, too, benefitted from the live-and-let-live system. For some of these participants, on the other hand, the revolutions proved a way to further themselves; to, within grander societal changes, alter their personal status quo.

To bring out differences in motivation, the chapter will treat men and women separately. It will also focus on the *Darul Islam*. The chapter singles out the *Darul Islam* as highly motivated individuals founded this organisation to break away from *both* the Netherlands East Indies colonial authorities and the Republic Indonesia. It tried to do so in West Java, the heartland of both the Dutch colonial authorities and the Pasundan State.

Taken together, the three groups of actors again underline the major tenet of the thesis: that decolonization was highly complicated set of processes that, in turn, brought into contact organisations, communities and individuals from all layers of colonized Indonesia and Malaysia, including their interests, objectives and wishes. Only by taking these into account along with the local, indigenous agency these wishes generated, can proper weight be given to the complexities of decolonization.

#### *A note on sources*

In her book *Along the Archival Grain*, Ann Stoler has convincingly argued that ‘sentiments have figured in and mattered to the shaping of [colonial] *statecraft*’.<sup>21</sup> Those collating, measuring, counting and interpreting the information that informed the functioning of colonial states, Stoler claimed, did so under the influence of a ‘concern for sentiment’. Officials designed policies—such as educational reform or marriage laws—based on what they thought would ‘produce *sensibilities* that were fitting, *aspirations* that were appropriate [and] *dispositions* that would confirm [colonial] truth-claims’, not on realities per se. Empires, therefore, ran on ‘distorted forms of knowledge’ connected to an assumed understanding of the indigenous.<sup>22</sup>

The analyses that follow have been necessarily constructed from flawed economic appraisals, personality sketches and intelligence and military-operational reports, informed by the reductionist tendencies of the colonial

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<sup>21</sup> Ann L. Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 62. Emphasis in the original.

<sup>22</sup> Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 63-64, 71, 247. Emphasis in the original.



scribes.<sup>23</sup> The projects geared to socially engineer parts of colonial society in Malaya or instil appropriate behavioural repertoires in Indonesian militias, for example, took little to no stock of what the people subjected to them precisely thought or wanted. Perhaps the problem was compounded by the wars of decolonization that dominated colonial reporting between 1945 and 1957. Where continued colonial domination was threatened or seriously hung in the balance, less time could be devoted to probing indigenous inclinations than under 'peaceful' circumstances. For counter-insurgency programs to gain traction, assessments, policy designs and their implementation had to be undertaken sooner rather than later—if policy makers had time to anticipate at all.

The present research, to tease out the roles of local agency and interests and attempt to partially mitigate the distorted nature of archival sources, seeks to distance itself from the sources and read between the lines of the incomplete information the relevant archives provided. The analyses rely heavily on the combination of civil and military archives. For the Netherlands East Indies, the main sources are found in the archive of the *Algemene Secretarie* (the General Secretary). This archive contains the papers of the civilian *Binnenlands Bestuur* (Inland Administration) and its police forces. The massive archive that the Armed Forces in the Netherlands East Indies have generated represents another major source. Combined, the Inland Administration and the Armed Forces' records were particularly valuable for determining the political, economic and social state of the population and the various, shifting approaches both civil and military authorities took to influencing the population. They were furthermore instrumental in understanding the violent framework—including indigenous security forces—in which indigenous populations acted and organized and how anti-colonial organisations behaved towards both the population and the colonial authorities. To similar ends, the records of the Air Ministry and Royal Air Force, the War Office, the Colonial Office and the Commonwealth Office were similarly used to analyse the war in Malaya.

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<sup>23</sup> Compare: Quijano, *Coloniality*, 170.

To identify and contextualize local agency to the fullest, yet other archives and sources were consulted. They included the Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service, the British National Army Museum, ego documents and newspapers. Various planter records held in the Dutch and British National Archives (and at the Incorporated Society of Planters in Kuala Lumpur) at times provided a counter-point to those of the government, specifically were they concerned the efficacy of the latter's counter-insurgency policies. In addition, planters interacted more closely with locals—and in a different manner—than civilian or military representatives. A thesis about Southeast Asia obviously cannot be complete without making use of local archives. The *Arkib Negara Malaysia* and the papers of Tan Cheng Lock and Henry Lee Hau Shik, better known as H. S. Lee, (held by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore) proved particularly valuable in charting the rise of the Malayan Chinese Association and the role of the Chinese in shaping the Malayan Emergency. Lastly, where my limited command of Bahasa Indonesia and time have allowed, the Republican archives held in the *Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia*—mostly those of the *Sekretariat Negara* (State Secretary), the *Kementerian Pertahanan* (Ministry of Defence) and the *Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia* (the Police of the Republic of Indonesia) gave depth to the information from Dutch sources.

Research that relies on official documents alone may be said to be incomplete. For this reason, wherever possible, the analysis has been supplemented by interviews. In some cases, I have been able to interview people directly. Due to time-restrictions and my limited knowledge of Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Melayu, most interviews used for this project, however, have been done by others. As such, the questions asked were not designed towards furthering this thesis's research agenda, but that of someone else.

### *The Indonesian War for Independence and the Malayan Emergency*

The final pages of this introductions will give a short, simplified chronology of the two conflicts under consideration: the Indonesian War for Independence (1945-

1949) and the Malayan Emergency (1948-1960).

The decolonization of the Netherlands East Indies and British Malaya did not start with the surrender of the Japanese Imperial Army in August 1945, but the power vacuum its soldiers left behind allowed Southeast Asian nationalists to think about establishing an independent state. Mere days after the Japanese surrender, Sukarno and Muhammad Hatta declared independence on 17 August 1945 as the first president and vice president, respectively, of the *Republic Indonesia*. If the period between August 1945 and the first months of 1946 is any indication, the proclamation of the Republic—with its capital in Yogyakarta, Central Java—echoed throughout the archipelago, awakening peoples' deep-seated wish for independence. During this period, Indonesians killed tens of thousands of Dutch, Indo-European and others perceived to be loyal to the Dutch.

The Netherlands government, in the meantime, refused to negotiate with the newly established Republic and scrambled to have its colonial authority restored. British forces were sent in as place-holders for the Dutch on the back of a formal Anglo-Dutch agreement. This arrangement proved impossible to hold, however, because the situation on the ground was unexpectedly violent. The British command therefore decided to limit its presence only to 'key areas' on Java and Sumatra in order to carry out the guarding of Japanese troops and evacuation of prisoners of wars and internees. The Dutch were appalled to learn that the British recognized the Republic, while the British, in turn, found the incoming Dutch troops overtly violent.<sup>24</sup> By October 1946, the British had managed to bring the Netherlands government to the negotiation table, have it recognize the Republic's right to self-determination and agree to a cease-fire.

For months, negotiations dragged on until the Dutch-Indonesian Linggadjati Agreement was signed in March 1947. In reality, the Dutch and the

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<sup>24</sup> J. A. A. van Doorn, 'Indië als Koloniaal Project: Een Karakteristiek van de Nederlandse Bemoeienis met Indië in de Twintigste Eeuw', in J. van Goor, ed., *The Indonesian Revolution: Papers of the Conference Held in Utrecht 17-20 June 1986* (Utrecht: Instituut voor Geschiedenis der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, 1986), 90; H. Th. Bussemaker, *Bersiap! Opstand in het Paradijs: De Bersiap-periode op Java en Sumatra 1945-1946* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2005); McMillan, *The British Occupation*, 17-18, 105, 167.

Republic had signed two different treaties. Although the Netherlands government had recognized the Republic on Java, Sumatra and Madura, it demanded the Republic become part of the United States of Indonesia (USI). The Republic, conversely, had understood its status as a *de facto* power would not be diminished and certainly not before January 1949, when the USI would have been formed. Furthermore, Republicans interpreted the future bond the Dutch kingdom as being voluntary.<sup>25</sup> After March, mutual distrust mounted as the Dutch built up their military footprint. Haunted by visions of empty governmental coffers and irreparable damage to the Dutch plantation system, General Simon Spoor on 21 July 1947 ordered the first ‘Police Action’. Its object was to capture the major communication centres and cities before troops could try their hand at ‘pacifying’—violently weeding out local resistance—the territories the army could not immediately occupy.

Dutch troops occupied two-thirds of Java and parts of Sumatra, but on five August, pressured by the United Nations, the government in The Hague told them to stand down. Riding the wave of success that came with having cut the Republic down to size, Lieutenant Governor-General Hubertus van Mook began organising the federal states that would constitute the USI. The Partai Rakyat Pasundan was created as part of this federal push. On their part, Republican troops of the *Tentara Nasional Indonesia* (National Army of Indonesia) and their irregulars that had allowed their Dutch adversaries to pass began developing and implementing guerrilla tactics. Dutch efforts to ‘pacify’ quickly began stalling, not in the least because the territory Dutch and their local enforcers had to cover was too large. They could not protect local populations. The steady deterioration of Dutch-Indonesian relations and levels local safety prompted the United Nations to initiate a new round of negotiations. They concluded aboard an American ship, the *Renville*, where Republican and Dutch representatives signed another

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<sup>25</sup> H. van den Doel, *Afscheid van Indië: De Val van het Nederlandse Imperium in Azië* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2001), 149, 174, 186, 190-192, 208; George McTurnan Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963), 196; Petra M. H. Groen, *Marsroutes en Dwaalsporen: Het Nederlands Militair-strategisch Beleid in Indonesië, 1945–1950* (The Hague: SDU, 1991), 78; Jan Bank, *Katholieken en de Indonesische Revolutie* (Baarn: Ambo, 1983), 216-31.

agreement in January 1948. Under 'Renville', the Republic agreed to pull back its troops into Central Java while the Dutch were allowed to start forming a federal government.<sup>26</sup>

Once again both parties failed to live up to the agreement. On nineteen December, Louis Beel, Van Mook's successor, received The Hague's permission to commence another 'Police Action', this time to arrest the Republican leaders in Yogyakarta. It lasted until five January 1949. Diplomatically and militarily, this military aggression sounded the death knell for the Dutch in Indonesia. The United Nations roundly condemned the Netherlands and threatened with sanctions and the Dutch were forced to release the Republican government. In the course of 1949, Republican forces brought about a military stale-mate though intense guerrilla warfare. On seven May 1949 two diplomats, Mohammad Rum and Jan Herman van Roijen, came to an agreement that was the lead-in to the Round Table Conference that culminated in the transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia. On 27 December 1949 Indonesia was finally free.<sup>27</sup>

In what in 1945 was British Malaya, the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) that would claim to fight a war for independence in Malaya—like the *Partai Nasional Indonesia*—had its roots in the years leading up to the Second World War.<sup>28</sup> Like Sukarno and Hatta, the communists in Malaya gained strength during the Japanese occupation. Contrary to Indonesian nationalists, however, the MCP's influence stemmed not from co-operation with the Japanese, but from fighting them through the party's Malayan Peoples' Anti-Japanese Army (MRLA). The MCP's interpretation of independence further differed from the Republic's due to the fact that whereas the Republic deployed Maoist tactics divested from their

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<sup>26</sup> Remy Limpach, *De Brandende Kampongs van Generaal Spoor* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2016), 54-56; R. Cribb, 'Military Strategy in the Indonesian Revolution: Nasution's Concept of "Total People's War" in Theory and Practice', *War & Society*, 19, 2 (2001), 143-154; Ronald Gase, *Beel in Batavia: Van Contact tot Conflict: Verwikkelingen Rond de Indonesische Kwestie in 1948* (Baarn: Anthos, 1986), 17-18; Bank, *Katholieken en de Indonesische Revolutie*, 327.

<sup>27</sup> Limpach, *De Brandende Kampongs*, 57-59; Groen, *Marsrouten en Dwaalsporen*, 178, 197-198; Alastair M. Taylor, *Indonesian Independence and the United Nations* (London, Stevens & Sons, 1960), 172-175; Van den Doel, *Afscheid van Indië*, 345, 350-351; although sovereignty was given to the United States of Indonesia, Sukarno installed a unitary state on 17 August 1950.

<sup>28</sup> C. F. Yong, 'Origins and Development of the Malayan Communist Movement, 1919-1930', *Modern Asian Studies*, 25, 4 (1991), 625-648.

communist agenda, the Malayan communist insurgents wanted to supplant the British state with a communist regime.<sup>29</sup> After 1945, the Malay communists therefore first focussed on infiltrating political parties and labour unions before it went underground for fear of a British clamp-down in 1948. Disenfranchised Malayan Chinese—distrusted by the Malays—constituted the base of the MCP whose ranks were dominated by the Chinese.<sup>30</sup>

The British meanwhile sought to bring together the British Settlements of Penang and Malacca and the nine other peninsular states of Malaya under a Malayan Union. Singapore would become a separate entity. Although the Malay Rulers of the individual states had agreed to the Union, popular protest—organized by Malay leaders in the United Malays National Organisation in May 1946—made them change their mind. Early 1948, the British, with the Rulers' consent, finally decided on the Federation of Malaya. Although its stipulations different little from the Union's, they did contain the promise of self-government.<sup>31</sup> Chinese leaders were not consulted throughout these constitutional changes. As at the same time the British indeed began pressuring the MCP between March to May 1948, the communists began organising for conflict expected 'later that year'. It therefore ramped up the frequency of 'violence and murder in support of labour disputes'.

The British, however, 'pre-empted communist plans by declaring a state of emergency in June 1948' in response to a string of heinous killings. The MCP now organized guerrilla units collectively known as the Malayan National Liberation Army (MNLA; later Malayan Races Liberation Army). The British opened what became known as the Malayan Emergency with 'counter-terror'.

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<sup>29</sup> A classic Mao-inspired revolution knows three phases: (1) guerrilla-type assault attack the incumbent regime when it least expects it to create chaos that results in (2) communist safe areas that would eventually link up to build up a conventional army. From those liberated areas (3) the regular army would stage their final attack on the incumbent regime, destroying the latter altogether.

<sup>30</sup> Cheah Boon Kheng, *Red Star over Malaya: Resistance and Social Conflict During and After the Japanese Occupation of Malaya, 1941-46* (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2012, fourth edition), 150, 155; P. Staniland, *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), 186-188; James P. Ongkili, *Nation-building in Malaysia, 1946-1974* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1985), 21, 27, 29.

<sup>31</sup> Ongkili, *Nation-building in Malaysia*, 38, 51, 55, 59; Richard Stubbs, *Hearts and Minds in Guerrilla Warfare: The Malayan Emergency 1948-1960* (Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 2004), 207.

This broke up bigger MRLA units into smaller ones, making their attacks more precise. At the same time, intelligence started flowing into British hands. After the end of 1949, ‘operations on both sides were becoming more organized and targeted’. The British then implemented the so-called Briggs plan (named after its originator General Sir Harold Briggs) from 1950 onwards. It violently resettled more than half a million Chinese into New Villages. This program severely obstructed the MCP’s connections with their predominantly Chinese support base now held in the villages.<sup>32</sup> The British continued—with newly arrived General Sir Gerald Templer leading the charge after 1951—to focus their attention on the New Villages. On the one hand, collective punishment hit those villages that did not cooperate. On the other hand, the colonial government held municipal elections and tried to improve living conditions in the villages.<sup>33</sup>

To no small extent, the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) contributed to these developments. This organisation had been founded by affluent, ‘conservative’ and influential Chinese members of the Malaya’s Federal Council and the Chinese Chambers of Commerce. High Commissioner Sir Henry Gurney had impressed upon them that the Chinese communities in Malaya, pressured as they were by the MCP and the distrust of Malays, needed an organisation akin to the UMNO to represent their interests. Before long, the MCA gained considerable strength, both with the Chinese and the colonial government, by catering to the needs of the resettled Chinese.<sup>34</sup>

With the forcefield described above directed against it, the Malayan Communist Party was slowly being marginalized. It moved back into Malaya’s deep jungles; the number of violent incidents its guerrillas staged showed a downward trajectory, as did the party’s morale. Mounting numbers of defecting soldiers—known as Surrendered Enemy Personnel—further weakened the MCP’s

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<sup>32</sup> Karl Hack, ‘The Malayan Emergency as Counter-Insurgency Paradigm’, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 32, 3 (2009), 386; Staniland, *Networks of Rebellion*, 190-191;

<sup>33</sup> Hack, ‘The Malayan Emergency as Counter-Insurgency Paradigm’, 389, 391-392.

<sup>34</sup> Margaret Roff, ‘The Malayan Chinese Association, 1948-65’, *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, 6, 2 (1965), 41-42; Heng Pek Koon, *Chinese Politics in Malaysia: A History of the Malayan Chinese Association* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1988), 54-55, chapter 5.

potential for sustained guerrilla warfare. By 1956, the number of MCP fighters had dropped to 3,000 from a peak of 8,000-10,000.

The Malayan Chinese Association's influence, conversely, was still growing. It re-invented itself, transitioning from a social to a political movement. Already in January 1952, the UMNO and the MCA joined forces in the Alliance, predominantly to combine the influence these organisations had within their respective communities. The Alliance was further designed to keep other parties—mostly the Independence for Malaysia Party (IMP)—from becoming the champions of the independence movement and to have the British 'speed up the time timetable for self-government'. Various local elections (in which the Alliance was successful) were in 1955 followed up by elections for a newly designed Federal Council. The body was recast into 'a partly-elected and partly-nominated unicameral legislature'. This 'first national poll' took place on 27 July 1955. A great number of parties participated: aside from the Alliance, the other parties included the Party Negera, the Labour Party of Malaya, the National Association of Perak and the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party. The Alliance, joined by Malaysian Indian Congress just before the Federal Council elections, won fifty of the fifty-one seats for elected members.<sup>35</sup>

Analogous to the federal elections, the leader of the Alliance, Tunku Abdul Rahman, suggested to offer amnesty to the 'terrorists' still with the ailing MCP in an order to finally end the Emergency. After two years of fruitless negotiations, the authorities disallowed the MCP to '[emerge] into civilian life, free and apparently respectable'. According to Anthony Short, the communists themselves were 'not averse to continuing the Emergency'. By 'very cautious demonstrations of military activity' the MCP believed it could show the rest of Malaya it could not be defeated militarily. Abdul Rahman on 31 August 1957 became the first Prime Minister of an independent Malaya. Around that time, the Malayan Communist Party had moved into southern Thailand from where it staged ineffective forays

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<sup>35</sup> Staniland, *Networks of Rebellion*, 190-191; Koon, *Chinese Politics in Malaysia*, 136-147, 160, 180; Ongkili, *Nation-building in Malaysia*, 94-97.



into Malaya. Only in 1989 did the MCP declare the war over.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Anthony Short, *The Communist Insurrection in Malaya 1948-1960* (London: Frederick Muller, 1975), 470; Staniland, *Networks of Rebellion*, 191.

## I

### **Co-operation, Loyalty and Alliances: Participation in Colonial Insurgency**

On a hot summer's day in June 1949, a public prosecutor in the Netherlands East Indies was confronted with a rather sensitive case. Four Indonesians who stood on trial in Cilincing for suspected subversive anti-Dutch activities had declared they were tortured during interrogation. Aside from a sandal and a piece of wood to beat the prisoners, electrocution had been used to 'wring out a confession'. Indonesians did the actual interrogating, while their Eurasian or Dutch commander—the report does not specify—looked on in tacit agreement.<sup>1</sup> The same mechanism was at work in British Malaya: European officers stood by as locally recruited personnel questioned suspects. A Special Branch officer working for the Federation of Malaya Police admitted that prisoners were beaten 'from time to time' by his Chinese subordinates. He added that keeping suspects awake over extended periods of time—a method later 'called cruel in Northern Ireland'—was quite admissible since 'all is fair in love and war'.<sup>2</sup>

The two examples illustrate a core aspect of the research at hand. It is that indigenous people were clearly implicated in the attempts to sustain empire and the wars of decolonization. The sections that follow will analyse this notion further. In the process, several questions shall be considered. These questions revolve around the relation of indigenous peoples with the foreign colonial powers that sought to dominate them. If the functioning of the colonial state was predicated on violence, asymmetrical co-operation and the stripping of agency from local populations, why did serving and fighting for the colonial state seem desirable? Did obedience or loyalty play a determining role, or did indigenous men and women have other motives for joining hands with the authorities? Did the colonial state offer avenues for social advancement? To address these and other questions, the first section of the chapter rules out forms of co-operation on

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<sup>1</sup> Officier van Justitie Mr. M. Kiverson aan de Procureur-Generaal aan het Hooggerechtshof van Nederlands-Indië, Mishandeling van Arrestanten in the Randdetachment Tjilintjing, 17 June 1948, no. 1230/49, Proc.-Gen. Hooggerechtshof Ned.-Ind. 2.10.17/119, Procureur-Generaal bij het Hooggerechtshof van Nederlands-Indië, 1945-1950, The National Archives, The Hague.

<sup>2</sup> John Sankey, Imperial War Museum Sound Archive [IWMSA], accession number 10300, reel 3.

an equal footing between the incoming colonial powers and indigenous populations as power-relations were bound to be transformed in the colonizer's favour. Whatever 'benefits' the colonized received through colonialism, wrote Ellis Cashmore, 'they inevitably suffered' as peoples, culturally and socially by the introduction of relations of dependence.<sup>3</sup>

If locals joined forces with violent foreign conquerors based on asymmetry, the next section argues, this should not be mistaken for carefully cultivated loyalty. In colonial studies, a measure of loyalty of both troops and indigenous elites is often implicated as the factor that made the networks that tied them to the colonial state function, but this notion is too rigid and fixed. Loyalty needs to be unpacked for two reasons. First, critically engaging with loyalty removes the possibility of unproblematically serving up local enforcers as the tools of empire. Many historical studies have fallen for this trap, especially those interested in the chronological processes of decolonization or its diplomatic or counterinsurgency dimensions. Secondly, dispensing with loyalty as an explanation for local acquiescence brings back local agency and the influence of indigenous choices. The third section explains how the concept of alliance-formation can bring about such a restoration. Alliances are flexible, mutually beneficial and, in opposition to what loyalty implies, can be abrogated. If indigenous-colonial relations are thus conceived, the actions and choices indigenous individuals and communities make within the alliance-formation framework, it will be argued, make visible indigenous agency. The sections that follow will further show, by participating in various contemporary debates—such as rebellion, violence and counterinsurgency—how alliance-formation and agency can explain the efficacy of participation on the side of the colonial government.<sup>4</sup> The chapter will close by indicating what alliance-formation means for the study of the decolonization of

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<sup>3</sup> E. Ellis Cashmore, *Dictionary of Race and Ethnic Relations* (London: Routledge, 1996), 82.

<sup>4</sup> Whereas some commentators try to declare counterinsurgency as an approach dead, its historical trappings are still debated hotly by both practitioners and historians. See Whitney Kassel, 'COIN's Funeral: How the United States and NATO Came to Pursue the Counterinsurgency Strategy in Afghanistan—And Why It Might Never be Used Again', *Foreign Affairs*, 24 April 2014.

the Netherlands East Indies and British Malaya and how the comparative design of this project functions.

### *Co-operation*

The fact that European officers, either in a military or police capacity, had locally recruited subordinates do the dirty business of gathering intelligence, is symptomatic of the functioning of empire. Before the massive drive for empire which characterized the late nineteenth century, small bands of European explorers, followed by chartered companies, administrators and troops had rather more limited goals. 'For much of the several centuries of pre-imperial contacts, mercantile, consular, and missionary posts were subordinate to local rulers'.<sup>5</sup> At this junction of initial contact and for some time thereafter, indigenous communities could negotiate. This was done predominantly through treaties. In encounters between Europeans and indigenous peoples, the former had to accommodate the latter's claims. Local communities could present their oppositional claims by adopting European discourses infused with concepts that both stemmed from and crossed cultural divides. In this way, indigenous counter-claims were validated by the nascent colonial powers.<sup>6</sup> Despite coming from different worlds, Europeans and autochthonous peoples could find common ground upon which to negotiate claims and counter-claims (about sovereignty and property) through a shared yet different set of compatible customs that functioned in a context that specifically demanded parley. Violent indigenous reactions, in this conception, did not necessarily serve to drive off the Europeans—peaceful treaty-bound interaction was preferable to war—but to force Europeans to recognize valid, local claims, according to Belmessous.<sup>7</sup>

This interpretation has certain limitations. As the scramble for territories to be conquered intensified and empires slowly coalesced and became entrenched,

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<sup>5</sup> Colin Newbury, 'Patrons, Clients, and Empire: The Subordination of Indigenous Hierarchies in Asia and Africa', *Journal of World History*, 11, 2 (2000), 231.

<sup>6</sup> Saliha Belmessous, *Native Claims: Indigenous Law Against Empire, 1500-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 8, 12.

<sup>7</sup> Belmessous, *Native Claims*, 10.

the binding nature of treaties suffered. Officials showed increasingly less compunction with unilaterally rejecting treaties when doing so proved advantageous. The scope of action for indigenous treaty-making diminished relative to the gains in power made by colonial authorities. Treaties, arguably, were not even *about* non-European populations but served as markers of defining imperial spaces.<sup>8</sup> Where settlers introduced themselves, indigenous communities suffered further, still. Whereas colonialism promoted severe and violent cultural change, it benefited from a continued—if dominated—indigenous presence. Settlers, however, could transform cultural destruction into ‘cultural genocide’ and initiate an erasure of the indigenous. Settler colonies could ‘[end] up establishing independent nations [and] effectively repress, co-opt, and extinguish indigenous alterities’.<sup>9</sup> Even so, treaty-making did not disappear. The necessities of colonial conquest did alter the nature of treaties. Since the burgeoning state needed manpower to organize the troops needed for sustained domination and demonstrable appropriation of contested colonial territory became ever more important, officials now concluded treaties to co-opt former enemies, including the latter’s retinue of fighters, in order to steer the state’s gaze unto other resisting communities.<sup>10</sup>

In Indonesia, a new economic and administrative policy at the beginning of the nineteenth century led reformers to banish the Sultan of Bantam (West Java) as he was held responsible for social unrest in his sultanate. That the unrest was caused by forced heavy labour ordered by the Dutch themselves did not concern

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<sup>8</sup> Tamar Herzog, *Frontiers of Possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015), 20.

<sup>9</sup> John Docker, ‘Are Settler-Colonies Inherently Genocidal? Re-Reading Lemkin’, in A. Dirk Moses, ed., *Empire, Colony, Genocide: Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 95; Raymond Evans, “‘Crime Without a Name’: Colonialism and the Case of “Indigenocide””, in A. Dirk Moses, ed., *Empire, Colony, Genocide: Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 143; Lorenzo Veracini, ‘Introducing *Settler Colonial Studies*’, *Settler Colonial Studies*, 1, 1 (2011), 12. See also: Michael Adas, ‘From Settler Colony to Global Hegemon: Integrating the Exceptionalist Narrative of the American Experience into World History’, *The American Historical Review*, 106, 5 (2001), 1692-1720.

<sup>10</sup> For an example of this, see Martijn Kitzen, ‘Between Treaty and Treason: Dutch Collaboration with Warlord Teuku Uma During the Aceh War: A Case Study on the Collaboration with Indigenous Power-holders in Colonial Warfare’, *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 23, 1 (2012), 93-116; Douglas Porch, ‘Bugeaud, Galliéni, Lyautey: The Development of French Colonial Warfare’, in Peter Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 385.

the colonial rulers. The fact that the Sultanate and the Dutch had been engaged in treaties since the arrival of the Dutch East India Company (*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*; VOC) and the Sultanate had agreed to the presence of the VOC's sugar industry in the region was likewise brushed aside.<sup>11</sup> The old sultan was promptly removed; his successor was clearly told who his masters were.

In Malaysia, too, agents of the British Empire worked with the sultans through various treaties from 1874 onward. Despite that European advisers daily enforced subordinate relationships on the different Sultans and their administrations, the system provided 'mutual reciprocity' that allowed for 'peaceful settlements of disputes'.<sup>12</sup> Malay rulers remained legitimized, yet as the British opened Malaya to world trade markets, 'new client groups of Europeans, Chinese, and Indians, had to be supported'. This development changed how the British safeguarded their interests. The traditional system was superseded by a centralized bureaucracy that severely limited the Malay Rulers' influence—even if the sovereignty of their sultanates remained untouched.<sup>13</sup> The influence of the British was such that sultans could be deposed or, if needed, their lines of succession altered.

Traditional rulers performed a rather ambiguous role. On the one hand, they were thoroughly subjugated. On the other hand, they were instrumental in maintaining empire and were consequently elevated in social standing. As Ronald Robinson has convincingly argued, colonial incursion and expansion relied upon finding 'internal "collaborators" in [the] non-European political economies' the growing empires aimed to penetrate. The governing elites that the colonial agents encountered needed to be made to work in tandem with European expansionist tendencies. This way, inevitable resistance reflexes could be blunted and subdued or even checked by treaty before they flared up uncontrollably. Through

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<sup>11</sup> Joop de Jong, *De Waaijer van Fortuin: De Nederlanders in Azië en de Indonesische Archipel 1595-1950* (Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers, 1998), 113, 180, 184-185.

<sup>12</sup> Newbury, 'Patrons, Clients, and Empire' 240-241, 243.

<sup>13</sup> Newbury, 'Patrons, Clients, and Empire', 244-245.

collaboration and local consent, the European agents accessed cheap labour, extracted valuable resources, broke into local economies and reconfigured power relations.<sup>14</sup> As the veritable personifications of the keys to the colonial kingdom, local rulers and elites were allowed room for manoeuvre. Conversely, the margin for autonomy they had was limited and predominantly determined by the proximity—and later—the strength of the colonial states.

As the short foray into Bantam and the examples that opened this chapter have shown, colonies were built upon a foundation of coercion. Although authorities could count on the local participation of rulers, there had to be a means to control them and the communities they represented in case of disturbances. The troops the Dutch sent in to defuse the threatening situation in Bantam, however, were largely non-Dutch. Acquiescence was enforced by local troops, as the gruesome examples which opened this chapter have already illustrated. Cooperation was not limited to rulers and local elites. They shared the burden of complicity with indigenous enforcers who actively contributed to sustained colonial domination.

At this juncture, empire's more coercive and downright violent character take centre stage. Whereas traditional leaders may have been allowed to stay in place to function as gate-keepers of indigenous political economies, colonial authorities everywhere ensured they possessed the tools to rectify any situation that may have come close to threatening the hold on the colonial territories. Maintenance of empires very much depended on the threat of violence—despite the continued importance of treaties and negotiation.<sup>15</sup> Partially, the necessity of (the threat of) violence can be explained by the fact that from the start of the twentieth century officials saw threats to the colonial *status quo* everywhere. In Malaysia and Indonesia communism, Islam and nationalism were very much on the minds of the colonial administrators responsible for maintaining order.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ronald Robinson, 'Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism: Sketch for a Theory of Collaboration', in Roger Owen and Bob Sutcliffe, eds., *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism* (Harlow: Longman, 1972), 120.

<sup>15</sup> John Darwin, 'What Was the Late Colonial State?', *Itinerario*, 23, 3-4 (1999), 73-82.

<sup>16</sup> Marieke Bloembergen, 'Koloniale Staat, Politie Staat? Politieke Politie en het Rode Fantoom in Nederlands-Indië, 1918-1927', *Leidschrift*, 21, 2 (2006), 69-91; Y. Mansoor Marican, 'Malay Nationalism and the Islamic Party of

Violent, local externalization of individual grievances were easily misconstrued as the onset of large-scale political unrest. The distinction between misdemeanour and subversion was quite blurred.<sup>17</sup>

An excellent study by Martin Thomas has added to our understanding of the function of colonial policing with a very important insight. Many of the violent episodes that typified colonial expansion and control were not directly connected to frustrating the aspirations and emancipation of colonized minds. Rather, maintenance of order stemmed from the consequences of an emerging colonial economy. The extraction of valuable resources necessitated continued access to cheap, forced labour as indigenous modes of production were altered for the transition into a predatory economy. This new order needed to be enforced and protected. The resulting security apparatus served two purposes. The first and obvious one is that it contained any unrest resulting from the exploitative character of the colonial state. Second, it served to protect those interest groups that did the actual resource extraction: '[p]landing consortia, mining companies and other businesses seeking exclusive commercial concessions'. The colonial state had to be extremely careful not to upset the smooth functioning of business interests; it was the latter's representatives in the hinterlands who often, by means of the vast capitals over which they disposed, exerted more local influence than the colonial administrators themselves.<sup>18</sup>

The relationship between business and administration had to be symbiotic, not antagonistic. Labour unrest was quick to trigger violent colonial reactions. Sending in the state's police forces safeguarded a sustained flow of resources. After all, 'political priorities and security practices of colonial rule were [...] attuned to its economic organization'. Based on this troika of security, policy and business, then, Thomas concluded that the belief in 'contrasting styles of European colonial policing may be misguided'. Instead, his case studies underline

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Malaysia', *Islamic Studies*, 16, 1 (1977), 293.

<sup>17</sup> Georgina Sinclair, *At the End of the Line: Colonial Policing and the Imperial Endgame 1945-1980* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 189.

<sup>18</sup> Martin Thomas, *Violence and Colonial Order: Police, Workers and Protest in the European Colonial Empires, 1918-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 4.



that ‘state repression’ across empires served to uphold local economic structures that made the predatory colonial wage economies possible that were co-owned by the agents of corporate conglomerates and local settler.<sup>19</sup>

It has been established now why the colonial state needed the ever-present threat of violence.<sup>20</sup> Indigenous police forces, and in the event of wide-spread violence, army conscripts, figured centrally in colonial states. Utilization of local draftees and constables was a global phenomenon shared across empires. Spanish *conquistadores* from the sixteenth century onwards relied heavily on locally auxiliaries in conjunction with troops from previously-conquered territories, ranging from African-born slaves to Iberian-born free men of mixed racial ancestry.<sup>21</sup> India’s North West Frontier was conquered by a wide array of Civil Armed Forces that policed the Indian-Afghani borders. The Indian Army, with its oft-romanticized *sepoys* officered by British men, grew into ‘the strongest land force in nineteenth-century Asia’.<sup>22</sup> The Indian Army was deemed so dependable it was sent to Burma. After its northern provinces were finally annexed to India in 1885, it was the Indian Army that continually pacified the territory.<sup>23</sup> In Cambodia, the French created the *garde indigène* in the 1880s based on earlier experiences with colonial police forces there, the *police indigène*. The pacification of Cambodia was specifically ascribed to the indigenous guard, while the regular French army took care of defeating local resistance during the various phases of incremental conquest.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Thomas, *Violence and Colonial Order*, 5.

<sup>20</sup> For a typology of different styles of coercive colonial state systems, see Darwin, ‘What Was the Late Colonial State?’, 73-82.

<sup>21</sup> John Chuckyak IV, ‘Forgotten Allies: The Origins and Roles of Native Mesoamerican Auxiliaries and Indian Conquistadores in the Conquest of Yucatan, 1526-1550’, in Laura Matthew and Michel Oudijk, eds., *Indian Conquistadores: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 180; Matthew Restall, ‘Black Conquistadores: Armed Africans in Early Spanish America’, *The Americas*, 57, 2 (2002), 175-176.

<sup>22</sup> T. Moreman, ‘“Watch and Ward”: The Army in India and the North-West Frontier, 1920-1939’, David Killingray and David Omissi, eds., *Guardians of Empire: The Armed Forces of the Colonial Powers, c.1700–1964* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 137-156; Roy Kaushik, ‘Recruitment Doctrines of the Colonial Indian Army: 1859-1913’, *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 34, 3 (1997), 321.

<sup>23</sup> Robert H. Taylor, ‘Colonial Forces in British Burma. A National Army Postponed’, in Karl Hack and Tobias Rettig, eds., *Colonial Armies in Southeast Asia* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009) 195-197.

<sup>24</sup> Sarah Womack, ‘Ethnicity and Martial Races: The *Garde Indigene* of Cambodia in the 1880s and 1890s’, in Hack and Rettig, eds., *Colonial Armies*, 109-110.

In Annam and Tonkin (modern-day north and central Vietnam), the French simultaneously raised tens of thousands of indigenous troops between 1886 and 1890 divided over various bodies that carried no less than four different names.<sup>25</sup> The *Tirailleurs Sénégalais* constituted the army fielded to attain domination of Senegal since 1857.<sup>26</sup> Such was the prevalence of recruitment of local forces across French African territories—and their perceived successes—that Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Mangin conceived of the idea, expounded in his best-selling book *La Force Noire (The Black Force, 1910)*, to form a 200,000 African conscript army. Mangin envisaged that this army would ‘replace French overseas forces, and [...] form the front line of defence of France against a European army’.<sup>27</sup> Imperial Germany in *Deutsch-Ostafrika* (modern-day Burundi, Rwanda and mainland Tanzania), *Südwestafrika* (Namibia) and, finally, *Westafrika* (Togo and Cameroon) relied on local conscripts to conquer these territories. Most notable were the *Askaris* of East Africa. These soldiers were predominantly taken from Zulu and Sudanese communities from 1891-1892 onwards; during the First World War, the German colonial army fielded circa 12,000 *Askaris*.<sup>28</sup> The Dutch, too, extensively based their power on indigenous forces across their empire to conquer more territory or protect the *status quo*, as did the Belgians in the Congo and, after the Germans had been defeated in World War One, in the area now known as Rwanda.<sup>29</sup>

Indigenous police forces came to function as the eyes and ears of the colonial rulers, allowing them to monitor the daily lives of their subjects and correct their behaviour. In colonial Bombay wide-spread urban unrest during the

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<sup>25</sup> Henri Eckert, ‘Double-edged Swords of Conquest in Indochina: *Tirailleurs Tonkinois, Chasseurs Annamites* and Militias, 1883-1895’, in Hack and Rettig, eds., *Colonial Armies*, 133, 137, 149-150.

<sup>26</sup> Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Sénégalais in French West-Africa, 1857-1960* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1991), chapter 2.

<sup>27</sup> Womack, ‘Ethnicity and Martial Races’, 113.

<sup>28</sup> Tanja Bühner, *Die Kaiserliche Schutztruppe für Deutsch-Ostafrika: Koloniale Sicherheitspolitik und Transkulturelle Kriegsführung 1885 bis 1918* (Munich: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag GmbH, 2011), 129-130, 132. 442.

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, Gerke Teitler, ‘The Mixed Company: Fighting Power and Ethnic Relations in the Dutch Colonial Army, 1890-1920’, in Hack and Rettig, eds., *Colonial Armies*, 154-168; Ellen Klinkers, *De Geschiedenis van de Politie in Suriname, 1863-1975: Van Koloniale tot Nationale Ordehandhaving* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2011); Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold’s Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999); Patrick and Jean-Noël Lefèvre, *Les Militaires Belges et le Rwanda 1916-2006* (Brussels: Racine, 2006).

1890s worked together with ‘the rapid growth of a proletarian “secondary economy” and culture centred on the street’ to elicit ‘a shift in colonial policing strategies there, and ‘a more intrusive approach’ was substituted for ‘the traditional [...] strategy of “indirect” control’.<sup>30</sup> Simultaneously, police recruits served as a funnel through which local grievances could travel upwards: individuals could ‘draw upon, appropriate and deploy their personal and social caste and kinship connections with the police’.<sup>31</sup>

This depiction of tranquil civil-colonial relations through police mediation must not be misconceived to mean that relations were rosy. The colonial troops or police forces, i.e. indigenous men fielded against indigenous populations sharing the same spatial territory now claimed by the colonizers, allowed the latter to invade and subjugate territory, proclaim sovereignty and keep expanding. Intervention by police forces frequently translated into confrontations with aggrieved communities that quickly turned bloody and brutal. As the United States Army tried to subdue the Philippine insurrection at the turn of the twentieth century, they enlisted Filipino policemen and scouts. They proved efficient in engaging guerrilla bands, but their approach proved too ‘brutal’ for their American officers. It was said the Filipinos used blackmail, ‘arbitrarily holding people for trial’ and torture.<sup>32</sup> Some ten years later in the Netherlands East Indies, Europeans, Javanese and Chinese press outlets complained bitterly ‘about the rough, discriminatory behavior, and the violence, corruption, and nepotism of the police force’.<sup>33</sup> In Surinam, police in 1919 forces reacted ‘extraordinarily harsh’ to indigenous dances that the colonial regime deemed ‘obscene’. On one occasion, a crowd was beaten into dispersal.<sup>34</sup> In August 1934, tax collection in the Southern Nigerian province of Owerri with armed police

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<sup>30</sup> Prashant Kidambi, “‘The Ultimate Masters of the City’: Police, Public Order and the Poor in Colonial Bombay, c. 1893-1914”, *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés*, 8, 1 (2004), 27-28, 41.

<sup>31</sup> R. S. Chandavarkar, *The Origins of Industrial Capitalism in India: Business Strategies and the Working Classes in Bombay, 1900-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 181, quoted in Kidambi, “‘The Ultimate Masters of the City’”, 27.

<sup>32</sup> Brian McAllister Linn, *The Philippine War 1899-1902* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 203-204.

<sup>33</sup> Marieke Bloembergen, ‘The Dirty Work of Empire: Modern Policing and Public Order in Surabaya, 1911-1919’, *Indonesia*, 83 (2007), 133-134.

<sup>34</sup> ‘Obscene Dances’, *Suriname: Koloniaal Nieuws- en Advertentieblad*, 9 September 1919.

present resulted in several deaths and burnt-down houses at the hands of violent constables who also flogged suspects.<sup>35</sup>

For all that, the inherent risk of violent excess was one that colonial rulers accepted. From a symbolic yet racist perspective, indigenous forces were the means ‘to protect the boundaries of civilization from the predatory savages beyond’. So-called savages in colonial service were seen as guardians of these boundaries. Their ability to take up this duty was maintained, it was thought, if indigenous enforcers ‘were at least as ferocious as the [other] savages [...] and just as free of civilized inhibitions’.<sup>36</sup> They were certainly invited to do so during the Aceh War in Indonesia (1873-1914). The Dutch counter-guerrilla sparked lively and long-lasting debates due to its brutality.<sup>37</sup> ‘The people in Indië against we wage war, and especially the Atjehnezen, know no humanity’, said one commentator. Respecting the ‘humane [European] rules’ was ‘adequate’, but ‘philanthropy’ went decidedly too far.<sup>38</sup> The violent behaviour they displayed when unleashed upon the population in search of insurgents could certainly be used to any pacification (to use this highly euphemistic word) program’s advantage. Ultimately, native security forces ‘[took] care of the dirty work of empire’, participating in ‘activities that soiled their own image and marked them as tools of a violent state’.<sup>39</sup>

### *Loyalty*

The question remains as to why indigenous men became the tools of empire. The responsibility for torturing prisoners and dispersing crowds suggests a high degree of loyalty among the ranks of the security forces. After all, they used

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<sup>35</sup> Thomas, *Violence and Colonial Order*, 54-55.

<sup>36</sup> Simon Harrison, *Dark Trophies: Hunting and the Enemy Body in Modern War* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 119.

<sup>37</sup> ‘Oorlogsrecht in Atjeh’, *Sumatra-courant: Nieuws- en Advertentieblad*, 3 January 1877, 1; ‘Ons Oorlogvoeren te Atjeh. IV.’, *Java Bode: Nieuws, Handels- en Advertentieblad voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 29 August 1879, 3; ‘Ons Oorlogvoeren in Atjeh. VIII.’, *Java Bode*, 17 September 1879, 3; ‘Mijnheer de Reakteur!’, *Java Bode*, 18 October 1879, 3; ‘Uitmoorden of Oorlogvoeren (Slot.)’, *Java Bode*, 2 November 1882, 3.

<sup>38</sup> ‘Een Stem uit het Leger te Atjeh (Repliek.)’, *Java Bode*, 12 October 1874, 3.

<sup>39</sup> Bloembergen, ‘The Dirty Work of Empire’, 149.

violence against those who, like them, were part of the same subjugated populace. This implication had to be part of a trade-off on the part of colonial recruits. Through signing up, individuals, and as we shall see, entire communities, could accrue advantages that remained out of reach for those who chose not to find employment as the state's policemen or soldiers.<sup>40</sup> In line with what Michelle Moyd has shown, what follows—here and elsewhere—illustrates that a role as proxy oppressor in the name of the colonial state had distinct advantages.<sup>41</sup> How did this role—with its implied benefits—relate to the notion of loyalty?

At first sight, the issue of colonial loyalty seems rather unproblematic. Loyalty was real. This can be easily inferred from the given that colonial authorities themselves were very much concerned with the loyalty of their indigenous allies and recruits. During the war for independence in the Netherlands East Indies, candidates for employment in the Criminal Investigation Department of the Field Police were screened for 'loyalty'.<sup>42</sup> The Department of Intelligence & Loyalty Inquiries investigated possible indigenous political affiliates, probing their pasts for anti-Dutch leanings from the moment the Dutch tried to re-establish their power in the archipelago in 1945.<sup>43</sup> Colonial subjects, conversely, were likewise preoccupied with showing their adherence to certain colonial policies. In British Malaya, members of the Chinese minority in the 1950s demanded citizenship in exchange for their support for the British during the Malayan Emergency.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Obviously, recruitment was not necessarily voluntary. In the Congo, for example, recruits ending up in the *Force Publique* were often forcefully drafted; likewise, Surrendered Enemy Personnel in Malaya were more or less expected to serve in counter-gangs or informers to earn their rehabilitation.

<sup>41</sup> Michelle R. Moyd, *Violent Intermediaries: African Soldiers, Conquest and Everyday Colonialism in German East Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014); Lauren Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2002.

<sup>42</sup> Lijst van Personen, Die Gelegen Zijn als Rechercheur in Dienst te Komen bij de Veldpolitie (v.b. allen loyaal), NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hoogerechtshof Ned.-Ind., 2.10.17/107.

<sup>43</sup> R. T. Surjobroto, Majoor KNIL to Lt. Kolonel R. S. Suria Santoso, Hoofd van de Afdeling Intelligence & Loyaliteitsonderzoek, 9 December 1946, no. 106/A/Geheim, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417, The Hague, Algemene Secretarie van de Nederlands-Indische Regering en de daarbij gedeponeerde Archieven, The National Archives, The Hague.

<sup>44</sup> Denis Warner, "Use Hongkong Chinese to Police Malaya": Mr. Lyttelton Hears of "Best Man to Catch a Bandit", *Daily Telegraph*, 3 December 1951, CO 1022/148, Colonial Office Records, The National Archives, London.

This section reveals that unquestioning loyalty in the colonial ranks was illusory—it hardly existed. In colonial settings, indigenous recruits fought for their oppressors largely because of advantages to be obtained through service, as shall be discussed. They had to be induced and lured into the recruitment camps. That governments in overseas territories were so occupied with screening for loyalty belies the fact they never fully trusted their indigenous subjects in the security forces or in any other capacity. Even in modern stratified societies—either racially, such as Apartheid South Africa, or along religious lines, such as Israel—policy makers were and still are apprehensive in terms of having what they see as untrusted elements—such as minorities—in the ranks.<sup>45</sup>

The existing literature on colonial policing and armies does not engage with this issue per se. In fact, local auxiliaries and regulars are figure marginally. After having been formed into squads, companies and battalions, to simply appear in studies, for colonial military and civil authorities to send out into the field to do their bidding.<sup>46</sup> '[M]obilization [alone] produces deep loyalties', concluded one political scientist in discussing violence against civilians.<sup>47</sup> James Corum's *Training Indigenous Forces in Counterinsurgency: A Tale of Two Insurgencies* relates how massive numbers of Malays, and, to a lesser extent, Chinese were recruited into the Malayan Police, but there is hardly any consideration for why many constables 'had proven incompetent or corrupt' and had to be purged from the ranks.<sup>48</sup> Yet, dealing with questions surrounding the pitfalls of supposing loyalty among hastily-recruited, local troops seems rather pertinent considering his public.<sup>49</sup> Whereas studies on colonial counterinsurgency are not as policy-

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<sup>45</sup> Alon Peled, *A Question of Loyalty: Military Manpower in Multiethnic States* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), chapter 1.

<sup>46</sup> Taylor, 'Colonial Forces', 195 -210, Stubbs, *Hearts and Minds in Guerrilla Warfare*; Daniel Neep, *Occupying Syria Under the French Mandate: Insurgency, Space and State Formation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

<sup>47</sup> Laia Balcells, 'Rivalry and Revenge: Violence Against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars', *International Studies Quarterly*, 54, 2 (2010), 296.

<sup>48</sup> James Corum, *Training Indigenous Forces in Counterinsurgency: A Tale of Two Insurgencies* (Carlisle Barracks: Strategic Studies Institute, 2006), 5, 18.

<sup>49</sup> Corum, *Training Indigenous Forces*, 37; although Strategic Studies Institute monographs do not represent the Department of Defence's official policies, the SSI is 'the US Army's designated institute for geostrategic and national security research and analysis [...] in support of the US Army War College and its curricula'. See: <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Organizations/Detail/?id=13928>. Last visited on 3 May 2014.

driven as *Training Indigenous Forces* seems to be, they show the same disregard for the complexities of the relationship between indigenous forces and their performances. Regarding the Philippine Insurrection (1899-1902), to name one example, we can read how American officers professed to be ‘deeply divided on both the utility and the trustworthiness of the Filipino police and scouts’. Their violent behaviour is the only explanation provided for this American distrust.<sup>50</sup> In 2011 David French convincingly showed that counterinsurgency across the British Empire was nasty and brutal, but he barely explains how the significant role of indigenous, British-sponsored forces could fuel the fires of retribution and excess by using their liaison with the British army and police to wage their own private wars.<sup>51</sup>

Other studies give attention solely to recruitment policies from the authorities’ vantage-point or the strategies colonial authorities employed to bind indigenous forces to the broader military and police apparatuses. Social distance between security forces and local populations could automatically ensure loyalty.<sup>52</sup> Certainly, training and instruction did foster strong intra-unit connections, but to equate, as one author does, the use of foreign—German—loan words by *Askaris* with loyalty seems too much of a stretch.<sup>53</sup> A more fruitful line of enquiry brings in sight the ‘martial races’ concept. The colonial state first identified what they considered those ‘races’ that had displayed the most prowess resisting its representatives. These were then created into specific warlike yet imagined castes—complete with myth-making—to compete against each other as part of the same colonial army.<sup>54</sup> This system of social engineering and internal contest for honour and notoriety combined into checks and balances that worked

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<sup>50</sup> Brian McAllister Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 203.

<sup>51</sup> David French, *The British Way in Counter-Insurgency* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). In his study of the Mau Mau war Daniel Branch does explain the problems of indigenous forces’ tendency for disloyalty even if they appeared as Loyalists. Daniel Branch, *Defeating Mau Mau, Creating Kenya: Counterinsurgency, Civil War and Decolonization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>52</sup> See also Mwelwa Musambachime, ‘Military Violence Against Civilians: The Case of the Congolese and Zairean Military in the Pedicle 1890-1988’, *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 23, 4 (1990), 648.

<sup>53</sup> Bühner, *Die Kaiserliche Schutztruppe*, 155-156.

<sup>54</sup> Karl Hack with Tobias Rettig, ‘Imperial Systems of Power. Colonial Forces and the Making of Modern Southeast Asia’, in Karl Hack and Tobias Rettig, eds., *Colonial Armies in Southeast Asia*, 31.

to ensure that not one ‘martial race’ could dominate the army and through it, threaten the cohesion of the colonial state. ‘Troops recruited from one area [were] used to police another’.<sup>55</sup>

Aside from inculcating them with a belief in the army structure with its highly hierarchical foundations and constant training and drilling, conscripts and constables came to depend on the security forces. This was achieved by social elevation: the placing of indigenous enforcers between the regular population and the colonial regime—as embodied by their white officers.<sup>56</sup> As one colonial officer in Australia argued in 1837, his policemen had to be made ‘useful to society [by] weaning them away from their native habits and prejudices [by] habituating them to civilized customs’. Impartiality towards native matters was to be achieved.<sup>57</sup> The divide between those co-opted by the colonial state and those outside it demanded conspicuous expression. This meant arming the enforcers. More important, donning uniforms truly marked their separate status. In Port Phillip, in colonial Australia, the Aboriginal police uniform ‘worked probably [...] as the most visible sign for all to see, both Aborigine and European alike, the elevated state of the police’. Recruits, upon receiving their outfits, spontaneously broke their native spears, proclaiming they were no longer ‘blackfellows’.<sup>58</sup> Uniforms allowed for identification with the colonial; ‘the individual became subjugated to the purposes of the collective. In the uniform, the individual is no longer “warrior” but a [...] part of a war machine, into which [he], as a part of the machine, must be fitted’. The colonial uniform, in this sense, served as a compromise, too: while its wearer accepted subjugation to the whole, it allowed him the right to use the trappings of colonial power.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), introduction, 33, 93; Hack, ‘Imperialism and Decolonisation in Southeast Asia: Colonial Forces and British World Power’, in Karl Hack and Tobias Rettig, eds., *Colonial Armies*, 239-240.

<sup>56</sup> Stefanie Michels, *Schwarze deutsche Kolonialsoldaten: Mehrdeutige Repräsentationsräume und Früher Kosmopolitismus in Afrika* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2009), 93, 95-96.

<sup>57</sup> Quoted in Marie Fels, *Good Men and True: The Aboriginal Police of the Port Phillip District 1837-1853* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1988), 16-17.

<sup>58</sup> Fels, *Good Men and True*, 20-21.

<sup>59</sup> Trutz von Trotha, *Koloniale Herrschaft: Zur Soziologischen Theorie der Staatsentstehung am Beispiel des “Schutzgebietes Togo”* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1994), 46. Translation mine.



Inducements loom large in explanations for loyalty. Payment, tax reductions or the possibilities for plundering defeated enemies' possessions proved enough to attract indigenous warriors.<sup>60</sup> Other perks revolved around certain concessions on the part of the colonial military institutions. Prior to the Indian Rebellion against British rule (1857-1857), for example, the British allowed *sepoys* to visit holy men to seek supernatural guidance. A separate, Muslim hierarchy—'barracks Islam'—existed next to the military hierarchy which permitted *sepoys* to observe both army and local religious norms.<sup>61</sup> Other compromises concerned the private sphere: *Tirailleurs Sénégalais* were allowed to bring their families on (overseas) campaigns.<sup>62</sup> African *Askaris* could do the same, reducing the risk of desertion. Lastly, one historian claims that cannibalism (real or not) was 'institutionalized'—yet only to intimidate foes.<sup>63</sup>

Although tracing training methods does visualize the cultivation of loyalty, it hardly tells the whole story. As Ellen Klinkers concluded: 'What the effect of these trainings on the functioning of the police [in Dutch Surinam] was, is unknown'.<sup>64</sup> Desertion among indigenous ranks, so often an indicator of disloyalty, is mentioned, but not explained. Instead, indigenous troops were reduced—almost a priori—to being the weakest link in the overall security matrix.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, the literature on colonial conscription and actual policing mostly deals with limited, localized conflicts—which were relatively easy to overcome—or focus on rather tranquil periods which allowed colonial army

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<sup>60</sup> Tanja Bühler, *Die Kaiserliche Schutztruppe*; Michael Pesek, *Das Ende eines Kolonialreiches: Ostafrika im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2010), 189; Tim Stapleton, "'Valuable, Gallant and Faithful Assistants": The Fingo (or Mfengu) as Colonial Military Allies During the Cape-Xhosa Wars, 1835-1881', 21; John Laband and Paul Thompson, 'African Levies in Natal and Zululand', 50; both in Stephen Miller, ed., *Soldiers and Settlers in Africa, 1850-1918* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Dirk Kolff, *Naukar, Rajput and Sepoy: The Ethnohistory of the Military Labour Market in Hindustan, 1450-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 17.

<sup>61</sup> Nile Green, *Islam and the Army in Colonial India: Sepoy Religion in the Service of Empire* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009), 56-57, 136-143.

<sup>62</sup> Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts*, 77.

<sup>63</sup> Bühler, *Die Kaiserliche Schutztruppe*, 134, 459.

<sup>64</sup> Klinkers, *De Geschiedenis van de Politie in Suriname 1863-1975: Van Koloniale tot Nationale Ordehandhaving* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2011), 72. Translation mine.

<sup>65</sup> J. van Doorn and W. Hendrix, *Ontsporing van Geweld: Over het Nederlands Indisch/Indonesisch Conflict* (Rotterdam: University Press, 1970), 97-98.

institutes ample time to raise and control local troops as they saw fit. Loyalty in such circumstances proved hardly problematic.

From the indigenous perspective, then, colonial conscription had a variety of advantages. For one, it provided the means to social advancement. Indigenous individuals could use their subordination to the colonial state to re-negotiate their position in relation to it to become part of a select group that could unlock access to an array of dividends.<sup>66</sup> Unmarried men could accumulate enough income and other material goods to start a family as the enforcers of colonial order.<sup>67</sup> (Material gain even made some African levies more prone to looting than to fighting.<sup>68</sup>) Serving in the ranks was about becoming part of a 'new elite'.<sup>69</sup> It presented itself as a way to break into the European power structure and into modernity.<sup>70</sup> In due course, veritable military families evolved that considered the military profession an accepted path for advancement for successive generations.<sup>71</sup> In this respect, the 'martial races' approach worked. In exchange for these opportunities, ex-Askaris continued to gather intelligence about the mood among the people.<sup>72</sup> Although former troops functioned as 'additional channels of colonial power', they did so willingly. According to Marie Fels, offering oneself up as recruit expressed, on both communal and individual levels, attempts at coming to terms with a changing environment caused by the superimposition of a foreign, European power structure. Instead of wholly rejecting it, serving was 'a process of learning to live in two different worlds', the

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<sup>66</sup> Andreas Eckert, 'Julius Nyerere, Tanzanian Elites, and the Project of African Socialism', in Marc Frey, ed., *Trajectories of Decolonization: Elites and the Transformation from the Colonial to the Postcolonial* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 233.

<sup>67</sup> Michels, *Schwarze deutsche Kolonialsoldaten*, 83; Fels, *Good Men and True*, 72.

<sup>68</sup> Laband and Thompson, 'African Levies in Natal and Zululand', 80.

<sup>69</sup> Michels, *Schwarze deutsche Kolonialsoldaten*, 147.

<sup>70</sup> Pesek, *Das Ende eines Kolonialreiches*, 134, 372-373.

<sup>71</sup> Kolff, *Naukar, Rajput and Sepoy*, 27; Green, *Islam and the Army*, 25; Michels, *Schwarze deutsche Kolonialsoldaten*, 93.

<sup>72</sup> Bühner, *Die Kaiserliche Schutztruppe*, 150-152.

cultural adaptation or acculturation, the adding on of something, or the acquisition of another cultural code, not rejection or destruction of the primary code. [It was] an affirmation of being, not a negation.<sup>73</sup>

The maintenance of colonial security forces required constant bargaining between the old and the new. The system, which allowed the needs of the rulers and those serving to interact with each other, did seem to have functioned. Colonial authorities were able fill their manpower quotas by offering inducement; indigenous communities were found willing (yet also forced) to supply the men.<sup>74</sup>

Nevertheless, absolute loyalty did not ensue. For, despite that indigenous enforcers ‘effectively bought into’ and helped establish ‘a regimental and institutional culture that supported and strengthened the British Empire’, the army’s institutional grip never fully undercut ‘regional or local loyalties’ totally.<sup>75</sup> Whereas some groups identified as ‘martial races’ actually internalized this moniker into sustained military performance—the Gurkhas spring to mind—there existed a gap between the highly normative notions connected to this imagined identity and the everyday realities of military life. Indeed, writes Heather Streets of Victorian colonial armies, ‘acceptance of a “martial race” ideal may have helped mitigate [...] soldiers’ frustrations with the frequently dismal and highly unglamorous conditions of military service’. At the same time, however, the ‘martial races’ discourse was so strong that true ‘identities and realities’ were pushed far into the background: indigenous security personnel ‘became, in effect, the alter ego of British men—the colonized, simple, violent-prone imperial subjects who would fight Britain’s battles without question’. This meant that true reasons for having signed up (‘economic hardship and lack of viable alternatives’) were confused with unshakable loyalty.<sup>76</sup> Again, conscripts lived in two worlds, they did not destroy the old in favour of a new world.

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<sup>73</sup> Fels, *Good Men and True*, 87.

<sup>74</sup> Pesek, *Das Ende eines Kolonialreiches*, 379.

<sup>75</sup> Streets, *Martial Races*, 218.

<sup>76</sup> Streets, *Martial Races*, 217-218, 227.

As we have seen, research into colonial law enforcement and armies seem to suffer from the same confusion; reading loyalty where there was something else. Yet, close reading does bring a tacit acknowledgement of the ephemeral nature of loyalty to the fore. What could be construed as loyalty was often an expression of a lack of alternatives. Many recruits signed on for years; others, such as the *Askari* recruited in Egypt or even Eritrea, were too far from home to leave the force.<sup>77</sup> When indigenous enforcers fought or even killed anti-colonial rebels, it was not uncommon that this happened because those engaged were from enemy communities from the conscripts' point of view, as well as from the colony's—for divide-and-rule to work, rivalling communities had to be pitted against each other.<sup>78</sup> In any case, indigenous men became implicated in colonial violence and therefore suspect in the eyes of the general, colonized masses. Even the loyalty that did exist was of a limited nature. It was not linked to the state at all. Rather, personal ties between white officers and 'their' black troops had advanced it.<sup>79</sup> These patron-client relationships seemed to have fostered loyalty, but it was a personalized kind: to white officers or to the unit.<sup>80</sup> It never connected to something as abstract as the colonial state; when these relationships broke down, disorder and excess violence could occur.<sup>81</sup> In fact, for the local individuals involved, projecting an image of loyalty was tantamount to their survival. When and where the fortunes of war changed, so did the way loyalty was constructed and projected. Therefore, this nexus between the fortunes of war and supposed loyalty is a primary topic in the chapters that follow.

### *Alliances*

Charting the depths of loyalty is a fruitless effort. It is an 'infeasible venture to try and comprehend concisely the [colonial troops'] identity and feelings of loyalty'.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Bühler, *Die Kaiserliche Schutztruppe*, 124, 130, 286.

<sup>78</sup> Fels, *Good Men*, 128-129, 168, 170-171.

<sup>79</sup> Bühler, *Die Kaiserliche Schutztruppe*, 132.

<sup>80</sup> Michels, *Schwarze deutsche Kolonialsoldaten*, 134; Bühler, *Die Kaiserliche Schutztruppe*, 158.

<sup>81</sup> Bühler, *Die Kaiserliche Schutztruppe*, 157; Fels, *Good Men*, 222.

<sup>82</sup> Bühler, *Die Kaiserliche Schutztruppe*, 160. Translation mine.

We simply do not have the ego documents, nor were their white officers (and the colonial authorities) much interested in indigenous fates or motivations. Existing evidence strongly hints at the possibility that ties that have been interpreted as loyalty towards the colonial state were severely porous. A British memorandum on the First World War in Africa noted that ‘some of the best and the most useful soldiers in the German service [came from] the [King’s African Rifles]...Conversely, in 1918 the new battalion of the K.A.R. included considerable numbers of ex-German *Askaris* who had [...] enlisted freely on our side’.<sup>83</sup> *Askaris* themselves admitted that loyalty was not a factor in their behaviour a priori. ‘We fight’, one *Askari* said, ‘because the whites tell us to fight. They are the boss [*Herren*]. Today we fight for the Germans, and when tomorrow the British arrive, then we will fight for them.’<sup>84</sup> General Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, the *Askari* commander, acknowledged how shifting power-relations influenced loyalty when he asserted that ‘[t]he native has a good feeling for when true power [*die wirkliche Macht*] goes from one hand to the other’.<sup>85</sup>

How may this evidence be interpreted? As we have seen, *something* bound indigenous forces to the colonial state and made them perform their duties. If it was not loyalty an alternative link must have bound indigenous peoples to the colonial administration and its security forces.

This research project proposes such an alternative. Instead of ‘loyalty’, it will use the formation of alliances to describe the relationships between the colonial state, indigenous elites, colonial armies and police constables—and with their wider social surroundings. At first sight, alliances constitute a weak alternative to loyalties. Kalyvas holds that there is ‘extreme confusion’ in coming to grips with popular support either for incumbent regimes and insurgents. There is a ‘gap’ between the ‘attitudinal stance’, i.e. popular support in terms of ‘an *attitude, preference, or allegiance*’, and an approach that stresses ‘*behavior* or

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<sup>83</sup> Quoted in Michels, *Schwarze deutsche Kolonialsoldaten*, 134. Translation mine.

<sup>84</sup> Pesek, *Das Ende eines Kolonialreiches*, 152.

<sup>85</sup> General Paul von Lettow Vorbeck, *Meine Erinnerungen aus Ostafrika* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1920), 29. Translation mine.

*action*'.<sup>86</sup> Ultimately, he dismisses both approaches, saying that the attitudinal stances are hardly measurable as 'preferences are open to manipulations and falsification'. Behavioural patterns are similarly elusive on account of being 'difficult to observe' in civil wars.<sup>87</sup>

Yet, what then bound different parties? The argument here proposes that an alliance still is the best predicate for what tied one party to the other exactly because they were open to manipulations. Colonial power-brokers could coerce indigenous communities into siding with them.<sup>88</sup> Conversely, the latter tried to reduce asymmetries within the relationship and retain a modicum of room for manoeuvrability. Regarding this manoeuvrability and instead of interpreting an alliance as a fixed preference, alliances—in a non-essentialist way—are assumed to have rather flexible and malleable characteristics. Indeed, this is what Kalyvas himself hints at when he states that attitudinal preferences can be manipulated: he proposes that 'it is not necessary to assume stable preferences'; 'There is a dynamic dimension to support'.<sup>89</sup>

This is what alliances embody if we assume they are flexible and not formal. However, if preferences might be used, why not 'loyalty'? To begin with, the nature of loyalty is too deterministic. It is heavily associated with devotion, obedience and dedication—strong emotions that seem inflexible and possibly entrenched.<sup>90</sup> Such strong ties do not stroke with the evidence presented above. Although alliances are related to a modicum of loyalty, the former refers to a 'union or association formed for *mutual benefit* [...] based on *similarity of interest*'.<sup>91</sup> Alliances will last only as long as parties' interests converge. When they cease to do so, relationships are no longer useful and become unstable; the alliance will be broken.

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<sup>86</sup> Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 92. Emphasis in the original.

<sup>87</sup> Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence*, 101.

<sup>88</sup> Laleh Khalili, "'Standing with My Brother": Hizbullah, Palestinians, and the Limits of Solidarity', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 49, 2 (2007), 278.

<sup>89</sup> Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, 101.

<sup>90</sup> Source: <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/loyalty>. Last visited on 5 May 2014.

<sup>91</sup> Source: <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/alliance?q=alliance>. Last visited on 5 May 2014. Emphasis added.

The focus on interests within alliances serves multiple purposes. Its fluidity allows for several nodes of identification within the minds of those who, despite being socially separated from their communities, still interacted with these communities in their capacity as colonial enforcers. The objectives of the colonial state may not produce the results most sought after by those subjected to the former's actions and vice versa. It was up to those within those security forces to navigate between these extremes. Furthermore, alliances and how they are made—through a mutual recognition of benefits—restore a certain measure of choice into the repertoire of what are, generally speaking, colonial subjects. Through the negotiations that are part and parcel of alliances, modes of cooperation *and* resistance to colonial domination can be made visible. Loyalty, conversely, leaves much less scope for opposition. Instead, ascribing loyalty to indigenous communities *obscures* their agency. Lastly, alliance-brokering brings to light that the European and indigenous agents of the colonial state also had to negotiate. Whereas thinking in terms of loyalty hides this—the colonial state could simply demand loyalty and the behaviour it implied—the mutual benefits-cum-alliance approach would demand that the bartering tendencies of the colonial governments be analysed as well.

Another vital property of alliances is that, by their inherent dependency on partners sharing interests and benefits, they give both internal and external factors the weight they deserve in terms of their bearing upon the stability of the alliance in a way loyalty does not. Loyalty largely negates undermining influences as it is built upon compliance that borders on obsequiousness. The undermining factors our overall argument hinges on, such as violent rivalries, poverty, kinship networks or egotism, were brought into the open by warfare. The Japanese occupation and the wars of decolonization in the Netherlands East Indies (1945-1950) and British Malaya (1948-1957) completely changed the way the two colonies functioned. Prior to the violent contestation of Indonesia and Malaysia, the colonial rulers had, by and large, become the only true power-brokers. The conduct of security forces, political elites and the masses, under such

circumstances, was unproblematic. There were simply no serious anti-colonial forces active that could realistically undermine colonial rule to such an extent that colonial conscripts had to choose between various identities. In relation to the security forces, for example, officers had ample time to instil the ever-important *esprit de corps* into the troops, supported by the trappings of the ‘martial races’ policies.

The onset of a serious threat to the colonial space as a whole, such as developed in post-World War Two Malaysia and Indonesia, destroyed all this. Both in Indonesia and Malaysia, the Japanese Occupation had torn the lid from the depository of grievances that had accumulated over centuries. Enough people shared these grievances and proved willing to openly challenge the Dutch and British that they opened the door to ‘multiple sovereignty’. Action-minded individuals coalesced around the widely-held grudges, found each other, organized and eventually ‘[advanced] alternative claims to the control of the government’.<sup>92</sup> Decolonization war ensued. As a consequence, colonial officials could not unequivocally trust indigenous security forces any longer. The same applied to the carefully-cultivated indigenous elites.

A major argument that will be developed below and advanced throughout is that the more the anti-colonial forces proved capable of undermining the colonial state, the more they could influence the choices of indigenous elites and enforcers alike. In gaining strength and developing their ability to determine the fate of the colonial state under duress, anti-colonial forces spoke to those who worked for either the Dutch or the British. The latter group was then forced to ponder and understand two interrelated things. On the one hand, that their interests would not necessarily be looked after by a continued support for the colonial authorities. In fact, such a course might prove extremely dangerous. On the other hand, they needed to signal to the representatives of the forces aligned against the British and the Dutch that they would switch sides or at least show their willingness to do so. All the while, there was a constant struggle—within and

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<sup>92</sup> Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1998), 200; see also Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence*, 18.



without—between the saliency of different identifications: with what the colonial regime had to offer, with what its opponents wanted and, lastly, with the need for survival and security of those who were subjected to the colonial and anti-colonial force-fields. Ultimately, survival depended on the ability of people to play power-brokers off against each other.

### *Participation in colonial conflict*

Why do parties to conflict seek ‘asylum’ with others? In this section, the topic is the actual alliance-brokering. Relying largely on interpretations of political scientists on civil war, violence and counterinsurgency, the most salient reasons for joining an alliance will be reviewed. However, since alliance-formation also has bearing on individuals—especially as side-switching was often an individual choice—personal motivations for rebellion and fighting for the side of incumbent government forces shall be considered as well.

The first element to note is that power-holders, by their presence, make alliances with them seem logical and advantageous. In searching for prospective alliance partners, groups or individuals try to determine which party to a given conflict is worth joining (or abandoning) based on how they estimate a party’s chances of winning consecutive battles and, ultimately, the war. As they do so with imperfect information, the distribution of power between different parties—as it presents itself—becomes an important determinant in choosing sides. For the decolonization wars under consideration, this means the following. There where one party controlled a territory (i.e. government forces control a group of villages) it is quite apparent that this party (for the time being) constitutes the safest and therefore obvious alliance-partner.<sup>93</sup> When this is the case, alliance-formation becomes less costly. Government and insurgent forces can set to work recruiting people, for example by using friendship or kinship networks.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Christia Fotini, *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 7.

<sup>94</sup> Donald Barnett and Karari Njama, *Mau Mau from Within: Autobiography and Analysis of Kenya’s Peasant Revolt* (Letchworth: Macgibbon and Kee, 1966), 158; for a more theoretical approach of networks and recruitment, see Roger V. Gould, ‘Collective Action and Network Structure’, *American Sociological Review*, 58, 2 (1993), 182-196; Raymon V. Liedka, ‘Who Do You Know in the Group? Locations of Organizations in Interpersonal Networks’, *Social Forces*, 70, 2

The choice becomes complicated when power relations are more balanced relative to each other: ‘in these conflicts small changes in a single group’s relative power can significantly alter the incentives of other groups to align with it or against it’.<sup>95</sup> In more platitudinous phrasing, ‘[g]aining control over an area brings collaboration, and losing control of an area brings much of that collaboration to an end.’ Territorial control and possession remove any possible alternatives in terms of alliance-seeking. Actively supporting one group while its representatives are not controlling a given territory under such circumstances brings high communal and individual costs for whomever actively expounds the virtues of the absent group at the hands of the group that *does* control the area. Second, with one party in firm control of an area, its security forces provide the only viable avenue for support or livelihood.<sup>96</sup> Furthermore, ‘long-lasting control spawns robust informational’ policies, meaning that the incumbent power-holder has ample time to ‘socialize populations’ to the merits of its presence, for example through continued propaganda in favour of its cause.<sup>97</sup> Sustained ‘control signals credibility’.<sup>98</sup> Another function of control in relation to alliance-forging was that it brought means of affective manipulation and force projection together in the hands of those controlling an area. Although ‘race, language, religion, or ideology do not appear to guarantee in any enduring way the formation of alliances’—identity narratives do not truly influence alliance choices—‘local elites can make [...] instrumental use of [these] identity discourses’ to enforce cooperation by triggering the ‘psychological and emotional’ reflexes such identities occasion within the population or the rank and file.<sup>99</sup> Alliance-formation is connected to ‘relative power’ and not necessarily to identities, yet emotions can become ‘socially meaningful’ nonetheless. When individuals or communities feel a ‘loss of dignity, value, safety or agency and a subsequent inability to

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(1991), 455-474.

<sup>95</sup> Christia Fotini, *Alliance Formation*, 7.

<sup>96</sup> Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence*, 125.

<sup>97</sup> Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence*, 125.

<sup>98</sup> Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence*, 124-126.

<sup>99</sup> Christia Fotini, *Alliance Formation*, 6-7.

flourish...expressions of this pain may come to occupy a central place in the language and the practices of a culture'. These experiences of subjugation and suffering can, at a certain juncture in time and place, 'find expression in the world of political action'.<sup>100</sup>

It can be argued that the Indonesian and Malaysian revolutions gained traction among the population as it did because the Japanese occupation had finally given people the possibility to vent the pent-up hurt and grief caused by colonial domination—including the Japanese occupation. The Dutch and British had systematically closed off most avenues to given expression to these emotions. When both territories were aggressively gripped by a breakdown of law and order, these negative emotions were transformed into (violent) action by the various communities that now had the opportunity to act out to look after their safety and advance certain interests. It is for the major anti-colonial contenders and power-holders—but also the returning colonial authorities—to harness these negative emotions of communities and individuals. '[T]here is always a large amount of popular frustration and discontent ready to be tapped'; ensnaring this anger 'is a key way of attracting supporters'. Emotions ingrained prior to the actual onset of the decolonization wars, however, should not be accorded too much weight. As Fearon and Laitin have shown, grievances such as inequality and the lack of political rights were not vital to the onset of civil wars, but they could be manipulated.<sup>101</sup>

Affective manipulation certainly did not harm control or alliance-seeking, especially combined with violence directed at civilians. Territorial domination, seen as such, provides the power-holders another means to establish cooperation: it allows them to forge 'an emotional connection with supporters'.<sup>102</sup> The influencing of emotions and the attempts to monopolize them ties in with

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<sup>100</sup> Khaled Fattah and K.M. Fierke, 'A Clash of Emotions: The Politics of Humiliation and Political Violence in the Middle East', *European Journal of International Relations*, 15, 1 (2009), 70.

<sup>101</sup> James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, 'Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War', *American Political Science Review*, 97, 1 (2003), *passim*.

<sup>102</sup> David Ost, 'Politics of Mobilization and Anger: Emotions in Movements and in Power', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 7, 2 (2004), 230.

coercive methods used to have people choose sides. Troops representing either the government or the powers that oppose it can apply violence to cow populations into cooperation.<sup>103</sup> Fear is the overriding emotion invoked through coercion.<sup>104</sup> Fear-inducing terror causes ‘pessimistic estimates and risk-averse choices’.<sup>105</sup> This is exactly what the agents of coercion are after. They need compliance and inaction, or forced neutrality, through tacit agreement to an alliance. Government forces will not hesitate to apply force. ‘[T]hrough [their] use of propaganda, [...] tactics of arrests, incarceration, and interrogation[,] and its strategic placement of informers’ they enforce cooperation.<sup>106</sup> Insurgents, too, will not shy away from violence against civilians, employing similar tactics. It is striking that the traditional counterinsurgency literature stresses that the protection of the population has been paramount for both insurgents and counter-insurgents, but given their proclivity for violence, visiting seemingly indiscriminate violence upon populations had its own merits. Through means of violent excess, perpetrators signal to their victims that rival actors cannot protect them. By this twisted logic, victims are better off siding with those who have attacked them.<sup>107</sup>

With this logic of violence in place in connection to territorial control, rivalry and affective influencing, we come to what is considered here the overriding concern in alliance forming and breaking: the pursuit of safety. Whatever power controls an area and no matter how beneficial it is perceived to be, safety will eventually override most other considerations. It becomes key.<sup>108</sup> Unfortunately for both colonial authorities and the insurgents, the pursuit for

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<sup>103</sup> Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence*, 98, 124.

<sup>104</sup> Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence*, 115.

<sup>105</sup> Jennifer S. Lerner, Roxana M. Gonzalez, Deborah A. Small and Baruch Fischhoff, ‘Effects of Fear and Anger on Perceived Risks of Terrorism: A National Field Experiment’, *Psychological Science*, 14, 2 (2003), 144.

<sup>106</sup> Monique Skidmore, ‘Darker than Midnight: Fear, Vulnerability, and Terror Making in Urban Burma (Myanmar)’, *American Ethnologist*, 30, 1 (2003), 8, 11.

<sup>107</sup> Jason Lyall, ‘Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya’, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 53, 3 (2009), 337.

<sup>108</sup> Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein, ‘Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War’, *American Journal of Political Science*, 52, 2 (2008), 449; Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence*, 115, 117; Anthony Oberschall and Michael Seidman, ‘Food Coercion in Revolution and Civil War: Who Wins and How Do They Do It?’ *Society for Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 47, 2 (2005), 337, 401; Fearon and Laitin, ‘Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War’, 75.

safety did not cause loyalty; merely temporary alliances—which would never become truly stable or lasting. For, as incumbents and challengers fought for dominance through violence, coercion and occupation, they created specific motivations for joining either side, depending on who was in control where and at what time. Violence would initially force communities into declaring support. '[P]otential supporters will join the movement in pursuit of protection from random punishment by the state'. Or, rebels could redistribute benefits to joiners that otherwise would have been distributed by the state.<sup>109</sup> Both incumbents and insurgents, in any case, made 'free-riding', or attempts to avoid involvement on either side, so costly that true neutrality was as elusive as loyalty.<sup>110</sup> For those in the colonial security forces, a similar interaction was at work. They joined up for several reasons: protection from violent insurgent excess (the free rider problem), because others in their social networks had already done so, opportunities to survive social and economic hardships connected to war, such as hunger and poverty, through tax breaks and looting, robbery, racketeering, or extortion.<sup>111</sup> The Home Guards who fought with the British during the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya (1952-1964) did not receive any pecuniary rewards for their pacification work, for example, but earned schooling for their children.<sup>112</sup>

At first glance, then, violence, coercion and force could overcome the collective action problem and have populations rally to a specific flag. Yet, benefits offered by the incumbent power-broker or its competitors will eventually diminish sharply as violence becomes more intensive and sustained warfare begins to cause 'a rise in poverty and a reduction of goods available for distribution'.<sup>113</sup> Civilians and supporters of either side become tired of war:

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<sup>109</sup> Patrick M. Regan and Daniel Norton, 'Greed, Grievance, and Mobilization in Civil Wars', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49, 3 (2005), 323, 325-326.

<sup>110</sup> For the argument that the costs of free-riding may actually rival the costs of active participation, see Stathis N. Kalyvas and Matthew Adam Kochler, 'How "Free" is Free Riding in Civil Wars? Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem', *World Politics*, 59, 2 (2007), 177-216.

<sup>111</sup> Humphreys and Weinstein, 'Who Fights?', 441-442; Kalyvas and Kochler, 'How "Free" is Free Riding?', 179; Christian Gerlach, *Extremely Violent Societies: Mass Violence in the Twentieth-Century World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 195.

<sup>112</sup> Gerlach, *Extremely Violent Societies*, 195.

<sup>113</sup> Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence*, 117.

connections and alliances that seemed profitable one way or the other hold less and less promise. Instead of addressing the security dilemma for civilians—determining *for* them which ‘neighbour[ing] group’ posed a threat to them—government and insurgent forces created a population that catered to multiple power-brokers *simultaneously*.<sup>114</sup> Examples of this are rife across a wide range of conflicts. In Mozambique ‘the villagers had little option but to meet the demands of each passing group as best they could’. In Nigeria during the Biafran War, in Vietnam, Chechnya and Darfur civilians came forth with similar evidence.<sup>115</sup> In conflicts, only a very small portion of the population was actually ‘actively involved in civil wars, either as fighters or supporters’, to begin with.<sup>116</sup> As most ordinary people tried to maximize their chances of survival—and hopefully to further their interests—individuals and the communities they belonged to had to construct new or multiple relationships. Different parties to conflict could provide them with safety, and it is ‘[t]he most important collective good’ any one of them could offer.<sup>117</sup> The ability to protect did never translate into true support. Support was ‘transitory’ or ‘coerced’; populations were pushed and pulled between two parties vying for their attention. In the Ixil towns of Guatemala—‘by reputation at least the heart of guerrilla support and resistance to the army’—the population did not prove loyal to either the government or to the insurgents of the *Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres*, The Guerrilla Army of the Poor. Rather, ostensible declarations of cooperation ‘were [occasioned by] “the coercive pressures created by the blows and counterblows of two military forces, a dilemma [people] typically describe as being *entre dos fuegos*”’.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> The security dilemma is mostly applied to interstate conflict; I would argue it also fits intrastate conflicts. For the security dilemma, see Barry Posen, ‘The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict’, *Survival*, 35, 1 (1993), 27 and Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1998), 7.

<sup>115</sup> Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence*, 117. The quote is from Carolyn Nordstrom, *A Different Kind of War Story* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 52, quoted by Kalyvas, also on page 117.

<sup>116</sup> Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence*, 102-103.

<sup>117</sup> Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 37.

<sup>118</sup> James Painter, ‘Between Two Armies in the Ixil Towns of Guatemala by David Stoll’, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 27, 1 (1995), 252.

Those in the security forces faced a similar dilemma. Although they were part of one of the ‘fires’ that burnt civilians, they sought to further their own security-related interests as well. Although some enforcers in the colonial security forces stayed the duration of the conflict—the Algerian *Harkis* for example—many of their number had to serve two masters as well, playing off their own interests against those of the colonial government and those of the insurgents. The Kikuyu Home Guards again serve as a good case in point. They used the war to settle personal scores or earn land distributed by the colonial authorities.<sup>119</sup> On account of their loyalist stance and the fact that the Mau Mau insurgents were defeated, the Home Guard in Kenya and the indigenous political elite they represented found legitimization for their stance against the Mau Mau already during the decolonization process and especially after independence. They inherited Kenya from the British.<sup>120</sup> Others who fought on the colonial authorities’ side were not so lucky. As their fates had been bound up with the fortunes of said authorities, changes in the balance of power affected them deeply, either because the colonial authorities lost control over the war or because colonial enforcers and civilians operated in heavily contested areas. Such sudden changes in the balance of power—on a micro and macro level—forced them to rethink where their alliance lay. To maximize their chances of survival, they either had to switch sides continually, or, when the control over an area changed hands quite clearly, they had to find ways to unequivocally and permanently switch. Warfare necessitated social exchange and alliance-formation.<sup>121</sup> War can, then, be interpreted as a ‘complex reconfiguration of social, economic, cultural, and political conditions that warscape inhabitants confront and contend with in plotting and implementing their everyday social

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<sup>119</sup> Branch, *Defeating Mau Mau*, 81-84.

<sup>120</sup> David M. Anderson, ‘The Loyalist Peace: Violence, Dispossession, Political Authority and the Exit from Kenya, 1952-68’, paper presented at ‘Allies and Exits: Local Collaborators After Rebellion and Counterinsurgency, 1914-2014’, workshop held at Warwick University, April 2014; Branch, *Defeating Mau Mau*, 149; from the same author, ‘Loyalists, Mau Mau, and the Elections in Kenya: The First Triumph of the System’, *Africa Today*, 53, 2 (2006), 27-50.

<sup>121</sup> Pierre Clastres, *The Archaeology of Violence* (Los Angeles: Semiotext, 1994), 161, 163.

existence'.<sup>122</sup> As we shall see, this was not only the object of the colonial authorities through an array of coercive and inducement tactics, but also of some communities themselves. In this sense, working for either the government or its opponents and participating in violence on their part became an affirmation of life; violence was a means to creating and reifying identities and boundaries.<sup>123</sup> It was these people who had to serve two masters; this research is about them and the forces that animated their alliance-seeking behaviour.

### *Alliance-formation in the colonial defence of Indonesia and Malaysia*

The overall argument, then, is that if loyalty did not exist there is a need for an alternative element that bound different groups together during conflict. I propose to use alliances as a tool to better understand the complexities of taking and switching sides. Alliances imply that civilians, local elites and members of indigenous security forces at one time or another had to declare support to one of the parties engaged in conflict with each other. These alliances might have been sustained over longer periods of time, such as those between local elites and the colonial state, but that when power shifted in favour of one party to the conflict (again this might be temporary, such as the occupation of a village by insurgents, or for a much longer period, such as the domination of political life by the colonial authorities) support shifted. Support, overall, was fluent and could be directed at multiple agents simultaneously, depending on which party could provide with safety and security most efficiently. As soon as the interests of the alliance-partners diverged (either from internal or external pressures), the alliance became untenable.

To apply the above to the decolonization of the Netherlands East Indies and British Malaya has several implications. Understanding the complexities that were connected to alliance-seeking and the shifting of the weight of war and

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<sup>122</sup> Stephen Lubkemann, *Culture in Chaos: An Anthropology of the Social Condition in War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 15.

<sup>123</sup> Julian Reid, 'Life Struggles: War, Discipline and Biopolitics in the Thought of Michael Foucault', in Stephen Morton and Stephen Bygrave, eds., *Foucault in an Age of Terror: Essays on Biopolitics and the Defence of Society* (New York: Palgrave, 2008), 24; Glenn Bowman, 'The Violence in Identity', in Bettina Schmidt and Ingo Schröder, eds., *Anthropology of Violence and Conflict* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 27-28.



violence will allow for an important shift in the reading of the process of decolonization concerning the two case studies. This is timely. Retracing why certain communities or elites supported Dutch or British authorities at one point, but retracted that support (or were pusillanimous about it) at another, will give important insights into the vicissitudes and temporization of the decolonization wars themselves. Alliance-shifts furthermore highlight local agency. Especially this latter effect has been absent from the literature, even though the search for agency has gained much attention in other cases. Daniel Branch, for example, by highlighting the role of ‘loyalists’ who sided with the British, has convincingly concluded that ‘the Mau Mau war was no simple dispute between colonizer and colonized’. Individuals and communities other than the group termed ‘colonizers’ had interests in the Mau Mar War that did not dovetail with those of the British. These interests proved so vested, however, that those chasing them were willing to risk being associated with the violent excess of decolonization warfare by fighting on the British side nonetheless. Indigenous communities used the British to secure their own interests.<sup>124</sup>

Recent analyses of Indonesia’s war for independence likewise show little attention to such insights. They are dominated by a certain preponderance of the diplomatic manoeuvrings between and of the Dutch government in The Hague, the colonial authorities in Batavia (Jakarta) and the Republic of Indonesia as personified by Sukarno, Sutan Sjahrir or Mohammad Hatta.<sup>125</sup> Other historians have stressed the heavy-handed and aggressive way in which Dutch policy makers continued to believe in purely military means—embodied by two ‘Police Actions’ in July 1947 and December 1948—to steer decolonization in what they perceived to be the right direction. Related to that, much attention has been given to how military officers tried to impose their will on civil administration by on

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<sup>124</sup> Daniel Branch, ‘The Enemy Within: Loyalists and the War Against Mau Mau in Kenya’, *Journal of African History*, 48, 2 (2007), 293-294; *Defeating Mau Mau*, 81-84.

<sup>125</sup> H. van den Doel, *Afscheid van Indië: De Val van het Nederlandse Imperium in Azië* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2001); Govert. C. Zijlmans, *Eindstrijd en Ondergang van de Indische Bestuursdienst: Het Corps Binnenlands bestuur op Java 1945–1950* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1985); Robert McMahon, *Colonialism and Cold War: The United States and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence, 1945-1949* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981).

administrative territories. These practices severely undercut international support for the Dutch.<sup>126</sup>

Relatively little analytical attention, however, has been devoted to the overall security situation during the entire time-frame in which decolonization took place. This is somewhat striking, as it has been determined some time ago that the Dutch had established a ‘state of violence’ that functioned on the continued threat of aggression.<sup>127</sup> The guerrilla war unleashed against the Dutch apparently reinforced the idea that the ramifications of such a state were needed. The Dutch could now finally realize ‘a drastic reinforcement of a security apparatus which, in earlier times, had been unnecessary or unaffordable’.<sup>128</sup> I believe it is in the context of the ever-changing levels of security across Java and Sumatra that alliance-seeking and breaking occurred most saliently. Most research on the decolonization of Indonesia, however, has placed the emphasis the action of policy makers at the highest tiers of administrative and military establishments, diverting attention away from rural areas.<sup>129</sup>

Research on the Malayan Emergency—like the Dutch Police Action, horribly euphemistic in its nomenclature—shows a different tendency which equally obscures local interests and agency. As the handling of the Malayan Emergency ‘is often admiringly cited by Anglophone counterinsurgents as a model to be emulated’, its historiography is not overtly focussed on the diplomatic-political

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<sup>126</sup> Petra M. H. Groen, ‘Military Response: The Dutch Use of Military Force and the Decolonization of the Dutch East Indies, 1945–1950’, Robert Holland, ed., *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 21, 3 (1993), 30–44; Jaap A. de Moor, *Generaal Spoor: Triomf en Tragiek van een Legercommandant* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2011); Stef Scagliola, *Last van de Oorlog: De Oorlogsmisdaden in Indonesië en Hun Verwerking* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2002); Jaap A. de Moor, ‘“Afscheid van Indië”? Counter-Insurgency in Nederlands-Indië, 1816–1949’, *Militaire Spectator*, 177, 3 (2008), 143; Thijs W. Brocades Zaalberg, ‘Counter Insurgent-Terrorism: Why NATO Chose the Wrong Historical Foundation for CIMIC’, *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 17, 4 (2006), 409; Jacobus A. A. van Doorn and Willem J. Hendrix, *Ontsporing van Geweld: Over het Nederlands Indisch/Indonesisch Conflict* (Rotterdam: University Press, 1970), 91; Groen, *Marsroutes en Dwaalsporen*, 288-89; 501.BC Indonesia/12-1884: Telegram, The Acting Secretary of State to the Acting United States Representative at the United Nations (Jessup) at Paris, secret, US urgent, Washington, December 18, 1948 -3pm, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1948, 6, 577-578.

<sup>127</sup> Henk Schulte Nordholdt, ‘A Geneology of Violence’, in Freek Colombijn and J. Thomas Lindblad, eds., *Roots of Violence in Indonesia: Contemporary Violence in Historical Perspective* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002), 37.

<sup>128</sup> Darwin, ‘What Was the Late Colonial State?’, 79.

<sup>129</sup> There have been notable exceptions: Benedict R. O. Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution: Occupation and Resistance, 1944-46* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972); John R. W. Smail, *Bandung in the Early Revolution, 1945-1946: A Study in the Social History of the Indonesian Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1964).

side as is the Dutch case—possibly because the Malayan Emergency was never fought as ‘publicly’.<sup>130</sup> The Emergency was, indeed, more an internal question. Nor have historians focussed too much on military matters alone. The British approach was fêted exactly because military and civil authorities worked together so closely. This fact is reflected in the Emergency’s historiography.

However, it cannot be said that this acknowledgement has necessarily produced even analyses. Richard Stubbs’s *Hearts and Minds in Guerrilla Warfare: The Malayan Emergency 1948-1960* espoused a powerful and therefore lingering interpretation that cemented the Emergency as a counterinsurgency operation to be studied and emulated. Stubbs managed to sanitize much of the Emergency’s violent nature. Despite being a far cry from other, more semi-propagandistic literature such as *The Password is Love: Inside the New Villages of Malaya*—about projecting the word of god to the New Villages into which Malaysia’s Chinese communities were corralled—Stubbs’s reading of these New Villages was optimistic.<sup>131</sup> Although he acknowledged initial hardships, he came to echo the sentiments of earlier interpreters who, writing during the Emergency itself, claimed that these villages were sites where people could enjoy ‘supplies of clean water, [education in proper] schools, community centres, basic medical care, [and] some agricultural land’.<sup>132</sup>

The backlash against the belief in the hearts and minds approach, as propagated by Stubbs, has not been too even. From a military perspective, the ‘myth of British minimum force’ has by now been exposed: ‘alongside the failure to *practice* minimum force in British small wars’ one scholar notes, ‘there is [a] total absence of the *principle* of minimum force from official British guidelines’.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Laleh Khalili, *Time in the Shadows: Confinement in Counterinsurgencies* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 177.

<sup>131</sup> Kathleen Carpenter, *The Password is Love: In the New Villages of Malaya* (London: The Highway Press, 1955), writes in rather paternalistic tones, saying that their missionary work in the villages brought civilization. Mrs. Ng, for example, ‘smoothed her hair and washed her coat. To be loved by God’, wrote Kathleen without irony, ‘gave her a new self-respect. A light shone in her eyes. We knew that God had begun to work His miracle’, 5.

<sup>132</sup> Richard Stubbs, *Hearts and Minds in Guerrilla Warfare: The Malayan Emergency 1948-1960* (Singapore: Eastern University Press, 2004, first published by Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 127,173; Harry Miller, *Menace in Malaya* (London: Harrap, 1954), 257.

<sup>133</sup> Bruno C. Reis, ‘The Myth of British Minimum Force in Counterinsurgency Campaigns during Decolonization

Contemporary scholarship has dramatically re-interpreted the objectives associated with the resettlement programs deployed in Malaya (and elsewhere). New Villages were, according to them, social engineering factories where compliant populations were constructed surrounded by barbed wire and subjected to collective punishments.<sup>134</sup> These revisionist histories have caused a shift in focus towards the violent and coercive, but have not looked too well at who were employing the coercive methods that turned violence so often and why they chose to cooperate. On another level, domination of coercive or violent tactics took away from more incentive approaches.<sup>135</sup>

The turn to the violent in colonial counterinsurgency studies, it can be argued, has its own pitfalls. According to Karl Hack, senior scholar on the Malayan Emergency, another frame of reference is needed; one that accords weight to incentive-based, civic actions programs and coercive methods simultaneously. With the adoption of such a point of departure, two important facts come into focus. First, inducement and coercion are two sides of the same coin. Secondly, violence was not applied in equal measures spatially and temporally.<sup>136</sup> As I have argued elsewhere, however, this is not enough. One more element is needed, which is local agency: individuals and communities within the contested colonial spaces of Indonesia and Malaysia that were willing to side with the government or the insurgents.<sup>137</sup>

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(1945-1970)' *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 34, 2 (2011), 246. Emphasis in the original; see also David French, 'Nasty Not Nice: British Counterinsurgency Doctrine and Practice, 1946-1967', *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 23, 4-5 (2012), 744-761.

<sup>134</sup> Khalili, *Time in the Shadows*, 178-179; French, *The British Way*, 119-121; Moritz Feichtinger and Stephan Malinowski, 'Transformative Invasions: Western Post-9/11 Counterinsurgency and the Lessons of Colonialism', *Humanity*, 3, 1 (2012), 40; Christian Gerlach, *Extremely Violent Societies: Mass Violence in the Twentieth-Century World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 177-234; Stephan Malinowski, 'Modernisierungskriege: Militärische Gewalt und Koloniale Modernisierung im Algerienkrieg (1954-1962)', *Archiv für Socialgeschichte*, 8 (2008), 214.

<sup>135</sup> An example is Nick Turse, *Kill Anything that Moves: The Real American War in Vietnam* (New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt and Company, 2013); his narrative reads simply as a litany of violent excess. While this narrative is important, completely ignoring everything aside from atrocities serves little analytical purpose.

<sup>136</sup> Karl Hack, "'Everyone Lived in Fear': Malaya and the British Way of Counterinsurgency', *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 23, 4-5 (2012), 673-674; Octavian Manea, 'Setting the Record Straight on Malayan Counterinsurgency Strategy: Interview with Karl Hack', *Small Wars Journal*, February 11 (2013).

<sup>137</sup> Roel Frakking, 'Beyond Sticks and Carrots: Local Agency in Counterinsurgency', *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* (forthcoming, December 2014); see also Hannah Gurman, ed., *Hearts and Minds: A People's History of Counterinsurgency* (New York: The New Press, 2013) in which

Here we encounter another line of inquiry for the present research project. Was the influence of those willing to side with either the government's security forces, those of the insurgents or with both—'collaborators', 'supporters, or 'loyalists'—large enough to be able incumbent or rivals' to conclude the war in their favour? In the least I will show that for local elites and individuals seeking security and safety, changes in relative power-positions necessitated shifts in alliance. Either these were full shifts or partial shifts; whatever was needed to signal to the other party that support might be forthcoming or possibly readily given. True loyalty or support did not exist; people were reluctant loyalists or 'reluctant guerrillas'.<sup>138</sup>

Lastly, alliance-brokering generated its own violence on multiple levels. Security personnel working for the colonial regime were highly visible, as they functioned among the people and the insurgents. The same applies to those associated with indigenous elites that had thrown in their lot with either the Dutch or the British. It is therefore that they were heavily targeted. A third group stood out much less; they were the local communities that the agents of colonialism looked to for intelligence. These people—peasants, labourers, salesmen, smallholders or rubber tappers—themselves were not necessarily connected to colonial restoration or counterinsurgency, but were targeted nonetheless: in Indonesia and Malaya, insurgents *and* colonial security forces actively sought to suppress and break up real and imagined spy rings. These three groups of 'collaborators', then, had to cater to both sides of the conflict. However, as they were violently targeted, feelings of revenge were engendered and with the help of the means given to them the colonial states, they could retaliate. This connects with the fact that grievances that drive civil war, such as political or economic deprivation, do not necessarily have to originate before the onset of war.<sup>139</sup>

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various authors further the same agenda.

<sup>138</sup> Jocelyn S. Viterna, 'Pulled, Pushed, and Persuaded: Explaining Women's Mobilization into the Salvadoran Guerrilla Army', *American Journal of Sociology*, 112, 1 (2006), 10.

<sup>139</sup> Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, 'Greed and Grievance in Civil War', *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56 (2004), 589; Fearon and Laitin, 'Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War', 75.

The reverse applied to the insurgents. They were targeted for their participation in anti-governmental operations and great force was brought to bear on them. When this reached the point of becoming too much, they began to offer themselves to the stronger party in the hope of being allowed to re-enter political life under the colonial regime. Often, they bought their way back in with blood. Surrendered Enemy Personnel (SEP) in Malaya did so. As such, localized alliance-formation and its effects tie in with recent research on how local conflicts take place within larger ones.<sup>140</sup> Guerrilla conflict affected how high-level (military) policy was expounded on the ground; different local dynamics influenced implementation differently in various locations.<sup>141</sup> Colonial governments could use these local tensions to their advantage, yet so could the insurgents.

### *Comparisons and processes*

'In comparative history', write Kocka and Haupt, 'two or more historical phenomena are systematically studied for similarities and differences in order to contribute to their better description, explanation, and interpretation'.<sup>142</sup> The present study has this very objective. With a focus on micro and macro-level and temporary and sustained alliance-formation in British Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies during revolutionary (decolonization) warfare, it hopes to generate further understanding of the 'general patterns' of the complexities connected to alliance-seeking, making and breaking; termed as 'the "universalising type" of historical comparison'.<sup>143</sup>

Methodologically, comparing the Indonesian case with Malaysia will bring to light issues that would otherwise have been obscured. As seen above, the

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<sup>140</sup> Stasis N. Kalyvas, 'The Ontology of "Political Violence": Action and Identity in Civil Wars', *Perspectives on Politics*, 1, 3 (2003), 475-494.

<sup>141</sup> See David Kilcullen, 'The Political Consequences of Military Operations in Indonesia 1945-99: A Fieldwork Analysis of the Political-Diffusion Effects of Guerrilla Conflict', Ph.D. Thesis, New University of New South Wales, New South Wales, 2000.

<sup>142</sup> Jürgen Kocka and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, 'Comparison and Beyond: Traditions, Scope, and Perspectives', in Jürgen Kocka and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, eds., *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives* (New York: Berhahn Books, 2009), 2; for a similar definition, see Zimmermann, Bénédicte, 'Histoire Comparée, Histoire Croisée', in Christian Delacroix, François Dosse, Patrick Garcia and Nicolas Offenstadt, eds., *Historiographies, I: Concepts et Débats* (Paris: Gallimard, 2010), 171.

<sup>143</sup> Kocka and Haupt, 'Comparison and Beyond', 2-3.

Dutch handling of the decolonization of Indonesia has been criticized heavily for its violent characteristics. Instead of reading the changing tides, Dutch policy makers relied on aggression to impose their version of independence. Conversely, the British case stands out as a ‘successful’ case of counterinsurgency, hearts and minds programs and transfer of power. Through a comparison of the two cases, however, a more nuanced picture shall come to light. Despite Dutch heavy-handedness and forceful ways, they were not necessarily and unequivocally set against power-sharing with local elites. The Dutch did attract others to their cause.

Furthermore, the British in Malaya did not shun violent tactics themselves. This latter insight has become more accepted as different scholars have made this point with regards to the British Empire, but the comparison with Indonesia will underline that the propensity for escalation also held *across* different empires.<sup>144</sup> If that is the case, then the Malayan Emergency’s successful conclusion must have been due to different causes than simply a better understanding of counterinsurgency fighting or more effective methods of attracting supporters. I will argue, therefore, that both the Dutch and the British had force and coercion as a major component in their attempts to stem the anti-colonial tides. In other words, the comparison will prove—based on the questions asked in the analysis—that nor in Indonesia, *nor* in Malaysia most hearts and minds were won. Violence—for all parties involved—was the mobilizational tool.

Related to the question of violence, the comparison will illuminate yet more. For example, in 2014 one scholar claimed that excesses or, worse, war crimes committed by Dutch War Volunteers—with an original core consisting of resistance fighters—in 1946 and beyond in Indonesia could be attributed to the brutalizing effects of the German occupation of the Netherlands.<sup>145</sup> This neat explanation, however, does not necessarily hold up when compared to Malaysia:

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<sup>144</sup> French, *The British Way in Counter-Insurgency*.

<sup>145</sup> Peter Romijn, ‘Learning on “The Job”’: Dutch War Volunteers Entering the Indonesian War of Independence, 1945-46’, in Bart Luttikhuis and A. Dirk Moses, eds., *Colonial Counterinsurgency and Mass Violence: The Dutch Empire in Indonesia* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 100-101.

there, too, excess took place; perpetrated by soldiers who had not felt oppressive German occupation. As we shall see, in both Indonesia and Malaysia, the need to quell resistance allowed for the registers of violence to be opened without much reserve. Furthermore, by treating the Emergency and the Indonesian Question—as it was called—as equals in relation to the intensity of violence, we can give the lie to those who claim that after the Malayan Communist Party's insurgency had run its course, lower numbers of violent incidents led to safety, co-operation with the government and trustworthy security forces. By placing Malaysia and Indonesia under the same comparative lens of violence, lastly, strengthens our case that individuals actively chose to participate in violence in the name of a foreign oppressor against their fellow-countrymen and women. They surely had motives for doing so.

Another yield of the comparative framework is that it shows how similar contexts could explain divergent phenomena. Whereas the Sundanese leadership, gathered in the Partai Rakyat Pasundan, could ostensibly count on an ethnically homogeneous constituency for support, the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) had to try and bring divided Chinese communities closer together. Once the leadership of the MCA had penetrated Chinese society down to the district and village levels the association would not be dislodged again. In stark contrast, the Negara Pasundan never functioned properly. Such differences, however, lose some significance when they are placed in the comparative framework; we see that the mechanisms that brought the PRP, the MCA and the colonial governments into alliance with each other are rather similar.

A second, closely-related function of the comparison lies with the fact that it may yield 'a clear profile to individual cases [...] that only become[s] visible in comparison'.<sup>146</sup> In other words, by comparing Indonesia and Malaysia, characteristics that seem connected to all counterinsurgencies or violent decolonization may turn out to be specific to either the Indonesian or the Malaysian case. The most obvious example here is the kind of violence the British

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<sup>146</sup> Kocka and Haupt, 'Comparison and Beyond', 3-4; comparisons, then, can help dispel 'pseudo-explanations', such as the fact that the British did 'well' solely based on their superior understanding of the conflict they had to deal with.



and Dutch perpetrated on communities they did not trust. In both territories violence was definitely used to separate possible friends from certain foes. From a distance, this violence was applied indiscriminately on both sides of the Strait of Malacca. A closer inspection of the New Villages—into which suspect Chinese communities were relocated—in Malaya alters this image. We certainly still see indiscriminate violence being exerted on these villages, but the indiscriminateness was of a lower order than in Indonesia, where the Dutch experienced far more trouble distinguishing friend from foe. This is a major point, however, as it explains how villagization in Malaya severely impacted the communist insurgents' chances of success. All in all, the proposed comparison will not compare nations that are often the object in comparative histories. Rather, localities *within* the colonial territories and *between* them figure nodes of comparison.

Seen in this light, the comparison between the immediate post World War II conflicts in Indonesia and Malaysia is important in the context of counterinsurgency research in general. To begin with, the Indonesian war for independence is often insularly studied in an insulated fashion. It is often referred to as being dominated by violent excess. Relatively little is known on how this conflict compares with against others of its kind. Placing the Indonesian war for independence and the Malayan Emergency within the same framework of analysis, in this respect, is an obvious choice. 'Malaya' stands as out as *the* successful counterinsurgency effort, whereas the Indonesian case does not. This given alone may yield two insights. One is that even those counterinsurgency programs that were implemented one-sidedly—i.e. with little regard for the population, focussed on coercion and without much flexibility—needed some form of engagement with indigenous communities and power-brokers to work. Comparing Malaya to the Netherlands East Indies, then, reduces the supposedly stark contrast between violent, one-sided decolonization (Indonesia) and more even-handed and balanced decolonization (Malaya). This would not be so apparent if, for example, the Indonesian case were compared to the Boer War—

where the British, like the Dutch in Indonesia, did relatively little to engage with the Boers who were not fighting the war—or the fight against Mau Mau in Kenya, another very violent conflict.<sup>147</sup> Possibly the British Army was not so successful after all in all facets of counterinsurgency, a point others have seem to have wanted to gloss over.<sup>148</sup> Second, the comparison shows that Malaysia may have been more violent not only assumed in terms of *British* decolonization, but that this was also the case in terms of decolonization elsewhere.

Lastly, recent literature has pointed out the need to accommodate the fact that there is no neat divide between the insurgents and the population, despite the continued insistence in counterinsurgency manuals that this is the case.<sup>149</sup> Put differently, supposedly dividing the insurgents from the population is eminently possible, as evidenced from the massive efforts throughout counterinsurgency history put into resettlement programs. Many scholarly works on the Malayan Emergency accept this logic at face value. They seem to argue from a perspective that there were, in fact, heterogeneous groups that could be locked away and separated from the insurgents. Or that those who accepted some form of alliance to the British authorities, such as the Malayan Chinese Association, were all squarely on the side of the British. This has a distorting effect. The present research seeks to correct this view. By comparing Malaya to Indonesia, were at some point in 1949 no less than four different parties vied for territory and popular support and, in addition, *all* interacted with each other through different alliances, it shall become clear that in Malaya, too, there were no neat groups of people to use as monolithic analytical nodes.

Further points also merit a comparative framework that incorporates British Malaya and the Netherlands Indies. In both territories, the Chinese were very much distrusted for their possible connection to communism in general and the Chinese Communist Party that took over China in 1949 specifically. The

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<sup>147</sup> The number of detainees in Kenya, in absolute numbers was more than seven times higher than in Malaya. In terms of overall civilian and insurgent casualties, Kenya tops the list. French, *The British Way*, 111, 113.

<sup>148</sup> John Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

<sup>149</sup> Gurman, *Hearts and Minds*, 9.

British with the Malay rulers felt a constant threat from China; they feared that, like Japan had done earlier, Chinese forces may come down into Malaya. Conversely, the MCP never forgot to remind the Malay and British rulers of this possibility; MCP functionaries very much used the Chinese threat as a propaganda tool to influence British policies but also to recruit cadre.

In Indonesia, the threat of communism from China came only in the last year of the conflict. The battle for China that preceded the Chinese Communist Party take-over, however, did have bearing on the Indonesian war for independence, but the real threat proved internal. The Republic saw (and found) communist fifth columns everywhere on Java, trying to undermine its influence. The Chinese came under violent attack because of it which, as said before, played into Dutch hands. In the Netherlands East Indies, communism functioned on another level as well. It split various warring groups into yet smaller groups. Republican parties and forces were constantly under threat from individuals who together tried to turn the groups they belonged to unto communism. This was reflected, for example, in the fact that the Republic could no longer trust its own troops. The Madiun Affair—a 1948 communist uprising centred around Madiun, East Java—was beaten down with relative ease by Republican troops. Nonetheless, communist influences lived on within different fighting organizations, supposedly loyal to the Republic. This led to extensive reconfiguring of parties and warring factions that constantly had to renegotiate their own position vis-à-vis each other, the Republic and the Netherlands. Communism, then, either real or imagined, was seen as a constant threat to most parties involved—not in the least as it occasioned many alliance-seeking efforts. It will loom large in this study because of it.

On a less analytical plane, comparing the war for independence in Indonesia to the one in Malaysia makes sense for rather straightforward reasons. The contours of both conflicts enmesh on some important issues that fed both insurgencies. Ethnic diversities in both territories shaped what course the Malayan Emergency took. The Malayan Communist Party that directed the

insurgency catered mostly to the Chinese population. This gave the British authorities the opportunity to focus their attentions on the same demographic group. At various times, both the MCP and the British could use Sino-Malay tensions to their advantage.<sup>150</sup> Malays, for example, were quite keen to fight the Chinese-dominated Malayan Communist Party.

Dutch authorities and their opponents, who ostensibly gathered under the banner of the Republic Indonesia, gambled on similar stakes. The Dutch tried to foster antagonisms between the estimated ten million Sundanese of West Java and the Javanese-dominated Republic. Simultaneously, the Dutch exploited Chinese fears of being isolated and destroyed as a community in Indonesia.<sup>151</sup> Vast, open spaces in both territories reflected, furthermore, how the Malaysian and Indonesian economies were set up. Minerals and oil were extracted from the soil by big mining operations, while the colonial agricultural sector demanded large, centrally-owned plantations for the production of rubber, rice and sugar cane, populated by large, indigenous work forces. The isolation of the plantations and mines, with their spread-out villages and enormous gardens, greatly facilitated infiltration. The vastness of both territories, the vulnerability of villages and the relative ease with which insurgents could initially move which made fighting both uprisings such costly affairs. These shared characteristics dictated some of the countermeasures civil and military colonial authorities took in both territories.

Any study on decolonization wars and counterinsurgency should address the issue of state-formation. As Charles Tilly has it, '[w]ar makes states'; meaning that 'institutes of organized violence have always [...] ultimately been made to serve *political* interests, and hence to run in tandem with the state-making

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<sup>150</sup> In 1957, of the 6,275,763 living in the Federation of Malaya, roughly half—3,126,706—were Malaysians. 2,332,936 were Chinese; Indians counted for 695,986 people. Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia* (London, Oxford University Press, 1965), 227.

<sup>151</sup> In 1930, Indonesians (Javanese, Ambonese, Menadonese, Sundanese, etc.) counted for 59,138,067 out of a total population of 60,727,233. Of that total 1,233,214 were Chinese. Alien Easterners accounted for 115,535. Nederlands Interdisciplinair Demografisch Instituut, *De Demografische Geschiedenis van Indische Nederlanders* (Den Haag: NIDI, 2002), 25; between 1930 and 1962, no census was held in Indonesia.

process'.<sup>152</sup> This was no different in the Netherlands East Indies and British Malaya. This study focusses not on all state-formation efforts, but engages with the most important. In Malaysia, the Malayan Chinese Association must figure centrally. The MCA has been studied before, naturally, but mostly from a long-term political point of view. Invariably, this meant a heavy emphasis on the way the association dealt with Sino-Malay tensions, concomitant class issues and the MCA's role with the United Malays National Organisation-dominated Alliance.<sup>153</sup> How the Emergency itself allowed the MCA ingress into Chinese communities while functioning as a counterweight to the Malayan Communist Party, however, figures less saliently.<sup>154</sup>

In the case of Indonesia, the Partai Rakyat Pasundan and the subsequent Pasundan State of West Java take up a central role. Among the large states that rose up through the Dutch attempts at Indonesia's federalization, the smaller autonomous territories, or *daerahs*, such as the Pasundan, receive less attention. The rise and fall of the Pasundan State, however, illuminates some of the most pressing issues this study deals with. Like the big federal states, such as East Indonesia, the Pasundan State struggled to take up a position in relation to the Republic. Arguably, the ambiguities that resulted from this positioning were that much more decisive in the Pasundan. Due to its proximity to the Republic's centre of power in Central Java and because the Dutch centre of power lay in the heart of the Pasundan State, its contested existence forced the state's leaders to constantly placate the Dutch and the Republicans; never quite ruling themselves.

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<sup>152</sup> Charles Tilly, 'War Making and State Making as Organized Crime', in Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschmeyer and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 170; Jennifer Milliken and Keith Krause, 'State Failure, State Collapse and State Reconstruction', in J. Milliken, ed., *State Failure, Collapse and Reconstruction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 4. Emphasis in the original. For the relation between military revolutions, the importance of revenue collection and the centralizing state, see William R. Thompson and Karen Rasler, 'War, The Military Revolution(s) Controversy, and Army Expansion: A Test of Two Explanations of Historical Influences on European State Making', *Comparative Political Studies*, 32, 1 (1999), 3-31; Edward Mead Earle, 'Adam Smith, Alexander Hamilton, Friedrich List: The Economic Foundations of Military Power', in Peter Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy*, 217-261.

<sup>153</sup> Margaret F. Clark, 'The Malayan Alliance and its Accommodation of Communal Pressures, 1952-1962', MA. Thesis, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 1964; Hua Wu Yin, *Class and Communalism in Malaysia: Politics in a Dependent Capitalist State* (London: Zed Books, 1983); Koon, *Chinese Politics in Malaysia*.

<sup>154</sup> For this point, see Karl Hack, "'Iron Claws on Malaya": The Historiography of the Malayan Emergency', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 30, 1 (1999), 99-125.

Now that *which* characteristics will figure in the comparison has been established, it needs to be established *what* shall be compared. For any comparative effort, it is important to bring together nodes of analyses that match, either to find correspondence or difference between them.<sup>155</sup> The present study is concerned with finding ‘distinct patterns’; broadly speaking, the strategic and tactical puzzles connected to coping with the violent uncertainties brought on by violent insurgencies.<sup>156</sup> Alliance-seeking, formation and breaking serve as the means to make visible the choices involved in the survival in ever-changing circumstances of various groups. The comparative framework applied will focus on *processes*: they illuminate how strategic and tactical choices by actors most clearly.

The present study uses alliance-formation—informed by violence and personal interests—to illuminate some of the repertoires of choices possessed by people who have for a long time been ‘devoid of history’.<sup>157</sup> Although some have claimed that giving attention to the colonized and historically dispossessed through Western history-writing methods is ‘suspect’ for being ‘part of a colonial endeavour’, others, such as Dipesh Chakrabarty, have recognized that these methods are indispensable—if inadequate—for analysing non-European societies.<sup>158</sup> Therefore, the chapters that follow centralize local actors by applying precepts associated with *Alltagsgeschichte*. A principal component of the history of everyday is the ‘return of the individual [and] the [...] interest in people with names and recognizable faces’.<sup>159</sup> Through stringing together various microhistories connected to individuals (and communities), the history of

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<sup>155</sup> Nancy L. Green, ‘Forms of Comparison’, in Deborah Cohen and Maura O’Connor, eds., *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 43.

<sup>156</sup> Amy L. Freedman, *Political Participation and Ethnic Minorities: Chinese Overseas in Malaysia, Indonesia, and the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 17.

<sup>157</sup> Alf Lüdtké, *Introduction: What is the History of Everyday Life and Who are Its Practitioners?*, in Alf Lüdtké, ed., *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*, trans. William Templer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 8.

<sup>158</sup> Dong-Ki Lee and You Jae Lee, ‘Östlicher Alltag und westliche Methode? Rezeption und Forschung der Alltagsgeschichte in Südkorea’, in Thomas Lindberger, Inge Marszolek and Dorothee Wierlung, eds., *Alltagsgeschichte Transnational* (Essen: Klartext, 2005), 31. See also: Quijano, ‘Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality’, 169.

<sup>159</sup> Winfried Schulze, *Sozialgeschichte, Alltagsgeschichte, Mikro-Historie: Eine Diskussion* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 21. Translation mine.

everyday is able to capture a glimpse of ‘totality in small form’. In other words, the stories and narratives of ‘small people’—that, in a colonial setting, included indigenous elites—are made important; not just those of ‘masters’. Instead of the trials and tribulations of monolithic, nameless masses, *Alltagsgeschichte* makes recognisable the ‘multiple contours of suffering’ as belonging to individuals and communities.<sup>160</sup>

*Alltagsgeschichte* brings hidden histories to the surface. In Germany, historians of the everyday laid bare ‘the extent to which most “average people” actually clung to the Nazi regime in their concern to survive’ in a way that inquiries that solely traced party members’ belief systems could not do. For the present study, making use of some of the aspects and objectives of the everyday history approach facilitates the understanding of individuals’ choices and the way they coped with and manipulated realities imposed by cultural and violent colonialities. If, for example, the history of Indonesian paramilitaries or the New Villages had been related from an institutional, policy-driven perspective, both may have been termed not unsuccessful. However, with the foregrounding of the variations of ‘human *social practice*’, a specific undercurrent is revealed. Individual soldiers or New Villagers pursued their own interests that could oppose those of the colonial authorities. The history of everyday helps to trace those instances wherein subaltern agency—those of inferior rank (within colonial society)—can be discerned, even if subaltern voices are not always clearly understood.<sup>161</sup>

No methodology is perfect.<sup>162</sup> The greater the historical distance between observer and the subjects of study, the greater the need of having to rely on

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<sup>160</sup> Schulze, *Sozialgeschichte, Alltagsgeschichte, Mikro-Historie*, 21. Translation mine; Lüdtker, *Introduction*, 3-7; Gautam Bhadra, Gyan Prakash and Susie Tharu, ‘Preface’, in Gautam Bhadra, Gyan Prakash and Susie Tharu, eds., *Subaltern Studies X: Writings on South Asian History and Society* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), v. For the elites, or ‘privileged natives’, as equally colonized as all other variations of colonized people, see also: Albert A. Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (London, Earthscan, 2003), 53 and Dipesh Chakrabarty, ‘Minority Histories, Subaltern Pasts’, *Scrutiny 2: Issues in English Studies in Southern Africa*, 3, 1 (1998), 7.

<sup>161</sup> Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, ‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’, in C. Nelson and L. Grossberg, eds., *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1988), 271-313; Ranjit Guha, ‘Preface’, in Ranjit Guha, *Subaltern Studies I: Writings on South Asian History and Society* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), vii.

<sup>162</sup> Dipesh Chakrabarty, ‘Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for the “Indian” Past?’,

‘reconstructions after the fact’ when trying to imagine peasants, labourers or colonial enforcers. This problem is exacerbated by the fact that colonial reports dealt with people who—due to contemporary restrictions in education, for example—have had little chance to speak for themselves. ‘[T]he joys and sufferings, longings and worries [...] have often left little more than a smudged imprint on the material sources that remain, or [were] encoded there in cryptic form’.<sup>163</sup> Perhaps only interviews can correct the bias of official sources, although this notion is not uncontested.<sup>164</sup> An associated issue lies with flattening. Flattening generally occurs when one leg of a comparative framework is based on less primary sources and depends more on ‘the fruits of secondary sources’ than the other leg(s).<sup>165</sup> Arguably, flattering may lead to attributing to all communities and individuals the characteristics and peculiarities that in fact corresponded to some or only one community or individual. Arguably the combination of these issues stand in the way of a forceful application of a history from below perspective.

The study that follows engages sensibly with the above-mentioned, inevitable problems in more ways than one. Throughout the chapters, the weight of various microhistories and instances of everyday life—even if lived under chaotic, violent circumstances—will be combined to come to balanced appraisals and conclusions. An assumption that maintains that *all* indigenous enforcers chased personal, violent interests, for example, will not be made. The object of this study, after, is to circumvent essentializing specific groups in ways that original sources did not as much as possible. Furthermore, the research has been based on as much primary source material as possible in to filter out the most instances of local agency and interests. This way, evidentiary lacunas in one set of sources connected to the Netherlands East Indies can be offset by proof generated by sources pertaining to British Malaya and vice versa.

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*Representations*, 37, 1992, 1-26; Quijno, *Coloniality*, 177.

<sup>163</sup> Lüdtke, *Introduction*, 8, 12-13.

<sup>164</sup> Lüdtke, *Introduction*, 13.

<sup>165</sup> Green, ‘Forms of Comparison’, 48-49; Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka, ‘Comparative History: Methods, Aims, Problems’, in Deborah Cohen and Maura O’Connor, eds., *Comparison and History*, 25.



Unfortunately, colonial reporters often displaced instances of everyday indigenous life in their analyses. Instead, they focussed on military manoeuvres, operational results or described very generally the economic, political, military or societal forces that exerted their influence on Indonesian and Malaysian populations. Under the best circumstances, people's particularities were lumped together under the rubric of 'the population'. Interrogation reports were not all that common. For the research presented here, this meant that a truly bottom-up approach to addressing the questions posed throughout this thesis was not attainable. Answers still presented themselves, however. By viewing the available everyday occurrences through the alliance framework, the latter gave meaning to the microhistories that resulted. The framework did so by making visible the interaction between local interests and the very colonial and anti-colonial forcefields that opened or closed off specific repertoires of behaviour and choices that indigenous individuals and communities could to choose from. With the shortcomings of evidence and other limitations in mind, however, no historical treatise can escape but being imperfect.

## II

### **‘Collaboration is a Very Delicate Concept’: The Negara Pasundan and the Malay Chinese Association<sup>1</sup>**

After Japan was bombed out of the war and its occupation suddenly ended in August 1945, the British and Dutch desperately tried to regain their former colonies. They found that nothing had remained the same in the power vacuum the Japanese surrender had left in its wake. In Malaysia, the Malayan National Liberation Army (MNLA; later the Malayan Races Liberation Army, MRLA), the army of the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) that had fought a guerrilla war against the Japanese with the British Force 136, was causing severe tensions between Malays and Chinese. The MNLA/MRLA exited the jungles and took their revenge on what they deemed to have been collaborators. They unleashed a reign of terror in which common bandits, MRLA fighters but also civilians targeted anyone they pleased. Predominantly Malays and Indians were publicly trialled and executed.<sup>2</sup> Dato Mahmud, one of the Pahang District Officers (DO), reported in 1946 that he could not recognize his own district. ‘[T]he Chinese towkays [businessmen] are afraid to be seen talking to me, the young Chinese regard me with suspicion or even hostility’.<sup>3</sup> Malay and Indian populations were likewise politically agitated.<sup>4</sup> Rather drily the DO concluded: ‘We are going to have a lot of trouble with these people in the future’.<sup>5</sup> Confronted by the return of the British, the Malayan Communist Party, mostly Chinese in its composition, took their desire for independence into the vast jungles in 1948. The MCP’s goal was to violently recast Malaysia into a Communist state and oust the British through a Maoist rebellion.

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<sup>1</sup> Spoor aan Divisie- en Brigade-Commandanten op Java en Troepencommandanten op Sumatra, *Behandeling Chineesche Ingezetenen in Bevrijde Gebieden*, 17 October 1946, no. Kab./472, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië, 2.13.132/1295, Ministerie van Defensie: *Strijdkrachten in Nederlands-Indië*, The National Archives, The Hague.

<sup>2</sup> Kheng, *Red Star over Malaya*, 176-183.

<sup>3</sup> M. C. S. Colonel, J. A. Harvey, Senior Civil Affairs Officer, Region 9, Report on Region 9 Pahang, for the 6 Months Ending March, 31, 1946, TNA, FCO 141/7353.

<sup>4</sup> Ongkili, *Nation-building in Malaysia*, 21, 27, 29.

<sup>5</sup> M. C. S. Colonel, J. A. Harvey, Senior Civil Affairs Officer, Region 9, Report on Region 9 Pahang, for the 6 Months Ending March, 31, 1946, TNA, FCO 141/7353.

In the Netherlands East Indies, returning Dutch civil and military authorities in 1945 encountered the *Republic Indonesia* whose leaders had declared independence on 17 August. Their message of independence could ultimately count on wide-reaching support among the population.<sup>6</sup> Initially, it was not necessarily the Republic who had filled the power vacuum—it was gradually established as a political force. Instead, Indonesian youths proclaimed themselves the progenitors of independence. In fact, it was these *pemuda*—‘the youth pledge’, i.e. youths fighting for independence—who had forced Sukarno and his second man, Mohammad Hatta, who later was one of the signatories of the transfer of sovereignty, into declaring independence in the first place.<sup>7</sup> The *pemuda* turned to attacking and looting from Europeans and Eurasians and displacing the Indonesian ‘Nationalist Police’ and Japanese troops. Roving youth bands took over rice stores and occupied major urban centres such as Surabaya, Bandung, Malang and Surakarta.<sup>8</sup> Dutch reports spoke of a ‘murder and terror campaign, directed at the Dutch’ that had been ‘deliberately planned’.<sup>9</sup> Sukarno, who supposedly approved of the violence, was now unable to stop the excesses: ‘he has to make concessions to the radical leaders’, not in the least to ‘keep his military leaders’ allegiance’, claimed one Dutch official acidly.<sup>10</sup> As in Malaysia, tensions between the Dutch and Indonesians, but also between Indonesians themselves, flared up. Hastily constituted KNIL (Koninklijk Nederlands-Indisch Leger, or Royal Netherlands East Indies Army) units roamed the streets of Batavia. ‘Trigger happy Ambonese started firing [...] close to [their] own barracks’, reported a British war diary: ‘it is apparent that the Ambonese are completely

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<sup>6</sup> Cora DuBois, *Social Forces in Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 52-53.

<sup>7</sup> Benedict R. O’G. Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution. Occupation and Resistance, 1944-1946* (Jakarta: Equinox Publishing, 2006, originally published by Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), 74.

<sup>8</sup> Ministers van Buitenlandse Zaken (Van Kleffens) en van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen (Logemann) aan Luitenant Gouverneur-Generaal (Van Mook), 21 okt. 1945, note 4: Luitenant ter Zee 1e Klas. P. G. de Back aan Mountbatten, 21 september 1945, *NIB* 1, 487; Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution*, 129.

<sup>9</sup> On the large-scale murders of Europeans, Indo-Europeans and Chinese at the hands of Indonesians, see H. Th. Bussemaker, *Bersiap! Opstand in het Paradijs. De Bersiap-periode op Java en Sumatra 1945-1946* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2005).

<sup>10</sup> Memorandum van fd Directeur van Binnenlands Bestuur (Van der Plas), 11 nov. 1945, *NIB* 2, 40-41.

irresponsible and are a danger to the lives and property of all nationalities'.<sup>11</sup> In Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies, then, '[t]hings are not what they were'. The 'old days' had definitely passed.<sup>12</sup>

This chapter analyses how the disappearance of the old days necessitated a somewhat different approach for the colonial authorities. It will argue that to quell political unrest, both in terms of insurgency and constitutional changes, colonial subjects became the focal point of civil and military authorities. The process at work here is the engagement of local elites: how British and Dutch rulers engaged them and tried to use their support to their own benefit. The mechanism of direct involvement in indigenous affairs had always been part and parcel of the colonial state.<sup>13</sup> In 1930s Indonesia, suspect associations were banned, news outlets were censored and policemen—ever present—could close down meetings when they pleased, to arrest and intern transgressors.<sup>14</sup> In a reaction to perceived communist 'revolts' in West Java of 1926, an internment camp was built in New Guinea, called Boven Digoel. A violent place where might was right, Sukarno was said to be so afraid of being sent there that he pleaded for a pardon with the Dutch in exchange for the discontinuation of his political work.<sup>15</sup> After the sudden collapse of the Japanese Occupation in August 1945, however, colonial agents truly had to take into account that circumstances had changed so drastically much more leeway had to be given to aspirations and wishes emanating from quarters that could be jostled into falling in line earlier. Not only did this mean listening to indigenous grievances; it entailed actively seeking out those indigenous forces that had been deliberately ignored or

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<sup>11</sup> War Diaries of 1<sup>st</sup> Patialas, War Diary for November 1945, Entry for 20 November, WO 127/7827, War Office Records, The National Archives, London.

<sup>12</sup> M. C. S. Colonel, J. A. Harvey, Senior Civil Affairs Officer, Region 9, Report on Region 9 Pahang, for the 6 Months Ending March, 31, 1946, TNA, FO 141/7353.

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, Commissie W. H. van Helsdingen, *Eerste Verslag van de Kampongverbeteringscommissie, ingesteld bij het Gouvernementsbesluit van 25 Mei 1938, no. 30* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1939), 35; 'De Hygienische Toestanden op de Particuliere Landbouwendemeringen op Java', *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlands Bestuur, 48e Deel, Jaargang 1* (Batavia: G. Kolff & Co., 1915), 391-399.

<sup>14</sup> J. M. Pluvier, *Overzicht van de Ontwikkeling der Nationalistische Beweging in Indonesië in de Jaren 1930 tot 1942* ('s-Gravenhage: N. V. Uitgerij W. van Hoeve, 1953), 41.

<sup>15</sup> Pluvier, *Overzicht van de Ontwikkeling der Nationalistische Beweging*, 42; L. J. A. Schoonheydt, *Boven-Digoel* (Batavia, N. V. Drukkerij De Unie, 1936), 165-167; Takashi Shiraiishi, 'The Phantom World of Digoel, *Indonesia*, 61 (1996), 94.

suppressed. '[T]he Colonial Office for the first time', wrote Bayly and Harper, 'was making an active bid for the support of the non-Malays'.<sup>16</sup>

I will argue that for the Dutch and British, elites were not so malleable or easily suppressed as they used to be. Sundanese and Chinese leaders in West Java and Malaysia, respectively, demanded that they chart their own course. It was no longer possible to coerce local elites into an asymmetrical alliance that would factually co-opt them. Instead, indigenous leaders sought '*mutuality*' and tried to prohibit colonial authorities once more claiming '*spokespersonship*' over them—and largely achieved it.<sup>17</sup> This was a direct consequence of the insurgencies that threatened the colonial state. They were not free agents completely, however. The insurgency forced them, like the colonial authorities, to make concessions. In other words: both the leaders of the Partai Rakyat Pasundan (PRP) and the Malay Chinese Association had to divide their alliances. On the one hand, they had their direct sponsors, the colonial authorities—and in the MCA's case, the Malay sultans—to placate. On the other hand, they had to consider the influence of the insurgents and their influence on themselves and the people the PRP and the MCA claimed to represent.

### *Political reconstructions: Federalization in Indonesia and Malaysia*

If indigenous elites were given more leeway concerning their aspirations, it did not mean the British and Dutch administrations had any wish to relinquish their empire. Hubertus van Mook, the Lieutenant Governor-General for post-war Indonesia until October 1948, declared that 'direct recognition of independence is impracticable' as the territory and, presumably, Indonesia's possible leaders, lacked any and all 'tools for foreign affairs, foreign economic relations and defence'.<sup>18</sup> The British displayed more progressive leanings, promising Malayan independence early on, but here, too, decolonization had to be an organized

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<sup>16</sup> Christopher Bayly and Tim Harper, *Forgotten Wars: The End of Britain's Asian Empire* (London: Penguin, 2007), 99.

<sup>17</sup> Lelah Khalili, "'Standing With My Brother'", 278. Emphasis in the original.

<sup>18</sup> Nota van Lt. Governor-Generaal (Van Mook) voor de Leden der Commissie-Generaal, 27 Sept, 1946, *NIB* 5, 411.

affair.<sup>19</sup> ‘I am a firm believer in first things first’, said General Gerald Templer who acted as supreme civil-military leader in Malaya between 1952 and 1954. ‘Or, to put it another way, it is politically unsound and structurally impossible to put the roof on a building until the foundations [...] are well and truly laid’.<sup>20</sup>

What was at stake was the reconfiguration of colonial rule; supposedly accommodating demands for self-rule without truly relinquishing colonial dominance. Van Mook wanted to attain this through a federation—the United States of Indonesia (USI)—that would engage in an inseparable union with the Netherlands. To construct this federation, the Dutch needed to find local leaders who would work with them, ‘the best people from Indonesian society’.<sup>21</sup> On 16 July 1946, the Dutch opened the Malino Conference, named after the town on South Sulawesi where the conference was held, welcoming the representatives from Borneo, the Great East (all islands east of Java and west of New-Guinea; later part of the USI as the *Negara Indonesia Timur*, or State of East Indonesia), Billiton and Riau (part of Sumatra).<sup>22</sup> Van Mook held before them a dazzling view of a future where Indonesia would be self-governing; free ‘to choose its own place within the community of peoples [nations]’. Van Mook declared that ‘the colonial area was over’.<sup>23</sup> All the Indonesians had to do was go through a period of Dutch-controlled transition. There was no little amount of duplicity to these words, especially as the government in The Hague would in the end decide that the USI would never be allowed outside the union binding them to the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The autonomous states that would emerge, in the meantime, were to be used to divide the territory of Indonesia against the Republic.<sup>24</sup> According to the Dutch, nation-building was allowed as the prospective leaders had asked Dutch assistance to fulfil the wish for self-rule.

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<sup>19</sup> Bayly and Harper, *Forgotten Wars*, 99-100.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted in Simon Smith, ‘General Templer and Counter-insurgency in Malaya: Hearts and Minds, Intelligence, and Propaganda’, *Intelligence and National Security*, 16, 3 (2001), 70.

<sup>21</sup> Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal (Van Mook) aan Minister van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen (Sassen), 11 okt. 1948, *NIB* 15, 401; Bank, *Katholieken en de Indonesische Revolutie*, 216-31.

<sup>22</sup> Verslag van de Openingsconferentie van de Malino-Conferentie op 16 juli 1946, *NIB* 5, 1-2.

<sup>23</sup> Regeerings Voorlichtings Dienst, *Malino Maakt History* (Batavia: De Regeerings Voorlichtings Dienst, 1946), 8.

<sup>24</sup> Heru Sukadri K, Soewarno, Ny, Umiati RA, *Sejarah Revolusi Kemerdekaan (1945-1949) Daerah Jawa Timur* (Jakarta: Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Sejarah Nasional, 1991 [cetakan pertama 1984], 246.

The Malino participants and the Dutch invoked article four of the May 1947 Linggadjati Agreement, which stipulated that any community had the right of self-determination. The Malino states were all erected outside of Java and Sumatra. Van Mook, supported by senior policy makers, however, wanted more. If new groups could be found to demand self-determination on Java or Sumatra, the reasoning went, they could be used to truly hurt the Republic: through Linggadjati, the Republic had *de facto* sovereignty over Java, Sumatra and Madura.<sup>25</sup> Diminishing the Republic there would force its leaders to honour a Dutch version of Linggadjati. The glaring difference between this scheme and what Linggadjati stipulated did not bother the Netherlands' authorities at all. Nor did the fact that this course placed indigenous leaders in a difficult position. Whereas Republican leaders recognized, for example, East Indonesia as a state, it did not extend the same courtesy to the small *negaras*, or states, in Java or Sumatra.<sup>26</sup> Federal leaders rightly blamed the Dutch. Anak Agung, East Indonesia's first prime minister, stated that using the federation 'as a weapon against the Republik' proved 'a fatal political mistake'. In Republican eyes, 'small-federalism' recast possible viable partners for a future independent, Indonesian state into '*collaborators*' at the head of '*negara-negara boneka*', or puppet states.<sup>27</sup> Yet, the Dutch created *negaras* in East Java, South Sumatra and East Sumatra; it was under the aegis of this 'small-federalism' that the Pasundan State comes into view.

The British attempt at colonial reconfiguration was much more direct initially. On 10 October 1945, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, George Hall, told the House of Commons the British government had planned a Malayan Union 'to promote the sense of unity and common citizenship that will develop the country's strength and capacity in due course for self-government within the

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<sup>25</sup> Articles 1 and 4.1 of the *Ontwerp-Overeenkomst van Linggadjati*, *NIB* 5, 753-754; Memorandum van Directeur-Generaal voor Algemene Zaken (Idenburg) aan Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal (Van Mook), 26 juli 1947, *NIB* 10, 78.

<sup>26</sup> For the Republican communiqué recognizing East Indonesia, see: Ide Anak Agung Gde Agung, '*Renville*' als *Keerpunt in de Nederlands-Indonesische Onderhandelingen* (Aplhen aan de Rijn: Sijthoff, 1980), 186.

<sup>27</sup> Anak Agung, 4 March 1985, quoted in Gase, *Beel in Batavia*, 17. Emphasis in the original; For the term 'small-federalism', see Jan Bank, *Katholieken en de Indonesische Revolutie* (Baarn: Ambo, 1983), 327; S. Diasmadi DSG, *Catatan Kisah Perjuangan Taruna Patria Sala: Merdeka atau Mati*. Bagian I. (Jakarta: Yayasan Al-Qualam, 1983), 136.

British Commonwealth'.<sup>28</sup> The government simply sent a Special Representative to 'conclude with each Ruler [...] a formal agreement by which he will cede full jurisdiction to his Majesty in his State'.<sup>29</sup> The intent was to secure more control over Malaya than the British had ever had. Quickly the signatories, the Malay Sultans, objected to the Union and how it had come about. The Sultan of Kedah declared that the Special Representative had been 'polite' but that the 'technique adopted by His Majesty's Government appeared to be not unlike the familiar Japanese technique of bullying'.<sup>30</sup> Second, the Rulers and their states would be stripped of sovereignty and superseded by a centralized government residing in Kuala Lumpur.<sup>31</sup>

More importantly, perhaps, was that the union would strip the Malay community of their privileged status it traditionally enjoyed. In 1943, the Colonial Office still claimed that British policy in Malaya revolved around the promotion of 'the well being and efficiency of the Malay peoples and their educational fitness to fill the official Services in their own territories'. The government took Malays' 'legitimate fear' of being 'swamped by the more efficient and numerous Chinese [and Indians]' to heart and would continue to protect Malay privileged status.<sup>32</sup> A mere three years later, the British drove the Malay rulers to accept a citizenship programme that would allow the great number of Chinese in Malaya to not only become citizens, but give them access to 'equal political rights' and 'positions in the public services[,] wider opportunities in the commercial sector and possibly even easier means of acquiring landed property'.<sup>33</sup> These concessions posed a real threat to Malay pre-eminence as in 1957, the Chinese population would rival the

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<sup>28</sup> Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, 414 House of Commons Debate, col. 255W, 10 October 1945. The union would consist of the nine Malay states of Kedah, Kelantan, Johor, Negri Sembilan, Pahang, Perlis, Perak, Selangor and Terengganu plus the Straits Settlements of Penang and Malacca.

<sup>29</sup> Malayan Union Government, *Report on a Mission to Malaya by Sir Harold MacMichael, G. C. M. G., D. S. O.* (Kuala Lumpur: Malayan Union Government Printer, 1946), paragraph 10.

<sup>30</sup> Quoted in A. J. Stockwell, *British Policy and Malay Politics During the Malayan Union Experiment, 1942-1948* (Kuala Lumpur: Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1979), 57.

<sup>31</sup> Stubbs, *Hearts and Minds*, 24.

<sup>32</sup> Memorandum by Gent and MacDougall, Note on Future Policy in the Far East, 3 July 1942. Quoted in Albert Lau, 'Malayan Union Citizenship: Constitutional Change and Controversy in Malaya, 1942-1948', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 20, 2 (1989), 221.

<sup>33</sup> James P. Ongkili, *Nation-Building in Malaysia, 1946-1974* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1985), 51.



Malay population in terms of absolute numbers—2,332,936 Chinese versus 3,126,706 Malays.<sup>34</sup> By April 1946, the House of Commons was informed that all Sultans unilaterally abrogated their treaties.<sup>35</sup> The British finally relented under the concerted pressure of the Malay community; abandoning the Malayan Union.

Here we clearly distinguish how the British tried to pressure the Malay sultans into one direction—even suspending seven Malay leaders who openly attacked the Sultan of Johore for signing—only to fold.<sup>36</sup> Instead of the ill-received Union, the Federation of Malaya was implemented in February 1948. The proceedings leading up to its instalment, however, were guided by a Constitutional Working Committee that consisted of six British officials, four Malay Rulers and two United Malays National Organization functionaries. Especially the latter, constituted in May 1946 and led by Dato Onn bin Ja'afar, the *mentri besar* (chief minister) of Johore, earned a lot of Malay support. The UMNO, together with the Pan-Malayan Malay Congress from which it sprang, was able to become the focal point of anti-union resistance.<sup>37</sup> As a concession to the reduction of sovereignty of the rulers, the Malay leaders negotiated for and finally secured the installation of a Conference of Rulers led not by the High Commissioner but by one of their own chosen representatives. Furthermore, attainment of citizenship was made more difficult, thus staving off the threat of wide-spread Chinese citizenship.<sup>38</sup>

While the British were busy placating the Malay community, new problems sprang up. Leading up to the promulgation of the federation, non-Malay communities, notably the Chinese, found issue with the new constitution of the country. Any pro-Chinese sentiments that had directed the Malayan Union proposals seemed to have vanished under Malay pressure.<sup>39</sup> The Malayan Democratic Union (MDU), founded in December 1945, brought together

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<sup>34</sup> Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia* (London, Oxford University Press, 1965), 227. The total population in Malaya in 1957 was 6,275,763; Indians accounted for 695,986.

<sup>35</sup> 421 H. C. Deb., col. 2671, 17 April 1946.

<sup>36</sup> Ongkili, *Nation-Building in Malaysia*, 45.

<sup>37</sup> Stubbs, *Hearts and Minds*, 26.

<sup>38</sup> Ongkili, *Nation-Building in Malaysia*, 55-56; Roff, 'The Malayan Chinese Association, 1948-65', 41.

<sup>39</sup> Lau, 'Malayan Union Citizenship', 223-226.

'Westernized Chinese, Eurasians and Indians' to criticize the union for its lack of universal suffrage, amongst other things.<sup>40</sup> Non-Malay voices, however, were only truly heard at the end of 1946, when the All-Malaya Council for Joint Action (AMCJA) took to the political stage in December. The AMCJA brought together birds of different plumage, such as the MDU, the Singapore Federation of Trade Unions, the Malayan Democratic Youth League and multiple Women's Federations. Strikingly, the Malay Races Liberation Army was also one of the AMCJA's affiliates.<sup>41</sup> Its main program, unsurprisingly, was the need for inclusion of non-Malays in the consultative rounds concerning the Malayan Union and the Federation of Malayan States—especially since the British had ignored the views of the Consultative Committee to hear non-Malay perspectives set up in 1947.<sup>42</sup>

Many historians have asserted that the Indian and Chinese Malaysians showed little interest in the reconstitution of the trappings of colonial rule.<sup>43</sup> Others seemed to question whether such statements mattered in the first place as 'it was unclear what a "Malayan" nation might be founded upon'.<sup>44</sup> Regardless, there was a distinct process at work during the immediate restoration of colonial dominance in Malaya and the East Indies after World War Two. Despite attempts of colonial officials to impose a certain construction—federalization—and being largely successful in their endeavours, they could only do so through sustained negotiation that took years. Conversely, indigenous leaders stood up and demanded they be heard. Political consciousness, perennially suppressed, could now assert itself. In Malaya, the sultans and the UMNO forced the British into rethinking their heavy-handed approach. After having substituted the Malayan Federation for the union, the British had to constantly heed Dato Onn's repeated statements that the British needed to show they could be trusted again.<sup>45</sup> The Chinese community, represented predominantly by the AMCJA, proved assertive

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<sup>40</sup> Ongkili, *Nation-Building in Malaysia*, 59.

<sup>41</sup> Stubbs, *Hearts and Minds*, 29-30; Ongkili, *Nation-Building*, 60.

<sup>42</sup> Stubbs, *Hearts and Minds*, 27.

<sup>43</sup> Both Stubbs and Ongkili do so; see also M. R. Stenson, 'The Malayan Union and the Historians', *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, 10, 2 (1969), 346, note 4.

<sup>44</sup> Bayly and Harper, *Forgotten Wars*, 100.

<sup>45</sup> Stockwell, *British Policy*, 95-96.

as well. Even before the Japanese Occupation, Chinese leaders were already clamouring for British trust. Tan Cheng Lock, headman of the AMCJA after 1945, made this clear to the Eastern Department at the Colonial Office in 1943. The Chinese constituted 'a most loyal and valuable element in the Malayan population, willing and able to take a vital part in the defence of Malaya under British leadership should an occasion arise in the future [...] if properly and fairly treated', wrote Lock. Support was contingent on British 'trust' and 'Malayan citizenship' for the Chinese. This was the 'best and wisest course to adopt by way of solving the so-called Chinese problem in Malaya'.<sup>46</sup>

Indonesian leaders likewise challenged the Dutch, although they behaved more compliant at first. Invited to do so by Van Mook, various community leaders across Indonesia set in motion the gears that led to an array of autonomous states from 1946 onwards. As they felt their way around the corridors of power, they lost their inhibitions. When in the summer of 1948 negotiations between the Netherlands and the Republic stalemated again, Anak Agung of the federal state of East-Indonesia called together the 'Governments of the Negara's [...] outside the Republic' to discuss further steps to safeguard 'our states specifically and Indonesia generally'.<sup>47</sup> At the meeting that commenced in the second week of July 1948, Anak Agung exhorted all negara governments and daerah administrations—the small states of the federation—to hold on to the date of independence set by Dutch-Republican negotiations on 1 January 1949.<sup>48</sup> The Gathering for Federal Consultation (GFC), as the foremen were called, needed just days to complete a resolution. In it, they demanded a 'Federal Interim-Government' (FIR), 'consisting of Indonesians', as a precursor to the government of the '[free and] sovereign United States of Indonesia' that included the Republic.

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<sup>46</sup> Tan Cheng Lock, Memorandum on the Future of British Malaya, 1 November 1943, TNA, CO 825/42/5.

<sup>47</sup> Minister-President van Oost-Indonesië (Ide Anak Agoeng Gde Agoeng) aan de Walinegara Oostkust van Sumatra (Mansoer), 1 juli 1948, *NIB* 14, 263.

<sup>48</sup> Ambtenaar t/b van de Nederlands-Indische Regering (Prajogo) aan Hoofd Afdeling Voorbereiding Staatkundige Hervormingen van het Ministerie van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen (Van Beuge), 9 juli 1948, *NIB* 14, 335, note 3.

Dutch officials were not to tamper with the FIR's largely autonomous machinations.<sup>49</sup>

The Dutch were furious. The Indonesian Secretary of State for General Affairs made a mockery of the resolutions of the GFC. Certainly, indigenous leaders may have started to lose their inferiority complex regarding the Republic, 'the Netherlands and "the Palace"'. Yet he deprecated the idea of 'Indonesians, who think that the Dutch and the Djocja republicans cannot [...] come to an agreement'. Of 'Indonesians, who think to form a third force, the only force, that can bring together the [Netherlands and the Republic] along peaceful lines. A third force, [...] that wants to play the role of mediator'. The resolution was a mere 'essay' that claimed to propose a 'breakthrough'.<sup>50</sup> Van Mook himself thought along the same lines. He refused to pass on the proposals to the government in The Hague because the FIR would compete with Van Mook's own Federal Provisional Government; the interjection of another provisional body would create a dangerous 'triangle'. In the end, Van Mook was little perturbed. He merely concluded—rather paternalistic—that the Indonesian federal leaders simply felt impatient with the Dutch government and were fed up with what the federalists perceived to be 'indecisiveness'.<sup>51</sup>

### *Forming alliances: The Negara Pasundan and the Malay Chinese Association*

To get a fuller understanding of how alliances with the colonial authorities provided both opportunities and enormous risks, a deeper analysis of the functioning of these alliances is needed. Such an analysis will also show how partners within them had to constantly translate their choices to others. The discussion therefore turns to two such alliances: between the Negara Pasundan

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<sup>49</sup> Bijlage bij Secretaris van Staat voor Algemene Zaken (Abdulkadir Widjoatmodjo) aan Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal (Van Mook), 18 juli 1948, *NIB* 14, 377-380. The signatories represented Bandjar, East-Indonesia, Kalimantan Tenggara, Kalimantan Timur, Madura and Pasundan and the daerahs; Bangka, Billiton, Djakar Besar, Kalimantan Barat, Riau, Sumatra Selatan and Sumatera Timur.

<sup>50</sup> Secretaris van Staat voor Algemene Zaken (Abdulkadir Widjoatmodjo) aan Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal (Van Mook), 18 juli 1948, *NIB* 14, 376.

<sup>51</sup> Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal (Van Mook) aan Minister van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen (Jonkman), 19 juli 1948, *NIB* 14, 388.

(NP) and the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) on one side and the colonial authorities on the other. In doing so, this section lays bare that a clear distinction between colonial authorities, their loyal supporters and the anti-colonial forces did not exist. Both the Negara Pasundan and the MCA were hugely important for providing the colonial authorities with a façade of respectability. Through them, the Dutch and British could claim they fought for indigenous communities; not for an agenda hinging on continued domination. Both the Pasundan and the MCA were cultivated as possessing distinct identities that were to attract those who supposedly shared these identities into cooperation with a government—and a policy—they did not trust. In other words: through alliances, the colonial state could sell its less than palatable practices. For the members of these organizations, lastly, the alliance provided a way into securing a place at the table of power both during and after decolonization.

In both territories, local leaders appeared on the colonial radar voluntarily. The Partai Rakyat Pasundan (PRP; Pasundan Peoples Party) was founded on 18 November 1946. It was led by the Sundanese aristocrat R. A. A. M. M. Suriakartalegawa, formerly the regent of Garut, West Java. His party immediately came under direct protection of ‘local Dutch and military officials’, like Colonel Thomson in Bogor (Buitenzorg), the Resident of the Priangan,<sup>52</sup> M. Klaassen, and the acting governor of Batavia, C. W. A. Abbenhuis.<sup>53</sup> The PRP served as the platform to espouse Sundanese interests and the expression of the fact that the Sundanese people had been dominated ‘militarily, economically [and] politically by their neighbours’, the Javanese, long enough. With the Dutch embroiled with the Republic, now was the time to make Sundanese wishes heard. ‘The Sundanese race wants to see its language, adat [the collective body of traditional Indonesian laws] and culture protected’, a Dutch administrator noted, ‘and be

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<sup>52</sup> The Preanger comprises the regencies of Bandung, West Bandung, Subang, Garut, Purwakarta, Sumedang. There is also Priangan Timur or East Priangan), with the regencies of Ciamis, Tasikmalaya, Kuningan and Majalengka.

<sup>53</sup> The Resident –HTB van Priangan M. Klaassen, Rapport Betreffende de Partei Ra’jat Pasoendan, Bandoeng, 27 December 1946, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417; Robert Cribb, *Gangsters and Revolutionaries. The Jakarta People’s Militia and the Indonesian Revolution 1945-1950* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991), 144-145. Inexplicably, Cribb has 20 November as the day the PRP was founded.

taken up within the Federation of Indonesian States as an autonomous area'.<sup>54</sup> The Sundanese pedigree reached back to pre-colonial times, to the *Tanah Sunda* (Sunda Land) kingdom which had Jakarta, the later seat of Dutch power, as its main port until 1527. At the beginning of the twentieth century, indigenous communities in Indonesia 'witnessed a rise in consciousness' when educated elites wished to raise 'the living conditions of their respective communities' and to promote clear-cut distinctions between themselves and others.<sup>55</sup> The Sundanese established themselves in the *Paguyuban Pasundan* (Circle of Pasundan Friends) to rekindle the Sundanese culture.<sup>56</sup>

The Malayan Chinese Association, founded in February 1949, also drew on pre-World War Two elements. Its leadership did not have aristocratic roots yet was elitist nonetheless. It was an amalgam of the leaders of earlier Chinese parties like the Straits Chinese British Association (SCBA; founded in 1900 and represented in Singapore and Malacca and later Penang), the Kuomintang Malaya (KMT-M; formed in 1912, nationalist and focussed on China), the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and members of traditional associations and secret societies. Tan Cheng Lock, who had been the pre-war leader of the SCBA and a member of the Settlements' Legislative council, became MCA's chairman, undoubtedly based on experience as a leader of various bodies, champion for various indigenous interests and his constant reiteration of the need for pan-Chinese organisation.<sup>57</sup> Whereas the PRP in Indonesia operated on a program that set them apart from the rest of Javanese society, the MCA preached a message of inclusion. Lock declared that 'among the Chinese who have decided to make Malaya their permanent home, a consciousness of Malayan unity and loyalty' had to be engendered, that would 'draw them closer to the other Malayan communities'. Malayan Chinese had to be turned away 'from China and Chinese

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<sup>54</sup> Rapport Betreffende de Partei Ra'jat Pasoendan, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

<sup>55</sup> Edi Ekadjati, 'Paguyuban Pasundan: A Sundanese Revival (1913-1918)', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 66 (2003), 23.

<sup>56</sup> Ekadjati, 'Paguyuban Pasundan', 26.

<sup>57</sup> Heng Pek Koon, 'The Social and Ideological Origins of the Malayan Chinese Association', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 14, 2 (1983), 291, 293-294; Soh Eng Lim, 'Tan Cheng Lock: His Leadership of the Malayan Chinese', *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, 1, 1 (1960), 31-32, 34-42, 45.

politics [...] to transfer their love [...] to Malaya'.<sup>58</sup> The MCA stressed—at its inauguration, for example—the absolute necessity for 'co-operation with the Government and [Malaya's] other communities'.<sup>59</sup> The MCA played off three sides: while signalling to the UMNO and the British government it wanted to help to construct a unified Malaya, the association showed its Chinese constituency that it had their interests securely at heart.<sup>60</sup>

Both messages of inclusion (MCA) and exclusion (PRP) spoke to the colonial authorities. If in Malaya policy makers showed apprehensiveness towards being too pro-Chinese earlier, by the time 1948 was well under way the British government needed all the support it could muster from the Chinese communities.<sup>61</sup> In Indonesia, a similar shift took place. The swing towards cooperation was forced upon the Dutch and British by the advent of overt conflict over colonial restoration. The opening salvoes of the MRLA and the *Tentara Nasional Indonesia* (TNI; the Indonesian National Army) assisted by *laskars* (guerrilla bands) and the colonial reactions to them bore striking similarities. On 1 June police forces charged 200 Chinese labourers at an estate in the Malaysian state of Johore, killing seven strikers. Eleven days later, officials had counted five murders: 'all, save one attempted murder, political in origin'. With the MCP stepping up its campaign—or, rather, starting the stage of open warfare—three planters were killed at home on June 16 in Perak while elsewhere a Chinese foreman and a Chinese labour contractor lost their lives. A day later a band of 12 Chinese stole a rifle from a police station. 'From the 18th to the 29th June inclusive, fifteen murders and fifteen attempted murders have been reported to me', noted the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who started to discern a particular pattern.

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<sup>58</sup> *Straits Times*, 4 May 1948 and Tan Cheng Lock, *A Collection of Correspondence* (Private Publication), 18, both quoted in Lim, 'Tan Cheng Lock', 42.

<sup>59</sup> Telegram from High Commissioner Federation of Malaya to Colonial Office, 1 March 1949, TNA, FCO 141/7395.

<sup>60</sup> Roff, 'The Malayan Chinese Association', 42.

<sup>61</sup> In 1942, for example, a pro-Chinese stance, policy makers feared, would push the 'younger, educated' Malays either into Pan-Islamism or towards linking up with Indonesians in the Netherlands East Indies, with which they shared kinship bonds; this would lead to an Indonesian nationality, in Lau, 'Malayan Union Citizenship', 227.

Violence, meted out by ‘bands of well-armed Chinese’, was directed at European and Asian estate personnel, Kuomintang Chinese and those who had given evidence in earlier intimidation cases.<sup>62</sup> Violence in Indonesia flared up in 1948 as well. TNI units and *laskars* began attacking estates, security forces and civilians, like in Malaysia. Between five November and six December 1947 an official tallied up 19 attacks against plantations during which TNI and guerrilla units targeted estate workers and kidnapped their relatives.<sup>63</sup> In April 1948 overall Army Commander General Simon H. Spoor counted 120 ‘incidents’; 30 more than in March.<sup>64</sup>

The reactions of the Dutch and British matched each other closely. Both governments accorded themselves a large array of extraordinary powers. Nineteen June saw the proclamation of the State of Emergency for the Federation of Malaya. Its regulations included ‘reimposing the death penalty for the offence of carrying arms’, detention of ‘any person without trial’ and deportation.<sup>65</sup> Within days, 600 people were rounded up, all suspected communists of various organisations like the Malayan Communist Party, the MPAJA Ex-Comrades Association (Malayan Peoples’ Anti-Japanese Army, the forerunner of the MRLA) and the New Democratic Youth League. ‘Leading Communists and wanted members of killer squads’ remained elusive.<sup>66</sup> Just a month later, the first two death sentences for illegal arms possession were passed; the suspects 24 and 25 years old.<sup>67</sup> Dutch military authorities also swiftly put the decision over life and death into their own hands. The death penalty and life-long (or 20 year) prison

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<sup>62</sup> Memorandum by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, The Situation in Malaya, 1 July 1948, c.p. (48) 171, CAB 129/28, Cabinet Office Records, The National Archives, London.

<sup>63</sup> Verslag over de Maand Oktober 1947, Algemeen Landbouw Syndicaat [ALS] Rayon Buitenzorg; Maandverslag over November 1947 ALS Ressorst Tjiandjoer, 11 december 1947; Maandverslag over de Maand November 1947 ALS Rayon Djember; Maandverslag van den Ressorstvertegenwoordiger ALS Poerwakarta over de Maand November 1947, 11 December 1947, Federabo 2.20.50/60.

<sup>64</sup> Uit de ‘Nieuwsgier’ van Woensdag 15 September 1948, Mr. J. G. van ’t Oever, Waarnemend Voorzitter ALS/ZWSS aan Jhr. Mr. W. J. de Jonge, Voorzitter Federabo, 16 September 1948, annex to V.V./No. 76., NHM 2.20.01/8910, Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij (NHM), The National Archives, The Hague.

<sup>65</sup> Memorandum by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, The Situation in Malaya, 1 July 1948, TNA, CAB 129/28.

<sup>66</sup> ‘600 Suspects Held’, *The Straits Times*, 22 June 1948.

<sup>67</sup> ‘First Death Sentences For Arms’, *The Straits Times*, 23 July 1948.



terms became real options already in August 1947.<sup>68</sup> Worse still, ‘punishment-execution-without-trial’ did, too. The East Indies laws, the State of War and Siege, did not allow this, but since the Republic had the ‘population’ participate in ‘arson, destruction, mobbing and looting’ along with its official army, [a]ll these misdeeds could be chalked up as “combat operations” ergo the safety of [our] troops will demand that [...] perpetrators shall be put down [*neergelegd*]. After arrest and interrogation, suspects could still receive a death sentence.<sup>69</sup> Carrying arms (guns or otherwise) or explosives without permission or their concealment became a capital offence. Trials based on weapons possession would be ‘by exclusion of any other judge [presided over] by the Temporary Courts-Martial’ but with the right to shoot first, there was little chance soldiers would ask for a gun carrying permit or make arrests.<sup>70</sup> Military (and presumably police) forces were now legally covered; they could finally meet terror with ‘contra-terror’.<sup>71</sup> As David French commented: British unofficial counterinsurgency practices created ‘an atmosphere within which [...] some elements of the security forces [could] operate in ways contrary to the norms laid down in international law’, while simultaneously staying *within* the boundaries of British law.<sup>72</sup>

Under these circumstances, overt support by indigenous elites would certainly lend some respectability to such practices. The British deemed securing Chinese support a paramount ingredient to their campaign against the MCP/MRLA because the insurrection they unleashed was ‘never a national

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<sup>68</sup> Kantoor Politieke Zaken, Analoge Proclamatie Hawthorn, 28 Augustus 1947; see also its annex, Ontwerp Verordening Legercommandant to Alle Territoriale en Basiscommandanten op Java en Sumatra, Optreden Tegen Verzetlieden, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië, 2.13.132/1313. Hawthorne was the Commander of Australian troops in Makasar (the capital of Sulawesi Selatan) in 1945 whose proclamation on ‘Crimes Against the Allied Military Authorities in South Celebes’ the Dutch emulated. For his proclamation, see NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1313.

<sup>69</sup> Kantoor Politieke Zaken aan Generaal Spoor, Proclamatie Hawthorne, 26 August 1947; Bekendmaking, Augustus-September 1947, annex to Generaal S. H. Spoor to TrC. West-, Midden- en Oost-Java, Noord-, Midden- en Zuid-Sumarta, BasisCdt. Batavia, Bandoeng, Cheribon, Semarang, Tjilatjap, Surabaya. Bekendmaking. Optreden Tegen Republikeinsche Strijders, Terreur en Vandalisme, 30 Augustus 1947, Kab./1156/P.Z., NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1313.

<sup>70</sup> Ontwerp Verordening Legercommandant aan Alle Territoriale en Basiscommandanten op Java en Sumatra, Optreden Tegen Verzetlieden, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië, 2.13.132/1313.

<sup>71</sup> Kolonel H. J. de Vries to Generaal Spoor, 22 Augustus 1947, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1313.

<sup>72</sup> French, ‘Nasty Not Nice’, 754.

rebellion'.<sup>73</sup> Rather, the Chinese-dominated MCP vied for support from disenfranchised Chinese squatter communities, especially through the MCP's *Min Yuen*, or Masses Organization, whose total number have been estimated at 500,000.<sup>74</sup> Clearly, the MCA could provide a counterweight to the MCP's intrusive practices. Harnessing the MCA's membership would greatly help to wean the Chinese communities away from falling in line with the communist insurgents, especially since MCA membership soared. At the end of 1949, it boasted more than 100,000 members. Conscript numbers lay somewhere between 160,000 and 200,000 in 1951, reaching a maximum of 300,000 later.<sup>75</sup> On another level, the MCA was well-equipped for espousing anti-MCP rhetoric. Former Kuomintang functionaries within its ranks, despite their sympathy for China, were no friends of the MCP. Others, wealthy businessmen or members of governmental councils, had too much influence to lose to not back the British. The association also brought together those Chinese who cared 'to dispense social welfare and relief work for Chinese affected by the Emergency'.<sup>76</sup> Naturally, this fit in nicely into the British attempts to woo the Chinese population.

The MCA's rise to prominence on Malaya's political horizon, then, was not by accident. Tang Cheng Lock and his compatriots proposed the MCA's formation at the same time the High Commissioner, Sir Henry Gurney, was looking for ways to get the Chinese into the British-Malay camp. The strained Sino-Malay relations needed amelioration. When H. S. Lee, 'an eminent tin magnate', proposed the High Commissioner to allow the Chinese leaders to form a representative Chinese organisation in December 1948, Gurney consented quickly.<sup>77</sup> The latter 'made it clear' to the MCA that 'unless they provided an alternative standard to which loyal Chinese could rally, the Communists would win'.<sup>78</sup> The foundation of the

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<sup>73</sup> Interview with John Lewis Haycroft Davis, IWMSA, accession number 10724, reel 1.

<sup>74</sup> R.W. Kromer, *The Malayan Emergency in Retrospect: Organization of a Successful Counterinsurgency Effort* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation: 1972), 7.

<sup>75</sup> Lim, 'Tan Cheng Lock', 46.,

<sup>76</sup> Koon, 'The Social and Ideological Origins', 294-295.

<sup>77</sup> K. G. Tregonning, 'Tan Cheng Lock: A Malayan Nationalist', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 10, 1 (1979), 59.

<sup>78</sup> A Note in the Handwriting of the Late Sir Henry Gurney Recently Found amongst His Papers and Known to Have Been Written Two Days Before his Death', 19<sup>th</sup> November 1951(?), TNA, CO 1022/148.

MCA conveniently led to the creation of another representative body. In an attempt to bring the Chinese and Malay communities closer together during the first months of 1949 the Commissioner-General for Southeast Asia was able to form what became known as the Communities Liaison Committee.<sup>79</sup> Within it, Gurney met with six Malay and six Chinese leaders (among them Dato Onn and Lock) and representatives of the European, Eurasian, Ceylonese and Indian communities. Despite being unofficial in nature, the CLC discussed many subjects that would be later covered in official government law, such as national citizenship, that much-coveted prize. Ultimately, the CLC ceased to meet as Gurney was killed in an MRLA ambush in October 1951 and Dato Onn left the UMNO earlier that year.<sup>80</sup> The MCA had certainly benefited. Days before his unfortunate demise Gurney (privately) praised the association's efforts: they had successfully assisted the government in the massive drives that resettled and displaced 573,000 Chinese into what were called the New Villages.<sup>81</sup>

The Partai Rakyat Pasundan that eventually would proclaim a Sundanese state, the Negara Pasundan, never managed to shirk so close to their colonial handlers. The PRP was haunted by a stigma. Dutch officials may have supported the PRP in their quest for a state, but its leaders' positions stirred feelings of grave doubt among the Dutch, more so than MCA leaders did in Malaya.<sup>82</sup> Despite Sundanese leaders having traditionally served in the West Javanese Inland Administration before the war, they had shown little acumen in countering Javanese influences, officials claimed.<sup>83</sup> Van Mook branded the party's first man,

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<sup>79</sup> Joseph M. Fernando, 'Elite Intercommunal Bargaining and Conflict Resolution: The Role of the Communities Liaison Committee in Malaya, 1949-1951', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 43, 2 (2012), 284.

<sup>80</sup> Fernando, 'Elite Intercommunal Bargaining', 286, 296, 299-300.

<sup>81</sup> A Note in the Handwriting of the Late Sir Henry Gurney Recently Found amongst His Papers and Known to Have Been Written Two Days Before his Death', 19<sup>th</sup> November 1951?, TNA, CO 1022/148; number from Gerlach, *Extremely Violent Societies*, 215.

<sup>82</sup> Some in the Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service proposed to build up a different leader than Karalegawa; Intelligence Officer 1e. kl. R. W. Kofman, Hoofd Buitenkantoor, aan den Directeur Nefis, Bevolkingsreacties Garoet, 27 Augustus 1947, Agno. 1/3417/G, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI 2.10.62/1728, Netherland Forces Intelligence Service [NEFIS] en Centrale Militaire Inlichtingendienst [CMI] in Nederlands-Indië, The National Archives, The Hague.

<sup>83</sup> NEFIS Publicatie No. 62, De Soendaneesche Onafhankelijkheidsbeweging, 13 mei 1947, Archief No. 1805/XA6, 13 Mei, 1947, HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

Suriakartalegawa, former resident of Garut, West-Java, as ‘corrupt’.<sup>84</sup> Other PRP leaders were equally dismissed.<sup>85</sup> In all, it was feared the PRP would prove a dangerous ally that may very well transform into another ‘revolutionary or violent’ entity.<sup>86</sup> Indeed, reactions to the PRP were not necessarily positive; possible reactionary sentiments were not imaginary. People present at the Pasundan’s proclamation or PRP meetings in Bandung’s central square stood aloof, not fully understanding what they were exactly witnessing; others were fearfully reminded of forced meetings under the Japanese—‘invariably followed by fights or massacres’—as Dutch policemen tried to remove Europeans and soldiers from the crowd.<sup>87</sup>

The need to weaken the Republic in West Java, however, proved so great that the PRP was allowed to establish itself officially nonetheless. The PRP eventually gathered thousands of signatures, signalling to the Dutch that the Sundanese supported the party, at least to some extent.<sup>88</sup> The PRP further demonstrated their anti-Republican intentions by occupying all ‘republican buildings [in Bandung] without bloodshed’.<sup>89</sup> The Dutch ignored accusations that PRP representatives had adopted some ‘less than “democratic” means of member recruitment’ and that ‘the people’ saw Suriakartalegawa as a ‘traitor’ and a ‘Quisling’ tainted by earlier pro-Japanese leanings. On four May 1947, the PRP proclaimed their Negara Pasundan.<sup>90</sup> Even if the undertaking were to fail, the

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<sup>84</sup> Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal (Van Mook) aan Minister van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen (Jonkman), 15 dec. 1946, *NIB* 6, 577.

<sup>85</sup> Another leader was referred to as being ‘a despicable person, hated in his own regency, a fraud, a rogue’ and finally ‘a collaborator with the Japanese who [...] in no way cares for his country and his people’. In essence, he was ‘dumb’; Van der Plas aan Van Mook, 17 januari 1947, Pol. 1/585, NL, HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

<sup>86</sup> Memorandum van Lt. Gouverneur-generaal Van Mook aan de Directeur van zijn Kabinet, Dr. Koets, 8 January 1947, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417; Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal (Van Mook) aan Commandant B-divisie (De Waal), 3 mei 1947, *NIB* 8, 526.

<sup>87</sup> Onverkorte Weergave van Rapporten van Waarnemers Tijdens de Vergadering P.R.P. op 4 Mei 1947 te Bandoeng, 6 Mei 1947, S.II 1105 M, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI, 2.10.62/1728.

<sup>88</sup> Rapport Betreffende de Partei Ra’jat Pasoendan, Bandoeng, 27 December 1946, The Resident –HTB van Priangan M. Klaassen, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417; Resident, Hoofd Tijdelijke Bestuursdienst te Buitenzorg (Stadius Muller) aan Directeur van het Cabinet van de Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal (Koets), 9 april 1947, *NIB* 8, 143.

<sup>89</sup> ‘Staatsgreep te Buitenzorg. Pasoendan-Beweging Bezet de Openbare Gebouwen. Nederlandse Militairen Bewaren de Orde’, *Heerenveens Nieuwsblad*, 24 Mei 1947.

<sup>90</sup> NEFIS Publicatie No. 62, De Soendaneesche Onafhankelijkheidsbeweging, 13 mei 1947, Archief No. 1805/XA6, 13

Dutch thought the risk should be taken. As the Resident of Priangan wrote in December 1946: ‘an eventual breaking away [of the Sundanese] would mean a weakening of the Republican front’. The potential was certainly there: according to one estimate, some 10,000,000 Sundanese—also living in Republican territory—could be influenced by the Pasundan’s rise.<sup>91</sup> Mobilizing them against the Republic would constitute a major coup.

*Strained alliances: The Negara Pasundan versus the Malayan Chinese Association*  
As 1948 turned into 1949, the fate of the Pasundan State became precarious. This owed much to the Dutch inability to counter the Republican insurgency. Important administrative figures started to doubt whether General Spoor handled the war properly; the senior advisor to Van Mook accused Spoor of wanting to ‘flee from reality’ and romanticising supposed military successes, thereby eclipsing a worrisome military and political position that needed to be addressed. This underestimation, combined with an *overestimation* of the efficacy of military force, had led to a Second Police Action (19 December 1948 – 5 January 1949). The Dutch captured the Republican government in Yogyakarta, Central Java, but international condemnation finally forced the Dutch to truly negotiate with the Republic. The Republican officials were set free and a subsequent political agreement complete with cease-fire order from the United Nations Security Council—the Van Royen-Rum Agreement of May 1949—forbade further ‘pacification’.

In West Java as elsewhere, the Republic used this deterioration in Dutch military prospects and opportunities—which had already set in early 1948—and particularly the cease-fire of 1949 to strengthen their hold on the countryside. Sundanese policy makers’ positions began to move more openly towards the

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Mei, 1947, HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417; R. T. Soerjobroto, Majoor K.N.I.L. to Lt. Kolonel R. S. Soeria Santoso, Hoofd van de Afdeling Intelligence & Loyaliteitsonderzoek, 9 December 1946, No. 106/A Geheim, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

<sup>91</sup> Rapport Betreffende de Partei Ra’jat Pasoendan, Bandoeng, 27 December 1946, The Resident –HTB van Priangan M. Klaassen, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

Republic as Dutch resolve wavered.<sup>92</sup> In 1947, the colonial government had been the local power-broker—more powerful than the Republic—to give and sustain the Sundanese their separate political entity. The Dutch-Sundanese alliance proved the way of least resistance. Suriakartalegawa understood as much when he cynically concluded that ‘[i]f we [Sundanese] have to choose between the Dutch and the Javanese, when it comes to domination it is much better it is done by the Dutch’.<sup>93</sup> The policy of choice to woe the Republic in 1949, however, was not an unambiguous declaration of support; the Sundanese dared not to make a complete and resolute alliance-switch. Rather, it took the form of a clear expression of open-ended neutrality that furtively leaned towards the Republic proportional to the latter’s ascendancy. After all, the Dutch had not been defeated completely; they would remain until 31 December 1949, the new date set for the transfer of sovereignty.

Pro-Republican sentiments had, however, never been absent from Pasundan politics. In fact, the Republic and its influence loomed large in *all* indigenous political activity. That Dutch officials had not understood this should be attributed to their inability to grasp the Republic’s standing as an anti-colonial force; not to any duplicity in indigenous politicians’ actions. Federalist politicians had never truly hidden their sympathy for the Republic. Already in September 1946, months before the Netherlands had ratified the first Dutch-Republican agreement, Indonesian leaders willing to work with the Dutch in a federated Indonesia declared that ‘Between Malino and the republic no difference in objectives exists’.<sup>94</sup> These words, spoken at a political congress in Amsterdam, came from Sukawati, who was earmarked by the Dutch Ministry of Overseas Territories as the Commissioner for the Great East. Ironically, his speech at the congress was deemed to have been ‘tinted the most [in favour of the] Dutch’, but

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<sup>92</sup> Beroordeling van de Toestand in de Periode van 27 Sept. t/m 4 October 1949 (nr. 37) van Legercommandant (Buurman van Vreeden), *NIB* 20, 140-141.

<sup>93</sup> Afschrift van een brief van de Regent van Garoet R. A. A. Mochamad Moesa Soeria Karta Legawa, 6 February 1947, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

<sup>94</sup> *Verslag van het Congres-Indonesië gehouden door de Partij van de Arbeid op 7 Sept. 1946* (Amsterdam: Partij van de Arbeid, 1946), 25.

what he had meant was that both the Malino Federalists and the Republic wanted freedom; ‘not a return to the colonial relationships’.<sup>95</sup>

Yet, to the Federalists, the latter did not preclude alliance-formation with the Dutch (they did want to become part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands), but after the second Dutch military expedition in December 1948, pro-Dutch comportment became less easy to maintain: the Pasundan’s mask of neutrality was increasingly slipping.<sup>96</sup> Its leaders were not the only ones to have this problem: Anak Agung, President of the Federal State of East-Indonesia, saw the need to seek a ‘rapprochement’ with the Republic. After January 1949, he deemed such a move necessary as, in his view, the Federalist movement could only function by the grace of the Republic.<sup>97</sup> The Representative of the Crown charged with controlling the Pasundan saw a similar trend: for weeks on end, he charged, the Pasundan government had taken no measures to establish ‘order and peace’.<sup>98</sup> The fact that the Pasundan cabinet fell did not give the Crown Representative any reason to think otherwise. Pasundan ministers claimed that December’s Police Action had not precipitated it, but the cabinet’s collapse conveniently gave the Pasundan the means to plausibly deny any collusion with the Dutch vis-à-vis the Republic. According to documents captured in the Republican headquarters, Djumhana, Pasundan’s first minister, immediately took to conversing about his political line with Mohammad Hatta, the Republican Vice Prime Minister, when the Police Action started.<sup>99</sup> Secondly, Djumhana wanted to use the formation of a new cabinet to implement his ‘Urgency Program’ of 7 January 1949. In essence, this program was a final bid to manoeuvre the Pasundan and, with it, West Java, as far back into the Republican camp as

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<sup>95</sup> Verslag van de bijeenkomst van minister van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen (Jonkman) met zijn Afdelingschefs op 13 dec. 1946, *NIB* 6, 566; *Verslag van het Congres-Indonesië*, 25.

<sup>96</sup> For Republican support before the second Police Action, see *Beknopt Politiek-Politieel Verslag van de Regentschappen Bandoeng, Garoet, Tasikmalaja, Tjiamis, Soemedang, Cheribon, Koeningan, Indramajoe, Madjalengka, Poerwakarta en Soekaboemi over de Maand Februari 1948*, *NIB* 13, 112 (see also note 6 on the same page), 113.

<sup>97</sup> Politieke Facetten na de Inter-Indonesische Conferentie, Centrale Militaire Inlichtingendienst, 30 augustus 1949, volgno. 8150, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1350.

<sup>98</sup> Nota van Commissaris van de Kroon voor Pasundan (Van Duffelen) over de Toestand in West-Java, *NIB* 17, 224.

<sup>99</sup> Notulen van de Zestiende Vergadering met de Commissie van Negen op 3 Februari 1949, *NIB* 17, 404-405.

possible without causing the dissolution of the Pasundan by the Dutch. The program called for the immediate restoration of the Republic with its pre-Police Action borders intact.<sup>100</sup>

The Dutch reaction came swiftly. On twenty January, four Bandung residents, Pasundan leaders linked to the Republic, were arrested for subversive activities—an action applauded by some Pasundan politicians as a way of ‘moving the Pasundan to a more constructive position’.<sup>101</sup> Djumhana was accused of foul play; to the Crown Representative to the Pasundan he had declared that the Urgency Program was broadly supported despite the fact that the scheme was secretly hatched by a minority of what the Dutch called ‘staunch republicans’ and then pushed through the cabinet. On another occasion, Djumhana himself had declared his own plan a dangerous ploy.<sup>102</sup> For these reasons—and the Urgency Program’s obvious incompatibility with Dutch plans—the symbolical head of the Pasundan, the *Wali Negara*, was pressured into leaning on Djumhana to affect the latter’s resignation. Dutch officials did so by threatening to take over the ‘police and administration’ of the Pasundan—they could do so under the special rights the colonial administration had accorded itself under the State of War and Siege—and removing the *Wali Negara* from his position of power.<sup>103</sup> To save himself, the *Wali* was to advise Djumhana to form a cabinet that was not bound by any program to restore the Republic. Put differently, he and the Pasundan were to halt, ‘according to the old recipe, working towards to two sides’ by keeping both the Republic and the Dutch from taking action against the Pasundan. The *Wali*, after all, should not forget that the Pasundan rested on

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<sup>100</sup> Commissaris van de Kroon voor Pasundan (Van Duffelen) aan de Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon (Beel), 15 Jan. 1949, *NIB* 17, 38-39; Notulen van de Zestiende Vergadering met de Commissie van Negen op 3 Februari 1949, *NIB* 17, 405.

<sup>101</sup> Commissaris van de Kroon voor Pasundan (Van Duffelen) aan de Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon (Beel), jan. 1949, *NIB* 17, 159 note 2, 160.

<sup>102</sup> Commissaris van de Kroon voor Pasundan (Van Duffelen) aan de Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon (Beel), 15 jan. 1949, *NIB* 17, 39; Notulen van de Zestiende Vergadering met de Commissie van Negen op 3 Februari 1949, *NIB* 17, 405.

<sup>103</sup> Nota van Commissaris van de Kroon voor Pasundan (Van Duffelen) over de Toestand in West-Java, *NIB* 17, 225.



‘Dutch bayonets’ now that the Republic, at least as Dutch political and military minds forced themselves to think, no longer existed.<sup>104</sup>

Eventually, in the words of the *Wali Negara*, policy makers found ‘Columbus’s egg’: a new cabinet was formed—by none other than the resilient Djumhana—without the Urgency Program. To the chagrin of the Dutch Crown Commissioner for the Pasundan, R. W. van Diffelen, however, the reconstituted body adopted a resolution that called for ‘Independent, Sovereign United Indonesian States’ to which the Republic naturally belonged.<sup>105</sup> Furthermore, the new Pasundan cabinet was still dependent for support on a parliament in which at least three fractions, *Indonesia*, *Demokrasi* and *Kesatuan*, were oriented towards the Republic.<sup>106</sup> The Crown Representative’s anger reverberated in various colonial quarters. High officials continued to express their shock at the sustained contacts between the Republic and the Pasundan leaders.<sup>107</sup> Dutch officials had been taken by surprise when the Pasundan made its more pro-Republican stance public. The chairman of the Indisch Entrepreneurs Association, Sinninghe Damsté, for example, had never grasped the fact that the fate of the Republic was closely linked to that of the Federalists, who knew the one could not survive without the other. In July 1948 he could therefore write that what hindered the Federalist bloc from toeing a more Dutch-oriented line, had been that ‘we [the Batavia government] still protect Djocja[.] If we would turn our backs on Djocja, resolutely, then the [Federalist] leaders would find the freedom for a more positive course’.<sup>108</sup> With the arrest of the Republican

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<sup>104</sup> Commissaris van de Kroon voor Pasoendan, Van Diffelen, aan de Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon, Beel, 15 January 1949, F.45, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14//2426.

<sup>105</sup> R. A. A. Wiranatakoesoema, De Wali Negara van Pasoendan, to the Commissaris van de Kroon voor Pasoendan, 28 December 1948, No. 2732/KW-12A/48, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2426; Verslag “Politieke Situatie in Pasoendan” van de Vertegenwoordiger van de Regeringsvoorlichtingsdienst te Bandung, 1 Feb. 1949, *NIB* 17, 350-351, ‘Indonesia Serikat jang merdeka dan berdaula’ in the original.

<sup>106</sup> Commissaris van de Kroon voor Pasundan (Van Diffelen) aan de Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon (Beel), 22 feb. 1949, *NIB* 17, 621-622; see also Commissaris van de Kroon voor Pasundan (Van Diffelen) aan de Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon (Beel), 7 jan. 1949, *NIB* 16, 578-580.

<sup>107</sup> Others, less impressed, did not care and wrote in the margins: ‘So what?’ and ‘Since this has been in the courant [newspaper], I realized this, too’; J. M. J. Morsink, recomba West Java, to the Luitenant-Gouverneur-Generaal, 23 June 1948, No.: 17/S.Z./648/Geheim/E, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2407.

<sup>108</sup> J. S. Sinninghe Damsté, Voorzitter van de Indische Ondernemersbond, to Mr. W. G. F. Jongejan, Voorzitter Ondernemersraad voor Nederlands-Indië, 18 Juli 1948, Privé No 11, Sinninghe Damsté 2.21.308/16, Sinninghe Damsté

government during the Second Police Action, this pipe dream had been shattered; it became clear that supposedly staunch allies, out of foresight the Dutch themselves lacked, had had to change positions.

The trajectory of the MCA took a different course. The Pasundan was forced to more and more hedge its bets to placate the Republic and the Dutch. Conversely, the MCA's alliance to the British and the UMNO deepened and strengthened as the Emergency unfolded. The alliance did not come easily. The MCA and its leaders constantly worked hard to remain associated with the anti-communist campaign. All the while, the MCA had to fight accusations concerning the Chinese neutralist leanings. These accusations had been levelled at the Chinese before the Emergency's outbreak.<sup>109</sup> With the rise of the MCA, even after the CLC meetings, the Chinese remained suspect. The British Advisor for Penang told the Malay *mentri<sup>2</sup> besar* (great ministers, each in charge of a state) that Chinese 'small shop-keepers, the owners of small estates [and] kepala's [heads] of labour forces' must be forced to declare sides 'by all possible means, naturally short of murder and torture'.<sup>110</sup> It was these types that Gurney's successor, General Templer, found 'on the whole an uninspiring lot' that he wished to remove from office through 'mass sacking'. He could not, however, as 'it will do more harm than good'.<sup>111</sup> These extremists were not alone. Malay Rulers demanded 'more severe action, including deportation on a large scale' taken against the Chinese mere weeks after Gurney had been fatally ambushed.<sup>112</sup>

To prove that the MCA truly wanted an alliance with the UMNO and the British, it had to show that it could harness Chinese support throughout Malaya. This was no mean feat, as the Chinese were politically divided. The Kuomintang was split into those supporting the government openly ('well-to-do traders') and

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(Voorzitter Ondernemersbond voor Nederlands-Indië later Indonesië), The National Archives, The Hague.

<sup>109</sup> Malayan Security Service Political Intelligence Journal, Singapore 15<sup>th</sup> July, 1948, Serial No. 13/1948, TNA, CO 537/3752.

<sup>110</sup> Record of the Conference with the Mentri<sup>2</sup> Besar, Resident Commissioners, and British Advisers on The Intensification of the Emergency Effort', C. S. Y/417/51, TNA, CO 1022/148.

<sup>111</sup> Templer quoted in John Cloake, *Templer. Tiger of Malaya: The Life of Field Marshal Sir Gerald Templer* (London: Harrap, 1985), 213.

<sup>112</sup> Extract from a Savingram No 83 Sec From the Federation of Malaya Addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated the 30<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1951, TNA, CO 1022/148.

those who ‘give no offence to the Malayan Government but at the same time [...] have not openly or strongly denounced the [...] MCP’.<sup>113</sup> Another group, ‘the younger element’ with ‘some Chinese vernacular education’, were anti-Malayan. A third category considered themselves Malayan Chinese; they allied with the government. The fourth group, the ‘Wind-blown’, comprised of the ‘mass of rural Chinese farmers and petty traders’, had ‘no political interest other than that required for self-preservation’.<sup>114</sup> It was up to Tang Cheng Lock and the rest of the MCA to unite these diverging groups. To do so, the MCA itself needed to symbolize unity. What was needed was the transformation of the association into a ‘disciplined and organized body’—‘our constant worry’, in Tang Cheng Lock’s words. Lock therefore set out to shore up the MCA’s organizational capabilities so it could penetrate the Chinese communities to destroy the vestiges of the dual threats of communism and communalism.<sup>115</sup>

The sources do not make clear whether Lock’s re-organization was successful. What is obvious, however, is that the MCA was not unequivocally following all directions coming from the Malay or British rulers. As said, alliances between the colonial powers and indigenous elites were not a case of the latter simply falling in line with the former. The elites tried to attain mutuality with the British—in the case of the MCA also with the privileged Malay elites. For the MCA, this was difficult for two reasons. First, its influence was by no means secure, nor did it pertain to all Chinese communities in Malaya. In some areas, such as Trengganu, north-eastern Malaya, the MCA ‘has never appeared of much political consequence’.<sup>116</sup> The MCA had trouble gaining a foothold and was opposed. In Malacca, local Chinese community leaders allied to the Chinese Chamber of Commerce (that also had members in the MCA) openly decried the

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<sup>113</sup> Sergeant R. P. Bingham, Secretary for Chinese Affairs, to the Secretary for Defence, 16<sup>th</sup> June 1951, Appendix “B” to MBDC(51)74, TNA, CO 1022/148; Malayan Security Service Political Intelligence Journal, Singapore 15<sup>th</sup> July, 1948, Serial No. 13/1948, TNA, CO 537/3752.

<sup>114</sup> Sergeant R. P. Bingham, Secretary for Chinese Affairs, to the Secretary for Defence, 16<sup>th</sup> June 1951, Appendix “B” to MBDC(51)74, TNA, CO 1022/148.

<sup>115</sup> Tan Cheng Lock, Memorandum of the Organization of the M.C.A., 28<sup>th</sup> October 1951, TNA, FCO 141/7395.

<sup>116</sup> Menteri Besar, Trengganu, Trengganu Monthly Political Intelligence Report for the Period ending 20<sup>th</sup> July, 1953, 29<sup>th</sup> July, 1953, no. 53 M.B.Tr.Conf. 43/52, TNA, FCO 141/7379.

MCA's local office. Through a new inter-communal platform, the Malayan Party, they attacked the MCA. The association was publicly exposed as having only secured the 'powers and position of a few' and done nothing 'for the Chinese politically, economically, or in education'. The average Chinese had 'been "double-crossed" and [through supporting the MCA reduced to] merely "yes-men"'.<sup>117</sup> Even local MCA branches did not always wish to follow political lines set out from MCA headquarters. In Penang, the local MCA branch resisted '[entering] the political field' for some time. To some Chinese, then, the MCA had implicated itself in the Malays' 'narrow type of nationalism as well as religious and racial discrimination'.<sup>118</sup>

The second reason the MCA found mutuality hard to maintain, was that it could not always follow what the British government or the other major Alliance partner wanted. The UMNO, to begin with, would never allow the MCA, based on the Malays' political clout with the British and their percentage of the electorate, to supersede it in terms of seats in the representative bodies.<sup>119</sup> To complicate matters further, Malay leaders had different objectives. UMNO could only exist if it kept the status quo—its 'special position'—whereas the MCA was advocating that 'citizenship [should be] the birthright of everybody born in Malaya, provided he[/she] regarded the country as his[/her] permanent home and the object of his loyalty and allegiance'. Although UMNO would interpret the rights to citizenship broader and broader, Malays continued to feel apprehensive about full citizenship for the Chinese. The Malayan Indian Congress, which also joined the Alliance, looked for its own brand of 'political development'.<sup>120</sup> Simultaneously, the MCA could not afford to be too closely associated with British policies; it was such a

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<sup>117</sup> Malacca "Loyal & Righteous" Society, Malacca, 27<sup>th</sup> October, 1956, quoted in The Resident Commissioner, Malacca, Malacca Chinese Affairs Report October, 1956, 10<sup>th</sup> November 1956, Ref. (12) in CAM 173/51/Pt.III, TNA, FCO 141/7378.

<sup>118</sup> Unsigned letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by members of the Penang & Province Wellesley Secession Committee, 31 May, 1950, Ref./171/49, 1 June, 1950, TNA, FCO 141/7391/1.

<sup>119</sup> A. W. D. James, Secretary for Chinese Affairs Political Report June 1955, 4<sup>th</sup> July, 1955, (44) in SCA.Conf. A/7/9; A. W. D. James, Secretary for Chinese Affairs – Notes for Political Report – April 1955, 4<sup>th</sup> May, 1955, (42) in SCA.Conf. A/7/9, both in TNA, FCO 141/7378.

<sup>120</sup> Denis Warner, "Use Hongkong Chinese to Police Malaya". Mr. Lyttelton Hears of "Best Man to Catch a Bandit", *Daily Telegraph*, 3 December 1951, TNA, CO 1022/148.

connection with the colonial administration which had cost other politicians their bid for political influence.<sup>121</sup> Therefore, the MCA had to be seen as pressuring the British into concessions. The association asked the government in Kuala Lumpur, for example, to retract the recognition for the Communist People's Party (CCP) in China, arguing that continued recognition would push some Malayan Chinese into looking favourable unto the MCP. Recognition, therefore, countered the MCA's own cultivation of anti-MCP and anti-CCP narratives which were gaining traction 'as a result', in the words of the Acting Deputy Commissioner-General who had sounded out Chinese opinions, 'of the wave of executions being carried out [...] and also of the effect of land reform in China on the properties there of overseas Chinese'.<sup>122</sup>

A third area in which the MCA could chart its own course was related to the often harsh policies the British brought to bear upon the Chinese communities throughout the Federation. Most importantly, the MCA was occupied with the resettlement policies instigated by the British already before 1950. They entailed resettling 1,2 million people (Chinese, Malays, Aborigines and Indians) into New Villages. As shall be discussed in a later chapter, the operations displacing entire communities were characterized by violence and coercion. The MCA was therefore careful to not support the British Government too uncritically in relation to the resettlements. A most prominent example is the 'Malayan Scandal' of October 1951 concerning the Mawai Resettlement Area, the first concentration area in Johore.<sup>123</sup> Two members of the local MCA branch refused to attend any further Mawai Committee meetings in the tail-end of 1951. The reason was, they said, that the MCA had not been notified of the government's intentions to evacuate the camp. Aside from accusing the MCA branch of driving up prices in the settlement's shop, the administration simply countered that it had, in fact, appraised the MCA fully and that the illegal settlers

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<sup>121</sup> Stubbs, *Hearts and Minds*, 223.

<sup>122</sup> Malaya Borneo Defence Council, Chinese Reactions in War (Note by M.B.D. Secretariat, 30<sup>th</sup> October 1951, CGO. REF. No. 4096/10/51G, TNA, CO 1022/148.

<sup>123</sup> 'Malayn Scandal', *The Manchester Guardian*, 18 November 1951, TNA, CO 1022/29.

had been given due notice.<sup>124</sup> Insurgents had killed four settlers and ‘carried off thirty-four young men as recruits’ the British wanted Mawai closed. The MCA took to the press and made the closing of the camp a media spectacle. It counter-claimed that the attack should be blamed on the Johore State Government; Mawai had been built on the jungle’s edge, had remained ‘unfenced’ and therefore poorly protected. To the *Manchester Guardian* it was yet another example of the government’s ‘indiscriminate’ methods, negating official narratives that the camps made for ‘happy and safe’ lives. A month before the attack, the resettlement officer in the camp ‘received warning’ of an imminent attack, ‘but he could obtain no extra guards’.<sup>125</sup>

Tan Cheng Lock personally stepped in. First, he and other MCA officials met the *mentri besar* of Johore. Little was to be achieved, however, as the ex-squatters had already been removed from Mawai. Some to ‘neighbouring estates’ to work; others had been offered the fare to relocate to China, which was refused by all.<sup>126</sup> Lock was furious. Not only had the MCA initially spent \$100,000 to build the Resettlement Area; it had advised against building Mawai in the first place. ‘[T]he ground was poor’, wrote Lock privately to Johore’s *mentri besar*, and ‘the district was situated in close proximity to the jungle’. Lastly, complained the MCA leader again, the government had provided too little protection. Now, the 300 households, some 1,200 souls, were forced to move yet a second time.<sup>127</sup> Worse still, from the MCA’s viewpoint, was that it had only heard of the second resettlement after the Mawai Chinese had petitioned local MCA officials.<sup>128</sup>

Striking in this case is that whereas the government of Johore claimed ‘Bandit pressure’ had caused the calamity in Mawai, the MCA, both locally and in

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<sup>124</sup> Extract from Monthly Review of Chinese Affairs, October 1951 (Orig on SEA 167/86/01); Inward Telegram From Federation of Malaya to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1951, no. 1187, TNA, CO 1022/29.

<sup>125</sup> ‘Malayan Scandal’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 18 November 1951, TNA, CO 1022/29.

<sup>126</sup> Inward Telegram From Federation of Malaya to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1951, no. 1187, TNA, CO 1022/29; ‘Action on Mawai Will Depend on State’s Reply. M. C. A. to see Mentri Besar’, *The Straits Times*, 31 October 1951.

<sup>127</sup> Tan Cheng Lock to The Honourable Mentri Besar Johore, 30<sup>th</sup> October 1951, TNA, CO 1022/29.

<sup>128</sup> ‘Action on Mawai Will Depend on State’s Reply. M. C. A. to see Mentri Besar’, *The Straits Times*, 31 October 1951.

the person of Lock, blamed governmental neglect.<sup>129</sup> Through Mawai, Lock made it very clear to both the Malay rulers and the British that they could not simply count on the MCA's connivance in browbeating defenceless communities. 'The M.C.A is a body which can do much and is doing much to assist the Government', protested Lock, 'but its efforts in this direction will be entirely frustrated if Government acts in this matter, which nullifies the co-operation which the Chinese leaders are trying to give Government'. Mawai engendered the feeling among Chinese that

they are being treated like cattle and ordered to move their homes and their crops on a whim [...] which they must think results from Government's decision to harry them as much as possible because of Government's ill-will towards them.<sup>130</sup>

During a 'fact-finding mission' to the now deserted camp-site, Lock further announced his disappointment. He basically stated that the MCA would have to reconsider its position; that 'the moulding of a stronger policy', more critical of the colonial government, was needed.<sup>131</sup>

The Mawai dispute was cleverly used by the local and central branches of the MCA. By engaging himself, Lock had openly and privately signalled to the British and Malay rulers that the MCA and by extension the Chinese deserved to be considered, but that the association could only reach its constituency—and have it behave according to British wishes—if the MCA was treated as a full partner. Certainly, they needed the alliance to the government to prove to the latter that ordinary Chinese could not be equated with communist 'bandits' or terrorists. The British should not forget, conversely, that the MCA could be an asset to the government in defeating the MCP *only* if the government and the Malay rulers would honour their part of the alliance.

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<sup>129</sup> For 'Bandit pressure', see Inward Telegram from Federation of Malaya to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1951, no. 1187, TNA, CO 1022/29.

<sup>130</sup> Tan Cheng Lock to The Honourable Mentri Besar Johore, 30<sup>th</sup> October 1951, TNA, CO 1022/29.

<sup>131</sup> 'Dato Tan Tours Mawai Camp Site', *The Straits Times*, 24 November 1951.

## Conclusion

Ultimately, the MCA was able to overcome many obstacles.<sup>132</sup> In broad strokes, this chapter has shown that it managed to become the stalwart for British officials seeking to influence the Malayan Chinese quite quickly.<sup>133</sup> The MCA's position was massively strengthened by the formation of the UMNO-MCA Alliance in February 1953. One year earlier, the UMNO and the MCA had decided to work together for the Kuala Lumpur Municipal Council elections. They did so primarily to keep other political parties from posing an 'electoral threat', but the UMNO and MCA soon realized that the Alliance could have important advantages for both. Working together would answer to the Colonial Secretary's 'admonition that independence would be granted only when the various races in Malaya had demonstrated that they were united'.<sup>134</sup> Moreover, the Alliance brought great successes in local and state elections in 1954 and 1955. By 1955, the Alliance had 'seized the political initiative from the MCP'.<sup>135</sup> For the association itself this meant political and social influence which helped the establishing of 'State Branches of the party', but also exposure to the lower strata of Chinese life in Malaysia.<sup>136</sup> Naturally, the Alliance alone did not provide the MCA the means to grow into a proper alliance partner to both the UMNO and the colonial administration. The Korean War (1950-1953) gave the British government the revenues needed to revamp its security forces. Expenditures on police forces and Emergency operations soared.<sup>137</sup>

Secondly, as we shall see, the resettlement policies would, in fact, greatly affect MRLA morale and supplies. To continue the struggle, the MCP changed its approach from large-scale units that focussed on coercion into smaller units that

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<sup>132</sup> In some cases, political influence was not generated by the MCA. In Penang, for example, it was the Partai Negara, by virtue of its anti-Chinese rhetoric, that pushed the Chinese into political activity. F. Brewer, Ag. Secretary for Chinese Affairs Political Report, February 1955, 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1955, (40) in SCA.Conf. A/7/9, TNA, FCO 141/7378.

<sup>133</sup> Pan Malayan Review, 14 April and 25 May 1949, Review of Chinese Affairs, April 1949, TNA, CO 537/4761; Secret Notes for the Period September 1<sup>st</sup> to September 15<sup>th</sup> 1951, TNA, FCO 141/7245; Soh Eng Lim, 'Tan Cheng Lock: His Leadership of the Malayan Chinese', *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 1 (1960), 46.

<sup>134</sup> Stubbs, *Hearts and Minds*, 214-215.

<sup>135</sup> French, *The British Way in Counter-Insurgency*, 194.

<sup>136</sup> Koon, 'The Social and Ideological Origins', 300; Wang Gungwu, 'Chinese Politics in Malaya', *The China Quarterly*, 43, 1970, 4-5.

<sup>137</sup> Stubbs, *Hearts and Minds*, 110-111.



were supposed to grow their own food and revert to less violent subversion. This change came too late, however; by the time they had trickled down to the lowest commanders, the British government, with its allies, had already understood the right combination of ‘coercion and kindness’.<sup>138</sup> Through constantly bargaining with its local branch offices, Chinese outside the MCA, the Malay leaders and, lastly, the British colonial administration, the MCA was able to constitute a valuable partner in a complicated alliance. The MCA’s ultimate goals had been to gain for itself, its leaders and the Malayan Chinese a place within the Malaysia that was emerging from British Malaya. Even today, the MCA plays a role in Malaysia’s politics. In 2012, the MCA party newspaper, *The Guardian*, proudly looked back to commemorate its role in the Emergency.<sup>139</sup>

The Partai Rakyat Pasundan and the Negara Pasundan were never able to establish themselves as a serious partner to Dutch colonial officials. The same applied to the Republic’s representatives. The Dutch-PRP alliance proved unstable in the limited time it lasted. Again, we see that the context of the war was responsible for this. If the British and their allies could keep the MCP at bay long enough to have it run out of steam, the anti-colonial forces of the Republic were strengthened by the ham-fisted approach of the Dutch. As the latter painted themselves into a corner both militarily and politically, the Pasundan, having allied itself to the Dutch, became automatically implicated in the latter’s fiasco.

This split the Pasundan in two. On the one hand, its leaders were left to try and placate the Dutch. They did so unsuccessfully, as the Dutch themselves more than once threatened to destroy the Pasundan. The Territorial Commander for West Java, for example, in 1949 dangled the imposition a military regime before the cowed Sundanese simply to get them in line with Dutch ‘pacification’.<sup>140</sup> On the other hand, republican-minded forces within the Negara saw their chance and tried to signal to the Republic their good intentions, as

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<sup>138</sup> Karl Hack, ‘Everyone Lived in Fear: Malaya and the British Way of Counter-Insurgency’, *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 23, 4-5 (2012), 685-691.

<sup>139</sup> *The Guardian. Your Newsletter, Your Voice*, 4 (2007), 1-40.

<sup>140</sup> Commissaris van de Kroon voor Pasundan (Van Diffelen) aan Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon (Beel), 15 Jan. 1949, *NIB* 17, 40, note 4.

evinced by the Urgency Program. The heavy curtain fell quickly when the Dutch negotiated their retreat from Indonesia. Without Dutch ‘bayonets’ to sustain it, the Pasundan quickly had to shift its weight.<sup>141</sup> Instead of leaning more towards the Dutch, the Pasundan’s cabinet saw the need to declare that its objective was (and had always been) ‘the attainment of the national objective, i.e. the Republican Indonesian Union’.<sup>142</sup> It is unclear whether the parties within the Negara Pasundan such as the *Fraksi Indonesia* had operated from the perspective that it would re-join the Republic, but it is obvious that even the federalists did not aim to marginalize the Republic as much as Dutch officials wanted them to. Unfortunately, the Pasundan was not able to shake the taint of double-crossing both parties. Dutch officials designated Sundanese parliamentarians ‘more republican than the [...] rulers of the Republic itself’ and threatened to remove the Pasundan altogether.<sup>143</sup> The Republic naturally did not want to inherit a divided house. As soon as independence had been secured, it fatally undermined and dissolved the Pasundan State.<sup>144</sup>

The two cases under consideration have pointed out several important elements to colonial alliance-formation. To begin with, the onset of war determined that the colonial authorities could no longer dictate. Any restoration of colonial power needed the complicity of local elites. In the Netherlands East Indies, the Dutch engaged the Sundanese brought together under the banner of the Partai Rakyat Pasundan whereas British administrators looked to the business leaders of the Malayan Chinese Association. The local power-brokers

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<sup>141</sup> Okma (Procureur-Generaal van Pasundan) aan Felderhof (Procureur-Generaal), 10 Maart 1949, *NIB* 18, 104.

<sup>142</sup> Regering Pasundan Wijzigt Haar Houding, Bijlage IV, Paleisrapport RVD, Niet Voor Publicatie, 6 April 1949, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/5533.

<sup>143</sup> Aspecten van de Pasoendan, Bijlage III, Paleisrapport RVD, Niet Voor Publicatie, 22 February 1949, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/5533; (Procureur-Generaal van Pasundan) aan Felderhof (Procureur-Generaal), 10 Maart 1949, *NIB* 18, 105; Commissaris van de Kroon voor Pasundan (Van Duffelen) aan Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon (Beel), 15 Jan. 1949, *NIB* 17, 40, note 4; to secure Pasundan compliance, some Sundanese leaders were arrested in order to pressure the Pasundan government into declaring themselves for restoration of ‘peace and order’. See: Commissaris van de Kroon voor Pasundan (Van Duffelen) aan Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon (Beel), 21 Jan. 1949, *NIB* 17, 159-161.

<sup>144</sup> De Strijd tussen Unitarisme en Federalisme in de R.I.S., Ministerie voor Uniezaken en Overzeese Gebiedsdelen, ’s-Gravenhage, 6 februari 1950, Letter H 9/Geheim, P. J. Drooglever, M. J. B. Schouten, M. Scherer and A. E. Wassing, *Nederlands-Indonesische Betrekkingen 1950-1963* (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 2006).

had had pre-war influence through their associations with the colonial administration, but the chaotic context of the war gave them the opportunity to achieve more mutuality in their dealings with the colonial administration than ever before.

Despite the fact that the fate of the PRP and the Negara Pasundan and that of the MCA diverged strikingly, the comparison has yielded an array of common characteristics. The alliances that for example Suriakartalegawa and Tan Cheng Lock engaged in always remained unstable. The Negara Pasundan was constantly buffeted by Dutch heavy-handedness that precluded the Pasundan from governing autonomously. The Malayan Chinese Association likewise had to contend with British policies that did not always stroke with its own program of representing the Malayan Chinese. Both the Negara Pasundan and the MCA therefore had to perform balancing acts in which their constituents' interests were weighed against those of the colonial regimes. There were, however, limits to how far indigenous leaders could chart their own course. They were heavily implicated in the excesses brought on by the counterinsurgency efforts of the colonial authorities. This, in turn, necessitated another balancing act, especially for the PRP. As the fortunes of war clearly shifted in favour of the Republic, the Pasundan had to signal to the Republic its benevolent intentions towards it. The alliance with the Dutch and role of the PRP in it needed to be shifted towards the Republic. For the MCP, there was no true shift towards the insurgents as a combination of influences slowly marginalized the MCP's influence. Still, the MCA had to change tactics occasionally. As the example of the Mawai Resettlement Area has shown, Tan Cheng Lock could not be caught catering too much to the British. Both the Negara Pasundan and the Malayan Chinese Association engaged in alliances that required constant negotiations.

### III

#### **From Loose Sand to Discipline: Alliance-formation, Indigenous Elites and the Colonial Security Forces**

Only two days before his untimely—and accidental—death, High Commissioner Henry Lovell Gurney, in what some called his political testament, complained bitterly that the Chinese had regretfully let Malaya down; their behaviour verged on the disingenuous. ‘Leading Chinese’ did not lead, chose a ‘luxury’ life in Singapore and criticized the security forces ‘for causing injustices’ among the Chinese. Malayan Chinese hardly did anything to extricate themselves from the position of having to support the MRLA and its clandestine cells, the *Min Yuen*—implying they chose a neutral stance, Gurney protested. If this state of affairs was allowed to continue, the ‘enormous’ amassed wealth of the Chinese would be lost.

To save the Chinese from Communism and themselves, much depended on recruiting them as police constables. However, when the call-up came, ‘the cry was all for exemptions’. Worse still, 6,000 ‘decamped to Singapore and several other thousands to China’. Gurney wanted harsh—a-typical for him—action to get the Chinese in line.<sup>1</sup> He was frustrated with the fact that the British government in Malaya could not access the Chinese communities for recruitment in the face of a mounting, Chinese-dominated communist insurrection. He had a manpower crisis on his hands. By and large, the Dutch in Indonesia faced a similar problem. Since the Dutch had finally allowed the PRP to establish their own Pasundan State, it did little to help stem the rising insurrectionist tide in West Java. The manpower crisis presented a top-down problem revolving around the possibilities of power-related trade-offs. The problem was three-tiered, as it influenced the British and Dutch colonial authorities and their agents, indigenous leaders and, at the bottom, the individuals and communities that actually served.

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<sup>1</sup> A Note in the Handwriting of the Late Sir Henry Gurney Recently Found amongst His Papers and Known to Have Been Written Two Days Before his Death’, 19<sup>th</sup> November 1951?; Comments by Mr. del Tufo on Attached, handed to S. of S. in Malaya (Dec. 1951), both in TNA, CO 1022/148.

This chapter, like the preceding one, deals with alliance-formation between elites and the colonial government. The contrast, however, lies in the fact that here the specific intricacies of solving the security forces manpower problem are central. This distinction allows for an analysis of how local elites were able to claim they represented the bottom-rung of the colonial ladder, the truly colonized. The latter group will be discussed in the next chapter, but by setting the stage for the colonized here, I will illustrate how local elites wanted to make themselves indispensable in two opposite directions, underlining again that the black and white dichotomies between colonizers and colonized are rather unhelpful terms for analysis. Overall, it presents a nominal view of the interaction between the three groups mentioned above. The first section of this chapter will show the exact role of local elites play in accessing manpower from a multi-empire perspective. The subsequent sections will analyse how the colonial state and local leaders in Indonesia and Malaysia tried to work hand in glove to gain access to manpower.

Due to the availability of sources, the focus lies with the MCA in Malaya; therefore, Malaya and Indonesia are presented separately. Such a course does show how the possibilities offered to local elites—and through it, their behavioural repertoires—are shaped by endogenous influences; in this case the colonial authorities. At stake was perceived loyalty to the colonial state not only for the elites, but also for the communities they represented. The central question this chapter will answer is: how did local elites convince the colonial state they could muster the loyalty of their constituencies in relation to manpower? Or, in other words, did the MCA or the Partai Rakyat Pasundan manoeuvre themselves into a position of power-sharing with the colonial authorities? Where they successful at all in this endeavour and if so, what lay behind their success or failure to do so?

In terms of the comparative framework, the manpower crisis and the subsequent recruitment drives in Malaysia and Indonesia underline that certain processes were activated that were found in both colonial territories. The first is

that both Dutch and British recruiters did not have much difficulty finding men and willing to serve. For Malaysia, this may not come as a surprise as the resurrection in Malaya was never truly nationalist. Finding indigenous helpers was ‘not difficult at all’, said John Davis, a former civil servant, as the insurgency was ‘never a national rebellion’. The Chinese-dominated Malayan Communist Party even had difficulty attracting the Chinese population to their cause. The ease of Dutch recruitment is more puzzling as—if we are to believe the traditional historiographies of the Indonesian revolution—the Dutch heavy-handed, military approach precluded support for their cause. Also, if Indonesian political meetings in the early days of the revolution, many of which turned into ‘mass’ affairs, denoted support for the nascent Republic, then surely Dutch recruitment drives should have certainly failed.<sup>2</sup> Clearly, another element must have been responsible for recruitment. I will argue that despite of the Pasundan’s failures as a state—or, conversely, the Dutch unwillingness to have it function as such—the Pasundan still attracted Sundanese support. A second process illuminated through comparison is that it was not necessarily the colonial governments themselves that drove colonial service. Here we clearly find elitist complicity in pitting communities against each other. In Indonesia, it was a (cultural-political) movement from below lead by (local) leaders as well as the attraction of a distinct cultural construct. In Malaysia, the MCA was the driving force behind recruitment—for reasons that were to strengthen its own position; not so much those of the Chinese it represented. There is one overwhelming process at work: the fact that shared interests between colonial authorities and indigenous elite groups wanting authority made alliance-partners.

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<sup>2</sup> On the mass of meetings, see Benedict O’G. Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution: Occupation and Resistance, 1944-1946* (Jakarta, Equinox Publishing, 2006 [1972]), 127, and Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, 122, 137; such a reading would certainly fit in the Indonesian ‘nationalist historical orthodoxy [...] in which great Hindu kingdoms had united the archipelago, followed by 350 years of Dutch oppression marked by the resistance of national heroes [...] found in every region of the country and had been produced by every group of people who would later be known as Indonesians’, Michael Wood, *Official History in Modern Indonesia: New Order Perceptions and Counterinterviews* (Amsterdam: Brill, 2015), 37.

*The security troika: Authorities, local elites and the security forces*

The use of indigenous troops, as we have seen in chapter one, was conditional to the entrenchment of colonial authorities. What is more, conducting operations with them spared the lives of metropolitan troops. Their deployment reduced financial expenses. Additionally, locally recruited troops knew the terrain and proved 'resistant to the climates and diseases' that might reduce the effectiveness of foreign troops dramatically.<sup>3</sup> This section is concerned with the local elites who accessed the communities from which the recruits were drawn. Through their access, elites signalled to the colonial authorities they were worth supporting. The context in which signalling often occurred—calamities and the threat of war—expedited the shows of support.

As Ronald Robinson once quipped, colonial rule was 'a gimcrack effort run by two men and a dog'.<sup>4</sup> Colonial administrators therefore 'enlist[ed] the support of large numbers of local collaborators to do much of the work on the ground'.<sup>5</sup> Older, indigenous patron-client relations could not be swept aside: they made empire sustainable. Local elites functioned as the 'hidden linchpins of colonial rule', '[bridging] the linguistic and cultural gaps that separated European colonial officials from subject populations by managing the collection and distribution of information, labor, and funds'.<sup>6</sup> Continued indigenous jurisdiction gave local chiefs 'considerable power in rural areas'. Local elites became 'a significant political force'.<sup>7</sup> Chiefs who controlled large labour forces proved pivotal for recruitment. In the Gold Coast, chiefs guided the recruitment drives that

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<sup>3</sup> Geoff Wade, 'Ming Chinese Colonial Armies in Southeast Asia', in Hack and Rettig, eds., *Colonial Armies*, 95.

<sup>4</sup> Robinson at the Bellagio Conference on the Transfer of Power; for a summary of this conference, see *Itinerario*, 2, 2 (1978), 44-48. See also: A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, 'The Thin White Line: The Size of the British Colonial Service in Africa', *African Affairs*, 79, 314 (1982), 26.

<sup>5</sup> David French, *The British Way in Counter-Insurgency* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 15.

<sup>6</sup> Benjamin N. Lawrence, Emily Linn Osborn and Richard L. Roberts, *Intermediaries, Interpreters, and Clerks: African Employees in the Making of Colonial Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 4. See also Newbury, 'Patrons, Clients, and Empire', 236.

<sup>7</sup> Richard Rathbone, 'Kwame Nkrumah and the Chiefs: The Fate of "Natural Rulers" Under Nationalist Governments', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 10 (2000), 49-50; See also Kwame Arhin, *Traditional Rule in Ghana: Past and Present* (Accra: Sedco, 1985), 108; Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 23.

drummed up the 200,000 men who, at the end of the Second World War, had served 'as pioneer labour' in the armed forces.<sup>8</sup>

An impending external threat gave those who had become part of the colonial administration a further chance to cement their standing through making 'strong statements of loyalty and support'.<sup>9</sup> In the Netherlands East Indies during the First World War, Indonesians from all stations of life—in tandem with the Europeans—feared Japanese designs on the region. Leaders of the nationalist movement, expressing loyalty to the Dutch, wanted to maintain the *status quo*. A foreign invasion would be a set-back: 'the huge amount of money which had already been spent to teach Dutch to Javanese, the language through which Javanese could gain access to modern science, would be wasted'. The Dutch were, at least, 'familiar with the needs of the Javanese'. Nationalist leaders and those of the *Sarekat Islam*, an Islamic political party not predisposed towards colonial rule, wanted the Dutch to finish reforms they had started earlier.<sup>10</sup> Indigenous administrators, among them Sundanese civil servants in Bandung, scrambled to assure the colonial government their loyalty.<sup>11</sup>

Despite such demonstrations, the threat of invasion in Indonesia ironically furthered the nationalists' call for indigenous freedom and representation as it rekindled the old discussion about the pros and cons of a native militia, or conscript army.<sup>12</sup> While the idea was eventually mooted and discarded, it realized another which also originated from the end of the nineteenth century: the need for a representative body. Spurred on by the 'demands of the nationalist organizations', who wanted a parliament before conscription of Javanese could be contemplated, the semi-democratically chosen *Volksraad* (People's Council) was inaugurated in 1918. For local leaders, it underlined that power could be derived

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<sup>8</sup> David Killingray, 'Military and Labour Recruitment in the Gold Coast During the Second World War', *Journal of African History*, 23, 1 (1982), 83-85.

<sup>9</sup> Wendell P. Holbrook, 'British Propaganda and the Mobilization of the Gold Coast War Effort, 1939-1945', *Journal of African History*, 26, 4 (1985), 347-348.

<sup>10</sup> Kees van Dijk, *The Netherlands East Indies and the Great War 1914-1918* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007), 237-238.

<sup>11</sup> Van Dijk, *The Netherlands East Indies and the Great War*, chapter IX and 239-241.

<sup>12</sup> Van Dijk, *The Netherlands East Indies*, 256.



from involvement with manpower conscription.<sup>13</sup> A decade after its inauguration, members of the *Boedi Oetomo*, *Sarekat Islam* and other nationalist organizations still had seats in the Council.<sup>14</sup> While many lamented its lack of real decision-making power, in the least the *Volksraad* proved the stage where indigenous complaints could be lodged.<sup>15</sup>

Naturally, indigenous leaders never put on fatigues themselves. Tan Chen Lock, for instance, had the financial means to sit out the Japanese Occupation of Malaysia in India. Still, leaders' access to manpower did more for them than only enhance their standing with the colonial administrators. Placation worked in two directions: the connection also gave them influence over their own constituencies, represented by those who guarded the empire.<sup>16</sup> Through assisting with the recruitment into the colonial police, army and various paramilitary forces, leaders were handed by the colonial authorities the right to dispense certain 'prizes' to their followers.

Here the indigenous population comes into play as the element to complete the colonial security triangle. Although recruitment was not necessarily voluntary—drafting was quite common—indigenous men could reap rewards, nonetheless. Communities learnt that an alliance with the colonial state could give them the means to decide long-standing feuds on favourable terms.<sup>17</sup> Other rewards took forms that had to do with inclusion and strategic benefits. Citizenship—as we shall see—represented seems an important pay-off. Another prize was that some communities earned a 'special status' within the colonial army. The Christianized Ambonese within the Royal Netherlands Indies Army received better rations and higher pay; they were perceived to be more 'loyal' and better officer than their Javanese counterparts.<sup>18</sup> Another incentive was that the

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<sup>13</sup> Van Dijk, *The Netherlands East Indies*, 285-286.

<sup>14</sup> 'De Volksraad. De Volledige Samenstelling', *De Indische Courant*, 18 March 1927.

<sup>15</sup> 'Tapanoelie en de Volksraad', *De Sumatra Post*, 4 June 1948.

<sup>16</sup> Roff, 'The Malayan Chinese Association', 41.

<sup>17</sup> Stapleton, "'Valuable, Gallant and Faithful Assistants'", 20; Michels, *Schwarze deutsche Kolonialsoldaten*, 102; Richard Waller, 'The Maasai and the British 1895-1905: The Origins of an Alliance', *Journal of African History*, 17, 4 (1976), 536-537.

<sup>18</sup> Richard Chauvel, 'Republik Maluku Selatan and Social Change in Ambonese Society During the Late Colonial

willingness to lay down one's life in service of the state for an extended period of time—provided the person in question survived—would put the colonial state in the serviceman or woman's debt. The state would be obligated to protect certain communities because they took up arms. Furthermore, colonial conscripts could earn the right to a pension; in other cases, the colonial government offered conscripts plots of land or resettlement. Service lent them and their families standing and relative affluence; it made them into 'local patrons'.<sup>19</sup>

*The manpower problem: Bringing in the troops*

As in other territories, the colonial troika was interdependent in Malaysia and Indonesia. The colonial authorities could not always easily gain access to manpower locked away in the rural villages without the help of Chinese, Sundanese (and Malay) leaders. Conversely, those drafted from the villages and towns could not hope to find protection against the freedom fighters without collusion with their leaders, who in turn could not access colonial power if they did not play by the colonial authorities' rules.

The call for manpower was preceded by a call for loyalty; the two were inextricably connected. Past and future loyalties became extremely important after 1945. The Japanese Occupation had not removed the infrastructure of the colonial administrations and security forces in Indonesia and Malaysia, but it had been severely gutted. Chaos ensued. After their surrender in August 1945, Japanese troops started to concentrate themselves for 'self internment'. Japanese stationed in Java feared for their lives and were happy to relinquish their tasks although the allies later used them for crowd control.<sup>20</sup> Chin Peng, the leader of the Malayan Communist Party during the Emergency, declared that in various Malaysian states the Japanese did not interfere with the Malayan Peoples' Anti-

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Period', *Cakalele*, 1, 1-2 (1990), 15-16.

<sup>19</sup> Michelle R. Moyd, *Violent Intermediaries*, 175; see also Pesek, *Das Ende eines Kolonialreiches*, 350 and James K. Matthews, 'World War I and the Rise of African Nationalism: Nigerian Veterans as Catalysts of Change', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 20, 3 (1982), 494.

<sup>20</sup> H. Th. Bussemaker, *Bersiap!*, 106-108; Mary C. van Delden, *Bersiap in Bandoeng: Een Onderzoek naar Geweld in de Periode van 17 Augustus 1945 tot 24 Maart 1946* (self-published, 1989), 73-73, 187.

Japanese Army's post-war assumption of power. Rather, it tried to sound out the guerrillas as to the possibility of together defeating the returning British.<sup>21</sup> Where townspeople found the courage, they shouted abuse as they caught Japanese troops moving off.<sup>22</sup> Indonesian freedom fighters and the members of the MPAJA gladly filled the void. Swift and ugly 'justice' followed. Those associated with the colonial and the Japanese regimes—however loosely—were victimized. One eye-witness saw the naked bodies of two Indo-European girls nailed to doors floating down the Antjol Canal in Batavia; dead women and children as well as a Europeans often ended up in in the Tjiliwung river.<sup>23</sup> KNIL soldiers and their families were common targets; when one of them, also an Indo-European, found his family and his neighbours murdered on his return from Singapore after the war, 'He emptied his machine gun into the neighbouring kampong'.<sup>24</sup> In 1947, some six mass graves had been found around Batavia.<sup>25</sup> A similar 'post-surrender interregnum' of terror existed in Malaysia.<sup>26</sup>

When the Chinese-dominated Anti-Japanese Army, the Malayan Peoples' Anti-Japanese Army, came down from the hills and out of the jungles, they took over towns and villages, putting together so-called people's courts. Malay policemen, who had continued to serve under the Japanese, came in for particular scrutiny. They were the first victims of MPAJA attempts to weed out collaborators.<sup>27</sup> Other collaborators targeted—Malays—had served in the *Heiho*, *Giyu Gun* and *Giyu Tai* and were therefore associated with the gruesome Japanese anti-Chinese policies.<sup>28</sup> 'Suddenly,' one policeman said later,

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<sup>21</sup> Chin Peng, *My Side of History: As Told to Ian Ward and Normal Mirafior* (Ipoh: Media Masters Publishing, 2003), 124-125, 146-148.

<sup>22</sup> Kheng, *Red Star over Malaya* 167-168.

<sup>23</sup> Interview with H. E. Termeulen, Leiden, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Letter- en Volkenkunde, Stichting Mondelinge Geschiedenis Indonesië, code 1467.2, reel 10; Indo-Europeans or 'Indo's', as a group, came under the Europeans and above the indigenous population in the colonial racial hierarchy, W. F. Wertheim, *Indonesian Society in Transition: A Study of Social Change* (The Hague & Bandung: W. van Hoeve Ltd., 1965), 138.

<sup>24</sup> Bussemaker, *Bersiap!*, 110.

<sup>25</sup> Interview with W. H. M., Leiden, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Letter- en Volkenkunde, Stichting Mondelinge Geschiedenis Indonesië, code 1443.5, reel 11.

<sup>26</sup> Kheng, *Red Star*, 127.

<sup>27</sup> Kheng, *Red Star*, 178.

<sup>28</sup> For the inception of these units, see Joyce C. Lebra, *Japanese-trained Armies in Southeast Asia* (Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Educational Books, 1977), 116-119.

people seemed to remember every little wrong I did, even when I did not do them. There was a lot of anger and hatred about. This resulted in people being abducted, beaten, and murdered. Initially, before the violence became racial, even some of our Malay kinsmen believed that the police force was the *tali barut* (lackey) of the Japanese and had discredited themselves.

Bodies of murdered policemen were ‘being mutilated and their eyes gauged out’.<sup>29</sup> This was not necessarily done without the people’s consent. With the Japanese out of reach or unapproachable, the collaborating policemen were conveniently close and open to accusation; they now represented the years of torture and murder at the hands of the Japanese. ‘It was nothing short of “an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth”’, as pent-up rage and humiliation found expression in seemingly legitimate and legitimized ways.<sup>30</sup> Others simply took the opportunity—and certainly this applied to Indonesia as well—to partake in personal vendetta’s and score-settling.<sup>31</sup>

When the protective blanket was roughly pulled away, people changed sides. Some, who upheld the law under the Japanese, now sought to make amends and went over to the MPAJA.<sup>32</sup> In Indonesia, members of the Japanese-initiated security forces, such as the *Tentara Sukarela Pembela Tanah Air* (the Voluntary Army for the Defence of the Fatherland), *Heiho* (auxiliary soldiers), *Keibodan* and former KNIL soldiers amalgamated into the *Badan Keamanan Rakyat* (BKR, or People’s Safety Corps), a pre-cursor to the revolutionary national army of the Republic of Indonesia.<sup>33</sup> Others chose to form bands of *pemuda*, loosely connected to the BKR, but still very much tied to their own interpretation of anti-colonial struggle. Whereas in Malaya having served in Japanese-controlled units drove a wedge between Malays and Chinese communities and occasioned

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<sup>29</sup> Interview with anonymous informant, Kuala Lumpur, November 1976, quoted in Kheng, *Red Star*, 134.

<sup>30</sup> Chin Kee Onn, *Malaya Upside Down* (Singapore: Federal Publications, 1976), 203-204.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Lee Kip Linn, Syonan Oral History Project, 162, National Archives of Singapore.

<sup>32</sup> Kheng, *Red Star*, 135.

<sup>33</sup> Bussemaker, *Bersiap!*, 30; Van Delden, *Bersiap in Bandoeng*, 72.

much post-occupational ‘bitterness [with] a pronounced racial tinge’, in Indonesia previous Japanese militarization was a proof of adherence to the post-war revolutionary spirit.<sup>34</sup> Participation in post-war violence in both Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies embodied the natural transition to revolutionary maturity. Participation also signalled the dawning of the independence movement, born in violence and cut loose from Japanese patrimony and overlordship.

The immediate post-war lawlessness clearly underlines that the forces traditionally responsible for security, the police and the military, had melted away. Unlike those Malays and Indonesians seeking revenge, however, returning foreign, colonial officials were much less sure where the loyalty of the security personnel they encountered lay. Nor did they have time to be too scrupulous: lawlessness dictated a show of strength. The steady flow of fresh recruits that existed in pre-war years had been cut and with it the influx of officer material, people who would eventually master local ‘language[s] and [...] become well acquainted with the ways of life of the people’. These officers guarded the professionalism of the indigenous police force that was ‘trusted by the public’. These mechanisms were thoroughly disrupted; the police force had to be rebuilt together with the colonial intelligence services.<sup>35</sup> In Singapore, the British found that the police force ‘was completely disorganised and unable to restore law and order’. The Special Branch and Criminal Investigation Department (CID) of the previously ‘impregnable fortress’ were both implicated with the anti-Chinese purges of the Japanese secret police, the *Kempetei*.<sup>36</sup> In peninsular Malaya, policemen had ‘earned an unsavoury reputation’ due to their involvement with the Japanese oppressors and ‘in killing and torturing civilians’. It was no wonder that ‘[t]he majority of the population regarded the police with fear’—nor that the former Special Branch/CID Headquarters in Singapore had been looted. The

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<sup>34</sup> Willard H. Elsbree, *Japan's Role in Southeast Asia Nationalist Movements, 1940 to 1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), 149.

<sup>35</sup> *Report of the Police Mission to Malaya March, 1950* (Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1950), TNA, CO 537/5417.

<sup>36</sup> Yoji Akashi, ‘Lai Teck, Secretary General of the Malayan Communist Party, 1939-1947’, *Journal of South Seas Society*, 49 (1994), 58.

police uniform no longer designated those wearing them as envoys of colonial authority; with the loss of the policemen's khaki, many were literally stripped of power. The Police Force had come out of the war ill-disciplined and ill-trusted by the population. '[U]ndesirable elements', therefore, had to be 'eliminated'.<sup>37</sup>

General Spoor opposed extending forgiveness to KNIL officers who had defiled their officers' oath to Queen Wilhelmina by switching to the Republicans. Besides, he argued, taking these deserters back into the colonial army's fold would undermine those who had remained loyal and risked their lives doing so. One Indonesian officer told Spoor matter-of-factly: 'Deserters should be tried before the Court Martial'.<sup>38</sup> It is doubtful that this call was heeded in all cases. To create a 'loyal police apparatus' the Dutch were willing to leave the Republican *Polisi Negara* (State Police) operable, most likely with a view to co-optation.<sup>39</sup> This alliance, undoubtedly unholy to many, was necessary due to the desire to restore 'peace and order' any way possible. Some 1,330 Republican policemen worked for the Dutch.<sup>40</sup> The *Polisi Negara*'s ranks—those that remained—were purged as its members were connected to the murder of Europeans and Australian officers, kidnapping of Chinese and taking shots at Dutch convoys. On one occasion, Van Mook complained to Sjarifuddin—the Republic's second prime minister—that the *Polisi Negara* in Buitenzorg possessed weapons stolen from Dutch troops.<sup>41</sup> The purge, however, put more weight on the Dutch police, which, especially after the Police Action of 1947, had increasingly more territory to control. Soon the police were heavily overstretched: 'in most places only a hand-full [of] police-men' remained 'with hardly any cadres left'. Those who had previously worked for the Dutch were 're-schooled' and re-activated.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Leon Comber, *Malaya's Secret Police 1945-1960: The Role of Special Branch in the Malayan Emergency* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2008), 27-28; *Report of the Police Mission to Malaya March, 1950*.

<sup>38</sup> Legercommandant (Spoor) aan Lt.Gouverneur-generaal (Van Mook), 5 juli 1946, *NIB* 6 603.

<sup>39</sup> Nota van de Directeur van het Kabinet van de Lt. Gouverneur-generaal (Idenburg), 10 nov. 1945, *NIB* 2, 31.

<sup>40</sup> Aanwezige Sterkte Politie-middelen West Java (globale cijfers). 1e.Maandelijks-verslag ddo.medio.Augustus 1947, Proc.-Gen. Hoogerechtshof Ned.-Ind. 2.10.17/107.

<sup>41</sup> Briefrapport Procureur-generaal H. W. Felderhof, 4 jan. 1947, ongenummerd, to Directeur-generaal Algemene Zaken (Idenburg) aan Minister van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen (Jonkman), 19 Dec. 1946, *NIB* 6, 604 note 3; Notulen van de Nederlands-Indonesische Politieke Bespreking op 22 jan, 1947, *NIB* 7, 150.

<sup>42</sup> Verslag van Regeringscommissaris voor Bestuursaangelegenheden Zuid-Sumatra (Wijnmalen) "Betreffende den

The net effect of untrustworthy police in both territories was the same. The colonial powers faced a manpower problem in reorganizing the security forces and for the time being, anyone would be allowed into the ranks. The question of loyalty was simply less pressing than having boots on the ground. This question did not pertain so much to the armies as they made up of Dutch and British soldiers. Nor did loyalty figure as a problem with troops whose dependability had been a fixture since early colonial times—despite the imagined nature of this unshakable loyalty.<sup>43</sup> Ambonese and Menadonese, who had been KNIL soldiers before the war—this status made them ‘clean’—signed their names once more in the colonial ledgers in various prisoner of war camps in Thailand, Singapore and French Indochina.<sup>44</sup> If General Spoor had some 30,000 troops at the beginning of 1946 (War Volunteers from the liberated southern Dutch provinces) formed into seventeen battalions, padded with KNIL units, in 1948 he disposed over forty-seven battalions, totalling some 78,000 operational troops on Java and Sumatra.<sup>45</sup>

Malaysia saw the influx of troops from places such as Australia, Fiji and, of course, Great Britain itself. Even though thirteen battalions—seven Gurkha, three British infantry, one artillery regiment, and two Malay Regiment battalions—were on site, they could not initially be counted on to properly fight the Emergency. The seven Gurkha battalions were under strength and being rebuilt with the majority hardly trained. The same applied to the British units: none of them were prepared for jungle operations or counterinsurgency.<sup>46</sup> The process of troop concentration, then, was a process that led to a massive—for many, second—displacement of war-weary and under-nourished men. Troops were put into the field immediately. It may have been this lack of preparedness,

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Politieken- en Economischen Toestand van Zuid-Sumara, meer in het Bezette Gebied van de Residentie Palembang” over de Maand Oktober 1947, *NIB* 11, 481.

<sup>43</sup> Chauvel, ‘Republik Maluku Selatan’, 16.

<sup>44</sup> Bussemaker, *Bersiap!*, 66-71.

<sup>45</sup> Bussemaker, *Bersiap!*, 62-63; Groen, *Marsroutes en Dwaalsporen*, 117, 119–120, 141; the number would be reduced to thirty-seven in the course of that year.

<sup>46</sup> Raffi Gregorian, *The British Army, the Gurkhas and Cold War Strategy in the Far East 1947-1954* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2002), 46-50, 61; J. P. Cross and Buddhiman Gurung, *Gurkha's at War* (London: Greenhill Books, 2002), 190-191, 201, 203, 209; Corum, *Training Indigenous Forces in Counterinsurgency*, 6.

training and proper instruction as to the nature of the wars they participated in that combined into a propensity for violence and excess among the newly recruited troops.<sup>47</sup> Be that as it may, in March 1950 British and Gurkha troops numbered some 11,000 troops, aided by 3,500 men of the Malay Regiment, while more Gurkha's—circa 2,000—were under way from Hong Kong.<sup>48</sup>

It is striking that it was not much harder to find indigenous men for the police and paramilitary forces—it was they, after all, who would fight their compatriots who happened to fight for another cause. Yet, judging by the tallies of the colonial administrators, the numbers suggest that the recruitment drives for police and affiliated paramilitaries succeeded spectacularly. The Police of the Federation of Malaya grew from a small force of some 10,000 at the end of 1947 to more than 31,000 constables backed by roughly 20,000 Auxiliary Police. Apparently, this number had stood, in 1950, at 100,000 Auxiliaries.<sup>49</sup> Many of their number (ninety percent) were Malay volunteers and belonged to the Kampong Guard, who—as opposed to the Auxiliary Police in the main towns—protected rural spaces. Chinese did not volunteer in great numbers, despite the fact that the Chinese Chambers of Commerce proposed to act as recruiting agents.<sup>50</sup> In the first half of 1951 it was decided that the Kampong Guard was to be amalgamated with another paramilitary police force, the Home Guard. The Home Guard in March 1952 had more than 190,000 men (240,000 in 1953) in its ranks with a preponderance, again, for Malays—possibly because they also dominated the Auxiliary Police. Still, considerable numbers of Chinese (73,610), Indians (9,429) and 'Others' (4,876) had joined.<sup>51</sup> The amalgamation served two

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<sup>47</sup> Romijn, 'Learning on "The Job"', 318; it was only in March 1948 that new troops for Indonesia received the 'Indische Fight Training' course in the Netherlands, a 'new training method'; see Kapitein (KNIL) C. Veenendaal, 'De Gevechtsopleiding Indonesië in Praktijk', *Militaire Spectator*, 119, 94 (1950), 94-96.

<sup>48</sup> Mr. Griffiths, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in reply to a question of Mr. Emrys Hughes, Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 473 House of Commons Debates 6 April 1950 col.1397.

<sup>49</sup> Short, *The Communist Insurrection*, 129; another source has this number at 88,000 in 1952, The Role of the Royal Federation of Malaya Police in the Emergency, Appendix B to Reference Paper on the Federation of Malaya No. 4—Emergency, Commerce & Industry Tourist Promotion, 95/T, Arkib Negara Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur.

<sup>50</sup> Report of the State of Crime and the Administration of the Police Force for the Year 1947, H. B. Langworthy, Commissioner of Police, Federation of Malaya, ANM, Selangor Secretariat 701/1948; Sir H. Gurney to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 4 April 1950, no. 293, TNA, FO 953/764; Short, *The Communist Insurrection*, 129.

<sup>51</sup> Extract from letter reference INF. No.360/49/110 dated 3<sup>rd</sup> March, 1952 from J. N., Director Information Services,



goals. The first was that both the Kampong Guard and the Home Guard had similar purposes, the ‘enabling of the population to share actively in the defence of their homes’.<sup>52</sup> With that task came the power of arrest without a warrant of anyone suspected of offending the Emergency Regulations. Having both under one roof would streamline control held by Civil Defence Officers.<sup>53</sup> Secondly, it was hoped that the largely armed kampong guards would strengthen the Home Guard, who were inexperienced—in relation to the kampong guards—and had less arms.

The Special Constables (SC), 36,832 in total, completed the ‘278,466 local people in arms’.<sup>54</sup> The Special Constabulary was conceived as a direct reaction to the nature of the violence that precluded and precipitated the Malayan Communist Party’s insurrection. It must be borne in mind that the Malayan Emergency was as much about toppling the British government as it was about the redistribution of economic power; hence much of the violence focussed on the rubber plantations and the tin mines. The planters and miners blamed the labour unions. ‘[T]he vast majority of Unions’, they claimed, were led by those who sacrificed the good of the masses for their own, much narrower political ends. ‘It matters not to these men that their gospel is likely to lead to wanton strikes, bitter unrest and even bloodshed’. Those riling up the labourers had lost all deference for the once mighty planters and simply threatened any estate managers attempting ‘to rid themselves of subversive elements’. The planters, naturally, looked to their traditional protectors, but ‘[a]ppeals to higher authorities’—a complaint often heard in Malaysia and Indonesia—‘have

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Federation of Malaya, no. 96575/38/52, TNA, FO 1022/165; The Protection of Estates and Mines. Policy Resulting from the High Commissioner’s Meeting with Planters and Miners, 8 May 1953, ISEAS, HSL 7(a)-7.43, H. S. Lee Papers, Institute of Southeast Asia Studies, Singapore.

<sup>52</sup> C. S. Introduction The Emergency in Chief Secretary Emergency Section, *Federation of Malaya Annual Report for 1951*, ANM, Chief Secretary 8615/1952.

<sup>53</sup> Federal War Council Secretariat May 1951, Minutes of Nineteenth Meeting, 29 May, 1951, ISEAS, TCL 37.170.02, Tan Cheng Lock Papers, Institute of Southeast Asia Studies, Singapore; Director of Operations, Malaya, The Amalgamation of the Home Guards and Kampong Guards, 14 July 1951, Dir. no. 12 RefFSY.18/A8/50, ISEAS, HSL 21.61a.

<sup>54</sup> Extract from letter reference INF. No.360/49/110 dated 3<sup>rd</sup> March, 1952 from J. N., Director Information Services, Federation of Malaya, no. 96575/38/52, TNA, FO 1022/165; the document also mentions some 3,756 Extra Police Constables.

apparently fallen on stony ground'. The European business community, in other words, felt that their 'whole existence [was being] threatened'.<sup>55</sup>

The stony ground was more fertile than the estate owners suspected, however. The government had noticed that the MCP's tactics had been shifting from 'fomenting labour disputes' to 'picking off managerial staffing' and robbing wages on pay-day from isolated plantations.<sup>56</sup> In addition, officials took note of the first obituaries for murdered planters—'Killed by gangsters whilst on duty on [their] estate'—that were being published by the planters themselves by the time the Emergency proper started.<sup>57</sup> Not only did the SC function as a mental support to the planter and miner communities; their presence also gave some needed breathing space for police and military units who were being tied up to static defence duties on mines, plantations and other valuable economic installations.<sup>58</sup> The initial estimate—characteristically underestimated—for the maximum of SC men was set at 9,000 but in 1952, the new Commissioner of Police, Colonel Sir Arthur E. Young, coming in from the London Metropolitan Police, determined 42,000 SC were needed.<sup>59</sup>

Similar fears of being overrun by anti-colonial elements animated the discussions concerning the build-up of the security forces in Indonesia, which began in earnest at the end of 1947. Planters everywhere saw the security situation in rural areas declining at a frightening pace in the wake of the Police Action. Surely, this military action had brought much of the estates and plantations back under Dutch control—on Java, for example, 70 percent of rubber areas and 92 percent of tea areas were occupied—but by the end of the

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<sup>55</sup> 'Leadership', *The Planter*, 24, 4 (1948), 431; 'Cast Your Bread Upon the Waters', *The Planter*, 24, 6 (1948), 490.

<sup>56</sup> Commissioner General, South East Asia to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 26 June 1948, no. 93, TNA, CO 1022/69697.

<sup>57</sup> 'Deaths', 'Obituaries', *The Planter*, 24, 7 (1948), 539; for government tallies of killed planters, see Names of European Rubber Planters who were Auxiliary Policemen Killed by Bandits Since the Commencement of the Disturbances, appendix 'A' to O. Lyttelton to Barnett Janner, M. P., 20 November 1951, SEA.10/35/01, TNA, CO 1022/25.

<sup>58</sup> Commissioner General, South East Asia to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 26 June 1948, no. 134, TNA, CO 1022/69697; (14) in CP/FM/485/48/097 C. Noble, Comm of Police, Conf. The Special Constabulary, 25 July 1948, ANM, Perak Secretariat 2515/1948.

<sup>59</sup> Commissioner General, South East Asia to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 26 June, no. 134, 1948, TNA, CO 1022/69697; Extract from "Malayan Bulletin", 25 May 1957, No. 65, TNA, CO 1022/165.

year the resistance had reasserted itself quite vigorously.<sup>60</sup> One firm wrote to the Minister president in the Netherlands, threatening to abandon their plantations.<sup>61</sup> Overall, the planters blamed a shortage of security forces to protect estate personnel and a lack of weapons for the planters' use.<sup>62</sup> As in Malaysia, planters were murdered and, as a community, they faulted the Dutch government for not having brought the Police Action to its—in their opinion—logical conclusion: the occupation of the centre of the Republican resistance, Yogyakarta.<sup>63</sup> However, beholden to The Hague, Indische civil and military policy-makers were for the time being barred from pushing onward. Van Mook and Spoor could not accommodate the planters, despite their wish to do so.<sup>64</sup> The Ministerial Council in the Netherlands had buckled under international pressure from the United Nations, agreeing—with the Republic—to implement a cease-fire. The Good Offices Commission, an arbitrating, international body, would come to Indonesia to bring both parties to the negotiating table once more.<sup>65</sup> Spoor was outraged; he fumed that 'to Asian eyes, we have lost the campaign'. '[D]oubters will do well to maintain their trust in the Republic, because that is what the defeated Hollanders do, too'. He could now test the merits of this assumption that Asians

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<sup>60</sup> P. M. Prillwitz, "Productie-mogelijkheden van de Ondernemingslandbouw in het Binnen de Demarcatielijnen gelegen Gebied van Java en Sumatra", *Economisch Weekblad voor Indonesië*, 14, 17 januari 1948.

<sup>61</sup> Tiedeman & Van Kerchem to Voorzitter Orani en de Voorzitter Federabo, 4 November 1947, NL-HaNA Federabo, 2.20.50/58.

<sup>62</sup> Kort Verslag AB Vergadering Orani, 6 November 1947, Orani 2.20.02.01/21, the National Archives, The Hague, Ondernemersraad voor Indonesië te 's-Gravenhage, 2.20.02.01/21; Uit brief van Voorz. ALS aan Voorz. Fed, 14 september 1947, Nr. VV. 84, NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/67.

<sup>63</sup> Politiek-politionele Situatie, Uit het Maandverslag van de Commissaris van Politie 1ste Klasse te Buitenzorg November, NL-HaNA, 2.13.132/1396; Uit Resumé Nr. 32, 4 November 1947; Tiedeman & Van Kerchem aan de Voorzitter van Orani en de Voorzitter van Federabo; Brief van Voorz. ALS aan Voorz. Fed, VV Nr. 115, 30 November 1947, all in NL-HaNA, Federabo, 2.20.50/58; V.V./No. 28., Sinninghe Damsté aan De Jonge, 16 April 1948, NL-HaNA, Federabo, 2.20.50/67; Verslag over de maand december 1947, M. H. Albeda, 31 December 1947, NL-HaNA, Federabo, 2.20.50/60.

<sup>64</sup> Notulen van de Zeer Geheime Bespreking, Gehouden ten Huize van den Legercommandant op 24 juli 1947, *NIB* 10, 40.

<sup>65</sup> Vertegenwoordiger van de Veiligheidsraad (Van Kleffens) aan Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken (Van Boetzelaer van Oosterhout), 22 aug. 1947, *NIB* 10, 570; Telegram, The Acting Secretary of State to the Consulate General at Batavia, 27 August 1947, no. 501.BC/8-2747, *FRUS*, 1947, 6, 1042-1043; Robert J. McMahon, *Colonialism and Cold War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 189; George McTurnan Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963), 217.

only understood force, applying it to the areas the Police Action had brought under Dutch control.<sup>66</sup>

The military establishment seemed to undertake this task with some verve as it set about establishing various security forces while resurrecting the existing police. This was needed; those military units that arrived in the early revolutionary days were designated to return home soon. Spoor was to lose part of his 'jungle-wise troops' and gain those alien to the Indonesian battlefield. To add to their misery, incessant patrolling of massive expanses wore down the soldiers' resolve while 'drastic financial cuts' would severely limit the army's upkeep and its mobility.<sup>67</sup> It was under these circumstances, combined with resurgent violence that military and police commanders decided to reorganise the security forces. Before 1947, as we have seen, police forces operated on a more or less *ad hoc* basis. In North Sumatra police detachments that accompanied advancing troops tried to enlist Republican policemen and found them open to doing so. These Republican policemen had been slighted: their government had given weapons not to them, but to a local *laskar* (gang) that had threatened to burn down the police barracks.<sup>68</sup>

In a high-level meeting at Spoor's own home in September 1947 military and police dignitaries discussed the inward and outward security of Indonesia. They decided on a structural approach.<sup>69</sup> General and *Daerah* (local) Police had to be re-instated and shored up. More than 10,000 indigenous men had to be found to fill the police deficit, although one official estimated that 18,000 were needed for Java alone.<sup>70</sup> Numbers rose quickly. By March 1947, the General Police fielded some 38,604 men of all ranks, including recruits, across Indonesia. The

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<sup>66</sup> Legercommandant (Spoor) aan Chef Generale Staf Koninklijke Landmacht (Kruls), 31 juli 1947, *NIB* 10, 135-136.

<sup>67</sup> Wd. Lt.Gouvernement-generaal (Idenburg) aan Lt.Gouverneur-generaal (Van Mook), 6 sept. 1947, *NIB* 11, 44; Memorandum inzake de Nederlandse Troepensterkte op Java en Sumatra, 7 mei 1947, Nr. Kab/517, NL-HaNA, Spoor, 2.21.036.01/62.

<sup>68</sup> Verslag van de Regeringscommissaris voor Bestuursaangelegenheden van Noord-Sumatra (Van de Velde), augustus 1947, *NIB* 10, 608.

<sup>69</sup> Notulen van de Bespreking Gehouden ten Huize van de Legercommandant op Vrijdag 19 september 1947, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/303.

<sup>70</sup> Notulen van de Bespreking Gehouden ten Huize van de Legercommandant NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/303; Wd. Lt.gouverneur-generaal (Idenburg) aan Lt.gouverneur-generaal (Van Mook), 6 sept. 1947, *NIB* 11, 43.

Daerah Police's numbers stood at 18,345.<sup>71</sup> As for the Plantation Guard, paramilitaries much akin to Malaya's Special Constabulary, planters noted that they wanted to raise their numbers from 18,500 to 30,000 in the course of 1949.<sup>72</sup> The much-beleaguered Chinese were allowed by Spoor to recruit their own men in a specifically Chinese security corps, the *Pao An Tui* (PAT). The total number of operational PAT fighters are unknown. Another security force, collectively called the Safety Battalions (SB) was slated to ultimately have some 17,000 members plus 3,000 cadre.<sup>73</sup> Clearly, mass recruitment was unavoidable in Malaya and Indonesia.

### *The call for loyalty in the Pasundan*

The colonial authorities had to offer some form of inducement to the people who were supposed to fill out the security forces' ranks. At the same time, this offer had also to attract those who presented themselves as the local leaders. What the British and Dutch governments in Kuala Lumpur and Batavia, respectively, were willing to share was inclusion. Officials understood that serving had to be repaid by rewards. These rewards could be dispensed by the local elites that had declared their support to pacification. At the same time, the offer turned into a test for the local elites who, in the name of the colonial powers, had to draw in the very communities they purported to represent. If they successfully delivered recruits or, at the very least, brought their constituencies closer to the government, the leaders in the Negara Pasundan and the Malayan Chinese Association could greatly enhance their own standing. The analysis that follows shall therefore trace the level of involvement with the recruitment drives, whether PRP/Pasundan and MCA officials were able to realize inclusion and, lastly,

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<sup>71</sup> L. Margadant, 'De Politieorganisatie in het Nieuwe Bestel', *Bestuursvraagstukken/Soal2-Pemerintahan I*, 1 1949, 194; Dr. L. Margadant to Spoor, Sterkte en Dislocatie van de Algemene Politie op 1 Maart 1949, No. Pol. 1122, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1397.

<sup>72</sup> Prof. Dr. V. J. Koningsberger, Sinninghe Damsté, Van 't Oever aan de Kwartiermeester Generaal, Voorziening in Wapenbehoefte Ondernemingen en Bedrijven op Java en Sumatra, 20 March 1949, no. Pr. 3603, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/654.

<sup>73</sup> Bijlage IV, behorende bij schr. I. V. P. A., 2 June 1948, no. 427/DCO 500.03, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/392.

whether they successfully drew recruits. In other words, did local elites need their constituencies to solidify their power or, conversely, did colonial authorities need the elites to reach indigenous communities? Arguably, based on the gate-keeper roles indigenous elites could play, such a devolving of authority would be expected.

What local elites wanted and what the authorities were willing to finally concede, was pure influence and recognition for their organizations and, for their constituencies, inclusion in a separate polity or, in the case of the Malaya, as part of the citizenry. Influence is what the PRP craved most: to be taken seriously by the Dutch as a beacon to which the Sundanese could flock. To its constituents, the PRP could hold up their independent state as a means to access, reclaim and reinstate their golden past. The Negara Pasundan would then be taken up in the United States of Indonesia as an autonomous polity. This statement is based mostly on Suriakartalegawa's writings due to the fact that there is little else to be found in the archives in The Hague.

It is virtually impossible to know what other individuals within the PRP leadership envisaged. The problem was that, in his own words, 'The P.R.P. is Soerjakartalegawa, Soerjakartalegawa is the P.R.P.' Although other officials did write tracts and telegrams sparingly, there was some truth to Suriakartalegawa's statement. He wrote the statutes of the PRP as well as its 'house rules'. '[A]ll telegrams sent to government authorities and letters' were his, claimed one Indonesian Inland Administration official. Suriakartalegawa's co-administrators in the PRP, such as Sadikin and Machmud, chairman and secretary respectively, had had no 'political education' and mostly echoed Suriakartalegawa's fixed party line; that the Sundanese needed their own state if their identity and culture were to survive.<sup>74</sup> This means that we are forced to take Kartalegawa's words, for now, as representative for the PRP as a whole. The Sundanese state was not solely Suriakartalegawa's dream, however; the Pasundan idea was alive in the ante-war period. The Sundanese-Javanese rivalry dated back centuries. The Pasundan

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<sup>74</sup> A. K. Widjoatmodjo to the Director of the Cabinet of the Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal, undated; 'Rondom Pasoendan', *Buitenzorgs Dagblad*, 2 May 1947, 2, both in NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

idea, moreover, was expressed in a Pasundan museum and ‘an attempt to found a daily press’ in Sundanese. The idea, however, lived more culturally and not so much politically.<sup>75</sup>

At the point where Suriakartalegawa, and with him the PRP, was trying to invest himself into the Sundanese community of the Priangan, one of Suriakartalegawa’s aims was to ensure he was the prime candidate to lead to Sundanese out of the Javanese desert; the Dutch accepted him as such.<sup>76</sup> He sold himself to the Dutch administrators who would decide on the creation of a separate, Sundanese entity: everywhere he went, he said, ‘I get contact, everywhere I receive [motions of] trust’. Grandiloquently, he declared he only needed a car to more actively spread the pro-Pasundan propaganda.<sup>77</sup> The PRP foreman spoke to the rural population, receiving their complaints—to some Dutch officials’ dismay, ignoring that the Inland Administration should do that—and occasionally spreading the word beyond the demarcation lines that supposedly separated the Dutch and Republican spheres of influence.<sup>78</sup> To drive home the point that it was he alone who could make the Sundanese people fall in with the Dutch, he gently threatened his benefactors, saying that

I am sure, that the regents in the Priangan are sceptical about the Nederlandsch-Indische Government’s policy, now that they see, how it treats me. I have become a victim of my faithfulness and loyalty and [it] does not support me.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Rapport betreffende de Partei Ra’jat Pasoendan, 27 December 1946, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

<sup>76</sup> A. K. Widjoatmodjo to the Director of the Cabinet of the Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal, undated, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

<sup>77</sup> A. K. Widjoatmodjo to the Director of the Cabinet of the Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal, undated, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

<sup>78</sup> Kort Verslag betreffende de Bestuursvoering in de Preanger over de Maand Maart 1947, undated, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

<sup>79</sup> A. K. Widjoatmodjo to the Director of the Cabinet of the Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal, undated, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

If only the Dutch would support him, surely Sundanese leaders would prove their alliance to the Dutch. The rapport that the PRP and later the Pasundan State established with the Dutch, Suriakartalegawa argued, would certainly be followed by support from the common Sundanese.

Sadly, there is little evidence that the PRP and the Negara Pasundan were directly involved with pressing Sundanese into service, or how this involvement exactly influenced their position vis-a-vis the Dutch and the Sundanese community. As we shall see later, however, the Partai claimed to represent 40,000 and later 250,000 members. The *Wali Negara* did, however, appear in public and addressed the *uluma*—Islamic scholars—and the Sundanese masses from mosques and on the radio. Laced with ‘Quran-verses and promises of the after-life’ his calls reminded people that Allah willed them to serve the Pasundan. Its cabinet planned to draw up a statement in which it ‘finally’ declared to the people that the Pasundan Government wholly stood for ‘order and rest’.<sup>80</sup> Before the *Wali*’s invocations, Suriakartalegawa clearly stated that nothing could be mobilized in the Priangan without (his) initiative from above.<sup>81</sup>

Although this did not mean he was involved with Sundanese recruitment, he at least tried to convince his Dutch overseers that the Sundanese had the mettle needed to fight. While he bitterly complained about his people having been ignored while Borneo and East-Indonesia had been simply ‘gifted’ the status of a federal state, Suriakartalegawa asked whether this was due to the Sundanese not having enough arms, not being ‘born soldiers’ or to the fact that ‘in colonial times only those banned from the *desa* were willing to sign for the “compagnie” (V.O.C.), as Pasoendan stood *above* the Javanese economically and only a few wanted to serve as soldiers for “taken mati” [death tasks]’.<sup>82</sup> He seemed to have wanted to imply that if only the Sundanese were armed, they could fend for themselves. He

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<sup>80</sup> Commissaris van de Kroon voor Pasoendan, Van Diffelen, to De Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon, Beel, 28 December 1948, F.31, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2426.

<sup>81</sup> A. K. Widjoatmodjo to the Director of the Cabinet of the Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal, undated, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417. Emphasis in the original.

<sup>82</sup> Afschrift van een Brief van den Regent van Garoet, R. A. A. Mochamad Moesa Soeria Karta Legawa, 6 February 1947, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.



may have wanted to prove a point. There was a stubborn rumour floating about saying the Sundanese were a 'race' less 'tenacious' than the Javanese, predisposed to 'Weib und Gesang' and to the less serious things in life. In the immediate post-World War power vacuum, some Sundanese had enjoyed 'playing at being soldiers, kidnapping and plundering as long as there was little personal risk'. Some 'strong slaps' by the Japanese put a stop to that, one official noted with some satisfaction. The weakness of the Sundanese was illustrated again when the revolutionary Javanese *Badan Keamanan Rakjat*, the People's Security Organization, sent their Sundanese 'sister organisation' within Bandung sacks of rice flour. An accompanying letter 'had roughly the following content: "To the Ladies in Bandoeng a batch of bedak [flour], if they want to powder themselves"'.<sup>83</sup>

In any case, the Pasundan's official peace and order declaration caused ripples which again threatened to tear the cabinet asunder again.<sup>84</sup> To many, the *Wali Negara's* declaration came off as half-hearted. The Dutch found Pasundan's call for Sundanese loyalty wholly insufficient. The Dutch put their foot down and *demand*ed loyalty. Djumhana, who would return as Pasundan's Premier, was ordered by Van Diffelen, the High Representative of the Crown in Pasundan, to finally engineer and publish that unequivocal declaration to the effect that the Pasundan, 'with all its powers and in narrow cooperation with Army and Police', planned to put an end to the unrest in its territory.<sup>85</sup> The Dutch proclamation from the pen of the Territorial Commander of West Java, KNIL General-Major E. Engles, however, was a tell-tale sign that the Pasundan did not command much support from its constituency. Engles's statement therefore turned the thumbscrews even tighter.

Referring to the arrest of the Pasundan government officials for being Republicans and failing spectacularly at subtlety, General Engles stated that he

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<sup>83</sup> Rapport Betreffende de Partei Ra'jat Pasoendan, 27 December 1946, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

<sup>84</sup> Van Diffelen to Beel, F.47, 21 January 1949, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2426.

<sup>85</sup> Van Diffelen to the First Minister of Pasundan, 21 January 1949, F.46, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2426.

had withstood the urge to bring down the full might of the ‘Military Authorities’ on the Pasundan. Owing to the deterioration in the security situation and the *negara’s* lacklustre response, however, he threatened to take ‘sharper measures against whomever, who stands in the way of the execution of my task’. This included everyone from the Indonesian civil servants, the Regents, the *lurahs* (village elders) and *uluma* to the police. Engles did not yet have to make good on his threat—assured as he claimed to be of Pasundan support—but the proclamation ended on a rather cynical, paternalistic note nevertheless. ‘There is no task more beautiful’, it read, ‘than to have this people live free of fear, with the certainty of daily labour for the well-being and the happiness of the family’.<sup>86</sup> Arrests that broke up less pliant families were simply part of the process.

The archival materials do not reveal what effects General Engles and Van Diffelen’s coercive attempts sorted—violence in West Java, as elsewhere, continued unabated. Furthermore, no documentation exists to detail exactly how many Sundanese decided to report for duty in either the police, the Security Battalions or the KNIL—or were forced to do so. Most of the long lists of Indonesians who put their name under security forces’ contracts did not contain their ethnographic background.

Much can be reconstructed with incomplete evidence nonetheless. The military and probably the police force were aware of the fact that local people wanted to serve in local security forces. Such wishes were welcomed as it ensured that individuals operated in familiar terrain inhabited by people they knew. The ‘future federal troops’, the Safety Battalions, were thus bound to the federal state, ‘according to the loyalty to their region’. Along these lines, SBs were raised in Sumatra-Timur, Borneo, the Pasundan and elsewhere.<sup>87</sup> With this regional functionality in mind, it is safe to assume that the two SBs in West Java, founded in February and July 1948 and both having circa 1,230 men, were largely made

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<sup>86</sup> Proclamatie van de Territoriaal ts Troepencommandant van West-Java, January 1949, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2426.

<sup>87</sup> Notulen der 21e vergadering van de Nederlandse Delegatie onder Voorzitterschap van Z.E. Dr. J. H. van Roijen, gehouden op 30 Mei 1949 te 10.00 uur v.m. ten Paleize Rijswijk te Batavia, *NIB* 18, 738-739.

up of Sundanese.<sup>88</sup> Twenty-two of its sergeants had graduated from a four month course in August 1948.<sup>89</sup> Roughly a year before, the majority of troops recruited around Bandung and Cimahi in April 1947 were of Sundanese descent.<sup>90</sup> A hundred Sundanese had enrolled in a ‘crash course’ for security units. Its alumni went to Tasikmalaya and Garut to stop Republican incursions. In August 1947, the *Barisan Pasundan*, the Pasundan Legion, was formed by the Commander of the 1st Infantry Brigade; Sundanese had told him they felt their potential went untapped. Several hundreds of them who were found trustworthy enough received arms.<sup>91</sup> Dutch administrators and police functionaries had found this move—official recognition of Pasundan units as ‘assistant police’—necessary, as ‘masked PRP-troops’ had been seen taking matters into their own hands in Buitenzorg. Officials had troubles distinguishing between them, insurgents and Indonesians ‘with Orange-bands’, apparently belonging to another pro-Dutch outfit.<sup>92</sup>

More Sundanese could be found in the Guard Battalions by the same logic of having local troops in local units. The 5th Guard Battalion, billeted in Semarang, for example, received 24 new recruits in the summer of 1948 who had voluntarily signed up for the KNIL for one year. Others joined the Military Medical Services, such as Mahdjuk, Hadis and Suratja in June 1948. That same day sixteen more Sundanese, ‘civilians’, became part of the infantry as Soldier Second Class; seven signed for no less than six years; the rest for three. All of them, and more, then went to the training depot in Cimahi close to Bandung.<sup>93</sup> Lastly,

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<sup>88</sup> Oprichting Veiligheidsbataljons, 3 September 1948, no. 831/DCO 500.03, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/392.

<sup>89</sup> ‘Sergeanten voor Veiligheidsbataljons’, *De Nieuwsgier*, 16 Aug. 1948, 7.

<sup>90</sup> Verzamelrapport Veiligheidsgroep (25 t/m 31-3-47), Nr. 1921/MV1, 5 April 1947, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/224.

<sup>91</sup> ‘Eenheden van de Pasoendan’, *De Locomotief: Samarangsch Handels- en Advertentie-blad*, 19 Sept. 1947, 1; Verslag van de Bespreking van Commandant 1e Infanterie Brigade (Thomson) met Regeringscommissaris voor Bestuursaangelegenheden West-Java (Abdulkadit Widjoatmodjo) “en andere Civiele Instanties” op 8 aug. 1947, *NIB* 10, 297.

<sup>92</sup> Conferentie Coördinatie Berichtgeving 26/7/1945, NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hoogerechtshof Ned.-Ind. 2.10.17/107.

<sup>93</sup> Beschikking, 14 Juni 1948, no. 9178/4467/IA-2; Beschikking, 28 Juli 1948, no. 10859/IA-2; Beschikking, 28 July 1948, no. 10860/7662iIA-2; Beschikking, 10 Aug. 1948, no. 11485/7661/IA-2, all in Ministerie van Koloniën: Stamboeken en Pensioenregisters Militairen Oost-Indië en West-Indië, 2.10.50/848, The National Archives, The Hague; it is highly possible that in Cimahi, or Tjimahi, close to Bandung, the recruits were billeted in sites that had previously

Sundanese may have been among the Field and City Police—both part of the General Police—that operated in West Java; already in August 1947, they had more than 3,000 constables between them, most of them in urban areas.<sup>94</sup>

The Sundanese elite, beginning with those representing the PRP, seemed to have had little interest in involvement with recruitment—as far as archival sources allow for such a statement. Suriakartelagawa proved to be primarily concerned with establishing the PRP at the centre of Sundanese aspirations for a national home within the USI. So were his secondants. Kustomo, one of the PRP's secretaries, for example, said that the Republic should not interfere with the PRP: 'The Soendanese lands will have to be cleansed completely [with the assistance of Dutch troops]...After the cleansing [of the Republican influence] we will install our own administration'.<sup>95</sup> What further drew attention away from recruitment drives was that the Pasundan Cabinet and Parliament had trouble charting a course that was implementable. Due to the complex force-field within the Pasundan government, keeping the Pasundan on track was hard enough in itself. Ultimately, officials had little scope for manoeuvre. Whatever attention they did free up to help establish 'peace and order' was deemed too insignificant by the Dutch, who acted promptly to try and rectify this lethargy. Handling the police and Safety Battalions was the prerogative of the Dutch military. The Pasundan State, then, was a decidedly colonial state: its internal issues were handled by Indonesians (if that), but matters of defence were the colonial power's prerogative. Still, the PRP and the Negara Pasundan would have a function within the larger mobilization of Sundanese manpower, but as we shall see, this had little to do with the actions of the Negara and its representatives itself.

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functioned as an internment camp under the Japanese occupation, see J. van Dulm, E. Braches, W. J. Krijgsveld, *et al*, *Geïllustreerde Atlas van de Japanse Kampen in Nederlands-Indië 1942-1945* (Voorburg: Asia Maior, 2000), 6-7.

<sup>94</sup> Aanwezige Sterkte Politie-middelen West Java (globale cijfers). 1e. Maandelijks-verslag ddo.medio.Augustus 1947, NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hooggerechtshof Ned.-Ind. 2.10.17/107.

<sup>95</sup> 'Rondom Pasoendan', *Buitenzorgs Dagblad*, 2 May 1947, 2, both in NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

*The call for Chinese loyalty in Malaya*

*The Central Queensland Herald* on 22 May 1941 published an article simply called 'Malaya'. It portrayed the Chinese as resourceful yet happy to work on the 'public defence works' after having suffering lay-offs previously due to tin and rubber slumps. The Malay, alongside the Chinese, had 'learned new tricks [...] uncommon for a race [...] who farm their hillsides and kill game with primitive blowpipes'. Basically, the journalist said, the Malayan peoples, with values different from 'those of the enlightened West', cared little for nationalism as long as they received their daily bread.<sup>96</sup> Had Tan Cheng Lock read this article, these words would have sounded deceptive. He would not have recognized the harmonious tableau depicted as representing 'Malaya'. He would use this ostensible disinterest for politics and secure a central place for the MCA in post-war Malaya.

The *Herald's* interpretation of Chinese political life had a long pedigree. To understand why the MCA established itself through activating the Chinese, a short historical expose on the Chinese is warranted. As in Indonesia, the Chinese in Malaya could have formed 'a virtual *imperium in imperio*' had it not been for the fact that the British strictly monitored Chinese activities that incongruently clashed with their rule. For one, Secret societies—which originated in China—controlled the flow of labour unto the Malayan estates and mines. Often they caused 'civil disturbances' due to escalating rivalries between societies.<sup>97</sup> The Chinese communities figured largely in the mining industry. 100,789 Chinese men and women worked in rubber in the Federated Malay States versus 26,618 Malays. In the Unfederated States a similar asymmetry applied (61,374 versus

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<sup>96</sup> 'Malaya', *The Central Queensland Herald*, 22 May 1941.

<sup>97</sup> Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*, 272-273. Emphasis in the original; Francis Kok-Wah Loh, 'Beyond the Tin Mines: The Political Economy of Chinese Squatter Farmers in the Kinta New Villages, Malaysia', Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, Ithaca, 1980, 15. Another danger lay with vernacular schools: the British feared its pupils were taught Chinese nationalism: Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*, 274-279.

34,776).<sup>98</sup> In the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, Chinese owned 12,5 per cent of rubber estates.<sup>99</sup>

The Chinese in Malaya roughly belonged to three groups. The first group remained connected to China through sustained transnational bonds embodied by secret societies or patriotic organisations such as Reading Societies and schools. A second community, the ‘realistic majority’, steered clear of any (political) activities detrimental to either their family in China or Malaya. Malayan nationalists and British Straits Chinese constituted the third group. The smallest in number, this *peranakan* Chinese were born predominantly in the British Straits Settlements of Singapore, Penang and Malacca. Marrying into Malay families, they largely abandoned their mother tongues and identified with ‘the Malay way of life’ before adopting a decidedly British variant at the beginning of the twentieth century. When some turned to Christianity, ‘Their alienation from the larger Chinese community was usually complete’.<sup>100</sup> The overthrow of China’s last imperial dynasty in 1911 in favour of a republic enlarged and turned the China-oriented community—the *sinkeh*—further from Malaya. Their number rose as ‘literate newcomers’ from China influenced public opinion on China. Consequently, the British deported some *sinkeh* leaders and closed their organizations.<sup>101</sup> Meanwhile the *sinkeh* berated the *peranakan* for being in league with the imperialists, while they more gently admonished the neutral Chinese to not link up, socially, with the *peranakan*. The latter in turn distrusted the China-oriented Chinese and criticized the neutrals for ‘fence-sitting’ and lack of political convictions.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> C. A. Vlieland, *British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census and Certain Problems of Vital Statistics* (London: Crown Agents, 1932).

<sup>99</sup> *Malaya: Rubber Statistics Handbook* (Singapore: Government Printing Office, 1932), 15. 84 per cent fell under non-Asian ownership—American, Belgian, British and French. Secondary industries such as pineapple growing was Chinese-dominated, as well. See Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*, 285.

<sup>100</sup> Wang Gungwu, ‘Chinese Politics in Malaya’, *The China Quarterly*, 43 (1970), 4-5, 7-9; for the Reading Societies and other, less overt Chinese patriotic organisations, see Seng, ‘The Kuomintang in Malaya’, 1-33; J. E. Khoo, *The Straits Chinese: A Cultural History* (Amsterdam: The Pepin Press, 1996), 23-24; Gungwu, ‘Chinese Politics in Malaya’, 9.

<sup>101</sup> Gungwu, ‘Chinese Politics in Malaya’, 11-12.

<sup>102</sup> Gungwu, ‘Chinese Politics in Malaya’, 14.

Contacts between the Chinese groups did exist. Before 1942, the Kuomintang's nationalism facilitated such ties, cultivating Chinese values, education, attention for political disturbances in China, the boycott of Japanese goods, but also a revival of Confucianism.<sup>103</sup> The unifying effects of the KMT should not be overstated, however.<sup>104</sup> In 1913, China's new president, Yuan Shik Kai, trying his hand at imperial restoration, outlawed the KMT. The British responded followed suit.<sup>105</sup> They banned the KMT in 1925 after the Netherlands East Indies had warned that the KMT had become entangled in a Communist plot against the Empire in the Far East.<sup>106</sup>

KMT's black-listing ran analogous to the development of a 'pro-Malay' policy. British reports concluded that Malays should figure more centrally in the government services; European administrators should curb their scepticism towards Malays. This and other measures were designed 'to "restore" to the Malays a more active role in the affairs of their own states [and] to fulfil obligations seen to have been incurred in the original protectorate agreements'. Malays should be spared 'an existence spent as a peon or a messenger'.<sup>107</sup> An emerging Malay elite soon decried Malay social and economic 'backwardness'.<sup>108</sup> The *Kesatuan Melayu Singapura* (KMS, the Singapore Malay Union) in 1926 therefore opined that the government—including the Malay Sultans—failed to champion Malay interests.<sup>109</sup> 'Can we Malays if born in Shanghai call ourselves

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<sup>103</sup> C. F. Young and R. B. McKenna, 'The Kuomintang Movement in Malaya and Singapore, 1912-1925', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 12, 1 (1981), 125; Yen Ching-Hwang, 'The Confucian Revival Movement in Singapore and Malaya, 1899-1911', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 7, 1 (1976), 36-37; Young and McKenna, 'The Kuomintang Movement', 124-123..

<sup>104</sup> Chui Kwei-chiang, 'Yen Ching Hwang, The Overseas Chinese and the 1911 Revolution', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 9, 1 (1978), 140.

<sup>105</sup> Young and McKenna, 'The Kuomintang Movement', 123; Seng, 'The Kuomintang', 12-13.

<sup>106</sup> C. F. Young and R. B. McKenna, *The Kuomintang Movement in British Malaya 1912-1949* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1990), 119; Yong and McKenna, 'The Kuomintang Movement', 125-132.

<sup>107</sup> Philip Loh Fook-Seng, 'A Review of the Educational Developments in the Federated Malay States to 1939', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 5, 2 (1974), 236; William F. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* (London: Yale University Press, 1967), 113-120.

<sup>108</sup> Roff, *The Origins*, 162; Radin Soernarno, 'Malay Nationalism, 1896-1941', *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, 1, 1 (1960), 6-8.

<sup>109</sup> Soernarno, 'Malay Nationalism, 1896-1941', 10, 15. In 1938 the *Kesatuan Melayu Muda* (KMM, Union of Malay Youth) entered the political arena. It called out the Westernised Malay bureaucratic elite and adopted an anti-British slant. The KMM's ultimate goal, shared by intellectuals such as Sukarno, was to establish *Melayu Raya*, a greater

the sons of the soil of Shanghai’, asked one Malay commentator, ‘just because we want rights and privileges?’<sup>110</sup> Around this time Malayan Chinese, in turn, claimed loyalty to Malaya. Lim Ching Yan, a Legislative Councillor, asked: ‘Who said this is a Malay country?’ It was Chinese money that had allowed the ‘Government [...] to open this Country into a civilized one’. ‘This is ours, our country’.<sup>111</sup> The tensions between Malays and non-Malays finally prompted British discussions about the status of non-Malay communities Malaya.<sup>112</sup> Although many Chinese and Indians had adopted Malaya as their home or had never been to ‘the land of their origin’ they received no ‘fair treatment’ due to the mounting ‘cry of Malaya for the Malays’.<sup>113</sup>

After a decade of slow planning, however, the question of citizenship for non-Malay communities came to naught with the Japanese invasion.<sup>114</sup> The Japanese Occupation had done nothing to bring the Malay, Chinese and British communities closer. The Malays, including the Rulers, had been implicated with the Japanese.<sup>115</sup> Malay emotions, in turn, were severely inflamed by the fear that the Chinese would assume a dominant position.<sup>116</sup> These anxieties fed on the fact that the British had supported, armed and tried to lead the MPAJA against the Japanese. The Chinese guerrillas now welcomed the return of the British, expecting to play their part in running the country.<sup>117</sup>

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Malaya comprised of the Malay Peninsula and Indonesia. See Cheah Boon Kheng, ‘The Japanese Occupation of Malaya, 1941-45: Ibrahim Yaacob and the Struggle for Indonesia Raya’, *Indonesia*, 28 (1979), 86, 89; Y. Mansoor Marican, ‘Malay Nationalism and the Islamic Party of Malaysia’, *Islamic Studies*, 16, 1 (1977), 293.

<sup>110</sup> Quoted in Soernarno, ‘Malay Nationalism, 1896-1941’, 11.

<sup>111</sup> Quoted in Soernarno, ‘Malay Nationalism’, 11.

<sup>112</sup> In the Straits Settlements, citizenship was less of a problem, as any person born there became a British subject; the citizenship of non-Malays, furthermore, pertained to the Chinese, mostly; the Indian population were already British subjects, in most cases; Lau, ‘Malayan Union Citizenship’, 217.

<sup>113</sup> Sir Samuel Wilson, *Report of Brigadier-General Sir Samuel Wilson, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies on his Visit to Malaya 1932* (London: HMSO, 1933), 27.

<sup>114</sup> Lau, ‘Malayan Union Citizenship’, 218, 220.

<sup>115</sup> Donna J. Amoroso, *Traditionalism and the Ascendancy of the Malay Ruling Class in Colonial Malaya* (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2014), 110; Chang Boon Kheng, ‘The Social Impact of the Japanese Occupation of Malaya (1942-1945)’, in Alfred W. McCoy, ed., *Southeast Asia Under Japanese Occupation* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1980), 83-84.

<sup>116</sup> Boon Kheng, *Red Star*, 224.

<sup>117</sup> Boon Kheng, *Red Star*, 150, 155; the British were less sure about the KMT, however; this because they could rouse Chinese nationalism.



At this juncture, Tang Cheng Lock and the MCA again appearance as the establishment of both was caught up with recruitment of Chinese for the security forces of Malaya. Whereas the Dutch offered little in terms of citizenship to the Chinese—deferring the topic until the Round Table Conference on the eve of Indonesian Independence—Chinese leaders in Malaya were instrumental in attracting Chinese men for service through inclusion.<sup>118</sup> They could perform this role as middlemen because the British, with the Malay rulers, kept the question of nationality and citizenship alive during and after the Japanese Occupation. The British very much pushed for the MCA to play such a role. This coincided with Tan Cheng Lock's own wishes.

The citizenship question—and with it, the position of the Chinese—remained current for several reasons. First, the Anglo-Chinese alliance during the war necessitated a reappraisal of the position of the overseas Chinese in Malaya towards a more progressive stance.<sup>119</sup> Second, influential people within the establishment impressed upon the British that a continued pro-Malay stance was ill-advised. H. A. L. Luckham, a former Resident in Malaya, opined that privileging the Malays hindered the growth of a 'Malayan consciousness'. A more concessionary tone could, conversely, foster 'a strong spirit of patriotism and loyalty to and confidence in the rulers of the country'. Non-Malays would want to remain in Malaya, work there and 'if necessary, defend it'.<sup>120</sup> Prominent figures within the Malay community shared Luckham's view.<sup>121</sup> Third, the message to finally include non-Malays within a Malayan community gained momentum because of mounting British distrust regarding the duplicitous role of the Malay rulers under the Japanese.<sup>122</sup> The KMT and the MCP, in the meantime, with other Chinese organizations, had established the anti-Japanese Overseas Chinese Mobilization Council.<sup>123</sup> Sir Edward Gent, in his capacity as the Head of the

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<sup>118</sup> Schets van de Inrichting van de Nederlands-Indoneische Unie, 27 feb. 1948, *NIB*, 13, 95.

<sup>119</sup> Memorandum, Paskin, 7 December 1943, no. 55104/1/6, TNA, CO 825/35.

<sup>120</sup> H. A. L. Luckham, Some Causes of the Loss of Malaya, 30 March 1942, TNA, CO 825/35/10.

<sup>121</sup> Lau, 'Malayan Union Citizenship', 221-222.

<sup>122</sup> Lau, 'Malayan Union Citizenship', 224-225.

<sup>123</sup> Cheah, *Red Star*, 80.

Eastern Department in the Colonial Office, in 1944 embraced the idea that the ‘alleged [British] failure in war time’ had partially been attributable to the lack of Chinese support due to the pro-Malay policy. He declared that ‘common citizenship’ would prove paramount to any ‘political progress and as a basis for linking the various communities in the country’.<sup>124</sup>

The Malayan Chinese Association’s ascendancy was helped by the founding of the Malay Union. This union operated on *jus soli* citizenship, meaning that all peoples born in Malaya could apply for citizenship as long as they conformed to certain prescribed rules concerning the length of residency and were willing to take an oath of allegiance to the government.<sup>125</sup> Unfortunately for the Chinese, the liberal citizenship rights were lost with the Malayan Union’s abolishment in favour of the Federation of Malayan States in 1948. Within the federation, citizenship would be harder to acquire. Having been born in Singapore no longer granted automatic citizenship for the Federation: Singapore was administratively separated from peninsular Malaya. The new law stipulated that non-Malays had to have been domiciled in the federation more than ten out of 15 years. *Jus soli* was ‘effectively negated’. In addition, non-Malays were required to speak Malay.<sup>126</sup> That non-Malays, on becoming citizens, were considered ‘subjects of the Sultans’ would ‘reassert the theory that Malaya is primarily a “Malay” country’.<sup>127</sup> The question of elevating Chinese needs on par with indigenous interests (as far as Malays were indigenous to Malaya—a point Tan Cheng Lock made himself) was put on hold. The British had not forgotten that the ‘Majority of Government servants, including Police, are Malays...We can only implement new policy successfully with co-operation of Malays’.<sup>128</sup>

Here, however, lay a chance for the Malay Chinese Association. With some vehemence, they—mostly Tan Cheng Lock—took up the call that the Chinese

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<sup>124</sup> Gent to Paskin, 27 June 1943, TNA, CO 825/35/10; Gent to Gater, 16 June 1944, TNA, CO 825/42/12.

<sup>125</sup> Lau, ‘Malayan Union Citizenship’, 235; Ongkili, *Nation-Building*, 40-42.

<sup>126</sup> Ongkili, *Nation-building*, 41, 57-58.

<sup>127</sup> “Report on a Visit to Malaya from 20 August to 20 September 1952 at the Invitation of the Malayan Chinese Association”, by Victor Purcell and Francis Carnell, ISEAS, TCL 6.1.

<sup>128</sup> BMA to Hall, 5 March 1946, TNA, CO 537/1548, quoted in Lau, ‘Malayan Union Citizenship’, 230.

should profess their loyalty to Malaya. Active protest was paramount if the MCA had any chance of succeeding. Certain Chinese behaviour still rankled with the British. That many Chinese still looked to China made the British 'in Malaya and Britain', but undoubtedly also the Malays, 'fear that the granting of Malayan Citizenship' to the Chinese would 'inevitably lead to Malaya one day becoming a Chinese province'.<sup>129</sup> Mistrust was deepened as the Malay Communist Party was mainly Chinese in composition. The MCP's make-up could not be blamed on the Chinese, per se. In 1946, the communists had added Malayization to its programme.<sup>130</sup> From October 1951 onwards, the MCP set out to build Malay and Indian Departments to build a more inclusive resistance movement.<sup>131</sup> The policy proved unsuccessful. The all-Malay Tenth Regiment dispersed due to harassment by security forces.<sup>132</sup> 'In spite of every effort by the M.C.P. to subvert the Malay population as a whole[,] little progress has been made', the Combined Intelligence Staff concluded. Communism did not mesh with 'extreme' Malay nationalism because Malays feared 'Chinese political domination'. A mere five percent of the total 'Communist Terrorist Organisation' was Malay and opportunists at that.<sup>133</sup> Chinese fighters never trusted their Malay counterparts.<sup>134</sup>

With the insurgents and their supporters mostly Chinese, the latter would remain suspicious. The British greatly feared that Communist China would pursue a policy of aggression in Southeast Asia. While the Chinese business leaders would support the Malayan government, officials were less certain about less-affluent Chinese communities.<sup>135</sup> Overseas Chinese—also those in

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<sup>129</sup> Memorandum on the Future of the Chinese in Malaya, Malacca December 1946, ISEAS, TLC 1.3-3a.

<sup>130</sup> Decision of Central for a Working Plan, 22.8.46, *Political Intelligence Journal*, Malayan Security Service, Singapore, 30 Sept. 1946, quoted in Cheah, *Red Star*, 69-70.

<sup>131</sup> Secret M.C.P. Policy Towards the Malays and Its Implementation, ANM, SWEC Negri Sembilan Secretariat H/5/1953 Emergency Propaganda.

<sup>132</sup> Secret M.C.P. Policy Towards the Malays and Its Implementation, ANM, SWEC Negri Sembilan Secretariat H/5/1953 Emergency Propaganda; 'Terrorist Leader Surrenders', *The Malay Mail*, 22 February, 1950. Already in July 1948, the MCP had lost the race for the control and mobilization of Malaya's labour force: see Malayan Security Service, Supplement No. 7 of 1948, Issued with Police Intelligence Journal No. 13 of 1948, MSS (Ch) 1/783, TNA, CO 537/3752.

<sup>133</sup> Malay Participation in the Present Emergency, Paper by the Combined Intelligence Staff, CIS(53) (3) (Amended Final), annex to DI/R.2C, 16 June 1953, TNA, CO 1022/205.

<sup>134</sup> Short, *Communist Insurrection*, 209-210.

<sup>135</sup> Federal Government Press Statement, 27 November 1951, D.INF.11/51/300(CS), TNA, CO 1022/48.

Indonesia—were seen as ‘a potential Fifth Column’, not unlike ‘the Volksdeutsche’ in Europe.<sup>136</sup> Communist atrocities in China would not influence Malayan Chinese attitudes towards China, officials surmised. China’s ascension, the MCP’s composition, supposed Chinese susceptibility to subversion: they opened the British to appeasement. Officials wanted to ‘avoid the creation of an atmosphere of resentment which could be fanned into racial hatred by subtle propaganda or racial satisfaction [‘stratification’—RF] occasioned by Chinese military successes’. The ‘emotional appeal of nationalism’ from China needed to be exposed as vacuous, bringing ‘disaster and slavery’. However, caution was always needed. According to narrow-minded analysts, ‘the Chinese mind is schizophrenic and ever subject to the twin stimuli of racialism and self-interest’.<sup>137</sup>

Whatever their reasoning, the Chinese did not unequivocally side with the government, which angered civil servants. Malays, conversely, volunteered for the police, the Special Constables and the Malay Regiments in large numbers. To a far lesser extent the same applied to Indians. One Non-Commissioned Officer, William Spearman, searching Malay kampongs and Indian communities for Special Constabulary recruits, found finding Malays and Indians easy; there were always enough Indians and Malays ‘not employed out there’.<sup>138</sup> The Chinese showed little desire to serve. MCA representatives related how the Chinese were reluctant to wear songkoks, the traditional Malay head-wear part of the uniform, and complained about the lack of Chinese food.<sup>139</sup> The Chinese thought the police force of the federation, dominated by antipathetic Malays, corrupt. They distrusted the police and the administration; its members could not speak none of the many Chinese dialects.<sup>140</sup> According to one news outlet the Chinese found

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<sup>136</sup> Minute by G. G. Buzzard, 16 July 1951, FC 1821/113, TNA FO 371/92374.

<sup>137</sup> Memorandum, Appendix “A” to MBDC(51) 74, J. P. Biddulph, Secretary for Chinese Affairs, 6 June 1951, TNA, CO 1022/48.

<sup>138</sup> Interview with William James Spearman, IWMSA, accession number 9797, reel 1.

<sup>139</sup> Minutes of a Meeting of MCA Representatives with the High Commissioner, Sir Gerald Templer, 21 April 1952, ISEAS, TLC 3.274.

<sup>140</sup> Extract from a Savingram, No 83 Sec. From the Federation of Malaya addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 30 October 1951, TNA, CO 1022/148.

uniformed police work ‘degrading and underpaid’. The blatantly Orientalist conclusion read that instead, the Chinese wanted ‘to be an officer [and] a detective—in plain clothes work there is something that gives him a sense of power [which] appeals to his subtle mind’.<sup>141</sup>

Such negative images were shared in high office. Gurney and Templer agreed about the lack of Chinese support for the government—for divergent reasons. In his political testament, Gurney uncharacteristically condemned the Chinese for active non-participation, leading to his scathing criticism. Templer’s tone was more conciliatory—perhaps also incongruously—but his message was the same: the Chinese should help themselves. While in Perak on an inspection tour, he exhorted the Chinese youth to join the police force. After having displayed his own military prowess—the newspaper article shows him shooting a sten gun—he revealed that the police had less than 4,000 Chinese in its ranks. Of these, a mere fifth operated in the uniformed branch. Templer wanted 2,000 additional men. If he was disappointed by Chinese reactions, he did not necessarily show it. Instead, Templer told the crowd he thought it ‘ridiculous’ that Malays, ‘unable to speak [Chinese and] largely antipathetic to [a] race they consider to be alien’, policed more than two million Chinese. Templer averred that the preponderance of Malays in the police force led to ‘reprehensible behaviour’ on the part of the police, in turn forcing some Chinese to seek protection from the ‘terrorists’.<sup>142</sup>

What administrators and police and military commanders—but also European planters—wanted, in other words, was Chinese participation in the war effort. To win, ‘the emergency [should] not be fought in an English way, but in a Malayan *and Chinese way*’.<sup>143</sup> Therefore Templer advocated the ‘need to open the ranks of the Army to all races’ to ensure that ‘all [...] share in the defence of their

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<sup>141</sup> Michael Davidson, ‘Key to Malayan Peace. Creating Concord Between Police and People’, *The Scotsman*, 6 February 1952, in TNA, CO 1022/165.

<sup>142</sup> ‘Police Recruits in Malaya. Sir G. Templer’s Call to Chinese’, *The Times*, 31 March 1952, TNA, CO 1022/165; an earlier document mentioned 1,500 Chinese in the uniformed branch out of circa 29,000 in total; Note of a Meeting held at King’s House on the 28<sup>th</sup> of October, 1951, TNA, CO 1022/148.

<sup>143</sup> ‘Chinese Co-operation the Key to Malayan Problem. Mr. Lyttelton Hears Planters’ Views’, *Manchester Guardian*, 4 December 1951, TNA, CO 1022/148. Emphasis added.

country'. This development not only 'reduce[d] as far as possible the commitment upon Imperial Forces' in favour of indigenous forces; it was a logical extension of then current thinking which dictated instilling 'a Malaysian consciousness among all races'. The latter could be construed to mean 'to instil an anti-communist, pro-Malaysia attitude'.<sup>144</sup>

That the MCA's leaders took up Templer's wish came timely, as Gurney and Templer's opinions on the Chinese were quite moderate. In comparison, the atmosphere among other British administrators and the Malay Sultans was quickly turning against the Chinese. In October 1951 three *mentri besar* claimed they could only speak freely about what they felt was 'the complete failure [...] of the Chinese community to play its proper share in the efforts to end the emergency'—'after all, predominantly a Chinese problem'—unless Chinese leaders were not present. Another refused to come to discuss Chinese matters altogether. This antagonistic feeling was not limited to a few Malay first ministers; it was growing among common Malays and might turn dangerous when ultimately expressed. All Malays present at an October 1951 meeting voiced a need for more frequently invoking Emergency Regulation 17D (collective punishment in particularly badly affected areas), deportation and the 'sequestration of property' of those Chinese who refused to cooperate with the government—'for instance, by failing to supply information which must have been in their possession'. The Attorney-General would look into 'novel difficulties' attached to the latter suggestion'.<sup>145</sup> He was not the only civil servant supportive of 17D operations for 'incurable' areas.<sup>146</sup> All present agreed that more Chinese constables were needed; only they could help foster 'satisfactory' relations between the Police Force and the Chinese public, tap into the intelligence the Chinese were not volunteering and to 'secure' the community's cooperation.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> [Expansion of Malaya's land forces]: despatch no 2311/52 from Sir G Templer to Mr Lyttelton, 17 Nov 1942, T220/493, IF 242/23/01B, A. J. Stockwell, ed., *British Documents on the End of Empire*, Series B, 3, *Malaya*, Part II, The Communist Insurrection (London: HMSO, 1995), 413-418.

<sup>145</sup> Extract from a Savingram, No 83 Sec. From the Federation of Malaya addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 30 October 1951, TNA, CO 1022/148.

<sup>146</sup> Comments by Mr. del Tufo on Attached, handed to S. of S. in Malaya (Dec. 1951), both in TNA, CO 1022/148.

<sup>147</sup> Extract from a Savingram, No 83 Sec. From the Federation of Malaya addressed to the Secretary of State for the

The Chinese question came down to loyalty. Authorities demanded a signal that Chinese communities were finally willing to come in under the government's administrative umbrella. To further entice the Chinese into serving, the British and Malay rulers were willing to offer citizenship. Although the attainment of citizenship was presented as a gift, a right to be bestowed after having earned it, the British basically demanded the Chinese obey. Covering Colonial Secretary Lyttelton's visit in December 1951, *The Economist* reported that 'people representing all shades of Malayan opinion' agreed that the Chinese had to be made to understand that not only would the government win the war, but also that only 'a victory would mean a satisfactory position for the Chinese in the new Malaya'. Up to Lyttelton's visit, the Chinese had 'done little to earn' their citizenship—merely paying 'lip-service to the idea'—and so the situation had continued that Malays dominated the police and Communist China—with the MCP—supposedly continued to function as a 'subversive magnet to the local Chinese'.<sup>148</sup> As Templer's words already suggested, attainment of citizenship through participation—within a *Malaysian* consciousness—became directly linked to signing up for the security forces. The snag, however, was that strong government voices still claimed the Chinese refused to budge from their neutral stance. Chinese leaders, in turn, continued to dispute such assertions. T. H. Tan, for example, stated (to Tan Cheng Lock) that 'Whether the Chinese are helping to the utmost to end the Emergency is a matter of opinion only among the less informed'.<sup>149</sup>

Tan Cheng Lock and the MCA took the distance between the government and the Chinese to present a huge opportunity to promote the MCA and have it transform into a fixture for both the Malayan government and the Chinese. It was Tan Cheng Lock who, on numerous occasions, pressed the fact that the Chinese deserved the right to be trusted—and to citizenship. The MCA could come to act as the mediator to have the Chinese seek the government's tutelage, Lock said.

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Colonies, 30 October 1951, TNA, CO 1022/148.

<sup>148</sup> 'Mr Lyttelton and Malaya's Chinese', *The Economist*, 8 December 1951, TNA, CO 1022/148.

<sup>149</sup> T. H. Tan to Tan Cheng Lock, 16 May 1950, ISEAS, TCL 3.260.

One such occasion was Lyttelton's visit, when the MCA submitted to him a memorandum on Chinese loyalty and the Emergency. It reminded 'Malayan officialdom' of its pro-Malay policies and that with the resentful corralling of the Chinese into New Villages on the one hand and the targeting of the Chinese by the insurgents on the other, for the average Chinese community it was almost impossible to assist the authorities. Any goodwill that the Malayan Union's liberal citizenship laws had engendered had dwindled greatly with the adoption of the Federation, under whose laws nearly half the population, 'practically all non-Malays', were 'not entitled to Federal citizenship automatically'. They were 'excluded from the constitution and politically disinherited'. Actually, claimed Tan Cheng Lock, the British had caused the insurrection in the first place. They had empowered the MPAJA by using it as a proxy to reconquer Malaya. Besides, why blame the Chinese for Communism which was a 'world-wide movement [...] which exists among every race and in every country'?

If the British now expected Chinese assistance, they had better change their tune. 'Government authorities and officials at all levels' had to learn to trust the MCA and the overseas Chinese in general.<sup>150</sup> In a reaction to Dean Rusk's allegation that they would bend to 'militant communism' in Southeast Asia, Lock warned that such statements would cause anti-western distrust and resentment towards democracy among the ten million overseas Chinese.<sup>151</sup> The MCA urged the British government to reverse the recognition of Communist China; this only enhanced the MCP's 'reputation, prestige and morale'. On a less strategic level, Chinese communities in Malaya should be represented on the State War Executive Committees directing anti-Communist operations. The MCA expected 'tangible appreciation' for Chinese sacrifices towards ending the Emergency plus the 'reduction to a minimum [of] offences committed by the security forces'. Police

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<sup>150</sup> Memorandum submitted to the Rt. Hon. Oliver Lyttelton, Secretary of State for the Colonies, by a Malayan Chinese Association Delegation Headed by Dato' Tan Cheng Lock at King's House, Kuala Lumpur, on 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1951, ISEAS, TCL 3.271.

<sup>151</sup> Full Text of a Statement Made by Dato Tan Cheng Lock on the Views of Mr. Dean Rusk, U.S.A. Asst. Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs in the House of Representatives on Overseas Chinese in South Eastern Asia in May, 1951, FC 1821/113, TNA, FO 374/92374.



officials should act less suspiciously towards the Chinese. To ensure against Chinese turning Communist the government needed to enfranchise them by giving squatters ownership of property and land. As for the security forces, the British were in the process of squandering the opportunity to recruit the Chinese. Unresolved labour issues—connected to employment *after* having served—hindered recruitment. This could be circumvented, partially, if the government would bring in a Hong Kong police contingent to form ‘a suitable nucleus of an adequate Malayan Police Force’. Their example was sure to change many Chinese minds. That the MCA would greatly benefit was obvious, which the memorandum roundly acknowledged: only the MCA could ‘secure’ Chinese ‘whole-hearted support [...] provided that Government really means business and desires to have effectual and mutual co-operation with us’.<sup>152</sup>

The MCA’s plan for presenting a good alliance partner, then, was to show that MCA’s possible trust in the British was to be conflated with trust in the British by Malaya’s Chinese. If the MCA to the British claimed it represented the Chinese communities in Malaya, however, it had to offer something those it could induce to serve—something the MCA and the authorities could both agree to. As stated above, the MCA offered citizenship. This meshed neatly with the signal the British and Malay rulers were expecting. In the case of the MCA, too, an alliance with the British and Malays meant fostering an alliance with a constituency. Naturally, MCA officials could only bestow this gift if the British allowed them to—they could do so by proving enough Chinese did support the MCA to begin with. As we shall see, the impact of the MCA in Malaysia in terms of recruitment proved to be minimal, much the same as was the case with the PRP and the Negara Pasundan. Whereas the negara, however, failed to become a power unto itself, the MCA did ensconce itself into Chinese society. This achievement, as we shall see, cannot be attributed completely to massive support.

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<sup>152</sup> Memorandum submitted to the Rt. Hon. Oliver Lyttelton, Secretary of State for the Colonies, by a Malayan Chinese Association Delegation Headed by Dato’ Tan Cheng Lock at King’s House, Kuala Lumpur, on 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1951, ISEAS, TCL 3.271.

The first step was to take the government's message—the Chinese must fall in line with Malayan attempts to beat the insurgents—and present it to Malaya's Chinese communities. By becoming the organization that would deliver loyal Chinese bodies to serve, the MCA curried favour with the British, removing much of the stigma from the Chinese and themselves. Conversely, by becoming the champions of conferring rights and offering protection, its leaders courted the Chinese constituencies. Through pursuing both approaches, the MCA established itself. Tan Cheng Lock began with painting the picture of what fate would befall the Chinese if they refused to commit to Malaya some three years before the MCA was founded. To undermine the British pro-Malay policy, the Chinese had to declare themselves loyal to Malaya and take up permanent residence in Malaya.

The British found dual citizenship hard to swallow, Lock reasoned, so the Chinese had to choose for Malaya; not in the least because the circa two-thirds of the two and a half million Chinese in Malaya were China-born and could not go back. As 'letting things drift [...] may be fraught with trouble', organizing centrally was key. This meant, foremost, relinquishing a stance that either proffered disinterest in Malayan affairs or an overt leaning towards China's politics. Instead the Chinese had to actively participate in Malay(an) politics and strife for 'Unity, Liberty and Equality' between all races. To achieve such a state, Lock reasoned, Chinese Malaysians had to primarily extend a hand to their Malay countrymen and women and to 'help [them] economically and mix with them socially, and to understand their viewpoint'. Such a course would simultaneously protect Chinese culture, but it would also effect Sino-Malay rapprochement and allay Malay fears. Only along this path could self-government be attained and the Chinese allowed to exist in Malaya—without the earlier massacres and discrimination Lock saw in South Africa. For their loyalty, the Chinese—and the other minorities—would have to be 'ensured equality of citizenship rights and status'.<sup>153</sup>

Lock exhorted the Chinese communities to transform from a 'sheet of loose sand' into one community that undertook concerted action, to "Wake up & Unite"

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<sup>153</sup> Memorandum on the Future of the Chinese in Malaya, Malacca December 1946, ISEAS, TLC 1.3-3a.

among ourselves and the Malay and other Communities before it is too late'. 'The good life', said Lock, was attainable if only the Chinese would shake their disinterestedness in politics. They had stood aloof when the Union proposals were scuppered; with citizenship just over the horizon, the Chinese had to act.<sup>154</sup> Wherever Lock spoke, he enumerated the various ways in which the Chinese had contributed to the establishment of Malaya—turning their gaze inwards—and showed his audience the cost of neutrality. 'We can only rely upon ourselves to save ourselves', he proclaimed at rallies in Taiping and Ipoh. Inaction left the Chinese stranded between police brutality and the equally brutal communists. It was up to the Chinese to dispel the evils of the federal constitution by acting within its confines. Having been 'framed without consulting and in opposition to the feelings [and] aspirations of [Malaya's] inhabitants as a whole, [it breathed] a spirit of distrust and discrimination against the Chinese'. Audiences were reminded that becoming a Malayan civilian was exceedingly difficult for Chinese, but much had to do with their own 'political apathy'. And so again Lock drove home that the Chinese must participate. However, the government should give something in return. The MCA president held that 'it is all very well issuing clarion calls to the squatters, the Chinese, to the Malays and to the Indians, asking for more co-operation and information, but these people must feel confident of Government's power to protect them'.<sup>155</sup>

The MCA used this latter point to demand citizenship rights as a form of protection. In a bid to make both serving and chasing after citizenship rights more palatable to the Chinese, their self-appointed leaders fought to have the one awarded for performing the other. Men such as H. S. Lee and Tan Cheng Lock's son asked the British that citizenship be conferred on any Chinese serving for three years. '[I]t is not right', they petitioned, 'to withhold citizenship from [aliens] if they were willing to risk their lives for the country'.<sup>156</sup> Unlocking citizenship

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<sup>154</sup> An Appeal for Chinese Unity, 28 August 1948, ISEAS, TLC 1.24.

<sup>155</sup> Address by Tan Cheng Lock at Taiping & Ipoh between the 9<sup>th</sup> & 11<sup>th</sup> April 1949 on the Chinese in Malaya, April 1949, ISEAS, TCL 1.25.

<sup>156</sup> Note of a Meeting held at King's House on the 28<sup>th</sup> October, 1951, TNA, CO 1022/148.

thus would need the amendment of the Federation's citizenship laws. When attained, it would constitute a victory for the MCA. As they stood, the 'unilateral[,] uncompromising[,] undemocratic [and] discriminatory' citizenship laws were quite unpopular—a point Chinese gladly made to successive Secretaries of State for the Colonies.<sup>157</sup> The association pressed possible followers that it was the MCA that fought for their citizenship rights, but the Chinese themselves should accept the responsibility to work for a government 'acceptable to all'.

One way was to serve in the Home Guard. Serving was a vote for democracy—the antipode being to opt Communism, in which case the MCA would advise voluntary repatriation to China.<sup>158</sup> Contrary to his own preparatory notes, in Ipoh, Tan Chang Lock disclosed the number of Chinese casualties caused by the Emergency to shock people into action. (Ironically, it was at this meeting a Chinese threw a grenade at Tan Cheng Lock, who survived, but the attack added five more wounded to the casualties list.) Clearly, Lock needed the outrage of putting the Emergency in terms of Chinese deaths and wounded to shake up his crowd. Only Chinese action could stem the continued divide-and-rule that polarized the country into Malays and non-Malays; citizens and non-citizens.<sup>159</sup>

The appeal for Chinese citizenship was as much an appeal addressed to the British to empower the Chinese in Malaya. Therefore, Lock demanded that 'If we intend to make Malaya our homeland and become its citizens enjoying the rights and privileges of citizenship and capable of self-rule, we must learn to shoulder its duties [...] including that of the defence of the country in their hour of its peril'. However, no-one should forget that for said service, 'those who loyally do their duty [...] must insistently demand the full status of citizenship'.<sup>160</sup> Ultimately, *jus soli* was aimed for. Without it, non-Malays constituted little more than 'slaves dependent upon the charity of their masters'; 'resident aliens or

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<sup>157</sup> Cheong Chee, Chairman of the Assembly of Perak Chinese Associations, Trade Unions, and Commercial Establishments, to Arthur Creech Jones, 11 September 1947, ISEAS, TCL 1.11.

<sup>158</sup> Notes "Suggested Talking Points for Pahang", ISEAS, TCL 14.23.

<sup>159</sup> 'Anti-Chinese Policy in Malaya', *Malay Mail*, 11 April 1949, 5.

<sup>160</sup> Tan Cheng Lock's speech at Bentong, Raub and Kuala Lipis, 20-21 August 1951, ISEAS, TCL 14.23g.

semi-aliens tolerated [...] on sufferance' of others. Second-class citizens, however, 'cannot build a First Class Nation', concluded Lock.<sup>161</sup>

Since Chinese leaders in the MCA or elsewhere did not have the ear of the British like the Malay Rulers had when they scuttled the Malayan Union, the MCA had to sell the idea of citizenship to the British. Tan Cheng Lock did so along the following lines: the Chinese *would* choose sides and the alliance with the government as soon as the latter would guarantee their protection in the face of rising civilian deaths at the hands of the insurgents (in addition, no doubt, to protection from heavy-handed approach of the security forces, who continued to view the Chinese with suspicion). Co-operation had to be made 'practicable'.<sup>162</sup> 'Chinese peasants and squatter farmers' should be given 'the right to self-defence against attacks by Communist terrorists'. Self-defence meant forming their own Home Guards—as opposed to being guarded by Malays—since "The best man to catch a Chinese bandit, Communist agent or rebel is a Chinese Policeman".<sup>163</sup>

Self-defence had to entail more than simply being organized in the Home Guard or the Police, however. Home Guards had to be armed. Although this course would undoubtedly offend some sensibilities among those 'not without influence' who doubted Chinese loyalties, H. S. Lee tried to assuage said fears. He wrote to the Director of Operations, he explained that if 'Chinese [...] stuck to their posts' in the face of Japanese attacks they would do so yet again—'whereas some members of certain other Race [sic] either watched passively or acted co-operatively with the invasion'.<sup>164</sup> Others argued 'It was not reasonable to expect a man to stand out against armed violence [...] with nothing better than an armband or a stick'.<sup>165</sup> To arm the Chinese was the end the Emergency.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Second Class Citizens Cannot build a First Class Nation, Speech at Inaugural Meeting of the Independence of Malaya Party in Johore Bahru, 16 November 1951, ANM, SP/3/E/17.

<sup>162</sup> 'Anti-Chinese Policy in Malaya', *Malay Mail*, 11 April 1949, 5.

<sup>163</sup> Denis Warner, "Use Hongkong Chinese to Police Malaya". Mr. Lyttelton Hears of "Best Man to Catch a Bandit", *Daily Telegraph*, 3 December 1951, TNA, CO 1022/148.

<sup>164</sup> Letter to the Director of Operations' Staff, Comments on Drafts of Directive No. 6a, 1 July, 1950, HSL 21.127.

<sup>165</sup> Note of a Meeting held at King's House on the 28<sup>th</sup> October, 1951, TNA, CO 1022/148.

<sup>166</sup> Letter to the Director of Operations Staff Officers, Comments on Draft of Directive No. 6a, 1 July 1950, ISEAS, HSL 21.127.

The MCA's plea for arming the Chinese came at a precipitous time. Imperial interests dovetailed with those of the MCA. The British believed Chinese officials could unlock the mostly impenetrable Chinese communities to governance; the association confirmed this conception publicly. The MCA, in turn, would gain their own entrance into the Chinese communities as a believable protector against British intrusion. With the convergence, participation would engender citizenship since British policy makers proved willing to trade that commodity for three years of service. This trade-off furthered MCA standing, as did the fact that the British eventually did arm the Chinese Home Guards that were being formed from September 1950 onwards.<sup>167</sup> Commissioner General P. C. MacDonald himself told a Chinese delegation roughly a year later that the Federation's government understood it had to eschew 'controversial matters likely to cause friction between Malays and non-Malays until the militant communists' had been defeated. The citizenship-for-serving concession was therefore agreeable to both the British and 'responsible Malay opinion'.<sup>168</sup> The issue was not immediately resolved; some six months later a Select Committee still pored over the ramifications of the concession.<sup>169</sup> That mattered little to the MCA, however, as it became closely connected to the counterinsurgency efforts of the British.

Again, these events suited both parties well. By using MCA's growing influence, the British dissipated the responsibility for one particularly onerous—to many Chinese susceptibilities—piece of policy: involuntary conscription. As the first draft commenced in February 1951—the Director of Manpower had 'absolute authority' in calling up men—propaganda was needed to blunt the shock of conscription.<sup>170</sup> One pamphlet announcing the call-up assured that the call-up for 20,000 men between 18 and 24 merely affected seven Indians, Chinese, Indonesians and Eurasians out of every 100. They would be drafted into the

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<sup>167</sup> Director of Operations Malaya, Review of the Emergency in Malaya from June 1948 to August 1957, 12 September 1957, AIR 20/10377, Air Ministry and Royal Air Force Records, The National Archives, London.

<sup>168</sup> Note of a Meeting held at King's House on the 28<sup>th</sup> October, 1951, TNA, CO 1022/148.

<sup>169</sup> Minutes of a Meeting of MCA Representatives with the High Commissioner, 21 April 1952, ISEAS, TCL 3.274.

<sup>170</sup> 'Manpower Director Given Absolute Authority', *The Straits Times*, 22 December 1950, 8; '20,000 Needed in First Call-up. Men between 18 and 24 Affected', *The Straits Times*, 23 January 1951, 7; 'First Manpower Call-up', *Straits Echo & Times of Malaya*, 23 January 1951, 1.

regular police and Special Constabulary. Later, men were directed into the Home Guard. No posting with the military, the Jungle Squads or outside Malaya was possible under the regulations; at most directees served a maximum of three years. Afterwards, former employees had to reinstate ex-draftees in their former functions or they could re-enrol into the police. The pamphlet concluded that those conscripted became 'a man' and experienced that the 'training [...] will be of lasting value'.<sup>171</sup>

Registration and the following conscription were still quite unpopular. Gurney had been partially right in his political testament: Chinese youths flocked to the immigration offices. It was estimated that 6,000 of their number had left Malaya by April.<sup>172</sup> Parents helped their offspring dodge the draft and because those writing up the registration lists for review by the selection boards could be bought or were 'prejudiced in favour' of certain families. Others evaded the call-up by claiming before the appeal committees that their removal would cause severe hardship to their families—evidence substantiated through biased family and friends.<sup>173</sup> 'The unhappy memory of [registration during] the Japanese occupation' and the news that 40 per cent of the call-up had to be Chinese chased off many.<sup>174</sup> The MCP chimed in by warning 'the public' against being sent into the jungles of Malaya or the trenches of Korea as imperial 'cannon fodder'. Better to join the cadres 'and help to annihilate the British Imperialists'. In fact, the need for conscription proved the British were on the ropes.<sup>175</sup> A 'not insignificant number of young Chinese' heeded the Communist call and disappeared into the jungle. The British further needed Chinese manpower as State Governments indicated that so many Malays had been recruited kampongs

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<sup>171</sup> Manpower Regulations. The Truth about Emergency Service; War State Engineer, Kedah & Perlis S. E. Circular No. 3/52, (12) in SEENK/36/51 REF: SEK/P: 3/9/52, 5 February 1952, both in ANM, S.E.E.N.K. 308-51 (I) Manpower Call Up. (II) Home Guards & Kampong Guards; 'Call-up Men to get Jobs Back. New Law Makes Employers Liable to \$500 Fine', *The Straits Times*, 27 January 1951, 7.

<sup>172</sup> 'Chinese Rush to Leave Malaya', *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, 11 April 1951.

<sup>173</sup> Memorandum on Manpower Conscription (a Chinese View), by Tan Cheng Lock, 19 December 1951, ISEAS, TCL 1.30b.

<sup>174</sup> Short, *Communist Insurrection*, 300; '20,000 to be Called Up in Malaya', *Queensland Times* 24 January 1951, 3.

<sup>175</sup> The Security Forces Weekly Intelligence Summer No. 105, TNA, CO 1022/15.

were 'denuded' and *padi* fields remained uncultivated.<sup>176</sup> Needless to say, Chinese recruitment did not go smoothly—even the more than 70,000 Chinese of the Home Guard in 1952 was not necessarily a success: as inhabitants of the New Villages, they had less of a choice. At the end of 1951, only 'a handful', 1,800, had been conscripted into the regular police.<sup>177</sup>

Despite grass-roots resistance to conscription, Lock whole-heartedly supported the scheme: he tried to make the MCA indispensable to the government. From the moment the call-up was implemented, MCA branches organized meetings to 'educate the people' on the regulations.<sup>178</sup> When in 1952 another 2,000 Chinese policemen were needed, the British turned to the MCA. The Chief Secretary and Tan Cheng Lock agreed on the following 'weapon' to be used: the MCA would help with finding these men or renewed conscription would be implemented. With MCA complicity in further recruitment, public umbrage could be circumvented.<sup>179</sup> During the coming year, police recruitment teams set out across Malaya to find 175 recruits per month. MCA officers would prepare their arrival locally with 'suitable propaganda'.<sup>180</sup> Tan Cheng Lock himself in Selangor said that if, among the 400,000 Chinese living there, 400 recruits could not be found, he would be 'humiliated and ashamed'.<sup>181</sup>

MCA branch activity did not, however, translate into large numbers of Chinese recruits. *The Malayan Mirror*, MCA's newsletter, may have reported that at the end of 1952 the association had delivered on its promise to mobilize 2,000 recruits, but only 862 had been accepted based on screening and medical and educational standards. In June 1953, another 206 were accepted out of 600 applicants.<sup>182</sup> From the perspective of the individual states, numbers of those

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<sup>176</sup> Donald MacGillivray to Malcolm MacDonald, DEFTS.107/1.Vol.III, 8 March 1955, TNA, FO 1091/28.

<sup>177</sup> Short, *Communist Insurrection*, 301.

<sup>178</sup> 'Manpower Call-up', *The Singapore Free Press*, 27 April 1951, 5.

<sup>179</sup> Dato Sir Tang Cheng Lock to M. V. del Tufo, Conscription of Chinese Into the Police Force, 30 January 1952, ISEAS, TCL 1.30.

<sup>180</sup> Minutes of a Meeting of MCA Representatives with the High Commissioner, Sir G. Templer, General Sir Rob Lockheart, Deputy Director of Operations and other senior government officials, 21 April 1951, ISEAS, TCA 3.247.

<sup>181</sup> 'Chinese as Police', *The Northern Miner*, 25 September 1952, 1.

<sup>182</sup> Yap Yin Chung, Recruiting Liaison Officer, 'Drive for Chinese to Join the Police', *The Malayan Mirror*, 1, 3 15 July, 1953, 6; 'Report on Recruiting', by Yap Yin Chung, Liaison Office (Recruitment), 27 July, 1953, ISEAS, TLC



interested never ran high. A 'Special Drive' in Perak yielded 125 interested men, but of the 75 accepted only 52 turned up at the training depot. Compared to the tens of thousands of members the MCA had in Perak, recruitment numbers proved paltry. As much as the associations members blamed stringent British screening and rejection of quantity in favour of quality, they could not hide that their constituency simply was not keen. In Selangor, where Lock had earlier implored his audience, only 17 people applied in the five months following January 1952.<sup>183</sup> Not for nothing were manpower regulations tightened to preclude dodging.<sup>184</sup>

The MCA was probably not so concerned with how many recruits were finally drafted. Leverage was more important. Involvement on the side of unpopular governmental policies allowed Chinese leaders to demand to be put 'in [a] position of influence, if not of power' and to 'impress on the Police and District Officers the absolute [...] importance of consulting the local Chinese Leaders at all levels'. Where the British reneged on prior agreements with Chinese leaders, both they and the British would lose face, the latter explained.<sup>185</sup> Recruitment provided Lock with another chance to point out that aiding Malaya 'in its hour of danger' must translate into citizenship rights, opening the possibility to create the national consciousness he was after. He could, in fact, make common cause with the Malayan Indian Congress seeking the same exchange.<sup>186</sup>

Between Gurney's displeasure with what he saw as Chinese leaders' failure to truly act as MCP's counterweight, Templer's call to coax the Chinese into choosing the government's side and the Chief Secretary's turning to them for extra recruits, it is safe to say the MCA had become the spokesmen for the British. And so the MCA established itself. The president of its Kluang branch

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<sup>183</sup> 'Report on Recruiting', by Yap Yin Chung, Liaison Office (Recruitment), 27 July 1953, ISEAS, TLC 14.66; Malaya Chinese Association (Perak Branch) -Report of the Committee, Fifth Annual General Meeting of Perak Committee, 16 August 1953, ANM, SP/3/B/51.

<sup>184</sup> 'Manpower Ordinance Tightened. There would be no "dodging" a second time', *The Malay Mail*, 12 February 1953, 7.

<sup>185</sup> Note of a Meeting held at King's House on the 28<sup>th</sup> October, 1951, TNA, CO 1022/148.

<sup>186</sup> Direction of Manpower: The Need, by Tan Chang Lock, 18 July 1951, ISEAS, TCL 1.30e; 'Favour the Call-up Men', *The Straits Times*, 30 April 1951, 5; 'Dato Tan Backs Manpower Move', *Straits Echo & Times*, 24 January 1951.

received a British Empire Medal.<sup>187</sup> Local members of the MCA sat in on the various State and District War Executive Councils and worked closely with them—a prerequisite Chinese leaders had had to ask for in 1951.<sup>188</sup> Less than three years after the MCA's founding it had established (sub-)branches in seven states and Singapore. Ideally, 'every M.C.A. centre throughout the country' functioned as a conduit for the government.<sup>189</sup>

Such a statement should not be misconstrued. The association was not particularly well-organized. It kept fighting accusations (for example by officers commanding police districts) that local MCA leaders had 'little following among their community in the smaller towns, Resettlement areas and estates'. Some wasted 'valuable time' by ignoring calls for co-operation.<sup>190</sup> Tan Cheng Lock told MCA members to observe discipline and proper organization. Pushed by Gurney himself, Lock aimed to professionalize the MCA by installing a Central Office and appointing paid agents in charge of 'State or Settlement Branch Office[s]' as 'vital link[s] between the local Branches and the Central Office'. 'A system of "Voluntary Block Visitors" whose duties would be to visit members in their homes and at local meetings' would give the association more local presence still. Acting as 'collectors of information, views and grievances' the block visitors connected the upper echelons of the MCA with its members throughout Malaya. What Lock envisioned for the MCA was the transformation from its narrow origins—'meeting the emergency' and 'providing an alternative standard to which loyal Chinese can rally'—into a veritable political, democratic party that would 'survive' the

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<sup>187</sup> 'M.C.A. Dinner', *The Straits Times*, 17 June 1952, 7.

<sup>188</sup> '-Bullies?-It's Unfair to Police Generally, He says', *The Straits Times*, 2 December 1956, 6; 'This Terrorism is Nonsense—Councillor tells How It is', *The Straits Times*, 11 January 1955, 1; 'Information Must be Kept Secret', *The Straits Times*, 29 January 1952, 7; Note of a Meeting held at King's House on the 28<sup>th</sup> October, 1951, TNA, CO 1022/148.

<sup>189</sup> 'Memorandum on the Organization of the M.C.A.', Tan Cheng Lock, 8<sup>th</sup> October, 1951, TNA, FCO 141/7395; Report by Mr. Robinson, Commissioner of Police, 9 May 1951, ISEAS, TCL 5.92a. Emphasis in the original.

<sup>190</sup> Note of a Meeting held at King's House on the 28<sup>th</sup> October, 1951, TNA, CO 1022/148; Record of the Conference with the Mentri2 Besar, Resident Commissioners, and British Advisers on The Intensification of the Emergency Effort', C. S. Y/417/51, TNA, CO 1022/148.

Emergency. As they continued the MCA's 'social welfare and cultural work', members needed to 'play a part in the Malaya of the future'.<sup>191</sup>

They would do just that. The association was gaining traction with the Chinese masses. There lay another reason for the Chinese leaders to attach themselves to actual recruitment: it created a presence for itself throughout peninsular Malaya. MCA agents were hard to miss: where recruitment drives started, they hung banners across the streets, distributed flyers and pamphlets while newspapers covered their activities, 'cinema slides' visualized and mobile propaganda units swooped in to draw in Chinese youth.<sup>192</sup> In Perak, MCA officials addressed a 'large gathering' about recruitment leading up to a 'cinema show', speaking about the glorious careers worth pursuing in the police. The Malacca branch was lauded for its 'Emergency work' and recruitment efforts.<sup>193</sup> They fought hard against 'an age-old [Chinese] saying that "good boys would not become soldiers"'.<sup>194</sup> One MCA branch held a 'send-off party' for recruits heading for training in Kuala Lumpur.<sup>195</sup> Of course, more Chinese organisations recruited, such as the Perak Chinese Grocers' Association and various Chinese guilds, but the MCA became known as 'the one important anti-Communist Chinese organisation'.<sup>196</sup> The presence of the association became a matter of public

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<sup>191</sup> 'Memorandum on the Organization of the M.C.A.', Tan Cheng Lock, 8<sup>th</sup> October, 1951, TNA, FCO 141/7395; Memorandum Derivation of Dato Sir Cheng-Lock Tan's Power for Re-Organizing the Malayan Chinese Association, 16 September 1951, ISEAS, TCL 52.17; Malayan Chinese Association Presidential Address Fifth Annual Meeting of General Committee, 31 January 1953, ISEAS, TCL 56.20.

<sup>192</sup> Report on Recruiting', by Yap Yin Chung, Liaison Office (Recruitment), 27 July, 1953, ISEAS, TLC 14.66; Malaya Chinese Association (Perak Branch) -Report of the Committee, Annual General Meeting, 26 October 1952, ANM, SP.3/B/48.

<sup>193</sup> 'Malacca MCA Collects \$8,809', *The Straits Times*, 18 October 1951, 4; 'MCA Helps in Police Drive', *The Singapore Free Press*, 14 April 1952, 5.

<sup>194</sup> Malaya Chinese Association (Perak Branch) -Report of the Committee, Fifth Annual General Meeting of Perak Committee, 16 August 1953, ANM, SP/3/B/51.

<sup>195</sup> *Sing Pin Joh Pao*, Penang Chinese Dailiy, 1 November 1952, From Federation of Malaya Daily Press Summary Vernacular Papers issued by the Department of Information, Federation of Malaya, November 4, 1952. No. 251/52 Press Digest No. 1/52, ANM, MCA/Pub./Federation of Malaya Daily Press Summary.

<sup>196</sup> From *Sin Chew Jit Poh*, Singapore Chinese Daily, Federation of Malaya Daily Press Summary Vernacular Papers, 14 November 1952, No. 262/52. Press Digest No. 20/52, ANM, MCA/Pub./Federation of Malaya Daily Press Summary; 'Chinese as Police', *The Northern Miner*, 25 September 1952, 1; 'New Malaya War Bid. Plan Use of Chinese Against Reds', *The Courier-Mail*, 22 November 1951, 4.

knowledge and discourse in Malaya. New branches were reported in the papers.<sup>197</sup>

Another area where the MCA busied itself was brokering better circumstances for security personnel. The MCA tried to negotiate more payment for the Home Guard, not just when a guardsman would do ten hours of ‘continuous duty on operations’. Surely, the set-up would benefit the MCA and the British: a paid Home Guard would ‘break the Chinese in gently to the art of war without passive disobedience’. Lock saw payment as a means to remove the compulsory element to the manpower issue; garnering actual support from the ‘mass of the people’. Salaried guards would obviate claims of hardship, obviating the need for exemptions. Payment would make the Home Guard a desired occupation—or so Lock implied. He furthermore strongly pushed the idea that the Home Guard should be a local affair. This way, guards could still ‘take part in the family agriculture and shop-keeping etc. while off-duty’. Conscription, he said, was ‘a Western notion’ whereas the Chinese had a ‘moral pre-occupation with the family, the clan, and local affairs’. A successful Home Guard system, then, functioned on ‘loyalty to family and locality’. Contrary to what he espoused in terms of creating Malaya-ness, regarding the security forces Lock propagated locality, not ‘ideals such as loyalty to the nation [...] which are not yet generally held by the Malayan Chinese’.<sup>198</sup> On another occasion, Lock proposed paying ‘a substantial Bounty to the family for each recruit signing up for service’ and another after completion, allowing them to ‘set up a business’.<sup>199</sup>

What then of the MCA’s role with the attainment of citizenship and its connection with recruitment? Despite the three years’ service in exchange for citizenship in place, concerning the regular police it is hard to maintain that the MCA and citizenship played a large role in boosting recruitment numbers. In March 1952 there were roughly 5,500 Chinese in the Regular Police, Special

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<sup>197</sup> ‘New M.C.A. Branch’, *The Straits Times*, 1 April 1951, 5.

<sup>198</sup> Memorandum on Manpower Conscription (a Chinese View), by Tan Cheng Lock, 19 December 1951, ISEAS, TCL 1.30b.

<sup>199</sup> Dato Sir Tang Cheng Lock to M. V. del Tufo, Conscription of Chinese Into the Police Force, 30 January 1952, ISEAS, TCL 1.30.

Constables and the Auxiliary Police together—a number not much higher than the number of Indians serving in those forces. Only in the Home Guard did Chinese play a considerable part—73,610 in total—but they were not necessarily drawn in by the MCA’s efforts. Still, the MCA grew into a bulwark for Chinese to turn to for citizenship. In this area, too, the MCA’s alliance with the British allowed it to grow into an intermediary between the Chinese and the government. Already in 1949 Tan Siew, Chairman of the MCA Publicity Sub-committee, let readers of the *Straits Times* know that the ‘nearest M.C.A. branch’ would be more than happy to assist anyone with their citizenship application.<sup>200</sup> Although it is untraceable how many Chinese sought the MCA for their applications—at points, there was a ‘rush’—at the end of the first half of 1953, more than four million persons had become citizens of which 1,157,000 Chinese. Another 433,000 ‘possessed the birth qualifications necessary to acquire the status [of citizen or state national] through registration’.<sup>201</sup> Despite MCA official’s continued lamentations that the government still refused *jus soli*, Lock felt confident enough to declare to his constituencies that ‘If there is anything you do not understand then ask your local M.C.A leader, or someone in authority’.<sup>202</sup>

### *Conclusion*

This last quotation—with its implied confidence—summarizes what this chapter has captured. If chapter one broadly showed the connectedness between the PRP and MCA from the perspective of the returning colonial authorities, their restorative whims—their need for local support—and the unstable nature of colonial alliances, the previous sections have analysed, by somewhat shifting focus away from the authorities, how these local elites actively pursued their own

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<sup>200</sup> Tan Siew Sin, ‘Applying for Citizenship’, *The Straits Times*, 10 September 1949, 9.

<sup>201</sup> “‘Rush of Applications for Citizenship M.C.A. Drive Achieved Good Results’, *The Malay Mail*, 18 January 1950, 3; K. J. Ratnam, *Communalism and the Political Process in Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1965), 92-93.

<sup>202</sup> Direction of Manpower: The Need, by Tan Chang Lock; *Lien Pang Daily News*, Kuala Lumpur Chinese Daily, Nov.14/52, From Federation of Malaya Daily Press Summary Vernacular Papers issued by the Department of Information, Federation of Malaya, November 14, 1952, No. 260/52 Press Digest No. 18/52, ANM, MCA/Pub./Federation of Malaya Daily Press Summary.

brand of influence. They yearned to become authorities in their own right. This influence was bi-directional. Both the PRP and the MCA needed to become (further) established with the Dutch and the British, respectively, but also connect with possible indigenous supporters.

The aim has been to take the manpower crisis of the colonial governments as a starting point. Within the context of insurrection, providing manpower for the colonial security forces offered a good avenue to explore and chart how elites set off on their quest for power. They could attract men who may have been wary of governmental control or attention, act as a cultural-social beacon for possible constituencies to flock to and thus win the colonizer's trust. In Indonesia and Malaya, the PRP and the MCA certainly were set on this course. With the post-war power vacuum quickly filled by anti-colonial elements and personal score-settling, they became connected to the colonial authorities' attempts at tempering anti-colonial violence. As we have seen, the internal strength of the PRP/Pasundan and the MCA—but also the mettle of their leadership—determined the manoeuvring room these bodies had.

The approach of colonial authorities, however, proved more decisive still. The PRP and the Negara Pasundan struggled to gain a foothold on the ground in what they claimed as the Negara Pasundan. The Dutch, concerned by PRP's appeal and later the Negara Pasundan's internal divisions hardly yielded any room for the Sundanese leadership to develop ways to attract recruits, despite Sundanese signing up to protect 'their' state. (As we shall see in the following chapter, however, it is more likely that other, more personal motivations lay behind joining Dutch-sponsored security forces.) The Dutch dictated how the Sundanese leaders concerned themselves with counterinsurgency and recruitment. They took responsibilities from the Pasundan leadership, in fact. This example showed that self-assertion could only go as far as indigenous leaders were allowed to by exogenous forces exerted on them.

In theory the same restrictions applied to the MCA. The appeal to others its leaders exuded and the MCA's intrinsic message, however, were valued highly by

the British. Contrary to the Pasundan's fortunes, the MCA benefited from outside influences. First, the British were ready to rid themselves of the pro-Malay policy and second, they needed Chinese recruits—only accessible through the MCA—to combat those Chinese fighting on the side of the communist insurrectionists. As MCA members were able to strike a chord with the Chinese as well as with the British, the association inserted itself quickly into the Chinese communities with British approval. More importantly, British endorsement resulted in manoeuvrability. The MCA used the recruitment to simultaneously move closer to the government and, if needed, distance itself from colonial policies. If the MCA would not have attained the 2,000 recruits mark, Tan Cheng Lock would have claimed it was 'the government'—*not* the MCA—that had 'compel[led] the Chinese to join'.<sup>203</sup> An element of instability always characterized colonial alliance-formation—specifically in a context of inter and intra-communal strife. Like the Partai Rakyat Pasundan, the MCA faced limitations. Citizenship did not attract many Chinese into the ranks or the MCA. Both Malays, along with British officials, continued to eye the Chinese masses with distrust.<sup>204</sup> Two Legislative Councillors in 1954 still fought off accusations that only 2,059 Chinese served in the regular police, claiming that 'anything that takes Chinese away from their family, he shies away from'. The British hardly sped along the transition into the colonial ranks; there was little to induce people. The Home Guard and Auxiliary Police did not pay enough to keep 'body and soul together'. Many recruits complained about being 'pushed around'.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> 'Chinese as Police', *The Northern Miner*, 25 September 1952, 1.

<sup>204</sup> Mohamed Ali bin Mohamed to the Secretary for Defence, 8 August 1949, FCO 141/7395

<sup>205</sup> 'One Reason Police Pay isn't Enough to Keep Body and Soul Together. Two Councillors Rise to Defend "Men Who are not Playing their Part"', *The Straits Times*, 20 November 1954, 2.

## IV

### **Training the Troops: Loyalty in Theory and Practice**

On 20 July 1948, as evening fell on the large tea gardens of the isolated ‘Goalpara’ plantation, close to Sukabumi in West Java, something was astir. One by one, coming through the tea bushes, men formed a gang. Slowly, they made their way across the narrow path that intersected the gardens. Leading the gang was Soestina, a local lieutenant of the *Tentara Nasional Indonesia*. Hiding in at the outer edges of the garden, Soetisna gave a signal. Moments later, three Plantation Guards made their way over. They were Aming, Darsa and Ibrahim—that evening’s guard leader, with whom their commander, ex-KNIL soldier Offerbeek, had just spoken.<sup>1</sup> The plan was simple: capture the plantation’s weapons. To that effect, Aming and Darsa went to disarm Offerbeek and Van Maarseveen, a Dutch staff member, collecting a hand grenade, a Lee Enfield rifle, a machete and a revolver. The four of them then went to Baidenmann, the German administrator, who gave himself up—having rung the police post nearby—after an exchange of shots.<sup>2</sup> Suddenly, more shots were heard coming from the direction of planters Luyning and Jansz’s quarters. ‘Whereas the gentlemen Maarseveen and Offerbeek surrendered without a fight’, a police report later concluded, with ‘Jansz and Luyning things went less simple’.<sup>3</sup> When Soetisna summoned the planters outside they refused: Luyning was dragged from his rooms and fatally shot. Jansz opened fire and killed Soetisna. Jansz surrendered once Offerbeek, who had arrived on the scene with Ibrahim, called to say they were surrounded by some 300 men.<sup>4</sup> Ibrahim, superciliously reassuring everybody that they could go to sleep ‘as nothing further would happen’,

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<sup>1</sup> Proces Verbaal, opgetekend door Van Spronsen, Inspecteur van Politie II, 28 July 1948, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/3937.

<sup>2</sup> Verklaring de heer Baidenmann; Verklaring heer v.Maarseveen; Verklaring heer Offerbeek, annexes to Report by Major R. Hauer, de C.-1-8-R.V.A., 21 July 1948, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/3937.

<sup>3</sup> Luitenant-Kolonel H. E. M. Bakhuys, de Commandant Korps Militaire Politie, to Z.E. de Legercommandant, 24 August 1948, No. 501/010114/82d, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/3937.

<sup>4</sup> Interview with Roosebrand, April 2009; Verklaring de hr. Jansz.A.E.F., annex to Report by Major R. Hauer, de C.-1-8-R.V.A., 21 July 1948, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/3937.



disappeared with the rest of the gang.<sup>5</sup> Finally, as military units arrived at Goalpara, the raid was definitely over.

The ‘mutiny’, as the attack on Goalpara became known, brought to a climax the ongoing discussion on the use of indigenous troops in Indonesia. The planters, staunch supporters of harsh methods to defeat the insurgents, sought the sympathetic ear of the press to lambaste military and civilian authorities for their lack of interest in planter safety and their hardships.<sup>6</sup> Lieutenant-General Spoor, Commander of the Army in the Netherlands East Indies, commissioned a fact-finding mission to account for the massive failure of the Plantation Guard.<sup>7</sup> Spoor’s order came in the wake of a slew of other inquiries by the Royal Field Artillery, the General Police, the Daerah Police, the Plantation Guards Inspection Service and, lastly, the Guard Grenadiers stationed at Sukabumi.<sup>8</sup> Of all possible inquirers, only the Military Police was kept outside the fray.<sup>9</sup>

All that inquiries yielded was a condemnation of the weak-willed performance of Goalpara’s security detail in combination with all-round finger pointing as to who had missed the Guard’s treacherous infiltration. In short, the Plantation Guard had been poorly led by their European masters and their lackadaisical behaviour had opened the ranks to subversion from both within and without. Planters insisted that the army’s lack of control was at fault. What lay at the heart of the Goalpara débâcle was given less attention: namely, that

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<sup>5</sup> Verklaring heer v.Maarseveen, annex to Report by Major R. Hauer, de C.-1-8-R.V.A., 21 July 1948, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/3937.

<sup>6</sup> Bedreigd Pionierswerk der Teruggekeerde Planters. Terreur Tegen het Economische Herbouwwerk in Indonesië – Volkswelvaart en Deviezenbronnen in Gevaar – Een Trieste Lijst van Moorden en Vernielingen, artikel van Jhr. Mr. W.J. de Jonge in het ‘Algemeen Handelsblad’, dd. 31 juli 1948., annex to Uit Mailoverzicht Nr. 23 dd 10 augustus 1948. Nr. F. 1904/L.36., Federabo 2.20.50/59, Federatie van Verenigingen van Bergcultuurondernemingen in Indonesië (FEDERABO), 1913-1981, The National Archives, The Hague.

<sup>7</sup> De Luitenant-Generaal, Legercommandant, S. H. Spoor, aan de Zijne Excellentie den Luitenant-Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlands-Indië, 2 August 1948, No. Kab./1765/16400, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie 2.10.14/3463.

<sup>8</sup> Rapport opgesteld door Majoor R. Hauer, de C.-1-8-R.V.A., 21 July 1948; Proces Verbaal, opgetekend door Van Spronsen, Inspecteur van Politie II, 28 July 1948; No. 266/R/Geh., Perkara: Penboenoehan terhadap. S Luyning dan perampasan 30 sendjata api. dari Onderneming Goalpara, Rapport Politie, Watakoesoemah, Chef Daerah Politie Kaboepaten, 24 July 1948; Uittreksel uit: Reisverslag. Buitenzorg en ondernemingen Tjikanere en Goalpara d.d. 21 juli 1948; Elt. W.M. de Bruyn, Rapport en aanvullingen daarop van I.V.D.-3G.R.G. inzake muiterij op Goalpara, Bat. I.V.D.-3-G.R.G., 6 Augustus 1948, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/3937.

<sup>9</sup> H. J. Lieneman, Kapitein Koninklijke Marechaussee, aan de Commandant M.P. I Bandoeng, 23 July 1948, No. 888, Ondernemingswachten, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/3937.

familial ties had proven stronger than the loyalty to the plantation, but also that, paradoxically, the conspirators had to be coerced into their subversive behaviour, as well. Taken together, the rest of the guard had chosen the way of least resistance; members complied to save themselves.

The mutiny on that isolated tea plantation near Sukabumi was emblematic of a wider crisis; one that plagued not only policy makers in the Netherlands East Indies but also in British Malaya. Across the board, security forces were not doing what they were supposed to do. Those who looked—mostly after the damage had been done—found that indigenous policemen, guardsmen of different varieties and soldiers could not always be trusted. To be sure, many of them were not all so openly untrustworthy as some of the men who were supposed to guard the valuable Goalpara tea leaves. But if we consider actual subversive behaviour to lie at one end of a spectrum and, say, information sharing with the so-called enemy at the other, this chapter aims to chart the different repertoires those in the security forces had to signal that their sympathies were not particularly one-dimensional. In other words, they tried to navigate between the colonial government and its enemies, who both tried to curry favour—a euphemistic phrase—with the members of the security forces. In addition, local men and women in the security forces also had their own interests. As will become clear, these interests did not always dovetail with what the colonial government—for which the security personnel ostensibly worked—wanted and needed.

Other questions arise regarding personal interests. What prompted the men and women in the security forces in the first place to join? We have seen that much depended on conscription, but many Malays, for example, volunteered. As far as those in the predominantly Chinese Home Guard sections were forced, they still may have had reasons to not flee these recruitment drives—they *could*, after all, join the insurgents—or, at least, after conscription, even sign up to prolonged periods under arms. The process at work here is, then, that service gave security forces access to certain rights—citizenship rights among them—and a certain standing. By shedding their blood, local communities could have the brittle

colonial state—needing all the assistance it could muster—suspend the lingering distrust it continued to harbour for the populations it claimed to govern. The colonial state, violent as it may have been, could be very forgiving at times.

This chapter proceeds as follows. First, it examines how the colonial troops were prepared to perform their new role as guardians of empire. Comparing the various security forces provides an insight into expectations of their loyalty. Then, we see how the troops behaved in the field.

The chapter will investigate the discrepancy between the normative call for loyalty and realities on the ground. Did security forces perform the loyalty the colonial authorities intended and the local elites promised? If not, why? Tentatively, we can say that service had seemed attractive at the point of recruitment. Service activated the right—for both elites and individuals—to *demand* from a state that was ordinarily more or less deaf to requests. Having recourse to state-owned arms provided individuals the means to take care of their own problems; issues that perhaps had little to do with the interests of the state. Yet, under the chaotic and violent circumstances occasioned by the war, the state would look the other way. Indigenous enforcers were not afraid to use their weapons. Ironically, it had been European officers who had taught them this behaviour was permissible. This section discusses the function of alliance-formation within the security forces: through the reactions of the insurgents on the indigenous security forces and the pressures they unleashed unto them, I argue that colonial security forces performed their duties only as long as they themselves were protected by the Dutch. As soon as the resistance became too powerful, colonial troops had, to survive, to signal their readiness to desert. Dichotomies such as ‘friends’ and ‘foes’ did not really exist.

#### *Training the troops and performing loyalty*

The Pasundan State and the MCP were forced—one more than the other—to share the responsibility for recruitment or at least for symbolizing a landmark for possible recruits; to, at minimum, speak out clearly in favour of ‘pacification’.

Once in the training camps, however, indigenous men were turned over to the colonial armies, the police and the planters; it mattered little where they had come from, what party they supported or what their thoughts about what historians would later call ‘decolonization’ were in the first place. This image fits nicely with what some theories of colonial violence illuminate; that the colonial state was solely interested in its own survival through transforming into a police state. The true colonial state of violence, then, had an overinflated security apparatus allowed to forcefully peek in every nook and crannies of colonial life.<sup>10</sup>

Those organizing the mammoth process of recruitment and training, however, shared a common fear: that placing weapons in the hands of indigenous men may prove to be a risky undertaking. On numerous occasions, soldiers in Indonesia decried the loss of weapons taken from paramilitary units. New recruits were not trusted to take their weapons off-base.<sup>11</sup> For this reason, leaders like H. S. Lee had to remind the British that the Chinese had supposedly stayed at their posts in the face of the invading Japanese. The danger lay with the fact that arming certain groups—aside from losing weapons to the opposite side—may create spheres of influence that could challenge the incumbent colonial one. The MCA was not allowed to pay recruitment fees to directees, lest they become confused and the British would receive ‘complaint[s] that the recruits are serving two masters’.<sup>12</sup> This was important to the British, who feared the MCA would create their own sphere of influence, in which ‘recruits might regard the M.C.A. rather than the Government, as his employer’.<sup>13</sup> The last thing they wanted was a state within a state diluting the sources of authority. Spoor’s ideas on indigenous recruitment closely echoed that sentiment. He had his doubts about using ‘coolies’ for security purposes; he warned that the PAT ‘*may* be used for the protection of Chinese lives and possessions’ but that these protectors ‘certainly’

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<sup>10</sup> Darwin, ‘What Was the Late Colonial State?’, 73-82.

<sup>11</sup> Verlies van Wapens in Gebruik bij Niet Militairen. Kab./1079, 15 April 1949, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/654; Verzamelrapport Veiligheidsgroep (18 t/m 24-3-47), Nr. 1806/MV1, 31 Maart 1947, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/224.

<sup>12</sup> Dato Sir Tang Cheng Lock to M. V. del Tufo, Conscription of Chinese Into the Police Force, 30 January 1952, ISEAS, TCL 1.30.

<sup>13</sup> Note of a Meeting held at King’s House on the 28<sup>th</sup> October 1951, TNA, CO 1022/148.

were not meant to ‘create a foreign army unit’ in Indonesia. The Dutch Chief of the General Staff confessed he ‘worried about the weapons, which will be given to these people’.<sup>14</sup> If anything, paramilitaries were to be dissolved as soon as ‘peace and order’ were sufficiently guaranteed.<sup>15</sup>

Until such time, the police-force and army ranks would have to be reinvigorated and bolstered up with new, indigenous recruits. To them were added completely new groups that largely started out as *ad hoc* paramilitary groups. In the previous chapter these security troops have been named, mostly in the context of the manpower problem. Here they will be passing the revue in terms of how they were trained to minimize the risk of the above-mentioned issues. In Malaya and Indonesia, the police were a major priority. ‘[P]ublic order, peace and safety’ were guaranteed by police visibility as it ensured the protection of ‘people and goods’, respect for ‘legal regulations’ and civil obedience.<sup>16</sup> The police led the charge combating insurrection. ‘[T]he Army is in aid of the civil power, and the other way around’ the fixed adagio ran in Malaya.<sup>17</sup> Van Mook in Indonesia knew enough about counterinsurgency to note down the same idea. He had to concede, however, that the military was rather over-represented in policing due to the extraordinary situation caused by Indonesia’s war for independence. Naturally, he never called it that.<sup>18</sup>

The Dutch treated the ‘police question’ in earnest from September 1947 onwards, two full years after they had returned. During one of the first meetings, held in General Spoor’s house, security policy makers decided the regular police force would consist of numerous entities. Aside from the City Police and the ‘dessa’ or village police, the General Police (*Algemene Politie*) was re-instituted, re-armed and retrained and with that a semblance of the pre-war police presence

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<sup>14</sup> Notulen van de Bespreking Gehouden ten Huize van de Legercommandant op Vrijdag 19 september 1947 NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/303. Emphasis in the original.

<sup>15</sup> Generaal Majoor D. C. Buurman van Vreeden aan alle TrC./TpnCs, Chineesche Veiligheidskorpsen Pao An Tui, No.:/5474 1GS08, no date, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/303.

<sup>16</sup> Richtlijnen inzake de Recruten-opleiding der te Vormen “Daerah-Politie”.

<sup>17</sup> Donald MacGillivray to Malcolm MacDonald, DEF.TS.107/1. Vol.III, 8 March 1955, TNA, FO 1091/28.

<sup>18</sup> Aantekening van den Luitenant Gouverneur-generaal, 24 februari 1948, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/392.

was to be restored. Before 1942, the General Police branch comprised of city, administrative and field police; it also functioned as a regional Criminal Investigation Department.<sup>19</sup> Simultaneously, the Daerah Police or local ‘gendarmerie’, was created to support the General Police. This particular branch possessed ‘powers closely approximating the army’s’: its police education was limited to the ‘most elementary’ aspects for the duration of the conflict. At the same time, it had to take over police tasks traditionally reserved for the KNIL.<sup>20</sup>

The pace of recruitment was to be gruelling. Each six weeks, 1,800 General Police recruits could be pushed through four separate training centres across Java.<sup>21</sup> Daerah constables would likewise have approximately six weeks of training.<sup>22</sup> The ceiling for the Daerah Police was set at 5,000 for Central Java alone, with 500 recruits readied every two months. Other centres, in Jember and Cimahi, serviced the Daerah Police as well. With 10,000 General and more than 5,000 Daerah Policemen needed, it was only logical that recruits received ‘emergency-training’ that was heavily ‘truncated’ and ‘summary’.<sup>23</sup> All recruits had more military than police training. A glimpse at the training schedule betrays that little time was spent on pure police work or showcasing the government’s good works. The six weeks were mostly passed de-activating mines and booby traps, shooting (thirty hours), weapons training (22 hours) and the ‘surrounding and searching of houses [and] kampongs’.<sup>24</sup> The British applied the same quick pace of training. Local training depots had to retrain the police force, slowly

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<sup>19</sup> M. Bloembergen, ‘Koloniale Staat, Politiestaat? Politieke Politie en het Rode Fantoom in Nederlands-Indië, 1918-1927’, *Leidschrift*, 21, 2 (2006), 72-73; Notulen van de Bespreking Gehouden ten Huize van de Legercommandant op Vrijdag 19 september 1947; Legerverstrekking Wapens ten Behoeve van Algemeene Politie, 10 Maart 1947, no. 2927/GS 04, both in NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/303.

<sup>20</sup> Notulen van de Bespreking Gehouden ten Huize van de Legercommandant op Vrijdag 19 september 1947; Richtlijnen inzake de Recruten-opleiding der te vormen “Daerah-Politie”, undated, both in NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/303; Aantekening van den Luitenant Gouverneur-generaal, 24 februari 1948, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/392.

<sup>21</sup> Notulen van de Bespreking Gehouden ten Huize van de Legercommandant op Vrijdag 19 september 1947, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/303; Wd. lt.gouverneur-generaal (Idenburg) aan lt.gouverneur-generaal (Van Mook), 6 sept. 1947, *NIB* 11, 43.

<sup>22</sup> Richtlijnen inzake de Recruten-opleiding der te Vormen “Daerah-Politie”.

<sup>23</sup> Richtlijnen inzake de Recruten-opleiding der te Vormen “Daerah-Politie”; Margadant, ‘De Politieorganisatie in het Nieuwe Bestel’, 191.

<sup>24</sup> Richtlijnen voor de Opleiding van Politie-recruten; Oefenschema Politie-troepen, both in NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/303.

changing static sentries into mobile units ready for ‘active antiterrorist duties’. Ostensibly. This included the Jungle Companies, some 3,500 strong, that roamed the forests. These companies were paraded as the units where Chinese, Malays, Indians, Eurasians and Europeans worked for a common goal. Special Constables, the paramilitary force akin to the Plantation Guard, had to do a two-week refresher course, ‘potential [Non-Commissioned Officers]’ received two months training, as did ‘new intake’. Depots processed some 2,600 men per rotation.<sup>25</sup> In total, some 60,000 policemen were to be retrained in a year.<sup>26</sup>

With an eye for the near future—provided the Dutch had their way—Spoor recognized that the coming United States of Indonesia would need outward defences. To this effect, he designed the Safety Battalions (SBs). For the time being, these would serve, however, as the security forces attached to each individual federal state that the Dutch were founding with indigenous help.<sup>27</sup> Spoor—a prolific writer of long-winded memos—presented the SBs as a gift to the forming federal states. With them in place, the federalists could answer their own call for ‘awareness and the striving for independence’ by sharing the burden of destroying the Republic. Spoor saw ‘yearning for the creation of [the federalists] own military forces’ in the growing number of SBs.<sup>28</sup> In the eyes of historians, Van Mook has often been charged with fomenting the federalism pitting Indonesians against each other politically, but obviously, Spoor did so militarily. Spoor moreover sanctioned yet another security force dominated by military functioning. Regardless of Spoor’s assurance the SBs would transform into outwardly defensive units—protecting Indonesia’s borders—the battalions would be used as another counterinsurgency tool. They would take over patrolling from Dutch troops that would rotate home. Therefore, the battalions needed to become

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<sup>25</sup> Paper on Malaya reporting Progress, 16 January 1952, TNA, CO 1022/22; Sir Arthur Young, “*Malaya 1952: Narrative Report, 1967*”; Young to Hugh Fraser, 22 December 1951, both quoted in Corum, *Tale*, 15-17; Reorganisation of Police Force, Extract from Lord [illegible] Brief for House of Lords Debate, 27 February 1952; CO 1022/168; ‘Spotlight on Federal Jungle Companies’, Extract from Magazine “Police”, TNA, CO 1022/38.

<sup>26</sup> ‘60,000 Police to be Retrained’, Extract from Straits Budget, 17 April 1952, TNA, CO 1022/165.

<sup>27</sup> Memorandum Betreffende de Instelling van het Instituut van “Veiligheidsbataljons”, 22 October 1947, no. Kab./1513, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/367.

<sup>28</sup> Memorandum Betreffende de Instelling van het Instituut van “Veiligheidsbataljons”.

operable as soon as possible in the course of 1948.<sup>29</sup> The 17,000 recruits plus the constant expansion of number of battalions proved again that the manpower crisis was badly felt.<sup>30</sup>

The Dutch and British authorities also took responsibilities for the para-police forces. The British police operated the Kampong Guard—formed in 1949 in Malay Villages and armed with shot-guns—and, from September 1950 onwards, Chinese Home Guards.<sup>31</sup> Lock complained that the scheme was ‘a farce’ as long as Chinese ‘lives were not safe’, yet the government steamed ahead anyway.<sup>32</sup> As said before, the Kampong and Home Guard were amalgamated in 1951 as they served the same, mostly static purposes. For our discussion here, it is important to note that Home Guards received more powers over time. Once established into villages, the sector headman would take charge of the village’s protection. In stage two, the HG took on a more active role supporting the police. A fully trusted phase three home guard operated—in the village at least—independently and permanently armed.<sup>33</sup>

In Indonesia, the Plantation Guard was an important paramilitary force.<sup>34</sup> These guards started as spontaneous measures taken by planters being targeted by insurgents. As they felt their government did not support them enough—this was admitted by officials—planters started installing (at first unarmed) guards who, as in periods of local unrest roughly around the turn of the twentieth century, patrolled the plantations.<sup>35</sup> From the end 1947 onward, the Plantation

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<sup>29</sup> Memorandum Betreffende de Instelling van het Instituut van “Veiligheidsbataljons”; Uitbreiding aantal Inf.V.Bn., Nr. 427/DCO 500.03, 2 Juni 1948, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/392; Naschrift van CGS, no. 131/G.S. 15, 4 februari 1948, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/367.

<sup>30</sup> See NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/392.

<sup>31</sup> Director of Operations Malaya, Review of the Emergency in Malaya from June 1948 to August 1957, 12 September 1957, TNA, AIR 20/10377.

<sup>32</sup> Press Statement by Tan Cheng Lock on Home Guards and Protection of Resettled Villages. Published in the *Straits Times* on 9 February 1952.

<sup>33</sup> H. R. Briggs, Director of Operations, Directive No. 17 Protection of Concentrated Villages and Resettlement Areas, Ref: CSY. 18/A/50, 12 October 1951, ISEAS, TCL 24.3a; Director of Operations Malaya Directive No. 2 (New Series), The Control of Operations Against Communist Terrorists, Malaya Emergency Directives (1953 series), 24 August 1953, ISEAS, TCL 56.25. See also: D.Inf.7/60/160(Emerg) Appendix E The Home Guard during the Emergency, ANM Commerce & Industry Tourist Promotion Section, 95/T.

<sup>34</sup> Another was Her Majesty’s Unregulated Troops, or HAMOT, which shall be dealt with below.

<sup>35</sup> Roel Frakking, “Who Wants to Cover Everything, Covers Nothing”: The Organization of Indigenous Security Forces in Indonesia, 1945-1950, *Journal of Genocide Research* 14, 3-4 (2012), 343; Verslag West-Java van



Guard grew into an official extension of Dutch-sponsored security forces, regulated by various sets of (local) ordinances that determined the planters ‘owned’ the Plantation Guard. They were assisted in performing this task by the General Police.<sup>36</sup> Commanders-PG would be assigned if planters could find proper leaders. In June 1948, the commanders and sub-commanders in charge of any PG were given police powers, meaning that the Plantation Guard was now ready to perform its duties.<sup>37</sup>

A second major—in terms of how much the police and military discussed them—were the Chinese security units, collectively known as the *Pao An Tui*—or, to some, the *Tentara Cina*.<sup>38</sup> The PAT was a true grass-roots organization from Medan, Sumatra. In a reaction to the refusal of the British to protect the Chinese from Indonesian violence and the Dutch or Chinese governments unable to do so, in December 1945 the *Hua Ch’iao Chung Hui* (HCCH), representative of some 48 organizations, issued a manifesto calling for the protection of Chinese lives. From this manifesto, the PAT emerged. Local Chinese immediately sought to secure 300 men.<sup>39</sup> The British proved rather sceptical but ultimately condoned the PAT after months of inaction. The Dutch Directorate of Central Training (*Directoraat Centrale Opleidingen*) later militarized and trained PAT cadre.<sup>40</sup> Making ample use of the command structure of Medan’s PAT and the men’s experience, the Dutch allowed the PAT’s Head Committee in Batavia—conveniently close to Dutch

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regeringscommissaris voor bestuursaangelegenheden West-Java (Abdulkadir Widjoamodjo) over september 1947, *NIB* 11, 201.

<sup>36</sup> Aanwijzingen voor het Vormen van Ondernemingswachten, Opgesteld door het Departement van Economische Zaken, in Overleg met de Dienstleiding van de Algemene Politie, 7 November 1947, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/303; Reglement Ondernemingswachten, No. Kab/716/3758/S.Z., 12 Maart 1949, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/654; Tj. Boersma, Rayonvertegenwoordiger A.L.S. to the Waarnemend Voorzitter Alg. Landb. Syndicaat, Beveiliging O. Bandjarondernemingen, No. 294/7/O.W., 20 September 1948, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie, 2.10.14/3463.

<sup>37</sup> Uit Resumé Nr. 21, dd. 8 juni 1948, NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/67.

<sup>38</sup> Sulardi, *Pao An Tui, 1947-1949: Tentara Cina Jakarta* (Depok: Masup Jakarta, 2015).

<sup>39</sup> Anne van der Veer, ‘The Pao An Tui in Medan: A Chinese Security Force in Dutch Occupied Indonesia, 1945-1948’, MA. Thesis, Utrecht University, 2013, 28; Manifest van de Eerste Algemene Vergadering van de Leden van de ‘Hua Chiao Chung Hui, 9 December 1945, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI, 2.10.62/3950; Rapport over het Chinese Security Corps (Pao An Tui), annex to Afschrift Rapport over het Chinese Corps (Pao An Tui) Medan, 23 November 1946, No. 14/X, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI 2.10.62/1685.

<sup>40</sup> Politiek Verslag over Sumatra van Gouverneur, Chief Commanding Officer, Amacab Sumatra (Spits) over de Maand April 1946, *NIB* 4, 211; Kort Verslag van de Bespreking, Gehouden op 2 April 1948, Ten Kantore van de IVPA Betreffende Politieaangelegenheden, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/392.

authorities—to train other units across Sumatra and Java for the protection of Chinese people, property, refugee camps and interests. Naturally, Military Authorities scrambled to regularize the Chinese Corps by subordinating it to its Territorial Commanders.<sup>41</sup> The PAT was forbidden to participate in any police or military action, leave their assigned posts to make arrests or search houses outside their designated areas. In 1948 total numbers had reached 5,000.<sup>42</sup>

How, then, did authorities make sure these various forces performed? To begin with, all of them were kept under close surveillance. Spoor designed several organizations to this effect. The Directorate for Inland Security (DIS) was installed. This Directorate, led by Colonel (KNIL) Suria Santoso, was the Governor General's responsibility and predominantly civil in composition; it would oversee the regular police as well as the PG and the PAT. The DIS also coordinated with the Inspection Safety Battalions and Police Affairs (ISPA) and the Inspection-Plantation Guard (I-PG).<sup>43</sup> As its title presupposes, the ISPA dealt with the raising and upkeep of the SBs, but it also inspected the PAT and the Plantation Guard. Colonel De Vries, ISPA's head, acted, in fact, as a liaison between the police, the military and those communities connected to the counterinsurgency efforts.<sup>44</sup> The General Police monitored—with military assistance—the PG.<sup>45</sup> A chore actually also undertaken by the I-PG.<sup>46</sup> The planters, of course, added another layer: they appointed one of their number, Van Deventer, to liaise between the police and the

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<sup>41</sup> Gegevens Omtrent Chinese Security Corps (Poh An Tui) te Medan, 10 September 1947; Verordening van het Militair Gezag, 6 september 1947, no. 516, both in NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/303; Verslag van de Regeringscommissaris voor Bestuursaangelegenheden van Noord-Sumatra (Van de Velde), Augustus 1947, *NIB* 10, 608.

<sup>42</sup> Instructies voor Commandanten van M.P.-onderdelen terzake Pao An Tui-groepen, 17 September 1947; Door Territoriaal tevens Troepencommandant West-Java goedgekeurde Sterkten Pao An Tui in West-Java, both in NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/303; Opheffing PAP AN TUI, Memo Thio Thiam Tjong to Dir.Kabinet, 24 April 1948, No.351/EB.U.2.,NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie, 2.10.14/2768.

<sup>43</sup> Notulen van de Bespreking Gehouden ten Huize van de Legercommandant; De Tien Pijlers van de Gendamerie-organisatie, 11 July 1947, no. Kab/878, NL-HaNA, Spoor 2.21.036.01/63; Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal (Van Mook) aan Minister van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen (Jonkman), 22 feb. 1948, *NIB* 13, 16.

<sup>44</sup> See NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/392; Instructie Kolonel de Vries, 14 January 1948, Nr. 2034 DCO 520, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/415.

<sup>45</sup> Toezicht op Ondernemingswachten, 280/DCO 500.01, 20 April 1948, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/392.

<sup>46</sup> Aanstelling van Commissarissen en Inspecteurs van Politie v.s.d. voor de Inspectie der Ondernemingswachten, No. Pol. 780, 7 April 1948, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1396.

planter community.<sup>47</sup> The quip that the British fought the MCP 'by committee' certainly applied to Indonesia, as well.<sup>48</sup>

In federated Malaya, the running of the Emergency similarly proved a convoluted affair. Twelve governments (Federal Government, nine State and two Settlement governments) caused 'executive action [to be] inevitably delayed and implementation of measures to deal with the emergency [were] rendered difficult'. At least one person, the then-Director of Operations Sir Robert Lockhart, wondered in late 1951 whether the governments could not be 'induced to give up their powers' to the federal government for the duration of the Emergency.<sup>49</sup> Presumably those in charge of the various governing bodies balked at this idea. Lockhart's successor, retired General Briggs, was bought in as Director of Operations 'in a civilian capacity' to coordinate military and police operations. After 1949, he had organized State/Settlement and District War Executive Committees and tied them to a chain of command that ran up to the Federal War Executive Committee. The committees would continue to exist throughout the Emergency.

They were populated by 'members of the Administrators, Police and Army' and supported by advisory committees comprised of 'influential members of local communities and associations'. As such, representatives of the Malay Rulers' Conference, Malays and Chinese and Planters rounded out the various panels. After Henry Gurney's death, General Templer was appointed both High Commissioner and Director of Operations in February 1952, gathering 'responsibilities for all Government activities including the conduct of the Emergency'. He presided over the Director of Operations Committee that included the Director of Intelligence while the Federal War Council was abolished. In March 1955, Tunku Abdul Rahman, as Minister of Internal Defence and Security (and also Chief Minister) took over as chairman of the Executive Council, which

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<sup>47</sup> Uit Notulen Ledenvergadering A.L.S. en Z.W.S.S. dd. 17 juli 1948, NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/67.

<sup>48</sup> Paul E. Stanborough, 'War by Committee: Counter-insurgency, the Malaya Example, 1948-1957', MA. Thesis, University of Oxford, Oxford, 1988).

<sup>49</sup> Draft. The Situation in the Federation of Malaya from the Point of View of The Director of Operations, 26 November 1951, 9501-165-30, National Army Museum, London.

functioned as a cabinet for Emergency Affairs.<sup>50</sup> Serving on one of the numerous committees was considered yet one more mode of exhibiting alliance. 'Every Federal, State and Settlement Governmental department in Malaya is committed to the struggle against Communism', one directive read, 'and every loyal person has a part to play'. Men such as H. S. Lee clearly understood: he served on the Emergency Operations Council under Rahman.<sup>51</sup>

As different states were given their own competencies, so too the security forces. The Special Constabulary was separated from the regular police and formed into Area Security Units (ASU) to release police and military for their 'proper' roles. The ASUs would still perform static duties but where possible, they were to patrol.<sup>52</sup> This diffusion of autonomy reflected Commissioner of Police Arthur E. Young's worries that his office had become too much concerned with 'day to day details'. Police Head Quarter's capacity was 'suited only for comparatively small peace-time police strength and the present numerical establishment [...] has far outgrown it'. Young wanted one more Deputy (Field) Commissioner to ensure better communication with HQ as well as additional Chief Police Officers in the field, who should all be elevated in rank to match their responsibilities.<sup>53</sup> The Home Guard, too, became its own enterprise. Inspector-General E. B. de Fonblanque became its head under the Ministry of Defence. The Inspector General, helped by State and Assistant State Home Guard Officers, would bear responsibility for HG organisation and training, both static and mobile.<sup>54</sup>

Appointments like Templer, De Fonblanque, Santoso and De Vries's and the organisations they led were part of continuous attempts to professionalize security forces. The object, aside from ensuring proper conduct of personnel and

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<sup>50</sup> Review of the Emergency in Malaya June 1948-August 1957, 12 September 1957, TNA AIR 20/10377.

<sup>51</sup> The Emergency Operations Council Directive No. 1. The Control of Operations Against Communist Terrorist, 1 March 1956, DEF.Y.2/27/E, TNA WO 216/901.

<sup>52</sup> Paper on Malaya reporting Progress, 16 January 1952, TNA, CO 1022/22; Director of Operations, Malaya, Directive No. 2, The Role of Security Forces and of the Home Guard, 24 August 1953, ISEAS, TLC 56.25.

<sup>53</sup> A. E. Young to Secretary for Defence, 4 March 1952, CP(SR) 25, NAM 9501-195-15.

<sup>54</sup> Paper on Malaya Reporting Progress, 16 January 1952, TNA, CO 1022/22; Director of Operations, Malaya, Directive No. 2, The Role of Security Forces and of the Home Guard, 24 August 1953, ISEAS, TLC 56.25.

instilling discipline, was to inscribe unto those serving that they had become instruments of the colonial state. These markings ensured that soldiers, policemen and paramilitaries attained a separate status, perched above the masses. Firstly, markings were of a spatial type. Inductees were placed into extra-societal environs that, like the *Askari* fortresses in German Africa earlier, signalled colonial power to passers-by.<sup>55</sup> The British built ‘probably the largest training centre in the world’ for the ‘new police’ in Kuala Lumpur.<sup>56</sup> The Indonesian Daerah Police had their own training grounds in, among other places, Cimahi (West Java), Ambarawa (Central Java; shared with the General Police) and Jember (East Java).<sup>57</sup> Plantation Guards joined them in Ambarawa and Cimahi while the planter communities managed to convince both the Directorate of Agriculture and Fisheries and the Head of the General Police to build further training depots in Tasikmalaya in West Java and in Sumatra.<sup>58</sup> Plantation Guard Commanders underwent refreshing courses in Bandung where instructors would simultaneously train ordinary guards into Assistant Commanders.<sup>59</sup> Guards received training and inspection locally from twelve-men teams of the Inspection-Plantation Guard that had organized itself into instruction battalions.<sup>60</sup> Of course, on-going counterinsurgency demanded that enforcers lived among the population and so their presence was made known in temporary and permanent police posts that dotted the countryside. November 1949 alone saw the opening of 75 police posts in the Federation in addition to a ‘considerable number of

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<sup>55</sup> Michels, *Schwarze deutsche Kolonialsoldaten*, 165; Von Trotha, *Koloniale Herrschaft*, 61-62; Moyd, *Violent Intermediaries*, 163-164.

<sup>56</sup> ‘Malaya’s New Police’, *Daily Advertiser*, 31 January 1953, 1.

<sup>57</sup> ‘Contact uit Poerwokerto’, *De Locomotief*, 10 December 1947, 2; Uit Résumé verg. Dag.Best. ALS en ZWSS met Ondervoorzitters Bonden dd. 6 juli 1948 No. 24, Federabo 2.20.50/67; Richtlijnen inzake de Recruten-opleiding der te vormen “Daerah-politie”, not dated, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/303; Kort Verslag van de Bespreking gehouden op 2 april 1948, ten Kantore van de IVPA betreffende Politieaangelegenheden, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/392.

<sup>58</sup> Uit Notulen dd. 1 december 1948 Vergadering Raad van Beheer de C.P.V. en Besturen van A.L.S en Z.W.S.S. enz.; Uit Résumé No. 1. van Dag.Best. A.L.S. en Z.W.S.S. met Onderv.Bonden dd. 5 januari 1949, both in NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/67.

<sup>59</sup> Uit Résumé [sic] No. 40 Vergadering Dag.Best. A.L.S. en Z.W.S.S. met Ondervoorzitters Bonden dd. 15 December 1948; Uit Résumé No. 3 van Vergadering Dag.Best. A.L.S. en Z.W.S.S. met Ondervoorzitters Bonden dd. 25 januari 1949, both in NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/67.

<sup>60</sup> Uit Resume Nr. 34 dd. 28 september 1948, Bespreking DB Syndicaten en Onder-Voorzitters Bonden, NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/67.

temporary police posts and stations'.<sup>61</sup> After the second Police Action, the Dutch immediately populated the newly occupied territories (mostly in Central Java) with combined Daerah and General Police posts to try and re-establish and project control.<sup>62</sup> Plantation Managers in 1948 started furnishing their emplacements with 'marching bivouacs' to invite military presence unto the plantations.<sup>63</sup>

Secondly, inscription took shape mentally by allowing the newly minted recruits to physically assert themselves as official pacification forces. Assertion was helped by the familiarization of the paramilitary enforcers with the necessities of pacification laid down in the various official guidelines.<sup>64</sup> Both Indonesian and Malayan paramilitaries struck out on their own more frequently, effectively becoming less bound to kampongs, villages or plantations. The Malayan Home Guard were made to feel more and more important through the phasing out of control they had to endure from their overseers in the regular police. During Phase One, rudimentary exercises such as shooting, guarding, patrolling and the changing of the guard as well as alarm practices were monitored heavily. Once made into routine, Home Guard units would assume a more active role in local defence in Phase Two. Finally, the police would only support and sometimes inspect the Home Guard that would now be largely autonomously protect their village.<sup>65</sup> Some Home Guard units were split off into operational sections entrusted with taking over where 'security forces are few' as part of the Area Security Units.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Chronology of Important Events During the Emergency in Malaya for the Period July to December, 1949. Dept. of Public Relations Federation of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, ANM S.U.K. TR. 62/1950, Dissemination of Facts and Advice During the Present Emergency.

<sup>62</sup> See Dislocatie Politie Java en Sumatra and Opgave Politie-detach. TBA Gebied, Annexes to No. 1440/T.B.A./Geh, 21 Juli 1949, both in NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/5068.

<sup>63</sup> V.V./No. 105., Persoonlijk/Vertrouwelijk, Mr. S.J. Sinninghe Damsté, Voorzitter ALS/ZWSS/CPV to Jhr. Mr. W.J. de Jonge, Voorzitter Federabo, 28 oktober 1947, NL-HaNA, NHM 2.20.01/8910.

<sup>64</sup> For the Plantation Guard's regulations, see: Aanwijzingen voor het Vormen van Ondernemingswachten, Opgesteld door het Departement van Economische Zaken, in Overleg met de Dienstleiding van de Algemene Politie, 7 November 1947; for the Daerah Police guidelines, see Richtlijnen inzake de Recruten-opleiding der te vormen "Daerah-politie", not dated, both in NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/303.

<sup>65</sup> DEF.Y.37/51 Sectret 7<sup>th</sup> Oct 1954 Executive Secretaries, All State/Settlement War Executive Committees, Defence of New Villages, ISEAS, HSL 20.46d Appendices A to M to Combined Emergency Planning Staff (CEPS) Paper No. 49.

<sup>66</sup> Director of Operations Malaya Directive No. 1 (New Series), The Control of Operations Against Communist

Planters in Indonesia supported by police functionaries in 1948 pressured the government into giving managers and guard commanders police powers. Against some policy makers' initial wishes, a governmental committee ultimately permitted Plantation Guard units to protect convoys to and from plantations, search kampongs situated on the estates and patrol not only the massive gardens, but also 'enclaves in between and on roads' linking those enclaves—although later, these prerogatives were disputed.<sup>67</sup> Paramilitary self-assertion was always meant to remain limited. Spoor made sure ample control stayed in place. Although he relegated the responsibility for paramilitary forces to the General Police and regional Government Commissioners in April 1948, due to the police's poor condition and track record the Armed Forces' role continued to be paramount. Spoor's men kept an eye on the development of both the police and the paramilitaries—despite that the military's supervisory role had initially been 'born out of necessity'.<sup>68</sup> Regardless of their own responsibilities, the military was bound to assist with 'loyalty checks' and 'weapons training'.<sup>69</sup>

Lastly, mental imprinting was combined with impressions on the body to project power. Uniforms—or, to a lesser extent, armbands—set aside security personnel from the population, much like the camps and police posts in which they lived. Van Deventer, the planter who liaised with colonial officials, discovered caches of uniforms at the Department of Sea Shipping, including shorts and short-sleeved shirts. Along with 10,000 towels and 5,500 mosquito nets, they were distributed to the Plantation Guard—although Van Deventer feared the

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Terrorists, Malaya Emergency Directives (1953 series), ISEAS, TCL 56.25.

<sup>67</sup> Uit de Notulen van de Vergadering van het Bestuur van den Bond v.Eigenaren van Ned. Ind. Koffie en Cacao Ondernemingen dd. 23 april 1948; Uit Resumé Nr. 15 dd 27 april 1948, Bespreking DB Syndicaten en Onder-Voorzitters Bonden; Uit Notulen Ledenvergadering A.L.S. en Z.W.S.S. dd. 17 juli 1948, all in NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/67; Vergadering van de Kring Pangalengan, *De Bergcultures*, 17<sup>e</sup> jaargang, 5, 16 October 1948, 99-100.

<sup>68</sup> Kort Verslag van de Bespreking, Gehouden op 2 April 1948, Ten Kantore van de IVPA Betreffende Politieaangelegenheden; Nr. 280/DCO 500.01, Toezicht op Ondernemingswachten, de Inspecteur Veiligheidsbataljons en Politieaangelegenheden, Kolonel H. J. de Vries, 20 April 1948; Conceptbrief, undated, S. H. Spoor to, among others, all TrCn/TpnCn op Java and Sumatra, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/392; The concept letter would be sent out by Spoor in July 1948.

<sup>69</sup> Nr. 5754/GS 08, Aanwijzingen Ondernemings- en Fabriekswachten EZ, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/303.

police may demand its share.<sup>70</sup> Further physical attributes finalized the visible detachment of security forces from greater society. Singapore policemen started traversing the road networks in a 'fleet of 30 Super Snipe station wagons'. The Indonesian General Police aimed at a speedy transformation from having a 'preventive task' into a 'repressive' stance with an attention to intelligence gathering. To expedite this change, the search was on for 'transport, [among others] bicycles'.<sup>71</sup>

Local leaders' demands for armaments were finally met to complete the vision of an enforcer of the state who could engender 'full restoration of public morale and confidence in the maintenance of law and order' and open registers of violence if needed. Just over a month after the Emergency's proclamation, more than 9,000 rifles were being distributed over the Federation of Malaya for the Special Constables' use.<sup>72</sup> European overseers on the Indonesian plantations secured thousands of pistols and carbines for themselves and the guards. In October, Javanese and Sumatran planter syndicates contentedly reported a one to one armament ratio with still thousands of carbines coming in.<sup>73</sup> As the paramilitary Plantation Guard kept growing during 1949 they needed more weapons, among them sub-machine guns and another 25,500 carbines.<sup>74</sup>

On paper, without exogenous influences, little stood in the way of a matrix of functioning, reliable security forces in both British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies. They were ready to cause 'silence, fear and awe among the subject

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<sup>70</sup> Uit Resumé Nr. 12, Bespreking DB Syndicaten en Onder-Voorzitters Bonden, 25 maart 1948; Uit Resumé Nr. 9, dd. 5 maart 1948. Bespreking DB Syndicaten en Onder-Voorzitters Bonden, NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/67; Departement van Landbouw en Visserij, *De Ontwikkeling van de Ondernemingslandbouw in de Federale Gebieden van Indonesië gedurende 1947-1948*. Deel I. Algemeen Gedeelte (Batavia: Departement van Landbouw en Visserij. Dienst voor Ondernemingslandbouw, 1948), 37.

<sup>71</sup> Uit Résumé verg. Dag.Best. ALS en ZWSS met Ondervoorzitters Bonden dd. 6 juli 1948 No. 24, Federabo 2.20.50/67

<sup>72</sup> (14) in CP/FM/485/48/097 C Noble, f Comm of Police 25.7.48 Conf. The Special Constabulary, ANM Perak Secretariat 2515/1948 Special Constables Under B.M.A. Proclamation No. 65. Enrolment and Organizing of.

<sup>73</sup> Uit de Bestuursvergadering dd. 12 juni 1948. A.L.S. en Z.W.S.S.; No. Pr. 2904, Wapenverstrekking aan Ondernemingspersoneel. F.N. Pistolen cal. 9 mm., W. A. C. Bijvoet, Leider Prae-rehabilitatie, to all Administrateurs van Ondernemingen op Java en in Zuid-Sumatra, 4 mei 1948, both in NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/67; Uit Resumé Nr. 15 dd 27 april 1948, Bespreking DB Syndicaten en Onder-Voorzitters Bonden., NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/58.

<sup>74</sup> No. Pr. 3603, Voorziening in wapenbehoefte ondernemingen en bedrijven op Java en Sumatra, 20 Maart 1949, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/654.



populations'.<sup>75</sup> What planters, policemen and military functionaries with the assistance of local elites had done was to gather massive numbers of enforcers who were inducted into the rather distinct caste allowed to wield the colonial state's ample violent instruments—to *become* such an instrument. Following a lineage that stretched back centuries, inductees were elevated from the indigenous through drilling and the use of ambushes and arms while being trained for guarding, patrolling and liaising with their counterparts in various other security units. This happened in delineated areas off-limits to the general public. The issuing of uniforms, armbands and weapons finalized security forces caste membership.

In practice security forces' functioning as well corresponded to what numbers of uniforms, weapons and police posts suggested. Reports started coming in that detailed the exploits of the various forces. Several Indonesian examples suffice to mark their actions. The Commissioner of the General Police in August 1949—the height of the guerrilla war—wrote to the Prosecutor General in Surakarta, Central Java, to commend the bravery of several policemen during 'intense fights' in Solo. Hadiprotomo countered 'better-armed opponents, who had almost entered the courtyard of the slaughterhouse' where he and his band of 'largely untrained officers and several KNIL Soldiers' had been posted. They had been holding out for months, weathering 'tens of attacks', 'mostly without Military assistance'. Palip Prawidodirdjo proved particularly collected under attack. When fighters fired at his Dutch officers' convoy he covered their retreat into a nearby building. One vehicle's driver then 'simply [and] with great danger to his own life' drove the car out of the line of fire. Iljas and Sudarto, during another shoot-out, 'coolly took up position' to cover the recovery of two wounded colleagues and a killed civilian.<sup>76</sup> Palip, Iljas and Sudarto were promoted and received a 'monetary reward'. Aside from dying at the hands of their fellow Indonesians, police officers

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<sup>75</sup> Moyd, *Violent Intermediaries*, 163-164.

<sup>76</sup> Ch. van de Berg, De Korpschef der Algemene Politie, to the Vertegenwoordiger Procureur-Generaal te Soerakarta, 16 August 1949, Annex to No. 423/Geh./J, Betoonde Moed Politie-Agenten, 27 August 1949, NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hooggerechthof Ned.-Ind. 2.10.17/118; see also 'Daerahpolitie Onderscheiden', *De Locomotief*, 23 November 1948, 3 and 'Buitengewone Bevordering', *Nieuwe Courant*, 11 March 1949, 3.

found that standard law and order tasks largely coincided with counterinsurgency. When policemen interrupted the ‘clandestine’ slaughtering of a cow in a tiny hamlet, they happened upon resistance fighters, were shot at and retrieved ‘Guerilla-pamphlets’.<sup>77</sup> On a different occasion, the Daerah Police organized a large party to celebrate their successful co-operation with the General Police but more importantly, they showcased the police’s generosity to the local population by serving *ketoprak*, a traditional Indonesian dish.<sup>78</sup> The planters’ archives likewise detail many instances of Plantation Guards fending off ever-larger bands of attackers.<sup>79</sup> S. J. Sinninghe Damsté, chairman of a massive conglomerate of planter interest groups, expressed the opinion that the coming of the Plantation Guards would ‘enhance the safety situation considerably’ despite several lingering problems.<sup>80</sup>

Security Forces in Malaya, too, stood their ground against ubiquitous attacks. Initially, before the raising of great numbers of irregular troops, the police bore the brunt.<sup>81</sup> The Home Guard quickly was dragged into the violent maelstrom after its inception. When a unit based in the Muar District repelled an attack, their action was quickly said to ‘[reflect] the progress being made in the formation of Chinese home guard units to help in the campaign against the bandits’.<sup>82</sup> One of their number elsewhere declared with some conviction that the Liberation Army would ‘leave our families alone now that they realize that the fathers, brothers and sons in the camp are determined to fight for their families—and on equal terms too’—the latter reflecting the distribution of long-awaited arms.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> ‘Guerilla-pamfletten Achterhaald’, *Het Dagblad*, 28 February 1949, 1.

<sup>78</sup> ‘Ernstig Incident op Karo-Hoogvlakte: Drie Doden’, *Het Nieuwsblad voor Sumatra*, 8 January 1949, 1; ‘Salatiga, Feest van Daerah-Politie’, *De Locomotief*, 26 May, 1948, 2.

<sup>79</sup> See, for example, Verslag over de Maand December 1947, NL-HaNA Federabo 2.20.50/60.

<sup>80</sup> V.V./No. 105., Mr. S. J. Sinninghe Damsté, Voorzitter ALS/ZWSS/CPV, to Jhr. Mr. W. J. de Jonge, Voorzitter Federabo, 28 October 1947, NL-HaNA, NHM 2.20.01/8910.

<sup>81</sup> ‘Terror Gang takes Malayan Town. Bitter Defence by Police Post’, *The Argus*, 30 June 1948, 4; ‘Chinese Terrorists Capture Malayan Town’, *The Mercury*, 30 June 1948, 4; ‘More Attacks on Police Stations’, *Tweed Daily*, 30 June 1948, 1.

<sup>82</sup> ‘Home Guard Unit Repels Attack’, *Daily Examiner*, 28 January 1952, 1.

<sup>83</sup> ‘Chinese Home Guard’, *Daily Advertiser*, 24 December 1951, 3.

The exploits of the police and irregulars—and the loyalty their resistance implied—became the source of myth-making. The attack on the police station of kampong Bukit Kepong, also in the Muar Police District in Johore, in February 1950, remains the most vital and enduring example. The raid is remembered for both the valiant actions of the policemen and the unscrupulousness of the attackers.<sup>84</sup> The *Malay Mail*, dubbing the episode ‘one of most gallant defences of the emergency’, reported that circa 200 ‘terrorists’ attacked the ‘lonely, isolated police station’ in the morning of the 23rd. After three hours of fighting (or five, according to the *Malay Mail*), the ‘small force of intrepid Regular Police Constables, Auxiliary Police and Kampong Guards’ had been decimated. Nineteen constables and guards, three women and one child had been killed along with a Chinese shopkeeper. Only one person left the scene unscathed. Naturally, the defenders were cast in the dazzling light befitting heroes of the nation: sparing female combatants they counter-attacked with knives when ammunition had run out. A captured policeman’s wife refused to be forced into calling out to the defenders to surrender. Conversely, so articles ran, the communists had no compunction killing men and women ‘in cold blood’ and throwing a child into the burning police station. This willingness to perpetrate atrocities would become a frequent trope in describing the acts of the communist insurrectionists.

The enduring legacy of Bukit Kepong’s defence to this day continues to stir up emotions and spark the imagination. In 2007, Azlas Ja’afar, daughter of Ja’afar Hassan, one of the constables killed at Bukit Kepong, sued Mohamad Sabu, the deputy president of the All-Malaysian Muslim Party (*Parti Islam Se-Malaysia*; PAS). Sabu had smeared her father’s status as hero; Azlas Ja’afar called him a ‘traitor’ for it. She was not alone. Mohamad faced an ‘alternative charge’ lodged by ‘ex-policemen associations, individuals and [NGOs]’ for ‘defaming Marine Constable Abu Bakar Daud, Constable [...] Yussof Rono and their families’. Azlas had not herself heard Mohamad’s exact words. Yet, mere

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<sup>84</sup> For what follows, see D.Inf 7/60/160 (EMERG), July 28, 1960, Appendix J. Four Major Incidents Recounted, ANM Commerce & Industry Tourist Promotion Section, 95/T; ‘23 Killed by Terrorists in Johore Outpost. Police, Kampong Guards fight to the Last Man’, *Malay Mail*, 24 February 1950, 1; ‘Terrorist’s Havoc at Bukit Kepong’, *Malay Mail*, 25 February 1950, 1.

hearsay proved enough to incense her considerably: the deputy president had had the gall to claim that ‘the communists led by Ahmad Indera [...] were the true independence fighters in the Bukit Incident’.<sup>85</sup>

*A ‘debt of gratitude’: Joining the ranks*

The risks attached to exposing one’s body to (anti-)colonial violence and, if one survived, possibly ending up on the wrong side of history after decolonization—an increasingly real threat—were quite pressing. Why then, did great numbers of non-elite men and women decide to fight for (or resist) interests that were not necessarily theirs, for colonial powers and their agents in territories named the *Netherlands East Indies* and *British Malaya*? This is a question that historians have hardly grappled with. Instead, they have focussed on what they considered more worthy issues: the assertion of nationalist agendas in the face of colonial pressure, the violent turn in decolonization studies, or so-called hearts and mind approaches they trundle out with great frequency.

Political scientists, by contrast, have poured over motivations animating behaviours. Unfortunately, they tend towards econometric explanations that reduce agency into measurable variables that leave little room for individual narratives. The reduction of ‘poverty’ and terrain ‘elevation’ to being ‘positively associated with an increased hazard rate’ has limited value in and of itself.<sup>86</sup> For all their quantifying, political scientists are still unable to agree on which set of variables is paramount. To illustrate: studies regarding participation in rebellion cannot decide whether grievances cause insurgencies or whether they are so common ‘across most at-risk countries’ that ‘even the most extreme grievances

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<sup>85</sup> ‘Bukit Kepong: Policeman’s Daughter says Mat Sabu is a Traitor’, *The Sun Daily*, 14 December 2014. For a completely different remembering, see <http://armorama.com/modules.php?op=modload&name=Sections&file=index&req=viewarticle&artid=1811>. Last visited on 5 August 2016. On this website for military scale modelling one Malay in 2007 uploaded a picture of a scale model he made. It shows his interpretation of the Bukit Kepong incident, which he dubbed the ‘Malaya Alamo’ a wounded Malay constable on a shot-up porch being defiantly protected by two of his armed comrades.

<sup>86</sup> Jason Lyall, ‘How Ethnicity Shapes Insurgent Violence: A Matched Analysis of “Sweep” Operations in Chechnya’, paper presented at ‘Order, Conflict, and Violence’, seminar held at Yale University, February 2008, 23.

will be insufficient to generate civil war' unless rebels harnessing them mount a continuously 'economically viable' campaign during their bid for power.<sup>87</sup>

Clearly, such explanations leave room for the historian not in the least because she does not need to determine variable hierarchies per se and can bring different ones together. The remainder of this chapter is uninterested in the weight of variables—nor in the precise military performance of the security forces. Rather, the argument is that certain behaviour was mistaken of loyalty; what was on display was behaviour generated under a direct threat to ensure survival and selfish interests attainment. The following reconstructs, as far as sources allow, how various communities and individuals decided for which side to take up arms, starting with the colonial troops. The focus lies with those who made choices during the wars of independence; those who stood with or against the Indonesian and Malayan insurgents are vital. As Karl Hack has stressed: 'Such history must be not only *about* those people but *from* their perspective' and, we may add, in their own voices.<sup>88</sup> In this endeavour, variables that determine participation (in violence, mobilization, collaboration or desertion) still are of great value as nodes of analysis and will be used to reflect individuals or communities' choices.

We recall those variables and mechanisms that a preceding chapter identified as most pertinent to those choices, while adding different ones in the process. They will all feature in this or the next chapter. Regardless of how they are defined ('structural inequality', deprivation or 'the gap between expectations and achievements'), grievances play a major role in (the onset of) civil strife.<sup>89</sup> Grievances related to stunted economic possibilities have considerable influence. By making themselves visible to the colonial state, participants in violence—including, paradoxically, anti-colonial violence—could make claims on a more equitable distribution of state resources in various forms. Related closely to the

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<sup>87</sup> For the role of grievances across various studies, see Regan and Norton, 'Greed, Grievance, and Mobilization in Civil Wars', 321-322; a similar discussion continues about the influence of ethnicity. Lyall, 'How Ethnicity Shapes Insurgent Violence'.

<sup>88</sup> Karl Hack, 'Malaya—Between Two Terrors: "People's History" and The Malayan Emergency', in Hannah Gurman, ed., *Hearts and Minds: A People's History of Counterinsurgency* (New York: The New Press, 2013), 17. Emphasis in the original.

<sup>89</sup> Regan and Norton, 'Greed, Grievance, and Mobilization in Civil Wars', 319-321.

individual is their circle of trust.<sup>90</sup> Individuals are more able to empathise with those they recognize as non-others; hence their existence within communities. Therefore, individuals are likely to mimic the actions of others within that circle. The empathy-circle has a limited radius so the more close-knit communities are more likely to come to shared decisions, mutual ‘social support for participation and [raise] the social costs of nonparticipation’.<sup>91</sup> For that reason, kin and friendship networks, but also—I would like to argue—ethnic relations are highly conducive to mobilization. In addition, people with a (shared) record of prior activism proved more likely to go through with their intentions than those who had never participated. Research shows, for example, that those who withdrew had close ties to others who withdrew.<sup>92</sup>

Another variable to participation is the relatively young age of possible participants. As Prince Faisal said to a fuming Lawrence of Arabia after the Ottoman Empire’s collapse and the taking Damascus in the eponymous 1962 blockbuster: ‘There is nothing further here for a warrior. We [politicians] drive bargains. Old men’s work. Young men make wars and the virtues of war are the virtues of young men. Courage and hope for the future’.<sup>93</sup> The over-representation of youths often combined with closed avenues of social advancement. In Indonesia and Malaya the ravages of war barred a generation from normal advancement—however limited in the colonial setting to begin with. Youth after the Japanese Occupation possessed the ‘biographical availability’ needed to participate in ‘high cost/risk’ undertakings associated with forms of more extreme activism.<sup>94</sup>

This brings two external influences into scope that add another layer to behavioural repertoires: territorial control and violence. As both Fotini and

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<sup>90</sup> Stephen Pinker, *The Better Angels of Our Nature: A History of Violence and Humanity* (London: Penguin, 2011), 653.

<sup>91</sup> Roberto M. Fernandez and Doug McAdam, ‘Social Networks and Social Movements: Multiorganizational Fields and Recruitment to Mississippi Freedom Summer’, *Sociological Forum* 3, 3 (1988), 364.

<sup>92</sup> McAdam, ‘Recruitment to High-risk Activism’, 78-80.

<sup>93</sup> *Lawrence of Arabia* (Los Angeles, Columbia Pictures, 1962).

<sup>94</sup> Doug McAdam, ‘Recruitment to High-risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer’, *American Journal of Sociology* 92, 1 (1986), 82-84; McAdam suggests that biographical availability is not, as would be expected, tempered by marriage or full-time employment. He does, however, suggest that youths—in his case university students—are available due to a notable lack of parental control.

Kalyvas have stressed, territorial control equals trust equals making visible and attracting those who are willing or forced to co-operate to yield manpower, intelligence and the overall support.<sup>95</sup> Such control comes at a heavy price for all concerned. Those seeking to dominate an unresponsive or reticent population must often subjugate it violently. Those exposed to violence must participate in it to signal their subjugation in the form of loyalty. Exposing people to violence, however, makes imminent sense. Coercion serves to overcome the collective action dilemma, making free-riding (i.e. non-participation/neutrality) so costly that participation/recruitment necessarily becomes a viable option.<sup>96</sup> With neutrality largely out of the question, the contested nature of localities where violence reigns or is highly likely gives rise to zero sum games that force people to serve any party that comes calling. What ties all of the above together, therefore, is again the central argument that adherence to any form of fixed, bilateral alliance-formation was impossible. Peoples' survival dictated.<sup>97</sup>

The repertoire of choices for participation in colonial defence was quite limited from the outlook of governments officials. Along with men like Tan Cheng Lock, they saw joining as a grand-scale exercise in state-building. Partaking of violence exposed the participants to the transformative effects that violence possesses.<sup>98</sup> Baptism by fire made visible whose side the troops were on, while opening up state-condoned avenues of reward-claiming. Visibility meant the onset of makeable loyalty. As we have seen, Indonesian policemen could earn accolades, money and promotions. In Malaya serving in the Home Guard had metamorphic qualities: Malay, Chinese and Indians were part of the same organisation 'To develop among [...] all races a real sense that they share with the police and military forces the responsibility for the security of their area'. Chinese

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<sup>95</sup> Fotini, *Alliance Formation in Civil War* and Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*.

<sup>96</sup> Kalyvas and Kochler, 'How "Free" is Free Riding in Civil Wars?', 179.

<sup>97</sup> Here historical insights add a layer of understanding glossed a reliance on N-groups and variables would gloss over: why particular groups or individuals switched sides. Arguably, researchers such as Kalyvas do study these events, but in doing so, their qualitative case studies resemble historical studies quite closely.

<sup>98</sup> For violence and state-formation, see, for example, Sunil Purushotham, 'Internal Violence: The "Police Action" in Hyderabad', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 57, 2 (2015), 435, 441.

who joined were hailed as ‘our brothers’ taking a ‘test of sincerity’.<sup>99</sup> Special Constables, like all policemen, swore an oath of loyalty.<sup>100</sup>

The worth of pledging seems dubious. Keeping in mind the premium British and Dutch government functionaries and planters placed on security, there is reason to assume many were simply appointed. The bar was not set particularly high: some physical exercises, a little reading and background screening was all it took. The search was for ex-volunteers or ex-policemen, but government employees, peons, labourers or anyone else was fine, too.<sup>101</sup> Dutch planters made the distinction between permanent guards deemed to possess some martial qualities—to become policemen later—and those who truly were *ad hoc* appointees and therefore continued as part-time labourers.<sup>102</sup> Malaya had a call-up to direct young adults into the ranks. The British did not quite ask the Chinese to become guards: they implemented a pre-set plan for recruitment.<sup>103</sup> Former Auxiliary Policeman Sheah from Perak said that every ‘shophouse’ had to send a ‘male member of the family’.<sup>104</sup> District Officers or the local Chief Police Officer would present themselves in kampongs and ‘select one or two men of good repute and integrity and preferably with some prior military training and on his advice [they] will be enrolled’ as Special Constable.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Home Guard Training Pamphlet 1952, ANM A/Misc 1/3; ‘Wipe Out Discrimination’, *Melayu Raya* November 6, 1952, From Federation of Malaya Daily Press Summary Vernacular Papers issued by the Department of Information, Federation of Malaya, No. 254/52 Press Digest 12/52, ANM, MCA/Pub./Federation of Malaya Daily Press Summary. <sup>100</sup> (14) in CP/FM/485/48/097, C Noble, f Commander of Police, 25.7.48, ANM, Perak Secretariat 2515/1948 Special Constables Under B.M.A. Proclamation No. 65. Enrolment and Organizing of; Def 33/54 8 Kuala Lumpur, Federation of Malaya Police Force Orders, 12 February 1954, ANM, Defence 33/54 Federation of Malaya Police Force Orders – 1954.

<sup>101</sup> Secret 147/P/48 28<sup>th</sup> June for Commander of Police from Police Headquarters to Chief Police Officers, ANM Perak Secretariat 2515/1948 Special Constables Under B.M.A. Proclamation No. 65. Enrolment and organizing of.

<sup>102</sup> Uit Resumé Nr. 34, Bespreking DB Syndicaten en Onder-Voorzitters Bonden, 18 november 1947; Nr. F. 3054/BB. 93, Secretary Federabo, Verburgh, to the Board Members of Production Associations Connected with Federabo NL-HaNA Federabo 2.20.50/67.

<sup>103</sup> ‘Duties of Home Guard Stressed’, *The Straits Echo & Times of Malaya*, 22 March 1956; ‘First Malaya Home Guards’, *The Evening Standard* 22 December 1951, TNA CO 1022/22; see also (12) in SEENK/36/51 Ref: SEK/P: 3/9/52 5<sup>th</sup> Feb, 1952 A. Wear, State Engineer, Kedah & Perlis S.E. Circular No. 3/52. Home Guards, ANM, S.E.E.N.K. 308-51 Manpower Call up. (ii) Home Guards & Kampong Guards.

<sup>104</sup> Cherries Seah and Christina Seah, ‘Reminisces by a Former Auxiliary Police’, *The Guardian*, 13; see also interview with Chan Suy Sang.

<sup>105</sup> (14) in CP/FM/485/48/097.



Volunteers did not sign up for high-flying goals either, having more pedestrian, selfish motivations. The Japanese Occupation and the subsequent weak post-war economy and pervasive violence played their disruptive parts in favour of recruitment. In East Java, rice prices soared and centralised food collection proved slow due to 'subversive activities in rural areas'.<sup>106</sup> Youth signed up for police duties as they were too old to go to school and the pay was good.<sup>107</sup> Malay villagers lived in such fear that they left fields untended. No-one dared step outside kampong Miku's police post perimeter in which people had erected makeshift shelters.<sup>108</sup> Seah related how 'everyone lived in fear of the communists during the Emergency Period. Chaos broke out'.<sup>109</sup> Signing up became a viable means to physical security, guaranteed food and shelter.<sup>110</sup> Former army personnel rented out their expertise as commanders and instructors to Plantation Guards.<sup>111</sup> Planters certainly felt the financial strain of their guards' higher wages (to instil authority versus the labourers) and tried constantly, through their powerful interest groups, to have the government carry the burden.<sup>112</sup> The connection between recruitment and economic fluctuations was quite real. When rubber prices were low, Home Guards earned (slightly) more than rubber tappers; when 'unskilled labour' wages rose, recruitment slumped and men anxiously asked permission to leave.<sup>113</sup> So it was that of the more than fifteen thousand

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<sup>106</sup> Verslag over de Maand april 1948, Rayonvertegenwoordiger ALS M. H. Albeda, 30 April 1948, NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/60.

<sup>107</sup> Interview with Dato Hamidin; Interview with Leong Chee Woh.

<sup>108</sup> Ref: No. (8) in D.O.R. 118/51, Chairman Rembau DWEC to State Chief Resettlement Officer, Negri Sembilan, 3 September 1951, ANM, G/2/B Kampong Miku.

<sup>109</sup> Seah and Seah, 'Reminisces', 13.

<sup>110</sup> *Voorlopig Inkomsten Reglement T.B.V. De Veiligheids-Bataljons*, 100-101, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/3799.

<sup>111</sup> Uit Resumé Nr. 4, 28 januari 1948, Bespreking DB Syndicaten en Onder-Voorzitters Bonden; Uit Brief van Voorz.A.L.S. aan Voorz.Fed., 29 oktober 1949, Nr. VV. 102., both in NL-HaNA Federabo 2.20.50/67;

<sup>112</sup> No. 312/R.H.L./L.V., Gedeeltelijke Restitutie van de Kosten Verbonden aan de Instandhouding van Ondernemingswachten; Richtlijnen voor de Vaststelling van een Gedeeltelijke Restitutie door het Land aan Ondernemers van de Kosten, Verbonden aan de Instandhouding van Ondernemingswachten, both in NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/67.

<sup>113</sup> Indian Affairs -Note of a Meeting held at 1030.a.m. on Friday 16<sup>th</sup> May, 1952, ANM, Confidential D.O.K.P. 136/1952 The Indian Community and the Emergency; Report on the Work of the Federation of Malaya Police Force for the Year 1950, ANM Chief Secretary 12948/1950 X Federation of Malaya-Annual Report 1950 Commissioner of Police.

SCs recruited in 1953, the large majority had volunteered against 2,168 having been directed.<sup>114</sup>

The combination of a lack of income, poor social prospects and an ongoing shooting war made a specific demographic particularly available: youth. In Tampin, for example, five young Malay adults aged twenty through thirty-two volunteered as Specials.<sup>115</sup> This range was the standard in both Malaya and Indonesia—with a preponderance of those in their twenties.<sup>116</sup> The Chinese the High Commissioner called upon to join the police in 1952 had to be those aged eighteen to twenty-five. The draw was that the ‘Select Committee considering the Federal Citizenship Bill’ had decided that Federal Citizenship should be granted to anyone serving for three years—an often-overlooked nexus.<sup>117</sup> Unsurprisingly, that same year a campaign encouraged 1.5 million Chinese and Indians to apply for citizenship.<sup>118</sup> 300,000 were naturalized by 1952. Some 385,000 had already been naturalized by law in 1949.<sup>119</sup> The demand for youth was acute. Local contractors in North Kedah complained that ‘They are losing their young, more energetic labourers’. Chan Wah’s painting business felt the crunch. His ‘older painters’ were too slow. Furniture maker Soon Cheong lost four able-bodied men

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<sup>114</sup> Def.0.1048/51 Confidential, Federation Executive Council Memorandum by the Secretary for Defence Release of Special Constables Sel.Conf.346/1952 2A, ANM, Sel.Sec.346A/1952 Re-absorption of Special Constables into Civilian Employment.

<sup>115</sup> D.OT.149/48/8A List of Persons who wish to enrol as Special Constables in Mukim Gemas, ANM, D.O.T. No. 149/48 1. Extra Police Constables Recruitment through D.O. Tampin. 2. Special Constables.

<sup>116</sup> Def.0.1048/51 Confidential, Federation Executive Council Memorandum by the Secretary for Defence Release of Special Constables Sel.Conf.346/1952 2A, both in ANM, Sel.Sec.346A/1952 Re-absorption of Special Constables into Civilian Employment; ‘Verdachten tot Bekentenis Gedwongen?’, *Java Bode*, 16 January 1952, 2.

<sup>117</sup> ‘Appeal to All Chinese to join the Police. H. E. Broadcasts Talk to Youth of Community. “Show Loyalty to Country and Cause of Freedom” 2,000 volunteers wanted for the Federation Force’, *The Malay Mail*, 1 April 1952. The connection between serving and citizenship is overlooked. Often, citizenship for Chinese is linked to the working of the Communities Liaison Committee or simply as another form of ‘hearts and minds’, see: K. Hack, ‘Detention, Deportation and Resettlement: British Counterinsurgency and Malaya’s Rural Chinese, 1948-60’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 43, no. 4 (2015), 613. 611-640 and Low Choo Chin, ‘Repatriation of the Chinese as a Counter-insurgency Policy During the Malayan Emergency’, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 45, 3 (2014), 390, respectively.

<sup>118</sup> From *China Press*, Kuala Lumpur Chinese Daily, 14 November 1952. ‘Federal Government will Launch a Campaign End of November’, From Federation of Malaya Daily Press Summary Vernacular Papers issued by the Department of Information, Federation of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Nov. 14, 1952, No. 260/52 Press Digest No. 18/52, ANM, MCA/Pub./Federation of Malaya Daily Press Summary.

<sup>119</sup> Purcell, *Malaya: Communist or Free?* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954), 5; L. A. Mills, *Malaya: A Political and Economic Appraisal* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), 83. For the citizenship rules, see: F. G. Carnell, ‘Malayan Citizenship Legislation’, *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 1, 4 (1952), 504-518.

while seven left him ‘to avoid being drafted’. Drafting and volunteering clearly divided people: ‘for every man called up at least two others disappear[ed]—possibly to join the bandits’, North Kedah’s Chief Engineer concluded.<sup>120</sup>

A thirst for adventure and rewards fed youth into the security forces. ‘Most had never before been so far from their home village’.<sup>121</sup> Leong Chee Woh saw his intelligence work, including killing opponents, as a ‘challenge’. ‘Ah’, he exclaimed, it ‘was something new, let’s go and whack the fellas’.<sup>122</sup> The search for Gurney’s killers in 1951 saw a surge of retaliatory fervour among Raub Home Guards who ached to discharge their weapons in earnest. Many were turned away. Inche Abu Bakar bin Imam, a former *penghulu* and fervent insurgent hunter himself, led the charge of 250 Guards. All ages were represented but the youngest, a seventeen-year-old, ‘said simply: “I like this kind of work”’. Inche’s men reputedly constituted Malaya’s ‘champion civilian bandit killers’, notching up twelve kills—a quarter of Raub’s ‘score’.<sup>123</sup> Newspapers took to such blood-thirsty rhetoric, reporting that the notorious and fiercely anti-Communist Pahang HG’s special ‘killer squads’ would ‘take the [...] fight even further’. The men in Raub had shot their way into earning \$40,000 in rewards ‘for kills and information’. Receiving money in exchange for taking lives became a spectacle on its own; a rite of passage. Commissioner of Police William N. Gray once travelled sixty miles on a weekend just to ‘congratulate and reward group of Home Guards who had drawn first blood’. The Malay *bentri besar* completed the cast by personally handing almost \$3,000 to the guards ‘who had brought up the score [...] to two killed’ in Ulu Kelantan.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> SEENK: 3/308/51 22<sup>nd</sup> Nov, 1951 Sen Executive Engineer, Public Works Department North Kedah E. M. Osborne to State Engineer Kedah/Perlis, Manpower Call up, ANM, S.E.E.N.K. 308-51 Manpower Call up. (ii) Home Guards & Kampong Guards.

<sup>121</sup> Stewart Clyde, ‘The New Home Guards’, *The Malayan Monthly*, 18, ANM, MM the Malayan Monthly August 1957.

<sup>122</sup> Interview with Leong Chee Woh. See also interview with Dato Hamidin: he called the young Malays joining the police ‘Robin Hood admirers’.

<sup>123</sup> ‘Villagers join Hunt for Killers’, *Straits Times* 23 October 1951, TNA CO 1022/22; Bin Iman had captured three Chinese and eight Malay insurgents. Sixty tried to subsequently to kill him.

<sup>124</sup> ‘60-mile Trek to see the Home Guards’, *The Sunday Times*, 14 November 1950, ANM Keratan Akhbar – The Sunday Times 14 November 1950; see also ‘Kepong A.P. gets \$20,000 Reward. Shot Terrorist Leader’, *Malay Mail*, 9 March 1950.

Serving made claims on the state possible. State-formation demands visible subjects; legibility allows the state to assess, control and ameliorate.<sup>125</sup> In the colonial cosmos, however, the state did not necessarily show interest in the reciprocity of feedback. The colonized understood this and, unless grievances were too much to bear, tried to stay ‘ungoverned’ or stage minor forms of ‘everyday resistance’—activities reflecting continued re-negotiating of visibility and power relations.<sup>126</sup> In one area—serving the state—the relationship did work bi-directional. Having shed blood allowed non-elite, colonial subjects to lay claims on the state’s doorstep, to exchange personal and communal gains, however incremental or ephemeral, for violent experiences.<sup>127</sup> They used that other realm of dialogue, petition writing, and made ‘the imposition of the use of the rulers’ own patterns of expression’ work in their favour.<sup>128</sup>

Through petitioning, policemen and paramilitaries made their very identities as guardians of empire visible. In responding, the colonial state furthered its own self-enforcing myth that perpetuated it as the protector of the masses against themselves and anti-colonial machinations.<sup>129</sup> The interplay thus generated another form of state-formation drawing administrators and indigenous scribes into a sphere of mutual legitimization where the politicised—and therefore risky—act of ventilation was condoned.<sup>130</sup> What follows is based on Malaysian sources. The reason is that Indonesians reading the movement of the tide against the Dutch had no interest in showcasing their ante-independence deeds. In the words of an Attorney-General’s representative from 1949: ‘Seeing

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<sup>125</sup> James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 82.

<sup>126</sup> James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 2009; Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

<sup>127</sup> Neil MacMaster, ‘The Roots of Insurrection: The Role of the Algerian Village Assembly (*Djemâa*) in Peasant Resistance, 1863-1962’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 52, 2 (2013), 432-433; Van Dijk, *The Netherlands East Indies*, 262-263.

<sup>128</sup> Quijano, ‘Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality’, 169.

<sup>129</sup> For the petition as a conduit for signalling identities, see Lex Heerma van Vos, ‘Introduction’, *International Review of Social History*, 46, Supplement 9 (2001), 5-6.

<sup>130</sup> Francis Cody, *The Light of Knowledge: Literacy Activism and the Politics of Writing in Southeast Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 180-182; Bhavani Raman, *Document Raj: Writing and Scribes in Early Colonial South India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 181-182.

that the possibility cannot be discounted, that [policemen] could have problems [with their medals] afterwards, [such a] reward should be discouraged'.<sup>131</sup> Jalhay, formerly of the battalion 'Andjing-NICA', put it differently: making enemies, even for a soldier, was dangerous, as 'you never know, who will be the boss here later'.<sup>132</sup>

Petitioning in Malaya stemmed from personal tragedy. Commonly widows or orphans did the unsavoury honours.<sup>133</sup> For Chong Yok and Yong Nam You, Home Guards, the Solicitor-General filled out the papers. Both had been ambushed in South Johore, possibly by insurgents, who took 1,800 Malayan Dollar from Yok's body along with personal effects.<sup>134</sup> When a commander and his wife were slain, the son who had found his parents amongst the rubber acted as witness. Although Lim Seh Hoon and her husband were killed tapping, the British decided to place more than three thousand dollars in a trust fund for the son since Mr. Chak was murdered for being a Home Guard. 6,400 Malayan Dollar was put on the heads of the assailants.<sup>135</sup> Friendly fire during an ambush yielded another successful claim. Not every petition warranted recompense. Ismail bin Japir shot himself tripping over his carbine, but was denied.<sup>136</sup> A badminton-related eye injury sustained during a round one unlucky Special was 'bound by discipline' to

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<sup>131</sup> No. 423/Geh./J, Betoonde Moed Politie-Agenten, Mr. R. J. Beer, the Vertegenwoordigend Procureur-Generaal, to de Procureur-Generaal Generaal van het Hooggerechtshof van Indonesië, 27 August 1949, NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hoogerechtshof Ned.-Ind. 2.10.17/118; until the end of Suharto's repressive regime 'authorized versions of Indonesian history' favoured the memories of revolutionary fighters.; Ann Stoler and Karen Strassler, 'Casting for the Colonial: Memory Work in "New Order" Java', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 42, 1 (2000), 11.

<sup>132</sup> S. H. Jalhay, *Allen Zwijgen: Van Merdeka en Andjing-NICA tot Apra* (Hillegom: Gevana, 1988), 234.

<sup>133</sup> ANM, Defence 9444/1950, Mar Tahar Bin Maakir, Late Auxiliary Police (I) Pension to the Widow (II) Compensation for the Loss of Articles.

<sup>134</sup> 83131 Ext. 111, 10th December 1958, M. Suffian for Solicitor-General to The Secretary to the Treasury. Reference Treasury (FS)2842 – PT 181 attached, ANM, Attorney-General F.M. No. 1339 Emergency (Civilian Injury) Regulations 1949, Injury Allowance Special Constables.

<sup>135</sup> TRY/COMP/578 28 April, 1953 Compensation Officer, Emergency (Civil Injuries Compensation) Regulations 1949, P. E. G. Bates to District Officer, Segamat, Johore; Ref. (3) in L.D.M. (C.I.C.) 6/53 Deputy Commissioner for Labour, North Johore, Muar, J. D. H. Neill to District Officer, Segamat, 19 March 1953. Death of Home Guard Commander Phuah Chack & His Wife, Lim Seh Hoon. Killed by Terrorists near Kebon Bahru New Village, both in ANM, L.D., M.No.(CIC)6/53 (1) Phuah Chak (m) H.G. High Commander, (2) Lim Seh Hoon (f) Husband & Wife Killed by Terrorists in Kebon Bahru New Village.

<sup>136</sup> Minute Paper No. AG. 909 Sheet No. 1, D. B. Friend 2AS(A) 10/12/56 to Sol. Gen; 2AS(A) (F.S.) 4582 DMK Grant for Solicitor-General 13<sup>th</sup> December, 1956, both in ANM, Attorney-General, Federation of Malaya No. 909 Emergency (Civilian Injuries Compensation) Regulations, 1949. Death of SC/15283 Idris bin Said Who was Accidentally Shot by a Member of a Rear Police Party at Gunong Barcham on 4.8.56.

play likewise resulted in refusal.<sup>137</sup> Many petitions attested to economic motivations, concerning back-pay after redundancy measures.<sup>138</sup> Sickness and dismissal left at least one family destitute while another complained about an abusive planter.<sup>139</sup> An impertinent ex-Special wanted three months' wages despite having been in detention. 'I am quite innocent', he wrote on the eve of his deportation to Indonesia. Guards were peeved when passed over for promotions—especially when a Chinese was put in charge of Malays.<sup>140</sup> Bin Tadir's reaction was wholly typical, although the District Officer's less so: Why, Bin Tadir wondered, 'are new men recruited [...] whereas a man, in my case, who already had the training was rejected'? Unperturbed, the DO replied that the man was 'completely useless'.<sup>141</sup>

The British understood well the 'debt of gratitude' they incurred.<sup>142</sup> Simultaneously, large groups of demobilised men familiar with weapons 'might, if unemployed, constitute an additional danger to security'.<sup>143</sup> This was not unthinkable as 18,000 Specials had served their time in 1953 and some used their position to rack up debts.<sup>144</sup> Post-service initiatives abounded, ranging from vocational training, personal loans and repatriation to transfers to Police or

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<sup>137</sup> Ref: 127/10/1 (473) 12<sup>th</sup> Oct 1960, Ali Bin Ghani for Commissioner; the Royal Federation of Malaya Police, to Principal Establishment Officer Sub. Injury Case -Ex.Sc 19430 Harun Bin Ahmad; Minute Paper No. AG 1339 Sheet No. 2 (P.E.C. 10000/Pt. 454) P.A.S.(P) 3.1.61 signed I. A.S. (P), both in ANM, Attorney-General F.M. No. 1339 Emergency (Civilian Injury) Regulations 1949 Injury Allowance Special Constables.

<sup>138</sup> ANM, N.S. State Secretariat No. 1495/1949 Petition Against Her Dismissal from the Service as a Special Constable; ANM, Selangor Secretariat 1577/1952 Request for Gratuity, from Che Nordin, Ex-Special Constable, Batang Kali.

<sup>139</sup> Othman bin Ali, 19 November 1951 to Mentri Besar, Negri Sembilan, Sembilan, ANM, N.S. State Secretariat No. 21/1950 Complaints by Special Constables & Extra; ANM, Sel.Sec. 1264/1949 Complaint from Special Constable 27257 Kuang, Against the Manager of Utan Simpan Estate for Assault, etc.

<sup>140</sup> ANM, N.S. 1195/52 S.J.6 Zakaraia b. Hj. Sidek Complains about the Appointment of a Chinese as Home Guard Adjutant.

<sup>141</sup> A. Karim bin Tadir, Home Guard Adjutant, Gemencheh, N.S. to Mentri Besar, Seremban, N.S., 22 September 1952; Minute Paper No. 1195/S.J.1 Sheet No. 1, State Home Guard Officer, Negri Sembilan, to Mentri Besar Negri Sembilan, both in ANM, N.S. 1195/52 S.J.1 Petition regarding Termination of His Service as Home Guard Ayer Lauh.

<sup>142</sup> Def/33/54 15 Federation of Malaya Police Force Orders KL, 20<sup>th</sup> March. 1954 Restricted, No 164 J. N. M. A. Nichols Ag. Commissioner of Police Special Force Order, Special Constabulary – The Commissioner's Message, ANM, Defence 33/54 Federation of Malaya Police Force Orders – 1954.

<sup>143</sup> Def.0.1048/51 Confidential, Federation Executive Council Memorandum by the Secretary for Defence Release of Special Constables Sel. Conf.346/1952 2A.

<sup>144</sup> Extract from the Monthly Report of the District Officer, Kuala Langat, for the month of June, 1949, ANM, Sel. Sec. 1710/1949 Appointment of a Committee to Consider What Assistance should be given to the Special Constables upon their Discharge from Service.

Armed Forces.<sup>145</sup> The Specials needed the support. Recession caused unemployment, made preferred jobs like watchman scarce and many were unskilled.<sup>146</sup> Ex-Specials received titles to state land. The majority chose individual settlement; others to live in communes.<sup>147</sup> The largest site in Kuala Selangor, named Trail, housed a maximum of 300 ex-Specials and their families. Soon children were born, a women's organisation was founded nearby and the newly-settled took tentative steps towards becoming coffee planters. Despite initial grievances—need for schooling, debts to the government—headway was being made. Tellingly, inhabitants rechristened their settlement 'Jaya Setia': 'Loyal and Faithful'.<sup>148</sup>

Zooming in again on the Indonesia—and specifically, the Pasundan and the Chinese communities—makes a strong case for specific violence and territorial control—not innate loyalty—meeting locally to solve the collective action conundrum. In other words, violence activated alliance-seeking and formation. Dutch hopes of the *negara* drawing in anyone 'of Sundanese descent' proved ambitious. Statehood elicited myriad reactions as the nation fell into different camps. Long-serving KNIL soldiers proved loathe to risk their pension for a possible 'Sundanese State Army'. Unless the Dutch suppressed the *negara* they

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<sup>145</sup> Report on Special Constabulary. Rehabilitation of the Special Constabulary for 1953. Extract from the Notes of the Conference of Mentri Mentri Besar, Resident Commissioners and British Advisers with the High Commissioner held on Monday, 13<sup>th</sup> July, 1953, ANM, LAB.M.No: 12/1954 Part I; Report on Special Constabulary Rehabilitation of the Special Constabulary for 1953; N.S. 120/53 S.J.26 Memorandum of Charge in Respect of E.M.R. 2135 Executed by Che' Ahmad bin Mat Akit, Ex-Special Constable of Permatang Pasir, Port Dickson; Disposal of Time-expired Special Constables (CSO.27/10), ANM, Sel. Sec. 346A/1952 Re-absorption of Special Constables into Civilian Employment; Rehabilitation - Special Constabulary 1954 Survey First Options 127/19/3 Sel. Sec. 27A I/1953 87A, ANM, Sel. Secretariat No. 27 I/1953 Land Settlement for Time-expired Special Constables.

<sup>146</sup> No. (94) in ACL. Klang Conf.862/49 10<sup>th</sup> October 1953 Rehabilitation of Special Constables, J. C. S. Mackie MCS Assistant Commissioner for Labour, Klang, to Deputy Commissioner for Labour, Selangor, ANM, Sel. Sec. 346A/1952 Self-absorption of Special Constables into Civilian Employment.

<sup>147</sup> Appendix I Figures showing the Number of Men Who applied for the Various Benefits-in-kind and the Number Who were Rehabilitated in the Year 1953, Annex to LAB.M.No: 12/1954; D.Inf. 8/55/5 (INF) Cultivator Karim, Ex-Circus-Hand-Cum-Policeman, Builds own House, by Warner Vanter, Sunday Papers, August 7, 1955, ANM, B.A. Sel. 132/1953 Committee for the Rehabilitation of Demobilised Special Constables, State of Selangor.

<sup>148</sup> ANM, LAB.M.No: 12/1954 Part I; E. E. Pengilley Commissioner for the Resettlement of Special Constables in Civilian Life to State Secretariat Selangor, 6 September, 1954; No.(11) in CRSC.66/53. Sel, ANM, Selangor Secretariat 498/G Report of Inspections by the Commissioner for the Resettlement of Special Constables -Kuala Selangor District; Sel. Sec. 346A/52 Precis Rehabilitation of Demobilised Special Constables, ANM, Sel. Sec. 346A/1952 Re-absorption of Special Constables into Civilian Employment.

would not desert and combat ‘terrorists’ under the KNIL, they said.<sup>149</sup> Conversely, many Republican administrators in Buitenzorg ‘came over to the Pasoendan’. Bantam in Java’s western tip was also ‘ripe for Pasoendan’ but because of the Sultan’s separatist motivations, not his attachment to Sundanese Indonesians.<sup>150</sup> Elsewhere, hundreds of Sundanese ignored the PRP, turning unto a path leading into nascent guerrilla movements or the TNI.<sup>151</sup> Local Islamic leader Haji Abdulah captured the decisive nature of the Pasundan well. Its leaders, ‘porters, grass cutters [and] coolies’, could never unite the different Sundanese communities. Ultimately, the *kiaj* said, the Dutch planned to have Sundanese under their control fight those supporting the Republic. ‘Certainly [they] want to again colonize us’.<sup>152</sup> The Linggadjati Agreement of March 1947 crushed many Sundanese spirits. The ‘little man’ feared that with Republican sovereignty over Java (and Sumatra and Madura) Dutch protection would fall away and ‘that they will pay for their loyal stance’ towards the Dutch.<sup>153</sup> Uncertainty encouraged alliance-switching. The local Republican *Polisi Tentara* used Sundanese agents to encourage desertions: 36 Sundanese crossed the Citarum river into Republican territory.<sup>154</sup>

The ‘Police Action’ mere months after Linggadjati’s ratification changed matters. Police recruiters noted that willingness emerged where Dutch power was unchallenged and visible.<sup>155</sup> Territorial control likewise emboldened local

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<sup>149</sup> Verzamelrapport Veiligheidsgroep 28 April t/m 12 Mei 1947, 15 Mei 1947, No. 2887/MV 1, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië, 2.13.132/224.

<sup>150</sup> Conferentie Coördinatie Berichtgeving 24/5/1947, NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hoogerechtshof Ned.-Ind., 2.10.17/108; teleg: 5-5-’47, De Koning van Bantam, Sultan Abul Moefachir Moehammad Heroeningrat aan koningin nederland, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI, 2.10.62/1728.

<sup>151</sup> Verzamelrapport Veiligheidsgroep 1 Februari t/m 17 Februari 1947, 22 Februari 1947, Nr. 1051, MV1, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië, 2.13.132/224; D. Dislocaties Tegenpartij (Wijzigingen sedert Laatste Opgave), annex to Overzicht en Ontwikkeling van den Toestand, 25 Maart 1947, No. 186/III-C, NL-HaNa, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië, 2.13.132/223.

<sup>152</sup> Onverkorte Weergave van Rapporten van Waarnemers Tijdens de Vergadering P.R.P. op 4 Mei 1947 te Bandoeng, 6 Mei 1947, S.II 1105 M, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI, 2.10.62/1728.

<sup>153</sup> Kort Verslag betreffende de Bestuursvoering in de Preanger over de Maand Maart 1947, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

<sup>154</sup> Verzamelrapport Veiligheidsgroep (25 t/m 31-3-47), Nr. 1921/MV1, 5 April 1947, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/224.

<sup>155</sup> Verslag West-Java van Regeringscommissaris voor Bestuursaangelegenheden West-Java (Ahdulkadir Widjojoatmodjo) over de Periode juli t/m sept. 1947, *NIB* 11, 196, 205.



Sundanese. Whereas the Pasundan's political leadership was treading water on a state level, in some places the Sundanese came together. The Pasundan Information Service reported people felt 'liberated from the terror' of the Republic and now dared to demand the removal of gangs and desa leaders who 'condone terrorism or encourage it'.<sup>156</sup> This activism was likely animated by repositories of pent-up resentment being unleashed.<sup>157</sup> There was plenty to be tapped into: between October and December 960 cases of PRP-specific cases of murder, kidnap, arson, looting and displacement took place.<sup>158</sup> The coming together of control and the possibility of safety from violence activated risk-taking behaviour and peoples' identity as Sundanese. In desa Pagelaran, Krawang Regency, Bapa Koné proposed to form a central PRP post that, supported by Dutch soldiers, would patrol neighbouring villages, 'hunt and report gang members' and expose 'terror-plans'. A list with twenty-seven names of suspects suddenly surfaced. It named various insurgent groups and their plans to burn kampongs, collect guns and murder soldiers of the Royal Army, KNIL and collaborators.<sup>159</sup>

The *Pao An Tui's* origins were predicated on the same process of violence acting as activism facilitator. The Chinese formed one of the main targets for the nationalist uprising: it brought long-standing Sino-Indonesian frictions out in the open. To explain this, a short foray is needed into the Indonesian Chinese community. As in Malaya, it constituted a minority. By the 1930s, successive migratory waves and subsequent settling had resulted in 1,2 million Chinese in the archipelago divided into *sinkeh* Chinese and their Indonesian-born offspring, *peranakan* Chinese.<sup>160</sup> In Indonesia, too, some Chinese communities adopted

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<sup>156</sup> De Algem. Leider van de Centrale Pasoendan-Voorlichtingsdienst, A. Djajaprawira aan het Kabinet Legercommandant, No. 93/T.O., 15 Augustus 1947, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

<sup>157</sup> Roger D. Petersen, *Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 36.

<sup>158</sup> Recapitulatie. Terreur in het Krawangse-gebieden, v/den 10<sup>e</sup> October t/m 30<sup>e</sup> December 1947, 1 December 1947, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

<sup>159</sup> Lijst van Personen die Volgens bekomen Inlichtingen Gevaarlijk worden geacht voor de Algemene Orde em [sic] Veiligheid; Voorstel van Bapa Koné, vertrouwensman van de P.R.P., wonende in de Dsa Pagelaran, Onderdistrict Rawamerta, District Rengasdenklok, Regentschap Krawang, both annexes (A and B) to De Algem. Leider van de Centrale Pasoendan-Voorlichtingsdienst, A. Djajaprawira aan het Kabinet Legercommandant, No. 93/T.O., 15 Augustus 1947, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

<sup>160</sup> Twang Peck Yang, *The Chinese Business Elite in Indonesia and the Transition to Independence 1940-1950* (Kuala

Western modes of living and the Malay or Dutch language. Like in Malaya, they are referred to as *peranakan*. *Sinkeh* Chinese remained less sedentary and self-employed and held on to their original languages.<sup>161</sup> Chinese organizations in Indonesia reflected this divide. The *Tiong Hua Kui Koan* in 1900 dabbled in Chinese nationalism whereas the *Chung Hua Hui* some twenty years later strongly associated with the Dutch.<sup>162</sup> Although some Chinese and early Indonesian nationalists took heart and copied each other's activities, the Chinese remained foreign bodies.<sup>163</sup> The Chinese stood out further as China's government meddled in overseas education and citizenship issues. Chambers of Commerce could act as China's consulates while businessmen spread Kuomintang nationalism.<sup>164</sup> The *Serikat Islam*, Indonesia's first mass movement, party established itself to interrupt economic 'competitive pressure of the Chinese'. When the Dutch Ethical Police of 1901 broke Chinese opium selling and revenue farming monopolies for injuring indigenous prospects, anti-Chinese rioting broke out in 1912 and 1918.<sup>165</sup> Indonesians continued to see the Chinese communities

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Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1998), 19; Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*, 385-86, 430; Lea E. Williams, *Overseas Chinese Nationalism: The Genesis of the Pan-Chinese Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1916* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1960), 9-10.

<sup>161</sup> Yang, *The Chinese Business Elite*, 20-21, 44, 75; Bruno Lasker, 'The Role of the Chinese in the Netherlands Indies', *Far Eastern Quarterly*, 5, 2 (1946), 166; Williams, *Overseas Chinese Nationalism*, 11, 13; Didi Kwaranada, 'Competition, Patriotism and Collaboration: The Chinese Businessmen of Yogyakarta between the 1930s and 1945', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 33, 2 (2002), 264.

<sup>162</sup> Yang, *The Chinese Business*, 21; Giok Kiauw Nio Liem, *De Rechtspositie der Chinezen in Nederlands-Indië 1848-1942: Wetgevingsbeleid tussen Beginsel en Belang* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2009), 48; Tek Hoay Kwee, *The Origins of the Modern Chinese Movement in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969, transl. Lea E. Williams), 6-11; Donald E. Willmott, *The National Status of the Chinese in Indonesia 1900-1958* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1961), 4; Williams, *Overseas Chinese Nationalism*, 57, 196; Leo Suryadinata, 'The Search for National Identity of an Indonesian Chinese: A Political Biography of Liem Koen Hian', *Archipel*, 14 (1977), 47, 52-53, 57.

<sup>163</sup> For the interplay between Chinese and early Indonesian nationalism, see: D. Noer, ed., *Portrait of a Patriot: Selected Writings by Mohammad Hatta* (The Hague: Mouton, 1972), 107; Williams, *Overseas Chinese Nationalism*, 187-188; Suryadinata, 'The Search for National Identity', 57; Yang, *The Chinese Business Elite*, 28; Mona Lohanda, *Growing Pains: The Chinese and the Dutch in Colonial Java, 1890-1942* (Jakarta: Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, 2002), 172.

<sup>164</sup> Yang, *The Chinese Business Elite*, 28; Suryadinata, 'The Search for National Identity', 47; Leo Suryadinata, 'Indonesian Chinese Education: Past and Present', *Indonesia*, 14 (1972), 56; 49-71; Yang, *The Chinese Business Elite*, 22, 74; Png Poh Seng, 'The Kuomintang in Malaya, 1912-1941', *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, 2, 1 (1961), 6-9. Williams, *Overseas Chinese Nationalism*, 96.

<sup>165</sup> H. A. Idema, *Parlementaire Geschiedenis van Nederlands-Indië 1891-1918* ('s-Gravenhage, M. Nijhoff, 1924), 137; Herman Burgers, *De Garoeda en de Ooievaar: Indonesië van Kolonie tot Nationale Staat* (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2012), 114-116; W. F. Wertheim and The Siauw Giap, 'Social Change in Java, 1900-1930', *Pacific Affairs*, 35, 3 (1962), 225-226, 223-247; Leo Suryadinata, 'Pre-war Indonesian Nationalism and the Peranakan Chinese', *Indonesia*, 11 (1971), 85; Williams, *Overseas Chinese Nationalism*, 187-188, 190.

as a privileged layer protected injected between them and the Dutch.<sup>166</sup> That the Dutch gave the Chinese Dutch citizenship and a European legal status severely aggrieved Indonesians further.<sup>167</sup> The bridge between the two communities finally collapsed under the weight of Japanese occupation since many Chinese had collaborated with the Japanese. Some did so for ‘profit’, surmised the resident of Banjumas; others for ‘fear of looting [...] after the Dutch power had disappeared’.<sup>168</sup> That the Japanese murdered scores of Chinese for their Anti-Japanese support to China was conveniently ignored.<sup>169</sup>

The returning colonial government had little problems with previous collaboration. The Chinese fitted well the twin policies of finding allies against the Republic and economic restoration.<sup>170</sup> Many Indonesians did take issue. According to the Federation of Chinese Associations (*Chung Hua Tsung Hui*, CHTH) anti-Chinese violence was stayed until after the *bersiap* period during which Eurasians and Dutch people were slaughtered en masse.<sup>171</sup> Indonesians after August 1945 ‘suddenly assumed a conciliatory attitude’, believing China and the Allies would not tolerate any ‘molesting’ of Chinese.<sup>172</sup> The CHTH was likely mistaken, however: in 1948 ‘long-disappeared Chinese’ were discovered in two mass graves.<sup>173</sup> Regardless, Indonesian hesitations soon gave way to large-scale maltreatment and killings. During the famous Battle for Surabaya (19-26

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<sup>166</sup> The Siauw Giap, ‘Group Conflict in a Plural Society: Anti-Chinese Riots in Indonesia: The Sukabumi (1963) and Kudus (1918) Incidents’, *Revue du Sud-Est Asiatique*, 2 (1966), 1-31.

<sup>167</sup> J. A. C. Mackie and Charles A. Coppel, ‘A Preliminary Survey’, in J. A. C. Mackie, ed., *The Chinese in Indonesia: Five Essays* (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1976), 1-18; Williams, *Overseas Chinese Nationalism*, 166; A. van Marle, ‘De Groep der Europeanen in Nederlands-Indië, Iets over Ontstaan en Groei’, *Indonesia*, 5, 3 (1952), 106.

<sup>168</sup> S. M. Gandasubrata, ‘An Account of the Japanese Occupation of Banjumas Residency, Java, March 1942 to August 1945’, Leslie H. Palmer, transl., Ithaca: Cornell University Press, Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, Data Paper No. 10, 1953, 3.

<sup>169</sup> Mary F. Somers-Heidhues, ‘Citizenship and Identity: Ethnic Chinese and the Indonesian Revolution’, in Jennifer Wayne Cushman and Wang Gungwu, eds., *Changing Identities of the Southeast Asian Chinese Since World War II* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1988), 117.

<sup>170</sup> Somers-Heidhues, ‘Citizenship and Identity’, 118.

<sup>171</sup> For the *bersiap* period, see Bussemaker, *Bersiap!*, *passim*.

<sup>172</sup> *Memorandum: Outlining Acts of Violence and Inhumanity Perpetrated by Indonesian Bands on Innocent Chinese Before and After the Dutch Police Action was Enforced on July 21, 1947*, Compiled by Chung Hua Tsung Hui, Federation of Chinese Associations in Batavia, 3; the Memorandum is held in NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2676 and ISEAS, TCL.37.3.

<sup>173</sup> Mr. J. Ph. H. E. van Lier, Hoofd Kantoor Politieke Zaken, aan Chef Directie Verre Oosten, Kab./458/P.Z., 5 Maart 1948NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/5526.

November 1946) an estimated 1,000 Chinese lost their lives.<sup>174</sup> In Salatiga, large numbers of Chinese were held captive.<sup>175</sup> Spoor in 1949 acknowledged that anti-Chinese violence continued unabated while the one Chinese organisation counted some 60,000 Chinese victims during the first Police Action and another 30,000 during the second. ‘Of these, Republican and sometimes Dutch forces had killed several hundred’.<sup>176</sup> One particularly heinous episode was the massacre in Tangerang, outside Jakarta, in May and June 1946. The Seng Ie Red Cross tallied 653 murdered Chinese including 136 women and 36 children who had perished as Dutch and Indonesians fought for possession of the town. 25,000 refugees streamed into the capital fleeing the sea of fire that consumed their houses. A September atrocity saw thousands of Republican Naval Forces, police and TNI kill some two hundred Chinese and besiege the town when ‘survivors resisted’. Two thousand Chinese fled Indonesia altogether, to Malacca.<sup>177</sup>

While the Republican Minister for Information grossly downplayed Tangerang, the orgy of violence (featuring forced circumcision and rape), impressed the lesson on Chinese leaders that their stance of neutrality was ill-advised.<sup>178</sup> On this notion the *Pao An Tui* was built. As we recall, it was allowed in December 1945 by the British and then recognized and organized by the Dutch in the course of the following years. ‘[T]he “right of self-defence” [...] could not with good conscience be denied [a] group, that finds itself in direct danger—and practically unprotected by Government’, police authorities opined. The Chinese practically pushed the Dutch into accepting this conclusion: they had dragged a dead, shot-up Chinese through the streets to make their point in North

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<sup>174</sup> William Frederick, *Visions and Heat: The Making of the Indonesian Revolution* (Athens: Ohio University Press: 1989), 279 note 6; during the battle, many Chinese fought alongside the Indonesians.

<sup>175</sup> Lt.gouverneur-generaal (Van Mook) aan Minister van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen (Jonkman), 1 Augustus 1947, *NIB* 10, 162; 3-12 R.I. Afd.Inl.Veil.Dienst. Onderwerp: Lot der Chinezen uit Madja, 9 March 1948, No. GI/UA/160, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/5526.

<sup>176</sup> Appreciatierapport nr. 2 over de Periode 26 Januari t/m1 Februari 1949 van Legercommandant (Spoor) aan Gecommitteerde van de C.M.I. bij het Kabinet van de Minister van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen (Kiès), *NIB* 17, 351; Heidhues, ‘Anti-Chinese violence’, 391; see also Chef directie Verre Oosten te Batavia (Elink Schuurman) aan Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken (Van Boetzelaar van Oosterhout), 6 December 1947, *NIB* 12, 109 note 5.

<sup>177</sup> *Memorandum*, 6.

<sup>178</sup> ‘Natsir Talks on the Massacre’, *The Straits Times*, 14 June 1946, 2; Somers, ‘Anti-Chinese Violence’, 386; *Memorandum*, 4.

Sumatra.<sup>179</sup> To the planters, arming the PAT was relatively safe yet ‘adventurous’ seeing the atmosphere in ‘Malakka’. After all, ‘the Chinese would not cross to the other party [...] because they cannot mingle enough with’ the Republic.<sup>180</sup> As the Sundanese in Krawang, Dutch protection afforded the Chinese a choice and so PAT units sprung up everywhere.<sup>181</sup> Again, as in Krawang, (the threat of) specific violence, however, had to be dissipated by Dutch control because ‘where [Dutch] troops could not advance quickly enough’ Chinese stood little chance: murder, arson, *rampok* or the ‘removal of women and children’ ensued forcing the Chinese to keep their heads down.<sup>182</sup> Explaining why the PAT was founded, Pouw Kiou An loudly declared: ‘Our possessions up in smoke, the honour of our wives and daughters violated, our freedom trampled upon. No wonder, that the blood of thousands of innocent Chinese that has so besmirched and tainted the Indonesian Freedom Flag’ has led Chinese to form their ‘own “security corps”’.<sup>183</sup>

### *Riding the Trojan Horse*

Eighty-five percent of the Plantation Guard functioned ‘adequately’; only one percent had deserted, February 1949 headlines announced.<sup>184</sup> Nine months later a Surabaya paper reported differently as ‘Desertion brings chaos’.<sup>185</sup> Already planters had complained that European staff schedules precluded monitoring the watchmen and that hiring ‘trained external’ guards was tantamount to ‘bringing in the Trojan Horse’. The PG, they said, had been ‘pushed on us like a necessary evil’ by the government.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> Nota No. 3, Betreffende het Ontstaan en de Ontwikkeling van het “Chinese Security Corps”, W. G. Eybergen, Hoofdcommissaris van Politie Noord Sumatra to Officier van Justitie Noord-Sumatra, 30 October 1947, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1340.

<sup>180</sup> Jhr. Mr. W. J. de Jonge to Mr. J. G. van ‘t Oever, Nr. 420/VV.13, 22 February 1949, NL-HaNA, NHM, 2.20.01/8909.

<sup>181</sup> Sterkten Pao An Tui, Territorial and Troop Commander West Java, 23 October 1947, No.: G/183/164, NL-HaNA, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/303.

<sup>182</sup> Politieke Toestand van de Bevrijde Gebieden over de maand AUGUSTUS 1947, 23 September 1947, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/4989.

<sup>183</sup> ‘Waarom Wij Chinezen de Pao An Tui Oprichtten!’, 3 *De Vrije Pers*, 18 March 1949, 1.

<sup>184</sup> ‘Ondernemingswachten Voldoende’, *De Leeuwarder Courant*, 25 February 1949, 1; ‘De Ondernemingswacht: Grote Factor voor Veiligheid’, *De Vrije Pers*, 22 February 1949, 1.

<sup>185</sup> ‘Nieuws uit O.-Java. Desertie Brengt Chaos’, *De Vrije Pers*, 22 November 1949, 2.

<sup>186</sup> Vergadering van de Kring Pangalengan, 99.

Colonial security forces—despite the accoutrements of loyalty—performed not as well as some believed. The question is why. To attempt an answer, this chapter’s concluding pages will analyse two causes. The first is the role of indigenous, individual agency choosing to follow interests that mostly ran counter to colonial interests. Self-deployment made room for itself. The second cause lies with the interplay between levels of anti-colonial violence and colonial control: it engendered displacement of loyalties. For the second tier of the argument the focus lies with Indonesia. Indonesia’s case simply shows the most extreme consequences of loss of control. Certainly, desertion plagued Malayan security forces as well. It suffices here to note that Malaya’s paramilitaries did not perform as admirably as some scholars imply.<sup>187</sup> Security men deserted there, too, but rates never rose so high that police and paramilitary forces virtually collapsed—therefore the issue tends to be overlooked. Still, people absconded. The Malayan Communist Party gleefully reported that forty-eight Special Constables had deserted within six months in 1951; wags in the Legislative Council claimed people rather kept guard-dogs than trust the Specials.<sup>188</sup>

Those responsible certainly understood the dangers of insubordination due to individual, diverging interests. Deserting or absconding Specials faced prison or firing.<sup>189</sup> Plantation Guards risked serious repercussions from misuse of authority, disobeying or cheating superiors, inebriation, opium-dealing or harassing the public.<sup>190</sup> Special Force order No. 72, ‘Loyalty to the Police Force’, forbade Malayan policemen any outside affiliations. A man could not ‘divide his loyalty between the Police and some other organisation’ as much as he could ‘serve two masters’.<sup>191</sup> However, many did just that and served themselves. Placed

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<sup>187</sup> John Coates, *Suppressing Insurgency: An Analysis of the Malayan Emergency, 1948-1954* (Boulder, CO; Westview Press 1992), 121, note 9.

<sup>188</sup> Translation of an M.C.P. Cyclostyled Booklet Entitled: ‘British Imperialists’ Failure and Lyttelton’s Plan, A Comment from the Emencipation Press’ dated 10.3.52. reprinted by the Freedom Press Singapore, TNA, CO 1022/46.

<sup>189</sup> CP/2733 42, C. H. A. Sturge for Commissioner of Police to All Chief Police Officers. Annual Report – Discipline, Special Constabulary. Offences, ANM, C.P. 2733 Special Constabulary Discipline – Policy.

<sup>190</sup> Uittreksel uit het Register der Besluiten van de Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon in Indonesië, 11 December 1948, No. 6 (Staatsblad No. 315), NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/654; see also: Home Guard Disciplinary Code, 10 October 1952, Ref: HG/PG/1104, Arkib Negara Caw. Pulau Penang, RCP/HG/1452/52.

<sup>191</sup> Def 33/54 8 Kuala Lumpur, Federation of Malaya Police Force Orders, 12 February, 1954.

suddenly in authority they were not averse to exercising it. Revenge was a motive. One guard (on patrol) killed Leu See Hoon, the female insurgent leader responsible for his father's death two years before.<sup>192</sup> Settling scores resulted in intimate violence. Home Guards dispatched romantic rivals, shot friends in anger and took care of objecting in-laws.<sup>193</sup> One Javanese fusilier shot a suspected 'extremist' who 'harassed' his wife.<sup>194</sup> Djarta, a 23-years old soldier, led a gang of his friends to find his wife, as suspected, in the arms of another. He bayoneted the lover. Djarta was charged with manslaughter, having taken 'the opportunity given him as soldier, misusing the attributes of authority given to him, uniform and weapon'.<sup>195</sup>

Registers of violence, then, opened for personal, sometimes sinister gains. In Krawang, one indigenous soldier 'to free himself from discovery' killed the woman he had raped as well as her son. He was shot dead attempting escape after being sentenced to death.<sup>196</sup> Forcing sexual acts upon children and women—'plundering of honour'—happened frequently, on and off duty, by Dutch, Indonesian and Chinese enforcers.<sup>197</sup> Their greedy hands liberated material possessions from their owners where they could, killing and stealing.<sup>198</sup> Elsewhere, Ambonese soldiers asserted dominance over Chinese merchants. In a scuffle over food two Chinese died. When Police Chief Henar came to investigate,

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<sup>192</sup> 'Guard avenged Father's Death', *The Straits Times*, 13 May 1952, 7.

<sup>193</sup> 'Special denies Alleged Murder', *Malay Mail*, 23 January 1953, 3; 'Home Guard Free of Murder Charge', *The Straits Times*, 5 May 1955, 8; '7 Years for Home Guard Who Shot Man at Third Wife's House', *The Straits Times*, 28 October 1956, 11; "'Vengeance Killer" to Die', *The Straits Times*, 11 August 1956, 5; 'Home Guard on Murder Charge', *The Straits Times*, 11 March 1954, 5; 'Murder Charge', *The Straits Times*, 12 September 1955, 7; "'I saw my Brother Shot"—Story', *The Straits Times*, 15 April 1957, 5.

<sup>194</sup> *De Excessennota. Nota Betreffende het Archiefonderzoek naar de Gegevens Omtrent Excessen in Indonesië Begaan door Nederlandse Militairen in de Periode 1945-1950* (Den Haag, Sdu Uitgeverij, 1995), annex 7, 16.

<sup>195</sup> Tas Rip Djarta, 23 jaar, Ambarawa, Soldaat 2<sup>e</sup> klasse, 3<sup>e</sup> Inf. Deport Compagnie Semarang, in Arrest vanaf 1-10-1946, 28 September 1948, No. DI/4894/49, annex to Pro Justitia, Reg No 337, NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hoogerechtshof Ned.-Ind. 2.10.17/80.

<sup>196</sup> Dossier Contra: Syaranamual, Wilhelmus Johannes, Ambonnees sldt.2<sup>e</sup> kl. B/h. Korps Special Troepen, Archief Justitie/Excessen 2.09.95/89, Ministerie van Justitie: Archiefbescheiden Onderzoek naar Excessen in Indonesië, Nationale Archieven, Den Haag.

<sup>197</sup> *Excessennota*, annex 7, 1, 10-15.

<sup>198</sup> *Excessennota*, annex 5, 12, entry for 25 juli, Cheribon; annex 7, 11; Weekoverzicht Veiligheidsgroep, 31 Dec. '46 t/m 6 Jan '47, 9 January 1947, No. 135/MW, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/224; Krijgsraadzaak ca. Soend.sld.tlk. Leman, alg.stbnr. 965. (Plundering)., 16 Februari 1949, T/B 290/21.03.07/IC/Spood, NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hoogerechtshof Ned.-Ind., 2.10.17/75.

‘Ambonese and [...] native policemen [...] rushed into the Chinese camp’ and destroyed it. The military praised the troops’ aggressiveness; the Chinese should not resist the suppression of their profiteering—although the brawl had not been about that.<sup>199</sup>

In Malaya, the 1948 Batang Kali massacre was accompanied by smaller, lesser-known instances of unwarranted yet so-called necessary or accidental violence.<sup>200</sup> In Rawang, an Indian policeman gunned down a Chinese man seated in front of a barbershop. As shopkeepers hastily closed the shutters more shots rang out. The responsible trio claimed they had repulsed a 50-man communist sortie in town, but brave witnesses refuted this account. Finding the man alive the police took him away to finish him off.<sup>201</sup> In the aftermath, villagers berated the police for intimidating witnesses through mass-screening; the local police commander brazenly defended the false reporting.<sup>202</sup> In 1956 British troops and local forces caused massive outrage subjecting 3,000 rubber tappers to ‘indignity and brutal treatment’, strip-searching women and making ‘them run for their clothes’.<sup>203</sup> Lao Jiang, a MRLA soldier, said British soldiers ‘went up to the women’ on rubber estates before dawn and ‘raped and killed them’. To cover their tracks, they would ‘leave a cap which belongs to the CMP cadre’ at the scene. ‘My hatred towards the British was boiling inside me’, he concluded.<sup>204</sup>

Perpetrators, then, were specifically empowered by the ‘utilization of a means given [...] through [their] profession’.<sup>205</sup> The pervasive war context certainly

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<sup>199</sup> To the Chinese Embassy Canberra, from Chinese Civil Captain Tarakan, 26 November 1945; Inzake Militair Optreden tegen Chineezten te Tarakan, 30 mei 1947, No.127/Geheim, both in RA.3a. Alg. Secretarie Deel I/150, RA.3a, Algemene Sekretarie Nederlands-Indië Deel I, Arsib Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta.

<sup>200</sup> See TNA, WO 296/41; in Batang Kali, the Scots Guards killed twenty-four supposed Chinese insurgents supposedly trying to flee captivity.

<sup>201</sup> ‘Inquiry into Death of Chinese at Rawang. Eye-witness tells Story of Firing Policeman’, *Malay Mail*, 10 February 1949, 6; ‘Inquiry into Rawang Shooting Affray. Witnesses describe Killing of Chinese’, *Malay Mail*, 11 February 1949, 3.

<sup>202</sup> ‘Rawang Blunder has Harmed the Town’, *Malay Mail Readers’ Forum*, 25 February 1949, 4; “‘False Reports Sometimes Justified’”, *Malay Mail*, 19 February 1949, 5.

<sup>203</sup> ‘Labour Condemns “Semenyih Outrage”. Strong Protest to London’, *The Straits Echo & Times of Malaya*, 18 January 1956, 3; ‘Semenyih Enquiry Opens: 1,200 Throng Courtyard. “Object is to Ascertain Truth,” says Judge’, *The Straits Echo & Times of Malaya*, 27 January 1956, 10.

<sup>204</sup> Interview with Lao Jiang.

<sup>205</sup> *Excessennota*, annex 6, 12.



sped up professional deformation, which assumed collective forms, too. Dutch-armed units plotted out their own course. After a scuffle with Ambonese troops, one of the PAT members defiantly said that the Ambonese ‘should not think that we like you are dogs of the Dutch’.<sup>206</sup> A livid Governmental Commissar in East Java found that a Plantation Guard ‘on their own accord’ had burnt down a kampong supposedly housing ‘extremists’.<sup>207</sup> Another habitually scared off kampong populations ‘by shooting and then robbing the houses’.<sup>208</sup> Fourteen guards were indicted for murdering two planters—planters Van der Nat and Veentjer—and stealing large quantities of ‘valuable goods’ in 1950. As the case dragged on, the defendants claimed the police had beaten them. Thirteen were acquitted.<sup>209</sup>

The *Pao An Tui* took liberties checking for contraband and renting themselves out as convoy protection for Chinese market-goers. These lucrative activities sustained the costly units. Relations between the military commander and the Chinese in Pasuruan, East Java, tensed up because the former consigned the PAT to three posts that, complained Chinese leaders, ‘became “coffee houses” for nightly military patrols’. PAT units were further connected to illegal weapons trade. Initially, units were officially allowed to buy weapons from anyone, including gangs and the TNI.<sup>210</sup> Rescinded leniency cost the Advisor for Chinese Affairs in East Java his position. He had purchased illegal weapons stolen by a local KNIL soldier.<sup>211</sup> PAT units did what Spoor feared all along,

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<sup>206</sup> Vechtpartij Chin. Veiligheidskorps en NICA-Amboneesen, 23 September 1946, No. ER8/39635, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI, 2.10.62/1685.

<sup>207</sup> Uit Resumé Nr. 14, 13 april 1948, Bespreking DB Syndicaten en Onder-Voorzitters Bonden, NL-HaNA, Federabo, 2.20.50/67.

<sup>208</sup> Bataljons Commandant, 26 January 1948, N. 456, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/417.

<sup>209</sup> ‘Veertien Beklaagden Herroepen hun Bekentenis tegenover de C.P.M.’ *Algemeen Indisch Dagblad: De Preangerbode*, 12 December 1951; ‘Verdachten tot Bekentenis Gedwongen?’, *Java Bode*, 16 January 1952, 1; ‘Ondernemingswachters Vrijgesproken’, *Java Bode*, 26 March 1952, 2.

<sup>210</sup> Optreden Pao An Tui Brebes, No. Kab/434/4180/P.Z., 3 March 1948, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2768; Verslag over de Reis Naar Oost-Java van Majoor A. Roskam en 1<sup>e</sup> Lt. Tan Gwan Djiang, 29 Febr. 1948, NL-HaNA, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1396.

<sup>211</sup> Proces-Verbaal van Voorlopig Verhoor betreffende Handelingen van Lie Tong Liang, Adviseur voor Chinese Zaken bij de Recomba van Oost-Java, 30 November 1947, Nr. R460; Codetelegram uit Soerabaja, 1 December 1947, Nummer 1179, both in NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2757; ‘Wapenhandelaren voor KNIL Krijgsraad’, *De Nieuwe Courant*, 22 June 1949, 2.

despite earlier compliments on their exemplary (military) behaviour.<sup>212</sup> Throughout the archipelago they gathered intelligence and arrested people without warning the police, intimidated a police detachment into not pursuing Chinese suspects but also kidnapped and—much like the police—stole, molested and executed. PAT leaders excused misdeeds invoking youthfulness, recent recruitment and uncontrolled ‘sentiment’.<sup>213</sup>

To see the deep-cutting influence of control (incumbent’s or otherwise), we need to revisit the Indonesian plantations. A hackneyed phrase says that people vote with their feet to indicate support. In Indonesia, self-removal took the form of desertion. This section establishes how desertion became a necessity under shifting fortunes of war. After the first Police Action—called ‘Operation Product’ after the re-occupation of the many European-owned plantations and factories—Dutch managers fanned out in the wake of the military. Many found their properties devastated yet enthusiastically rebuilt.<sup>214</sup> The Director of Jasinga Rubber optimistically wrote the Department of Economic Affairs asking if the military could push just a little further to liberate his factory as well.<sup>215</sup>

The buoyant atmosphere did a drastic volte-face. By November 1947, planters recorded people ‘happily burning, murdering and sabotaging’. Reports containing nineteen instances of violence within roughly one month directed at anyone working with the Dutch (planters) such as Indonesian managers and guards became common.<sup>216</sup> The Dutch military, police and the administration

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<sup>212</sup> Verslag van een Bezoek aan het Chinese Security Corps te Medan, 7 October 1947, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI, 2.10.62/1685.

<sup>213</sup> Inzake Pa An Tui [sic], 4 September 1947, No. S.O./ 11/2; Strafzaken in Onderzoek bij de Algemene Politie Contra Leden van het Chin.Veiligh.Korps, undated; Klacht inzake Optreden der Pao An Tui tegenover de Algemene Politie, 15 October 1947, No. 110/Geheim, all in NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1340; in the same inventory number, see also: Optreden PAT, Territoriaal Onder Commandant Tegal, Luitenant Kolonel J. F. Bastiaanse, to Territoriale tevens Troepen Commandant Central Java, 30 March 1948; Proces-verbaal, verbalisant R. O. Tjaden, 28 October 1947.

<sup>214</sup> J. A. B. Plomp, *De Theeonderneming: Schets van Werk en Leven van een Theeplanter in Indië/Indonesië Voor en Na de Oorlog* (Breda: Warung Bamu, 1992), 60-61; Berichtgeving uit de Rayons Buitenzorg, Soekaboemi, Bandoeng, Semarang en Djember, J. S. Sinninghe Damsté to Members ALS/ZWSS, 14 August 1947, NA-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/60.

<sup>215</sup> W. F. M. de Buy Wenniger to Director Economic Affairs, 29 August 1947, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie 2.10.14/3458.

<sup>216</sup> Maandverslag van den Ressortvertegenwoordiger ALS Poerwakarta over de Maand November 1947, 11 December 1947; NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/60; similar lists (for Semarang and Sukabumi) can be found in NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie 2.10.14/3463.

were losing grip. Anti-Dutch resistance perked up. One over-confident gang sang the Dutch national anthem before attacking; Plantation Guards could face 200 fighters in one single altercation. Groups of a thousand—once 5,000—were spotted.<sup>217</sup> The Inland Administration grouched about a ‘great many infiltrations’ into Dutch-controlled areas and ‘happy shoot-outs’. Insurgents attacked police posts multiple times, tried to eliminate indigenous spies and shot up civil administrators’ compounds. The enemy ensconced itself among the population. Combined military and police intelligence could not infiltrate these networks.<sup>218</sup> Planters were frequently murdered, leading to the abandonment of plantations in West Java; in East Java planters threatened to do so.<sup>219</sup>

The Renville Agreement of January 1948 and its cease-fire provided only temporary succour.<sup>220</sup> In October, it was estimated that of the circa 30,000 freedom fighters expelled from Dutch areas under Renville’s stipulations, more than half had returned. Incidents rose from 90 in May to 250 in August.<sup>221</sup> The military limply decried TNI duplicity to the UN observers.<sup>222</sup> The planters’ complaint that the military had ‘missed the bus to [Yogyakarta]’ had become

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<sup>217</sup> Verslag van de Regeringscommissaris voor Bestuursaangelegenheden Midden-Java (Angenent) over de “Politieke Toestand van de Bevrijde Gebieden over de Maand November 1947”, *NIB* 12, 45; Verslag over de Maand December 1947, annex to No. Pr. 770, 31 December 1947, NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/60; Uittreksel uit het Maandverslag over September 1948 van de Rayon-vertegenwoordiger ALS te Buitenzorg, 6 October 1948, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie 2.10.14/3463; Van Doorn and Hendrix, *Ontsporing van Geweld*, 143.

<sup>218</sup> Verslag van de Assistent-Resident van Tegal. Periode 24 November 1947 – 8 December 1947, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie 2.10.14/4989.

<sup>219</sup> Politiek-Politioenele Situatie, annex to Verzoeken van de Gezamenlijke Planters en Plantersvrouwen in het Regentschap Buitenzorg en van de Buitenzorgse Planterskringen om Maatregelen te Treffen, waardoor de Veiligheid van Leven en Goed op de Ondernemingen Gewaarborgd worden [sic], No. Pol. 1745, 17 December 1947, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1396; Uit Brief van Voorz. ALS aan Voorz.Fed, VV Nr. 115, 30 November 1947; Uit Resumé [sic] Nr. 32, Bespreking DB Syndicaten en Onder-Voorzitters Bonden, 4 November 1947; Tiedeman & Van Kerchem to Voorzitter Orani and Voorzitter Federabo, 4 November 1947; all in NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/58; Telegram to Generaal Spoor, no 86, undated, unsigned, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1396; Uit den Brief van de Vertegenwoordiger van het ALS te Soerabaja No. 3 dd. 28 januari 1948 aan den Vertegenwoordiger Ec. Zaken, Soerabaja, NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/67.

<sup>220</sup> Relief after Renville: Reisverslag Zuid-Midden-Java, 23 March 1948, No. Pr. 1952, NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/60

<sup>221</sup> Rapport sur les Opérations par les Forces Néerlandaises-Indonésiennes Contre l’Ancienne République Indonésienne depuis le 19 Décembre 1948, NL-HaNA, Spoor 2.21.036.01/91; Uit Notulen dd. 30 oktober 1948 van een Vergadering van de Leden van het A.L.S., Z.W.S.S., enz., NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/67; Uit de ‘Nieuwsgier’ van Woensdag 15 september 1948, annex to V.V./No. 76., Mr. J. G. van ’t Oever to Jhr. Mr. W. J. de Jonge, 16 September 1948, NL-HaNA, NHM, 2.20.01/8910.

<sup>222</sup> Review of the Infringements of the Truce held by Major-General D. C. Buurman van Vreeden at the Seventh Meeting of the Security Committee, Ag. Nr. 426, 7 April 1948, NL-HaNA, Spoor, 2.21.036.01/77.

reality; they realised that ‘One cannot escape the notion that a guerrilla is being waged, that is led well’.<sup>223</sup> Several commanders spoke of ‘an incremental encapsulation of many [Dutch] posts’, the disruption of lines of communication and illegal Republican local administrations. ‘[P]rimitive sentiments’ among ‘the masses’ came alive, took away inhibitions and led to a violent ‘psychosis’.<sup>224</sup>

Guerrilla efforts were certainly facilitated by constant civil-military infighting. Recall that despite the military’s incessant patrolling on a limited budget and with reduced numbers it had to cover for the ailing police. The Daerah Police remained the ‘stepchild who is taken seriously nowhere’.<sup>225</sup> Little coordination between civil and military officials existed concerning ownership of the police. Military commanders demanded more and more control over this supposedly civilian instrument. They prevailed. Both in West and East Java, military authorities bypassed their civilian colleagues.<sup>226</sup> By 1949, lack of police training and resolve were hidden, locally, by combined military-police-units.<sup>227</sup> Still Spoor scathingly mentioned that he once drove 275 kilometres without meeting one policeman.<sup>228</sup> The Safety Battalions, too, could hardly operate without army support. The Sundanese SB functioned only where a majority of people were Sundanese, but not with the KNIL due to ‘animosity’. Westerling

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<sup>223</sup> V.V. Privé/No. 5., Mr. J. S. Sinninghe Damsté to Jhr. Mr. W. J. de Jonge, voorzitter Federabo, 28 Augustus 1947, NL-HaNA, NMH 2.20.01/8910; Verslag over de Maand December 1947, Rayon Djember, 31 January 1948, NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/60.

<sup>224</sup> Beroordeling van de Toestand in de Periode van 22 t/m 29 Augustus 1949 (nr. 32) van Legercommandant (Buurman van Vreeden), *NIB* 19, 629-628; Verslag van de Bespreking gehouden op het Hoofdkantoor van de Generale Staf te Batavia, 7 September 1949, *NIB* 19, 712.

<sup>225</sup> Bewapening Daerah-Politie, 28 February 1948, CD/138/XXII, Territoriaal tevens Troepencommandant Generaal Majoor S. de Waal, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/463.

<sup>226</sup> Nota, Inspector Safety Battalions and Police Affairs, Kolonel H. J. de Vries, annex to Verhouding Leger-Daerah-Politie op Java and Sumatra, 28 April 1948, Nr. 310/DCO 500.03, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1395; Verzoek van Planters en Plantersvrouwen in het Buitenzorgse om de Veiligheid op Ondernemingen te Verzekeren, 30 December 1947, No. Pol. 1911, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1396; Telegram Kab. Clg to Recomba Midden-Java, 8 January 1948, nr. 817-818-819; Het Plaatsen van Daerah-politie onder Militaire Gezaghebbenden, 6 January 1948, No. 30/A; Telegram Recomba, 31 December 1947, nr. 73, all in NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hoogerechtshof Ned.-Ind., 2.10.17/112.

<sup>227</sup> Samenwerking Politie-Militairen, 6 April 1949, Nr. 286 Opr, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/654.

<sup>228</sup> Politie in Oost-Java, Staatssecretaris van Binnenlandse Zaken to Recomba voor Oost-Java, 25 January 49, Jav.I/86<sup>e</sup>, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1397.

called SBs a ‘hotbed for spies’.<sup>229</sup> The Dutch policy to recruit former insurgents—in the not necessarily unlikely belief that ‘loyalty regarding the republic is often [...] psychological and opportunistic’—exacerbated the situation.<sup>230</sup> The *preman* (free man) Prandji and the circa 300 former *laskar*, for example, may have acted as Dutch shock troops, lures for other disgruntled Republic supporters and spies, but in the end these men proved untrustworthy and more interested in securing their own future within a changing Indonesia.<sup>231</sup>

The Plantation Guard, meanwhile, was coasting unchecked: the General Police had not been able to properly control and manage them and claimed planter and military interfering—even though the military temporarily disowned the Guard.<sup>232</sup> Planters noted that guards were specifically vulnerable where military posts were vacated.<sup>233</sup> Managers for their part hardly cared for the discipline of the guards.<sup>234</sup> Spoor structurally tried to force military and police back in line.<sup>235</sup> His Goalpara Committee demanded centralised retraining for both the Daerah Police and the Plantation Guard.<sup>236</sup> Spoor’s last attempt, the ‘System of Security in Unruly Areas on Java and Sumatra’ from January 1949, proposed to bring the PAT, the Plantation Guard and the Police together in various imaginary circles supported by the military. With the system, the army now controlled all security forces.<sup>237</sup> Naturally, the plan came very late, nor could it be

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<sup>229</sup> Inzet I Inf. V.B – West-Java, 16 Juli 1948; Nr. 656/DCO 500.03, Inzet I Inf V B – West Java, 27 July 1948, Nr. 877/GS 03, all in NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/392; Notulen van de Vergadering, gehouden op 2 Augustus 1948, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1396.

<sup>230</sup> Memorandum van Directeur-generaal Algemene Zaken (Idenburg), 26 aug. 1947, 645-646.

<sup>231</sup> R. Cribb, *De HAMOTs van Luitenant Koert Bavinck: het Bendewezen van Jakarta in Dienst van het Nederlands Gezag (1947-1949)*, (‘s-Gravenhage: Mededelingen van de Sectie Militaire Geschiedenis Landmachtstaf, Deel 12, 1989) 72-74, 77-78.

<sup>232</sup> Kort Verslag van de Bespreking, gehouden op 2 April 1948, ten Kantore van de IVPA betreffende Politieaangelegenheden, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/392.

<sup>233</sup> Nota over de Veiligheid in Indië, annex to Veiligheid in Indië, 19 Augustus 1948, Nr.F.1979/B.B.50., NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/58.

<sup>234</sup> Uit Federatie Mail Nr. 6 dd. 19 Maart 1949 Nr. F.623/L.20, NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/67.

<sup>235</sup> De Verhouding tussen Leger, Bestuur en Politie, 12 July 1948, No.: Kab./1551, Generaal Spoor to Alle Militaire Commandanten Commanders; NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1395.

<sup>236</sup> Aanbieding Verslag Goalpara-commissie, Kolonel H. J. de Vries to Generaal Spoor, 26 October 1948, Nr. 1101/DCO 500.03, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie 2.10.14/3463.

<sup>237</sup> Notulen van de Vergadering Dagelijks Bestuur van de Ondernemersraad voor Nederlandsch-Indië, 23 February 1949, NL-HaNA, Orani 2.20.02.01/14.

implemented everywhere. South Sumatra's Territorial Commander stated that the population and its support were already out of reach.<sup>238</sup>

At this point, the army's hubris had already been noted.<sup>239</sup> Spoor (and others) overestimated the military's ability to 'pacify' Java and Sumatra; he tended to dismiss the TNI as 'roving gangs'.<sup>240</sup> The General had insisted on a 'spear-tip strategy' for the Police Actions which captured main cities and traffic arteries but allowed insurgents to deftly move into areas where no-one could dislodge them. Time and again they escaped.<sup>241</sup> Rumour had it the Dutch army was only capable of European warfare.<sup>242</sup> Sweeps looked impressive, but stayed close to roads. Soldiers displaced, but did not mop up.<sup>243</sup> This observation became pertinent when in the course of 1949 Dutch troops withdrew to staging areas and left other localities to the TNI. Coming after 'Renville'—very much devised to extract the Republicans from the federal areas—this concession underlined the disruptive consequences the guerrilla war wrought in terms of making parts of Java ungovernable.<sup>244</sup> Local Joint Committees designated Dutch, TNI and combined patrolling areas.<sup>245</sup> When all was failing, security forces took

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<sup>238</sup> Systeem van Beveiliging in Onrustige Gebieden op Java en Sumatra, 31 januari 1949, No.: Kab./237; see No. O/91; No. 03/08; No. 140/O/OPN/12 for the reactions of various Territorial and Troop Commanders, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1300; For an analysis of Spoor's system and the plantations, see Roel Frakking, 'The Plantation as Counterinsurgency Tool: Indonesia 1900-1950, in Martin Thomas and Gareth Curless, eds., *Decolonization and Conflict: Colonial Comparisons and Legacies* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, forthcoming, 2017), 57-78; a 'co-ordinating body' proposed between February and May 1949 may be connected to Spoor's system; see NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hoogerechtshof Ned.-Ind., 2.10.17/1466.

<sup>239</sup> Opmerkingen inzake den Veiligheidsstoestand op de Onderneming 'Tjoeroeg', H. G. Th. Crone, NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/58.

<sup>240</sup> Wd. Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal (Idenburg) aan Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal (Van Mook), 6 sept. 1947, *NIB* 11, 43; Eerste Contact n.a.v. de Komst van de Ministers en hunne Adviseurs, No. V.V.O./93, 9 May 1947, NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/68; Legercommandant (Spoor) aan Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal (Van Mook), 15 December 1947, *NIB* 12, 190.

<sup>241</sup> Groen, *Marsroutes en Dwaalsporen*, 88-90; Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, 213; Zijlmans, *Eindstrijd en Ondergang van de Indische Bestuursdienst*, 63.

<sup>242</sup> Nota De Toestand op Java, annex to Dr. W. Feuilletau de Bruyn to Jhr. Mr. W. J. de Jonge, 16 November 1948, NL-HaNA, HNM, 2.20.01/8909.

<sup>243</sup> V.V./No. 100, Mr. J.S. Sinninghe Damsté, Voorzitter ALS/ZWSS, to Jhr. Mr. W.J. de Jonge, Voorzitter Federabo, 28 October 1947, NL-HaNA, NHM, 2.20.01/8911.

<sup>244</sup> 'Plan 's Jacob in Beraad', *Java-bode*, 27 September 1949, 1; 'Aanvullende Voorstellen op het plan-'s Jacob', *Java-bode*, 5 October 1949, 1; Uit Résumé Nr. 18 dd. 18 October 1949, Bespreking DB Syndicaten ALS enz. en Onder-Voorzitters Bonden, NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/59.

<sup>245</sup> Voorzitter van de Nederlandse Delegatie te Batavia (s'Jacob) aan Minister van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen (Van Maarseveen), 10 Okt. 1949, *NIB* 20, 221-222; 'Regeling voor M. Java. Aanvulling Cease-Fire Overeenkomst en Herstel van Normaal Bestuur', *De Locomotief*, 23 September 1949, 1; 'Plan-'s Jacob Aanvaard? Aan Solo zal Status "Daerah Istimewah" worden verleend', *De Locomotief*, 30 September 1949, 1.

refuge in gross violence, exactly what displeased planters wanted: unchecked violence reminiscent of ‘Aceh methods’.<sup>246</sup> The moral downfall of security forces will be analysed in the next chapter. Suffices it to say that unbridled and often unpunished violence certainly allowed paramilitaries like the PAT to participate in the permissive environment to chase selfish, violent interests.

Through the combined prism of a Dutch loss of command over its own security forces and the loss of the direction of a war increasingly dominated by the Republic (aided by a propitious international constellation), it has been established that the vestige of paramilitary staying-power were fatally undermined. Guards and policemen could, at one point, resist ‘robbers’, but never ‘units, experienced in guerilla and “jungle fighting” and armed with machine guns and mortars’.<sup>247</sup> By 1949, Spoor found the police and guards ‘no match against the trained guerillas and continued intimidation’.<sup>248</sup> This captures how paramilitaries and policemen’s behavioural repertoires had changed. Facing a gale-force guerrilla, they had several options. Police and Guards (and soldiers) were constantly exposed to pamphlets entreating them to reconsider their present employ. Why work for the Dutch, they demanded to know, who destroyed your family? ‘Indeed, brother, there is no worse insult, than to witness the rape of your Own sister’s honour’. ‘What will you do?’<sup>249</sup>

There was one thing the security forces, other than the army, could do no longer. The option to fight back, seeing the strong resistance by Indonesian freedom fighters, had seemingly disappeared. As a consequence, many left their station as neutrality was becoming less feasible. A much rarer transitional method was staging attacks as a lead-in to absconding.<sup>250</sup> If, as the State

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<sup>246</sup> V.V./No. 100.

<sup>247</sup> Algemeene Toestand en Veiligheid, M. H. Albeda to the ALS, 27 January 1948, No. 8- III/3., NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/67.

<sup>248</sup> Samenvatting van de Besprekingen door CLG (Spoor) gevoerd in Oost-Java op 17 t/m 19 januari 1949, *NIB* 17, 126.

<sup>249</sup> Aan Al mijn Vrienden gewezen Heiho’s in West- en Oost-Java, Uw Vriend Soewito en Anderen, 5-9-1947; Mijne Broeder’s [sic], Gewezen Militairen van het KNIL, Gewezen Heiho’s, Gewezen Romusha’s en Alle Indonesiërs, Die nog Behoren tot Het Koloniaal Hollandse Leger, van Uw Broeder’s [sic], Die den Strijd Aanbinden tegen de Hollandse Overheersing, both in NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie 2.10.14/4989.

<sup>250</sup> Overzicht inzake Meldingen omtrent Onbetrouwbaarheid der Verschillende Soorten Politie, annex to Gegevens

Secretary for Inland Security surmised, planters had succumbed to ‘fear psychosis’, Plantation Guards and policemen predictably chose to desert and switch sides.<sup>251</sup> They did so in large numbers—specifically after the Dutch had captured Yogyakarta in December 1948. The Head of Temporary Administrative Services—they oversaw territories occupied with the Second Police Action—already in February 1949 spoke of arrests and desertion. South of Cianjur 21 PGs walked off with 22 guns; in North Sumatra similar reports circulated.<sup>252</sup> Guards lost 328 weapons in the first third of 1949; the police 415.<sup>253</sup> Desertion became structural—even infecting the Dutch Royal Army and the KNIL.<sup>254</sup> Central Java recorded almost 150 guards deserting within two nights in October; each day for seven days straight in December circa eight Guards deserted in East Sumatra.<sup>255</sup>

As the distance between fighters and the Guards became smaller, specifically during 1949, balanced neutrality became increasingly dangerous, particularly now that per Spoor’s ‘System’ some plantations were left outside of the security circles. According to Planter Plomp, this balancing act had always been precarious: Indonesians were asked to stave off other Indonesians.<sup>256</sup> Guards started to be arrested for signalling too openly their possible alliance-shift to the resistance. In West Java, some were caught with nine ‘assistants’ of the plantation in a ‘conspiracy’ with anti-Dutch forces.<sup>257</sup> South of Surabaya,

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omtrent de Politie, Lt. Kolonel Mr. J. Ph. H. E. van Lier, Hoofd van het Kantoor Politieke Zaken, to Van Mook, 5 March 1949, Kab./463/4648/P.Z., NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hoogerechtshof Ned.-Ind., 2.10.17/113.

<sup>251</sup> Planterskring Tjibadak en Onveiligheid op de Ondernemingen, Kolonel van Artillerie (KNIL) R. S. Santoso to Luitenant Gouverneur Generaal Nederlands-Indië, 12 August 1948, No. 670, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie 2.10.14/3463.

<sup>252</sup> Kort Verslag, Resident van Malang, Hoofd Tijd. Bestuursdienst Malang (Van Wilgenburg) over de Periode 18 tot 25 Feb. 1949, *NIB* 17, 647; Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon (Beel) aan Minister van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen (Sassen), 4 jan. 1949, *NIB* 16, 511.

<sup>253</sup> Verlies van Wapens in Gebruik bij Niet Militairen, 15 April 1949, Kab./1079, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/654.

<sup>254</sup> Beoordeling van de Toestand in de Periode tot 18 October 1949 (nr. 39) van Legercommandant (Buurman van Vreeden), *NIB* 20, 319.

<sup>255</sup> Ondernemingswachten, Resident, Hoofd Tijdelijke Bestuursdienst Semarang to Recomba Midden-Java, 17 October 1949, No. 3, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie 2.10.14/5070; Weekrapport betreffende Sumatera Timur over de Periode 10 Dec.-17 Dec. 1949 van Gedelegeerde van de Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon voor Oost-Sumatra (Sonius), *NIB* 20, 807.

<sup>256</sup> Interview with J. A. B. Plomp, March 2009.

<sup>257</sup> Uit Resumé Nr. 36 dd. 28 oktober 1948, NL-HaNA, Federabo, 2.20.50/67.



Indonesian members of the local Intelligence and Security Group were aided by five Plantation Guards to make their escape into Republican hands. For unknown reasons the plan failed; the guards were beaten and their weapons lost.<sup>258</sup> In Bondowoso, guards deserted due to the ‘uncertain circumstances’ exacerbated by the ‘whisper campaign’ of the *Gabungan Pembela Proklamasi* group.<sup>259</sup> A constant barrage of pamphlets were grist on the rumour mills; they warned not to work for ‘the fascist leader’ Spoor whose military constituted ‘a Hitler regime’ that tried to destroy the indestructible ‘Freedom Fighter’.<sup>260</sup> Others fled to avoid being caught in eminent attacks.<sup>261</sup> Other policemen decided to temporarily disappear as they knew an attack was imminent. To escape trouble, they refrained from warning the local military unit.<sup>262</sup>

The nature of desertions was twofold: a situation in which guards or police were not controlled was exacerbated by progressive Republican encroachment on contested territory. Where the resistance was strongest, the Guards needed a strong signal to illustrate their willingness to switch. Even after decolonization, this mechanism remained in force. Under these circumstances planters Van der Nat and Veentjer were shot dead in June 1950 by a gang seemingly made up by part of the Plantation Guard. Revenge-taking was a motive too: the guard ‘did not get along’ with the planters.<sup>263</sup> The High Commissioner of the Crown—the new title for Commissioner-general—said it rather succinctly: he explained plantation guards and policemen’s ‘desertion, usually including taking their weapons, the latter functioning as a ransom to save themselves from revenge for the

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<sup>258</sup> No. 3 Sitrap Ondernemingen Oost-Java, ALS Representative East Java to Commander of the Army, 3 October 1949, NL-HaNA, NHM, 2.20.01/8910.

<sup>259</sup> ‘O.W.-ers Gedeserteerd. Fluistercampagne van G.P.P.-groep’, *De Vrije Pers*, 22 November 1949, 2.

<sup>260</sup> Wekrapport Veiligheidsgroep, v/m 16 t/m 23 December 1946, 4 January 1947, No. 73/MV, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/224.

<sup>261</sup> ‘Van der Nat Vermoord door Ondernemingswachten?’

<sup>262</sup> Opgave Overvallen D.P. Posten/Patrouilles, Waarbij Verlies van Wapenen en/of Eigenmachtig Verlaten van Post. Over de Periode van 19/12/1948 – 6/4/1949, annex to Samenwerking Politie en Leger, 9 April 1949, 2/C.2.06, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/654.

<sup>263</sup> ‘Veertien Beklaagden Herroepen hun Bekentenis tegenover de C.P.M.’

collaboration with us'.<sup>264</sup> Other pamphlets reminded security personnel they 'work for posterity, be careful you will not have regrets in the days to come'.<sup>265</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Dutch authorities sought solutions to the desertion problem of 'less-disciplined or organs less-connected with us (a Safety Battalion, police and plantation guards)'. TNI commanders simply walked unto the plantations and asked for the weapons.<sup>266</sup> First, Dutch troops were removed from many areas on Java and concentrated to elevate the troops' readiness and free up circa 2,500. New rounds of peace talks were under way, but the Dutch remained wary of renewed aggression and double-crossing. Second, a joint Dutch-Republican proclamation was published, underlining that desertion was no longer necessary as 'all is being done to place any [...] thoughts on revenge to the side and remove the last vestiges of fear and suspicion'.<sup>267</sup> A last measure was the disarmament of disloyal or suspect Plantation Guard and the PAT.<sup>268</sup> Ultimately, the Plantation Guard was disbanded officially, as one of the first acts of an independent Indonesia, on 22 May 1950. The police would now care for the plantations.<sup>269</sup>

Although many felt disgruntled and unprotected from Indonesian revenge—one *toko* immediately felt the sting of rampok—the Dutch decided that seven towns across Indonesia were safe enough to disband PAT units in March and April 1948. This had always been the plan.<sup>270</sup> As a reminder of Indonesia's

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<sup>264</sup> Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon (Lovink) aan Minister van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen (Van Maarseveen), 27 October 1949, *NIB* 20, 437.

<sup>265</sup> Kepala Daerah Tjonggeang to Mijne Broeders, Hulpsoelden, Soldaten van het Veiligheidsbataljon, Politie E.A., NL-HaNA, Koets, 2.21.100/85, Collectie 249 P. J. Koets [levensjaren 1901-1995], the National Archives, The Hague.

<sup>266</sup> Beoordeling van de Toestand in de Periode van 22 t/m 29 Augustus 1949 (nr. 32) van Legercommandant (Buurman van Vreeden), *NIB* 19, 630.

<sup>267</sup> Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon (Lovink) aan Minister van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen (Van Maarseveen), 9 Okt. 1949, *NIB* 20, 212-213; Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon (Lovink) aan Minister van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen (Van Maarseveen), 15 Okt. 1949, *NIB* 20, 277-278; 'Gezamenlijke Proclamatie', *Nieuwe Courant*, 27 October 1949, 1.

<sup>268</sup> Chef Directie Verre Oosten te Batavia (De Beus) aan Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken (Stikker), 11 okt. 1949, 241, note 4.

<sup>269</sup> No. 178, Vastgesteld te Djakarta, 22 May 1950, President Republic Indonesia Serikat, Sukarno and the Minister of Internal Affairs, Ide Anak Agoeng Gde Agoeng, NL-HaNA, Federabo, 2.20.50/67.

<sup>270</sup> Opheffing en Handhaving Detachementen Pao An Tui, undated, No.: Kab./1156/P.Z., NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2768; 'Geen Steun aan Pao An Tui', *Het Dagblad*, 2 April 1948, 1; Opheffing Pao An Tui,

fluctuating levels of (un)safety, the PAT in Jamblang volunteered to lay down its arms. As some Plantation Guards, they had had enough of constant robbers, republican physical harassment and letters threatening destruction of the Chinese.<sup>271</sup> Yet, the trend was irreversible. The Coordinating Chinese Federation of Indonesia decided to terminate the PAT for good in May. Chinese enthusiasm was lagging, the Dutch would not replenish its weapons, Chinese lives and businesses were less threatened and the USI would have no room for the PAT, specifically in the Pasundan. ‘When first-hand experience does not a PAT-organisation is needed, it will be forgotten really quickly’.<sup>272</sup> The *Pao An Tui* at least, unlike the Plantation Guard, wound down on a positive note. In a November ceremony, Tan Joe Gie, Chairman of East Java’s *Pao An Tui*, disbanded the PAT Headquarters in Surabaya. East Java’s Chinese corpse, a Central Headquarters emissary said, had ‘written the PAT’s name with golden letters in the history book of the Chinese in Indonesia’. Its pages were equally ‘black and beautiful, as the Chinese had never been so forcefully unified’.<sup>273</sup>

This chapter has traced alliance-formation in the ranks of the colonial security forces themselves. As opposed to the preceding chapter, it stepped down one rung on the colonial ladder, from elite-level to individual and communal level. The aim throughout has been to understand what were the driving forces behind fighting for interests that were not necessarily shared by those serving. Several have been found present. Stunted social perspectives combined with certain grievances, youth and adventure, drawing people into the colonial ranks—as far as they had a choice. Through serving, certain demands could be made on the colonial state. Most demands stemmed from tragic events, but quite a number of people—in Malaya—received citizenship in return as well as pensions, post-war

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Memo van Thio Thiam Tjong, Adviseur in Algemene Dienst, to the Dir.Kabinet, 24 April 1948, No. 351/EB.U.2, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2768; Nopens Opheffing Poh An Tui [sic] ter Oostkust van Sumatra, Governmental Commissar for Administrative Affairs for North Sumatra, Mr. J. Gerritsen, to Director Inland Administration, 12 January 1948, No. 26, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1340.

<sup>271</sup> P.A.T. Cdt. Sectie Djamblang, Ie Hok Gie, to Corps-Commander of the P.A.T.-Java, 3 April 1948, NEFIS Vertaling No. 384, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1340.

<sup>272</sup> Opheffing Pao An Tui als Organisatie, Rapport Pleno-vergadering Chung Hua Hui Liën Hô Pan Sze Tsu, 9 April 1949, No. YC/B 03, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1340.

<sup>273</sup> ‘P.A.T.-Hoofdkwartier Opgeheven’, *De Vrije Pers*, 22 November 1949, 3.

careers or land titles. By focussing on predominantly Indonesia, conversely, we again saw that the alliances always remained fluid. Often, ideals or ideology had little to do with choosing to serve. Rather, specific variations of violence—anti-Sundanese/PRP and anti-Chinese violence—forced people to identify with and protect specific interest and in doing so serve the interests of the dominant power in the region, the Dutch. As soon as Dutch occupation of territory and the control that stemmed from it were proven to be not all-encompassing or corrupt, however, what was construed as loyalty turned brittle: self-serving interests boiled to the surface again. Furthermore, as the case study of the Plantation Guard (and police) has shown, when the Republic was able to turn the tide on the Dutch in the course of 1948 and 1949, guards took every opportunity to flee into the Republic's open arms. Desertion became the tool for the Plantation Guards to realign themselves to the stronger party to the conflict.

## V

### **Alliance-formation and the People**

Those witnessing the course of decolonization in the Netherlands East Indies employed various shades of essentializing rhetoric. *The* Sundanese feared—rightfully—that their nationalism would elicit Republic retaliation. On the other side of the spectrum, *the* Javanese were ‘vivacious’ due to Republican political and military gains. *The* Chinese, for their part, were described as hesitant and neutral.<sup>1</sup> The Temporary Federal Government itself had sprung from a collective ‘peoples’ will’ (*volkswil*) in the Pasundan, Madura, East Sumatra, East Borneo and other ‘Malino-territories’.<sup>2</sup> Contemporary historians have made the claim that entire communities came closer together during decolonization, blurring rather important, pre-war fault-lines.<sup>3</sup>

A similar process of collapsing disparate communities was current in British Malaya and Singapore. The Governor of Singapore reported that ‘as a whole the Chinese recognise that their interests at the present time may best be served by the continuance of British rule’.<sup>4</sup> Conservative politician Sir Anthony Eden (later notorious for his mishandling of the 1956 Suez Crisis as prime minister) simply claimed that 99% of the entire Federation of Malaya population favoured government measures that ‘suppressed lawlessness’, completely disregarding their repressive nature.<sup>5</sup> Mr. Soon Ting Ping, leader of the Malay delegation to the Overseas Chinese Affairs Conference in October 1952 claimed that 99% of Malayan Chinese were ‘anti-Communist’. Novelist Nourma Handford in 1953 had no qualms with having one of her racist characters claim that for ‘The Chinks’ the Emergency ‘is straight up their street...eighty percent of them

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<sup>1</sup> Kort Verslag betreffende de Bestuursvoering in de Preanger over de Maand Maart 1947, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417; see also Algemeen Overzicht West-Borneo van Resident Westerafdeling Borneo (Van der Zwaai) over het tijdvak 15-31 maart 1947, *NIB* 8, 87.

<sup>2</sup>“‘Nationaal Reveil’ aan dr. Beel’, *Het Dagblad*, 16 August 1947, 3; ‘Staatkundige Ontwikkeling der Malino-gebieden’, *Het Dagblad*, 16 August 1947, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Somers Heidhues, *Citizenship and Identity*, 117. Somers Heidhues mentions that peranakan and sinkeh Chinese were pushed together under the duress of the Japanese Occupation, a point she does not develop.

<sup>4</sup> Sir F. Gimson to Sir T. Loyd, CO 537/3758, 28 December 1948, no 23, in Stockwell, ed., *Malaya*, 2, 79.

<sup>5</sup> Law and Order. Weekly Situation Report Prepared in Eastern Department (Colonial Office), No. 9, 25<sup>th</sup> – 31<sup>st</sup> March, 1949, 6<sup>th</sup> April 1949, TNA, CO 717/178/4.

are in it up to their necks'.<sup>6</sup> As we recall, the Communities Liaison Committee (CLC) was hailed for the ability of its Chinese, European, Eurasian, Malay and Sri Lankan members to harmoniously discuss 'Malay economic backwardness, citizenship and nationality, language and education'.<sup>7</sup> Yet, the CLC membership's outlook was decidedly elitist.

A different transcript hid between the lines. Communities could hardly be lumped together where their behaviour was concerned. Newspaper articles from the time, without commenting on it as such, substantiate this claim. According to the *Free Press (De Vrije Pers)*, in 'the awakening East the radical element within the population remain[ed] an unpredictable factor'.<sup>8</sup> The fickle nature of peoples' reactions proved an obstacle for the nascent Republican government as well. When Lieutenant-General Raden Sudirman addressed 'the Indonesian people' by radio after the October 1946 Republican-Dutch cease-fire, he could only 'hope, that his orders [to prevent escalations] were followed'.<sup>9</sup> Throughout the Republic's struggle for dominance within the emergent United States of Indonesia, Republicans competed with polities that, although sharing their anti-Dutch agenda, strove for autonomy from the Republic.<sup>10</sup> The Malayan Chinese Association—historically lauded for rallying the Chinese together—was no monolithic organisation. Deciding the MCA rules close to its inauguration, for example, caused heated debates, complete with the throwing of furniture.<sup>11</sup>

After the Communities Liaison Committee had lost steam around 1951, the British continued with different representative liaison bodies to 'press the Chinese population' into open active support for the Government. According to Police Secretary J. B. Macefield their advantage lay with the fact that 'the "little

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<sup>6</sup> Pan-Malayan Reviews of Security Political and Security Intelligence, 26 November 1952, No. 11, 1952, CO 1022/210; Nourma Handford, 'Blood on the Leaves', part two, *Sunday Times*, 13 September 1953, 13.

<sup>7</sup> Cheach Boon Kheng, *Malaysia: The Making of a Nation* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002), 24; Joseph M. Fernando, 'Elite Intercommunal Bargaining and Conflict Resolution: The Role of the Communities Liaison Committee in Malaya, 1949-1951', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 43 (2012), 301.

<sup>8</sup> 'Het Onverwacht Onredelijke', *De Vrije Pers*, 19 October 1948, 1.

<sup>9</sup> 'Groote Stap op Weg naar Overeenstemming. De Sterkte der Troepen na 30 November. Orders van Commandant T.N.I.', *Het Dagblad*, 16 October 1946), 1. Emphasis added.

<sup>10</sup> R. Frakking, "'Gathered on the Point of a Bayonet": The Negara Pasundan and the Colonial Defence of Indonesia, 1946-50', *International History Review* 39, 1 (2017), 32, 37.

<sup>11</sup> Review of Chinese Affairs. February, 1949, TNA, CO 717/182/4.

man” can have his say’ through such bodies.<sup>12</sup> The ‘little man’, however, hardly sat at the table of high-level, official bodies. Locals had to fend for themselves. While in April 1949 the CLC was discussing mining and transport at ‘Kampong level’ in Penut, Johore, for example, four Javanese attacked four Chinese, killing two. In the same month, a Perak assize judge worried about ‘too many cases of apparently motiveless attacks by Malays on Chinese’.<sup>13</sup>

The following sections are about these ordinary ‘little’ men *and* women trying to survive the violent wars of decolonization in Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies. More precisely, while passing through various local, communal and often violent episodes, this chapter will paint a complex picture of various power brokers, either colonial or anti-colonial, who tried to influence those they encountered. In other words, the chapter will construct a tableau depicting the vicissitudes of the general population and which forces exerted their mobilising or neutrality-inducing influences. Through this analysis this chapter will put into relief the agency of people who stood at the bottom rung of the colonial ladder. They, too, had their own interests and they are the subject of this final chapter.

The argument that threads through the various instances of individual or communal choices is that levels of local control by incumbent power brokers and their rivals determined whether people could be swayed one way or the other. Without underlining the importance of control, statements about the efficacy or detrimental effects of British or Dutch counterinsurgency in relation to communities’ behaviour make little sense: agency needs context. Against the backdrop of the continued probing of the limits of colonial loyalty and the triangle of the people, local elites and colonial governmental authority, this means three things. The first is that to bring out the peoples’ agency, we again need to bring in the Negara Pasundan and the Malayan Chinese Association. In this instance, they serve to analyse the level of entrenchment within their constituencies. Through them, secondly, we discover that only in uncontested areas did the

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<sup>12</sup> J. B. Macefield, Federal Police Secretary to the Military Assistant to H.E. The High Commissioner, 5 January 1954, O.F.B.23/12(Y), TNA, FCO 141/7478.

<sup>13</sup> Review of Chinese Affairs. April 1949, TNA, CO 717/182/4.

search for support from a colonial and anti-colonial perspective work. Where control was challenged in a meaningful way, support-seeking was overtaken by violence to steer entire communities. The rivals who challenged the colonial power-structures are the *Min Yuen*, MCP's masses organization, and the *Kommando*<sup>2</sup> (*Onder*) *Distrik Militer*, the Republic's forward cells.

Only after having placed rivals and incumbents in perspective, can we come to the third and final tier: the people. Dispensing with hearts and minds arguments—often used as a frame to judge counterinsurgencies—altogether, the chapter argues that entrenched support for colonial or anti-colonial programs hardly existed. Certainly, many actors were motivated by strong convictions that dictated they carve out alternative paths to independence. Others tried to bring communities together in the face of centrifugal influences. After the above-mentioned killing of two Chinese in Penut, for example, Malay and Chinese locals immediately 'relieve[d] the tension' on their own accord. Subsequently, the Malay *penghulu*—the administrative head of a district subdivision—'suggested regular meetings between leaders of both communities to promote better understanding'.<sup>14</sup> If anything, the upheavals did awaken many people to new, often violent, opportunities. The close reading of available sources reveals, however, that the majority of people—farmers, rubber tappers, tradespeople—displayed conformist behaviour. Instead of warming to a specific cause, they chose to accommodate and appease to maximize their chances of survival without internalizing a specific idea. Only when a specific power broker had closed off alternative avenues did communities fully conform. Until such time, ordinary people operated within what the British called the 'live-and-let-live' system. To study the possibilities, consequences and changing currents of decolonization a base-line is needed. The first section, therefore, details the uncertainties brought on the unhinged state of Indonesia and Malaysia immediately after August 1945.

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<sup>14</sup> Review of Chinese Affairs. April 1949, TNA, CO 717/182/4.



### *Societies divided*

Robert Lockhart, the Brit who became famous for his involvement in the attempt on Lenin's life in the summer of 1918, turned to more romantic endeavours after his successful autobiographical book, *Memoirs of a British Agent*.<sup>15</sup> With his *Return to Malaya* (1936) the diplomat-cum-writer delivered a travelogue documenting a three-month vacation to revisit his experiences he had had on his two uncles' rubber plantation in his twenties.<sup>16</sup> The 'sentimental journey' to Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies resulted in 'a maze of encyclopaedic trivialities, gossip anecdote, and high jinks'. One disappointed critic deemed the book a weak 'gesture' of an author who unjustly claimed expertise on Malaysia and the Far East.<sup>17</sup>

While Lockhart's credentials were indeed doubtful, his lament that the days of superiority displayed 'on the football field and at hotel and club bars' had gone together with 'the white man's East' was shared by so-called experts. Education, nationalism, self-determination and the Japanese threat negatively impacted on the imperialists' position in the East, wrote Lockhart.<sup>18</sup> The Pacific War brought all imperial fears into reality. Dutch conservatives were mortally afraid that reactionaries like Van Mook would dissolve the bond between the metropole and Indonesia, destroying the Kingdom entirely.<sup>19</sup> Many feared—unjustly—that the Netherlands, with its open economy dependent on foreign trade, would sink to the rank of Denmark without recourse to Indonesia's cash crops.<sup>20</sup> Gurney hoped for

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<sup>15</sup> M. Thompson, 'Did Britain try to Assassinate Lenin?', *BBC News*, 19 March 2001, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-12785695>. Last visited 7 November 2016.

<sup>16</sup> R. H. B. Lockhart, *Return to Malaya* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1936).

<sup>17</sup> Andrew A. Freeman, 'The White Man's East. *Return to Malaya* by R. H. Bruce Lockhart', *The Saturday Review* (December 2012), 10; 'Brief Reviews. *Return to Malaya*, by R. H. Bruce Lockhart', *The New Masses* (February 2, 1937), 27.

<sup>18</sup> Freeman, 'The White Man's East', 10.

<sup>19</sup> G. Gerretson, *Indië onder Dictatuur: de Ondergang van het Koninkrijk uit de Beginselen Verklaard* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1946), 20, 53.

<sup>20</sup> H. Baudet, 'Nederland en de Rang van Denemarken', *BMGB- Low Countries Historical Review* 90, 3, (1975), 431; Pierre van der Eng, 'Economic Benefits from Colonial Assets: The Case of the Netherlands and Indonesia 1870-1958', Research Memorandum Groningen Growth and Development Centre, (1998), 2-3, 23, 27; Income from Indonesia constituted circa 14 percent of the Dutch national income, 'probably the highest ratio of any country in the world', Friend, *The Blue-eyed Enemy: Japan Against the West in Java and Luzon, 1942-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 17. Yet, the Netherlands' economy had never been truly dependent on access to Indonesia: J. B. D. Derksen and J. Tinbergen, 'Berekeningen over de Economische Beteekenis van Nederlandsch-Indië voor Nederland',

a 'miracle' that would affect Sino-Malay 'political integration' in Malaya. Aside from the fact that perhaps only an 'anti-British platform' could united the two communities, Gurney saw progress held up by the 'political claims from the Chinese, promises of self-government, financial stringency and a Malay awakening'. No-one had a 'clear idea of the shares to be allotted to the respective communities in an ultimately self-governing Malaya'.<sup>21</sup>

From the peoples' perspective, the situation looked very differently and direr than from the elevated positions of colonial policy makers and agenda-setters. Society in British Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies was unmoored. The Japanese occupation and its raucous aftermath had etched deep and lasting tracts into society. From its relatively (self-proclaimed) opulent pre-war level, Malaya had been reduced to 'a chaotic state', the Colonial Office noted. 'The people were close to starvation; trade and industry were at a standstill'. Schools had ceased to function, 'communications and basic services had been neglected' and, finally, crime and lawlessness 'flourished'.<sup>22</sup> Inside former Japanese internment camps in Indonesia food and medicines were scarce. Outside the camps the situation was little better.<sup>23</sup>

The concerted efforts of the Recovery of Allied Prisoners of War and Internees (RAPWI) teams, the Red Cross, the Royal Air Force and British—and soon Dutch—troops made some alleviation possible.<sup>24</sup> Yet, fear reigned supreme. Survivors, having lived through the torture, hunger, disease of overcrowded camps, soon became part of massive droves of displaced persons.<sup>25</sup> On Java alone 68,000 prisoners of war and internees, mostly (Indo) Europeans, were counted;

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*Maandschrift van het Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek* (1945), 210-223.

<sup>21</sup> Letter from Sir H. Gurney to J. J. Paskin assessing the Likelihood of the Political Integration of Malays and Chinese' [Extract], 25 Augustus 1949, CO 967/84, no 70, Stockwell, *Malaya*, 147.

<sup>22</sup> Economic and Social Policy in Malaya: CO Note for the Treasury despatched on 18 Mar, T 220/160, March 1950, Stockwell, *Malaya*, 195-196.

<sup>23</sup> 'Belangrijk Medisch Werk werd Verricht. RAPWI en Rode Kruis in de Strijd Tegen de Erfenis der Jappen', *Het Dagblad*, 17 June 1947, 3.

<sup>24</sup> 'De Voedselvoorziening', *Het Dagblad*, 18 December 1945, 2; 'Belangrijk Medisch Werk werd Verricht', *Het Dagblad*, 17 June 1947, 3.

<sup>25</sup> McMillan, *The British Occupation of Indonesia*, 2.

on Sumatra more than 13,000.<sup>26</sup> One Army Captain ridiculously asserted that some 30,000 female ex-internees took heart, under pressure of a developing ‘revolt’, from ‘a little lipstick’.<sup>27</sup> Rather, Indonesians killed or disappeared between 3,400 and 30,000 women, men and children who exited the camps during the *bersiap* period which lasted from August 1945 to the first months of 1946.<sup>28</sup> The collection and movement of thousands of Indo-Europeans, Chinese or Indonesians internees perceived as pro-Dutch across the archipelago and the presence of foreign troops and RAPWI teams irked Indonesians. They often viciously attacked the convoys and camps or tried to force political concessions by taking internees hostage.<sup>29</sup> Hundreds of thousands of landless, mainly Chinese squatters compounded the displaced internees problem in Malaya. Squatters had not been uncommon, but as the Japanese had closed mines and estates this labour force became dislocated. Their numbers had swollen to circa 400,000 due to illegal immigration and because the Japanese forced people out of towns to stimulate food production. Now they had to be settled or relocated as the Malayan Communist Party sought to base itself among these squatters. The government desperately sought a way to regain control over them.<sup>30</sup>

As Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands busied herself welcoming former internees to the Netherlands, those domiciled in Asia continued to face the effects of the Japanese occupation that the developing wars would complicate.<sup>31</sup> The

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<sup>26</sup> Appendix L: Allied Prisoners of War and Internees on Java, The Allied Occupation of the Netherlands East Indies: September 1946-November 1946, TNA, WO 203/2681; 26<sup>th</sup> Indian Division in Sumatra, 1945-1946, 30, TNA WO 203/6160; quoted in McMillan, *The British Occupation*, 2.

<sup>27</sup> ‘Lipstick Built Morale in Java Camps’, *The Straits Times*, 21 May 1946, 7.

<sup>28</sup> McMillan, *The British Occupation*, 3; L. de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog (Epiloog)* (Den Haag: Staatsuitgeverij, 1988), 744-745; W. H. Frederick, ‘The Killing of Dutch and Eurasians in Indonesia’s National Revolution (1945-49): A “Brief Genocide” Reconsidered’, in Luttikhuis and Moses, eds., *Colonial Counterinsurgency*, 143; during the *bersiap* period, by their own admission, Chinese were, grosso modo, spared: *Memorandum*, 3.

<sup>29</sup> McMillan, *The British Occupation*, 31, 44-45, 56, 80, ‘Verzet Semarang Gebroken? De Zuivering van Soerabaya’, *Het Dagblad*, 23 November 1945, 1; ‘Aanval op Ambarawa. Negen Geinterneerden Gedood’, *Het Dagblad*, 24 November 1945, 1; ‘Aanval op het RAPWI-kamp’, *Het Dagblad*, 7 September 1946, 1.

<sup>30</sup> Report of the Committee Appointed by His Excellency the High Commissioner to Investigate the Squatter Problem, 10 January 1949, No. 3 of 1949 [hereafter Report Squatter Committee], TNA, CO 717/178/1; P. J. B. Robinson, *Transformation in Malaya* (London: Secker and Walburg, 1956), 76.

<sup>31</sup> ‘Wilhelmina Welcomes Repatriates’, *The Straits Times*, 8 January 1946, 1; many ‘Indische evacués’ were expected to converge on The Hague; ‘De Evacuatie’, *Het Dagblad*, 19 December 1945, 1.

recent memory of occupation fed discussion and bitter recriminations.<sup>32</sup> The number of massacred Chinese was contested in Singapore; the War Prisoners' (Malayan Union) Association demanded the government pay 'civil liability' owed for pre-war 'Local Defence Services'.<sup>33</sup> Ex-internees asked by what right incoming soldiers took 'all the best' food and clothing and were fêted generally. Others parried that ex-prisoners should thank their erstwhile liberators.<sup>34</sup> Even the death sentences three former tormentors from Sime Road Camp received was contested. An ex-internee wrote that 'a life sentence would have been adequate' even for the "very evil and sadistic" Tominaga.<sup>35</sup>

Tens of thousands of politically-suspect Sundanese, Ambonese, Menadonese and Timorese, but also Chinese children and women—whose husbands, said Dutch sources, had been killed by Indonesian 'extremists'—continued to be moved from Republican into Dutch camps.<sup>36</sup> KNIL families were exchanged for TNI families, but some KNIL men attempted 'wild evacuations' to save next of kin (5,000 in total) trapped in the Republic's camps; adversely affecting KNIL behaviour.<sup>37</sup> In the Netherlands the 'Collective Action of Dutch Women' group whipped up a media frenzy claiming that some 15,000 (Indo) Europeans were unaccounted for. Imprisoned by the Republic, the group claimed, women and girls lived as concubines under 'the most horrible, dehumanizing circumstances'. The Red Cross (and General Spoor) diplomatically spoke of 10,000 people in Republican 'safety camps'. The few women who lived with

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<sup>32</sup> Some discussions continued to hold the public's attention: 'Why Hold Memorial Service Only for Civil Servants', *The Straits Times*, 10 February 1949, 20.

<sup>33</sup> 'Chinese Massacre in Singapore: How Many Died', *The Straits Times*, 16 October 1946, 4; "'Govt. has Repudiated Promise'", *The Straits Times*, 4 August 1946, 3.

<sup>34</sup> 'Woman's View', *The Straits Times*, 1 June 1946, 4; 'The Service Man Writes to the Civilian', *The Straits Times*, 29 May 1946, 4; 'A Kick in the Pants from a Feminine Toe', *The Straits Times*, 24 May 1946, 4.

<sup>35</sup> 'Uneasy Conscience', *The Straits Times*, 17 September 1946, 4; 'Another Tribute to Myamoto', *The Straits Times*, 3 September 1946, 3.

<sup>36</sup> Evacuatie van Chinezen uit Republikeins Gebied, Regerings Voorlichtings Dienst, 10 December 1947; Dr. P. H. Angenent, Recomba Midden Java to Directeur Departement Sociale Zaken, 9 January 1948, No.320/44/89; Onderhoud met Akkerman Sociale Zaken, R. S. Soerjaprawira, 6 March 1949, No.136/IZ; Voorzitter der Sub-commissie I van de Nederlandse Delegatie Mr. H. L. s'Jacob, St.no.221/49, all in ANRI, RA.3a/Alg. Secretarie Deel I/114.

<sup>37</sup> Vergoeding kosten "wilde evacuatie", 6 May 1947, Nr. 18125/6/IB; Het Nederlandse Rode Kruis Afdeling Indonesië Centrale Rode Kruis, 11 November 1948, Documentatie No. 55A Van Mook to Sassen, 9 October 1949, Nr. 402, all in ANRI, RA.3a.Alg. Secretarie Deel I/114.

Indonesians did so voluntarily, Red Cross officials noted: at least they were protected this way. Lack of freedom of movement stemmed from bureaucracy and transport issues.<sup>38</sup> For years, the war dead—both Dutch and Indonesian—refused to be forgotten.<sup>39</sup> Mr. van Vuuren in 1948 still appealed to his fellow citizens to remove the ‘hated’ Japanese slogans that continued to remind (Dutch) Semarang of ‘the misery, tortures and humiliations’.<sup>40</sup>

Often ruthlessness was used to efface the pain of the twin injustices of the colonial divide and the Japanese occupation. Sometimes the Republican *Polisi Tentara* looked away as *pemuda* exacted sexual revenge on European women. Those supporting the Dutch-sponsored federal states were assaulted.<sup>41</sup> *Pemuda* bands not only killed scores of Eurasians and Europeans between August 1945 and December 1946. During a ‘social revolution’ they wiped out the local Sumatran aristocracy that had traditionally suppressed the peasantry on the colonial government’s agrarian landholdings.<sup>42</sup> The colonial judiciary soon started bringing perpetrators or collaborators to justice but not before in Malaysia Malays ignited ‘anti-MPAJA and anti-Chinese struggle[s]’ inspired by ‘charismatic *imams*’. Their object was to protect the Islam and ‘avenge the many Malays who had been humiliated, abducted, tortured and killed as suspected Malay collaborators’, possibly by so-called peoples’ tribunals in the MPAJA had erected.<sup>43</sup> As Dutch

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<sup>38</sup> Het Nederlandse Rode Kruis Afdeling Indonesië Centrale Rode Kruis, 11 November 1948, Documentatie No. 55A; Spoor to the Secretaresse van de Gemeenschappelijke Actie van Nederlandse Vrouwen, 10 September 1948 Kab/2103/18849/PZ, both in ANRI, RA.3aAlg. Secretarie Deel I/114.

<sup>39</sup> ‘Urnen uit Japan in Nederland Aangekomen’, *Nieuwe Courant*, 21 November 1947, 3; ‘Graven uit Japanse Tijd Gevonden’, *Het Dagblad*, 15 February 1949, 1; ‘Romusha-kerkhof Ontdekt’, *Nieuwe Courant*, 10 March 1947, 1.

<sup>40</sup> ‘Een Oproep’, *De Locomotief*, 14 January 1948, 2.

<sup>41</sup> Ondervragingsrapport nr. 1891 Richard Swens, NEFIS Buitenkantoor Soerabaia, 6 March 1948; 1e Gouvernementssecretaris to Luitenant-gouverneur Generaal, Letter L 22/No.110, 16 April 1947; Van Mook to Jonkman, Codetelegram Nummer 208, 16 August 1947, all in ANRI, RA.3aAlg. Secretarie Deel I/114.

<sup>42</sup> Michel van Langenberg, ‘East Sumatra: Accommodating an Indonesian Nation Within a Sumatran Residency’, in A. R. Kahin, ed., *Regional Dynamics of the Indonesian Revolution. Unity from Diversity* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), 124-125; Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, 179-180.

<sup>43</sup> Terzake Personen Nata en Rasidi, Regerings Commissaris voor Bestuurs Aangelegenheden West-Java. Afdeling Intelligence & Loyaliteitsonderzoek, No. 345, 6 November 1947; Terzake R. Wirasampoerna, thans Wedana t/b te Buitenzorg, No.1/14, 9 October 1947, both in NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hoogerechtshof Ned.-Ind. 2.10.17/107; ‘Shosi Geëxecuteerd’, *Algemeen Indisch Dagblad*, 2 September 1947, 2; ‘Oorlogsmisdadiger Krijgt 15 Jaar’, *Het Dagblad*, 28 May 1947, 2; sentencing of Japanese perpetrators happened across Asia: ‘Jap General gets 20 Years’, *The Singapore Free Press*, 24 April 1948, 8; Cheah Boon Kheng, ‘Sino-Malay Conflicts in Malaya, 1945-1946: Communist Vendetta and Islamic Resistance’, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 12, 1 (1981), 109.

troops poured into West Java in 1945's closing months to replace British Commonwealth soldiers, tensions rose quickly. They did not get along. Based on locals' testimonies, Dutch reports claimed that 'British-Indian soldiers [...] took [and molested] women' or stole goods. They incensed the people by openly stating that Indonesia and India deserved independence proclaiming "that 'Dutch, Chinese no good, Indonesian Oké'". The population paid the price. Around Tangerang and Serpong in West Java, Indonesians and Chinese prepared to flee on receiving news that 'British Indian' soldiers would arrive. Simultaneously, the resistance responded with infiltrations and kampong burnings where Dutch troops showed themselves. Desas were forced into acquiescing to either Dutch or Republican dictates.<sup>44</sup>

Governmental officials scrambled to unfold initiatives to jump-start the gutted economies. Self-congratulatory memoranda detailed how hundreds of millions had been spent on rehabilitation schemes for, among others, the school system or the tin and mining industries; all were 'vigorously pushed ahead'. The Malayan government needed massive financial injections from His Majesty's Government to cover rehabilitation costs. In 1950, 'The financial position of the Federation was [still] grave'.<sup>45</sup> In Batavia, various governmental departments likewise budgeted large sums for rebuilding infrastructure such as harbours.<sup>46</sup> Van Mook, with the Dutch government, prioritized the return of planters to their estates and factories as quickly as military momentum allowed. Renewed production would provide relief for Indonesia's ailing economy. Planters were tasked with rehiring former labourers and even illegal squatters: paid employment would calm down agitated local labourers.<sup>47</sup> Soldiers were sent to

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<sup>44</sup> Gevolgen van de Vervanging van Nederlandse Troepen door Britsch Indische in de Omgeving van Batavia, 9 July 1946; Gevolgen van de Vervanging van Nederlandse Troepen door Britsch Indische in de Omgeving van Batavia. Districten Tangerang en Serpong, undated, both in NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hoogerechtshof Ned.-Ind. 2.10.17/107.

<sup>45</sup> Economic and Social Policy in Malaya: CO Note for the Treasury despatched on 18 Mar, T 220/160, March 1950, Stockwell, *Malaya*, 2, 195-199.

<sup>46</sup> Beschikbaarstelling Fondsen voor den Bouw Opslagloodsen voor de Havens Makassar en Soerabaja, D. R. K. de Boer, Onderdirecteur Verkeer en Waterstaat to Van Mook, 18 December 1946, Ref.NO. A/15582/VW/Kab./45; Voorstel tot Beschikkingstelling van Fondsen, Ir. L. de Vogel, Hoofd Afdeling Havenwezen to Van Mook, 26 August 1946, Ref.NO. B 4/1445/VW/KAB/46, both in ANRI, RA.3a. Alg. Secretarie deel I/921.

<sup>47</sup> H. van Swaay to Directeur en Leden van de Algemeen Bestuur Orani, 20 July 1945, NL-HaNA, Orani

Indonesia precisely as the panacea to the problem of restoration. In Indië, they would ensure that the government could, in the—grossly ironic—words of the Minister of War, ‘bargain with those who had acquired a certain authority, to ultimately come to restoration and rehabilitation in mutual co-operation’.<sup>48</sup>

Despite governmental counter-measures the victuals and clothing situation seemed to deteriorate steadily along with personal security. The buying power of rubber in 1947 stood low in relation to pre-war years. ‘Rehabilitation of both rubber plantations and tin mines was retarded by a lack of capital resulting from the low prices and high costs’. Worse still, rubber and tin production exceeded demand in 1950 and the Colonial Office expected the production of natural rubber to shift to other territories, among them Indonesia.<sup>49</sup> The 1950 Draft Development Plan for the Federation saw little opportunities to increase revenues (or cut expenditures) needed for social services.<sup>50</sup> The outbreak of the Korean War (1950-1953) proved a major boon to Malaya’s economic position. With the massive hike of tin and rubber prices, the Federation was not only able to finance the increase the Police Forces; it poured massive amounts into agricultural development and social services such as education and medical services. Richard Stubbs firmly believes the efficacy of winning the ‘hearts and minds’ of the people started with the Korean War boom: to him the influx of revenue it generated could show the people the advantages of the free world as opposed to life under the communists.<sup>51</sup>

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2.20.02.01/17.8; Verslag van de Mededelingenvergadering Indische Ondernemers Bond, 7 November 1947, NL-HaNA, Orani 2.20.02.01/107.2; Instructie voor Ondernemingen en Bedrijven; Herziene Instructie Inzake Economische Beleid. Algemene Instructie II, both in NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/57.

<sup>48</sup> Dr. Ir. C. Coolhaas, *Plantenteelkindige Vraagstukken in Verband met het Herstel van Landbouwbedrijven in Indonesië. Rede Uitgesproken bij de Aanvaarding van het Ambt van Hoogleraar aan de Landbouwhogeschool te Wageningen op Dinsdag 30 November 1948* (Wageningen: H. Veenman & Zonen), 4; Nota van Minister van Oorlog, Fiévez) aan de Leden van de Raad voor Militaire Aangelegenheden van het Koninkrijk, 21 April 1947, *NIB* 8, 131.

<sup>49</sup> R. Stubbs, *Counter-insurgency and the Economic Factor: The Impact of the Korean War Prices Boom on the Malayan Emergency*, Occasional Paper No. 9 (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1974), 5-6; H. T. Ross, *Interim Report on Wages by Joint Wages Commission* (Kuala Lumpur, Malayan Union Government Press, 29 July 1947), 6.

<sup>50</sup> Federation of Malaya, *Draft Development Plan of the Federation of Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printer, 1950), 3.

<sup>51</sup> Stubbs, *Counter-insurgency and the Economic Factor*, 9, 11-13, 15, 18.

Poverty was not eradicated, however, and it is questionable if Malaya's new-found wealth trickled down at all. The Singaporean Swee brothers who had aided many internees 'died in poverty without receiving any official recognition'.<sup>52</sup> Continued misery sparked (long-lasting) public debate ranging from Malay 'laziness' caused by a lack of vitamins to the advantages of birth-control—which 'religious sentiments' would not allow.<sup>53</sup> Sporadically but for years regions in Dutch and Republican territory suffered food shortages, worsened by draughts or crop failure.<sup>54</sup> People wore rags.<sup>55</sup> Many were undoubtedly angered when Dutch troops exacerbated housing shortages that had plagued places like Makasar, Batavia and Bandung.<sup>56</sup> In 1947, 'malnourishment' and 'starvation' simply prohibited medicines' effectiveness.<sup>57</sup> Meanwhile, Dutch soldiers spent large amounts of Dutch guilders—21 million a month in Medan alone—which combined with Republican, Japanese and Indische currencies, black marketeering, fluctuating food prizes and locally competing trade organisations to deregulate the economy.<sup>58</sup>

Continuous hardships, the war and the overall context of lawlessness fed each other. The resettlement of Seremban Chinese in the Negri Sembilan State,

<sup>52</sup> The brothers smuggled food into camp and were tortured by the *Kempetai* for it. Ex-internees both in Singapore and the Federation raised more than \$600 for the brothers' surviving relatives; 'Forgotten Heroes: A Sign', *The Straits Times*, 25 May 1953, 6; 'Why They Are "Forgotten"', *The Straits Times*, 24 May 1953, 5.

<sup>53</sup> 'Vitamins and Malay Progress', *The Straits Times*, 28 April 1956, 12; 'Positive Action Wanted. The Birth Rate', *The Straits Times*, 16 April 1949, 9; 'More Food Needed, but Birth Control Is Last Resort', *The Straits Times*, 15 December 1954, 8.

<sup>54</sup> Politiek Verslag Sumatra van Regeringsadviseur voor Politieke Zaken Sumatra (Van de Velde) over Februari 1947, *NIB* 7, 604, 609; 'Dr. Gani over de Voedselsituatie', *De Nieuwe Courant*, 5 March 1947, 1; 'Politieke Commissie Komt deze Week Niet Bijeen. Republiek Weigert Waarnemers C.G.D. Toegang tot Zuid Malangse', *Nieuwe Courant*, 19 July 1948, 1; 'Voedselnood', *De Locomotief*, 31 October 1948, 1; 'Voedselpositie in Oost-Java. Rijstprijzen—de Nieuwe Oogst. Aardappelcultuur—Visserij', *De Nieuwe Courant*, 9 December 1948, 2; 'Het Petronella Ziekenhuis', *De Locomotief*, 3 January 1949, 2; Overzicht Economische Situatie in de Bevrijde Gebieden per 10 Januari 1949, 25 January 1949, NL-HaNA, NHM, 2.20.01/8910.

<sup>55</sup> *De Locomotief*, 11 September 1949, 2.

<sup>56</sup> Regeling tot Financiering v.d. Wederopbouw c.q. de Nieuwbouw van Woningen, wnd. Directeur Verkeer en Waterstaat Ir. C. J. Warners to Van Mook, 9 February 1948, Ref.No. A/2662/VW/48, ANRI, RA.3a/Alg. Secretarie Deel I/920.

<sup>57</sup> Uittreksel uit Schrijven van den Voorzitter v.d. Medische Coördinatie Raad aan Z.Exc. Den Luit.gouverneur-generaal van N.I., dd. 7 Mei 1947, The Siauw Giap Papers, The Siauw Giap Correspondence 1942-1959, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

<sup>58</sup> Notulen van de Vergadering met Minister-President (Beel) en Minister van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen (Jonkman) op 15 Mei 1947, *NIB* 8, 686-687; Nefis-Buitenzorg, Lt. C. H. Teutenberg, 7 May 1946, No. 49, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI, 2.10.62/1081; Politiek Verslag Sumatra van Regeringsadviseur voor Politieke Zaken Sumatra (Van de Velde) over Februari 1947, *NIB* 7, 597, 601-602; 'Terreur op Passar', *Het Dagblad*, 22 March 1949, 1.



Malaya, caused suffering among those left behind. Many of the squatters had grown vegetables or reared pigs commercially. Their removal disrupted local markets.<sup>59</sup> Police functionaries told people that the Development Plan depended on their giving intelligence on the insurgents.<sup>60</sup> Where a Dutch presence emboldened (or forced) locals to stop feeding the resistance, smaller ‘terror groups’ robbed kampongs of food. Some of them surrendered when raids failed.<sup>61</sup> Wily TNI soldiers dressed in rags to infiltrate West Java.<sup>62</sup> Life became a cheap commodity.<sup>63</sup> Even after Indonesia had been finally recognized as independent, Bogor (Buitenzorg) saw 189 murders in May 1950. Chinese secret societies used the Emergency context to rid themselves of competitors.<sup>64</sup> Impoverished youths—Indo-Europeans, in this case—turned from thieving to murder.<sup>65</sup> Rampok or looting was rife; lines separating ‘gangsterism’ from political terror blurred.<sup>66</sup> One planter noted that now, the impoverished ‘population [...] meets their needs’ by stealing’.<sup>67</sup>

*Figuring weakly in the minds of the Sundanese: The people versus Pasundan*

With various communities left to largely fend for themselves, at each other’s throats and anxious, policy makers perceived a threat to loyalty. Spoor warned

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<sup>59</sup> Review of Chinese Affairs, February 1949, TNA CO 717/182/4; Report Squatter Committee.

<sup>60</sup> Report on the Work of the Federation of Malaya Police Force for the Year 1950, ANM, Chief Secretary 12948/1950 Chapter X Federation of Malaya—Annual Report 1950 Commissioner of Police.

<sup>61</sup> Politiek Verslag Zuid-Celebes van Resident van Zuid-Celebes (Lion Cachet) over de Periode 16 t/m 28 Febr. 1947, *NIB* 7, 616.

<sup>62</sup> ‘In Lompen vermomde TNI-officieren’, *Het Dagblad*, 19 January 1949, 1.

<sup>63</sup> ‘Moord om Duiven’, *Nieuwe Courant*, 4 October 1949, 2.

<sup>64</sup> ‘Bogor in Mei: 181 Moorden’, *Java Bode*, 26 June 1950, 1; Federation of Malaya Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Monthly Survey of Crime, August 1955, A.G.169 5, ANM, Attorney-General F. of M. No. 69. Criminal Statistics of: Communist Terrorists Liable to Death Penalty.

<sup>65</sup> ‘Moord op Priokweg tot Klarheid Gebracht. Jeugdige Straatrovers Bekenden na Langdurend Verhoor hun Schuld’, *Het Dagblad*, 25 March 1949, 2; ‘Aan Lager Wal Geraakte Jongens werden Moordenaars’, *De Locomotief*, 28 March 1949, 1. Later, the prosecution’s case was severely weakened due to the police brutality that had been used to wring out confessions: ‘De Moord op de Priokweg. Ranselde Politie Bekentenis uit de Beklaagden?’, *Java Bode*, 12 October 1949; 3; ‘Vrijspraak voor Beklaagden in Priokmoordzaak. Wettig en Overtuigend Bewijs Ontbreekt’, *Java Bode*, 16 November 1949, 2.

<sup>66</sup> ‘Rampok’, *Java Bode*, 16 November 1949, 2; ‘War Against the Gangs’, *The Straits Times of Singapore*, 12 March, 1954; ‘M.I.C. Condemns Gangsterism’, *The Straits Times*, 4 July 1948, 3; Federation of Malaya Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Monthly Survey of Crime, August 1955, A.G.169 5, ANM, Attorney-General, Federation of Malaya No. 69. Criminal Statistics of: Communist Terrorists Liable to Death Penalty.

<sup>67</sup> No. 3 Sitrap Ondernemingen Oost-Java, ALS Representative Oost Java to Legercommandant, 3 October 1949, NL-HaNA, NHM, 2.20.01/8910.

that the restoration of the Republican government in 1949 would damage the ‘trust of the population in numerous areas’.<sup>68</sup> ‘Prevailing insecurity concerning the future’ proved fertile ground for anti-colonial ‘propagandists’ spread the rumour that the Dutch military would soon depart.<sup>69</sup> A show of strength was needed. Indonesian federalist Dr. Tengku Mansur, the *Wali Negara* of Sumatera Timur, promised ‘most powerful methods’ whereas Malayan planters demanded the death penalty, ‘martial law’ and from the High Commissioner he ‘govern or get out’.<sup>70</sup> Their Dutch colleagues welcomed the Police Action. Renewed economic exploitation ‘would convince the people [...] that under the authority of the Dutch Government they would be better taken care of than under the Republic’.<sup>71</sup>

The people’s support, then, constituted the prize. Who, however, was to shape this show of strength needed to access the people? Aside from the Inland Administration or the Federal, State and District authorities, those elements that professed a willingness to cooperate were expected to carry their weight to provide a standard to rally to. Earlier the role of both the PRP/Pasundan and the MCA has been discussed in terms of their commitment to security forces recruitment. This role was designed to improve indigenous leaders’ standing with their constituencies as much as with the colonial authorities. This section adds another layer to Sundanese and MCA’s claims to political and social relevance; it analyses whether the Pasundan or the MCA could muster peoples’ support.

A cursory glance at numbers alone suggests that Suriakartalegawa and Tan Cheng Lock made good their promise of commanding the ear of many. By April 1947, the PRP boasted local chapters in Batavia, Meester Cornelis, Pasar Rebo, Depok and Ujung Berung, with headquarters in Buitenzorg.<sup>72</sup> Circa 40,000 members in twenty towns—indicative of the partai’s urban origins—had signed

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<sup>68</sup> Conferentie met den Lt. Generaal Spoor, den Kol. Pereira en het Hoofd der Algemene Politie tezamen met Vertegenwoordigers van I.O.B., A.S.S.I., AVROS, A.L.S., B.E.B.T.O. and B.P.M., Mr. J. G. v. ‘t Oever to Jhr. Mr. W. J. de Jonge, 22 April 1949, VV.No.38., NL-HaNA, NHM, 2.20.01/8910.

<sup>69</sup> Nr. F.2273/VV.72., 28 October 1949, NL-HaNA, NHM, 2.20.01/8909.

<sup>70</sup> ‘Huidige Impasse Voert dit Land naar de Ondergang. Redelijkheid en Goodwill bij Republiek Nodig’, *Het Dagblad*, 1; ‘Leadership’, *The Planter*, 24, 4 (1948), 431-432; ‘Govern or Get Out’, *The Straits Times*, 17 June 1948, 6.

<sup>71</sup> Kort Verslag DB Vergadering IOB, 29 Juli 1947, NL-HaNA, Ondernemersraad Indonesië, 2.20.02.01/107/2, Ondernemersraad voor Indonesië te ‘s-Gravenhage, The National Archives, The Hague.

<sup>72</sup> Partai Ra’jat Pasoendan, April 1947NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

their name. Later, a PRP-affiliate, the *Badan Penolong Keselamatan Umum* (the Helper Agency for Public Safety) comprised of mostly ‘religious farmers’, reported another 97,000 members. Some estimates even found a number close to 250,000 plausible although later, ‘after purging’, membership stood at three to four thousand.<sup>73</sup> That people had been made to sign up through *perintah halus*—supple commanding—mattered little.<sup>74</sup> In Malaya, the MCA likewise quickly collected subscribers. In a year’s time membership in Perak rose from 55,832 to 58,640 members.<sup>75</sup> Non-Chinese members constituted a crucial step to shedding the association’s ‘purely communal character’.<sup>76</sup> In April 1951, total membership stood at 160,000. Five years later, officials counted almost 250,000 MCA subscribers, although they had to admit that they had ‘no way of knowing how many [...] are still alive or have [...] been deported’ by the British.<sup>77</sup>

Such numbers hide that the PRP and the MCA had difficulties casting a wide net. The latter continued to carry the taint of elitism, although defenders lauded the possibility for labourers and hawkers to sit on MCA committees. A commentator called ‘Chinese Poor’ saw hypocrisy in MCA leaders sending their children abroad while others contributed. With the MCA serving only the rich Chinese a wedge was driven between pro-MCA Chinese and those remaining neutral.<sup>78</sup> A *Straits Times* reader applauded recruitment policies and the MCA for

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<sup>73</sup> Partai Ra’jat Pasoendan, April 1947; A. K. Widjoatmodjo to the Director of the Cabinet of the Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal, undated; Kort Verslag betreffende de Bestuursvoering in de Preanger over de Maand Maart 1947, undated, all in NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417; Politiek-economisch Verslag over de maand Mei 1949, annex to Maandoverzichten en Verdere Berichtgeving Gedelegeerden H.V.K., 30 May 1949, No.: Ged.HVK/267/IA/1, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/3039.

<sup>74</sup> A. K. Widjoatmodjo to the Director of the Cabinet of the Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal, undated, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

<sup>75</sup> Malaya Chinese Association (Perak Branch) -Report of the Committee, Annual General Meeting, 26 October 1952, ANM, SP.3/B/48; Malaya Chinese Association (Perak Branch) -Report of the Committee, Fifth Annual General Meeting of Perak Committee, 16 August 1953, ANM, SP/3/B/51, see also ‘Rush to Join Ipoh M.C.A.’, *The Singapore Free Press*, 28 March 1949, 5.

<sup>76</sup> The Kinta Branch was joined by 350 non-Chinese; ‘M.C.A. Membership’, *The Singapore Free Press*, 18 September 1951, 5; Malayan Chinese Association Fifth Annual General Committee Meeting, 31 January 1953, ISEAS, HSL 3(a)-3.2.

<sup>77</sup> Tan Cheng Lock to Chen Yen Foon and Lee Phok Seng, Central Reform Committee, Taipeh, Communism, the Emergency and the Chinese in Malaya, 16 April 1951, ISEAS, TCL 5.71; Malayan Chinese Association Annual Report, 19 April 1956, ANM, SP 13/B/25; Memorandum on Democratising the MCA, ISEAS, TCL 1.33a.

<sup>78</sup> Foong Ham, ‘Hawkers, Labourers Can Sit on MCA Committees’, *The Straits Times*, 28 May 1954, 8; Too Joon Hing, ‘Criticism of M.C.A. “Unfair”’, *The Straits Echo & Times*, 11 December 1954, 5.

finally exposing ‘those who try to escape the common duty of a good citizen’.<sup>79</sup> With the supposed quarter of a million MCA members representing less than a tenth of the total Chinese population, however, the realization that the ‘man in the streets had but little interest in the organisation’ was unavoidable.<sup>80</sup>

The Pasundan State fared little better. Recall that the Sundanese identity in Krawang became truly salient when anti-federalist forces began attacking Sundanese individuals. The PRP, too, was accused of keeping double agendas. The ‘Patriot of Bandoeng’ wrote ‘On His Word of Honour’ that he would never follow Suriakartalegawa. He deliberately promoted imaginary differences between the Republic and the Sundanese to become ‘Monarch of the Sunda Lands’.<sup>81</sup> The Negara Pasundan was not without supporters, however. Locals openly declared their co-operation with the Dutch military as PRP officials.<sup>82</sup> More importantly for the Pasundan—and the Dutch—was the ostensible betrayal of the Republic by elements of the West Java *Divisi Siliwangi*. The men felt that the division’s Sundanese character was being diluted by ‘Djokja’-mandated Javanese influences.<sup>83</sup> According to Republican sources, the *divisi*’s morale was already low after its post-Renville evacuation to Central Java; it took to thieving.<sup>84</sup> Circa 3,000 disgruntled former stalwarts of anti-Dutch resistance deserted from the TNI after re-infiltration, brought in by the Pasundan’s *Wali Negara*, his son Major Achmad and a TNI general. Another 8,000 were reportedly interested in doing the same.<sup>85</sup> To ease the transition, Siliwangi men were told they were ‘preventing further

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<sup>79</sup> A Chinese, “‘Escape from Duty’: From a Chinese Who is Staying”, *The Straits Times*, 3 February 1951, 9.

<sup>80</sup> Memorandum on Democratising the MCA, ISEAS, TCL 1.33a.

<sup>81</sup> The Patriot of Bandoeng, On My Word of Honour, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

<sup>82</sup> Inzake Beroep Hoofdbestuur P.R.P. op het Volk in Pasoendan om Eensgezind Achter de Regering te Staen, 30 Juni 1948, No. 571/Pen, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1201; Voordracht Regenten en Patihs, Secretaris van de Recomba West-Java to Luitenant-gouverneur generaal, 16 February 1948, No. 36/681/25-4, ANRI, RA.3a/Alg. Secretarie Deel I/1222.

<sup>83</sup> Dr. R. W. van Diffelen to the Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon, 17 October 1949, F.131, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/3620.

<sup>84</sup> Troepen van Div. Siliwangi, Rapport Kantoor van de Politie Residentie Banjoemas te Bandjarnegara, annex to C.M.I. Documentatie – afdeling V, 27-12-48, C.M.I. Document No. 5490, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/593.

<sup>85</sup> Frakking, “‘Gathered on the Point of a Bayonet’”, 36-37; Dr. R. W. van Diffelen to the Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon, 15 June 1949, F.106, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/3620; Didi Kartasasmita, Spoor to Territoriaal- tevens Troepencommandant-W. Java, 29 December 1948, Kab/3077/P.Z., NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2425.

needless bloodshed...and further waste of time with the build-up of [...] their own [ailing] negara and their own federal army'.<sup>86</sup> Specifically the dilution and the possible corrosion of the traditional links between the Siliwangi Division, their Sundanese identities and West Java constituted a motivation to desert as it Even today, the importance of the Siliwangi Division is plain to see. In Bandung, Aceh Street, for example, has a Siliwangi bowling centre; the Siliwangi Golf driving range is not far away. Around the corner from Aceh Street, the façade of the Bandung Siliwangi Field or Siliwangi Stadium—a football complex owned by the Regional Military/Siliwangi Command—bears a mural with the inscriptions '1945' and 'Esa Hilang Dua Terbilang', meaning 'we are united as one.' To underline the continued significance of and the prestige the Siliwangi men have accrued, the mural depicts the men of the division attacking a lion (signifying the Netherlands) while others walk with a tiger (symbolizing the Siliwangi Division) or bayonet Dutch soldiers to death.<sup>87</sup>

On the whole, however, the Pasundan made a paltry impression in garnering deep-seated support, despite the Sundanese dominating West Javanese demographics.<sup>88</sup> In 1948, the PRP needed a pamphlet to explain to the Sundanese that their government still worked hard at the Negara's 'consolidation' and public safety. Leaders signalled their independence by demanding the removal of the Dutch army although they knew 'their own safety [...] rests on the bayonets of this army'. Van Mook was asked to dismiss 'non-Sundanese civil servants' and call on the Sundanese to take up arms to protect the *negara's* infrastructure. In an attempt at enhanced sovereignty, the *Wali Negara* had to ask for the substitution of Indonesian for Dutch administrators mere months before independence.<sup>89</sup> Such a move was hardly prudent. The Dutch had re-

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<sup>86</sup> Contact Divisie Siliwangi, Spoor to His Excellency the Wali Negara of Pasundan, 17 February 1949, No. Kab/447 NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/3620.

<sup>87</sup> Author's field notes, 26 September 2015.

<sup>88</sup> 75% of Indonesians in West Java were Sundanese: The Population in the Occupied Area of West Java, NL-HaNA, Koets, 2.21.100/84.

<sup>89</sup> Inzake Beroep Hoofdbestuur P.R.P. op het Volk in Pasoendan om Eensgezind Achter de Regering te Staan, 30 Juni 1948, No. 571/Pen, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1201; P. Okma, Procureur-generaal van Pasundan, to H. W. Felderhof, Procureur-generaal bij het Hooggerechtshof van Nederlands-Indië, 10 March 1949, NL-

instated city councils across Indonesia but for the regency councils, technical personnel and resources were scarce. The Pasundan State, therefore, could not show itself on a regency level.<sup>90</sup>

The reasons behind the Negara's weak position were manifold. The major instabilities caused by the ambiguities of affiliation vis-à-vis the Republic and the Dutch were compounded by many other obstacles. To begin with, since May 1947—Suriakartalegawa's Pasundan declaration—the status of West Java as a separate polity continued to be discussed. Only after the third West Java Conference in February 1948 was official ratification set in motion.<sup>91</sup> The resulting petition to the colonial government to appoint the democratically-chosen participants as the 'provisional parliament' of a 'separate negara' caused confusion; some opined that the 'Negara Djawa Barat (West Java State) was already in the process of being created'. The *Djawa Barat* moniker was rejected in favour of the Negara Pasundan that the Dutch recognized in April.<sup>92</sup> How the newly minted parliament would govern seems unclear, however. It gained various powers, such as designing legislation, yet the colonial Government ('het Land') retained 39 state functions for itself, among which foreign relations, defence, citizenship regulations and 'colonization'.<sup>93</sup> Financially, too, the Pasundan depended on the colonial coffers.<sup>94</sup>

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HaNA, Koets, 2.21.100/89; R. A. A. M. M. Soerikartalegawa to Zijne Excellentie de Lt. Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlands-Indië, undated, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417; R. A. A. Wiranatakoesoema, Wali Negara Padoendan to Mulia Wakil Agung Mahkota di Indonesia, 5 November 1949, No. 315/W,-31/49/K./RH, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/3368.

<sup>90</sup> Uittreksel uit het Register der Besluiten van de Luitenant Gouverneur-Generaal van Indonesie, 9 October 1948, No. 18; Herstel van Locaal Bestuur. Opinie-onderzoek in Oost-Java, 8 July 1948, B.Z. x 10/1/31; Begroting Stadsgemeenten en Regentschappen West-Java, 19 Maart 1948, No. A.Z.25/2/16, all in ANRI, RA.3a/Alg. Secretarie Deel I/595.

<sup>91</sup> Nota Verblijf Bandung, H. A. van Deinse, 28 April 1949, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2427. For the first and second West Java Conferences (12-18 October and 15-20 December 1947, respectively) see: NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2420.

<sup>92</sup> Report of the Committee of Good Offices to the Security Council on Political Developments in Western Java, 16 April 1948, S/AC.10/110; Second Report of the Committee of Good Offices to the Security Council on Political Developments in Western Java, 31 July 1948, S/AC.10/158; Extract from the Record of Decrees of the Lieut. Governor-General of the Netherlands-Indies, 11 June 1948, No. 10, all in NL-HaNA, Koets/2.21.100/84.

<sup>93</sup> Regulation Constitutional Organization Negara Pasoendan, undated; Extract from the Register of Decisions by the Lieutenant Governor General of the Netherlands-Indies, both in NL-HaNA, Koets/2.21.100/84.

<sup>94</sup> Overzicht van de Derde Zitting van het Voorlopig Vertegenwoordigende Lichaam van de Negara Pasoendan, Bandoeng, 13-15 and 20-22 May 1948, ANRI, RA.3a. Alg. Secretarie Deel I/1223.

Indeed, the Dutch wondered what the Pasundan administrators were doing with their time.<sup>95</sup> The cabinet did not seem to disseminate any records of proceedings.<sup>96</sup> Politicians squabbled frequently. Initially, the Interim Representative Body wondered if they administered a province or a state.<sup>97</sup> Fractions had trouble staying together. Within the provisional parliament one was tainted by its leader's collaboration with the Japanese; another politician seemed to be a secret communist while *Fraksi Kesatuan* members were distracted by careerism.<sup>98</sup> The Partai Rakyat Pasundan's anti-Javanese stance made it unpopular.<sup>99</sup> Adil Puradiraja of the *Paguyuban* scoffed at the idea of a fusion with the PRP. The latter, he told journalists, was 'a party created by the Dutch, that otherwise has no right to exist'.<sup>100</sup> No-one had missed Suriakartalegawa at the first West Java Conference whereas Republicans were, in theory, welcome. In the first parliament, the PRP had five seats, whereas the *Fraksi Indonesia* had 35.<sup>101</sup> Meanwhile, Dutch intelligence claimed Republicans had inserted themselves into the Pasundan's cabinet and parliament to affect their stance on the Republic. The *Wali Negara*, Djumhana, Suriakartalegawa, *Fraksi Indonesia*: all were in on it.<sup>102</sup> The *Siliwangi* desertions, too, proved destabilizing. Where the Dutch feared these armed men—handsomely paid for by the Crown—may not

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<sup>95</sup> In May 1949, the parliament did not convene, for example. See: Politiek-economisch Verslag over de maand Mei 1949, annex to Maandoverzichten en Verdere Berichtgeving Gedelegeerden H.V.K., 30 May 1949, No.: Ged.HVK/267/IA/1, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/3039.

<sup>96</sup> Pencilled note on Enige Aantekeningen van de heer Gerke inzake Pasundan 15 July 1948, NL-HaNA, Koets, 2.21.100/87.

<sup>97</sup> Overzicht van de Derde Zitting van het Voorlopig Vertegenwoordigende Lichaam van de Negara Pasoendan, Bandoeng, 13-15 and 20-22 May 1948, ANRI, RA.3a.Alg. Secretarie Deel I/1223.

<sup>98</sup> Voorlopig Parlement Negara Pasoendan, 2 April 1948, No.: 2084/AB2148, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI, 2.10.62/1728.

<sup>99</sup> No. 3/3 1/3 1948 Surjotjondro to Sekretaris Djokja, RA.7/Sek. Neg. RI. 967 RA.6/Sekretariat Negara RI 1945-1949, Arsib Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta.

<sup>100</sup> Interview met Adil Poeradiredja na zijn Terugkomst met Wiranatakoesoema uit Djocja, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI, 2.10.62/927.

<sup>101</sup> West-Java Conferentie, annex to J. H. Delgorge, ns de Recomba West-Java, to Directeur van de Nefis, 29 October 1947, No.44/1406, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI, 2.10.62/1728; Second Report of the Committee of Good Offices to the Security Council on Political Developments in Western Java, 31 July 1948, S/AC.10/158, NL-HaNA, Koets/2.21.100/84.

<sup>102</sup> Contact tussen Vooraanstaande Sundanezen, 8 January 1948, No. 406; R. D. Djajanegara, Chef afd. Residentie Recherche, to Korpschef der Alg.Politie te Buitenzorg, 29 December 1947, No. 120/R.R., both in Nefis en CMI, 2.10.62/1729; Nota Verblijf Bandung, H. A. van Deirse, 28 April 1949, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2427; P. Okma, Procureur-generaal van Pasundan, to H. W. Felderhof, Procureur-generaal bij het Hooggerechtshof van Nederlands-Indië, 10 March 1949, NL-HaNA, Koets, 2.21.100/89.

relinquish ‘their original fighting-ideal’ and make the *negara* power-hungry, its cabinet nearly collapsed over the efficacy of tempting the Division.<sup>103</sup>

Lastly, the foundational story of the Pasundan hardly constituted a tale shared between the Sundanese leadership and their followers. ‘[N]o public demand’ for the second conference had existed. In fact, the Republic averred, twenty ‘influential’ men from Java had signed a manifesto condemning the conference which received support from 250,000 people in ‘various places in the occupied areas of West Java’.<sup>104</sup> The Republic was right. The Inland Administration had indeed been the convener, wide spread endorsement for the manifesto did exist and of the twenty speakers on the fourth day of the first conference only three supported ‘the Pasoendan idea’. Eleven wanted a ‘temporary regime’.<sup>105</sup> Ordinary Sundanese experienced little of the ‘attained political, cultural or social autonomy’ the *negara* had acquired—although, as we know, there was not much autonomy to be had. The state figured ‘very weakly in the minds and lives of the Sundanese’.<sup>106</sup> They refused to ‘delude’ themselves into supporting the *negara* ‘as long as the possibility existed that in a while the Republic will be pulling the strings’.<sup>107</sup> The choice made by Hoessein Effendi, a Sundanese living in Cianjur, serves as an apt example. When Dutch influence declined markedly in his immediate vicinity in 1947 he joined the infiltrating Republican *Markas Besar Tentara* (Army Headquarters) to protect himself but also because he and his friends now felt that ‘the Republic would eventually win’.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Dr. R. W. van Duffelen to the Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon, 1 April 1949, F.81; Bericht in Editie van Afd. VIII., 3 September 1949, No. Kab/DCMI/2704/ZG, both in NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/3620; P. Okma, Procureur-generaal van Pasundan, to H. W. Felderhof, Procureur-generaal bij het Hoogerechtshof van Nederlands-Indië, 10 March 1949, NL-HaNA, Koets, 2.21.100/89.

<sup>104</sup> Replies to the Questions on the Political Developments in West Java (S/AC.10/93), annex to Moh. Roem, Chairman Delegation of the Republic of Indonesia, to the Chairman of the Security Council, 6 March 1948, No: 273, NL-HaNA, Koets/2.21.100/84; the Manifesto is in the same folder.

<sup>105</sup> Tanda Persetudjuan, annexes to Protest tegen West-Java Conferentie, 4 February 1948, Nr: P/446; West-Java Conferentie, annex to J. H. Delgorge, ns de Recomba West-Java, to Directeur van de Nefis, 29 October 1947, No.44/1406, both in NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI, 2.10.62/1728. Two people adhered to a ‘Republican-unitary’ set-up.

<sup>106</sup> Enige Aantekeningen van de heer Gerke inzake Pasundan 15 July 1948, NL-HaNA, Koets, 2.21.100/87.

<sup>107</sup> Verzamelrapport Veiligheidsgroepen en Onderdelen. Afgesloten 19-5-47, 20 Mei 1947, no 752/I OM, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/224.

<sup>108</sup> Proces-verbaal van Getuige Verhoor [Hoessein Effendi], 26 September 1947, annex to 10 Pn.-V. In duplo, 8



The Republic was adamant in pursuing that goal. Officials unleashed a paper offensive against the Sundanese separatists. Their propaganda spoke of a ‘devide [sic] and rule-policy [...] reviving the last remnants of provincialism, which are still slumbering in the hearts of [...] Dutch puppets’.<sup>109</sup> Soon, anti-Pasundan committees within and outside Dutch-controlled areas in West Java set to work intimidating influential Sundanese leaders, Inland Administration officers, the army, the Military Police [and] the barisans’. Pamphlets threatened collaborators with death.<sup>110</sup> Suriakartalegawa’s mother was used to speak against her son on the Radio; his sister reputedly said she would marry the man who killed her brother.<sup>111</sup> Villages denounced the *negara* through standardised ‘resolutions’ stating that ‘Java, Madura and Sumatra’ were indivisible under the Republic. Village leaders—coerced or not—simply signed ‘on behalf of the people’.<sup>112</sup> Sukarno supposedly received hundreds of letters with similar declarations.<sup>113</sup> When simply appeared in Garut, the very place where the Suriakartalegawa dynasty originated, and announced that if the Sundanese would accept the PRP, he no longer wished to be president. He would rather be slaughtered in front of the people, he stated.<sup>114</sup>

Words spilled over into action. In Krawang, Sukarno’s May 1947 visit sparked violent outbursts. The TNI and local militias tortured those accused of secessionist leanings. Some were forced to hold up an image of Suriakartalegawa with bound hands that were then set on fire. Aggressors put one sympathiser in a

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October 1947, No. 993, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI, 2.10.62/988.

<sup>109</sup> A Brief Report on the “Party Pasoendan”, Jakarta, December 26, 1946, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

<sup>110</sup> NEFIS-Publicatie over “De Soendanese Onafhankelijkheidsbeweging”, 13 mei 1947, *NIB* 8, 628; Kort Verslag Betreffende de Bestuursvoering in de Preanger over de Maand Maart 1947; Nefis Signalement, Gerakan Anti-Pemetjah-Repoeblik Indonesia, 8 Juli 1948, both in NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

<sup>111</sup> Proclamatie Pasoendan, 6 May 1947, No. 255, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI, 2.10.62/1728; Kort Verslag betreffende de Bestuursvoering in de Preanger over de Maand Maart 1947, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

<sup>112</sup> For the petitions, see: RA.7/Sek. Neg. RI. 956.

<sup>113</sup> ‘Soekarno Richt Zich tot de Bevolking in de Pasoendan’, *Nieuwsblad van Friesland*, 14 May 1947.

<sup>114</sup> NEFIS-Publicatie over “De Soendanese Onafhankelijkheidsbeweging”, 13 mei 1947, *NIB* 8, 628; Kort Verslag betreffende de Bestuursvoering in de Preanger over de Maand Maart 1947, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

sack and dunked him repeatedly in a nearby river.<sup>115</sup> In October 1947, the Pasundan's Central Information Service issued a report giving a gruesome account of anti-PPR violence, listing ten cases of murder, 86 kidnappings and 101 burnt-down houses.<sup>116</sup> The build-up to the last West Java conference was equally violent. As the Republican delegation to the UN petitioned against it, 83 people were murdered or severely wounded between December and February 1948 across the Buitenzorg, Cianjur and Sukabumi regencies. These acts of aggression proved effective in undermining the West Java Conference's democratic potential. Scores of villagers fled (others were 'taken away') leaving no-one to vote for the electors who would appoint the representatives to the third conference. In the Kuningan Regency, only ten desas of a possible 260 saw elections; lurahs had to appoint the electors.<sup>117</sup>

*Selling the country and cheating the people: The Malayan Chinese Association*

The Malayan Chinese Association's trajectory contrasts starkly with that of the Negara Pasundan. In fact, 'the Emergency [became] central to the process by which [...] MCA emerged as the dominant Chinese political party'.<sup>118</sup> In the context of the Malayan case as the reputed successful counterinsurgency paradigm and our overarching argument, this statement puts into words the fact that alliances to the colonial government during decolonization—MCA's in this case—were predicated on sustained control by said government.<sup>119</sup> The Pasundan, buckling under the pressures of the Republic, the Dutch and internal struggles and with its supposedly loyal supporters dispersed by violence shows

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<sup>115</sup> R. Kantawiria, Krawang, aan het Koninklijk Leger, 'Republikeinse Democratie', Volledige Dossier Jack Boer Excessen Bersiap, <http://www.archiefvantranen.nl/dossier/documenten/>. Last visited on 30-05-2013.

<sup>116</sup> A. Djajaprawira, de Centrale Pasoendan-Voorlichtingsdienst, 27 October 1947, Volledige Dossier Jack Boer Excessen Bersiap, <http://www.archiefvantranen.nl/dossier/documenten/>. Last visited on 30-05-2013.

<sup>117</sup> Memorandum from the Delegation of the Republic of Indonesia Received, 21 December 1947, S/AC.10/73, NL-HaNA, Koets, 2.21.100/83; Opgave Terrorisme in het Regentschap Krawang, annex to Rep.activiteit ná 1 Nov.1947, 19 January 1948, No. 414, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI, 2.10.62/927; Nota betreffende Vraagpunten der Commissie voor Goede Diensten Inzake de Verkiezingen voor de 3e West-Java Conferentie; Vervolg van de Nota, both in NL-HaNA, Koets/2.21.100/85.

<sup>118</sup> Hack, "Iron Claws on Malaya", 119.

<sup>119</sup> For the Malayan Emergency as successful British counterinsurgency, see: Stubbs, *Hearts and Minds in Guerrilla Warfare*. For a discussion on why the Emergency's lessons are distorted, see also Hack, 'The Malayan Emergency as Counter-Insurgency Paradigm', 383-414.

the consequences of an absence of control. The MCA's entrenchment elucidates what the effect of functioning counterinsurgency meant: that an organization that drew only a small percentage of the total Chinese into its ranks still constituted a dominant factor.<sup>120</sup>

This is especially clear when the Malayan Communist Party's reaction on the MCA is considered. The MCP and its affiliates pursued the disruption of social order and safety rather actively, especially in the initial stages of its insurrection. Its propaganda machine depicted the British—with some justification—as perpetrators of 'ruthless Fascist violence'. '[W]e must not submit ourselves to the slave-hold of British Imperialism which aims to suck our blood', one manifesto ran. The MNRLA aimed to 'extinguish' the British and 'her collaborators, the K.M.T. and her running-dogs'.<sup>121</sup> Tan Cheng Lock and his MCA had sold the country (alongside the UMNO), '[pledging] loyalty to the British' while '[cheating] the people'.<sup>122</sup> Visible MCA-officials, much like those of the PRP, were therefore targeted.<sup>123</sup> In Batu Anam, Johore, the president of the sub-branch was attacked in his shop.<sup>124</sup> The estates belonging to MCA members, such as Mr. Yong Shook Lin but also Tan Cheng Lock, were likewise purposefully targeted; in Penang a secretary was shot in his own house.<sup>125</sup> 'Enthusiasm for the M.C.A. [...] waned

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<sup>120</sup> In Perak, 13,2% of Chinese joined the MCA, in Johore 7,9% and in Selangor 8,5%, Karl Hack, "'Iron Claws'", 122, note 89. Elsewhere ('Everyone Lived in Fear', 697) Hack calls the MCA a 'mass organization', but he seems to have chosen this predicate based on the fact that the MCA drew more Chinese than did the MCP, its army and their masses organization together. Yet, the MCA was not important everywhere. Even if the MCA had 250,000 members, this represented ten percent of all Chinese in Malaya.

<sup>121</sup> A Manifesto to Fellow-workers in the Whole of Perak from the Federation of Perak Trade Unions in Connection with the Opposition to the Violence of British Fascism, 1 July 1948; Manifesto to All People, Malayan Communist Party Peoples' Liberation Army, 1 July 1948, Malayan Security Service Supplement No. 10 of 1948, TNA, CO 537/3753; see also: 'Letter to the Compatriots of All Races Accusing the Fascist Atrocious Acts of the British Imperialists in Attacking Chin Lam District', *Freedom News*, 3 (1949), 16-17.

<sup>122</sup> 'Expose the Despicable Plot of the So-called "Amnesty to the Malayan Communists"', *Freedom News*, 57 (1955), 8-9.

<sup>123</sup> Opinions on a Number of Material Points Connected with the Present Frame-work of Activity', Security Forces Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 110 for the Week ending 12<sup>th</sup> June 1952, TNA, CO 1022/15.

<sup>124</sup> Weekly Situation Report, 8<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> July 1949, No. 24, TNA, CO 717/178/4.

<sup>125</sup> Weekly Situation Report, 10<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> June 1949, No. 20; Weekly Situation Report, 16<sup>th</sup>-22<sup>nd</sup> September 1949, No. 34, Weekly Situation Report, 19<sup>th</sup>-25<sup>th</sup> August 1949, No. 30, all in TNA, CO 717/178/4.

considerably' due to such attacks.<sup>126</sup> Around 300 MCA members lost their lives during the Emergency.<sup>127</sup>

Unlike the PRP the MCA was not cowed. The association's survival, I argue, lies with the fact that the Malayan Communists lost the initiative which was preceded by a British strategic shift. This shift involved a re-thinking of the approach to combating insurgents. When General Templer arrived in 1952, the British had been finalizing the implementation of plans that allowed them to have coercive measures combined with more conciliatory approaches.<sup>128</sup> Most fundamentally, from January 1949 onwards, the British with the planters, *mentri<sup>2</sup> besar* and their British advisers in tow, took to resettling and deporting those Chinese they mistrusted. Squatters' alliances had to be forced to make them governable and disrupt the flow of food and intelligence to the insurgents: 'the Asiatic mind understands force'.<sup>129</sup> The Squatter Committee's recommendations paved the way for collective detention, forced individual or collective resettlement and deportation.<sup>130</sup> In April 1950, Lieutenant-General Sir Harold Briggs, the newly arrived Director of Operations, 'drew up the first systematic' plans to ultimately resettle more than 500,000 Chinese (plus 600,000 estate labourers) into New Villages and centralized labour lines.<sup>131</sup> Between 1948 and 1957, more than 30,000 people would be detained. Deportees, 12,190 of them, were sent back to China although other 'disposal' options, such as the Christmas Islands, North Borneo and Kenya, were contemplated.<sup>132</sup> Naturally,

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<sup>126</sup> Weekly Situation Report, 8<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> July 1949, No. 24, TNA, CO 717/178/4.

<sup>127</sup> Koon, *Chinese Politics in Malaysia*, 129.

<sup>128</sup> For the British 'counter-terror' during the first two years and the shift, see: Huw, 'A Very Salutory Effect', 417-418.

<sup>129</sup> Record of the Conference with the Mentri<sup>2</sup> Besar, Resident Commissioners, and British Advisers on The Intensification of the Emergency Effort', C. S. Y/417/51, TNA, CO 1022/148; 'The Poor Are Always With Us', *The Planter*, 25, no. 2 (1949), 28-30 (see also Short, *Communist Insurrection*, 183); Report Squatter Committee; Various Matters Discussed with the Authorities in Malaya, Memorandum by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 14 July 1950, MAL.C.(50) 25, TNA, CAB 21/1681; Short, *Communist Insurrection*, 175-176.

<sup>130</sup> Emergency Regulations 17D, E and F; published between January and August; Short, *Communist Insurrection*, 188, 194. See also: R. dhu Renick Jr., 'The Emergency Regulations of Malaya: Causes and Effect', *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 6, 2 (1965), 1-39.

<sup>131</sup> Hack, "'Iron Claws'", 102-103; Weekly Situation Report, 11<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> November 1949, No. 42, TNA, CO 717/178/4; Federation Plan for the Elimination of the Communist Armed Forces in Malaya', 24 May 1950, appendix to Memorandum by the Minister of Defence, 7 July 1950, MAL.C.(50) 23, TNA, CAB 21/1681.

<sup>132</sup> Lieutenant-general R. H. Bower, Director of Operations, Review of the Emergency in Malaya from June 1948 to August 1957, 12 September 1957, TNA, AIR 20/10377; Telegram Commissioner-general for United Kingdom in South

Chinese leaders expressed their disgust, claiming that most ‘squatters knew nothing of politics and only wish to cultivate their land’.<sup>133</sup>

With the squatters registered, Labour Minister Mr. Rees-Williams boasted before the British press in November 1949 that ‘the back of the bandit forces had been broken.’<sup>134</sup> The minister was far off. As Hack has convincingly argued, however, those who place the reversal in 1952—due to Templer’s arrival as the new supremo steering the war-effort—are equally off.<sup>135</sup> Rather, Templer started to exert his influence when the MCP’s fortunes were on the cusp of changing due to, among other factors, better intelligence and resettlement.<sup>136</sup> By Chin Peng’s own admission 1949-50 had been the MCP’s highpoint. ‘I heard of Templer’s appointment over Radio Malaya. By then we were really feeling the heat of the new villages’.<sup>137</sup>

In 1951-52, MCP room for manoeuvre was being severely restricted. ‘[W]e had...a whole haversack of money...but we can’t get a bit of food’, said Peng.<sup>138</sup> MRLA soldier Liang Xian corroborated this: ‘Our food supplies were blocked’ behind New Village fences. With the MRLA’s search for food, animal life took a hit. Ah Hai admitted that in 1952 the British separations of insurgents from population ‘began to take effect [...] we had no choice but to retreat [...] north to the Thai border’.<sup>139</sup> Cells went underground in Johore and Selangor; already in 1950, the Third MRLA Regiment had to relocate due to food shortages—although

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East Asia to Mr. MacDonald, 14 June 1950, No. 497, FZ 1821/6; Gurney to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 24 August 1950, No. 827, FZ 1821/13, both in TNA, FO 371/84690; Chancery Singapore to British Embassy Peking, 30 September 1950, No. 54 (17/1140/50), FZ 1825/5, TNA, FO 371/83545; Record of the Conference with the Menteri<sup>2</sup> Besar. See also: Chin, ‘Repatriation of the Chinese’, 374.

<sup>133</sup> Review of Chinese Affairs, February 1949, TNA, CO 717/182/4. Chinese leaders wondered if the government actually used the Emergency as a pretext to rid itself of the squatters.

<sup>134</sup> Weekly Situation Report, 11<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> November 1949, No. 42, TNA, CO 717/178/4.

<sup>135</sup> For adherents to the Templer-thesis, see: John Coates, *Suppressing Insurgency: An Analysis of the Malayan Emergency, 1948-1954* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press 1992), 121, note 9; S. Smith, ‘Templer and Counter-insurgency in Malaya’, 68; Kumar Ramakrishna, “‘Transmogrifying’ Malaya: The Impact of Sir Gerald Templer (1952-54),” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 32, 1 (2001), 79-92.

<sup>136</sup> Hack, “‘Iron Claws’”, 112, 114; Hack, “‘Everyone Lived in Fear’”, 674.

<sup>137</sup> Chin Peng with Ian Ward and Normal Miraflores, *Alias Chin Peng: My Side of History* (Ipoh, Media Masters Publishing, 2003), 295, quoted in Hack, ‘The Malayan Emergency as Counter-insurgency Paradigm’, 397.

<sup>138</sup> Karl Hack, *Dialogues with Chin Peng: New Light on the Malayan Emergency* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2005), 162.

<sup>139</sup> Interview with Liang Xian; interview with Ah Hai. See also interview with Wong Kin; ‘Malayan Tiger Now Rare. Emergency Takes Heavy Toll on Animals’, *The Malay Mail*, 12 January 1953, 5.

the first Federal food denial plan commenced in June 1951. Obtaining food had always been [o]ne of the chief weaknesses' of the MCP.<sup>140</sup> Insurgents' intercepted letters in Kedah from January 1952 spoke of 'a miserable future': 'The public are frightened by [...] constant [British] pressure from doing anything against the [British] enemy'. Villagers dared not welcome the freedom fighters any longer, ignored meetings and 'begged us not to come to the village'. Local communists had 'completely lost the co-operation of the public', the epistles ended.<sup>141</sup> Chin Peng later stated that the Briggs plan quickly caused 'a crisis of survival'.

The highest MCP echelons reacted with the October 1951 Directives. They took a year to be properly disseminated and implemented.<sup>142</sup> The Directives envisaged the saving of the revolution by finally attempting the elusive 'United Front' that would bring all races—including 'petty' bourgeoisie capitalists—together into supporting, victualling and fighting with the MCP.<sup>143</sup> Without mass support, future liberated areas could not be linked up—a prerequisite for insurgent governance.<sup>144</sup> '[W]anton terrorism'—detrimental to labourers' perceptions of the revolution—was to be replaced by surgical strikes on security forces by 'Independent Platoons'. Armed Work Forces would maintain liaison with the people, but overall, the changed nature of the Emergency dictated the MRLA retreat deeper into the jungle where units and party cadre would cultivate their own food.<sup>145</sup> Incident rates subsequently declined.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Monthly Review January, Security Forces Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 92 for the Week Ending 7<sup>th</sup> February 1952, CO 1022/14; Lieutenant-general R. H. Bower, Director of Operations, Review of the Emergency in Malaya from June 1948 to August 1957, 12 September 1957, TNA, AIR 20/10377.

<sup>141</sup> Monthly Review January, Security Forces Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 92 for the Week Ending 7<sup>th</sup> February 1952, CO 1022/14. (See also Hack, "Iron Claws", 112-113.)

<sup>142</sup> Peng, *Alias Chin Peng*, 268, 315.

<sup>143</sup> Review of the Security Situation in Malaya, Paper by the Combined Intelligence Staff, 27 February 1953, CIS (52) (15) Final, TNA, CO 1022/205; Security Forces Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 110 For the Week Ending 12<sup>th</sup> June 1952, TNA, CO 1022/15.

<sup>144</sup> Security Forces Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 168 for the Week Ending 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1953, TNA, AIR 22/507; B. Suykens, 'Comparing Rebel Rule Through Revolution and Naturalization: Ideologies of Governance in Naxalite and Naga India', in Ana Arjona, Nelson Kasfir, Zachariah Mampilly, eds., *Rebel Governance in Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 144.

<sup>145</sup> Peng, *Alias Chin Peng*, 280, 284, 315; Pan-Malayan Review of Security Intelligence No. 1 January 1952, TNA, CO 1022/209; Review of the Security Situation in Malaya, Paper by the Combined Intelligence Staff, 27 February 1953, CIS (52) (15) Final, TNA, CO 1022/205.

<sup>146</sup> Lieutenant-general R. H. Bower, Director of Operations, Review of the Emergency in Malaya from June 1948 to

With the MCP on the back-foot, the MCA swooped into the New Villages and Chinese lives. Members applauded Regulation 17E and judging on their involvement with the early resettlements, the association indeed ‘wanted a field for practical activity’.<sup>147</sup> H. S. Lee and others declared his support for ‘law and order’ measures from MCA’s inception—although the British ‘pointed out’ to the ‘promoters’ that said commitment needed to figure prominently in MCA statutes.<sup>148</sup> Guiding the fate of the squatters became the means to MCA’s establishment.<sup>149</sup> The despised squatters needed the patronage.<sup>150</sup> Kedah’s *mentri besar* wanted ‘Palestinian and [North West] Frontier’ methods: ‘burning out’ squatters without contingency planning; he hoped they would move into Thailand.<sup>151</sup> Any squatter was guilty merely by living in the vicinity of communist activity.<sup>152</sup>

The Colonial Office claimed a ‘really humane policy’, but resettlement proved otherwise.<sup>153</sup> Particularly ‘bad’ settlements received no warning. Squatters branded resettlement ‘brusque’ as their old lives were destroyed, families and village communities deliberately separated and houses burnt down; they feared New Village curfews.<sup>154</sup> Food denial operations put ‘very harsh restrictions [...]

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August 1957, 12 September 1957, TNA, AIR 20/10377.

<sup>147</sup> Weekly Situation Report, 17<sup>th</sup>-23<sup>rd</sup> June 1949, No. 21, CO 717/178/4.

<sup>148</sup> Inward Telegram, Sir H. Gurney to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1 March 1949, No. 282, Letter from King’s House to J. D. Higham, Esq., the Colonial Office, both in CO 537/4242; see also: [Malayan Chinese Association]: Letter From Sir H. Gurney to J. D. Higham on the Objects and Rules of the MCA, no. 176, 10 February 1949, CO 537/4242, no 3, Stockwell, ed., *British Documents on the End of Empire*, Series B, 3, 112-113.

<sup>149</sup> Kernial Singh Sandhu, ‘The Saga of the “Squatter” in Malaya: A Preliminary Survey of the Causes, Characteristics and Consequences of the Resettlement of Rural Dwellers during the Emergency between 1948 and 1960’, *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 5, no. 1 (1964), 156; Malay Chinese Association (Perak Branch) -Report of the Committee, Fifth Annual General Meeting of Perak Committee, 16 August 1953, ANM, SP/3/B/51.

<sup>150</sup> Only a Planter, ‘Squatters’, *The Malay Mail*, 22 January 1949, 6; Klyne Street, KL, ‘Crocodile Tears of Squatters’, *The Malay Mail*, 6 March 1950, 6.

<sup>151</sup> Quoted in Short, *Communist Insurrection*, 180; In “‘Iron Claws’”, 110-111, Hack criticizes Short and Richard Stubbs for reading Gurney’s ‘political will’ as ‘evidence of dangerously hardening attitudes’ without acknowledging the fact that both Gurney and Templer sought to balance deportation of ‘recalcitrants [...] and improving New Villages’. However, he glosses over the fact that, indeed, much of the British measures were rather indiscriminate and men other than Templer and Gurney were not so balanced.

<sup>152</sup> Ref to the Executive Committee for an Order of Repatriation under ER 17D (4). in the Demak Squatter Area, 54/032/001j/008 S. 206/11/79, ISEAS, HSL 54.32.

<sup>153</sup> “‘Humane Policy for Malaya. Rees-Williams Refutes “Reprisals” Charge’, *The Malay Mail*, 16 April 1949, 1.

<sup>154</sup> ‘Worried 200 have Nowhere to Go’, *The Malay Mail*, 14 January 1953, 5; for the sequence of relocation, see: Tan Teng-Phee, ‘Like a Concentration Camp, lah: Chinese Grassroots Experience of the Emergency and New Villages in British Colonial Malaya’, *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies*, 3 (2009), 219-221.

upon the Chinese small-holders'. Agricultural plots were abandoned and could not always be re-allocated near new locations. Cultivation recovery would take a long time 'if [it] could be achieved'.<sup>155</sup> Within many villages drainage was disastrous; others resembled slums.<sup>156</sup> Lack of arable land and the rubber boom turned villagers away from agriculture, yet local economies could hardly accommodate the ex-squatters. Worse still, planters refused would-be labourers as their identity cards marked them as detainees under Regulation 17F.<sup>157</sup> Tappers moving in and out of the villages were structurally checked for food and messages and vulnerable to raids.<sup>158</sup>

With fences, barbed wire, possible arrest and police always near, ex-squatters and certainly the MCP soon called the New Villages 'concentration camps'.<sup>159</sup> The image was reinforced by collective punishments. The 'terrorized rather than [...] terrorist' villagers of Tras, circa 2,000 people, were arrested for 'harbouring' those who killed High Commissioner Gurney in Pahang. Other settlements soon experienced the same sting of 'release and resettle' for 'helping the terrorists'.<sup>160</sup> Officials blamed the villagers themselves. 'If you want the gates to be re-opened again, have the courage to come forward with information', they

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<sup>155</sup> State Agricultural Officer to Director of Agriculture, 21 August 1951, No. 17 in SAO.PK.Conf.5/50; A. L. Barcroft, Settlement Agricultural Officer, Malacca, to Director of Agriculture, 14 July 1951, (4) in AOM.84/51, both in ANM, D.A.Gen/47 Emergency Authorities, Liaison With.

<sup>156</sup> (2)SEL/WEC/Sec.28/52, 20 April 1953; (4)Sel/WEC/Sec.28/52, 6 May 1953, both in ANM, Selangor Secretariat 980/1953 Brief notes by State War Exec Officer on this visit to New Villages; L. C. Cerell to All British Advisers and Resident Commissioners, 5 June 1953, Def: 9182/51/25, ANM, T.P.D. 311/1952 New Villages Federation of Malaya.

<sup>157</sup> Extract from a Talk on New Villages given by the New Villages Liaison Officer to "D.W.E.C. Courses", ANM, T.P.D. 311/1952 New Villages Federation of Malaya; Wong Yin Fah, Labour Officer, Klang, Report on Survey of Unemployed ni Division "D" of the Pandaharan New Village, Port Swettenham, 8 June 1953, Sel.Sec. 1937 PT/1952 6A, ANM, Selangor Secretariat 1937 Pt./1952 Unemployment at Pandamaran New Village.

<sup>158</sup> Directive No. 17 Protection of Concentrated Villages and Resettlement Areas, H. R. Briggs, Director of Operations, 12 October 1951, Ref: CSY. 18/A/50, ISEAS TCL.24.3a; W. J. Watts, Chairman DWEC Jelebu, to Executive Secretary SWEC NS Sembilan, 6 July 1955, Ref. (35) in EH Conf 15/54, ANM, Secret U/7C/1955 Policy -Phase III Home Guard.

<sup>159</sup> Weekly Situation Report 28<sup>th</sup> October-3<sup>rd</sup> November 1949, TNA, CO 717/178/4; Wong Yin Fah, Labour Officer, Klang, Report on Survey of Unemployed ni Division "D" of the Pandaharan New Village, Port Swettenham; Khalili, *Time in the Shadows*, 179; Tan, 'Like a Concentration Camp', 221; H. Holder, Circle Special Branch Officer to Captain Howard, Operations Branch, 22 February 1955, SB/KT/SF10/1, ANM, (SR) 15/15 Bandits/Communists Terrorist - Propaganda.

<sup>160</sup> Roundup Terrorists 3 Kuala Lumpur, TNA, CO 1022/43; Collective Punishment in Malaya 1950-51, TNA, CO 1022/56; Resettlement and the Development of New Villages in the Federation of Malaya, 1952, No. 33 of 1952, TNA CO 1022/29.



said.<sup>161</sup> The March 1952 Tanjong Malim incident caused uproar in Great Britain for their severity. A fatal ambush on water supply repair men resulted in 28 arrests, a 22-hour curfew and reduced rice rations for thirteen days. Twenty people using outdoor latrines were fined. Internally the measures were repackaged as prerequisites for safe information-sharing.<sup>162</sup> Members of parliament, the public and newspapers disagreed.<sup>163</sup> Officials parried angry letters that mentioned Nazi practices by underlining communist ‘atrocities’.<sup>164</sup> Continued protests did not stop collective punishment, however. The 4,000 inhabitants of Sungei Pelek faced self-financing another protective fence for food ‘leaking’ aside from curfew and rice-rationing.<sup>165</sup>

The MCA, meanwhile, did not protest the ‘threats, house-arrests, bullying[,] repeated questioning’ and collective fines too much.<sup>166</sup> They largely acquiesced due to governmental expectations and the fear of loss of face resulting from failure of governmental policy the MCA had supported.<sup>167</sup> Instead the association focussed on relief, investing in education, health care, agriculture programs, village halls, markets, drains and youth movements to engage ‘hearts and minds’ and ‘create [...] a bulwark against communism’.<sup>168</sup> ‘[A]t no little personal risk [MCA officials] visited terrorist dominated areas’ to explain the need for more

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<sup>161</sup> ‘Villagers Warned: Red Agents Living With You. “Root them Out and Have Peace Again”’, *The Straits Times*, 20 November 1954.

<sup>162</sup> High Commissioner to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 6 May 1952, No. 904/52; T. C. Jeroom to Councillor R. W. Masters, 21 May 1952, SEA 10/409/01; H534, Reuter 409, all in TNA, CO 1022/54.

<sup>163</sup> Secretary of State for the Colonies to the High Commissioner, 18 April 1952, No.989, SEA 10/409/01/PQ 5; ‘Protest!’, *Daily Worker* 10 April 1952, both in TNA, CO1022/54.

<sup>164</sup> Mrs. Ann James to het Prime Minister, 23 April 1952; Birgid Younday to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 18 April 1952, both in TNA, CO 1022/54. The replies are all coded SEA 10/409/01.

<sup>165</sup> ‘2 More Areas in Malaya Punished’, *Daily Telegraph*, 12 April 1948; Sungei Pelek, Federal Government Press Statement D.INF.4/52/200 (Emerg); ‘Defiant Village’, *News Chronicle*, 22 April 1952, all in TNA, CO 1022/55; ‘Women’s Petition to Gen. Templer’, *Straits Sunday Times*, 18 January 1953; ‘Templer Punishes Village’, *The Observer*, 2 November 1952, both in TNA, CO 1022/56.

<sup>166</sup> ‘Heroic Village. Not One Talked despite British Terror’, *Daily Worker*, 26 August 1952, ‘Malayan Village fined £500’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 16 August 1952, TNA, CO 1022/56.

<sup>167</sup> Memorandum, Appendix “A” to MBDC(51) 74, J. P. Biddulph, Secretary for Chinese Affairs, 6 June 1951; Note of a Meeting held at King’s House on the 28<sup>th</sup> October, 1951, both in TNA, CO 1022/48. Gurney demanded the association put in more effort: A Note in the Handwriting of the Late Sir Henry Gurney Recently Found amongst His Papers and Known to Have Been Written Two Days Before his Death’, 19<sup>th</sup> November 1951?, TNA, CO 1022/148.

<sup>168</sup> Director of Operations, Malaya, Administration of Chinese Settlements, Directive No. 13, 26 February 1951, F.S.Y. 18/A/50, ISEAS, HSL 21.81a.; Monthly Administrative Report for December, 1952, 12 January 1953, No. 51/33, TNA, CO 1022/449.

intelligence and 'helped in the formation of Village Committees and [...] recommendations for Village Councils'. Members collated information to disseminate to the police through their district branches and preached respect for the law.<sup>169</sup> MCA officials reduced the risk of retaliation for villagers by suggesting villagers speak to them instead of government representatives during 'Question' operations.<sup>170</sup> Others guided squatters through their entire detention period—often lasting years—from capture up to and after release.<sup>171</sup> Chinese squatters turned to the MCA for help. Tan Kooi asked the South Kedah Branch to investigate how his son had died; rumour had it he had been shot by a Home Guard from Baling.<sup>172</sup> A 'Benevolence Fund', garnering an estimated two million dollars—members paying \$12 in subscription with two dollars going into MCA coffers—allowed the association to help rural communities and families whose sons faced recruitment.<sup>173</sup> The MCA in May 1952 pledged more than \$1,6 million to resettlement work financed through lotteries.<sup>174</sup> Less known is that, MCA's wish for 'racial harmony' in Perak resulted in new tools for a local Malay trade school and a \$15,000 hostel in Ipoh for Malay apprentices.<sup>175</sup>

The colonial government itself granted resettlement \$41 million for 1951. Three-quarters went to housing, fences, road-construction or drainage. Police posts proved another big expenditure. With the Korea War boom past its zenith the budget dropped to \$19 million for 1952. Still, \$1,7 million was now allocated

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<sup>169</sup> Resettlement and the Development of New Villages in the Federation of Malaya, 1952, No. 33 of 1952, TNA CO 1022/29; Review of Chinese Affairs April, 1949, CO 717/182/4.

<sup>170</sup> Minutes of a Meeting of MCA Representatives with the High Commissioner, Sir G. Templer, 21 April 1951, ISEAS, TCL, 3.271; "Operation Question", Federal Government Press Statement, 10 May 1952, D.INF.5/52/86(EMERG), TNA, CO 1022/56.

<sup>171</sup> Advise Committee to the Federal War Council, Minutes Fourth Meeting, 18 January 1951, F.S.Y. 27/3/50, ISEAS, HSL 21.105a; Review of Chinese Affairs March 1949; Review of Chinese Affairs June 1949, both in TNA, 717/182/4. See also: Koon, *Chinese Politics*, 116-119.

<sup>172</sup> 'Squatter Asks MCA for Aid', *The Straits Times*, 5 April 1952, 4.

<sup>173</sup> Malayan Chinese Organisation Headquarters, to the President and Men of the Ad Hoc Reorganisation Committee, ISEAS, HSL 8.50; Report on Recruiting', by Yap Yin Chung, Liaison Office (Recruitment), 27 July 1953, ISEAS, TLC 14.66.

<sup>174</sup> Resettlement and the Development of New Villages in the Federation of Malaya, 1952, No. 33 of 1952, TNA, CO 1022/29; the MCA spent some \$4 million in total on the New Villages, see: Loh, 'Beyond the Tin Mines', 115.

<sup>175</sup> Report on a Visit to Malaya from 20 August to 20 September at the Invitation of the Malayan Chinese Association, by Victor Purcell and Francis Carnell, ISEAS, TCL 6.1; Malay Chinese Association (Perak Branch) -Report of the Committee, Fifth Annual General Meeting of Perak Committee, 16 August 1953, ANM, SP/3/B/51.

to education while a relatively higher amount went to ‘medical and health services’ and ‘agricultural aid’.<sup>176</sup> In November, town planners’ ‘first priority’ was to ‘plan “new, new villages”’.<sup>177</sup> Seven months later about half of the villages had ‘new schools’ and 301 had been allotted funds for the construction of community centres and village halls.<sup>178</sup> Temporary Occupant Licences to land were being converted into long-term leases.<sup>179</sup> Years after resettlement, New Villagers still showed resentment. They were tired of being distrusted by the government. Now that their ‘hearts and minds’ had become less important as ‘terrorist strength has waned’, the ‘loss and hardships’ should not be forgotten. New Villages had to be turned from ‘anti-Communist weapons’ into true development programmes.<sup>180</sup>

Those who see colonial (decolonization) warfare as *sale guerre* and ‘wholesale oppression’ alone find plenty of proof in colonial—not just British—resettlement schemes.<sup>181</sup> Khalili sees the dead hand of despotism behind all measures regarding the New Villages—partially through ignoring the MCA.<sup>182</sup> In a section that includes New Villages, Gerlach asserts that ‘Grand schemes for a capitalist modernization of the countryside often failed due to a lack of resources’ as the military was prioritized ‘and objections by the old elites against the massive redistribution of property’.<sup>183</sup> His generalization oversimplifies the Emergency’s context, not least because Chinese elites did—with British help—address gross neglect in the New Villages.<sup>184</sup> In other words, one official’s

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<sup>176</sup> Renick, ‘The Emergency Regulations’, 11-12; Loh mentions that in 1952 ‘only \$0,89 million’ went to medical and health facilities, but forgets that this number meant a larger portion of the total budget went to medical and health facilities *in relation* to 1951’s budget; see: Loh, ‘Beyond the Thin Mines’, 111-112.

<sup>177</sup> Memorandum Meeting with the High Commissioner, Mentri<sup>2</sup> Besar, Resident Commissioners, British Advisers and Other Dignitaries, Federal Legislative Council Library, 17 November 1952, T.P.D. 311/1952 New Villages Federation of Malaya.

<sup>178</sup> Monthly Administrative Report for December, 1952, 12 January 1953, No. 51/33, TNA, CO 1022/449; Extract from Printed Questions and Replies Tabled in Leg.Co., 15 July 1953, ANM, Chief Secretary 4531/53/10 Legislative Council 15 July 1953 Questions by Mr, Leung Cheung Ling, Subject New Villages.

<sup>179</sup> W. C. S. Corry, *A General Survey of New Villages: Report to his Excellency Sir Donald MacGillivray High Commissioner for the Federation of Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1954), 24, 26.

<sup>180</sup> ‘Old Villages’, *The Straits Times*, 1 June 1957, 1 and ‘The New Villages’, *The Straits Times*, 1 July 1960, 8.

<sup>181</sup> French, *The British Way*, 7; Gerlach, *Extremely Violent Societies*, chapter 5; Khalili, *Time in the Shadows*, chapter 6.

<sup>182</sup> Khalili *implies* that amenities were installed: *Time in the Shadows*, 178-179.

<sup>183</sup> Gerlach, *Extremely Violent Societies*, 218.

<sup>184</sup> For example, funding did not all go to the Military curtesy of the Korean War boom, although the Malay elites did protect Malay ‘reservations’ against encroaching Chinese. For an example, see ‘The Uprooted Village: Mr. Leong

statement, that the colonial government earnestly attempted to ‘provide foundations to the New Villages, and a permanent stake in the country for [...] their inhabitants’ was not spurious, per se.<sup>185</sup>

Malaya’s villagization cannot solely be determined by one’s analytical vantage point. Obscuring one side of the counter-insurgency medal to emphasize violence constitutes a distortion of the historical record. The fairest approach to analysing the New Villages therefore is to place them into the overall periodisation of the Emergency. The first two periods ending in August 1951—counter-terror and Briggs’s arrival—were followed between August 1951 and July 1954 by the maturation of the ‘Briggs Plan’ and the collapse of the insurrection.<sup>186</sup> For New Villagers, this meant that attempts at betterment followed coercive resettlement. The first six months proved the hardest, they attested.<sup>187</sup> Still, progress was limited. Education policies faltered, land offices processed applications too slowly and due to the economic slump after 1952 financial allocations to the New Villages dropped.<sup>188</sup> Chinese resettlement workers were scarce while some Resettlement Officers were hated for corruption.<sup>189</sup> Yet, a purposeful lack of effort did not necessarily cause the delays or shortages; certainly when considering MCA’s efforts.

Still, such a statement cannot mitigate that these colonial enclosures did, indeed, delineate spaces wherein new communities were forged.<sup>190</sup> After being stripped of their belongings, they were—when circumstances dictated—stripped of agency. Especially during the height of the Emergency barb-wire fences, police

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Charges “Gross Injustice, Cruel Oppression”, *The Straits Times*, 20 November 1954, 8: the people of Manong New Village were moved again, as promised agricultural land was made into a Malay reservation. For more generalizations, see: Loh, ‘Beyond the Tin Mines’, 113-114.

<sup>185</sup> Corry, *A General Survey*, 23. See also Templer’s speech before the Federal Legislative Council, 19 March 1952, to that effect, quoted verbatim in Victor Purcell, *Malaya: Communist or Free?* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954), 184-191.

<sup>186</sup> Hack, ‘The Malayan Emergency’, 386-387, based his periodisation on the one in TNA, AIR 20/10377.

<sup>187</sup> Tan, ‘Like a Concentration Camp’, 221.

<sup>188</sup> ‘Cause for Worry’, *The Malayan Mirror* 1, no. 4 (1953), 1; Loh, ‘Beyond the Tin Mines’, 114-119; Corry, *A General Survey*, 24: 4,300 people applied for a permanent title to acreage of the total 47,800 available. 1,570 applicants had received a permanent title (29 actually issued) by 12 October 1954; only 2,900 had Temporary Occupant Licences and another 55,850 acres was still required.

<sup>189</sup> P. A. Gethin, State Agricultural Officer, Pahang, to Chief Field Officer of Agriculture, 16 April 1953, Ref. 15, ANM, D.A.Gen/47 Emergency Authorities. Liaison With.

<sup>190</sup> Bayly and Harper, *Forgotten Wars*, 491.

posts and gates physically and mentally forced inhabitants into socially and politically desired patterns.<sup>191</sup> Operation 'Service', meant 'to foster [...] friendship' between police and locals, or the adoption of Home Guards by military units seemed more about control than co-operation.<sup>192</sup> Likewise, Village Committees had little autonomy: both Templer and his Director of Operations threatened its members.<sup>193</sup>

### *A Hand in every pie? The Komando Distrik Militer and the Min Yuen*

Templer's threats did not occur in a vacuum. The MCP and the Republic reacted with counter-states *within* territory claimed by the colonial government.<sup>194</sup> Their aim was to attain horizontal integration of scattered insurgent groups, the realization of centralized decision-making and co-ordinated 'ideological production'. Vertically, 'institutions for local control' needed establishing.<sup>195</sup> According to Staniland the MCP at the height of its powers (1948-1951) was rather integrated both vertically and horizontally. With resettlement, however, came parochization: strong top leadership progressively 'disembedded from its core local communities' followed by marginalization.<sup>196</sup> Based on Staniland's categorizations, the Republic initially displayed 'vanguard' and 'parochial' characteristics. Independence animated united its leaders but the TNI was forced to share influence with local power-brokers.<sup>197</sup> By and large the struggle became integrated as Yogyakarta gained strength.<sup>198</sup> Either way, freedom fighters needed

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<sup>191</sup> For power-production through space-ordering and domination, see: Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donal Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, Ltd., 1991), 73, 98-99, 101, 141, 164.

<sup>192</sup> Monthly Administrative Report for February, 1953, 16 March 1953, No. 470/53, TNA, CO 1022/450; W. J. Watts, Chairman DWEC Jelebu, to Executive Secretary, SWEC Negri Sembilan, Ref: (39) in EH 15/54, 13 August 1955, ANM, Secret U/7C/1955 Policy –Phase III Home Guard.

<sup>193</sup> 'The Templers Tour Johore. High-Commissioner Delighted with Good Villages...Warns the Bad Ones', *The Malay Mail*, 23 January 1953, 1; The DOO did so indirectly: Record of the Conference with the Mentri<sup>2</sup> Besar, Resident Commissioners, and British Advisers on the Intensification of the Emergency Effort, C. S. Y/417/51, TNA, CO 1022/148.

<sup>194</sup> Although the MCP never attained the same level of state-ness as the Republic did, the MCP certainly aimed to replace British (indirect) rule by a 'Communist-controlled Peoples' Democratic Republic'. See Review of the Emergency in Malaya.

<sup>195</sup> P. Staniland, *Networks of Rebellion*, 26-27.

<sup>196</sup> Staniland, *Networks*, 186-191, 30-32.

<sup>197</sup> Staniland, *Networks*, 28-32. Staniland's division between parochial and vanguard are rather blurred.

<sup>198</sup> For the influence of strong 'national group elites' on local elites' alliance-seeking behaviour, see: Fotini, *Alliance*

to engage those blind to ‘political processes’ and make them participants; taking care they did not switch again to unresponsive ‘subjects’.<sup>199</sup>

The Republic and the MCP therefore needed presence and legitimacy. They sought both by injecting various *Kommandos Distrik Militer* (Military District Commandos) and *Min Yuen* (peoples’ movement) cells into the populations of Indonesia and Malaysia, respectively.<sup>200</sup> In Indonesia rumours circulated that Spoor had underestimated the ‘breadth, depth and the meaning of the “Republican national” feeling’.<sup>201</sup> This reading implies broad support for the Republic. For similar reasons, the MCP’s *Min Yuen* seemed quite successful—also to the British—especially before the Briggs Plan: the guerrillas held out until 1989. The *Min Yuen* needed to be excised from squatter communities. True (state) legitimacy is created through taxation, providing protection, justice, and reciprocal ‘dispute resolution mechanism[s]’.<sup>202</sup> The question is whether these local rebel administrations offered these services.

The counter-states did not necessarily descend upon an unresponsive population. The Republic built on pre-existing nationalist foundations. Ubiquitous hatred for the Dutch certainly helped, as did the formation of various Japanese-sponsored bodies that contemplated the ‘political and administrative framework for an independent Indonesian state’ from March 1945 onwards.<sup>203</sup> Lastly, a great number of the Indonesians, trained within various Japanese

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*Formation*, 43.

<sup>199</sup> Kilcullen, ‘The Political Consequences’, 29-30; for a schematic interpretation of mechanisms initiating or sustaining rebellion, see: Petersen, *Resistance*, 32, 82.

<sup>200</sup> The *Min Yuen* and certainly the KOMs have received little attention in relation to their effect upon the population; the limelight is stolen by ‘hearts and minds’ approaches by their colonial counterparts.

<sup>201</sup> Koets to the Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon, 12 May 1949.

<sup>202</sup> Suykens, ‘Comparing Rebel Rule’, 145-155; Zachariah Charian Mampilly, *Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life During War* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2011), 17-18. Staniland is more interested in explaining insurgent group construction and its changes over time but other than mentioning friendship and family networks, Staniland does not explain the MCP’s legitimacy and how it related to the severing of its vertical ties to the people, *Networks of Rebellion*, 1, 186-189.

<sup>203</sup> Van der Plas (Gedelegeerde bij het Geallieerde Opperbevel in Zuid-Oost Azië) aan Van Mook (lt. Gouverneur-generaal), 18 sept. 1945, *NIB* 10, 125; B. R. O’G. Anderson, *Some Aspects of Indonesian Politics under the Japanese Occupation: 1944-1945* (Ithaca: Cornell University Modern Indonesia Project, 1961), 16-17, 39-42. See D. M. G. Koch, *Om de Vrijheid: De Nationalistische Beweging in Indonesië* (Jakarta: Jajasan Pembangunan, 1950) for the pre-1942 nationalist movement.

defence-bodies, carried the idea of independence with them.<sup>204</sup> Prior to its proscription in July 1948, the MCP employed an 'open and legal' strategy that possessed trans-communal appeal. Malay nationalist parties supported the MCP, such as the Malay Democratic Union, the Malay Nationalist Party and its affiliates the *Angkatan Pemuda Insaf* and the *Angkatan Wanita Sedar*.<sup>205</sup> The party rekindled its pre-1942 connection to Chinese organisations, keeping former guerrillas close through 'MPAJA Ex-Comrades Associations'. Cadres had infiltrated 214 of 277 labour units.<sup>206</sup>

As the embodied clandestine expression of insurgent influence within government-controlled territory, Min Yuen cells lived on jungle or estate fringes to collect intelligence, supplies and finances. They mingled with workers and directed the masses into subversive action, thereby multiplying the MRLA's disruptive impact.<sup>207</sup> Members shielded themselves within various organisations such as sports clubs, 'secret trade unions', the 'Anti-British Backing-up Society' and a Women's Union, and were protected by and part of Armed Work Forces.<sup>208</sup> In fact, the Min Yuen strongly mirrored MCA activities—as the KDMs did the PRP's. They, too, 'exploited the real and imaginary grievances of labourers and peasants' to gain traction. As 'the champions of the oppressed' they likewise 'encouraged' people to actively resist through organizing. Lastly, *Min Yuen* cells identified opponents to their cause with the significant difference that they killed

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<sup>204</sup> Over a million Indonesians (but also Chinese) received some form of training; Kilcullen, 'Political Consequences', 35-39; Kahin, *The Indonesian Revolution*, 134-138.

<sup>205</sup> Cheach Boon Kheng, *The Masked Comrades: A Study of the Communist United Front In Malaya, 1945-48* (Singapore: Singapore Offset Printing, 1979), 23-26; Comber, *Malaya's Secret Police*, 40, 48 note 21; Secret Annexure Paper by the Combined Intelligence Staff. Malays and the Present Emergency. A: the Malay Community, CIS(53) (3), ANM, Health Secret 0509/53 Malays and the Present Emergency. API, 'fire'; Conscious Youth Force; AWAS, 'caution'; Conscious Women Front. The MNP and API together had 17,000 members.

<sup>206</sup> Kheng, *The Masked Comrades*, 26-27; J. Coates, *Suppressing Insurgency. An Analysis of the Malayan Emergency* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), 20. For MCP's pre-World War Two activities, see: Yong Ching Fatt, 'Leadership and Power in the Chinese Community of Singapore during the 1930s', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 8, 2 (1977), 202.

<sup>207</sup> Lieutenant-general R. H. Bower, Director of Operations, Review of the Emergency in Malaya from June 1948 to August 1957, 12 September 1957, TNA, AIR 20/10377; Extract from Secret Abstract of Intelligence No. 1 for the Period 14<sup>th</sup>-28<sup>th</sup> February 1951, TNA, CO 537/7300; 'The Masses Route', *Freedom News*, no. 30 (1952), 2.

<sup>208</sup> Pan-Malayan Review of Security Intelligence No. 1 – January 1952, TNA, CO 1022/209; Review of the Emergency in Malaya from June 1948 to August 1957, 12 September 1957, TNA, AIR 20/10377; Min Yuen – The People's Movement, TNA, 537/7300; Security Forces Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 207 For the Week Ending 22 April 1954, TNA, AIR 22/508.

them. *Min Yuen*-sponsored organizations were quite illegal.<sup>209</sup> Ultimately, *Min Yuen* cells were a force to be reckoned with that deigned to protect its supporter from the invasive British and their stooges.<sup>210</sup>

Whereas the MRLA was being rapidly ‘milked’ to sustain the ailing *Min Yuen*, the Republic in August 1945 was coalescing into a state. The *Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat*, or Central Indonesian National Committee to which the president became responsible, was followed by a cabinet (September) and an army that would become the TNI.<sup>211</sup> Local National Committees engaged the public where possible.<sup>212</sup> Tension between *diplomasi*, represented by the older generation, and *perjuangan* (struggle) demanded by the grass-roots *pemuda*, remained, however, as less moderate elements disdained Dutch-Republican parleys.<sup>213</sup> East Javanese ‘Nationalist youth leader’ Dr. Abdulgani’s *pemudas* accepted Sukarno’s leadership, he recalled, but ‘always’ demanded ‘influence’. His and other groups took up weapons ‘without further instruction’. In West Java, Dr. Abu Hanifa became a ‘powerful man’ as ‘head of the [local] defence forces, head of administration’ and leader of ‘the so-called Provincial Council’. Standing ‘completely separate from the centre’, it did not take long for TNI General Nasution’s men to rein him in.<sup>214</sup>

Dutch penetration of Java (and Sumatra) led to a fundamental change in both Republican civilian and military administration. Incremental Dutch

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<sup>209</sup> *Min Yuen – The People’s Movement*, TNA, 537/7300.

<sup>210</sup> Review of the Emergency in Malaya, TNA, AIR 20/3077; J. Moran, *Spearhead in Malaya* (London: Peter Davies, 1959), 13, estimated that the MCP, the *Min Yuen* and various political bodies counted some 70,000 supporters among them.

<sup>211</sup> Review of the Emergency in Malaya from June 1948 to August 1957, 12 September 1957, TNA, AIR 20/10377; *Min Yuen – The People’s Movement*, TNA, CO 537/7300; John R. W. Smail, *Bandung in the Early Revolution 1945-1946: A Study in the Social History of the Indonesian Revolution* (Singapore: Equinox Publishing, 2009 [1964]), 50-53, 55, 105.

<sup>212</sup> Smail, *Bandung*, 65, 71.

<sup>213</sup> Smail, *Bandung*, 44; P. J. Drooglever, ‘The *Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat* and Internal Politics in the Republic of Indonesia’, in T. Abdullah, ed., *The Heartbeat of the Indonesian Revolution* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1997), 154-156, 158-159.

<sup>214</sup> Interviews with Dr. Ruslan Abdulgani and Dr. Abu Hanifa, in the documentary *Indonesia Merdeka: Herinneringen, Lotgevallen en Anecdotes van Ooggetuigen die de Indonesische Onafhankelijkheidsstrijd aan den Lijve Meemaakten* (Hilversum, VPRO, 1976). The influence of local strongmen is reflected in Indonesian literature about the revolution. See: Eka Kurniawan *Beauty is A Wound*, Annie Tucker, transl., (London: Pushkin, 2015), 126: ‘This city inhabitants were pretty sure that if Sukarno and Hatta hadn’t proclaimed independence, Shodancho [a fictional local commander in the fictional town of Halimunda] would have done it himself’.



influence (however thinly-spread), the Police Action and the Renville-mandated evacuation scattered Republican bodies or forced them into Central Java. Against instructions many Republican officials simply remained to co-operate with the Inland Administration. The ‘politically unreliable’, demonstrable criminals or those with a history of propaganda-dissemination were refused—but only when strictly needed.<sup>215</sup> Some 4,000 recalcitrant *Hizbullah* troops lingered in West Java.<sup>216</sup> The Republic did allow its police a choice: work for the enemy, retreat to Republican territories or resign to become a ‘preman’ (free-man).<sup>217</sup>

Dutch-occupied territories thus held enormous potential for agitation, especially with troops re-infiltrating. General Nasution created military ‘*Wehrkreise*’ to complement existing civil ‘shadow organisations’ to commence proper guerrilla warfare. He claimed guerrillas were welcomed heartily: ‘Basically in every desa the administration was able to house some 60 men’.<sup>218</sup> They meant to foster civil-military ties but also re-establish the *Siliwangi* Division scattered by the Police Action.<sup>219</sup> *Wehrkreise* obviated the plethora of ‘private armies’ undermining the war-effort. Military commanders used a ‘pasukan gerilja desa’ (hamlet guerrilla troops) system that ‘channeled’ ‘the people’s burning spirit of resistance’. Having sworn loyalty to Republic, recruits reconnoitred, applied scorch-earth tactics and sabotaged.<sup>220</sup> *Wehrkreise* were speedily and successfully

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<sup>215</sup> E. O. van Boetzelaar to Luitenant Gouverneur-Generaal Nederlands-Indië, Republikeinse Ambtenaren in Bezet Gebied, 11 May 1948, No. 7850/APO 3, ANRI, RA.3a. Alg. Secretarie Deel I/558; Recomba West-Java to H.T.B.’s Batavia-Bandoeng-Buitenzorg, Standpunt t.o.v. Rep. Personeel, 9 August 1947, No. 12/388, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/4983.

<sup>216</sup> Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, 234.

<sup>217</sup> Kepala Kepolisian Karesidenan Priangan S. Prawiradilaga to Kepala<sup>2</sup> bagian dari Kepolisian Karesidenan Priangan, Kepala<sup>2</sup> Seksi seluruh Priangan, 23 January 1948, No. 22, RA.26. Kepolisian Negarara RI/28, RA.26, Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia 1947-1949, Arsib Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta. Incidentally, preman is heavily associated with rebellion, as ‘free men’ stood outside the law.

<sup>218</sup> Wekrapport van 1-12-1947 – 14-12-1947, Assistent-Resident van Poerbalingga, A. Hoofman, 15 December 1947, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/4989; Quoted in C. M. H. Penders and U. Sundhaussen, *Abdul Harris Nasution: A Political Biography* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1985), 34-40; B. Bouman, *Van Driekleur tot Rood-wit: De Indonesische Officieren uit het KNIL, 1900-1950* (‘s-Gravenhage; Sectie Militaire Geschiedenis, 1995), 241.

<sup>219</sup> Nasution, *Fundamentals*, 181-182; R. Cribb, ‘Military Strategy in the Indonesian Revolution: Nasution’s Concept of “Total People’s War” in Theory and Practice’, *War & Society*, 19, 2 (2001), 149-150.

<sup>220</sup> Nasution, *Fundamentals*, 165, 173-175; T. B. Simatupang, *Het Laaste Jaar van de Indonesische Vrijheidsstrijd 1948-1949: Een Authentiek Verslag door de Voormalig Chef-staf van de Indonesische Strijdkrachten* (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1985), 74.

implemented. Divided into districts (*Distrik<sup>2</sup> Militer*; DM) and sub-districts (*Onder Distrik<sup>2</sup> Militer*; ODM), they mushroomed across Java.<sup>221</sup> West Java had five military regions by October 1947.<sup>222</sup> Two years later, the Republican governor with the KDMs had crippled the Pasundan.<sup>223</sup> Its political landscape pocked with ungoverned ‘white areas’, the *negara* held sway only where Dutch troops dominated. KDMs deposed Dutch-appointed *lurahs* for more malleable characters and extracted taxes.<sup>224</sup> Villages switched off: in Tumpang district, East Java, ‘only 5 of the 62 *desas*’ obeyed the Inland Administration.<sup>225</sup> Renville’s cease-fire with its subsequent TNI-exclusive patrolling-zones did not stop Military Districts from also flourishing in off-limits, Dutch areas. Regents limply threatened to disown *lurahs* if they heeded the call of the K(O)DMs, generals decried the ‘encapsulation’ of Dutch posts and planters, in turn, lamented the abandonment of patrolling and subsequent ‘heightened terror’.<sup>226</sup>

The above has little meaning without a notion of the legitimacy the Min Yuen and KDMs derived from their presence. Legitimacy had two components.<sup>227</sup> In secure territories, state-like consolidation was paramount. The MCP’s (deep) jungle camps that would ideally link into liberated areas accommodated farms for

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<sup>221</sup> De Organisatie van het Gewapende Verzet in het Onder Nederlandse Controle Staande Gebied van Oost-Java, Signalement, 25 September 1948, No. 16, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/416; Daftar Penetapan Komandan DM sampai Onder Distrik Militer Kabupaten Bodjonegoro, 30 June 1948; Daftar Penetapan Komandan D.M. sampai O.D.M. Kabupaten Tuban, 30 June 1948; Daftar Penetapan Komandan D.M. sampai O.D.M. Kabupaten Lamongan, 30 June 1948, Annexes to Penetapan Sub Territoriaal Bodjonegoro, 1 July 1948, No. 3/48, ANRI, RA.26. Kepolisian Negarara RI/648.

<sup>222</sup> A. H. Nasution, *Sekitar Perang Kemerdekaan Indonesia* 6, Perang Gerilya Semesta I (Bandung: Angkasa, 1979), 144-150.

<sup>223</sup> Verslag Meeting with Negara Pasundan en van Diffelen, 3 October 1949, F.130, RA.4 NEFIS/9, RA.4 NEFIS 1946-1949, Arsib Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta.

<sup>224</sup> Nopens K.D.M. (Kommando Daerah Militair) of K.O.D.M. (Kommando Onderdistrict Militair), September 1949, NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hoogerechtshof Ned.-Ind., 2.10.17/871.

<sup>225</sup> Aanpassing Huidige Bestuursvorming in de Pasundan en Midden-Java aan de Politieke Ontwikkelingen, NL-HaNA, Koets, 2.21.100/88; Koets to the Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon, 12 May 1949, NL-HaNA, Koets, 2.21.100/439.

<sup>226</sup> Oprichting K.O.D.M. in het Oost-Salatigase, 19 September 1949, No.: 1007, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie 2.10.14/4992; Beoordeling van de Toestand in de Periode van 22 t/m 29 Augustus 1949 (nr. 32) van Legercommandant (Buurman van Vreeden), *NIB* 19, 628; Verslag over de maand januari, 31 January 1948, NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/60; Algemeene Toestand en Veiligheid, M. H. Albeda to the ALS, 27 January 1948, No. 8- III/3., NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/67.

<sup>227</sup> Kilcullen, ‘Political Consequences’, 9, justifiably asked who in Indonesia constituted the government and who the insurgents. The answer is, of course, that the Dutch and the Republic were *imultaneously* both insurgents and incumbents. The same applies to the MCP/Min Yuen cells.

the members and their families.<sup>228</sup> They served as sites for self-criticism and study. When Comrade 'X' criticised Comrade 'Y' for his 'individual heroism', Comrade Kuan, having read X's letter, criticised the latter in turn. Another 'comrade' wanted 'a finger in every pie', micro-managing the local Min Yuen into idleness.<sup>229</sup> Likewise, the Republic consolidated within its territory. 'The spirit of *bersiap* faded away and the social revolutions were steered into calmer waters'. A 'silent majority' for the time being supported Prime Minister Sjahrir, who had dissenters arrested, trusted on Sukarno's authority and, lastly, allowed opposition parties into the cabinet. Even Linggadjati's divisive impact was dampened: Sukarno enlarged the KNIP to ease its acceptance.<sup>230</sup> The Police, furthermore, worked at guiding the revolution and make people 'polisiminded', organizing its criminal investigative branches and the *Pengawasan Aliran Masyarakat* bodies for the 'Supervision of Societal Trends'.<sup>231</sup> Both the MCP and Republic employed surveys and questionnaires to solicit feedback from the people and ranks. Through them, they established reciprocity, gauged revolutionary fervour or the availability of weapons.<sup>232</sup>

Legitimacy became a different issue altogether in areas where the MCP or the Republic were not uncontested; areas where Min Yuen and K(O)DM cadres encountered people who needed mobilization. Some, naturally, were forthcoming. *Lurah* Dulgani offered 'his kindness and [...] protection' to passing insurgents. MRLA soldier Lau Yiew interpreted peoples' food donations to indicate anti-British

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<sup>228</sup> Security Forces Weekly Intelligence Summaries nos. 165, 166, 168 for July 1953, TNA, AIR 22/507.

<sup>229</sup> Criticism on Comrade X's Working Style Based on Business-ism' - by C. & F.; A Letter from Comrade X - by Kuan, *Study*, 4 (October 1953), both in Director, Special Branch, to Commissioner of Police, Singapore, 3 December 1953, Ref: SSB. 4109/19, both in TNA, CO 1022/46.

<sup>230</sup> Drooglever, 'The *Komite Nasional Indonesia*', 159-160.

<sup>231</sup> Dejarat dan Kedudukan Kepolisian Negara dalam Revolusi Nasional dan Sosial, Komisaris - Polisi Kl. 1., Moch. Oemargatab, February 1948, ANRI, RA.26. Kepolisian Negarara RI/399

<sup>232</sup> Criticism on Comrade X's Working Style Based on Business-ism' - by C. & F. Director, Special Branch, to Commissioner of Police, Singapore, 3 December 1953, Ref: SSB. 4109/19, both in TNA, CO 1022/46; Pan-Malayan Review of Security Intelligence No. 10 - October 1952, TNA, CO 1022/210; Hubungan Tentera dengan Rakjat di Kabupaten Ponorogo, 1 s/d 15 Maart'48, Kementerian Pertahanan Bagian Perantara Warta Djawa Timur, 15 March 1948; Pertahanan Rakjat, Malang Selatan, Kementerian Pertahanan Bhg. Perantara Warta Djawa Timur, [March 1948], both in RA.24. Kementerian Pertahanan/1864, RA.24. Kementerian Pertahanan 1946-1948, Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta

'hatred', but overall coercion became important.<sup>233</sup> The Min Yuen tax collection was hardly a voluntary affair.<sup>234</sup> Refusal to pay cost one wealthy business man his estate's smoke house.<sup>235</sup> Aside from such perceived enemies of the people, the Min Yuen intimidated their natural allies, the workers, as well. British intelligence estimated that 63% of MCP income derived from extortion rather than sympathiser subscriptions.<sup>236</sup> Finance constitute a problem from the start of the Emergency. As if to illustrate the chaotic circumstances, the Perak MCP planned to kidnap five 'anti-Communist Towkays' in 1948, 'made to look like ordinary crime'.<sup>237</sup> Its tactics dictated that labourers stood at the forefront of subversive activities. Labourers were forced to strike.<sup>238</sup> It is illogical to assume that true believers alone slashed 70,000 rubber trees in December 1952.<sup>239</sup> Those opposing participation paid a hefty price. One Chinese farmer was found dead with a nail driven into his skull; newspapers abounded—also *after* resettlement—with workers' executions.<sup>240</sup> More than 1,200 'traitors' were 'eliminated' between June 1948 and December 1950, claimed the MRLA.<sup>241</sup> Naturally, the British clamped down on any organisation with ties to the MCP, such as the Malay Democratic Union and the Malay National Party.<sup>242</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> TNI Unit Masyarakat Daerah XXIII Command I, Markas Widjakusuma, Captain Pohan to Lurah Doelgani Dessa Kemasangading, 6 March 1948, ANRI, RA.24. Kementerian/1104; Translation of a Diary found among the Papers of Lau Yiew 27<sup>th</sup> June, Supplement No. 8 Issued with Political Intelligence Journal No. 14 of 1948, CO 537/3753; Security Forces Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 207 For the Week Ending 22 April 1954, TNA, AIR 22/508.

<sup>234</sup> Between January and October 1949, total income was \$26,371 (offset by \$28,806 worth of expenditures), of which \$2,089 derived from subscription; Pan Malayan Review No. 1/50, 25 January 1950, Ref. SF.205/Malaya/1(1)/O.8.2, TNA, CO 1030/15.

<sup>235</sup> 'The Uprooted Village: Mr. Leong Charges "Gross Injustice, Cruel Oppression"', *The Straits Times*, 20 November 1954, 8.

<sup>236</sup> Pan-Malayan Review of Security Intelligence No. 12 – December 1951, TNA, CO 1022/209.

<sup>237</sup> Malayan Security Service Supplement No. 7 of 1948, TNA, CO 537/3752.

<sup>238</sup> Weekly Situation Report, 11<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> March 1949, No. 7, TNA, CO 717/178/4.

<sup>239</sup> With the resettlement, rubber tree slashing declined from more than 70,000 in January to around 10,000 in December 1952. CT Slashing of Rubber Trees – Jan 1952 to Jan 1953, Appendix C2, Review of the Security Situation in Malaya, Paper by the Combined Intelligence Staff, 27 February 1953, CIS (52) (15) Final, TNA, CO 1022/205. The same development applies to the number of attacks on estates and mines, see Appendix C1 in the same document.

<sup>240</sup> Weekly Situation Report, 28<sup>th</sup> October-3<sup>rd</sup> November, No. 40, TNA, CO 717/178/4; 'Malay Tied to Rubber Tree', *Straits Echo & Times of Malaya*, 6 January 1951, 7; 'Two Tappers Slashed to Death', *Straits Echo & Times of Malaya*, 30 March 1956, 1. See also TNA, CO 1022/43

<sup>241</sup> A Chart Showing the War Achievements of 6 Regiments of the M.R.L.A., *Freedom News*, 29 (1952), 14.

<sup>242</sup> Malayan Security Service Political Intelligence Journal No. 13 of 1948, TNA, CO 537/3752. Under pressure of the Emergency Regulations the Malay Democratic Union disbanded with some of its members slated for arrest.

The same approach to garnering support took place around the KDMs. Arguably, the TNI did try to protect the people by imposing order, also within KDM areas.<sup>243</sup> In Tapanuli, a military court condemned seven suspects to death for murdering refugees.<sup>244</sup> The TNI reserved the right to shoot anyone bearing illegal fire-arms in Wonosobo, East Java.<sup>245</sup> Other soldiers chose to demand alms or rob people, instead.<sup>246</sup> In Dutch-controlled territory, the intensity of violence increased further. Obeisance was ruthlessly imposed and little actual protection took place. Much like Malayan rubber tree slashing, *bumi hangus* (scorched earth) policies resulted in massive economic damage that hurt the public. Still, local *lurahs* were ordered to not be squeamish and destroy food, houses and anything the Dutch could use, while sparing mosques and churches.<sup>247</sup> Officials touring Sukabumi counted hundreds of destroyed houses—including places of worship. ‘All life along the big road seems to have been rolled back...to keep the people and goods out of reach for the Netherlanders’.<sup>248</sup> The hunt for spies took flight as there were ‘banyak mata-mata’. Locals were forced to attend TNI-mandated meetings; entire hamlets were pressed into the *Hizbullah* or were made to ‘contribute’ with food. Non-compliance meant more deaths and torched villages.<sup>249</sup> Sundanese civil servants and officers were coerced into signing

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<sup>243</sup> Verslag Regentschap Banjumas, Maart 1949, Geh. Agno.2374/APMJ/’49, ANRI. R.RA.3a. Alg. Secretarie Deel I/585.

<sup>244</sup> ‘Pengadilan Tentara Repoeblik di Tapanuli’, *Sin Po*, 13 December 1947, 1.

<sup>245</sup> Wekelijks Overzicht van Vijandelijkheden (WOSTA) No. 12, 5 November 1948, CF/48, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie 2.10.14/4992.

<sup>246</sup> J. B. Warouw and S. Raisuddin to Ir Sukarno, the Wali Negara Negara Jawa Timur, Mentere Penerangan Republik Indonesia, Luit. Kol. Sungkono, Pemimpin Pasukan “Siliwangi”, ANRI, RA.6. Sekretariat Negara/1004; Corrupsi [sic] dikalang Tentara, annex to Corrupsi di Kalangan Tentara Tjirebon, 30 April 1947, No. 1167/T/C, ANRI, RA.24. Kementerian Pertahanan/1818.

<sup>247</sup> Instroeksi Oentoek para Asisten-Asisten-Wedono dan Loerah-loerah, yang berkewadajiban langsoeng Memimpin Perlawanan Rakjat terhadap Moesoeh, RA.18. Kementerian Penerangan/45, RA.18 Kementerian Penerangan 1945-1949, Arsib Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta.

<sup>248</sup> Rapport Soekaboemi 14 September 1947, annex to Bezoek door fd.Controleur Soekaboemi van Enkele Ondernemingen a/weg Soekaboemi-Sagaranten, 26 September 1947, No. 42/450, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie 2.10.14/4983.

<sup>249</sup> Daftar dari Adanja Orang-2 yang Gerak-geriknja Ditjurigai sebagai Anggauta Kolone V (Mata-2 Musuh) Atau jang Bersifat Megatjau (Links Radicalen), Turen, 31 March 1948, annex A to Daftar Dari Adanja Orang-orang jang Perlu Diawasi, Kapala Kepolisian Keresidenan Malang to P.T. Kepala Negara (Bag. P.A.M.) di Yogyakarta, 31 March 1948, No. 79/A.R/PAM, ANRI, RA.26. Kepolisian/867; Interview with Pak Sunarjo Gun Wirali, Yogyakarta, 7 August 2015; Gevolgen van de Vervanging van Nederlandse Troepen door Britse Troepen in de Omgeving van Batavia, Districten Tangerang en Serpong, undated, NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hooggerrechtshof Ned.-Ind. 2.10.17/107; V.V.D. Weekrapport

declarations condemning the Pasundan; even Republican supporters were not free from suspicion or attack.<sup>250</sup>

The variations of violence directed at possible sympathisers were endless. What the above has demonstrated is that both KDM and Min Yuen tapped from the same set of behaviours *despite* having diametrically opposed reasons for doing so. After all, the Min Yuen was cut off from its base, whereas the KDMs successfully moved closer to theirs. For the KDMs, at least, a more conciliatory approach would seem obvious. What accounts for violence from both is that they acted in border-area contexts that also held stubborn British and Dutch competitors. The latter hindered chances for insurgent legitimacy. When exposed to various competitors simultaneously or consecutively, ordinary people felt there was not one ally to structurally protect them, making them loathe to be activated as supporters. In this context, violence was necessary to outbid rivals.<sup>251</sup>

Unfortunately for Min Yuen and KDM units, Dutch and British security forces had created a rather permissible environment for themselves to seek dominance.<sup>252</sup> Dutch mass killings in South-Celebes and Rawagede were not singular events.<sup>253</sup> Spoor accepted summary justice (*standrecht*) and the 'light' inclination 'towards regrettable excesses'. The military operated Special Courts Martial from March 1948 onwards and even sceptics argued for capital punishment.<sup>254</sup> Captain Westerling—notorious for the Celebes killings—thus

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van 29-12-47 t/m 5-1-48, 12 January 1948, No.: G/WR/02/48, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/393.

<sup>250</sup> Nota Inzake Pasoendan, Ministerie van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen, 10 June 1947, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI 2.10.62/1728; Partai Ra'jat Pasoendan (P.R.P.), 29 April 1947, No. Secr. 305/X 1058, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2417.

<sup>251</sup> C. Metelits, *Inside Insurgency: Violence, Civilians, and Revolutionary Group Behaviour* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 161; Suykens, 'Comparing Rebel Rule', 145; Lerner, Gonzalez, *et al*, 'Effects of Fear and Anger', 144.

<sup>252</sup> Tekortkomingen Officieren, Mr. F. H. van Leeuwen, Auditeur-militair, to Spoor, 31 December 1947, Nr. C. 1895; Tekortkomingen Officieren, Mr. F. H. van Leeuwen, Auditeur-militair, to Spoor, 5 March 1948, Br. No. C 2222, both in NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hoogerechtshof Ned.-Ind., 2.10.17/64.

<sup>253</sup> According to one Indonesian commentator, 40,000 people were killed in South-Celebes: Muhammad N. Said, *Korban 40,000 Jiwa di Sulawesi Selatan* (Bandung, Alumni: 1985); in Rawagede, the Dutch claimed 430 victims.

<sup>254</sup> Zuid-Celebes Rapport, 7 June 1948, No. Kab/1197/9245, Generaal Spoor to Luitenant-Gouverneur-Generaal Van Mook, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie 2.10.14/3742; Verordening van het Militair Gezag No. 522, instelling van Bijzondere Krijgsrechten, 5 March 1948; Bijzondere Kijrgsgerechten, 8 Juli 1948, No. 1467/P, De Aanklager, Mr. C. J. Morks, to Procureur Generaal; both in NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hoogerechtshof Ned.-Ind., 2.10.17/1351; Rémy Limpach, 'Business as Usual: Dutch Mass Violence in the Indonesian War of Independence 1945-49', in Lutikhuis Moses,

hanged thirty ‘terrorists at the side of the big road’ near Purwakarta to mollify the planters.<sup>255</sup> In Malang, sixteen prisoners were used as counter-gangs, executed and left exposed to frighten local resistance cells. Culprits tried to bury the case citing prisoner escape and falsifying release forms.<sup>256</sup> Shooting fleeing people became such a trope it alarmed the Attorney-General, no castigator of counter-terrorism himself.<sup>257</sup> After troops had massacred a wedding party in August 1949, local protests were dismissed as being part of ‘organized [republican] action’. The ‘complainers’ deserved ‘thorough yet utmost correct interrogation’.<sup>258</sup> It was during interrogations that indigenous men were conspicuously remembered for their ‘third degree’ work.<sup>259</sup> ‘[T]hose elements recruited from the Indonesian population’, one veteran wrote in an attempt to shift blame, proved ‘particularly’ keen to inflict pain.<sup>260</sup> And so, within this permissive framework Ryun fatally beat a prisoner on the decks of the M.S. Garut while around the Cililitan airport (East

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*Colonial Counterinsurgency*, 69; Schriftelijke Samenvatting van de op Maandag 9 Augustus 1948 op het Staf Kwartier der 7 Dec. Divisie gehouden Uiteenzetting over de Bijzondere Krijgsgerechten, Vertegenwoordiger van de Procureur-Generaal tbv Recomba for West-Java, Mr. P. Okma, NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hoogerechtshof Ned.-Ind., 2.10.17/1351.

<sup>255</sup> Mr. J. S. Sinninghe Damsté, Voorzitter ALS to W. J. de Jonge, Voorzitter Federabo, 30 July 1948, V.V./No. 61; Mr. J. G. van ‘t Oever, Waarnemend Voorzitter ALS to Jhr. Mr. W. J. de Jonge, 2 August 1948, V.V./No. 62; Van ‘t Oever to De Jonge, 12 September 1948, V.V./No. 73, 12 September 1948, all in NL-HaNA, NHM, 2.20.01/8910.

<sup>256</sup> Proces-Verbaal van Luitenant Kolonel A. F. L. Maris, annex to Proces-Verbaal van Onderzoek inzake het Liquideren van Gedetineerden uit de Loekwokwaroe Gevangenis, undated, Nr.: 106/c.7.a/49; Proces-verbaal van Sergeant Major Jan Huisman, 12 April 1949, Onderzoek inzake het Neerschieten van 13 I.V.G. Arrestanten, die ter Verstrekkingen van Aanwijzingen in de Nacht van 2/3 Maart 1949 waren Medegegeven met Patrouilles van Infanterie IV in de Omgeving van Malang, No: Mlg. 365/49, both in NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1334.

<sup>257</sup> Condoning ‘excesses’, he did understand the need for force: Inz. Zuiveringsactie in Zd. Celebes, Procureur-Generaal Mr. H. W. Felderhof to Van Mook, 2 August 1948, No. 4211; NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/3742; Handwritten note and the clippings in NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hoogerechtshof Ned.-Ind. 2.10.17/57. See also: Proces-verbaal van Verhoor en Onderzoek inzake het Neerschieten van Personen en Desa Kaijebug (kvt.79.65), Onderdistrict Poerbolinggo, d.d. 8 Juli 1949, Vermoedelijk gepleegd door Nederlandse militairen, 2-M.P.-IV. Detachement Poerbolinggo, No. 16 P.V./Z.R.10/49; Rapport inzake Ongelukken/Diefstallen//Roofovervallen in het Onderdistrict Poerbolinggo van Wedono Kota, 11 juli 1949, No.122. Wedana van Purbolinggo, R. S. Djokokusomo to Regent/Recomba Vertegenwoordiger te Purbolinggo; although some autopsies seemed to indicate shots from a great distance (indicating flight) others indicated (Visum et Repertum of Koesnaeni and Visum et Repertum Gramberg) shots from up close (possibly to finish them off); all in NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/3762.

<sup>258</sup> No. P.V. 53/Z.R.49/49; Protest van de Regentschapsraad van Tjilatjap nopens het Optreden van Nederlandse Militairen, 23 August 1949, Kab/3098/408/P.Z., both in NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1333.

<sup>259</sup> Van Doorn and Hendrix, *Ontsporing*, 209, 249, 263.

<sup>260</sup> Letter nr. 2030, 20 January 1969, AHN, Vara-Collectie 11.01/2030, Achter het Nieuws, Vara-Collectie, Doos 11 13068, 1101, Stichting Beeld en Geluid, Hilversum.

Jakarta) base commander Schrijver's men unleashed a deadly spate of intra-communal score-settling alongside local informants.<sup>261</sup>

In Malaya, jungle squad leader Dato Yuen recalled 'pump[ing] a few more bullets' into a female fighter he had shot—he 'couldn't stand her screaming'.<sup>262</sup> Since paramilitaries were told to shoot when in doubt and anyone running off, tragedy struck.<sup>263</sup> Chan Suy Sang declared seeing trucks ferrying dead bodies 'quite a normal thing'.<sup>264</sup> One police officer loosened locals' tongues by walking them along corpses show-cased on a badminton court.<sup>265</sup> Other witnesses claimed to have seen the hacking off of heads (for identification), rape and the parading of naked women.<sup>266</sup> Children were lost to Home Guard shootings, a young couple was wounded failing to halt and one Special shot dead two Indian labourers. Strikingly, many of these incidents happened in 1957 *long* after the so-called counter-terror period.<sup>267</sup>

Local, British and Dutch perpetrators were largely protected.<sup>268</sup> Officials defended security forces' shootings under 'police promulgation'.<sup>269</sup> Investigation of

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<sup>261</sup> Nopens de Strafzaak tegen den Hoofagent van Politie 2<sup>e</sup> Kl. A. O. Post, 23 April 1949, Nr. 73/AP./, NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hooggerechtshof Ned.-Ind. 2.10.17/78; Contra: H. Schrijver, Commandant v/d Basis-Politie der Mil.Luchtv. nr. 1.V.B. te Tjililitan, Justitiële Afdeling M.P.I.Det.Batavia, Nr. 57 C/49/M, NL-HaNA, Archief Justitie/Excessen 2.09.95/80.

<sup>262</sup> Interview with Dato Yuen Yuet Leng.

<sup>263</sup> Home Guard Training Pamphlet; Minutes of 1st Meeting of Home Guard Company Commanders from Southern District P.W. held at Nibong Tebal, 25th March 1954, Arkib Negara Caw. Pulau Penang, RCP/421/54. If a suspect did not run, three challenges would warrant opening fire.

<sup>264</sup> Interview with Chan Suy Sang.

<sup>265</sup> Interview with J. J. Ray.

<sup>266</sup> Interview with Ah Hai.

<sup>267</sup> Accidentally Shot by Home Guards at Pagoh: (1) Tang Keng Fai, injured. (2) Tang Cheng Lin (f) minor, killed. (3) Koh Gu No, (m) minor, killed; ANM, L.D., M. No.(C.I.C.) 7/53; 'Corporal gave Order to Open Fire when Couple Failed to Stop', *Singapore Tiger Standard*, 27 November 1956, 5, ANM, Attorney-General, F. of M. No. 924 Shooting incident at Ulu Chemor on 8.11.56 Maimunah Binti Abdul Hamid Deceased. Compens under the Em (C.I.C.) Regs 1949; ANM, Minister for Labour 21/57, Death of Two Indian Labourers, namely M. Tharuman and T. Ramiah of Rawang as a Result of Shooting by Special Constables; 'Shooting of Malay in Kampong Jawa', *The Malay Mail*, 18 January 1949, 5.

<sup>268</sup> Rapport. Inzake Affaire Goenoeng Simpang, de Auditeur-Militair, Res. Kapitein van A.D.K.L., J. M. H. van Heemstra, 21 September 1949; Publicatie Voorval Desa Gunung Simpang op 1-8-'49, 27 September 1949, WGE/790; both in NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1333; Inz. Malangexces, 23 November 1949, No. 4200/49/AM/D, Mr E. Bonn, Auditeur Militair bij de Krijgsraad te Velde, to de Procureur-Generaal; 1477/Kab/i, Luitenant-Generaal D. C. Buurman van Vreeden, both NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1334; Strafzaak Korning [sic] en Maris, Minister of Justice to Minister of War, 20 February 1951, 6847 B 71; Strafzaak Lt.Kol.Kröning [sic] en Lt.Kol.Maris, Luitenant-kolonel Mr. J. A. Ch. Van Brakel to Chef Generale Staf The Hague, 10 February 1950; both in NL-HaNA, Archief Justitie/Excessen 2.09.95/120.

<sup>269</sup> 'Shooting of Chinese Women. "Murder Allegation" by Communist M.P.', *The Malay Mail*, 14 April 1949, 1.



facts ‘based on old and often incomplete intelligence’ was deemed tedious. Inquiry would only empower the enemy.<sup>270</sup> Sadi Purwopranoto was arrested for ‘spying [and] contacts with the enemy’, but he had also made notes on ‘a series’ of ‘condemnable’ offences ‘to discredit’ the local commander.<sup>271</sup> The judiciary proved understanding; officers ‘did not see or refused to see’ war crimes.<sup>272</sup> Excuses ranged from revenge and inexperience to following orders or front-line stress.<sup>273</sup> Many believed that war inescapably led to violence, especially when insurgents were invisible.<sup>274</sup> The Malang shootings were recast as ‘self-defence’.<sup>275</sup> This blaming the victim had great exculpatory powers. An Asian thirst for violence, expressed in devious war-fighting and preying on the innocent, whipped the supposedly civilized Dutch into a frenzy.<sup>276</sup> Torture morphed into a means to protect the people from themselves.<sup>277</sup> Spoor’s disdain for ‘Japanese methods’ rang hollow, indeed.<sup>278</sup>

### *The live-and-let-live system*

In most transitions from uninterested subject to participant or even wilful neutrality, (anti) revolutionary fervour, let alone loyalty, did not exist. People and

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<sup>270</sup> Pretens Wangedrag van Nederlandse Militairen, Luitenant-Generaal D. C. Buurman van Vreeden to Director Central Intelligence Service, 18 Augustus 1949, Kab/3050/15348/P.Z., NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie 2.10.14/3785.

<sup>271</sup> Verzamelrapport Veiligheidsgroep Nr. 7, 17 December 1947, Nr. 3677/MV 25, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/224.

<sup>272</sup> Letter nr. 2211, 22 January 1969, AHN, Vara-Collectie 11.01/2211, Achter Het Nieuws, Vara-Collectie, Doos 11.01, Brief 2211, Stichting Beeld en Geluid, Hilversum.

<sup>273</sup> *Excessennota*, annex 7, 2, 4-5, 13, 14; Letter nr. 2026, 20 January 1969, AHN, Vara-collectie, 11.01/2026. See also: G. van Heek, *Front op Java: Mijn Diensttijd in Indonesië 1947-1950* (Hengelo: Smit, 1952), 28; J. W. Hofwijk, *De Hitte van de Dag: Onze Soldaten in Indonesië* (Heemstede: De Toorts, 1947), 90-94; A. van Sprang, *Wij Werden Geroepen: De Geschiedenis van de 7 December Divisie* (‘s-Gravenhage: Van Hoeve, 1949), 143, 145.

<sup>274</sup> Letter nr. 2030, 20 January 1969, AHN, Vara-Collectie 11.01/2030. One veteran felt no-one in the Netherlands cared for what went on in Indonesia; Letter nr. 84, 25 March 1969, AHN, Vara-Collectie 11.01/84.

<sup>275</sup> Proces-verbaal van Sergeant Markoen, 12 November 1949, annex to Proces-Verbaal inzake het Liquidieren van Gedetineerden uit de Loekwokwaroe Gevangenis, undated, Nr.: 106/c.7.a/’49, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1334; *Excessennota*, annex 5, 48.

<sup>276</sup> Letter 2212, 22 January 1969, AHN, Vara-Collectie 11.01/2212; see also Letter nr. 2030, 20 January 1969, AHN, Vara-Collectie 11.01/2030.

<sup>277</sup> Verklaring van den Elt. J. Franken omtrent de Militair Politieke Situatie in en om Malang, gedurende de Laatste Decade van Februari en de Eerste Decade van Maart 1949, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1334; Politiek Verslag van het Regentschap Tjilatjap over de Maand Juni 1949, Regent of Tjilatjap, R. M. A. A. Tjokorosiwojo, 1 July 1949, Geh.ag. 4409/APMJ, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1333; Letter nr. 2211, 22 January 1969, AHN, Vara-Collectie 11.01/2211; Letter nr. 2030, 20 January 1969, AHN, 11.01/2030.

<sup>278</sup> V.V./No. 62, Van ‘t Oever to De Jonge, 12 September 1948, NL-HaNA, NHM, 2.20.01/8910.

their communities—especially those tied to their land—were swayed by violent power-brokers locked in deadly rivalry. Where the British discovered Min Yuen activities and goaled subscription collectors, for example, locals immediately felt emboldened ‘to adopt a stern attitude’ towards remaining insurgents.<sup>279</sup> Conversely, Abdoerachman, Ismail Effendi, Soekatma, Machbi bin Nasipin and Sobri joined the same subversive cell, they claimed, to shield their families from attack.<sup>280</sup>

Peoples’ agency, however, was more complicated than that. As most of this chapter concerns the fact that ‘the’ people were buffeted by the combination of war’s uncertainties and those who tried to steer them, it is only fair to end by analysing the set of behaviours people had to cope. Their agency rested with two categories: participants and those who needed activation and measures to keep them from switching back to inactivity. Studies that afford ‘common’ people a place often overlook the various activities and motivations of the Home Guard, Chinese or common Indonesians in favour of those highly motivated.<sup>281</sup> This glosses over that agency was more complex than the strict dichotomy of bystander versus participant but also that certain statements—such as ‘Operation “Service” [...] appears to have had positive results’—are too broad and push individual choices to the background.<sup>282</sup>

The object of this final segment, therefore, shall be to bring vanguardists and followers together to underline the possible ways in which they asserted themselves to navigate the various pressures analysed above, but also that their registers of behaviour—switching alliances and hedging their bets—were the same.

Both the Emergency and the Indonesian War for independence were revolutions, as well.<sup>283</sup> Social orders were overthrown, lending motivated people

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<sup>279</sup> Weekly Situation Report, 11<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> March 1949, No. 7, TNA, CO 717/178/4.

<sup>280</sup> For their testimonies, see the annexes to 10 Pn -V. In duplo, 8 October 1947, No. 993, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI, 2.10.62/988.

<sup>281</sup> See Cribb, *Gangsters and Revolutionaries*.

<sup>282</sup> Smith, ‘General Templer and Counter-insurgency’, 68.

<sup>283</sup> T. B. Simatupang, Report from Banaran: Experiences During the Peoples’ War, Benedict O’G. Anderson, transl.

the opportunity for change. Immediate action often stemmed from earlier political activity that had vetted them. Rashid Maidin, a senior Malay MCP member, was in 1941 inspired by an MCP propagandist tasked with organizing local labour.<sup>284</sup> Entire villages could carry over into the Emergency their affiliations with the war-time MPAJA.<sup>285</sup> Pak Sunaryo's Japanese-sponsored defence unit network allowed his former commander to recruit him into a local youth defence group.<sup>286</sup> Youths 'of all [social] strata' were agitated as the Japanese occupation had upset traditional attainment of adulthood. Simultaneously, shared experiences in the Japanese defence units amplified their 'sense of mass power [and] of fraternal solidarity'.<sup>287</sup> Under these circumstances, *jagos*—powerful men who attracted followers and acted as champions of the oppressed, criminals or both—rose to prominence.<sup>288</sup> People attempted to govern themselves, or at least be more assertive. In September 1946, the Chinese *Sin Po* newspaper counted 175 political parties in the Republic, 'of which 17 [formed] their own little government and their own army'.<sup>289</sup> This period of self-governance was referred to as 'Kedaulatan Rakjat' or the 'Daulat period': the period of the people's sovereignty.<sup>290</sup>

If throughout the Emergency and the Indonesian revolution ideology may be found, it is with the vanguardist. Ideology certainly animated the *Negara Islam Indonesia* (NII, or Islamic State of Indonesia) in West Java. Its rise clearly shows that in border-localities the Republic 'constituted only one of many other

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(Jakarta: Equinox Publishing, 2010 [1972]), 10.

<sup>284</sup> Rashid Maidin, *The Memoirs of Rashid Maidin: From Armed Struggle to Peace* (Petaling Jaya: Strategic Information and Development Centre, 2005), 8-10.

<sup>285</sup> SWEC Confidential D/9 1950 1 Kampong Langkap, 11 January 1950, ANM, SWEC Confidential D/9 1950 Security -Kampong Langkap.

<sup>286</sup> Matarm is an area near Yogyakarta; Interview with Pak Sunaryo Gun Wirali, Yogyakarta, 7 August 2015.

<sup>287</sup> Benedict R. O'G Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution. Occupation and Resistance, 1944-1946* (Jakarta: Equinox Publishing 2006 [1972]), 1-15, 30.

<sup>288</sup> Margreet van Till, *Batavia Bij Nacht: Bloei en Ondergang van het Indonesische Roverswezen in Batavia en de Ommelanden, 1869-1942* (Amsterdam: Askrant, 2006), 89-90.

<sup>289</sup> *Sin Po* van 25 Sept, Persverslag van 26 September '46, Koloniën/Supplement 2.10.03/90, Ministerie van Koloniën: Supplement, The National Archives, The Hague.

<sup>290</sup> Nota Inzake het Indonesisch Binnenlandsch-Bestuur, 20 October 1948, ANRI, RA.3a. Alg. Secretarie Deel I/585; R. B. Karels, 'Mijn Aardse Leven Vol Moeite en Strijd: Raden Mas Noto Soeroto, Javaan, Dichter, Politicus, 1888-1951', Ph.D. thesis, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Amsterdam, 2008, 223.

entities'.<sup>291</sup> The NII sprouted from the mind of Sukarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwiryo, but was facilitated by a Japanese policy of 'activating the rural Islamic leaders' who grasped the proffered 'opportunities for winning over the population'.<sup>292</sup> Men like Kartosuwiryo and Raden Oni, commander of the *Sabilillah* fighters, disagreed with Kartosuwiryo's parent political party, the Islamic *Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia* (Masyumi): after Renville it opted for *diplomasi* along with the wider Republic. With the *Divisi Siliwangi* absent, Kartosuwiryo depended on various struggle groups (among them the *Hizbullah* and women's groups) as well as Sundanese devout Muslims to insert himself into what soon would be the Pasundan.<sup>293</sup> The resultant Islamic Council on seven august 1949 proclaimed the NII that included a *Tentara Negara Islam Indonesia* (TNII). The NII's holy war ordained that in territories outside the *negara's* core—the *Darul Islam*; House of Islam—people should be made more 'Islam-minded'.<sup>294</sup>

NII success hugely complicated the situation in West Java; the Negara Islam case shows that strong (religious) motivations attracted others willing to take alternative paths to independence. By and large, the Islamic movement was able to transgress 'local sentiments and feelings' and marry them to an 'alternative to the Indonesian Republic without having lost touch with local society'.<sup>295</sup> This was largely Kartosuwiryo's doing. Although his father was relatively affluent, this 'skilful organizer' remained close to the rural population.<sup>296</sup> In Tegal, local mujahedeen, already embroiled with the Republic, raised another TII regiment. As far as Yogyakarta the NII found willing allies.

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<sup>291</sup> C. van Dijk, *Rebellion under the Banner of Islam: The Darul Islam in Indonesia* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhof, 1981), 65.

<sup>292</sup> Van Dijk, *Rebellion under the Banner of Islam*, 16.

<sup>293</sup> S. Soebardi, 'Kartosuwiryo and the Darul Islam Rebellion in Indonesia', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 14, 1 (1983), 1-17; Van Dijk, *Rebellion under the Banner of Islam*, 83-85, 89; De Negara Islam Indonesia, De Staat op Islamitische Grondslag voor geheel Indonesië, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI 2.10.62/1719. The Hizbulla and Sabilillah troops distrusted the TNI and the Republic's Minister of Defence, Sjarifuddin, who was a member of the Partai Sosialis Indonesia and so stayed behind.

<sup>294</sup> Van Dijk, *Rebellion*, 89, 92; De Negara Islam Indonesia, De Staat op Islamitische Grondslag voor geheel Indonesië, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI 2.10.62/1719; Soebardi, 'Kartosuwiryo', 120. Kartosuwiryo had tried to proclaim a NII before, see: Kementerian Penerangan, *Republik Indonesia. Propinsi Djawa Barat* (Jakarta: Kementerian Penerangan, 1953), 216.

<sup>295</sup> Van Dijk, *Rebellion*, 18.

<sup>296</sup> Van Rijk, *Rebellion*, 20-21.

Kartosuwiryo's call that with the Republic negotiating with the Dutch the NII now guaranteed the *proklamasi kemerdekaan* resonated strongly.<sup>297</sup> The *Barisan Banteng*, *Hizbullah/Sabilillah* and the *Laskar Rakyat Djawa Barat* collectively denounced the Republic for abandoning 'total peoples' defence'.<sup>298</sup> Simultaneously, Commander-in-Chief Sudirman and Nasution set out to organize the *Bambu Runcing* (Sharpened Spear) Divisi to counter the TNII and soften the *Siliwangi's* 'defeat', picking up stragglers who had switched to the Dutch post-Renville.<sup>299</sup> No less than three parties—the TNII, *Siliwangi*, the Dutch (with the Pasundan)—now fought each other.<sup>300</sup>

The lines of alliance blurred accordingly. As Islamic power around Krawang grew some *Bambu* fighters made overtures.<sup>301</sup> Conversely, the August 17 Division coalescing around Yogyakarta included TNI and *Hizbullah* groups, but in Bantam, at least, this division agitated against the TNII.<sup>302</sup> Growing communist influences in national politics allowed for communist leanings to permeate various troops. Masyumi and Tan Malaka, the rising star of Indonesian communism, made common cause, leading to cooperation between the August 17 Divisi and TNII, *Hizbullah* and elements of the *Bambu Runcing* in West Java.<sup>303</sup> Even the TNI and Dutch forces sought local rapprochement against the NII.<sup>304</sup> Most of these groups, however, turned on the Pasundan. With Dutch forces vacating large swaths of

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<sup>297</sup> De Negara Islam Indonesia, De Staat op Islamitische Grondslag voor geheel Indonesië; for the social revolution around Tegal, the Peristiwa Tiga Daerah, see: Anton Lucas, 'The Tiga Daerah Affair: Social Revolution or Rebellion', in Audrey R. Kahin, ed., *Regional Dynamics of the Indonesian Revolution* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), 23-24, 44.

<sup>298</sup> Ons Gemeenschappelijke Standpunt (Strijdorganisaties van West-Java, 18 October 1948, Vertaling I, C.M.I. Document No. 5041, annex to Centrale Militaire Inlichtingendienst, Signalement No. 17, 29 September 1948, No.JD2/88111, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/416.

<sup>299</sup> Algemeen Overzicht Betreffende Activiteit der Bamboe Roentjing in het Gebied der Residentie Buitenzorg, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/409; Cribb, *Gangsters*, 158; Signalement No. 13, 13 September 1948, No. 5867/JD2, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132//416; The Bamu Runcing in Bantam revolted against the Republic and its members arrested.

<sup>300</sup> Van Dijk, *Rebellion*, 91-92.

<sup>301</sup> Beoordeling van de Toestand in de Periode 1 t/15 November 1949 (nr. 43) van Legercommandant (Buurman van Vreeden), *NIB* 20, 616.

<sup>302</sup> De Negara Islam Indonesia, De Staat op Islamitische Grondslag voor geheel Indonesië, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI 2.10.62/1719; Dagrapport van de Sectie Inlichtingen, 14 October 1949, Moment Rapport 6, Koloniën/Rapportage Indonesië, 2.10.29/97, Ministerie van Koloniën: Rapportage Indonesië, The National Archives, The Hague.

<sup>303</sup> D. C. Anderson, 'The Military Aspects of the Madiun Affair', *Indonesia* 1 (1976), 22 1-63; De Negara Islam Indonesia, De Staat op Islamitische Grondslag voor geheel Indonesië, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI 2.10.62/1719.

<sup>304</sup> Van Dijk, *Rebellion*, 90.

territory East of Bandung due to the May 1949 cease-fire, the Pasundan had to acquiesce in *Siliwangi's* 'very harsh and repressive measures' against *Darul Islam* 'cruelties'.<sup>305</sup> Again we see that to gain influence, the population paid the price. The Negara Islam displaced village heads or co-opted them to allow *Darul Islam* indoctrination and the formation of local Islamic Councils and army units.<sup>306</sup> After independence the TNII stepped up its activities, causing thousands of burnt houses, refugees (52,672 for the last quarter of 1951) and cases of looting. Damages amounted to almost Rp. 7,500,000.<sup>307</sup> Still, there was some room for manoeuvre. Various local Masyumi leaders declined to fall in line. '[O]lder D.I.-members and various *kiaji's*' had had enough and called in the Dutch in Tasikmalaya.<sup>308</sup> Others welcomed the House of Islam, or at least the presence of a stabilizing factor. '[N]ormal village people' reached for security within a community 'shocked to its core'. They hoped that within the Negara Islam the *jagos* would be contained and that various parties—the Dutch, the Pasundan, the Republic—would stop calling for support.<sup>309</sup>

Others who tried to manipulate new possibilities to their favour were women. The social revolution afforded them a chance to challenge the past and through doing so, make the future. The *Malay Mail* wrote that 'Women want a fuller life': the 'ordinary day-to-day work in kampongs' bored them.<sup>310</sup> Many women were taken up in the exhilarating flurry of activity that would amalgamate into revolution. Like others, they heard about independence but had little understanding of its meaning.<sup>311</sup> In Indonesia, reading circles, performances (sometimes featuring the murder of Dutch people) and mass meetings filled in the

<sup>305</sup> Vice-minister-president (Van Schaik) aan Minister van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen (Van Maarseveen), 13 Dec. 1949, *NIB* 20, 788; Note 1 to Legercommandant (Spoor) aan Minister van Binnenlandse Zaken van Pasundan (Mahmoen Soemadipradja), 1 Maart 1949, *NIB* 18, 8.

<sup>306</sup> Villages in six districts and sub-districts left their station: DI Daroel Islam, 1 February 1949, No. 388/26; Tentara Islam Indonesia, Rap. Verbrugh, 17 August 1948, NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hooggerechtshof Ned.-Ind. 2.10.17/1002.

<sup>307</sup> Van Dijk, *Rebellion*, 105.

<sup>308</sup> Overzicht van de Politieke Activiteiten in West-Java (m.u.v. Bantam) gedurende de Maand Aug. t/m Oct., Centrale Militaire Inlichtingendienst, Signalement No. 54, 5 November 1948, No. JD2/91145, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/416.

<sup>309</sup> Nota Inzake: Onderzoek naar de Aard der Dār ul-Islām Beweging in de Regentschappen Tasikmalaja en Tjiamis, 2 July 1948, A/48, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/5071.

<sup>310</sup> 'Women want a Fuller Life', *The Malay Mail*, 18 January 1953, 1.

<sup>311</sup> Testimony from a labourer's daughter, quoted in Smail, *Bandung*, 60. See also Viterna, 'Pulled, Pushed', 7-9,

blanks and opened ways to ‘imagining independence’ and ‘Indonesia’.<sup>312</sup> Roadside storytellers read newspapers to those who could not. Women joined groups who travelled from village to village to sing *merdeka*’s praises, daring parents to allow their children to fight. Others were taught reading to engender understanding.<sup>313</sup>

In Malaya, Ling Guan Ying joined the underground during the Japanese occupation—as did her entire village. To her the British presence was equally oppressive. She related to the MCP’s attention to the poor and its message of liberation.<sup>314</sup> Chen Xui Zhu also switched from ideological to active participation against British brutality. In her New Village, she keenly felt oppressed: ‘If anyone was caught assisting the Communists, they were beheaded’.<sup>315</sup> Zhu Ning felt the sting of British heavy-handedness, too. They arrested her husband for aiding the communists. Her admiration for the Communists until in 1967 she went underground.<sup>316</sup> Women found that men and women were equal in the jungle.<sup>317</sup>

The (insurgent) women carried their weight. North of Bandung, soldiers spotted a group of armed female insurgents; others smuggled weapons or prepared food.<sup>318</sup> They were not ‘followers’. During the infamous siege of Bukit Kepong, MRLA women collected the dead.<sup>319</sup> Resistance could be subtle, too: in some hamlets where the male population had disappeared, women ‘rudely’ refused to talk.<sup>320</sup> In Solo, four women’s organisations in 1946 declared their

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<sup>312</sup> M. Steedly, *Rifle Reports: A Story of Indonesian Independence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 137-138, 140, 117.

<sup>313</sup> Tsing, ‘Carry Out Earnestly the Work that Our Enemy Fears Most’, *Freedom News* 34 (1953), 11-12; Steedly, *Rifle Reports*, 137; Angnes Khoo, ed., *Life as the River Flows: Women in the Malayan Anti-Colonial Struggle. (An Oral History of Women from Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore)* (Monmouth: Merlin Press, 2007), 39. Most interviews relate to the 1960s or later.

<sup>314</sup> Khoo, *Life*, 51, 59-60.

<sup>315</sup> Khoo, *Life*, 67.

<sup>316</sup> Khoo, *Life*, 88-91.

<sup>317</sup> Khoo, *Life*, 46-47, 98-99, 77.

<sup>318</sup> Overzicht en Ontwikkeling van den Toestand, 31 Maart 1947, No. 197/III-C, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/223; Verzamelrapport Veiligheidsgroep Nr. 3, 10 October 1947, Nr. 1779/MV/25, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/224; Interview with Pak Malyo Sardjono; Interview with Pak Sunaryo, Yogyakarta, 7 August 2015...

<sup>319</sup> D.Inf 7/60/160 (EMERG), July 28, 1960, Appendix J. Four Major Incidents Recounted, ANM Commerce & Industry Tourist Promotion Section, 95/T.

<sup>320</sup> Uittreksel uit het Maandverslag over September 1948 van den Ressorst-Leider van het A.L.S., Tasikmalaja, Koloniën/Geheime Mailrapporten 2.10.36.06/184, Ministerie van Koloniën: Geheime Mailrapporten, serie AA, The National Archives, The Hague.

support for the Republic and its call for women to participate in the war effort next to the Tentara and Polisi. Their 'urgency program' sought to establish communal kitchens and assist evacuees and the poor. They also demanded access to more and higher education.<sup>321</sup> On the other side of the official divide female searchers checked for food at New Village gates. From 87 in 1948 their number rose to 853 in 1957. Others actively resisted the local TNI, informing Dutch intelligence that the TNI knew who worked for them.<sup>322</sup> In Indonesia and Malaysia, women had to assert themselves and petition those in power to ask for their son's whereabouts.<sup>323</sup>

The women and men who joined the guerrilla cited a wish to liberate.<sup>324</sup> Belief in the success of the revolution, improved opportunities and serving 'a common cause' were salient motivations.<sup>325</sup> Others took heart in communist successes in China, Korea and Viet Nam.<sup>326</sup> Mobilization was facilitated by networks of friendship, family, association and empathy.<sup>327</sup> TNI guerrilla manuals underlined the efficacy of familial ties in activating the population.<sup>328</sup> Whereas other Chinese organizations such as the Hakka Association showed no interest, the Communists 'were always coming around' to talk to people.<sup>329</sup> Listeners were drawn in by MCP speakers' zeal, convincing others to satisfy their curiosity and

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<sup>321</sup> Putusan<sup>2</sup> Konperensi Perkoempoelan Wanita Indonesia di Solo. 25-26 January 1946, ANRI, RA.6. Sekretariat Negara/1054.

<sup>322</sup> Verzamelrapport Veiligheidsgroep Nr. 7, 17 December 1947, Nr. 3677/MV 25, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/224.

<sup>323</sup> Goh Boh Jee to State Secretary Selangor, 26 November 1948, ANM, S.U.K. TR. 11 41/1948, Petition Against the Detention of her Son Cheng Tum Wha under the Emergency Regulations; Djarnasih to the Procureur-Generaal, 24 Maart 1949; Inz. Apot bin Mardika, 18 February 1949. No.: 598/48/Alg., both in NL-HaNa, Proc.-Gen. Hoogerechtshof Ned.-Ind. 2.10.17/75.

<sup>324</sup> Interviews with Ah Hai, Lao Jiang, Wong Kin and Liang Xian

<sup>325</sup> A Study of the Reasons for Entering the Jungle Among Chinese Communist Terrorists in Malaya Part I. Overt Reasons. Prepared by Mr. P. B. Humphrey, ORS(PW) Memorandum No.11/53, TNA, WO 291/1773.

<sup>326</sup> Pan-Malayan Review of Security Intelligence, No. 3 – March 1953, TNA, CO 1022/210; Review of the Emergency in Malaya from June 1948 to August 1957, 12 September 1957, TNA, AIR 20/10377.

<sup>327</sup> Stubbs, *Hearts and Minds*, 49; Staniland, *Networks*, 189.

<sup>328</sup> De Guerrilla Strijd, Tentara Nasional Indonesia, annex to Guerrilla-tactiek TNI, 17 January 1949, S/059, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI 2.10.62/2993. Compare: V.V.D. Weekrapport van 5 t/m 12 Januari 1948, 21 January 1948, No.: G/WR/04/48, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/393.

<sup>329</sup> L. W. Pye, *Guerrilla Communism in Malaya: Its Social and Political Meaning* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 199.



also go. A former recruit drew strength from communist propaganda.<sup>330</sup> Participation was not always completely informed by voluntary decisions. Fear of arrest was by far the most poignant catalyst for action. Not surprisingly, this fear impacted strongly on those who were uncertain about moving to begin with.<sup>331</sup> One 'Subscription Collector' explained the above to Tan Cheng Lock personally. Seventy percent, he wrote, 'were forced to evacuate [resettle] or were earmarked for arrest'. Due to corrupt officials and lascivious Special Constables new converts showed up with 'a special hatred against Government'. They all wanted to partake in ambushes.<sup>332</sup> The government's violence, then, was turning people into enemies.

Family and other societal ties also worked in opposite directions. They served as beacons when participants had had enough. Disaffection with the harsh jungle life came in many guises for the 1,927 who surrendered.<sup>333</sup> Starvation, harsh critiques, ambushes, inactive or lusty superiors could all contribute. From abroad, the 1954 Geneva talks in Vietnam convinced some rank and filers they now fought alone.<sup>334</sup> In some units, signs of wavering—by 'Bad eggs'—were met with execution. Others felt that what the MCP had promised turned out to be false. When revolutionary enthusiasm was sufficiently dampened to want to go home, those who saw an opportunity found their way into the arms of husbands, uncles and other understanding relatives. The constant barrage of pamphlets facilitated switching greatly. The British, for the most part, were equally understanding. Those who surrendered could be rewarded and resettled in exchange for informing on erstwhile comrades. Surrendered Enemy Personnel encouraged further surrenders by informing known family members *outside* the jungles their loved ones would not be hanged after their surrender. In pitting Surrendered Enemy Personnel (SEP) against their old comrades, the British

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<sup>330</sup> Pye, *Guerrilla Communism*, 187.

<sup>331</sup> A Study of the Reasons for Entering the Jungle Among Chinese Communist Terrorists in Malaya Part I. Overt Reasons. Prepared by Mr. P. B. Humphrey, ORS(PW) Memorandum No.11/53, TNA, WO 291/1773.

<sup>332</sup> Translation of a Letter from Tan Cheng Siong regarding the MCP and the Emergency, 5 November 1950, ISEAS, TCL 11.05.

<sup>333</sup> Review of the Emergency in Malaya from June 1948 to August 1957, 12 September 1957, TNA, AIR 20/10377.

<sup>334</sup> Director of Operations' Directive February 1955, TNA, WO 216/874.

facilitated yet more intra-communal violence.<sup>335</sup> In a Dutch twist on atonement, the 'boisterous and useless' group led by Panji (of HAMOT fame) who had surrendered found redemption through turning on the rebellion. Afterwards and under Dutch wings, they could quiet down and 'once more happily work for the whites and will be taken back as such'.<sup>336</sup>

Another set of communities that functioned on the premise of kinship and family were the Chinese in Indonesia and Malaya. We recall that they were broadly split between *perenakan* (inward-looking) and *sinkeh* (China-focussed) groups that the nationalist Kuomintang (KMT), fighting the Communists in China, tried to constantly win over.<sup>337</sup> In Indonesia the Japanese had largely decimated the KMT. The British forbade the party in Malaya.<sup>338</sup> Beginning with the power vacuum that existed after the Japanese surrender, the Chinese lived in fear for their lives. Worries were compounded by officials who demanded the Chinese declare allegiance. In Indonesia, the Dutch therefore allowed the organization of the *Pao An Tui*; in Malaya, the Malay Chinese Association primed the Chinese for security force duty.

Such measures did not calm people. The Communist victory over Nationalist forces in China divided Chinese communities. British recognition of the new regime flew in the face of its own campaign in Malaya, confusing the Chinese.<sup>339</sup> Whereas the massively influential *Nanyang Siang Pau* wrote against the Chinese communists, the *Sin Chew Jit Poh* and the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*—with increasing readerships—supported their victory.<sup>340</sup> In Indonesia, some conspicuously turned their gaze to China; the *Sin Po* reviled the Kuomintang for

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<sup>335</sup> The Security Forces Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 112 for the Week Ending 26<sup>th</sup> June 1952; The Security Forces Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 118 For the Week Ending 7 August 1952, both in TNA, CO 1022/15.

<sup>336</sup> Memorandum van Directeur-generaal Algemene Zaken (Idenburg), 26 aug. 1947, *NIB* 10, 645, see also note 1; Verslag van de Vergadering van de Raad voor Oorlogsvoering op 14 Nov. 1945, *NIB* 2, 65.

<sup>337</sup> Png Poh Seng, 'The Kuomintang in Malaya, 1912-1941', *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, 2, 1 (1961), 6-9.

<sup>338</sup> Rapport van NICA-ambtenaar voor Chinese Zaken (Abell), 29 okt. 1945, *NIB* 1, 468; C. F. Young and R. B. McKenna, *The Kuomintang Movement in British Malaya 1912-1949* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1990), 119; Yong and McKenna, 'The Kuomintang Movement, 125-132.

<sup>339</sup> Review of Chinese Affairs May 1949, TNA, CO 717/182/4.

<sup>340</sup> Review of Chinese Affairs March 1949, TNA, CO 717/182/4.

‘losing the people’.<sup>341</sup> In Batavia Keh Chuan Shou, vice-chairman of the local *Chung Hua Chung Hui*, an umbrella organization for Chinese voluntary organizations, illustrated the split alliances of the Chinese well. This ‘strong advocate of Chinese Indonesian friendliness’ criticised the Dutch for keeping their colonizing agenda intact. He faulted the Republican army for stealing the Chinese’s money, destroying their property and lives and suppressing more moderate Republican voices. The anti-Chinese atrocities, continued Keh, ‘made the Chinese turn to the Dutch’. Still, the door to Chinese-Indonesian reconciliation had not shut, as the Dutch would only protect the Chinese as long as they could be used ‘to restore their [the Dutch] policy for colonization’.<sup>342</sup>

As tradition dictated, Chinese consuls continued to meddle.<sup>343</sup> In Malaya, Consul Ma called himself the protector of the Chinese: when security forces burnt down their houses, they came to him, he said.<sup>344</sup> Tsiang Chia Tung, Consul-General in Indonesia, gave Dutch official an ear-full because soldiers killed and beat Chinese people without being ‘properly punished’.<sup>345</sup> From his post in Republican territory, the Vice-consul lambasted Dutch aggression for frustrating Chinese-Republican relations.<sup>346</sup> The position of the two consuls was indicative of the fact that the Chinese communities—too diverse to disaggregate here—were

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<sup>341</sup> *Sin Po*, 1 April 1949, annex to Politieke Oriëntatie Chinese Gemeenschap, Director CMI to Commandant van het Leger, 13 Mei 1949, Code: 323-5: (51), NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hoogerechtshof Ned.-Ind. 2.10.17/1457. by 14 June 1949, however, according to a Dutch report, the *Sin Po* now completely supported the KMT in China: Inzake de “Sin Po” (Chinese Editie.), 14 June 1949, No.: 2440/V.I.D./K., TNA, NL-HaNA, Proc.-Gen. Hoogerechtshof Ned.-Ind. 2.10.17/1457. The *Sin Po* had some 20,000-25,000 members and termed the ‘most influential Chinese language paper’; George William Skinner, *Report on the Chinese in Southeast Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 1951), 67.

<sup>342</sup> Afschrift van [...] vertalingen uit de Chinese pers, het Consulaat Generaal der Nederlanden te Singapore, Chung Hua Chung Hui (Chinese General Association) vice-chairman’s report on NEI, 3 September, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2757.

<sup>343</sup> Suyadinata, ‘The Search for National Identity’, 47. On Chinese interference with Chinese citizenship in Indonesia, see: J. A. C. Mackie and Charles A. Coppel, ‘A Preliminary Survey’, in J. A. C. Mackie, ed., *The Chinese in Indonesia: Five Essays* (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1976), 1-18; Williams, *Overseas Chinese Nationalism*, 166; Charles A. Coppel, ‘The Indonesian Chinese: “Foreign Orientals”, Netherlands Subjects, and Indonesian Citizens’, in M. Barry Hooker, ed., *Law and the Chinese in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002), 143.

<sup>344</sup> Review of Chinese Affairs October, 1949, TNA, CO 717/182/4.

<sup>345</sup> Tsiang Chia Tung, Consul General of China, to Mr. T. Elink Schuurman, Head, Far Eastern Office, 27 February 1948, No. 346/B69/L/G; Paleisrapport, Ochtenduitgave “Sin Po”, Batavia, 16 February 1948, F.N. 145, both in NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/3780.

<sup>346</sup> *Nieuwsgier* van 23 October 1947, Aantekening voor de Luitenant-gouverneur generaal, 17 December 1947, ANRI, RA.3a/Alg. Secretarie Deel I/149.

split between the Republic and the Dutch. To Republican distaste, the latter had strong motivations to curry Chinese favour; one being their possible reinvigorating influence on the economy.<sup>347</sup> The Dutch, in turn, were perturbed with the Chinese consuls for not shunning the Republic: they feared rapprochement.<sup>348</sup>

Being pulled in various directions, Chinese communities across Indonesia had to appease. During the successor conference to Malino, held in Pangkal Pinang in October 1946, Chinese leaders had agreed on a neutral stance to enhance unity among the Indonesian Chinese, but also to not endanger the Chinese on Republican territory.<sup>349</sup> It was for similar reasoning that for example Teng Tjin Leng of Makassar intimated that many 'Indo-Chineezzen' felt that the citizenship dilemma should be left alone during 'this time of strong tensions'. If one element was shared among the Chinese, Leng said, it was that 'in the new Indonesia', there would be no place 'For a feeling [...] that in the Netherlands-Indies there were first and second class citizens'.<sup>350</sup>

Neutrality proved hard to maintain. In uncontested territory, the *Pao An Tui* stood with the Dutch. The Dutch certainly invited them to do so. Spoor, always the keen observer, seemed cognizant of the bind the Chinese were in; he recognized that to save themselves, many Chinese had to, under certain circumstances, at least pretend to support the Republic. He therefore warned his military commanders to not treat them as collaborators: 'collaboration is a very delicate concept, as experience has pointed out, and [it] must be treated with the utmost caution'.<sup>351</sup> The anti-Japanese association 'Fuk Hsing She' was thanked

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<sup>347</sup> Somers-Heidhues, 'Citizenship and Identity', 118; Verslag van de Bijeenkomst van Minister van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen (Jonkman) met zijn Afdelingschef op 22 juli 1946, *NIB* 5, 62, 65n; Somers-Heidhues, 'Citizenship and Identity', 118-119; *Verslag van de Conferentie van Pangkal Pinang, 1-12 October 1946*, in Bijlagen Tweede Kamer, 376, *Handelingen der Staten-Generaal. Bijlagen. 1946-1947*, 3.

<sup>348</sup> Somers-Heidhues, 'Citizenship and Identity', 119-120.

<sup>349</sup> 'Chineezzen Kiezen', *Het Dagblad*, 24 August 1946, 2; *Verslag van de Conferentie van Pangkal Pinang*, 5; Lt-Gouverneur-Generaal (Van Mook) aan Minister van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen (Jonkman), 12 okt. 1946, *NIB* 5, 535; Somers-Heidhues, 'Citizenship and Identity', 119.

<sup>350</sup> *Verslag van de Conferentie van Pangkal Pinang*, 7

<sup>351</sup> Behandeling Chineesche Ingezetenen in Bevrijde Gebieden, Spoor to Divisie- en Brigade-Commandanten op Java en Troepencommandanten op Sumatra, 17 October 1946, No. Kab./472, NL-HaNa, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1295.

officially in 1947 for their support at a function where a letter from the Dutch queen was read.<sup>352</sup> Civil and military authorities were given stern warning to behave fairly without ‘any discrimination’ when dealing with the Chinese. Ideally, Chinese liaison officers had to be on stand-by. ‘Police action [must] never be unnecessarily rough or abusive. Cavity searches, which are seen as especially abusive [by the Chinese] can be performed only when circumstances demand it’.<sup>353</sup>

Where Republicans had influence the situation changed accordingly. Republican leaders put much pressure on Chinese communities. In July 1945, the Indonesian business elite with Hatta and Sukarno propagated economic centralization to serve the Indonesian *pribumi* (indigenous) middle class that would emerge after the revolution. Chinese leaders felt uneasy with this development: if economic centralisation and *pribumi* priority were conflated, the Chinese could only hope to adapt, not dictate.<sup>354</sup> These fears may have not been unfounded. Republican leaders were poised to break the elevated Chinese economic position. Hatta accused the Chinese ‘merchants’ of always having trampled on Indonesian interests—under Dutch rule, then again under the Japanese and after August 1945 still. This behaviour did not accord with the Republican Constitution; it stipulated a cooperative, egalitarian economy, ‘based on principles of the Family State’.<sup>355</sup> In April 1946, the Republic wanted to bring the Chinese communities under control by trying to declare citizenship for all Chinese in Indonesia. With this decision looming, Chinese living in Republican-controlled areas would face a strategic choice. Although the Chinese Consul

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<sup>352</sup> Chinesesche Anti-Japanse Vereeniging “Fuk Hsing She”, Van Mook to Minister van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen, 17 August 1946, No. 1241/APO 4; Overhandiging Brief van H.M. de Koningin aan de Vereeniging “Fuk Hsing She”, 16 January 1947, both in NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2757.

<sup>353</sup> No. 3833/AGO 4, Incidenten in de Chinesesche Gemeenschap, 24 February 1947, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2765.

<sup>354</sup> Yang, *The Chinese Business Elite*, 120-121. These fears may have not been unfounded: S. Sjahrir, *Political Manifesto of the Indonesian Government*, 1 November 1945, reproduced in Charles Wolf, Jr., *The Indonesian Story: The Birth, Growth and Structure of the Indonesian Republic* (New York: The John Day Company, 1948), 172-175; The Manifesto was most likely written by Hatta, see Benedict R. O’G. Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution*, 181.

<sup>355</sup> ‘Chinesesch-Indonesische Conferentie’, *Het Dagblad*, 24 August 1946; Noer, ed., *Portrait of a Patriot*, 447-448; *Constitution of the Indonesian Republic*, chapter 14, article 33, reproduced Wolf, Jr., *The Indonesian Story*, 170-171.

stated that acceptance would not mean loss of Chinese citizenship, Chinese in Indonesia could not ignore ‘the amount of anti-Chinese feeling’.<sup>356</sup>

The Republic, of course, saw the *Pao An Tui* as ‘units of the Dutch police army’.<sup>357</sup> Therefore, Chinese-owned security forces were unthinkable. Republican forces around Sukabumi, West Java, for example, coerced (according to a Dutch report) some 20 Chinese into the TNI ranks in March 1948.<sup>358</sup> In Blitar, the *Chung Hoa Chung Hui* disavowed the PAT. The Dutch, members said, had riled up the Chinese.<sup>359</sup> Where territory was still contested, such as in Medan, Sumatra, PAT members in 1946 had to clarify to the Dutch that they would rather remain neutral: too close an affiliation with the KNIL would invite reprisals against the city’s Chinese quarters.<sup>360</sup> As it was, a precarious situation had existed in Medan. Chinese (and Indonesian) organisations could both support the Allies and parade around with ‘Red-white [the colours of the Indonesian flag], Chinese Nationalist and British-Indian Freedom banners’.<sup>361</sup> The PAT, however, had provoked a violent Indonesian reaction that led to an ultimatum: either the PAT joined the Republican police, the Peoples Defence or it should disband.<sup>362</sup>

Chinese support to the Indonesian cause was not necessarily involuntary, however opportune.<sup>363</sup> The ‘Servants of Society’, a small Chinese group in Dutch-controlled Surabaya that still represented a third of that city’s youth, opposed the PAT as a Dutch ‘instrument’ against the Republic. Chinese intellectuals, in turn,

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<sup>356</sup> Willmott, *The National Status of the Chinese in Indonesia*, 26.

<sup>357</sup> Minister van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen aan Luitenant-gouverneur Generaal, Letter I, 30 October 1947, 64/No. 288, ANRI, RA.3a. Alg. Secretarie Deel I/152.

<sup>358</sup> Inlijving Chineezzen bij de T.R.I., Mr. Ch. W. A. Abbenhuis, Algemeen Hoofd Tijdelijke Bestuursdienst Java, to Van Mook, 11 April 1947, No. Ivo.25, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/2757.

<sup>359</sup> Keadaan Daerah-daerah [handwritten, no date but post-January 1948]; Penolakan Po An Tui Surabaya, Tm. Gondo dari Seksi Informasi, 13 January 1948, RA.24. Kementerian Pertahanan/1084.

<sup>360</sup> Chinees Veiligheids [illegible] (Po An Tui), 3 December 1947, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/1340.

<sup>361</sup> Lt. Westerling, Hoofd Afd. A., to Hoofd NEFIS, 4 May 1946, Na/100/V/46, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI 2.10.62/1687.

<sup>362</sup> Rapport over het Chinese Security Corps (Pao An Tui), annex to Afschrift Rapport over het Chinese Corps (Pao An Tui) Medan, 23 November 1946, No. 14/X, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI 2.10.62/1685.

<sup>363</sup> A Consolation Commission from China, for example, found the Chinese in many places in the Republic in quite dire straits. See: Verslag van de Adviseur in Algemene Dienst (Thio Thiam Tjong) over de Reis van de Chinese Vertroostingscommissie, *NIB* 6, 595-598.

criticised the SOS's 'Indonesian-ness'.<sup>364</sup> The Republican Ministry of Defence counted some 200 Chinese members in a local fighting organization. In Malang and Surakarta some Chinese organized on the Republican side, too.<sup>365</sup> Whether to appease or from conviction, many simply read the tide. Or, as the *Sin Min Pao* wrote: the Chinese 'must be convinced that they are living in a new Indonesian society'.<sup>366</sup>

The same—yet hardly acknowledged—diversity of behaviour should be accorded to the Home Guard, the Plantation Guard and the New Villagers. Studies invariably stop at condemning New Villages or branding them—with caveats—as a counterinsurgency success. A deeper glance into the relation between the New Villages and their surroundings is rarely endeavoured. To substantiate that Templer's 'controversial decision to allow Chinese Home Guards to take over village security from the police' in 150 [Phase III] New Villages' proved successful by stating that no weapons were lost, is typical in this regard.<sup>367</sup> Such a reading is not the complete picture. It presupposes that indeed, colonial control could be complete and that so-called hearts and minds approaches were more than mere 'subordinate parts' of population control.<sup>368</sup> On another level, leaving aside incidents that happened after the resettlement began to sort effect (1951-1952) robs people of agency. A close reading of available sources, then, reveals that where control was challenged profoundly enough, insurgents, security forces and ordinary people still inhabited a grey area wherein outwardly stable alliances with—or, in subordination to—more powerful parties could be subverted. These

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<sup>364</sup> Chinese Veiligheids Corpsen "Pao An Tui", Verslag Periode 24 November – 8 December 1947, ANRI, RA.3a. Alg. Secretarie Deel I/152.

<sup>365</sup> Daftar Orang Tiong Hoa jang Mendjadi Anggauta KRIS, annex to Kepala Bagian V to Kepada "Perantara Warta dan Publikasi", 8 Augustus 1947, No. R. 1856, ANRI, RA.24. Kementerian Pertahanan/1715; Somers-Heidhues, 'Citizenship and Identity', 121.

<sup>366</sup> Hoofdartikel op Wu Chang Dag, 10/10/48, *Sin Min Pao*, Semarang, R.V.D., Publicatie, Nefis, 18 October 1948, RRSN 64, Koloniën Suppl., 2.10.03/107, Ministerie van Koloniën: Supplement, The National Archives, The Hague.

<sup>367</sup> S. Smith, 'Templer and Counter-insurgency in Malaya', 68; John Coates, *Suppressing Insurgency: An Analysis of the Malayan Emergency, 1948-1954* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press 1992), 121, note 9; another Templer thesis adherent is Kumar Ramakrishna, "'Transmogrifying" Malaya: The Impact of Sir Gerald Templer (1952-54), *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 32, 1 (2001), 79-92.

<sup>368</sup> Karl Hack, 'British Intelligence and Counter-insurgency in the Era of Decolonization: The Example of Malaya', *Intelligence and National Security*, 14, 2 (1999), 146.

semi-luminous areas existed *despite* the MCP's collapse and *despite* Home Guards operating independently under 'Phase III'.<sup>369</sup>

The existence of the ambiguities of alliance even in the strictly-controlled environs of post-1952 New Villages is glaringly apparent from the 1955 'Examination of Policy Regarding Phase III Home Guard'. Between January 1954 and May 1955, Home Guards lost 111 weapons plus ammunition to the MCP.<sup>370</sup> Most were taken from phase two Home Guards, who liaised with Malay police forces. The report clearly indicates, however, that phase three Home Guards did *not* prove more resistant than their phase two colleagues. Rather, the three cases where no-one resisted at *all* happened in Phase III New Villages. If, then, the examination states that without police present the MCP was less inclined to '[antagonize] the masses by attacking HG' *and* that MCP policy had changed to 'Making it clear' that those yielding would escape violence, it is obvious that 'a live-and-let-live agreement' was in place.<sup>371</sup> This conclusion is eminently logical in light of the October Resolutions. After all, they ordered that 'subtle [...] underground penetration' should replace indiscriminate force.<sup>372</sup> Of the circa 430 Villages, the 'Examination' detailed, 110 had phase III status in Johore, Perak and Negri Sembilan alone.<sup>373</sup> With Johore and Perak continuously having the most MCP-related incidents, a major local 'live-and-let-live' potential existed.<sup>374</sup>

The live-and-let-live system hinged on the fact that insurgents and the people lived in close proximity.<sup>375</sup> Despite the restrictions due to quite literal

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<sup>369</sup> See Appendix 'A' DEF.Y.37/51, Examination of Policy Regarding Phase III of Home Guard, 7 May 1955, ISEAS, HSL18.10 DEF.Y.52/4, Secret Director of Operations Committee Meeting No. 8/55 to be Held on 16 May 1955, Agenda.

<sup>370</sup> Incidences Involving Loss of Arms by HG Units From Residential Areas 1 Jan 1954-1 May 1955, Appendix 'A' to DEF.Y.37/51 of 7.5.55, ANM, U/7C/1955, Policy -Phase III Home Guard.

<sup>371</sup> Examination of Policy Regarding Phase III Home Guard, DEF.Y.37/51 of 7.5.55, ANM, U/7C/1955, Policy -Phase III Home Guard; The Security of the Special Constabulary, Paper by the Acting Commissioner of Police, 31 March 1954, SF.64/2, ANM, SWEC N.S. Secretariat K/2/54 Police Organisation Special Constables.

<sup>372</sup> Pan-Malayan Review of Security Intelligence No.12 – December 1952, TNA, CO 1022/210.

<sup>373</sup> Corry, *A General Survey*, 16; Examination of Policy Regarding Phase III Home Guard.

<sup>374</sup> Pan-Malayan Review of Security Intelligence No. 10 – October 1952, TNA, CO 1022/210; Personal Estimate G. K. Bourne, 17 July 1954, annex to G. K. Bourne to Field-Marshal Sir John Harding, 17 July 1954, DEF/DO/1 TNA, WO 216/619.

<sup>375</sup> Inward Telegram, General Sir. G. Templer to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 20 August 1952, No. 1000, TNA, CO 1022/56



barriers in the form of New Village or estate gates and a decline in insurgent numbers, they could still access the people.<sup>376</sup> In Indonesia the resistance operated close the Plantation Guard and police posts: it hid among the massive estates' kampongs.<sup>377</sup> Local Min Yuen agents accessed the guards during their tapping cycles due to the part-time nature of their job. If needed, they made resistance at night mean death at dawn. The same, naturally, applied to ordinary inhabitants.<sup>378</sup> Contact was made on a personal level or through friends.<sup>379</sup>

Three categories of people inhabited the live-and-let-live system. Active sympathisers constituted the first category: they facilitated the system and gave it strength. In Banjar, Central Java, a labourer was discovered as a resistance leader preparing an attack after having worked on the plantation for fourteen days.<sup>380</sup> The Goalpara guard stood under influence of the famed *Bambu Runcing* gang; after the Goalpara incident, several had fled to join them or other gangs.<sup>381</sup> Former Sergeant Bakker, stationed on the Tjikoempai Estate, only after the war found out—from a TNI veteran—that the Guard had been infiltrated by the TNI.<sup>382</sup>

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<sup>376</sup> In Johore, 38 Min Yuen cells still operated in 1957: PWS/SEC/17/57 Psychological Warfare Section Monthly Report No. 60 -September 1957, ANM, D.A.Gen/47 Emergency Authorities. Liaison With.

<sup>377</sup> Verslag over de Maand November 1947, M.H. Albeda, 30 November 1947, NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/60; 60 percent of Indonesian tea plantations (200) covered 100 to 750 hectares; individual planters could be responsible for areas where some 800 labourers worked. One planter in Sumatra cycled thirty minutes to see his closest colleague, P. M. Prillwitz, 'Productie-mogelijkheden van de Ondernemingslandbouw in het Binnen de Demarcatielijnen gelegen Gebied van Java en Sumatra', *Economisch Weekblad voor Nederlands-Indië*, 14, 17 January 1948; Plomp, *De Theeonderneming*, 12, 17; T. Spaans-van der Bijl ed., *Tot Betere Tijden? Het Plantersverhaal van Willem van Pelt (1920 – 1959)*, *Rubberplanter op Sumatra* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Veen, 1991), 19-20.

<sup>378</sup> Examination of Policy Regarding Phase III Home Guard, DEF.Y.37/51 of 7.5.55, ANM, U/7C/1955, Policy -Phase III Home Guard; P. Markandan, *The Problem of the New Villages in Malaya* (Singapore: Donald More, 1954), 9.

<sup>379</sup> The Security of the Special Constabulary, Paper by the Acting Commissioner of Police, 31 March 1954, SF.64/2, ANM, SWEC N.S. Secretariat K/2/54 Police Organisation Special Constables. Again, it is likely that what applied to the mostly Malay Special Constable infiltration was tried on the mostly Chinese Home Guard as well.

<sup>380</sup> Plomp, *De Theeonderneming*, 66; Veiligheid Midden-Java Bandjar, W. A. C. Bijvoet to the Office for Political Affairs, the Cabinet of the Army Commander, No. Pr. 1007 4874, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie 2.10.14/3463.

<sup>381</sup> Rapport en Aanvullingen Daarop van I.V.D.-3G.R.G. inzake Muiterij op Goalpara, Bat. I.V.D.-3-G.R.G. Elt. W.M. de Bruyn, 6 August 1948, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/3937; Confidentieel 21, acting Administrator Tjikembang Estate, A. Kramer, to the Nederlandsch Indische Landbouw Maatschappij, N.V., 5 September 1948, NL-HaNA, Federabo 2.20.50/58; see also Maandverslag over de Maand Juni, vertrouwelijk, Rayon Representative ALS Buitenzorg H. J. van Holst Pellekaan, 2 juli 1948, NL-HaNA, Federabo, 2.20.50/60. In fact, both local police and the Goalpara administrator knew they had been part of the Bambu Runcing before, seeking rehabilitation through serving: Proces-verbaal, Onderwerp: Onderzoek inzake Overval op de Thee-onderneming Goalpara, 4 August 1948, Nr. 78/C.JA/48, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/3937. See also: 'Desertie Verhinderd', *De Locomotief*, 10 January 1950, 2.

<sup>382</sup> Correspondence with mr. J. Bakker, May – April 2009.

Another veteran, Dijkstra, received a letter from Saleh, a Guard he had worked with. Like others, Saleh came from the republican side, ‘thinking [he] would have a better life choosing for our side’. He wrote Dijkstra in 1948: the Plantation Guard was now under TNI control.<sup>383</sup> Rapid recruitment brought many ‘undesirable elements’ into the Home Guard and Special Constabulary whose MCP connections ranged ‘from slight to strong’. In Selangor, leaders of at least four New Villages supported the MCP.<sup>384</sup>

The second category were those in the security forces who did not support the insurgents, but needed to survive. As such, security forces and their opponents brokered local ‘non-aggression pacts’.<sup>385</sup> In Indonesia, policemen decided to temporarily disappear as they knew an attack was imminent without warning the local military unit.<sup>386</sup> Security personnel stood aside, in one case, while a mere ten men burn down 64 houses.<sup>387</sup> The Gunung Susuru estate guards were reminded that as they had earlier assumed a double alliance, it was now time to make the transformation complete, live up to their oath and join the resistance.<sup>388</sup> Home Guards could be ‘on the friendliest terms’ with the resistance. In two North Perak areas, MCP documents revealed there ‘was no reason to fear’ indigenous forces.<sup>389</sup> Despite the screening of thousands, also in New Villages, in 1953 communists still collected weapons effortlessly.<sup>390</sup> In

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<sup>383</sup> Correspondence with mr. Gr. F. H. Dijkstra, who was with the third battalion of the Ninth Regiment Infantry, May – April 2009; Interview with mr. Schagen, April 2009, Schagen belonged to the 3-41 Artillery.

<sup>384</sup> Security Forces Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 184 for the Week Ending 12th November 1953; TNA, AIR 22/507; Report on the Kinta Valley Home Guard, 29 October 1954, ISEAS HSL 20.42a.

<sup>385</sup> The Security of the Special Constabulary.

<sup>386</sup> Opgave Overvallen D.P. Posten/Patrouilles, Waarbij Verlies van Wapenen en/of Eigenmachtig Verlaten van Post. Over de Periode van 19/12/1948 – 6/4/1949, annex to Samenwerking Politie en Leger, 9 April 1949, 2/C.2.06, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/654.

<sup>387</sup> Opgave Overvallen D.P. Posten/Patrouilles, Waarbij Verlies van Wapenen en/of Eigenmachtig Verlaten van Post. Over de Periode van 19/12/1948 – 6/4/1949, annex to Samenwerking Politie en Leger, 9 April 1949, 2/C.2.06, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/654.

<sup>388</sup> ‘Desertie Verhinderd’, *De Locomotief*, 10 January 1950, 2.

<sup>389</sup> Security Forces Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 184 for the Week Ending 12th November 1953; TNA, AIR 22/507.

<sup>390</sup> Chronology of Important Events During the Emergency in Malaya for the Period July to December, 1949. Dept of Public Relations, ANM, S.U.K. TR. 62/1950 Dissemination of Facts and Advice During the Present Emergency; W. J. Watts, Chairman DWEC Jelebu, to Executive Secretary, SWEC Negri Sembilan, Ref: (39) in EH 15/54, 13 August 1955; B. W. B. Chapman, Chairman DWEC Kuala Pilah, to Executive Secretary SWEC Negri Sembilan, 2 September 1955, DOKP.51/55-23 BWBC/BMT, both in ANM, Secret U/7C/1955 Policy –Phase III Home Guard; Appendix E.

February 1953 four Chinese Specials in Perak permitted food to be smuggled out of the Tanah Mas New Village. Three non-Chinese Specials, involved with delivering ammunition to the MCP, wore white towels on patrol so they would not be shot at. Shun Sheng remembered he slowly tried ‘to influence them [Chinese guards] and get them on our side’. Both Special Constables (Selangor, October 1951) and Home Guards (Johore, August 1955) at times decided to not repel any MCP attack.<sup>391</sup> Possibly, the winding down of the Emergency’s intensity led to an overall relaxing: in Kota Bharu, Kelantan, Home Guards decided not to always go on duty.<sup>392</sup>

The last category was inhabited by the general population. They stood between security forces on the one hand and the insurgencies on the other. As we have seen, incumbent and incoming forces needed mobilizational violence; acquiescence followed. This explains why one level 350,000 volunteers gave life to ‘Anti-Bandit Month’—prompting the *New York Times* to declare the ‘terrorists’ enjoyed no popular support. On another level, conversely, the MCP could mobilize some 6,000 Chinese and Indian labourers in a two-state strike.<sup>393</sup> For every child manipulated into food smuggling, a Chinese would be coerced, under curfew, to divulge information—or, in Indonesia, someone would report with the ‘Indigenous Volunteers’.<sup>394</sup> Under these circumstances, circa 3,000 rubber tappers from six villages in Pahang protested stringent food control. Although they resented rice rationing, they were goaded on by ‘129 relatives and contacts of terrorists’.<sup>395</sup>

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The Home Guard During the Emergency, D.Inf.7/60(EMERG), ANM, Commerce & Industry Tourist Promotion Section, 95/T.

<sup>391</sup> Interview with Shun Sheng; The Security of the Special Constabulary, Paper by the Acting Commissioner of Police, 31 March 1954, SF.64/2, ANM, SWEC N.S. Secretariat K/2/54 Police Organisation Special Constables; ‘Bandits Raid New Village, Take 16 Guns. Woman Slashed Dead’, *Straits Echo & Times of Malaya*, 14 August 1955, 1.

<sup>392</sup> L. T. Valentino, State Home Guard Officer, to the Chairman, State War Executive Committee, Kelantan, 27 February 1955, Ref: KN/HG/23/54.Pt.II.A, Arkib Negara Caw. Kelantan.

<sup>393</sup> “‘No Popular Support for Terrorists. U.S. Comment on Month’, *The Malay Mail*, 4 March 1950; ‘Fear Starts Rubber Strike’, *New Chronicle*, 14 November 1951, TNA, CO 1022/43.

<sup>394</sup> Monthly Emergency and Political Report 15th May to 15th June, 1954, TNA, FO 371/111855; “‘Operation Question” in Five Malayan Towns’ *Daily Telegraph*, 12 May 1954, TNA, CO 1022/56; Voorstel Org. “Laskar-Rajateenheden”, 28 November 1947, No. 9 G Or 2, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/303.

<sup>395</sup> Security Forces Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 193 for the Week Ending 14 January 1954, TNA, AIR 22/507. In the only village that did not participate Special Branch had recently arrested 14 people.

Whoever wished to live, served two masters.<sup>396</sup> Agricultural Officer Jamaludin bin Aji opined that the people of the kampong lived ‘between the Devil and the deep sea’. ‘Each one is under nervous tension and constant terror’ but with nowhere to go, they were fair game for the bandits who ‘easily poison the mind of the weak’.<sup>397</sup> Indonesian Guards, servants and washer women ‘could only work and survive [...] when they passed messages [...] to the enemy’. They had to ‘cover two bases’.<sup>398</sup> Chong Peng did so: he ‘was spying on both sides’.<sup>399</sup> ‘We are much gratified’, said one TNI officer, ‘to hear from our followers that the Lurah only works for the Netherlanders for outward appearance, but in his heart he is on the side of the Republic’.<sup>400</sup> Close to the transfer of sovereignty, such dual administrative structure had become commonplace.<sup>401</sup> Unsurprisingly, the Intelligence and Safety Group in West Java complained that even the barber knew about troop locations in his area.<sup>402</sup>

### *Conclusion*

In an August 1947 report, the Governmental Commissar for Administrative Affairs for Central Java touched upon the very substance of the past chapter. In a rare display of perhaps frankness, he wrote that:

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<sup>396</sup> Interview with Chan Suy Sang.

<sup>397</sup> Jamaludin bin Aji, Agricultural Officer, to State Agricultural Officer, 6 May 1949, ANM, Pahang No.123-1949 Bandit Terrorism in Temerloh District.

<sup>398</sup> Correspondence with Gr. F. H. Dijkstra, who was with the third battalion of the Ninth Regiment Infantry, May – April 2009.

<sup>399</sup> ‘New Villagers of Malaya’. Struggle for Loyalty of Chinese Squatters. Chong Peng’s Story’, *The Scotsman*, 11 November 1952, CO 1022/56.

<sup>400</sup> TNI Unit Masyarakat Daerah XXIII Command I, Markas Widjakusuma, Captain Pohan to Lurah Doelgani Dassa Kemasangading, 6 March 1948, ANRI, RA.24. Kementerian/1104. See also: Kort Verslag van het Bezoek door Ondergetekende (Van Maarseveen) gebracht aan Indonesië van 20-29 Juni 1949, *NIB* 19, 192.

<sup>401</sup> Kort Verslag van het Bezoek door Ondergetekende (Van Maarseveen) gebracht aan Indonesië van 20-29 Juni 1949, *NIB* 19, 192.

<sup>402</sup> Majoor D. C. de Vries to Spoor, 17 February 1948, No.: G/WR/13/48, NL-HaNA, Defensie/Strijdkrachten Ned.-Indië 2.13.132/392.

The stance of the people cannot be called hostile anywhere; [their] attitude, which oscillates from great co-operation to fearfully holding back, is closely connected to the safety, that Dutch authority can provide locally.

Peoples' attitudes, he continued, '[were] for a large part determined by what happens in front of their eyes'. As this chapter has shown, this interpretation was on point. On an observable level, people indeed responded positively to being protected. Where the British authorities had enough control to keep insurgents away or establish the first signs of implementing a concerted effort to establish control, the Malayan Chinese Association had ample room to insert itself into Chinese lives that in one fell swoop were captured in New Villages. The same applied initially to the Partai Rakyat Pasundan's campaign. In the early stages of the Indonesian war for Independence, Suriakartalegawa and others saw the number of members of his party rise rather quickly, allowing him to claim that a Sundanese polity may be feasible.

A similar nexus between control and support animated the pre-1952 Malayan Communist Party and its vanguard cells, the Min Yuen. As we have seen, various political organisations worked with the MCP and later its camps served as sites to educate the people. The Min Yuen meanwhile continued to attempt and transform various organizations into allies of the MCP. Where the Republic's power was felt most keenly, in Central Java, it installed the *Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat* and built a functioning government around it while trying to establish the monopoly on violence. Both the MCP and the Republic attempted—like the Dutch and the British—to earn state legitimacy in one form or another.

The Commissar continued. 'Specifically in the border areas the enemy tries to move the desa population into evacuation through threatening [them] with arson and rampok'. This all-important observation has been another tenet of this chapter's argument. However, contrary to the report's dichotomy between the Dutch—and the British—and 'the enemy', the argument has shown that all parties to the conflict failed spectacularly where their power stood less

unchallenged. Both the MCP's Mass Movement and the Republican *Kommando (Onder) Distrik Militer* cells failed to permanently make participants out of bystanders. Instead, they employed violence to force participation. In turn, the British and the Dutch—with more than tacit approval of their indigenous allies—tried to outbid their rivals in the extremely coercive construction of friends and foes. At best, they could undermine other power brokers' chances on successful engendering of support.

Only in relation to the Pasundan did Republican violence bear fruit, it seems. The Commissar's report accounted for this, as well: 'the intellectuals [...] are influenced by political considerations'. They wish to work with the incumbent powers, 'but [they] are in doubt about the end'. This dynamic co-explains the trajectories of the MCA and the Pasundan. Whereas the Communist insurrection collapsed and the MCA flourished despite it not canvassing all Chinese sympathies, the *Pasundan's* stature declined in tandem with the receding presence of the Dutch. The *Pasundan's* leaders and their constituencies indeed feared 'the return of the terrorizing methods of the groups that now play such a leading in the Republic'.<sup>403</sup>

To 'ordinary' people—surrounded by guns, gates and fences—the situation looked distinctly less black and white. Certainly, as the case of the *Darul Islam* movement showed, those highly motivated could become yet another contender in the race for independence. Others, among them many women, chose to put the insecurities of the time to good use and assert themselves, either for or against the colonial rulers. By and large, however, the people in the *desas*, *kampongs* and New Villages were forced to cooperate with whom they had in front of them at that moment. The search for neutrality translated into the live-and-let-live system. The people kept their ears open and their heads down to not invite the violent reflexes of colonial and anti-colonial forces alike. Amidst the ruins of war, peasants wanted little to do with politics. One observer said it well: 'the *desa*

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<sup>403</sup> Politieke Toestand van de Bevrijde Gebieden over de Maand Augustus 1947, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering, 2.10.14/4989.

people want nothing more than to be left alone, cultivate their sawah[s], marry [and] have children'.<sup>404</sup>

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<sup>404</sup> Verslag van Bevindingen Inzake het Verblijf van de Amerikaanse Waarnemers te Semarang Gedurende 2, 3, 4 en 5 October, 7 October 1947, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie Ned.-Ind. Regering 2.10.14/4989.

## VI

### Conclusion

Histories of decolonization usually become chronological and linear affairs when caught between two bookends. For long as enough historical distance has existed, treatises on the transformation of the Netherlands East Indies into Indonesia between 1945 and 1950 more often than not strung together the conflict's various (often political) watersheds. As such they end with the final denouement of the Dutch Empire in the East: the Round Table Conference in The Hague in 1949.<sup>1</sup> The conference, which lasted more than two months in 1949, marked the official transfer of power and with it, the end to an inevitable process that had been set in motion prior to 1945.<sup>2</sup> Dutch military operations had failed and the subsequent military stalemate allowed *diplomasi* to prevail.<sup>3</sup>

The majority of the literature on the Malayan Emergency likewise displays a certain rigidity. Broadly speaking, either analyses revolve around the even-handed manner in which the British approached both decolonization and counterinsurgency or they underline the various ways in which the British were 'nasty, not nice'.<sup>4</sup> All research on the Emergency (sometimes grudgingly) finds common ground, however, in the assertion that, regardless of British brutality, the methods they employed were successful. They point to the separation of insurgents from their base of support, the people. '[A]n archipelago of "white areas" [...] gradually extended across the peninsula' from 1953 onwards.<sup>5</sup> With the Malayan Communist Party marginalized after 1955, the Malayan Emergency slowly gave rise to a British 'Counter-Insurgency Myth' that became entrenched

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<sup>1</sup> Van den Doel, *Afscheid van Indië*, 331-380.

<sup>2</sup> For the view that Asian and African decolonization was not a matter of a sudden shock but had roots in pre-World War Two roots, see: Els Bogaerts and Remco Raben, 'Beyond Empire and Nation', in Els Bogaerts and Remco Raben, eds., *Beyond Empire and Nation: Decolonizing Societies in Africa and Asia, 1930s-1970s* (Leiden: KITLV, 2012), 7-21.

<sup>3</sup> Groen, *Marsroutes en Dwaalsporen*, 231-232; Anthony Reid, *The Indonesian National Revolution 1945-1990* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1974), 149-172.

<sup>4</sup> French, 'Nasty Not Nice'; Christopher Hale, *Massacre in Malaya: Exposing Britain's My Lai* (Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2013).

<sup>5</sup> Hale, *Massacre in Malaya*, 404.



in subsequent limited but protracted wars.<sup>6</sup> The myth held that in Malaya the British had unlocked the secret to winning the hearts and minds, or the acquiescence, of the people in which insurgents had ensconced themselves. Within the emerging narratives that leaned towards watershed moments, the big men who engineered them fit perfectly.<sup>7</sup> Together they created an enduring historical record that overshadowed local agency. Instead, agency was disassociated from the local altogether. One commentator could therefore conclude that ‘The role of agency, namely the impact of General Sir Gerald Templer, also needs to be accounted for’.<sup>8</sup>

The task this thesis has set itself was to prise out the various instances of *local* agency where they could be found. In attacking the reductionist streak that has marred the history of decolonization and counterinsurgency and in engaging critically ‘the language of insurgency’, my research has tried to un-flatten, so to speak, ‘the varied histories, motivations, and makeup of individual groups that challenged the legitimacy and policies’ of power-brokers more influential than they.<sup>9</sup> Local communities, like the Chinese in both Indonesia and Malaysia, but also regular Indonesians, who had fallen by the wayside as minor, subaltern elements, have been brought back unto the central stage where possible.

It is one thing to prioritize local agency, but demonstrating it poses considerable evidentiary and methodological challenges. Local agency, foremost, does not obviously feature strongly in the colonial archives. Even when reports do mention individuals, their motivations are passed over or described monolithically. Local agency has furthermore been eclipsed in historical analyses that sought to explain what bound colonizer and subjugated communities together. The introductory chapter—from a multi-empire perspective—therefore

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<sup>6</sup> Andrew Mumford, *The Counter-Insurgency Myth: The British Experience of Irregular Warfare* (London: Routledge, 2012), 25.

<sup>7</sup> Rommel Curaming, ‘Towards Reinventing Indonesian Nationalist Historiography’, *Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia*, 3 (2003), <http://kyotoreview.org/issue-3-nations-and-stories/an-introduction-to-indonesian-historiography/>. Last visited on 07-08-2015; De Moor, *Generaal Spoor*; Salim Said, *Genesis of Power: General Sudirman and the Indonesian Military in Politics, 1945-49* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1991).

<sup>8</sup> Mumford, *The Counter-Insurgency Myth*, 25.

<sup>9</sup> Gurman, ‘Introduction’, 7.

set out to identify and peel away the categories that have been employed to explain these linkages. Co-operation as an element to foster interactions was dispensed with. Early imperial contacts with indigenous populations may have offered communication and brokering on a level close to parity, but as imperial interests became more invasive and invested, asymmetry soon characterized colonial networks.

I likewise dismissed loyalty. Even though colonial and indigenous officials of various plumage continuously tried to foster loyalty, pursuing it as a binding factor from an analytical point of view seems fruitless. The reason is that it presupposes an almost unchallenged fealty of local communities in relation to the agents of the imperial states that lorded over them *despite* the almost obsessive search for loyalty by colonial policy makers. In terms of the security forces, loyalty—and its expression in the ‘martial races’ narrative—would suggest that troops would continue to serve the colonial state no matter what it asked of the local enforcers. In engaging with what animated various indigenous security forces across empires, notably the *Askari*, chapter one showed that what could be construed as loyalty was, in fact, something different. Local elites and individuals who served were not transformed into unquestioning agents of the state. As the thesis has shown through the Ambonese, for example, supposedly loyal troops adopted the state’s accoutrements without giving up their own interests.

Finally, the chapter identified alliance-formation as the linking agent that promised to provide the most room for agency. Alliance-formation circumvents issues such as intention and motivation attached to local agency-measuring: as they are formed, become unstable or break, alliances at least make visible the behavioural patterns accessible to those the colonial report writers often overlooked. Furthermore, unlike loyalty, alliance-formation gives weight to the influence that contexts loaded with violence, destitution, famine and overall uncertainty exerted on people’s lives and how these contexts influenced people’s choices. Another advantage of alliance-formation, although as an ordering principle ‘alliance’ sounds more formal than the realities of decolonization

allowed, is that it undercuts false, non-fluent dichotomies—so long espoused by colonial studies—like colonizer and colonized or ruler and ruled. In our context, this meant that alliance-formation brought out the fact that the ruthless pacification was not necessarily categories befitting of the Dutch, for example.<sup>10</sup>

To further underline the fact that this research has departed from adopting often deterministic approaches that characterized earlier histories—and through borrowing from the political sciences—I have re-framed communities from monolithic entities into organisms with their own preferences, empathies and networks of kin- and friendships.

While alliance-formation figured as the analytical benchmark to tease out local decision-making, a comparative framework functioned to underline the various processes that interspersed our inquiries across empires. A comparative framework made eminent sense. First, matching decolonization in the Netherlands East Indies to decolonization in British Malaysia has underscored that although trajectories differed across Southeast Asia, the context in which the transformations took place shared the same processes. Second, the comparison has yielded that even where the insurgents may have been beaten (in Malaysia), both colonial agents *and* their opponents structurally and continuously relied heavily on bloodshed to garner support for the various causes they expounded. ‘Hearts and Minds’ or ‘loyalty’, therefore, did not exist even where both practitioners and, later, historians, wished to see it. Such a result is important because it once more underlines that ultimately it mattered little that the British could approach the Emergency in a more balanced fashion than the Dutch did in their attempts to undermine the Republic Indonesia. During the revolutions, violence remained an all-important tool to implement zero sum games geared to mobilize the people regardless of their personal preferences.

The comparative framework has benefited this research in one more important respect. As said, the nature of the archival material I had at my disposal—although abundant—made instances of indigenous agency difficult to

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<sup>10</sup> For the rule of colonial difference, see Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 14-34.

detect. The comparative perspective helped to overcome this challenge. As similar processes animated divergent paths to independence chosen by different actors, analyses could be completed by combining limited proof from both sets of source materials into plausible explanations. An added dividend was that comparing allowed for micro-histories across Malaysia and Indonesia to be woven into larger narratives.

The central question this thesis has tried to answer revolved around the way in which local elites, communities and individuals navigated the powerful currents of decolonization through making and breaking alliances. Dispensing with fixed notions of loyalty, revolutionary fervours and even ideologies, the question was informed by the notion that survival determined most peoples' behaviour. The inquiry fell into three major components that all focussed on how the decisions of locals from various social and political strata interacted with facts created by the colonial authorities in their attempts to steer the course of decolonization.

The first component centred on how colonial elites rose from both earlier, pre-World War Two political-cultural activities and the ashes of the Japanese occupation. The activities Partai Rakyat Pasundan (PRP) and the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) served to illustrate how alliance-formation proved to be a process by which both parties—indigenous and foreign—had to display concessionary behaviour. Through an analysis of how the PRP and the MCA sought and found influence with the colonial authorities, the comparison showed that both parties could work together with the colonial authorities as long as interests dove-tailed. However, alliances became strained when fortunes of war changed or certain boundaries were transgressed. With the Republic Indonesia gaining considerable strength in 1948, for example, *Negara Pasundan's* leaders had to creep closer to the Republic to enhance its chances of survival. Elite alliance-formation proved highly unstable; constant renegotiation was paramount.

The second case study already brought more local agency into view with its focus on indigenous security forces. It showed how self-appointed leaders claimed and familiarized themselves with the trappings of (local) power. By shifting the analytical gaze away from the colonial authorities and unto its manpower issues—the need for indigenous men to restore ‘peace and order’—I argued that for local elites had to gather grass-roots support to truly manoeuvre themselves into a position of power with the colonial authorities. To do so, they had to become power brokers in their own right, injecting themselves between their constituencies and the colonial policy makers—and attracting both. Comparisons yielded that in this regard support from the colonial authorities proved vital. Whereas the Dutch never allowed the Pasundan to claim spokespersonship for the ten million Sundanese across Java, the MCA was able to make the Chinese visible to the British and the Sultans.

The second half of the thesis, roughly speaking, approaches the realities of the common people, or, in more colonial parlance, the ‘masses’. The last two chapters tried to disaggregate those ‘masses’ and show the agency of various groups. In doing so, the cases of Malaya and Indië illustrate how violent contexts shaped specific repertoires of conduct. The preponderance of indigenous men and women in the security forces had several consequences for our inquiries into local actors. Through mapping out petitioning and the demand for rewards, such as citizenship, I have analysed how colonial authorities incurred a debt of honour that indigenous enforces came to collect. Moreover, the focus on serving, revealed that not loyalty to a certain cause made identities—Sundanese, Chinese—salient, but that it was the insurgents’ myriad violent reactions that did so. Men who joined indigenous security forces did so for various reasons that resonated with their age, social status and wishes for social advancement and adventure. Between the training they received—to instil loyalty—and their actual behaviour, however, gaped a chasm. Recruits in the various security units opened registers for violence for reasons that did not stroke at all with the loyalty the state expected or the state’s military and political objectives. Serving in security forces

offered many opportunities into chasing self-serving agendas. As the analysis of the Plantation Guard further showed, any alliances forged between the colonial authorities and their troops was merely an expression of temporarily converging interests: as soon as resistance fighters proved too powerful, the Plantation Guard—and police forces—deserted in droves.

The final chapter added yet another layer to the population's repertoires of behaviour. I have traced the ways in which various individuals and groups could use the uncertainties of decolonization to attain self-assertion and self-preservation. They did so even though various parties demanded they declare themselves. By comparing attempts to garner peoples' support by the *Min Yuen*, the Military District Commandos, the MCA and the PRP/*Negara Pasundan*, the chapter brought out yet more starkly that peoples' decisions and actions have to be seen as reactions to pervasive aggression and violence; particularly where rivalries intensified the battle for contested territory. Such an outlook certainly explains the sudden surge in Sundanese-ness in Krawang and the activation of many Chinese under the aegis of the *Pao An Tui*.

Amidst the chaos and violence, however, people still pursued their own goals through the live-and-live system. This system, named by the British was implemented by people in an attempt to mitigate the pressures brought to bear upon them. I have used this system to explain how three categories of people tried to further their interests; interests revolving around self-assertion and self-preservation. The first group, supporters (and part) of the insurgency, enforced the system and gave it strength. Here the Negara Islam Indonesia should be placed: a coalition of highly motivated groups led by men like Kartosuwiryo who took advantage of the chaos and lawlessness to forge alternative paths to independence.

The second category we find a more passive group of actors: those who served in the security forces, but needed to survive. Together with their opposites in the insurgents' forces, indigenous police officers, Plantation Guards, Home Guards and Special Constables agreed on non-aggression pacts to safeguard

mutual survival. Those who stood between the security forces and the insurgents—the labourers, peasants and hawkers—constituted the final section of the live-and-live-system. Being largely a-political, or at least war-weary yet the centre of attention, they catered two sides. When the insurgents came, they gave food and intelligence; when state-owned troops presented themselves, they showed the same hospitality.

The major contribution of this study lies with the fact that it has given due weight to the complexities of decolonization and to the choices, behaviours and agency of local actors. It has been able to do so by stepping away from big men and their big events and utilizing an analytical approach that combined alliance-formation, microhistories and comparison as explanatory and organizing principles, respectively. By relocating indigenous agency, I have shown that various groups, communities and individuals had their own interests that were mostly informed by the need for security and safety and, sometimes, ideas that required immediate action. In many cases, participating in violence as a party to the conflicts provided a means to social advancement or becoming a power-broker, be it politically, socially, for a limited time or, in the case of the Malayan Chinese Association, for a period that crossed over into post-independence. In other cases, interests were much more limited and risk-averse; they revolved around survival. Where survival was key, individuals chose the way of least resistance and tried to remain non-participants by acquiescing to whatever power-broker asked them to do so. Whatever interests local communities, individuals or political parties pursued, however, resulted in alliances; alliances that were always temporary and volatile.

The above may not sound too surprising, but this study has been an attempt to turn around the perspective that normally focusses on the powerful. Without the attempt this research has undertaken, the fortunes of the PRP/Negara Pasundan, for example, would not have become known. The federalization of Indonesia was dominated by the large federal states and their

actions in the Federal Consultation Assembly and this is reflected by the historiography; the Pasundan figures only as a footnote.

Furthermore, the comparison has shown that the Malayan Emergency and the Indonesian war for independence were not so different, after all—even though in Indonesia the oppressor was roundly defeated, whereas in Malaysia the anti-colonial MCP was. Both in Malaysia and Indonesia, the threat of violence turned out to be the motivational force, rather than hearts and minds programs. This does not mean, however, that I underwrite studies that only see violence. Even after 1952, the Malayan Communist Party could, where it was still strong—for example in Perak and Johore—challenge the order of the New Villages and find people to turn to for assistance.

The Malayan Chinese Association and the Partai Rakyat Pasundan/Negara Pasundan trajectories, despite glaring differences, also showed many congruities. Both were beset by issues related to a lack of true grass-roots support; they could not mitigate the continued violent pressure upon their constituencies, that were left out in the cold as a consequence. Concerning these two local organisations, together with the case studies on the *Pao An Tui* and other security forces, I have shown that no narrative is complete without giving countenance to active roles of local interests within the extremely violence pacification programmes deployed by colonial authorities too keen to direct the course of decolonization.

### *Limitations*

Although this project has tried to not paint entire communities with the same brush, I was forced to apply reduction myself. Reductions are inevitable; without them, arguments cannot be developed. What follows are some of the reductions I made.

The *Negara Pasundan* was by no means the only Indonesian party that made overtures towards the Republic. The Gathering for Federal Consultation (GFC) that has only figured minimally in the preceding chapters could not agree on many things according to one Dutch memorandum, but after the second Police Action this body's many members reached 'complete agreement' one major



point: that ‘the Government of the Republic must be restored’.<sup>11</sup> Admittedly, the Indian communities are absent. Indians in Medan, Indonesia, displayed behaviour that was based on motivations that likewise prompted Chinese decisions in Medan: to escape the violence they chose between self-imposed exile or declaring support for the Republic.<sup>12</sup> In Malaya, a Tamil named Veerasenan was killed with Chinese bandits; he had been president of the Singapore Federation of Trade Unions that went underground in May 1948.<sup>13</sup> In various places in the thesis, the two main Chinese groups have been mentioned but the distinction disappeared again to make the point that in the eyes of many all Chinese were suspect. Through the focus on the *Pao An Tui* and the *Hua Ch’iao Chung Hui* that sponsored these security forces, other Chinese organisations have been neglected. In Medan alone, tens of Chinese organisations existed—either under the HCCH or autonomously—such as the *Chung Kuo Min Tju Tong Min* (Democratic League), the *Chin Nen Thoan* youth movement, the *Fu Nu Hwee* women’s movement and many others.<sup>14</sup>

The Kuomintang similarly disappeared from the narrative after the point was made that the British viewed China with suspicion. Its role was not entirely played out, however: the British ban had not been complete. The KMT continued to fulminate against the communists for which some members paid the ultimate price.<sup>15</sup> When the *Malay Mail* in 1949 dramatically published an internal document MCP that detailed its self-proclaimed defeat, the communists partially attributed their failed insurrection to not crushing KMT reactionaries.<sup>16</sup> In 1957 the mere mentioning of the Kuomintang still caused consternation. When Tunku Rahman, head of the United Malays National Organisation (MCA’s senior partner

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<sup>11</sup> Memordandum, no date, NL-HaNA, Spoor 2.21.036.01/43.

<sup>12</sup> Kort Overzicht van de Britsch-Indisch Gemeenschap in Medan, Hoofd Nefis B.K. Medan, 23 June 1947, Nefis en CMI 2.10.62/1687.

<sup>13</sup> Weekly Situation Report 29<sup>th</sup> April – 5<sup>th</sup> May, 1949, No. 14, TNA, CO 717/178/4.

<sup>14</sup> Chinese Organisaties in Noord-Sumatra, March 1949, No. 9/A, NL-HaNA, Nefis en CMI 2.10.62/1687.

<sup>15</sup> “‘Red Visit Will Upset Briggs’ Plan”, *Straits Echo & Times*, 15 March 1951, 1; ‘Five Murders in One Day in Rengam. H.E. Promulgates Additional Regulations. Indians Suggest Government Based on Popular Vote’, *The Sunday Mail*, 27 June 1948, 1.

<sup>16</sup> ‘Communist Admission of Defeat. Executives “Disheartened”, says Captured Document. “Fighting Reduced to Hopelessness”’, *The Malay Mail*, 4 March 1949, 1-2.

in the Alliance) claimed the association had been infiltrated by KMT elements, the MCA was up in arms. 'At this state of our progress towards independence', wrote one member, 'we cannot [...] make an exhibition of the lack of liaison between heads of the three parties of the Alliance'.<sup>17</sup>

Even if they did not subscribe to the KMT, many Chinese did not look to the MCA for support, either. Where the Emergency was less palpable, Chinese had no need for the MCA. In Kuala Lumpur, the influence of the Assembly Hall and the 'old-fashioned urban guilds' was not overshadowed by the MCA. The Chinese consul-general urged the Assembly Hall to financially support squatters, 'thus trespassing on the preserve of the MCA'. *Sinkeh* Chinese distrusted the MCA; some claimed that Tan Cheng Lock 'wants us to give up sharks' fins, bird nests, and suckling pigs' to forcefully impose Malayanization.<sup>18</sup> The fact that some MCA officials were caught actively supporting the MCP did not help the association.<sup>19</sup>

### *The Way Forward*

My thesis was not written in a vacuum. The shift in focus it propagates and has implemented belongs a greater, recent current in colonial and decolonization studies. This current engages with the uncritical belief in hearts and minds approaches (not in the least by its practitioners). Because of that angle, this current also, but more indirectly, criticises the turn to violent in colonial studies that dictates that contacts between colonizer and colonized were, by definition, expressions of micro or macro aggressions. Violence, according to the latter reading, was applied constantly and with equal measure. The reconfiguration of perspectives—bringing in local elites—has shown that was not the case.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> T. H. Tan to Tan Cheng Lock, 6 July 1957, P.522/57/T/Z, ISEAS, TCL 3.326.

<sup>18</sup> Monthly Review of Chinese Affairs June 1949; Monthly Review of Chinese Affairs May 1949, both in TNA, CO 717/182/4.

<sup>19</sup> The Security Forces Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 158 for the Week Ending 14<sup>th</sup> May 1953, TNA, AIR 22/507; Weekly Situation Report, 8<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> July 1949, No. 24, TNA, CO 717/178/4.

<sup>20</sup> Robinson, in his 'Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism' already made this point in 1972, but the violent turn has glossed over the role of the indigenous.

As I have shown extensively, both insurgent and incumbent power brokers could find people to support them one way or the other. This means that studies that continue to approach decolonization solely through the eyes of politicians, generals or planters, only tell half the story, or at least apply reductionism. A perspective that incorporates all voices—top and bottom; local and colonial—will certainly give justice to the complexities on the ground. To begin with, by adding as much local voices to those of the Dutch, we can begin to understand how ‘the experiences of the Dutch and Indonesians cannot be compartmentalized in a watertight fashion’. The horrors of the Japanese occupation, for example, were shared horrors to a large extent, but ‘We do not seem to realize this’.<sup>21</sup>

Moreover, if the voices of local, non-elite communities or individuals are elevated to the same footing as those of the elites, the idea that decolonization was a phenomenon encompassing continuities that connected the pre and post Second World War periods, will gain in strength. We know already about the various embryonic nationalist movements in Indonesia, Malaysia and elsewhere, but there is much to learn about the subaltern voices of labourers or rubber tappers who did not adhere to a defined political program of emancipation. They certainly had ways of showing their discontent, however. Before World War Two, plantations forced the labourers into the behavioural patterns acceptable to the colonial state.<sup>22</sup> Labourers aired their grievances at the same sites. Arson of valuable crops, strikes or petitioning against hitting by overseers were common, as was their violent repression.<sup>23</sup> Despite the planters’ array of means to peer into indigenous society, they were never fully successful, leaving a grey area where reservoirs of grievances built up in the same men and women who worked on the estates. During the War for Independence, planters again operated within this grey area. Some employed a ‘trusted man’ who would, in case of trouble, negotiate deals with local resistance members whom he knew. The confidant may

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<sup>21</sup> Remco Raben, ‘De Knopen van de Bevrijding’, *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 13 August 2015, 21.

<sup>22</sup> Frakking, ‘The Plantation as Counterinsurgency Tool’, 60.

<sup>23</sup> Marieke Bloembergen, *De Geschiedenis van de Politie in Nederlands-Indië: Uit Zorg en Angst* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2009), 110-111, 117; *Indisch Verslag. II. Statistisch Jaaroverzicht van Nederlands-Indië over het Jaar 1931* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1932), 187, 216.

actually have been part of the very resistance group he dealt with for the planter.<sup>24</sup>

Conversely, decolonization did not stop with independence. '[D]ecolonization has driven a wedge between groups that made up one colonial past', said one Dutch historian.<sup>25</sup> The MCA saw a period of decline after in the 1960s and beyond, but little is known about others who had thrown in their lot with the colonial authorities.<sup>26</sup> In Indonesia, veterans of the wars of independence receive a state pension for their services and two of them I spoke with told me they had forgiven those who collaborated with the Dutch—'*Belanda hitam*' (Black Dutch)—long ago.<sup>27</sup> In 1949, however, an instruction from the 'Military Government Resort Semarang/Pati' stated that collaborators who now offered themselves to the Republican government had done 'much harm'. 'Traitors or not' 'we must be able to use their energy to bring a blow to the Dutch and other traitors who entirely won't cooperate with us'. 'We shall decide afterwards', the instruction ominously concluded, 'which punishment we will give [...] in due time for their treason'.<sup>28</sup> This statement alone shows clearly the direction of future research.

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<sup>24</sup> Plomp, *De Theeonderneming*, 61-63.

<sup>25</sup> Raben, 'De Knopen van de Bevrijding', 20.

<sup>26</sup> Koon, *Chinese Politics*, 251-261.

<sup>27</sup> Interview with Pak Malyo Sardjono and Pak Sunaryo Gun Wirali, Yogyakarta, 7 Augustus 2015.

<sup>28</sup> TNI Military Government of the Resort Semarang/Pati, Representation of the Resort Pati, 6 September 1949, Instruction 3/XIII/SUPM/49, annex to Republican Instruction with Regard to Officials, 31 October 1949, No. 2307, A. Wempe to the Chairman of the Local Joint Committee, NL-HaNA, Alg. Secretarie 2.10.14/4992.

## **Abbreviations**

AHN	Achter het Nieuws
ANRI	Arsib Nasional Republik Indonesia
ANM	Arkib Negara Malaya
AMCJA	All-Malaya Council for Joint Action
ASU	Area Security Units
ALS	Algemeen Landbouwsyndicaat
BKR	Badan Keamanan Rakyat
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CHTH	Chung Hua Tsung Hui
CLC	Communities Liaison Committee
CO	Colonial Office
DIS	Directorate for Inland Security
DO	District Officer
DP	Daerah Politie
DWEC	District War Executive Committee
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FEDERABO	Federatie van Verenigingen van Bergcultuurondernemingen in Indonesië
FRUS	Foreign Relations of the United States
HAMOT	Hare Majesteits Ongeregelde Troepen
HG	Home Guard
HSL	H. S. Lee Papers
HCCH	Hua Ch'iao Chung Hui
IMP	Independece Malaya Party
ISEAS	Institute of South East Asian Studies
ISPA	Safety Battalions and Police Affairs
IWMSA	Imperial War Museum Sound Archives
KMS	Kesatuan Melayu Singapura
KL	Koninklijke Landmacht

KMT	Kuomintang
KNIL	Koninklijk Nederlands-Indisch Leger
K(O)DM	Kommando (Onder) Distrik Militer ( <sup>2</sup> = plural)
Masyumi	Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia
MPAJA	Malayan Peoples' Anti-Japanese Army
MCA	Malayan Chinese Association
MCP	Malayan Communist Party
MDU	Malayan Democratic Union
MNLA	Malayan National Liberation Army
MRLA	Malayan Races Liberation Army
NAM	National Army Museum
NIB	Officiële Bescheiden van de Nederlands-Indische Betrekkingen
NL-HaNA	Nederlands National Archief
PAT	Pao An Tui
PG	Plantation Guard
PNI	Partai Nasional Indonesia
PRP	Partai Rakyat Pasundan
RAPWI	Recovery of Allied Prisoners of War and Internees
RUSI	Republic of the United States of Indonesia
SB	Safety Battalion
SC	Special Constable
SEP	Surrendered Enemy Personnel
SCBA	Straits Chinese British Association
SWEC	State War Exucitve Committee
TCL	Tan Cheng Lock Papers
TNA	The National Archives
TNI	Tentara Nasional Indonesia
UMNO	United Malays National Organisation
USI	United States of Indonesia
VOC	Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie

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