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Universiteit Leiden



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Title: The breach in the dike : regime change and the standardization of public primary-school teacher training in Indonesia, 1893-1969

Date: 2012-05-03

**The Breach in the Dike:
Regime change and the standardization of public primary-school teacher training
in Indonesia (1893-1969)**

Proefschrift
ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof. mr. P.F. van der Heijden
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
ter verdedigen op 3 mei 2012
klokke 13.45

door

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geboren te Baradatu, Indonesië

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Acknowledgements

This work has been completed thanks to the generosity and help of numerous people and institutions. I would like to thank the History Department of Leiden University and the Gratama Foundation (both in The Netherlands), Yayasan Arsari Djojohadikusumo and *Daily Kompas* (both in Indonesia), and The United States-Indonesia Society, USINDO (in Washington DC, US) for the financial sponsorships they have provided during my research stays and writing process in The Netherlands, Indonesia and the United States. These financial sponsorships have also enabled me to participate in conferences.

My deep thanks go to all informants of this research: former students of the *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool* (HIK) of Yogyakarta, Bandung and Bukittinggi during the 1930s and early 1940s; former students of the *Sekolah Guru A* (SGA) of Yogyakarta and Jakarta in the early 1950s; and former students of the *Sekolah Guru B Putri* (SGB-P) at Ungaran, Central Java from the late 1950s to early 1960s. These people are from three Indonesian generations who, despite their age, were gladly willing to share their schooling experiences. My thanks go to the former Indonesian students who had studied in the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries in the early 1960s. I would like to thank Prof. Robert Murray Thomas of Los Osos, California, who told me about his teaching experiences at IKIP Bandung from 1957 to the early 1960s and let me take a look at a number of sources at his disposal.

My thanks go to H. Niemeijer (then Leiden University), Bambang Purwanto of Gadjah Mada University and Eric Tagliacozzo of Cornell University, who have been so helpful in various ways during my individual process of being a historian. Thanks also to Muridan S. Widjojo of Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI), Didi Kwartanada of the Nabil Institute and Pujo Semedi of the Anthropology Department Gadjah Mada University for their moral support and the challenges of thoughts. My gratitude goes to (the late) Thera Wijzenbeek who read and gave me feedback on the Introduction and Chapter 4. Thanks also to Esther Zwinkels of Leiden University, Koko Sudharmoko of Andalas University and Bob Alfebrian of Bung Hatta University for accompanying me during my research journeys to Padang, Padangpanjang and Bukittinggi, all in West Sumatra. I thank Rina and Aryan Ali of the History Department, Gadjah Mada University, for helping me transcribe interviews. A special thank goes to Ms Idelle Nissila of the Ford Foundation in New York City who provided me with kind assistance in selecting the Foundation archives. Thanks to my officemate, Monique Erkelens, for the Dutch translation of my abstract and to Marijke van Wissen-Staden of Leiden University who is always helpful. My gratitude is for all my friends in Indonesia, the Netherlands and the US who have been so attentive to my work – and its progress.

Leiden tradition does not allow me to include my promoter in the addressee list of acknowledgments. But here I would like to thank Prof. Leonard Blussé personally. Prof. Blussé showed me the light in the dark tunnel I was only beginning to walk in some five years ago. He has continued to show me the lighthouse to which I should be headed in the turbulent seas I was sailing. Thanks!

My wife, Cithra Orisinilandari, and our little princess, Kiara Larasati Amstyola, have always been living day after day so patiently and courageously while I was away. My thanks and love to both of you! I especially thank my mother for her enduring love, prayers and support. Thanks to all my

brothers, sisters, cousins, uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces and all members of extended families for whom a Javanese man is always meant to be!

My father, Markus Sumedi (b. 1928, d. 2008), was a very special person for me. When we were kids, he often brought us second-hand children's storybooks and magazines whenever he came back from trips. Two of the storybooks I never forget. The first was about Grand Duchess Anastasia of Russia, the daughter of Tsar Nicolas II, who was believed to have escaped safely from the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. The second book was about a boy who survives a plane crash in East Siberia in winter time. Being the only survivor, this little boy manages to construct a small boat out of the wreckage of the aircraft! When the summer comes and the snows melt, he boards the boat and sails along the coastline of the East Siberian Sea until he finally finds a village. He is saved! Both these are fictional stories and I do not know whether the names, places and times cited are correct. But the impact of the stories on me was extraordinary; they led my imagination to the world outside the village we lived. Ever since then I had wanted to explore and travel around other countries – to Russia and Germany (but scholarships finally brought me to Holland)! It was my father who changed my world view with the second-hand books and magazines he brought home, by the stories he always told us before we went to bed and by his notable reading habit despite very limited reading material and despite the fact that he had never attended any education higher than the *Volkschool*. I dedicate this work to my father!

The following people were not directly related to this work, but nevertheless I would express my gratitude as they have attracted my interests to Indonesian educational issues: Fr YB Mangunwijaya (b. 1929, d. 1999); Prof. Dr Mochtar Buchori (b. 1926, d. 2011). *Romo* Mangunwijaya has been an inspiration for many people, but in 1996, when I assisted him to develop a curriculum of English for Kids for the Experimental Primary School in Mangunan, Berbah, Yogyakarta, on which he had been working since 1989, I became acquainted with him personally and was impressed by his dedication to the praxis of education in true reality. Prof. Buchori was extraordinary for his elaborate thoughts about Indonesian education: how to deal with philosophical and strategic principles in educational policy making. Talking with him and reading his writings were always a golden chance for me to contemplate my own views on educational issues.

The way I have written this book has been influenced by a number of writers. Kees Groeneboer has inspired me to provide footnotes for the sentences I write tightly and meticulously.¹ For this I use R.M. Ritter's *Oxford Guide to Style* (2002).² Frances Gouda and Thijs Brocades Zaalberg gave me an idea of what the organization of this book should be like.³ M.C. Ricklefs guided the organization of my individual chapters. In his *A History of Modern Indonesia Since c. 1200*,⁴ Ricklefs begins every chapter with a thesis paragraph which summarizes and also proposes the basic

¹ Particularly, Kees Groeneboer's *Gateway to the West: The Dutch Language in Colonial Indonesia 1600-1950: A History of Language Policy* (tr. Myra Scholz) (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998).

² R.M. Ritter, *The Oxford Guide to Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). I have referred to the summarized version of the guide which was prepared for TANAP students.

³ Precisely, Frances Gouda with Thijs Brocades Zaalberg, *American Visions of the Netherlands East Indies/Indonesia: US Foreign Policy and Indonesian Nationalism, 1920-1949* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002).

⁴ M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia Since c. 1200*, 4th Edition (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

arguments of the whole chapter. He develops the content of the chapter topically and chronologically in such a simple but systematic way his ideas are clear not only to readers but also to novice writers. John Foster has specifically taught me how to write a condensed but fully inclusive Introduction to a book.⁵ Robert van Niel and J.S. Furnivall provided great insights into how to insert analyses in between descriptions of data.⁶ Heather Sutherland reminds me of the necessity to balance between data-driven and question-driven presentation of ideas.⁷ I do not know any of these persons personally. Nevertheless, as their works have inspired me, I would express my gratitude to them all. The rest about the technicalities of this book remains my own way.

Finally, I would gladly welcome any comments and critiques on this book. May this work be a contribution to the study of the history of Indonesian education and to the improvement of educational policy making in Indonesia today!

Leiden, Hogewoerd, May 3, 2011

AS

⁵ See the Introduction Chapter of John Foster's *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution: Early Industrial Capitalism in Three English Town* (London: Weidenfeld and Nocolson, 1974), 1-7.

⁶ Particularly, Robert van Niel, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, Inc., 1960); J.S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy* (with an introduction by A.C.D. de Graeff) (Cambridge: The University Press, 1939).

⁷ See Heather Sutherland, 'Writing Indonesian History in the Netherlands: Rethinking the Past', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* Vol. 150 (1994), No. 4, 785-804.

Abstract

The aim of the present study is to examine the transformation of teacher training in Indonesia from 1893 to 1969. Public teacher training altered over time to keep in step with the changing requirements in public primary school curricula which had been incurred by economic and political factors.

The standardization of public teacher training in the first three decades of the twentieth century gradually shaped the profile of Indonesian teachers so that they mirrored the professional characteristics of their European counterparts. Initially, the training of Indonesian teachers in the *kweekschool* was locally oriented. It was based on indigenous cultures and used vernacular languages (Javanese, Sundanese, Maduranese, Bugees and so forth). Commencing in 1907, a considerable number of European teachers who had received their training in the Netherlands began to staff the public primary school for the children of the Indonesian elites – the First-Class School. The placement of European teachers in the First-Class School raised an issue of the quality standard as there was a professional gap between European and Indonesian personnel at the school. It also raised a question about the cultural orientation of the First-Class School.

The Netherlands Indies government implemented a series of *kweekschool* reforms. In 1907, the training programme was extended from four to six years and in 1914, an advanced training school, *Hoogere Kweekschool* (HKS), was founded. Nevertheless, these reforms were not yet enough to enable Indonesian teachers to transfer from the Indies to the European teaching certificate. Until the First-World War hindered the sending of personnel from the Netherlands, the government continued to rely on European teachers to overcome the issue of quality in the public primary schools for Indonesians. By then, the government had realized that to import teachers from the Netherlands was far more expensive than to train teachers in the Netherlands Indies. These were the two major factors which pushed the government to develop the teachers' schools in the Indies which would be up to a European standard.

The government policy was to prepare Indonesian teachers in the Netherlands Indies according to a standard which would gradually be raised so that in the end, they could concur with the level of the training originally designed for their European counterparts. The introduction of the *Kweekschoolplan* in 1927 heralded the re-organization and transformation of the *kweekschool* into *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool* (HIK). The purpose of the transformation was to enable graduates to proceed to an advanced training, either in the Indies or in the Netherlands. The launch of the HIK marked the birth of a teacher training school which was standardized to a Dutch model. Perhaps, it was also a case of internationalization of education for the first time in Indonesian history, in spite of the fact that the '*concordantie* scheme' of the HIK programme could not be fully implemented.

Alas, the Great Depression in 1929 dispelled the colonial dream and the Japanese invasion in 1942 completely altered the next chapter in the history of Indonesian society. The Great Depression forced the government to close a number of HIK and other public schools and to search for a type of school which would burden the government budget the least. Although institutionally its repercussions were enormous, the impact of the Great Depression was also politically unprecedented. Because many Dutch-educated Indonesian teachers could not find permanent employment in government schools as they had expected, they sought for a job in private schools, including the nationalist schools which were categorized by the government as '*unofficial schools*' (*wilde scholen*). Those who still had a place in public schools began to develop an imagination of Indonesia as an autonomous society. Overall, the Great Depression destroyed the Indies dreams of becoming members of the establishment and transformed the perspective of Indonesian teachers who had initially been prepared to become a role-model in a colonial society. The Japanese invasion in 1942 was the catalyst which caused the complete destruction of the colonial political structure. Importantly, the Japanese occupation crystallized Indonesian convictions that the destiny and the future of the Indonesian society lay on the hands of the Indonesian themselves. Transformed by the economic and political changes ushered in by the Great Depression and the Second World War, in the early post-war years Indonesian teachers became '*politically-conscious*', although this awakening did not necessarily mean that they were hastened to become involved in political organizations. Now, they were much more concerned with social changes rather than with vertical mobility as such.

At the critical moment when the post-war Netherlands Indies administration sought to institutionalize the pre-war teacher training system, not many of the Indonesians who had been educated at the HIK still worked in public schools. Most of them had moved to different professional fields, mostly in the military, in support of the Indonesian Republic. The post-war Netherlands Indies

displayed a rupture with the pre-war situation because the docile subjects formerly so characteristic of the colonial State no longer existed. When the administration of the new State, the Republic of Indonesia, took over power in the early 1950s, the rupture between pre-war and post-war education was made even more apparent by the abolition of Dutch from the public schools and by the absence of quality reference in the practice of teacher training.

The removal of Dutch from public schools in the 1950s degraded the quality reference and swept away the international standard to which the training of Indonesian teachers had been geared since 1927. Later in the late 1950s, American professors would work with their Indonesian counterparts to establish and to re-standardize the teacher training. By that time, the teacher training had reached a condition which was best characterised by the feelings of pride and enthusiasm rather than by any empirical indicator of quality. The transition from colonial to independent State drastically re-arranged public expectations of teachers. Now, teachers were seen as agents of social change. In an era of nation-building, their task was to promote a sense of unity, citizenship and collective pride among the people. The new function of the training school was to produce teachers who were pedagogically as competent as HIK graduates, but in a political sense who could propagate the people's consciousness about their new status as the citizens of a sovereign Indonesian State.

Although the transition of regimes drastically changed the patterns of expectations of teachers, it did not transform the working of the bureaucracy. Consequently, the nature of teacher training remained basically unchanged. With the exception of the language used, many educational aspects (curriculum, books, methods and styles of instruction) of the teacher training schools were adopted indiscriminately from the pre-war practices, until a decade at least after Indonesia had declared its independence. The colonial past remained present in post-war educational policy and practice, regardless of the nationalist aspiration to establish a completely new State and Society. This disjunction implies that the transition from colonial to post-colonial State revealed a paradox in which continuity and change were juxtaposed. Although many aspects of the pre-war education system continued to be used until the early 1950s, the spirit and the imagined nature of schooling had completely changed. Of necessity from the outset the educational structure was similar to the pre-war system. However, from the inside, the educational practice was not comparable to the pre-war practice in many ways.

The switch from the Dutch to the American model of teacher training in the late 1950s reflected a spirit of reform but also created confusion in the Indonesian search for the meaning of independence. While there might have been no question about independence at a conceptual level, the remarkable influence of American professors, curricula and textbooks raised the issue of whether or not Indonesia in the late 1950s was falling into neo-colonialism in education. The switch from the Dutch to the American system also meant that the next development in the teacher training school was cut off from the past experience of Indonesia itself. The institutional re-organization of teacher training which took place during the 1950s and continued into the 1960s reflected the bigger narrative of Indonesian State formation at the time. Here, the process of regime change displayed the politics of elimination with a startling lack of understanding of historical experience. A dichotomous way of seeing matters, a rigid option of 'either this or that' and a perspective which sharply differentiated between 'we' and 'they' came to the top list of priorities. ***AS

Samenvatting

Dit onderzoek beoogt de transformatie van de lerarenopleiding in Indonesië te bestuderen in de periode 1893-1969. De openbare lerarenopleiding heeft door de jaren heen veranderingen ondergaan, overeenkomstig met de veranderende vereisten voor openbare basisscholen als gevolg van economische en politieke factoren.

De standaardisatie van de openbare lerarenopleiding in de eerste drie decennia van de twintigste eeuw vormde geleidelijk het profiel van de Indonesische leraren, een profiel dat de beroepsmatige kenmerken van hun Europese collega's weerspiegelde. De opleiding van Indonesische leraren in de *kweekschool* was aanvankelijk gericht op de lokaliteit. Het was gebaseerd op de inheemse culturen en er werd gebruik gemaakt van streektalen (Javaans, Sundanees, Madurees, Buginees, enz.). Vanaf 1907 werd een aanzienlijk aantal Europese leraren die hun opleiding in Nederland hadden genoten tewerkgesteld in de openbare basisscholen voor de Indonesische elite – de Eerste Klasse School. Het plaatsen van Europese leraren in de Eerste Klasse School bracht de kwaliteitsstandaard ter sprake aangezien er op de school een beroepsmatig gat bestond tussen het Europese en Indonesische personeel. Het wierp ook vragen op wat betreft de culturele oriëntatie van de Eerste Klasse School.

De overheid van Nederlands-Indië voerde een serie hervormingen door in de *kweekschool*. In 1907 werd het opleidingsprogramma verlengd van vier tot zes jaar, en in 1914 werd een gevorderde opleidingsschool geopend, de *Hoogere Kweekschool* (HKS). Echter, deze hervormingen zorgden er nog niet voor dat Indonesische leraren hun Indonesische onderwijs certificaten konden omzetten naar Europese onderwijs certificaten. De overheid bleef zich verlaten op Europese leraren om de kwestie van kwaliteit op de openbare basisscholen voor Indonesiërs het hoofd te bieden, tot de Eerste Wereldoorlog het sturen van personeel uit Nederland hinderde. De overheid besefte toen dat het halen van leraren uit Nederland veel kostbaarder was dan het trainen van leraren in Nederlands-Indië zelf. Dit waren de twee voornaamste factoren die de overheid tot het besluit dwongen om de opleidingsscholen voor leraren in Indië te modelleren naar Europese standaard.

Het beleid van de overheid richtte zich toen op het klaarstomen van Indonesische leraren in Nederlands-Indië volgens een standaard die geleidelijk was verbeterd, zodat zij uiteindelijk hetzelfde opleidingsniveau zouden kunnen bereiken dat oorspronkelijk ontworpen was voor hun Europese collega's. Met het *Kweekschoolplan*, geïntroduceerd in 1927, werd de *kweekschool* gereorganiseerd en getransformeerd tot de *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool* (HIK). Het doel van de transformatie was om afgestudeerden de kans te geven om verder te gaan met een gevorderde opleiding in Indië of Nederland. De invoering van de HIK markeerde de geboorte van een opleidingsschool voor leraren dat was gestandaardiseerd naar Nederlands model. Het was wellicht het eerste geval van de internationalisering van het onderwijs in de geschiedenis van Indonesië, ondanks het feit dat het '*concordantie schema*' van de HIK niet geheel kon worden toegepast.

Maar helaas, de Grote Depressie in 1929 ontworptte de koloniale dromen en de Japanse invasie in 1942 herschikte het volgende pad die de Indonesische maatschappij moest bewandelen. De Grote Depressie dwong de overheid om een aantal HIK's en andere openbare scholen te sluiten en te zoeken naar een type school dat het minst inbreuk zou doen op het budget van de overheid. De impact van de Grote Depressie was niet alleen institutioneel gezien ongekend, maar ook politiek. Omdat vele Nederlands-opgeleide Indonesische leraren tegen hun verwachting in geen permanente aanstelling in de overheidsscholen konden vinden, richtten zij zich op de privéscholen, waaronder de nationalistische scholen die door de overheid gekenmerkt werden als 'onofficiële scholen' (*wilde scholen*). Degenen die in de openbare scholen bleven begonnen een beeld te ontwikkelen van Indonesië als een autonome maatschappij. Over het geheel genomen verwoestte de Grote Depressie de Indische dromen van stabiliteit en transformeerde het perspectief van Indonesische leraren die aanvankelijk waren opgeleid om als rolmodel te fungeren in een koloniale maatschappij. De Japanse invasie in 1942 was een katalysator voor de volledige vernietiging van de koloniale politieke structuur. Verder versterkte de Japanse bezetting de Indonesische overtuiging dat de Indonesiërs zelf het lot en de toekomst van de Indonesische maatschappij in handen hadden. Getransformeerd door economische en politieke veranderingen vanaf de Grote Depressie tot aan de Tweede Wereldoorlog, werden Indonesische leraren in de jaren direct na de oorlog 'politiek bewust', al betekende dit niet per sé dat zij actief waren in politieke organisaties. Nu waren zij veel meer begaan met sociale veranderingen in plaats van maatschappelijke status.

Op het kritieke moment toen het bestuur van het naoorlogse Nederlands-Indië poogde het vooroorlogse systeem van de lerarenopleiding te institutionaliseren, bleven weinig van de Indonesiërs

die hun opleiding hadden genoten op de HIK in de openbare scholen werken. De meeste van hen waren overgegaan naar andere beroepsgroepen, voornamelijk het leger, uit steun voor de Indonesische Republiek. Het naoorlogse Nederlands-Indië vertoonde een breuk met de vooroorlogse situatie omdat de volgzame onderdanen die zo kenmerkend waren voor de koloniale staat niet meer bestonden. Toen het bestuur van de nieuwe staat, de Republiek Indonesië, de macht overnam in de vroege jaren vijftig, werd de breuk tussen het vooroorlogse en naoorlogse onderwijs duidelijker door het afschaffen van de Nederlandse taal op de openbare scholen en door de afwezigheid van een kwaliteitsreferentie in de lerarenopleiding.

Het verwijderen van het Nederlands op de openbare scholen in de jaren vijftig verlaagde de kwaliteitsreferentie en veegde de internationale standaard weg waarmee de opleiding van Indonesische leraren sinds 1927 in overeenstemming was. Later in de late jaren vijftig, zouden Amerikaanse professoren met hun Indonesische collega's samenwerken aan het opzetten en opnieuw standaardiseren van de lerarenopleiding. Echter, de lerarenopleiding verkeerde tegen die tijd in een staat dat het best te karakteriseren is met trots en enthousiasme, in plaats van kwaliteit. De overgang van kolonie naar onafhankelijke staat veranderde de publieke verwachtingen van leraren drastisch. Nu werden leraren gezien als vertegenwoordigers van sociale verandering. In het tijdperk van staatsvorming, zouden zij het gevoel van eenheid, staatsburgerschap en collectieve trots van het volk moeten promoten. De nieuwe taak van de opleidingsschool was om leraren te produceren die pedagogisch net zo competent waren als de afgestudeerden aan de HIK, maar die politiek gezien een bewustzijn konden overdragen aan mensen wat betreft hun nieuwe status als burgers van een soevereine Indonesische staat.

Hoewel de transitie van regimes drastisch het verwachtingspatroon ten aanzien van leraren veranderde, transformeerde het niet de werking van de bureaucratie. Derhalve bleef het karakter van de lerarenopleiding in principe ongewijzigd. Met uitzondering van de taal die werd gehanteerd, werden vele aspecten van het onderwijs op de opleidingsscholen voor leraren (curriculum, boeken, methodes, en vormen van instructie) overgenomen uit de vooroorlogse praktijken, tenminste tot een decade nadat Indonesië haar onafhankelijkheid uitgeroepen had. Het koloniale verleden bleef tegenwoordig in het naoorlogse onderwijs beleid en praktijken ondanks de nationalistische aspiratie om een compleet nieuwe staat en maatschappij te creëren. Dit impliceert dat de transitie van koloniale naar post-koloniale staat een paradox vertoonde van verandering en continuïteit. Hoewel vele aspecten van het vooroorlogse onderwijs tot in de vroege jaren vijftig nog in praktijk moesten worden gebracht, was de geest en het denkbeeldige karakter van scholing compleet veranderd. Van de buitenkant vertoonde de structuur van het onderwijs gelijkenissen met het vooroorlogse systeem. Maar van binnen uit konden de onderwijs praktijken in vele opzichten niet worden vergeleken met de praktijken die voor de oorlog gangbaar waren.

De switch van het Nederlandse naar het Amerikaanse model van lerarenopleiding in de late jaren vijftig weerspiegelde een geest van hervorming maar creëerde ook verwarring in de Indonesische zoektocht naar de betekenis van onafhankelijkheid. Terwijl er wellicht geen kwestie over onafhankelijkheid bestond op een conceptueel niveau, bracht de aanmerkelijke invloed van Amerikaanse professoren, curricula, en tekstboeken wel de vraag naar voren of het Indonesische onderwijs in de late jaren vijftig in het neo-kolonialisme aan het zinken was. De switch van het Nederlandse naar het Amerikaanse systeem betekende ook dat de volgende ontwikkeling van de opleidingsschool voor leraren afgesneden was van Indonesië's eigen ervaring. De institutionele reorganisatie van de lerarenopleiding die plaatsvond in de jaren vijftig weerspiegelde in de jaren zestig het grotere beeld van de Indonesische staatsvorming. Het proces van de machtswisseling toonde een 'eliminatie politiek' met een opzienbarend gebrek aan begrip van historische ervaring. Een tweeslachtige zienswijze, een starre optie van 'of dit of dat' en een perspectief dat scherp differentieerde tussen 'wij' en 'zij' kwam bovenaan de lijst van prioriteiten te staan. ***AS-vert.ME

Abstrak

Fokus penelitian ini adalah transformasi pendidikan guru Sekolah Dasar (SD) yang dikelola oleh pemerintah di Indonesia dari tahun 1893 sampai dengan tahun 1969. Pendidikan guru negeri untuk SD berubah dari waktu ke waktu sejalan dengan berubahnya persyaratan kualifikasi dan tuntutan kurikulum SD negeri yang dipengaruhi oleh aneka faktor ekonomi dan politik.

Standardisasi pendidikan guru negeri sepanjang tiga dekade pertama abad keduapuluh secara bertahap membentuk profil-profesional guru Indonesia yang mencerminkan ciri-ciri profesionalitas guru-guru Eropa. Pada mulanya, pendidikan guru Indonesia pada *kweekschool* berorientasi dan didasarkan pada budaya pribumi dan bahasa-bahasa setempat (misalnya bahasa Jawa, Sunda, Madura dan Bugis). Sejak tahun 1907, sejumlah guru Eropa lulusan Belanda mulai ditempatkan sebagai pengajar pada SD negeri untuk anak-anak kaum elit Indonesia – yang disebut Sekolah Kelas-Satu (*Eerste-Klasse School*). Penempatan guru-guru Eropa pada Sekolah Kelas-Satu memunculkan persoalan standar kualitas karena adanya perbedaan profesionalitas yang mencolok antara pengajar berbangsa Eropa dan Indonesia di sekolah tersebut. Penempatan tersebut juga mencuatkan pertanyaan tentang orientasi kultural Sekolah Kelas-Satu.

Pemerintah Hindia Belanda menjalankan serangkaian reformasi *kweekschool*. Pada tahun 1907, program pendidikan guru diperpanjang dari empat menjadi enam tahun dan pada tahun 1914 sekolah guru tingkat lanjut, *Hoogere Kweekschool* (HKS), didirikan. Kendati demikian, rangkaian reformasi ini belum memungkinkan guru-guru Indonesia beralih atau transfer dari program pendidikan guru yang memberikan sertifikat-mengajar Hindia ke program yang memberikan sertifikat-mengajar Eropa. Pemerintah terus bersandar pada guru Eropa untuk mengatasi permasalahan mutu pada SD negeri untuk anak-anak Indonesia hingga Perang Dunia I menghambat pengiriman guru dari Negeri Belanda. Ketika itu, pemerintah juga telah menyadari bahwa mengimpor guru dari Belanda jauh lebih mahal daripada mendidik guru di Hindia Belanda. Dua faktor inilah (PD I dan biaya) yang mendorong pemerintah memutuskan untuk mengembangkan sekolah-sekolah pendidikan guru di Hindia Belanda yang setara dengan standar kualitas pendidikan guru di Eropa.

Kebijakan pemerintah adalah menyiapkan guru Indonesia di Hindia Belanda sesuai standar yang secara bertahap akan ditingkatkan sehingga profesionalitas guru-guru tersebut akhirnya akan setara dengan derajat pendidikan yang didesain untuk guru-guru Belanda. Pengesahan *Kweekschoolplan*, rencana re-organisasi sekolah guru, tahun 1927 mengawali transformasi *kweekschool* menjadi *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool* (HIK), atau Sekolah Guru Belanda (untuk) Pribumi. Tujuan transformasi tersebut adalah agar para lulusan dapat melanjutkan ke pendidikan tingkat lanjut, baik di Hindia Belanda maupun di Belanda. Peluncuran HIK menandai lahirnya sebuah sekolah pendidikan guru yang terstandardisasi dengan model sekolah sejenis di Belanda. Mungkin inilah kasus internasionalisasi pendidikan yang pertama dalam sejarah Indonesia, kendati skema *concordantie* (kesetaraan) program HIK tidak dapat diimplementasikan sepenuhnya.

Apa hendak dikata, Krisis Ekonomi tahun 1929 menghancurkan mimpi kolonial dan invasi Jepang tahun 1942 mengubah seluruh babagan selanjutnya dari sejarah masyarakat Indonesia. Malaise memaksa pemerintah menutup sejumlah HIK dan sekolah-sekolah negeri lainnya, dan mencari tipe sekolah yang pembiayaannya lebih murah. Sementara dampaknya amat besar secara institusional, malaise juga menimbulkan akibat politik yang tak terbayangkan sebelumnya. Karena banyak guru Indonesia didikan Belanda tidak memperoleh pekerjaan tetap pada sekolah-sekolah pemerintah sebagaimana telah mereka harapkan sebelumnya, maka mereka mencari pekerjaan pada sekolah-sekolah swasta, termasuk yang oleh pemerintah dikategorikan sebagai 'sekolah liar' (*wilde scholen*). Mereka yang bekerja di sekolah negeri mulai membayangkan Indonesia sebagai masyarakat yang otonom dan mandiri. Secara keseluruhan, Krisis Ekonomi 1929 menghancurkan mimpi bahwa 'Hindia Belanda adalah bagian dari kemapanan' dan mengubah perspektif guru-guru Indonesia yang semula disiapkan untuk menjadi contoh (*role model*) dalam masyarakat kolonial. Invasi Jepang tahun 1942 adalah katalis atau pemantik yang menyebabkan kehancuran total struktur politik kolonial. Penting dicatat bahwa pendudukan Jepang meneguhkan keyakinan bangsa Indonesia bahwa tujuan dan masa depan masyarakat Indonesia berada dalam tangan mereka sendiri. Dicerahi dan disadarkan oleh perubahan ekonomi dan politik yang ditimbulkan Krisis Ekonomi dan Perang Dunia II, pada tahun-tahun awal setelah perang guru-guru Indonesia menjadi 'sadar politik', meskipun hal ini tidak selalu berarti bahwa mereka terlibat dalam organisasi politik. Dalam tahun-tahun pasca-perang itu, guru-guru jauh lebih peduli dengan perubahan sosial daripada dengan mobilitas vertikal semata.

Ketika pemerintah Hindia Belanda pasca-perang mencoba melembagakan kembali sistem pendidikan guru pra-perang, tidak banyak orang Indonesia yang telah mengenyam pendidikan HIK yang masih bekerja di sekolah-sekolah negeri. Sebagian besar *jebolan* HIK telah beralih profesi, kebanyakan menjadi anggota militer, untuk mendukung Republik Indonesia. Hindia Belanda pasca-perang menunjukkan keterputusan dengan Hindia Belanda sebelum perang karena subjek-subjek-negara yang taat (*docile subjects*) – yang oleh Robert van Niel disebut elit fungsional – yang merupakan salah satu ciri negara kolonial, tidak ada lagi. Ketika pemerintah dari negara yang baru, yaitu negara Republik Indonesia, mengambil alih kekuasaan pada awal dekade 1950, keterputusan antara pendidikan sebelum dan pasca-perang menjadi semakin jelas karena penghapusan bahasa Belanda dari sekolah-sekolah negeri dan karena ketiadaan standar acuan mutu (*benchmark*) dalam praktek pendidikan guru.

Penghapusan bahasa Belanda dari sekolah negeri pada 1950an menurunkan acuan mutu dan menghilangkan standar internasional yang telah menjadi rujukan pendidikan guru Indonesia sejak 1927. Di akhir 1950an, para profesor dari Amerika bekerjasama dengan sejawat mereka dari Indonesia berusaha menstandarkan kembali pendidikan guru dengan merujuk model pendidikan guru di Amerika Serikat. Pada saat itu, pendidikan guru di Indonesia telah berada pada situasi yang lebih banyak ditandai oleh antusiasme dan kebanggaan nasionalistik daripada oleh indikator mutu yang empiris. Transisi dari negara kolonial ke negara merdeka secara drastis mengubah harapan masyarakat tentang guru. Guru dipandang sebagai agen perubahan sosial. Dalam era pembangunan bangsa ketika itu, tugas guru adalah memajukan rasa kesatuan, kewarganegaraan dan kebanggaan kolektif di antara sesama warga bangsa. Fungsi baru dari sekolah pendidikan guru adalah menghasilkan guru-guru yang secara pedagogis sama kompetennya dengan lulusan HIK, namun yang secara politis mampu membangkitkan kesadaran anggota masyarakat tentang status-baru mereka sebagai warga dari Negara Indonesia yang berdaulat.

Transisi rejim secara drastis mengubah wujud harapan masyarakat atas/tentang guru, namun tidak memperbarui kerja birokrasi. Akibatnya, karakter dasar dari pendidikan guru pada dasarnya tidak berubah. Dengan perkecualian pada bahasa pengantar yang digunakan, banyak aspek pendidikan (kurikulum, buku, metode dan gaya pengajaran) pada sekolah pendidikan guru merupakan hasil adopsi *sana-sini* dari praktek sebelum perang, setidaknya hingga satu dekade setelah Indonesia memproklamasikan kemerdekaannya. Masa lalu kolonial (baca: paradigma kolonial) tetap membayangi pengambilan kebijakan dan praktek pendidikan sekalipun kaum nasionalis telah menggelorakan hasrat untuk membangun Negara dan Masyarakat Indonesia yang sama sekali baru. Keruwetan situasi ini menyiratkan bahwa transisi dari negara kolonial ke negara pasca-kolonial adalah paradoks tentang kesinambungan dan perubahan. Meskipun banyak aspek dari sistem pendidikan pra-perang berlanjut hingga awal 1950an, semangat dan karakter pendidikan yang terbayangkan telah berubah sama sekali. Dari luar, struktur pendidikan tampak mirip dengan sistem pra-perang. Namun dari dalam, praktek pendidikan dalam banyak hal – khususnya dalam hal standar mutu – tidak dapat dibandingkan dengan praktek pendidikan sebelum perang.

Peralihan dari pendidikan guru model Belanda ke model Amerika pada akhir 1950an menunjukkan semangat perubahan tetapi juga menciptakan kebingungan dalam proses bangsa Indonesia memaknai kemerdekaannya. Tak diragukan lagi bahwa pada tataran konsep, tidak ada persoalan tentang makna kemerdekaan. Namun pengaruh yang luar biasa dari para profesor, kurikulum dan buku-buku Amerika mencuatkan pertanyaan apakah Indonesia di akhir 1950an betul-betul merdeka dan berdikari atau jatuh ke dalam neo-kolonialisme pendidikan. Peralihan dari sistem pendidikan Belanda ke Amerika juga mengandung makna bahwa perkembangan selanjutnya dari sekolah pendidikan guru tercerabut dari pengalaman masa lalu Indonesia sendiri. Re-organisasi lembaga pendidikan guru yang berlangsung selama 1950an dan berlanjut hingga 1960an adalah pantulan dari narasi besar tentang pembentukan Negara Indonesia ketika itu. Sepanjang periode itu, proses perubahan rejim dicirikan oleh politik pelenyapan yang sama sekali abai terhadap pemahaman atas pengalaman historis. Dikotomi dalam memandang sesuatu, model pilihan kaku 'atau ini atau itu' dan perspektif yang membedakan secara tajam 'kami' dan 'mereka' menjadi ciri utamanya.***AS

Propositions

1. One of the most critical issues in educational reform in Indonesia in the first three decades of the twentieth century was the limited supply of competent teachers. To solve the problem, the Netherlands Indies government initially relied on the import of teachers from the Netherlands but later focused on improving the teacher training in the Indies.
2. Between 1893 and the 1920s, the reform of the public *kweekschool* for Indonesian teachers was concerned more with quality rather than quantity.
3. The ‘*concordantie*’ plan of teacher training – as proposed in the *Kweekschoolplan* – did not fully work out. Nevertheless, it marked the standardization of teacher training which fundamentally shifted the programme away from being locally oriented in 1893 to being globally oriented in 1927.
4. The Great Depression of 1929 rocked the cultural foundation of the late colonial State in Indonesia, and the subsequent Japanese invasion in 1942 completely reshuffled the next course of development in Indonesian society.
5. The transition from colonial to post-colonial State in Indonesia transformed the self-perception and the social position of Indonesian teachers and altered public expectations of their role in society. However, it did not transform the bureaucratic administration which organized the training of schoolteachers.
6. In the first decade of Indonesian independence, teacher training copied much of the pre-war system in terms of structure, curriculum, contents of schoolbooks and teaching methods. However, compared to its pre-war model, the quality of training dropped in actual practice because the post-war government lacked the financial and institutional capacity to run the schools at the same standard as the pre-war schools.
7. The American involvement in the late 1950s disrupted the traditional orientation in Indonesia towards the European/Dutch style of teacher training; the de-colonization of Indonesian education during the period was simultaneously Americanization!
8. The political contest for power in Indonesia in the 1960s not only cost the Nation the immediate loss of a stunning number of intellectuals and school teachers, it also dealt a heavy blow to the quality of ideological literacy which many educated Indonesians had notably shown since the 1930s.
9. (Studying) History is boring until one delves deeply into detailed stories hidden in archives.
10. To search and to collect archives is a joy; to classify and to select them is a challenge.
11. Nothing is more painful than sitting in a room, struggling to construct logical stories out of diverse archives and getting stuck in the process of putting them in a concise, understandable form in a foreign language, while the weather outside temptingly shows the beauty of nature and Natural Creation.
12. ‘Seek and you will find, ask and you will be given’ holds true in various aspects of life, including in the pursuit of a PhD. ***AS

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List of Principal Abbreviations

KS	= Kweekschool (teacher training school)
HKS	= Hogere Kweekschool (upper-level teacher training school)
HIK	= Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool (Dutch indigenous teacher training school)
HCK	= Hollands Chinese Kweekschool (Dutch Chinese teacher training school)
EK	= Europese Kweekschool (European teacher training school)
OSVO	= Opleiding School voor Volksschool Onderwijzers/es (training school for teachers of the People's School)
OVVO	= Opleiding voor Volksschool Onderwijzers/es (training for teachers of the People's School)
SGL	= Sekolah Guru Laki-laki (teacher training school for boys)
SGP	= Sekolah Guru Perempuan (teacher training school for girls)
SGA	= Sekolah Guru A (teacher training school A)
SGB	= Sekolah Guru B (teacher training school B)
SPG	= Sekolah Pendidikan Guru (secondary school of teacher training)
PGSLP	= Pendidikan Guru Sekolah Lanjutan Pertama (training school for teachers of Junior High School)
PTPG	= Perguruan Tinggi Pendidikan Guru (Higher Learning Institution of Teacher Training)
FKIP	= Fakultas Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan (Faculty of Teacher Training and Education)
IPG	= Institut Pendidikan Guru (Institute of Teacher Education)
IKIP	= Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan (Institute of Teacher Training and Education)
KPKPKB	= Kursus Pengajar pada Kursus Pengantar ke Kewajiban Belajar (training courses for instructors of the introductory courses to compulsory education)
KLPSGA	= Kursus Lisan Persamaan SGA (oral courses equivalent to SGA)
KLPSGB	= Kursus Lisan Persamaan SGB (oral courses equivalent to SGB)
PPSG	= Persatuan Pelajar Sekolah Guru (Association of Students of the Teacher Training School)
PGRI	= Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia (Indonesian Republic Teachers' Association)
DOE	= Departement van Onderwijs en Eeredienst (Department of Education and Religious Affairs)
LGG	= Lieutenant Gouvernor General
RUSI	= Republic of the United States of Indonesia / RIS = Republik Indonesia Serikat
USRI	= Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia / NKRI = Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia
NA	= Nationaal Archief
ANRI	= Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia

Introduction

A. What the present study is about

The present study deals with the standardization of the public training of Indonesian primary-school teachers from 1893 to 1969. The aim is to examine the reforms in the training system introduced to keep pace with the requirements of public primary schools which changed in response to the dynamics of the economic and political contexts. Taking the Second World War as a principal dividing time-line, this study attempts to analyse continuity and change from colonial to independent Indonesia. The following questions are of especial concern:

1. How did the Indonesian teacher training serve to raise the standard of public education?
2. How did the colonial government deal with the constraints imposed by policy and practice in the training of Indonesian teachers?
3. How and why did the structure of the teacher training school eventually fall apart?
4. To what extent did colonial heritage and ideological aims clash or merge in the policy and practice of teacher training in early independent Indonesia?
5. How and to what extent did alumni of the Indonesian teacher training schools experience changes in self-perception and social transformation during the mid-century change of regime?

B. Background and why this study is important

In 2005, the Indonesian government and Parliament (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*, DPR) passed Bill No. 14/2005 on Teachers and Lecturers (*Undang-Undang Guru dan Dosen*). The aim of this Bill is to improve the professionalism, welfare and freedom of speech of teachers and lectures and to strengthen their role in developing national education.⁸ The ratification of the Bill marked a breakthrough in the history of education in Indonesia because it recognizes the legal status of teachers and lecturers and the strategic position of the teaching profession. It also reflects a political will to place teachers in the core agenda of contemporary educational reforms.

Unfortunately, the Bill and the public debates which preceded and followed its ratification lack historical perspectives. The Bill sets the four types of competency required of teachers and lecturers (pedagogical, personal, social and professional), but fails to indicate how these will or should be measured.⁹ This does not reflect the lessons of past experience when the competence required of Indonesian teachers were formulated in elaborate detail in order to adjust them to the changing demands of schools and society. The 2005 Teachers and Lecturer Bill pays little attention to the accreditation system of teacher training, even though 'accreditation' (in the simple form of periodic evaluation) was a critical aspect of the monitoring system in the past.¹⁰ Last but not least, the Bill

⁸ See *Undang-Undang No. 14 Tahun 2005 tentang Guru dan Dosen*, points of Considerations, Chapters III and IV on professionalism, Articles 14 to 19 on welfare, and Articles 41 to 44 on freedom of speech. The complete text of this *Undang-Undang* can be downloaded, for example, from the website of Hasanuddin University http://www.unhas.ac.id/lkpp1/beban/uu_14_2005.pdf (accessed on 4 April 2011 at 15.08 CET).

⁹ Agus Suwignyo, 'Ilmuwan yang Guru, Masihkah Diperjuangkan?', *Daily Kompas*, 25 Nov. 2009, 7; Id., 'Sebagai Guru Saya Malu!', *Daily Kompas*, 25 Oct. 2004.

¹⁰ Id., 'Akreditasi Program Pendidikan dan Sertifikasi Guru', *Daily Kompas*, 3 Feb, 2006, 6.

emphasizes the improvement of professional quality by way of training and certification, but barely touches upon teacher training schools, which have been sidelined in policy making since the abolition of the *Sekolah Pendidikan Guru* (SPG, secondary school for teacher training) in 1989 and the transformation of the *Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan* (IKIP, Institute of Teachers' Training and Education) to university in the 1990s.¹¹ Although the 2005 Teachers and Lecturer Bill accommodates state-of-the-art visions of educational quality and has sought inspiration from neighbouring countries including Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam and, farther afield Australia and the US, it does not seem to have learned from Indonesia's own past experience of success and failure in training teachers. The Bill and the public debates about it generally mirror the present trend of 'historical amnesia' in Indonesian public policy making.

That a historical legacy is missing in the 2005 Teachers and Lecturer Bill might have been caused by a lack of study of the history of Indonesian education in general and teacher training in particular. A comprehensive study about how policies to achieve a standardized training system were developed and implemented in the past century has yet to be written. Indonesian authors tend to concentrate on the political period following the Indonesian Declaration of Independence in 1945 and therefore rarely make use of sources prior to it. Dutch and other authors generally deal with the period up to 1942, or occasionally up to 1949. They explore the developments in public education as blessings bestowed by the Ethical Policy and examine them in the contexts of the rise of Indonesian nationalism and the changing class structure in Indonesian society.¹² Primary work on the public training of Indonesian teachers has been carried out by H. Kroeskamp, who analysed the educational reforms from the early period of the East India Company in the seventeenth century to the year 1893.¹³ But the development of public teacher training in the twentieth century has been left unexplored until now.

As an attempt to fill in the breach, the present study explores the standardization of the public training of Indonesian primary-school teachers from 1893 to 1969. It focuses on the institutional foundation of teacher training and also addresses the changing political status and self-perception of Indonesian teachers at the public schools. In the twilight years of the colony, a growing number of Indonesian teachers had graduated from the colonial training schools and became a 'modern elite', in Van Niel's words, namely 'anyone standing above the great common masses who in some degree or form leads, influences, administers, or guides Indonesian society'.¹⁴ Emerging as lesser *prijaji* in the first decade of the twentieth century, the Indonesian teachers in public schools embarked on an increasingly stable path of upward mobility as members of a fast growing and rather progressive group of the middle-class elite. But, when indigenous political movements gained in strength in the second decade, generally those teachers were not to be found among the highly progressive

¹¹ Id., 'Ilmuwan yang Guru'; 'Meratapi Bekas IKIP', *Daily Kompas*, 2 March 2006, 6; Id. 'Menagih Janji Universitas Bekas IKIP', *Daily Kompas*, 26 Jan. 2004, 4.

¹² For a brief review on the existing studies, see 'Previous Studies' and 'A Note on Historiography' in the later sections of this Introduction.

¹³ H. Kroeskamp, *Early Schoolmasters in a Developing Country: A History of Experiments in School Education in 19th Century Indonesia* (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. B.V., 1974).

¹⁴ Robert van Niel, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite* (Dordrecht/Cinnaminson: Foris Publications, 1984), 16. This volume is a re-print of the 1960 edition (The Hague: W. Van Hoeve).

Indonesians in the forefront of these movements. They withdrew into being a group of politically silent intellectuals whom Van Niel calls the functional elite, contrasted to the progressive political elite.¹⁵

Van Niel's analysis is a good explanation of why Indonesian teachers in public schools and their training have remained in the shadow of greater 'heroic' stories told about the modernization of the twentieth-century Indonesia. Indonesian teachers in public schools in the first three decades of the twentieth century were 'not really a new elite, but rather an extension of the old'.¹⁶ Unlike leaders of organizations and activists who worked for a new political system, Indonesian teachers in public schools managed to gain a better personal social position in the existing system and hence played an instrumental role in the colonial State. Van Niel states that an analysis of the organizational activities of the political elite might 'give a political tinge to the social changes occurring in Indonesia'. However, he also admits that 'most of the social change took place within the framework of the Dutch colonial system and was mostly apolitical'.¹⁷ It is intriguing and challenging to examine how the social change in early-twentieth-century Indonesia was perceived by the functional elites who were, in Van Niel's terms, the majority in number but apolitical in ideology.¹⁸

Analyzing the year 1927 as the end of the period he studied, Van Niel left unexplored how Indonesian school teachers in public schools were to become politically involved in the changing Indonesian society of the following decades. Only if a historical survey is extended from colonial to independent Indonesia can a better understanding of the changing position of public-school teachers in the process of Indonesian transformation be attained. During the 1930s, Indonesian students at the public teacher training schools gradually developed a new horizon and self-consciousness about their roles in the society at large. After the Second World War, many Dutch-trained Indonesian teachers assumed key responsibilities not only in the re-structuring and administration of the national education system of independent Indonesia, but also in the bureaucracy, military, economic and political sectors of the newly emerging State.¹⁹ The transition from colonial to post-colonial regimes

¹⁵ The political elites were 'Indonesians who engaged in political activities directed toward various ends, usually involving the alteration of the political status quo'. The functional elite, on the other hand, were 'Indonesian leaders who served to keep a modernized state and society functioning' (Van Niel, *The Emergence*, p. 2). The former category included leaders of socio-political organizations and those involved in political activities. The latter category consisted of administrators, school teachers, vaccinators and other professionals. The role of the political elite was symbolic; that of the functional elite, intermediary. While the political elite was involved in different organizations and held active political views, the functional elite, who made up the great majority of the modern Indonesian elite, joined no organizations and held no active political view (pp. 164-5; 242).

¹⁶ Van Niel, *The Emergence*, 178.

¹⁷ Ibid. 241

¹⁸ When writing his analysis more than fifty years ago, Van Niel seems to have encountered a scarcity of individual testimonies. He wrote: 'Unfortunately there are no biographies, or memoirs, or diaries to quote from here, and if there were, they might make dull reading, for these people [the functional elite] lived a quiet life devoted to their personal and family problems and to the fulfilment and perfection of their assigned duties' (ibid. 165).

¹⁹ Chapters 5, 6 and 9 of the present study are devoted to an elaboration of these points. See also remarks about the changing position of Dutch-trained Indonesians during the post-war times in Lee Kam Hing, *Education and Politics in Indonesia 1945-1965* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1995), xiii; Van Niel, *The Emergence*, 241.

created a new direction in which the teachers in public schools functioned as a hinge in 'the problematic gap of continuity and change in Indonesian history'.²⁰

As the Second World War came to an end in Europe and Africa, followed by Asia and the Pacific by mid-1945,²¹ the Indonesian people in general entered into an especially historic phase in their life. At a dramatic and critical moment on 17 August, two nationalist leaders Soekarno and Mohammad Hatta declared the independence of Indonesia in the name of the people.²² In his surging rhetoric, Soekarno referred to the independence as a '*jembatan emas*', or a golden bridge, by crossing which a just and wealthy society would be realized by and for the Indonesian people.²³ Yet, Imam Sajono, a former student of the *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool* (HIK), characterized Indonesian independence as a '*tanggul jebol (doorgebroken dijk)*', a breach in the dike, because it created new opportunities for and challenges to his professional career. No less ebullient, Sajono felt that in the polarized colonial society, he and other former students were trained to become schoolteachers, not to work in other sectors like the army and banking. In the present situation he could seek employment in whatever sector available.²⁴

Sajono's understanding of the significance of the year 1945 was that held by many Indonesians at the time. But the significance of his metaphoric expression, 'the breach in the dike', can be spelled out explicitly if the developments following the War are examined in greater depth. In Chapter 5 of the present study, it is argued that the Pacific War opened up opportunities for the participation of the Indonesian masses in public sectors formerly dominated by the elite groups of the colonial society. The abolition of school fees and the stratified selection system by the Japanese resulted in an influx of school children. Suzuki Seihei, a Japanese teacher and chief of the Education Section of the areas of Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa, said '... it seems as though some sort of natural phenomenon occurred, as the collapse of a levee allows the dammed up water to gush out freely'.²⁵ However, his statement should be taken with a pinch of salt. The schools the Japanese installed only ran effectively in the initial phase of the occupation, up to the time the war mobilization was declared. So before 17 August 1945 there was no political guarantee whatsoever that the Indonesian masses would obtain a sustainable and equal access to education. In this context, the year 1945 was significant since the colonial political structures, which had denied the basic rights to the masses, were destroyed.

The breach in the dike promoted mass participation and social mobility for educated people but it also confused the process of the establishment of the system. For the first five years following the Japanese capitulation, the making of educational policy in the territories occupied by the Dutch was shared by different autonomous authorities under the umbrella control of the Netherlands Indies

²⁰ Harry J. Benda, 'Decolonization in Indonesia: The Problem of Continuity and Change', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 70, No. 4 (July 1965), 1058-73.

²¹ See, for example, Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (London: Pimlico, 2007).

²² George McT. Kahin, 'Sukarno's Proclamation of Indonesian Independence', *Indonesia* Vol. 69 (Apr. 2000), 1-3.

²³ N. Schulte Nordholt. 'Mahatma Persatoean' (a review on Bob Hering's *Soekarno: Founding Father of Indonesia 1901-1945* [Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002]), *Bijdragen tot Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde* 158 No. 3 (2002), 529-34.

²⁴ Interview with Imam Sajono, Jakarta, 6 September 2006.

²⁵ Suzuki Seihei, 'A Record of My Island-hopping: The Path of a Certain Educationalist', in Anthony Reid and Oki Akira, *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia: Selected Memoirs of 1942-1945* (Athens: Ohio University Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 1986), 159-71. Quote is from p. 171.

Civil Administration (NICA).²⁶ Recovery was highest on the agenda. In the jurisdiction of the Indonesian Republic, schools were very prone to political and military actions. Not until all the states finally merged with the Republic of Indonesia to form the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia on 17 August 1950, was a fundamental reform at the national level made possible.

The transitional types of the teacher-training schools which the governments attempted to set up reflected the disorganized circumstances in which educational experiments took place.²⁷ While I agree with Imam Sajono's metaphorical expression 'the breach in the dike', referring to sudden social mobility and mass participation in education, I also define it in terms of the overall dynamics affecting the making and implementation of educational policy. I use the term to characterize the range of events—with the year 1945 as a principal dividing time line—in which confusion and conflicts loomed large in the training of schoolteachers.

C. Tracing boundaries

Standardization is the term chosen to indicate the on-going process in which the training of teachers was reformed and transformed over time in response to particular benchmarks or quality references. Between the 1890s and the 1960s, the school system in Indonesia was characterized by vulnerability and variety. It was vulnerable to successive changes in the economic and political sectors. Because different types of schools existed for different purposes and ethnic groups, it is impossible to talk about standardization in the sense of the uniformity or stability of a school system encompassing all political, cultural and social diversity and the dynamics of Indonesian society. Nevertheless, the improvement in and the expansion of public schools regularly affected the government policy on preparing teachers for these schools. These teachers were provided with professional profiles which more or less reflected the characteristics of the time. The standardization took place in the 'internal aspects' of the training in which the teachers were increasingly better prepared for this task. Although the access of the public to education was stratified by social classes, in the period of 1893-1969 there was an on-going process of improvement to reach a quality standard of education for the respective categories of the social classes.

²⁶ Although the government of this Jakarta-based Dutch administration was known internationally as the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration (NICA), it is interesting to realize that 'NICA' as a proper noun hardly appeared in the government documents issued between 1946 and 1949. These documents are compiled in the archives '*Algemeen Secretarie*' deposited at the Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI) in Jakarta. In the referred documents the term 'government of the Federal of States of the Netherlands Indies' is used instead of 'NICA'. The nomenclature 'Federal States of the Netherlands Indies' also appears as the letterhead of official letters and publications. This shows the Dutch perspective and opinion (plus expectation) that the pre-war Netherlands Indies continued and was still established up to the post-war time. The political reality of the post-war time (1945-1949) was in fact very much complex as two different autonomous governments (Indonesian Republic and British then Dutch administrations) controlled the Indonesian Archipelago. Historians generally agree that the pre-war Netherlands East Indies as a constitutional polity had already collapsed by the Dutch capitulation in Kalijati, West Java, in the early 1942. As long as the period of 1946-1949 is concerned, therefore, the reference to 'Federal States of the Netherlands Indies' indicates that a perspective is taken from the angle of the Dutch (government) of the time. At this point I also share the opinion of Dr Thomas Lindblad—in a review of this manuscript—that 'a federation [of states] in a constitutional sense only came into being with the RIS [Republik Indonesia Serikat/the United States of the Republic of Indonesia/USRI] in 1949'.

²⁷ Nevertheless, the Indonesian political tensions which surfaced after 1958 did not crack the training system established before that year.

During the period under study, the relationship between teacher training and social development constantly reflected the ideological aims of the governing regimes. Here, a 'regime' is defined as a particular mode of government.²⁸ As education is framed as an object of the power which a government orchestrates,²⁹ it is logical to say that changes of political regimes lead to changes in the lines of educational policy. Notwithstanding this, the dynamics of educational policy during the aforementioned period did not necessarily reflect the changes of political administration. A particular political regime could have changed the lines of its educational policy several times and thus created different 'regimes of education'. In such a case, another concept of 'regime' is adopted by which to refer to a 'particular way of operating or organizing' an education system.³⁰ In the present study, the standardization of the public teacher training is examined in the framework of the changes of both political and educational regimes.

The successive administrations had paid deliberate attention to school education for indigenous people since the second half of the nineteenth century. But the blooming of the schools for public masses was only a phenomenon of the early twentieth century, following the inauguration of what has been generally known as the Ethical Policy. By then, the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries had already been providing education in Eastern Indonesian areas such as Maluku, Minahasa, Ternate, Tidore, Flores and Lesser Sunda Islands for more than a century. Therefore, the government focused on Java and Sumatra and left the provision of education in the eastern islands largely to the original initiatives of the missionaries. The emergence of public schools – that is, schools run by the government – stimulated the rise of private schools run by such organizations as the Budi Utomo, Sarikat Islam, Muhammadiyah, Dinniyah, the Theosophists, the Indo-Europeans, the Communists and the Taman Siswa. While the aim of the public schools was economic reproduction in support of the government administration, the schools run by these private organizations and the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries were mostly motivated by ideological reasons and reflected the political lines of the various non-government groups.

The private schools, especially those run by Budi Utomo, Sarikat Islam, the Communists and the Taman Siswa movement, served as a seeding ground for Indonesian nationalism and many of their activists struggled to achieve the emergence of a national education system. However, when Indonesia became independent, it did not inherit the educational system of these private schools. Many public schools in the early years of independent Indonesia had originally been public schools run by the colonial and the Japanese administrations. The teachers at the public schools before the Second World War, who as a rule had been civil servants of the colonial government, still remained civil servants after the War and now served the government of independent Indonesia. The private schools, which had symbolized the nationalist struggle for *the* national education of Indonesia, remained private institutions, although some of them did receive a financial subsidy from the government. In the 1950s, numerous teachers of the pre-war private schools demanded that the government (of independent Indonesia) gazette them as civil servants because 'they had struggled for

²⁸ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/regime>, accessed on March 8, 2012 at 06.10 am (GMT+7)

²⁹ See Chapter 1.

³⁰ http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/regime_1?q=regime, accessed on March 8, 2012 at 06.15 am (GMT+7)

the birth of the Indonesian national education during the colonial era'. The government could not acquiesce in this request for several reasons.³¹ In a nutshell, independent Indonesia adopted and continued the public school system of the colonial administration. The transition from colonial to independent times seems to have meant a mere transfer of authority from one political regime to another and the relationship between citizens and State or State apparatus was not altered or transformed.³²

It is the public, not the private, education which becomes the particular object of examination of the present study. 'Public education' is defined as 'the education provided by the government schools'; 'private education' is 'the education afforded by private schools or non-government education institutions'. In the government schools transition from colonial to post-colonial education can be traced and reconstructed. The private schools were so diverse in terms of ideology that more than a pedagogical perspective is needed to study them. Although the focus is on public education, this study will also pay attention to private education during the heyday of the so-called '*wilde scholen*' or 'unofficial schools' in the 1930s and during the critical moment of transition in the 1950s.

Especially in the case of the pre-war period, this study is concerned with the training of teachers for primary schools. During that period, teaching positions in secondary (and tertiary) education were mainly reserved for European personnel who had received their training in the Netherlands. In the post-war period Indonesia had to train its own teachers, including those at the secondary schools who would in turn train the teachers of the primary schools. So, in dealing with the post-war period, the training of both primary- and secondary-school teachers is examined for the sake of continuity from pre- to post-war periods and from primary to secondary education levels. It is also for the reason of continuity that the pre-war training discussed here is focused on the training of ethnic Indonesian, not Dutch or Chinese teachers.

When dealing with the pre-war period, this study concerns with Java and Sumatra as the prime localities if only because almost all public teacher training schools (11 out of 12 in 1925) were located in these two islands. As regards to the post-war period, the geographical scope of the present study presumably includes the entire Indonesian territory. Although the limitation of geographical scope is set out, what matters most in the exploration of the present study is the institutional foundation of teacher training, not the development in a particular geographical locality.

In terms of time scope, this study covers the period between 1893 and 1969. In 1893 the government introduced two types of primary schools for indigenous children, the First-Class and the Second-Class schools. The First-Class school was meant for children of the noble and better-off families. The Second-Class school was meant for ordinary urban dwellers. Up to 1893, children of the noble families constituted the only group among the indigenous society that had an access to Western education. The educational reform of 1893 opened the access of indigenous children of the wealthy, non-noble families to the primary school which had been initially meant for the children of the noble

³¹ See Chapter 9.

³² See, Agus Suwignyo, 'Dari Kolonial ke Pasca-kolonial: Refleksi Historis atas Pendidikan Muhammadiyah dan Lembaga-Lembaga Pendidikan Swasta', in Suyatno, Pujo Semedi, Gunawan Suryo Putro, Suswandari (eds), *Revitalisasi Pendidikan Muhammadiyah di Tengah Persaingan Nasional dan Global* (Jakarta: Uhamka Press, 2010), 17-32.

families. The primary school was called 'First-Class school' as to indicate that it admitted children of these two categories of top elite (noble families and better-off families), thus differentiated them from the under-privileged group of the indigenous society. The reform of 1893 also paved the way for indigenous children of ordinary, economically under-privileged families to enjoy Western education, however simple the instructions provided by the Second-Class school might have been. Although still very limited in access for the majority of the indigenous Indonesians,³³ the foundation of the First-Class and the Second-Class schools in 1893 marked the provision of Western education for the general, non-noble children of the indigenous society.

The foundation of the two types of schools in 1893 also marked the beginning of the so-called 'dualistic system of education', which would characterize the history of school education and the social transformation of the Indonesian people throughout the next five decades. The different types of schools would require differently trained teachers for whom the government formulated different pedagogical competencies and salary scales that in the end created different social and economic classes of the schoolteachers. To this extent the dualistic educational system signified the implementation of a 'policy of social exclusion' in the Netherlands Indies society, in which stratification was the main feature. Unlike the generally-accepted views, which portray the stratification of the Netherlands Indies society of the early twentieth century from a political perspective, the case of the dualistic educational system shows that social classes were the issue. While politically the birth of the dualistic system of education in 1893 showed the unequal position between the majority of indigenous Indonesians and the Western people plus the lucky few indigenous elite, the categories in the social and economic status seemed to have guided the making of educational policies which differentiated between the privileged and the under-privileged. In short, the year 1893 witnessed a transition of educational regime although the political regime of colonial administrations remained relatively unchanged. Last but not least, the year 1893 also marks the end of the period covered by Kroeskamp which leaves as a legacy for the present study.

Those who are familiar with the Indonesian history of the twentieth century presumably agree that the 1960s were crucial in terms of the change of political regimes. The year 1969 was the commencement of a new educational line in which a stable policy replaced two decades of turbulent economic and political life in Indonesia. The end of the 1960s marked a dramatic change in the professional profiles required of Indonesian teachers: from a politically conscious cultural agent to a docile instructor. This change reflected State intervention and a shift in the relationship between school and society.

D. Sources

This study relies on primary archival materials and a series of interviews conducted with former teachers and students. The archival materials range from government and organizational reports, legal letters and correspondence, school curricula and text-books, maps and photographs, teachers' journals, teacher association publications and public newspapers. All materials were originally produced in the period under study by the various agencies involved, among them government

³³ A wider opportunity only came up in 1907, when the so-called *Sekolah Desa* or Village School was founded for children of the families living in rural areas.

offices, teacher associations and so forth. These sources were traced in the collections of different libraries and archive centres in the Netherlands, Indonesia and the United States. In the Netherlands, the Nationaal Archief (NA) at The Hague, the Koninklijke Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV) in Leiden, the Koninklijke Instituut voor de Tropen (KIT), the Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (NIOD) in Amsterdam and the libraries of Amsterdam and Leiden Universities. In Indonesia, the following institutions provided relevant sources: the Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI) in Jakarta, the library of Pusat Dokumentasi dan Informasi Kebudayaan Minang (PDIKM) in Padangpanjang, the private collection of the Pondok Nawawi in Bukittinggi, and the library of the History Department of Andalas University Padang, all in West-Sumatra, the libraries of the History Department and the Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Gadjah Mada University Yogyakarta. In the US, materials were collected from Cornell University Library, Cornell Kroch Library of Special Collection and the Kahin Collection at the Kahin Center, all in Ithaca; the Archive Department of the Ford Foundation in New York City; and the Library of Congress Jefferson Building in Washington, DC.

Thirty-nine people (22 female and 17 male) participated in the interview for this study. They all were formerly students or/and teachers of the teacher training schools from 1930 to 1963. The first category consists of thirteen (2 female, 11 male) ex-students who attended the *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool* (HIK) in Bukittinggi, Bandung and Yogyakarta in the years from 1930 to 1942. At the time of interview, these elderly people were living in Jakarta (six), Bandung (two), Semarang (one), Yogyakarta (two), Surabaya (one), and Malang, East Java (one). Six ex-students in the second category (one female, five male) were trained at the *Sekolah Guru B and A* (SGB-SGA) in the 1950s. Five of them held key positions at the Indonesian Department of Teaching and Education in the 1960s. At the time of interview, these people lived in Jakarta (four), Yogyakarta (one), and Malang (one). The third category consists of eighteen (all female) ex-students who attended the *Sekolah Guru B-Puteri* (SGB-Puteri) in Ungaran, Central Java, in the 1953-1961 period. At the time of interview, these people lived in Yogyakarta (three), Semarang (eleven), and Ungaran (four). Two interviewees were an American former government official in Jakarta and an American professor who was involved in the reform of Indonesian teacher training and taught at the Bandung IKIP from the late 1950s to the early 1960s under the joint-programme of Ford Foundation and State University of New York. The interview with the former official was conducted in Washington DC and one with the professor was at Los Osos, California, where he lives. Altogether, the thirty-nine interviews were conducted in Indonesian (33), in Javanese (four) and in English (two). They provided an invaluable set of data from the people who witnessed and took part in the making of Indonesian (education) history.

More biographical history data were collected by other researchers, both in the form of reports and (auto)biographies. I have gratefully explored Adri Lapien's study of the war experience of forty-two Indonesians during the Japanese occupation,³⁴ Fridus Stijlen's oral history project recording the experiences of Dutch and Indo-European citizens which covers the period of 1930-1960³⁵ and Willy

³⁴ Adrian Bernard Lapien (ed.), *Di Bawah Pendudukan Jepang: Kenangan Empat Puluh Dua Orang yang Mengalami* (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1988).

³⁵ Fridus Stijlen, *Memories of the East: Abstracts of the Dutch Interviews about the Netherlands East Indies, Indonesia and New Guinea 1930-1960 in the Oral History Project Collection* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002). See

Rothrock's interviews with five Dutchmen who were either school pupils or teachers in Indonesia during the 1920s and 1930s.³⁶ No less important are the biographies and autobiographies of the Indonesian students and teachers themselves.³⁷

Last but not least, there are the books and journals written by former students of teacher training schools and other types of schools. Although produced *after* the period under study, they were written by the people who had personally witnessed the developments in educational policy and therefore these books and journals contain personal experience and first-hand information.³⁸ By combining archival materials, interviews and first-hand testimonials, this study attempts to make some connections between the 'design and imagination' at the level of policy makers and that at the level of daily practice of the teachers.

E. Previous studies

H. Kroeskamp wrote *Early Schoolmasters in a Developing Country; A History of Experiments in School Education in 19th Century Indonesia* to investigate the period 'when new legislation was completed, which would impart a permanent structure to the educational system in (the) Netherlands East-Indies'.³⁹ Kroeskamp's study ends with the year 1893 but L.S. van der Wal has shown that, following upon the educational reforms of the 1890s, fundamental changes occurred in the policy on public education in Indonesia.⁴⁰ Under the auspices of the Ethical Policy, formal education was made available to indigenous people albeit hedged in with restrictions and stratifications.⁴¹ Some aspects of the policy governing teachers including the prerequisite training and certification, welfare services and freedom of affiliation also changed.⁴²

also G. Ten Berge, *Met Open Ogen: Gesprek met Hein ten Berge over Zijn Jaren in Nederlands-Indië als Leraar in Moentilan en in Japanese Krijgsgevangenschap* (Maarssen: E. ten Berge, 1995).

³⁶ Willy Rothrock, 'The Development of Dutch-Indonesian Primary Schooling: A Study in Colonial Education' (A Master in Education Thesis, The University of Alberta, Edmonton Canada, 1975)

³⁷ For HIK in Bukittinggi, see the autobiography of Abdul Haris Nasution, *Memenuhi Panggilan Tugas: Jilid 1 Kenangan Masa Muda* (Jakarta: C.V. Haji Masagung, 1990); for HIK in Yogyakarta: a biography by Satimah Mardjana-Sudjiran, *Sudjiran Resosudarmo: Ketekunan Membawa Hasil, dari Anak Desa Menjadi Guru Besar* (Jakarta: publisher unknown, 2006). To a lesser extent of relevance to this study, for Christian HIK in Solo, the autobiography of Priguna Sidharta, *Seorang Dokter dari Losarang: Sebuah Otobiografi* (Jakarta: PT Temprint, 1993); for Catholic HIK in Muntilan, the biography of Sartono Kartodirdjo written by M. Nursam, *Membuka Pintu bagi Masa Depan: Biografi Sartono Kartodirdjo* (Jakarta: Penerbit Kompas, 2008).

³⁸ Of relevance is the bi-monthly journal, which is published by the Association of Ex-Students of HIK Yogyakarta, the GEMA. It first appeared in print somewhere in 1977/1978 and still exists today, despite fewer and fewer contributors. In addition to these regular issues of GEMA in different volumes, this study uses two special volumes of GEMA. See Noer Toegiman et al. (eds.), *Gema Edisi Yubileum: HIK Yogyakarta 60 Tahun* (Yogyakarta: Keluarga Ex-HIK Yogyakarta, 1987); Umar Said Noor et al. (eds.), *HIK-Jogja dalam Kenangan 75 Tahun* (Jakarta: Sentrasarana Adcomindo, 2002). To a lesser extent, wherever relevant this study also uses other publications which include testimonials by alumni of other types of school, for example, Eddy Djoemardi Djoekardi et al. (eds.), *Jembatan Antargenerasi: Pengalaman Murid SMT Jakarta 1942-1945* (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1998); Imrad Idris et al. (eds.), *Aku Ingat...: Rasa dan Tindak Siswa Sekolah Kolonial di Awal Merdeka Bangsa* (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1996).

³⁹ Kroeskamp, *Early Schoolmasters*, xvi.

⁴⁰ L.S. van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië: Een Bronnenpublikatie* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1963).

⁴¹ E. Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek in Fragmenten: Vijf Studies over Koloniaal Denken en Doen in de Indonesische Archipel 1877-1942* (Utrecht: HES Publishers, 1981).

⁴² See Het Hoofdbestuur van het Nederlands-Indië Onderwijzers Genootschap (NIOG), *Gids voor de Onderwijzer, Die naar Indië Wenst te Vertrekken* (Deventer: Kluwer, 1907), 20-22; for matters relating

A recent publication, *Guru di Indonesia: Pendidikan, Pelatihan dan Perjuangannya dari Masa VOC sampai Reformasi*, deals with the development of government policies affecting teacher training and the political role of Indonesian teachers. Although the book claims to cover the period from the East India Company up to the '1998 Reformasi', it relies almost completely on government papers from the 1950s to the 1990s.⁴³

Mochtar Buchori's *Evolusi Pendidikan di Indonesia: Dari Kweekschool Sampai ke IKIP, 1852-1998*⁴⁴ explores major changes in the organizational structure of teacher training schools from the time when the first *kweekschool* was established in Java up to the demise of the Institute of Teachers' Training and Education, the IKIP, in the 1990s. The author also employs a few archival documents from the pre-war period, but relies mainly on recent newspapers and devotes considerable attention to the reform of teacher training in present-day Indonesia.⁴⁵ Buchori is a prominent Indonesian educationist and politician who graduated from the SGB and SGA in Yogyakarta in 1948. In 2005, he willingly gave an interview for the present study.

Teacher Education in ASEAN edited by Francis Wong provides a comparative perspective on South-East Asia.⁴⁶ In this publication, Winarno Surakhmad, a prominent educationist and education official in the 1960s, deals with the developments in Indonesia during the 1960s and the 1970s.⁴⁷

The training of Indonesian teachers is only briefly mentioned in other studies focusing on the history and policy of education in the early-twentieth century,⁴⁸ dealing with the Chinese,⁴⁹ Dutch-language policy,⁵⁰ mission history,⁵¹ the history of Indonesian higher education,⁵² the history of Indonesian education in the post-colonial period⁵³ and a comparative education history.⁵⁴ In studies

especially to European teachers in Indonesia, see also publication of different teacher associations: Vereeniging Oost en West, *De Ambtenaar bij het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* (s-Hage: Luctor et Emergo, 1912); Vereeniging van Leraren en Leraressen bij het Middlebare Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië (1903).

⁴³ Dedi Supriadi et al., *Guru di Indonesia: Pendidikan, Pelatihan dan Perjuangannya dari Masa VOC sampai Reformasi* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan Nasional, 2003)

⁴⁴ Mochtar Buchori, *Evolusi Pendidikan di Indonesia: Dari Kweekschool Sampai ke IKIP, 1852-1998* (Yogyakarta: Insist Press, 2007).

⁴⁵ It seems the book is a development of a Master-of-Education thesis defended by the author at the University of Nebraska in 1957. Mochtar Buchori, 'Teacher Training and Social Reconstruction in Indonesia'.

⁴⁶ Francis Wong (ed.), *Teacher Education in ASEAN* (Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, Hong Kong: Heinemann Educational Books, 1976).

⁴⁷ Winarno Surakhmad, 'Indonesia', in Francis Wong (ed.), *Teacher Education in ASEAN*, 35-55.

⁴⁸ I.J. Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch Indië* (Batavia: J.B. Wolters, 1938); J.S. Furnivall and B. Lasker, *Educational Progress in Southeast Asia* (New York: Pacific Relation, 1943); E. Dumassy, 'Van Guru tot Schoolmeester: Ontwikkelingen in het Indonesische Onderwijs tot 1942', *Intermediair: Informatie voor Leidinggevende Functionarissen*, Vol. 16, Issue 6 (February 1980), 53-63; Johannes Erik Arnoldus Maria Lelyveld, 'Waarlijk Geen Overdaad, Doch een Dringende Eisch; Koloniaal Onderwijs en Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië 1893-1942' (Diss., Utrecht University, 1992).

⁴⁹ M.T.N. Govaars-Tjia, M.T.N. *Colonial Education: The Chinese Experience in Indonesia, 1900-1942*, tr. Lorre Lynn Trytten (Singapore: Chinese Heritage Center, 2005).

⁵⁰ Kees Groeneboer, *Gateway to the West: The Dutch Language in Colonial Indonesia 1600-1950: A History of Language Policy*, tr. Myra Scholz (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998).

⁵¹ See, for example, Huub J.W.M. Boelaars, *Indonesianisasi: Dari Gereja Katolik di Indonesia Menjadi Gereja Katolik Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2005).

⁵² R. Murray Thomas, *A Chronicle of Indonesian Higher Education: The First-Half Century 1920-1970* (Singapore: Chopmen Enterprises, 1973).

⁵³ S. Bradjanagara and L. Kartasoebrata, *Djalan Baru untuk Memperbarui Pendidikan dan Pengajaran Sekolah Rakjat Pantjasila* (np; nd); Soegarda Poerbakawatja, *Pendidikan dalam Alam Indonesia Merdeka* (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1970).

on the development of education in particular geographical areas, the subject of teacher training is also touched upon in passing. Examples of this are Zulqayyim's study of Bukittinggi in West Sumatra⁵⁵ and Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo's work on Yogyakarta.⁵⁶ Several university theses in Indonesia and elsewhere also have been written on colonial and post-colonial education in Indonesia but they pay relatively little attention to the training of teachers. These include Lee Kam Hing's PhD dissertation (Monash University in Melbourne, Australia) on the politicization of education and teacher organizations in the 1960s,⁵⁷ Willy Rothrock's MA thesis (The University of Alberta in Edmonton, Canada), in which interviews were held with five Dutchmen who were either pupils or teachers in Indonesia during the 1920s and 1930s⁵⁸ and Fahzulmiardi's BA thesis (Andalas University in Padang, Indonesia) about the development of the Bukittinggi *kweekschool* from 1873 to 1892.⁵⁹

F. A note on historiography

In many respects successive changes in Indonesian education reflect the birth pangs of the Indonesian State formation. The dialectic relationship between school and society helps to understand more clearly the transformation in which education was both a driving force and a tool of power relations

Generally speaking, discussions about pre-war education have taken contrastive lines of perspective and show a categorical paradox about its nature and outcomes.⁶⁰ Indonesian educationists were, and are, very much aware of the social and ethnic segregation of the education in colonial times.⁶¹ The British sociologist J.S. Furnivall has said that colonial education in Indonesia was reproductive in mission.⁶²

⁵⁴ Hugh Archibald Wyndham, *Native Education: Ceylon, Java, the Philippines, French Indo-China and British Malaya* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933); T. Neville Postlethwaite and Robert Murray Thomas, *Schooling in the ASEAN Region: Primary and Secondary Education in Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1980).

⁵⁵ Zulqayyim, *Boekittinggi Tempo Doeloe* (Padang: Andalas University Press, 2006).

⁵⁶ Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo, *Kota Yogyakarta Tempo Doeloe: Sejarah Sosial 1880-1930* (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2008—reprint).

⁵⁷ Lee Kam Hing, 'School in Indonesia: Trends in Development and Issues of Controversies, 1945/1965' (Diss. Monash University, 1974). The dissertation was published in 1995 (see Footnote 12).

⁵⁸ Willy Rothrock, 'The Development of Dutch-Indonesian Primary Schooling'.

⁵⁹ Fahzulmiardi, 'Sekolah Raja di Bukittinggi, 1873-1892' (A Bachelor in History Thesis, Andalas University Padang Indonesia, 1993). As its source, the thesis relies mainly on the anniversary book of the *kweekschool* of Bukittinggi, *Gedenkboek* (1908).

⁶⁰ This is an idea which I explore in the paper, 'Education and the Transition of Regimes in Indonesia, 1900s-1960s: Comments on the Encompass Research Proposal', presented to the Encompass Pilot Conference, Jakarta 15-17 January 2008. The present section of this Introduction has primarily used and been developed from the paper.

⁶¹ For example, see Y.B. Mangunwijaya, *Saya Ingin Membayar Utang kepada Rakyat* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1999); Mochtar Buchori, 'Pendidikan Guru dalam Lintasan Sejarah: Mencari Format Pendidikan Guru Indonesia untuk Masa Depan' (unpublished paper); J. Sudarminta, 'Nasib Guru Semakin Terpuruk', *Basis* No. 01-02 Th. Ke-47 Jan.-Feb. (1998), 74-81; Winarno Surakhmad, 'Indonesia'. Concerns about segregation and discrimination in colonial education were, undoubtedly, primary in the thoughts of the Indonesian leading figure of National Education, Ki Hadjar Dewantara. See his compiled writings *Karya K.H. Dewantara Bagian I: Pendidikan* (Yogyakarta: Majelis Luhur Taman Siswa, 2004).

⁶² J.S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939); id., *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948).

Historians tend to say that as a driving force in the late colonial period public education contributed to the transformation of Indonesian society. The massive spread of Western schools in towns and villages across the country at the beginning of the twentieth century stimulated the rise of modern intellectual and middle-class elites who helped disseminate nationalism and political movements leading to Independence.⁶³

The discussions about post-war education also show a contrast in perspectives. Some people say that during the first two decades of independent Indonesia education was a turbulent experiment which, by combining the Dutch and Japanese 'heritages' or legacies, created a self-conscious Indonesian model of school.⁶⁴ It was a time of tremendous shortages of teachers, schools and school buildings.⁶⁵ It was a time in which policy was manipulated by political parties.⁶⁶ Regardless of the sorry conditions, however, these two decades have become a reference in today's policy making. Even those critics who insist that the present-day government should learn from the mistakes made in the past still have an eye on the far-reaching and visionary settings of that period.⁶⁷ Notwithstanding its instability, schooling during the early years of independent Indonesia served as a seedbed for the nation-building and stimulated a sense of national unity.

These different perspectives have failed to explain the relationship between the nature and the outcomes of education.⁶⁸ How could a segregated and reproductive education have served as a driving force in social and political changes in colonial times? How could an unstable education system have become an effective seedbed for nation-building and the sense of national unity of a newly born nation-state in post-colonial times?

⁶³ See, for example, Sartono Kartodirjo, *Pengantar Sejarah Indonesia Baru 1500-1900: Dari Emporium sampai Imperium: Jilid 1* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1989); id., *Pengantar Sejarah Indonesia Baru: Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional dari Kolonialisme sampai Nasionalisme: Jilid 2* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia, 1990); Simbolon, *Menjadi Indonesia*; Van Niel, *The Emergence*; George M. Kahin, 'The Indonesian Middle Class during the Last Three Decades of Dutch Rule', in C. Fasseur (ed.), *Geld en Geweten: Een Bundel Opstellen over Anderhalve Eeuw Nederlands Bestuur in de Indonesische Archipel* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1980); Heather Sutherland, *The Making of Bureaucratic Elite: The Colonial Transformation of the Javanese Priyayi* (Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books, 1979); M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200* (fourth edition) (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

⁶⁴ See R. Murray Thomas, 'Educational Remnants of Military Occupation: The Japanese in Indonesia', *Asian Survey*, Vol. 6 No. 11 (Nov. 1966), 630-42; Bradjanagara and Kartasoebrata, *Djalan Baru*; Poerbakawatja, *Pendidikan dalam Alam Indonesia Merdeka*.

⁶⁵ See, for example, *Statistik Pengadjaran Rendah di Indonesia* (Djakarta: Kantor Pusat Statistik Republik Indonesia Serikat, 1/6 1948).

⁶⁶ Lee Kam Hing, *Education and Politics*; Id., 'Schooling in Indonesia'.

⁶⁷ See, for example, Francis Wahono, 'Melahirkan Kembali Ke-Indonesia-Merdeka-an: Belajar dari Pendidikan ala Sekolah Rakyat Pancasila', in Ferry T. Indratno (ed.), *Negara Minus Nurani: Esai-Esai Kritis Kebijakan Publik* (Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas, 2009), 168-92.

⁶⁸ Public opinions on colonial education in Indonesia are almost always paradoxical. Every year when commemorating Indonesian Education Day, people express a deep concern about the sorry state of contemporary education, by upholding colonial education and, simultaneously, condemning it as being the core root of the present-day problems of education. By and large, the former atmosphere prevails, as is partly represented in a newspaper opinion 'Bisakah "Kweekschool" Diterapkan Kembali?'—Is It Possible to Revive the Kweekschool?—(*Pikiran Rakyat* Bandung, June 22, 2004). Legendary poet Taufik Ismail compares and contrasts the reading and writing habits of colonial and present-day school pupils, and seemingly favours the former. He says that, during Dutch colonial times, high school pupils who spent three years in schooling had to write 106 papers and read 25 literary books in English, Dutch, German and French. According to Taufik Ismail, the reading and writing habits of today's high school pupils has dropped drastically with only one paper per year on average (*Kompas*, December 4, 2007).

This study attempts to address these questions by using the following framework of inquiry. First, how did the macro factors of the social, economic, cultural and political dimensions influence the pre-war and the post-war schools? Second, what did the school practices look like 'approximately' and what happened on the work floor, according to what and whose standards? Third, how and to what extent did the micro factors of the school lives contribute to 'extraordinary' changes at the macro level of society? Does a theory of dominance answer the first question, that of critical pedagogy the second and that of resistance the last?

G. Organization

This study consists of four parts which are organized chronologically and topically. The first part deals with the conceptual framework of the study (Chapter 1) and with the developments in the teacher training school from their early stages in the twentieth century (Chapter 2) up to the birth of a standardized teacher training school, the HIK, in 1927 (Chapter 3). All these developments were interrupted and disrupted, as explored in the second part, by the Great Depression (Chapter 4) and by the political dynamics which followed in its wake (Chapter 5). The third part is focused on the re-institutionalization following the end of the Second World War. This includes institutional and individual recovery processes in the aftermath of the War and during the Indonesian Revolution in which the public education in general (Chapter 6) and the teachers' training and affairs in particular (Chapter 7) were caught in an emergency and critical stage. The 'new' Indonesia began to search for an education which could bolster the sense of unity and citizenship of the people (Chapter 8) and, alongside this process, the training and the availability of teachers remained vital (Chapter 9). The last part explores the new line of standardization in which an American system was adopted (Chapter 10). This process had to be interrupted, once again, by a change of political regime (Chapter 11). ***AS

Chapter 1

Schooling Transformed, Transforming Schooling⁶⁹

Introduction

The framework of the present study deals with three themes: the relationship between school and the transformation of society generally, the relationship between school and society in a colonial context, and the transition from colonial to post-colonial school. By way of introduction, I would like to propose a general statement: there are two dimensions in the relationship between education and the transformation of society. Education is an object of society; it is influenced by the dynamics and the changes in society. Education is a driving force in the transformation of society. The former dimension is outside-in. It deals with the influence of external factors in the internal aspects of schooling: curricula, schoolbooks, teaching methods and so forth. The latter is inside-out. It is concerned with the impact of the education process on the transformation of people's worldviews, behaviour and expectations.

The two dimensions are characterized by power⁷⁰ contestations in which dominance and resistance loom as distinctive ideas. Each dimension can be studied independently of the other, but the power contestation is always dialectical. In other words, both the dominating and the resisting parties contribute to the end result of the relationship. In order to understand the two dimensions, the methodology of schooling and the process in which powers are contested should be examined. Education is vulnerable to and invariably becomes a target of power contestation, but it is more than just an instrument of it. Therefore it should be seen both as an object and as an agent.

The task which I have set myself in this chapter is to construct a conceptual framework on the dialectic relationship⁷¹ between education and the transformation of Indonesian society in the first seventy years of the twentieth century. The ultimate aim is to identify the extent of the continuity and of the change. If domination and resistance are 'naturally' characteristic of education, the question is whether they effected the transformation as a result of regime change? Domination is defined as hegemonic control of the consciousness, identity, cultural symbols, attitude, behaviour, and interaction of other people or structures by powerful people or social-political structures. Resistance is understood as the 'negation' of the hegemonic control.⁷²

⁶⁹ This chapter is a modification of my paper 'In-Between Domination and Resistance, and Still More: Dialectics in Teacher Education History in Indonesia, 1900s-1920s', The 5th International Convention of Asia's Scholars, Kuala Lumpur (2-5 August 2007).

⁷⁰ In this context, power is understood as 'is a measure of an entity's ability to control its environment, including the behavior of other entities'. See [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Power_\(philosophy\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Power_(philosophy)) (accessed on 6 April 2011 at 11.11 CET).

⁷¹ The Hegelian concept of 'dialectics' suggests that the changes and movements of a subject matter take place through moments of affirmation, negation and re-affirmation, in which contradiction underlies the process. See Sibel Kibar, 'How the Dialectical Relationship between Consciousness and Life Is Differentiated in Hegel's and Marx's Philosophies' (MA Thesis, Middle-East Technology University, 2005); Elthan Grech, 'Hegel's Dialectic and Reflective Practice: A Short Essay', *International Journal of Psychosocial Rehabilitation* 8 (2004), 71-3.

⁷² See the use of these working concepts of domination and resistance in Henry A. Giroux, 'Public Pedagogy and the Politics of Resistance: Notes on a Critical Theory of Educational Struggle', *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, Vol. 35 No. 1 (2003), 5-16; id. *Pedagogy of the Depressed: Beyond the New Politics of Cynicism* (Penn. State University, 2000); id. 'Hegemony, Resistance, and the Paradox of Educational Reform', *Interchange*, Vol. 12 Nos 2-3 (1981), 3-25; id. 'Beyond the Correspondence Theory: Notes on the Dynamics of Educational

As were other countries in Asia and Africa, in the first seventy years of the twentieth century, Indonesia was characterized by the strengthening of the late colonial State, the rise of nationalism and, a process accelerated by the Second World War, the birth of the independent modern State.⁷³ In all these processes, (formal) education played a critical role. It led to the emergence of indigenous modern elites who sought to reshuffle the structure of the society by winning political independence. However, the developments were not as linear as they might seem to be at first sight. In many cases, the transition merely meant a transfer of authority from one to another regime whereas the State structure remained basically unchanged.⁷⁴

Setting aside the question of whether colonial policy and practice was predatory or benevolent in character,⁷⁵ it is apparent that the pre-war period was one of major reforms and expansion in public education. With the foundation of the Second-Class School and the *desa* or village school, despite the ethnic stratification the Indonesian masses were given an access to public education. The quality of education was also gradually improved so that, especially in the case of the school for the social elites (the First-Class School), the standard of education of the Europeans was reached. In all these schools, the ideas of domination and resistance were easily identifiable.⁷⁶ However, when seen from the perspective of the internal process of schooling, a dialectical relationship in which the colonizers and the colonized made a shared contribution to the results of education is also apparent.⁷⁷ In other words, the results of education did not necessarily reflect the state of the colonial relationship but mirrored a 'natural' trend in the development of contemporary educational principles. As Remi Clignet puts it, 'the relationship developed between teachers and students in the colonial context cannot be entirely accounted for by the overall economic and political structures of the colonizing society nor the position occupied by the individual teacher within such a structure'.⁷⁸

Reproduction and Transformation', *Curriculum Inquiry*, Vol. 10 No. 3 (Autumn 1980), 225-47; Henry A. Giroux and Michele Schmidt, 'Closing the Achievement Gap: A Metaphor for Children Left Behind', *Journal of Educational Change* 5 (2004), 213-28; Aaron Schutz, 'Rethinking Domination and Resistance: Challenging Postmodernism', *Educational Researcher*, Vol. 33 No. 1 (2004), 15-23; Douglas E. Foley, 'Rethinking School Ethnographies of Colonial Settings: A Performance Perspective of Reproduction and Resistance', *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 35 No. 3 (August 1991), 532-51; Norrel A. London, 'Curriculum and Pedagogy in the Development of Colonial Imagination: A Case Study', *Pedagogy, Culture and Society*, Vol. 10 Number 1 (2002), 96-121.

⁷³ Clifford Geertz (ed.), *Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963)

⁷⁴ Harry J. Benda, 'Decolonization in Indonesia: The Problem of Continuity and Change', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 70, No. 4 (July 1965), 1058-73.

⁷⁵ See Anne Booth, 'Were Colonial States Predatory?: Some Evidence from South East Asia' (The Economic History Society Annual Conference, University of London 2-4 April, 2004)

⁷⁶ The development of the public schools for Indonesians in the early twentieth century was motivated by government need of low-paid trained personnel. The set-up of Second-Class and *desa* schools was to form children in their cultural origins; the First-Class school was gradually made equivalent to the European school and its aim was to create a Western role model from and for the indigenous community. See Chapter 2.

⁷⁷ See Remi Clignet, 'Inadequacies of the Notion of Assimilation in African Education', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 8, 3 (1970), 425-44.

⁷⁸ Remi Clignet, 'Damned If You Do, Damned If You Don't: The Dilemmas of Colonizer-Colonized Relations', in Philip G. Altbach and Gail P. Kelly (eds.), *Education and the Colonial Experience: Second Revised Edition* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Books, 1984), 77-95. The quotation here is from page 79.

Nevertheless, the emergence of independent Indonesia in the second half of the 1940s breached the colonial dam of political boundary and social stratification. When independence promised equal recognition of individual rights, education served as a strategic medium.⁷⁹ Unlike colonial times, Indonesians now formally grouped themselves as collective individuals who 'willingly' unified together (Nation) into the building of a sovereign structure of authority (State).⁸⁰ The emergence of the nation-state 'Indonesia' transformed the status of individual Indonesians conceptually from subject (*onderdaan*)⁸¹ to autonomous citizen. In this transformation process, the goal of education was to create public intellectuality. It enabled individuals to develop a consciousness about their social responsibilities and involvement in public affairs.⁸² Despite all this, the basic nature of the educational mission remained unchanged.

Both in the colonial and in the post-colonial context, education was used as an instrument to prepare individuals to become responsible subjects of the State. In the colonial context, the power contestation in education was a complex matter as it dealt with both colonizing and being colonized. Consequently, the ideas of domination and resistance, which naturally characterize a schooling process, applied not only to individual agents (teacher and student) but also to collective people who lived and worked in an unequal relationship (the colonizer and the colonized). In the independent State, domination and resistance are deliberately abolished by design. But this still begs the question of whether and to what extent the transition from colonial to independent State transformed the nature of schooling and the patterns of educational processes. Here, the issue of continuity and change is not so much to do with historiography or with the methodology of history writing as pointed out by Heather Sutherland or by Sartono Kartodirdjo, who speak in terms of 'a move from "Euro-" to "Asiacentrism"' or from 'Neerland- to Indonesiacentrism'.⁸³ Instead, the issue is epistemological. It is concerned with the production of knowledge in the internal process of schooling: in how far was schooling directed towards transforming an individual from being a submissive subject to being an autonomous citizen eager to seek for a rational meaning of identity?

In colonial times, Indonesian teachers at public schools were prepared to become well-trained professionals whose chief responsibility was to facilitate the development of children's minds and personalities. The 'area' of their work was largely limited to life inside school. The social impact of their work could only be expected to emerge through a gradual process within the existing established system. The diversity of the teachers' backgrounds and the competitive remuneration system entailed that Indonesian teachers at the public schools were more concerned with their own vertical mobility

⁷⁹ See the Preamble to the 1945 Indonesian Constitution (Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945).

⁸⁰ This is my own understanding of 'Nation' and 'State'.

⁸¹ The idea of subjugated subject was explored quite extensively in the Third Education Congress of the Netherlands Indies. See, for example, two of the papers presented in the Congress: S. Kromsig, 'Apakah jang Dapat Dikerdjakan dalam Sekolah Oentoek Mendidik Moerid Itoe Soepaja Djadi "Staatsburger" jang Baik'; F. Van Lith, 'Wat Kan Gedaan Worden om de Opvoedkundige Waarde van het Onderwijs voor het Indiese Kind te Verhogen', Third Education Congress, Weltevreden (29 Sept.-2 Oct., 1924).

⁸² See Chapter 8.

⁸³ Heather Sutherland, 'Professional Paradigms, Politics and Popular Practice: Reflections on "Indonesian National History"', in Sri Kuhnt-Saptodewo, Volker Grabowsky & Martin Grossheim (eds.), *Nationalism and Cultural Revival in Southeast Asia: Perspectives from the Center and the Region* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 83-98; Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Indonesian Historiography* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2001), 11-46.

than with social change. So, teachers were overwhelmingly part of the establishment and represented the dominating class.

In the early years of independent Indonesia, the picture changed and ideologically schoolteachers became part of the struggling masses. Transformed by the economic and political changes set in motion from the Great Depression to the Second World War, Indonesian teachers were in the process of becoming 'political' or 'politically conscious' individuals, although this did not necessarily mean that they were actively involved in political organizations. They became much more concerned with social change rather than with their own vertical mobility. Their 'area' of work was the social context of education: how school could fit into and contribute to the dynamics of the changing society. The transition from colonial to independent State drastically altered the position and the profile of public school teachers. It also reshuffled public expectations about what would be expected of the new teachers, whom the teachers' training school were to prepare in the future.

However, the fly in the ointment was that the transition of regimes did not herald the transformation of the bureaucratic administration. Although the social profile of teachers was changed, the way in which the teachers were prepared for their job basically remained the same. Both in colonial and post-colonial contexts, the system of teacher training was characterized by an on-going process of standardization in which improvements were made to the extent basis of a particular quality reference (benchmark). Although standardization implies a sense of continuous improvement, the design of the improvement was often imposed by non-educational factors. Independence brought with it dreams and hopes of a new Indonesian society in which schoolteachers were expected to be agents of social change. Yet, the newly born State Indonesia sadly lacked the institutional capacity to keep pace with the changing political necessities. Both in colonial and in post-colonial contexts, Indonesian teachers were pedagogically prepared to become instrumental agents. Here, continuity figures in the outside-in dimension, in which changes in the teacher training system reflected the live dynamics of the society.

This chapter will deal with three main points. The first is the idea of domination and resistance in the relationship between education and society. The second looks at the issue of school and society in the colonial settings. The third examines Indonesian teacher training seen from the aspects of continuity and change from colonial to independent State.

A. Domination, resistance and in between

Dialectics have always featured in the discourse about the relationship between education and society. The school is often regarded as instrumental in the reproduction of the social and economic classes of a given society. However, recent post-modern ideas have uprooted such an 'established' discourse by posing radical questions about hegemony, domination, resistance and other issues of power relations in school and schooling. Generally speaking, school is seen as a social and cultural institution which trains individual agents in particular dispositions and knowledge in order to support the ideological interests of the dominant group. The central concern is the sustainability of the existing classes for which the school reproduces well-trained individuals. The reproduction perspective addresses school and its education process as an apparatus of the State. In more recent accounts, the scene has shifted and school is now also seen as a structural process of the human search for meaning and identity. The

post-modern idea suggests that the meaning and identity which result from schooling are never free of a political bias. Certainly, they are not just reproductions of old meaning and identity, they can actually open up new avenues of thinking, which might even disrupt or challenge the sustainability of old nations.

Henry A. Giroux has analysed the shift in emphasis in the education theory of reproduction. The shift is one from social reproduction to cultural reproduction to socio-cultural reproduction.⁸⁴ Such a shift denotes the nature of the adjustability of the theory of reproduction to the changing aspects and meaning of schooling. The reproduction theory alone is never sufficient to explain the complexities of power relations in schools because it places a 'one-sided emphasis on the systemic and deterministic aspects of social and cultural reproduction in capitalist societies'.⁸⁵ The social reproduction theory views school as a functional station which trains individuals who later will be capable of maintaining the economic and social classes in industrialized capitalist societies. The cultural reproduction theory emphasizes the way in which school culture is reproduced and legitimated and how the reproduction of school culture plays a 'mediating role in reproducing class societies'.⁸⁶ Finally, while moving beyond class domination, social and cultural reproduction theory traces the positional meaning of power along either the social or the cultural line of emphasis of the reproduction so as to contest the assertion 'that power both forms and works through the individual, that power can be desirable and not just constraining'.⁸⁷

What is missing in reproduction theory is the concept of the multidimensionality of power.⁸⁸ Reproduction theory assumes power works in a one-way direction through the hegemony of the controlling groups over the controlled. It is as if power had come to dominate a particular group of people without the people opposing or resisting it. But that would seem to be a false premise. Indeed, as Giroux quoting Michel Foucault says, 'power is never monolithic; it is never completely controlled from one point of view'.⁸⁹ To view school only as an arena of reproduction means to ignore the potential of resistance, conflict and struggle which the hegemonic power instigates in the controlled group.⁹⁰ This necessitates a theory of resistance to understand 'practice of concrete interaction of the relationships of domination/subordination' in schools.⁹¹

Unlike reproduction theory, resistance theory views school as an arena of the struggle of the controlled group contesting the domination of the controller.⁹² The meaning of identity, cultural signs and the material world which the controller defines and aims to impose on the consciousness of the controlled is contested through what David F. Labaree categorizes as the relegation of an assigned set of interaction standards, curricula, textbooks and other pedagogical measures to social changes and

⁸⁴ Giroux, 'Hegemony, Resistance', 3-25

⁸⁵ Ibid. 12

⁸⁶ Ibid. 8.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 12.

⁸⁸ Giroux, 'Beyond the Correspondence Theory', 225-47.

⁸⁹ Giroux, 'Hegemony, Resistance', 12.

⁹⁰ Joao Viegas Fernandes, 'From the Theories of Social and Cultural Reproduction to the Theory of Resistance', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 9 No. 2 (1988), 169-80.

⁹¹ Ibid. 169.

⁹² Giroux, 'Public Pedagogy and the Politics of Resistance', 5-16.

involvement.⁹³ School serves as a public sphere in which individuals learn to foster actively and to engage critically in a sustainable transformation of the society.⁹⁴ In that sense school plays a political role in opposition to the class hegemony of the dominating groups.

Although the resistance theory clearly emphasizes the concept of school as an arena of struggle, the way it works is not actually quite so clear-cut. Educationalists have raised radical questions about whether resistance theory truly moves beyond the idea of class domination. At this juncture an example is pertinent. The so-called pastoral mode of control in pedagogical interaction does invite critical, reflective and creative individual involvement in a classroom of socially deprived students. Hence, it can serve as an alternative to the disciplinary mode, which is traditionally hegemonic.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, the goal of the change in the students' behaviour which results from the pastoral approach is to 'serve purposes set for them [individuals] by the institution of school, the teacher, and the researchers'.⁹⁶ In this sense, the democratic spirit which the pastoral mode aims to foster in resistance to its disciplinary counterpart relapses into another practice of hegemony. Consequently, instead of promoting the students' sense of solidarity and intensifying their involvement in social transformation, the pastoral mode invites the students to show more resistance than when the disciplinary mode is used to approach them. This illustrates the inevitability of the intervention of power in the approaches to making school a political public site of struggle against class domination. It shows the application of the power-relation framework in both the disciplinary and the pastoral approaches, although the nature of these two approaches is indeed oppositional. As a result, the meaning the school produces in the identity and the consciousness of its students is never free of the ideological values of the framing structures under which the schooling process takes place.

The cultural anthropologists Jean and John Comaroff have criticized the partiality that the reproduction and the resistance theories might infer to the concept of subjectivity.⁹⁷ School might be a station of class reproduction or of struggle in which different hegemonic ideologies are contested through power relations. However, the way the students understand and perceive their identity and roles in society might not simply be a result of the schooling process. The meaning of the self-identity and roles which the students acquire and use as the ideological framework for social involvement (Giroux: engagement) does not necessarily merely reflect the ideology line of the school structure in which they have received their education. The Comaroffs criticize the supporters of the reproduction and the resistance theories for too often perceiving school as a site of struggle. 'Meaning may never be *innocent*, but it is also not merely reducible to the postures of power,' the Comaroffs write, '... [i]t is possible, indeed inevitable, for some symbols and meanings *not* to be hegemonic – and impossible that

⁹³ David F. Labaree, 'Curriculum, Credentials, and the Middle Class: A Case Study of a Nineteenth-Century High School', *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 59 No. 1 (January 1986), 42-57.

⁹⁴ Giroux, *Pedagogy of the Depressed*.

⁹⁵ Schutz, 'Rethinking Domination and Resistance', 15-23; Samantha Caughlan, 'Considering Pastoral Power: A Commentary on Aaron Schutz's "Rethinking Domination and Resistance: Challenging Postmodernism"' in: http://www.aera.net/uploadedFiles/Publications/Journals/Educational_Researcher/3402/3402_Caughlan.pdf: 2005).

⁹⁶ Schutz, 'Rethinking Domination and Resistance', 3.

⁹⁷ Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Volume 1: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991).

any hegemony can claim all the signs in the world for its own...'.⁹⁸ What is more central, they argue, is the consciousness to be able to understand that 'signs and practices, relations and distinctions, images and epistemologies – drawn from a historically situated cultural field' should not be taken for granted as 'the natural and received shape of the world and everything that inhabits it'.⁹⁹ Here, an outward view of school is called for, one which will move from the hegemony discourse towards cultural understanding.

In a critical review of the Comaroffs, it is important to shift from the 'texts' to 'the many aspects of the real[ities]' which shape identity.¹⁰⁰ It is also important to refer to the wide scope of the materialization of culture in daily lives, in which a political dichotomy of agent and structure is not always an appropriate tool to portray the construction of individual identity. However, by completely putting aside the idea of power relation, any proposal for understanding the construction of the meaning of cultural signs 'fails to appreciate the contribution a focus on hegemony makes to understanding historical change and the historicity of culture'.¹⁰¹ Moreover, it would be hard to argue that the many aspects of the realities in daily lives are truly immune to ideological values. So, putting aside the hegemony perspective in exchange for a purely cultural conception of meaning and identity ignores the fact that power and the social and political relations, by which individual identity is constructed, do develop and absorb ideological values.

In retrospect, the discourse on school and society is a continuously contested one. Nevertheless, all these approaches confirm that there is always a dialectical relationship between school and society.

B. School and society in colonial settings

The concept of domination and resistance is a recognizable theme in various studies of the relationship between school and society in a colonial setting.¹⁰² Only quite recently have studies began to explore how larger colonial structures affected daily practices in school and how resistance began to emerge.¹⁰³ In those studies, mainstream colonial education system is mostly seen as dominating in character and reproductive in mission, so in a due course it invites opposition and resistance of the dominated group. The approach that these studies employ is overall that of power relations. Although post-modernists like the Comaroffs attempt to play down the power relations approach, it is argued that the approach remains crucial to understanding the multidimensionality of schooling in the colonial settings.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 21, italics in original

⁹⁹ Ibid. 23.

¹⁰⁰ Greg Dening, 'The Comaroffs Out of Africa: A Reflection Out of Oceania', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 108 No. 2 (April 2003).

¹⁰¹ Sally Engle Merry, 'Hegemony and Culture in Historical Anthropology: A Review Essay on Jean and John L. Comaroff's "Of Revelation and Revolution"', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 108 No. 2 (April 2003).

¹⁰² In the bibliographical exploration which follows, I shall refer to several (case) studies on different issues of colonial schooling in America, Africa and Asia of the eighteenth to twentieth century.

¹⁰³ See two interesting analyses: Foley, 'Rethinking School Ethnographies', 532-51; Barbara A. Yates, 'Comparative Education and the Third World: The Nineteenth Century Revisited', *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 28 No. 4 (Nov. 1984), 533-49.

To start with, it can be argued that colonial public education was never deliberately designed with the idea of uplifting the socio-economic welfare of the indigenous people in the colony.¹⁰⁴ Although economic historians like Anne Booth suggest that (European) colonial rulers cannot possibly be considered predatory given the large expenditure they devoted to the running of public schools for the indigenous people,¹⁰⁵ the British colonial official J.S. Furnivall has argued that colonial education policy was motivated by both the economic interests of the colonizer and the purely cultural motive of promoting civilization.¹⁰⁶ In the design of the colonial economy, the principle motif of schooling was to ensure the colonizer's control over the indigenous mindset, behaviour and cultural orientation, inculcating dependency on the mother country. In short, colonial schooling was aimed to gain the mental control of the colony. Inevitably, thereafter colonial schooling had a reproductive nature. To a large extent, it copied the structure and the content of the educational system in the mother country.¹⁰⁷ Colonial schooling promoted a power relation in which European rulers increasingly assumed a key patronage position. It educated the indigenous people as colonial subjects to support a patron-client relationship between the colonizer and the colonized although, as Ann Laura Stoler says, in their own group the colonizers (and the colonized) 'were not by nature unified, nor did they [...] share common interests and fears'.¹⁰⁸

The requisite mental control was attained through the imposition of a school system which socialized the indigenous children into a given set of values. Deep reading of the choice and selection of school curricula, school textbooks, school uniforms, teaching strategies, language of instruction and even the settings of the classrooms and the architectural construction of school buildings reveals the varieties of mechanism through which the mental control was exercised by the colonial powers. A study of colonial Trinidad and Tobago by Norrel A. London shows that school curricula and pedagogical practices conveyed games and songs which projected the indigenous school children towards 'Western imagination at the expense of developing local talent'.¹⁰⁹ In his case study of American colonial schools, David F. Labaree demonstrates how the early capitalization of education in the United States turned the school curriculum into a template of credentials which were seen to be prestigious for maintaining the social classes.¹¹⁰ In this situation, the process of mental control is recognizable through analyses of what I might call the micro-aspects of schooling such as the pedagogical standards of learning.

The process is also observable in some critical investigations at the macro level in which schooling is understood directly in its connection to the 'grand design' of colonial society. Different studies by L. Wing-Wah, G.Y. Hean, and F.W. Hoy Kee and P.C. Min Phang show that in the British

¹⁰⁴ A. Boone, 'Onderwijs en Opvoeding in Nederlandse Koloniën 1595-1975', *Pedagogisch Tijdschrift* 21 No. 2 (1986), 87-92; P. Morris and J. Williamson (eds.), *Teacher Education in the Asia-Pacific Region: A Comparative Study* (New York: Falmer Press, 2000).

¹⁰⁵ Booth, 'Were Colonial States Predatory?'

¹⁰⁶ J.S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), 365-6.

¹⁰⁷ Gail P. Kelly, 'The Relation between Colonial and Metropolitan Schools: A Structural Analysis', *Comparative Education* Vol. 15 No. 2 (June 1979), 209-16.

¹⁰⁸ Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 2002), 24.

¹⁰⁹ London, 'Curriculum and Pedagogy', 96-121. The direct reference here is from page 115.

¹¹⁰ Labaree, 'Curriculum, Credentials, and the Middle Class', 42-57.

colonies of Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malaya, the exclusive goal of public education was to produce low-skilled labourers for trades, farming and the manufacturing industries.¹¹¹ Furnival says that as in the British colony of Burma in the Dutch colony of the Netherlands Indies, public education prepared the indigenous people to be low-level technical labourers.¹¹² In the colonial Philippines under the American rule, Douglas Foley argues the government initially set up a public education system which focused on rural studies in order to encourage agricultural production.¹¹³ The emphasis then shifted towards vocational training consonant with small- and large-scale industries, manufacturing export products. Not all of the colonial strategies worked out as planned, Foley says, but the design of colonial education policy shows its overriding motif of economic reproduction.

In these afore-mentioned European colonies in Asia, the colonizer imposed an education system designed to take control over the indigenous mindset by assigning an economic value to the micro- and macro-aspects of schooling. This economic value should not be seen especially in terms of the expenditure which the government allocated or fees which parents had to pay to send their children to Western schools. The perspective from which it should be viewed is that of the 'promised' prospect of social and economic vertical mobility which the schooling could offer children who acquired some academic credentials. Colonial schooling bore an instrumental function upon which the colonial authority imposed a given set of values in order to socialize indigenous children to the mindset of submission to the colonizer.

The modes of the socialization to the submissive colonial mindset varied depending on the colonizer and the colonized, but in principle they took the forms of forced-substitution, assimilation, accommodation, or pre-emption. In nineteenth-century Algeria, for instance, the French initially implemented their education policy by taking over the religious donations which had been the traditionally financial sources of indigenous Algerian schools. Once the French had done this, these schools logically had to close down for financial reasons and the French promptly assimilated the Algerian children into Western schooling.¹¹⁴ In British Hong Kong, the colonial government managed to accommodate local reaction, mostly in the form of resistance, towards Western schooling through the introduction of curricular policies and the gradual use of English as the school language of instruction.¹¹⁵ In twentieth-century Vietnam, the French shut down indigenous Vietnamese village schools, sent government-trained teachers to the French-supported schools and forced these schools to implement a government-prescribed curriculum. Interestingly, the French schooling in colonial

¹¹¹ L. Wing-Wah, 'The Accommodation and Resistance to the De-colonisation, Neo-colonisation and Re-colonisation of Higher Education in Hong Kong', *Comparative Education* Vol. 33 No. 2 (1997), 187-209; G.Y. Hean, *The Training of Teachers in Singapore, 1870-1940* (Singapore: Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, Nanyang University, 1976); F.W. Hoy Kee and P.C. Min Phang, *The Changing Pattern of Teacher Education in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann, 1975).

¹¹² J.S. Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India* (Cambridge: University Press, 1948), 376.

¹¹³ Douglas Foley, 'Colonialism and Schooling in the Philippines, 1898-1970', in Philip G. Altbach and Gail P. Kelly (eds.), *Education and the Colonial Experience: Second Revised Edition* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Books, 1984), 33-53.

¹¹⁴ Alf Andrew Heggoy, 'Colonial Education in Algeria: Assimilation and Reaction', in Philip G. Altbach and Gail P. Kelly (eds.), *Education and the Colonial Experience: Second Revised Edition* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Books, 1984), 97-116.

¹¹⁵ Wing Wah, 'The Accommodation and Resistance'

Vietnam did not socialize Vietnamese children to the Western cultural realm in its literal sense. In view of the putative political opposition which the Vietnamese could develop if the schooling delivered curricular knowledge similar to the content of school curricula in France, the French chose instead to put the emphasis on the Vietnamese traditional life so that the more educated Vietnamese child was more knowledgeable about rice farming, local trade and the nation's history than about Western science and technology.¹¹⁶ The Vietnam experience is a case of pre-emption, in which the colonizer prevented Western schooling from promoting deliberate cultural contacts between the colonized and the colonizers. In this case, schooling imposed the colonizer's mindset of how the colonized should understand their own culture.

The effects of such impositions on indigenous life could take two forms. Where the mode of assimilation or accommodation is characteristic, colonial schooling creates what Robert Van Niel calls a new layer of indigenous functional elite. The elite 'lived on the fringes of Western culture, [...] and adopted many of the superficial aspects of the Western way'. Such a person was 'the marginal man; at best an imitator of Western ways, but more than likely unable to orient to the new, and equally unable to return to the old'.¹¹⁷ This case of the characteristic features of the functional elite can be seen in the studies on the colonial Indonesia, Algeria, Vietnam, the Philippines and, to some extent, also India.¹¹⁸ Even though they played an essential part in the modernization of their country, the majority of the members of this elite group 'gained a deep feeling of loss, of distance from their own roots, which they sought to rediscover with an energy that sometimes approached demonic dimensions'.¹¹⁹ The second form was found when colonial schooling or the existence of colonial schooling stimulated reactions from the colonized opposing the colonizer's powers, mostly in the form of political uprisings. Again to refer to Van Niel, it created a group of political elite who attempted to disrupt, change and in the end replace the socio-economic position of the status quo.

In Pakistan, for example, the founding of British schools invited almost total resistance from the local elite, mostly religious leaders, at the cost of prolonged confusion in the establishment of a system of post-colonial education.¹²⁰ In French Indo-China, the existence of colonial schooling elicited a counter-reaction from indigenous schools, which were backed by religious leaders who managed to stop foreign interference and influences in what they saw as national culture.¹²¹ Colonial Pakistan and Indo-China might serve as the best examples where resistance to Western powers did not always come from the inner practice of colonial schooling itself, but from the foundation of colonial schools

¹¹⁶ On colonial schooling in Vietnam, see Gail Paradise Kelly 'Colonial Schools in Vietnam: Policy and Practice', in David H. Kelly (ed.), *French Colonial Education: Essays on Vietnam and West Africa* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 2000), 3-25.

¹¹⁷ Robert van Niel, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite* (Dordrecht/Cinnaminson: Foris Publications, 1984), 23.

¹¹⁸ See again Van Niel, *The Emergence*; Heggoy, 'Colonial Education in Algeria'; Kelly, 'Colonial Schools in Vietnam'; Foley, 'Colonialism and Schooling in the Philippines'; also David Kopf, 'Orientalism and the Indian Educated Elite', in Philip G. Altbach and Gail P. Kelly (eds.), *Education and the Colonial Experience: Second Revised Edition* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Books, 1984), 117-35.

¹¹⁹ Heggoy, 'Colonial Education in Algeria', 108.

¹²⁰ S.R. Khan, 'Financing Higher Education in Pakistan', *Higher Education* 21 (1991), 207-22.

¹²¹ Gail P. Kelly, 'Colonialism, Indigenous Society, and School Practices: French West Africa and Indochina, 1918-1938', in Philip G. Altbach and Gail P. Kelly (eds.), *Education and the Colonial Experience: Second Revised Edition* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Books, 1984), 9-32.

alongside the indigenous schools. The bulk of the resistance was stimulated by the fears of local leaders that the Western schools would threaten the existence of the indigenous schools they had been running long before the arrival of Western education. These two countries were also those in which religious leaders were in the van of inspiring a politically motivated cultural movement against the domination of Western colonizers.

The experience of South-East Asian countries shows that resistance against Western domination was a direct, unprecedented result of the colonial schooling. In the Philippines, for example, although American education initially gained wide acceptance as the indigenous elite had nurtured expectations of replacing the Spanish colonial upper crust, later it became a colonial institution from where the Filipino political leaders began to disseminate their movements against colonialism.¹²² Such was also the case in the British Malaya and Singapore, although in varying degrees and less revolutionary manner than the Philippines.¹²³ In twentieth-century colonial Indonesia, government policy on public education undeniably elicited a direct challenge from private initiatives like the Taman Siswa and the Muhammadiyah. However, closer to home, it also stimulated a controversy between different groups of European and indigenous political elites who eventually managed to impose their own political arguments on public education.

Generally speaking, the public education policy in this Dutch colony reflected Furnivall's plural society with the typical stratification, day-to-day practice and conflicting interests.¹²⁴ Colonial governments viewed public education was an economic asset from which to produce cheap and competent subordinates. It was also an instrument through which to attain individual welfare for those who acquired some academic credentials, allowing them to enter professional jobs in the government service.¹²⁵ Supporters of the Ethical Policy aimed to run public education as a cultural asset by which the indigenous people could understand their socio-political position in a colonial society.¹²⁶ The Ethical-Policy supporters 'favoured vernacular education so that the people might become more docile instruments of the official welfare policy (*welvaarts-politiek*)'.¹²⁷ In contrast, for the Indonesian nationalist elite, public education was a means to achieve national progress, both economic and political.¹²⁸ The nationalists wanted Dutch education in the hope that it would enhance their capability 'to penetrate the secret of European power and to qualify themselves for the highly paid appointments which were the preserve of the Europeans'.¹²⁹ Unlike the government and the supporters of the Ethical Policy, who opted for mass education for the sake of efficiency,¹³⁰ the nationalists wanted above all education for indigenous leaders who had the potential to imbue the

¹²² E. James, 'Private Higher Education: the Philippines as a Prototype', *Higher Education* 21 (1991), 189-206; Foley, 'Colonialism and Schooling in the Philippines, 1898-1970'.

¹²³ Hoy Kee and Min Phang, *The Changing Pattern*; Hean, *The Training of Teachers*.

¹²⁴ Adrian Vickers, 'The Classics in Indonesian Studies: J.S. Furnivall's "Netherlands India"', The 15th Biennial Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, Canberra (29th June-2nd July, 2004).

¹²⁵ Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice*, 377, 380.

¹²⁶ Kromsig, 'Apakah jang Dapat Dikerdjakan'; Van Lith, 'Wat Kan Gedaan Worden', Third Education Congress, Weltevreden (29 Sept.-2 Oct., 1924).

¹²⁷ Furnivall, *Netherlands India*, 368.

¹²⁸ Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice*, 380.

¹²⁹ J.S. Furnivall, *Educational Progress in Southeast Asia*, with a Supplement on Training for Native Self-Rule by Bruno Lasker (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1943), 114.

¹³⁰ Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice*, 384.

masses with the pride of citizenship.¹³¹ In the end, the controversy added to the complexity in the Indonesian public education policy in which political resistance was unprecedented and a by-product of colonial schooling.

All in all, the works referred to and cited here show how recognizable the perspective of power relations is in the investigation and reconstruction of a colonial past in education. In general, these studies conclude that colonial education was designed to favour the mission of the colonizing authority by reproducing docile subjects and through this action the seeds of resistance were sown among the colonized. Nonetheless, it has to be realized that the break-down of the power relations perspective into issues of reproduction, resistance and domination does not always produce a distinct picture of the dialectical relationship among the different agents of colonial schooling. In most of the afore-mentioned studies, the idea of domination almost always bears the label of the reproduction mission of the colonizers, whereas such a mission is totally absent from the idea of resistance. For example, when an analysis has to address the supposition that colonial schooling produces functional elite, it tends to objectify these elite into the economic sustainability of the colonial status quo, as if these elite had failed to contribute political transformation. Conversely, when the political elite comes to the fore front of a discussion, the analysis does not address the fact that the resistance shown by the political elite might also re-produce a status quo as soon as the elite assumes the role of a dominating power. In a nutshell, in the existing studies, there has been a strong tendency to see colonial schooling and its many aspects (actors, motifs, strategies, effects) as a structure which worked in a clear-cut mode. There has been a perception that colonial education was transformed by the larger structures in the society without it making any contribution to the transformation. It is as if it were the colonizers alone – and not the colonizers and the colonized – who shaped the colonial schooling. I would agree with the sociologist Remi Clignet who argues that both the colonizers and the indigenous schoolchildren and parents contributed to the shape of colonial schooling in varying degrees.¹³²

A final note addresses some issues in Indonesian historiography. Earlier studies on the genesis of Indonesian Western education¹³³ fall into the category called *Neerlandocentrism*.¹³⁴ They tend to centre on politics, graphs and stories of influential Dutchmen or else to employ a Western perspective in their perceptions of the indigenous realm and experience. Going to the other extreme, current studies¹³⁵ smack of *Indonesiacentrism*. They tend either to be deeply nationalistic or romantically nostalgic.

¹³¹ Furnivall, *Netherlands India*.

¹³² Remi Clignet, 'Inadequacies of the Notion of Assimilation in African Education', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 8, 3 (1970), 425-44.

¹³³ For example. I.J. Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Batavia: J.B. Wolters, 1938); W.P. Coolhaas, *Insulinde: Mensch en Maatschappij* (Deventer: W. van Hoeve, 1944); A.D.A. De Kat Angelino, *Staatkundig Beleid en Bestuurszorg in Nederlandsch-Indië: Tweede Deel De Overheidszorg in Nederlandsch-Indië* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931).

¹³⁴ See Sartono Kartodirjo, *Indonesian Historiography* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2001).

¹³⁵ See a glance view of colonial education in, for example, Soegarda Poerbakawatja, *Pendidikan dalam Alam Indonesia Merdeka* (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1970). A view on the nationalist education, see, for example, Soeratman et al., *1922-1982: 60 Tahun Taman Siswa* (Yogyakarta: Percetakan Taman Siswa, 1982).

Some historians have warned against the dominant narratives which both the *Neerlandocentric* and *Indonesiacentric* approaches represent.¹³⁶ They insist on a 'neutral' but critical approach.¹³⁷ The writing of Indonesian history 'should be liberated from the interests, perspectives and conceptual frameworks that are part of an authoritarian state'.¹³⁸ The approach should adhere to a 'scientific historical methodology' rather than to a particular political ideology.¹³⁹ However, not all historians agree with such a single-minded approach. Heather Sutherland, for example, argues that, although the writing of Indonesian history should strive to be 'objective, scientific, and buttressed with a scholarly apparatus of typologies, tables, inventories and notes', it should be likewise 'aware of artifice, admitting the influence of context, accepting subjectivity, and sensitive to the need for disclosure'.¹⁴⁰ In short, a dilemma of inquiry forces a researcher to decide whether to work on a data-driven or a question-driven investigation. It is important to remain aware of the different aspects, factors and possibilities which efforts to reconstruct colonial education might take.

C. Indonesian teachers' training: A case of continuity and change

The transition from colonial to post-colonial State transformed the self-perception and the social position of Indonesian teachers and altered the public expectations of their role in the society. Indonesian teachers were no longer a symbol of the establishment which represented the dominating class, but assuming the mantle of pioneers they became a symbol of the struggling masses. But, the regime transition did not transform the way young teachers were prepared for their job forthwith. The post-colonial State hugely faced a tremendous lack in institutional capacity to train new teachers according to the imagined profile of the teaching personnel whom Indonesian society was expecting. In this context of regime change, the public training of teachers and the educational practices in general reflected a bigger narrative of continuity and change at the State level.

The standardization of the public teacher training for colonial education in the first three decades of the twentieth century gradually had shaped a profile of Indonesian teachers which mirrored the professional characteristics of their European counterparts. Initially, the training of Indonesian teachers was locally oriented. It was based on indigenous cultures and used vernacular languages (Javanese, Sundanese, Maduranese, Bugees and so forth). Commencing in 1907, a considerable number of European teachers most of whom had received their training in the Netherlands began to staff the public primary schools for Indonesian elites – the First-Class Schools. The placement of European teachers in the First-Class Schools raised the issue of quality standard as there was a huge gap in the qualifications between European and Indonesian personnel. It also raised a question about the cultural orientation of the First-Class School.

¹³⁶ Bambang Purwanto and Asvi Warman Adam, *Menggugat Historiografi Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak, 2005).

¹³⁷ See, for example, Bambang Purwanto, *Gagalnya Historiografi Indonesiasentris?!* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak, 2006).

¹³⁸ Henk Schulte Nordholt, 'De-colonizing Indonesian Historiography', Public Lecture Series, The Center for East and South-East Asian Studies, Lund University (25-27 May 2004), 8.

¹³⁹ Rommel Curaming, 'Towards Re-inventing Indonesian Nationalist Historiography', *Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia* 3 (March, 2003).

¹⁴⁰ Heather Sutherland, 'Writing Indonesian History in the Netherlands: Rethinking the Past', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* Deel 150 4e Aflevering (1994), 785-804. Quotation here is from page 785.

Stimulated by these issues and facing growing pressure from both European teachers and the leaders of Indonesian organizations like the Sarikat Islam, the Netherlands Indies government introduced a series of reforms in the Indonesian teacher training schools. Most prominently, Dutch was introduced as a course subject and was later used as the language of instruction. After this was done, the curriculum of the training schools was altered to make it equivalent to the curricula of the training schools for the Chinese and the European teachers. At this stage, the reforms did not yet enable Indonesian teachers to transfer from the indigenous to the European teaching certificate. Although the number of Indonesian teachers at the public primary schools was growing, the government still relied on the European teachers to deal with quality issues of the schools.

Army recruitment during the First World War created a serious lack of teachers in the Netherlands which in turn affected the sending of Dutch teachers to the Netherlands Indies. Early on, the government had also realized that to import teachers from the Netherlands was much more expensive than to train teachers in the Netherlands Indies. Both factors swayed the decision of the government to develop teacher schools.

The new policy was gradually to prepare Indonesian teachers in the Netherlands Indies to put them on a par with the level of training for their European counterparts. In 1927, the teacher training school for Indonesians was re-organized and transformed into *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool* (HIK). The purpose of this move was to enable graduates to proceed to an advanced training course, either in the Indies or in the Netherlands, which would earn them a European certificate. HIK graduates were to teach at the *Hollands-Inlandse School* (HIS) – the successor to the First-Class School – and were eligible for the position of principal at the school. The launch of the HIK marked the birth of a teacher training school which was standardized to the Dutch level. It was perhaps the first case of the internationalization of education in Indonesian history. For the Netherlands Indies government, the HIK was an ideal solution because the cost of the school was certainly lower than the expense of bringing teachers out from the Netherlands and the HIK could also deliver Indonesian teachers of high professional calibre.

The founding of the HIK widened the opportunities for bright children from ordinary Indonesian families to pursue an education which enabled them to assume professional positions formerly occupied by Europeans and Indonesian elites. Some children of the elite families attended the HIK because they could not get a place in the Medical or the Engineering Schools. But many children of the middle-class and lower-level class families attended the HIK because the school fees were affordable and because the boarding house, schoolbooks, food and other facilities were provided free of charge. The salary of the teachers who graduated from the HIK was lower than that of the European teachers in the Indies and it was hardly comparable to the salary of medical doctors and engineers. In other words, although the HIK was not as prestigious as other vocational secondary schools, but it was nonetheless a promising ladder to success for ordinary Indonesians.¹⁴¹ As Imam Sajono, a former student, said, the HIK was the only possible school which enabled Indonesian children of the ordinary families to move upwards socially.

¹⁴¹ Robert van Niel says that even the least prestigious position in the Western professional sphere was a significant factor which could lead to a structural change in Indies society.

The Great Depression of the 1930s de-established the colonial project and the Japanese invasion in 1942 completely reshuffled the further trajectory of Indonesian society. The Great Depression forced the government to close down a number of HIK and other public schools, and to search for an economic type of school which would press less heavily on the government budget. The impact of the Great Depression was institutionally and politically unprecedented. Because many Dutch-educated Indonesian teachers could not find permanent employment in government schools as they had expected, they had to look for a job in private schools, including in the nationalist schools which were categorized by the government as 'unofficial schools' (*wilde scholen*). Those who remained in public schools began to develop an imagination about Indonesia as an autonomous society. Overall, the Great Depression destroyed the dreams fostered by the Indies social structure and transformed the perspective of Indonesian teachers who had initially been prepared to become role models in colonial society.

One of the prime aims of the Japanese after their conquest of the Netherlands Indies was to erase all Western cultural influence, but this mission had actually already been partially carried out by the Great Depression. As far as the Indonesian teachers and teacher training were concerned, the financial inability of the government had undermined its promise to maintain the development of Dutch-language schools in the 1930s. The Japanese invasion breached the colonial political structure which was already weakened. The cataclysm of the Japanese occupation crystallized Indonesians' conviction that the destiny and the future of the Indonesian society lay in their own hands. Transformed by economic and political changes caused by the Great Depression and continued by the Second World War, in the early post-war years Indonesian teachers became 'political' or 'politically-conscious' although it did not necessarily mean that they were involved in political organizations. At this critical juncture, they were much more concerned with bringing about social change rather than vertical mobility for themselves.

At the critical moment, when the post-war Netherlands Indies administration sought to institutionalize the pre-war teacher training system, not many of the Indonesians who had been educated at the HIK remained at their posts in public schools. Most of them had gone into different professional fields, the majority in the military, to support the Indonesian Republic. Hence, the post-war Netherlands Indies was marked by a rupture with the pre-war situation because the docile subjects formerly so characteristic of the colonial State no longer existed. When the administration of the new State, the Republic of Indonesia, took over power in the early 1950s, the rupture between pre-war and post-war education became more apparent by the abolition of Dutch from the public schools and by the absence of quality reference in the practice of teachers' training.

The removal of Dutch – and its replacement by Indonesian – showed the nationalist sentiment to unite Indonesian people and to stimulate their sense of identity. On the other hand, it also meant a closure of the gateway to the West for Indonesians. Notably since 1907, Dutch had been a key element in education which provided Indonesians with an access to Western knowledge, widened their worldview and bolstered their socio-economic status. The internationalization of teachers' training as proposed by the *Kweekschoolplan 1927* relied first on the equivalence of the use of Dutch between aspirant teachers in the Indies and their counterparts in the Netherlands. The removal of Dutch from public schools in the 1950s degraded the quality reference and swept away the international standard

to which the training of Indonesian teachers had been accorded since 1927. Government educational officials, who had mostly received their education in pre-war Dutch schools, could have made a policy to use the Dutch schools and teachers that still existed at the time as a 'temporary reference' to develop the public schools and the training of teachers. Such a policy was not made because of the new self-perception which had grown among Indonesians since the tumultuous times of the breaking of the colonial political dam. Later in the late 1950s, American professors would work with their Indonesian counterparts to establish and to re-standardize the teachers' training. The American system of teachers' training was adopted as a benchmark and English as a new tool for Indonesians to enter the international community. By that time, however, the teachers' training had been in a condition which was at best characterised by pride and enthusiasm rather than by any indicator of quality.

The transition from colonial to independent State drastically reshuffled public expectations about teachers. It was like a breach in the dike: sweeping away the old structure but also giving new hopes of a fertile, prosperous land. The transition of regime erased the pre-war concept of teachers as submissive individuals who worked for an established system. Now, teachers were seen as agents of social change. In an era of nation-building, their role was to promote a sense of unity, citizenship and collective pride among the people. The new task of the training school was to produce teachers who were pedagogically as competent as HIK graduates but who politically could propagate the people's consciousness about their new status as the citizens of a sovereign Indonesian State.

Although the transition of regimes drastically changed the pattern of expectations of the teachers, it did not transform the working of the bureaucracy. Consequently, the nature of teacher training remained basically unchanged. The Indonesian State continued the educational structure of the Netherlands Indies, as is evident from the numerous teacher schools in the pre-war style which were back in operation in the 1950s, albeit with great modifications. Two factors contributed to this. First, many educational officials in the early independence years were graduates of Dutch-language schools, including HIK, who had only the pre-war schools and schooling experience as a reference. Secondly, the government was financially weak so that there was a tremendous lack of institutional capacity to improve the supply of teachers, school-buildings and books precisely when the public desire for education was coming to a peak. Hence, the regime which administered the bureaucracy changed, but the administrative structure and its mode of operation was still business as usual. Except for the language used, many educational aspects (curriculum, books, methods and styles of instruction) at the teacher training schools were adopted from the pre-war practices, until at least a decade after Indonesia declared its independence. The colonial past remained present in post-war educational policy and practice, regardless of the nationalist aspirations to establish a completely new State and Society. This implies that the transition from colonial to post-colonial State was a paradox of continuity and change. Although many aspects of the pre-war education remained to be applied until the early 1950s, the spirit and the imagined nature of schooling had completely changed. From the outset, the educational structure was similar to the pre-war system. From the inside, the educational practice was not comparable to the pre-war practice in many extents.

Although the pre-war system of teacher training continued for some time, the end of the 1950s witnessed a fundamental de-colonization. In efforts to establish a new education system, the

government adopted the American model of teachers' training, modified or closed down the existing teacher schools and simplified the training system. Pedagogically, the aim was to elevate the education of teachers to a tertiary level and to establish a training system which kept pace with the state-of-the-art dynamics in the methodology and approach to learning, study materials and curriculum. Politically, the adoption of the American model diminished the colonial legacy and reflected the government move to embrace what was internationally accepted as a symbol of democracy. However necessary it might have been, this political move disrupted Indonesia, forcing it out of its historical context. The sudden removal of nearly all Dutch teachers from public schools, the influx of American and English-speaking advisors, the replacement of Dutch by English in the curriculum and the substitution of Dutch-language by English-language books in the late 1950s, all certainly reflected a spirit of reform but also created confusion in the Indonesian search for the meaning of independence. Indonesian leaders like Soekarno always stressed that '*merdeka*' or being independent meant that Indonesians should stand in their own two feet (*berdikari* or *berdiri di atas kaki sendiri*). While there might be no question about the meaning of independence at a conceptual level, the remarkable influences of American professors, curricula and textbooks raised the issue of whether or not Indonesia in the late 1950s was falling into what Phillip G. Altbach and Gail P. Kelly call neo-colonialism in education.¹⁴²

Hence, in Indonesian teacher training in the 1950s, de-colonization meant a transition from a pre-war Dutch benchmark via a decade of no benchmark at all to an American benchmark. The aspect of continuity was apparent in renewed process of searching for a benchmark. Even so, the switch from the Dutch to the American system also meant that the next development in the teacher training school was cut off from Indonesia's own past experience. The foundation of the teacher school at a tertiary level (Faculty of Teacher Training and Education) promised a fresh and better future which would be ushered in by the teachers it produced. It did achieve the elimination of the majority of the training schools at secondary level which represented the colonial past and by definition should be abolished or diminished and simplified. The institutional re-organization of teacher training reflected the bigger narrative of Indonesian State formation at the time. At this point, the process of regime change revealed the politics of elimination with a startling lack of understanding of historical experience. A dichotomous way of seeing matters, a rigid option of 'either this or that' and a perspective which sharply differentiated between 'we' and 'they' came to the top list of priorities. ***AS

¹⁴² Philip G. Altbach and Gail P. Kelly, *Education and Colonialism* (New York: Longman, Inc., 1978), 1.

Chapter 2

The Development of Public Primary Schools and the Issues of Teacher Supply c. 1893-1920s: Towards the Standardization of Teachers' Training

Introduction

In the first three decades of the twentieth century, the growth of primary schools in Indonesia – to refer to a member of the Chatham House in London, H.A. Wyndham – was both upward and downward.¹⁴³ The upward growth reduced 'the dualism between European and native education which had hitherto been characteristic of Java'. The downward growth 'meant relinquishing the theory that education should be confined mainly to the upper classes and that it should percolate through Indonesian society from the top'.¹⁴⁴

'Upward and downward growth' referred to what historian I.J. Brugmans has called 'two measures of the utmost important nature' adopted by the colonial government in 1907. In that year, Dutch was introduced and used as the language of instruction at what was called the First-Class school – a school for Indonesian children from the royal and the better-off families. In that year, too, the so-called *desa* or village school was established, first in Java then in Sumatra, for children in the rural areas.¹⁴⁵ The upward and downward educational policy created different layers of schooling. Not long after the dawn of the twentieth century, three types of public primary schools were available to Indonesians from three categories of social classes: the First-Class school for the indigenous elite; the village school for the rural masses; and the Second-Class school for children of the ordinary urban-dwellers which hovered in between the two afore-mentioned schools in terms of social standing.

This chapter focuses on the issue of teacher supply and the development of public primary schools for Indonesian people from circa 1893 to the 1920s. The aim is to investigate how and in what innovative manner the training of Indonesian teachers served to raise the standards of public primary education. Generally speaking, educational policy and practice in the early twentieth century displayed the dynamics of improving teacher professionalism and the expansion of schooling. How could better-trained teachers serve to raise the standard of public education? How could the supply of teachers keep pace with the demand from the growing number of public primary schools? What strategic policies could best balance the setting of quality and quantity standards of the teachers and the schools?

The plural nature of the educational system prevailing in the period makes it impossible to talk about standardization in the sense of uniformity of schooling which could address the political, cultural and social diversity of Indonesian society. Even so, the improvement and the expansion of various primary schools exerted a steady effect on the government policy on training teachers. These teachers were to teach at public primary schools which operated under different conditions; consequently they should possess particular sets of professional profiles. The standardization took

¹⁴³ H.A. Wyndham, *Native Education: Ceylon, Java, Formosa, the Philippines, French Indo-China, and British Malaya* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 88.

¹⁴⁴ Wyndham, *Native Education*, 88-9.

¹⁴⁵ I.J. Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Groningen & Batavia: J.B. Wolters Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1938), 302. 'two measures of the utmost important nature' in original: 'twee maatregelen van hoogst belangrijken aard'.

place in the 'internal aspects' of pedagogy in which the teachers, regardless of the type of primary schools, were increasingly better trained.

The successive reforms in the teacher training schools between 1900 and 1920s, plus the emergency situation created by the First World War raised the idea of involving more Indonesian teachers in public education. Nevertheless, it was not until the Indonesian nationalist movement became radicalized and the Great Depression struck in the late 1920s that the colonial government embraced the indigenization policy in an extensive sense.¹⁴⁶ In any case, until the very late period of the colonial state the idea of indigenization in education always aroused a host of pros and cons among Dutch educationists in the Indies. The debates generally focused on the East-West cultural interface at which the public schools for Indonesians should be directed.¹⁴⁷

To achieve this goal, the HIS and the training of Indonesian teachers for this school – in the *Kweekschool voor Inlandse Onderwijzers/essen* and the institutions which carried on its legacy – particularly needs to be explored. Teachers from the Netherlands remained at the core of the teaching body in the Indies until the fall of the colonial state.¹⁴⁸ But, with the changing economic and political circumstances, as part of the emerging middle-class elite Indonesian teachers increasingly played an important role in the society.¹⁴⁹ Regardless of Wyndham's claim about the downward educational development, the training of Indonesian teachers for the HIS reflected a process in which the modernization of schooling occurred at a steady phase through elite evolution. This is a particularly salient point.

Although the original design of the government was to make the village schools the major element in the education for the Indonesian masses, the HIS – originally designed as a *standenschool* or elite school – attracted more and more children from the ordinary social classes.¹⁵⁰ The *kweekschool* at

¹⁴⁶ See Chapter 4.

¹⁴⁷ In 1939, for example, the Central Committee (Hoofdbestuur) of the Association of (Dutch) Teachers in the Netherlands-Indies, the NIOG (*Nederlandsch-Indië Onderwijzers Genootschap*) published a booklet about the aspects of public education in which was written among others: 'We ask [...] for a less Western objective of the HIS and of the HCS. This is why we are not against indigenization, as long as it begins not from the consideration of salary policy, but from that of cultural development' (in original: 'Wij vragen [...] een minder Westerse doelstelling van de Holl. Inlandse en van de Holl. Chinese school. Daarom zijn we ook niet tegen indianisatie: mits deze niet begint bij overwegingen van salarispolitiek, maar van culturele ontwikkeling'). See, P. Huizinga and J. Smits, *De Aspecten van het Openbaar Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Batavia: Hoofdbestuur van de NIOG, 1939), 14.

¹⁴⁸ In 1940, the ratio between European and Indonesian teachers was approximately 1:10. See, S.L. van der Wal, *Some Information on Education in Indonesia Up to 1942: With a Bibliography* (The Hague: Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Co-operation, 1961), 15. Although far fewer in number, the European teachers held almost all of the headmaster positions and the First-rank teacher (*Eerste onderwijzer*) positions at the HIS, at least until the Great Depression hit the Indies economy in the 1930s. A slight number of Indonesian graduates of the *Hogere Kweekschool* (HKS) achieved a headmaster position in the 1920s (see Section B of this chapter).

¹⁴⁹ For a thorough account on the early group of Indonesian intellectual elite, see Robert van Niel, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite*, KITLV Re-prints on Indonesia (Dordrecht & Cinnaminson: Foris Publications, 1984); George McTurman Kahin, 'The Indonesian Middle Class during the last Three Decades of Dutch Rule', in C. Fasseur (ed.), *Geld en Geweten: Een Bundel Opstellen over Anderhalve Eeuw Nederlands Bestuur in de Indonesische Archipel: Deel II: Het Tijdvak tussen 1900-1942* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1980), 179-86.

¹⁵⁰ Until the economic crises hit the Netherlands Indies in the 1920s, the increase in the enrollment rate at the HIS was steadily high, namely 32.93 per cent between 1915 and 1920 and 40.91 per cent between 1920 and 1925. The increase in the enrollment rate to the *volkschool* during the same time span was 26.56 per cent and 42.36 per cent. The calculation is based on the statistical data supplied by S.L. van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*

which the HIS teachers were trained was also gradually opened to Indonesian children of socially lower level families.¹⁵¹ Consequently, while keeping pace with quality towards the standards of European education in the Indies, both the HIS and the *kweekschool* were transformed into *the* public schools for the masses, however limited in number. Later in the early years of independent Indonesia, the Dutch-trained Indonesian teachers from the HIS would become the backbone in the re-construction of education and the *kweekschool* system itself was partly adopted as the public system of teacher training.¹⁵² When seen from the overall timeframe of the transition from the late colonial to the Indonesian state, the Indonesian teachers of the HIS and the training system by which they were prepared functioned as a hub in the process of continuity and change of the educational policy and practice.

This chapter will consist of two main parts: the development of the public primary schools for Indonesians, and the government strategies devised to deal with providing a supply of teachers for these schools. The contexts, the purposes and the forms of the development of the public primary schools in the early-twentieth-century Indonesia have been the subject of voluminous studies.¹⁵³ I shall make grateful use of these previous studies. In the second part of this chapter, I shall discuss two government strategies: recruiting teachers from the Netherlands and training aspirant teachers in the Netherlands Indies. As said, in 1893, the government of the Netherlands Indies established the First-Class and the Second-Class schools which would be reformed several times in the following two decades or so.¹⁵⁴ The 1920s marked the commencement of a brand new period in which the government launched what is called the *concordantie* (concordant) system of teacher training, under which the *kweekschool* training in the Indies was made equivalent to the training at the *Rijkskweekschool* in the Netherlands.¹⁵⁵

in Nederlands-Indië: Een Bronnenpublikatie (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1963), 691 and 696. Amid the political debates following the educational budget cut on account of the Great Depression, there was a serious question about whether or not the HIS should remain as a *staandenschool* or elite school. Indeed, by late 1920s the criteria of student admission had changed. See Director of Education and Religious Affairs (P.J.A. Idenburg) to Governor General (Tjarda van Stakenborgh Stachouwer), 28 Nov. 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 580-612; referred pp. 606-7.

¹⁵¹ Some of the alumni of the *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool* (HIK) of the 1930s whom I interviewed had initially enrolled in the *volkschool* because of the social status of their families. After a long road of schooling through the continuation school (*vervolgsschool*) and the bridging school (*schakelschool*), they could enter the HIS, which then enabled them to proceed to the HIK. Interviews with Samsuri, Malang, 31 October 2006; with Moerdiono, Yogyakarta, 27 September 2006.

¹⁵² See Chapters 6 to 9.

¹⁵³ See, for example, J. Kats, *Overzicht van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1915); K.F. Creutzberg and J. Hardeman, *Het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* ('s-Gravenhage: Korthuis, 1916); I.J. Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Groningen & Batavia: J.B. Wolters Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1938); H. Kroeskamp, *Early Schoolmasters in a Developing Country: A History of Experiments in School Education in 19th Century Indonesia* (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. B.V., 1974); Johannes Erik Arnoldus Maria Lelyveld, "'Waarlijk Geen Overdaad, Doch een Dringende Eisch': Koloniaal Onderwijs en Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië 1893-1942' (Diss. Rijsuniversiteit Utrecht, 1992); Kees Groeneboer, *Gateway to the West: The Dutch Language in Colonial Indonesia 1600-1950: A History of Language Policy*, tr. Myra Scholz (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998).

¹⁵⁴ 'Historische Nota over het Inlandsch Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië' (pp. 52-4), in *Algemeen Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië Loopende over de Jaren 1893 t/m 1897 met Aanhangsel Betreffende de Jaren 1898 en 1899* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1901).

¹⁵⁵ The concordant educational system was the core elaboration of the *Advies van den Onderwijsraad inzake de Reorganisatie van de Opleiding van het Personeel bij het Westersch Lager Onderwijs (Kweekschoolplan)*

A. The development of public primary schools for Indonesian children, c. 1893-1920s

The blooming of public primary education in the early-twentieth-century Indonesia has commonly been attributed to the Debt of Honour Policy – widely known as Ethical Policy – which followed the speech of Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands in 1901.¹⁵⁶ While there is certainly some truth in this, basic reforms of the public education had also undoubtedly been implemented throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. The historian H. Kroeskamp presents an unequivocal line of educational reforms preceding the introduction of the Ethical Policy. The period from 1851 to 1871 was a sort of prologue, whereas that from 1871 to 1884 was ‘a period of fast expansion and of experience with elaboration of the new fundamental principles and provisions’. The third period, from 1884 to 1893, was ‘a period of thorough reorganization, when the internal development of the school system was practically at a standstill’.¹⁵⁷

The policy laid down in 1848 by the Governor-General in Batavia ‘to make provision in the East Indies budget for a sum of Fl. 25,000 per year for establishing schools among the Javanese’ was only implemented in 1851. In this year (1851), a teacher training school for Indonesians was founded in Surakarta, Central Java, and twenty Residency primary schools for the children of the Javanese royal families (*priyayi*) were established in each of the twenty Residencies of Java.¹⁵⁸ This first step failed to expand and flourish because, according to Kroeskamp, ‘the central government left the development of [the schools] to the Javanese and European district administration officials’. In 1871, the Governor-General issued an education decree which stated that the government was responsible for public education both in Java and in the other islands of the Archipelago.¹⁵⁹

Following the decree of 1871, the number of public primary schools expanded: in Java and Madura from eighty-two in 1873 to 193 in 1883, and in all other islands from 117 to 284. The number of the pupils and members of teaching staff in Java and Madura increased regardless of ethnic background, respectively from 5,512 to 16,214 and from 223 to 582. In the islands outside Java and Madura, the number of the pupils also jumped, again regardless of ethnic background, from 11,276 to 18,694 and the number of teaching staff from 188 to 659 teachers during the same time span.¹⁶⁰ In 1874, a new regulation governing the allocation of subsidies to district schools was released to help boost their development.¹⁶¹ Unfortunately, a difficult financial situation in 1884 forced the government to cut the educational budget and search for a school type which was ‘cheaper than the existing elite schools’. Brugmans claims that during this period of financial crisis the government suspended the implementation of any proposal for educational reform submitted. It argued that the existing schools

(Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij, 1927). Chapter 3 is specifically dedicated to exploring this concordant requirement.

¹⁵⁶ See, for example, Lelyveld, “‘Waarlijk Geen Overdaad, Doch een Dringende Eisch’”. On the ‘Ethical Policy’ and its variant names, see, for example, Elisabeth Bodine Locher-Scholten, ‘Ethiek in Fragmenten: Vijf Studies over Koloniaal Denken en Doen van Nederlanders in de Indonesische Archipel 1877-1942’ (Diss. Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1981).

¹⁵⁷ H. Kroeskamp, *Early Schoolmasters in a Developing Country: A History of Experiments in School Education in 19th Century Indonesia* (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. B.V., 1974), 299 and 363.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. 298-9.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. 360.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. 391.

¹⁶¹ Ibid. 360-1.

for the children of the indigenous chiefs and royal families (*hoofdschool*) were 'not so unsuitable' (*niet zoo ongeschikt*) as many critics had said.¹⁶² Consequently, the government policy on public primary education, as Kroeskamp suggests, remained 'practically at a standstill', at least until 1893, when a new reform policy was introduced.

Owing to a budgeted cut in 1884, the government began to toy with the idea of adding a 'more Dutch character' to the primary education for Indonesian children. Up to that point, the education for Indonesians had been given either in a vernacular language or in 'Maleis'. The general tenor of the education was to prepare youngsters for administrative positions in government offices. The pupils learned such skills as writing and reading Latin characters, arithmetic, gymnastics and singing.¹⁶³ All this was to be improved on the grounds that an education with a Dutch imprint would better prepare Indonesian children for their future jobs. Quoting the Director of Education, Stortenbeker, Brugmans said that the public primary schools for Indonesians should be developed sticking closely to the Dutch example (*Nederlandschen voet*) by making Dutch language of instruction.¹⁶⁴

A first step was taken in 1893. The government of the Netherlands Indies established two types of primary schools for Indonesians: the First-Class schools (*de scholen der eerste klasse*) and the Second-Class schools (*de scholen der tweede klasse*).¹⁶⁵ The First-Class schools were intended first and foremost for the children of the indigenous chiefs and of other distinguished (*aanzienlijke*) or well-off (*gegoede*) indigenous families. The Second-Class schools were meant for the children of the indigenous population in general.¹⁶⁶ The reform of 1893 paved the way to the improvement of the schools for Indonesian children, setting them on the road towards achieving that of their European counterparts, and also extended the access of education to a wider array of the Indonesian population.

In short, years before the historic speech of Queen Wilhelmina in 1901 officially inaugurated the Ethical Policy, the reform and expansion of the primary education for Indonesians was already under way. If the Ethical Policy did make a great social and political impact on the primary schools in Indonesia, this was owing to the founding of the *desa* or village schools in 1907, a school for the rural masses.¹⁶⁷ As historian Elsbeth Locher-Scholten suggests, following the introduction of the Ethical Policy the economic, educational, administrative and political reforms entered onto the central stage of the government policy which had been drawn up to co-ordinate (*nevenschikking*) the dynamics of the Indies with the Netherlands.¹⁶⁸ The reforms were so wide-ranging that Brugmans says that, 'in the Indies the changes which took place between 1904 and 1914 were much more [significant] than all the

¹⁶² Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs*, 214-6.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* 242-5.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 215.

¹⁶⁵ By the Royal Decree (*Koninklijk Besluit*) of 28 September, 1892 No. 44 (*Indisch Staatsblad* 1893 No. 125).

¹⁶⁶ Koninklijk Besluit van 28 September 1892 No. 44 (*Indisch Staatsblad* 1893 No. 125), in 'Historische Nota', Bijlage V, pp. 74-5. For the classification of the two schools, the original texts of Article 1 points a and b of the Royal Decree concerned read as follow: (a) de scholen der *eerste* klasse, meer in het bijzonder bestemd voor de kinderen van Inlandsche hoofden en van andere aanzienlijke of goeude Inlanders; (b) de scholen der *tweede* klasse, bestemd voor de kinderen der Inlandsche bevolking in het algemeen.

¹⁶⁷ Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs*, 302.

¹⁶⁸ Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek in Fragmenten*, 185.

changes in the previous three centuries combined'.¹⁶⁹ In the following sections, I shall focus on the three different types of public primary schools for the Indonesian children in more detail.

A.1 Three types of schooling for three social categories of pupils

As already pointed out, in 1893 the government issued separate decrees which established two types of primary schools for Indonesian children: the First-Class and the Second-Class schools. The First-Class schools were situated in the district or provincial (*gewesten*) towns and in the main towns of the geographical districts (*afdeeling*) and sub-districts (*onderafdeeling*). The First-Class school was also to be situated in centres of trade and in industrial towns. The Second-Class school would be founded both in the areas where there was already the First-Class school and in 'other areas', but the government regulation did not explicate the meaning of 'other areas'.¹⁷⁰ People sometimes referred to the Second-Class school as the '*volkschool*' but later after the *desa* or village school was established, the term '*volkschool*' was specifically used to refer to the latter school.¹⁷¹ It can be assumed that the term 'other areas' meant both urban and rural localities.

In the 1890s, the First-Class school consisted of five grades while the Second-Class school had only three grades.¹⁷² The lessons ran for five hours daily except in the first grade, in which classes were shortened to 3.5 hours. There was a thirty-minute break in between classes.¹⁷³ The lessons were given in the vernacular languages. If the vernacular language of a particular geographical area was not sufficiently standardized to be used at the educational level, the schools should use 'Maleis'.¹⁷⁴ The government decided the following specification of major vernacular languages to be used at schools: Javanese as it was spoken by the people of Surakarta, Sundanese as it was spoken by the people of Bandung, Madurese as it was spoken by the people of Sumenep, and 'Maleis' as it was spoken by the people of the Malakka Peninsula and of the Riau Islands. With regard to Makassarese, Buginese and Batak, the Director of Education, Religious Affairs and Industries would first authorize a thorough observation of the respective linguistic populations.¹⁷⁵ In 1906, the government decided that 'Maleis' should be used at schools all over Sulawesi and its dependent territories (*Onderhorigheden*), bringing the question about the position of Makassarese and Buginese in schools to a close.¹⁷⁶

The pupils in the First-Class school learned reading and writing in the vernacular language and in 'Maleis' using either the vernacular scripts or Latin characters. They also studied the principles of arithmetic using whole and fractional numbers,¹⁷⁷ the geography of the Netherlands Indies, the

¹⁶⁹ Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs*, 289; Brugmans' statement in original: '[...] er in Indië van 1904 tot 1914 meer veranderd is dan in de drie voorafgaande eeuwen te zamen'.

¹⁷⁰ Artikelen 1 en 2, Reglement voor de openbare lagere Inlandsche scholen, bedoeld bij artikel 1 van het Koninklijk Besluit van 28 September 1892 No. 44 (Indisch Staatsblad 1893 No. 125), Bijlage V, 'Historische Nota', 83.

¹⁷¹ See, for example, De Nieuwe Reorganisatie van het Gouvernementsonderwijs in 1893, 'Historische Nota', 53.

¹⁷² Artikel 22, Reglement voor de openbare lagere Inlandsche scholen, 'Historische Nota', 86.

¹⁷³ Artikel 9, Reglement voor de openbare lagere Inlandsche scholen, 'Historische Nota', 85.

¹⁷⁴ Artikel 4, Koninklijk Besluit van 28 September 1892 No. 44 (Indisch Staatsblad 1893 No. 125), 'Historische Nota', 74.

¹⁷⁵ Artikel 6, Reglement voor de openbare lagere Inlandsche scholen, 'Historische Nota', 84.

¹⁷⁶ *Algemeen Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië Loopende over het Jaar 1906* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1908), 1.

¹⁷⁷ In original: '*hoofdregel van het rekenen met geheele en gebroken getallen*'

fundamentals of natural history, the history of the[ir] island or region, freehand drawing (*handtekenen*) and the fundamentals of land surveying (*landmeten*). The pupils in the Second-Class school learned reading and writing in the vernacular language. They also learned the basics of arithmetic with whole numbers, freehand drawing, the fundamentals of land surveying and one or more of the other subjects taught at the First-Class school. Both in the First-Class and Second-Class schools, singing was an optional subject.¹⁷⁸

The children who enrolled in the public primary schools – either First- or Second-Class – should not be younger than six and not be older than seventeen.¹⁷⁹ Their parents or guardians had to pay tuition fees, which were of course different for the First-Class and for the Second-Class schools (see Tables 2.1a and 2.1b).¹⁸⁰ It still held true that the First-Class school was intended for the children of the indigenous elite and the well-off families. However, now the First-Class school might also admit children of the ordinary indigenous population as long as places were still available and the school commission agreed to the allocation of these.¹⁸¹ It is not known what tuition fees the parents or guardians of the pupils had to pay.

A First-Class school should have between thirty and 210 pupils, a Second-Class school between twenty-five and 110 pupils,¹⁸² but this regulation was not fixed. The number of the pupils might be more or even fewer depending on the availability of teachers. The deciding factor was the proportional ratio of pupils and teachers.¹⁸³ A First-Class school with sixty pupils was staffed by one principal (called *hoofdonderwijzer* or head-teacher) and one assistant teacher (*hulponderwijzer*). If a school had between sixty-one and 100 pupils, it would have an extra assistant teacher on the staff. One extra assistant teacher would also be appointed for every additional fifty pupils. The principal of the Second-Class school (called *onderwijzer*, teacher) was aided by one, two or three assistant teachers depending on whether the number of the pupils was twenty-five, sixty or one hundred. Both the First-Class and the Second-Class schools could employ trainee teachers (*kweekeling*).¹⁸⁴

Table 2.1a: Tuition fees in First-Class public primary schools, 1893

	Tuition fees per month
First child	1% of parents' income, tuition max Fl 6 min Fl 1
Second child	0.5% of parents' income, tuition max Fl 4 min Fl 0.75
For each child more	0.25% of parents' income, tuition max Fl 2 min Fl 0.50

Source: Artikel 38, Reglement voor de openbare lagere Inlandsche scholen, bedoeld bij artikel 1 van het Koninklijk Besluit van 28 September 1892 No. 44 (Indisch Staatsblad 1893 No. 125)

Table 2.1b: Tuition fees in Second-Class public primary schools, 1893

Year	Tuition fees per pupil per month		
	One child	Two children	For each child more

¹⁷⁸ Artikelen 4 en 5, Reglement voor de openbare lagere Inlandsche scholen, 'Historische Nota', 83-4.

¹⁷⁹ Artikel 24, Reglement voor de openbare lagere Inlandsche scholen, 'Historische Nota', 86-7.

¹⁸⁰ Artikelen 38 t/m 43, Reglement voor de openbare lagere Inlandsche scholen, 'Historische Nota', 88-9.

¹⁸¹ Artikel 21, Reglement voor de openbare lagere Inlandsche scholen, 'Historische Nota', 86

¹⁸² Artikel 3, Reglement voor de openbare lagere Inlandsche scholen, 'Historische Nota', 83.

¹⁸³ Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1893-1897, 1.

¹⁸⁴ Artikelen 13 en 14, Reglement voor de openbare lagere Inlandsche scholen, 'Historische Nota', 85-6.

1	Fl. 0.50	Fl. 0.75	Fl. 0.10
2	Fl. 0.25	Fl. 0.35	Fl. 0.08
3	Fl. 0.10	Fl. 0.15	Fl. 0.05

Source: Artikel 39, Reglement voor de openbare lagere Inlandsche scholen, bedoeld bij artikel 1 van het Koninklijk Besluit van 28 September 1892 No. 44 (Indisch Staatsblad 1893 No. 125)

Table 2.2: Salary of inspectors and Indonesian teachers of the public primary schools, 1893

	Java, Madura, Bali	Other islands
Head teacher	Fl. 50/month, with 4 x three yearly increase of Fl. 10/month*)	Fl. 40/month, with 6 x three yearly increase of Fl. 5/month
First assistant teacher	Fl. 30/month, with 2 x three yearly increase of Fl. 10/month	Fl. 20/month, with 2 annual increases of Fl. 5/month
Assistant teacher graduating from the <i>kweekschool</i>	Fl. 25/month, with 4 x two yearly increase of Fl. 5/month	Fl. 20/month, with 2 annual increases of Fl. 5/month
Assistant teacher	Fl. 20/month, with 2 x five yearly increase of Fl. 5/month	
Teacher trainee	Fl. 12/month, with an increase of Fl. 3 after three years of service	

Source: Reglement voor de openbare Inlandsche scholen, nieuwe bepalingen betreffende de bezoldiging van het onderwijzend personeel en de inspectie—Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlandsch-Indië van 5 Juni 1893 No. 23 (Staatsblad 1893 No. 128), Bijlage V, ‘Indische Nota’, 80-1.

*) in original: ‘*F. 50 (vijftig gulden) ’s maands met 4 (vier) driejaarlijksche verhoogingen elk van Fl. 10 (tien gulden) ’s maands*’.

The government regulation prohibited educational personnel either to run a business or do any other job than teaching.¹⁸⁵ To compensate, the government set a scale of sizable teachers’ salaries as shown in Table 2.2.

Although the government regulations for First- and the Second-Class schools were issued in 1893, it is not certain when schools in these categories were actually opened. The Educational Report of 1893-1897 provides rather ambiguous information. It says that in 1895 a First-Class school was opened in the town of Rembang, Central Java, but those in Manipa and Leahari in the Residency of Ambon were shut down because the number of the pupils was fewer than twenty-five. Sometime earlier, in January 1893, the public primary school founded in Kandar in the Residency of Greater Sangi (*Groot Sangi*) in North Sulawesi was moved to Ngalipaeng (in the same Residency) because the Kandar area had been ravaged and destroyed by the eruption of Mount Awu (*Gunung Awu*) in June 1892. In May 1893, the public primary school in Semampu in the district of Passan-Ratahan, Ponosakan, Residency of Menado, was moved to Wioij (in the same district) because there were more pupils there to attend the school than in Semampu. In the areas of the *Buitenbezittingen* (outside Java), the Second-Class schools which taught the 1893 curriculum had already begun to operate in 1894.¹⁸⁶ All this information reveals that, for some years after the government launched the new re-organization policy of 1893, public education reform remained focused on the areas outside Java, especially North Sulawesi and Maluku where the missionary schools had been operating for a very long time. Only in 1897 and 1898 did the local governments of nine districts in Java decide to open the First-Class and the Second-Class schools.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵ Artikel 16, Reglement voor de openbare lagere Inlandsche scholen, ‘Historische Nota’, 86.

¹⁸⁶ *Verlag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1893-1897*, 93-4.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 94; ‘Aanhangsel betreffende de jaren 1898 en 1899’, 240.

On 31 December 1899, there were in total 224 First-Class and 234 Second-Class schools distributed across twenty-three districts in Java, Madura, Bali and Lombok.¹⁸⁸ By the same time, 299 Second-Class schools had been founded in the Outer Islands spreading from Tapanuli in North Sumatra to Halmahera and New Guinea in the central east to Roti and Sawu in the south-east of the Archipelago.¹⁸⁹ No First-Class schools were reported to have been founded in this Outer Islands at the time because 'it was felt that such schools were unnecessary for the time being'.¹⁹⁰ So, in about three years from 1897 to 1899 Java, Madura and Bali witnessed a rapid expansion of the First-Class and the Second-Class schools, but only Second-Class schools appeared in the other islands. In most cases, the expansion of the public primary schools depended as much on the initiative and financial capacity of the local government as on the central government. Both governments shared the cost of establishing and running public primary schools, in which the local government was responsible for providing the land, the school building and furnishings. Until 1899, no public primary schools were opened in the Southern and Eastern Districts of Borneo because the local government did not yet have the capacity to undertake such a programme. The public primary school in Tiouu in Saparua had to remain closed until the end of 1899 because of a severe earthquake that year.¹⁹¹ Notwithstanding various problems typical of different localities, public education continued to expand.

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, 1,021 public Second-Class schools throughout the Netherlands Indies accommodated 133,425 pupils.¹⁹² The exact number of the public First-Class schools is uncertain because of the unavailability of any elaborated information from outside Java.¹⁹³ As I pointed out earlier, in 1899 the number of the First-Class schools had already reached 224. Despite these debatable figures, the years from 1893 to 1910 truly mattered because they formed the period in which the educational expansion in the Netherlands Indies was set in motion.

Unfortunately, especially in Java, Madura and Bali, the expansion of public schools predominantly privileged boys. Until the end of 1898, no girls were reported to have enrolled into any of the public primary schools in some of the most important Javanese towns such as Tegal, Pekalongan, Jepara, Yogyakarta, nor in Madura, Bali and Lombok. In 1899 Pekalongan recorded only five girls enrolling into the public primary schools.¹⁹⁴ This situation did gradually improve. At the end of 1904, the proportion of school-going girls to school-going boys in Java and Madura was 1:32, rising from the previous year where it was 1:69. Nevertheless, Java still lagged behind the Outer Islands, especially Ambon, Minahasa and Timor. In these three localities, the proportion of school-going girls to school-going boys in 1903 and in 1904 was 1:3.2 and 1:3.4. According to the Reports on Indigenous Education, the fact that Ambon, Minahasa and Timor were inhabited mostly by (indigenous)

¹⁸⁸ 'Aanhangsel betreffende de jaren 1898 en 1899', 250.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. 251.

¹⁹⁰ *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1893-1897*, 94; in original: 'Oprichting van eerste-klasse scholen werd in die gewesten voorloopig niet noodig geacht'.

¹⁹¹ 'Aanhangsel betreffende de jaren 1898 en 1899', 241.

¹⁹² Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 691.

¹⁹³ The Reports on Indigenous Education incorrectly state that in 1910 there were sixty-eight First-Class schools with 151,456 pupils throughout Java. These are impossible figures considering that the ratio of school to pupils was then simply too large (1:2,227). See *Algemeen Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië Loopende over de Jaar 1910* (Batavia: Javasche Boekhandel & Drukkerij, 1912), 13 and 21.

¹⁹⁴ 'Aanhangsel betreffende de jaren 1898 en 1899', 245.

Christians had contributed to the high rate of girls' participation in education. The Reports also emphasized that where the majority of the population was strictly observant Muslim, the situation was different from that in Java.¹⁹⁵ Government officials like the Director of Education, Religious Affairs and Industries, J.A. Abendanon (held office, 1900-1905) said that the low rate of participation of girls in government schools in Java was closely related to the prevailing mind-set in contemporary society. These opinions asserted that education for girls was unnecessary because, after reaching the age of ten to twelve years, girls would not be engaged in the same social networks as boys.¹⁹⁶

Observing the public educational policy during the period from 1893 to 1907, it is possible to see a close correlation between the education for Indonesian children and the value or belief systems of the community from where they originated. For example, in Java, Indonesian teachers at the public schools were expected to have sufficient knowledge to be able to read and write Arabic script in addition to their mastery of Javanese, Sundanese or Maduranese.¹⁹⁷ Public schools were closed either on Sundays or Fridays, depending on whether the religion of the majority of the pupils was Christianity or Islam. They were also closed on recognized Muslim feast days (*erkende groote Mohammedaansche feestdagen*). More specifically, public schools were closed for forty days from the beginning to the end of the Islamic fasting month of *Ramadhan (de poeasa-maand)*. In the areas where Christians were in the majority, school holidays were adjusted to Christian festivals. Schools were closed for thirty days from mid-December to mid-January.¹⁹⁸ The regulation governing holidays in public schools for Indonesian children was completely different from that applicable in the schools for European children in the Indies. The schools for European children only recognized summer holidays and the holidays based on Christian festivals.¹⁹⁹

This is a clear indication that the public education for Indonesians was largely attuned to Indonesian life and had few links with Dutch culture and society. Further observation confirms this statement. The government regulation explicitly states that the course subject geography in the curriculum of the First-Class schools had to focus on the Netherlands Indies (the island or the district/province, *het eiland of het gewest*)—hence excluding the Netherlands and Europe.²⁰⁰ This diverged from the geography taught in the primary schools for European children, in which both the Netherlands Indies (especially Java) and the Netherlands and Europe were the core content of study.²⁰¹ In the curriculum of the First-Class and Second-Class schools previously cited, Dutch was

¹⁹⁵ *Algemeen Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië Loopende over de Jaren 1900 t/m 1904 met Aanhangsel Betreffende het Jaar 1905* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1907), 90; also for the figures of the proportion of male and female school pupils.

¹⁹⁶ Director of Education, Religious Affairs and Industries (J.A. Abendanon) to Governor-General (Roosebom), 31 Oct. 1901, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 9-12. In reply, the first government secretary suggested to Abendanon that special schools for girls be opened. See First Government Secretary to Director of Education, Religious Affairs and Industries (J.A. Abendanon), 19 Dec. 1901, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 12-4.

¹⁹⁷ Artikel 5, Regelen betreffende de benoembaarheid en bevordering van het onderwijzend personeel, Ordonnantie van 5 Juni 1893 (Staatsblad 1893 No. 127), 'Historische Nota', 78.

¹⁹⁸ Article 11, Reglement voor de openbare lagere Inlandsche scholen, 'Historische Nota', 85.

¹⁹⁹ See *Algemeen Verslag van het Europeesch Middelbaar en Lager Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over 1902* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1903), 125-8. This volume of educational report suggests that the short reference to the reports on education for European children should be '*Europeesch middelbaar en lager onderwijs over 1902*', (p. 9).

²⁰⁰ See again Artikelen 4 en 5, Reglement voor de openbare lagere Inlandsche scholen, 'Historische Nota', 83-4.

²⁰¹ *Europeesch middelbaar en lager onderwijs over 1902*, 143

neither used nor given, except in Tondano, North Sulawesi, where Dutch was used in the second and third grades of the Second-Class schools beginning in 1906.²⁰² The Minister of the Colonies, A.W.F. Idenburg (first term of office, 1902-1905), said that the idea of using or teaching Dutch in the primary schools for Indonesian children had not yet arisen (*nog niet aangebroken*). 'Where the need for our language [Dutch] has arisen in the public sphere [...], [any] initiatives will be supported,' Idenburg wrote. 'Apart from that, education in Dutch is to be given only in higher schools (training of officials, *dokter-djawa* and teachers)'.²⁰³

Some government officials claimed that the education given to the children in the First-Class and Second-Class schools was 'not too simple' (*niet zoo eenvoudig*).²⁰⁴ In 1904, an idea of improving the Second-Class school by extending the number of the grades from three to four was rejected because the government regulation explicitly stated that the school should consist of three grades.²⁰⁵ Three years later, in 1907, the government came up with a new policy. Dutch would be used as the language of instruction and would be taught as a course subject in the First-Class schools, replacing local history (the history of an island or a district, *de Geschiedenis van het Eiland of het Gewest*). A maximum of five lesson-hours a day would be allocated to Dutch-language lessons, for which reason the First-Class school was extended from five to six years. To bolster the use of Dutch, school libraries were supplied with Dutch-language books. The government assigned European teachers of the third-rank (*onderwijzers der derde-klasse*) to teach at Grades 3, 4, 5 and 6 of the First-Class schools.²⁰⁶ The Second-Class schools could also have Dutch as a course subject; should they do so, the schools would have four grades instead of the original three.²⁰⁷ The historian Kees Groeneboer has suggested that the

²⁰² The use of Dutch at the schools in Tondano was subject to the Decision of the Director of Education, Religious Affairs and Industries of 24 January 1906 No. 1300. See *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1906*, 1.

²⁰³ 'Nota, bevattende punten ter sprake gebracht door de Minister van Koloniën', in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 40-1. Idenburg's quoted remarks in original: 'Waar de behoefte aan kennis van onze taal zich op die wijze openbaart dat het particulier initiatief daarin behoorlijk voorziet, kan dit initiatief worden gesteun. Overigens worde van gouvernementswege alleen onderwijs in het Nederlandsch gegeven aan de hoogere inlandsche scholen (opleiding inl. ambtenaren, dokter-djawa, onderwijzers). Van der Wal says that the Nota was undated and belonged to the Idenburg Archive (*Archief Idenburg*). He also writes that 'According to an undated minute of a private letter from Minister Idenburg to the Queen, Idenburg discussed the issue raised in the Nota with Van Heutsz prior to his [Van Heutsz'] appointment as governor general [of the Netherlands Indies] on 1 Oct. 1904'. See Footnote 1 in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, p. 40.

²⁰⁴ Director of Education, Religious Affairs and Industry to Gouverneur General, 31 Oct. 1901, Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 5.

²⁰⁵ *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1900-1904*, 1. Here the Report has referred to Artikel 22 of the Reglement voor de openbare lagere Inlandsche scholen, bedoeld bij artikel 1 van het Koninklijk Besluit van 28 September 1892 No. 44 (*Indisch Staatsblad* 1893 No. 123), 'Historische Nota', 86.

²⁰⁶ *Algemeen Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië Loopende over het Jaar 1907* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1909), 1 and 6. According to the former British official J.S. Furnivall, the number of the European teachers allocated to the first-class school was *three*. However, Dutch historian Kees Groeneboer, who cites a letter from the Director of Education, Religious Affairs and Industry, says that the number was *two*. My cross-check of the letter which Groeneboer has cited indeed confirms that the First-Class schools for Indonesian children initially received an allocation of *two* European teachers. Despite this, the government *Report on Indigenous Education* of the year 1907 (published in 1909)—as I refer above—does not explicitly mention the number of the European teachers allocated to the First-Class schools in 1907. See: J.S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy*, with an Introduction by Jonkheer Mr. A.C.D. de Graeff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), 368; Groeneboer, *Gateway to the West*, 215. For the account he discusses on p. 215, Groeneboer has referred to the letter of Director of Education, Religious Affairs and Industry (J.G. Pott) to Governor-General (Van Heutsz), 22 May 1906, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 78-94, especially p. 90.

²⁰⁷ *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1907*, 1.

introduction of Dutch to Indonesian children opened a gateway to the Western world.²⁰⁸ Indeed, the introduction of Dutch in 1907 led to an improvement in the educational structure in later years which, politically, symbolized the recognition of the Indonesians' right to a European standard of education.

Brugmans states that from an early date, keen supporters of the Ethical Policy like J.H. Abendanon had striven to improve the life of the Indonesians by providing them with primary education tailored to their needs—a principle which was known as 'association'.²⁰⁹ Former British official J.S. Furnivall said that the need for Dutch-language primary education increased sharply among Indonesians in the early 1900s (see Table 2.3). The trigger was the changing perception of Western education by the Indonesian elites. 'During the last half of the nineteenth century,' Furnivall says, 'the native official classes sought education as a means of personal advancement, but the conception of education as a cultural asset remained a dream of humanitarians and missionaries; now [in the 1900s], these found a powerful and welcome ally in the new-born Nationalism.'²¹⁰ Furnivall claims that the Indonesian nationalists wished to benefit from a Dutch-language education so as 'to penetrate the secret of European power and, also, to qualify themselves for the highly paid appointments which were the preserve of Europeans'.²¹¹ But this wish could not be granted because by law, the number Indonesian children who could attend primary schools for the European children was restricted. After this law was relieved in 1903, an influx of Indonesian children burst into the primary schools for the European children and 'threatened to destroy the European character of these schools'.²¹²

Table 2.3: Non-Europeans in Dutch Lower Schools²¹³

Year	No. of Europeans	No of Native	No. of Foreign Orientals	Total non-Europeans
1900	17,025	1,615	352	1,967
1905	19,049	3,935	731	4,666
1910	21,731	3,710	4,074	7,784

Source: J.S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy*, with an Introduction by Jonkheer Mr. A.C.D. de Graeff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), 368.

This strongly suggests that the introduction of Dutch into the First-Class schools was deliberately aimed to relieve the pressure on the schools for European children from the influx of Indonesian children.²¹⁴ However, both Brugmans and Furnivall agree in saying that there were reasons other than school-management issues which underlined the changing educational policy in the early twentieth century. Brugmans said that the use and the teaching of Dutch in the First-Class

²⁰⁸ Groeneboer, *Gateway to the West*.

²⁰⁹ Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs*, 292.

²¹⁰ Furnivall, *Netherlands India*, 367-8.

²¹¹ *Ibid.* 368.

²¹² J.S. Furnivall, *Educational Progress in Southeast Asia*, with a Supplement on Training for Native Self-Rule by Bruno Lasker (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1943), 74.

²¹³ Table 3, including its title, has been fully and literally quoted from Furnivall, *Netherlands India*, p. 368. By 'Dutch Lower Schools', Furnivall must have meant 'Europeesche Lagere Scholen' or primary schools for European children.

²¹⁴ Furnivall, *Netherlands India*, 368; *id.* *Educational Progress*, 74.

schools initiated the process of *Dutchification* (*vernederlandsching* – Brugmans' term)²¹⁵ of the different types of schools in the Indies.²¹⁶ In Furnivall's words, such a Dutchification was designed to make indigenous children 'more docile instruments of the official welfare policy'.²¹⁷ As in other Western colonies in Southeast Asia at the time, Furnivall said, the educational policy in the Netherlands Indies reflected 'the evolution of political ideas in Europe and the course of changes in the relations between Europe and the tropics'.²¹⁸ In this statement, Furnivall was exploring a different point of 'association in education'. Supporters of the Ethical Policy like Abendanon had regarded 'association' as the relevance or connectivity of the education for Indonesian children to the daily social life from which they had originated,²¹⁹ but Furnivall argued that the introduction of Dutch to Indonesian children promoted the idea of associating the children with Western culture. The latter idea of 'association' did not seem to have many supporters among policy makers in the early 1900s. Nevertheless, as I shall discuss in Chapter 3, in the 1920s education officials like G.J. Nieuwenhuis would work vigorously on a concordance requirement in education in order to strengthen the East-West relationship.²²⁰

I have explored two different types of public primary schools: the First-Class schools for Indonesian children of the elite families and the Second-Class schools for the ordinary people. The law required that the First-Class schools should be established in towns and the centres of trade and industrial activities. The distribution of the Second-Class schools should include areas where First-Class schools already existed as well as 'other areas'.²²¹ A glance at the government educational reports from 1893 to 1912 reveals a concentration of the primary schools in urban areas. In Java, the First-Class and Second-Class schools could be found in the principal towns such as Batavia, Cirebon, Pekalongan, Semarang, Rembang, Banyumas, Magelang, Yogyakarta, Surakarta, Kediri, Madiun, Surabaya, Besuki, and Pasuruan. In the East Indonesian Islands, public primary schools were mostly established side by side with the mission schools such as those in Menado, Sangihe, Talaud, Amboina and Timor. In Sumatra, the public primary schools rapidly expanded to the areas in which plantation and mining activities were developing such as in Tapanuli, Upper and Lower Padang, Palembang, the Riau Islands, Billiton, Bangka, Lampung and Bengkulu.²²² What it boils down to is that, although public (Second-Class) schools could by law be established in both urban and rural areas, the majority of them was available in the urban or semi-urban localities.

Turning to the pupils, data on school demography show that the number of primary school children of Indonesian elites (*aanzienlijken*) and government officials (*ambtenaren*) was almost twice as

²¹⁵ The Van Dale Digital Dictionary translates the verb 'vernederlands' as 'Dutchify'.

²¹⁶ Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs*, 292.

²¹⁷ Furnivall, *Netherlands India*, 368.

²¹⁸ J.S. Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), 372-3.

²¹⁹ Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs*, 292. See also Lelyveld, "'Waarlijk Geen Overdaad, Doch een Dringende Eisch'".

²²⁰ Furnivall published his *Netherlands India* in 1939 and *Colonial Policy and Practice* in 1948, so when suggesting the idea of East-West association he must have observed the works of Nieuwenhuis'.

²²¹ See again Artikelen 1 en 2, Reglement voor de openbare lagere Inlandsche scholen, 'Historische Nota', 83.

²²² See *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1893-1897*, 117-8; *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1900-1904*, 82-3; *Algemeen Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië loopende over het Jaar 1908* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1910), 14-5; *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1910*, 13.

many in 1904 as in 1893.²²³ Between 1904 and 1908, a constantly increasing stream of children from Indonesian upper-class elites went to the First-Class schools.²²⁴ The number of the children from families of a lower social status – the ‘*minderen*’ – increased only slightly between 1893 and 1900 but shot up significantly between 1900 and 1904, only to fall again between 1904 and 1908.²²⁵ No official explanation is available which casts light on these figures. It is particularly intriguing to observe the fluctuation in enrolment in primary schools of the children of the families of lower social standing. Though the data available do not contrast the social status of the parents against the type of the primary schools in which their children enrolled, I logically assume that children of the ‘*minderen*’ category attended the Second-Class instead of the First-Class schools. As indicated in Tables 2.1a and 2.1b, the tuition fees for the First-Class public primary school rose progressively in accordance with parental income, whereas those of the Second-Class school were a flat rate. Still, the tuition fees for one child in the Second-Class school (Fl. 0.50) were already half of the minimum tuition fees for the first child in the First-Class school (Fl. 1). Consequently, although the Second-Class school was meant principally for children of the indigenous commoners, the rate of the tuition fees could be a serious impediment to such children being able to attend the school. Parents with low incomes could not afford their children’s education even at the Second-Class school. Incontestably, those with higher incomes preferred the First-Class to the Second-Class school so as to be assured of better instruction. In short, the Second-Class schools can undoubtedly be associated with the lower middle-class group of the indigenous society.

In 1906 the Acting Director of Education, Religious Affairs and Industry, J.G. Pott, sent Governor-General Van Heutsz a proposal suggesting the founding of a *dorpsschool* or *desa* school (village school) in Java and Madura. Pott co-signed the proposal with the Acting Director of the Internal Administration (*Binnenlandsch Bestuur*), D.F.W. van Rees. In the model he developed, the village school would be run with the financial support and under the aegis of the local authorities and the people themselves. Pott said that people in Java had been creating more and more *desa loemboengs* or rice banks and hoped that they would fund a *desa* school by the same system of saving rice and credit.²²⁶ The *desa* school in Java should be established at a distance of every 1.5 or two *paal*²²⁷ and

²²³ 10,691 in 1893 as compared to 20,436 in 1904

²²⁴ Already by that time, government educational reports officially categorized Indonesian elites into five groups: *regenten en hogere hoofden* (regents and higher-ranking officials—category used in Java and Madura only); *Inlandse ambtenaren met niet minderen rang dan assistent wedana* (indigenous officials with ranks not below assistant head of sub-district/wedana—in Java and Madura only); *Inlandse ambtenaren met eene bezoldiging van Fl. 100 's maands en daarboven* (indigenous officials with salary from Fl. 100/month and above—in the Outer Islands); *ambtenaren met een bezoldiging beneden dan Fl. 100 's maands* (officials with salary below Fl. 100/month); *gegoede particulieren* (well-off private individuals). Besides these five were the ‘*minderen*’ or commoners/ordinary people.

²²⁵ 64,453 in 1893; 65,856 in 1900; 106,098 in 1904 and 73,910 in 1908. For this and the previous two sentences and the footnotes, see *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1893-1897*, 130-1; *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1900-1904*, 98-9; *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1908*, 32-5.

²²⁶ Acting Director of Education, Religious Affairs and Industry (J.G. Pott) and Acting Director of Domestic Administration (D.F.W. van Rees) to GG (Van Heutsz), 20 March 1906, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 59-68; referred pp. 59-61. According to Van der Wal, the saving-and-credit system of the *desaloemboengs* or *rijstbankjes* set an interest rate of 25 to 50 per cent which was payable *in natura* (see Van der Wal’s Footnote 1 on p. 60). However, I cannot confirm Van der Wal’s statement from my childhood experience. The *lumbung desa* in my home village did not employ such a system of interest. At harvest times, every household—co-ordinated by *desa* head—submitted some bamboo-made buckets (normally two) of rice seeds (*padi*) to the

would admit children six to ten years of age. The children would learn reading and writing in Javanese script and in Latin characters. They would also be taught simple arithmetic with whole numbers (*geheele getallen*) – hence, no fractions. The school hours would be shortened during the busiest time of the cultivation of rice-fields (*sawah*) so as to allow the schoolchildren to help their parents. In principle, the lessons were devised to enable the children to use their reading, writing and counting skills for everyday practical purposes. It was expected that with the instruction they received, the *desa* children would be able to make a better contribution to the development of their villages.²²⁸

It was not until 1907 that the *desa* school was first established in Java. Quoting Governor-General Van Heutsz, Brugmans said that the *desa* school was meant for ‘the great masses of the agricultural population’ (*grote massa der agrarische bevolking*).²²⁹ Both Brugmans and Furnivall agree in saying that the weak financial position of the government lay behind the establishment of the *desa* school. ‘The annual cost per child in a Second-Class school was Fl. 25,’ Furnivall wrote. ‘With a school population of five million, the cost of primary instruction for natives alone would come to Fl. 125 million, out of a total revenue of less than Fl. 200 million.’²³⁰ The *desa* school cost the central government much less money than the Second-Class school because it shared the funding with indigenous communities (*inlandsche gemeente*), *desa* or *negeri*. The communities and villages provided school houses and contributed some Fl. 90 a year. The central government provided teachers, schoolbooks and other equipment. Parents had to pay 5 or 10 cents per month.²³¹

After the founding of the *desa* school, even before the end of the first decade of the twentieth century Java had three types of public primary schools for three different social categories of children. The top elite attended the First-Class school, the lower middle-class the Second-Class school and the general masses the *desa* school.²³² Hence theoretically despite stratification, all social groups in Indonesian society were entitled to primary schooling. At a practical level, wider access to primary education was only truly available long after the school prototypes were first launched. Although a number of the First-Class schools were already offering Dutch to Indonesian children in 1907, generally speaking the curriculum remained locally oriented and barely touched upon Dutch culture, society or geography. For example, until 1910 the natural history lessons in the primary schools still

lumbung desa. At planting times, the households which ran out of rice at home could borrow rice from the *lumbung desa* on condition that at the next harvest they would have to return the same amount of rice they had borrowed. Hence, someone who borrowed rice would submit more buckets of rice to the *lumbung desa* than those who did not, namely the rice he had borrowed and the rice he had to submit as a regular saving. In fact, *lumbung desa* was created as a strategy by the *desa* people to anticipate the scarcity of food caused by long dry seasons.

²²⁷ *Paal*, or post, was used to measure the length or breadth of a geographical territory. In Java, the distance between two *palen* was about 1,506 metres, whereas in Sumatra, 1,851 metres. See www.encyclo.nl, accessed on 22 February 2011 at 11.43 a.m. Thanks to my officemate, Monique Erkelens, who browsed this website for me.

²²⁸ Aanwijzingen voor eene proefneming met de oprichting van Inlandsche gemeentescholen op Java en Madoera, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 69-77; referred pp. 69, 73-5.

²²⁹ Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs*, 305-6.

²³⁰ Furnivall, *Netherlands India*, 367.

²³¹ Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs*, 306-7; Furnivall, *Netherlands India*, 367.

²³² In Brugmans’ words: ‘de desaschool voor de groote massa, de eerste-klasseschool voor de aristocratie en de gegoeden, de tweede-klasseschool voor de tusschenlaag diergenen, die losgemaakt waren van den grond en, levend in de stedelijke agglomeraties, meer contact hadden met de westersche elementen in de samenleving’ (Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs*, p. 315).

used textbooks exclusively concerned with the Netherlands Indies.²³³ Commenting on the Second-Class and the *desa* schools, in 1914 Minister of the Colonies, Th. B. Pleijte, admitted that the educational reform plans enthusiastically discussed in 1907 had not been worked out completely because of the unavailability of well-trained teachers. The education offered in the Second-Class school, Pleijte said, should be of a higher level than that in the *desa* school and for this better-trained teachers were essential. 'The placement of well-trained teachers—meaning, teachers with a high salary—has depended so much on the financial capacity and the willingness of the *desa* and municipal authorities,' Pleijte said.²³⁴ What Pleijte said contradicted the 'commitment' made earlier in which the central government, not the *desa* or the municipal authorities, was designed to provide funds for the supply of teachers. Therefore, although Brugmans claimed in 1938 that the institutionalization of the *desa* school in 1907 was 'the most important decision about education for Indonesians in the twentieth century',²³⁵ the educational improvement failed to burgeon—partly for lack of government commitment—as much as the Ethical Policy supporters had imagined at least until a decade later.

A.2 HIS and further reforms

From 1910 to 1920s the Netherlands Indies witnessed significant reforms in the public primary schools for Indonesians. The First-Class school was reclassified as the *Hollandsch Inlandsche School* (HIS, Dutch Indonesian School) in 1914.²³⁶ The Second-Class and the *desa* schools rapidly spread out over Java and Sumatra between 1917 and 1919.²³⁷ Generally speaking, the making of these new policies was motivated politically rather than pedagogically. The birth of the HIS was largely stimulated by consecutive reforms of the primary schools for the Chinese.²³⁸ The expansion of the Second-Class and the *desa* schools was partially the outcome of the radical activities of the Sarikat Islam organization.²³⁹ Whatever their roots, the impact of these new policies on the next development in the public education for Indonesians was unprecedented. The founding of the HIS equalized the standard of public education for Indonesians to the same level as that for the Europeans and the Chinese. The HIS opened up a way for Indonesians to pursue secondary and even, for a privileged few, tertiary education. More importantly, the changing political status of the primary schools for the elites stimulated even greater improvement in the schools for the masses. Through the *vervolg*school

²³³ See, for example, H.D. Tjeenk Willink, *Beginselen der Plantkunde: Leerboek ten gebruike bij het Lager Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië*, tweede druk, met 54 figuren en 4 gekleurde platen (Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1907); T. Viersen, *Indische Dierenwereld in Woord en Beeld voor het Lager Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië*, derde stukje, illustraties van J. van der Heijden (Menado: Gebr. Que, 1910).

²³⁴ Minister of the Colonies (Pleijte) to GG (Idenburg), 9 January 1914, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 267-9.

²³⁵ Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs*, 305.

²³⁶ Director of Education and Religious Affairs (G.A.J. Hazeu) to Gouverneur General (Idenburg), 20 November 1914, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 286-8.

²³⁷ See, for example, Openbaar Verbaal 24 September 1918 No. 43 (NA Inv. Nr. 1890) on the expansion of the *desa* school; Openbaar Verbaal 2 July 1919 No. 9 (NA Inv. Nr. 2012) on the expansion of the Second-Class school. The expansion of the *desa* school was set in motion by the transfer of authority over the school from the Department of Domestic Affairs (*Binnenlandsch Bestuur*) to the Department of Education and Religious Affairs.

²³⁸ Nota van de Algemeene Secretarie, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 188.

²³⁹ Minister of the Colonies (Pleijte) to GG (Idenburg), 9 January 1914, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 268.

(continuation school, founded in 1915²⁴⁰) and the *schakelschool* (bridging school, founded in 1921²⁴¹), the children of ordinary people and the lower ranking elites were entitled to pursue instruction in the European line of education. Despite the social stratification which remained characteristic of the colonial society, the second and third decades of the twentieth century truly were a heyday of the public primary schools for the Indonesians. In this sub-section, I shall briefly explore further developments in these schools, especially the HIS.

The reforms in public primary schools for the Chinese were what largely motivated the founding of the HIS. In 1907, the Council of the Netherlands Indies (*Raad van Nederlands-Indië*, the government of the colony) advised the government to improve the primary education of the Chinese in view of the fact that many Chinese parents could not afford to send their children to the primary schools for the Europeans. Following up this advice, the government established the *Hollandsch Chinese School* (HCS).²⁴² By a decree of 11 November 1910, the HCS curriculum was revised (by adding French), so that it became almost fully equivalent to the curriculum of the *Europeese Lagere School* (ELS, primary school for Europeans in the Indies). HCS graduates, as were their European counterparts, were formally eligible to attend secondary education in the *Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs* (MULO, upper primary school) and *Hoogere Burgerschool* (HBS, public secondary school).²⁴³ However, this policy did not come into force until 1913, when the government advisor on the Chinese Affairs, W.J. Oudendijk, reminded Governor-General A.W.F. Idenburg of the issue. Oudendijk argued that the HCS curriculum had indeed taught Chinese children the history of the Netherlands (*onzer vaderlandsche geschiedenis*) and that in the future these children could become 'our benevolent and loyal citizens'. Oudendijk's letter was effective. Chinese children were offered larger opportunities to access secondary and tertiary education.²⁴⁴

When the HCS curriculum was revised in 1910, the director of Education, Religious Affairs and Industry, M.S. Koster, raised a question about the possibility of reorganising the First-Class school so that its graduates, like HCS graduates, could proceed to secondary education at the MULO and HBS. 'The Chinese children were once again placed into a more advantageous situation than the indigenous children,' Koster was quoted as saying.²⁴⁵ The primary schools which had so far been accessible to Indonesian children were in effect a final school: the graduates could not continue their studies because the nature of the instruction they had received had not prepared them for advanced study. Over and above this, the First-Class, the Second-Class and the *desa* schools all belonged to the

²⁴⁰ See Government Secretary to Director of Education and Religious Affairs (G.A.J. Hazeu), 7 May 1914, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 273-4; Director of Education and Religious Affairs (G.A.J. Hazeu) to Governor-General (Idenburg), 2 December 1914, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 274-82; Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs*, 315-7.

²⁴¹ Director of Education and Religious Affairs (K.F. Creutzberg) to Governor-General (Van Limburg Stirum), 11 March 1920, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 362-3; Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs*, 337.

²⁴² Advies van de raad van Nederlands-Indië van 28 Juni 1907 No. XVI, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 99-104.

²⁴³ Nota van de Algemeene Secretarie, undated, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 188. Van der Wal said that this nota was most likely a personal note by Governor-General A.W.F. Idenburg written in 1911. See Footnote 1 on p. 188.

²⁴⁴ Regeringsadviseur in Chinese aangelegenheid (W.J. Oudendijk) aan GG (Idenburg), 2 October 1913, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 258-65; referred pp. 259-60.

²⁴⁵ Nota van de Algemeene Secretarie, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 188.

educational system for the indigenous people (*Inlands Onderwijs*) and were isolated from the educational system for the Europeans, which was connected to advanced instruction at the secondary and tertiary levels in both the Indies and in Europe.²⁴⁶

The idea of re-organizing the First-Class school in the direction of achieving the standard of the schools for the Europeans was challenged by the fact that the European and the Indigenous educational systems naturally had different characteristics. 'The Europeans and the Indonesians have their own needs,' a government document states. Education should be directed towards meeting the natural needs of the people. 'Uniformity and a unity of aims in a general system will not work out.'²⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the idea was grasped that with some improvements the First-Class school, which was the highest institution in the educational system for Indonesians, could serve as a model school for the Indonesian population overall. 'The First-Class school must carry out the same kind of missions for Indonesian education as the ELS does for European education.' To achieve this end, the language education in the First-Class school had to be revised and expanded to the same standard as that of the ELS. Having been subjected to the re-organization, the education at the First-Class school would have the nature of a continued education (*voortgezette studie*). Consequently, graduates could formally undertake secondary schooling either for general instruction at a MULO or vocational training such as that in the *ambachtschool* (trade or craft school). In the meantime, the Second-Class and the *desa* schools would remain organizationally isolated from the European schools and would be specifically kept in the Indigenous education system.²⁴⁸

In 1913, the government decided to re-classify the First-Class school as a *Hollandsch-Inlandsche School* or HIS.²⁴⁹ The *Indisch Staatsblad* 1914 No. 762 formally gazetted the name 'HIS' to replace 'First-Class school'.²⁵⁰ Because the general basis for the operation of the HIS was the same as that of the First-Class school, namely *Indisch Staatsblad* 1893 No. 125, the two schools were basically one institution with different names. Nevertheless, the issue thrown up by the change in name was not as simple as it might have seemed at first sight. Philosophically, the re-classification of the First-Class school as a HIS required a comprehensive improvement in the latter so that it reached a comparable standard with the education provided at the ELS. This would encompass betterment of infrastructure, curriculum, books, language and teaching personnel. When the First-Class schools became the HIS in 1914, striking differences between these schools and the ELS were readily observable especially in such localities as Bandung where there were both HIS and ELS.²⁵¹ Not all of the buildings used by HIS belonged to the government. For example, the HIS buildings in Meester-Cornelis (Batavia), Batang, Kendal (Central Java), Lamongan (East Java) and Tanjung Pandan (Riau Islands) were rented from the local people. The HIS buildings in Kendal and in Palembang (South Sumatra) were too small. Only those in Siak Sri Indrapura (Riau) and Langsa (Aceh) were established prominently, but this was

²⁴⁶ Ibid. 190.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid. 190 and 195.

²⁴⁹ Director of Education and Religious Affairs (G.A.J. Hazeu) to Gouverneur General (Idenburg), 17 March 1913, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 224-35; refered p. 227.

²⁵⁰ Kats, *Overzicht van het Onderwijs*, 19; Director of ERA to GG, 20 November 1914, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 286-8.

²⁵¹ Director of ERA to GG, 17 March 1913, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 228.

because the buildings had formerly been a boarding house and a *pesanggrahan* (a rest house). More surprisingly, not all HIS consisted of the same number of grades or classes. In 1915, for example, out of 102 HIS (eighty-six in Java and Madura, sixteen in the Outer Islands), sixty-seven consisted of seven classes, nineteen of six classes, six of five classes, six others of four classes, and four of two classes.²⁵² The re-classification of the First-Class schools signified not only a change of the school name but also in the educational standards. Even so, the situation during the early years reflected the challenges which lay ahead in trying to meet the new standards.

Table 2.4: Per cent of language classes in HIS curriculum, 1915

Grade	Number of hours of language classes per week			Total lesson hours per week	Per cent of language classes to total lesson hours	
	Dutch	Vernacular	'Maleis'		All languages	Dutch alone
1	8.25	4.50	-	18	70.8	45.8
2	12	6	-	27	66.6	44.4
3	10.50	6	-	27	61.1	38.8
4	10.5	5.25	2.25	27	66.6	38.8
5	10.50	4.50	2.25	27	63.8	38.8
6	12	3	1.50	27	61.1	44.4
7	14.25	0.75	0.75	27	58.3	52.7

Source: 'Leerplan voor de Openbare Hollandsch-Inlandsche Scholen op Java en Madoera', in J. Kats, *Overzicht van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1915), 133-8

A HIS should daily have seven classes, held from 7.30 a.m. to 1 p.m.²⁵³ Classes should be conducted in Dutch, except in the first two years in which the vernacular language or 'Maleis' should be used. At this point, it is important to recall that numerous government officials had anticipated that 'insufficient knowledge of Dutch [among the Indonesian children] would become a serious stumbling block for the rational expansion [of the HIS]'.²⁵⁴ When the HIS was first opened in 1914, many of the pupils – from the former First-Class schools – found great difficulty in using Dutch because they were not accustomed to it. To help these pupils, the Director of Education and Religious Affairs authorized HIS principals to conduct afternoon Dutch courses for a maximum of four hours a week.²⁵⁵ Up to 1916, about 68 per cent of the HIS classes was conducted in Dutch.²⁵⁶ The HIS curriculum put a heavy emphasis on language courses, particularly Dutch and the vernacular (see Table 2.4). Unlike the First-Class school which was a final school, the nature of the HIS was preparatory. HIS graduates were expected to become as competent as their counterparts from the ELS and the HCS to be able to continue to secondary education conducted in Dutch, either in general or vocational secondary schools. The emphasis on language courses also shows that the HIS education was strongly rooted in the tradition of liberal arts, just as was general public education in Europe.

²⁵² *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over 1915: Eerste Deel: Tekst* (Batavia: N.V. Drukkerij 'De Verwachting', 1916), 39.

²⁵³ Kats, *Overzicht van het Onderwijs*, 21.

²⁵⁴ See again Nota van de Algemeene Secretarie, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 195.

²⁵⁵ Kats, *Overzicht van het Onderwijs*, 21 and 23; Creutzberg and Hardeman, *Het Onderwijs*, 23-4.

²⁵⁶ Creutzberg and Hardeman, *Het Onderwijs*, 24.

By law, the HIS was obliged to use the curriculum of the *niet-eerste* ELS, or ELS of non-first-category.²⁵⁷ Unlike the curriculum of the *eerste* ELS, that of the *niet-eerste* ELS did not offer French. In 1915, in addition to Dutch, 'Maleis' and vernacular languages, HIS pupils also learned arithmetic, drawing, writing in Latin characters, geography of the Netherlands Indies and of the Netherlands and Europe and natural history.²⁵⁸ The 1915 HIS curriculum was not yet fully equivalent to the curriculum of the *niet-eerste* ELS because it did not include the courses history and physical education. In 1918, the HIS curriculum did include history and physical education as well as singing, handicrafts (*nuttige handwerken*) and commerce education (*zaak onderwijs*), in addition to the subjects previously mentioned.²⁵⁹

The gradual improvement in the HIS curriculum clearly shows the weight of the education. Just as the ELS and the HCS, the purpose of the HIS was to provide education on a Dutch foundation (*Nederlandschen grondslag*).²⁶⁰ In 1925, the government admitted that 'the reform [of the First-Class school to HIS in 1914] was indeed a transformation' from a school which was formerly oriented towards the indigenous society to one which inclined towards the West. The First-Class school had been characterized by: 'the use of vernacular language, an Indonesian teacher as principal, modest school premises (*vrij eenvoudige schoolgebouwen*)'. By contrast, the HIS had shifted the 'local' characteristics of the First-Class school through what the government called a 'Western appearance': more expensive school premises (*kostbaarder schoolgebouwen*), the use of Dutch, a certified Dutch teacher as school director and the delivery of instructions by European and Indonesian teachers, who had acquired a satisfactory mastery of Dutch. 'Although the indigenous element has not been completely removed – vernacular languages and/or 'Maleis' are still kept as course subjects – the HIS must be counted as a Western education institution', state the educational reports.²⁶¹

The reports indicate the changing structure of the primary education for Indonesians. Until 1914, the three types of primary schools for Indonesians fell into the category of *Inlandsch Onderwijs* or Indigenous Education, whereas the primary schools for the Europeans and the Chinese were classified as *Europeesch Lager Onderwijs*, European Primary Education. The reports on these two categories of education were published separately. From 1915, annual educational reports appeared in combined volumes which included all the types of the schools existing in the Netherlands Indies. The primary education was chiefly classified as *Inrichtingen van Onderwijs met het Nederlandsch als Voertaal* (Institutions of Education with Dutch as Medium of Instruction) and *Inrichtingen van Onderwijs met een Inlandsche Taal als Voertaal* (Institutions of Education with a Vernacular as Medium of Instruction). The

²⁵⁷ *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië: Eerste Deel: Tekst 1918* (Batavia: Boekdrukkerij G. Kolff & Co, 1920), 39. *Eerste ELS* and *Niet-Eerste ELS* were the terms officially used in government educational reports to refer to the primary schools for European children. It is interesting to notice that this type of school did not recognize the classification First-Class and Second-Class as that used to refer to the primary schools for Indonesian children.

²⁵⁸ 'Leerplan voor de Openbare Hollandsch-Inlandsche Scholen op Java en Madoera', in Kats, *Overzicht van het Onderwijs*, 133-8.

²⁵⁹ *Verslag van het Onderwijs Eerste Deel 1918*, 19-24.

²⁶⁰ *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië: Eerste Deel Tekst 1919* (Weltevreden: G. Kolff & Co., 1921), 1.

²⁶¹ *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over 1925: Eerste Deel (Tekst)* (Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij, 1927), 79.

HIS, ELS and HCS fell into the category of education which used Dutch, the Second-Class and the *desa* schools belonged to the category of education which used Malay or vernacular languages.²⁶²

In a nutshell, from approximately 1893 up to the 1920s, the Netherlands Indies, especially Java and Sumatra, witnessed significant improvements in public education. In 1893, the public primary schools for Indonesian children were split into the First-Class and the Second-Class schools. This policy marked the first step towards a wider access of education for the Indonesian masses. In 1907, the growing desire of the Indonesian parents to send their children to European primary schools – chiefly because these schools offered better employment opportunities than the First-Class schools – prompted the government to add Dutch to the curriculum of the First-Class schools in order to reduce the influx of the Indonesians to the ELS. As time passed, it was found out that the majority of the Second-Class schools existed only in urban localities. This encouraged the government to establish the *desa* schools (also in 1907), which were meant for children in rural agricultural society. So, by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, people in Java had seen three types of public primary schools for Indonesians: the First-Class schools for the elites, the Second-Class schools for lower-middle-class urban-dwellers, and the *desa*-schools for village children. Even so, the reform policies introduced in the first decade did not work out fully until the second decade, because the central and the local governments of the Netherlands Indies lacked both the financial capacity and political commitment.

I have deliberately chosen to explore the development of the public primary school for the Indonesian elites: the First-Class school which became HIS in 1914. Compared to primary education in other Western colonies in South and Southeast Asia, the primary schools in Java generally offered very modest instruction²⁶³ and were imbued with a philanthropic spirit.²⁶⁴ The non-elite schools, especially the *desa*-schools, had little pedagogical significance, although they were politically historic in the eyes of policy makers at the time. As H.A. Wyndham says, the non-elite schools represented ‘the downward growth theory’ that education should be confined mainly to the upper classes and that it should percolate through Indonesian society from the top’.²⁶⁵ Even so, the *desa*- and the Second-Class schools became particularly important later in the 1930s when the government, forced by an

²⁶² See different volumes of educational reports: *Algemeen Verslag van het Europeesch Middelbaar en Lager Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* (1900-1914); *Algemeen Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* (1900-1914); *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* (1915-1940).

²⁶³ See the cases of primary education in Ceylon under the British, the Philippines under the Spanish and under the Americans, French Indo-China and British Malaya, in Wyndham, *Native Education*. For an exclusive account on the volksschool in Java and in the Philippines, see Karel Neys, ‘Westerse Acculturisatie en Oosters Volksonderwijs’ (Diss. Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, 1945).

²⁶⁴ Elsewhere, I have discussed the issue of philanthropism in the educational policy of early-twentieth-century Indonesia. See Agus Suwignyo, ‘Kurikulum dan Politik (Kebijakan) Pendidikan’ in A. Ferry T. Indratno, *Kurikulum yang Mencerdaskan: Visi 2030 dan Pendidikan Alternatif* (Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas, 2007), 37-64; ‘Neoliberalisme Pendidikan Tinggi, Tanggungjawab Negara dan Kemandirian Kita: Refleksi Historis’ in Sri Margana and Widya Fitrianiingsih (eds), *Sejarah Indonesia: Perspektif Lokal dan Global* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak, 2010), 172-90. Nevertheless, policy makers and supporters of the Ethical policy often exalted the establishment of the *desa* schools to sing their own praises in the matter of the shift of colonial policy in the Indies towards the welfare of the masses.

²⁶⁵ Wyndham, *Native Education*, 88-9.

efficiency policy implemented in the wake of the Great Depression, had to close numerous HIS and had to cancel the expansion plans for this type of school.²⁶⁶

In the first three decades of the twentieth century, it was from the evolution of the elite schools that a gradual progress in the pedagogical standards of the public primary schools for Indonesians began to glimmer. The introduction of Dutch into the curriculum of the First-Class school in 1907 can only be understood in terms of its symbolic meaning, since it did not reform the overall structure of the educational system. Nevertheless, the transformation of the First-Class school into a HIS in 1914 reflected the changing mission to which education for the Indonesian populace had to be bound: it was no longer directed towards the association between school and the various unique realms of local society, but between two culturally divergent entities in two societies – East and West. In the latter context of association, school was expected to be a connecting hub.²⁶⁷

In practice, the association principle meant that education for the Indonesians should rhyme with the social and cultural circumstances of the Europeans. In approximately the span of ten years (1914-1925), the HIS developed to the standards of education provided by the ELS and the HCS in terms of teaching personnel, curriculum, schoolbooks, study equipment and infrastructure.²⁶⁸ As a result, the development of the public schools for Indonesian children was (made) dependent on the dynamics of the educational policy pertaining to Dutch children. As Furnivall puts it, ‘in education, as in so many aspects of social life, the attempt to make Netherlands India a home for Europeans had made it a better home for Orientals’.²⁶⁹ Therefore, politically, the HIS with its association mission represented the creation of cultural dependency²⁷⁰ which, gradually in the 1920s and 1930s, began to form the core of dissatisfaction of the Indonesian nationalists. Pedagogically, the HIS best exemplified the making of educational benchmarking in its earliest time context. The pedagogical improvements only became socially significant when the HIS admitted children from the lower classes,²⁷¹ regardless of the fact that it officially remained an elite school.²⁷²

²⁶⁶ See Chapter 4.

²⁶⁷ See Huizinga and Smits, *De Aspecten van het Openbaar Onderwijs*, 16; J. Lelyveld, *G.J. Nieuwenhuis* (S.I.: s.n., 198x). In Chapter 3, I shall discuss this topic of association in relation to the concordance requirement.

²⁶⁸ After all, the government regulations concerning the ELS also applied to the HIS. See Kats, *Overzicht van het Onderwijs*, 21.

²⁶⁹ Furnivall, *Netherlands India*, 371.

²⁷⁰ In Huizinga and Smits’ term: spiritual imperialism, *geestelijk imperialisme*. See Huizinga and Smits, *De Aspecten*, 13.

²⁷¹ In 1919, 64.7 % of the HIS pupils in Java and Madura came from a family with a monthly income less than Fl. 100. In 1925, the figure increased to 66.6%. During the time, a family of the middle-class category earned between Fl. 100 and Fl. 250, and a top-class family more than Fl. 250 a month. Families earning less than Fl. 100 per month belonged to lower-class category. See *Verslag van het Onderwijs Eerste Deel 1919*, 47; *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1925 Eerste Deel*, 80. However, this categorization was based on incomes from the European employment (clerks, government posts, etc.). If incomes from the indigenous employment (agriculture, small trade, etc.) were used as the standard of measurement, the categories of classes would very likely have to be based on a different range of incomes. For example, a monthly income of Fl. 50 to Fl. 100 might put a family in the category of the top-class. Unfortunately, data of incomes from the indigenous employments still needs to be sought.

²⁷² See, Director of Education and Religious Affairs (G.A.J. Hazeu) to Gouverneur General (Idenburg), 7 July 1913, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 239; *Verslag van het Onderwijs Eerste Deel 1919*, 43; *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1925 Eerste Deel*, 79. Notice that in the title of the 1919 report, the volume number comes before the year reported, whereas in the 1925 report, it follows it.

B. Teacher supply: Government strategies

The previous section has explored the development of public primary schools in the early decades of the twentieth century, particularly paying attention to the First-Class school and HIS. How did the government meet the demand for teachers in line with this development of primary schools?

Government documents (educational reports, *verbalen* or minutes, limited publications) describe the issues of teacher training, recruitment and welfare on roomy pages, and this indicates just how fundamentally important these issues were. Indeed, the supply of teachers was a central question in the policy and practice of educational reform throughout the early twentieth century. Initially, the supply of teachers in the Netherlands Indies depended on the import of the teachers from the Netherlands. However, it became glaringly obvious that this strategy could not fulfil the demand which grew ever larger following the expansion of public primary schools. Therefore, preparing children in the Indies for teaching positions was another strategic step.

The demand for teachers was heard from the different types of schools in the Indies, both at the primary and the secondary levels. This sub-section will concentrate on the *supply* of teachers for the First-Class schools and the HIS. In general, teaching positions at the ELS and HCS were the privilege of Dutch teachers, whereas those at the First-Class schools and the HIS were occupied both by Dutchmen and Indonesians. Nearly all the Dutch teachers at these primary schools had received their training in Europe, for example, at the *Rijkskweekschool* in Haarlem, Holland²⁷³ but their Indonesian counterparts were trained in the Indies at the *normaalschools*, the *Kweekschool voor Inlandsche Onderwijzers/essen*, and the *Hogere Kweekschool (HKS)*.²⁷⁴

B.1 Quality and quantity issues

Ordonnantie van 5 June 1893 (Staatsblad 1893 No. 127) clearly describes the formal standard of competence which teachers of the First-Class and Second-Class schools should acquire.²⁷⁵ However, for a number of years the teachers who staffed the public primary schools had various training backgrounds, some even had no formal qualification. The regulations stated that teachers at the First-Class schools and principals of the Second-Class schools should at least hold a diploma from the Teacher Training School for Indonesians, *Kweekschool voor Inlandsche Onderwijzers/essen* (from now on: *kweekschool*).²⁷⁶ In 1904, the five public *kweekscholen* existing in the Netherlands Indies – in Bandung, Probolinggo (East Java), Fort De Kock (West/Central Sumatra), Amboina, and Yogyakarta – produced 572 graduates, or only 102 more than the rate of production in 1900.²⁷⁷ Within the same time span, the number of public primary schools increased by as many as 117 (that is, 650 in 1904 as compared to 533

²⁷³ I have to say ‘for example’ here because the European teachers sent to the Indies in the early twentieth century were not only Dutch but sometimes also German. I do not have any data about the training background of these German teachers.

²⁷⁴ Initially, *Normaalschool* graduates could teach both at the First-Class and the Second-Class schools. Following educational reforms, Indonesian teachers at the First-Class schools and its successor, HIS, had to be graduates of the *kweekschool*. Meanwhile, the *desa* schools were initially staffed by graduates of the Second-Class schools and later by those of the so-called *Opleiding voor Volksschool Onderwijzers (OVVO)*, training course for teachers of the *desa*-school).

²⁷⁵ Regelen betreffende de benoembaarheid en bevordering van het onderwijzend personeel, *Ordonnantie van 5 Juni 1893 (Staatsblad 1893 No. 127)*, ‘Historische Nota’, 77-9.

²⁷⁶ Artikelen 4 en 9, *Ordonnantie 5 Juni 1893*.

²⁷⁷ *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1900-1904*, 86.

in 1900).²⁷⁸ Under the circumstances, fewer than one new teacher holding a *kweekschool* diploma could be supplied to staff each of the new schools. There was no let-up in this situation. For 784 public primary schools in 1908 and for 1,021 in 1910 there were only 766 and 820 teachers who held a *kweekschool* diploma.²⁷⁹

The need for teachers was met by employing personnel who held a diploma lower than the *kweekschool* diploma. They consisted of: (1) graduates of the *normaalschool* or courses; (2) assistant teachers who were educated in the older teacher training schools and, based on a 1878 regulation, were categorized as the *vierde onderwijzers* (in Java and Madura) and *tweede onderwijzers* (in the Outer Provinces); (3) teachers who were appointed according to a particular criterion of distinction (*bij wijze van onderscheiding bevorderd*) and were categorized as *derde onderwijzers* (in Java and Madura) and *eerste onderwijzers* (in the Outer Provinces) and (4) teachers who did not have any training at all (*niet opgeleid*).²⁸⁰ The number of the teachers in each category still has to be researched. But these various categories of teacher qualification suggest that, despite reforms in public primary schools, there was no teaching standard, at least in terms of qualification of personnel.

Table 2.5: Number of Indonesian teachers of public First-Class and Second-Class schools categorized by possession of a *kweekschool* and a non-*kweekschool* diploma 1900-1910

Year	Holders of <i>kweekschool</i> diploma	Holders of a diploma lower than a <i>kweekschool</i> diploma	Trainees (<i>kweekeling</i>)
1900	470	1,057	135
1904	572	1,443	211
1906	623	835	282
1907	677	825	311
1908	768(?)	870(?)	316
1909	785(?)	910(?)	231
1910	830	1,047	240

Sources: *Verslagen van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1900-1904* (p. 86), *1906* (pp. 28-9), *1907* (pp. 30-1), *1908* (pp. 38-9), *1909* (pp. 34-5), *1910* (pp. 38-9).

Table 2.5 presents figures of the holders of a *kweekschool* diploma and those with another diploma. The number of the holders of a *kweekschool* diploma increased steadily between 1900 and 1910, even though this could not keep pace with the increase of the public primary schools. In this period, the number of the holders of a diploma other than the *kweekschool* diploma decreased. There was no official explanation of the dramatic collapse in the number of teachers in this category between 1904 and 1906. However, the reduction between 1904 and 1910 does not seem to have stemmed from a structural reform of the qualification-based teacher formation, but from death, retirement, illness and administrative reasons. Government educational reports mention that a number of the teachers were

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 82-3.

²⁷⁹ *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1908*, 14-5, 38-9; *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1910*, 13, 38.

²⁸⁰ On the classification of teachers' qualifications, see the Educational Reports of the years from 1900 to 1914 (*Verslagen van het Inlandsch Onderwijs*), pp. 86-7; 28-9; 30-1; 38-9; 34-5; 38-9; 72a-b; 21; 25-6. On the legal basis of this classification, see, for example, Royal Decree of 6 February 1878 (*Staatsblad* 1878 No. 60) as referred to in 'Bezoldiging van hoofdonderwijzers en onderwijzers op Java en Madoera, die in dienst waren vóór de inwerkingtreding van de Ordonnantie van 5 Juni 1893 (*Staatsblad* 1893 No. 127), K.J. van Hemert, *Verzameling Voorschriften betreffende het Inlandsch Onderwijs* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1915), 112-5.

dismissed (*ontslagen*), suspended (*geschorst*) or punished (*gestraft*)²⁸¹ on various grounds, including irregularity of school attendance, dereliction of duty (leaving duty posts without prior notice),²⁸² serious illness,²⁸³ forgery (*het plegen van valsheid in geschrifte*)²⁸⁴ and corruption and mark-up of school budgets.²⁸⁵ Some teachers had to give up their profession because, when evaluated by a school supervisor, they were considered unqualified (*ontgeschikt*).²⁸⁶

It is intriguing that, although the majority of the teachers presented in Table 2.5 was not qualified according to *Ordonnantie van 5 June 1893* and although consequently the public primary schools could not provide Indonesian children with a standardized education, the government only began to raise these issues in the public educational policy making after a significant number of European teachers became available to staff the First-Class schools as a consequence of the introduction of Dutch to the curriculum of the school in 1907. In 1901, only eight and in 1905 only twelve European teachers were employed at the public primary schools for Indonesian children.²⁸⁷ As of 1907, the number of the European teachers at the First-Class schools steadily increased (see Table 2.6). Between 1893 and 1905, the evaluation and monitoring of the competence (*bekwaamheid*) of the teachers of the First-Class schools were chiefly concerned with the teachers' assiduity (*dienstijver*), individual attitude and behaviour, and the punishments or rewards entailed by the 'competence' evaluated.²⁸⁸ After European personnel began to staff the First-Class schools in 1907, government appraisal of the competence of the teachers also began to address pedagogical aspects more substantially. It was stated that many teachers only had a minimum teaching competence, either because of the low standard of the training they had received or because there was no opportunity for further training/upgrading.²⁸⁹

Table 2.6: Number of public ELS, First-Class school/HIS and teachers, 1900-1925

Year	Public ELS		Public 1 st -Class school/HIS		
	Schools	Teachers (European)	Schools	Teachers	
				European	Indonesian
1900	170	435	533 (a)	8	1,862 (b)
1905	126	768 (c)	684 (d)	12	2,176 (e)
1907 (f)	125	695 (g)	714 (h)	27	3,051 (i)

²⁸¹ *Verslagen van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1893-1899*, 98 en *1900-1904*, 87.

²⁸² *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1911*, 71.

²⁸³ *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1910*, 35.

²⁸⁴ *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1908*, 37

²⁸⁵ *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1909*, 32-3.

²⁸⁶ The evaluation more often than not dealt with the physical and personal performance rather than with professional and pedagogical capacity of individual teachers. A good personal relationship with a school supervisor was an advantage for the teachers supervised. See Nglokro [pseudonym], 'Promotie', *De Onderwijzer* No. 2, 1^{ste} Jaargang (April 1919), 19-20. For as much as it can be figured out from government educational reports, the drop in the number of the teachers who were not holders of a *kweekschool* diploma was caused by numerous factors apart from the replacement of them by the holders of a *kweekschool* diploma. The drop in the number of non-*kweekschool* diploma holders did not reflect a change in the structure of the formation of the teachers based on their qualifications.

²⁸⁷ *Algemeen Verslag van het Europeesch Middelbaar en Lager Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over 1901* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1902), 140; *Algemeen Verslag van het Europeesch Middelbaar en Lager Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over 1905* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1906), 96.

²⁸⁸ *Verslagen van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1893-1899*, 94-8 en *1900-1904*, 84-7.

²⁸⁹ *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1907*, 28-9.

1910	147	832 (j)	1,021 (k)	116	4,014 (l)
1914 (m)	194	1,573 (n)	95 (o)	218	583 (p)
1920	196	839	132 (o)	244 (q)	596
1925	182	836 (r)	156 (o)	259 (s)	847 (t)

Note: see footnote²⁹⁰; Sources: see footnote²⁹¹

Certainly the appointment of Dutch teachers from Europe at the First-Class schools created a new horizon in which teachers' competence was viewed from a pedagogical perspective. Notwithstanding this, no magic formula could immediately be put in place to improve the quality of the schools – not even the appointment of European teachers. It was reported that numerous European teachers encountered difficulties in dealing with the tropical climate and diseases.²⁹² Some had problems with their own colleagues.²⁹³ Most regrettably, not all of the European teachers placed at the First-Class schools possessed adequate qualifications. For example, although officially only third-rank (*derde-klasse*) European teachers who held a *hoofdacte* could be appointed to the First-Class schools, 45 per cent of the European teachers at the schools in 1911 did not possess a *hoofdacte*.²⁹⁴ The government admitted that it could not provide a satisfactory number of European teachers – even those who held no *hoofdacte* – to cope with the growing number and the progressive reform of the public primary schools for Indonesians. In 1912, the First-Class schools in Solok (West Sumatra), Medan and Padang Sidempuan (North Sumatra) employed no European teachers at all. Consequently, Dutch was not taught although it was already part of the school curriculum. In some other areas, the European teachers were so limited in number that they shared the duties of teaching Dutch with candidate teachers who had just graduated from *kweekschool*.²⁹⁵

The transformation of the First-Class schools into the HIS only made the need for European teaching personnel greater. By law, the principal of a HIS should be a European teacher who held an *akte* or diploma in Pedagogy. A seven-year HIS should be staffed by three European (including the principal) and four Indonesian teachers. A six-year HIS should have two European and four Indonesian teachers as its personnel; five-year HIS one or two European and four or three Indonesians teachers; four-year HIS one European and three Indonesian teachers; and three-year HIS one European and two Indonesian teachers.²⁹⁶ In 1914, eighty-five out of ninety-five First-Class schools had already been transformed into public HIS and were headed each by a European principal. Fifty-

²⁹⁰ (a) 1st & 2nd class schools; (b) incl. teachers of 2nd class schools; (c) 496 male, 272 female; (d) 49 1st class, 635 2nd class; (e) incl. teachers of 2nd class schools; (f) Dutch was introduced to 1st class school; (g) 443 male, 252 female, incl. 8 trainees; (h) 54 1st-class, 660 2nd class; (i) incl. teachers of 2nd class schools; (j) 512 male, 320 female, incl. 9 trainees; (k) 68 1st class, 953 2nd class; (l) incl. teachers of 2nd class schools; (m) 1st class school was transformed into HIS; (n) 936 male, 637 female; (o) HIS only; (p) HIS teachers only; (q) 146 male, 98 female (r) 284 male, 552 female, not incl. Fröbel-onderwijzeressen; (s) 176 male, 83 female; (t) not incl. Fröbel-onderwijzeressen

²⁹¹ *Verslagen van het Europeesch Middelbaar en Lager Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over 1900; 1905; 1907; 1910; 1914*, respectively pp. 131-42; 96-7, 100-1; 104-5, 114-5; 122-4, 130-2; 127-9, 134; *Verslagen van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1900; 1905; 1907; 1910; 1914-Eerste Deel*, respectively pp. 82-6; 203-5; 11, 30-1; 13, 38-9; 25-6, 34; *Verslagen van het Onderwijs 1920; 1921-1922; 1925-Eerste Deel*, respectively pp. 78, 98-101; 79; 68, 70, 81.

²⁹² *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1911*, 71.

²⁹³ *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1909*, 32-3.

²⁹⁴ J. Habbema, 'Inlandsch Onderwijs: Afdeling V, Onderafdeeling 65', in Vereeniging "Moederland en Koloniën", *Aanteekeningen op de Begrooiting van Nederlandsch-Indië voor het Dienstjaar 1911* ('S-Gravenhage: M. van der Beek's Hofboekhandel, 1910), 105-12.

²⁹⁵ *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1912 Eerste Deel: Tekst*, 39.

²⁹⁶ *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1914 Eerste Deel: Tekst*, 35.

three of the eighty-five HIS consisted of seven classes.²⁹⁷ There should have been 223²⁹⁸ European teachers at these HIS; in practice, 218 were available.²⁹⁹ It has to be noted that the required presence of European teachers would not be compromised by Indonesian teaching personnel. In the eyes of Dutch education officials, the Dutch language potential of Indonesian teachers, even if they held a *kweekschool* diploma, still left a lot to be desired (*aan billijke eischen*).³⁰⁰ Holders of non-*kweekschool* diploma hardly knew any Dutch and had only a passing acquaintance with education (*weinig ontwikkeld*), therefore they could not be fully entrusted with the pedagogical responsibilities.³⁰¹

Overall, the demand for the quality improvement of teaching personnel was jeopardized by that for quantity improvement. Even so, the placement of European teachers at the First-Class schools – then the HIS – could make the issue of quantity and quality of teaching personnel a public concern. The issue was closely related to, or even rooted in, the wider context of European affairs in the Indies. Initially, the purpose of the placement of European teachers was to teach Dutch to non-European pupils. This policy was made in 1907 with the intention of preventing or, at least, reducing the influx of non-European children into the ELS (*Europeesche Lagere School*). It turned out that the concern which developed following or accompanying the deployment of European teachers to the First-Class schools was not pedagogically limited to the teaching of Dutch. The presence of European personnel in the schools for Indonesians stimulated a growing concern about the educational quality of the schools and disclosed the gap which had existed between the public education for Indonesians and that for Europeans. The transformation of the First-Class school to the HIS in 1914 bolstered the demand for bridging this gap, just as had been the case with the foundation of the HCS. In this context, European teachers and European-certificated Indonesian teachers of the HIS were particularly essential to safeguard the setting and maintaining of educational standards.³⁰²

In the following sub-sections, I shall address two government strategies devised to deal with the demand and supply of teaching personnel of the HIS: importing European teachers from the Netherlands and training Indonesian teachers in the Indies.

B.2 Recruitment of teachers from the Netherlands

²⁹⁷ Ibid. 35.

²⁹⁸ This number (223) is the result of the following calculation: eighty-five HIS were *already* headed by a European principal. Fifty-three out of these eighty-five HIS consisted of seven grades, which means they should be staffed at least by three European teachers each. The text does not indicate whether these fifty-three HIS had indeed employed the required number of European personnel. By law, excluding principals, there should be 106 European teachers for these fifty-three seven-year HIS (53 HIS x 2 European teachers; the required number of Europeans for the principal positions were *already* met). For the thirty-two HIS which did not consist of seven grades (85 minus 53), there is no information about how many years or grades/classes they consisted of. Suppose these thirty-two HIS consisted of three-year classes, then there should be thirty-two more European personnel to staff the schools. All in all the required number of European teachers was 223 (85 principals—already fulfilled + 106 Europeans for the 53 seven-year HIS + 32 Europeans each for the 32 HIS, which were not of seven years).

²⁹⁹ *Verlag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1914 Tweede Deel: Staten en Tabellen*, 26.

³⁰⁰ *Verlag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1912 Eerste Deel: Tekst*, 39.

³⁰¹ *Verlag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1913 Eerste Deel: Tekst*, 35.

³⁰² This held true, pedagogically speaking. Politically, however, European teachers and European-certificated Indonesian teachers represented—as analysts say—the authority of colonial state and were aimed at cultural hegemony of the indigenous society. See Chapters 3 and 4.

In 1907, the Central Board of the Association of European Teachers in the Netherlands Indies (*Nederlands-Indies Onderwijzers Genootschap*, NIOG, founded on 4 June 1894) published the *Gids voor de Onderwijzer, die naar Indië Wenst te Vertrekken – Guidebook for teachers, who wish to depart to the Netherlands Indies*.³⁰³ The first chapter of the *Guidebook* explains in detail the financial prospects offered by a teaching appointment in the Indies. It begins with the following remarks:

‘When for the first time a teacher in the Netherlands reads the stipulations under which he can be appointed [...] as a teacher of the third rank (*derde klasse*) in the Netherlands Indies, he almost always conjures up an exaggerated picture of the advantages, pertaining to it. He multiplies the monthly salary in the Indies by 12 and compares it with his annual salary in the Netherlands! And, though he also knows that life in the Indies is much more expensive than in Europe, he is dazzled by the relatively high sum [of salary].’³⁰⁴

In 1912 the Information Section of the Association ‘East and West’ (Vereeniging ‘Oost en West’) published *Staats- en Particuliere Betrekkingen in Onze Overzeesche Bezittingen No. 6: De Ambtenaar bij het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië: Overzicht van den Werkkring en van de Bepalingen Betreffende Opleiding en Vooruitzichten*.³⁰⁵ This publication also devotes one chapter to the details of the remuneration for the European teachers who served the public schools in the Indies. These two publications give the impression that remuneration was a key issue for European teachers who sought an appointment in the Indies.

Indeed money did lie at the root of such a choice. The limited supply of European teachers in the Indies during the second decade of the twentieth century was explained from the viewpoint that the teaching profession in the Indies was financially not as rewarding as in Holland if the incomes were compared to the living costs in the respective countries. At its congress in Surabaya in 1919, the NIOG issued a resolution saying that unless the Indies government made adjustments to the regulations to improve salaries, it would not call for new colleagues to come to the Indies from Europe.³⁰⁶ It is not certain to which standard of salary the NIOG members wished their incomes to be adjusted. The NIOG might have been referring to a new salary policy which had just been drawn up in the Netherlands earlier that year. This was the *Bevredigingscommissie* (Commission of Gratification)

³⁰³ Het Hoofdbestuur v/h NIOG, *Gids voor de Onderwijzer, die naar Indië Wenst te Vertrekken* (Deventer: AE.E. Kluwer, 1907). The English translation of NIOG should state that this was an association of ‘European Teachers’. Indonesian teachers had *Perserikatan Goeroe Hindia Belanda* (PGHB, Netherlands Indies Teachers Union), whose members were teacher associations such as *Indonesischer Onderwijzers Bond* (IOB, Confederation of Indonesian Teachers) and *Kweekschool Bond* (KB, Confederation of *Kweekschool*-Graduating Teachers).

³⁰⁴ Het Hoofdbestuur v/h NIOG, *Gids voor de Onderwijzer*, 7. In original: ‘Wanneer een onderwijzer in Nederland voor het eerst de voorwaarden leest, waaronder hij ter beschikking kan gesteld worden van de Gouverneur-Generaal, om te worden benoemd tot onderwijzer der 3^{de} klasse in Nederl.-Indië, dan zal het zeker di[j]kwels gebeuren, dat hij zich overdreven voorstellingen maakt van de voordelen, die daaraan verbonden zijn. Hij vermenigvuldigt het maandelij[j]ks Indies traktement met 12 en vergelijkt het dan met zijn jaarlij[j]ks Hollands traktement! En al weet hij ook, dat het leven in Indië veel duurder is dan in Europa, toch laat hij zich verblinden door de betrekkelij[j]k grote som.

³⁰⁵ Vereeniging ‘Oost en West’, *Staats- en Particuliere Betrekkingen in Onze Overzeesche Bezittingen No. 6: De Ambtenaar bij het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië: Overzicht van den Werkkring en van de Bepalingen Betreffende Opleiding en Vooruitzichten* (’s-Hage: N.V. Electriche Drukkerij ‘Luctor et Emergo’, 1912). Further references will be: Vereeniging ‘Oost en West’, *De Ambtenaar bij het Onderwijs*.

³⁰⁶ Winatapoera, ‘Goeroe Belanda’, *De Onderwijzer* No. 3, Eerste Jaargang, 10 May 1919, 30-2.

and the Minister of Education agreed to set the duration of nineteen instead of thirteen years of service as a prerequisite for teachers to reach the maximum salary scale. In accordance with this extension of the length of service, the maximum annual salary was increased from Fl. 1,700 to Fl. 2,300 for holders of a Lower Certificate (*Lagere Acte*) and from Fl. 1,900 to Fl. 2,600 for holders of a Principal Certificate (*Hoofdacte*). All this was for rank and file teachers. Principals received an additional allowance of Fl. 600 per year if the number of pupils was fewer than 200 and Fl. 700 if it was more than 200. Unmarried ordinary teachers received an annual salary of between Fl. 1,780 and Fl. 2,080 and unmarried school principals received between Fl. 2,680 and Fl. 2,780.³⁰⁷

In the Indies, a European teacher of the first-rank (*eerste-klasse*) who had been in service at a public ELS for more than eighteen years received a total of Fl. 625 per month (see Table 2.7)! There was an additional allowance between Fl. 10 and Fl. 50 per month for ordinary teachers in general, depending on the additional duties for which they were responsible. The additional allowance for principals varied depending on the geographical localities of the schools. In Batavia, the additional allowance of an ELS principal was Fl. 150; in Manado, between Fl. 50 and Fl. 75; and in Deli, Asahan, Langkat, Serdang (North Sumatra) and Sambas (West Borneo), Fl. 100. European teachers who were appointed to public schools for Indonesians received an additional allowance of Fl. 25 per month. In addition to teaching pupils, these teachers were responsible for guiding their Indonesian counterparts in their efforts to pass the Dutch examination. For each Indonesian teacher who passed the Dutch examination, the European teacher who had guided him/her for at least two years received a bonus of Fl. 600.³⁰⁸

Table 2.7: Salary of European teachers of public ELS in the Netherlands Indies, 1912

Duration of service	Monthly (basic) salary (<i>traktement</i>)	Increments (<i>verhoogingen</i>) per month	Monthly bonus (<i>toelage</i>)	Total salary per month	Remarks on the rank of teachers
< 3 years	Fl. 200	Fl. -0-	Fl. 50	Fl. 250	Third-rank
3-6 years	Fl. 250	Fl. 50	Fl. -0-	Fl. 300	Second-rank
6-9 years	Fl. 250	Fl. 100	Fl. -0-	Fl. 350	Second-rank
9-12 years	Fl. 250	Fl. 150	Fl. -0-	Fl. 400	Second-rank
12-15 year	Fl. 250	Fl. 200	Fl. -0-	Fl. 450	Second-rank
15-17 years	Fl. 250	Fl. 250	Fl. -0-	Fl. 500	Second-rank
17-18 years	Fl. 300	Fl. 250	Fl. -0-	Fl. 550	First-rank
> 18 years	Fl. 300	Fl. 325	Fl. -0-	Fl. 625	First-rank

Source: Vereeniging 'Oost en West', *Staats- en Particuliere Betrekkingen in Onze Overzeesche Bezittingen No. 6: De Ambtenaar bij het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië: Overzicht van den Werkring en van de Bepalingen Betreffende Opleiding en Vooruitzichten* ('s-Hage: N.V. Electriche Drukkerij 'Luctor et Emergo', 1912), 83.

It seems that the 'unfavourable' salary prospects – for European not Indonesian teachers – only held true for European teachers who were in government service, not for those who served Protestant and Roman Catholic schools. By law, European teachers in the Indies, regardless of the schools at which they taught, were all bound to the same civil regulations including one covering salary.³⁰⁹ Nevertheless, European teachers at Roman Catholic and Protestant schools seemed to benefit

³⁰⁷ K.S., 'Gadji Goeroe Dinegeri Belanda', *De Onderwijzer* No. 4, Eerste Jaargang, 10 June 1919, 47.

³⁰⁸ Vereeniging 'Oost en West', *Staats- en Particuliere Betrekkingen*, 82-7.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 21.

more than their counterparts at public schools. The *Katholieke Onderwijzers Bond* (KOB) and the *Christelijke Onderwijzers Bond* (COB) worked rigorously on the improvement of the salaries of their members. For example, on 17 May 1919, the central boards of the KOB and the COB conferred with the Director of Education and Religious Affairs in Batavia about a government subsidy for salary improvement.³¹⁰ These associations very probably also received financial support from their mother organizations in Europe. No report was made about the precise salary of European teachers at Protestant and Roman Catholic schools at the time. Even so, it seems justified to say that the better financial prospects of teaching at Protestant and Roman Catholic schools made an impact on the personnel supply in the public schools.

In the early 1920s, the shortage of European teachers in the Indies was mostly a problem affecting government schools. 'Private schools pay [teachers] more [salary] than government schools; it is easy for them to recruit new European teachers,' wrote D.H.S. in *De Onderwijzer*, a teachers' journal.³¹¹ A sample of advertisements for vacancies published in *De School van Nederlands-Indië* shows that four out of five vacant teaching positions available in April and May 1921 were for public schools.³¹² Interestingly, this sample also contains an advertisement from a *hoofdacte* holder with eight years teaching experience at a public school who was seeking a placement at a private school.³¹³ Although more advertisements still have to be collected and reviewed on a comprehensive basis, this sample demonstrates that a teaching appointment at a private school was more attractive than that at a public school and that there was a brain-drain of teachers from public to private schools. Obviously, the shortage of teachers at the public schools during the time was not simply a result of the First World War. It was also an outcome of 'subtle competition' between public and Roman Catholic and Protestant schools in which salary and concomitant remuneration was a key factor.

In 1921, the Confederation of Dutch Teachers (*Bond van Nederlandsche Onderwijzers*) and the Association of Dutch Teachers (*Nederlandsch Onderwijzers Genootschap*) admitted that there was tremendous shortage of public school teachers both in the Netherlands and in the Indies. From their headquarters in The Hague, these organizations released a statement saying that the shortage had been made more and more critical because of the War, even though the number of trainee teacher (*kweekeling*) who passed their diploma examinations (*akte-examens*) had steadily increased, namely from 31.4 per cent in 1911 to 44.3 per cent in 1916 to 75 per cent in 1920. 'The government is trying everything [to meet the demand for teachers],' the statement reads. The Netherlands government stimulated *kweekscholen* and *normaalscholen* by giving them a training bonus (*opleidingspremie*) of Fl. 1,000 per candidate teacher who successfully passed the *akte-examens*. It also provided an additional weekly wage (*weklonen*) of between Fl. 27.8 and Fl. 47.94 for holders of the *hoofdacte* who were at least

³¹⁰ 'Percobaan Gadji', *De Onderwijzer* No. 4, Eerste Jaargang, 10 June 1919, 47.

³¹¹ D.H.S. 'Onzin', *De Onderwijzer* No. 2, Eerste Jaargang, April 1919, 14. D.H.S.' opinion was shared by Sr. Sutisno in 'Onzin', *De Onderwijzer* No. 5, Eerste Jaargang, 26 July 1919, 59-60. Amending D.H.S., Sutisno raises another issue concerning the huge gap of the salary of European and Indonesian teachers. However, this issue will not be discussed in this particular sub-section, which focuses on the import of European teachers to the Indies.

³¹² *De School van Nederlands-Indië* No. 32, 11ste Jaargang, 6 May 1921.

³¹³ *De School van Nederlands-Indië* No. 28, 11ste Jaargang, 8 April 1921.

thirty-six years old. Almost as a last resort, the Netherlands government considered sending 200 Germans to teach in the Indies. 'These German teachers will have to teach in Dutch.'³¹⁴

An overview of the regulations shows that all teachers who wished to serve in the Indies should have obtained a *hoofdakte* in the Netherlands. 'It is extremely difficult to obtain a *hoofdakte* in the Indies,' the NIOG guidebook reads. The examination for a *hoofdakte* in the Indies was only held in Batavia and Surabaya with limited quotas, so that some teachers had to wait for years until they had an opportunity to sit the exam. 'One should not assume that the examination [in the Indies] is easier [*lichter*] than that in the mother country,' it was said.³¹⁵ Applicants should also possess additional credentials (*bijakten*). Knowing modern languages, especially French, and being proficient in music, singing, drawing or gymnastics were all additional points which helped European teachers be admitted into the Indies service.³¹⁶

Normally, the selection process included two stages: assessment of the applicants' credentials and a medical examination. The assessment of credentials included an evaluation of the possession of the required diplomas (*akten van bekwaamheid*), previous working experience, additional diplomas (*bijakten*) and a written statement about records of behaviour (*maatschappelijk gedrag*) from the mayor of the municipality in which the applicant lived. Only applicants who had passed the credential assessment were endorsed to take the medical examination.³¹⁷ This focused particularly on the applicants' stamina to adjust to a tropical climate and working atmosphere, in which 'six long working days' (from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m.) and 'relatively short school holidays' (six weeks per year) were the norm. The teachers should be physically able to teach at least twelve periods per week and handle the other responsibilities assigned to them outside the school hours.³¹⁸

Information about vacant teaching positions in the Indies was initially published only in the *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*. Consequently, few teachers knew about them. In 1911, the Minister of the Colonies in The Hague, who was responsible for the selection of applicants, decided to spread the vacancy information more widely through circulars which were distributed to school organizations. This brought a result. In 1911, ninety male and thirty female teachers were admitted for a service in the Indies. Following the publication of the vacancies in *De Vacature*, public interest began to rise: there were 200 applications in 1912 alone.³¹⁹ Vacancies were also published in *Het Koloniaal Weekblad*, a journal of the Association 'East and West'³²⁰ and in *De School van Nederlands-Indië*, the NIOG journal.

Voluminous piles of the archives *Koloniën 1900-1963* in the Nationaal Archief in The Hague in which *Openbaar verbaal* forms one part contain the application dossiers of Dutch teachers who wished to teach in the Indies. A September 1917 dossier of thirty-eight primary school teachers can be picked at random as a sample to show how applications were processed. Most of these thirty-eight applicants held a lower teaching certificate (*lagere akte*) and assistant's certificate (*akte van bekwaamheid tot*

³¹⁴ Openbaar Verbaal 18 July 1921 No. 69 (NA, Inv. Nr. 2291). No further information about these 200 German teachers, including their training background, is available in the archives at my disposal. Whether this number was really sent is not known.

³¹⁵ Het Hoofdbestuur v/h NIOG, *Gids voor de Onderwijzer*, 20.

³¹⁶ Ibid. 22.

³¹⁷ Vereeniging 'Oost en West', *De Ambtenaar bij het Onderwijs*, 15-6.

³¹⁸ Het Hoofdbestuur v/h NIOG, *Gids voor de Onderwijzer*, 21.

³¹⁹ Vereeniging 'Oost en West', *De Ambtenaar bij het Onderwijs*, 1.

³²⁰ Ibid. 15.

hulponderwijzer); only a few (three applicants) held a *hoofdakte*. All applicants had graduated from teacher training institutions in the Netherlands³²¹ and some of them had already been teaching at public primary schools there.

The Minister of the Colonies in The Hague, to whom all applications should be sent, commissioned a team to carry out the selection process.³²² Seventeen of the thirty-five applicants who did not hold a *hoofdakte* were recommended to enrol directly – at the cost of the government – in an advanced course to obtain their *hoofdakte*; they also received an allowance of Fl. 800 per person. The rest (18 persons) still had to submit missing documents, such as family data required in the genealogical list (*stamlijst*) provided and a notary's authentication of their birth certificate. In the end, it turned out that fifteen out of all the applicants (38 persons) did not pass the medical examination. The records supplied in the dossier show that these fifteen applicants suffered from one or more of the following weaknesses: enlargement of the thyroid gland, serious short-sightedness (*belangrijke bijzeenheid – sic!*) of either one or both eyes, insufficient stamina (*onvoldoend weerstandsvermogen*) for service in the tropic, chronic skin disease (*slepend huidlijden*), egg white/protein (*eiwit*) in the urine, abnormal heart activity (*ziekelyk gewijzigde hartswerking*), syphilis and chronic *epididymitis* or inflammation of the left *epididymis* (*slepende ontsteking van den linkerbijbal*).³²³ Of course these teachers failed the selection process.

Successful applicants received an order or permit to book a passage on a ship at the expense of the government. They also received a payment to purchase (pre-)departure tropical equipment (*uitrusting*) and later, on arrival in Tanjung Priok in Batavia, a provisional salary and an 'extraordinary gratuity' (*buitengewone gratificatie*). By law, teachers and other Europeans travelling to the Indies in Dutch government service were expected to sail under the Netherlands flag, using the ships of lines with which the government had signed a contract, among them, the *Maatschappij Nederland* and the *Rotterdamsche Lloyd*. First-rank teachers and their families were deemed worthy of a first-class cabin on board; other teachers (also with families) occupied a second-class cabin.³²⁴ It was possible to board the ship either in Amsterdam or Rotterdam,³²⁵ but it was strongly recommended that teachers board the ship either in Marseilles (France) or Genoa (Italy) because it saved up to one week in time than if they had sailed directly from Holland. Besides – it was said – by boarding the ship in Marseilles or Genoa, the teachers and their families could avoid the cold North Sea weather and the ferocious storms in the Bay of Biscay (*Golf van Biskaye*).³²⁶ A repayment (*restitutie*) of Fl. 100 per adult person in the first-class and Fl. 60 in the second-class was made available to cover the train trip of the teachers and their

³²¹ Namely: *Rijksnormaallessen* in 's-Gravenhage, Spijkennisse, Helder, Nijmegen, Bergen op Zoom, and Goes; *Gemeentelijke Normaallessen* Amsterdam; *Room Katholieke Normaallessen* Scheveningen; *Rijksnormaalschool* Boxmeer; Private *Normaalschool* 's-Gravenhage; R.K. *Normaalschool* Leeuwarden; *Rijkskweekschool* in Nijmegen and in Deventer; *Hervormde Kweekschool* Amsterdam; *Bischoppelijke Kweekschool* Beverwijk; *Vormschool van de Rotterdamsche Vereeniging voor Katholiek Onderwijs*.

³²² The name of the team was 'Commissie van Voorlichting inzake de opleiding en uitzending van onderwijzers en de uitzending van onderwijzeressen voor de Indische dienst'.

³²³ Openbaar Verbaal, 1 September 1917 No. 39 (NA Inv. Nr. 1727), also for the previous paragraph. For use of the English version of medical terms, I have consulted en.wikipedia.org (accessed March 13 and 14, 2011).

³²⁴ Vereeniging 'Oost en West', *De Ambtenaar bij het Onderwijs*, 16-7.

³²⁵ Ibid. 18.

³²⁶ Het Hoofdbestuur v/h NIOG, *Gids voor de Onderwijzer*, 39-40.

families: Holland-Brussels-Paris-Lyon-Marseille or Holland-Brussels-Basel-Milan-Genoa.³²⁷ 'They could have the opportunity to enjoy the nature and arts in Brussels, Paris and Lyons or in Basel and Milan,' it was suggested.³²⁸

The amount of payment for (pre-)departure equipment varied depending on the rank of the teachers. Principals received Fl. 1,000. Ordinary teachers with a *hoofdakte* received Fl. 700 and those without, Fl. 500. Any of these teachers who held a certificate for French (*akte voor de Fransche taal*) received an additional allowance (*uitrusting*) of Fl. 100; those who held any other additional certificates (*bijakten*) received an addition of Fl. 75. Ironically, all female teachers received a flat rate allowance of Fl. 500, regardless of whether or not they held a *hoofdakte*, a certificate of French and other *bijakten*. The (pre-)departure payment for female teachers was the same as that for teachers of the smith and carpentry schools – the Koningin Wilhelminaschool and the Technicum in Surabaya. Upon arrival in Tanjung Priok the harbour of Batavia, principals received a provisional salary of Fl. 150 and all other teachers received Fl. 100. The provisional salary was meant to cover daily expenses while the teachers were waiting for a permanent placement at school, after which they would be paid according to a standard salary scheme as indicated in Table 2.7. When they were first deployed in school, these teachers would receive a once only special activity bonus worth as much as twice their salary for married teachers and a once-off salary for singles.³²⁹

Table 2.7 needs further clarification. As in the Netherlands, the salary of European teachers in the Indies was determined by duration of service and by rank. The duration of service affected the amount of the monthly increments (*verhoogingen*) while the rank was a basis for deciding the basic pay. The teaching profession was divided into three ranks. First-rank teachers were holders of the headmaster's certificate (*hoofdonderwijzer/es*), who became the principal of a public ELS and had at least two other European teachers as sub-ordinates. The first-rank teachers' basic salary was Fl. 300 per month. Second-rank teachers were holders of the certificate of headmaster, who were a principal of the First-Class school/HIS and HCS or, if they were not principal, were appointed in these schools and in the ELS as a first-teacher (*eerste onderwijzer*). They received a basic salary of Fl. 250 per month. All other teachers fell into the third-rank category. Third-rank teachers who held a *hoofdacte* received a basic salary of Fl. 200 per month, those who did not, Fl. 175.³³⁰

It is very interesting to see that the NIOG guidebook specifies the clothes and outfits which adult men, women and children should own and wear during their time in the Indies (Table 2.8). Taken in conjuncture with the salary system, the standard of dressing etiquette of European teachers is a ready indication of the contrast between European teachers (and their families) and their Indonesian counterparts.

³²⁷ Vereeniging 'Oost en West', *De Ambtenaar bij het Onderwijs*, 17; Het Hoofdbestuur v/h NIOG, *Gids voor de Onderwijzer*, 39.

³²⁸ Het Hoofdbestuur v/h NIOG, *Gids voor de Onderwijzer*, 39. From Marseilles and Genoa, the voyage continued along the Italian coast through the Mediterranean Sea (*Middellandse-Zee Eilanden*), then Port Said and the Suez Canal, to the Red Sea, then to Perim in the Strait of Mandep at the southern entrance of the [Red Sea](#) or Port Aden in Yemen, and finally to the Indian Ocean (pp. 40-1).

³²⁹ Vereeniging 'Oost en West', *De Ambtenaar bij het Onderwijs*, 17-8.

³³⁰ Artikelen 1-4, 'Bepalingen tot regeling van de klassen en bezoldigingen der onderwijzers en onderwijzeressen bij het openbaar Europeesch lager onderwijs in Ned.-Indië', in Vereeniging 'Oost en West', *De Ambtenaar bij het Onderwijs*, 77-8.

Table 2.8: Outfits of European teachers and their family members in the Netherlands Indies, 1907

Male adult	Female adult	Children older than four
a. black worsted (<i>kamgaren</i>) or dinner jacket (1 item)	a. formal, elegant gown/frock (<i>nette eenvoudige stoffen japonnen</i>) (2 items)	a. cotton overall suit (<i>hansop</i>) with stripes (12 items)
b. jacket and waistcoat (<i>kolbert</i>) (1 item)	b. blouses (1 pair)	b. cotton sleeping suit without stripes (for second child) (12 items)
c. kaki drill suits (<i>khakidrill pakken</i>) (3 items)	c. dark/black skirt (1 item)	c. simple thin cotton dress (for girls) (1 pair)
d. separate collars (<i>losse kragen</i>) (12 items)	d. dark-blue cotton dressing gown (<i>peignoir</i>) decorated (<i>gegarnerd</i>) (2 items)	d. other dresses for children, colours and materials should be adjusted to a tropical climate
e. cuffs (<i>manchetten</i>) (six items)	e. dark grey/black satin petticoat (<i>onderrok</i>) (1 item)	
f. English shirts (<i>Engelse hemden/overhemden</i>) (six items)	f. low heeled black shoes (1 pair)	
g. handkerchiefs (<i>zakdoek</i>) (1 dozen)	g. thin black cotton stockings (6 pairs)	
h. leather shoes (<i>leren schoenen</i>) (1 pair)	h. handkerchiefs (2 dozen)	
i. thin socks (12 pairs)	i. <i>korset</i> (1 item)	
j. underpants (6 items)	j. cotton undershirt bodice cut a little above the knees with very short sleeves (1 dozen)	
k. <i>kabajas</i> made of strong white cotton (6 items)	k. knickers (1 dozen)	
l. sleeping trousers (6 items)	l. brassieres (<i>korsetlijfjes</i>) (half dozen)	
m. black hat for good wear (<i>fantasiehoed</i>) (1 item)	m. white skirts (half dozen)	
n. dark <i>glacè</i> or suede gloves (1 pair)	n. summer hat (<i>zomerhoed</i>) or simple sailor hat (<i>matelot</i>) (1 item)	
o. dark ties (1 pair)	o. <i>kabajas</i> of white cotton trimmed or embroidered (12 items)	
p. flannel undershirts/vests (<i>flanellen</i>) (6 items)	p. sarong (6 items)	
q. mules/slippers (1 pair)		
r. white hem suit (12 items)		

Source: Het Hoofdbestuur v/h NIOG, *Gids voor de Onderwijzer, die naar Indië Wenst te Vertrekken* (Deventer: A.E.E. Kluwer, 1907), 28-35.

B.3 Standardization of teacher training in the Indies

As shown in Table 2.6, the number of the European teachers who were placed at the public First-Class schools/HIS increased significantly between 1907 and 1925. Initially, the placement of European teachers was necessitated by the introduction of Dutch into the curriculum of the First-Class school in 1907. From 1914, it became a prerequisite for establishing a HIS. The goal of the HIS was to provide indigenous children with a primary education which was equal in terms of pedagogical standard to that of the European children. The Dutch language was a crucial but not the only element in this process of making a standardized education. Schoolbooks, infrastructure, curriculum and above all teaching personnel were equally vital. By law, the HIS should be headed and partly staffed by European teachers in order to guarantee that the education it provided was of the same standard as that provided by the ELS.

Nevertheless, the demand for European teachers at the public primary schools was not an easy task to fulfil for both the Netherlands and the Netherlands Indies governments. Money was the most critical factor. The government had to pay for the pre-departure costs (*uitrusting*) and for the cost of transporting the teachers from Europe to the Indies and back, either on leave or upon retirement.

The salary of European teachers in the Indies was much higher than the salary of Indonesian teachers. Table 2.7 indicates that in 1912 the lowest salary of an ordinary European teacher in the Indies (that is, the salary of the least experienced and least trained European teaching personnel without structural position) was Fl. 250 per month. In 1913, the salary of Indonesian principal of the First-Class school was Fl. 90 per month; that of a first assistant-teacher (*eerste-hulponderwijzer*) Fl. 40; an assistant-teacher (*hulponderwijzer*) Fl. 35 if s/he had obtained a *kweekschool* diploma and Fl 25 if s/he had not.³³¹ All this shows how much more expensive it was to employ European teachers than Indonesian ones.

Since the educational reform of 1893, the Netherlands Indies government had been particularly concerned about preparing Indonesian teachers of public primary schools. The number of public *kweekscholen* increased from four in 1893 to twelve in 1925.³³² However, the government policy generally focused on the improvement of the quality rather than the number of teachers. Institutional and curricular reforms of the *kweekschool* during the same time span (1893-1925) had astonishingly changed the professional profile of Indonesian teachers in such a way that they could keep pace with the high quality requirement of the European personnel and with the Westernization of the public primary schools for Indonesians. Here, amid the pushing and pulling constraints³³³ which underlined the government efforts to meet the demand for European teachers in the Indies, one thing can be clearly singled out: the presence of more Indonesian teachers who were as professional as their European counterparts was the most suitable solution to the question of teacher supply. It certainly was not as costly as bringing in teachers from Europe, at least in terms of salary. It also promoted cultural dependency as Indonesian teachers were trained by European teachers and worked at HIS under the leadership of European principal and colleagues. By this time, the professional profile of these Dutch-trained Indonesian teachers reflected the qualifications which were required of European personnel. The training they received was gradually improved so as to approach the standard of the training of European teachers. Amid the tensions caused by the short supply and a high demand for European personnel, the training of professionally European-equivalent Indonesian teachers became a top priority.

B.3.1 Consecutive reforms of the *kweekschool*

³³¹ 'Inkomsten voor het Onderwijzend Personeel: Bezoldiging voor het Inlandsch Onderwijzend Personeel', Gouvernement Besluit 1 Maart 1913 No. 40 (Stbl. 1913 No. 270), in K.J. van Hemert, *Verzameling Voorschriften betreffende het Inlandsch Onderwijs Afgesloten op 1 Juli 1915* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1915), 107-10. This 1913 salary of Indonesian teachers was not much different from that in 1893 (see Table 2.2).

³³² *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1925*, 266. The twelve *kweekscholen* were located respectively in Yogyakarta; Bandung (West Java); Magelang, Salatiga—for girls, Ungaran (Central Java); Blitar, Probolinggo (East Java); Muara Enim (South Sumatra); Fort De Kock (West Sumatra); Medan (North Sumatra); Amboina (the Moluccas); and either in Purwokerto (Central Java) or Purwakarta (West Java). The last place is indeed confusing. The educational report of 1925 mentions Purwakarta; that of 1920, Purwokerto (*Verslag van het Onderwijs 1920*, 170). The two indeed are two different places and there is no report which indicates that both places had a *kweekschool* respectively. Interestingly, the misplacing of Purwokerto (which is administratively located in Central Java and in which the Javanese dialect of Banyumasan is spoken by the majority of the people) and Purwakarta (a Sundanese-speaking territory administratively located in West Java) continues to appear in contemporary publications. See, for example, the map of Java in L. de Jong, *The collapse of a colonial society: The Dutch in Indonesia during the Second World War*, with an introduction by Jeroen Kemperman, tr. Jennifer Kilian (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002). Commonly misplaced localities also include Probolinggo (in East Java) and Purbalingga (in Central Java).

³³³ I cannot find a better English term to express the Indonesian phrase I want to say: '*tarik-ulur*'.

When the public primary school for Indonesian children was reformed to put an emphasis on local culture in 1893, one of the most tangible Western characteristics – the Dutch language – had just been removed from the curriculum of the *kweekschool*.³³⁴ This changed the face of the Indonesian teacher training. Now both the primary school and the *kweekschool* where the teachers of the school were trained were developed to harmonize with the cultural identity of the local people.

The public *kweekscholen* in Bandung, Probolinggo, Fort De Kock and Amboina offered ‘Maleis’, vernacular languages (*landstalen*), geography and history of the Netherlands Indies – in addition to reading, writing, arithmetic, natural history, drawing, land surveying and pedagogy. These schools were supervised by an indigenous school commission (*Inlandsche schoolcommissie*). They were closed on either Sunday or Friday and during religious festivals and regular school holidays (July-mid-August).³³⁵ In 1894, a new public *kweekschool* was founded in Yogyakarta which was linked to the opening of public primary schools in the area which used Javanese as the language of instruction. The aim of the Yogyakarta *kweekschool* was to prepare teachers for the Javanese-speaking pupils in the primary schools. Three European teachers (principal, first-teacher and assistant-teacher), assisted by three Indonesians teachers of Javanese, ‘Maleis’ and drawing, trained Javanese candidate teacher, probably in Javanese.³³⁶ The founding of the Yogyakarta *kweekschool* strengthened the impression that at the end of the nineteenth century the Indonesian teachers’ training was oriented towards local culture.

Be that as it may, the character of the *kweekschool* had to be changed to bring it into line with the reforms of the primary school. When Dutch began to be taught at the First-Class school in 1907, it was also re-introduced to the *kweekschool* curriculum. Even more importantly, Dutch was used as the language of instruction at the *kweekscholen* in Bandung, Yogyakarta and Probolinggo. The same policy was applied to the *kweekschool* in Fort De Kock in 1908.³³⁷ Altogether, the duration of the training in these four *kweekscholen* was extended from four to six years, of which the first two years were preparatory classes (especially for the Dutch language) and the next four years were composed of classes for various subjects and teaching practice.³³⁸ In 1911, the curriculum of the *kweekschool* offered

³³⁴ This policy was legalized by Government Decree 15 February 1886 No. 7 (Staatsblad 1886 No. 47), in Departement van Onderwijs, Eeredienst en Nijverheid (OEN), *Voorschriften betreffende het Inlandsch Onderwijs* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1908), Footnote 2 on p. 200. The reason for the removal of Dutch has to be traced in the context of educational policy in the second half of the nineteenth century. It likely had to do with the criticism that the *Kweekschool* was characterized too much by language training.

³³⁵ Artikelen 5, 6, 7 ‘Reglement op de opricthing der kweekscholen voor de vorming van Inlandsche onderwijzers’, Gouvernement Besluit van 30 April 1894 (Staatsblad 1894 No. 100), in J.G. Hoekman, *De Voornaamste Voorschriften betreffende het Inlandsch Onderwijs* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1902), 33-40.

³³⁶ Gouvernement Besluit van 18 Juli 1894 No. 6 (Staatsblad 1894 No. 156), in Hoekman, *De Voornaamste Voorschriften*, 47-8. I say ‘probably’ because government regulations do not explicitly mention the language which should be used in the *kweekschool*. But later, with the use of Dutch in 1907, it became clear that the language of instruction in the *kweekschool* between 1893 and 1907 had been either the vernacular or ‘Maleis’.

³³⁷ As a trial (*bij wijze van proef*), Dutch had been taught as a course subject in the Fort De Kock *kweekschool* since 1904, following Gouvernements Besluit 3 Maart 1904 No. 12 (Staatsblad 1904 No. 152), see Departement van OEN, *Voorschriften betreffende het Inlandsch Onderwijs*, footnote 1 on p. 201.

³³⁸ ‘Wederinvoering van het Nederlandsch als Leervak’, Gouvernement Besluit 2 February 1907 No. 26 (Staatsblad 1907 No. 90) on Bandung, Yogyakarta, Probolinggo; Gouvernement Besluit 13 Augustus 1908 No. 26 (Staatsblad 1908 No. 512) on Fort De Kock, in Departement van OEN, *Voorschriften betreffende het Inlandsch Onderwijs*, 200-2. I cannot find an explanation of why the *kweekschool* in Amboina was not touched by the reform policy as the other four *kweekscholen*. In 1913, the Amboina *kweekschool* still employed a four-year curriculum based on the Decree of the Director of Education, Religious Affairs and Industry of 20 February

sixty-six hours of Dutch out of 187 lesson hours totally (Table 2.9). In addition to that of the Netherlands Indies, it also put an emphasis on the geography of the Netherlands and Europe. The history of the Netherlands Indies was taught in step with that of 'the fatherland'. Natural history was particularly emphasized, covering physics, chemistry, botany and zoology.³³⁹

Changes also took place in school regulations. Until 1908, the *kweekschool* was closed either on Sunday or Friday, depending on its locality. In 1913, it was decreed it would close on Sunday and on Friday the school hours were reduced. Consequently, the duration of classes was also reduced from six to five hours per day. Religious festivals were still observed as school holidays, but the regular school holidays, which were normally in July and August, were organized in such a way that they occurred during the religious holidays. The *kweekschool* regulations published in 1902, 1908 and 1915 clearly show the gradual changes in the teacher training in terms of cultural orientation and pedagogical characteristics.³⁴⁰

Table 2.9: Curriculum of the *kweekschool* for Indonesian teachers in Bandung, Yogyakarta, Ungaran, Probolinggo and Fort De Kock, 1911

Subjects	Number of hours in Year						
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
Dutch	18	15	11	11	7	4	66
Vernacular language(s)	3	3	3	2	2	-	13
'Maleis'	4	3	3	3	3	-	16
Arithmetic	5	5	5	5	4	-	24
Geography	-	-	1	1	1	-	3
History	-	-	1	1	1	-	3
Natural history							26
• Physics	-	2	2	2	2	-	
• Chemistry	-	-	2	3	1	-	
• Botany	1	2	1	1	1	-	
• Zoology	-	1	2	2	1	-	
Foundation of agricultural science (<i>beginselen der landbouwkunde</i>)	-	-	-	-	4	5	9
Freehand drawing (<i>handteekenen</i>)	2	2	2	2	2	2	10
Writing	1	1	1	-	-	-	3
Pedagogy (<i>opvoedkunde</i>)	-	-	-	-	4	3	7
Total	35	35	35	35	35	12	187

Source: K.J. van Hemert, *Verzameling Voorschriften betreffende het Inlandsch Onderwijs Afgesloten op 1 Juli 1915* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1915), 220.

Pedagogically, the aim of the consecutive reforms of the *kweekschool* was to meet the changing professional requirements for teachers at the public First-Class schools and the HIS. This primary

1896 No. 1833. It also continued to use 'Maleis' (not Dutch) as the language of instruction and to be bound to the government regulation issued by Gouvernement Besluit 30 April 1894 No. 7 (Staatsblad 1894 No. 100). See Hemert, *Verzameling Voorschriften*, 206-13, 220-4.

³³⁹ 'Leerplan voor de Kweekscholen te Bandoeng, Oengaran, Probolinggo, Djokjakarta en Fort de Kock', Besluit Directeur Onderwijs, Eeredienst en Nijverheid 13 Juli 1911 No. 11413, in Hemert, *Verzameling Voorschriften*, 213-24.

³⁴⁰ See: 'Reglement op de inrichting der kweekscholen voor de vorming van Inlandsche onderwijzers', Hoekman, *De Voornaamste Voorschriften*, 33-40; Departement van OEN, *Voorschriften betreffende het Inlandsch Onderwijs*, 193-9; 'Reglement voor de Kweekscholen te Bandoeng, Oengaran, Probolinggo, Djokjakarta en Fort de Kock', Gouvernement Besluit 16 Februari 1912 (Staatsblad 1912 No. 181), in Hemert, *Verzameling Voorschriften*, 198-205.

school officially required the staffing of a European principal and one first-rank teacher (*eerste-onderwijzer*). However, ever since the introduction of Dutch to the First-Class school in 1907, the Netherlands Indies government had already foreseen the difficulty which would arise if it were to maintain the required standard of the European personnel at the school. In 1911, it could not meet the required demand for three European teachers for each First-Class school following the upgrading of the study time of the school from six to seven years.³⁴¹ In 1914, the shortage of European teachers presented a serious challenge because the transformation of the First-Class school into the HIS meant that the school should be maintained at the standard of the ELS and HCS. This situation was frustrated even more by the First World War, which interrupted the sending of teachers from Europe.³⁴² The demand for competent Indonesian teachers was bolstered by the fact that, while improvement in the First-Class school/HIS relied on European teachers, the number of the European teachers in the Indies was always fewer than were needed.

The consecutive reforms of the *kweekschool* partly secured the supply of Indonesian teaching personnel, who, although not as qualified as their European counterpart, were trained in the same line as European teachers. These efforts did not guarantee the availability of teachers who could replace European teachers in the position of principal or first-rank teacher. The goal of the *kweekschool* remained the same in 1913 as it had been in 1893, namely to prepare ordinary teachers, not principals or first-rank teachers.³⁴³

B.3.2 HKS and further reforms

On 19 October 1914, the government founded the *Hoogere Kweekschool voor Inlandsche Onderwijzers* (abridged to *Hoogere Kweekschool*, HKS) in Purworejo, Central Java. The goal was to prepare Indonesian principals and first-rank teachers for the HIS.³⁴⁴ A maximum of seventy-five *kweekschool* students who had passed the final exam in the fourth year would be admitted to a three-year advanced training at the HKS under the guidance of four European teachers.³⁴⁵ They were selected as ‘the most advanced pupils (*verst gevorderde leerlingen*)’,³⁴⁶ which indicates how prestigious the HKS was intended to be. In his speech at the opening ceremony of the school, the Director of Education and Religious Affairs, G.A.J. Hazeu, remarked that the HKS was ‘a milestone in the long and difficult road of education’. ‘The number of teachers from the Netherlands falls far too short of the enormous needs,’ he said.³⁴⁷ It was planned that HKS alumni would be able to replace the Europeans principals and first-rank teachers of the HIS.³⁴⁸

³⁴¹ ‘Korte Geschiedenis van de H.K.S.’, in Hoofdbestuur, *Handboek Indonesische Onderwijzers Bond 1942* (s.i.: Indonesische Onderwijzers Bond, 1941), 3.

³⁴² Minister of the Colonies (Pleijte) to Gouverneur General (Van Limburg Stirum), 2 March 1918, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 340-7, referred p. 342.

³⁴³ Artikel 1, ‘Reglement voor de Kweekscholen’, in Hemert, *Verzameling Voorschriften*, 198.

³⁴⁴ The legal basis was Gouvernements Besluit 14 September 1914 No. 50 (Staatsblad No. 623), see ‘Korte Geschiedenis van de H.K.S.’, in Hoofdbestuur, *Handboek Indonesische Onderwijzers Bond*, 4.

³⁴⁵ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1915 Eerste Deel*, 207.

³⁴⁶ ‘Korte Geschiedenis van de H.K.S.’, in Hoofdbestuur, *Handboek Indonesische Onderwijzers Bond*, 3.

³⁴⁷ ‘Inwijdingsrede van den directeur van O. en E. Dr. Hazeu’, in Hoofdbestuur, *Handboek Indonesische Onderwijzers Bond*, 4-7. The quoted clauses in original: ‘een mijlpaal op de lange en moeilijke weg van het onderwijs’; ‘Het aantal onderwijzerskrachten uit Nederland was veel te gering voor de grote behoeften’.

³⁴⁸ Minister of the Colonies to GG, 2 March 1918, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 341.

The HKS building was partly ready on 1 September 1915; the whole school compound, including students' boarding house and teachers' residence, was completed in 1917.³⁴⁹ In 1916 the HKS acquired a practice school (*leerschool*).³⁵⁰ However, there was no definitive curriculum. Students began the 1914/1915 school year by devoting the bulk of their time to learning Dutch and pedagogy, the two subjects particularly emphasized. They also learned history of the Netherlands, general history, algebra, and plane geometry (*vlakke meetkunde*).³⁵¹ In 1917, Dutch was given more hours and mathematics was added to the curriculum.³⁵² In 1921, Malay and vernacular languages were taught.³⁵³ The long and the short of it is that, until the 1920s, the curriculum of the HKS was not available in as detailed and complete a form as that of the *kweekschool*.

The study process in the HKS was troubled by a high rate of absenteeism (*verzuim*) of students and teachers, who fell victim to malaria, beriberi, trachoma and other diseases.³⁵⁴ In 1920, the student allowance was cancelled and the school subsidy was reduced, probably as a consequence of the economic crisis which had hit the Netherlands. This caused tremendous problems in the daily lives of students and teachers. It was reported that in 1923 and 1924 there was a series of complaints because the drainage at the boarding house did not work, there was no water supply and the school walls were in need of a fresh coat of paint (*verveloos*).³⁵⁵ Despite the sorry situation at the Purworejo HKS, the government established another HKS in Bandung in 1920.³⁵⁶

In the meantime, the Purworejo HKS began to pass out a number of graduates. In 1919, fourteen out of sixteen students passed the final exams.³⁵⁷ In 1921, twenty-four received their diploma and in 1922, another twenty students followed.³⁵⁸ Notwithstanding this, the first placement of the HKS graduates as a HIS principal only took place in 1925 with ten appointments, followed by seventeen other appointments in 1926.³⁵⁹ According to the Central Board of the *Indonesische Onderwijzers Bond*, which was a confederation of HKS and *Kweekschool* alumni, the government then abandoned all other planned placements of HKS graduates in headmaster positions at the HIS as a result of the implementation (*uitvoering*) of the *Kweekschoolplan* in 1927, which was a 're-organization of the teacher

³⁴⁹ 'Korte Geschiedenis van de H.K.S.', in Hoofdbestuur, *Handboek Indonesische Onderwijzers Bond*, 7; *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1915 Eerste Deel*, 207.

³⁵⁰ *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië Eerste Deel: Tekst 1916* (Batavia: Boekdrukkerij G. Kolf & Co, 1917), 179.

³⁵¹ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1915*, 208.

³⁵² *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië Eerste Deel: Tekst 1917* (Batavia: Boekdrukkerij Kolf & Co, 1918), 192.

³⁵³ *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over 1921 en 1922* (Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij, 1924), 213.

³⁵⁴ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1915 Eerste Deel*, 208; *Verslag van het Onderwijs Eerste Deel 1918*, 162; *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1921 en 1922*, 213.

³⁵⁵ *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Oost-Indië over 1923 en 1924* (Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij, 1926), 220-1.

³⁵⁶ *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over 1920* (Batavia: Boekdrukkerij Kolf & Co, 1922), 178. The Bandung HKS was legally based on a government decree dated 16 June 1920; its first class started on 1 August.

³⁵⁷ *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over Eerste Deel: Tekst 1919* (Weltevreden: G. Kolf & Co, 1921), 199.

³⁵⁸ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1921-1922*, 213.

³⁵⁹ 'Korte Geschiedenis van de H.K.S.', in Hoofdbestuur, *Handboek Indonesische Onderwijzers Bond*, 9.

training and personnel formation over the entire line'.³⁶⁰ All in all, although the original purposes were quite far-reaching, the HKS project did not work out as planned.

The *kweekschool* remained the primary training school at which Indonesian teachers were prepared. In 1915 there were six public *kweekscholen*: in Bandung (West Java), Ungaran (Central Java), Probolinggo (East Java), Yogyakarta, Fort De Kock (West Sumatra) – all using Dutch – and Amboina (the Moluccas) – which used Malay and Dutch.³⁶¹ In 1920, the number of the *kweekscholen* rose to eleven with new ones in Purwokerto, Magelang, Salatiga (for girls) – all in Central Java; Blitar – East Java; and another one in Fort De Kock.³⁶² In 1925, one *kweekschool* was founded in Muara-Enim (South Sumatra) and one of the *kweekscholen* at Fort De Kock was moved to Medan (North Sumatra). The government also founded a *kweekschool* in Makassar, but in this school the training of teachers was combined with the training of government officials (*ambtenaren*), except in the final year.³⁶³ The number of students rose from 583 in the six public *kweekscholen* in 1915 to 954 (including 129 girls) in the twelve public *kweekscholen* in 1925.³⁶⁴

By the 1920s, there were three types of *kweekschool* for the training of Indonesian teachers of the HIS: a four-year *kweekschool* at which Dutch and Malay were used; a six-year *kweekschool* at which Dutch was used; and a HKS at which a three-year advanced training after a four-year training in the *kweekschool* was given in Dutch.³⁶⁵ To various degrees, these *kweekscholen* conformed to European not local characteristics in terms of curriculum, books, language and infrastructure. Nevertheless, they remained socially and politically different from the *kweekschool* for European teachers and the *Hollands Chinese Kweekschool* (HCK). In 1921, the Deputy Director of Education and Religious Affairs, J.F.W. van der Meulen, sent a classified proposal to the Governor-General suggesting the founding of a *kweekschool* which would have a national character (*kweekschool voor alle landaarden*). This would be a *kweekschool* in which students from different ethnic and social groups in the Indies would be trained together and given an opportunity to continue their training at a *kweekschool* in the Netherlands. This idea was based on the fact that so far the European, Indonesian and Chinese aspirant teachers were taught in the same line of European educational system, although they had received their training in different *kweekscholen*.³⁶⁶ The idea of establishing a mixed *kweekschool* was never realized, although there were cases in which Indonesian *kweekschool* graduates were sent to Holland to pursue a European certificate.³⁶⁷ Even so, Van der Meulen's idea shows that, decades after the inauguration of

³⁶⁰ Ibid. On the *Kweekschoolplan*, see Chapter 3.

³⁶¹ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1915 Eerste Deel*, 201.

³⁶² *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1920*, 170.

³⁶³ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1925 Eerste Deel*, 266. Chapter 3 presents an overview of the institutional changes of the *kweekschool*.

³⁶⁴ *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over 1915 Tweede Deel: Staten en Tabellen* (Batavia: N.V. Drukkerij 'De Verwachting', 1916), 336; *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1925*, 267.

³⁶⁵ This means HKS students came from both the four-year and the six-year *kweekscholen*.

³⁶⁶ *Openbaar Verbaal* 8 Februari 1922 No. 18 (NA Inv. Nr. 2379). The proposal of Van der Meulen and other documents in the dossier were categorized as 'geheim' or 'secret'. But they were all put in the *openbaar* instead of *geheim verbaal*. I cannot explain why it was.

³⁶⁷ After obtaining a European certificate, these Indonesian teachers sought for a placement in the ELS not in the HIS. See several cases of these in *Openbaar Verbaal* 12 April 1917 No. 26 (NA Inv. Nr. 1672) and *Openbaar Verbaal* 18 Juli 1917 No. 4 (NA Inv. Nr. 1707).

the Ethical Policy, the government was still in search of a standard way of training Indonesian teachers in which various economic, political and social factors should be combined.

Conclusion

From 1893 to the 1920s, Indonesia witnessed tremendous developments in public primary schools and the teacher training schools. The development in terms of sheer numbers was enormous but the development in terms of educational quality was particularly significant. Changes in the policy concerning the *kweekschool* were geared to the improvement of education in the primary schools and therefore they generally followed, or were put in line with, the primary school reforms. Pedagogically, the aims of the primary school and concomitant *kweekschool* reforms were to achieve a standardized education. Politically, they raised the question of whether standardization meant, to use Brugmans' term, a Dutchification (*Vernederlandsching*) at the expense of indigenous identity.³⁶⁸

In terms of strategic policy, during this period Indonesia witnessed unremitting efforts on the part of colonial government to meet the demand for primary-school teachers. Recruiting teachers from the Netherlands was highly desirable politically and pedagogically, but it was simply not viable from the economic point of view. The most suitable option was to prepare Indonesians to such a standard of training that they were ready to fill in the positions typically reserved for European teachers, namely those of principal and first-rank teacher. However, this option also had to be abandoned when another reform plan for teacher training – the *Kweekschoolplan* – was implemented in 1927. Although continuously changing, the policies made between 1893 and 1927 created the foundation for the process of the benchmarking of the training of Indonesian teachers. ***AS

³⁶⁸ The political question about educational standardization remained the same until the late 1950s when independent Indonesia adopted American teacher's training system: whether standardization was indeed Americanization. See Chapter 10.

Chapter 3

A Standardized Teacher Training, 1927-1942

Introduction

When the Netherlands Indies government introduced the *Kweekschoolplan* in 1927, technically it was after taking on board a criticism of the quality of the *Hoogere Kweekschool* (HKS). The claim was that the HKS had delivered graduates with ‘half-baked’ professional qualification. The HKS resulted from the transformation in 1914³⁶⁹ of the older type of teacher training school, the *kweekschool*. HKS students received six-year training, already an upgrading of the four-year training at the *kweekschool*. Despite this, the HKS diploma was not equivalent to the European teaching diploma. HKS graduates were not eligible for advanced courses leading to the European *hoofdacte*. The main obstacle was that formally their mastery of Dutch was insufficient. Soekarto, an alumnus of the then *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool* (HIK) in Yogyakarta, said that the professional qualifications of the HKS graduates were ‘*te groot als een servet, maar te klein voor een tafellaken*’.³⁷⁰ The introduction of the *Kweekschoolplan* was therefore meant to solve the problem of the ‘half-baked’ qualification of the HKS graduates.

More than simply modifying the HKS, the goal of the *Kweekschoolplan* was to create a two-fold standardized level of the Dutch language teacher training in the Netherlands Indies.³⁷¹ First, the *Kweekschoolplan* was aimed at the standardization of the training schools for the Indonesian, Chinese and European aspirant teachers. The second aim was to create a standardized level of training for the Dutch-language teacher schools in the Netherlands Indies and their counterpart in the Netherlands. This dual concept of the standardization of training was officially known as ‘*concordantie*’ (‘concordance’). By this standardized training, it was hoped that an accordance or agreement of quality would be achieved in the stages of schooling in the Western education system in the Netherlands Indies, in which the corresponding schools in the Netherlands served as a benchmark.³⁷²

Following the introduction of the *Kweekschoolplan* in 1927, the training of HIS teachers was again submitted to a reform. A new training school, the *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool* (HIK), opened in the 1927/1928 school year. The oldest type of the teacher training school – the *kweekschool* – was gradually closed down. The HKS itself would no longer be open for the admission of new students from 1932. In short, at the dawn of the 1930s, the Netherlands Indies government expected to run only one type of the Dutch-language teacher training school for Indonesians, namely the HIK.

³⁶⁹ *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe: Organ oentoeke Pemadjoekan Onderwijs, Bahasa dan Bangsa* No. 3 Tahoen X (March 1930), 89. This issue of the journal announced that as of July 1930, the HKS in Poerworedjo would be closed down and that remaining pupils were transferred to the HKS in Bandung and Magelang. ‘The HKS in Poerworedjo has been in existence 16 years to this date [1930]’.

³⁷⁰ Soekarto, ‘Genesis dari HIK Yogyakarta’, in *Gema Edisi Yubileum: HIK Yogyakarta 60 Tahun* (Yogyakarta: Keluarga Ex-HIK Yogyakarta, 1987), 88-93. The expression more or less means ‘too large (to be used) as a napkin, but too small (to be used) for a tablecloth’—neither fish nor fowl nor good red herring.

³⁷¹ By ‘the Dutch-language teacher training’, I mean the training of teachers who used the Dutch language as the medium of instruction. It does not include the training, which was conducted in ‘Maleis’/Indonesian or the vernacular languages.

³⁷² Again, this concept clarifies that concordance with or benchmarking to European school in the Netherlands was not meant to apply to the schools in the line of Eastern/Indonesian school system in the Netherlands Indies. The Second-class school (*Tweede Klasse School*), the Village School (*Volksschool*) and the Normal School remained pedagogically localized. The curricula of these schools depended heavily on the best interests and needs of the particular community to which the schools were culturally and geographically attached.

In how far did the *Kweekschoolplan* work out? How did the government deal with educational constraints of policy and practice in the implementation of the *Kweekschoolplan*? In this chapter I shall attempt to answer these questions by focusing on the educational and pedagogical aspects of the *Kweekschoolplan*.³⁷³ My aim is to explore in what innovative manner the *Kweekschoolplan* served to raise the standard of public education in the Netherlands Indies. I shall begin by discussing how the *Kweekschoolplan* came into being and what it actually entailed. The *Kweekschoolplan* led to the birth of the HIK in 1927, but the overall scheme of the reform could take place only gradually. The content and the structure of the HIK curriculum underwent continuous modifications in response to the classroom-based critiques of the members of the *Indisch Paedagogisch Genootschap* (IPG), the *Indisch Genootschap* and of the Indonesian nationalists. Nevertheless, this new design of the Dutch-language teacher training school left memorable experiences on Indonesian students which changed their horizons and the course of their lives.

A. The *Kweekschoolplan* of 1927

What was then known as the *Kweekschoolplan* of 1927 was actually an advisory recommendation submitted in March 1927 to the Director of Education and Religious Affairs of the Netherlands Indies by the Educational Council (*Onderwijsraad*).³⁷⁴ On December 15, 1926, the Director of Education and Religious Affairs issued Memorandum No A9/2/5 in which he ordered the Educational Council 'to undertake the preparation of a new *kweekschoolplan* at the soonest possible opportunity'. In an earlier meeting on December 9, the Educational Council had already appointed a working team (called *Werkcommissie*, Working Commission) in anticipation of the 'official' order from the Director. It was the Working Commission which conceptualized the *Kweekschoolplan*.³⁷⁵

The Working Commission consisted of one chairman, one secretary, and three members. K. van Dijk – Inspector of the *Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs*/MULO and vice chairman of the Educational Council – served as the Chairman. The secretary was J. Toot – a delegate member as well as the secretary to the Educational Council. The three members of the Working Commission were J.H. Edelman – Inspector of the *Europeese Lager Onderwijs*/ELO and temporary member of the Educational Council, J. van Iterson – temporary Inspector of the *Hollands Inlandse Onderwijs*/HIO and member of the Educational Council, and G.J. Nieuwenhuis – delegate member of the Educational Council.³⁷⁶ In its first meeting on December 20, 1926, the Working Commission decided to involve teachers and educationists in the drawing up of the *Kweekschoolplan* (see Table 3.1 for list of invited contributors³⁷⁷).

³⁷³ Whereas this chapter focuses on the educational and pedagogical aspects of the HIK, Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 will focus on the economic and the political aspects respectively.

³⁷⁴ The complete title of the report is *Advies van den Onderwijsraad inzake de reorganisatie van de opleiding van het personeel bij het Westersch Lager Onderwijs (Kweekschoolplan)*.

³⁷⁵ *Advies van den Onderwijsraad inzake de reorganisatie van de opleiding van het personeel bij het Westersch Lager Onderwijs (Kweekschoolplan)*, (Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij, 1927), 1. Further references to this source will be *Kweekschoolplan*.

³⁷⁶ *Kweekschoolplan*, 1.

³⁷⁷ In addition to the persons listed here in Table 1, there were contributors who sent their ideas through journals. They were W.P.D. Corporaal, director of the *Kweekschool* 'Goenoeng Sahari' in Weltevreden; M. Chrijns, principal of the ELS of the Strada Vereeniging in Weltevreden; G. Doornink, director of the HCK in Meester Cornelis; and I.W. Lankhorst, principal of the School No. 1 of *Volksonderwijs* in Bandung. See *Kweekschoolplan*, p. 2.

Hence, the *Kweekschoolplan* was the product of the work of a team of education practitioners and professionals, who all – probably co-incidentally – were Europeans.³⁷⁸

Table 3.1: List of invited contributors to the Working Commission of the *Kweekschoolplan* 1927

No	Name	Professional position
1	Mev. J. Kater-Ligtvoet	Inspector of the Domestic Science Subjects
2	F. Buis	Director, MULO Bandung
3	F.H.A. Claessen	Civil servant for Physical Education
4	J.L. Dalmijn	Principal, ELS 1A Bandung
5	Rev. J. Ph. L. Diderick	Director, <i>RK Kweekschool</i> for Indigenous Children Muntilan
6	J.W. de Groote	Principal, Pasar-Baroe-school Weltevreden
7	E.H. de Haan	Director, <i>Kweekschool</i> of Salemba Instituut
8	R. Hartmans	Principal, 2 nd public HIS Weltevreden
9	J.R. van der Laan	Director, HKS Bandung
10	J.P. Leenhouts	Director, Public <i>Kweekschool</i> for Indigenous Children Magelang
11	H. Meyerink	Director, Christian <i>Kweekschool</i> for Chinese Children Solo
12	M.C.J. Scheffer	Pedagogy Teacher, IEV <i>Kweekschool</i> Bandung
13	G.H.H. van Thiel	Acting official for Handicrafts
14	A. Voets	Principal, 1 st HCS Meester Cornelis
15	H. Zur Kleinsshmiede	Director, Jan Pietersz.-Coenstichting Weltevreden

Source: *Kweekschoolplan*, pp. 1-2.

The main task of the Working Commission was to set up a proposal in which a new design for the Dutch language teacher training school in the Netherlands Indies would be laid down in elaborate detail. The Commission therefore not only explored the philosophical basis of and the principles for the reforms in the teacher training. It also prepared the technical guidelines of the new training designs, for the *Europeese*, for the *Hollands-Inlandse* and for the *Hollands-Chinese Kweekscholen* respectively. It laid down the precise composition of the timetables, descriptions of the course subjects, schemes for the final examination, and practical regulations concerning the training management and school facilities. In short, the Working Commission was made responsible for formulating the new design of the teacher training school which was ready for implementation. To finish the job, the Working Commission worked ‘almost uninterruptedly’ from December 20, 1926 to March 7, 1927.³⁷⁹

A.1 Background to the reform

The motivation of the Director of Education and Religious Affairs, in ordering the Educational Council to formulate the *kweekschool* reform proposal, was not explicitly stated in the Director’s Memorandum of December 16, 1926. However, the Education Council said in its report that ‘the concordance principle underlies the whole [reform] plan’ and that it ‘is an imperative requirement’ and should form ‘the backbone of the training system’. Concordance would ‘guarantee the same level of the education in this country [the Indies] as that in the Netherlands’. The need for a concordant education ‘issues from the fact that the European cultural life in this country has changed [so that] there is no more hindrance to spiritual traffic. There is no divergence in origin between the imported

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Ibid. 3-5.

[labour] forces and those trained here [in the Indies] for the same European education.' With concordant education in place, 'children of the expat families (*trekkerskinderen*) will not lose the immediate association between the school here [in the Indies] and over there [in the Netherlands]'.³⁸⁰

By 1920s, the Western primary education in the Indies consisted of schooling in European, Dutch-Indonesian and Dutch-Chinese schools (respectively the ELS, the HIS, and the HCS). The Educational Council said, 'The three school types are indissolubly the same'. However, 'the latter two [schools] lean on the first.' The schools 'can maintain [the quality] at the highest [level] if the concordance requirement directs them to the level and provides them with teaching personnel who have an equal accreditation to those in Holland.' The HIS and the HCS had 'to strive to reach the European [level of education] and therefore the training in Holland [should] fully become[...] the guideline for all the three training schools in their own cultures [in the Indies]'. The Educational Council warned that the time was not yet ripe to apply the Dutch examination programme in the Netherlands as a criterion by which to measure the existing programmes in the Indies. 'From every aspect, it is clear that the present training in this country is in its nature not concordant with that in Holland'. 'A training, which actively [serves] as a corresponding centre, requires an equivalent status not only in the final examinations but throughout the entire process of formation, hence from the examinations and the lecture programmes, from personnel provision and the period of study'.³⁸¹

This exploration has briefly explained the background to the *kweekschool* reform from a pedagogical viewpoint, but what was the socio-political context of the concordant education policy? In the early decades of the twentieth century, the need to bridge the Western community and the Eastern society in the Netherlands Indies had become more pressing than ever before.³⁸² This condition was geared by an increasingly open employment in what historian Robert van Niel has designated as jobs in the Western sphere, for example in government offices.³⁸³ Educationist J. Lelyveld says that 'more than in former days, there was a readiness [among Indonesian parents] to send their children to Western schools, sometimes entailing great financial sacrifices'.³⁸⁴ In the eyes of many Indonesian children, a Dutch language school was a gateway to economically rewarding employment.³⁸⁵ The 1926 congress of the Association of Indonesian Teachers (*Persatoean Goeroe Hindia Belanda*, PGHB) issued a statement that 'the indigenous people want the HIS to be expanded not for cultural or other idealistic considerations, but because the HIS is the direct way [for them] to climb up to the top of social ladder'.³⁸⁶ In the words of Lelyveld, Dutch-language schooling 'earned greater respect, often not only

³⁸⁰ Ibid. 6.

³⁸¹ Ibid.

³⁸² Director of Education, 28 November 1938, in S.L. van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië 1900-1940: Een Bronnenpublikatie* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1963), 605.

³⁸³ Robert van Niel, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite* (Dordrecht/Cinnaminson: Foris Publications, 1984), 28.

³⁸⁴ Citing the report of the Hollandsch-Inlandsche Onderwijs Commissie 1930, J. Lelyveld says that during the first three decades of the 20th century, there was 'a gradual increase in the number of parents under the monthly-wage limit of 75 guilders fixed for Dutch indigenous education'. See J. Lelyveld, *G.J. Nieuwenhuis* (np:np, 198x), 8-9.

³⁸⁵ Paul van der Veur, *Education and Social Change in Colonial Indonesia* (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1969), 9. See also, Kees Groeneboer, *Gateway to the West: The Dutch Language in Colonial Indonesia 1600-1950, a History of Language Policy* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998).

³⁸⁶ N.A.C. Slotemaker de Bruine, 'De cultureele betekenis van het onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië', *Indisch Genootschap*, Vergadering van Vrijdag 27 November 1931, 111-43; quote from p. 116.

from those directly concerned, but from their relatives as well'.³⁸⁷ When the government transformed the Dutch-language school for Indonesians – the First-Class School – into the *Hollands Inlandse School* (HIS) in 1914, the door was open for more Indonesian children to pursue a Western education. Unlike the First-Class School which admitted children of the higher and lower ranks of the nobility, the HIS admitted children of better-off ordinary families and was gradually opened to children of common people, although on a limited scale.³⁸⁸ Importantly, the transformation of the First-Class School into the HIS made the Dutch-language primary education for indigenous children pedagogically comparable in terms of programme and facilities to the education given at other schools of the same kind, namely the HCS and ELS.³⁸⁹ The HIS attracted a constant stream of applicants; admission increased from 6,306 pupils in 1914 to 12,592 in 1924.³⁹⁰

The growing number of the Indonesian children who received primary education at the HIS led to the growing members of the Indonesian community who used the Dutch language at home. Van Niel says this group of Dutch-speaking Indonesians functioned as an intermediary hub between the purely European and the purely indigenous community in the Indies.³⁹¹ In this interchange, the schools in which Dutch was used as the language of instruction became an institution which officially prepared the birth of such cultural representatives. From this perspective, in my opinion, these Dutch-language schools did indeed function as a political tool. Government critics would later claim that Dutch-language schools and the concordance system never really aimed to train indigenous children 'to become intimate' with the Western science and skills.³⁹² Although most Indonesian children entered the HIS for economic and social reasons, the government expected the HIS graduates to ensure the perpetuation of a middle-class group which could move dynamically between the Eastern and the Western communities in the Indies.³⁹³ The transformation of the first-class school into the *Hollands Inlandse School* (HIS) in 1914 therefore marked a switch from an economic to a cultural reproduction mission on which the Dutch-language education for the indigenous people had to be based. The initial motive for training cheap technical workers, which the Netherlands Indies government had conveyed in the provision of the Dutch-language school at the dawn and during the

³⁸⁷ Lelyveld, *G.J. Nieuwenhuis*, 8.

³⁸⁸ See Verbondsbestuur PGHB, *De HIS in Gevaar: De Voorloopige Stopzetting van de Uitbreiding van de HIS en de Schakelschool* (Soerakarta: Uitgave Verbondsbestuur PGHB, 1930), 4. The HIS became 'a new hope' through which ordinary Indonesians could pursue Western education, which could broaden the chances of better-paid jobs. This publication of the Indonesian Teachers Association was a protest against the efficiency policy plan the government set forth in response to the Great Depression. Regardless the protest, the efficiency measures were made effective in 1931 by the government (see Chapter 4).

³⁸⁹ I have drawn this conclusion from the letter of the Director of Education and Religious Affairs (G.A.J. Hazeu) to Governor-General (Idenburg) of Nov. 20, 1914, published in S.L. van der Wal's *Het Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië*, pp. 286-8. The letter says that as did the ELS and the HCS, the HIS also admitted children of the European families. This policy was a first step towards 'the unification of primary schools' in the Indies. Unless the programmes and the facilities of the three schools were comparable, system unification was not possible.

³⁹⁰ S.L. van der Wal, *Some Information on Education in Indonesia up to 1942* (The Hague: NUFFIC, 1961), 8.

³⁹¹ Van Niel, *The Emergence*, 164-6.

³⁹² I.J. Brugmans, 'Oostersche en Westersche Elementen in het Nederlandsch-Indische Onderwijs', *Indisch Genootschap*, Verslag van de Algemeene Vergadering gehouden op 2 Februari 1940, 33-58; quote from p. 41.

³⁹³ Director of Education, 28 November 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 606.

first decade of the twentieth century, had changed considerably by the early 1920s.³⁹⁴ Lelyveld points out that influential figures in colonial policy making like C. Snouck Hurgronje, G.A.J. Hazeu and J.H. Abendanon advocated the association or synthesis of cultures in the Western education 'in response to the awakening of national consciousness in Java and Sumatra'.³⁹⁵

Western education in the Netherlands Indies was made concordant to that in the Netherlands to guarantee the process of (Dutch) cultural dissemination in Indies society. All the teachers who taught at the Dutch-language schools had to have a diploma, which should be equal to the diploma awarded by teacher training schools in the Netherlands. As I shall explore in a moment, the 1920 reform of the teacher training school in the Netherlands resulted in a programme which was divided into liberal arts and vocational education phases. The Educational Council claimed that a concordance between the teacher training schools in the Indies and those in the Netherlands would systematically guarantee what it called 'the cultural traffic' between the two countries.³⁹⁶ From a Western-oriented curriculum taught by teachers with European certificates, the HIS students would acquire knowledge about European traditions and ways of life. When they 'returned' to society at large, they would not only become the hinge in the relationship between the Western and Eastern communities in the Indies; they would also be advocates of Western culture. The concordance principle which was developed in the *kweekschool* reform proposal should be understood in the embedded context that there was first of all a need on the part of the European community in the Indies to secure a balanced cultural interface with the Indonesian society.

A.2 The *concordantie* system

The Educational Council of the Netherlands Indies Department of Education unanimously gave its assent to the ideas proposed by the Working Commission. The concordant teacher training should follow the principle of 'division at the bottom, unification at the top'. The programme for the lower teaching diploma was differentiated in the training schools for Indonesian, Chinese and European aspirant teachers, but the training programme for the headmaster's certificate would be the same for the three 'ethnic' groups. The Educational Council stated that 'the three sorts of Western primary schools require their own language-based teaching methods'. In relation to 'its own future and [its own] linguistic environment', every ethnic group 'has its own way of forming a teacher for [its own] schools and of making the teacher understand [their tasks]'.³⁹⁷

The Educational Council believed that a unified system in the early stage of the training would 'contravene healthy pedagogy'. 'In every formation and training, people should be steered in the direction of [their own] nature and talent, in the tempo and rhythm, in the available understanding and belief, in the most preferable aspect of knowledge of the trainees'. A unified training [at the lower level], the Educational Council said, would 'insinuate the danger of unnatural and forced formation'. Moreover, 'the schools in the Indies already suffer from the burden of

³⁹⁴ Van Niel, *The Emergence*, 176-8. Here Van Niel points out the emergence of what he calls 'the political elite' of the Indonesian society.

³⁹⁵ Lelyveld, *G.J. Nieuwenhuis*, 7-8.

³⁹⁶ *Kweekschoolplan*, 6. In original: 'het geestelijk verkeer', literally: 'spiritual traffic'. I have deliberately interpreted it as 'cultural traffic' just to imbue the phrase with a broader sense.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 8.

pernicious uniformity, which is an unrelenting threat to nourishing education with one's own sources'. The Council also realized that 'it is extremely difficult for a teacher to give lessons to suit individual needs if s/he is not trained according to the same principle and if the nature of the educational laws is not based on experience'.³⁹⁸

It was said that differentiation in teacher training would mean more than different ways (of training) for different ethnic groups. Differentiation would mean 'specialization in individual construction inside the walls of each separate school.' The training in the *kweekschool* would begin with the general formative education at the lower level (*onderbouw*) and would continue to uniformity at the upper level (*bovenbouw*). 'In the lower level of [the] training, each ethnic group can fully develop its own needs so that a similar level is achieved, so that the same maturity, independence, and qualifications for further independent study is reached'. The training at the upper level was aimed at depth and specialization in the pedagogical field. The Educational Council argued that 'this second phase typifies education, in which the end makes uniformity of every general formation. From the differentiation of groups, it expands as the differentiation of individuals'. The Educational Council was convinced that this principle would benefit every group. 'Socially, politically and pedagogically speaking there is but one solution: a split lower [stage of] study and a joint higher [one]'.³⁹⁹

A.2.1 The making of a benchmark

The development of the teacher training programme in the Netherlands Indies in 1927 was an attempt to keep the pace with developments in the Netherlands. In this Low Country in January 1919, the introduction of standardization began when Minister J. Th. de Visser of the Department of Education, Arts and Science (*Departement van Onderwijs, Kunst en Wetenschappen*) decided to raise the salaries of teachers in public primary schools and to standardize the salaries between the private- and the public-school teachers. In April, he sent a proposal to the Parliament (*De Tweede Kamer*) suggesting that the State cover all the costs of primary education in private schools just as it did in public schools. This would apply to both primary and upper primary private education, and to the training of the teachers for these schools. De Visser aimed first to standardize the financial capacity and the facilities of public and private schools before he set a standard criterion of evaluation and improvement for all these schools, but this did not seem to be the only reason. Dutch educationist Roelf Turksma wrote that the appointment of De Visser as the minister of Education, Arts and Science in November 1918 had invited criticism from the left-wing parties of the *Tweede Kamer*. De Visser managed to calm down the political dispute over his appointment. In 1920, he had successfully had the Primary Education Act he proposed passed and made law by Parliament.⁴⁰⁰

Later that year, on the orders of De Visser, the Conciliation Commission (*Pacificatie Commissie*)⁴⁰¹ issued a proposal for the reform of teacher training school consisting of two primary

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Roelf Turksma, 'De Geschiedenis van de Opleiding tot Onderwijzer in Nederland aan de Openbare, Protestants-Christelijke en Bijzonder-Neutrale Instellingen' (Diss. Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 1961), 165.

⁴⁰¹ Van Dale's electronic dictionary translates the Dutch word 'pacificatie' into English 'pacification' as used in the context as 'the pacification of Ghent'. To approach the 'uniting spirit' which De Visser was attempting to build up, however, I have translated 'Pacifictie' into its third meaning (in Van Dale's electronic dictionary)

points. Firstly, the training programme for female teaching assistants (*hulp-onderwijzeressen*) was upgraded so that it was made equal to the existing *kweekschool* programme. The name '*hulp-onderwijzeressen*' was changed to '*onderwijzeressen A*'. The training programme lasted for four instead of two years. The curriculum included reading, Dutch, basic speech education (*elementair spreekonderwijs*), storytelling, singing, drawing, games, handicrafts, introduction to nature (*kennis der natuur*), health and hygiene, methods of upbringing and education. To make a fully recognized teaching certificate, the programme curriculum added the subjects of history, geography and writing.⁴⁰²

Secondly, the *kweekschool* itself was also upgraded and reformed because its programme was weak on several points. Most importantly, primary-school teachers graduating from the *kweekschool* had not so far possessed the academic qualifications to teach the three modern languages (English, French and German), mathematics and gymnastics. To be eligible to teach these subjects, they had to have completed additional evening courses to obtain a specialized certificate of competence. Furthermore, the *kweekschool* curriculum had put only a slight emphasis on the practice of teaching. The teacher training programme lasted for four years for fourteen-year old students, who had received only two years' education at the Upper Primary School (*Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs*, ULO) or the Public General High School (the *Hogere Burgere School*, HBS) or the grammar school. So, when they completed their *kweekschool* training, these newly graduated teachers were only eighteen years old and the basis of their training was relatively narrow. The majority of the instructors at the *kweekschool* who taught these trainee teachers were eligible to teach at primary school; only a few of them were eligible to teach at secondary school. Last but not least, the teachers of pedagogy were not required to have a specialized certificate so that every man and his dog ('*Jan en alleman*') could teach pedagogy to the *kweekschool* students. All this had to be reformed.⁴⁰³

In the new design of the teacher training proposed by the Conciliation Commission, the duration of the *kweekschool* programme in the Netherlands was changed to five years, divided into two phases. The first three years were dedicated to the theory of pedagogy, education and subject-content knowledge, and the next two years to teaching practice. Entrants should be at least fifteen years old and should have completed the first three years of the five-year HBS education. This way, they would be twenty years old at graduation and hence have a broader basis of intellectual and personal maturity. Trainee teachers were to study how to teach the three modern languages as well as mathematics and gymnastics, so that they were automatically entitled to the formal authority to teach these subjects. They also had to study reading, writing, arithmetic, national history, general history, geography, science of the nature, singing, drawings, physical exercise education, handicrafts and educational methods (methodical didactics) and psychology. Fourth and fifth graders had to spend the morning hours doing teaching practice at primary schools and the afternoon hours studying theory at the *kweekschool*. The new standards required that the instructors at the *kweekschool* should

'Conciliation', instead of the corresponding commonly-used English word 'Pacification'. The Encarta dictionary for North American English suggests the adjective 'pacific' as to mean 'bringing peace', 'having peaceful temperament', and 'un-aggressive'.

⁴⁰² Turksma, *De Geschiedenis van de Opleiding tot Onderwijzer*, 166-7.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.* 168-70.

possess professional qualifications equal to those of the teachers at the five-year HBS. Teachers of pedagogy had to have a specialized certificate to teach their subject.⁴⁰⁴

These reform agendas were planned to be carried out following the passing of the Primary Education Act of 1920 in the Netherlands. However, a crisis hit the economy of the Netherlands in the early 1920s and seriously hampered the educational reform and expansion plans. This was followed by the Great Depression at the end of the decade which also hit the Netherlands revenue sources in the Netherlands Indies very hard. Economic historian Thomas Lindblad writes as follows:

‘There was short-run recession in world markets in 1921-1922 caused by the backlash of the sudden boom in 1919-1920 due to pent-up demand after war and rapid price inflation (including very high sugar prices). This recession did affect the Netherlands as a trading nation and also the Netherlands Indies. The year 1921 was in fact the sole one in the entire twentieth century when the balance of trade of the Netherlands Indies did not display a surplus but a (minuscule) deficit, i.e. export revenues were not sufficient to cover expenditure on imports. There was quick recovery after this recession and it cannot be linked directly to the worldwide depression that commenced with the crash on Wall Street in October 1929 but only actually hit colonial Indonesia in 1931 (1930 was still a rather good year with high export revenues). The tendency towards worldwide depression had been there ever since prices of primary products, in particular rubber, started falling in the 1920s but up to the early 1930s, the price fall could be compensated by increasing output so that total revenue generated remained at the same level. When the depression of the 1930s struck, this was no longer possible due to the extremely low price level.’⁴⁰⁵

The economic crises of the 1920s forced the governments of the Netherlands and the Netherlands Indies to terminate many, if not all, of the educational reform plans. Turksma has stigmatized the Netherlands educational reform programmes of the early 1920s as a ‘*fata-morgana*’, an illusionary vision, because, even though the programmes had stimulated the enthusiasm of many teachers, they failed to eventuate.⁴⁰⁶ I myself shall point (in Chapter 4) to the educational reform in the Netherlands Indies in the early 1930s as ‘*layu sebelum berkembang*’, fading before blooming – to borrow the title of an Indonesian pop song of the 1970s – because the reform plans had to be aborted before they even fully came into practice. In the Netherlands Indies, the government embraced the idea of indigenization and reduced the Western-standardized level of the Dutch-language schools back to the local levels. In a nutshell, it did not honour the concordance principles: not in the actual setting of the curriculum, not in personnel qualification and not in school facilities.

So, both in the Netherlands and in the Netherlands Indies, the economic crises had a tremendous impact on the educational reform. Until they actually changed the educational policy lines later in the 1930s, the governments of the Netherlands and the Netherlands Indies – ‘watched’ equally by proponent and opponent critics – were both focused on improving the curricular interface of the school education in the two countries. Almost at the same time as the Educational Council in Batavia was working out the implementation of the *Kweekschoolplan* to standardize the teacher training programme in the Netherlands Indies with that in the Netherlands, the *Comité voor Indische Lezingen en Leergangen* in Amsterdam commissioned a working team to develop a new course subject called

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid. 171.

⁴⁰⁵ Thomas Lindblad, personal email communication, June 29, 2010.

⁴⁰⁶ Turksma, *De Geschiedenis van de Opleiding tot Onderwijzer*, especially Chapter XV *De Fata-Morgana van de Nieuwe Onderwijzersopleiding in de Lager-Onderwijswet van 1920*, pp. 165-73.

'*Kennis der Koloniën*' (Knowledge of the Colonies), to be taught to students of the five-year HBS, the grammar schools and the *kweekscholen* in the Netherlands.⁴⁰⁷

A.2.2 The man behind the gun

In the whole processes of educational standardization, the role of the Dutch educationist G.J. Nieuwenhuis⁴⁰⁸ was extremely important. Nieuwenhuis was involved in both commissions for educational reform in the Netherlands and in the Netherlands Indies. He wrote the explanatory memoranda on the reports of the two commissions.⁴⁰⁹ As a recent Dutch educationist J. Lelyveld has suggested, Nieuwenhuis was one of the main advocates of the association principle of Dutch-language education in the Netherlands Indies.⁴¹⁰ He dedicated his life and work to 'the improvement and intensification of the training of school teachers and of the civil servants concerned with education; the introduction of manual instruction and physical training in order to reduce the intellectual character of education; a new method for teaching Dutch to various groups of the population attuned to the several school-types in Western education; and a synthesis of the various cultures in the Indies in which Dutch both as a language and as a cultural element, functions as a bridge'.⁴¹¹

On May 28, 1927 – or about two months after the Netherlands Indies Educational Council published the *Kweekschoolplan* – the Working Commission of the *Comité voor Indische Lezingen en Leergangen* in the Netherlands issued the complete design of the new course subject '*Kennis der Koloniën*'.⁴¹² This subject would be integrated into the already existing subjects, namely geography, history and political science (*staatsinrichting*). In the five-year HBS and in the *kweekschool* in the Netherlands, a structure of 3-3-2-2-2 hours would be allocated to the '*Kennis der Koloniën*' subject for classes one to five consecutively. At the grammar school, the structure was 2-2-2-2-1. At the HBS, the knowledge of the colonies included social, economic and natural geography of the Netherlands Indies, Suriname and Curacao spread over classes one, three, four and five. At grammar school, the subject

⁴⁰⁷ G.J. Nieuwenhuis, *Rapport van de Commissie, ingesteld door het Comité voor Indische Lezingen en Leergangen, om n ate gaan, op welke wijze het programmema van de scholen voor Middelbaare en Gymnasiaal Onderwijs en van de Kweekscholen tot Opleiding van Onderwijzers meer dan tot heden rekening zou kunnen houden met de beteekenis van de Overzeesche Gewesten van het Rijk* (np: np, nd). I retrieved this fifteen-page booklet from the library of the *Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen* in Amsterdam. Unfortunately, the booklet has no cover, which normally contains its publication data in detail.

⁴⁰⁸ Gerrit Jacob Nieuwenhuis was born in Deventer, the Netherlands, on July 27, 1877. Having obtained both a teaching and a headmaster's diplomas from a pedagogy institute in his hometown, Nieuwenhuis worked as a temporary teacher in Apeldoorn and in Surabaya, East Java before continuing his study. In 1915, he earned his PhD in Philosophy in Zurich, Switzerland. He was assigned by the Colonial Secretary 'to undertake an educational tour' in China, Japan, Korea and the Philippines. Returning to the Netherlands Indies in 1918, Nieuwenhuis became a delegate member of the Board of Education of the Netherlands Indies. He closely observed the educational practices by visiting the schools all over the Archipelago, especially in Java and Sumatra. He advised the government on policy making and published articles on education in the Netherlands Indies. On the biographical notion of G.J. Nieuwenhuis, see J. Lelyveld, *G.J. Nieuwenhuis* (np:np, 198x), 2-3.

⁴⁰⁹ Nieuwenhuis, *Rapport van de Commissie*; G.J. Nieuwenhuis, 'De Opleiding van Leerkrachten voor het Hollandsch Lager Onderwijs' in: *Kweekschoolplan*, 60-76

⁴¹⁰ Lelyveld describes the association principle of Nieuwenhuis as a 'balance of culture', a 'synthesis' between cultures. See Lelyveld, *G.J. Nieuwenhuis*, 12.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.* 4-5.

⁴¹² 'Kennis der Kolonien', in: Nieuwenhuis, *Rapport van de Commissie*, 4-8.

was introductory only and its purpose was to stimulate the students' interest in further studies on the issue.⁴¹³

In the *kweekschool*, the emphasis was placed on the nature and the people of the colonies, covering the sociological, anthropological, economic and natural aspects.⁴¹⁴ The schoolbook *Indische Burgerschapkunde* written by P. Tromp in 1934, for example, gave the *kweekschool* students a very comprehensive picture of the Netherlands Indies. Tromp describes in detail the geography of the country, the social and cultural life of the Indonesian people, the *adat* laws, local and international economy of the Netherlands Indies, the bank and monetary system, agriculture, the public administration, the tax system, education and public health, and social organizations.⁴¹⁵

In Nieuwenhuis' eyes, the '*Kennis der Koloniën*' subject was a question of colonial pedagogy and politics rather than of geographical knowledge about the overseas territories of the Netherlands. The purpose of introducing the colonies to school children was to stimulate their sense of belonging to the overseas territories and to make them understand what was going on there. Pedagogically, Nieuwenhuis said, the growing sense of belonging would stimulate the feeling [among Dutch children] about 'what if we lose the Indies and other overseas territories'. Politically, disseminating knowledge about the colonies to younger generations in the Netherlands would 'inculcate in us legitimate feelings about our colonial actions'. From the economic perspective, the purpose was to attract younger generations of Dutch people to come to work in the Netherlands Indies.⁴¹⁶

Nieuwenhuis was aware of the divergent views about the Netherlands Indies entertained by the people in the Netherlands. 'Those who want to see the Indies separated immediately from the Netherlands will think that knowledge of the colonies is no more relevant than knowledge of the other parts of the world,' he said. Meanwhile, those who think of the immediate advantages will see that knowledge of the colonies is a means to enlist a Dutch workforce and capital. Through knowing the colonies better, Nieuwenhuis claimed, fears about losing the welfare sources in the Indies would vanish. Nieuwenhuis:

'But those who mean to embrace long-term political [gains] and think not only of present bonuses (*tantièmes*) but aim to secure the future hopes and jobs of our grandchildren in the Indies, will embrace a wider perspective. These people dare to acknowledge that times are changing. They will try to see the Indonesians as fellow countrymen who share the same morals and defects as us [the Dutch], who bring different but not less inferior elements into our greater Dutch society. It is the society which will share equal importance in the establishment of the general public in which we [the Indonesians and the Dutch] can live together'.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹³ Nieuwenhuis, *Rapport van de Commissie*, 2-3.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴¹⁵ P. Tromp, *Indische Burgerschapkunde* (Groningen, Den Haag, Batavia: J.B. Wolters, 1934).

⁴¹⁶ 'Kennis der Koloniën', in: Nieuwenhuis, *Rapport van de Commissie*, 4-5.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 4. In original: 'Wie echter *op langer termijn politiek* wil voeren en niet alleen aan tegenwoordige *tantièmes* denkt, maar ook aan onze kleinkinderen winst en werk in Indië wil verzekeren, die gaat anders te werk. Die durft erkennen, dat de tijden zijn veranderd, die zal trachten in den Indonesiër een landgenoot te zien met dezelfde deugden en gebreken als wij, iemand die andere, maar niet minderwaardiger elementen brengt in onze groot-Nederlandsche samenleving, en die er gelijkelijk belang bij heeft, dat samenleven te bestendigen.' (italics in original)

This last group, Nieuwenhuis said, would be inspired by a profound need to know about 'what our Indonesian fellow countrymen do and think'.⁴¹⁸ Hence, the purposed of the course subject '*Kennis der Koloniën*' was to awaken the interest of the Dutch people in understanding who the people of the Indies were. 'We want to learn from the Indies because we want to build up our sense of unity as much as possible on the basis of equality (*gelijkwaardigheid*)'. Therefore, the educational and teacher training reforms of the 1920s in the Netherlands were designed not only to improve the quality education, but were also meant to widen the horizons of the Dutch young generations about their civic responsibilities and life outside their European world.⁴¹⁹

A.3 Similar equal but not identical

A close examination of the new design of the teacher training in the Netherlands as set out in the 1920 Educational Reform, reveals two basic divergences with new teacher training system in the Netherlands Indies as conveyed in the 1927 *Kweekschool* Reform Plan. Teacher training in the Netherlands took five years, but in the Netherlands Indies six years. In the Netherlands, new entrants to the reformed *kweekschool* should have completed either the Junior High School (*Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs*, ULO) or the first three years of the five-year HBS.⁴²⁰ Therefore, they had already completed the first phase of the secondary school. In the Netherlands Indies, new entrants to the six-year HIK should have graduated from a seven-year Dutch-language Primary School, the HIS. The first three years of the HIK were equal to the (M)ULO. The next three years corresponded to the last two years of the HBS.⁴²¹ So, aspirant teachers in the Netherlands Indies had had a preparatory education which was relatively shorter than their counterparts in the Netherlands. The teacher training curriculum at the HIK, which lasted one year longer than that at the Netherlands *kweekschool*, was intended to 'equalize' the difference in the preparatory education.

The second point dealt with the fact that the Dutch-language teacher training schools in the Netherlands Indies were streamlined on the basis of the three categories of ethnicity, which was not the case in the Netherlands. More than a political proposition as many Indonesian nationalists had disputed, from a pedagogical viewpoint this ethnic-based segregation of the teacher training schools was a question of again an effort to construct a harmonious cultural interface between 'the foreign and one's own (*vreemd [en] eigen*)', between 'the foreign culture and one's own culture', between 'the foreign demands and one's own needs'.⁴²² Here it is relevant to take another look at the threads of

⁴¹⁸ In original: '*We willen belangstelling wekken voor wat onze Indonesische rijksgenooten doen en denken*'.

⁴¹⁹ '*Kennis der Koloniën*', in: Nieuwenhuis, *Rapport van de Commissie*, 6.

⁴²⁰ The HBS (*Hogere Burgerschool*) in the Netherlands was founded following the passing of the Secondary Education Act in 1863 on the initiative of liberal politician Johan Rudolph Thorbecke (1798-1872). In 1865, a HBS in The Hague followed a five-year curriculum instead of the initially proposed two-year. After that, many more HBSes used a five-year curriculum. New entrants to the HBS were required to have completed the six-year Primary School. In 1871, the HBS began to admit female students, who first had to obtain approval from the minister of education. This requirement was lifted in 1906. In 1917, the five-year HBS was officially recognized as preparatory to university education of the exact sciences, with special emphasis in 1924 on pure mathematics and natural sciences. In 1968, the HBS was replaced by five-year HAVO and six-year VWO. Sources on HBS: <http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hogereburgerschool>; on Johan Rudolph Thorbecke: http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johan_Rudolph_Thorbecke, both accessed on June 25, 2010 at 17.35.

⁴²¹ Mineke van Essen, *Kwekeling tussen Akte en Ideaal: De Opleiding to Onderwijzer(es) vanaf 1800* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij SUN, 2006), 172-3.

⁴²² Nieuwenhuis, 'De Opleiding van Leerkrachten', in: *Kweekschoolplan*, 60.

policy proposed by G.J. Nieuwenhuis. Nieuwenhuis' primary concern was not the difference in the duration of the teacher training programmes. 'First and foremost, it is not a *longer (langer)* but *another (ander)* teacher training programme that we need,' he said. Both in the Netherlands and in the Netherlands Indies, 'the reform of the teacher training is a more qualitative than a quantitative issue'.⁴²³

Nieuwenhuis criticized the weight which the schools in the Netherlands Indies had given to the Western intellectual characteristics at the cost of indigenous knowledge and culture. 'These values were imposed upon the indigenous population through the implementation of Western methods'. He 'warned that theories and methods developed in the Netherlands should not be adopted uncritically in the Indies' and believed that 'education should embrace an equal and equivalent contribution from Western knowledge and culture'.⁴²⁴ Harmony at the cultural interface should therefore add up to a balanced emphasis of the Western intellectual tradition and the development of the physical aspects, the practical skills, and the aesthetic sense, moral and the social aspects.⁴²⁵

In the explanatory memorandum to the 1927 *Kweekschoolplan*, Nieuwenhuis explored the fact that Indies society was changing very fast. 'In this society in which differences in races, religious beliefs and cultural milieu create problems,' he said, 'people have not yet had experience in solving the problems arising from social changes'. In Europe, he said, philosophers and pedagogues have tried to counter the spread of Communism by teaching young people to think (through language lessons) and to understand social progress (through civic education). 'Here in the Indies, the danger is ten times greater,' Nieuwenhuis said. 'Nationalist and religious idealisms feast on a communist platform (*communistische bedding*), and just as in China and British India, destructive movements develop.' 'To greater extent than in Europe,' Nieuwenhuis added, 'sentiment replaces logic in this country.'⁴²⁶

The *kweekschool* education in the Netherlands Indies had to prepare aspirant teachers for turning 'the vaguely feudalistic mind-set' of their students into 'modern logical thinking'. It had to train agents of change. Whether or not the training should be differentiated, whether twelve or twenty course subjects should be given, in either thirty or forty hours per week, was a secondary issue, Nieuwenhuis said. 'The most important thing is the spirit (*de geest*) which inspires the educational vigour (*opvoedkracht*) of the teachers and the independence of the students.' Nieuwenhuis was convinced the selection of the teachers, teachers' personal talents and their scientific schooling constituted key points in the reform of the teacher training school. 'The new teacher training system has to fit into the framework of the whole social system, for all population groups,' he said.⁴²⁷

The Dutch-speaking teachers in the Netherlands Indies, whether European, Chinese, or indigenous, should become role models for the teaching body at large. 'They must become a standard example for thousands of teachers at the second-class and the village schools [so that these groups of teachers] can improve their [professional] standard.' In the words of Nieuwenhuis, these Dutch-

⁴²³ G.J. Nieuwenhuis, 'De Opleiding der Nederlandsch Sprekende Leerkrachten in Indie: Een poging tot eenheid' (np:nd, sa), 1.

⁴²⁴ These are the words of Lelyveld's. See Lelyveld, *G.J. Nieuwenhuis*, 11-2 and 23.

⁴²⁵ Nieuwenhuis, 'De Opleiding der Nederlandsch Sprekende Leerkrachten in Indie', 1.

⁴²⁶ Nieuwenhuis, 'De Opleiding van Leerkrachten', 61.

⁴²⁷ Ibid. 62.

speaking teachers were 'super-teachers (*super-onderwijzers*)' in terms of the duties and the social contributions expected from them. 'Therefore, their training has to meet an exceptional level within the limit feasible.'⁴²⁸ The *kweekschool* training in the Indies would become the general basis of the training of all Dutch-speaking teachers in the country. Graduates of the *kweekschool* would be eligible to teach at Dutch-language primary schools or to assume the position of headmaster, for which they would first have to complete an advanced training programme. They would also be eligible to teach at the MULO.⁴²⁹

The concordance requirement would maintain on equally high level of education for all population groups. The (Dutch-language) schools for Indonesian and Chinese children were ranked separately to the school for the European children. The teachers at these schools received a training which was standardized to the equivalent of the training of their colleagues at the European schools. Nieuwenhuis said that the apex of the training should even be the same for all teachers of the three different population groups. Before attaining this stage, a separate system would still be used so that aspirant teachers of the three population groups would have the opportunity to develop their individual talents on the basis of their own culture and hence they could have a better understanding of the needs of their own society.⁴³⁰ Nieuwenhuis suggested the following structure for the teacher training school:

- MULO + European *kweekschool* for European teachers (MULO = three years of general education at junior high level; European *kweekschool* = three years of pedagogical training)
- *Hollandsch Inlandsche Kweekschool* for Indonesian teachers (three years of lower level training/*onderbouw* and three years of upper level training/*bovenbouw*)
- *Hollandsch Chineesche Kweekschool* for Chinese teachers (three years of lower level training/*onderbouw* and three years of upper level training/*bovenbouw*)
- Advanced day school for the headmaster's certificate, with or without accreditation (*hoofdacte met of zonder aantekening*) for all teachers who had already completed the *kweekschool* programme⁴³¹

Nieuwenhuis stated that the ethnic separation of the Dutch-language teacher training school in the Netherlands Indies was devised to accommodate the unique characteristics and the needs of the society. On mature consideration, this statement seems euphemistic. At the periodical meeting of the 'Indies Society' (*Indisch Genootschap*) of December 16, 1921, Leiden University professor of the Indies Law J.H. Carpentier Alting,⁴³² said that the purpose of the ethnic segregation of Indies society was to achieve political instead of racial separation. The legal origin of this segregation dated back to the New Statutes of Batavia of 1766 (*Nieuwe Statuten van Batavia van 1766*), which distinguished the '*Makasseren, Baliërs, Chineezers en andere Vreemde Oosterlingen*' (the people of Makassar, of Bali, the Chinese and other Foreign Orientals) from each other. Sometimes, the differentiation simply indicated

⁴²⁸ Nieuwenhuis, 'De Opleiding der Nederlandsch Sprekende Leerkrachten in Indie', 1.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.* 3.

⁴³⁰ Nieuwenhuis, 'De Opleiding van Leerkrachten', 64.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.* 66.

⁴³² A brief biography of J.H. Carpentier Alting, see http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johannes_Hendrik_Carpentier_Alting, accessed on July 3, 2010 at 13.40.

'*Chineezen en andere inlanders*' (Chinese and other indigenous groups).⁴³³ Alting claimed the General Regulations of 1847 (*Algemeene Bepalingen*) and the Government Regulation of 1854 (*Regeringsreglement*) recognized two categories, namely the European and the 'Inlander'. 'The European' was defined as the 'governing race' (*heerschend ras*) whereas the 'Inlander' the 'governed' (*overheerschten*).⁴³⁴ A third group was added in 1854 to cover the Chinese and the Arab communities legally. They then constituted the category of 'the Chinese and other Foreign Orientals'. All these divisions implied a differentiation in terms of intellectual and material welfare, for example, in such fields as education received and the obligation for paying taxes.⁴³⁵ The indigenous group had by then been 'split' into 'the indigenous elite' and the masses. The former consisted of the sons of the noble families and was entitled to special political and economic rights equal to the Chinese and the Foreign Orientals. The rest of the indigenous population simply remained the ordinary masses. In 1893, this policy of discrimination created deeper economic and cultural divisions in the indigenous society. In that year, the Dutch government in Batavia gave the indigenous elite group a special Dutch-language school, the First-Class School (*de Eerste-Class School*), which became the HIS in 1914. The government also established technical secondary schools in Batavia and Soerabaja for the training of indigenous officials, agriculturalists and other lower-level technicians.⁴³⁶ In 1897, the ordinary masses living in urban areas were provided with the Second-Class School (*de Tweede-Class School*), which later became the *standaard school* and was abolished in 1932, a victim of the Great Depression. At this school, Dutch was taught as a course subject.⁴³⁷ The majority of the ordinary masses, mostly in rural areas, had to wait many more years to enjoy any basic schooling.⁴³⁸ The teachers for these different types of schools were trained in different types of training schools and were launched on different career tracks and salaries. Consequently, the segregated school system created the segregation of the social system. Alting was correct in saying that such segregation was not based just on ethnic differences, but on political and economic motivations as well. Therefore, Nieuwenhuis certainly simplified the case by arguing that the aim of the ethnic separation of the Dutch-language teacher training school in the Netherlands Indies was to accommodate the unique characteristics and needs of the society.

In the Netherlands, by contrast, although the education and the teacher training system were traditionally characterized by variation in religious denominations, it remained one integrated system. Before the 1920 Primary Education Act was made law, twenty-one out of thirty-one *kweekscholen* and 163 out of 261 *normaalscholen* in this country belonged to and were run by private denominational groups, especially the Protestants and the Roman Catholics.⁴³⁹ However, these *kweekscholen* and *normaalscholen* did not follow separate systems. Unlike the situation in the Netherlands Indies, in the early twentieth century the Netherlands did not have to deal with a serious question about what

⁴³³ J.H. Carpentier Alting, 'Het Rassencriterium', *Indisch Genootschap*, Vergadering van 16 December 1921, 183-211; referred statement from p. 187.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.* 186.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.* 188.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.* 189-90.

⁴³⁷ 'Verslag omtrent een Onderzoek naar het Onderwijs op de Tweede-Klasse Scholen', *Opvoeding: Indisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwere Paedagogiek*, Derde Jaargang 1933-1934, 50-69; 134-57.

⁴³⁸ In Java, the *volkschool* or *desa school* (people's or village school) for the rural masses was only established in 1907, in Sumatra in 1917. See Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, for example pp. 57-78; 142-51.

⁴³⁹ Van Essen, *Kwekeling*, 164.

language to be used at school.⁴⁴⁰ The linguistic uniformity in schools in the Netherlands contributed to the making of a uniform educational system. Following the passing of the 1920 Primary Education Act, the ideological differences between the state-run and the denominational *kweek-* and *normaalscholen* were actually considerably reduced. By then, all teacher training schools had to meet the educational guidelines governing admission criteria set by the State, irrespective of their owners and managements. This made the teacher training in the Netherlands much more uniform in terms of curriculum and pedagogical standards.⁴⁴¹

Compared to the teacher training school in the Netherlands, the concordance reform of the Netherlands Indies education therefore applied to only a very limited segment of the population of Indies society. It dealt with the education and the teacher training conducted in the Dutch language for the sons of better-off families, government officials and noble families – in short, the social elite. The concordance policy did not represent a major shift in the government educational policy since it was not meant to provide the entire population of the Netherlands Indies with Netherlands-certified education. The Indies educational system as a whole was too complicated to be linked up directly to the Netherlands system in Europe. In this respect, it is impossible to talk about a standard or standardization of education and teacher training because the chasm between policy and practice yawned too wide.⁴⁴² Nevertheless, the concordance policy did attempt to raise the standard of the various teacher training schools in the Netherlands Indies, however elitist they might have been, towards the level of the quality of the education which was recognized in Europe. By making the teacher training in the Netherlands Indies accredited to Dutch standards, the concordance policy paved the way for the internationalization of education in the Netherlands Indies. It also created a new public conception (and expectation) of the professional profile of (Indonesian) school teachers, assessed at an international level. This ‘move’ towards benchmarking was definitely a process of standardization.⁴⁴³

The 1927 concordance reform itself, as I touched upon earlier, would constitute a two-fold stage of standardization, which would apply to the teacher training schools of the three legal population groups so that they, although not identical, were raised to an equal level. All the three schools were accorded to their counterparts in the Netherlands. In the case of the *kweekschool* for European teachers, this was not too complicated. Aspirant teachers at this school were educated to

⁴⁴⁰ In the Netherlands Indies, language policy had become an issue since the era of the East India Company (VOC) in the 17th century. This especially had to do with the trade competition between the Dutch and the Portuguese. On the language policy issue in the Netherlands Indies, see Groeneboer, *Gateway to the West*, 27-30. Meanwhile in the Netherlands, the school language of instruction became a serious issue of the educational policy in the 1980s and the 1990s, in connection with social integration problems. A growing number of immigrant communities insisted on having their own schools. While the Dutch national education system naturally required the use of Dutch at school, children of the migrant families faced great barriers in using the language since most of them used Arabic or Turkish. Hot debates led to the idea of whether ‘*verzuiling*’, making pillars, in the educational and social systems would be the answer to the integration problems. See ‘Verzuiling is geen recept dat je overall en altijd kunt toepassen’, *Historisch Nieuwsblad* Nr. 9, November 2003, 10-6.

⁴⁴¹ Van Essen, *Kwekeling*, 172.

⁴⁴² I would like to thank Dr J. Lelyveld for this constructive comment during my presentation in the Second Southeast Asia Update at Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, June 18, 2010.

⁴⁴³ The significance of the concordance policy would loom only larger in the 1950s when the government of independent Indonesia continued to seek for a new standard or benchmark of teacher training by turning to the American educational system.

obtain a Dutch lower certificate which was 'almost entirely' of the same level as the corresponding programme in the Netherlands. In the case of the HIK and the HCK, accordance to the 'foreign' and 'domestic requirements' had to be achieved in harmony. In practice, this meant that the HIK and the HCK had to achieve the standard of the *kweekschool* for the European teachers in the Netherlands Indies, which would serve as a kind of reference.⁴⁴⁴

The purpose of the concordance principle was to establish a solid basis for dissemination of the Western culture among selected role models in colonial society and to strengthen the cultural interaction between the Netherlands and its colonies in order to secure a long-term inter-dependency at political and economic levels. Nieuwenhuis was fully aware of the political complications which would arise from this implementation. While most of the ideas he proposed about the structure and the pedagogical guidelines for the new *kweekschool* were adopted as strategic policies by the government, the grand design of the 1927 *Kweekschoolplan* was frustrated by unforeseen economic and political developments.

B. The birth of the HIK

When the *kweekschoolplan* was introduced in 1927, the most advanced teacher training school for Indonesians was the HKS. First established in Purworejo, Central Java, on October 19, 1914, the HKS served to provide advanced training for graduates of the former *kweekschool*. The HKS classes were the upper level classes of the *kweekschool*. However, the HKS and the *kweekschool* remained two different institutions and their programmes were separate from each other. The foundation of the HKS was necessitated pedagogically by the transformation of the first-class school into the HIS – also in 1914. As a 'Dutch-Indonesian School', the HIS needed teachers who possessed a solid basis in the Western tradition of knowledge (the *liberal arts*). HIS teachers should also possess teaching skills and capabilities which met a standard of mastery of the Dutch language. Last but not least, they should possess knowledge of the characteristics of Indonesian children. To meet the demands of the HIS curriculum, the HKS curriculum placed an emphasis on Western knowledge, especially the Dutch language. It also required more teaching practice hours than the *kweekschool*. The HKS was created for 'the farthest advanced pupils', namely a selected few of the third years of the *kweekschool* who had already passed the final examination.⁴⁴⁵ Regardless of all these improvements, the HKS did not give its graduates a European teaching diploma but an Indies diploma. To be accredited to a European standard, the HKS graduates still had to complete follow-up courses. One of these follow-up courses led to the headmaster's certificate.⁴⁴⁶ This implies that the teacher training programme in the Netherlands Indies had to display 'an almost completely corresponding text' to the sister programme in the Netherlands.⁴⁴⁷ Because the European diploma programme allocated more hours to the subjects of Dutch language than the HKS curriculum, Dutch national history, geography of the Netherlands and Europe, and music teaching, the goal of the *Kweekschoolplan* of 1927 was to close this gap.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁴ Nieuwenhuis, 'De Opleiding van Leerkrachten', 66.

⁴⁴⁵ 'Korte Geschiedenis van de HKS', *Handboek Indonesische Onderwijzers Bond* (sp: Indonesische Onderwijzers Bond, 1942), 3-7.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 9.

⁴⁴⁷ *Kweekschoolplan*, 7.

⁴⁴⁸ 'Korte Geschiedenis van de HKS', *Handboek Indonesische Onderwijzers Bond*, 3.

The introduction of the *kweekschoolplan* marked the institutional foundation of the HIK and the termination of the *kweekschool* and of the HKS. When the first classes of the HIK were opened in 1927 at Fort De Kock (West Sumatra), Bandung (West Java), Blitar (East Java), Yogyakarta, and Ambon (the Moluccas),⁴⁴⁹ there were twelve government *kweekscholen* and four HKS throughout the Netherlands Indies. The *kweekscholen* were located in Bandung (West Java), Poerwokerto, Magelang, Ungaran, Salatiga (all in Central Java; the one in Salatiga for girls), Blitar, Probolinggo (East Java), Yogyakarta, Fort de Kock (West Sumatra), Moeara-Enim (South Sumatra), Medan (North Sumatra), and Amboina (the Moluccas).⁴⁵⁰

Meanwhile, there were three public HKS in Purworejo, Magelang and Bandung, and one private Christian HKS in Surakarta (Central Java). The HKS in Purworejo was closed down by the government at the end of the 1929/1930 school year. The students in the highest year moved to Bandung, those of the second year to Magelang. There were forty-six students in total. Commencing with the school year 1931/1932, the HKS in Bandung, which was established in 1920, did not admit any new students. All the students were then transferred to Magelang. The HKS in Magelang, which was initially a branch of the HKS in Purworejo and the Christian HKS in Surakarta had actually just began to operate in 1927. They all had to be closed down in the end of the 1931/1932 and of the 1932/1933 school years successively. So, by the time the HIK delivered its first graduates at the upper level in 1933, there was no longer a HKS.⁴⁵¹

B.1 An overview of institutional changes

As pointed out earlier, twelve public *kweekscholen* existed in 1927. The *Kweekschoolplan* marked the beginning of the reorganization of the Dutch-language teacher training school. One of the consequences of the reorganization was that the existing *kweekscholen* had to be closed down. The buildings of the *kweekscholen* in Fort De Kock, Bandung, Blitar, Yogyakarta, and Ambon became the premises of the HIK. As they had different curricula, the HIK, the HKS and the *kweekschool* constituted a series of changes in the policy of teacher training in the Netherlands Indies. The people who were personally acquainted with these teacher training schools saw the three types of the schools as 'a series' of improvements. In 1941, for example, the committee for the commemoration of the Bandung HIK published a book, '*Gedenkboek HIK Bandung 1866-1941*'.⁴⁵² The title of and the articles in this book clearly suggest that the HIK in Bandung had already been established 75 years by the outbreak of the Pacific War. This is not quite true since the HIK as an institution was only established in 1927. But

⁴⁴⁹ Suwandi D. Suwondo, 'Memperingati HIK Yogya 60 Tahun', in *Gema Edisi Yubileum: HIK Yogyakarta 60 Tahun* (Yogyakarta: Keluarga Ex-HIK Yogyakarta, 1987), 1-12; p. 5; *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over 1928: Eerste Deel: Tekst* (Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij, 1930), XLVIII.

⁴⁵⁰ *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over 1927: Eerste Deel (Tekst)* (Weltevreden: G. Kolff & Co, 1929), 216.

⁴⁵¹ *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over het Schooljaar 1929/1930: Eerste Deel: Tekst* (Batavia: Het Departement van Onderwijs en Eeredienst, 1932), 248. The HKS in Poerworedjo, Bandung, Magelang and Surakarta released 289, 223, 110 and 53 graduates throughout their existence: 1914-1930 for Poerworedjo; 1920-1931 for Bandung; 1927-1932 for Magelang, and 1927-1933 for Surakarta. As many as 27 graduates of the Poerworedjo HKS were appointed HIS headmasters, ten appointments in 1925 and 17 in 1926. From 1927, both the headmasters and the teachers at the HIS had in principal to hold the HIK diploma. See 'Korte Geschiedenis van de HKS', *Handboek Indonesische Onderwijzers Bond*, 8-10.

⁴⁵² *Gedenkboek H.I.K Bandoeng 1866-1941* (Batavia: Volkslectuur, 1941).

because the HIK made use of the buildings of the former *kweekscholen*, this created the illusion that its institutional history dated back to the time when the *kweekschool* was first founded.

In the 1926/1927 school year, the top year of the *kweekschool* in Muara Enim already had to move either to Fort De Kock or Medan. Ten of its thirty-three students were transferred to the *kweekschool* in Medan, the rest to Fort De Kock.⁴⁵³

The *kweekscholen* in Purwokerto, Ungaran and Probolinggo immediately closed down at the beginning of the 1927/1928 school year. The students were transferred to Yogyakarta, Magelang and Blitar. The *kweekschool* for girls in Salatiga, founded in 1930, was moved to Yogyakarta in 1933 and was closed in 1936.⁴⁵⁴ The *kweekscholen* in Medan, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Blitar and Amboina would gradually be transformed into HIK. The government was about to close the *kweekschool* in Fort De Kock, but then decided to keep it open and closed down the one in Medan instead. The *kweekschool* in Fort De Kock was situated in a geographically strategic position to serve the areas of west, east, central and south Sumatra. The areas of north Sumatra were best suited to the private *kweekscholen*, especially those of the Roman Catholic missionaries and the Protestant *zending* groups, which had been operating there a long time. Weighing up this consideration, the government closed down the public *kweekschool* in Medan on July 1, 1928.⁴⁵⁵

What became the premises of the HIK in Fort De Kock or Bukittinggi, West Sumatra, was initially the building of the *Kweekschool*, which was also known as *Sekolah Radja*. The *Gedenkboek samengesteld bij gelegenheid van het 35-jarig bestaan der Kweekschool voor Inlandsche Onderwijzers te Fort de Kock*, published in 1908, states that this *kweekschool* was established in 1856, initially as a *normaal school*.⁴⁵⁶ In 1873, the school underwent its first substantial reform after which it fully adopted the *kweekschool* curriculum.⁴⁵⁷ The teaching personnel increased in number from one Dutch and one indigenous teacher,⁴⁵⁸ to three European and two indigenous teachers.⁴⁵⁹ Student intake capacity increased from thirty-six to fifty.⁴⁶⁰ A primary school was added so that trainee teachers could practice what they had learned. The second reform took place in 1904, when Dutch was added to the curriculum, language lessons were emphasized and the duration of study was extended from four to six years.⁴⁶¹ By the eve of the twentieth century, the *kweekschool* in Fort De Kock was the only government *kweekschool* in Sumatra, because the other two *kweekscholen*, in Palembang and Padang

⁴⁵³ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1927: Eerste Deel*, 216. This *kweekschool* came to definite termination on April 15, 1927 by the decree of the Director of Education and Religious Affairs of March 26, 1927 No. D 110/7/11.

⁴⁵⁴ Suwandi D. Suwondo, 'Memperingati HIK Yogya 60 Tahun', 8.

⁴⁵⁵ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1927: Eerste Deel*, 216. Decree of the Director of Education and Religious Affairs of April 27, 1928 No. D 110/9/1.

⁴⁵⁶ *Gedenkboek samengesteld bij gelegenheid van het 35jarig bestaan der Kweekschool voor Inlandsche Onderwijzers te Fort de Kock* (Arnhem: Thieme, 1908). Further references: *Gedenkboek Kweekschool Fort de Kock*.

⁴⁵⁷ Note that the commemoration book explicitly indicates the year 1873—not to the year 1856—as the year when the *kweekschool* was founded. Hence, the school celebrated 35th—not 52th—anniversary with the publication of the book in 1908.

⁴⁵⁸ *Gedenkboek Kweekschool Fort de Kock*, 9-10.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 15.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 13, 15, 19. The very first class of the *kweekschool* consisted only of 15 students.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.* 17-22, 25.

Sidempoean (founded in 1879), were shut down in 1882 and 1891.⁴⁶² As far as government reports indicate, the *kweekschool* in Fort De Kock never became an HKS.⁴⁶³ The switch from *kweekschool* to HIK in 1927 was therefore the first major reform of the Fort De Kock teacher training school after 1904.

The book commemorating the thirty-five anniversary of the Fort De Kock *kweekschool* indicates that, by the time the government decided to found a teacher training school for the island of Sumatra in 1856, Java already had two teacher training schools, in Surakarta (Central Java) and in Bandung (West Java).⁴⁶⁴ The Surakarta teacher training school, founded in 1851, was the first.⁴⁶⁵ It was moved to Magelang (also in Central Java) in 1875 but, owing to limited funding, was closed down by the government in 1885.⁴⁶⁶ However, discussing the teacher training school in Bandung, Dutch historians and former government officials I.J. Brugmans and H. Kroeskamp have both stated that this college for the Sunda territory was established in 1866.⁴⁶⁷ This claim is confirmed by the *Historische Nota over het Inlandsch Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* issued by the government in 1899.⁴⁶⁸ This means that the *kweekschool* in Bandung was founded ten years after the *normaal school* was first founded in Fort De Kock – in 1856. The building of the Bandung *kweekschool*, which then housed the *bovenbouw* programme of the HIK, was constructed by the architect K.F. Holle. ‘It was located in the middle of rice-fields,’ Brugmans wrote. ‘Now [in 1941], it is on one of the busiest streets.’ Brugmans states that the government founded the *kweekschool* in Bandung because it was worried that, like Javanese counterpart, Sundanese society needed qualified young people to teach at primary schools. Initially, graduates of this teacher training school initially were supposed to teach at those primary schools which used the vernacular. Following the reform of the Dutch-language school in 1904, the *kweekschool* graduates were also eligible to teach at the Dutch-language primary school.⁴⁶⁹ On June 16, 1920, a HKS was established in Bandung.⁴⁷⁰ However, third years at the Bandung *kweekschool* like Raden Siti Mariah preferred to go to the HKS Purworedjo in order to continue their training, because the later school had better facilities.⁴⁷¹ The Bandung *kweekschool*, or the HIK from 1927, was the only Dutch-language teacher training for indigenous children in the Netherlands Indies which survived with a full-scale programme until the Japanese attack in 1942.

The HIK in Ambon made use of the buildings of the former *kweekschool*, established in 1874. The *kweekschool* in Ambon was the only one in the eastern islands of the Netherlands Indies. The

⁴⁶² *Historische Nota over het Inlandsch Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië*, in: *Algemeen Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië loopende over de jaren 1898 t/m 1899* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1901), supplement. There are different page numberings between the Educational Report and its supplement. Especially referred to here are pp. 36 & 47 of the supplement.

⁴⁶³ Reports show that the HKS only operated in Java.

⁴⁶⁴ *Gedenkboek Kweekschool Fort de Kock*, 9.

⁴⁶⁵ *Historische Nota*, p. 36 of the supplement.

⁴⁶⁶ I.J. Brugmans, ‘Uit de Voorgeschiedenis van het Indische Kweekschoolonderwijs’, in: *Gedenkboek HIK Bandoeng 1866-1941* (Batavia[?]: Volkslectuur, 1941[?]), 9-15; especially referred to here is pp. 11 & 15.

⁴⁶⁷ Brugmans, ‘Uit de Voorgeschiedenis’, 13; H. Kroeskamp, *Early Schoolmasters in a Developing Country: A History of Experiments in School Education in 19th Century Indonesia* (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. BV, 1974), 320. Unfortunately my sources cannot bridge this information gap.

⁴⁶⁸ *Historische Nota*, p. 36 of the supplement.

⁴⁶⁹ Brugmans, ‘Uit de Voorgeschiedenis’, 12-5

⁴⁷⁰ ‘Korte Geschiedenis van de HKS’, *Handboek Indonesische Onderwijzers Bond*, 8.

⁴⁷¹ Rd. Siti Mariah, ‘Hoe Ik Onderwijzeres Ben Geworden’, in: *Gedenkboek HIK Bandoeng 1866-1941* (Batavia: Volkslectuur, 1941), 110-15.

kweekschool in Tondano, North Sulawesi (founded in 1873), had already been closed down in 1885. This was followed in 1893 by the one in Banjarmasin in South Kalimantan (founded in 1875) and in 1895 by the *kweekschool* in Makassar, South Sulawesi (founded in 1876).⁴⁷² The reasons for these closures were overwhelmingly financial. But the government *Historische Nota* also cites the very small number of student applicants.⁴⁷³ So, by the turn of the twentieth century, the *kweekschool* in Ambon was the closest destination for the young people of East Indonesia who wished to attend a public teacher training school. Aspirant teachers received lessons in Dutch and Malay, mathematics, geography, history, knowledge of nature (physics, botany, and zoology), handicrafts, writing, pedagogy and singing. Singing was taught as an elective, so were Writing and Reading in the Arabic script. The first class of the 1914/1915 school year consisted of thirteen students, even though the maximum number of places was forty. An adjunct senior official of the Department of Education and Religious Affairs, J. Kats, said that the *kweekschool* in Ambon had been closed down in 1913 but was re-opened in the school year 1914/1915.⁴⁷⁴

The HIK in Yogyakarta was originally a *kweekschool* founded on April 7, 1894.⁴⁷⁵ The first class consisted of fifty students. Three European teachers formed the teaching staff: a director, a second teacher (*tweede onderwijzer*/vice director), and an assistant teacher (*hulponderwijzer*). They were supplemented by indigenous teachers for the Javanese language, Malay and drawing.⁴⁷⁶ In 1909, the government opened another *kweekschool* in Central Java, located in Ungaran, near Semarang. This school never became a HIK.⁴⁷⁷ The *kweekschool* in Yogyakarta played a crucial role, politically and pedagogically, in the development of Indonesian society in the early twentieth century. It was the venue of the first congress of Budi Utomo in 1908. When the first HKS was founded in Purworedjo in 1914, the Yogyakarta *kweekschool* served as a feeder institution. Similarly, when the HKS in Purworedjo, Magelang and Surakarta were liquidated in the early 1930s, the remaining students were transferred to the *kweekschool* in Yogyakarta, which had become a HIK by then. It also admitted the students from the HIK in Blitar (founded in 1927) and the students of the HIK for girls in Salatiga (founded in 1930), when these two had to close down (in 1930 and 1933) because of the Great Depression.⁴⁷⁸ Many alumni of the Yogyakarta teacher training school, both before and after it was transformed into a HIK, actively participated in the social and political changes throughout the late colonial period up to the independence of Indonesia.

Five public HIK located in Bandung, Yogyakarta, Blitar, Medan and Amboina began their first classes on July 1, 1927. The majority of the students were first years from the former *kweekscholen*. The

⁴⁷² *Historische Nota*, 36 & 47.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.* 37.

⁴⁷⁴ J. Kat, *Overzicht van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1915), 104. In 1913, too, the government opened a training school for aspirants of government officials (*ambtenaren*) in Makassar. Later in the decade, this school also trained aspirant teachers. The training school in Makassar never became a HIK, however. See *Algemeen Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over 1913* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1915), 63.

⁴⁷⁵ *Algemeen Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië loopende over de jaren 1893 t/m 1899 met aanhangsel betreffende de jaren 1898 en 1899* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1901), 13. Gouvernément besluit 18 Juli 1894 No. 6 Staatsblad No. 156.

⁴⁷⁶ *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1893 t/m 1879*, 14.

⁴⁷⁷ *Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs 1913*, 64.

⁴⁷⁸ Suwandi D. Suwondo, 'Memperingati HIK Yogya 60 Tahun', 8.

very first class of the public HIK in Sumatra was to open in Medan in 1927, but it moved for good to Fort De Kock in 1928, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the indigenous teachers in West Sumatra.⁴⁷⁹ Since the time the Education Council began preparing the *Kweekschoolplan*, the indigenous teachers in this region, led by senior teachers of the older *kweekschool*, Engkoe Nawawi Gelar Soetan Ma'moer and M. Abdoel Moenit, sent resolutions to the government following a massive teachers' assembly in Bukittinggi on May 1, 1927. These teachers demanded that the government open a public HIK in Bukittinggi to replace the older public *kweekschool*, which was closed down by the reorganization of the teacher training. 'It is Bukittinggi, and not Medan, which is the centre of education to which young people from all over the island of Sumatra have come to study,' one of the teachers said.⁴⁸⁰

For the 1927/1928 school year, the pioneering group of new students at the HIK in Amboina were trained at the MULO schools in Tondano (North Sulawesi), Amboina and Makassar (South Sulawesi). The HIK in Amboina opened with fifteen new students. As many as 107 new students/aspirant teachers made up the first classes of the HIK in Bandung, Yogyakarta, Blitar and Medan.⁴⁸¹ The HIK in Yogyakarta consisted of twenty-four new students.⁴⁸² All these students studied under the guidance of twenty-two European and five indigenous teachers.⁴⁸³ So great were the changes in the Dutch-language teacher training school in 1927 that in 1987, or forty-five years after the Japanese shut the HIK and all other schools down, alumni of the HIK Yogyakarta published '*Gema Edisi Yubileum: HIK Yogyakarta 60 Tahun*', in which they pointed out that the opening of the HIK was a turning point in the history of teacher training in Indonesia and in the course of their own lives.⁴⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the late colonial government avoided claiming that the year 1927 was a historical monument to the new regulation of teacher training in the Netherlands Indies, 'unless comprehensive reviews of the curricula had been made'.⁴⁸⁵

B.2 The training structure and organization

The HIK and the HCK training consisted of two levels: the *onderbouw* (lower level) and *bovenbouw* (upper level). The lower level lasted for three years and was equivalent to the *Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs* (MULO, a general junior high school), except that it did not provide a preparatory class. Hence, satisfactory marks in the preparatory class of MULO (with at least a six for Dutch) were immediately valid for enrolment in the HIK and HCK. At the end of the third year of the *onderbouw* level, students sat for an examination which gave them two options: either they ended up in the fourth and final year or they continued to the upper level. The graduates in the final year prepared themselves for a spell of practice teaching at the practice school (*leerschool*). Upon a successful final examination at the end of this period, students were awarded a teaching diploma equivalent to the

⁴⁷⁹ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1927: Eerste Deel*, 216-7.

⁴⁸⁰ 'Hollands-Inlandse Kweekschool', *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 6 Tahoen VII (Jun. 1927), 61-4; quote from p. 63.

⁴⁸¹ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1927: Eerste Deel*, 218.

⁴⁸² Suwandi D. Suwondo, 'Memperingati HIK Yogya 60 Tahun', 6.

⁴⁸³ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1927: Eerste Deel*, 217.

⁴⁸⁴ *Gema* of the Jubilee Edition: the 60th Year of HIK Yogyakarta. 'Gema' was (and is) the bi-monthly journal of the Alumni Association of the Jogjakarta HIK.

⁴⁸⁵ This statement can be found in *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1927: Eerste Deel*, 203.

MULO diploma which made them eligible to teach in the lower years of the *Hollands Inlandse School* (HIS) or the *Hollands Chinese School* (HCS), or for holding other white collar jobs (*landsbetrekkingen*). A lucky few of the third years continued to the upper level of the training school. They spent another three years studying pedagogy and general courses at secondary level and doing intensive teaching practices at the *leerschool*. Upon graduation, these students received a diploma which entitled them a formal qualification to teach in the senior years of the HIS or the HCS. Unlike the graduates of the final fourth year, the graduates from the senior level were eligible for additional advanced courses enabling them to obtain the *hoofdacte*, a certificate for the position of headmaster.⁴⁸⁶

The European *kweekschool* consisted of the upper level only. Students at the European *kweekschool* came from the MULO. Hence, the MULO served as the lower level of the European *kweekschool* although MULO leavers had the right to continue to any other secondary schooling as well.⁴⁸⁷ Unlike HIK and HCK applicants, who should have been between thirteen and fifteen years of age,⁴⁸⁸ applicants to the European *kweekschool* should be between fifteen and eighteen years of age.⁴⁸⁹ This is understandable as they had completed a secondary school – either MULO, three-year HBS or five-year HBS – whereas HIK and HCK applicants had finished the seven-year primary schools (HIS and HCS).⁴⁹⁰ Twenty five per cent of the places at the European *kweekschool* in every annual intake (*telkenjaar*) was made available to non-European applicants, especially Indonesians.⁴⁹¹

Initially, the Educational Commission which prepared the design of the new training school intended to name all the three schools *Paedagogische Algemeene Middelbare School* (PAMS), or General Secondary School for Pedagogy, in which the HIK, the HCK and the European *kweekschool* would constitute, successively, the *Inlandsche afdeling der PAMS*, the *Chineesche afdeling der PAMS*, and the *Europeesche afdeling der PAMS* – Indigenous, Chinese, and European sections. However, the chairman of the commission said that the attribution of ‘PAMS’ to the teachers’ training colleges would stimulate people to call them this as they did agriculture or veterinary schools (‘Agriculture AMS’ or ‘Veterinary AMS’).⁴⁹² It turned out then that the government educational reports used the HIK, the HCK and the *Europeesche kweekschool* as the names of the schools. These schools were not part of the general secondary section (*algemeen vormend onderwijs*) of the educational system to which the AMS belonged, but to the vocational secondary section (*vakonderwijs*).⁴⁹³

So as to keep pace with the quality of the training in the Netherlands, each of the three training schools in the Netherlands Indies was staffed by at least five teachers, including the principal. They were specialists in pedagogy (as the school director), Dutch language, biology, natural history or

⁴⁸⁶ *Kweekschoolplan*, 41-7 and 48-50, on the HIK and the HCK respectively; ‘Rantjangan Kweekschool jang Dikemoekakan oleh Onderwijsraad’, *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 5 Tahoen VII (May 1927), 52-5.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 26-7.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 43 and 48.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 28.

⁴⁹⁰ ‘Hollands-Inlandse Kweekschool (HIK)’, *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 11 Tahoen X (Nov. 1930), 246-50; especially referred p. 249. Unlike the *Kweekschoolplan*, which mentions a minimum of 13 years as the age requirement for entrance, this volume of the journal of teachers in the West Sumatra region mentions 12 years of age.

⁴⁹¹ *Kweekschoolplan*, 28-9.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.* 27.

⁴⁹³ See ‘Algemeene indeeling van het geheele Onderwijssystem’, in *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1928 Eerste Deel*, pp. E-G.

mathematics, geography or history, and English or/and other modern languages. The second priority in staffing was to include teachers of drawing, gymnastics and vernacular languages.⁴⁹⁴ The government kept the formation and the qualifications of the personnel of the HIK and the HCK in harmony with those of the MULO and the European *kweekschool*.⁴⁹⁵

B.3 The curricula and the schoolbooks

The concordance principle required that the curricula of the three training schools in the Netherlands Indies be put on par with the *Rijkskweekschool* in the Netherlands. In practice, this was more easily said than done, which will be discussed in the next section. Table 3.2 compares the curricula of the training schools by putting together separate subject lists which the *Kweekschoolplan* presented.⁴⁹⁶ The *Rijkskweekschool* in the Netherlands took three and four years to complete in 135 lesson hours. In short, 45 hours of lesson were given per week for the three years of study, and between 33 and 34 hours per week for the four-year study.

The European *kweekschool*, the HIK and the HCK – all in the Netherlands Indies – took six years to complete with 255, 246 and 249 lesson hours or 42.5, 41, and 41.5 hours per week successively. One lesson hour in the *Rijkskweekschool* was equal to 60 minutes, in the Netherlands Indies 45 minutes. The total lesson time in the European *kweekschool*, HIK and HCK was more than that in the *Rijkskweekschool*.

Both in the Netherlands and in the Netherlands Indies the language subjects received a great deal of attention, followed in order of importance by arithmetic and mathematics. These subjects were basic to the development of logic and thinking skills. Dutch was especially emphasized. Dutch at the *Rijkskweekschool* in the Netherlands included language, literature and reading and was broken down into the sub-subjects: reading, grammar, language and style exercise, and literature. The curriculum of Dutch in the training schools in the Netherlands Indies did not contain these sub-subjects, although the detailed lesson plans also dealt with those topics. English was a prioritized subject but French and German were also highlighted, both in the *Rijkskweekschool* in the Netherlands and in the *Europeesche kweekschool* in the Netherlands Indies. In the HIK only two Western language subjects (Dutch and English) were taught. Strikingly, the vernacular languages (Javanese, Sundanese, Maduranese) received a heavy loading of credit hours (20), much more than 'Maleis' (6). In the European *kweekschool*, the vernacular language was also allotted quite a substantial number of credit hours (9) plus additional hours as an alternative to 'Maleis'. In the HCK 'Maleis' was allocated 6 credit hours (the same number as that in the HIK). In the HIK German was offered as an elective alternative to 'Maleis', but in the HCK it was a compulsory subject with four credit hours.

⁴⁹⁴ *Kweekschoolplan*, 18-9; 'Hollands-Inlandse Kweekschool (HIK)', *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 11 Tahoen X (Nov. 1930), 248.

⁴⁹⁵ *Kweekschoolplan*, 20.

⁴⁹⁶ I have based my exploration of the curricula on the *Kweekschoolplan*, particularly pp. 93-106 for the European *kweekschool*, 107-116 for the *Rijkskweekschool*, 117-124 for the MULO, 125-152 for the HIK, 163-179 for the HCK. My discussion in this sub-section originated from Table 3.2, which is my own composition of the tables presented in those pages of the *Kweekschoolplan*. For a less elaborate presentation of the curriculum programme of the new *kweekschool*, see also 'Rantjangan Kweekschool jang Dikemoekakan oleh Onderwijsraad', *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 5 Tahoen VII (May 1927), 53.

Table 3.2: List of course subjects and total lesson hours of the *Rijkskweekschool* in the Netherlands and of the European *kweekschool*, HIK and HCK in the Netherlands Indies, 1927/1928

Subjects	RK	EK	HIK	HCK
Dutch	18	38	52	52
French	8	15	-	-
German	9	15	-	4
English	7	18	18	18
Maleis	-	-	6	6
Vernacular language	-	9	20	-
German or Maleis	-	-	4	-
Maleis or vernacular language	-	9	-	-
Chinese culture	-	-	-	6
Religious education	-	3	-	-
Zoology	-	-	3	3
Botany	-	-	3	3
Writing	3	2	2	2
Arithmetic and mathematics	19	34	34	34
History	8	18	17	17
Geography	7	15	18	18
Natural history	15	23	17	17
Singing and music	6	9	9	9
Drawing	8	14	12	12
Physical exercise or gymnastic	8	9	18	18
Handicraft	8	6	6	8
Handicraft for female students	4	8	-	12
Pedagogy	7	10	10	10
Total lesson hours	135	255	246	249

Source: *Advies van den Onderwijsraad inzake de Reorganisatie van de Opleiding van het Personeel bij het Westersch Lager Onderwijs (Kweekschoolplan)* (Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij, 1927), pp. 106, 116, 123, 152, 178-9.

Notes:

1. RK = *Rijkskweekschool*; EK = European *kweekschool*; HIK = *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool*; HCK = *Hollands Chinese Kweekschool*
2. One lesson hour was equal to 60 minutes in the *Rijkskweekschool*, and 45 minutes in the European *kweekschool*, the HIK and the HCK.
3. The curriculum of the *Rijkskweekschool* was of the four- and three-year types of the teacher training schools in the Netherlands. The curriculum of the European *kweekschool* included both the three-year *bovenbouw* level and that of the differentiated (*gedifferentieerd*) three-year MULO. The curricula of the HIK and the HCK consisted of the curricula of the *bovenbouw* and the *onderbouw* levels, each three-year studies.
4. Mathematics was split into sub-subjects algebra and geometry.
5. In the MULO, in the *bovenbouw* level of the European *kweekschool* and in the *Rijkskweekschool*, arithmetic and mathematics were always two separate subjects. In the HIK and in the HCK, the two were offered separately in the *bovenbouw* level but were combined as one subject in the *onderbouw* level. The number of lesson hours presented in the table is the total number of hours of the subject arithmetic and mathematics combined.

This exploration implies that the European *kweekschool* and the HCK which required four and three different Western languages leaned much more towards Western culture than the HIK did. The HIK was attuned to the local culture of the Netherlands Indies with twenty compulsory credit hours of vernacular language(s), although the number of the credit hours of Western languages was notable

(52 and 18 respectively for Dutch and English). 'Maleis' received only meagre attention. It was worth six compulsory credit hours in the HIK and the HCK. In the HIK, credit hours for 'Maleis' were tentative because the subject was offered as an elective alternative to German. The position of 'Maleis' in the HIK was even less strong than the position of vernacular language in the European *kweekschool*. This situation raises questions about the nature of the concordance principle in terms of curriculum content between the HIK and the other teacher training schools. Among the three training schools in the Netherlands Indies, the curriculum of the HIK offered the fewest hours of instruction. Moreover, the subjugation of 'Maleis' raised political questions from Indonesian educationists like Ki Hadjar Dewantara.

At this juncture it would be instructive to glance at the contents of the schoolbooks used in the teacher training schools in the Netherlands Indies following the introduction of the *Kweekschoolplan* in 1927. At my disposal are the schoolbooks for geography, civics (in history), natural history, hygiene and pedagogy. The schoolbooks on these subjects are interesting because of the very detailed verbal descriptions, photographs and visual illustrations of the topics being discussed. For example, the fifth volume of *Beknopt Leerboek der Aardrijkskunde (A Concise Textbook of Geography)* by P. Eibergen and C. Lekkerkerker presents the social geography of the Netherlands and its overseas territories. In 1939, the ninth edition appeared, an indication of how popular it was. The structure of the book follows the pre-war Dutch model: the Netherlands Indies, Suriname and Curaçao as *onderhorigheden* or dependencies of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The book explores such topics as the peoples and population, the law, administrative and economic systems, the religious and social systems, trade, fisheries, industry and transportation systems. Photographs illustrate the book with visual stories. For example, a discussion of the social system in the Netherlands Indies includes pictures (p. 29) of the people's houses in a village in Toradja, South Celebes, and another among the Karo-Batak, Sumatra Oost-Kust. Even without a verbal description, these photos give readers an immediate impression of the different types and grades of structures of the houses of the two societies.⁴⁹⁷

Indische Burgerschapkunde by P. Tromp commences with a picture of a typical village neighbourhood in Java, showing two earthenware vessels for drinking water placed on the street side of the gate of a village house. The drinking water in the vessels was meant for passers-by, as the photo caption says. This depicted the contemporary social values. Students would immediately be given an impression of the harmony and the peaceful life in Javanese village society. The contents of *Indische Burgerschapkunde* taught about the social, economic and administrative modernization which was underway in the Netherlands Indies. This book presents very detailed exploration of the developments in trade, commerce and monetary systems, agriculture, labour, and international relations.⁴⁹⁸

I am impressed by the illustrations in the *Leerboek der Plantkunde voor Nederlandsch-Indië* written in 1928 by J.W.A. van Welsem, a Natural History teacher at the *Indo-Europeese Verbond (I.E.V.) kweekschool* in Bandung. This book describes the taxonomy of plants. The strength of this book lies in

⁴⁹⁷ P. Eibergen and C. Lekkerkerker, *Beknopt Leerboek der Aardrijkskunde voor Burgerscholen, Gymnasia en Kweekscholen, Vijfde Deel: Sociale Geografie van Nederland en Zijn Overzeese Gewesten, Negende Druk Geïllustreerd* (Groningen – Batavia: J.B. Wolters Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V., 1939).

⁴⁹⁸ Tromp, *Indische Burgerschapkunde*, see inner cover page for the photograph.

the detailed drawings of the plants as well as in the kinds of the plants it describes, which are typical tropical. For example, a detailed drawing and description of the *sirih rambut* (furry lemongrass, *Scindapsus aurea* Engler) is presented. So is the taxonomy of *jambu monyet* (false fruit/*schijnvrucht* or *Ancardium occidentale* L.).⁴⁹⁹

The school hygiene textbooks by P. Peverelli demonstrate how to keep a school neighbourhood clean and hygienic and describe prevalent and non-prevalent diseases. Preventive and curative programmes which the government implemented in order to improve the people's health are discussed. But, like other books on hygiene circulating during the time, these books tend to ignore local wisdom and traditional healing systems. For example, the use of a microscope in a laboratory examination of a particular illness is highly elaborated in the textbook to emphasize the sophistication of Western medical world. Inoculation was particularly promoted as a modern way to prevent diseases, as shown in many pictures in the textbooks. A picture of a brightly lit hospital ward with a row of clean beds covered with white linen is placed in a sharp contrast to the gloomy bedroom in an indigenous home. The tragedy of all this, in my opinion, is that Peverelli imposed a strong message for replacing the indigenous way of cultivating rice with mechanical techniques. Traditionally, in order to husk the grains of rice harvested from the field, Indonesians in Java pounded them manually. A picture in Peverelli's textbook suggests that this traditional way of pounding rice seeds resulted in rice devoid of the inner, soft brownish husk which is an important source of the B vitamin, essential to preventing beriberi. Another picture next to this shows a rice-grinding mill.⁵⁰⁰ Modernity was introduced at the expense of many of the ways of indigenous life. This was also the case with a textbook on pedagogy written by A. de la Court in 1937.⁵⁰¹ This book describes the development of human beings from childhood to adulthood, and points out the centrality of nurturing human nature. In this book, human development is viewed from the angle of the steady growth of rationality so that pedagogically nurturers should be especially alert to guard the process of achieving intellectual maturity. This view contrasted with the views of Indonesian educationists like Ki Hadjar Dewantara and Ahmad Dahlan, who emphasized a balanced growth of rationality, aesthetic sense and spirituality.⁵⁰²

The message of all this was clear: textbooks were more than sources of knowledge. Depicting the Netherlands Indies as a rich and beautiful country moving toward modernity, they promoted Western life. Not only should students know their country better, they should also learn to know it through Western eyes. Here the concordance of education meant the standardization of life in the Indies according to the Dutch point of view.

⁴⁹⁹ J.W.A. van Welsem, *Leerboek der Plantkunde voor Nederlandsch-Indië tengebruike bij Kweek- en Normaalscholen, Scholen voor MULO, AMS en HBS met 5-jarigen cursus: Eerste Deel Uitwendige Vormleer of Morphologie met Register* (Weltevreden – Bandoeng: N.V. Boekhandel Visser & Co, 1928), especially referred pp. 28 and 156.

⁵⁰⁰ For this exploration of the hygiene textbooks, see P. Peverelli, *Beknopt Leerboek der Schoolhygiëne*, second edition (Groningen, Den Haag, Batavia: J.B. Wolters Uitgevers Maatschappij N.V., 1933); P. Peverelli, *Blijf Gezond: Platenatlas ten Behoeve van het Onderwijs in de Gezondheidsleer op de Indische Lagere Scholen* (Groningen, Den Haag, Batavia: J.B. Wolters, 1933).

⁵⁰¹ A. De la Court, *Dari Hal Pendidikan*, tr. K. St. Pamoentjak (Batavia-C: Balai Poestaka, 1937).

⁵⁰² See, for example, the curriculum of the teacher training school of the Taman Siswa, *Taman-Goeroe*, Madjelis Peroesahaan Kitab Persatoean Taman Siswa Mataram-Jogja, *Leerplan Taman-Goeroe* (Mataram-Jogja: Drukkerij Taman Siswa, 1935).

B.4 The classroom and the dormitory

In the terms of the *Kweekschoolplan*, a teacher training school was a boarding school with student boarding houses. The boarding house was managed by a teacher who ideally should have been released from most of his teaching duties. Working under the supervision of the school director, the boarding house master was not involved in the intellectual development of the pupils, but in the forming of character and the growth of personality.⁵⁰³

HIK students were accommodated in the boarding house free of charge, but they had to pay school fees. In Bukittinggi (West Sumatra) in 1930 the school fee was Fl. 5 and in Yogyakarta Fl. 7.5 per student per month. Students were exempted from paying the school fees if their parents were unable to afford them. In Bukittinggi, non-paying students received a monthly allowance from the school to cover additional daily personal needs in the boarding house. In Yogyakarta both paying and non-paying students received a monthly allowance of about Fl. 5 per month.⁵⁰⁴ All students had essential study materials and tools, including books and dictionaries.⁵⁰⁵ This service was initially free of charge but, because of the efficiency policy during the Great Depression, in the mid-1930s students had to pay a fee for using the study materials and tools.⁵⁰⁶ Female students, who attended a mixed HIK, had to find their own accommodation because there was no boarding house for them. Those who attended the HIK for girls had to lodge in the boarding house. The public HIK for girls in Salatiga (Central Java) had its own boarding house and so did the private HIK for girls in Lembang (West Java), Surakarta (Central Java) and Malang (East Java).⁵⁰⁷

The alumni of the Yogyakarta HIK never forgot their days in the boarding house or their teachers at school. Overcome by *tempo doeloe* nostalgia, these alumni recalled the discipline of their school days.⁵⁰⁸ 'Initially, I felt forced to join in daily activities such as keeping to an organized timetable,' Zurchiban Surjadipradja told me in an interview in 2006. 'But then I became accustomed to it. Later, I saw that self-discipline is the key to better achievement in life.'⁵⁰⁹ Memories of breaking the house rules and being punished (or being reprieved from punishment) by teachers characterize the testimonies of these HIK alumni.⁵¹⁰

It is astonishing to see that four decades after their school was shut down by the Japanese, these alumni could still recall their teachers so vividly. Most of them looked back at their schooling experience at the HIK as a notable moment which had changed the course of their lives. The alumni's memories of their former teachers, as these can be read in *Gema*, the journal of the Association of the

⁵⁰³ *Kweekschoolplan*, 21-2.

⁵⁰⁴ 'Hollands-Inlandse Kweekschool (HIK)', *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 11 Tahun X (Nov. 1930), 248-9; interview with Asvismarmo, Jakarta, 4 September 2006.

⁵⁰⁵ 'Hollands-Inlandse Kweekschool (HIK)', *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 11 Tahun X (Nov. 1930), 248.

⁵⁰⁶ See Chapter 4.

⁵⁰⁷ 'Hollands-Inlandse Kweekschool (HIK)', *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 11 Tahun X (Nov. 1930), 248.

⁵⁰⁸ See, for example, H. Syamnir, 'Asrama Utara dan Selatan di Jalan Jetis', *Gema: Media Komunikasi Keluarga Ex-HIK Yogyakarta* No. 1 Tahun XXII (Jan. 2001), 20-2; Syahbanar JA Hamzah, 'Serba-Serbi dari Asrama', *Gema: Keluarga Besar Ex-HIK Yogyakarta* No. 4 Tahun V (May, 1984), 59-60.

⁵⁰⁹ Interview with Zurchiban Surjadipradja, Jakarta, 31 August 2006.

⁵¹⁰ See, for example, Purwosugiyanto, 'Nostalgia: Pengalaman Sewaktu di Asrama Jetis', *Gema Edisi Yubileum: HIK Yogyakarta 60 Tahun Juli 1987* (Yogyakarta: Keluarga Ex-HIK Yogyakarta, 1987), 97-8.

Alumni of Yogyakarta HIK, give a general picture of the student-teacher interaction in classes: the way the teachers taught and how they dealt with the individual learning capacity of the students. These ex-students also recalled that the personal characteristics of their HIK teachers made a much deeper impression on their memory than their professional competence and the subjects they taught did. The teachers of Dutch were the ones whom students remembered best. As everyone knew, a six in Dutch was the minimum pass mark. In 1993 Kadar, who attended the HIK in Bandung from 1931 to 1937, still wondered why *Meneer Zandvoort* always gave him a 4 and a 5 for Dutch composition and reading, whereas *Meneer Nannings*, who replaced Zandvoort, gave him an 8 and a 9.⁵¹¹ Recalling the HIK in Yogyakarta, Suwandi D. Suwondo testified that the physics teacher, *Meneer J. Krenning*, was a man with a strong personality whose self-discipline, strictness and rigid method of teaching had influenced him. Suwondo said that when he became a high school teacher in independent Indonesia, he tried to model his teaching on the way Krenning had taught.⁵¹²

What particularly impressed me is that, however strict and disciplined the school and boarding house life was, the students and the teachers seemed to develop close personal relationships. Suwondo recalled how the new director of the HIK in Yogyakarta, Albert de la Court, made a joke with one of his (Suwondo's) classmates, Mohamad Azis. Suwondo wrote:

'One day, Azis asked De la Court,

"Mijnheer, mag ik U wat vragen?"

"Ja zeker, wat wil je vragen?" De la Court answered.

"Mijn heer, U bent Nederlander, waarom hebt U een Franse naam?"

Answering Azis' question, De la Court asked him back, *"Ik ben Nederlander, ongetwijfeld. En U, Meneer Mohamad Azis, U bent Javaan, niet waar? Waarom draagt U een Arabische naam?"* Jokingly, *Meneer De la Court* used the deferential personal pronoun "U" instead of "jij" to Azis, but he made his point by turning the tables on Azis and asking him the same question.⁵¹³

Some of the alumni stayed in touch with their former HIK teachers until long after these Dutch teachers had returned to the Netherlands. In 1983, for example, Soekarto, a student in 1933, exchanged letters with A.P. Lindeyer, a gymnastics teacher who worked at the Yogyakarta HIK from 1929 to 1936. In 1983 Lindeyer was 88 years old and lived in a house for the elderly in Apeldoorn. The contents of a letter which Lindeyer sent to Soekarto express the tone of a long-lasting close relationship between a teacher and a student. At the end of his letter, for example, Lindeyer wrote: *'Ik hoop dat jullie [HIK alumni] vooral de herinnering aan de HIK levendig houdt en jullie nog vele jaren gezond mogen blijven. Doe je best met lezen Soekarto, dan gaat het misschien nogwel'*.⁵¹⁴ In the 1980s, several HIK alumni—Oejeng, Soedjono, Slamet and Soenardjo—visited the Netherlands for business or official purposes. They took the chance to meet the afore-mentioned Albert de la Court and *Meneer Scheffer*, who replaced De la Court as director of the HIK in Yogyakarta in 1935. Suwondo described the

⁵¹¹ See, for example, Kadar, 'Aku dengan Guru-Guruku di HIK Bandung 1931-1937', *Gema: Media Komunikasi Keluarga Ex-HIK Yogyakarta* No. 1 Tahun IX (Mar. 1993), 14-7.

⁵¹² Suwandi D. Suwondo, 'Mengenang Beberapa Orang Guru di HIK Yogya', *Gema Edisi Yubileum: HIK Yogyakarta 60 Tahun Juli 1987* (Yogyakarta: Keluarga Ex-HIK Yogyakarta, 1987), 18-29; especially referred pp. 24-5.

⁵¹³ Suwondo, 'Mengenang Beberapa Orang Guru di HIK Yogya', 21.

⁵¹⁴ 'Surat dari Ex Gymnastiek-Leraar Kita (1929-1936) Mijnheer A.P. Lindeyer kepada Sdr. Soekarto (1933)', *Gema: Keluarga Besar Ex-HIK Yogyakarta* No. 4 Tahun V (May 1984), 48-50; quote from p. 50.

reunion as 'a family reunion between fathers and sons who had not met each other for a long time'. Nevertheless, Suwondo said, 'during the reunion those Dutch teachers clearly showed their due respect for their former students, who were now education officials of the government of independent Indonesia.'⁵¹⁵

Discipline and order (*tucht en orde*) characterized the students' school days. However political the concordant training at the *Kweekschoolplan* might have been, I nevertheless see a 'natural' process of pedagogical interaction which developed in the daily life in boarding house and school. While they were living in the boarding house and attended school, the students felt oppressed because of strict house rules, and sometimes broke the standard rules, although they knew they would be punished for doing so. Notwithstanding this, the alumni recalled their school years as a momentous phase. Decades after they had left school, these alumni gathered in an association which helped them re-define the meaning of the training they had received while in the HIK. Therefore, apart from the political sphere which was growing and would develop enormously during the 1930s, pedagogically the HIK had provided those who were lucky enough to have enjoyed it with a formative training.

C. Critics and critiques of the concordance requirement

In the previous section, I have explored the birth of the HIK, but when discussing the structure of the curriculum I did not focus on the training school for Indonesian teachers. The *Kweekschoolplan* launched a new design for teacher training, which planned the coalescence of the HIK, the HCK and the European *kweekschool*. The three training schools in the Indies should co-exist in harmony in terms of the programmes they offered, for which the *Rijkskweekschool* in the Netherlands served as a benchmark. Here two layers of concordant education would be achieved: between the three training schools in the Indies, and between the Indies and the Netherlands.

The design of the concordant training was crystal clear, but the concept and the implementation were not. Criticisms abounded: from the *Indisch Paedagogisch Genootschap* (IPG, Indies Pedagogy Society), from the *Indisch Genootschap* (Indies Society) and, of course, from Indonesian nationalists like Ki Hadjar Dewantara. The concordance requirement dealt not only with the schools for teacher training but also with the schools in which these teachers would teach. Following the publication of the *Kweekschoolplan*, the Education Council released recommendations on the reorganization of the primary schools.⁵¹⁶ Hence, the implementation of the concordance requirement spread to a wider sphere of educational practices both at primary and secondary levels. Here I shall briefly discuss the criticism in order to delineate different perspectives of the concordance requirement.

⁵¹⁵ Suwondo, 'Mengenang Beberapa Orang Guru di HIK Yogya', 22.

⁵¹⁶ See *Publicaties van het Bureau van den Onderwijsraad VII: Advies van den Onderwijsraad aan den Directeur van Onderwijs en Eeredienst over de Verhooging van de Maatschappelijke en Karaktervormende Waarden van het Inlandsch Lager Onderwijs (Volksschool en Inlandsche Scholen der 2^{de} Klasse en in het Bijzonder het Meisjesonderwijs) Aangeboden bij Schrijven van 17 October 1927, No. 345* (Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij, 1929); and *Publicaties van het Bureau van den Onderwijsraad No. XI: Advies van den Onderwijsraad aan den Directeur van Onderwijs en Eeredienst over de Herordering van het Lager Onderwijs* (Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij, 1930).

C.1 The *Indisch Paedagogisch Genootschap*

The IPG criticized the character, the structure and the contents of the new curriculum of the teacher training schools. 'We strive for a concordance requirement which is of a more understandable and reasonable nature, less stiff and less superficial and more real; we strive for an essentially equal level [of concordance]', wrote the executive board of the IPG.⁵¹⁷

The IPG held two conferences on the issue: in Yogyakarta in 1929 and in Bandung in 1932. At the first conference, a number of specialist teachers (*vakleeraren*), both members and non-members of the IPG, discussed their observations about the implementation of the *Kweekschoolplan* during the first two years, from 1927 to 1929.⁵¹⁸ The participants in the Yogyakarta conference felt that the concordance principle was complicated and absurd when put into practice. Therefore their target was to reconstruct the *kweekschool* curriculum for the individual course subjects. When the first conference was held, the HIK and the HCK were still running at the *onderbouw* level and only the European *kweekschool* had the *bovenbouw*.⁵¹⁹ The participants realized that the curricula which the *Kweekschoolplan* introduced for the three training schools were temporary and not immutable. However, they found that the two years of implementation of the curriculum had not yet given a clear picture of the concordance system for the training of new teachers. The European *kweekschool* could not act as prototype for the *bovenbouw* level of the HIK and the HCK – to commence in 1930 – because they were of a different nature. The Yogyakarta conference recommended an elaborate scheme in the curriculum of each individual subject.⁵²⁰

The second conference was held in Bandung two years later, from December 28 to 30, 1932. Its purpose was to review and to revise the curriculum recommended by the first conference, following the two years in which it had been put into practice from 1929 to 1932. The Bandung conference also produced in an elaborate description of the individual course subjects at the college. Unlike the Yogyakarta version of the curriculum, which came out as shared contributions from senior education specialists and prominent experts from 'all over Java at the time', the Bandung curriculum was developed by the teachers themselves on the basis of their daily teaching experiences in the field. Even though attended by specialist professionals, the Yogyakarta conference had 'not gone deeply into a discussion of the didactics'. In contrast, the Bandung conference dealt with the details of the didactics, including the time allocation for each subject. 'We want a concrete and business-like approach

⁵¹⁷ Daily board of the IPG, 'Onze Concepten', in Bibliotheek van 'Opvoeding', No 2: *De Nieuwe Onderwijzersopleiding in Indië* (Groningen, Den Haag, Batavia: J.B. Wolters, 1932), 4-10; quote from p. 6.

⁵¹⁸ Daily board of the IPG, 'Onze Concepten', 4. In this introduction to the conference proceeding published in 1932, the executive chairmen of the IPG wrote 'Drie jaar geleden conveerden een aantal collega's kweekschoolleeraren onder presidium van den Inspecteur in Algemeenen Dienst te Djocja' (p. 4). So, it was three years before 1932, meaning 1929.

⁵¹⁹ The HIK and the HCK began the *bovenbouw* classes only in 1930, or three years after awarded diplomas to its first class of the *onderbouw* level. As formerly discussed, the European *kweekschool* did not have an *onderbouw* level for its own but the general junior secondary school, the MULO. So in 1927, while the HIK and the HCK were first open with an *onderbouw* class, the European *kweekschool* began with a *bovenbouw* class.

⁵²⁰ Daily board of the IPG, 'Onze Concepten', 6-7. See also d.l.C [A. de la Court], 'De Winst van het Eerste Congres van het IPG', *Opvoeding*, Tweede Jaargang 1932-1933, 111-4; J. de Hon, 'Het Eerste Congres van het Indisch Paedagogisch Genootschap', *Opvoeding*, Tweede Jaargang 1932-1933, 110.

(*concreetheid en zakelijkheid*); no rhetoric, no tricks (*kunst*),’ wrote the executive board of the IPG.⁵²¹ The papers of both conferences were published in two proceedings in 1932 and in the series of *Opvoeding*, the journal of the IPG.⁵²²

The nature of the concordance requirement was a central question at the Yogyakarta conference. ‘Does concordance mean the equivalence [*gelijkwaardigheid*] of the Indies and Dutch diplomas? Or, is it the same standard of education which must be achieved?’ asked C. Schreuder, chairman of the conference. To make an equal qualification of the Indies and Dutch diplomas, the curricula in the two countries did not have to be the same. As long as some aspects of the training programmes, such the content of individual course subjects and the total number of the lesson hours were maintained equally, the diplomas issued would be of an equivalent value. However, if the concordance requirement meant the same level of education in the Indies and the Netherlands, in the Indies it should apply not only to the teacher training school but also to the primary schools in which Dutch was the language of instruction.⁵²³ Here Schreuder seemed to be indicating an integrated idea of the concordance: one package for the reform of the teacher school and the school in which the teachers would teach.

‘Come what may, the HIK should have its own curriculum,’ Schreuder said. ‘The government has differentiated between *Onderwijzersakte* (teaching diploma) and *Europeesche Onderwijzersakte* (European teaching diploma). [...] Neither the teachers nor the students at the HIS can transfer to the Netherlands, simply because they belong to different cultures’.⁵²⁴ Schreuder argued that the total number of hours in the curricula was simply ‘too generous’.⁵²⁵ The hours of Dutch lessons (38, 52 and 52 respectively in the European *kweekschool*, HIK and HCK) especially were superfluous. ‘For students at the HIK, and also for students at the European *kweekschool*, we should make lessons in a language they can use a priority,’ Schreuder said. He argued against the teaching of the aesthetic aspect of the Dutch language. ‘For Indonesian students, who have their own mother tongues for everything which touches in their hearts, Dutch is only a scientific language [... so that] literary deepening [of the Dutch lesson] is after all not necessary and 999 per cent fruitless,’ concluded Schreuder.⁵²⁶

Schreuder also questioned the nature of the teacher training school. ‘Is the *kweekschool* a Secondary School like the AMS and the HBS? If so, which part of it offers the students general formation?’ He felt that the teacher training school should not be a final education. Although it sounded a mockery at that time, Schreuder said, it should be anticipated that there would be a

⁵²¹ Daily board of the IPG, ‘Onze Concepten’, 5-6.

⁵²² See Bibliotheek van ‘Opvoeding’, No. 2: *De Nieuwe Onderwijzersopleiding in Indië* (Groningen, Den Haag, Batavia: J.B. Wolters, 1932); Bibliotheek van ‘Opvoeding’, No. 2a: *Kritieken en Beschouwingen over de Nieuwe Onderwijzersopleiding in Indië* (Groningen, Den Haag, Batavia: J.B. Wolters, 1932); also *Opvoeding, Indisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwere Paedagogiek*, volume series of 1932-1933 up to 1934-1935.

⁵²³ C. Schreuder, ‘Het Kweekschoolleerplan in Indië’, in Bibliotheek van ‘Opvoeding’, No. 2: *De Nieuwe Onderwijzersopleiding*, 97-110; referred p. 98.

⁵²⁴ Ibid. 99.

⁵²⁵ Ibid. 98. In original: ‘Ook met het aantal lessen is men zeer gul geweest’.

⁵²⁶ Ibid. 106. The last sentence in original: ‘Voor onze Inlandsche leerlingen, die toch hun moedertaal hebben voor alles wat ’t hart beroert, voor wie het Hollandsch slechts de taal der wetenschap [...], is trouwens de literaire verdieping onnodig en voor 999% onvruchtbaar’.

pedagogy faculty in the future so that school teachers could receive a university education. With this long-term perspective in view, 'the idea of the *kweekschool* as a vocational school is challenged'.⁵²⁷

The Bandung conference discussed fourteen points and Schreuder's question about the nature of the teacher training school was first on the list. In the teacher training, the future profession of the students should develop into a primary concern, but 'the possibility of higher training not cut off'.⁵²⁸ The implication is that the teacher training should not become an end in itself. The teacher training school was a vocational school of secondary nature, it was said. However, the teacher school should also be of general nature because the primary schools, at which the graduates of the teacher school would teach, were of a general nature. 'The vocational character of the *kweekschool* is not comparable [*niet vergelijkbaar*] with the Technical School or the Agricultural School,' wrote W.H. Brouwer and Albert de la Court of the IPG executive board. It was suggested that the teacher training school, although vocational in design, should also offer students a general education similar to the AMS. The vocational nature itself would develop, especially through the teaching of pedagogy, the teaching of all course subjects which inspired students in their future teaching profession and the teaching practices the students did in the practice schools (*leerscholen*).⁵²⁹

It was also stressed that there should be a harmonious balance between the students' personal development and their competence in their future profession.⁵³⁰ The *kweekschool* training therefore should guarantee this personal development aspect of the students.⁵³¹ The congress participants realized that the teaching methods used at different teacher training schools should fit naturally and be in harmony with the mental state of the students. They agreed to set aside some extra time from the official lesson hours in order to assist and accompany students closely in engaging in non-academic activities. The HIK and the HCK should have their own style of *onderbouw* level of the training. 'In the MULO, Dutch is taught with the teaching method of the language as a mother tongue,' the executive board of the IPG said. In the *onderbouw* level of the HIK and the HCK the method of teaching Dutch should be 'Dutch as a foreign language'. Importantly, vernacular languages should not be ignored at the HIK. Pedagogy was also a core subject to which more hours should be allocated.⁵³²

Brouwer and De la Court stated that retention or rectification of the three-year *onderbouw* level was of great importance, provided that the *onderbouw* and *bovenbouw* levels of the training should constitute one package of teacher training. They also suggested that the concordance requirement for the HIK should be applied in a milder or more congenial way. It should consider the 'life experience (*ervaringkennis*)' of the Indonesian students.⁵³³ The *Kweekschoolplan* focused mainly on the reform of the teacher training itself and somehow neglected the reform of the practice school. 'The deepest meaning

⁵²⁷ Ibid. 108. See also C. Schreuder, 'Het Kweekschoolleerplan in Indië', *Opvoeding*, Tweede Jaargang 1932-1933, 1-7.

⁵²⁸ Executive board of the IPG, 'De Nieuwe Onderwijzersopleiding in Indië', Bibliotheek van 'Opvoeding', No. 2a: *Kritieken en Beschouwingen*, 14-7; referred p. 14.

⁵²⁹ W.H. Brouwer and Alb. de la Court, 'Eenige Algemeene Opmerkingen n.a.v. de Leerplanontwerpen', Bibliotheek van 'Opvoeding', No. 2a: *Kritieken en Beschouwingen*, 17-9.

⁵³⁰ Executive board of the IPG, 'De Nieuwe Onderwijzersopleiding in Indië', 15.

⁵³¹ Brouwer and De la Court, 'Eenige Algemeene Opmerkingen', 18.

⁵³² Executive board of the IPG, 'De Nieuwe Onderwijzersopleiding in Indië', 15-7. Kees Groeneboer discusses in length this topic of Dutch as a mother tongue and as a foreign language, and how to teach it. See Groeneboer, *Gateway to the West*, pp. 161-6 and 213-32.

⁵³³ Brouwer and De la Court, 'Eenige Algemeene Opmerkingen', 19.

of the practice school lies not in occupational skills [*beroepsvaardigheid*], but in the occupational security [*beroepszekerheid*], wrote J. de Hon. The training school prepared students' personality and intellectuality, for the most part theoretically. The practice school sharpened and polished the students' competence in practical terms. The problems of the practice schools should become part and parcel of the reform of the teacher training schools.⁵³⁴

The IPG comprehensively reviewed different aspects of the concordance requirements: the principle, characteristic, curriculum, teaching method, practice school, and so on. The programmes of the Bandung conference show that the elaborate curricula proposed at the Yogyakarta conference had been peer-reviewed by teachers of the related course subjects. All this indicated a deep insight into and concern on the part of the IPG about the reform of the teacher training school in the Indies. Nevertheless, the IPG remained exclusively glued into discussions about the pedagogical aspects of the *Kweekschoolplan*.

C.2 The *Indisch Genootschap*

The *Indisch Genootschap* did not address the *Kweekschoolplan* in particular nor did it scrutinize the idea of educational concordance. However, some issues of the relationship between schooling and cultural intersection in the Indies community raised by the Society in a series of the discussions show critical perspectives on the concordance requirement.

In the meeting of April 6, 1934, C.C. Berg, professor of Javanese language and literature,⁵³⁵ delivered a speech entitled '*Critische beschouwing van Neerlands cultureelen invloed en Neerlands cultureele taak in Oost-Indië*'. Berg said that the Western education was especially designed to bolster the intellectual development of children. 'It is therefore fundamentally different from [the educational principles of] the various Indonesian peoples, who are first and foremost concerned with the formation of the heart, the inculcation of particular character traits and the development of good behaviour.' Berg pointed out the religion and ethics and the common practices in Indonesian society in which the older generations acted as 'an essential part' of the educational process. 'The education of the Western principle gives little consideration to this and hence also cultivates no respect for character formation in Indonesian society,' he said.⁵³⁶

In 1936 Raden Sutomo, a physician and a teacher at the Netherlands-Indies Medical School (*Nederlandsche Indische Artsen School*, NIAS) in Surabaya also spoke to the Indies Society forum. He addressed the issues of education for the children of ordinary Indonesians. 'Many of them are illiterate and from a poverty-stricken peasant background [*doodarme tanis*],' Sutomo remarked. The education of these children, he said, should be directed towards buttressing their abilities and capacities (*weerbaar maken*) so as to increase their purchasing power (*koopkrachtiger*). Sutomo did not explicitly mention what kind of education he thought would be able to improve the children's purchasing power. Nevertheless, he seems to be referring to vocational schooling, which provided technical and hands-on training. He suggested that Dutch be replaced by English at school because the latter

⁵³⁴ J. de Hon, 'Leerschool Problemen', *Opvoeding*, Tweede Jaargang 1932-1933, 8-11, 50-5; referred p. 8.

⁵³⁵ On C.C. Berg, see J. Ras, 'In Memoriam Professor C.C. Berg, 18-12-1900 tot 26-6-1990', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 147 (1991), No. 1, Leiden, 1-11.

⁵³⁶ C.C. Berg, 'Critische beschouwing van Neerlands cultureelen invloed en Neerlands cultureele taak in Oost-Indië', *Indisch Genootschap*, vergadering van 6 April 1934, 273-97; referred and quote from pp. 283-5.

provided children with a wider opportunity to build up international contacts. Only then could these children 'actively contribute to the progress of the world, both materially and spiritually'. Unlike Berg who pinpointed the importance of education based on the children's cultural background, Sutomo argued for schooling which broke down 'the older principles and illiteracy'.⁵³⁷

I.J. Brugmans, professor of history at the Faculty of Arts in Batavia in 1940,⁵³⁸ raised a question about the mixture of Western and Eastern elements in the education of the Netherlands Indies. He was especially concerned about the education of the Indonesian elite, who studied at schools in which Dutch was the language of instruction. 'Should children of this social stratum become more intimate with Dutch culture?' Brugmans asked. He compared the Netherlands Indies educational policy with that of the British India. At the schools in Delhi, Brugmans said, English was used and the educational design was of an entirely Western character. 'This does not mean that the connection to Eastern cultures is cut off,' he argued. Brugmans was convinced the higher the schooling a child was receiving, the more s/he would be connected to her/his own culture. He was aware of the criticism that Western education had functioned as a seal of civilization (*beschavingstempel*) in Indies society and that the Western style of personal formation had estranged or alienated (*vervreemden*) children from their own cultural origins. However, he also believed it enabled them to enter the modern world.⁵³⁹

As did Sutomo, Brugmans argued for the improvement of the education conducted in Dutch in the Netherlands Indies. However, unlike Sutomo who spoke of the need to expand the Dutch-language schooling for the children of ordinary Indonesians who were the majority of the Indies society, Brugmans maintained the idea of differentiated schooling. 'Truly,' Brugmans said, 'in such a plural country as the Netherlands Indies, where social contacts create colourful diversity, one cannot turn [*inslaan*] in one single direction.'⁵⁴⁰ Both Sutomo and Brugmans differed quite substantially from Berg, who insisted on the upbringing of Indonesian children in their own cultural spheres. These three speakers at the Indies Society did not address the issue of the concordant education stipulated by the 1927 *Kweekschoolplan* directly. However, their ideas clearly suggest the cultural complexity of the Indies and the infeasibility of concordant education. Other humanist thinkers of the 1930s like A.D.A. de Kat Angelino – if the term 'humanist thinker' is proportionally suitable to categorize them all – shared this opinion. The dualism in the Indies not only affected its administration and system of justice, it also did not leave its educational system unscathed, De Kat Angelino said. School should function as a social centre and a seed-bed (*kweekbed*) for the nurture of social sensibilities. The intellectual development resulting from Western schooling should not alienate children from each other but should widen their social consciousness (*sociaal bewustzijn*) instead. School education should also meet the demands of the various sectors of the various groups and sub-groups in the Indies

⁵³⁷ Raden Sutomo, 'Onderwijsvraagstukken in Indonesië', Indisch Genootschap, vergadering van 16 October 1936, 95-107; referred pp. 96-9.

⁵³⁸ On I.J. Brugmans, see 'Izaäk Johannes Brugmans: Groningen 6 november 1896 - Den Haag 19 december 1992', in http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/jaa003199401_01/jaa003199401_01_0010.php, accessed on January 26, 2011 at 12.02 CET.

⁵³⁹ Brugmans, 'Oostersche en Westersche elementen', 41-3 and 48.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid. 48.

society.⁵⁴¹ In saying this, these thinkers implied that the idea of endorsing concordant education was simply incompatible with the social realities of the Netherlands Indies because the concordant school was oriented towards sister schools in the Netherlands and hence ignored the cultural diversity of the Indies on which they should be based.

C.3 Indonesian education nationalists

Indonesian education nationalists of course also scrutinized the concordance requirement. In 1931 *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe*, the journal of the Indonesian teachers' association in West Sumatra published an article entitled 'Concordantie dan Convergentie dalam Onderwijs di Indonesia'.⁵⁴² At the Taman Siswa School in Yogyakarta, its founder and leader Ki Hadjar Dewantara (b. 1889, d. 1959) was also in the forefront of the critics of the government educational policy.⁵⁴³

Indonesian education nationalists rejected the concordance principle and, instead, suggested the concept of convergence in education. The concept of convergent schooling was like a pyramid: deviating at the lower levels and co-joining at the top. In the primary to secondary schools, Indonesian children should receive an education which was based on Indonesian national culture and which used the Indonesian language. Only in higher education would they go to the same school as the Dutch and all other non Indonesian children.

'The education for our children should begin absolutely with our own national culture,' Ki Hadjar Dewantara said. 'Later as the children's capacity develops to a more mature state, the schooling might gradually lead them to a wider world.' Hence, when the Indonesian children encountered people of other cultures, they would have had a strong basis of identity rooted in their own cultural origins.⁵⁴⁴

The nationalists urged the government to reform the educational system for Indonesian children. The schools for Indonesian children should have the same level of curriculum, teaching methods and class structure as those for Dutch children in the Indies. However, these schools should be based on the Eastern philosophy of education and should use Indonesian as the language of instruction. The materials taught and the way they were taught should also be suitable 'the soul, the character and the culture' of Indonesian society. The article in *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* suggested the founding of an *Indonesisch Hollandsche School* (note: *IHS*, not *HIS*) at primary level and of the Indonesian MULO and AMS at secondary level. These schools should primarily use Indonesian and

⁵⁴¹ A.D.A. de Kat Angelino, *Staatkundig Beleid en Bestuurszorg in Nederlandsch-Indië. Tweede Deel: De Overheidszorg in Nederlandsch-Indië* ('S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhof, 1931; especially Derde Hoofdstuk: Het Onderwijs, 216-87, referred pp. 216-9.

⁵⁴² 'Concordantie dan Convergentie dalam Onderwijs di Indonesia', *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe*, No. 10 Tahoen ke-XI (Oct. 1931), 224-32.

⁵⁴³ See the writings of Ki Hadjar Dewantara, for example, 'Konvergensi', *Pusara*, Jilid X No. 2 (Feb. 1940), 'Pembahagian Pelajaran Kebangsaan buat Tiap-Tiap Tingkat Pengajaran', *Pusara*, Jilid X No. 6 (Jun. 1940). These articles—and other articles on education written by Ki Hadjar Dewantara—were re-published in a collected volume by Majelis Luhur Persatuan Taman Siswa (MLTS), *Karya Ki Hadjar Dewantara Bagian Pertama: Pendidikan*, third edition (Yogyakarta: Majelis Luhur Persatuan Taman Siswa, 2004), respectively pp. 76-9, 79-81.

⁵⁴⁴ Ki Hadjar Dewantara, 'Konvergensi', in MLTS, *Karya Ki Hadjar Dewantara*, 76 and 78.

Dutch should be taught as a course subject. Moreover, the nationalists wanted English to be taught with more hours than Dutch.⁵⁴⁵

The teachers in the Indonesian schools should be prepared at a training school specially set up for the purpose. The construction of the teacher training school would be the same as that of the HIK: three years of *onderbouw* or MULO and three years of *bovenbouw* training. Yet, at this training school once again Indonesian philosophy, culture and character should be the heart and soul of all activities. Students – trainee teacher – should develop a sound mastery of the Indonesian language. ‘Graduates of the HIK can teach Dutch at the HIS,’ wrote *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe*. There should be a reform of the *normaalscholen* and the village schools so that in the future only Indonesian teachers teach Indonesian children.⁵⁴⁶

This elaboration shows unequivocally that the convergence concept of the Indonesian nationalists differed completely from the concordance principle of the colonial government. The concordance principle required that the HIS, the HCS and the ELS as well as the teachers’ training schools for these schools (respectively: the HIK, the HCK and the European *kweekschool*) serve as three different types of schools intended for three categories of ethnic and linguistic groups in the Indies. All these schools used Dutch and a Dutch-standardized curriculum, teaching methods and schoolbooks. They all followed their sister schools in the Netherlands as a benchmark. These schools in the Indies were to correspond to the same standard of schooling in the Netherlands, even though they were not identical.

However, the convergence principle required that the primary and secondary schools for the Indonesian children – even though they had a curriculum, method and structure of the same quality level as the European schools – should be based on and be oriented towards Indonesian philosophy, national culture and identity. These schools used Indonesian and offered Dutch – preferably English – as a course subject. Certainly these schools could not take the corresponding schools in the Netherlands as their benchmark. By employing curriculum, method and schoolbooks which were standardized to Dutch-language schools, they should be regarded as having equivalent credits to all other types of schools in the Indies. The Indonesian nationalists disagreed with the idea of concordant education because its principal aim was to enable Dutch children in the Indies to transfer to corresponding schools in the Netherlands. ‘We cannot and should not copy and apply it for our children,’ stated *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe*.⁵⁴⁷

As formerly indicated, convergent schooling meant that the ‘meeting’ of Indonesian children with Dutch and other children would only take place at the higher education level. At this top stage, the children of different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds could go to the same faculties, which literally used the same curriculum, methods, books and even language – Dutch. ‘Can [Indonesian] children, who have gone to primary and secondary schools only using Indonesian, catch up with Dutch and other children using the Dutch language at university?’ asked the article in *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe*. ‘With confidence we would answer this question: “Yes, they can!” There are many Dutch

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid. 77; ‘Concordantie dan Convergentie dalam Onderwijs di Indonesia’, *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe*, No. 10 Tahoen ke-XI (Oct. 1931), 227-8.

⁵⁴⁶ ‘Concordantie dan Convergentie’, *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe*, No. 10 Tahoen ke-XI (Oct. 1931), 231.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid. 224.

children who go to study in foreign countries, although they have little knowledge of the language of the peoples of these countries.’⁵⁴⁸

The ideas proposed by Ki Hadjar Dewantara were precisely the opposite of those of I.J. Brugmans. Dewantara suggested that education for Indonesian children should be based on the philosophy, the context and the nature of the Indonesian society. Only gradually should it include matters from outside the sphere of the children’s cultural origins.⁵⁴⁹ Brugmans, on the contrary, suggested that the education in Dutch for Indonesian children should be based as comprehensively as possible on the Western cultural standards. The higher the schooling, the more extensive the children’s encounter with their cultural origins would be. By that time, Brugmans said, the children would have had ‘windows opened wide to civilization, which comes from the West’.⁵⁵⁰

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the foundation of a concordant teacher training school in the Netherlands Indies. The introduction of the *Kweekschoolplan* in 1927 marked the reform of the teacher training schools existing at that time – the *kweekschool* and the HKS – into the six-year integrated training of the HIK, the HCK and the *Europeesche kweekschool*. The aim of the concordance principle was to attain a two-fold standardization: between the training schools in the Indies and between the training schools in the Indies and those in the Netherlands.

Theoretically, the concordance principle set up by the 1927 *Kweekschoolplan* amounted to a re-organization of the curriculum of the teacher training school, particularly those for Indonesian children. A channel was now open for Indonesians wishing to pursue training up to the highest possible level. The concordance concept enabled HIK graduates to have their diplomas accredited to the standard in the Netherlands. In a sense, the concordance principle was an initial stage towards the internationalization of teacher training.

In practice, however, the concordant training of teachers did not fully work out because of the different natures of the three training schools and because of the rigid requirements for the Dutch diploma. The concordance scheme invited criticisms from various circles in the professional community, who highlighted the plural characteristic of Indies society from different angles. In such a plural society, the critics argued it was impossible to set forth a so-called one single standard of schooling. The concordance principle was therefore not the final answer to the educational problems of the European community in the Indies, the issue of cultural interface, let alone, the nationalists’ demands for equal access to school education.

Nevertheless, the random implementation of the concordance training of teachers had a long-lasting impact on those who enjoyed it. Some alumni of the HIK testified that the years at the HIK schools and in boarding houses changed the course of their lives. Although in practice the education they received was perhaps not as concordant to the education offered by the *Europeesche kweekschool* or by the *Rijkskweekschool* as the *Kweekschoolplan* as had been planned, the HIK alumni already regarded their training as an improvement on teacher training which was available to the Indonesian children

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid. 228-9.

⁵⁴⁹ See again Ki Hadjar Dewantara, ‘Konvergensi’, in MLTS, *Karya Ki Hadjar Dewantara*, 76 and 78.

⁵⁵⁰ See again Brugmans, ‘Oostersche en Westersche elementen’, 41-3 and 48.

at the time. Notwithstanding this, during the 1930s the real challenge for the government to create a standardized teacher training dealt as much with the pedagogical as with the economic and the political aspects, as I shall discuss in the next two chapters. ***AS

Chapter 4

Fading before Blooming⁵⁵¹

Introduction

The aim of the transformation of the *Hogere Kweekschool* (HKS) into the *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool* (HIK) in 1927 was to make its diploma equivalent to a *kweekschool* diploma obtained in the Netherlands. In short, graduates were able to follow an advanced course for a European teaching diploma. The six-year training for the *kweekschool* diploma plus the two-year advanced course for the European certificate would represent two phases, which comprised one integrated system of teacher training in the Netherlands Indies.⁵⁵² After the integrated system was introduced, the older style of *kweekschool* ceased operating in 1929. The HKS in Bandung and Magelang, which were training 200 pupils under the guidance of nine European teachers and one Indonesian colleague in the school year 1929-1930, stopped admitting new entrants in 1932. Five HIK in Bandung, Blitar, Bukittinggi, Salatiga (for females) and Yogyakarta respectively, commenced the 1927-1928 school year with a new educational curriculum. The termination of the *kweekschool* in the late 1920s and the HKS in the early 1930s should primarily be understood in the framework of the education reform plan of 1927, which had ushered in the integrated system of the HIK. Not long afterwards, a corps of Indonesian teachers who were as well qualified as their European counterparts was envisaged!

Unfortunately, the sorry economic and political situation of the 1930s did not allow the education reform plan to follow its destined course. The Great Depression severely impacted on many sectors of the economy and the subsequent heated political situation stifled the flamed education recovery envisaged the late 1930s. The difficult economic crisis weighed heavily in forcing the government to cut the education budget drastically in its search for emergency solutions and, assailed by political tension, to alter its long-term policy strategy in education. Even so, this long-term strategy had to be aborted when the Japanese arrived. In 1938 referring to the economic situation some years earlier, the Director of Education and Religious Affairs, P.J.A. Idenburg, argued that what had happened was a 'lucky coincidence': the budget cut compelled by the crisis occurred just as the government was about to work on the efficiency programme.⁵⁵³ However, what no one foresaw was that the crisis had rocked and disrupted the political as well as cultural foundations of colonial schooling and this upheaval reinforced by the Japanese occupation, contributed to the fall of the dual educational system several years later. Not only did the crisis prevent the effectuation of the teacher training reform plans of 1927, it also forced the premature closure of many other schools in different localities in Java and Sumatra. Hence when looking for a good illustration of the rocky road followed

⁵⁵¹ Here I have adopted the title of an Indonesian pop song 'Layu Sebelum Berkembang' by A. Riyanto, made popular in the 1970s by Tetty Kadi.

⁵⁵² *Advies van den Onderwijsraad inzake de Reorganisatie van het Personeel bij het Westersch Lager Onderwijs (Kweekschoolplan)* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1927), 5-11.

⁵⁵³ Director of Education and Religious Affairs to the Governor-General, 28 Nov. 1938, in L.S. van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië. Een Bronnenpublikatie* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1963), 580. Further addresses would be 'Director of Education', followed by 'date of letter, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, page(s)'.

by Indonesian education in the 1930s, 'fading before blooming' might be the phrase which best describes the situation, at least from the point of view of the colonial government.

This chapter contains an exploration of the situation of education and teacher training in the wake of the great economic crisis of the 1930s up to the arrival of the Japanese. It commences with an investigation of the immediate impact of the crisis and the emergency measures taken by the government. This is followed by an attempt to pinpoint the moment of recovery in the last few years of the 1930s, approximately from 1937. Attention will also be paid to the government educational policy which emphasized the indigenization of education. It will show that, while economic factors were the major trigger of the change in focus of government policy from elite education to the education for the Indonesian masses, political considerations played a role in stimulating this approach. The final conclusion must be the strategy the government chose to deal with the situation of the 1930s was driven both economically and politically.

A. Immediate impacts, emergency solutions

In the Annual Report on Education for the school year 1932-1933, the Netherlands Indies government claimed that the economic crisis of 1929 had not reduced the number of schools, but it had forced the authorities to tighten the educational budget.⁵⁵⁴ This was sheer rhetoric!

As early as 1930, the HIK in Blitar had already had ceased the admission of new pupils and sent its higher level students to the HIK in Yogyakarta.⁵⁵⁵ Unfortunately, after 1933 the Yogyakarta HIK also had to stop the student in-take to the upper level as is evident from the fact that the last graduation was in 1936.⁵⁵⁶ The lower level remained in operation until the Japanese arrival in 1942. In a same sort of response, the upper-level training at the HIK in Bukittinggi was moved to Bandung on 1 July 1931.⁵⁵⁷ The lower level admitted new students only up to 1932, after which the school was closed down.⁵⁵⁸ In 1932, the normal school for indigenous assistant-teachers in Meester Cornelis, Batavia was transferred to Bukittinggi where it occupied the HIK building.⁵⁵⁹

In the meantime, in 1931 the government had to cancel the new opening of eighteen primary schools: two for European, four for Chinese and twelve for indigenous children. It withdrew subsidies from private primary schools and called a provisional halt to the expansion of the village schools.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁴ *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over het Schooljaar 1932/1933, Eerste Deel: Tekst* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1935), III; L.S. van der Wal, *Some Information on Education in Indonesia up to 1942* (The Hague: NUFFIC, 1960), 8.

⁵⁵⁵ Suwandi D. Suwondo, 'Memperingati HIK Yogya 60 Tahun', *Gema Edisi Yubileum: HIK Yogyakarta 60 Tahun* (Yogyakarta: Keluarga Ex-HIK Yogyakarta, 1987), 8.

⁵⁵⁶ Suwondo, 'Memperingati HIK Yogya', 8.

⁵⁵⁷ *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 5 Tahoen XI (Mei 1931), 101.

⁵⁵⁸ Interview with Alatif Azis, an 1933 alumnus of HIK in Bukittinggi, conducted in his home in Bandung, 27 November 2006. See also the autobiography of Abdul Harris Nasution, *Memenuhi Panggilan Tugas Jilid 1: Kenangan Masa Muda* (Jakarta[?]: CV Haji Masagung, 1990[?]), 25-35.

⁵⁵⁹ Departement van Onderwijs en Eeredienst. *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over het Schooljaar 1933/1934. Eerste Deel: Tekst* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1934), VII. Further addresses to education reports of different years would be 'Onderwijs Verslag' followed by the school year reported, volume and, when relevant, page number.

⁵⁶⁰ *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over het Schooljaar 1931/1932, Eerste Deel: Tekst* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1934), III.

Again in 1931, the government had to move or combine several Dutch-Indonesian Schools (*Hollands Inlandse School*, HIS) it considered too small to operate independently.⁵⁶¹

In the 1932-1933 school year, as many as thirteen public HIS underwent a 'soft close', which meant that the Dutch language was given as a course subject only in the top three years. These thirteen HIS were located in Tjilegon (West Java), Tapatoean, Lho Soemaweh (Aceh), Siak Sri Indrapoera (Riau), Tandjung Poera (Sumatra East Coast), Fort van der Capellen (Sumatra West Coast), Toboali (Bangka), Sintang, Sambas (Borneo/Kalimantan), Bonthain, Palopo, Singkang (Celebes/Sulawesi), and Piroe (Maluku).⁵⁶² This survey paints an unvarnished picture of the impact of the Great Depression on education and teacher training in Indonesia.

Examining the overall government budget, the immediate impression is that the crisis, which started in 1929 according to some economic historians,⁵⁶³ did not affect public expenditure on education straightaway. In 1931, the total education budget was still 119.9 per cent (Fl. 47,228,100) of that in 1928.⁵⁶⁴ In 1932, the budget was cut by up to Fl. 4.6 million.⁵⁶⁵ Even so, it was actually still 111.5 per cent of that in 1928. In the next years the budget continued to decrease, namely from Fl. 32,264,200 in 1934 to Fl. 25,668,600 in 1935.⁵⁶⁶ Only in 1937 did the economy seem to be showing some signs of improvement. So the education budget did not begin to drop until 1932 and it showed a rise again as early as 1937. The factor which has to be considered here is the impact of the unstable budget and of the economic situation on the projected growth of schools. Importantly, the budget in the Education Report did not necessarily indicate whether, in actual practice, the education sector had remained unscathed by the crisis until 1932. As a matter of fact, education in general, the teaching profession in particular, had been seriously hit by the crisis ever since its outbreak. At this juncture other impacts of the crisis as well as the solutions which the government contrived as, what might be called, an emergency exit will be explored.

As early as 1931 the government had taken some measures to deal with the economic crisis, for example by cancelling the opening of new schools and merging small schools. Students, who had to move to another school because their original school had either been merged with others or shut down, had to pay a higher fee for accommodation. On 1 October 1931, the government halted the granting of new scholarships except for students at the European *kweekschool*.⁵⁶⁷ 'Not only the reduction in the expenditure,' the government argued, 'but an increase in government income were essential in striving to take some feasible steps to adjust the changing economic circumstances.'⁵⁶⁸

Now students at the MULO (*Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs* – upper primary school), secondary and vocational schools were required to reimburse their examination and school leaving fees when they finished their studies. Students at MOSVIA, trade schools, the *kweekschool* and the

⁵⁶¹ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1931/1932, Eerste Deel*, IV.

⁵⁶² *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1932/1933, Eerste Deel*, XII.

⁵⁶³ See, for example, Peter Boomgaard and Ian Brown (eds), *Weathering the Storm: The Economy of Southeast Asia in the 1930s Depression* (Leiden & Singapore: KITLV & ISEAS, 2000).

⁵⁶⁴ *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over het Schooljaar 1936/1937, Tweede Deel: Statistische Gegevens* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1939), 268.

⁵⁶⁵ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1931/1932, Eerste Deel*, III.

⁵⁶⁶ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1936/1937, Tweede Deel*, 268.

⁵⁶⁷ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1931/1932, Eerste Deel*, V.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.* V-VI.

vocational schools for girls had to pay for their final examination. Primary school leavers who attended the MULO also had to pay registration fees, those going to the *burgere scholen* and engineering schools now had to pay admission fees. The fee for taking the examination for the so-called additional-certificate for teaching in primary school was doubled.⁵⁶⁹

When the education budget was ruthlessly slit in 1932, among the internal sectors most affected was that of personnel, which faced a cut of up to Fl. 2,370,000.⁵⁷⁰ The consequences of this were enormous. The number of in-service teachers was slashed at all levels. The position of extra-teacher was abolished and parallel classes were unified, all on the grounds of efficiency. Preparatory classes in the Dutch-language schools were eliminated. As the number of in-service teachers decreased, those remaining were overburdened with all kinds of task previously handled by the personnel specifically appointed for this task. In the normal school, there was very little money left to cover the student's daily expenses for necessities such as food. In other schools, subsidies were no longer available for pocket money for the students during the so-called '*ambulatio*' activity, held once a week. More seriously, the secondary schools received only very small subsidies for their libraries and could no longer afford sport facilities.⁵⁷¹

The budget cut also had obvious consequences for auxiliary non-teaching personnel. The positions of advisor and local-advisor for village schools were done away with. Local authority officials took over their duties. The number of school handymen and cleaners (*schoolbediende*) was reduced. Many of them had to retire early and outsource personnel (*losse koelies*) replaced them. Efficiency also took the form of a limited use of water and lights and strict rules governing the purchase and maintenance of infrastructure and learning materials.⁵⁷²

Table 4.1: Per student annual charge for use of learning materials and implements, payable in ten times, tariff of 1936

Student of	ELS and HCS	HIS	MULO and Girl business school	Bridging school
Preparatory class	-	-	Fl. 7.50	-
Grade 1	Fl. 1.50	Fl. 0.60	Fl. 15	Fl. 1.20
Grade 2	Fl. 2	Fl. 1.80	Fl. 18.80	Fl. 1.20
Grade 3	Fl. 2.50	Fl. 2.40	Fl. 18.80	Fl. 1.20
Grade 4	Fl. 3	Fl. 3	-	Fl. 1.20
Grade 5	Fl. 3.50	Fl. 3.60	-	Fl. 1.20
Grade 6	Fl. 4	Fl. 3.60	-	-
Grade 7	Fl. 4.50	Fl. 4.24/4.20*)	-	-

Sources: *Handboek Indonesische Onderwijzers Bond* (Batavia: Drukkerij Persatoean Goeroe, 1942), 160-1; Inspectie Inlandsch Onderwijs Algemeene Dients, *Almanak Goeroe 1939* (Batavia Centrum: Balai Poestaka, 1938), 150. Note: *) The sources give these different figures; *Handboek*: Fl. 4.24, *Almanak Goeroe*: Fl. 4.20.

Commencing on 1 July 1932, there was a charge for student use of learning materials, and writing and drawing implements at school.⁵⁷³ This regulation applied to students of the European

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid. VI.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid. III.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid. IV.

⁵⁷² Ibid. V.

⁵⁷³ Until 1 July 1932, use of learning materials and implements was completely free of charge. See Director of Education 11 March 1932, 7, in *Openbaar Verbaal* 25 August 1932 No. 3 (NA Inv. Nr. 3340).

primary schools (*Europese Lagere School*/ELS, *Hollands Chinese School*/HCS, *Hollands Inlandse School*/HIS), indigenous primary schools (village-school/*volkschool*, continuation-school/*vervolgschool*, and second-class school), the trade schools, the *kweekschool*, the normal schools, MULO, the engineering schools and the MOSVIA. The charge was fixed per student per month.⁵⁷⁴ By Government Decree No. 41 of 11 June 1936, to lessen the burden, this charge was estimated on an annual basis and could be paid in ten instalments.⁵⁷⁵ Table 4.1 presents the charges for the use of learning materials and implements which students of the ELS, HCS, HIS, MULO and Girls' Commercial schools had to pay.⁵⁷⁶

As stated, the one-year preparatory class (*voorklas*) for the ELS, HCS and HIS was abolished. This affected pre-school education in the so-called *Fröbelschool*, equivalent of the present-day kindergarten. Although the preparatory class provided children with a formative basis for the seven-year primary education in Dutch, the Director of Education and Religious Affairs, B. Schrieke, adopted a different argument. In his letter to the Governor General on 23 May 1932, Schrieke explained, as if it was not a generally known fact, that the Dutch primary schools (ELS, HCS and HIS) were intended for children who spoke and used Dutch at home. The preparatory year, which in practice focused mostly on Dutch-language training, would be superfluous because those children enrolling for the Western schools first had to meet the prerequisite of knowing Dutch, which was supposedly not a problem considering their active domestic use of the language. The Director of Education demanded that the inspectorate officials develop a new curriculum in such a way within the span of only seven years students could achieve the required level of Western education which used to take eight years. To maintain the level of education measured especially by the quality of the Dutch used, Schrieke suggested the addition of two extra hours per week of Dutch classes at the ELS, HCS and HIS, by the expedient of shortening the duration of class breaks from 30 to 20 minutes.⁵⁷⁷ The Minister of the Colonies agreed to Schrieke's proposal on 29 October 1932. The letter of approval was officially dated 31 October but issued by the ministry office only on 2 November. Nevertheless the Education Report of 1931/1932 mentions that the abolition of the preparatory class was already a done deal on 1 July 1932.⁵⁷⁸

At the outset it is not quite clear if the government decision to eliminate the *Fröbelschool* was economically motivated since most correspondence came under the subject 'New lesson plans for the 2nd ELS,⁵⁷⁹ HCS, and HIS for which the preparatory class have become superfluous'. Certainly the Director of Education said, however briefly, that the dropping of the preparatory class was 'to save some costs'.⁵⁸⁰ In later years, it became obvious that economic and, especially in the case of HIS, political reasons lay behind this government policy.

⁵⁷⁴ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1931/1932, Eerste Deel*, VI.

⁵⁷⁵ *Handboek Indonesische Onderwijzers Bond* (Batavia: Drukkerij Persatoean Goeroe, 1942), 158-9.

⁵⁷⁶ Unfortunately I have not found data on the charges in the other types of schools.

⁵⁷⁷ Director of Education and Religious Affairs 23 May 1932, *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 October 1932 No. 1 (NA Inv. Nr. 3355).

⁵⁷⁸ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1931/1932, Eerste Deel*, IV.

⁵⁷⁹ *Tweede Europese Lagere School* was mainly for Indo-European children. See Director of Education 23 May 1932, 2 (NA Inv. Nr. 3355).

⁵⁸⁰ Director of Education 23 May 1932, 2, in *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 October 1932 No. 1 (NA Inv. Nr. 3355).

Some government spokesmen said that the abolition of the *Fröbelschool* meant that the training of teachers for that school was 'no longer necessary'! Consequently the public *Fröbelkweekschool*, which had been founded in Batavia in 1919 and had already been transferred to Bandung in 1920, was closed at the end of the 1931/1932 school year.⁵⁸¹ The government also stopped the subsidy to the private *Fröbelkweekscholen*. Some private foundations suggested that, rather than close down the *Fröbelkweekschool*, the government should transform it into a domestic science school for girls. The first of these initiatives was proposed by the management of the Van Deventer Foundation, which ran a substantial number of schools in Semarang, Surakarta and Malang. Slightly later the managements of the Roman Catholic *Fröbelkweekschool* in Mendut, and of the Christian Foundation for Girl Schools in Batavia acquiesced the idea. These private organizations offered the government a scheme by which they would co-operate, both managerially and economically in the running of the *Fröbelkweekschool* in its new guise. But the government rejected the initiative and argued that, while the closure of the *Fröbelkweekschool* was the natural consequence of the abolition of the *Fröbelschool* (preparatory class) on the overall structure of Western primary education, the domestic science education fell under the aegis of the public *kweekschool* in Salatiga, which, the government claimed, was still 'fully competent' to train girls both to teach and for domestic science pursuits.⁵⁸²

In the grim climate, teacher training especially in Western schools was put on a tighter rein.⁵⁸³ At the beginning of 1931, a thorough evaluation was carried out to ensure that the qualifications, structure and teaching responsibilities of the teachers, including their number of hours per day, was as economical as possible.⁵⁸⁴ The Director of Education and Religious Affairs, B. Schrieke, realized that the cost of the number of educational staff did not depend exclusively on the number of pupils at a school, but was also affected by the number of the teachers, who had qualified to be head-teacher.⁵⁸⁵ His view was that staff cost a mint of money and, if replaced by teachers with assistant certificates this would not be detrimental to education.⁵⁸⁶

In public primary schools the ratio between teachers who held a head-teachers' certificate and those who held an assistant-teacher certificate was 4:5. In numerous private subsidized schools the ratio was 5:4 or even, in some extraordinary cases, 6:1.⁵⁸⁷ This ratio of teacher's qualification was uneconomical and imbalanced in terms of the spread between public and private subsidized schools.

The government made a decision which meant that in both public and private subsidized schools, the number of teachers holding a head-teacher's certificate would not exceed two at every ELS and HCS, and one at HIS.⁵⁸⁸ In contrast, the number of the so-called second- and third-rank teachers, whose qualifications were formally lower than that of the head-teachers, increased. With the exception of the school principal, European teachers at HIS and HCS had to hand over their position to their indigenous and Chinese counterparts respectively. Specifically the position of the HIS teachers

⁵⁸¹ Director of Education 31 May 1932, 1, in *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 October 1932 No. 1 (NA Inv. Nr. 3355).

⁵⁸² *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 October 1932 No. 1 (NA Inv. Nr. 3355).

⁵⁸³ *Verlag van het Onderwijs* 1931/1932, *Eerste Deel*, IV.

⁵⁸⁴ Director of Education 13 February 1931, in *Openbaar Verbaal* 25 August 1932 No. 3 (NA Inv. Nr. 3340).

⁵⁸⁵ Director of Education 16 December 1931, in *Openbaar Verbaal* 22 June 1932 (NA Inv. Nr. 3323).

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁷ Director of Education 13 February 1931, in *Openbaar Verbaal* 25 August 1932 No. 3 (NA Inv. Nr. 3340).

⁵⁸⁸ *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over het Schooljaar 1933/1934, Eerste Deel: Tekst* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1936), VI-VII.

holding a normal-school certificate was more favourable than those with a *kweekschool* diploma since, because of their lower formal qualification, the former could be paid a lower salary than the latter. If there was a teaching vacancy when a holder of a head-teacher's certificate retired, the new appointment should be given to an applicant who held an assistant-teacher certificate.⁵⁸⁹ It means that an assistant teacher would fill in the position which was supposed to be reserved for a head teacher.

Commencing in 1933, the student-teacher ratio was strictly supervised. For a minimum of twenty-five and a maximum of sixty pupils, a Western public school should have one fully qualified teacher other than the principal on its staff. To have two teachers (also excluding the principal), a school had to have an enrolment between sixty-one and a hundred pupils and to have three, between 101 and 120. One more teacher would be appointed for every minimum of fifty more students.⁵⁹⁰

The government also managed to economize on the teachers' working hours at school. As a rule, classes for the first three years of primary school (the first two years in the case of HIS) ended at 11 o'clock in the morning (classes started at 7). After 11 o'clock, seven teachers plus one principal were present for four (five at HIS) current classes. So, as many as three teachers (two at HIS) were actually already off duty by 11 o'clock. These teachers worked only for two-thirds of the daily school hours, therefore they were called two-thirds teachers (*twee-derde leerkrachten*). The work-load division already applied at school was that the principal was released from teaching duties and after 11 o'clock some classes were split so that all the seven teachers could still take a class during the third time block (11.30-13.30). The government argued, the presence of the two-thirds teachers at school after 11 o'clock was superfluous and an inefficient use of personnel.⁵⁹¹

In July 1931 the Popular Advisory Board (*Volksraad*) agreed to sign the government draft of the Regulation on the Reduction of the Subsidy for Teacher's Salary in Private Subsidized Schools.⁵⁹² In the case of public school teachers, revisions were begun to overhaul the specific regulations already in existence.⁵⁹³ Altogether a Revised Payment Regulation to apply for both public and private subsidized Western schools was fixed and became effective on 1 August 1934.⁵⁹⁴ A further revision took place in the Payment Regulation of 1938.⁵⁹⁵

Retirement rules were observed much more strictly than ever before. Temporary teachers, who were not the breadwinners of their families, had to quit their job. Permanent teachers who reached fifty-five years of age had to retire immediately under a reduced retirement salary (*wachtgeld*) scheme. Permanent teachers with more than twenty-five years service fell into the 'surplus' (*overcomplete*) category and were seriously considered for retirement.⁵⁹⁶ As a rule, retired teachers were

⁵⁸⁹ Director of Education 11 March 1932, 6, in *Openbaar Verbaal* 25 August 1932 No. 3 (NA Inv. Nr. 3340).

⁵⁹⁰ *Openbaar Verbaal* 22 June 1932 (NA Inv. Nr. 3323).

⁵⁹¹ Director of Education 13 February 1931, in *Openbaar Verbaal* 25 August 1932 No. 3 (NA Inv. Nr. 3340); *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over het Schooljaar 1934/1935, Eerste Deel: Tekst* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1937), VI-VIII.

⁵⁹² *Openbaar Verbaal* 30 December 1931 No. 9 (NA Inv. Nr. 3282).

⁵⁹³ For teachers at European schools: Staatsblad 1894 No. 192 jo Staatsblad 1920 No. 727 juncto Staatsblad 1909 No. 348; for teachers at HIS: Staatsblad 1914 No. 762; for teachers at bridging school: extra pages of Staatsblad No. 11549. See Director of Education 16 December 1931 in *Openbaar Verbaal* 22 June 1932 (NA Inv. Nr. 3323).

⁵⁹⁴ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1934/1935, Eerste Deel, I-VIII*.

⁵⁹⁵ *Handboek Indonesische Onderwijzers Bond* (Batavia: Drukkerij Persatoean Goeroe, 1942), 165-80.

⁵⁹⁶ Director of Education 11 March 1932, 1-2, in *Openbaar Verbaal* 25 August 1932 No. 3 (NA Inv. Nr. 3340).

entitled to pension, which was 50 per cent of the last salary they had received while in service. However, following the *Volksraad* consent to the Ordinance for the Reduction of the Subsidy, teachers' salaries had already been slashed by a 25 per cent. Now, retired teachers received only 50 per cent of 75 per cent of their original salary.⁵⁹⁷ Data about the salary scale based on the Revised Payment Regulation of 1934 appears to be absent. But that of 1938 in Tables 4.2a and 4.2b might approximate teachers' income around the time.

Table 4.2a: Teacher's salary before a 25% cut: Scale No. 18, 1938

Years of service	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
1	17	—	27.50	37.50	—	—	—	—
2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	20.50	—	32.50	42.50	44.50	—	—	—
4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5	24	—	37.50	47.50	50.50	59	—	—
6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7	27.50	32.50	42.50	52.50	56.50	66	—	—
8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9	31	36	47.50	57.50	62.50	73	—	—
10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
11	34.50	39.50	52.50	62.50	68.50	80	95	110
12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14	38	43	57.50	67.50	74.50	87	105	120
15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
17	41.50	46.50	62.50	72.50	80.50	94	115	130
18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
20	45	50	67.50	77.50	86.50	101	125	140
21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
22	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
23	48.50	53.50	72.50	82.50	92.50	108	135	150
24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
26	—	—	—	—	—	115	145	160

Sources: *Almanak Goeroe 1939*, 158; *Handboek Indonesische Onderwijzers Bond 1942*, 181.

Note: I = help teachers at indigenous primary schools with the *goeroe bantoe* status; II = principals of indigenous schools of third category; III = help teachers at indigenous schools; IV = principals of indigenous schools of second category; V = principals of the practice schools at indigenous elementary schools; VI = language teachers of second category and assistant teachers at indigenous secondary schools; VII = school inspectors without *kweekschool* and *normaal school* training; VIII = school inspectors with normal school diploma

Table 4.2b: Teacher's salary before a 25% cut: Scale No. 30, 1938

Years of service	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
1	34	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	43	—	—	70	80	—	—
4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5	52	60	70	80	92.50	—	—
6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

⁵⁹⁷ *Openbaar Verbaal* 2 March 1935 No. 3 (NA Inv. Nr. 3549).

7	61	70	80	90	105	—	—
8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9	70	80	90	100	117.50	—	—
10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
11	79	90	100	110	130	162.50	180
12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14	88	100	110	120	142.50	175	200
15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
17	97	110	120	130	155	187.50	220
18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
20	106	120	130	140	167.50	200	240
21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
22	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
23	115	130	140	150	180	212.50	260
24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
26	—	—	—	—	—	225	280

Source: *Almanak Goeroe 1939*, 159.

Note: I = Chinese and Indonesian teachers; II = principals of indigenous primary schools of first category; III = principals of the practice schools at indigenous schools of first category; IV = Indonesian teachers at indigenous secondary schools and at indigenous vocational schools; V = indigenous language-teachers of first category; VI = school inspector with *kweekschool* diploma; VI = higher school inspector with *kweekschool* diploma.

It should be noted that the cut in teachers' salaries and the tightening of educational budget was not restricted to the Netherlands Indies. The Netherlands, which had been struggling with an economic crisis since the early 1920s, was equally hard hit. It was obliged to postpone the implementation of the Basic Education Bill of 1920 and the government was forced to take efficiency measures. Between 1923 and 1926, the Netherlands government closed down sixty *Rijksnormallessen* (State-run teachers' training courses) and twenty-two *Rijkskweekscholen* (State-run teachers' training schools) a move which left only ten *Rijksnormallessen* and twenty-nine *Rijkskweekscholen*.⁵⁹⁸ Under the terms of the Basic Education Bill of 1920, every class of forty-nine pupils at primary school should have one teacher. To every addition of forty-eight pupils, one more teacher would be assigned. Commencing on January 1, 1930, teaching assistants replaced full-time teachers in assignments to schools which had three teachers for 144 pupils.⁵⁹⁹ In 1932, married civil servants and breadwinners had to accept an 8 per cent reduction in their salaries while their unmarried counterparts had to forfeit 13 per cent. These efficiency measures saved the Netherlands government some Fl. 5.55 million per year.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁸ Roelf Turksma, 'De Geschiedenis van de Opleiding tot Onderwizer in Nederland aan de Openbare, Protestants-Christelijke en Bijzonder-Neutrale Instellingen' (PhD Diss. Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 1961), 182-3. The 22 *Rijkskweekscholen* closed were those in Arnhem, Breda, Hellevoetsluis, Roermond (closed in the summer of 1924); those in Amersfoort, Appingedom, Drachten, Heerenveen, Hengeloo, Hilversum, Leeuwarden, Meppel, Winschoten, Zaandam (closed per September 1, 1924); the one in Oostburg (closed per November 1, 1924); the ones in Alkmaar, Schoonhoven, Utrecht (closed in 1925), and the ones in Coevorden, Doetinchem, Gorinchem and Zierzee (closed per September 1, 1926). Meanwhile, the ten remaining *Rijksnormallessen* were there in Leiden, Rotterdam, Schiedam, 's Gravenhage, 's Hertogenbosch, Eindhoven, Klasswaal, Tiel, Veendam, and Zwolle (p. 182).

⁵⁹⁹ Turksma, 'De Gescheidenis', 185-6.

⁶⁰⁰ Turksma, 'De Gescheidenis', 196-7.

The Netherlands Indies was certainly not the only country which had to compromise on its educational budgets in the wake of the ubiquitous economic crisis. Nevertheless, no one could have expected that the economic crisis would bring about greater impact on the political development in this Dutch colony toward the end of the 1930s. Many of the Dutch-educated Indonesian teachers could find no employment at the government schools so that they joined the so-called *wilde scholen* (unofficial schools) in the struggle for the nationalist education. Chapter 5 will show that the economic crisis created a critical moment for the political radicalization of Indonesian teachers.

A crucial point of discussion in the impact of the economic crisis in the Netherlands Indies is the position of female teachers. Officially, as soon as efficiency measures took effect in 1931, married female teachers with permanent positions, who were not breadwinners for their families, had to retire because the reduced salary regulation gave a priority to breadwinning personnel.⁶⁰¹ Then the government realized that the immediate dismissal of all female teachers in that category could seriously undermine education. The solution was that these female teachers were maintained as the two-thirds teachers (working from 7 to 11), consequently drawing a less salary.⁶⁰²

All female teachers with the exception of those who were breadwinners of their families were relegated to the two-thirds working hours under the Salary Regulation of 1934. Those who refused to accept the new position as two-thirds teachers were dismissed from service and received no reduced retirement salary.⁶⁰³ Male teachers who held the assistant-teacher certificate were maintained as full-time teachers. 'In this decision the consideration that the relegation of all teachers to the two-thirds position would be too much was taken into account,' so reads the government Education Report of 1934/1935, 'and motives of a social nature played the role.'⁶⁰⁴ No further remarks can be found in the Report to explain this statement, especially some which would cast light on the phrase 'motives of a social nature'. Nevertheless such a statement gives the impression that, even in the throes of the complicated circumstances in the turbulent economy of the 1930s, a gender-based (or -biased) perspective was enforced.

Indubitably, these efficiency policies elicited grass-root reactions, especially from European teachers. In May 1931, approximately two months before the *Volksraad* gave its consent to the government draft on salary regulation, the association of Dutch teachers in the Netherlands Indies (*Nederlandsch-Indië Onderwijzers Genootschap*, NIOG) sent a resolution to the government. The resolution commented critically on the (drafted) regulations pertaining the position of two-thirds teachers, the reduction in employment and retirement salary, and the abolition or reduction of the allowance for furlough, re-placement, or examination leave. All these reductions saved the government an estimated Fl. 6 million in the 1931/1932 school year alone. The Association stressed out that such government savings were 'superfluous, unjust and dangerous' in terms of their socio-political consequences. The Association therefore gave its board the authority 'to take or prepare some measures to overturn the Government [salary] regulations'.⁶⁰⁵ The NIOG statement was soon

⁶⁰¹ Director of Education 11 March 1932, 1-2, in *Openbaar Verbaal* 25 August 1932 No. 3 (NA Inv. Nr. 3340).

⁶⁰² *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1934/1935, Eerste Deel*, VIII.

⁶⁰³ Director of Education 11 March 1932, 2, in *Openbaar Verbaal* 25 August 1932 No. 3 (NA Inv. Nr. 3340).

⁶⁰⁴ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1934/1935, Eerste Deel*, VIII

⁶⁰⁵ *Openbaar Verbaal* 20 May 1931 No. 2 (NA Inv. Nr. 3226).

welcomed by wide-scale actions by its members who began to organize a strike. The government responded by banning all channels of legal communication with the Association.⁶⁰⁶

Reactions also flowed in from individual teachers, for example, A.G. Gooris, a female teacher at the Foundation of the Reformed Primary Education in Surabaya. Gooris expressed her sense of 'being offended and treated unfairly' because, in her opinion, teachers in the Netherlands Indies were hit twice as hard as other civil servants as a consequence of the economic crisis: their salary had been subjected to a 25 per cent cut, and their position relegated to the two-thirds category. As a result, some teachers found their salary reduced by 50 per cent. In her letter to the Minister of the Colonies on 15 September 1934, Gooris wrote that many teachers had fallen victim to the government salary regulations, which had created 'a feeling of gloom greater than the Depression itself'.⁶⁰⁷

The government response to these reactions was determined. Nevertheless, the Department of Education and Religious Affairs, the Department of Finance and the *Volksraad* members needed to participate in a long debate before an official response could be released.⁶⁰⁸ The principal argument was that a very difficult financial situation had forced the administration to take strong measures to make savings, the education sector could not be exempt. Teachers had to choose whether to be demoted one level down to the two-thirds teaching position or to retire early under the reduced salary scheme while awaiting the possibility of re-placement. When they chose to retire early and be re-appointed later, these teachers earned 62.5 per cent of the full-time salary, which, according to the Director of Finance, was higher than the 40 per cent which some private jobs could offer them at the time. It was out of the question for the teachers to receive a full-time salary as they had done before the crisis. 'That the incomes of a number of male and female teachers were seriously affected [by the measures],' the Minister of the Colonies wrote, 'was a very sad but inevitable consequence for the government.'⁶⁰⁹

How offended and unfairly treated did those teachers feel as a consequence of that adamant response by the government! After all, the government itself had to bow to efficiency policies because of the crisis. Although in its official reports the government avoided making an explicit statement about the direct impacts of the crisis on the continuity of the provision of education, it could not deny the shocks with which it was immediately confronted in the following years. However, these upsets did not seem to last long. Stimulated by an improving economy in 1937 and challenged by the heated political situation of the 1930s, the government managed to turn the education sector on the road of recovery by making adequate changes to its policies again.

⁶⁰⁶ 'NIOG dengan Departement', *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 8 Tahoen XI (August 1931), 178-80.

⁶⁰⁷ A.G. Gooris to Minister of the Colonies 15 September 1934, in *Openbaar Verbaal* 2 March 1935 No. 3 (NA Inv. Nr. 3549).

⁶⁰⁸ Read a lengthy record of the parliamentary debate in *Volksraad Zittingsjaar 1931-1932 Onderwerp 95 Stukken 1-7, Wijziging van het Europeesch Onderwijsreglement* (19^{de} Vergadering Woensdag 13 January 1932, 20^{ste} Vergadering Donderdag 14 January 1932, 21^{ste} Vergadering Maandag 18 January 1932).

⁶⁰⁹ *Openbaar Verbaal* 2 March 1935 No. 3 (NA Inv. Nr. 3549).

B. Indigenization re-visited: Four factors

In the second half of the 1930s, the macro economy made relatively progress according to some indicators, at least this is what economic historians of the 'optimist' wing argue.⁶¹⁰ In 1935, the real per capita index of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was 87.5 per cent of that in 1928. This was already a slight increase on the previous year, in which it had been only 85.7 per cent. In 1936 the index had progressed up to 92.4 per cent and by 1941 it had returned roughly to the 1928 level.⁶¹¹ In 1937 exports were rising towards their 1929 level, creating a positive balance of Fl. 456 million against imports. Also in terms of the real per capita income of the indigenous population, 1937 witnessed an index which was already three points higher than that of 1929. Rice production in Java was 89 kgs per capita in 1936, compared to 88 kgs in 1928.⁶¹²

Somewhere along the line, this progress did not seem to transfer to the human capital sector. The total unemployment rate, which nominally reached 17,663 Indonesians and 5,709 Europeans in 1936, remained high up to the Japanese invasion.⁶¹³ Thousands of unskilled Javanese labourers lost their jobs on the plantations on the East Coast of Sumatra and as many as 57,000 were sent back to Java by their employers.⁶¹⁴ A number of skilled, educated Indonesians could find no alternatives to compensate the disappearance of their high-paid positions so that they sought lower-status or lower-paid jobs. Others were lucky enough to find skilled jobs which had previously been the preserve of Chinese or Europeans.⁶¹⁵ The total number of seasonal workers in the Javanese sugar industry increased from 17,976 people in 1936 to 45,934 in 1939.⁶¹⁶ Many employers now preferred inexperienced new recruits working on the basis of outsource-like contracts with lower wages to experienced workers who would have to be paid high salaries.⁶¹⁷ In a nutshell, while some indicators showed progress in the macro sectors, in such sectors as employment opportunities the economy of the late 1930s had not yet been able to shake off the dampening impact of the Great Depression almost a decade earlier.

What contributed significantly to education recovery, especially in the Outer Province cities of Jambi, Palembang and Pontianak, was the export of rubber. In 1936 the so-called Rubber Fund was founded. One of the aims of the Rubber Fund was to finance public village schools and *vervolgsscholen* in these regions. The government admitted that the money in the Rubber Fund had been produced by a short-term climate, a consequence of an 'abnormally high price of rubber',⁶¹⁸ but, this statement about the 'abnormally high price of rubber' does not seem to ring true. The export value of rubber did

⁶¹⁰ See, for example, Boomgaard and Brown (eds), *Weathering the Storm*.

⁶¹¹ Anne Booth, 'Growth Collapses in Indonesia: A Comparison of the 1930s and the 1990s', *Itinerario* Vol. XXVI, 3/4 (2002), 73-99.

⁶¹² Peter Boomgaard, 'Surviving the Slump: Developments in Real Income during the Depression of the 1930s in Indonesia, Particularly Java', in Boomgaard and Brown (eds), *Weathering the Storm*, 23-52.

⁶¹³ John Ingleson, 'Urban Java during the Depression', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* Vol. XIX No. 2 (September 1988), 292-309.

⁶¹⁴ William Joseph O'Malley, 'Indonesia di Masa Malaise: Suatu Studi terhadap Sumatera Timur dan Yogyakarta di Tahun 1930-an', *Prisma* No. 8 Tahun XII (August 1983), 31-49.

⁶¹⁵ Ingleson, 'Urban Java during the Depression', 296.

⁶¹⁶ Anne Booth, 'Living Standards and the Distribution of Income in Colonial Indonesia', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* Vol. XIX No. 2 (September 1988), 310-34.

⁶¹⁷ O'Malley, 'Indonesia di Masa Malaise', 41.

⁶¹⁸ *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over het Schooljaar 1936/1937, Eerste Deel: Tekst* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1939), 52.

make up the largest share – namely Fl. 321 million or nearly one-third – of the total exports of the Netherlands Indies in 1937, which was Fl. 990 million. Nevertheless, the price of rubber increased only slightly between 1934 and 1937. The reason rubber contributed the largest share to the total export was attributable to the large-scale production of this commodity.⁶¹⁹ The money coming into the Rubber Fund might have been an outcome of the very high tax – almost 50 per cent in 1936 compared to 5 per cent in 1930 – which was slapped on the export of rubber in the wake of the government decision in 1934 to ratify what was known as the International Agreement on Rubber Regulation, intended to discourage overproduction.⁶²⁰ Therefore, the income from the rubber tax thus did not, the government admitted once again, guarantee that money for the Rubber Fund could be obtained regularly on a yearly basis.⁶²¹ Under such a relatively progressive, yet unstable economic situation, the government hoped to be able to restore to full capacity and reform the education sector.

No more than a brief survey is needed to show that the recovery and reform included the re-organization of Second-Class schools, the establishment of indigenous MULO, the reform of *normaalscholen* and the training courses designed for village school teachers, and not least, the introduction of a new administration in Western schools. Alumni of the HIK in Yogyakarta recalled that in 1939, the school re-opened its upper level programme, making an effective use of the two dormitory compounds – the Northern and the Southern.⁶²² The female HIK in Yogyakarta and Salatiga, which had run the lower-level training on a limited basis of new entrant selection during the crisis years, re-commenced public admission somewhere in 1937/1938.⁶²³ The lower-level training at the HIK in Bukittinggi, according to one alumnus reports, was also re-opened for admission around 1938, but so far I have not found archives which support this claim.⁶²⁴

In principle, the government meant to re-introduce the idea of their indigenizing Western education. That is, schooling for the Indonesian people which was to be suited as closely as possible to indigenous cultural lives. The account was on the phrase ‘to re-introduce’ since indigenization was no longer a new concept by the 1930s. Not long after the opening of village schools and the introduction of Dutch to the First-Class schools in Java in 1907, the Directors of Education G.A.J. Hazeu (1912-1914) and K.F. Creutzberg (1916-1922; 1923) had already submitted an *indianiseering* proposal. In 1927, the Acting-Advisor for Indigenous Affairs, Charles Olke van der Plas, also proposed the *nationaliseering* of education for the Indonesian people. *Indianiseering* was based on a critical evaluation which postulated that, while the indigenous need for Western education had grown enormously following the expansion of school, the main motivation for people to enter it had been the desire for European jobs, which was ‘impossible or very difficult to achieve for many Indonesians’. The driving force behind the *indianiseering* was to embed Western education for the indigenous community in the indigenous socio-cultural standards, thereby preventing an influx of children into European schools,

⁶¹⁹ See Colin Barlow and John Drabble, ‘Pemerintah dan Industri Karet yang Muncul di Indonesia dan Malaysia 1900-1940’, in Anne Booth, William J. O’Malley and Anna Weidemann (eds.), *Sejarah Ekonomi Indonesia* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1986?), 258-89.

⁶²⁰ Barlow and Drabble, ‘Pemerintah dan Industri Karet’, 284.

⁶²¹ *Verlag van het Onderwijs 1936/1937, Eerste Deel*, 52.

⁶²² Interview with Moerdiono, a 1939 alumnus of HIK Yogyakarta, conducted on 27 September 2006.

⁶²³ Interview with Soesilowati Basuki, a female student of HIK Yogyakarta from August 1941-March 1942, conducted in Yogyakarta, 28 November 2008.

⁶²⁴ Interview with Alatif Azis, Bandung, 27 November 2006.

which were 'not only limited in number of places, but also not the suitable design of education for [them]'.⁶²⁵

The *nationaliseering* sprang from an alert observation of the political impact of a 'fully Western oriented education'. Van der Plas believed that many members of the indigenous community, who had enjoyed a Western education, had lost their innate attachment to their own cultural roots but they also did not belong to European community circle. These culturally disoriented people were 'prone to the revolutionary propaganda' of the nationalists. The purpose of *nationaliseering* was to re-establish the harmony within indigenous society by introducing a type of schooling which promoted individual formation on the basis of a person's own cultural background thereby developing a counterforce against the nationalists. By citing a Sundanese aphorism of the *goeroe*, Van der Plas emphasized the strategic position of the teacher in developing that counterforce through the inculcation of pedagogical values.⁶²⁶

Although their points of departure diverged, both the *indianiseering* and *nationaliseering* proposals pointed out the urgency of placing the Western education for the Indonesian population into the indigenous social and cultural spheres. Unfortunately, neither was accorded timely political space. While in practice the concept of *indianiseering* did not venture beyond the matter of the language to be used at school, the *nationaliseering* proposal was dismissed by a sarcastic comment from a decisive authority in Batavia. In a letter to the Governor General, the Deputy Director of Education, W.J.A.C. Bins, asserted that Van der Plas had failed to demonstrate that in the socio-political context of late 1920s *nationaliseering* was indeed urgent and necessary. He also disregarded Van der Plas' reference to the vernacular conception of the *goeroe*. 'In an institution as HIS, the pedagogical side of education may and explicitly should not be devalued,' Bins wrote, 'but I would like to ask the writer of the memorandum [Van der Plas] whether the vague Javanese ideal of the *goeroe* had not been wrongly thrust too much blatantly into the foreground.'⁶²⁷ Just as the idea of *indianiseering*, that of the *nationaliseering* was virtually neglected at the time it was raised.

Now, in the throes of changing circumstances of the 1930s, the government reverted to the indigenization proposals. It saw how strategic it was, economically as well as politically, to reform and expand the education of the Indonesian masses, namely offering schooling conducted either in the vernacular or the Indonesian language. The underlying concept of indigenization was refined in 1935 as: to reform schools for the indigenous people into a cultural institution which, although pedagogically Western, engaged closely with the local community.⁶²⁸ Twenty years earlier, the idea of the school as a cultural centre had been worked on, but only exclusively in the case of the First-Class schools for the elite.⁶²⁹ The Western schools for the majority of the indigenous population were relatively untouched by substantial cultural policies. A couple of years later, in the 1930s, the new

⁶²⁵ Deputy Director (W.J.A.C. Bins) on behalf of Director of Education (J. Hardeman) to Governor-General (De Graeff) 17 January 1928, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 446.

⁶²⁶ Nota Van der Plas 7 December 1927, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 438-41.

⁶²⁷ Vice Director (W.J.A.C. Bins) on behalf of Director of Education (J. Hardeman) to Governor General (De Graeff) 17 January 1928, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 448.

⁶²⁸ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1936/1937, Eerste Deel*, 6

⁶²⁹ See, for example, *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië, Eerste Deel: Tekst 1917* (Batavia: Boekdrukkerij G. Kolff & Co., 1918) and *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië, Eerste Deel: Tekst 1918* (Batavia: Boekdrukkerij G. Kolff & Co. 1920).

policy line fostered schools which were to provide instruction both related and of practical use to the pupils' daily lives as they were prepared for vocational training at the upper level.⁶³⁰ The paradigm of teachers also changed; as was stated in the Teachers' Year Book of 1939, 'they were no longer kings but the parents for the pupils'.⁶³¹

Overall, the government planned to work on four policies of indigenization; namely to replace European teachers, to decentralize education, to re-organize schools and to reform the curriculum. In a moment these policies will be explored in detail. Before clarifying the issues, it is necessary to deal with the factors which motivated the government to return to the track of indigenization.

B.1 High costs

One obvious factor was economic: running a Dutch school was very costly indeed and the financial situation in the 1930s made this impossible. Table 4.3 presents a sample of the numbers of students in and the budgets for the Dutch and vernacular schools. In 1935/1936, the government allocated as much as Fl. 9,740,900 for the 138,566 students in the Dutch schools (regardless what type), whereas for 1,821,620 students in vernacular schools (also regardless what type) only Fl. 11,609,600 had been set. Therefore, for that school year, students in the Dutch schools were allocated Fl. 70.29 per pupil, as opposed to Fl. 6.37 per pupil in the vernacular schools, i.e. 11.03 times as much!⁶³²

Table 4.3: Number of students and amount of budget in the Dutch and vernacular schools

	Dutch schools (regardless types)		Vernacular schools (regardless types)	
	Students	Budget (in Dutch florin)	Students	Budget (in Dutch florin)
1935/1936	138,566	9,740,900	1,821,620	11,609,600
1936/1937	142,726	9,710,800	1,919,114	11,226,500
1937/1938	145,826	9,808,700	1,996,436	11,605,300

Sources: *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over het Schooljaar 1939/1940: Tweede Deel: Statistische Gegevens* (Batavia Centrum: Het Centraal Kantoor voor de Statistiek, December 1941), 6; *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over het Schooljaar 1936/1937: Tweede Deel: Statistische Gegevens* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1939), 268.

In 1936/1937 and again in 1937/1938, the allocations were successively 11.64 and 11.57 times as high in the Dutch schools as in the vernacular ones. This simple calculation shows how much more expensive it was to run a Dutch than a vernacular school. This economic consideration alone offered the government a strong reason to transform the Western standards in the HIS into indigenous ones, or, at least, to discourage more indigenous students from going to Western schools.

Actually, the Indonesian need for European education originated at the interface of the Western and the Eastern spheres. By the turn of the twentieth century, the need to bridge the spheres

⁶³⁰ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1936/1937, Tweede Deel, V.*

⁶³¹ *Almanak Goeroe 1939*, 51.

⁶³² Calculation is based on data in Table 3. In 1936/1937, the proportion of budget per student was Fl. 68.03 in the Dutch school as compared to Fl. 5.84 in the vernacular school. In 1937/1938, it was Fl. 67.26 as contrasted to Fl. 5.81. This reveals that the overall proportions of budget per student in the Dutch schools for 1936/1937 and 1937/1938, were lower than that for 1935/1936 (successively: Fl. 68.03, 67.26 and 70.29). However, the 1936/1937 and 1937/1938 expenses per student in the Dutch school contrasted to the vernacular school, were slightly higher than that in 1935/1936.

had become more palpable in the social life in the Netherlands Indies.⁶³³ This was in fact more or less also the policy argument of the government. In most Indonesian people, the desire for Dutch education was motivated by socio-economic considerations; it was a gateway to economically rewarding positions, mostly in the Western economic sector and the government service.⁶³⁴ Since the foundation of the HIS, Dutch primary schools had attracted growing numbers of Indonesians, from 6,306 pupils in 1914 to 12,592 in 1924.⁶³⁵ In the years immediately following the onset of the crisis, the enrolment of Indonesian children at those schools continued to increase, from 71,618 pupils in 1930 to 74,803 in 1935 to 88,023 in 1940.⁶³⁶ Indonesian graduates of the HIS also increased correspondingly. For the individual years of 1930, 1935, and 1940, for instance, HIS graduates numbered 4,674, 6,431, and 7,790 people; all surpassing the number of the European and Foreign Oriental groups.⁶³⁷ The increasing number of Indonesians who attended and graduated from the Dutch schools worried the government because there were never enough jobs to absorb these graduates.⁶³⁸ The reason for discouraging indigenous children from going to a Dutch school was therefore socio-economic situation, which, unless correctly handled, could have cost the government a heavy political price considering the heated politics in the 1930s.

Now, the majority of HIS pupils came from an environment in which the family language was vernacular. After graduating from the HIS, these pupils developed into an indigenous community which used Dutch in their own home – a seismic shift from their parents' home. The children of the HIS graduates used Dutch much more intensely than either their vernacular or Malay; they became the second generation of the Dutch-speaking indigenous community. In their choice of school, this second generation preferred the ELS to the HIS because they had grown up a Dutch-speaking community.⁶³⁹

By the second half of the 1930s, a significant number of Dutch-speaking indigenous children had begun to take up the ELS places intended for the European children.⁶⁴⁰ 'This situation does not mean,' wrote the Director of Education and Religious Affairs, P.J.A. Idenburg in 1938, 'that the ELS is not the right institution for non-Dutch children from Dutch-speaking communities. After all, the Dutch-speaking generations will grow quickly and I can hardly imagine that the ELS will be an affordable education for this group, which certainly does not have economic prospects.'⁶⁴¹

⁶³³ Director of Education, 28 November 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 605.

⁶³⁴ Paul van der Veur, *Education and Social Change in Colonial Indonesia (I)* (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies Southeast Asian Program, 1969), 9. See also, Groeneboer, *Gateway to the West*.

⁶³⁵ Van der Wal, *Some Information*, 8.

⁶³⁶ Van der Veur, *Education and Social Change*, 10.

⁶³⁷ *Ibid.* 12.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.* 9.

⁶³⁹ Director of Education, 28 November 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 605.

⁶⁴⁰ In 1935, there were 17,788 European pupils at the public ELS. In 1940, the number was 40,851. (See *Onderwijs Verslag 1935/1936*, Second Volume, 14-5; Van der Wal, *Some Information*, 16.) The increase in European pupils at the ELS between 1935-1940 was therefore 23,063 or 129.6%. Meanwhile, the increase in indigenous pupils at the ELS during the same period was indeed only 1,508 or 41.4% (3,642 in 1935 as compared to 5,150 in 1940), which was much lower than that of the European or even the Chinese pupils, which was 47.5%. However, provided the number of indigenous children at the ELS were reduced, many more places could have been available for the European children, who continued to enroll at the school.

⁶⁴¹ Director of Education, 28 November 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 607.

The changing social status of the HIS graduates, the government claimed, did not tally with the purpose of HIS education. The HIS had initially been designed for indigenous children from well-off circles who gradually had become engaged in Western culture. This group was expected to remain as a dynamic social layer in the indigenous community at the interface between the Eastern and the Western spheres.⁶⁴² By using Dutch at home and sending their children to the ELS, graduates of the HIS inclined towards the Western milieu and did not continue to play the role of cultural liaison agent to which the HIS education had entitled them. Instead of creating an indigenous group which bridged the chasm between the Western and Eastern communities in the Indies, the HIS served as a portal to Westernization. This dilemma presented the government with the stark choice of either switching from a European to an indigenous pillar of education system or taking some pre-emptive measures against the influx into the HIS of indigenous children.

B.2 Illiteracy

The second factor motivating the government had to do with illiteracy. Before the Great Depression, the government had considered the large number of illiterates⁶⁴³ among indigenous rural residents and urban dwellers a serious obstacle to economic and social development.⁶⁴⁴ Despite recognizing the hurdle, it seemed to be reluctant to tackle the problem. The introduction of Western education into indigenous society in 1907 contributed little to the improvement of the common people's literacy level because, regardless of the insistent urging by Ethical Policy supporters for the introduction of full indigenization,⁶⁴⁵ at least until the 1920s the government continued to remain focused on the education conducted in Dutch.⁶⁴⁶

In 1922, the government set up the Committee for Combating Illiteracy (*het Analfabetisme Bestrijdings-Comitè*) to provide adult people with courses in reading, writing and numeracy only to suspend the programme, for example in North Sumatra, on the pretext that the courses were often 'misused by nationalist organizations for political propaganda'.⁶⁴⁷ For some time afterwards, the illiteracy problem continued to be neglected and, ironically, the government did not come up with the idea of re-running the program via existing scholastic institutions.

By 1930, the number of literate Indonesians amounted to 3,746,225 or only 6.14 per cent of a total population of 61 million in 1930.⁶⁴⁸ As much as 90.9 per cent of the indigenous population over ten years old was illiterate. This figure was much higher than in Southeast Asian neighbours like

⁶⁴² Ibid. 606.

⁶⁴³ Here to mean 'Latin illiteracy'. It should be realized that some degree of vernacular or Arabic literacy had long existed among the indigenous Indonesians, although a statistical figure has still to be presented. Interview with Asvismarmo, Jakarta, 4 September 2006. See also M.C. Ricklefs, *Polarising Javanese Society: Islamic and Other Visions c.a. 1830s-1930s* (Singapore: National University of Singapore, 2007).

⁶⁴⁴ Director of Education 28 November 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 589.

⁶⁴⁵ Soegarda Poerbakatatja, *Pendidikan dalam Alam Indonesia Merdeka* (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1970), 27.

⁶⁴⁶ Van der Wal, *Some Information*, 6.

⁶⁴⁷ Director of Education 28 November 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 594; also Van der Wal's Note 1 on the same page.

⁶⁴⁸ Van der Wal, *Some Information*, 7.

Malaya, Thailand, Singapore and the Philippines where the illiteracy figure was 72.2, 68.8, 63.5, and 51.1 per cent respectively.⁶⁴⁹

The high percentage of illiteracy among Indonesians might have been connected to their low school attendance. Until 1931 out of the 4,803,647 indigenous children who were supposed to receive a three-year education at the village school only 1,431,429 (29.79 per cent) actually attended school. If this level of assessment was extended to a five-year education at *vervolgschool*, 1,623,745 out of 8,009,993 (20.27 per cent) children enjoyed school education. This percentage dropped even lower if a seven-year education at the HIS was counted as the basis for school participation, namely only 1,647,761 out of 11,216,339 children (14.69 per cent) did go to school.⁶⁵⁰ Before the onset of the economic crisis, the *Hollands Inlands Onderwijs Commissie* had suggested the need for some 450 village schools, 100 Second-Class schools and ten HIS in order to counter the illiteracy among the indigenous school-age children.⁶⁵¹

Hemmed in by the economic difficulties in any attempt to deal with the great number of illiterate people and having learnt the political risk of running adult courses, the Dutch colonial government then decided to reform the Western education offered and expand it to wider groups among the indigenous population. There were also political grounds for this decision. As the Director of Education and Religious Affairs put it in 1940, 'We should not lose sight of the general purposes of our colonial politics'.⁶⁵²

B.3 Quality question

The quality of indigenous school graduates presented yet another problem. In the 1930s, among the Europeans whose social roots were in the colony – known as *blijvers* – it was felt that graduates of the existing indigenous schools did not perform well either in the job market or in intercultural involvement in colonial society.⁶⁵³ In 1931, an article in a teachers' journal in West Sumatra, *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe*, also mentioned that graduates of indigenous schools (especially the village school) could manage only very basic reading, writing and arithmetic. Most of them (nearly 99 per cent according to the article) did not go on to *vervolgschool*. This posed a dilemma: still too young (around 10 years of age) to seek work after finishing from the village school, these children had a certificate which was barely worth the value it was written on. After several years, they had lost much of the literate skills they had acquired at school.⁶⁵⁴

The government shared those opinions. It admitted that the results of the *volkschool* and *vervolgschool* remained below the minimum standard, pedagogically and culturally.⁶⁵⁵ At the core

⁶⁴⁹ Van der Wal's Note 2 on Director of Education, 27 February 1940, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 654.

⁶⁵⁰ *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 10 Tahoen XI (October 1931), 212.

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid.* 212-3.

⁶⁵² Director of Education, 27 February 1940, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 652.

⁶⁵³ M. A. E. Van Lith-Van Schreven, 'Zullen Wij Onze Kinderen naar Holland Zenden?', in M. A. E. Van Lith-Van Schreven and J.H. Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp, *Indisch Vrouwen Jaarboek 1936* (Jogjakarta: Druk Kolff-Buning, 1936?), 227-41.

⁶⁵⁴ *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 4 Tahoen XI (April 1931), 62-4.

⁶⁵⁵ Director of Education, 28 Nov. 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 595, also Van der Wal's Note 1 on page 596.

cause of this unfortunate situation were the teachers, who were limited in number and lacked competence. For example, in 1938 in the districts of Jambi, Palembang and Lampung, about 50 per cent of the *volkschool* teachers were reported to be unqualified.⁶⁵⁶ Writing to Governor-General Tjarda van Starckenborgh Stachouwer, Minister of the Colonies Ch. J.I.M Welter said, 'The education in the Indies is not developing either fast or satisfactorily enough. So far we have tried with all the means at our disposal to expand and intensify the sending of teachers from the Netherlands as well as to launch a new educational programme every year. But there have always been doubts about how long we could afford it, whether it really fell under our financial remit, and whether it could be carried out economically.'⁶⁵⁷

B.4 Political impetus

By expanding and reforming indigenous education, the government was hoping to counter the progressive growth and influence of the so-called '*wilde scholen*', the 'unofficial schools'.⁶⁵⁸ Former efforts, notably since the 1920s, to impose systematic control over private schools and non-government teachers, whom the government thought fell into the radical category, had not work successfully.⁶⁵⁹ In 1932, through the Ordinance on the Supervision on Private Schools – *Toezicht Ordonnantie Particulier Onderwijs*, popularly known as the *Wilde Scholen Ordonnantie* or the Unofficial- or Unlicensed-School Ordinance, effective as of 1 October of that year – the government once again attempted to systematize control over the unsubsidized private schools, which it considered politically dangerous.⁶⁶⁰ But this attempt, too, ended unsuccessfully as a result of massive protests chiefly supported by the non-violent revolt of the Taman Siswa.⁶⁶¹ Thereafter, it seems, the government lost its control over these schools.

The number of the unsubsidized private schools continued to grow and they spread far and wide into towns and rural areas. In 1929, for example, the Muhammadiyah was running twenty-nine village schools, five *normaalscholen* and two *kweekscholen*, many with a government subsidy because they had adopted the government curriculum.⁶⁶² In 1938 the number of the Muhammadiyah schools, regardless of type, had grown to 466, only a very few with subsidy.⁶⁶³ In 1928 the totally unsubsidized Taman Siswa ran twenty schools, to which it added another twenty-eight in 1929.⁶⁶⁴ In 1932, at a time when many government schools closed down for economic reasons, the Taman Siswa schools

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid. 593-4.

⁶⁵⁷ Minister of the Colonies to Governor General, 13 December 1937, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 578.

⁶⁵⁸ From the government perspective the term 'unofficial school' meant 'private unsubsidized schools'.

⁶⁵⁹ Kenji Tsuchiya, *Demokrasi dan Kepemimpinan: Kebangkitan Gerakan Taman Siswa*, tr. H.B. Jassin (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1992), 262.

⁶⁶⁰ Tsuchiya, *Demokrasi dan Kepemimpinan*, 265-7.

⁶⁶¹ J.M. Pluvier, 'Taman Siswa dan Ordonansi Sekolah Liar', in Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo (ed.), *Taman Siswa dalam Perspektif Sejarah dan Perubahan: Kumpulan Tulisan Terpilih* (Jakarta: Persatuan Bekas Murid Taman Siswa, 1990), 121-8.

⁶⁶² Poerbakawatja, *Pendidikan*, 30.

⁶⁶³ Lee Kam Hing, *Education and Politics in Indonesia, 1945-1965* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1995), 14. By this time (1938), some Muhammadiyah schools continued to receive government subsidy, for example, its indigenous MULO opened in Yogyakarta in 1937.

⁶⁶⁴ Tsuchiya, *Demokrasi dan Kepemimpinan*, 137.

amazingly rose to 166 with a total of 11,000 pupils. In 1937 the Taman Siswa had 190 schools with 12,000 pupils, which rose to 205 schools with 14,499 pupils in 1939.⁶⁶⁵

In 1938, there were 1,961 unsubsidized private schools which fell into the government category of 'unofficial schools', with a total of 129,565 pupils and 4,982 teachers.⁶⁶⁶ All these schools developed branches, spreading over approximately thirty-six districts and the dependency areas from Aceh in the west to Timor in the east, and from Yogyakarta in the south to Manado and the Moluccas in the north. They were not restricted to the Taman Siswa and some of the Muhammadiyah schools, but included Chinese private schools in West Kalimantan, Sarikat Islam schools in Semarang and other Central Java regencies, Sarikat Rakyat schools in Purbolinggo, Purwokerto and Jatinegara, Ardjuna schools run by the Theosophists and Diniyah schools in West Sumatra.⁶⁶⁷ Apart from 91,255 indigenous children, the student body also consisted of 4,337 Europeans, 32,991 Chinese, and 982 other Orientals.⁶⁶⁸

By now, the government at least understood that these 'unofficial schools', albeit differing in ideology, shared the same mission and method of schooling. The aim of the Sarikat Islam schools founded by Tan Malaka in Semarang in 1921, to take an example from an earlier period, was to 'live with the people and not to be apart from them, let alone, to function as an oppressive instrument upon them'.⁶⁶⁹ They provided a curriculum, which dealt directly with the pupils' daily lives at home, which were inextricably linked to their parents' source of livelihood.⁶⁷⁰ The goal of the Taman Siswa, which was founded by Soewardi Soerjaningrat among others in Yogyakarta in 1922, was to uplift the social and political state of individual autonomy within a collective tie.⁶⁷¹ Its curriculum included local folklore, children's games, traditional songs, music and dances, and the vernacular both as a subject and as language of instruction.⁶⁷² Both in the Taman Siswa and the Sarikat Islam schools a family-like relationship was developed between the teachers and the students, and among the students themselves. The Taman Siswa especially encouraged the so-called *among* system, in which the teachers at schools played a role as the pupils' 'second' parents, and the students behaved towards each other as brothers and sisters. In both academic and social interactions, the spirit of solidarity and co-operation, replaced that of competition and a reward-punishment mechanism.⁶⁷³

The student body of the 'unofficial schools' grew not just because the teachers sent their own children there,⁶⁷⁴ but also because the schools were culturally close to the indigenous lives and common understanding of the communities they served.⁶⁷⁵ Many ordinary Indonesians – peasants,

⁶⁶⁵ Lee Kam Hing, 'Taman Siswa in Post-War Indonesia', *Indonesia*, Vol. 25 (April 1978), 41-59.

⁶⁶⁶ *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over het Schooljaar 1937/1938, Eerste Deel: Tekst* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1940), 151-3.

⁶⁶⁷ Tsuchiya, *Demokrasi dan Kepemimpinan*, 263.

⁶⁶⁸ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1937/1938, Eerste Deel*, 152

⁶⁶⁹ Tan Malaka, *Dari Penjara*, 70.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 70-1.

⁶⁷¹ Ki Haryadi, 'Sepuluh Tahun Perkembangan Taman Siswa, 1972-1982', in Ki Soeratman et al. (eds.), *1922-1982: 60 Tahun Taman Siswa* (Yogyakarta: Panitia Peringatan 60 Tahun Taman Siswa, 1982), 304.

⁶⁷² Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo, 'Pendahuluan', in Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo (ed.), *Taman Siswa dalam Perspektif*, 23.

⁶⁷³ S. Mangoensarkoro, 'Pokok-Pokok Sistem Among pada Perguruan Taman Siswa', in Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo (ed.), *Taman Siswa dalam Perspektif*, 34-7.

⁶⁷⁴ Director of Education 28 November 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 584-5.

⁶⁷⁵ Ki Suratman, 'Perjalanan Sekolah Taman Siswa', *Prisma* No. 9 Tahun XII (September 1983), 41-5.

koelis (contract labourers), small traders – felt encouraged to let their children be educated in these private schools because there the children found a second home which ‘made them [the children] inheritors of [the parents’] daily lives [and became] aware of their fate as the colonized, the oppressed and the humiliated’.⁶⁷⁶ In the colonial context, such a statement of mission was an unvarnished promotion of a spirit of rebellion. From the point of view of critical pedagogy, it assuredly stimulated socio-political awareness among the students and teachers, a move which departed radically from the traditionally reproductive mission of the Western school.

Although the colonial government was cautious of the impact of the ‘unofficial schools’ on the political and social order, the strategic measures it took against them were merely power-based and technical. The 1925 Teacher Ordinance and the 1932 School Ordinance, both applied top-down, elicited massive resistance and, it stands to reason, ended in failure.⁶⁷⁷

Government evaluations of the ‘unofficial schools’ did not venture beyond technical administrative issues. A 1937 report of the General Inspector mainly drew attention to ‘insufficient infrastructure, unqualified teachers and non-standard educational practices’, all framed within an economic judgement.⁶⁷⁸ ‘Insofar as the success of these [unsubsidized] schools is to be judged from the attendance of pupils,’ the Inspector wrote, ‘this type of schools is definitely important economically.’⁶⁷⁹ Approximately ten years earlier, the same dismissive tone could be heard in government reviews of the ‘unofficial schools’. In reply to Van der Plas’ warning memoranda about the Taman Siswa schools in 1927, the Deputy Director of Education wrote ‘Soewardi’s national school is no more than an experiment; that is all. From an inspection report it has turned out that the education [at the school] was below the standard of the public HIS. Soewardi might have attracted wide-scale attention and sympathy, but [his] experiment is far from finished and proven.’⁶⁸⁰

If these government officials did indeed formulate their observations and professional opinions correctly, they still failed to explain why these ‘unofficial schools’, which they said did not come up Western educational standards, had succeeded in attracting so many ordinary Indonesian and had even survived the political pressure brought to bear throughout the 1920s into the 1930s. In other words, the ‘unofficial schools’ continued to boom, untamed by legal measures.

C. Managing Strategies

As did others around the world, the government had to deal with the changing political and economic situation which characterized the 1930s. As indicated, it focused on four principal strategies, namely the replacement of European teachers, decentralization of education, school re-organization and curriculum reform. All these four points will now be discussed in detail.

C.1 Replacement of European teachers

⁶⁷⁶ Tan Malaka, *Dari Penjara*, 71.

⁶⁷⁷ See again Pluvier, ‘Taman Siswa dan Ordonansi Sekolah Liar’, in Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo (ed.), *Taman Siswa dalam Perspektif*, 121-8; Tsuchiya, *Demokrasi dan Kepemimpinan*, 260-347.

⁶⁷⁸ Report of the General Inspector of Western Primary School, MULO and *Kweekschool* of the 1937/1938 School Year: A Supplement, *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1937/1938, Eerste Deel*, 156-7.

⁶⁷⁹ Report of the Inspector General, *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1937/1938, Eerste Deel*, 158.

⁶⁸⁰ (Deputy) Director of Education 17 January 1928, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 449.

One striking point of the policy of indigenization was the government decision to replace European teachers at the HIS by Indonesian counterparts. Since 1932, for the sake of efficiency the aim of the government had been to replace European teachers with respectively Chinese or Indonesian colleagues: 546 at the public HCS, 791 at the public HIS and fifty-six at the *schakelschool*. It was realized that the immediate removal of those 1393 European teachers would represent a drastic step, the effects of which could be very damaging to both the nature and quality of Western education for non-European children.⁶⁸¹ Moreover, serious doubts were raised about whether a sufficient number of qualified Indonesian and Chinese teachers would be available in the near future to take over the teaching positions left by their European colleagues. The Minister of the Colonies admitted that the replacement of European teachers depended on 'the readiness and capacity of those who would take over the positions [that is, the Indonesian and Chinese teachers]'. However, faced with the impasse of the stringent budget, the Minister agreed to set a gradual substitution in motion.⁶⁸² Consequently European teachers at the HIS were distributed to the ELS and the HCS. Indonesian teachers who held European qualifications were naturally seconded to the HIS. If the HCS did not have the capacity to employ all the (European) teachers, they were to continue to teach at the HIS but be paid an indigenous not a European salary.⁶⁸³

In 1931 there were 531 European teachers at the public HIS; of them only 264 (mostly school principals) still remained by 1933. The number continued to decrease: 163 European teachers in 1935, 148 in 1937 but there was a slight increase to 152 in 1939. Comparatively speaking, the number of Indonesian teachers rose significantly from 824 persons in 1931 to 982 in 1933 to 1,034 in 1935, with a slight dip to 1,015 in 1937 and yet another increase to 1,054 in 1939.⁶⁸⁴

Most of the European personnel still employed in the HIS were school principals. A small number were ordinary teachers. Others worked at the *leerschool* (practice school) or at the special school and administratively were set apart from the regular teacher formation.⁶⁸⁵ Van der Wal presents a table showing that in 1940 as many as 321 European personnel still remained in Dutch-Indonesian and special schools.⁶⁸⁶ It is likely that these 321 Europeans included principals, ordinary teachers and other non-formative teachers.

Male and female European teachers still working at the HIS were placed only under European principals.⁶⁸⁷ In 1937, forty-six out of 295 school principals (Europeans and Indonesians), were holders of the indigenous head-teacher certificate and thirteen held a lower-level indigenous certificate.⁶⁸⁸ Because it could be assumed that European principals almost certainly held a European not an indigenous certificate, it can be assumed that these fifty-nine principals (46 + 13) were all Indonesians. Furthermore, if all those 148 European teachers at public HIS in 1937 (152 in 1939) were school principals, approximately 147 school principals (295-148) must have been Indonesians (59 of whom

⁶⁸¹ *Openbaar Verbaal* 14 March 1932 No. 15 (NA Inv. Nr. 3298).

⁶⁸² *Openbaar Verbaal* 22 June 1932 (NA Inv. Nr. 3323).

⁶⁸³ *Verlag van het Onderwijs 1934/1935, Eerste Deel, VIII.*

⁶⁸⁴ *Verlagen van het Onderwijs* 1930/1931, 44-5; 1933/1934, 94-5; 1935/1935, 120-1; 1937/1938, 234-5; 1939/1940, 338-9, all the second volumes.

⁶⁸⁵ *Verlag van het Onderwijs 1937/1938, Eerste Deel, 106.*

⁶⁸⁶ Van der Wal, *Some Information*, 15.

⁶⁸⁷ *Verlag van het Onderwijs 1937/1938, Eerste Deel, 107.*

⁶⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

held indigenous certificates). Consequently, in 1937, the ratio between European and indigenous principals at the HIS was 148:147 or almost 50:50. This situation encouraged the government to claim rather hastily that by 1938, 'the *Hollands Inlandse Scholen*, which were headed by indigenous principals, were already completely indigenized.'⁶⁸⁹ Here the phrase 'completely indigenized' means that at some of the HIS, not a single European principal or teacher remained.

As far as the government was concerned, the replacement of European school personnel represented a saving in efficiency as this situation had some implications in the form of lower salaries and allowance scales. Tables 4.2a and 4.2b show the scale a teacher's salary. In 1938, a new European recruit with a *kweekschool* diploma was entitled to a starting salary of Fl. 180 per month but it would take an indigenous teacher with the same diploma no less than eleven years' service to reach that scale (Scale VII). According to the 1934 Revised Regulation on Teachers' Salaries, an indigenous teacher with a *kweekschool* diploma would have a beginning salary of about Fl. 70 per month (Scale IV) but only after he or she had first completed two years as a teaching cadet (*voorpraktijk*). These two years of this cadetship, which had previously counted as full, were now only half valid as the starting point of duration of service.⁶⁹⁰ Unlike the European teachers who enjoyed a holiday allowance and a reduced salary (*wachtgeld*) while off duty, such facilities were denied the indigenous teachers. Table 4.4 compares the salary scales of European and Indonesian teachers according to their diplomas.

Table 4.4: European and Indonesian salary scales, 1940

European teachers		Indonesian teachers	
Diploma	salary scale	Diploma	salary scale
School principal with European head-teacher certificate	Fl. 320-650	School principal with Indonesian head-teacher certificate	Fl. 250-400
Holder of European head-teacher certificate	Fl. 190-550	Holder of HIK or HKS certificate	Fl. 70-250
Holder of lower certificate	Fl. 125-325	Holder of <i>kweekschool</i> certificate	Fl. 34-115
Holder of lower certificate with two-third status	Fl. 100-200	Holder of normal school certificate	Fl. 27.50-72.50

Source: A.K. Pringgodigdo, 'Toelating van Niet-Europeesche Leerlingen tot de Europeesche Lagere School', in *Supplement op het Triwindoe-Gedenkboek Mangkoe Nagoro VII* (Soerakarta: Het Comité voor het Triwindoe-Gedenkboek, 1940), 315-30.

As a result of all these swingeing cut in salary, the replacement of many European with indigenous teachers produced a large-scale efficiency saving in the government budget, just as planned. In a telegram to the Minister of the Colonies on 17 March 1932, the Governor-General reported that 'the aim was to place much cheaper teachers' at the HIS.⁶⁹¹

The government realized that the replacement policy was 'not really the be all and end all'. The policy was no more than 'an emergency response to the gradual execution of the educational re-organization of the *Hollands-Inlandse onderwijs* in conformity with the so-called *kweekschoolplan*'.⁶⁹² As touched upon earlier, the 1927 *kweekschoolplan* presented a plan under which the training of teachers

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid. 107-8.

⁶⁹⁰ *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 4 Tahoen XI (April 1931), 83-4.

⁶⁹¹ *Openbaar Verbaal* 22 June 1932 (NA Inv. Nr. 3323).

⁶⁹² *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1934/1935, Eerste Deel*, VIII.

for Western primary schools would follow a differentiated line of a six-year schooling in the first phase, and a unified line of an advanced two-year course in the upper phase. The differentiation in the first phase was aimed to establish a solid basis of the qualifications required for each of the three types of the Western primary schools (ELS, HCS, HIS). As a consequence students of the HIK would be suitable for teaching at the HIS. As the first entrants to the HIK began their training in the 1927/1928 school year, formally speaking the graduates would be available for the gradual replacement of the European teachers only in the 1933/1934 school year.⁶⁹³ The efficiency policy forced the planned replacement to be carried through sooner and more drastically than the *kweekschoolplan* had originally projected.

Job-wise for Indonesian people, the indigenization of the HIS personnel should have opened up a broad(er) opportunity to enter the teaching profession. However, because of the unfavourable economic situation this was not the case. In 1932 Director of Education and Religious Affairs, B. Schrieke, proposed the elimination of the lower level (*onderbouw*) of the HIK so that entrants to the upper level (*bovenbouw*) would only come from the MULO.⁶⁹⁴ This idea was not put into practice; the *kweekschoolplan* plan did not work out fully either. It was a sorry story: the HIK in Bukittinggi stopped admitting new students in 1932, the upper level of the HIK in Yogyakarta faded away in 1933, the HIK in Bandung was the only public indigenous-teacher school which continued to run the two levels of training until the arrival of the Japanese.⁶⁹⁵ Passing the question whether all this then meant a 'history of missed opportunity' for the Indonesians,⁶⁹⁶ both sides of the coin should be considered. That the upgraded and expanded training of indigenous teachers at the HIK could not run as smoothly as planned was an inevitable result of the economic crisis. However, seeing the overall context of the 1930s, the accelerated replacement of European teachers from the indigenous Western schools could be seen as the removal of the direct representatives of the late colonial state from the opportunity to get a formative grip on the minds of the indigenous pupils. Gradually the cultural foundation of the late colonial state was uprooted and the Great Depression was one of the factors which contributed to that process.

C.2 Educational decentralization

Educational decentralization was another indigenization policy. Fixed as a plan in 1930,⁶⁹⁷ the decentralization policy became effective for Java and Madura only in 1937 and for the Outer Provinces

⁶⁹³ *Kweekschoolplan*, 5-11. Chapter 3 deals with the *kweekschoolplan* and the teacher training situation 1927-1942.

⁶⁹⁴ Director of Education 30 June 1932, in *Openbaar Verbaal* 30 October 1932 No. 1 (NA Inv. Nr. 3355).

⁶⁹⁵ Interview with Moerdiono, a 1939-1942 student of the Bandung HIK, conducted in Yogyakarta, 27 September 2006.

⁶⁹⁶ This expression 'a history of missed opportunity' is obviously not my own. I have quoted it from the title of Anne Booth's *The Indonesian Economy in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A History of Missed Opportunities* (Basingstoke etc: McMillan, 1998). See also a similar expression in the title of Howard W. Dick's paper seven years earlier: 'Nineteenth Century Industrialization: A Missed Opportunity', First Conference of Indonesia's Modern Economic History, Jakarta, 1-4 October 1991; then published in J. Thomas Lindblad (ed), *New Challenges in the Modern Economic History of Indonesia* (Leiden: Programme of Indonesian Studies, 1993), 123-48. See the expression appearing even much, much earlier in J. De Kadt, *De Indonesische Tragedie; Het Treurspel der Gemiste Kansen* (Amsterdam: G.A. van Oorschot Uitgever, 1949), re-published with an epilogue by Jan Bank in 1989.

⁶⁹⁷ Minister of the Colonies to Governor General 8 August 1931, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 492.

in 1938.⁶⁹⁸ Through decentralization, a substantial portion of indigenous education was handed over by Batavia to local governments at the autonomous provincial and municipal and regency levels. The provincial and municipal governments now had the authority to legislate from new openings of the village and the Second-Class schools, and to set regulations affecting the local education budget and school fees. They also held the legal right to add content which was considered necessary to, or characteristic of, a particular geographical area in the regency or municipality, directly to the educational curricula and lesson plans.⁶⁹⁹

As quid pro quo, the local governments now assumed the responsibility for the greatest share in financing the indigenous schools in their respective territories.⁷⁰⁰ The central government principle was 'achieving the goal without increasing the cost'.⁷⁰¹ Here it can be assumed that, while the economic decline had delayed its implementation six years earlier, now in 1937 the decentralization was the central government strategic exit from the crisis and enabled it to carry out the expansion of indigenous schools plan, especially in Java and Madura. Later, this budgetary share created a serious problem. More often than not the financial capacities and the political will of the local governments in the autonomous territories were rather deficient so that school expansion and improvement depended on how far these governments could afford such plans and whether they honoured such a commitment.⁷⁰² Unlike in the Outer Provinces, Java and Madura decentralization did include the distribution of supervisory authority.⁷⁰³ Consequently, the central government in Batavia was often not in the position to monitor the qualitative development of the *volkschool* education here. In 1940 it had not always been updated with the latest figures of schools in the areas. In fact, the central administration considered calling a halt to the decentralization because, 'except for several municipalities, owing to their broken financial situations the autonomous regencies cannot afford the school expansion'.⁷⁰⁴

In 1930, when the decentralization plan for vernacular education was fixed, the central government passed on a proposal which suggested handing over matters about the HIS and the bridging/link school (*schakelschool*) to the provinces and municipalities. This action was taken because it thought that, as the village- and continuation schools had already been handed over to the local governments, the decentralization of the HIS and the bridging schools would lead to a unification of the organizational management of indigenous education. Following the decentralization of the village and continuation (*vervolg*) schools, responsibility for the training of teachers in the village-teacher training school (*Opleiding voor Volksschool Onderwijzers*, OVO) and in the *normaalschool* was handled by the regency/municipal and provincial governments respectively. The training of teachers at the *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool* (HIK) could also be distributed locally, if the HIS were included in the

⁶⁹⁸ *Verlagen van het Onderwijs 1936/1937, Eerste Deel*, 5-6; *1937/1938, Eerste Deel*, 7

⁶⁹⁹ *Verlag van het Onderwijs 1937/1938, Eerste Deel*, 7-9

⁷⁰⁰ *Verlag van het Onderwijs 1936/1937, Eerste Deel*, 5-6

⁷⁰¹ Director of Education, 28 Nov. 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 599.

⁷⁰² Director of Education, 8 March 1940, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 678-9.

⁷⁰³ *Verlag van het Onderwijs 1937/1938, Eerste Deel*, 8.

⁷⁰⁴ Director of Education, 8 March 1940, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 685.

decentralization effort. Should it have been so, all sections of education for the Indonesian community would have been completely in the hands of the local governments.⁷⁰⁵

As in the case of vernacular schools, the decentralization of the HIS and the *schakelschool* would have implied a budget shared between the central and local governments. Moreover, decentralization could have imposed efficiency by making changes in the European standard of the HIS. Because the underlying idea of decentralization was indigenization, the vernacular or Malay could have been used at school. The HIS students would not have used Dutch in the first and second years following the preparatory year. In third year, verbal communication would have been a mixture of Dutch and the vernacular.⁷⁰⁶ Students would have used Dutch and received Dutch lessons only in the last three years. All these measures, coupled with such policies as the replacement of European by indigenous teachers and *kweekschool* graduates by *normaalschool* graduates, would have achieved a large budget reduction, which would have become systematic only if decentralization had taken place.

The Indonesian Teacher Association, *Persatoean Goeroe Hindia Belanda* (PGHB), rejected the government plan for the decentralization of the HIS. At its grand meeting (claimed to have been attended by 1,000 people) in Soerakarta on 18 February 1930, the PGHB released a resolution stressing the responsibility of the central government for the provision of public European education for Indonesian children. While pointing out the 'unreadiness' of many local governments to accept the financial and administrative aspects of decentralization, the PGHB argued that, as an institution, the HIS had not yet attained a standard quality. Releasing the HIS from central monitoring would only cause a deterioration in its standards. In its summing up the PGHB urged the government to postpone the decentralization of the HIS.⁷⁰⁷

On different grounds, the decentralization proposal for the HIS was disapproved of by the People's Advisory Council, the *Volksraad*, which was of the opinion that the HIS and the *schakelschool* were of an equivalent status to the ELS and the HCS. The HIS and the bridging school functioned as a connection between the respective communities for which they were intended and for what it called 'a far-reaching Western education'.⁷⁰⁸ Therefore, the *Volksraad* argued, the Dutch primary education and its different sections (ELS, HCS, HIS, *Schakelschool*) ought to prevail as a whole and none of the sections should be hived off and transferred to the provinces or municipalities.⁷⁰⁹

Emerging as an issue of public debate, the decentralization plan complicated issues in school communities about the future of the HIS. The government efficiency programme put together in the wake of the crisis had ushered in termination, merger and even cancellation. With a host of doubts raised about the decentralization plan, questions emerged asking whether the HIS expansion should prevail. In its meeting on 29 June 1930 attended by 700 people, the Bukittinggi Chapter of the PGHB, insisted that the government should go ahead with the expansion of the HIS because the school was the only channel through which Indonesian children could have the chance to pursue a Western education up to secondary, even tertiary levels.⁷¹⁰ During the grand meeting of the PGHB in Solo from

⁷⁰⁵ *Verlag van het Onderwijs 1936/1937, Eerste Deel*, 8.

⁷⁰⁶ Director of Education, 28 November 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 605.

⁷⁰⁷ *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 4 Tahoen X (April 1930), 90.

⁷⁰⁸ *Verlag van het Onderwijs 1936/1937, Eerste Deel*, 9.

⁷⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁰ *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 7 Tahoen X (Juli 1930), 158-9.

4 to 7 February 1931, at which about 1500 people (20 of whom female teachers) were claimed to have been present, the central chair of the Association received 130 organizational and individual votes in favour of the resolution of the Bukittinggi Chapter. Boasted by this show of lands, the central PGHB issued a brochure entitled 'HIS in Gevaar' and urged the government to pay a serious attention to the survival of the HIS.⁷¹¹ The HIS question continued to be the epicentre of discussion in the Indonesian Education Congresses held in 1935 and 1937, where one general motion was once again passed urging the government to safeguard the development of the HIS.⁷¹²

Conscious of the massive reactions from the Indonesians and the disapproval of *Volksraad*, the government decided to abort the decentralization plan for the HIS but carried on with its attempts to indigenize the school. It managed to change the public opinion among Indonesians that the HIS was an elite school.⁷¹³ When the HIS was first established in 1914, its position had indeed been an elite school (*standenschool*). It was the result of re-organization of the First-Class School (*Eerste Klasse School*), which had educated the well-off indigenous people since 1893.⁷¹⁴ For those wishing to attend it, the parents' income scale served as a criterion of entrance but, Paul W. van der Veur claims that this admission criterion never did apply absolutely to the HIS.⁷¹⁵ A survey conducted in 1926 by The Netherlands Indies Education Commission (*Hollandsch Inlandsch Onderwijs-Commissie*), cited by Paul W. van der Veur, made the claim that 92 per cent of the HIS pupils actually came from a family with income below Fl. 3,000 per annum (Fl. 250 per month), and 45 per cent from one with less than Fl. 900 per annum (Fl. 75 per month).⁷¹⁶ As a consequence of the Great Depression, the Director of Education and Religious Affairs stated that the government decided to lower the school-fee criteria so that private employees earning Fl. 50 per month (Fl 600 per annum) and civil servants earning Fl. 35 per month (Fl 420 per annum) could send their children to the HIS.⁷¹⁷

In reality, the parents' salary scale as a condition for their children's entry to the HIS does not seem to have reached the limit the Director of Education and Religious Affairs had claimed. A 1939 Teachers' Year Book shows that a parent with an annual income of up to Fl. 1,200 (or Fl. 100/month) was the lowest salary scale which would enable an indigenous child to enrol at the HIS. An annual income of Fl. 900 (Fl. 75/month) would 'only' enable parents to send their children to the *schakelschool*.⁷¹⁸ So, in terms of the parents' salary-scale criterion for children's entry, the HIS remained an elite school. Although the government argued that the HIS had gradually lost its elite status, as the Director of Education and Religious Affairs said, 'It is difficult to make the Indonesian people understand that the exceptional position of the HIS is a thing of the past'.⁷¹⁹

⁷¹¹ *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* Nos 2-3 Tahoen XI (February-March 1931), 42-6. The PHGB itself claimed to have 15,000 members and 119 branches at the end of 1930, an increase from 10,000 members and 96 branches in 1929.

⁷¹² Sutedjo Bradjanagara, *Sedjarah Pendidikan Indonesia* (Jogjakarta: Badan Kongres Pendidikan Indonesia[?], 1956), 93, 124.

⁷¹³ Director of Education, 28 November 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 605.

⁷¹⁴ *Algemeen Verslag van het Inlandsch Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over 1914 Eerste Deel: Tekst* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1916), 1.

⁷¹⁵ Van der Veur, *Education and Social Change*, 16.

⁷¹⁶ Van der Veur, *Education and Social Change*, 3 and 16.

⁷¹⁷ Director of Education, 28 November 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 606.

⁷¹⁸ *Almanak Goeroe 1939*, 150-1.

⁷¹⁹ Director of Education, 28 November 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 607.

C.3 School re-organization

The next relevant policy affected school re-organization. The Second-Class school for non-aristocratic urban children which was founded in 1893 and had been gradually ceasing operation since 1930, was completely abolished in 1937. During its twilight years 1930-1937, students were allowed to transfer to the two-year continuation school (*vervolg-school*, first installed in 1915) if they desired to pursue a secondary education.⁷²⁰ Another plan was that the continuation school would be upgraded from two- to three-years' education by 1943.⁷²¹ Hence, the structure of primary education for indigenous people consisted of the three-year village school (*volks-school*, first introduced in 1907) and the *vervolg-school*. As shown in Figure 4.1a, graduates of the *vervolg-school* could go on to different vocational training courses at the upper level, including the two-year Training Courses for the Teachers of Village School (*Opleiding voor Volksschool Onderwijzers, OVVO*) and the four-year *normaalschool* for the teachers of *vervolg-school*. Consequently, the village school, the *vervolg-school* and those vocational courses at a higher level made up one element in the overall structural scheme of Western education in Indonesia in the 1930s (see Figure 4.1b).

Government reports reveal the gradual conversion after 1930 of the Second-Class school into village- and *vervolg*-school to confirm this assertion had prompted the dismissal of indigenous teachers, but no statistics are available. At public schools, the oldest staff members, mainly *goeroe bantoe*, were downgraded to the reduced salary scale (*wachtgeld*). At subsidized indigenous schools, young unmarried normal school graduates had to quit their jobs. These two groups of teachers were reappointed to village schools and were paid according to the salary scale of the village school teachers.⁷²²

Meanwhile, for indigenous children the government established the extended primary school, the MULO (*Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs*), in 1937 – called indigenous MULO (*inlandse MULO*).⁷²³ The aim of this school, the government claimed, was aimed at 'an absolute connection between far-reaching general education and the indigenous environment'.⁷²⁴ The foundation of the indigenous MULO marked a mile-stone for the majority of the Indonesian population. Less than two decades earlier, graduates of the village school lucky enough to have an opportunity to pursue general education at the extended primary level level, had to go to the European MULO after completing the prerequisite education at the five-year bridging school (*schakelschool*, first installed in 1921).⁷²⁵ The foundation of the indigenous MULO now meant that Indonesian children had their own link to extended primary education. Unlike the European MULO in which Dutch was the language of instruction, the indigenous MULO employed Indonesian and the vernacular. In contrast to the European MULO which admitted graduates of the seven-year Dutch primary school (HIS, HCS) as

⁷²⁰ I.J. Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1938), 315-7

⁷²¹ Director of Education, 28 November 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 600-1.

⁷²² *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1934/1935, Eerste Deel, IX.*

⁷²³ Director of Education, 28 November 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 603

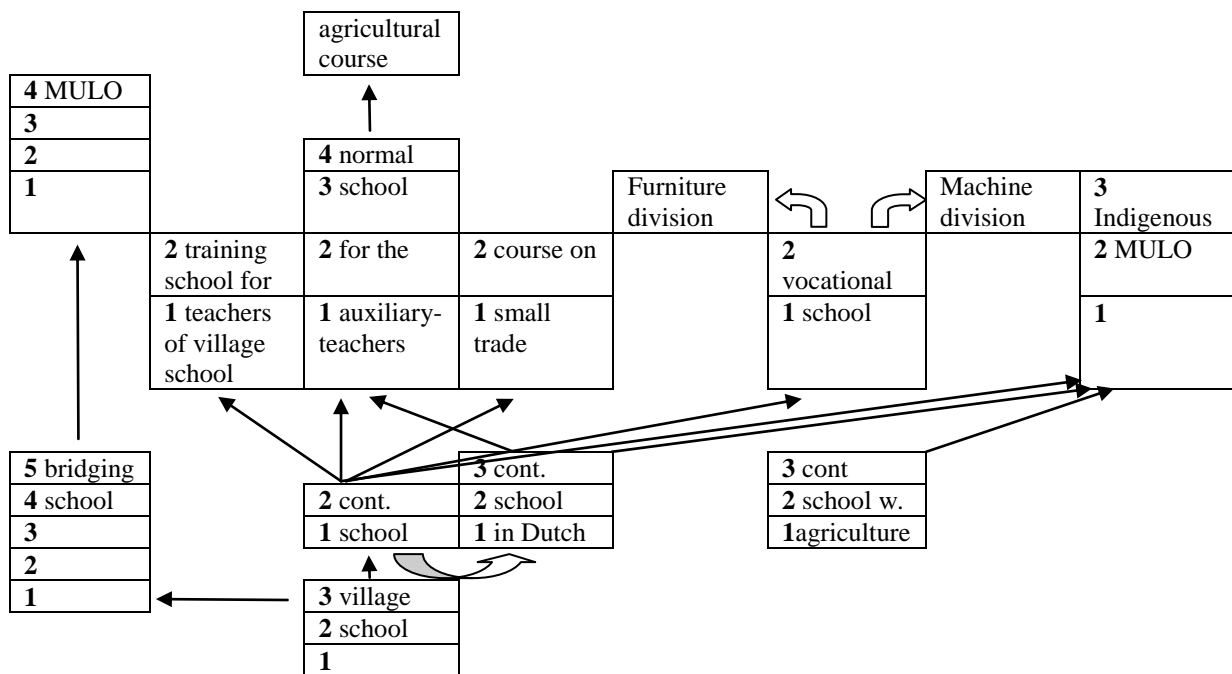
⁷²⁴ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1937/1938, Eerste Deel, 24.*

⁷²⁵ Director of Education 28 November 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 604; Van der Wal, *Some Information*, 8.

well as those from the bridging school (Figure 1b), the indigenous MULO was particularly intended for graduates of the continuation school and other primary schools designed particularly with the indigenous community in mind (Figure 1a). With a MULO certificate, it was even possible to go on to vocational training at the secondary level.⁷²⁶

The 1937/1938 school year began with the opening of two indigenous MULO, in Yogyakarta and Solo, with forty first-year pupils each. The head of the MULO in Yogyakarta was the holder of a principal's certificate, who had graduated from the HIK. Its counterpart in Solo was reported to be in a less favourable situation; its principal was 'only' a graduate of the old-fashioned type of *kweekschool*.⁷²⁷ More indigenous MULO were established in Bandung, Palembang, Banjarmasin in 1938, and in Surabaya in 1939.⁷²⁸

Figure 4.1a: Structural outline of vernacular elementary education for indigenous children, 1938



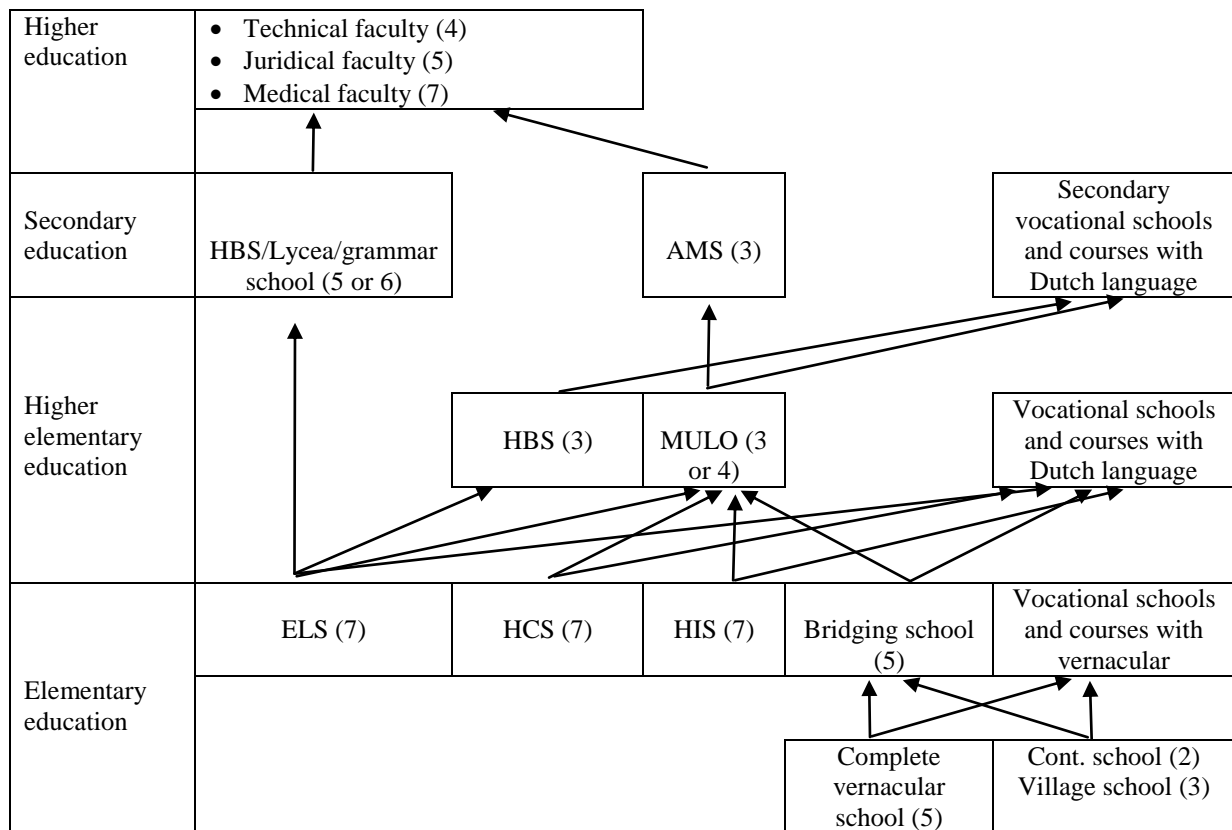
Source: *Almanak Goeroe 1939*, 28. Numbers indicate grades.

⁷²⁶ Director of Education 28 Nov. 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 604.

⁷²⁷ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1937/1938, Eerste Deel*, 24-5. The *kweekschool*, aka KS, was the earliest type of the first-class teacher training school for the indigenous people.

⁷²⁸ Director of Education 28 November 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 603

Figure 4.1b: Structural outline of education in Netherlands India in the 1930s



Sources: *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over het Schooljaar 1933/1934, VI-VII; 1934/1935, VI-VII; 1935/1936, VI-VII; 1936/1937, VI-VII*, all the second volume. Numbers in parentheses indicate duration years of schooling. ELS = Europeese Lagere School (European elementary school); HCS = Hollands Chinese School (Dutch Chinese school); HIS = Hollands Inlandse School (Dutch Indonesian school); HBS = Hogere Burger School (higher public school); MULO = Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs (upper elementary education); AMS = Algemeen Middelbare School (general secondary school).

C.4 Curriculum reform

The reform of the school curriculum was a strategic policy to alter the course of the internal schooling process. The intention of the government was to play a part in indigenization by turning schools for the Indonesian people into a cultural institution, in which lessons were given compatible with the cultural background of the pupils' community.⁷²⁹ School activities included the pupils' participation in work in the schoolyard, which was transformed into 'an agrarian environment'.⁷³⁰ Pupils in the highest years were expected to participate in a live-in programme which stipulated their lodge with a family in a particular community so as to learn from their actual daily lives.⁷³¹

In the classroom, teaching materials covered history, geography, natural science, arithmetic, reading, the vernacular, Malay, drawing, painting, local songs and games (*folklore*).⁷³² The last four subjects especially were emphasized. The Director of Education and Religious Affairs noted, 'In East Java Governor Van der Plas was busy compiling a book of Madurese children's songs, and in West Java a teacher, Koesoemadinata, had been relieved of teaching duties so as to be able to concentrate on

⁷²⁹ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1936/1937, Eerste Deel*, 6.

⁷³⁰ Director of Education, 28 Nov. 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 596.

⁷³¹ *Ibid.* 597.

⁷³² *Ibid.* 600.

Sundanese folklore.⁷³³ The lessons were given in the vernacular by a teacher who was a native speaker of the language. In the Outer Provinces most instruction was given in Malay.⁷³⁴ Later the sweeping reform in the curriculum for the training of the village schoolteachers will be discussed in more detail.

D. Reviving the cultural agent

The training of teachers for indigenous primary schools became a critical issue in terms of the pedagogical content-knowledge the student teachers were expected to master. But, in Java and Madura especially, 'cultural nativeness' also became an important component of their task. After the 1937 decentralization policy of education, autonomous territories were delegated the authority to establish their own teaching corps and to set up characteristic local regulations to guide the lesson plan, teachers' competence, minimum size of the teaching staff, the alteration of learning tools and so forth.⁷³⁵ Indeed, teachers for the village schools and *vervolgscholen* had to be recruited from the same cultural background as that of the schools.⁷³⁶ In Java and Madura, the municipal and regency governments shouldered the burdens of both the recruitment and the training of the village school teachers in the OVO, whereas the provincial governments were responsible for the *vervolgschool* teachers in the *normaalschool*. In the Outer Provinces, the municipal and regency governments and the combined-regency governments carried out these tasks.⁷³⁷

Both the OVO and the *normaalschool* accepted graduates from the *vervolgschool*, who were between 12 and 16 years of age.⁷³⁸ Selection for entry to the *normaalschool* was especially stringent. In one of its articles, a 1948 edition of an Indonesian teachers' journal, *Madjallah untuk Para Pendidik di Indonesia*, describes the entry-selection situation before the Pacific War. 'Hundreds of applicants for the *normaalschool* often had to compete only for 30 places so that those responsible for the selection faced enormous difficulty in choosing the best 30 applicants out of those hundreds.'⁷³⁹ This retrieved memory might well be accurate. In 1928, a teachers' journal in West Sumatra, *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe*, reported that as many as 379 applicants from ninety-nine Second-Class schools throughout the West Coast of Sumatra area sat the examination for entrance to the Boys' *Normaalschool* in Padang Pandjang, Fort De Kock. Only seventeen candidates passed the exam and were admitted!⁷⁴⁰

The entrance test for the *normaalschool* produced one striking story in West Sumatra. Many candidates came from distant places all over the West Coast of Sumatra area. Most of them travelled

⁷³³ Ibid. 597.

⁷³⁴ Ibid.

⁷³⁵ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1936/1937, Eerste Deel*, 9.

⁷³⁶ Ibid. 11.

⁷³⁷ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1937/1938, Eerste Deel*, 7-9, 38-40.

⁷³⁸ *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 12 Tahoen IX (December 1929), 245; *Madjallah untuk Para Pendidik di Indonesia/Periodiek voor de Leerkrachten in Indonesië* No. 5 (1948), (Batavia: Departement van Onderwijs, Kunst en Wetenschappen), 3. While in *Madjallah untuk Para Pendidik di Indonesia* the minimum age for entry is said to be 14 years, here I tend to comply to the minimum age requirement supplied in *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe*. At a regular standard, children were seven years old when commencing the three-year village school, and twelve years old when leaving the two-year continuation school. My assumption is that the minimum-age entry requirement was just a standard one, and did not count for a possibility of an interruption/break between the schooling periods.

⁷³⁹ *Madjallah untuk Para Pendidik di Indonesia* No. 5 (1948), 7.

⁷⁴⁰ *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 3 Tahoen VIII (March 1928), 52-5.

to Fort De Kock with parents, family members or teachers; two candidates with one companion on average. The test itself took about two days, during which time those candidates and their companions remained in Fort De Kock, very costly undertaking. If, for example, in 1928 alone those 379 candidates plus their companions (in total some 600 people) spent Fl. 5 each per day, these people spent around Fl. 6000 in the space of two days! The inspector of education considered this too extravagant and set a pre-examination test. In 1929, candidates sat the pre-exam test at the district level in one of the ten designated places which were closest to their place of origin. Only those passing the pre-exam test went to Fort De Kock for the admission test.⁷⁴¹ Once admitted, those children remained in Fort De Kock to commence their training at the *normaalschool*.

In many cases in the Outer Provinces, the government provided a daily subsistence allowance for the OVO and *normaalschool* pupils from far away. The allowance was meant to cover the cost of bed and board, which according to the standard in different areas varied from Fl. 5 to Fl. 10 per pupil per month in 1937 and increased up to Fl. 11.5 in 1938.⁷⁴² In South Sumatra and Timor, the local governments assumed responsibility for student housing. A big house which was used as a boarding home was rented from an indigenous family and was furnished with simple furniture. A cook was employed to prepare food on a fixed daily basis of three meals a day. The house was supervised by the principal of the training school, who lived in the same compound and kept an eye on the hygienic conditions as well as controlling and guiding the studies of the pupils.⁷⁴³

Unlike the situation in the Outer Provinces, it was reported that in Java and Madura a living allowance and accommodation was provided for the OVO pupils only in the early phase of the training. Later some pupils whose houses were far away lodged with relatives or acquaintances who happened to live nearby the schools.⁷⁴⁴ *Normaalschool* pupils were lodged in boarding houses for a whole year. The accommodation buildings were 'beautiful and clean with large and comfortable bedrooms, well-let dining-rooms, multi-purpose rooms and sport facilities'. Both accommodation and food were provided free. Life in such facilities was 'very conducive [to enabling] the students to study hard, learn to co-operate, and to respect and help each other'.⁷⁴⁵

As said earlier, on the basis of the principle 'achieving the goals without increasing the cost',⁷⁴⁶ the aim of the central government was to maintain and raise the quality of the training of teachers at the lowest possible price without forfeiting the basic content of locality in the curricula. In practice, this principle assumed several kinds of form. In Yogyakarta and Solo, for example, OVO pupils were taught in the palaces of the Sultan and Sunan, where a trained dance teacher gave lessons which emphasized the aspect of physical education. In Bali the student teachers learned about Balinese life from a Balinese reading book, which was illustrated by Balinese painters.⁷⁴⁷

Overall, the OVO curriculum consisted of theory and teaching practice, which formed a standard design for the first and second grades of the training. Malay language, pedagogy and

⁷⁴¹ *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 12 Tahoen VIII (December 1928), 239-40.

⁷⁴² *Verlagen van het Onderwijs 1936/1937*, 295; *1937/1938*, 38-39, all the First Volume.

⁷⁴³ *Verlag van het Onderwijs 1936/1937, Eerste Deel*, 295.

⁷⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴⁵ *Madjallah untuk Para Pendidik di Indonesia* No. 5 (1948), 7-8.

⁷⁴⁶ Director of Education, 28 Nov. 1938, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 599.

⁷⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 599-600.

arithmetic were given special emphasis with eight periods per week in the first year, and five, six and four hours successively in the second year. Other course subjects – geography and history, natural science, drawing, writing, and singing – were taught separately in full periods especially in the first year (Table 4.5).⁷⁴⁸ Several hours in second year were devoted to the teaching practice in the practice school (*leerschool*).⁷⁴⁹

Table 4.5: Lesson plan of village-teacher training school with Malay as the language of instruction, 1938

Subject	Grade	Description	Contact hours	
			Grade 1	Grade 2
1. Malay language	1	1. <i>Reading in hoeroef Belanda</i> [Dutch script, i.e. Latin characters] simple stories from daily-life	3	2
		2. <i>Reading in hoeroef Arab</i> [Arabic script] simple stories from daily-life	2	1
		3. Conversations and story-telling by pupils based on prescribed reading previously assigned as homework 4. Singing Malay songs, with emphasis on vocal techniques and intonation 5. Linguistics (grammar): pronunciation, parts of speech, word formation [morphology], comparison with vernacular languages 6. Writing: sentences and simple composition [paragraphs] 7. Composition (<i>stellen</i>): stories and letters	3	2
2. Pedagogy	1	1. Introduction to general pedagogical science for a. reading f. business education b. writing g. story-telling c. arithmetic h. conversation d. linguistics i. singing e. drawing 2. Discussion on the teaching method used at school 3. Spiritual development and etiquette 4. Games and children's games 5. Gymnastics 6. Duties of teachers and the village schools 7. School hygiene	8	6
	2	1. Continuing and repeating Year 1 materials 2. Teaching provision [teaching preparation and micro-teaching] 3. Teaching at the practice school [macro-teaching] 4. Reflection and discussion on the day experience at the practice school 5. Discussion on the lesson plan and schedule of the village school 6. Administration of the village-school		
3. Arithmetic and geometry	1	1. Counting in daily life 2. Recognizing numbers 3. Mental arithmetic	7	3
		4. Calculating the width of spaces 5. Calculating the width and volume of cubes, prisms, cylinders, pyramids, and cones/trapezium	1	1
4. Natural	1	1. Human biology: blood circulation, respiratory system,	2	1

⁷⁴⁸ Inspectie Inlandsch Onderwijs Algemeene Dienst, *Almanak Goeroe 1939* (Batavia: Balai Poestaka, 1938), 117-9. Thereafter: *Almanak Goeroe 1939*.

⁷⁴⁹ *Madjallah untuk Para Pendidik di Indonesia* No. 5 (1948), 3.

science	2	metabolism, etc. 2. Bodily health and domestic hygiene 3. Zoology: animals beneficent and harmful to agricultural cultivation 4. Botany: agriculture and plants around the school neighbourhood 5. Nature as experienced Continuing and repeating materials of Grade 1		
5. Geography	1 2	1. Netherlands Indies: administrative divisions, maps, economy and ethnic groups 2. East and South Asia, and Australia Continuation and repetition of Year 1 materials <u>Reminder</u> : when time allows, lesson should include materials on 'the Netherlands and going to the Netherlands'	3	2
6. Drawing	1 2	1. Duplicating the motifs of ethnic arts 2. Drawing illustrations on paper and board Drawing as a habit	2	-
7. Writing	1 2	Writing in <i>hoeroef Belanda</i> and in Arabic on paper and blackboard Writing as a habit	2	-
8. Singing	1 2	1. Singing by imitating songs by listening (<i>op het gehoor</i>) 2. Singing by reading notation (<i>cijferschrift</i>) 3. Learning children's games and songs, preferably with accompanying instrumental sounds Practice teaching songs	1	-

Source: *Almanak Goeroe 1939*, 117-9. English translation mine.

As at the OVO, at the *normaalschool* language and pedagogy were the two course subjects which took pride of place. Instruction itself was given either in Malay, Javanese, Sundanese or Madurese. If school language of instruction was not Malay, this language alongside pedagogy was the course subject assigned the most periods per week. *Normaalschool* students also learned Dutch, arithmetic, geography, history, botany and zoology, natural science, chemistry, principles of hygiene, singing, drawing, handicrafts and physical exercises. Over and above this, they were expected to work in the school garden.⁷⁵⁰

The principal innovation in the teaching and learning process, both at the OVO and the normal school, was the introduction of what was called the *globaal methode*. This method was based on the hypothesis that the process of learning did not begin with the identification of details, but with the whole picture/image of a thing.⁷⁵¹ The basic concept of the *globaal methode* was based on the Gestalt Theory founded among other scholars by the Czech-born Max Wertheimer. The Gestalt Theory proposes that 'the operational principle of the brain is holistic, parallel, and analogue, with self-organizing tendencies', and 'that the whole is different than the sum of its parts.'⁷⁵² In its original formulation by Wertheimer, the hypothesis underpinning the theory reads: 'There are wholes, the behaviour of which is not determined by that of their individual elements, but where the part-

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid. 8.

⁷⁵¹ 'Tjara Mengadjar (Methode) Globaal', in *Almanak Goeroe 1939*, 29-39.

⁷⁵² A review on Max Wertheimer and the principles of the Gestalt Theory is available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Max_Wertheimer.

processes are themselves determined by the intrinsic nature of the whole.'⁷⁵³ Initially developed in 1890 by the Austrian Christian von Ehrenfehl with the publication of *Über Gestaltqualitäten (On the Qualities of Form)*,⁷⁵⁴ the Gestalt Theory achieved fame after Wertheimer had improved and elaborated on it in address to the Kant Society in Berlin in 1924. Considering the enduring process of adjustments to fields such as education, and taking only the time span since Wertheimer's speech in Berlin, the transformation of the theory into the *globaal methode* and its introduction to schools in Indonesia in the 1930s were a progressive step.

With the introduction of the *globaal methode*, the teaching and learning of subject-matter content knowledge in the OVO and *normaalschool* changed drastically. More importantly, what the students had to learn about how to teach the subject-matter content knowledge – the pedagogical content knowledge – also changed. The learning of reading, for example, did not begin with a pupil identifying the single letters of a word and then working out a sentence word by word, as was the old method, the *normaalwoordenmethode*. Instead, students learned to read a sentence directly as a whole. The breakdown of a sentence into the single words which constructed it would be done only when the students were not familiar with any of the words.⁷⁵⁵ The writing class now dealt with texts and contexts. Sentences were not written as an art of writing the single parts of words let alone letters, where most attention was paid to the thickness or thinness of the lines of a character. Instead, writing became an art of idea construction. What the students focused on was not the letters of a word, or indeed the words of a sentence, but the meaning of an idea in the sentence(s) as a unity.⁷⁵⁶ The same principle was applied to the drawing and the narrative mathematics (*hitoengan soalan/soal cerita*) classes.⁷⁵⁷ These changes in the teaching and learning methods demonstrate that besides tackling macro-aspects, the education reforms of the 1930s wrought changes at the micro-aspects of schooling. Students' participation in the OVO courses and at the *normaalschool* had to embrace this 'new' knowledge and acquire the skills required for teaching and learning based on it.

At a practical level, schoolbooks, or the lacks of them, were an urgent issue in the OVO courses, at the normal schools and in the village and continuation schools. To suit the different course subjects thereby implying with the indigenization policy, schoolbooks had to be available in different languages. There were already schoolbooks in Malay, Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese for different course subjects (Table 4.6).⁷⁵⁸ But they were still too limited in supply for pupils to have easy access to them. The need for vernacular schoolbooks clearly had a financial consequence for the government, adding to the complication of the efforts made since 1920 to provide multi-language reading materials for Javanese villagers.⁷⁵⁹ However, when linked to other educational aspects such as the school

⁷⁵³ Marx Wertheimer, 'Gestalt Theory', in Willis D. Ellis, *Source Book of Gestalt Psychology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co, 1938), access available at <http://www.gestalttheory.net/archive/wert1.html>.

⁷⁵⁴ On Christian von Ehrenfels and his works, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christian_von_Ehrenfels.

⁷⁵⁵ 'Tjara Mengadjar (Methode) Global', in *Almanak Goeroe 1939*, 35.

⁷⁵⁶ 'Peladjaran Menoelis', in *Almanak Goeroe 1939*, 43-51.

⁷⁵⁷ 'Peladjaran Menggambar' and 'Hitoengan Soalan', in *Almanak Goeroe 1939*, 53-60; 62-7.

⁷⁵⁸ *Almanak Goeroe 1939*, 123-9.

⁷⁵⁹ Minister of the Colonies to the Queen, 26 February 1926, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 404-9.

managerial structure explored below, the limited availability of books was indeed an issue of the political economy of knowledge.⁷⁶⁰

Table 4.6: Lists of vernacular books for the village-teacher training school

School books written in	Subject	Title	Author(s)	Intended readers
Malay	Malay	1. Emboen II	Ravel-Rrölich, et al.	1
		2. Lain Dahoeloe Lain Sekarang	Idem	1
		3. Pelangi I	S. Takdir Alisjahbana	1-2
		4. Pelangi II	Idem	1-2
		5. Warna Sari Melajoe	J. Kats	2
		6. Beberapa Tjerita Melajoe	v.d. Tuuk	1
		7. Doea Belas Tjeritera	Van Ronkel	2
		8. Peladjaran Bahasa Melajoe IV	Oesman et al.	1
		9. Peladjaran Bahasa Melajoe V	Idem	1-2
		10. Melajoe Oemoem I (Bahasa Melajoe I)	J. Kats	1-2
		11. Logat Melajoe	v. Ophyuzen	Teacher
Pedagogy	Pedagogy	1. Boekoe Ilmoe Mendidik	P. Koeze & M. Crijns	1-2
		2. Atoeran Mengadjar Menggambar di Sekolah Desa Other books used the <i>volkschool</i> and the <i>vervolgschool</i>	A.J. Cock & M. Crijns	1-2
Counting	Counting	1. Kitab Hitoengan VIIIa	De Nes	1
		2. Idem IX	Idem	1-2
		3. Wekelijks Cijferen III	Benignus et al.	1-2
		4. Permoelaan Ilmoe Hitoengan	Wiggers	Teacher
		5. Ilmoe Bangoen	Olthof	Teacher
Natural science	Natural science	1. Ilmoe Keadaan Toeboeh Orang dan Mendjaganja	D.H. Ooms	1-2
		2. Peladjaran Kesehatan	A. Tuyter	1-2
		3. Ilmoe Hewa	J.H. Klein	1-2
		4. Ilmoe Toemboeh-toemboehan	Soetan Sanif	1-2
		5. Ilmoe Alam	Chr. F.W. Slijper	Teacher
		6. Hygienische wandplanten		Teacher
Geo- graphy	Geo- graphy	1. Atlas Sekolah Hindia Nederlan	W. van Gelder et al.	1-2
		2. Gambar Roepa-roepa	Lekkerkerker	Teacher
		3. Poelau Poelau Hindia Timoer	Beekman	1-2
Writing	Writing	Pemimpin Peladjaran Menoelis	J.D. Winnen	1-2
Menjanji	Menjanji	1. Taman Koesoema I	Madong Loebis	1-2
		2. Idem II	idem	1-2
School books written in Java- nese	Javanese	1. Kembar Majang I	Sastrasoewignja	1-2
		2. Idem II	Idem	1-2
		3. Warna Sari Djawi	J. Kats	2
		4. Basa Djawi I	Idem	2
		5. Pratelan Temboeng Djawi Manoet Oenggah-oenggoeh	Walbheem et al.	1-2
		6. Serat Penoentoen Woelang Basa	Dharmobroto et al.	1-2
		7. Panoelise Temboeng Djawa Nganggo Aksara Latin	Idem	1-2
		8. Wawaton Penjeratipoen Temboeng Djawi Mawi Sastra Djawi	Idem	1-2
		9. Paramasastra	M. Abdoellah	Teacher
		10. Paramasastra	M. Abdoellah	Teacher
Pedagogy	Pedagogy	1. Pratiekele moelang Ngelmoe Goeroe	L. van Rijckevorsel	Teacher
		2. Boekoe Ilmoe Mendidik	P. Koeze & M. Crijns	1-2

⁷⁶⁰ On the political economy of knowledge, see, for example, Stephen A. Resnick and Richard D. Wolff, *Knowledge and Class: A Marxian Critique of Political Economy* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987).

		3. Atoeran Mengadjar Menggambar di Sekolah Desa Other books used the <i>volkschool</i> and the <i>vervolgschool</i>	A.J. Cock & M. Crijns	1-2 1-2
Malay		1. Pelangi I 2. Idem II 3. Warna Sari Melajoe I 4. Alat Karang Mengarang 5. Peladjaran Bahasa Melajoe III 6. Idem IV 7. Logat Melajoe	S. Takdir Alisjahbana Idem J. Kats R. Sasrasoegondo Oesman et al. Idem Van Ophuyzen	1 2 1-2 2 1-2 2 Teacher
Counting		1. Lajang Etoeng Soealan I 2. Idem II 3. Lajang Etoeng 4. Wekelijks Cijferen	Teachers of Blitar Idem Soerjadi Benignus et al.	1 2 1 1
Natural science		1. Kawroeh Bab Sesakit Sawatawis 2. Kawroeh Bab Kasarasan 3. Awaking Manoengsa 4. Peladjaran Kesehatan 5. Kawroeh Bab Kewan lan Manoengsa 6. Ngelmoe Tetoewoehan 7. Ngelmoe Alam 8. Ilmoe Toemboeh-toemboehan	Soepardi Dr. Peverelli Nauta et al. Dr. A. Tuyter Normal school teachers of Lawang Noordenbos Slijper Soetan Sanif	1 2 1-2 Teacher Teacher Teacher Teacher
Geo- graphy		1. Ngelmoe Boemi Indija 2. Schoolatlas N.O.I	Oudraad Van Gelder et al.	1-2 1-2
Writing		1. Pemimpin Peladjaran Menoelis 2. Prati kele Moelang Noelis Aksara Djawa	J.D. Winnen Dirdjasoebrata	Teacher Teacher
Menjanji		1. Sari Swara 2. Woelangan Nembang I	Ki Adjar Dewantara Darmaatmadja	1-2 1-2
School books written in Sunda- nese	Sundanese	1. Pantja Warna IA 2. Idem IIA 3. Tjampaka Warna IA 4. Sari Poestaka I 5. Idem II 6. Basa Soenda I 7. Idem II 8. Oenda-oesoek Basa Soenda	Soeriadiradja Idem Idem Satjadibrata Idem J. Kats Idem Soeriadiradja	1 2 1-2 1 2 1 2 2
	Pedagogy	1. Boekoe Ilmoe Mendidik 2. Obor I & II 3. Atoeran Mengadjar Menggambar di Sekola Desa	P. Koeze & Crijns Nieuwenhuizen et al. A.J. Cock & M. Crijns	1-2 1-2 1-2
	Malay	Idem for the Javanese Group		
	Counting	1. Pamedar Harti V 2. Idem VI 3. Wekelijks Cijferen III	Nieuwenhuizen et al. Idem Benignus et al.	1-2 1-2 1-2
	Natural science	1. Badan Djelema Djeung Pangraksana 2. Boekoe Elmoe Pepelakan 3. Kasakit Pest Djeung Pikeun Panoelakna 4. Elmoe Sasatoan Djeung Djelema 5. Elmoe Alam 6. Peladjaran Kesehatan 7. Ilmoe Toemboeh-toemboehan	Ooms Soetisna idem Normal school teachers of Lawang Slijper Tuyter Noordenbos	1-2 1-2 1-2 Teachers Idem Idem Idem
	Geo- graphy	1. Poelau-peolau Hindia Timoer 2. Economische Aardrijkskunde 3. Atlas van Nederlandsch-Indië	Beekman (text in Sundanese by Wirija Mihardja) Mulder Van Gelder	1-2 1-2 1-2
	Writing	Pemimpin Peladjaran Menoelis	J.D. Winnen	Teacher

	Singing	1. Sastraning Kanajangan I 2. Idem II	Koesoemadinata Idem	Teacher Idem
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Source: *Almanak Goeroe 1939*, 123-9. Numbers indicate grades for which level of pupils the books were intended.

In the managerial structure of the OVO, the position of the school leader was absolutely pivotal. As lessons in the village schools were supposed to touch upon the indigenous life as much as possible, the training of teachers for the schools contained local materials which in many cases differed immensely from one place to another. This situation raised the question of standardization. How was the quality standard to be achieved if those training schools oriented toward various local characteristics were to function as one co-ordinated system in both Java and in the Outer Provinces?

Lacking appropriate schoolbooks for different linguistic localities and tending to be weak in its capacity to finance the bureaucratic infrastructure necessary for the whole school supervision, the government was thrown back on the quality of the leader of the training school. The sort of leader required was recruited after a tough selection process. Mastery of the Dutch language was compulsory because, if no schoolbook was available in Malay or the vernacular, the leader had to consult a Dutch-language one whenever his/her subordinate teachers raised some doubts about the content of a particular subject. The leader also had to supervise how his staff taught students the elements of pedagogical knowledge (knowledge of how to teach). For this reason, knowledge of theoretical and practical pedagogy was essential. Should a teacher be absent for a particular subject, the leader had to substitute personally. Therefore, he had to have a thorough understanding of all the subjects taught at the *volkscholen*. These subjects included basic mathematics, reading, singing, games playing, the natural science and zoology, history and geography, and the vernacular. Last but not least, as the courses given in the training schools followed a syllabus which was differentiated according to various linguistic areas and contained a prescribed time-table for different subjects, the leader had to make sure that the prescribed time was observed by the class teachers and had to interpret the scope of the course syllabus should differences of opinion occurred among the teachers.⁷⁶¹

Hence, in a context in which an opportunity for schooling was limited and appropriate schoolbooks were sparsely available, the leader of an OVO acted as a figurehead who preserved an exclusive source and access to knowledge and information. His duties were so strewn with difficulties, even many graduates of the *normaalschool* reportedly failed to comply with the requirements for the position.⁷⁶² With an allowance of Fl. 15 per month over and above his salary in 1937, this head of the OVO was officially called 'the course leader' and not 'the principal' since the latter term implied the higher requirements of a school-leaving certificate, better salary and allowance.⁷⁶³ So, the position of the OVO leader was definitely not the highest in the overall management structure of the teacher training schools. Nevertheless, even at a lower level, this position

⁷⁶¹ *Verlagen van het Onderwijs 1936/1937*, 295-6; *1937/1938*, 39-40, all the First Volume.

⁷⁶² *Verlag van het Onderwijs 1936/1937, Eerste Deel*, 296.

⁷⁶³ The term 'the course leader', instead of 'principal' is used throughout the education reports 1936-9 to refer to the head of the training school for teachers of the village schools. On the leader's allowance, see *Onderwijs Verslag 1936/1937*, 294.

served as an instrument for social stratification which preserved a privileged authority to access knowledge.⁷⁶⁴

In 1937, the overall budget for indigenous education rose slightly from Fl. 11.2 million the previous year to Fl. 11.6 million.⁷⁶⁵ This was only about 67 per cent of the 1928 budget.⁷⁶⁶ But now after the implementation of the decentralization policy, the central government could expect some financial back-up from the provincial as well as municipal and regency governments, although up to 1940 this expectation was not equally met in different autonomous areas.⁷⁶⁷ Yet even with that modest budget, the government managed to run a number of village schools and *vervolgscholen* and to re-open others which had previously had ceased operation.

Table 4.7: Number of Public Village- and Continuation-Schools in Indonesia with Teacher and Pupil, 1936-1939

	Village school (<i>volkschool</i>)			Continuation school (<i>vervolgschool</i>)		
	School	Teacher	Pupil	School	Teacher	Pupil
1936/37	14,501	28,180	1,478,125	2,234	6,024	210,225
1937/38	14,558	28,699	1,530,648	2,333	6,391	224,763
1938/39	14,780	29,561	1,613,838	2,390	6,836	243,465
1939/40	15,131	30,404	1,662,484	2,452	7,254	258,747

Sources: *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlands-Indië over de Schooljaar 1936/1937, 1937/1938, 1938/1939, 1939/1940*, all the second volume

The number of the village schools grew from 14,501 in 1936 to 15,131 in 1939, accommodating 1,478,125 and 1,662,484 pupils (Table 4.7). The *vervolgschool* grew in the student body from 210,225 in 1936 to 258,747 in 1939, but did not record a simultaneous increase because the government had another plan. In total, between 1930 and 1940, L.S. van der Wal claims that ‘the number of pupils in vernacular primary education increased by some 46 per cent’.⁷⁶⁸

It soon became obvious that the growth in the number of students attending the village schools and *vervolgschool* raised the problem of teacher availability. While the number of the village-school and *vervolgschool* teachers did increase between 1936-1939, its ratio to the student body actually decreased from 1:52 in 1936 to 1:55 in 1939 in the village schools and from 1:102 to 1:110 in the *vervolgschool*.⁷⁶⁹ In 1936 the government had already opened forty-four new OVO courses dispersed under the Aceh administration (three courses), East Coast of Sumatra (one), Palembang (four), Jambi (two), West Java (four), Central Java including Yogyakarta and Solo (14), East Java (eight), Western Borneo (two), Southern and Eastern Borneo (three), the Celebes administration (two) and Maluku (one).⁷⁷⁰ The total number of the *normaalschool* also continued to rise, namely from ninety-seven in

⁷⁶⁴ A glance of inspiration on the exclusive position of school principal has come from Tan Malaka, *Dari Penjara ke Penjara. Bahagian Pertama* (Jakarta: Widjaja, 1947?), 33.

⁷⁶⁵ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1936/1937, Tweede Deel*, 268.

⁷⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶⁷ See again Director of Education, 8 March 1940, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 678-9.

⁷⁶⁸ Van der Wal, *Some Information*, 7.

⁷⁶⁹ Calculation from Table 4.1.

⁷⁷⁰ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1936/1937, Eerste Deel*, 294.

1937, to 119 in 1938, to 177 in 1939 with 2,673, 3,555 and 5,187 pupils successively.⁷⁷¹ Yet, it proved impossible to attain a stable ratio. One of the reasons was that the proportion of students in the teacher training schools (OVO and *normaalschool*) and those in the primary schools (village school and *vervolgschool*) dropped. For example, in 1936 there was one new entrant to the training schools for every six children attending the village schools but in 1939, there was one new teacher candidate to every nine pupils in the village school.⁷⁷²

The situation had worsened because the number of graduates from the teacher training schools remained relatively low. It was impossible to discover data on how many of those 3,555 new entrants in 1938 and 5,187 in 1939,⁷⁷³ were finally awarded their teaching certificate. But, of those 2,673 students commencing in 1937, only 1,770 people (66%) finished their training.⁷⁷⁴ If, for a simple comparison, the situation some two years earlier is observed, similar figures are obtained. In 1935 as many as 2,806 students entered the training⁷⁷⁵ and only 978 people (34.8%!) graduated two years later.⁷⁷⁶ In 1936, 1,799 people joined,⁷⁷⁷ of whom 1,193 (66%) completed the course successfully in 1938.⁷⁷⁸

The teacher shortage forced the government to intensify the workload of in-service teachers,⁷⁷⁹ although this seems to have been an emergency measure only. For the immediate future, the training schools were to be expanded to keep pace with the expansion of the village schools and the *vervolgschool*. In 1940 the government set a development scheme, which Van der Wal calls 'the breakthrough plan (*het doorbrekingsplan*)':⁷⁸⁰ namely, to establish 1,000 village schools and 250 *vervolgscholen* every year for the duration of the next four years beginning in 1942.⁷⁸¹ The scheme was meant to achieve a ratio of four village schools to each *vervolgschool*, on the basis of the estimate that the ratio between those schools varied, namely 20:1 in the Outer Provinces, and 10:1 in rural as opposed to 1.5:1 in urban Java.⁷⁸² The year 1942 would commence with 200 new village schools in the Outer Provinces and 800 in Java and Madura.⁷⁸³ The first 250 *vervolgscholen* would be opened when

⁷⁷¹ *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over het Schooljaar 1937/1938, Tweede Deel: Statistische Gegevens* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1941) 2-3, 6-7; *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over het Schooljaar 1938/1939, Tweede Deel: Statistische Gegevens* (Batavia-Centrum: Het Centraal Kantoor voor de Statistiek, 1941), 2-3, 6-7; *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over het Schooljaar 1939/1940, Tweede Deel: Statistische Gegevens* (Batavia-Centrum: Het Centraal Kantoor voor de Statistiek, December 1941), 2-3, 6-7

⁷⁷² The ratios 1:6 and 1:9 are my rough estimate based the government data, without strictly differentiating between the OVO and normal school entrants. In 1936/1937 the teacher training schools had 24 pupils per class, the village schools 90 pupils per class (*Verslag van het Onderwijs 1936/1937 First Volume*, 294; Director of Education, 8 March 1940, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 685). The growth mean of village school students in 1936-1939 (Table 4.1) is compared to that of the training school students as cited from Footnote 221. This results in the ratio situation of 1939.

⁷⁷³ See Footnote 221.

⁷⁷⁴ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1939/1940, Tweede Deel*, 404.

⁷⁷⁵ *Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië over het Schooljaar 1935/1936, Tweede Deel: Statistische Gegeven* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1938), 4-5.

⁷⁷⁶ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1937/1938, Tweede Deel*, 292.

⁷⁷⁷ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1936/1937, Tweede Deel*, 6-7.

⁷⁷⁸ *Verslag van het Onderwijs 1938/1939, Tweede Deel*, 416.

⁷⁷⁹ Director of Education, 8 March 1940, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 648.

⁷⁸⁰ Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 677.

⁷⁸¹ Director of Education, 8 March 1940, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 689.

⁷⁸² *Ibid.* 683.

⁷⁸³ *Ibid.* 688.

those 1,000 village schools had prepared their first graduates three years later. Following this schedule, the last 250 *vervolgsholen* would come into operation only in 1949!⁷⁸⁴

To support that expansion plan, in 1941 the government funded forty new OVO and three new *normaalscholen*.⁷⁸⁵ This number seemed to be tentative. As Van der Wal notes, fifty new OVO and five normal schools were planned to commence in 1941.⁷⁸⁶ Whatever the precise number was, the main idea was that by 1943, graduates from the training schools would be ready to run some 1,000 village schools and by 1945, those from the *normaalscholen* could serve 250 *vervolgsholen*!

Conclusion

This chapter has set out how the late colonial government managed to ensure the recovery of education from the impact of the Great Depression! Confronted with the dilemma of its declining economic capacity, the government returned to the idea of indigenization. The overall design was to draw the masses back to their own cultural spheres by expanding the educational opportunities of the indigenous people. The fact that indigenous schools cost less money than their Dutch counterparts was part of the equation but the goal of the expansion of the schools was also to counterbalance the growing influence of the nationalist schools. In a nutshell, the indigenization strategy was economic and political in purpose in one parcel.

The training of indigenous teachers was paid particular attention. The decision was inspired primarily by economic factors, but political motives did not lag far behind. As years went by, the government witnessed and began to realize how progressive the teachers of the ‘unofficial schools (*wilde scholen*)’ were, and how effective their position was in stimulating ‘grassroot’ awareness of the nationalist ideals.⁷⁸⁷ Making the mass school a cultural institution by way of indigenization, the government intended to transform Indonesian teachers into cultural agents, who would propagate a government-formulized conception of cultural identity among their own community. In this sense, the making of a ‘culture-conscious teacher’ was indeed political in nature. This argument holds true when the policies of reform, which Van der Wal identifies as a ‘breakthrough’, are examined. They neither actually attempted to reshuffle the basic structure of colonial schooling nor to uproot the stratified position of indigenous teachers. Dutch schools remained exclusive schools, which, although not immune to the crisis, operated on the basis of business as usual. European teachers remained in a higher salary scale than their indigenous colleagues.

Although the elite schools remained there, the government was actually in the process of switching its policy focus to mass education. It was aware of the strategic position of the vernacular schools and teachers in economic and political agendas but failed to understand the whole field of dynamics surrounding education. When it did eventually reform the method of teaching and learning, it stopped short of exploring the methodology of the schooling and the pedagogy, which, around the end of 1930s, had gradually shifted towards the paradigm of resistance. Out there, somewhere beyond

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid. 684.

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid. 689. See also Van der Wal’s Note 4 on the same page.

⁷⁸⁶ Van der Wal’s Note 1 on Director of Education, 8 Maart 1940, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 690.

⁷⁸⁷ In *Buiten het Gareel: Een Indonesische Roman* (first published, Utrecht: De Haan, 1940) Soewarsih Djojopoespito presents an interesting story about the political position and activities of the ‘wild school’ teachers.

bureaucratic ken, the atmosphere of change was already in the air and was slowly penetrating to the school walls and dormitories. Years before the Japanese arrived, the colonial grip on the cultural spheres of the Indonesian society had inexorably been loosening. ***AS

Chapter 5

The Making of a Political Teacher, 1930s-1945⁷⁸⁸

Introduction

This chapter is an exploration of the emergence of political consciousness among Indonesian students and teachers in public schools during the last colonial decade up to the end of the Japanese occupation. It concentrates in particular on the experiences of alumni and students of the public Dutch-Indonesian teacher training schools (*Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool*, HIK) in Yogyakarta, Bandung, Blitar and Bukittinggi, who either had to give up their profession and schooling because of the regime change or were able to continue with their training under the Japanese system.

The term 'making' in the title stands for an 'active process, which owes as much to agency as to conditioning'.⁷⁸⁹ Shigeru Satō has suggested that the wartime period in Indonesia should be looked into beyond the 'common' timeframe of the Japanese occupation.⁷⁹⁰ One of the implications of such a step is that, instead of being a prime cause, the Japanese occupation was a catalyst of the structural changes which occurred in Indonesian lives. This holds true if the school education situation is explored. The process of emerging consciousness among Indonesian alumni and students of the HIK, although owing much to the Japanese occupation period, was not confined to the period of 1942 to 1945.⁷⁹¹ The Great Depression in the 1930s also had a shocking impact on colonial schooling. Already by then, exacerbated by the heated feelings of the 'unofficial school' (*wilde scholen*) activists, cracks had appeared in the cultural foundation of the colonial state. For a decade at least before the Japanese military invasion, the grip of the imperial ruler had been weakening in many respects and therefore in the field of school education and teacher training, the destabilization of the colonial state cannot be attributed to the Japanese occupation alone.

The Japanese concept of the 'Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere' began to be heard by Indonesian students in such 'isolated' public schools as the HIK somewhere in 1938/9,⁷⁹² as some of the interviewees have testified, and did contribute to the growing political consciousness of students and teachers. It gradually caused them to re-think their views of colonial society. In this sense, it was the Japanese idea of expansion rather than solely the period of occupation which particularly set things moving.

⁷⁸⁸ An early draft of this chapter was presented at the Encompass Seminar in Medan, North Sumatra, 6-8 January 2009.

⁷⁸⁹ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd, 1963), 9.

⁷⁹⁰ Shigeru Satō, 'Daily Life in Wartime Indonesia, 1939-1949', in: Stewart Lone (ed.), *Daily Lives of Civilians in Wartime Asia: From the Taiping Rebellion to the Vietnam War* (Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 2007), 159-89.

⁷⁹¹ Precisely, as is publicly accepted, the period between the surrender of the Netherlands Indies government on 9 March 1942 and the Japanese capitulation on 15 August 1945.

⁷⁹² As a state policy, the 'Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere' was formally announced by the Japanese foreign minister, Matsuoka Yosuke, on 1 August 1940 but had existed in various forms for many years (see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greater_East_Asia_Co-Prosperity_Sphere, accessed on 10 September 2009). Part of the co-prosperity idea, the Japanese expansion to the 'Southern Regions', which included present-day areas of Indonesia, was put on a fixed blueprint in 1937 (see Muhammad Abdul Azis, 'Japan's Colonialism and Indonesia' (PhD diss. Leiden University, 1955, especially Chapter VI).

In the discussion of the Japanese impact on the system of teacher training, the focus of this chapter will be on the teachers and students themselves. Not all education policies that the Japanese set up in the war time survived the post-war developments in the Indonesian system,⁷⁹³ but without doubt the Japanese escalated educational reforms and shifted the (self-)perception of Indonesian teachers and students from that of a functional elite to that of a political one.⁷⁹⁴ Historians and sociologists have pointed out that the Japanese occupation reversed colonial values and instilled a new feeling of pride among Indonesians.⁷⁹⁵ Others have shown the change in constellation of rival groups in the society among them the secular nationalists, Islamic leaders and the *Pamong-praja* (administrators, civil servants, better-educated Indonesians).⁷⁹⁶ In principle, these studies suggest that the Japanese stimulated widening mass participation in public affairs. The colonial elitism so typical of the *Pamong-praja* was challenged and the arena of power contestation was opened up to the other rival groups. In short, the Japanese had a long-lasting impact on Indonesian society.

Unlike Sató's time-frame which covers the ten years between 1939 and 1949, this chapter is set in the last colonial decade up to the end of the war. The 1930s in general, and the year 1937, in particular were significant for several reasons. Nineteen thirty-seven was the year in which the Netherlands Indies government began to implement new education policies,⁷⁹⁷ aimed to stimulate recovery from the Great Depression. It was also the year the Japanese authorities in Tokyo developed an expansion plan directed towards to the South (*Nanshin*) which designed to eliminate all Western influences from Asia, including the educational system the Dutch were (re-)building.

The 1930s also witnessed an exposure of Indonesian teachers and public HIK students to dramatic social and political developments. Teachers' journals, individual memoirs and interviews all indicate this trend. Although many former students admit they did not understand what was actually going on at that time, a consciousness about the possibility of establishing a new political and social order to replace the colonial one took root. Again the 1930s should not be taken as a point of departure but as part of on-going emancipation process. How and why did the colonial teacher training and education system fall apart immediately following the Pacific War?

A. A 'political' teacher and the background

Towards the end of the 1930s, school education in Indonesia had been running more or less in the framework of a stabilizing economy but in a destabilizing political milieu. The re-opening of many

⁷⁹³ R. Murray Thomas, 'Educational Remnants of Military Occupation: The Japanese in Indonesia', *Asian Survey* Vol. 6, No. 11 (November 1966), 630-42.

⁷⁹⁴ The terms 'functional elite' and 'political elite' belong to Robert van Niel, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite* (The Hague: W. Van Hoeve, 1960). I have used the re-print edition published by KITLV Leiden (Dordrecht/Cinnaminson: Foris Publications, 1984).

⁷⁹⁵ W.F. Wertheim, 'Changes in Indonesia's Social Stratification', *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (March 1955), 41-52; Leslie H. Palmier, 'Aspects of Indonesia's Social Structure', *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (June 1955), 117-31; Justus M. van der Kroef, 'The Changing Class Structure of Indonesia', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (April 1956), 138-48.

⁷⁹⁶ Anthony Reid, 'The Japanese Occupation and Rival Indonesian Elites: Northern Sumatra in 1942', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (November 1975), 49-61.

⁷⁹⁷ J. Lelyveld also suggests the idea that the year 1937 was particularly significant in terms of educational reform plans developed by the Dutch colonial government. See, Johannes Erik Arnoldus Maria Lelyveld, "'Waarlijk Geen Overdaad, Doch een Dringende Eisch": Koloniaal Onderwijs en Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië 1893-1942' (Diss. Universiteit Utrecht, 1992).

schools in Java and Sumatra during the second half of the 1930s indicated a recovery from the enervating years of the economic crisis. A reform of and consequent progress in education was in the offing, but the government 'breakthrough educational reform'⁷⁹⁸ of 1939 did not necessarily signal a reshuffle of the stratified school system which had barred indigenous children from sharing equal access to different types of public schools.

At the end of the 1930s, HIK students remained only a thin layer in the indigenous community. They were limited in number and, following the *kweekschool* reform in 1927, had been exposed to an increasing degree of quality training which secured them a future status substantially different from the majority of the indigenous population. The social stratification based on education stood firm. It might even be said that the existing educational structure seemed to be moving towards a steady construction of a colonial *Indische* plural society in which the various types of schooling would continue to reproduce members of the various ethnic communities with teachers as the role models.

Yet, the changing international political environment began to rock the foundations of colonial society and upset the aspirations the students fostered for their future. Like an afternoon breeze in a humid tropical climate, the dream conception of 'Indonesia' blended with heroic tales of the Japanese wars against Russia and China. News of German expansion plans and the Italian war in Ethiopia⁷⁹⁹ also reached the classrooms and boarding houses of public schools. But it was not until the raids of the Japanese air force above Java in March 1942 that HIK students in Yogyakarta were really convinced that the times were changing.⁸⁰⁰ In their privileged positions, the students had never been totally immune to news and 'rumours' about the macro-political situation. Some of their seniors, especially those who had dropped out of the training and had not pursued a teaching career, plunged themselves into all kinds of organizations and local presses.⁸⁰¹ Exposure to mass media and increasing public rallies organized by youth organizations, contacts with fellow students from the 'unofficial schools' and changes in domestic rules inside the school, all conspired to make HIK students gradually aware of the slackening grip of the colonial master. By the end of the 1930s, students and alumni of the teacher training schools had begun to imagine a society beyond the colonial construct.⁸⁰²

In the volatile situation in the aftermath of the Great Depression, for the colonial government, running public schools had as much to do with taking economic as political measures. The rise of a political consciousness among students was certainly a contributing factor to the change in education

⁷⁹⁸ The term 'breakthrough educational reform' was used by S.L. van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië: Een Bronnenpublikatie* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1963), 677.

⁷⁹⁹ See different volumes of *Persatoean Goeroe*.

⁸⁰⁰ R. Suroso, 'Akhir Riwayat HIK Jogja', *Gema* No. 4, XIII (June 1992), 30-2. Suroso was in year 1 of HIK in Yogyakarta when the Japanese arrived in the town in the second week of March 1942.

⁸⁰¹ Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo, *Kota Yogyakarta Tempo Doeloe: Sejarah Sosial 1880-1930* (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2008—reprint). According to Surjomihardjo, the Yogyakarta second chapter of Budi Utomo was chaired by a *kweekschool* student, M. Djoko Saroso, and had students as its members (p. 131). In addition, in the beginning of the 20th century 'almost all Indonesian journalists [working in the local presses in Yogyakarta] were ex-students of the *kweekschool* and the Medical School (p. 198).'

⁸⁰² Testimony of R. Darsoyono Poespitoatmodjo, alumnus of the lower level (*onderbouw*) of HIK in Blitar, 1932 and the upper level (*bovenbouw*) of Yogyakarta HIK, 1935. See R. Darsoyono Poespitoatmodjo, 'Pendidikan Formal di Indonesia pada Zaman Hindia Belanda, Zaman Pendudukan Jepang, Zaman Pendudukan Tentara NICA dan Pendidikan Formal pada Waktu Sekarang di Negara Republik Indonesia', in *Gema Edisi Yubileum: HIK Yogyakarta 60 Tahun* (Yogyakarta: Keluarga Ex-HIK Yogyakarta, 1987), 49.

policy and the Japanese expansion was especially a critical factor. The Japanese displaced the Western colonial subject and aborted the reform plans of the Dutch government in the education sector. As a Japanese teacher testifies, during the Japanese occupation a tsunami of indigenous children entered school once the stratified colonial education system had been removed and school fees abolished.⁸⁰³ Among the Indonesian students, the Japanese occupation was crucial to the development of a self-perception of their identity, position and roles in a broader context of *the* Indonesian society, which was still in the making.

In the context of an emerging movement of the Indonesian nationalism, 'being political' meant being involved in activities or organizations whose principal goal was to supersede the colonial power.⁸⁰⁴ In the 1930s, this was especially the case among students and teachers of the 'unofficial schools'.⁸⁰⁵ For the many Indonesian students and teachers at public and subsidized schools, however, becoming political meant being aware of the social roles and responsibilities, which did not necessarily relate to the teaching profession for which they had been trained. Here the critical theory of pedagogy in which school agents deployed an understanding of the structure of social relations and responsibilities within society applied.⁸⁰⁶ A *political teacher* did not limit her/his focus to such vertical-mobility issues as teaching professionalism and welfare, although they were extremely important. A political teacher widened her/his world-view to such 'horizontal-mobility' issues as social and structural changes.

Looking into their background, the changing horizon of HIK students was a significant turning-point. In colonial times, students at public HIK were trained in pretty academic educational atmosphere, which 'isolated' them from the idea of political and structural change. In some cases, exposure to social problems led them to undertake philanthropically motivated actions, which were part of the indigenization exercises.⁸⁰⁷ This characteristic situation coalesced with the students' personal motivation. Many of those who attended the teacher training school had chosen to do so for socio-economic reasons. Umi Kalsum, for example, went to the teacher training school in Yogyakarta in 1908 – long before the *kweekschool* was transformed into the HIK – against her own wishes. She had dreamed of becoming a physician but her father, who worked as a teacher in the government service, found it too expensive to send her to the Medical School in Batavia. Finishing her European primary school Umi, whose mastery of Dutch was 'above average' for the entrance qualification to general

⁸⁰³ Suzuki Seihei, 'A Record of My Island-hopping: A Path of a Certain Educationalist', in: Anthony Reid and Oki Akira (eds.), *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia: Selected Memoirs of 1942-1945* (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1986), 161-71.

⁸⁰⁴ Robert van Niel, *The Emergence of Modern Indonesian Elite* (Dordrecht/Cinnaminson: Foris Publications, 1984).

⁸⁰⁵ Read this story in Soewarsih Djojopoespito's novel, *Buiten het Gareel: Een Indonesische Roman*—Second Edition ('s-Gravenhage: Nijgh and Van Ditmar, 1986).

⁸⁰⁶ See again Chapter 1.

⁸⁰⁷ An illustration of this is beautifully presented by Y.B. Mangunwijaya in a biographical novel *Balada Dara-Dara Mendut—A Ballade of the Girls of Mendut* (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Dinamika Edukasi Dasar, 1992). The novel, taking the time-frame of the last colonial decade, concerns the daily lives of the pupils at the *Fröbel Kweekschool* for girls, which was run by Roman Catholic Nuns of the Franciscan Order of Heythuysen in Mendut, near Magelang, Central Java. Although the novel tells about a true-life experience of alumnae, it cannot be used to generalize the situation in all other schools. Regardless this fact, the novel best exemplifies how strict and 'isolated' lives inside a colonial school and boarding house were.

high school, was accepted straight away into the third year of the *kweekschool* at which her father worked.⁸⁰⁸

Some two or three decades after Umi's experience, there had hardly been any changes in the students' background or their motivation for attending the teacher training school. In 1929, for example, Soeparmo entered the HIK in Yogyakarta because his parents were too poor to afford his education at other types of European schools. Soeparmo:

'I had actually wanted to become an engineer. For that, I had to go to the MULO (*Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs*, upper primary school),⁸⁰⁹ then to the AMS (*Algemeen Middelbare School*, high school) and finally to the *Technische Hogeschool* in Bandung. But I realized that my parents simply could not afford these long stints of schooling, which were all part of the European stream. So, after graduating from a HIS in Salatiga, Central Java, I rather unwillingly accepted a recommendation (*verklaring*) from the HIS principal for a test-free entrance to the HIK in Yogyakarta.'⁸¹⁰

By moving to the HIK, Soeparmo made a quantum leap forward. He had come from a village school and a second-class school in Banjarsari, near Boyolali in Central Java. 'I had always desired a Western education because it provided broader chances for career [than indigenous schooling could have done]. But the only Western school available where I came from was the *Hollands Javaansche School* (HJS), a private school equivalent to public HIS,' he wrote in another testimony.⁸¹¹ After finishing the Second-Class school, he went to the HJS in Boyolali. 'But I realized that it was difficult for someone from a private primary school to move on to a public secondary school. At the end of sixth form of the HJS, I gathered up my courage to sit for a test to be able to transfer to seventh form of the HIS in Salatiga, and I passed the test. That was how I could finally make my way to the HIK.'⁸¹² Soeparmo:

'During my HIK years, my parents' financial situation did not improve. Sometimes for some consecutive months, they could not send me Fl. 5 for the school fees and Fl. 3.5 for the books and school facilities. As I performed well academically, I was granted '*gratis leerling status*' [tuition waiver] when I was in second year, thus I no longer had to pay those fees. In spite of my academic performance at the HIK, I still did not want to become a teacher. By the time I was in third year, I managed to switch to the AMS,⁸¹³ but this attempt failed totally. In the end I accepted that it was my "destiny" to be a teacher.'⁸¹⁴

Another testimony is from Burhanuddin Nasution. Born at Kotanopan in the sub-district area of Tapanuli, North Sumatra, Burhanuddin identified himself as 'a country boy'. Most of his classmates from the HIS went on to the MULO in Padangsidempuan or to the public *Hogere Burger School* (HBS) in Medan. 'Given the financial situation of my parents, I personally had only two options: to give up schooling or to go to a public HIK. I chose the second,' he wrote. Finishing the HIS in Tapanuli in

⁸⁰⁸ Soeprapto, 'Ibu Umi Kalsum Supardi', *Gema* No. 4 Tahun V (Mei 1984), 46-8.

⁸⁰⁹ This stands for 'European' MULO as indigenous MULO did not exist until 1937. See previous chapter.

⁸¹⁰ Soeparmo, 'Pengkakuan', in *Gema Edisi Yubileum: HIK Yogyakarta 60 Tahun* (Yogyakarta: Keluarga Ex-HIK Yogyakarta, 1987), 73-8.

⁸¹¹ Soeparmo, 'Nasib Anak Desa', *Gema* No. 1 Tahun X (September 1988), 31-7.

⁸¹² Soeparmo, 'Nasib Anak Desa', *Gema*, 36-7.

⁸¹³ Soeparmo did not explain how he did it.

⁸¹⁴ Soeparmo, 'Pengkakuan', in *Gema Edisi Yubileum*, 75-7.

1936, Burhanuddin received a test-free recommendation to continue at the HIK in Yogyakarta. He does not seem to have experienced the same dramatic financial problems as Soeparmo. Nevertheless not until his father's death while he was in the second year of the HIK did he begin to think seriously about a teaching profession. Burhanuddin Nasution:

'At that time, my mother, with a pension salary of Fl. 20 from my father, had to look after my three younger siblings. Unless I had remained at the HIK, I could not have continued my education and, even worse, would have put more financial burdens on my mother. This situation motivated me to study harder. Finally, I graduated from Yogyakarta in 1939 and immediately was admitted to the upper level in Bandung.'⁸¹⁵

Asvismarmo entered the HIK, also in Yogyakarta, in 1939. 'I actually wanted to go to the Prinses Juliana School (PJS), a vocational engineering school, which was located just opposite the HIK,' he said in an interview. 'But the PJS was too expensive for my parents. At the HIK, I paid Fl 7.5 per month all inclusive.'⁸¹⁶

Samsuri went to the HIK because his father was a village-school teacher. 'I grew up in a teacher's family; that was why I wanted to be a teacher.' As had Soeparmo, he had followed a roundabout schooling before he could apply to the HIK. Samsuri:

'I finished the first phase of primary school in my home village, Lengkong, then went to the continuation school in Jabon [all in East Java]. To be eligible for entry to the HIK, I had to go to the link school (*schakelschool*) after finishing the continuation school. So I went to the link school in Mojokerto [also in East Java]. Only then, after finishing the link school, could I register to the HIK. I did so, but because I did not come from the HIS and had to switch my schooling from the indigenous to the European stream, I was already too old when finally I reached first year of HIK in Yogyakarta'.⁸¹⁷

Unlike others, Samsuri's motivation for going to the HIK might be considered primary in the sense that, inspired by his father, he did want to become a teacher. His roundabout schooling adds to the characteristics of social background of the HIK students.

These testimonies provide a brief illustration of the fact that, as far as life histories can be traced, the socio-economic situation of the parents served as much as a pushing as a pulling factor in making the decision to attend the public HIK. Students were 'pushed' to go to the teacher training school because their parents could not afford for them to go to other types of European schools. They realized that teaching, although in their opinions less prestigious than working as an engineer or a medical doctor, could still offer the promise of a socio-economic position much better than that provided by other jobs in the indigenous sphere.⁸¹⁸ This 'better-than-nothing' perception of the prospect of teaching drew them to achieve successes throughout and up to the top of the training

⁸¹⁵ Burhanuddin Nasution, 'Anak Desa Menjadi Guru', in *Gema Edisi Yubileum*, 79-87.

⁸¹⁶ Interview with Asvismarmo, Jakarta, 4 September 2006

⁸¹⁷ Interview with Samsuri, Malang, 3 November 2006. When giving this interview, Samsuri had suffered a stroke a year earlier which, according to his daughter, severely hampered his memory. Because of this situation, no question could be asked seeking detailed information such as the year he entered the HIK. For health reasons, the interview with Samsuri lasted less than 20 minutes and developed on general issues only. Samsuri's daughter could not (or, was not willing to) supply any further information.

⁸¹⁸ Interview with Imam Sajono, Jakarta, 6 September 2006. See also, to some extent, Robert van Niel's analysis on the emergence of modern Indonesian elites (Van Niel, *The Emergence*).

phases. The students' focus on the vertical-mobility issues during the school years is quite understandable considering their socio-economic backgrounds. Qualified as their training had designed them to be, these students were mostly engaged in professional issues and remained close to the social pillars of colonial construction. They were trained to be teachers to serve, not to oppose, the pillared society of the late-colonial state.

How different was the situation of the activists of the 'unofficial schools'? Ki Hadjar Dewantara (R.M. Soewardi Soerjaningrat), the founder of the Taman Siswa schools in 1922, was a member of the Paku Alam royal family in Yogyakarta. In 1909 he quit the Medical School in Batavia and became politically active which led to him being exiled to the Netherlands in 1913.⁸¹⁹ Soewarsih Djojopoespito, a teacher at the Taman Siswa school (first in Surabaya then in Bandung), was from a Sundanese royal family in Cirebon. She had enjoyed a European primary education in Bogor and had then attended the European *Kweekschool* in Surabaya before graduating in 1931.⁸²⁰ More figures can be highlighted to prove the more privileged backgrounds of the nationalist activists. For these people, becoming actively engaged in nationalist activities and organizations – becoming political – was a conscious choice. They deliberately left the socially and economically established lives they had lived in for another ideal which they thought higher.⁸²¹ In contrast, many HIK students had come from non-established families. They went to the HIK to pursue a place in the establishment via the teaching profession.

'[Being] a school teacher was a step to the material and social welfare (*welvaart*),' said an interviewee, Imam Sajono, who began his training at the HIK in Yogyakarta in 1938. 'Being a school teacher was all lower middle class families like mine could imagine. Many of my friends did so, but only a few could make it because of the strict entrance selection. When you finally achieved the teaching position and received your salary as a HIK graduate, you had achieved a very high status in the society. If you were still single, many parents wanted to marry their daughters to you. People might refer to this era as colonial, but this was the reality! Ninety per cent of the HIK students in Yogyakarta when I was there, were apolitical. But the whole picture changed when the Japanese came!'⁸²²

For the HIK students, becoming political in the same sense as their fellow-teachers of the 'unofficial schools' did was not a matter of choice. It was an inescapable condition they could not avoid, especially in the wake of the Japanese arrival. Therefore, in their case, the meaning of 'being political' should not be understood primarily as an involvement in the nationalist activities or organizations. It embraced a widening horizon; it was a process of re-building self-perception, individual identity, social roles and relations. It was at this point that the Japanese expansion was of critical significance.

⁸¹⁹ See a glance at Ki Hadjar Dewantara in Surjomihardjo, *Kota Yogyakarta*, 96-7.

⁸²⁰ Gerard Termorshuizen, 'Nawoord', in Soewarsih Djojopoespito, *Buiten het Gareel*, 220-4. Termorshuizen says that Soewarsih was one of the first Indonesian female teachers to have achieved the European teaching certificates (p. 223-4).

⁸²¹ This sample can be biased as it refers only to prominent figures in the '*wilde scholen*' or 'unofficial schools'. The point is, however, there was a sharp contrast of individual orientation which sometimes contradicted the social backgrounds between those who were in the government and those in the 'unofficial' schools.

⁸²² Interview with Imam Sajono, Jakarta, 6 September 2006. At the time of interview, Sajono chaired the Association of Alumni of HIK Yogyakarta.

The Japanese shattered the colonial-oriented dreams of the HIK students and shifted their life onto a course quite different from the intended purpose of training they had enjoyed. In the language of Imam Sajono, now there were suddenly 'different canals of unstructured vertical mobility' as opposed to the structured classes of the colonial society.⁸²³ In a way, what happened following the Japanese occupation was the relegation of the elite status of teachers to a lower level, open to commoners from all social backgrounds.

Whatever other effects it may have had, the basic motive of the Japanese expansion was economic and political imperialism.⁸²⁴ Just as they had exerted pressure on poets and writers to serve as propagandists in China⁸²⁵ and developed well-controlled propaganda media directed towards Asia at large,⁸²⁶ the Japanese occupation authorities set up educational policies devised to exploit anti-West sentiments and supporting military mobilization. Schools were run on a regular basis in the initial stage only to be turned into instruments of war mobilization at a later stage.⁸²⁷ In this highly explosive situation, the particular impact, consequence or even 'result' of these developments for educational practice can be best interpreted as the fruit of a historical (mis)fortune, rather than as that of a pedagogical activity, let alone a deliberate policy. In this sense, although the Japanese expansion played a critical role in the changing outlook of the HIK students, it is important to bear in mind that it was in fact a dramatic turn of fate.

B. The seeds and the seeding ground, 1930s-1942

'Madjoelah Indonesia! Bersatoelah! Marilah bersama-sama bekerja mentjapai Indonesia Raja! Tengoklah bangsa Djepoen! [...] Tjontohlah mereka itoe!' ['Advance Indonesia! Unite! Let us work together to achieve Greater Indonesia! Look at the Japanese! [...] Take them as a role model!']⁸²⁸

With this provocative statement commenced the editorial of *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* in its December 1930 issue. The bulletin, which was published in Bukittinggi by the West Coast of Sumatra Association of Indonesian Teachers, pointed to the spirit of unity as 'a way out of the darkness'. 'Newspapers and propagandists have been spreading the idea of unity deep into villages', wrote the editors.⁸²⁹ The editors' reference to the Japanese was particularly striking, it was as if it was predicting what would follow a decade later. The message was clear: change was already in the air. How did teachers and students of the training schools in the 1930s experience the changing situation and gradually develop a certain degree of political consciousness?

⁸²³ Interview with Imam Sajono, Jakarta, 6 September 2006.

⁸²⁴ See, for example, M.A. Aziz, 'Japan's Colonialism and Indonesia' (PhD Diss. Leiden University, 1955). We shall explore this in a very moment.

⁸²⁵ Donald Keene, 'The Barren Years: Japanese War Literature', *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Spring, 1978), 67-112.

⁸²⁶ See, for example, Aiko Kurasawa, 'Propaganda Media on Java under the Japanese 1942-1945', *Indonesia*, Vol. 44 (Oct. 1987), 59-116.

⁸²⁷ Harry J. Benda, 'The Beginnings of the Japanese Occupation of Java', *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. 15 No. 4 (August 1956), 541-60.

⁸²⁸ 'Sedikit Pemandangan' by editors of *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 12 Tahoen X (December 1930).

⁸²⁹ Ibid.

B.1 Teachers

Different sorts of teachers' journals (bulletins, newspapers, magazines) disclose that in the first half of the last colonial decade, the atmosphere of change was already reshaping the public school lives of the teachers. In many cases, they were exposed to the concept of unity – not necessarily the nationalists' pursuit of independence, but a dream of 'a new era for Indonesian society'. In June 1931, *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* re-published an article from *Indonesia Moeda* entitled 'Semangat Baroe Menoedjoe Indonesia Raja' (New Spirit towards Greater Indonesia) in which 'the Renaissance of Indonesia' was explored. 'Our people begin to become aware and hence capable of differentiating between the darkness and the light, between the coloured and the white. The crow of a rooster is a sign of dawn!' the article reads.⁸³⁰ In August 1931, the editors of the journal cited an article from *S[oeara] Mardéka* 'Oedjian bagi Ra'jat Indonesia tentang Persatoean dan Politiek (Test of Unity and Politics for the Indonesian people)'. The article discusses a strike of the railwaymen in Semarang, stressing the importance of national unity and ending in an imperative command: 'Do it now!'⁸³¹

In October 1931, *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* sent out an explicit call. 'Day by day, our national movement is growing. Every Indonesian boy and girl has to be responsible for the advancement of our nation.'⁸³² 'We, teachers, should not be left behind in this glorious work! Let us educate our children in the Indonesian way, in the spirit of being Indonesian⁸³³ for they have to be the Indonesian people in the fullest sense. Now, our schools are in the hands of foreigners. But we Indonesian teachers have to convince ourselves that we are more capable [than those foreigners] of educating our children for we understand our children better [than they do].'⁸³⁴ 'Let us educate our children in the spirit of Indonesia. Let us teach them the refinement of our arts and literature, and the glory of our heroes like Diponegoro and Teuku Oemar. Let us teach our children the lyrics of the beauty of our land!'⁸³⁵

In the newspaper *Persatoean Goeroe*, which was published in Surakarta by the Federation of Indonesian Teachers' Associations (Perserikatan Guru Hindia Belanda, PGHB), the idea of unity was mostly dealt with an attempt to tackle the status of teachers as individual members of the Federation.⁸³⁶ It was pointed out that professionally and socially individual teachers were ranked according to the segregated system of training they had followed; unity meant a convergence into one professional category. The magazine *Sinar Goeroe Vorstenlanden*, published by the association of teachers of the Principalities, made the need for unity among teachers explicit: 'Because of our diverse

⁸³⁰ 'Semangat Baroe Menoedjoe Indonesia-Raja', *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 6 Tahoen XI (June 1931), 106-9.

⁸³¹ 'Oedjian bagi Ra'jat Indonesia tentang Persatoean dan Politiek', in *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 8 Tahoen XI (August 1931), 154-7.

⁸³² 'Onderwijs Kita', *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 10 Tahoen XI (October 1931), 209-11.

⁸³³ The original text of this part reads: '[...] sekarang mesti kita didik anak-anak kita itoe setjara Indonesia, dengan roh dan semangat keindonesiaan, [...]']

⁸³⁴ 'Onderwijs Kita', *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 10 Tahoen XI (October 1931), 210.

⁸³⁵ *Ibid.* 211.

⁸³⁶ C.A. Awas, 'Pengharapan Si Picik', *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 19 (15 September 1930), page unclear. The PGHB had as member associations of Indonesian teachers of various ranks and education backgrounds: the Village Teacher Association (Persatuan Guru Desa, PGD), the *Normaalschool* Association (Persatuan Normaalschool, PNS), the Teacher School Association (Kweekschool Bond, KSB), the Higher Teacher School Association (Hogere Kweekschool Bond, HKS Bond). The Federation claimed, in 1930, to have 102 branches and 12,000 individual members all over the Netherlands India. See *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 5-6 (March 1930).

educational backgrounds, we [teachers] must unite! We have to strengthen our sense of brotherhood.’⁸³⁷

Initially this concept of unity gained in relevance for a practical purpose. As the editors of *Persatoean Goeroe* put it, if the individual PGHB members⁸³⁸ were to improve their living standards, ‘we [the members] need to be firmly bound together so that others respect us and to our profession, and pay us accordingly’.⁸³⁹ An elaborate statement of the purpose of unity appeared in an article by Moeh Saleh, a teacher: ‘Now we [teachers] are aware that it is through unity that we can pursue our rights [...] and so make hone our profession so as to attain our destiny. We have to understand the value of working shoulder to shoulder.’⁸⁴⁰

‘My brothers,’ urged Saleh, ‘our silence, our weaknesses, hesitations and disagreements about taking an active part in the Federation give *others*⁸⁴¹ courage and judgement to undermine our position and to take strong measures which demean our rights and degrade our dignity as teachers! We have the obligation to struggle for a better destiny. Do not give up!’⁸⁴² The tone of Saleh’s writing sounds slightly florid but it continued to resound in the discussion about unity as a professional category.

Soon, the striving for unity expanded to include ideological matters. One of these concerned the language. With so many diverse backgrounds in training, only a limited number of the individual PGHB members understood Dutch. ‘Times have changed, and it is now a must that we become united in a true sense as a nation,’ wrote C.A. Awas, a PGHB member. ‘From now on, *Persatoean Goeroe* should publish articles in the universal language only, namely Indonesian, because this is the language which all of us [PGHB members] understand well.’⁸⁴³ The journal editors did not endorse Awas’ proposal. ‘We do our best to accommodate our members [readers]. Articles in Dutch are relevant not only to our colleagues from the *Kweekschool* and *Hogere Kweekschool* but also to the *outsiders*. We have to take our influence on the *outsiders* into account!’⁸⁴⁴ In other words, unity meant the choice between uniformity or recognition of plurality.

⁸³⁷ ‘Eenheidsgevoel, Broederschap Zin, Onderling Vertrouw’, *Sinar Goeroe Vorstenlanden* No. 3 (1 September 1933), front page. Association of Teachers of the Royal Regions, or Persatuan Guru Vorstenlanden (PGV) was an institutional member of the PGHB and its members were individual teachers who were employed by the four royal authorities of the former Mataram Kingdom (Kasultanan and Pakualaman in Yogyakarta; Kasunanan and Mangkunegaran in Surakarta).

⁸³⁸ ‘Individual members’ meant the teachers themselves. As described earlier in another footnote, the PGHB was a federation of different associations of Indonesian teachers; these associations were institutional members of the PGHB. As those associations had teachers as their members, hence these teachers were members of the PGHB at the individual level.

⁸³⁹ ‘Zelfrespect (Menghargai Diri Sendiri)’, *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 16 (15 August 1930), page unclear.

⁸⁴⁰ Moeh Saleh, ‘Suatu Kewajiban bagi Kita Manusia Yakni Memperbaiki Diri Sendiri’, *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 20 (25 September 1930), page unclear.

⁸⁴¹ ‘Others’ is my translation for Saleh’s ‘pihak lain’; italicization is also mine. Although not stressed, the phrase insinuates an exclusive polarity between ‘them’ and ‘us’, and seems to have been a reference to other parties or people which had the power to ‘degrade the dignity of teachers’.

⁸⁴² Moeh Saleh, ‘Suatu Kewajiban bagi Kita’.

⁸⁴³ Awas, ‘Pengharapan Si Picik’, *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 19.

⁸⁴⁴ ‘Pendirian Redaksi tentang Bahasa dalam PG’, *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 19 (15 September 1930), italics in original. The editors did not specify what they meant by ‘the outsiders’. All which can be assumed is that they were ‘non PGHB members’. However, considering the debate being to use either Indonesian or Dutch, by ‘the outsiders’ the editors seem to have implied Dutch readers of the *Persatoean Goeroe*, thereby including the government and Dutch teachers. Compare ‘the outsiders’ with the use of ‘others’ by Moeh Saleh! Both show an exclusive polarization between ‘them’ and ‘us’, which insinuates some sense of ‘whom should be included in the idea of the unity’ which those teachers were building.

The meaning of unity was also concerned with the teachers' pedagogical role. Teachers had to unite because they were responsible for developing a sense of unity among their students. At the 19th congress of the PGHB in Surakarta on 18 February 1930, the chairman of the Federation, L.L. Kartasoebrata, stressed this point. 'My fellow teachers, it is our responsibility to increase unity among our students, Indonesian boys and girls,' Kartasoebrata went on to say. 'However, we cannot do this simply by uttering fine phrases. Unless we are united in body and soul, we cannot expect our students to have a strong sense of unity!' Unity, Kartasoebrata stated, had to be part and parcel of the personality which should characterize Indonesian teachers. 'Take a look at our fellow teachers in Asia and around the world. They are all growing in unity. We, too, are growing in unity, but we still have to strengthen it.'⁸⁴⁵ Kartasoebrata expressed a politically crucial way of thinking. He began by stressing why individual teachers had to 'internalize' the value of unity. He ended by formulating a sort of comparative status of equality, if unity were achieved, between Indonesian teachers and their fellow teachers world-wide. From the two sides, that is internalized values and social recognition, self-respect was sought to take its place as another strand in the growing consciousness of the teachers.

As was the conception of unity, that of self-respect was nurtured from practical things. First of all, it was standard etiquette for teachers and other low-ranking indigenous government officials to greet officials of a higher rank with the so-called *sembah jongkok*.⁸⁴⁶ Teachers, including school principals, had to pay homage to a school inspector by falling on their knees. Teachers considered this etiquette no longer an appropriate part of social relationships and urged that it be abolished. In a meeting of the West Java Chapter of the Normal School Association (Persatuan Normal School, PNS) in Bandung on 25 June 1930, the representatives of Tasikmalaya Branch tabled a motion for the removal of the *sembah jongkok* rule.⁸⁴⁷ The editors of *Persatoean Goeroe*, citing the congress of the Association of Indigenous Government Officials (Persatuan Prijaji Bestuur Bumiputra, PPBB) in Surabaya in July 1930, also urged that the *sembah jongkok* requirement be done away with.⁸⁴⁸ In *Persatoean Goeroe* someone named Patje Mateng⁸⁴⁹ wrote that *sembah jongkok* prevented teachers from being free to express their opinions to higher-ranking officials. '*Sembah jongkok* does not tally with our *zelfbewustheid* [self-respect] or *zelfvertrouwen* [self-confidence],' Mateng argued. 'We, educators of our children, have to be conscious that our honour and dignity are born of the sanctity of and the

⁸⁴⁵ 'Kongres PGHB XIX di Soerakarta', *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 5-6 (March 1930).

⁸⁴⁶ Patje Mateng, 'Ilmu Penjilat a la Kolot', *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 18 (5 September 1930). '*Sembah jongkok*' literally means 'paying homage by squatting'.

⁸⁴⁷ 'Vergadering PNS Jawa Barat 25 Juni 1930 di Gedung HIS, PGB Bandung', *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 15 (15 August 1930).

⁸⁴⁸ 'Hormatstelsel antara Guru dan Pembesar', *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 19 (15 September 1930).

⁸⁴⁹ This is an unusual name for a person in either Javanese or Indonesian society and was likely to have been a pseudonym. 'Patje/pace' (Javanese) or 'mengkudu' (Indonesian) is fruit from the same name of a tree (*Morinda citrifolia* L.) which grows in Indonesian and other Asian forests (see <http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mengkudu>). 'Mateng' (Javanese) means 'ripe' so that '*pace mateng*' means 'ripe *pace*'. Research indicates substances of *pace* have medical usage, for example, for lowering human blood pressure (see, for example, Elmirizal Chanan, 'Kasiat Mengkudu Secara Ilmiah', in Pandaisikek Cyber, www.pandaisikek.net, accessed on 4 September 2009). Regardless this medical usage of 'pace', my childhood experience, which is not generalizable, calls to mind the mocking meaning implied in 'ripe *pace*' because of its unbearable odour. In joking games, my childhood friends and I threw 'ripe *pace*' to each other while shouting 'Smelly!'. Basing solely on my childhood experience with 'ripe *pace*', I interpret that the use of name 'Patje Mateng' by the writer of the article cited here has a symbolic meaning. It represented an unbearable stand against the *sembah jongkok* rule. Unless the rule was removed the 'Patje', which was already 'Mateng', would break up to spread 'its odour'.

competence with which we perform in our duties, not from paying *sembah jongkok* to higher-ranking officials!⁸⁵⁰ The consciousness of self-respect showed a progressive leap towards a rational instead of feudal basis of social relations.

Many volumes of *Persatoean Goeroe* are liberally sprinkled with articles expressing concerns about how important it was for teachers to develop self-esteem and self-confidence, as prerequisites to gaining public recognition and appreciation. The articles suggested that self-confidence had so far been lacking among teachers and, as an article put it, this situation often hindered or even prevented teachers from taking an active social role.⁸⁵¹ The editors of the journal reminded their readers:

'We [teachers] have to respect our name, corps and unity, our profession and labour. We do not need to think that we are the most important group of people in the world, or that we are *onmisbaar* [indispensable]. But as long as we teachers do not appreciate our own profession and job, other parties will not respect us. If we are not consistent in what we say, others will not show us respect.'⁸⁵²

In developing self-esteem and confidence the matter of salary could not be overlooked. 'One day we went to a Japanese shop only to find how expensive the goods it sold were,' the editors of *Persatoean Goeroe* once wrote in an editorial. 'The shop assistant surprisingly replied, "Yes, Sir, people always want high quality goods at a low price." We cannot forget what the Japanese shop assistant said to us. It happens everywhere, not exclusively in trade. Employers always want to recruit industrious, well-trained employees who allow themselves to be paid a pittance. Isn't it also the case with teachers? We have been rated cheaply!⁸⁵³ wrote the editors.

Someone whose name was shortened, Pr., pointed out some examples of how poorly teachers were paid by the government. Indonesian teachers, according to Pr., bore the responsibility for the success of all curriculum programmes: the trade schools, sports schools, training schools. 'The government even made use of Indonesian teachers to carry out the population census [of 1930?]. But are we paid the same as those who hold a European teaching certificate? No, not even half! Why is it? Because we Indonesian teachers acquiesce in being treated that way!⁸⁵⁴ Pr. wrote.

Arguably the critical point here is that teachers began to understand how they should see and appreciate themselves, and think how they expected others to see and appreciate their profession. So the significance of the salary issue went beyond purely payment. It dealt with a question of self- and social perception and how the esteem of the teaching corps should be built up. In other words, self-respect as a sense of pride, recognition and appreciation.

The teachers' consciousness of the value of self-respect was also inextricably linked to their growing understanding and expectations of the relationships between individuals and the society. In November 1933, for example, the association of teachers in the Principalities (Perikatan Perkoempoelan Goeroe Vorstenlanden, PPGV) passed a motion demanding the official replacement of

⁸⁵⁰ Patje Mateng, 'Ilmu Penjilat a la Kolot', *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 18. The original sentence reads 'Kita kaoem goeroe jang mendjadi opvoedernja anak-anak, haroes hati-hati kalau memberi hormat kepada pembesar. [...] Kehormatan dan deradjat kita haroes diperoleh dari kesoetjian dan ketjakapan kerdja kita, boekan dari pemberian hormat jang mendjilat'.

⁸⁵¹ 'Kepertjajaan kepada Diri Sendiri', *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 14 (30 August 1934), 124-5.

⁸⁵² 'Zelfrespect (Menghargai Diri Sendiri)', *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 16 (15 August 1930).

⁸⁵³ 'Harga', *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 20 (25 September 1930).

⁸⁵⁴ Pr., 'Berguna bagi Macam-Macam Kehendak dan... Murah', *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 17 (25 August 1930).

the term 'guru desa' (village teacher) by 'guru rakyat' (the people's teacher); 'sekolah desa' should also become 'sekolah rakyat'.⁸⁵⁵ The argument was that 'sekolah rakyat' and 'guru rakyat', rather than 'sekolah desa' and 'guru desa', were the correct Indonesian translation of the Dutch names 'volkschool' and 'volksonderwijzer'. They were therefore analogous with other terms like 'volksraad' (dewan rakyat, people's council), 'volkslektuur' (pustaka rakyat, public library), 'volkslied' (nyanyian rakyat, folksong). Above this linguistic reason lurked a sense of pride. The teachers objected to being labelled as 'guru desa' because it implied 'a tone or sense of condescension affecting not only to the teachers but also to pupils and the schools'. 'It is as if we [Indonesians] are being called "inlander"'.⁸⁵⁶

It was not long before the petition incited a debate. Several articles, which first appeared in *Darma Kanda* and were republished by *Sinar Goeroe Vorstenlanden*, critically questioned what was 'rakyat' meant. 'Are children of *asistent wedana* and the auxiliary-teachers also "rakyat" although they do not go to the *volkschool*? If they are "rakyat", both teachers and schools should be provided for them and all the other children of our society'.⁸⁵⁷

Those who demanded the introduction of the name 'guru rakyat', *Darma Kanda* said, exhibited a 'new spirit for change'. The socio-economic category of 'desa', countryside, had an association of meaning with rural backwardness in contrast to the urban modernity expressed by the term 'kota', town/city. 'Guru desa' conjured up a picture of a traditional teacher who, on account of his training, lagged behind modern teachers in knowledge and competence. Because many teachers working in the village schools in the 1930s actually held a *normaal school* or even a *kweekschool* diploma, which was of much higher standing than the certificate of village school teacher, the name 'guru desa' was obsolete. However, *Darma Kanda* was convinced, the core problem lay in the teacher and the school itself. 'Has the village school so far provided sufficient instruction to serve as a solid basis for the primary education of our people as the *dorpschool* does in the Netherlands? Have the village schoolteachers performed well in accordance with the diploma they hold?' *Darma Kanda* insisted that, unless there was a re-organization of the educational structure enabling the position of village school and teachers to be made equivalent to other primary schools, the negative attitude towards village school and teachers would persist.⁸⁵⁸

Someone under the name 'Bapa Tani', a pseudonym indicating an archetypal peasant man, opposed the motion. He argued that the translation of 'volkschool' as 'sekolah rakyat' was linguistically correct but culturally wrong. 'Volkschool' was a Dutch name. Its Indonesian counterpart (hence not a mere translation) was indeed 'sekolah desa', and the teacher, 'guru desa'. Yes, Bapa Tani made his case, not only because the school and the teachers were in the 'desa' but also because they were funded by village funds (*kas desa*). Bapa Tani stated that going beyond a matter of translation, the demand for a new name had been motivated by the teachers' need for public recognition of their awareness of and participation in the national movements. 'Bapa Tani' suggested that these teachers take their fellows from the *Taman Siswa*, who did work hard for the movements

⁸⁵⁵ 'Ma'loemat dari Volksonderwijzers di Vorstenlanden', *Sinar Goeroe Vorstenlanden* No. 5 (1 November 1933), front page.

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁷ *Darma Kanda* No. 257, as re-published in *Sinar Goeroe Vorstenlanden* No. 6 (1 December 1933), 47.

⁸⁵⁸ 'Soal Guru Desa dan Sebutannya', *Darma Kanda* No. 258, as re-published in *Sinar Goeroe Vorstenlanden* No. 6 (1 December 1933), 48.

without bragging about their contribution, as their model. 'If those [village school] teachers truly work for the "rakyat", people will recognize them as "guru rakyat" even though they do not ask for it,'⁸⁵⁹ he wrote.

In response to 'Bapa Tani', the editors of *Sinar Goeroe Vorstenlanden*, citing *Darma Kanda*, again raised the question of 'rakyat'. 'Who are "rakyat"?' they asked. The 'desa' people were indeed the 'rakyat' and the village funds belonged to them as they were collected from them. The editors believed that, the names 'guru rakyat' and 'sekolah rakyat' would raise people's sense of belonging to these teachers and schools. The editors also refuted Bapa Tani's argument that 'sekolah desa' was always in a 'desa' as some of these schools were indeed located in towns.⁸⁶⁰ A member of the PPGV urged teachers to wait for the government response to the issue because 'the name "guru desa" had been coined by the government'.⁸⁶¹ Another member, Moed, described the fact that many villagers could not afford for their children to go to a school other than the village school. So the name 'sekolah desa', Moed was convinced, had appeared as a reaction to the existence of the upper-class schools, to which the villagers could not send their children.⁸⁶²

Commencing from the categorical polemic of the name, teachers began to question who the 'rakyat' were and, accordingly, who they were themselves. They wanted to do away with the name 'desa', but not because they aimed to deny their background as 'desa' people. They did indeed live in the countryside and did not demand that the term 'guru desa' be substituted by 'guru kota'.⁸⁶³ What they wanted was to use the name 'rakyat' because, 'desa' implied a long-standing sense of being a defenceless object of exploitation.⁸⁶⁴ 'Rakyat' provided them with a sense of dynamic status and created a nuance of active position in opposition to the non-'rakyat', namely the power structure of the society and the state. For more than being a face-value issue about such matters as the proper name and language, the teachers' demand for the attributive name 'guru rakyat' was a matter of political consciousness and modernity. Gradually, teachers were becoming aware of their identity and status of citizenship (*burgerschap*) and what it entailed.

'What is the value of teacher's progress⁸⁶⁵ if it is of no use to the people?' another article in *Persatoean Goeroe* asked its readers. 'Teachers, however high the diploma they have, cannot live outside a movement which originated among the people.⁸⁶⁶ Don't let people think that we [teachers] work only for a living. Show them [the people] that we are a role model for them and their children⁸⁶⁷ and are willing to work for them!'⁸⁶⁸

⁸⁵⁹ 'Ma'lumat PPGV Berekor: Serat Kintunan Saking "Bapa Tani"', *Sinar Goeroe Vorstenlanden* No. 1 (January 1934), 4. Beginning with the article by 'Bapa Tani', further discussions on the issue of 'guru desa' took place in Javanese language.

⁸⁶⁰ 'Wangsulan Redactie', *Sinar Goeroe Vorstenlanden* No. 1 (January 1934), 4.

⁸⁶¹ 'Wangsulan Dateng Bapa Tani Saking PPGV-er', *Sinar Goeroe Vorstenlanden* No. 2 (February 1934), 12.

⁸⁶² 'Wangsulan Kulo Dumateng Bapa Tani Saking Moed', *Sinar Goeroe Vorstenlanden* No. 2 (February 1934), 13.

⁸⁶³ 'Ma'lumat PPGV Berboentoet', *Sinar Goeroe Vorstenlanden* No. 6 (1 December 1933), 47.

⁸⁶⁴ See an account of this, for example, in J.H. Boeke, *Dorp en Desa* (Leiden: Stenfert Kroese, 1934).

⁸⁶⁵ 'Teacher's progress' is my translation for 'kemadjoean goeroe', which implies a 'social mobility'.

⁸⁶⁶ The original sentence reads as follows: 'Teranglah bahwa goeroe [...] tak akan hidoep di loear pergerakan jang bersendi pada rakjatnja.'

⁸⁶⁷ The original sentence reads: 'Toenjoekkanlah kepada mereka bahwa kita kaoem goeroe pantas *memimpin* anak-anak dan pantas poela memimpin rakjat.' I have emphasized the word 'memimpin', which literally means 'to lead'. Instead of translating 'memimpin' in its literal meaning, I have interpreted it as 'being a role model'.

The campaign for the title 'guru rakyat' is the best illustration of the process in which public school teachers in the 1930s were becoming political by developing a sense of closeness to and a relationship with society at large. As a rule, because of their status as civil servants, public teachers were not allowed to join political organizations or movements.⁸⁶⁹ As they felt their way towards forming themselves into a corps as well as being individuals, the teachers sought a new horizon of citizenship. They understood that they would demean themselves if they did not serve as mental/intellectual guides (*geestelijk leiders*) and were to remain mere instructors (*lesgevers*).⁸⁷⁰ They had to play an active role in the process of social change because the principal meaning of education was indeed *cultuuroverdracht*, the transfer of culture.⁸⁷¹

The teachers' growing consciousness notably reflected itself in their daily duties. It grew from deliberations about life in the 'small' world of the classroom where inspiration almost always came from outside. This realization implied giving a new meaning and re-contextualization to existing pedagogical practices. Using the new 'knife' of analysis, teachers critically reconsidered the same schooling activities and questioned several elements of identity previously taken for granted. The debate about 'guru rakyat' was a sample case.

In Sumatra, teachers also sought for new meaning, for example, by dealing with the sensitive issue of 'kemerdekaan', independence. Instead of embracing the nationalist sense of political independence, which aimed to supersede the existing colonial power relations, the Sumatran teachers' introduction of the concept of 'kemerdekaan' began with a break-away from the traditional mission of schooling as a means of reproduction of social class. Some flashbacks in time and space are essential to exploring this story.

In July 1929, *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* published an article on the Montessori method.⁸⁷² Unlike other afore-mentioned cases for which the source(s) of borrowed articles were mentioned explicitly, for this article the editors just wrote a 'W'. Deducing from its content and language style, the article might have been penned by Ki Hadjar Dewantara as a crosscheck shows an article with exactly the same title and content which appeared under his name in the Taman Siswa magazine *Waskita* in May 1929.⁸⁷³ The most significant fact about it is that, in the last colonial decade, Indonesian teachers at

'To lead' or 'being a leader' implies a position of power and, in my opinion, the overall message of the text does not insinuate this sense of position of power.

⁸⁶⁸ 'Kaoem Goeroe dan Pergerakan', *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 13 (15 August 1934), 110-1(?). This article is not an editorial, but is unfortunately written anonymously.

⁸⁶⁹ 'Deradjat Goeroe di Waktue Sekarang', *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 14 (30 August 1934), front page. See also 'Soeara Pers', *Sinar Goeroe Vorstenlanden* No. 5 (1 November 1933), 45; 'Saudara S.M. Soeganda Djadi Lid PNI?', *Sinar Goeroe Vorstenlanden* No. 6 (1 June 1933).

⁸⁷⁰ Soetopo, 'Aliran-Aliran Baroe dalam Ilmoe Mendidik', *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 2 (22 February 1934).

⁸⁷¹ Soetopo, 'Aliran-Aliran Baroe dalam Ilmoe Mendidik' (continued), *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 3 (10 March 1934). 'Cultuuroverdracht' literally means 'transfer of culture'. That teachers of the 1930s like Soetopo defined the meaning of education as the 'transfer of culture' has to be understood in the context of pedagogical philosophy during the time. In recent time, thinkers of critical education like Henry Giroux have tended to emphasize that the meaning of education is 'transformation of culture' instead of 'transfer of culture'.

⁸⁷² 'Orde, Regeering dan Tucht: Faham Toea dan Faham Baharoe', *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 7 Tahoen IX (Juli 1929), 126-30.

⁸⁷³ *Waskita* Vol. I No. 8 (May 1929), in Ki Hadjar Dewantara. *Karya Ki Hadjar Dewantara Bagian Pertama: Pendidikan* (Yogyakarta: Majelis Luhur Persatuan Taman Siswa, 2004, third edition), 399-403.

public schools were 'covertly' following the development of the thoughts of their fellow teachers in the 'unofficial schools'.

Maria Montessori, a prominent Italian educational reformist in the early twentieth century, founded the principle of individual autonomy in education. She thought that education was a natural process spontaneously embraced by the human individual, in which punishments and rewards were not an appropriate mechanism to encourage learning.⁸⁷⁴ In the article cited by *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe*, the Dutch words 'zelfstandig' and 'vrij' were used as translation for Montessori's 'autonomous' and 'spontaneous' terms. They were followed by an Indonesian translation: 'mardéka' and 'bebas', which imply the meanings of 'being independent and free'. When the concept was explored in more detail, the meanings of the terms in the Indonesian language were extended and strengthened. For example, while Montessori's idea of abolishing rewards and punishments was aimed to stimulate the child's inner motivation for learning, its purpose, as the writer of the article put it, was to 'memardékakan anak', which, re-translated into English, means 'to make children independent' – instead of 'to establish the individual autonomy of children'.⁸⁷⁵

The Indonesian word for Dutch 'zelfstandig' in the English sense of 'being autonomous' could have been 'mandiri', whose meaning applies to an individual rather than to collective of people. Therefore, 'zelfstandigheid' or 'autonomy' could have been 'kemandirian' instead of 'kemerdekaan'. *Kemerdekaan* is closer in meaning to *onafhankelijkheid* or independence.⁸⁷⁶ In the article published by *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe*, Montessori's principles of (individual) autonomy were described as 'pangkal kemardékaan' or 'sources of independence'. This produced the meaning of 'kemardékaan' as 'tidak hidoep terperintah [not to live under the order of others]', 'berdiri tegak karena kekoatan sendiri [to be able to stand on one's own feet]', and 'tjakap mengatoer hidoepnya sendiri [to develop the capacity for self-determination]'.⁸⁷⁷ The overall context of the article was the reform of educational principles and the teaching method; hence it carried a pedagogical concept. However, the terminology implied a message much more sweeping than just the pedagogical one!

Other articles on pedagogical issues also provide good examples. In April 1931, *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* published an article entitled 'Zelfstandigheid van den Onderwijzer [Autonomy of the Teacher]', originally a lecture delivered by Soedjadi to a meeting of the West Sumatra chapter of the PGHB.⁸⁷⁸ The article deals with the teacher's sustainable improvement of professional quality. 'A teacher has to be zelfstandig,'⁸⁷⁹ Soedjadi said in the article. This implies, he stated, that a teacher should be imbued with the spirit of self-learning in order to maintain his self-esteem as a teacher and to learn from the experience of fellow teachers.⁸⁸⁰ All well and good but the particular way in which Soedjadi explored

⁸⁷⁴ A glance on Maria Montessori and her works, for example visit <http://www.montessori.edu/maria.html>; http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maria_Montessori.

⁸⁷⁵ 'Orde, Regeering dan Tucht', *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe*, 127.

⁸⁷⁶ The present standard Indonesian words are 'merdeka' [adjective] and 'kemerdekaan' [noun]. In this discussion, in which the words appear as 'mardéka', 'kemardékaan', 'kemerdekaan', they are the original forms as used in the texts cited.

⁸⁷⁷ 'Orde, Regeering dan Tucht', *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe*, 127.

⁸⁷⁸ Soedjadi, 'Zelfstandigheid van den Onderwijzer', *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 4 Tahoen XI (April 1931), 65-70. Soedjadi was a senior member of the Association.

⁸⁷⁹ Here, thus, 'autonomous' rather than 'independent', which can be *onafhankelijk* in Dutch.

⁸⁸⁰ Soedjadi, 'Zelfstandigheid', 66-7.

these points shows how political his concept actually was. He said: 'Here "*zelfstandigheid*" should mean "standing on one's own feet", hence "*merdéka*".' He lost no time in adding: 'The word "*kemerdékaan*" is often used in either a political or a religious sense. But we are now using it in a pedagogical sense.' Nevertheless, in explaining the meaning of *kemerdékaan*, Soedjadi picked a politically suitable example. 'In England,' he wrote, 'even the lowest ranking *koelies* obtained the right to education up to the level of the Dutch MULO. Here, our people will never have the rights the English *koelies* have until all teachers achieve *kemerdékaan*!'⁸⁸¹

In July 1931, *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* published an interview with Oesman Idris, director of the Malay Language Department at Hamburg University, Germany who also worked as a freelance editor of the journal.⁸⁸² Idris stated that school education in Indonesia was not geared to improve the autonomy of children. 'Many of our children go to school because they want to become government officials and administrators. In short, they want to "makan gadji",' said Idris.⁸⁸³ 'We must educate our children so that they can be their own masters.'⁸⁸⁴ Idris pointed out that education in Indonesia was accessible exclusively to children of the haves 'as if the have-nots are only spectators, who do not possess the right to it.' 'In Europe, both the rich and the poor have equal rights to education!'⁸⁸⁵ The interview with Oesman Idris shows that the concept of *kemerdekaan* had taken on more political than pedagogical overtones as it pointed as much in the direction of the educational content to accessibility to and equality of rights. The transformation in the concept shows the subtle process at work in the way the teachers were exposed to progress in their understanding of their social roles.

This survey presents some pictures of how Indonesian teachers in public schools developed a sense of political consciousness. Just as many of their Indonesian contemporaries did, teachers were called upon to embrace the idea of '*persatuan*', unity. As they did so, self-respect and citizenship arose as crucial issues which gradually strengthened the teachers' perception of their position in society. In this climate, discussions about progress in pedagogical theories often turned into reflections about identity and social roles. Finally, in the 1930s various events from around the world were reported regularly in the journals, either as articles or first-hand reports,⁸⁸⁶ and this supplied their readers with an open horizon about developments in international affairs.

B.2 Students

⁸⁸¹ Ibid. 68.

⁸⁸² 'Pembijaraan Kita dengan Toean Oesman Idris', *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 7 Tahun XI (Juli 1931), 130-2.

⁸⁸³ The expression 'makan gadji' (literally, 'eating a salary') implies a preference for jobs in a government office. Its usage in the cited context can be best understood as the great tendency of school graduates to seek for jobs as civil servants that entitled them a *prijaji* status instead of independently creating job opportunities.

⁸⁸⁴ 'Pembijaraan Kita', *Aboean Goeroe-Goeroe* No. 7 Tahun XI (Juli 1931), 130.

⁸⁸⁵ Ibid. 130-1.

⁸⁸⁶ See, for example, *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 7 (April 1930), and No. 8 (15 April 1930). Of various international news, the one on labour strikes in England, the US and India appeared particularly often. There were also special reports on the strikes by school pupils in Manila, the Philippines on 11 March 1930, and in Bombay, India on 12 March 1930. The strike in Manila was said to have risen from an incident in which on a school pupil was insulted by an American professor. The one in Bombay, in which about 2000 pupils were reported to have taken part, aimed to 'support Mahatma Gandhi's struggle for independence'.

Testimonies from HIK graduates describe a changing self-perception among students leading to a political awareness, too. Graduates speak of an increase in the availability of and access to reading materials in schools and boarding houses, even though those were censored, as one factor which initially stimulated their political curiosity. 'At the HIK in Bukittinggi, I regularly read Dutch newspapers and magazines from which I learned about up-to-date events and developments in Indonesia and the world,' wrote A.H. Nasution in his autobiography.⁸⁸⁷ He entered the lower level of the HIK in Bukittinggi in 1932 and continued to the upper level in Bandung in 1935.

'Once in a while there was news about Soekarno, whom the Dutch press labelled as "communist".' At another time, a Dutch newspaper published the Japanese idea of the Greater Asia and warned its readers against what it called 'the danger of the Japanese'. Instead of paying attention to the warning, Nasution wrote, 'I wondered to myself why I felt proud of the Japanese; perhaps because they were inspiring Asians regardless of the negative commentaries about them in the Dutch press.'⁸⁸⁸ He found the collections in the school library could satisfy his desire for reading, especially about history. 'History of wars of independence in Europe attracted me very much,' he said. Nasution recalled that in the school library he never found any 'national' newspaper or books about the Indonesian nationalist movement. In a flea market in the Banceuy area of Bandung, Nasution bought Soekarno's published text of his defence before the Bandung Court in 1930(?) and another publication entitled *Mencapai Indonesia Merdeka*, 'Achieving the Independence of Indonesia'. He secretly took the books to the school boarding house and took turns in reading them with his colleagues. But one night, one of his dorm mates, Nyoman Tasik from Bali, was caught red-handed by the school director, Mr Brouwer, as he was reading the books. 'The books were confiscated by Mr Brouwer and never returned. Nyoman kindly did not tell the director that the books belonged to me.'⁸⁸⁹ Nasution does not mention whether Nyoman was punished.

When he was still in Bukittinggi, Nasution was actively involved in a student discussion group. One day he was taken to the local police headquarters and interrogated. Nasution did not understand what the problem really was until an officer gave him a letter, which he had never received nor read, in which a phrase '*onze strijd*', 'our struggle', featured. The letter was indeed a personal one and had been sent by a fellow student in Jakarta. The local police suspected that the letter was actually directed to the discussion group, of which Nasution was a member, as part of the student political movement.⁸⁹⁰

Alatif Azis had a different experience.⁸⁹¹ He entered the lower level of the HIK in Bukittinggi in 1930 and the upper level in Bandung in 1933, two years senior to Nasution. When in Bukittinggi, Azis regularly took part in discussions held by the Youth Organization of Muhammadiyah but he said he never officially became a member of the organization. He occasionally watched public

⁸⁸⁷ A.H. Nasution, *Memenuhi Panggilan Tugas Jilid 1: Kenangan Masa Muda* (Jakarta[?]: CV Haji Masagung, 1990[?]), 28-9.

⁸⁸⁸ Ibid. 29.

⁸⁸⁹ Ibid. 39.

⁸⁹⁰ Ibid. 29. Nasution did not explain how an ordinary letter sent via post could have 'fallen' into the hands of the police.

⁸⁹¹ Interview with Alatif Azis in Bandung, 27 November 2006.

processions/parades of what he remembered as 'the Nazi Youth Organization of the East Indies'.⁸⁹² Azis never realized that his interest and 'passive participation' in those activities had invited the suspicion of the authorities. After graduating from the lower level in Bukittinggi in 1933 and having been officially selected to continue to the upper level in Bandung, Azis had to make one promise before starting his studies.

Azis: 'The HIK director in Bukittinggi asked me not to join political organization or movement. In Bandung, the director gave me a paper containing the statement that I would not join any political movement. I had to sign the paper and I did so. Otherwise, I would have had to leave the school.'⁸⁹³

Unlike Azis, Mohamad Isa did not say that any step was taken against his active participation in an organization. In 1940, he joined the Islam Youth Organization (*Islamistische Jeugd Bond*, IJB) in Yogyakarta, whose members included some Muslim students of the AMS-A, the Muhammadiyah MULO, and the Taman Siswa.⁸⁹⁴ Leaders of the IJB held a monthly meeting to discuss current issues.⁸⁹⁵ To celebrate the Islamic Day of the Sacrifice (Idul Adha) in 1942, the IJB leaders decided to hold a public prayer meeting in an open field located some five kilometres west of the city centre of Yogyakarta. 'We marched from our school and chanted the *takbir* prayer along the way, taking with us a goat to be sacrificed. I think it was the first public religious march Islamic students in Yogyakarta had held in colonial times,' said Isa.⁸⁹⁶

Both Moerdiono and Imam Sajono, respectively entrants to the HIK in Yogyakarta in 1937 and 1939 spoke in individual interviews of an incident in which a student was dismissed from school for singing 'Indonesia Raya', the national anthem of what was to become Republic of Indonesia.⁸⁹⁷ However, neither Moerdiono nor Sajono could recall the name of that student. It seems they were

⁸⁹² Azis seemed to have pointed out what Zurchiban Surjadipradja remembered as the Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging (NSB), 'a sympathizing organization or even a branch of Hitler's Nazi', he wrote (Zurchiban Surjadipradja, 'Over Ditjes en Datjes', in *Gema* No. 4 Tahun XXIV [October 2003], 26). The presence of the NSB in the Netherlands India is confirmed in a study by Wilson. In 1934, the NSB had 1,200 members, of whom 70% was of Indo-European background. Among Indonesian members, many were 'school teachers, government officials and better educated people'. (Wilson, *Orang dan Partai Nazi di Indonesia: Kaum Pergerakan Menyambut Fasisme* [Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2008], 115-6. See also L. de Jong, *The Collapse of a Colonial Society*, 55.)

⁸⁹³ Interview with Alatif Azis in Bandung, 27 November 2006. The interview with Azis took place without a prior appointment. I was informed about Azis by another informant, Saleh Bratawidjaja. I walked from Bratawidjaja's house to Azis'—taking five minutes. After I knocked at the door, an elderly man in sarong and a t-shirt appeared and asked what I wanted. 'I would like to do interview with Mr Azis,' I said after introducing myself and asking whether he was indeed Mr Alatif Azis. To my surprise, the man replied in a high pitched voice, 'No interviews about the PKI (the Indonesian Communist Party)!' 'No, no, Sir!' I immediately responded realizing that there had been something of a misunderstanding. 'My interview is not going to be about the PKI but about the HIK, the *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool*.' Again contrary to my expectation, the man suddenly responded with a broad smile, 'O, the HIK! Please come on in! Yes, I am Alatif Azis,' We had then a very friendly conversation for nearly two hours.

⁸⁹⁴ Mohamad Isa, 'Kita Bisa Belajar Banyak dari Berbeda Pendapat!', *Gema* No. 3 Tahun IX (October 1993), 14-5.

⁸⁹⁵ Isa did not elaborate if the issues the IJB leaders discussed were only religious ones.

⁸⁹⁶ Mohamad Isa, 'Pertama dan Terakhir Kali Bertakbir Sepanjang Jalan Tugu-Malioboro', *Gema* No. 4 Tahun XII (Juni 1991), 29-32.

⁸⁹⁷ Interviews with Moerdiono in Yogyakarta, 27 September 2006; and with Imam Sajono in Jakarta, 12 October 2006.

referring to Djoko Sanjoto, entrant of 1938. Sanjoto's 'testimony' can be found in *Gema*, a bi-monthly magazine of the Association of ex-HIK students of Yogyakarta.⁸⁹⁸

Djoko Sanjoto wrote on a certain day students of the HIK in Yogyakarta participated in a long march organized by the Nederlands Indië Atletiek Unie.

'As we marched down Malioboro Street, we [the HIK students] sang Hawai'ian pop songs. But Mr Mabesoone, our Dutch teacher who was our leader in the show, didn't seem to like our singing. He said "If you do not have a feeling for music, you'd better shut up!"⁸⁹⁹ We whispered among us "Quiet, quiet!" We then marched on in silence. Noticing we had fallen silent, Mr Mabesoone approached us in our ranks and said "Sing [instead] appropriate patriotic songs, Boys!"⁹⁰⁰ I spontaneously loudly rendered, "Indonesia Raya!"⁹⁰¹ To my big surprise, immediately we all began to sing "Indonesia Raya" as if I had issued an order. I was amazed myself that we dared to sing the forbidden song in a public thoroughfare.'

'In the late afternoon when we all back at our boarding house, I saw a police motorbike being parked in the front yard of the house of the school director. Instinctively, I was overcome by trepidation, especially after I saw from a distance a police officer pointing his fingers at me as he was talking to our school director. At dinner time that evening, I was asked to see the director in his office. He did not say much except for "The bucket is already full; no more drops can [be poured into it]."⁹⁰² Then he gave me my report book, in which was written "*verwijderd wegens wangedrag*."⁹⁰³ That evening I ended my days as a HIK student!⁹⁰⁴

The case of the singing of 'Indonesia Raya' is perhaps one which has a strong political theme. Djoko Sanjoto had also noted that day-to-day events in the boarding house had made him feel 'rebellious' ever since his first days at the HIK in 1938. As a rule, Dutch was the language of instruction at school as well as in daily interaction among the students. 'But we sometimes spoke Javanese with fellow Javanese, something that we could not always avoid as it is our mother tongue,' wrote Sanjoto.⁹⁰⁵ 'When our teachers heard us speaking Javanese, they reprimanded us, "*Spreekt toch Nederlands!*"⁹⁰⁶ This was indeed an acceptable reminder. But often such a reprimand was then followed by "*Denk toch Nederlands!*"⁹⁰⁷ I thought the latter order was very offensive as if they wanted to make us Dutch.' Sanjoto:

'One day during a pedagogy class the director of the HIK, Mr Nuhoff, said that the aim of the Netherlands Indies government was to improve the lives of the indigenous people. When given the opportunity, I raised my hand and asked, "If that were the case, why has the Dutch language been considered better than our Indonesian language?"⁹⁰⁸ I saw a blush infuse Mr Nuhoff's face. He

⁸⁹⁸ Djoko Sanjoto, '*Verwijderd Wegens Wangedrag: Derita Tak Kunjung Habis*', *Gema* No. 4 Tahun XII, (Juni 1991), 2-11.

⁸⁹⁹ Originally: '*Als jullie geen gevoel hebben voor muziek, houd toch liever jullie mond!*'

⁹⁰⁰ Originally: '*Zing toch liever van die behoorlijke vaderlandse liederen, jongens!*'

⁹⁰¹ 'Indonesia Raya', the then national anthem of the Republic of Indonesia, was composed by Wage Rudolf Soepratman and was first heard in public at the closing of the Indonesian Youth Congress on 28 October 1928, which concluded with a vow for the unity of Indonesian territory, nationhood and language.

⁹⁰² Originally: '*De emmer is al vol, er kan geen druppeltje meer bij.*'

⁹⁰³ 'Expelled for bad behaviour'

⁹⁰⁴ Djoko Sanjoto, '*Verwijderd*', 2-11.

⁹⁰⁵ Ibid. 4.

⁹⁰⁶ 'Do speak Dutch!'

⁹⁰⁷ 'Think Dutch!'

⁹⁰⁸ Originally: '*Als dat zo was, waarom wordt de Hollandse taal hoger geacht dan onze eigen Indonesische taal?*'

replied, “Young man, the Dutch language is your scientific language. And... whenever I hear the word ‘Indonesia’, I conjure up the image of people once removed from cannibals!”⁹⁰⁹

‘There was another incident which really upset me. One of my juniors (I forget his name) had not yet become accustomed to eating his meals using spoon and fork. This invariably happened among the new students as many of us had come from a rural tradition. This junior sat on my right side at the dining table and had always become nervous when others watched him eating.’

‘One day, when we were having lunch, our supervising teacher, Mr Van Oerle approached and said to him, “Now then, listen carefully, if an animal eats, it brings its mouth to the food; if a man eats, he brings the food to the mouth!”⁹¹⁰ My junior friend looked very frightened. But I also felt personally very offended by what Mr Van Oerle had said, although he was not addressing me. I stood up straightaway and replied to Mr Van Oerle: “Sir, when in Rome, do as a Roman does! In your culture man brings the food to the mouth; in ours.... We have to assume a properly noble position!”⁹¹¹

‘Mr Van Oerle ordered me to see him in his office after lunch. When I arrived, he said that he would make a minute report unless I apologized for what I had done in the dining-room. This time I was frightened because I realized the serious repercussions such a report could have. I did then apologize to Mr Van Oerle.’⁹¹²

The individual testimonies presented here reveal that the rise in political consciousness was not always a deliberate decision. In many cases it began with an ‘unprecedented introduction’ to events in daily lives. Nor do the testimonies necessarily dovetail with the liberating idea propagated by the Japanese. In the late 1930s when students of the teacher schools were still a privileged stratum receiving the training which ascribed them a place in the intellectual elite status, they were exposed to, or experienced, different ‘incidents’ which slowly made them aware of their social position in the imagined structure of the colonial society. In the critical years towards the end of the 1930s, students in the teacher training schools began to understand, albeit sporadically and on an individual basis, an imagined society other than the colonial one, namely *the Indonesian society*. This understanding enlarged/expanded when, sometime in 1940, they witnessed substantial changes in daily school activities and, at the same time, the school authorities took a more accommodating approach.

C. Changes in the larger milieu, 1937-1942

It was perhaps simply a co-incidence that, at the time the Dutch colonial government introduced the reform and decentralization of education in the Netherlands Indies in 1937, the Japanese government in Tokyo launched a blueprint of expansion to South and Southeast Asia – the Southern Seas (*Nanyō*).⁹¹³ Seeking the economic and political domination of the Asian hemisphere, this overseas expansion movement would eliminate all Western influence and power,⁹¹⁴ by using both military and

⁹⁰⁹ Originally: ‘*Jonge man, de Hollandse taal is de wetenschappelijke taal voor jullie. En... als ik het woord Indonesia hoor, dan denk ik aan halve kannibalen!*’ Djoko Sanjoto, ‘*Verwijderd*’, 6.

⁹¹⁰ Originally: ‘*Zeg, hoor eens, als een dier eet, brengt hij zijn mond naar het eten; maar een mens brengt het eten naar zijn mond!*’

⁹¹¹ Originally: ‘*Mijnheer, ‘slands wijz, ‘slands eer! Het is bij U dat men recht op zit bij het eten; bij ons... wij moeten juist een edelmoedige houding nemen!*’

⁹¹² Djoko Sanjoto, ‘*Verwijderd*’, 4-5.

⁹¹³ Because of its great analytical detail of the Japanese plan of expansion, here I rely extensively on the PhD study by Muhammad Abdul Aziz ‘*Japan’s Colonialism and Indonesia*’. According to Azis, after China, the blueprint of 1937-1941 included the conquest of French Indo-China, the Netherlands East Indies, British Malaya, British Borneo, Siam, Burma and, possibly then, the Philippines (p. 67).

⁹¹⁴ Before the Dutch capitulation, in a meeting summoned with the Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies, Tjarda van Starckenborgh Stachouwer, and the army commander, Lieutenant General H. ter Poorten, at Kalijati

cultural approaches to do so while '[a]ll social and national customs were to be respected'.⁹¹⁵ Throughout the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (*Daitōa kyōeiken*) Japan would manifest the spread of 'moral principles and social forms based on the original spirit of the Imperial influence' and would 'promote the East Asiatic culture through the moral unification of that area'.⁹¹⁶ To achieve this purpose, native people in the occupied areas would be 'made thoroughly aware' of the ideology of the Greater East Asia.⁹¹⁷

Almost as soon as it drafted the expansion blueprint, the Japan government was fully aware of the strategic use of education as a political tool.⁹¹⁸ An official of the Japanese Military Administration in Singapore was quoted as saying:

'The most profound of all means available to propaganda is education. This can be shaped and altered at will to suit the policy to be propagandized. From early childhood the child's mind can be made to assimilate teachings which are conducive to the creation of a feeling of loyalty and to the awakening of a national consciousness.'⁹¹⁹

In short, the elimination of Western influences would include the abolition of all Western schools, books and pedagogical methods, and other symbolic expressions of Western cultures.⁹²⁰ The 'elimination policy' would be followed by a 'Japanization policy'. Education for the children in the occupied areas should be based on the ideals of the Co-prosperity Sphere controlled from 'the Centre'. 'Native teachers should be re-trained and scholars and leading educationists from Japan would be sent to important places'.⁹²¹ Furthermore, '[w]herever the Japanese migrated, there should be Japanese schools for their children'.⁹²² Through indoctrination the 'Japanization policy' aimed to achieve a cultural hegemony. M.A. Aziz argues that the ultimate aim of the Japanese in the Netherlands Indies

airfield on 8 March 1942, the Japanese commander in Java, General Imamura Hitoshi, made it explicit: 'We—the Japanese Army—were not sent here to administer the Dutch East Indies, but to eliminate all Dutch forces'. See Imamura Hitoshi, 'Memoirs of General Imamura, Vol. 4: Cessation of Hostilities', in: Anthony Reid and Oki Akira (eds.), *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia: Selected Memoirs of 1942-1945* (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1986), 44.

⁹¹⁵ Aziz, 'Japan's Colonialism and Indonesia', 82.

⁹¹⁶ Ibid. 89.

⁹¹⁷ Ibid. 96.

⁹¹⁸ Such a view of the strategic position of school education always seems to have been an essential part of Japanese political agendas since its earliest modern expansion. While Aziz ('Japan's Colonialism and Indonesia') indicates that Formosa (Taiwan) was the first modern colony of Japan, E. Patricia Tsurumi shows that the aim of the Japanese education in Taiwan was to impose a sense of loyalty toward the Japanese on the natives and to inculcate the discipline needed to develop the colony. See E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), 212.

⁹¹⁹ This beautiful expression unfortunately is a repeated quote from multi-layer secondary sources. I have re-quoted the statement from Aziz 'Japan's Colonialism and Indonesia' (p. 177). In his footnote, Aziz writes that the quotation was from an article written by T. Fujimori of the Japanese Propaganda Department, in the *Shonan Shimbun* 5 September 1942. Fujimori's article was quoted by W.H. Elsabee, *Japan's Role in Southeast Asian Nationalist Movements 1940-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press for the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1953), 153. Aziz seems to have quoted the quote from Elsabee's quote of Fujimori, who quoted the remarks of an official of the Military Administration of Singapore.

⁹²⁰ Aziz claims that this abolition of symbolic meanings even included the removal of such tangible signs as the statues of Jan Pieterzoon Coen, Van Heutsz and even the Lion of Waterloo in Batavia. Aziz, 'Japan's Colonialism and Indonesia', 174.

⁹²¹ Aziz, 'Japan's Colonialism and Indonesia', 92-3.

⁹²² Ibid. 94.

was to 'absorb the people of the Archipelago into a completely Japanese-oriented East Asiatic community'.⁹²³

While the Japanese blueprint of expansion to the Southern Regions was developed, the social and political situation in the Netherlands Indies grew increasingly heated. Post-Depression unemployment and underemployment, which had slightly decreased in 1937 thanks to a boom in commodity exports to Europe, returned with a vengeance following the occupation of the Netherlands by Germany in May 1940, because all channels between the colony and the mother country were cut off. Beggars, prostitutes and the homeless flooded the urban areas.⁹²⁴ Many HIK students who graduated in the 1930s could not find an appointment at public schools because of the Depression and this situation forced them to take jobs at the 'unofficial schools'.⁹²⁵

Meanwhile, the Indonesian nationalist movement was 'blossoming'.⁹²⁶ In 1936, what became known as the Soetardjo Petition was proposed in the *Volksraad* (People's Council) by moderate nationalists asking to discuss the right to self-determination from the Dutch government in The Hague. The government rejected the petition.⁹²⁷ *Persatoean Goeroe* gave a detailed report of the Soetardjo petition, emphasizing the desire for autonomy for Indonesia.⁹²⁸ In 1938, several Indonesian parties set up the Federation of Indonesian Political Parties (Gaboengan Politik Indonesia, GAPI).⁹²⁹ GAPI worked primarily for the autonomous right of Indonesia and for a national unification based on political, economic and social democracy.⁹³⁰ In 1940, it called for 'self-government within the framework of the Dutch Constitution'.⁹³¹ As in the case of the Soetardjo Petition, the government rejected this proposal.

Some Indonesian nationalists offered to co-operate with the Netherlands Indies government to ward off the imminent Japanese attack. As reported in *Persatoean Goeroe*, in 1936 Dr Sutomo of the Greater Indonesia Party (Parindra) asked the government to give some Indonesian groups militia training so they could participate in the anticipated defence against the Japanese.⁹³² Writing in *Pemandangan* of 22 December 1941, Mohammad Hatta also suggested the training of people to use arms.⁹³³ In an article published in *Kritiek en Opbouw* in August 1941 Soewarsih Djojopoespito

⁹²³ Ibid. 176.

⁹²⁴ Satō, 'Daily Life', 163.

⁹²⁵ See, for example, Soeparmo, 'Pengakuan', 78; Suwandi S. Suwondo, 'Memperingati HIK Yogya 60 Tahun', *Gema Edisi Yubileum*, 1-30. Suwondo says that, of the first two groups of HIK alumni, who graduated from Yogyakarta in 1933, only a few eventually got a teaching position at government schools and the appointment did not take place until the 1937/1938 academic year. The majority of the alumni went to private schools, including 'the unofficial ones'. Those who were appointed to government schools received a salary, which was 'much much lower than the one they had been promised of [Fl. 75]' (p. 9). This fact, according to Soeparmo, stimulated a sarcastic joke among HIK alumni asserting that after graduating from the HIK, one would only receive 'gratis licht en lucht', light and air free of charge (p. 78).

⁹²⁶ Jeroen Kemperman, 'Introduction' in L. de Jong, *The Collapse of a Colonial Society: The Dutch in Indonesia during the Second World War* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002), 21-2.

⁹²⁷ Kemperman, 'Introduction', 24-5.

⁹²⁸ 'Indonesia Berdiri Sendiri sebagai Bagian Kerajaan Belanda', *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 11 (25 July 1936), 104-5.

⁹²⁹ Kemperman, 'Introduction', 26.

⁹³⁰ U.S. Department of Commerce, *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia* (Washington: Office of Technical Services, Joint Publications Research Service, 1963), 97.

⁹³¹ Ibid. 98.

⁹³² 'Parindra Mengajukan Milisi bagi Bumiputra', *Persatoean Goeroe* No. 3 (25 February 1936), 37.

⁹³³ Aziz, 'Japan's Colonialism and Indonesia', 146-7.

suggested that imprisoned nationalist activists should be released to help defend the Netherlands Indies; many of them were teachers from the 'unofficial schools'.⁹³⁴ None of these proposals was seriously considered by the colonial administration. According to a report of the US Department of Commerce, successive rejections by the government were a 'tremendous disappointment to moderate nationalists'. 'Thus,' the report reads, 'the arrival of the Japanese forces in a part of Indonesia in December 1941 made the people think that it was a war of providence of God to punish the Dutch colonial rulers who had brought evil, arrogance, and repressions.'⁹³⁵

Why was the colonial government reluctant to meet the moderate Indonesian nationalists half-way when the social and political tides were turning against it? Scholars frequently quote the statement made by Governor General B.C. de Jonge to show how the government underestimated the Indonesian nationalist movements: 'I believe that now that we have worked in the Indies for three hundred years, another three hundred years will be needed before the country will perhaps be ripe for a form of autonomy.'⁹³⁶ However, the reason for rejecting any sort of co-operation could have been government principle, as the Mayor of Batavia, E.A. Voorneman, made clear in his radio speech following the capture of the city on 5 March 1942, that 'combat against the enemy was a military duty'.⁹³⁷

Dutch historian Jeroen Kemperman points out that 'the stubborn refusal of the colonial government to engage in serious dialogue with the nationalists' as a case of 'burying one's head into the sand'.⁹³⁸ The government mistakenly assumed that the nationalist movements were supported only by the urban elites.⁹³⁹ It referred to the nationalists simply as a group of indigenous people who were uprooted from their cultural roots because of the Western education they had been privileged to follow.⁹⁴⁰ Moreover, the government and many Dutch people in the Netherlands Indies did believe that 'the Indonesians had willingly accepted their authority and that there was appreciation of and love for European rulers among the mass of the people, especially in Java and in Christianized areas of the Great East'.⁹⁴¹

Another 'misapprehension' was the Dutch conviction that the Indonesian masses were still relatively immune to the misguided political propaganda of the nationalists and would continue to obey their traditional elite, the *prijaji*.⁹⁴² A report of the US Department of Commerce says that in the 1930s the early generations of nationalists were energized by activists of the 'unofficial schools',

⁹³⁴ See Gerard Termorshuizen's epilogue to Soewarsih Djojopoespito's *Buiten het Gareel: An Indonesische Roman* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijgh & Van Ditmar, 1940), 227-8.

⁹³⁵ U.S. Department of Commerce, *Japanese Military Administration*, 98.

⁹³⁶ L. de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog: Deel IIa Nederlands-Indië I* (Leiden: Nijhoff, 1984), 359 as quoted in Kemperman, 'Introduction', 23.

⁹³⁷ 'Nederlandse Proclamatie 5 Maart 1942', Ned. I.C. 004686/5778, in I.J. Brugmans et al. *Nederlandsch-Indië onder Japanse Bezetting: Gegevens en Documenten over de Jaren 1942-1945* (Franeker: Uitgeverij Wever, 1960), 99. The original sentence reads: 'De bestrijding van den vijand is legertaak'. This implies that civilians were not (and perhaps should have not taken) part in the defence force.

⁹³⁸ Meaning: 'Refuse to confront or acknowledge a problem'. See the origin of the expression and its meaning in Gary Martin, 'Bury Your Head in the Sand', in <http://www.phrases.org.uk/meanings/80800.html> (copyright 1996-2009), accessed on 6 August 2009.

⁹³⁹ Kemperman, 'Introduction', 27; also for the direct reference in the previous sentence.

⁹⁴⁰ Aziz, 'Japan's Colonialism and Indonesia', 146.

⁹⁴¹ Ibid. 145.

⁹⁴² Ibid. 146.

particularly those of the Taman Siswa.⁹⁴³ Evidently, the colonial government did not take the influence of the 'unofficial schools' seriously into account.

As time went by, relations between Japan and the Netherlands worsened owing to a break down in economic negotiations. In February 1940, Japan asked the Netherlands for an expansion in trade to ensure its need for bauxite and oil. Japan also urged that more Japanese be granted an entrance permit to the Indonesian islands and insisted that the colonial government in Indonesia take control of the local Dutch press to make sure that it did not publish anti-Japanese propaganda. In June, the Netherlands government in London rejected a large part of what Japan had asked for. Japan repeated her demands to the Netherlands Indies government in Batavia in September. When the Dutch finally rejected most demands in June 1941, relations between Japan and the Netherlands (Indies) reached boiling point.⁹⁴⁴ Anticipating a war, whose outbreak became more certain following the embargo on Japan by the US, Britain and the Netherlands, the Dutch government 'finally' recruited Indonesians for the Dutch Colonial Army. These Indonesians made up approximately two-thirds of the 40,000 troops with the exception of some 28,000 members of the civil militia (*stadswacht*).⁹⁴⁵ The gesture was too late. It had already lost in grip it had had on the hearts of the Indonesian masses and failed to anticipate the Japanese attack on the 'Westernized' culture of the Netherlands Indies.

C.1 HIK students on the cusp of change

The anticipated war against the Japanese forced the colonial authorities to prepare for an emergency position and this inevitably brought changes in the daily routines of the HIK students in Yogyakarta. Zurchiban Surjadipradja was in the fourth year in 1941. Recalling the situation at the end of 1941, he wrote:

'The city of Yogyakarta was only half lit at night. The authorities decided to reduce the lighting in anticipation of a sudden Japanese attack. So, street lights in open spaces were turned off or covered. Malioboro Street, which had normally been brightly illuminated at night, was now filled with shadows. Shopkeepers turned down their lamps and prevented light from escaping from their premises. I saw people riding bicycles with their lamps painted blue.'⁹⁴⁶

'In the boarding house, we also had to reduce the number of lights. Lamps in the corners and along the pathways were not turned on so that at night we could only see the flashlight of the inspecting teacher spotting pathways in different directions.'⁹⁴⁷

Following the attack on Pearl Harbour, anticipation of war intensified in Yogyakarta. By that time, R. Suroso had not finished even his first year as a HIK student. He wrote, 'There were posters reading "*Wij zijn paraat!*"'⁹⁴⁸

⁹⁴³ U.S. Department of Commerce, *Japanese Military Administration*, 88, footnote 2. Here a reference seems to be made to the pioneers of the National Awakening, especially the founders of Budi Utomo in 1908. Thanks should indeed also have gone to activists of the Sarekat Islam schools led by Tan Malaka in Semarang in 1921.

⁹⁴⁴ Kemperman, 'Introduction', 30.

⁹⁴⁵ Ibid. 32-3.

⁹⁴⁶ Zurchiban Surjadipradja, 'Over Ditjes en Datjes', *Gema* No. 4 Tahun XXIV (October 2003), 24-8.

⁹⁴⁷ Surjadipradja, 'Over Ditjes en Datjes', 25-6.

⁹⁴⁸ R. Suroso, 'Akhir Riwayat HIK Yogya', *Gema* No. 4 Tahun XIII (June 1992), 30-5. The quote is from p. 31 and means 'We are ready!'

Suroso's senior, the afore-mentioned Surjadipradja, pointed to the increase in military or military-like activities. 'Marches by Dutch boys were a frequent occurrence in the main streets in Yogyakarta in the afternoon,' writes Surjadipradja. 'The boys wore dark-coloured uniforms: black socks and shoes, black knee-length trousers, dark blue shirts with long sleeves, and black *bivakmuts* cap. They sang English songs, including, 'Cheer Up' and 'Wish Me Luck', apparently to support the Allied Forces.'⁹⁴⁹

'Dutch people, especially males, were summoned to join the obligatory military services, consisting of different divisions of the *Stadswacht*, *Landwacht*, *Landstorm*, and the *Algemeen Vernielingscorps*,' Suroso wrote. 'Our male teachers, too, left the schools to join the services. Sometimes I saw our Dutch teacher, Mr Van Gessel, and our English teacher, Mr Cappers, riding bicycles in uniform, passing our school and waving to us.'⁹⁵⁰ According to Mohamad Isa, who was in third year in 1942, various other male teachers joined the services, including Nuhoff, Cappers, Schotman, Van Delden, Eggenhuyzen, Geldmaker, Catsman and De Boer.⁹⁵¹ Both Isa and Suroso recalled that only the female Dutch teachers stayed on. Some more female teachers came to the HIK from other schools to take over the teaching duties left by the male teachers.

As war approached, students began to become involved in different sorts and degrees of war-related preparations. Some students were appointed by the school director to form an internal security corps group as air-raid wardens, *de Luchtbeschermingsdienst* (LBD). Suroso testified: 'We were given crash course by an officer from the local Fire Department. He showed us how to identify the effects of "brisantbom" [anti-personnel bomb] and "brandbom" [incendiary], and how to tackle them. I was responsible for the classroom and corridor areas. Luckily, no bomb was ever dropped on the HIK buildings until the war was over.'⁹⁵²

Several other students were selected by a team from the medical service in Yogyakarta to join the Student Red-Cross Corps. They included Isa, Hanafi, Nazir, Ismail Harahap, Soedjiran, Suwantonono, Warsito, Suhardjo and Sayid Salim Baazir.⁹⁵³

'In the Corps, I met students from the AMS-A, but not from other schools like the AMS-B, HBS or MULO. We were trained in the dispensing of first aid, not for battle'.⁹⁵⁴ He continued saying that, to be selected as a member of the Corps, a candidate had to 'have a sturdy build, be energetic and, last but not least, be *goedgekeurd door de militaire dokter*'.⁹⁵⁵ After training, each member of the Corps was supplied with an outfit.

'The outfit consisted of uniforms, a mountain rucksack, a medical kit necessary to deal with an emergency situation, survival rations, and much more,' wrote Isa. 'As a teenager at that time, I was of

⁹⁴⁹ Surjadipradja, 'Over Ditjes en Datjes', 26

⁹⁵⁰ Suroso, 'Akhira Riwayat HIK Yogya', 32. Names are to be genealogically checked.

⁹⁵¹ Mohamad Isa, 'Perajurit Palang Merah Pelajar (1940-1942)', *Gema* No. 2 Tahun III (December 1991), 32-40. This serial number should be *Tahun XIII* instead of *Tahun III*. Little more on these Dutch teachers in the eyes of their ex-students, see Chapter 3.

⁹⁵² Suroso, 'Akhira Riwayat HIK Yogya', 33-4.

⁹⁵³ Isa, 'Prajurit Palang Merah Pelajar', 34.

⁹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵⁵ Pass the examination by a military doctor.

course very proud to wear the uniform and carry a 15-kgs rucksack bearing the emblem of the Red Cross.⁹⁵⁶ Mohammad Isa:

'After lunch, one day at the end of 1941 or the beginning of 1942—I do not really remember—the student members of the Corps were summoned to assemble immediately in the front schoolyard. We were then taken by a bus to Tugu railway station. From there a train took us westward to Kutoarjo, then Karanganyar and Kroja. But after Kroja, I lost track of where we were. It was almost twilight when the train finally stopped at a harbour. In the approaching gloom, I read a signpost "Tjilatjap".⁹⁵⁷

'There were three warships in the harbour; one of them was the "Rumbia".⁹⁵⁸ We boarded the "Rumbia" and on board took part in a military ceremony for burial at sea. Afterwards, we had to take many patients, all badly burnt, from the ship down to the train. However, we Indonesian teenagers were simply physically too small to carry those white men, each of whom weighed between 100 and 125 kgs I should estimate. Even four of us together could not carry one patient from the ship down to the train without risking making their injuries worse. Finally those patients were carried by their own fellows, who were still strong enough to do so.⁹⁵⁹

'At 9 o'clock that evening, the train departed back to Yogyakarta. We were very busy with the patients. They cried and shouted in panic the whole way, "Water! Water, please! O my God, forgive me! Ease the pain! O Mummy, Mummy, pray for your son!" The stench of burnt flesh mixed with blood filled the air in the carriage. Luckily, the military doctor I assisted stayed calm and gave me practical guidance. "*Houd vast z'n bips, Maat. Houd vast en stevig!*"⁹⁶⁰ he told me when we were giving a patient, who was seriously in pain, a morphine injection. Another patient died after being administered an injection. "We were too late," said the doctor. Every time I took my hands off a patient's body, *astaghfirullahal'adhim*,⁹⁶¹ my palms were full of the burnt skin or even some of the flesh protruding from the patient's body!⁹⁶²

'After midnight, we had time to take a rest. The doctor offered me a cheese and egg sandwich, also warm bouillon [broth] and coffee. During the two-and-a-half years I had lived in the boarding house, I had never drunk coffee. During the first school break at 10 o'clock every Monday and Thursday, we were served green bean porridge instead of coffee. So the doctor's offer of coffee was actually golden. But at that time I could not take it. "No appetite, Doc. Because of the smell of the men's burnt flesh, I feel sick. I want to vomit!" I said.⁹⁶³

'The train arrived in Yogyakarta long before dawn. I do not recall how busy it was at the station. I do not even remember how we got back to the dormitory.⁹⁶⁴

The situation in the boarding house when Isa and his colleagues returned was described by Suroso. 'The silence of an early morning suddenly loudly disrupted when a group of soldiers of the Student Red Cross Corps returned,' Suroso wrote. 'They looked really messy and exhausted; some were no longer in uniform. We all crowded around them and inquisitively showered them with questions. Because some of us asked questions simultaneously, the story Isa and his friends told us

⁹⁵⁶ Isa, 'Prajurit Palang Merah Pelajar', 35-6.

⁹⁵⁷ Ibid. 36.

⁹⁵⁸ Dutch historian Jeroen Kemperman says that the Allied forces lost several warships in the Battle of the Java Sea against the Japanese. The warships were the Dutch cruisers the *Java* and the *De Ruyter*, the British the *Exeter*, the Australian the *Perth*, and the American the *Houston*, all of which were sunk by the Japanese. Kemperman does confirm the fleet sailing to Java of the Allied soldiers after their heavy defeat. He does not mention the name of the ship(s) which returned to Java. See Kemperman, 'Introduction;', 37.

⁹⁵⁹ Isa did not mention how many injured soldiers were there on board.

⁹⁶⁰ 'Hold his buttock firm, Mate! Hold on firm and tight!'

⁹⁶¹ Arabic: O my God!

⁹⁶² Isa, 'Prajurit Palang Merah Pelajar', 38.

⁹⁶³ Ibid. 39. '*Geen eetlust, Dok. Door de geur van verbrand mensen vlees, word ik er misselijk van. Ik heb de neiging om over te geven!*'

⁹⁶⁴ Isa, 'Prajurit Palang Merah Pelajar', 40.

was rather *onsamenhangend*, incoherent. Then our school director, Mr Brouwer, came and took a turn asking them questions. It really was an uproar that morning.⁹⁶⁵

Isa and Suroso said that the soldiers whom the Student Red Cross Corps rescued at Cilacap were ‘Yankee and Australian sailors’, who had lost a sea battle against the Japanese in the Java Sea.⁹⁶⁶ Marine historian Ph. M. Bosscher confirmed that on the night of March 1, 1942 the Cilacap Commander of the Maritime Squad (*De Commandant Maritieme Middelen Tjilatjap*), Naval Captain-Lieutenant B.J.G. Schokking, received a call from the chairman of the evacuation commission, Koenraad, saying that some 3,000 naval personnel would arrive in Cilacap the next day.⁹⁶⁷ During the sea battles two days earlier, on February 27, the Japanese armada sank two cruisers, the *De Ruyter* and the *Java*, which were under the command of Captain G.H. Wilhelmy Damsté and First Lieutenant R.H.M. C. von Frijtag Drabbe respectively.⁹⁶⁸ The soldiers whom Isa and friends evacuated were probably part of the fleet, which had escaped from the sea battles of February 27 and reached Cilacap safely on March 2, 1942. These personnel were transported to Australia by ships from Surabaya. Isa wrote: ‘Days after I returned to the boarding house, I was informed that 75 per cent of those wounded soldiers had died in a military hospital in Yogyakarta. It also took me days before I regained my appetite’.⁹⁶⁹

The HIK students assiduously followed news about the developments in the war. Suroso: ‘After the attack on Pearl Harbour, we listened to the radio more attentively to pick up information about recent developments in the war. After dinner, we, the students of the Southern the boarding house, and our inspecting teacher sat around the only radio set available there. “*Hier [is] de NIROM te Batavia met het eerste avondnieuws,*” said the news reader; we listened in silence.’⁹⁷⁰ Suroso:

‘Then we heard the news we had anticipated: “*Japan verklaart Amerika de oorlog*”, which was immediately followed by “*Amerika verklaart Japan de oorlog*”. What we had not anticipated was this news: “*Duitsland verklaart Amerika de oorlog*”. Soon this was followed by “*Amerika verklaart Duitsland de oorlog*”.⁹⁷¹ Now nearly all the continents were at war.’⁹⁷²

⁹⁶⁵ Suroso, ‘Akhira Riwayat HIK Yogya’, 33.

⁹⁶⁶ Isa, ‘Prajurit Palang Merah Pelajar’, 38; Suroso, ‘Akhira Riwayat HIK Yogya’, 33. The event described here could have been the Battle in the Java Sea on 27 February 1942 in which the Japanese Navy sank and dispersed the allied British, Australian, Dutch and American cruisers and destroyers, which fled after the surrender of Singapore on 15 February 1942. See Richard Storry, *Japan and the Decline of the West in Asia 1894-1943* (London and Basingstoke: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1979), 2-3; also Kemperman, ‘Introduction’, 36-7.

⁹⁶⁷ Ph. M. Bosscher, *De Koninklijke Marine in de Tweede Wereldoorlog Deel 2* (Franeker: Uitgeverij T. Wever B.V., 1986), 338-9.

⁹⁶⁸ Ph.M. Bosscher, *De Nederlandse Mariniers* (Bussum: C.A.J. van Dishoeck, 1966), 91.

⁹⁶⁹ Isa, ‘Prajurit Palang Merah Pelajar’, 40.

⁹⁷⁰ Suroso, ‘Akhira Riwayat HIK Yogya’, 31. ‘Here is the NIROM in Batavia with the first evening news bulletin.’ NIROM = Nederlandsch-Indische Radio-Omroep Maatschappij, Netherlands East Indies Radio Company (see the abbreviations list in L. de Jong, *The Collapse of a Colonial Society*).

⁹⁷¹ Successively: ‘Japan declared war on America; America declared war on Japan; Germany declared war on America; America declared war on Germany.’ Concerning Japanese declaration of war on the US (and Great Britain), here Suroso possibly referred to the official announcement by the Japanese in the early morning of 8 December 1941, that is, after the attack of Pearl Harbour the night before. Suroso did not say whether the NIROM also announced the declaration of war against the Japanese by the Netherlands government, which was officially announced on 10 December 1941. See Brugmans et al. *Nederlandsch-Indië onder Japanse Bezetting*, 95-6.

⁹⁷² Suroso, ‘Akhira Riwayat HIK Yogya’, 31.

Suroso continued: 'In general, I found the British press more neutral in its views about the war than its Dutch counterpart. For example, reporting on the battle between the English and the German troops in the North African desert, in which the English suffered heavy losses, the British press called General Erwin Rommel, commander of the German army in North Africa, "the Desert Fox". I think this was an honorary nickname given by the British press. In contrast, the Dutch press wrote a capitalized headline: HET ROMMELT IN ROMMEL'S ROMMEL', wrote Suroso.⁹⁷³ Mohammad Isa said that *De Locomotief* and *Mataram* were two of several newspapers which were always available in the refectory of the HIK Southern boarding house in Yogyakarta.⁹⁷⁴

In case of an emergency, two air-raid shelters (*schuilkelders*) were built in both the Northern and Southern boarding house. 'Weeks before the Japanese arrived in town, lessons or classes had ceased,' wrote Soesilowati Basuki. 'We were instructed to run to the shelters whenever we heard sirens.'⁹⁷⁵

Surjadipradja recalled: 'We practised running to the shelter. I remember each of us was given a gum necklace, made of raw rubber.'⁹⁷⁶ 'The gum was to be bitten when the students were inside the bunker,' added Isa. 'During the air-raid drill, the instructor in the bunker reminded us "Don't forget to bite the gum, Chaps! Or you use a pencil, but not your fingers, or you're dead ducks!".'⁹⁷⁷

The wakening of the town sirens filled the air as the Japanese air force crossed the sky above Yogyakarta. 'Initially, this was twice a day, then three times a day, but when more and more Japanese planes were moving around very frequently, I was very sure that the time had come,' says Suroso. The situation had not yet fully unravelled for these students. This happened one night, Suroso and his fellow boarders saw the school director walking rather dispiritedly along the pathway to the backyard of the boarding house. 'We approached him and asked what could have happened. He answered that he had just listened to an announcement by Governor-General Tjaarda van Starckenborg-Stachouwer who said "The situation is grave, but not hopeless."⁹⁷⁸

The war was indeed creeping closer to these students and a series of conquests by the Japanese began the collapse of the Netherlands Indies government. Thousands of Japanese troops landed in Tarakan, East Kalimantan, in the night of 10-11 January 1942 and, ten days later, took over the oil-fields in the area. On 14 February 1942, hundreds of Japanese paratroops landed in Palembang in South Sumatra and captured the city, which had the second largest oil-field of the Netherlands Indies, without damage. In the early morning of 1 March 1942, the 16th Japanese army landed at four

⁹⁷³ Ibid. 32. 'They are messing around in Rommel's rubbish'.

⁹⁷⁴ Mohammad Isa, 'Bandung Menjelang Kapitulasi', *Gema* No. 4 Tahun XIII (June 1992), 37-41.

⁹⁷⁵ Soesilowati Basuki, 'Pengalaman di Penghujung Era Jepang di Yogya', *Gema* No. 02 Tahun 2003, 4-6. Conforming to its content, the title should have been 'Pengalaman di Penghujung Era *Kolonial* di Yogya'.

⁹⁷⁶ Surjadipradja, 'Over Ditjes en Datjes', 27.

⁹⁷⁷ Isa, 'Prajurit Palang Merah Pelajar', 33. '*Niet vergeten de gum bijten, jongens. Of je gebruik een potlood, maar niet jouw vingers, anders naar de maan!*'

⁹⁷⁸ Suroso, 'Akhira Riwayat HIK Yogya', 34-5. Suroso's original sentence reads: '*De situatie is ernstig maar niet hopeloos.*' This statement is hard to verify and could have been a paraphrase either by Suroso himself or by the HIK director whom Suroso had quoted. The radio speech by Governor-General A.W.L. Tjarda van Starckenborg Stachouwer on 8 December 1941 did not contain the statement, nor did that by the mayor of Batavia on 5 March 1942 after the capture of the city. See Brugmans et al., *Nederlandsch-Indië onder Japanse Bezetting*, 97 and 99; also *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* 23 February 1942 as quoted by Harry J. Benda, 'The Beginning of the Japanese Occupation of Java', *The Far Eastern Quarterly* Vol. 15 No. 4 (August 1956), 541-60 precisely footnote 4 on p. 542.

points along the northern coastline of Java: Merak, Banten Bay, Eretan Wetan (all in West Java), and Rembang (east central). Following the Japanese capture of Kalijati airfield, the Netherlands Indies government, represented by its military commander, agreed to accept a general capitulation on 8 March 1942. The night before, the 'Fujiwara organization' of the 25th Japanese Army carried out sabotage operations in the eastern Aceh area of north Sumatra. In the night of 9 March thousands of Japanese troops from the same headquarters landed on the east coast of Central Sumatra. Battles raged between the Japanese and the Dutch troops and concluded with the surrender of the Dutch military territorial commander of Central Sumatra on 28 March.⁹⁷⁹ The conquest of nearly the entire territory of the Netherlands Indies by the Japanese signified not only the collapse of the colonial government, but also the closing of the colonial schools including the HIK.

Students and teachers were caught up in an emergency situation. At the last moment just before sending the students home, the authorities of the HIK in Yogyakarta handed students in the final year what was called *nooddiploma*, an emergency certificate. It was not a school-leaving certificate but a statement of the stage of training that the students had received. The *nooddiploma* was meant to provide a basis of assessment in case further training were to be followed in the future. The *nooddiploma* was also given to HIK students in Bandung. However, perhaps because it was the main base of the Netherlands East Indies military defence, the situation in Bandung had become extremely critical since the landing of the Japanese troops in Merak and Banten on 1 March 1942, in some instances students in the upper years did not receive the *nooddiploma* when they had to leave the school in April 1942.⁹⁸⁰

With or without a '*nooddiploma*', all HIK students had to give up their training and leave the boarding house. Soesilowati Basuki managed to flee from the boarding house of the girls' HIK in Yogyakarta to her relatives in Medari, near Magelang.⁹⁸¹ 'The school director decided to send us home,' Basuki wrote. 'I did not have the courage to go alone. So I waited a couple of days until my cousin fetched me. A friend of mine, S. Moeljatinah, came with me as her parents lived far along the north coast of Java.'⁹⁸²

Suparno B of the upper level HIK in Bandung wanted to return to his parents in Makassar, but the virtually insurmountable difficulty of finding transport forced him to move to Solo. 'Two days after the Dutch army surrendered to the Japanese, we had to leave our boarding house. We dispersed in panic as [transportation] channels from Bandung were blocked by the Japanese. I was in a real dilemma where to go. Although my parents were originally from Yogyakarta, they had been living in Makassar since 1938. I did not know how I could get a ticket to Makassar. Finally, after several days spent waiting in a quandary, I was able to take a train to my uncle's home in Solo and stayed there

⁹⁷⁹ The story about this gradual fall of the Netherlands Indies forces is an excerpt from Kemperman's 'Introduction' to L. de Jong, *The Collapse of a Colonial Society*, 35-41.

⁹⁸⁰ Suparno B. 'Mari Kita Bercerita', *Gema* No. 1 Tahun IX (March 1993), 4-8; R. Suroso, 'Ke Trenggalek dengan Rasa Duka', *Gema* No. 4 Tahun XVII (October 1996), 11-9; Mohamad Isa, 'Bandung Menjelang Kapitulasi', *Gema* No. 4 Tahun XIII (June 1992), 37-41; interview with Moerdiono, Yogyakarta, 27 September 2006.

⁹⁸¹ Unfortunately, Soesilowati Basuki did not specify when this happened.

⁹⁸² Basuki, 'Pengalaman', 4-5.

until October 1942. I still had not heard anything from my parents. I did not have any money and was not even given the emergency certificate from school.⁹⁸³ It was the darkest time in my life,' he wrote.⁹⁸⁴

From the Christian HIK in Solo, Central Java, Sidharta managed to go home to Losarang, Indramayu, in the north coast of West Java, but was stranded in a hilly southern area of the region.⁹⁸⁵ 'There were rumours that the Japanese were coming to Solo and were killing people. People panicked. My friends and I took a train westwards, but just out of Kroya in southern Central Java, the train was attacked, possibly by the Japanese, and stopped. We dispersed in different directions. Following one of my friends, I arrived in Telaga, a village in Tasikmalaya where my friend's grandparents lived. Telaga was quiet and there life went on as usual as if there were no war going on. I stayed in Telaga for a month.'⁹⁸⁶

Soeroso had to spend another three weeks in the HIK boarding house in Yogyakarta before finding a way to go home to Trenggalek, East Java. 'The last to leave the boarding house were those who originally came from outside Java, all because of the unavailability of means of transportation,' he wrote.⁹⁸⁷ For these students, the period between March and August 1942 was a desperate time as they struggled unsuccessfully to go home.

The arrival of the Japanese troops in many places stimulated spontaneous public reactions. L. de Jong compiled many fragments of the reactions of both Dutch and Indo-European communities.⁹⁸⁸ Anthony Reid and Oki Akira published an English translation of the memoirs of Japanese officials and professionals.⁹⁸⁹ A.B. Lopian and colleagues collected stories from Indonesian eye-witnesses.⁹⁹⁰ In these testimonies, public reactions differed to a considerable degree. For example, an Indo-European, Rudy Verheem, said that, while bowing and smiling all around 'showing their white and gold teeth', the Japanese 'wished to be taken deadly seriously at all times. The slightest thing could be taken as an insult to their national honour [...].'⁹⁹¹ In contrast, Imamura Hitoshi, commander of the 16th Japanese Army which landed near Merak, West Java on 1 March 1942, described how Japanese soldiers who marched eastwards on the next day mingled with the local people they met on the way, having such relaxed and intimate conversations that he wondered: 'Is this really a battlefield?'⁹⁹²

The reactions of the Indonesian people also varied and changed quickly. De Jonge reports that in the first months of the occupation, Dutch people in Batavia heard such 'hateful remarks' as the 'Dutch are shit! Bad! Don't count anymore!' from Indonesians. Those in Bandung regarded the slavish attitude the Indonesians displayed towards the Japanese as 'nauseating'. The Indonesians 'bowed to and laughed with the Japs'. However, in September 1942, they began to hear such expressions as

⁹⁸³ Suparno did not explain why he did not get the *nooddiploma* before leaving the school.

⁹⁸⁴ Suparno B. 'Mari Kita Bercerita', 5.

⁹⁸⁵ Priguna Sidharta, *Seorang Dokter dari Losarang: Sebuah Otobiografi* (Jakarta: PT Temprint, 1993).

⁹⁸⁶ Ibid. 35-6.

⁹⁸⁷ Suroso, 'Akhir Riwayat HIK Yogya', 35.

⁹⁸⁸ De Jong, *The Collapse of a Colonial Society*, especially pp. 47-56.

⁹⁸⁹ Anthony Reid and Oki Akira, *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia*, especially pp. 9-109.

⁹⁹⁰ A.B. Lopian et al., *Di Bawah Pendudukan Jepang: Kenangan Empat Puluh Dua Orang yang Mengalaminya* (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1988), especially pp. 13-24.

⁹⁹¹ De Jong, *The Collapse of a Colonial Society*, 48. Although the statement did not specify the date and place of the events, De Jonge noted that 'This was how it was perceived in March 1942 [...] and it was still perceived like this in August 1945' (p. 48).

⁹⁹² Reid and Akira, *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia*, 35.

'Nippon nipoe! (Japan is a swindler!)'.⁹⁹³ In general, confusion can be said to have been the common reaction of most Indonesians. Lopian tells how the Indonesian people in Batavia were thrown into a panic as the city was left unguarded by the Dutch army, which had moved its main headquarters to Bandung some time before the Japanese arrival.⁹⁹⁴ 'There were no clear instructions [from the Dutch authorities] whether we should defend the city by armed resistance. Apathy seized us and impression grew that [the Dutch] were very weak and untrustworthy', said Setiadi, an Indonesian student at the Medical School.⁹⁹⁵ Harry J. Benda says that all this confusion demonstrates that the Indonesian people and their leaders were not prepared for a sudden and drastic change.⁹⁹⁶ In hind sight, this regime change marked the beginning of the changing structure of the Indonesian society as some historians and sociologists have suggested.⁹⁹⁷ The initially disheartened feeling gradually made way for new expectations which strengthened the political stances of the Indonesian students under study.

What has just been said describes the chaotic situation following the Japanese landing in Java in general terms, but there is only limited information about the reactions of HIK alumni and students. By March 1942, some of the HIK alumni were at work teaching. For example, Soeparmo, who graduated from Bandung in 1935, was a teacher at a HIS in Balikpapan, East Kalimantan. 'Two colleagues and I were released from school to take man a Dutch telegraphic radio station. When the Japanese came to town, I managed to return to Java,' Soeparno wrote.⁹⁹⁸

Kadaroeman, who had graduated from Bandung in 1938, was a teacher in Tapaktuan, South Aceh. 'People were really panicked and hid in shelters every time there was an air raid. Once, as I was hiding in the shelter, I saw a Chinese man mistakenly taking with him a Dutch pillow instead of his little baby, whom he unwittingly left in the house.'⁹⁹⁹

Kadaroeman recalls that unlike other places where local people cheerfully welcomed the Japanese troops, the local people of Tapaktuan preferred to hide when the Japanese troops entered the town. 'I saw only one chap, who dared to stand in front of his house. Welcoming the [Japanese] troops, he offered them young coconuts he had picked up in his yard. Of course the troops were happy,' wrote Kadaroeman.¹⁰⁰⁰

⁹⁹³ De Jonge, *The Collapse of a Colonial Society*, 54. I have cited this sample event because of its particular significance in proving how central was, and is, a person's contextual interest in creating a meaning. In this sample, 'bowing and laughing' actions, which, in some cultures, indicate respect, happiness or friendliness, were considered (by some Dutch and Dutch Eurasians in Bandung and Batavia in early 1942) as a 'nauseating' or disgusting attitude. On the contrary, the pejorative phrase 'Japan is a swindler' was considered as a favourable expression as De Jonge used it for self-identification: '[...] some [Indonesians] began to see themselves, like the Dutch and the Dutch Eurasians, as victims of the Japanese regime' (p. 51). Similarly, the Japanese would very likely have welcome the pejorative phrase 'Dutch are shit!' and considered it as patriotic!

⁹⁹⁴ Harry J. Benda states that the evacuation of large cities had taken place before the arrival of the Japanese troops, first, by the European administrative corps and then by thousands of Dutch civilians. See Benda, 'The Beginning', p. 542.

⁹⁹⁵ Lopian et al., *Di Bawah Pendudukan Jepang*, 14.

⁹⁹⁶ Benda, 'The Beginning', 546.

⁹⁹⁷ See again W.F. Wertheim, 'Changes in Indonesia's Social Stratification'; Leslie H. Palmier, 'Aspects of Indonesia's Social Structure'; Justus M. van der Kroef, 'The Changing Class Structure of Indonesia'.

⁹⁹⁸ Soeparmo, 'Kenangan dari Balikpapan', *Gema* No. 1 Tahun VIII (September 1986), 45-6.

⁹⁹⁹ Kadaroeman, 'Kejadian-Kejadian yang Menggelikan', *Gema* No. 3 Tahun X (April 1989), 33-9. The quoted text is from p. 34.

¹⁰⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 35-7.

R. Suroso, who was only a first-year student in 1942, supplied an interesting basis for interpretation of some important elements of change in future Indonesia.

'Immediately after we heard that the Japanese troops had arrived in town, we came out of the school boarding house and went into the street. I noticed many of my colleagues wore sarong and a *peci* on their heads. Suddenly I felt "strange" and "awkward" being among my colleagues, who were dressed in sarong and a *peci*, because I was the one who did not own sarong or a *peci*. Fortunately, nothing which would have created unpleasantness between us happened.'¹⁰⁰¹

In an interview in Jakarta in January 2007, I asked him what he meant by 'feeling strange and awkward' and 'unpleasantness'. His answer remained vague. But in the course of our conversation he did somewhat explain the point. Sarong and a *peci* were accepted by some Indonesians as the symbolic outfit representing an Islamic identity. The rules governing life in the HIK boarding house were designed to stifle any show of ethnic and religious diversity overtly in the form of symbolic materials. Religious activities were allowed on the individual level. Consequently students could live in harmony despite differences in ethnic and religious backgrounds.¹⁰⁰² Suroso's testimony can also be interpreted to say that with the arrival of the Japanese the Dutch school rules went into abeyance and this opened the way free for the expression of self- or group identities, including a religious one. Later, during the occupation, exactly in the same boarding house, Muslim students recited the 'shalat' prayers five times a day aloud, something which never happened in colonial times.¹⁰⁰³

D. Outlook of schools, teacher training and teachers 1942-1945

After the Japanese army and navy seized and occupied the Indonesian islands, drastic changes followed. This section focuses on the institutional changes in the educational system of the teacher training schools during the occupation.¹⁰⁰⁴

The Japanese authorities closed all colonial schools in March 1942. Sometime in September, they re-opened the schools for Indonesian and Chinese children but kept those offering Dutch education closed.¹⁰⁰⁵ Several primary as well as secondary sources indicate that what was known as Japanization then commenced. According to the US Department of Commerce, the Japanization of education meant the initiation of an education system which began with the abolition of the dual colonial policy which undermined indigenous participation. The main emphasis was on making students subjects loyal to the Japanese Emperor.¹⁰⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰¹ Suroso, 'Akhir Riwayat HIK Yogya', 35.

¹⁰⁰² This was true according to the testimonies of several alumni: Asvismarmo, Oemar Said Noor, Suroso, Mochtar, and Moerdiono. Partly because of the rules at the school, there was a HIK student, who expressed his interest in religion-related activities by joining religious organization outside school (Mohamad Isa, 'Kita Bisa Belajar Banyak dari Berbeda Pendapat', *Gema* No. 3, IX, October 1993, 13-5).

¹⁰⁰³ Soemarto, 'Masjid Mohammad Bachrowazie', *Gema* No. 3 Tahun X (April 1989), 41-5.

¹⁰⁰⁴ One version says that the administrative phase lasted from August 1942 until the end of 1943, whereas the mobilization lasted from the beginning of 1944 until the defeat of Japan in August 1945. See, for example, *the U.S. Department of Commerce*, 222.

¹⁰⁰⁵ 'Opstellen van HBS Leerlingen', Nr. 7 Eind 1948, Indische Collectie 028254/4857, in Brugmans et al., *Nederlandsch Indië onder Japanse Bezetting*, 227.

¹⁰⁰⁶ U.S. Department of Commerce, *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, 214.

The Japanization of education was not confined exclusively to Indonesia. The Japanese colonies in Korea and Taiwan were subjected to this policy in a much more pronounced form.¹⁰⁰⁷ Nor was such a policy particularly new in Indonesia either. In 1924, several conveners of the Third Education Congress of the Netherlands Indies in Weltevreden (Batavia) had already proposed a strong line of educational practice under which a systematic curriculum of *onderdaanschap* (being a subject) would transform indigenous students into loyal subjects of the colonial mother country.¹⁰⁰⁸ So, while education principles such as that which underlined the Japanization was a common imperial policy,¹⁰⁰⁹ their significance was concerned as much with the ideological content as the strategy of implementation.

The educational aspirations formulated in different areas of Indonesia showed to some extent how the Japanization should be achieved. In Java, they were probably best described by Colonel K. Matsui, the resident of Priangan, during a speech at the meeting of the education commission in Bandung on 28 April 1942. Reciting the mission of the Co-prosperity Sphere, Matsui said that the goal of the new education system in Indonesia was 'to illuminate the spirit of Indonesians, to promote Indonesian culture and to establish a powerful order, in which healthy cohabitation and a prosperous society would become reality'.¹⁰¹⁰ By 1944, this globally formulated purpose had been transformed into something much more practical. It was 'to increase the productivity of the country, to create exemplary models of discipline, to promote solidarity, and to become a source of spiritual meaning for teachers'.¹⁰¹¹ According to the US Department of Commerce, in the territories under the control of the Navy, education 'was intended for a stronger Japanization than that in Java'.¹⁰¹² It aimed at the promotion of 'qualities necessary to be an Imperial subject' as well as 'an understanding of the Co-prosperity ideal'. Japanese education also had to 'acknowledge the unique culture and traditions of the locals'. The aim of education in the long run was 'to tame the natives to think, feel and act like Japanese East Asians'.¹⁰¹³ The education policy followed these principles in spite of the fact that developments in the war forced some modifications to be made in the extent of its implementation.¹⁰¹⁴ It is interesting to note that the purposes of the Japanization of education were stated more explicitly in the Navy-controlled area than in Java.¹⁰¹⁵

¹⁰⁰⁷ See, for example, Patricia Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977).

¹⁰⁰⁸ See papers delivered to the congress, for example, by S. Kromsig, 'Apakah jang dapat Dikerdjakan dalam Sekolah Oentoek Mendidik Moerid Itoe Soepaja Djadi *Staatsburger* jang Baik', as well as by F. van Lith, 'Wat kan Gedaan Worden om de Opvoedkundige Waarde van het Onderwijs voor het Indische Kind te Verhogen' (3rd Education Congress Weltevreden, 29 September - 2 October 1924).

¹⁰⁰⁹ See the education experience of colonial British India and French Africa, for example, in Philips Altbach

¹⁰¹⁰ 'Pidato-Pidato Padoeka jang Moelia Kolonel K. Matsui', pp. 33-6 April-July 1942, *Indische Collectie* 039403/6299, in Brugmans et al., *Nederlandsch Indië onder Japanse Bezetting*, 211.

¹⁰¹¹ 'Pandji Poestaka', 8 March 1944 p. 186, in Brugmans et al., *Nederlandsch Indië onder Japanse Bezetting*, 222.

¹⁰¹² US Department of Commerce, *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, 222.

¹⁰¹³ See Anthony Reid and Oki Akira's introductory note to Suzuki Seihei's memoir 'Education in Bali, 1943-1944', *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia*, 160.

¹⁰¹⁴ US Department of Commerce, *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, 222-3.

¹⁰¹⁵ This could have had to do with differences in the general occupation policies between Java and the Outer Islands. General Imamura Hitoshi who commanded the early phase of the occupation of Java claimed of having been criticized by Tokyo for instigating a 'mild' policy in Java. In the area controlled by the Navy, the long-term

But both in and outside Java, in policy and practice Japanization was tailored to 'society development'. Schooling was only a part of the agenda of education. Unlike colonial schooling which had focused on the development of the individual person, education under the Japanization scheme was designed to develop a solid cohesion among the masses. Therefore, close attention was paid to cultivating social virtues, building up strong social ties and discipline, and the submission of the individual to group interests.¹⁰¹⁶ The implications of this policy were far reaching. Those who had previously enjoyed a Dutch education immediately saw some sort of connection between schooling and actual problems or changes in the society in the Japanese system. Lighter on theory, the Japanese system put the relationship between education and social transformation into practice. The elite status of Indonesian teachers and students in the colonial school system melted away as a shared consciousness of social responsibility emerged.¹⁰¹⁷

D.1 Schools

When the Japanese authority re-opened schools for Indonesians and the Chinese in September 1942, they concentrated chiefly on education at the secondary level. Both in Java and the Outer Islands, some primary schools had begun operating earlier.¹⁰¹⁸ In Java especially, primary schools re-opened after Decree No. 12 of the Supreme Commander of the 16th Army on 29 April 1942 was passed.¹⁰¹⁹ All of these were public schools, meaning government-run. All schools owned or run by private bodies in the former Netherlands Indies, including the 'unofficial schools', remained closed until 1944, when the unfavourable course of the war forced the Japanese authorities to allow the Indonesians to recommence their education.¹⁰²⁰

In Java, initially the so-called 'people's or popular schools' (*sekolah rakyat*, the pre-war *volkschool*) provided for the basic education. They were followed by junior primary schools and senior primary schools, whose programmes lasted three years respectively.¹⁰²¹ By July 1945, the overall structure of primary education fell into three categories, namely primary schools with three and four years, the people's schools of two, four, five and six years, and the so-called complete schools which offered as many as five and six years.¹⁰²²

At the highest level of the basic education structure were junior high schools, which were more or less equivalent to the upper primary school or *Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs* (MULO) in the Dutch system. The rest of the structure fell into the category secondary education and various kinds of

fundamental policy was to turn the region a 'permanent possession' of the Empire. See Anthony Reid and Oki Akira, *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia*, pp. 52-62 and 160.

¹⁰¹⁶ 'Het Rapport van een Indonesiër, Opgemaakt op verzoek van een Teruggekeerde Nederlandsch Indische Bestuurambtenaar September 1945', Indische Collectie 029570/4332, in Brugmans et al., *Nederlandsch Indië onder Japanse Bezetting*, 213.

¹⁰¹⁷ On these grounds, I argue that elaborate educational policies during the occupation could have been particularly meaningful for the making of a political Indonesian teacher.

¹⁰¹⁸ U.S. Department of Commerce, *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, 215 and 224.

¹⁰¹⁹ Kurasawa Aiko, 'Japanese Educational Policy in Java, 1942-1945', *Journal of the Japan-Netherlands Institute* Vol. II (1990), 178-92. Referred here is to p. 179.

¹⁰²⁰ 'A Survey of Education in Indonesia', *The Voice of Free Indonesia* No. 12 (18 May 1946), 14.

¹⁰²¹ 'Het Rapport van een Indonesiër', Indische Collectie 029570/4332, in Brugmans et al., *Nederlandsch Indië onder Japanse Bezetting*, 212.

¹⁰²² 'A Survey of Education in Indonesia', *The Voice of Free Indonesia*, 12.

vocational trainings, and also covered higher education including university. In the Navy-controlled territory, a structure of basic education similar to that in Java also operated. However, some changes took place in April 1943 when the junior and senior primary schools were renamed public and senior public schools. Both in Java and the Outer Islands, vocational training, particularly in agriculture, engineering and commerce, also received government attention.¹⁰²³

In 1943, a decentralization policy in education took effect. Beginning in October and December respectively, the management of junior and senior high schools passed to the local governments and administrative bodies.¹⁰²⁴ The upshot was three groups of school, namely the *Kanritsu* schools, the *Kooritsu* schools and the *Shiritsu* schools. The *Kanritsu* schools were under the management of the central Board of Education, *Tokubetu shi* (special municipalities) and *Kooti* (principality). The *Kooritsu* schools fell into the management of the *Ken* (regency) and *Shi* (municipality). Finally, the *Shiritsu* schools, for example those in Banjarmasin,¹⁰²⁵ were run by private agencies.¹⁰²⁶ This all leads to the conclusion that during the Japanese occupation, although the socio-economic stratification of schooling of the Dutch period no longer existed, some educational classification still applied at different levels of primary schools and different categories of school management. Unfortunately, the sources accessible give very little information about the actual school practices.

Table 5.1: Number of schools, Indonesian teachers and students in Java 1939/1940 and 1942-1945

Period	Total schools	Total teachers	Total pupils
Japanese occupation	15,439	25,836	2,523,310
Pre-war (1939-1940)	13,595	30,153	1,879,270
Increase	1,844	-4,317	644,040

Source: *The Voice of Free Indonesia* No. 12, 18 May 1946, p. 12.

Table 5.2: Number of schools, Indonesian teachers and students in Java 1940 and 1944

Type of school	Number of schools	Number of teachers	Number of pupils
Sekolah pertama (1944)	11,078	23,668	1,806,233
Volksschool (1940)	Appr. 9,684		1,225,287
Difference	1,394 (15%)		580,946 (47%)
Sekolah rakjat (1944)	2,102	8,959	552,102
Vervolg + tweede (1940)	Appr. 1,588		206,729
Difference	514 (32%)		345,373 (167%)
Private school (1944)	1,603	5,228	267,625
Private volks-+vervolg-+ tweede (1940)	Appr. 727		82,889
Difference	876 (120%)		184,736 (223%)
Total 1940	14,783	37,915	2,625,960
Total 1944	12,954		1,475,610

¹⁰²³ US Department of Commerce, *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, 214-224. See also Brugmans et al. (p. 212) for a general education system in Borneo.

¹⁰²⁴ Ibid. 215.

¹⁰²⁵ 'Het Rapport van een Indonesiër', Indische Collectie 029570/4332, in Brugmans et al., *Nederlandsch Indië onder Japanse Bezetting*, 213.

¹⁰²⁶ 'A Survey of Education in Indonesia', *The Voice of Free Indonesia*, 13.

Difference	1,829 (14%)	1,150,350 (78%)
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Source: Kurasawa Aiko, 'Japanese Educational Policy in Java, 1942-1945', *Journal of the Japan-Netherlands Institute*, Vol. II (1990), 186.

Table 5.3: Number of schools, Indonesian teachers and students in the Lesser Sunda Islands 1941, 1943 and 1944

School types	Period	Number of schools				Number of teachers				Number of pupils			
		B	L	S	T	B	L	S	T	B	L	S	T
Public school	Pre-war	244	93	82	419	519	230	181	926	23,859	11,713	11,378	47,150
	1943	244	113	93	450	545	295	217	1,057	35,186	18,383	13,740	67,309
	1944	256	136	107	499	636	411	264	1,308	50,987	25,063	17,483	93,533
	Pre-war – 1944	12	43	25	80	117	181		83	382 (114%)	27,128 (114%)	13,350 (54%)	6,105 (98%)
Middle school	Pre-war	5	4	3	12	6	4	3	13	170	120	90	380
	1943	7	7	4	18	18	12	6	36	411	216	106	733
	1944	10	6	4	20	27	13	10	50	708	325	244	1,277
	Pre-war – 1944	5	2	1	8	21	9	7	37	538 (316%)	205 (170%)	154 (171%)	897 (236%)

Source: Suzuki Seihei, 'A Record of My Hoping-hopping: The Path of a Certain Educationalist', in: Anthony Reid and Oki Akira (eds.), *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia: Selected Memoirs of 1942-1945* (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1986), p. 169. B = Bali, L = Lombok, S = Sumbawa, T = total

Owing to the scarcity of the available sources, it is quite hard to assemble reliable data about schools and school population during course of the war. Table 5.1 from *The Voice of Free Indonesia* of May 1946 presents an estimate of the number of schools, Indonesian teachers and students in Java in the years 1939/1940 and between 1942 and 1945. Table 5.2, invented by the Japanese historian Kurasawa Aiko, concerns the number of schools and school population in Java in the years 1940 and 1944. Meanwhile, Table 5.3, taken from the autobiography of Suzuki Seihei, a Japanese teacher and later Chief of the Education Section in the Lesser Sunda Islands *Minseibu*, gives the figures of schools and school population in the Lesser Sunda Islands (Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa).

Leaving aside some doubts about the accuracy of the figures, two things are evident from Tables 5.1 and 5.3. First, although the number of teachers increased relatively in the Lesser Sunda Islands, it dropped drastically in Java. Second, there was a sharp increase in the number of Indonesian pupils both in Java and the Lesser Sunda Islands at least until 1944. Table 5.3 presents an estimate of the increase in both primary and secondary school pupils in the Lesser Sunda Islands. While Table 5.1 shows the increase of primary schools in Java, a Dutch report written in March 1945 from the Japanese news sources gives the number of secondary school students in this most populated island.¹⁰²⁷

¹⁰²⁷ This Dutch report, filed in *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), consists documents about the educational situation in general, the teacher training system and about Indonesian teachers. All the documents were dated 15 March 1945 and were compiled by the Dutch agencies NIGIS and NEFIS in Australia as is clear from their headings: 'Overzicht Omtrent den Toestand van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië, Samengesteld uit de Japansche Radio-Berichten, zooals deze zijn vastgelegd in de NIGIS Monitoring Reports, en uit mededeelingen van oogtuigen, welke bekend zijn uit de rapporten, rondgezonden door de NEFIS'. Because the three documents are not labeled individually, I have used the first subject discussed in each document as the document title. NIGIS = Netherlands Indies Government Information Service, was the information office of the Netherlands Indies government in Australia, established in 1942. NEFIS = Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service, the information division of the Dutch Force in the East, was founded in Australia in mid 1942. See, 'Glossarium' in Brugmans et al., *Nederlandsch Indië onder Japanse Bezetting*, 648.

In April 1943, according to the Dutch report there were about 10,000 Indonesian students in total in thirty-two junior and senior high schools.¹⁰²⁸ This was not comparable to the pre-war situation when in 1940 throughout the whole of the Netherlands Indies, there were 'only' 10,021 Indonesians out of a total of 22,964 students in fifty-five junior and senior high schools.¹⁰²⁹ In October 1943, the number of Indonesian students increased to 117,000 spread over a total of sixty high schools. Out of this student population, as many as 5,000 graduated in March 1944.¹⁰³⁰ Again for the sake of accuracy, these figures should be taken simply as an estimate or, better, an illustration. It seems impossible to explain a student influx of more than ten times within a six-month period between April and October 1943, but there are possible some explanations for the general trend. One was that the abolition of the socio-economic stratification of schools opened up wider opportunities and access to education for Indonesians. Another explanation, especially in Bali according to Suzuki Seihei, the Japanese teacher and education chief referred to above, was that the abolition of school fees contributed to the 'exploding' enthusiasm of Indonesians to go to school and to be given physical training and a Japanese language course 'for free'.¹⁰³¹ Seen in this light, the high student influx signifies mass participation in education.¹⁰³² This was the moment when Indonesian people became conscious of their right to a basic education!

An overview shows that in most cases of educational practices in primary and secondary schools during the occupation, such subjects as language(s), the study of history, physical education and practical projects, plus the school system and administration, were set up anew. A sample of a school curriculum originating from an Indonesian eyewitness provides an illustration of the roster of junior primary schools. It consisted of four major sections of subjects, namely Civics, 'Science', Gymnastics, and Skills. In Civics, students learned morals (*Boedi Pekerti*), Japanese and Indonesian. The subject 'Science' introduced students to arithmetic and local geography. Gymnastics consisted of sports and hygiene. Finally, students were taught how to develop skills in singing, writing, drawing and handicrafts.¹⁰³³

The teaching of the Japanese language was a cynosure of government attention because it was one of the pillars on which the cultural policy was based. Goto Ken-Ichi states that standardized tests in Japanese language proficiency were carried out in December 1942, September 1944 and March 1945 successively. In the first of the series, approximately 20,000 Indonesians took part for Grades 3, 4 and 5 and as many as 14,300 passed the exam. In general, the qualification standard for the lowest grade,

¹⁰²⁸ 'De Toestand van het Uitgebreid Lager-, Middelbaar en Hooger Onderwijs Gedurende de Japansche Bezetting', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 2-3.

¹⁰²⁹ S.L. van der Wal, *Some Information on Education in Indonesia up to 1942: With a Bibliography* (The Hague: NUFFIC, 1961, 14-6; The Information and Publicity Section of the Netherlands Indies Government Department of Education, *Education in Indonesia before, during and after the Pacific War* (Batavia: Information and Publicity Section, 1948), 5. The total number included Dutch, Indonesian and Foreign Oriental students. The junior high school can be understood as comparable to the Dutch MULO.

¹⁰³⁰ 'De Toestand', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 2-3.

¹⁰³¹ Suzuki Seihei, 'A Record of My Island-hopping', in: Anthony Reid and Oki Akira (eds.), *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia*, 168.

¹⁰³² Kurasawa Aiko argues that increased efforts in mass education were one of the influences which the Japanese school system brought to Indonesian society during the occupation. Kurasawa Aiko, 'Japanese Educational Policy in Java', 185.

¹⁰³³ 'Het Rapport van een Indonesiër', *Indische Collectie* 029570/4332, in Brugmans et al., *Nederlandsch Indië onder Japanse Bezetting*, 215.

Grade 1, was to be able to read about 2,500 Kanji (characters), while for the highest grade, Grade 5, it was to read and write Katakana (simple alphabets). Confirming what Suzuki Seihei says, Goto Ken-Ichi argues that the great enthusiasm for Japanese language training could be attributed both to the job prospects and special financial allowances awaiting successful exam candidates. The latter ranged between Fl. 15 for Grade 1 and Fl. 1 for Grade 5.¹⁰³⁴

Physical activities and practical projects increased during the mobilization phase of the occupation and took the form of sports, military-like drills, handicrafts and gardening. Before this phase began, the Japanese authorities had replaced the study of Western and Dutch history – heavily emphasized during the colonial period – with Asian history, especially the histories of Indonesia and Japan.¹⁰³⁵ The use and the teaching of Dutch, English and French were prohibited, and the Japanese authorities made *Bahasa Indonesia* the language of instruction and Japanese a compulsory subject in high school.¹⁰³⁶ It is public knowledge that, although actually intended as a short-term policy only,¹⁰³⁷ the use of Indonesian greatly inspired the national feeling of the Indonesian people.¹⁰³⁸

Besides Japanese and Indonesian, the teaching of morals was one school subject which differentiated the Japanese from the Dutch education. At least this was the claim made in a booklet *Mendidik Boedi Pekerti (Sifat), Educating Morals (Characteristics)* by the Kantor Pengadjaran in August 1942. Unlike Dutch schools which focused on the acquisition of knowledge, the publication states that the Japanese schools aimed to develop Indonesian children in the fullest sense by teaching them manners and civility, providing them with an understanding of good and the evil, and showing them how behaviour and how to avoid doing wrong. Consequently, school teachers had to ‘teach students about the difference between good and evil, keep a close eye on students’ behaviour, and act as a role model in moral behaviour for the students’. The booklet did not fail to mention that all those standards of ethics were important elements in achieving the ideals of Greater Asia.¹⁰³⁹

D.2 Teacher training

In the expansion blueprint of 1937, the role of school teachers figures importantly. It was on this strategic group that the elimination of Western influence and the introduction of the Japanization process depended; they were in the forefront of changing the mindset of the Indonesian people.¹⁰⁴⁰

¹⁰³⁴ Goto Ken-Ichi, ‘Education in Indonesia under the Japanese Occupation’, Symposium on Modern Indonesian History: Reviewed in International Context, Jakarta, 9-11 March 1992. Referred are pp. 6, 14-5.

¹⁰³⁵ R. Murray Thomas, ‘Educational Remnants of Military Occupation’, 630-42.

¹⁰³⁶ In Java and Madura, local languages not Indonesian were used in the first few years of primary school. See Kurasawa Aiko, ‘Japanese Educational Policy in Java’, 185.

¹⁰³⁷ The end purpose of the occupiers was to make the Japanese language the main means of communication in the Archipelago but this, according to Indonesian linguist Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana as cited by the US Department of Commerce, would have taken a much longer time. See U.S. Department of Commerce, *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, 219-20.

¹⁰³⁸ Dutch sociologist W.F. Wertheim pointed out that the use of Indonesian contributed to the changing structure of the Indonesian society. He among others wrote: ‘Even the beo (*Gracula javanensi*), the talking bird in the Batavia zoo, conformed to the new pattern: he had unlearned the Dutch call *Dag Mevrouw* (good afternoon, Madam), and now amused the children by greeting the lady guests in Indonesian.’ See W.F. Wertheim, ‘Changes in Indonesia’s Social Stratification’, *Pacific Affairs* Vol. 28 No. 1 (March 1955), 42. See also U.S. Department of Commerce, *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, 220.

¹⁰³⁹ Kantor Pengadjaran, ‘Mendidik Boedi Pekerti (Sifat)’, printed by Gunseikanbu Kanrikojo ‘Kolf’ (24 August 2602 [1942]). Referred were pp. 3-6.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Aziz, *Japan’s Colonialism and Indonesia*, 166-82.

Nevertheless, the sending of Japanese teachers to Indonesian islands was not a smooth operation. Japan lost a ship full of civil professionals, including teachers but mostly economists.¹⁰⁴¹ Kurasawa Aiko claims that the first batch of Japanese teachers did not arrive in Java until February 1943. They had been recruited and trained by the Ministry of Education. By the end of the year, there were 132 Japanese teachers in total all over Java.¹⁰⁴² This number was obviously not sufficient to implement the Japanization education agenda. Consequently, initially schools were forced to curtail the full planning schedule. To secure the success of Japanization, military officers were detached for the supervision of Indonesian teachers in schools and for the training of new teachers.¹⁰⁴³ Policies to do with teacher training were always mass-oriented and executed with a sense of emergency.¹⁰⁴⁴ The purpose was two-fold: to tackle the shortage of teachers and to carry out the grand mission of Japanization.

The training of Indonesian teachers began in June 1942 with the teaching of Japanese language courses.¹⁰⁴⁵ This policy was clearly aimed to overcome the problem of the lack of teachers for this vital subject.¹⁰⁴⁶ The Japanese language training took place in many places in Java and the Outer Islands,¹⁰⁴⁷ but details in the information available concern the courses in Singaraja, Bali and in Jakarta. In Singaraja, 'about 50 people came to this [Singaraja Japanese Language School], about 12 or 13 commuted from places over ten kilometers away. They came in the evening from 5 to 7 p.m. when they had finished their work. The classes were held five days a week and they were rarely absent.' Importantly, 'the enthusiasm of the natives greatly exceeded ours [the Japanese teachers']'.¹⁰⁴⁸

Soeparomo, a HIK graduate of 1935, has described the courses in Jakarta. A Japanese inspector selected Indonesians who already had a teaching certificate. They were then sent to the training centre for the Japanese language course in Prapatan, Central Jakarta. 'When he [the inspector] was about to choose me,' wrote Soeparomo, 'I said that I had been able to speak and write in Japanese. Then the inspector asked me to prove it. "*Watakushi wa warui sensei desee!*" I said writing the sentence in katakana. "Good," the inspector said. "What else?" "*Ano onna wa, taihen kirei, desune?*"¹⁰⁴⁹ The inspector laughed and I was exempted from attending the Japanese language training. But during the Muslim fasting month sometime in 1944, the language training was made compulsory for all teachers.

¹⁰⁴¹ Ibid. 169.

¹⁰⁴² Kurasawa Aiko, 'Japanese Educational Policy in Java', 183.

¹⁰⁴³ As several Indonesian eyewitnesses testified, the 'military touch' in education and teacher training stimulated physically violent relations between teachers and students. In a colonial school, for example, student punishments took the forms of room or yard detention, which meant the punished student was not allowed to leave his room or the school yard for a certain period ranging from one day to a week, except for hygienic reasons. In Japanese school, punishments took the forms of physical penalties, ranging from push-ups to head or face slaps. See interviews with Zurchiban Suryadipradja, Jakarta, 31 August 2006; Alfred Simanjuntak, Jakarta, 23 August 2006; Umar Said Noor, Jakarta, 9 August 2005 and 25 August 2006. See also Soeparomo, 'Kenangan dari Zaman Jepang', *Gema* No. 3 Tahun XI (March 1990), 24-9.

¹⁰⁴⁴ As the following will reveal, short training courses for teachers were quite characteristic of the occupation period.

¹⁰⁴⁵ US Department of Commerce, *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, 218.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Kurasawa Aiko, 'The Japanese Educational Policy in Java', 183.

¹⁰⁴⁷ 'Wat Gebeurde Er met de Indonesische Leerkrachten Gedurende de Japansche Bezetting?', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 3.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Suzuki Seihei, 'A Record of My Island-hopping', in: Anthony Reid and Oki Akira (eds.), *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia*, 165.

¹⁰⁴⁹ These sentences mean: 'I am a bad teacher' and 'That lady is very beautiful, isn't she?'

This time I could no longer escape.¹⁰⁵⁰ Indeed simultaneously, in February 1944 some Indonesian teachers, probably the first group ever, began to teach Japanese at the Japanese Language School in Surabaya.¹⁰⁵¹

This step – to provide Indonesian teachers with some basic skills in Japanese – was crucial because these teachers, although only gradually finding their feet in giving lessons in Japanese, at least had to communicate with their Japanese counterparts. On the other hand, in the eyes of the Japanese authorities, the language programme was critical to the process of Japanizing Indonesian teachers and the whole teacher training programmes.¹⁰⁵² Nonetheless, language courses were only one of the teacher training programmes during the occupation period.

A Dutch source indicates the existence of several categories of teacher training schools. Commencing in April 1943, the Japanese authorities re-opened sixteen *kweekschool* (only one outside Java, namely in Tarakan, East Kalimantan), twelve *normaalschools*, and three training courses of three months (see Table 5.4).¹⁰⁵³ The training was supposed to last for four years in the *normaalschools* for boys and for girls in Batavia, in the *normaalschool* in Makassar, in the *kweekschool* for teachers of junior high schools in Salatiga, Central Java, and in the *kweekschool* for female domestic science teachers in Batavia. In these schools, aspiring teachers received the full training schedule. In other places, training was provided on the basis of direct needs and the duration of the training varied sharply. Consequently there were the training programmes of three years in Surabaya; two years in Ciamis, West Java; one year in Bandung, Batavia (for lower teachers) and in Saparua, Maluku; three months in Yogyakarta (for the help-teachers); and even one month in Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan/Borneo (for teachers at the people's schools).¹⁰⁵⁴

Although this categorization was more comprehensive than others, it bore a strong resemblance to the different sorts of colonial teacher training. It listed all kinds of training schools (*kweekschool*) not necessarily limited to the teachers of public primary and secondary schools (here, including the training schools for domestic science teachers).¹⁰⁵⁵ The problem was that somehow the categories failed to suit the characteristics of the Japanese education system. Finally, while it is stated that those training programmes for teachers only began in April 1943, some eyewitness testimonies say that, as early as August 1942, the Japanese authorities began to open teacher training schools for boys and girls in Yogyakarta and Jakarta.¹⁰⁵⁶

Table 5.4: Teacher training schools starting April 1943 according to a Dutch source

No	Type	Number	Place
1	<i>Kweekschool</i>	16	• Regular teacher training schools successively <u>one</u> in Batavia

¹⁰⁵⁰ Soeparmo, 'Kenangan dari Zaman Jepang', 24-5.

¹⁰⁵¹ 'Wat Gebeurde Er met de Indonesische Leerkrachten?', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 3.

¹⁰⁵² U.S. Department of Commerce, *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, 215.

¹⁰⁵³ 'De Opleiding van Leerkrachten Gedurende de Japansche Bezetting', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 2.

¹⁰⁵⁴ 'De Opleiding van Leerkrachten', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 3221), 3-4.

¹⁰⁵⁵ According to the source cited, the terms *kweekschool* and *normaal school* were Dutch translation of the English 'training college' and 'normal course'. It is admitted in this source that this Japanese '*kweekschool*' and '*normaal school*' were not by standard equal to their Dutch colonial predecessors. See 'De Opleiding van Leerkrachten', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), p. 2, footnote 1).

¹⁰⁵⁶ R. Suroso, 'Akhir Riwayat HIK Yogya', 30-5. See also the following part.

			(Jakarta), Surabaya, Singosari, Malang (East Java), Tarakan (East Kalimantan), Ciamis, Garut, Tegallega, and <u>two</u> in Bandung (West Java) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>One</u> training school for teachers of the household skills in Batavia • <u>One</u> training school for female teachers of secondary schools in Batavia • <u>One</u> training school for teachers of junior high schools in Salatiga (Central Java) • <u>Three</u> teacher training schools of the Muhammadiyah Foundation respectively in Yogyakarta, Solo (Central Java) and Ponorogo (East Java)
2	Normal school	12	<u>Three</u> in Batavia and respectively <u>one</u> in Surabaya, Yogyakarta, Medan, Balikpapan, Makassar, Manado, Tondano, Saparua and Bali.
3	Training centre	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>One</u> three-month course for teaching in Yogyakarta • <u>One</u> young leaders centre for the training of teachers of the people's schools in Banjarmasin • <u>One</u> steam course in South Sulawesi

Source: 'De Opleiding van Leerkrachten Gedurende de Japansche Bezetting', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 2.

Some Indonesian sources give only four categories, not necessarily levelled, of teacher training school during the occupation. They were the four-year *Danshi Shihan Gakko* (*Sekolah Guru Laki-Laki*, SGL; Boys Teacher's School), the four-year *Zyooshi Shihan Gakko* (*Sekolah Guru Perempuan*, SGP; Girls Teacher's School), the one-year *Kooto Shihan Gakko* (*Sekolah Guru Tinggi*, SGT; Higher Teacher Training School), and *Kantei Shikken* (*Kursus Guru Darurat*; Emergency Course for Teachers) of maximum six months.¹⁰⁵⁷

In Java, three *Danshi Shihan Gakko* (in Yogyakarta, Jakarta, and Bandung) were opened by the authorities between August 1942 and April 1943. Besides these, there were five *Zyooshi Shihan Gakko* (two in Jakarta and one in Salatiga, Yogyakarta, Bandung) in Java and one *Kooto Shihan Gakko* in Jakarta. My interviews with Moerdiono and Umar Said Noor and the autobiography of Priguna Sidharta all indicate there was one *Kantei Shiken*, proficiency test, in the Jatinegara area of the Leonielaan in East Jakarta,¹⁰⁵⁸ for which about 120 teachers took a two-month course in November 1942.¹⁰⁵⁹

Another Dutch source notes several other courses across Java. In 1943, emergency courses were set up by the authorities of West Java: in Bandung (with 50 participants), Cianjur and Garut (160 participants), Sumedang (30 female participants); of Central Java: Semarang (93 female participants); and of East Java: Bondowoso. In 1944, some 100 teachers at primary schools followed a ten-day course in Purwokerto, Central Java.¹⁰⁶⁰

In 1944, teachers attending the one-month training course in Cimahi, West Java were lodged in a boarding house, which had the capacity for fifty people. Here participants received pedagogical

¹⁰⁵⁷ Interview with Umar Said Noor, Jakarta, 9 August 2005 and 25 August 2006; see also Soeprapto, E. Karwapi Sastradiwirya and Dedi Supriadi, 'Sejarah Kelembagaan Pendidikan Guru', in Dedi Supriadi (ed.), *Guru di Indonesia: Pendidikan, Pelatihan dan Perjuangannya Sejak Zaman Kolonial Hingga Era Reformasi* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan Nasional, 2003), 59.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Interviews with Moerdiono, Yogyakarta 27 September 2006; Umar Said Noor, Jakarta, 9 August 2005; Priguna Sidharta, *Seorang Dokter dari Losarang*, 55-7.

¹⁰⁵⁹ 'Wat Gebeurde Er met de Indonesische Leerkrachten?', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 3.

¹⁰⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

instructions in all sorts of subjects in the morning and worked in agricultural gardens in the afternoon. All teachers in Cimahi and its neighboring regions had to attend the training programme and stay in the boarding house. Returning to where they lived, these teachers were supposed to 'illuminate' their fellow citizens with the skills, knowledge and enthusiasm they acquired at boarding house.¹⁰⁶¹

In Binjai, North Sumatra, there were training centres for primary school, junior high school and senior high school teachers. Following the fall of all of Sumatra to the Japanese on 28 March 1942,¹⁰⁶² sometime in August the occupation authorities invited Indonesian graduates of Dutch HIS to be trained as teachers for the primary schools. Those already at the MULO during the colonial period received an offer to attend a training course for teaching at junior high schools. Last but not least, Dutch-educated Indonesian teachers, who had taught in primary schools before the war, were now free to take a short course for teaching at senior high schools. Alatif Azis said he attended the last group to receive a short course from Japanese instructors.¹⁰⁶³

The testimony of Azis about the situation in Sumatra, he was 90 years old when interviewed, cannot be verified from written documents. The Dutch archives available only mention very shortly that the education in Sumatra was re-organized in January 1945 in support of the mission of the Holy War and that Indonesian teachers were retrained.¹⁰⁶⁴ On the other hand, HIK alumni in Java like Imam Sajono, Moerdiono and Umar Said Noor testified that the Japanese authorities there also invited Indonesian alumni and former students of the HIK to attend a short training course for teaching in senior high schools. This policy, Sajono said, was a quantum leap as the HIK training which these alumni and students had previously received had prepared them only for teaching in primary schools (the HIS and the *vervolgschool*).¹⁰⁶⁵ This corroborates Azis' testimony.¹⁰⁶⁶

In Java, there was a special training school for secondary school teachers. This school was opened by the government in Jakarta in September 1943. Unlike the short course for the (ex-)HIK students, this teacher training school admitted candidates who held the Dutch MULO or AMS diploma. Again compared to the example of the (ex-)HIK students, this scheme was very different from the colonial model, as MULO and AMS students had never received any training for teaching. Now, under the Japanese system they could follow a two-year training for teaching. The Japanese training programme for these students consisted of two options, namely Language and Literature, or the Natural Sciences. Each branch of study could accommodate fifteen participants.¹⁰⁶⁷

Back in Sumatra, one eyewitness, Yohanna Johns testified that sometime in 1943 the Japanese authorities established teacher training schools for girls and for boys in Padang Panjang, West Sumatra. The headmistress of the training school for girls was an Indonesian, the deputy a Japanese.

¹⁰⁶¹ Ibid. 3-4.

¹⁰⁶² Kemperman's 'Introduction' to L. de Jong, *The Collapse of a Colonial Society*, 35-41.

¹⁰⁶³ Interview with Alatif Azis, Bandung, 27 November 2006.

¹⁰⁶⁴ 'Wat Gebeurde Er met de Indonesische Leerkrachten?', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 5.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Interviews with Imam Sajono, Jakarta, 6 September 2006; Moerdiono, Yogyakarta 27 September 2006; Umar Said Noor, Jakarta, 9 August 2005.

¹⁰⁶⁶ I was personally impressed by the systematic and chronological way Alatif Azis told me about his pre-war and war experiences of schooling in an interview in his home in Bandung on 27 November 2006.

¹⁰⁶⁷ 'Wat Gebeurde Er met de Indonesische Leerkrachten?', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 13.

There were five Japanese female teachers and six Indonesians; all taught about 150 girls. Johns described the daily routines in the boarding house as 'military in style'. Daily activities started from 5.30 a.m. until 10.00 p.m.¹⁰⁶⁸

In the meantime, the American report mentioned earlier reveals that in the Navy-controlled area, there were nine teacher training centres in Kalimantan (Borneo) and Ceram respectively, and twelve in Sulawesi (Celebes). The report indicates, surprisingly, only one training school for teachers of primary education for the entire area under the Navy administration.¹⁰⁶⁹

In Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan, according to the Dutch reports, sixty-eight female teachers participated in a gymnastics course for 'the physical and spiritual development of promising people' in July 1943.¹⁰⁷⁰ The course was provided by the Education Division of the local Civil Administration. In September, some twenty-six teachers recruited from the Dayak ethnic group, aged between 20 and 42 years, also followed a ten-day special course on physical exercises and Japanese language in Banjarmasin. At a Japanese school in Balikpapan, East Kalimantan, a number of Indonesian teachers and school inspectors took a course on Japanese educational methods in July 1943. These participants received a certificate upon completing the course. As was the case with their colleagues in Cimahi, West Java, the 'graduating' participants were to contribute to 'the revolutionary developments of schools, particularly in Kalimantan'.¹⁰⁷¹

In the East Kalimantan town of Samarinda, a training course was held for the period of one month. As many as fifty teachers participated in the course in September 1943. They learned the basics of the Japanese language, songs and arts as well as Japanese teaching methods.¹⁰⁷² Also in Tarakan, East Kalimantan, a training course ran for a fortnight in July 1944. During the course, participating teachers learned the rudiments of the Japanese language plus etiquette, and busied themselves with the singings of songs, arithmetic, gymnastics and military drills. In August 1944, sixty male and female teachers from North and East Kalimantan received special training from the Japanese instructors.¹⁰⁷³

In Sulawesi, school inspectors, principals and teachers followed a crash course (*spoedopleidingen*) from 11 to 20 October 1943.¹⁰⁷⁴ In April 1944, the Navy administration took over the management of the *normaalschool* in Manado from the local government. No information is further available about this event or the training given at the school.¹⁰⁷⁵ In May 1944, twenty-eight school

¹⁰⁶⁸ Yohanna Johns, 'The Japanese as Educators', 27-8. Johns wrote she was born and grew up in Padang Panjang in the central West Sumatra and was in the third year of the *Schakel School* (bridging school) in March 1942. After having completed primary school under the Japanese system, she went on to the teacher training school for girls in Padang Panjang.

¹⁰⁶⁹ US Department of Commerce, *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, 225.

¹⁰⁷⁰ The quoted phrase reads in original 'voor de lichamelijke en geestelijke ontwikkeling van veelbelovende personen'.

¹⁰⁷¹ 'Wat Gebeurde Er met de Indonesische Leerkrachten?', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 4.

¹⁰⁷² Ibid.

¹⁰⁷³ Ibid. 5. The source does not clarify what special training these teachers from North and South Kalimantan received.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Ibid. The source does not mention any specific place in Sulawesi where this ten-day training took place.

¹⁰⁷⁵ 'De Opleiding van Leerkrachten', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 6. The source supplies readers with no further information on the case. An educated guess might suppose that the Japanization policy line was stronger in the area under the Navy control than in Java. This take-over of the

principals and teachers received a five-day instruction in the Japanese language in Makassar in preparation for taking a three-month course afterwards. The goal of the latter course was to improve the qualifications of teachers at the secondary schools. In the meantime, commencing in July 1944 a group of Japanese and Indonesian instructors moved from one place to another across South Sulawesi to give local teachers guidance and lessons in the Japanese language and the propaganda materials promoting Greater East Asia.¹⁰⁷⁶

Suzuki Seihei, the Japanese teacher and education chief already referred to, states that three teacher training centres were available in Bali by March 1943. These centres provided courses for those known as 'ordinary teachers', who would teach at the three-year public schools. The flood of school pupils encouraged Suzuki and his colleagues to enlarge the training centres and to establish a *normaalschool* in Singaraja in September 1943. Until that time, Suzuki wrote, '*normaalschools* were only located in Java'. Boarding house were completed in July 1944. In this *normaalschool*, of which the official name was 'the Temporary Higher Grade Teacher Training Institute', aspiring teachers for the five-year public schools received a four-year training. However, the pressing need for teachers forced Suzuki and his colleagues to begin by offering a one-year training only. With this purpose in mind, Suzuki began to search for pupils from the *normaalschools* in Java, 'who had returned home with the temporary closing of the school due to the war', as well as 'the young and bright amongst the Ordinary Teachers' to form the initial group of candidates. This group finished their training in August 1944.¹⁰⁷⁷ According to a Dutch report compiled in Australia in 1945, the *normaalschool* in Singaraja could actually only provide a maximum of a two-year training course during its existence because the war took a turn for the worse for the Japanese.¹⁰⁷⁸

So far, the survey presented here has covered some aspects of the teacher training fairly generally; mostly looking at proficiency tests (*Kantei Shiken*). Indeed, little information about the teacher training schools for boys (*Danshi Shihan Gakko*) and for girls (*Zyooshi Shihan Gakko*) is available and what there is concerns managerial and curricular issues only. Dutch sources indicate that the admission to the teacher training schools was stiff and the entry examination covered course subjects which differed from one place to another. The exceptions were the Indonesian language and arithmetic were tested in all areas as compulsory subjects for admission. The Japanese language was tested as the basis for internal student placement in different learning groups.¹⁰⁷⁹

normal school indeed contradicted the educational decentralization policy effective since 1943. On the decentralization, see U.S. Department of Commerce, *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, 215.

¹⁰⁷⁶ 'Wat Gebeurde Er met de Indonesische Leerkrachten?', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 5.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Suzuki Seihei, 'A Record of My Island-hopping', in: Anthony Reid and Oki Akira (eds.), *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia*, 170-1.

¹⁰⁷⁸ 'De Opleiding van Leerkrachten', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 3. According to Anthony Reid and Oki Akira (*Japan Experience in Indonesia*, pp. 159-60), Suzuki Seihei left his position as Chief of the Education Section of the Lesser Sundas Minseibu (Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Sumba, Flores and Timor) and returned to Japan on 1 December 1944. Unlike his colleagues who were still in Indonesia at the time the war ended, Suzuki successfully preserved various documents he had written during the occupation. This makes his autobiography 'uniquely vivid'. As Suzuki returned to Japan 'earlier', it is logical that his testimony does not cover the situation following the final throes of the war.

¹⁰⁷⁹ 'De Opleiding van Leerkrachten', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 5.

In Surabaya, those who wanted to be admitted to the three-year teacher training school had to have attended at least the sixth grade of the *vervolg* school before the war. Those who were already in the second year of MULO could go straight into the third year of the Japanese teacher training school. The teacher training school for girls in Bandung admitted students who held a MULO certificate or one from one of the vocational schools from the Dutch system. The applicants had to be between 14 and 17 years of age. Besides passing the tests in Indonesian, arithmetic and Japanese,¹⁰⁸⁰ candidates had to be 'physically and spiritually healthy,' which was ascertained by medical examination. The same requirements for admission applied to the teacher training schools in Salatiga, Central Java, and in Jakarta. Many applicants failed the entrance selection. For example, in Ciamis, West Java, as many as 205 people sent in their applications in 1943 and only forty-seven were admitted. Again, seven out of forty applicants for the teacher training school in Bandung (in 1943?), did not succeed.¹⁰⁸¹

Students in the teacher training schools in Salatiga and Surabaya had to pay a school fee of Fl. 5 per month. Besides this basic cost, they had to find money for the school boarding house. Those in Salatiga also had to provide their own study materials, especially stationery. By contrast, training was provided for free at the teacher training schools in Yogyakarta, Bandung and Jakarta. The student teachers in Bandung even received a bursary.¹⁰⁸²

D.3 Teachers

A number of Indonesian teachers soon emerged from the Japanese training model with a certificate. As early as July 1942, 280 people received a diploma from the teacher training school (*Shihan Gakko*) in Jakarta.¹⁰⁸³ There is good reason to question this information. As already indicated, no such school existed in Jakarta or other parts of Java until at least August 1942. These teachers 'graduating' in July 1942 were perhaps participants in the Japanese language course, from which the afore-mentioned Dutch-educated Indonesian teacher, Soeparmo, claimed to have escaped.¹⁰⁸⁴ So, those 280 people very probably received a Japanese language proficiency certificate from a crash course, the *Kantei Shiken*.

In June and August 1943 respectively, the Young Leaders Institute in Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan, passed out sixty-four and seventy-six graduates, all with a certificate. These people had finished a two-month training course and were destined to teach at the people's/popular schools across Kalimantan.¹⁰⁸⁵ In September, about seventy-five Indonesians also received a teaching certificate from the training centre in Sumedang, West Java. More teachers graduated and received their certificate in February and March 1944 from the teacher training schools in Sulawesi and Cianjur, West Java respectively.¹⁰⁸⁶

Altogether from June 1942 up to December 1944, a growing number of young Indonesians were awarded a teaching diploma or certificate from the Japanese teacher training schools and

¹⁰⁸⁰ The Japanese test was an assessment for placement. This implies that students did not necessarily have to pass.

¹⁰⁸¹ 'De Opleiding van Leerkrachten', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 5.

¹⁰⁸² *Ibid.* 4.

¹⁰⁸³ *Ibid.* 6.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Soeparmo, 'Kenangan dari Zaman Jepang', 24-5.

¹⁰⁸⁵ 'De Opleiding van Leerkrachten', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 6.

¹⁰⁸⁶ 'Wat Gebeurde Er met de Indonesische Leerkrachten?', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 12.

courses. The evidence shows that the duration, the scale and the content curricula of the training differed from one place to another. Consequently, the professional qualifications of these Japanese-trained teachers were not measurable by any fixed standard, which makes it an impossible task to make a comparison with the colonial training.

Besides the high degree of variability of the teacher training programmes, the stabilization phase of the occupation witnessed a yawning shortage of teachers who could support the Japanization process. To overcome this problem, at the same time as inviting more and more Indonesians to be trained as teachers, the authorities called upon retired Indonesian teachers who were still physically fit to resume teaching duties in October 1943, but only in Java. Another expedient taken was to extend the working hours. For example, in Bojonegoro, East Java, commencing in February 1944, teachers had to stay at school from 7.00 a.m. until 5.00 p.m. (formerly until 2.00 p.m.) and teach at least two classes.¹⁰⁸⁷

Table 5.5: Scale of the salary increase of people's school (*sekolah rakyat*) teachers in Java as of August 1944

No	Original scale/month	Increase/month
1	Fl. 9 to 11	Fl. 7
2	Fl. 12 to 13	Fl. 6
3	Fl. 13 to 14*)	Fl. 5
4	Fl. 16 to 17	Fl. 4
5	Fl. 18 to 20	Fl. 3
6	Fl. 21 to 24	Fl. 2
7	Fl. 25 to 30	Fl. 1

Source: 'Wat Gebeurde Er met de Indonesische Leerkrachten Gedurende de Japansche Bezetting?', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 14. *) I wonder why the original salary of Fl. 15 was not in the scale for increase.

It is interesting to note that, even during the war, salary was a crucial issue among teachers. Dutch historian I.J. Brugmans wrote that a number of Indonesian teachers demanded a rise in salary because, especially after 1943, the value of the salary they had received dropped enormously.¹⁰⁸⁸ The Japanese local authorities in Java did indeed give a raise. Commencing from April 1944, teachers in the Prefecture of Rembang received a salary increase of between Fl. 3 and 5 per month but this applied only to those teachers whose original salaries were between Fl. 15 and 35. In the Prefecture of Pati, the starting salary of a newly qualified teacher increased from Fl. 11 to 15 per month. In August 1944, the central government of Java decided to raise the salaries of the teachers at the people's schools all over the island (see Table 5.5). One striking point emerges from Table 5.5, the lower the original salary of a teacher was, the higher the amount of salary increase that that teacher would be given. This closed the gap between the highest (Fl. 30) and the lowest (Fl. 9) salaries a little. This – the construction of a salary system which closed remuneration gaps – had been unheard of in colonial times! It is reported

¹⁰⁸⁷ Ibid. 13.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Brugmans, *Nederlandsch Indië onder Japanse Bezetting*, 220.

that those teachers whose original salary was higher than Fl. 30 were also given a salary increase but no precise information about this is available.¹⁰⁸⁹

E. Political teachers as the mass

The previous section contains an attempt to portray some of the institutional changes in education and teacher training all over the geographical area of Indonesia. The focus concentrated on teachers and various managerial and curricular matters which concerned them during the occupation. Of course this survey is crippled by a limitation of data, limiting it mainly to the administrative areas under the control of the 16th Japanese Army (Java) and that of the Japanese Navy (Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku and the Lesser Sunda Islands). Education in the area under the 25th Army (Sumatra) has remained relatively unexplored. Despite the handicaps, the survey has, to some extent, covered different yet related institutional aspects of schools, teacher training and teacher affairs under the Japanese system.

The focus now swings back to teachers. In this section, and basically in all parts of this chapter, teachers refer Indonesian teachers. In step with the regime transition, Indonesian teachers had gradually emerged as the main players in the educational arena. As the HIK students have testified, well before the outbreak of the Pacific War, many Dutch (male) teachers had left schools to participate in the mobilization.¹⁰⁹⁰ Later, when the Japanese re-opened the public schools in April 1942, all European and Indo-European (mostly female) teachers and students were barred from educational activities. This forced them to attempt to give what Dutch historian L. de Jong has called 'clandestine education' but this secret schooling did not last long. Commencing in January 1943, all Europeans and Indo-Europeans (including women and children) were sent to internment camps by the new rulers.¹⁰⁹¹ There were a few cases in Java where European teachers were summoned back from an internment camp to resume teaching or administrative jobs.¹⁰⁹² In West Sumatra, a number of Indo-European children were allowed to go to the Japanese schools.¹⁰⁹³ But, under the principal plan of the Japanese authorities, European teachers and children had to disappear from the public schools as soon as the stabilization phase of the occupation began. The main players in schools were now Indonesian teachers and children, in spite of the fact that the Japanese remained the overriding authority.

As touched upon briefly earlier, the professional qualifications of the Japanese-trained Indonesian teachers could not be measured by any fixed standard. The wartime emergency meant that there was a high degree of variability in the teacher training programmes. As a result, because of their formal training, the teachers were professionally plural. This created a teacher figure, again

¹⁰⁸⁹ 'Wat Gebeurde Er met de Indonesische Leerkrachten?', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 14.

¹⁰⁹⁰ See again Suroso, 'Akhira Riwayat HIK Yogya', 32; Mohamad Isa, 'Perajurit Palang Merah Pelajar (1940-1942)', 32-40.

¹⁰⁹¹ De Jong, *The Collapse of a Colonial Society*, 72-3.

¹⁰⁹² 'Wat Gebeurde Er met de Indonesische Leerkrachten?', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 1.

¹⁰⁹³ Yohanna Johns, 'The Japanese as Educators in Indonesia: A Personal View', in: William H. Newell (ed.), *Japan in Asia 1942-1945* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1981), 25-31. Japanese historian Kurasawa Aiko confirms the re-enrollment of Eurasian children at several specified people's schools for Indonesians. No particular school was established for Eurasian children. Aiko, 'Japanese Educational Policy in Java', 180.

professionally speaking, similar to his or her colonial counterpart. Unlike in colonial times, now these teachers were not necessarily segregated, nor did they make up a different level of social group! The salary-based social stratification was gradually eased out as remuneration gaps closed. The fact that these teachers were not socially segregated strengthened the process of making them political. M.A. Aziz remarks that 'the teachers trained hurriedly by the Japanese lacked the expert knowledge of their pre-war colleagues, but surpassed them without doubt in enthusiasm for physical exercise, militarism and hero-worship [...].'¹⁰⁹⁴

No matter what training they had followed, the Japanese-trained teachers were expected to carry out the same duties. They had to be the front-line troops at work in the campaign for the Greater Asian society, commencing in their respective neighbourhoods. In village especially, teachers had to work to organize and develop a sense of co-operation and brotherhood among civilians. They also had to provide a role model of individuals who were dynamic and brimming with enthusiasm. Their particular responsibility was to spread the message of the hygienic way of life and one of their duties was to ensure children were taught healthy physical exercises.¹⁰⁹⁵ In January 1945, for example, the Japanese authorities in Surakarta, Central Java, set up a teacher committee whose task was to secure the 'physical as well as spiritual formation' of school children.¹⁰⁹⁶

Another notable occurrence was that meetings or conferences of teachers took place quite frequently at different localities between 1943 and December 1944. The Japanese authorities sponsored most of these meetings and, logically, their agenda dominated the forum. In them, the teachers listened to lectures about their roles and responsibilities in the Greater Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. A side effect or, perhaps better, blessing in disguise of this is that, however different the training backgrounds of those teachers might have been, they developed a shared sense of fate and pride. Hence, these meetings indirectly coaxed into full bloom the feeling of unity which had been implanted in teachers in the colonial period. In a meeting in Surakarta in April 1944, about 1,000 teachers drawn from throughout Java declared the foundation of a centralized teacher organization.¹⁰⁹⁷ The former federative system of the PGHB came to an end and its organization members merged into one administrative body.¹⁰⁹⁸

The teachers' sense of unity now consolidated. Those who had been trained to become the intellectual elite in the colonial period still remained elite in terms of their education and professional roles. Only now in many respects, they had grown much more political than they had been under the Dutch. Their elite status did not necessarily produce vertical mobility. On the contrary, it stimulated the capacity building which strengthened their ties to the Indonesian common people, the masses. This process of transformation in self-perception took place through sharing experiences, spirit and

¹⁰⁹⁴ M.A. Aziz, *Japan's Colonialism and Indonesia*, 179.

¹⁰⁹⁵ 'Een Rekest van Onderwijzers aan de Volksscholen in Midden-Java', *Indische Collectie* 027598/6292, in Brugmans et al. (eds.), *Nederlandsch-Indië onder Japanse Bezetting*, 220.

¹⁰⁹⁶ 'Wat Gebeurde Er met de Indonesische Leerkrachten?', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 9.

¹⁰⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 6-7 and 9.

¹⁰⁹⁸ This produced the organizational nature of the present-day Association of Teachers of the Republic of Indonesia, or PGRI. The centralized structure of the PGRI, the *PGRI vak-centraal*, was opposed in the 1960s by the PGRI under the Indonesian Communist Party, the *PGRI non vak-centraal*.

feelings in the unprecedented events in which they found themselves immediately following the fall of the colonial state.

Once again, the daily lives of eyewitnesses provide valuable information. Take, for example, Soeparmono. After a long journey from Balikpapan to Yogyakarta in search of a better job, Soeparmono finally obtained an appointment at a junior high school at Prapatan in Jakarta in 1943.¹⁰⁹⁹ He wrote:

'Just as students, Indonesian teachers were obliged to do physical exercises before school went in and to salute the Japanese Emperor. One day, the Japanese inspector at our school, who normally led the saluting ceremony, was absent. The school principal, a Japanese, was also absent so that the deputy principal took over the duty. The deputy principal – an Indonesian – did not instruct us bow in the direction of Tokyo; perhaps it had slipped his memory. Then classes carried on as usual. However, when school finished, we teachers were assembled in the school yard and punished. We had to march from the location of the school in Prapatan to a Japanese temple in Gambir [both in Jakarta]. There we had to make an offering to the Japanese soldiers who had died during the war. The temple was formerly a Protestant church known as the *Willemskerk*. A Japanese man was waiting for us in front of the temple. He explained to us how to perform the offering ceremony and then took us into the temple. I was surprised to see inside so many boxes, maybe hundreds. They probably contained the ashes of the dead Japanese troops. The boxes were neatly arranged and were apparently ready to be transported.'¹¹⁰⁰

Soeparmono continued his testimony:

'At school, we [Indonesian teachers] had to give lessons in Indonesian. But we, HIK graduates, had only been trained to teach in Dutch. We found it difficult to translate scientific terms from Dutch into Indonesian. My colleagues and I asked Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana¹¹⁰¹ to help us learn Indonesian for teaching.'¹¹⁰²

'When appointed by the government to preside over the Language Committee, Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana invited various teachers he had coached, including myself, to attend. We set to work to translate scientific terms for school use. *Natuurkunde* became *Ilmu Alam* or *Fisika* [physics]; *Natuurkennis*, *Ilmu Pengetahuan Alam* [natural science]; (*Lichamelijk*) *Menskunde*, *Ilmu Tubuh Manusia* [human biology]. When having to translate "Biologie", the Committee members were confused. "Ilmu Hidup" [science of life]? Well, it sounded too philosophical. I remembered in several Malay books, an expression occurred "Selama hayat dikandung badan".¹¹⁰³ Then I said, "The term for *Biologie* should be *Ilmu Hayat*." The Committee agreed to translate *Biologie* as *Ilmu Hayat* or simply *Biologi* [life science].'¹¹⁰⁴

Soeparmono's testimonies indicate the complexity of events in which some Indonesian teachers became involved in. They might have been an elite in colonial times but the teachers, like all other Indonesians, now found no chance of escape from the unprecedented realities of the war. Later in the

¹⁰⁹⁹ Soeparmono, 'Menjadi Guru SMP di Zaman Jepang', *Gema* No. 3 Tahun XI (March 1990), 21-3. The quoted text is from p. 21.

¹¹⁰⁰ Soeparmono, 'Kenangan dari Zaman Jepang', 28-9.

¹¹⁰¹ One of the Indonesian prominent linguists.

¹¹⁰² Soeparmono, 'Kenangan dari Zaman Jepang', 26-7. Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana confirmed the fact that, like the testimony of Soeparmono, many Indonesian teachers did not master the Indonesian language well. See Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, *Indonesian Language and Literature: Two Essays* (New Haven, 1962) as quoted in Kurasawa Aiko, 'Japanese Educational Policy in Java', 185.

¹¹⁰³ Literally means 'as long as life is enshrined in the body'.

¹¹⁰⁴ Soeparmono, 'Kenangan dari Zaman Jepang', 26-7.

mobilization phase, they left schools to do agricultural work¹¹⁰⁵ or to participate in military training.¹¹⁰⁶

Those who were students at the HIK during the regime change also had to cope with unprecedented events. Generally speaking, the hopeless situation caused by the closure of the schools in March 1942, changed in September. When the Japanese authorities re-instituted public education, Soesilowati entered the teacher training school for girls in Yogyakarta,¹¹⁰⁷ and Suroso went to school in Yogyakarta.

'The Japanese turned the former HIK buildings into a teacher training school for boys, the *Sekolah Guru Laki-Laki* (SGL),' Suroso said. 'I remember among my classmates were Indroharto, Mufti and Harsono; also our Indonesian teacher, Mr Badowi and our drawing teacher, Mr Abdul Kadir.'¹¹⁰⁸

Mohamad Isa, Imam Sajono, Soebardi, Mochamad Maskhom, Soedjiran, Slamet Izan, and Umar Said Noor went to the SGL in Jakarta. Suparno B, Samsuri Masnan and Moerdiono were among those who took the emergency advanced training course in Jatinegara, Jakarta.¹¹⁰⁹ A brief exploration of their daily experiences might help to draw a conclusion about the politicization of the student teachers and their senior fellows.

Suparno B, who attempted to travel from Bandung, West Java to Makassar, South Sulawesi, was stranded in Solo, Central Java, and began teaching at a village primary school there. Suparno B:

'The school was located in a very simple house, which belonged to a villager. The furniture was also very humble. It had certainly been an 'unofficial school' during the Dutch times. It was my first time teaching. I received a salary of Fl. 5, a small amount but it was much better than doing nothing.'¹¹¹⁰

'Several weeks later, I was told by one of my colleagues that the government was calling ex-HIK students, who had been in the years five and six, to enter a training in Jakarta. Grateful to this colleague, I departed to Jakarta to apply.'¹¹¹¹

'The name of the course was *Renseisho Shihan Bu* (Training Teacher Office), and took place from October 1942 to March 1943 in the former building of the HCS in East Jakarta. We learnt the Japanese language, including how to write the Kanji characters. Singing, gymnastics and military marching were other subjects to which many hours were devoted.'¹¹¹²

¹¹⁰⁵ In April 1944 examples of agricultural training fields were reported to take place in Garoet (33 teachers), Tjibatoe (20 teachers) both in West Java, and in Bali. In addition to switching to agricultural training, many teachers were assigned to developing technical education. In Surabaya, for example, six teachers attended a technical training course in February 1944 so as to set up a model technical school, at which all teachers of the people's schools in East Java began to receive training in July. See 'Wat Gebeurde Er met de Indonesische Leerkrachten?', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 10.

¹¹⁰⁶ In June 1944, 120 secondary teachers throughout Java attended military training in Jakarta. Two months later, the authorities of Sumedang, West Java, sent all teachers at the people's schools in the area to a military training camp. The authorities of Bogor followed in January 1945 by obliging all Muslim teachers in the Bogor residency to take a military training course. See 'Wat Gebeurde Er met de Indonesische Leerkrachten?', *Openbaar Verbaal* 31 December 1953 No. 79 (NA Inv. Nr. 4221), 12.

¹¹⁰⁷ Basuki, 'Pengalaman', 6.

¹¹⁰⁸ R. Suroso, 'Pelanggar Hukum yang Menjadi Penegak Hukum', *Gema* No. 4 Tahun XVII (October 1996), 20-8. The quoted text is from pp. 22-3.

¹¹⁰⁹ Suparno B., 'Mari Kita Bercerita', 6; interview with Moerdiono, Yogyakarta, 27 September 2006.

¹¹¹⁰ Suparno B., 'Mari Kita Bercerita', 6. If the school in which Soeparno B taught had been a pre-war 'unofficial school', then it must have been a private one. To verify this testimony and compare it to the unfavorable policy of the Japanese toward private schools, it is essential to have the temporal scope of the event being told. Unfortunately, Soeparno B did not supply readers with this.

¹¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹¹² Ibid.

'We had two Japanese teachers. One was Mr Nomachi, the school principal. He was about 40 years old, with a small but well-built body. He had a moustache and a beard. He liked to show us his skill in walking on his hands. Mr Nomachi was a quiet man. I never saw him angry, but he always appeared to ooze authority to me, perhaps because of his moustache and beard. The second teacher was Mr Akatsuka, a man brimming with humour. I never saw any signs of fear in him. Once he came into our classroom putting on a black "peci" on his head and smiled widely at everybody.'¹¹¹³

'There were also Indonesian teachers: Mr Mohammad Syarif, who had taken the head-teacher course in Bandung when I was there, Mr Soepandi, and Mr Tjiptodarsono. All these three teachers were kind, patient and paid attention to their students. So, contrary to other versions of news we commonly heard, my impression of Japanese and Indonesian teachers during the occupation was positive'.¹¹¹⁴

Another student, the afore-mentioned Yohanna Johns who went to the teacher training school for girls in Padang Panjang, West Sumatra, also testified to having a positive impression of the teachers during the occupation. Below I quote Johns' remarks:

'Under Dutch rule, music and singing were formal curricular activities only. But during the recreation periods, the Japanese teachers stayed with us, taught us Japanese songs and learnt Indonesian songs from us.

They won our hearts by their appreciation of nature. I remember once picking up a baby bird, too weak to fly, and setting it on a branch, then standing back in admiration at its loveliness. They showed us the Japanese way of offering something with both hands and with a bow, which they indicated was a gesture of politeness. [...].

The general picture I have given shows the Japanese teachers as models of kindness and dedication. But gradually, without our realizing it, they were developing in us a new way of thinking. Before the occupation I had wanted to be a teacher as an individual, for my own sake – I never thought of working to develop Sumatra, let alone Indonesia. But from these Japanese ladies there was always a gentle insistence on the nobility of working together [...].

They developed in us a sense of uninhibited enthusiasm, [...].

Most important of all – although perhaps I see this only in retrospect – their primary aim was to develop in us an indomitable spirit, a refusal to give up. The Dutch system had only provided us with instruction. The Japanese teachers (*onna no sensei*) were trying to instill us into an entire way of life, not only in school work but even in party games. [...]. In all events, the message was clear. Everything we did was measured by the spirit, the enthusiasm put into it.'¹¹¹⁵

The testimonies by Soeparmo and Yohanna Johns show the changing character of pedagogical interactions at school. Japanese teachers seemed to have used whatever strategy and medium they could lay their hands on to stimulate the motivation to learn of Indonesian pupils. Non-pedagogical factors also produced impressive effects. Soemarto, who had enjoyed the last seven months of training at the HIK in Yogyakarta with Mohammad Bachrowazie, Umar Said Noor, and R. Suroso, re-joined the training when the school became the SGL, and lodged in the southern compound of the former HIK boarding house. 'Every morning after doing sports, we had to recite the student's oath: "*Warerawa shin Jawa no Gakuto nari. Dai Toa kenset tsu no tameni manabi, Dai Nippon no sido no motto shinshin manabi...*", and so on. We ended the ceremony by bowing to the direction of Tokyo,' he wrote.¹¹¹⁶

¹¹¹³ Ibid. 6-7.

¹¹¹⁴ Ibid. 7.

¹¹¹⁵ Yohanna Johns, 'The Japanese as Educators', 29-30.

¹¹¹⁶ Soemarto, 'Masjid Mohammad Bachrowazie', 41. The oath means: 'We become the students of new Java. We learn for the establishment of Greater Asia. Under the guidance of Japan we learn to improve our minds.'

The story Soemarto tells below sounds nonsense at the beginning. Nevertheless it reminds us of the issue of the expression of identity, which had arisen with the Japanese arrival in March 1942.¹¹¹⁷ Soemarto wrote:

'Dormitory room number 51 was, many of us believed, haunted by ghosts. The room was indeed located just outside the wall of a public cemetery. Bachrowazie set the idea of cleansing the horror room and turning it into a prayer room. He argued that prayers would expell the ghosts. After we cleansed up the room, we gathered inside and began to recite Islamic prayers. After that we made room number 51 into a small mosque, jokingly calling it the "Bachrowazie Mosque". Five times a day, at prayer time, Muslim students loudly recited the "shalat" from the 'mosque' so that their voice kind of bounced off the walls of the entire boarding house."¹¹¹⁸

Soemarto recollected that the SGL had a brigade, the *Gakuto Tai*, in which students were drilled in military exercises from Japanese instructors. The best performing students in the *Gakuto Tai* were selected to join the *Tokubetsu Gakuto Tai*, the elite student brigade. 'Bachrowazie and I were among those selected to join the *Tokubetsu Gakuto Tai*. We were given blue uniforms, including a blue cap. We also had some food privileges. For example, we received a slice of meat and an egg while members of the *Gakuto Tai* received a slice of tofu and *tempe*.¹¹¹⁹ *Tokubetsu Gakuto Tai* was intended to be the backbone of the student brigade,' Soemarto said.¹¹²⁰

It seems the supplementary food Soemarto described did not last long. 'Just as many other people, students had to contend with a tremendous lack of food in the boarding house,' Suroso, Soemarto's classmate, said in another testimony.¹¹²¹ 'We were served "*gogik*"¹¹²² for breakfast and it gave me diarrhoea.'

'Driven by hunger, we often stole food. Rice (*beras*), cooked rice (*nasi*), cassava and side dishes were stored in the kitchen. We took a glass, filled it full with cooked rice and secretly took it to our individual rooms.'¹¹²³

Suroso recalled that many students brought charcoal stoves for personal use from home, something beyond the wildest imagination happening at the HIK without earning a strong reprimand. 'Some of us stole the rice and cooked it on a stove in front of the boarding house rooms. One night, my friend Indroharto was caught by Mr Abdul Kadir, our supervising teacher, as he was cooking maize. It was already after lights out. Instead of punishing Indroharto, Mr Abdul Kadir said "Go finish it, then go to bed!"'¹¹²⁴ wrote Suroso.

A story of hunger was told by a student who participated in the teacher training in Pegangsaan, Jakarta. Syamnir, who was in the year five of the upper level HIK in Bandung in 1942, entered the Sekolah Guru Tinggi in Pegangsaan in 1944. He wrote:

¹¹¹⁷ See again Suroso, 'Akhir Riwayat HIK Yogya', 35.

¹¹¹⁸ Soemarto, 'Masjid Mohammad Bachrowazie', 43-4.

¹¹¹⁹ Fermented soya bean curd.

¹¹²⁰ Soemarto, 'Masjid Mohammad Bachrowazie', 42.

¹¹²¹ Suroso, 'Pelanggar Hukum', 22.

¹¹²² A product of cassava. Ground and dried in the sun, *gogik* is steamed before served as a substitute for rice. Its limited nutrition produces social perception that *gogik* eaters are economically deprived. Today, some communities in Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta, continue to consume *gogik*.

¹¹²³ Suroso, 'Pelanggar Hukum', 22-3.

¹¹²⁴ *Ibid.* 23.

'Many of us got beriberi and suffered awfully from a lack of food. Our Indonesian teachers like Dr Prijono, a historian, and Ir Sakirman, a chemist, could not do anything about it. We students then decided to "rebel" by leaving the school boarding house without the consent of the Japanese teachers.'¹¹²⁵

'I fled and hid in Jatinegara, East Jakarta. But then we were summoned on the radio to come back to the boarding house. There was a promise from the authorities that we were not to be punished; so I eventually returned. What else could I do? To my surprise, when several friends and I arrived at the school yard, a number of Japanese troops had been waiting and immediately escorted us to the railway station near Pegangsaan Timur. Initially we were taken to Bogor by train, then to a former factory building in Cibalagung.¹¹²⁶ We stayed in the factory building and had to work every day. We did many different jobs like collecting stones and planting. A month later we were taken back to the school boarding house in Jakarta. In March 1945, we finished the training programme and received a diploma. To my surprise, again, the graduation ceremony was carried out in an atmosphere of good cheer with plenty delicious food apparently ordered from a restaurant.'¹¹²⁷

What Syamnir and friends performed in Cibalagung, according to Soeparmo, was '*Kinrohoshi*' (labour service), for which workers were not paid, Soeparmo said. 'The Japanese argued the *Kinrohoshi* was a contribution for Greater Asia. It was public work. People did any job they were instructed to do by Japanese inspectors, like collecting stones and scrap iron, cutting grass, planting and other things'.¹¹²⁸

Once in 1943, Soeparmo had to supervise his students who were working as *Kinrohoshi*. 'My colleagues and I were instructed by the Japanese inspector at our school to take the students to a square, which before the war had been known as "the bullet magazine" (in the Tebet area of East Jakarta?). Those students were divided into small groups and each was assigned a trolley. They had to transport small stones from one to the other side of the square. I did not have any idea what the stones were for. We teachers were only there to supervise the kids while a Japanese inspector gave them technical instructions. At twelve, those kids had lunch and a 30-minute break. Then they had to work again. I knew they were exhausted from labouring under the sun. I asked the Japanese instructor to send them home. "Otherwise their mothers will be worried," I said. He agreed.'¹¹²⁹

By the beginning of 1945 academic lessons had practically ground to halt in many schools. Activities turned into military drills and physical exercise in which both teachers and students participated. Following the Japanese surrender on 15 August 1945, students and teachers once again had to face an abrupt change in circumstances.

At that time, Kadaroesman was still in the Samulanya district of South Aceh. Besides being a teacher, he was a member of the Red Cross. One day he had to check the surrendering Japanese soldiers, who were being transported by train from Aceh to North Sumatra, and see if any of them needed medication. 'I got into the train and saw corpses of Japanese soldiers in sacks. It was clear to

¹¹²⁵ Syamnir, 'Sambutan atas SOS SpB', *Gema* No. 4 Tahun XX (October 1999), 2-4. Quotation is from p. 3.

¹¹²⁶ Syamnir did not elaborate what factory it might have been, nor did he mention how they got to Cibalagung from Bogor.

¹¹²⁷ Syamnir, 'Sambutan atas SOS SpB', 3-4. Imam Sajono confirmed in an interview the story about students escaping from school and getting punished. (Interview with Imam Sajono, Jakarta, 6 September 2006)

¹¹²⁸ Soeparmo, 'Berkinrohoshi', *Gema* No. 1 Tahun XII (September 1990), 12-5. Quotation is from pp. 12-3.

¹¹²⁹ *Ibid.* 14-5.

me that those bodies had been chopped up, which is why the sacks looked compact,' wrote Kadaroesman.¹¹³⁰

In Java, Soepardjo, who taught in Sanden, Bantul, Yogyakarta, said he had to deal with the surrender of Japanese soldiers who were housed in a detention camp there. 'Those soldiers were detained while they waited to be "taken" by the Allied Forces. No one could leave them without food, of course. The local government set up a soup kitchen. I instructed my pupils to bring any materials which could be cooked: dried coconut leaves and woods, coconut sugar, vegetables, and even rice.'¹¹³¹

The data confirm that for those teachers and student teachers, as for many others, the Pacific war had raised their options for participation in the public sphere. Umar Said Noor, for instance, quit the teacher school and joined the air force.¹¹³² Asvismarmo and Sugih Arto joined the army.¹¹³³ Imam Sajono and R. Suroso switched to media activities.¹¹³⁴ Mochtar initially taught at a primary school in East Java, but then also switched to media.¹¹³⁵ Sidharta, who spent most of the occupation in the Japanese military training camp in Sukabumi, went on to the medical school.¹¹³⁶ Zurchiban Suryadipradja remained teaching at a public school before turning to training bank officials.¹¹³⁷ A teacher since the last colonial decade, Kadaroesman stayed in South Aceh as a member of the Red Cross.¹¹³⁸ Soeparmo continued to teaching before being appointed a school inspector and, then, education attaché in Bonn, Germany.¹¹³⁹ Moerdiono became a school inspector in Yogyakarta.¹¹⁴⁰

At the moment the Pacific War ended, this Indonesian generation who had once constituted a highly selected group of teachers and candidate teachers had shared the dramatic experience of the masses. As many people who faced a serious shortage of food, these student teachers had also suffered from starvation. This example shows how narrow the status gap between these educated members of the elite and the people actually was. The critical situation caused by the war uprooted the privileges a colonial education would have entitled them to. Here, the war had transformed the social ascription of the teachers and student teachers from a category of an intellectual elite into politically motivated individuals.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the process by which Indonesian teachers and student teachers become political between 1930 and 1945. The process commenced in fits and starts before it was set fully in motion by the war events. In the last colonial decade, the main vehicle was the growing ideas of the relationship between education and the transformation of the society. During the Japanese occupation, teachers and students, perhaps just as many other Indonesians, were directly involved in the

¹¹³⁰ Kadaroesman, 'Sungguh Kejam dan Sadis Tindakan Mereka', *Gema* No. 1 Tahun X (September 1988), 42-6.

¹¹³¹ Soepardjo, 'Pengalaman Waktu Menjadi Guru', *Gema* No. 3 Tahun IX (October 1993), 5.

¹¹³² Interview with Umar Said Noor, Jakarta, 9 August 2005 and 25 August 2006.

¹¹³³ Interview with Asvismarmo, Jakarta, 4 September 2006; Sugih Arto, 'Bantjeuj Huis van Bewaring', *Gema* No. 3 Tahun XI (March 1990), 30-4.

¹¹³⁴ Interview with Imam Sajono, Jakarta, 6 September 2006; with Suroso, Jakarta, 15 January 2007.

¹¹³⁵ Interview with Mochtar, Surabaya, 1 November 2006.

¹¹³⁶ See the autobiography of Priguna Sidharta, *Seorang Dokter dari Losarang*.

¹¹³⁷ Interview with Zurchiban Suryadipradja, Jakarta, 31 August 2006.

¹¹³⁸ Kadaroesman, 'Sungguh Kejam dan Sadis Tindakan Mereka', *Gema* No. 1 Tahun X (September 1988), 42-6.

¹¹³⁹ Soeparmo, 'Serba-Serbi Luar Negeri', *Gema* No. 3 Tahun X (April 1989), 2-10.

¹¹⁴⁰ Interview with Moerdiono, Yogyakarta, 27 September 2006.

transformation itself. The transition from the colonial regime to the Japanese occupation was highly critical especially to the students and teachers under study, because it caused them tremendous deprivation both physically, socially and psychologically.

Historians and sociologists have concluded that the Japanese occupation stimulated disruptive changes in the social structure of Indonesian society, thereby accelerating the social mobility of the people.¹¹⁴¹ The period invited mass participation through the abolition of the dual colonial structure of schooling, and increased the feeling of unity through the use of the Indonesian language.¹¹⁴²

These conclusions do not give the whole picture. This chapter has shown that the last colonial decade witnessed a lively evolutionary process in which the political consciousness of teachers grew as a consequence of ideas and reflections in their daily professional lives. The Japanese occupation actually served 'only' as a catalyst opening up a greater transformation in the perception and self-perception of the teachers.¹¹⁴³ In principle, it was the Japanese idea of expansion, rather than their occupation *per se*, which particularly mattered in this process.

Pedagogically speaking, the policies pertaining to teachers and teacher training which the Japanese implemented during the occupation were emergency measures and were not standardized. Therefore it is not really possible to compare them with the colonial training. Just as in the case of education in general,¹¹⁴⁴ the question to what extent those Japanese policies on teacher training survived the post-war period remains unanswered.

As a catalyst, the Japanese presence did make a long-lasting impact. Historian Kurasawa Aiko wrote that 'Japanese [education] propaganda was not very successful in creating a positive image of Japan, or leaving any lasting impact of Japanese culture, but it was very influential in arousing and strengthening Indonesian hostility towards the Dutch'.¹¹⁴⁵ Kurasawa's statement can be doubted. In general terms, Indonesians' warm welcome of the Japanese gradually turned to hatred.¹¹⁴⁶ Many Indonesian students, who had formerly attended Dutch elite schools, usually saw the Japanese time as a lost opportunity of achieving vertical mobility in colonial society.¹¹⁴⁷ As far as the imperial powers are concerned, the Japanese expansion in education strengthened the Indonesian resentment of Dutch colonialism and also of Japanese oppression, not to mention the authoritarianism of the feudal rulers. The common desire was to have the autonomy to establish an education system which was independent of any imperialist mission. This was certainly true in the case of teacher training.

¹¹⁴¹ Wertheim, 'Changes in Indonesia's Social Stratification'; Palmier, 'Aspects of Indonesia's Social Structure'; Van der Kroef, 'The Changing Class Structure of Indonesia'; Reid, 'The Japanese Occupation and Rival Indonesian Elites'.

¹¹⁴² For example, see again Kurasa Aiko, 'Japanese Educational Policy in Java'.

¹¹⁴³ In addition to Shigeru Satō ('Daily Life in Wartime Indonesia, 1939-1949'), J. van Goor also agrees on the account that the Japanese period in Indonesia was a catalyst, rather than a prime cause, of the changes in social structure. See a brief touch on this issue in J. van Goor, 'The Decolonization of the Dutch East Indies', *Journal of the Japan-Netherlands Institute*, Vol. II (1990), 246-62. Especially referred here are pp. 255-6.

¹¹⁴⁴ See again, Thomas, 'Educational Remnants of Military Occupation'.

¹¹⁴⁵ Kurasawa Aiko, 'Japanese Educational Policy in Java', 188.

¹¹⁴⁶ See again De Jong, *The Collapse of a Colonial State*, 54. De Jong noted the resentment expression 'Nippon nipoe' (Japan is a swindler) from several Indonesians in Bandung.

¹¹⁴⁷ This holds true both for the case of the HIK students and students of other elite schools, such as the Willem III School in Batavia. See their individual experience, for example in Eddy Djoemardi Djoekardi et al. (eds.), *Jembatan Antargenerasi: Pengalaman Murid SMT Jakarta 1942-1945* (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1998).

By the phenomenon of the emergence of the political consciousness of teachers, the face of Indonesian teacher changed dramatically. Now, an Indonesian teacher had to be as functional as the Dutch training had designed him/her and to be as political as the Japanese training had aimed him/her. The emerging criteria of *the* Indonesian teacher turned out to be too complicated to formulate, let alone to meet. During the four-year period which followed the Japanese occupation, conflicting ideological undertones prevented the establishment of a teacher training system which would produce functional yet political teachers. ***AS

Chapter 6

The Breach in the Dike, 1945-1949

Introduction

For a considerable time after the end of the Pacific War, education and teacher training in Indonesia was thrown into chaos. In the immediate aftermath of the war, the newly born Republic of Indonesia was still too weak to deal with the economic, political and social problems of an independent nation-state. Initially, the British authorities, who represented the Allied Forces, were principally concerned with 'the surrender of the Japanese and the evacuation of the Allied prisoners of war and internees [...], and resolutely refused to embark on the re-conquest of the entire islands against the Indonesian resistance'.¹¹⁴⁸ At this juncture, the political and military conflict between the Netherlands and the Indonesian Republic was perhaps the most critical factor which prevented school education from running normally. Officially all these distractions had been ironed out by the end of 1949, but transitional issues were far from resolved. Until almost a decade after Indonesia gained world-wide recognition as an independent state, major educational problems – among them the shortage of teachers and a deficit of school buildings – remained unsolved and the new education system itself had problems of consolidation. The Indonesian government faced a dilemma. Its intention was to establish an educational system which should be Indonesian in character, but the existing, and perhaps only workable model was the pre-war type of school education with some modifications. The upshot was that, following the Pacific War, Indonesian education and teacher training inevitably underwent a gradual process of re-organization and re-institutionalization based on a trial and error.

The theme of this chapter and the three chapters which follow is an analysis of how the colonial ideological undertones clashed with or faded out during the tumultuous transitional period from 1945 to approximately 1958. In this chapter the focus will be on the years from 1945 to 1949, in which there was a process of educational recovery. The question of public education in post-war Indonesia had become an internationally debated topic in 1942, when the Pacific War was taking its course. In its immediate aftermath, individual teachers in Indonesia, as did many other people in war-affected countries, sought to resume their personal life and profession. During this period too, the government of the territory occupied by the Dutch redirected an educational policy to what it said was more democratic – that is, one in which there was equal access for members of any ethnic and social group. The government, with the endorsement of Dutch educationists, managed to set up new educational plans. However, the chaotic political constellation as well as the limited competence of the government made it impossible to put these into practice.

This chapter consists of three main sections. The first section discusses the growth of international attention being paid to the educational development in Indonesia, thanks to changes in the geopolitics of the Western powers during the course of the Second World War. The second section explores the conditions of Dutch and Indonesian schoolteachers in the aftermath of the Pacific War, as

¹¹⁴⁸ H. Arthur Steiner, 'Post-War Government of the Netherlands East Indies', *The Journal of Politics* Vol. 9 No. 4 (Nov. 1947), 624-52; quote from p. 628. See also Dorothy Munro, 'The First Eight Months of the British Occupation of Indonesia: September 1945-May 1946' (MA thesis, Smith College Northampton, 1952); Richard MacMillan, *The British Occupation of Indonesia 1945-1946: Britain, the Netherlands and the Indonesian Revolution* (London: Routledge, 2005).

well as the vicissitudes with which these teachers had to contend. Finally, this chapter will examine the educational reform plans which some Dutch educationists and the Netherlands Indies government were proposing.

A. Wartime talks of post-war education

In 1942, as the Second World War was peaking in Europe, but only commencing in the Pacific, international talks about the post-war planning of Western colonies in the East were already under way. Perhaps the most influential and decisive meeting for post-war developments was the Eighth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) at Mont Tremblant, Quebec, Canada in December 1942. This conference dealt with countries along the Pacific rim, airing the positions of both the imperialists and the colonized.¹¹⁴⁹ Out of sixty-nine papers presented, six were on the Netherlands East Indies (NEI). They consisted of one on nationalism by Charles O. van der Plas, industrial development by Peter H.W. Sitsen, educational developments by Raden Loekman Djajadiningrat, intensive rural hygiene work by J.L. Hydrink, and 'towards economic democracy' and 'the Netherlands East Indies and their neighbours in the Southwest Pacific' both by G.H.C. Hart.¹¹⁵⁰

These papers covered the policy the Dutch government had pursued in the pre-war Netherlands Indies, and emphasized that the post-war Netherlands Indies should remain integrated with the Netherlands. Van der Plas and Djajadiningrat raised the issue of post-war education planning. Exploring the rise of Indonesian nationalism from the late nineteenth century up to the Japanese invasion, Van der Plas highlighted accommodating approaches taken by the government to the nationalists' demands for autonomy. He referred to the decentralization of public health and education in Java and Madura in 1937 as 'measures whose results [had] surpassed expectations'.¹¹⁵¹ The decentralization had bestowed a wealth of autonomous authority on regencies and municipalities because 'the transfer was made complete with staffs and funds'.¹¹⁵² Moreover, 'councils of the regencies' forthwith had an Indonesian majority over all other groups, usually of about four to one.¹¹⁵³ On the eve of the Pacific War, Van der Plas said, the government had accommodated most of the demands of the nationalists and the Indonesian people. In reciprocation, many of them stated their loyalty and willingness to stand by the Dutch in anticipation of the Japanese attack.¹¹⁵⁴

Djajadiningrat elaborated on the heterogeneity of the educational system in the Netherlands Indies defending it by saying that it was necessitated by the cultural diversity of the country. The division into the Occidental and Oriental sections of the educational system was, he stated, linguistic rather than racial.¹¹⁵⁵ 'The distinction was not one of discrimination as far as attendance was

¹¹⁴⁹ IPR Staff Members, 'Papers Presented to the Eighth I.P.R. Conference', *Pacific Affairs*, Vo. 16, No. 1 (March 1943), 4-6; 'Other Conference Papers', *Pacific Affairs*, Vo. 16, No. 1 (March 1943), 96-103.

¹¹⁵⁰ IPR Staff Members, 'Papers Presented to the Eighth I.P.R. Conference', *Pacific Affairs*, Vo. 16, No. 1 (March 1943), 4-6.

¹¹⁵¹ Charles O. van der Plas, 'Nationalism in the Netherlands Indies', The Eighth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Quebec, Canada, December 1942, 11.

¹¹⁵² *Ibid.* 11.

¹¹⁵³ *Ibid.* 12.

¹¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 15-8.

¹¹⁵⁵ Raden Loekman Djajadiningrat, 'From Illiteracy to University: Educational Development in the Netherlands Indies', The Eighth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Quebec, Canada, December 1942, 8 and 63.

concerned; all institutions were open to Indonesians and Europeans who fulfilled certain conditions'.¹¹⁵⁶ He stressed that the government constantly saw that Occidental schools 'open to the most prominent and best-educated class of the non-Europeans'.¹¹⁵⁷

After reviewing the pre-war policy and the response of the Indonesian people, both Van der Plas and Djajadiningrat stressed that the post-war Netherlands Indies should remain integrated with the Netherlands. Djajadiningrat said that 'By no means do they [the Indonesian people] want Indonesia cut off from the Netherlands.'¹¹⁵⁸ Throughout his paper, Van der Plas repeatedly emphasized the insignificant number of Indonesians who had chosen to join the Japanese and fought against the Dutch. He convinced the audience by saying that

'Unless the [Japanese] occupation lasts so many years that all prediction becomes impossible, it can be assumed that the people of the Indies, in overwhelming majority, will remain loyal to the cause of the United Nations.'¹¹⁵⁹ 'In the post-war Netherlands Indies – by whatever name it will be known – the Indonesians will occupy a prominent place and have an ever-increasing majority on all elected councils and in all leading official or even economic positions....'¹¹⁶⁰ 'Cultural democracy and national education will have to be promoted, in line of the last three years work [prior to the outbreak of the war], ever more rapidly.'¹¹⁶¹

Djajadiningrat argued that the post-war Netherlands Indies had to retain the distinction in the educational system 'along the two lines according to the composite parts of the population, the Indonesian masses and the Dutch ruling classes'.¹¹⁶² The reason was that the population of the Indies was culturally too heterogeneous to be accommodated by only one homogenous educational system. Djajadiningrat wrote:

'The education of the ruling classes was given most weight for the simple reason that rulers are most influential. [...] Occidental education can serve only those Orientals who are able to retain their Indonesian characteristics, culture and civilization. Indonesian education alone is not yet adequate and cannot hope to bring students to the level of western education in the near future, if only on account of the lack of teachers, professors, and instruction books in Malay or Javanese. This lack cannot be overcome in the next decade.'¹¹⁶³

Referring to these meticulous and authoritative papers, officials promoted the continuation of the colonial system. Albeit in combination with some reforms they were proposing, they were convinced the old system should be used as the foundational design for the post-war education in Indonesia. Djajadiningrat said, 'By retaining the Netherlands school system for European children in the Indies and by giving all races a varying education, a vestige of the colonial system remains.'¹¹⁶⁴ To this, the response of the IPR audience did not exceed anyone's expectations. First of all, the delivery of

¹¹⁵⁶ Ibid. 11.

¹¹⁵⁷ Ibid. 63.

¹¹⁵⁸ Ibid. 7.

¹¹⁵⁹ Van der Plas, 'Nationalism', 18.

¹¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹¹⁶¹ Ibid. 19.

¹¹⁶² Djajadiningrat, 'From Illiteracy', 62.

¹¹⁶³ Ibid. 62-3.

¹¹⁶⁴ Ibid. 63.

papers by writers with direct connections to the NEI administration was an innovation at the IPR conferences. Until then, unlike other colonial governments in Asia, the Dutch government had forbidden the participation of the NEI in the IPR forum.¹¹⁶⁵ Therefore, the participation of Charles O. van der Plas, an official with the Dutch administration in Australia (1942-1945) and former governor of East Java,¹¹⁶⁶ Loekman Djajadiningrat, director of Education and Public Worship in Batavia and a member of the Netherlands Indies commission for Australia and New Zealand (1942-1944),¹¹⁶⁷ and G.H.C. Hart, chief official of the Dutch Ministry of the Colonies (1940-1943) and former director of Economic Affairs in Batavia,¹¹⁶⁸ invited cynical comments from other participants. One scholar at the conference was quoted as saying that 'the non-official nature of these meetings meant that officials and influential leaders could join in the fray in an ostensibly private capacity, which gave the IPR a status well beyond its actual size'.¹¹⁶⁹

Cynicism aside, it is important to bear in mind that the views that these Dutch and NEI officials defended in the Eighth IPR Conference had not be conjured out of thin air. They were inextricably linked to political developments in the occupied Netherlands, which left the government-in-exile in London with limited options in its dealing with its colonies. In his paper, Van der Plas claimed that the government had adopted an accommodating policy toward the Indonesians as early as the outbreak of the 1930 economic crisis. This was not true. In fact, the change in the Dutch policy took place only after Germany had invaded the Netherlands and forced the Dutch royal family and government to flee to London in May 1940. Soon after the Germans conquered France and in July 1940 formed the Vichy Government which collaborated with Hitler's Nazi Germany,¹¹⁷⁰ the Dutch government-in-exile, which was still in control of the NEI, faced the question of whether or not to collaborate with the invader. Prime Minister Dirk J. de Geer preferred to collaborate but Queen Wilhelmina adamantly refused.¹¹⁷¹ The Queen envisioned that, as upon its collaboration with Germany France had to surrender French Indo-China to Japan, the Netherlands would have to do the same with the NEI if she were to agree with De Geer's idea. So, instead of collaborating with the Germans, Wilhelmina sought help from the United States.¹¹⁷² At the same time, she ordered a commission to study the future administrative form of the NEI in anticipation of post-war re-settlement. The commission, installed under Government Decree of September 14, 1940 No. 1x/KAB, was officially called the name '*Commissie tot Bestudeering van Staatsrechtelijke Hervormingen*'.¹¹⁷³ The

¹¹⁶⁵ The Institute of Pacific Relations was a Non-Government Organization founded by a group of American intellectuals in 1925. It aimed 'to provide a forum for discussion of problems and relations between nations in the Pacific Rim'. On the IPR, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Institute_of_Pacific_Relations

¹¹⁶⁶ On Charles O. van der Plas, see <http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/BWN/lemmata/bwn2/plas>

¹¹⁶⁷ See http://www.nationaalarchief.nl/search/highlighter.jsp?url=%2Fwebviews%2Fpage.webview%3Feadid%3DNL-HaNA_2.10.14%26pageid%3DN23C28&insert_anchor=false&query_text=loekman+djajadiningrat&focus_window=true#N23C28

¹¹⁶⁸ On G.H.C. Hart, see <http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/BWN/lemmata/bwn1/hart>

¹¹⁶⁹ See again http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Institute_of_Pacific_Relations

¹¹⁷⁰ On the Vichy Government of France, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vichy_France

¹¹⁷¹ This raised a conflict between De Geer and Queen Wilhelmina, leading to the dismissal of De Geer as prime minister by Wilhelmina on August 23, 1940. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dutch_government_in_exile; also http://www.brainyhistory.com/events/1940/august_23_1940_98863.html

¹¹⁷² On this dramatic moment, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dutch_government_in_exile

¹¹⁷³ *Verslag van de Commissie tot Bestudeering van Staatsrechtelijke Hervormingen*. (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1941 [Deel I]; 1942 [Deel II]).

chairman was F.H. Visman and the secretary, B. van Tijn. The other members were K.L.J. Enthoven, Todoeng Gelar Soetan Goenoeng Moelia, Ong Swan Yoe, Soejono, Soepomo and W.F. Wertheim.¹¹⁷⁴

The Commission released a two-volume report, on December 9, 1941 and in early 1942. These are known as the Visman Reports. The first volume was a review of the economic, social and political progress of the NEI between the outbreaks of the 'First and Second World Wars'. I.J. Brugmans and Soenario, who wrote the education section for this volume, stated that 'the most remarkable idea of modernization in the first three decades in twentieth-century NEI was the rapid spread of school education.'¹¹⁷⁵ The dissemination of Western education, although still leaving the great number of the indigenous people illiterate, was said to have raised the number of the Dutch-speaking population in the NEI. 'In 1930 more Indonesians than Europeans [in the Indies] could write Dutch,' they wrote. 'In the future, the increase in Dutch-speaking Indonesians will certainly far surpass that of the Europeans.'¹¹⁷⁶

The second volume of the report contained the survey which the Commission conducted about the 'wishes of the people', '*Indië's Wensen*'. Three principal ideas were expressed about the future administration, namely: decentralization, de-concentration or a wider autonomy of indigenous communities, and federation.¹¹⁷⁷ Each proposed administrative form was seriously discussed at length by the Commission members and 'representatives of different communities of the Indies'.

With regard to education in the NEI, the Commission acknowledged criticisms decrying the lack of satisfactory facilities in indigenous schools. It also admitted pressure to achieve the unification of Western primary education. 'The distinctive nature of the primary education has been seen by many as the origin at the heart of the pre-existence of racial disassociation among different groups in Indies society'.¹¹⁷⁸ 'Nevertheless,' the Commission continued, 'the striving for a unified school system, not least among Indonesians, was not universal (*niet algemeen*). There were those who demanded that, for the time being, the principle that primary education should be best taught in the language which a child speaks at home remained in effect, [so that it is necessary] to maintain the various types of schools.'¹¹⁷⁹ Referring to the demand for 'ample room for the admission to European schools of Indonesian and Chinese children', the Committee said that this 'had been broadened on a satisfactory scale in the circular letter sent by the acting-Director of Education and Religious Affairs in July 1940.'¹¹⁸⁰

In conclusion, the Committee considered that the government had accommodated and would continue to accommodate the needs of the diverse social communities of the NEI. Post-war NEI or Indonesia, the Commission thought, would need to tread carefully in its dealings with the social relationships among the diverse community groups. It would also need to establish a design of institutional relationship between the respective community groups on the one hand, and the central

¹¹⁷⁴ *Verslag van de Commissie, Deel I, XVIII.*

¹¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 57.

¹¹⁷⁶ *Verslag van de Commissie, Deel I, 66.*

¹¹⁷⁷ *Verslag van de Commissie, Deel II, 148-54.*

¹¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 65.

¹¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 66.

¹¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

government of the NEI and the Kingdom of the Netherlands on the other hand.¹¹⁸¹ The Commission agreed in saying that the essential wish of the NEI people was for unity, namely the unity among different social groups, between these social groups and the NEI government, and between these social groups as represented in the NEI government and the Kingdom of the Netherlands.¹¹⁸² Post-war NEI, argued the Committee, wished to witness the growth of social institutions which would advocate unity among the community groups, and the strengthening of the central representative body which would bridge the gap between the NEI and the mother country better.¹¹⁸³

In a nutshell, Van der Plas and Djajadiningrat were not 'alone' in their opinion that the NEI wanted to remain integrated with the Netherlands. They seemed to have based their arguments on the reports of the Visman Commission. The principal finding of the Commission, that in whatever its administrative form the post-war NEI wished to remain united with the Netherlands, reflected a change in Dutch foreign policy. In this case, I think, Queen Wilhelmina was a political visionary when she ordered the investigative survey be carried out by the Commission. In the post-war world, it was foreseen that colonial issues would attract plenty of international attention. The survey by the Visman Commission, under the name 'people's wishes', was meant to be 'democratic' or 'politically legitimate' enough to serve as a basis of post-war domestic planning and of an international diplomatic claim of overseas possessions, which was why, although participating in a 'private capacity', Van der Plas and Djajadiningrat made an effort to convince their international audience of the Eighth IPR conference about the 'people's wishes' as reported by the Visman Commission.

What was said at the Eighth IPR conference fuelled international debates about post-war Indonesia. Amry Vandenbosch, head of the Department of Political Science at the University of Kentucky, published a moderately favourable article on 'Education in the Netherlands Indies' in the October 1944 special volume of *Far Eastern Survey*.¹¹⁸⁴ Citing the pre-war data reported by the Visman Commission, he pointed out the literacy rate in Indonesia, which was the lowest among other countries in the region (10% as compared to 32% in Burma, Thailand and the Philippines). Post-war education, he argued, would depend greatly on the will the Dutch government to improve it. 'Educational reforms nudging in the direction of unification might be expected in the post-war reconstruction, but it is not likely that a thorough unitary system will be established, as it is not generally desired even by the Indonesians.'¹¹⁸⁵ Vandenbosch argued that unless it rested upon an adequate social and economic base, independence or self-government 'must soon prove illusory and may easily develop into a threat to international peace.' [...] 'It ought not to be expected of them [the Indonesians] until they have attained a high educational level.'¹¹⁸⁶

Raymond Kennedy, professor of Sociology at Yale University, writing in the same volume of *Far Eastern Survey*, explored the problems of finance and school fees, curricula and crucially the language of instruction. He raised the question: 'Along what lines should the education system [in the

¹¹⁸¹ Ibid. 377.

¹¹⁸² Ibid. 378.

¹¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹¹⁸⁴ 'Education in the Netherlands Indies: Two Views', *Far Eastern Survey* Vol. XIII No. 21 (Oct. 18, 1944).

¹¹⁸⁵ Amry Vandenbosch, 'Prewar Dutch Record', *Far Eastern Survey* Vol. XIII No. 21 (Oct. 18, 1944), 193-5. Quote from p. 194.

¹¹⁸⁶ Vandenbosch, 'Prewar Dutch Record', 195.

post-war Indonesia] be developed?'¹¹⁸⁷ His criticism was that it had been the Dutch who decided the lion's share of the educational planning in the Indies, including how much and what kind of education the indigenous Indonesians should receive. By assuming this responsibility in the latter contacts with the Western world, the Dutch were the intermediaries for the Indonesians, whereas the Indonesians were confined in a 'cultural hothouse'.¹¹⁸⁸ Kennedy argued that the great lack apparent in the educational system of the Indies was that of training leaders. 'The Dutch were producing good citizens, in the mold of their native culture, but were not turning out people able to deal with problems of leadership. [...] something important was being ignored in the [educational] system in the Indies.'¹¹⁸⁹

Kennedy went on to say that the Dutch 'hothouse' policy could not be continued as 'the Japanese had already smashed the glass dome' and the world had rushed in. The War had shattered the last remaining barriers of colonial isolation of the Indies. Kennedy insisted: 'Indonesians cannot remain the wards of the Dutch forever. They will become world citizens. To take their rightful place, they must have teachers and leaders from among their own people.'¹¹⁹⁰

Another critical comment about the Dutch design for post-war Indonesia was made by A. Arthur Schiller, professor of Law at Columbia University, in 1944.¹¹⁹¹ A year later Schiller was joined in his criticism by Charles Bidien, editor of the *Indonesian Review*. First of all, Schiller referred to a proposed 'imperial conference' to be held following the release of the second report of the Visman Commission and the speech of Queen Wilhelmina.¹¹⁹² This conference was to discuss plans of a post-war partnership within the Netherlands Empire and its recommendations would be 'considered by the Government'.¹¹⁹³ In the conference, the Netherlands would be represented by fifteen, Surinam and Curacao by ten, and Indonesia by fifteen delegates, five of whom were appointed by the government 'which for a decade [had] opposed constitutional reform'.¹¹⁹⁴ Although Wilhelmina's speech indicated that the conference was to be held after the end of the war, Bidien pointed out that 'no date was specified and no method was projected to guarantee the participation of the people as a whole in the discussions or decisions'.¹¹⁹⁵ Schiller sharply questioned how, as representatives of the Indies communities, the selected representatives would be able to discuss such decisive matters as the future relationship between Indonesia and the Netherlands.¹¹⁹⁶

Schiller was insistent that the post-war government of Indonesia should be formed by the Indonesians in the NEI, not by Dutch-selected representatives. None of the existing representative

¹¹⁸⁷ Raymond Kennedy, 'Postwar Indonesian Needs', *Far Eastern Survey* Vol. XIII No. 21 (Oct. 18, 1944), 195-8. Quote from p. 195.

¹¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 196.

¹¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 197.

¹¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 198.

¹¹⁹¹ For brief biographical information on A. Arthur Schiller, see <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/eresources/archives/collections/html/4079309.html>

¹¹⁹² A. Arthur Schiller, 'Autonomy for Indonesia', *Pacific Affairs* Vol. 17 No. 4 (Dec. 1944), 478-88; Charles Bidien, 'Independence the Issue', *Far Eastern Survey* Vol. 14 No. 24 Political Problems of Indonesia (Dec. 5, 1945), 345-8.

¹¹⁹³ Bidien, 'Independence the Issue', 347.

¹¹⁹⁴ Schiller, 'Autonomy for Indonesia', 484.

¹¹⁹⁵ Bidien, 'Independence the Issue', 347.

¹¹⁹⁶ Schiller, 'Autonomy for Indonesia', 478-80.

bodies in the NEI was 'able to fashion, at the termination of the war, the form of self-government' which should be established in Indonesia. Therefore the political structure of the NEI 'should be considerably altered'. 'The dependence of the Governor-General the Crown should be curtailed, so that he could become an executive of Indonesia rather than the representative of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.'¹¹⁹⁷

Schiller also suggested that instruction in civics or political science be made a substantial part of the educational programme. 'The masses must be made aware of the nation; the gap between the *desa* and the civil servants or local councillors must be bridged.'¹¹⁹⁸ He was convinced that the political education of the greater mass of the population had to be fostered immediately. 'My purpose,' he concluded, 'has been to stress the fact that Indonesia is entitled to complete self-government in the shortest possible time, that the people of Indonesia are the ones who shall decide the means by which that shall be accomplished, and the form it will take.'¹¹⁹⁹

Schiller, Bidien and Kennedy clearly reveal the pressure America brought to bear on the Dutch government to inculcate the idea of Indonesian independence. This is a critical point. Even when the world was still at war, Indonesia and its future – just as that other Western colonies in Asia – had already become a reason for serious international concern. To re-use Kennedy's terminology, now the Indonesians were no longer living in 'the hothouse'; everything came under international scrutiny. When she ordered the Visman Commission, Queen Wilhelmina had been correct anticipating the post-war political changes in the global community, but, her decision was perhaps also a blunder for Dutch diplomacy. Nearly all Dutch scholars involved with Indonesia during the tumultuous years which followed the Pacific War clung tenaciously to the opinions of the Visman Commission. They insisted on repeating that the Indonesian people did not want to break away from the Netherlands. If there were those who wished to do so, they were only few in number and backed up by the Japanese soldiers remaining in Java and Central Sumatra.¹²⁰⁰

Obviously these Dutch scholars and officials were blind to the impact the war had made on the Indonesian masses. In short, the Visman Commission buttressed Dutch political views on post-war Indonesia which, as it turned out in the following years, made the Netherlands Indies government inflexible and unable to adjust itself to the dramatic changes in the political constellation.

One thing is certain; the wartime talks on the post-war position of Indonesia clearly showed the international concern, especially amongst American advocates. It was perhaps from this moment that the United States, represented either by private initiatives or governmental organizations, began to play a greater role in post-war Indonesian developments, the education sector included. This 'American factor' heralded the changing orientation of colonial Europe to a wider international community. In Chapter 10 I shall show that the American factor was very decisive, indeed distinctive

¹¹⁹⁷ Ibid. 487.

¹¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹⁹ Ibid. 488.

¹²⁰⁰ See, for example, J.F.H. Alb. de la Court, *Het Vraagstuk Indonesië* (Deventer: Van Hoeve, 1945); Netherlands Indies Government Information Service, *The Indonesian Problem: Facts and Factors: What Happened since the End of the Pacific War* (Batavia: Netherlands Indies Government Information Service, 1947); G. W. Overdijkink, *Het Indonesische Probleem: Nieuwe Feiten* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Keizerskroon, 1948).

in the (education) de-colonization process of the late 1950s. Unfortunately, only a few scholars have sought its roots in the war period.¹²⁰¹

B. The state and the recovery

The surrender by Germany in May and Japan in August 1945, marked the end of the war in Europe, Asia and the Pacific. Now people faced what Tony Judt identifies as ‘a prospect of utter misery and desolation’.¹²⁰² They found themselves plunged into dreadful physical and psychological conditions. Although the courage to seek individual and institutional resurgence soon revived, people suddenly realized how limited their prospects were. The fast changing political constellation complicated recovery plans and practice. This discussion in this section opens with the conditions of Dutch and Indonesian schoolteachers in the aftermath of the Pacific war, before it turns to the vicissitudes of individual teachers and to the reform plans at the institutional level approximately between 1945 and 1949.

B.1 General situation

The following two observations might best sum up the general education situation in Indonesia during the early years after the war. The April 1946 Report of the Director of Education and Public Worship¹²⁰³ of the Netherlands Indies Government in Batavia reads:

‘The corps of the directors of Secondary Schools has been subjected to a serious loss of staff during the Japanese occupation. A number of these leading staff members died in the internment camps, and the health of those surviving is greatly undermined. [Therefore] evacuation [to the Netherlands] is an urgent necessity and their return to [office in] the Indies is highly problematic.’¹²⁰⁴

The second observation appeared in April 1948. The Information and Publicity Section of the Department of Education in Batavia published *Education in Indonesia before, during and after the Pacific War*. Describing the education situation following the surrender of the Japanese forces, it wrote:

¹²⁰¹ Among the limited number of scholars paying attention to the (pre-)war-time role of the United States in Indonesia are Gerlof D. Homan, as well as Francis Gouda and Thijs Brocades Zaalberg. See Gerlof D. Homan, ‘The United States and the Indonesian Question, December 1941-December 1946’, *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 93 (1980), 35-56; ‘American Business Interests in the Indonesian Republic, 1946-1949’, *Indonesia* Vol. 35 (April 1983), 125-32; ‘The United States and the Netherlands East Indies: The Evolution of American Anti-colonialism’, *The Pacific Historical Review* Vol. 53 No. 4 (Nov. 1984), 423-46; ‘The Netherlands, The United States and the Indonesian Question, 1948’, *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 25 No. 1 (Jan. 1990), 123-41. See also Frances Gouda with Thijs Brocades Zaalberg, *American Visions of the Netherlands East Indies/Indonesia: US Foreign Policy and Indonesian Nationalism 1920-1949* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002). I shall closely deal with these publications in Chapter 10.

¹²⁰² Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*, 13.

¹²⁰³ This is the English name of the education department which appeared as the letterhead of the Director. In previous uses, I have translated the Dutch name of it ‘Departement van Onderwijs en Eeredienst’ as ‘Department of Education and Religious Affairs’, merely basing on the current sense of the name.

¹²⁰⁴ Director of Education and Public Worship (Director of DEPW) to Lieutenant Governor-General (LGG) of the Netherlands Indies, 29 April 1946, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 658 (ANRI), 1. Further references of this letter, and other letters alike, will follow this order: sender, to, addressee of the letter, date, and type of archival source(s) and the deposit place of the source(s), and page (when applied).

'More than 30% of the European teachers had died in the various internment and concentration camps. Moreover, most of the teachers, coming out alive of the various camps were in such a deplorable state of health that they were unable to resume their task immediately. A considerable part of them even appeared to be unfit for their live. No reserves were available, neither in Holland, nor in Indonesia.'

'Most of the school buildings were in a dreadful condition owing to their being used as barracks, books and other materials of study were almost completely destroyed. Owing to the startling shortage of housing, [...] no longer houses could be requisitioned in order to transform them into school buildings. This caused schools to be built of bamboo [...].'¹²⁰⁵

To try to get an idea of the physical condition of the Dutch war survivors, I have looked at some photographs published by the Netherlands Indies Government Information Service in 1947. A picture, which was said to have been taken in an internment camp at Si Ringo-Ringo in Sumatra during the occupation, shows two men, whom I would judge to be in their late forties and late thirties respectively, standing behind a barbed-wire fence resting their hands on it. They wear trunks but no shirts; one of them is bare-foot. They both look extremely thin and their ribs stick out. Another picture shows a man looking very weak lying on a stretcher. The caption says he was a survivor of the city of Palembang, photographed in September 1945. Other pictures show people coming out of the internment camps in Java and Singapore.¹²⁰⁶ Whether any of these survivors in the pictures were schoolteachers, I do not know. I imagine that the 'dreadful condition' of the school teachers coming out of the Japanese camps was just this.

By the end of 1941, Dutch male teachers had left school to take part in the mobilization and female teachers had taken over their teaching role, as testified to by former HIK students Suroso and Mohammad Isa, and stated by the Dutch government in Indonesia in 1948.¹²⁰⁷ Suroso and Isa said their Dutch male teachers included Van Gessel, Cappers, Nuhoff, Schotman, Van Delden, Eggenhuyzen, Geldmaker, Catsman and De Boer.¹²⁰⁸ Later, during the war nearly all Dutch and Eurasian males, females and even children were sent to the internment camps by the Japanese.¹²⁰⁹ However, some of the Indonesian teachers were able to resume their teaching positions under the Japanese administration. For example, Kadaroesman transferred from Aceh to North Sumatra and,

¹²⁰⁵ The Information and Publicity Section of the Netherlands Indies Government Department of Education, *Education in Indonesia before, during and after the Pacific War* (Batavia: Miechiel Vervoort, 1948), without page number. Quote from the 8th and the 9th leaves/sheets.

¹²⁰⁶ Netherlands Indies Government Information Service, *The Indonesian Problem, Facts and Factors: What Happened Since the End of the Pacific War* (Batavia: Netherlands Indies Government Information Service, 1947). This paragraph is my verbal description of pictures 10, 11, 12 and 13.

¹²⁰⁷ Suroso, 'Akhir Riwayat HIK Yogya', *Gema* No. 4 Tahun XIII (June 1992), 30-2; Mohammad Isa, 'Prajurit Palang Merah Pelajar (1940-1942)', *Gema* No. 2 Tahun III (December 1991), 32-40; Head of the Departement van Opvoeding, Kunsten en Wetenschappen (DOKW) to the Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon in Indonesië, 13 November 1948, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 720 (ANRI), 1.

¹²⁰⁸ Suroso, 'Akhir Riwayat HIK Yogya', 30-2; Isa, 'Prajurit Palang Merah Pelajar, 32-40.

¹²⁰⁹ L. de Jong, *The Collapse of a Colonial State: The Dutch in Indonesia during the Second World War*, with an introduction by Jeroen Kemperman (tr. Jennifer Kilian et al.) (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002). I say 'nearly' because there were cases, no matter how few, in which Dutch men and women were employed during the occupation in Japanese administrative offices. Cases also indicate that Dutch and Eurasian children were allowed to go to Japanese schools. See, for example, the testimony of Yohanna Johns, 'The Japanese as Educators in Indonesia: A personal view', in William H. Newell (ed.), *Japan in Asia 1942-1945* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1981), 25-31.

besides teaching became active in the (then Indonesian) Red Cross.¹²¹⁰ Suparmo moved from Balikpapan in East Kalimantan to Jogjakarta then to Jakarta.¹²¹¹

By the outbreak of the war, students of the HIK in Jogjakarta and Bandung had dispersed to various locations. Some of them were able to return to the teacher training school under the Japanese system.¹²¹² There are no statistical details about how many Dutch schoolteachers were sent to the internment camps and how many returned alive. It is also not known if any of the Dutch teachers Suroso and Isa mentioned survived the war. Only fragments of testimonies remain to reveal the fate of the Indonesian teachers and former students of the teacher training schools. The description presented here can therefore be no more than an approximation of the general situation.

Table 6.1: Number of schools, pupils and teachers of primary education in 1940, 1947 and 1949/1950

		1940 ¹²¹³	1947 ¹²¹⁴	1949/1950 ¹²¹⁵
Schools		21,283	4508	16,571
Pupils	Indonesian	2,266,955	511,759	2,998,211
	European	41,815	10,323	Not known
	Oriental	42,433	11,456	162,315
Teachers	Indonesian	45,521	10,301	52,571
	European	2,434	676	Not known
	Oriental	224	74	3,421

Sources: See related footnotes.

There scattered statistical figures which describe the overall availability of schools, students and teachers in primary education on 1 June 1947 and at the beginning of the school year 1949/1950. A comparison of these years and the pre-war year of 1940 is out of the question because of the difference in the geographical areas the figures cover. Putting aside factors like the language of

¹²¹⁰ Kadaroesman, 'Kejadian-Kejadian yang Menggelikan', *Gema* No. 3 Tahun X (April 1989), 33-9.

¹²¹¹ Soeparmo, 'Pengakuan', *Gema Edisi Yubileum: HIK Yogyakarta 60 Tahun* (Yogyakarta: Keluarga Ex-HIK Yogyakarta), 73-8; 'Nasib Anak Desa', *Gema* No. 1 Tahun X (Sept. 1988), 31-7.

¹²¹² On the stories of Indonesian teachers and students of the HIK, please see again Chapter 4.

¹²¹³ Source: L.S. van der Wal, *Some Information on Education in Indonesia up to 1942: With a Bibliography* (The Hague: NUFFIC, 1961), 14-6. Data include different levels of quality of schooling either within the Dutch or the vernacular linguistic streaming system. In principle, they covered the whole geographical territory under the jurisdiction of the Netherlands Indies up to 1940. The 'Oriental' category includes the Chinese, Arab and Indian.

¹²¹⁴ Source: Departement van Economische Zaken Centraal Kantoor voor de Statistiek, *Statistik Pengadjaran Rendah di Indonesia (1/6 1947)* (Batavia: Centraal Kantoor voor de Statistiek, 1948), 1-2; 9-10; 49-50. Data include territories under the jurisdiction of the Netherlands Indies. When referring Java and Sumatra, they include only a small number of schools, pupils and teachers there. For example, of the figure of pupils in this column, only 22,263 were from Java and 11,431 from Sumatra (all ethnicities). By the time the statistics were published, the central educational office in Batavia no longer received reports from most educational authorities in Java and Sumatra. See p. VII.

¹²¹⁵ Source: Kementerian Pendidikan, Pengadjaran dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia Serikat, *Beberapa Angka yang Mengenai Keadaan Pengadjaran pada Permulaan Tahun Pengadjaran 1949-1950* (Djakarta[?]): Kementerian Pendidikan, Pengadjaran dan Kebudayaan, 1950), 5-8; 11-2. Data cover all territories under the jurisdiction of the Netherlands Indies including Java and Sumatra. However, they did not include the territories of the Republic of Indonesia.

instruction and the different levels of educational backgrounds of the teachers, Table 6.1 presents estimation on the post-war school demography.

B.2 Individual resurgence

More than quantitative figures can tell, individual cases of teachers seeking social and economic achievement describe the post-war recovery process. In this sub-section, several Dutch and Indonesian teachers will be examined. These stories will be produced verbatim so as to catch the genuine atmosphere of the problems and conditions the teachers were facing under unstable political circumstances.

B.2.1 The Dutch teachers

In July 1946, E.H. de Haan applied for an honourable discharge (*eervol ontslag*) as a civil servant. He was director of the Christian HBS, AMS and *Kweekschool* in the Oranjeboulevard in Batavia. He said the Association of Christian Schools in Batavia to which he had been affiliated as a permanent teacher, no longer existed. Born on 24 February 1888 in Ureterp, it is known De Haan had been teaching at a subsidized school in the Netherlands since 1 February 1914 but nothing is said about how long he had worked in the Netherlands Indies. He was evacuated from a Japanese internment camp and returned to the Netherlands on 10 December 1945. Writing from Zeist, De Haan asked to be discharged as of 30 September 1946.¹²¹⁶ The government agreed, saying his pension would be based on the 33-year and five-month scale of service.¹²¹⁷

In August 1946, J. van Goudoever also applied for honourable discharge as a civil servant, saying that he had served 'without a break over a long period'. Goudoever was the director of the Christian HIK/HCK as well as the Head-Certificate Course programme in Solo. Sending his letter from Machineweg 4, Halfweg, The Netherlands, at the time he was on leave under Decree No. 16 of the Minister of Overseas Territories, Division B Bureau P.I.G of 8 April 1946.¹²¹⁸ In his reply, the Head of the Bureau of the Post Regulation of the Indies Evacuees at the Ministry of Overseas Territories said his office had no objection to Goudoever's application, but, he regretted his decision. Born on 12 July 1898 in Haarlem, Goudoever could still have served for more than twenty years after the time he asked to resign at the end of December 1946. Moreover, the Head of the Bureau said, on the basis of an examination in September 1946 'the Health Council of the Commissariat of the Indies Affairs declared that Goudoever was medically fit to return for a service in the Netherlands Indies.'¹²¹⁹

In November 1946, M. Veldkamp applied for an adjustment in rank and salary. Addressing his letter to the Lieutenant Governor-General, Van Mook, on 27 November 1946, Veldkamp said he was acting director of the MULO in Gelriastraat 22 Bandung. On 1 August 1939, he had been appointed head-teacher (*hoofdonderwijzer*) at the HIK in Bandung. In an oral communication, Veldkamp said, former General Educational Inspectors Mr Schmidt and Mr D'Haens had told him that his appointment [as head-teacher at the HIK] 'was an appointment by choice' and that he could consider 'the position would never cost him a single financial disadvantage.' Veldkamp said he was

¹²¹⁶ E.H. de Haan to LGG, 22 July 1946, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

¹²¹⁷ Director of DOE to LGG, 5 December 1946, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

¹²¹⁸ J. van Goudoever to Director of DOE in Batavia, 19 August 1946, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

¹²¹⁹ Head of the Bureau of the Post Regulation of the Indies Evacuees at the Ministry of Overseas Territories in The Hague to Director of DOE in Batavia, 21 October 1946, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

told by the Inspectors that when somebody else of lower rank than his was promoted to be a MULO director, Veldkamp would automatically be accorded an appropriate rank by every possible valid mechanism. In 1940, P. Post, Director of the HIK in Bandung, had already signed a proposal to promote him to be a 'semi-authorized teacher'. On 1 August 1941, a teacher of a lower rank than Veldkamp's, Van Dinter, was promoted to the position of MULO director. For this reason and basing his argument on the oral statement of the aforementioned inspectors, Veldkamp claimed an increase in rank and salary. This was rejected because 'D'Haens said the Accounting Office withheld its consent'. The inspector promised him again orally that the Department of Education would look into the matter and that Veldkamp would receive a pay raise as of 1 August 1941. This had not happened before the war broke out.

After his release from the Japanese internment camp, Veldkamp returned to his teaching position on the basis of the fitting-in Decree (*inpassingsbesluit*) No. 6238 of the Director of Education and Public Worship of 26 June 1946. However, he felt disappointed because the starting date of his new position as a MULO director was 1 August 1945, not 1 August 1941 as 'promised' before the war. He said he lost four years' service in the rank of head teacher; this would reduce the basis of his pension. Seeking for a solution from the Lieutenant Governor-General, Veldkamp said:

'In connection with the above-mentioned case, [I] feel very much offended that I, who [before the war] performed a duty beyond the competence of the MULO directorship because I served fully for two years as a teacher [at the HIK] to the complete satisfaction from the HIK director as well as the Educational Inspectors, am not in the top of the list for a timely promotion.'¹²²⁰

In reply, the Director of Education and Public Worship confirmed Veldkamp's inquiry. It was true that Veldkamp did not assume the position as MULO director as of 1 August 1941 because he became a Natural Sciences teacher at the HIK. The Director claimed that it was impossible [at that time] to find a teacher for the subject with a formal qualification higher than Veldkamp's. Actually, Veldkamp held only a lower diploma (*lagere akte*) for the teaching of Natural Sciences. This made him an insufficiently qualified teacher and hindered his promotion as a MULO director. Moreover, asserting he had been a European head-teacher for the *kweekschool* education dispensed with the presupposition that the teacher could keep his future promotion [in schools other than the *kweekschool*] if he, except for official reasons, continued to teach at the *kweekschool*. The Director said the promise of 'automatic promotion' Veldkamp had received before the war 'had not been issued by his Department'. Upon consulting the Offices of Civil Servant General Affairs and of General Accounting, the Director re-confirmed that Veldkamp was entitled to promotion only on the basis of his actual performance as a post-war MULO director. The Director said: 'Although I feel sorry that such a dedicated teacher – not through his deliberate choice – experienced a financial disadvantage, nevertheless there is no leeway for finding a favourable consideration of a recommendation for the petition concerned.'¹²²¹

In March 1947, Harriet Elisabeth Dürst Britt applied for discharge from her position as a non-permanent teacher because she was going to get married. Born in Delft on 6 May 1918, Britt had

¹²²⁰ M. Veldkamp to LGG, 27 November 1946, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

¹²²¹ Director of DOE to LGG, 16 December 1946, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

worked for some time as a two-thirds teacher (*twee-derde leraar*) at a primary school of the Bandung School Association. When the war was over, she still could not find a teaching position in public schools and worked only part-time at a private school. Facilitated by the RAPWI in Bandung, she returned to the Netherlands on 13 January 1947 and worked on contract (*arbeidscontractante*) at the Department of Overseas Territories in The Hague. Britt was writing from her address, Gerard Reynststraat 10 in The Hague, to the Lieutenant-Governor-General in Batavia asking for 'a complete discharge' from employment as a temporary teacher in private primary school in the Netherlands Indies.¹²²²

In April 1947, Cornelis Henri Noordhoorn asked if he could have his salary adjusted from Fl. 325 to Fl. 415 per month for the teaching years of service he missed because of joining the Royal Netherlands Navy on 30 August 1939. In his letter to the Lieutenant-Governor-General of 7 April 1947, Noordhoorn explained that, before the mobilization, he had a permanent position as a government teacher at *Europese Lagere School II* in Batavia. At that time, he had held the Indies head-teaching certificate (*Indische Hoofdakte*) and was already on course to follow an in-service training course for a European certificate at the Carpentier Alting Stichting in Batavia. During his placement at the Coast Guard Division of the Naval Base in Surabaya, Noordhoorn sat for a written exam in May and took an oral exam in June 1940 to obtain the European Teaching Certificate; the two exams, he said, took place at the 'Coast Guard Division Post'. As he passed the exams, Noordhoorn said he deserved to be upgraded to the status of head-teacher (*hoofdonderwijzer*) because he was 'already a holder of the European teaching certificate', his 'specialized subject of the teaching was Dutch', and by that time he 'was 26 years old and already married'.¹²²³ Before any promotion came true, however, the naval battles had already erupted on 30 December 1941. He was captured by the Japanese and said he had been taken to and detained as a prisoner-of-war (*krijgsgevangenschap*) in Siam until his release in August 1945. After returning to Batavia, Noordhoorn urged that he be issued with an emergency diploma (*nooddiplooma*) from the Department of Education and Religious Affairs, which was granted in January 1946.¹²²⁴ On 1 August 1946, with a recommendation from the Naval Officer for Social Affairs, Noordhoorn resumed his teaching career in receipt of Fl. 325 instead of Fl. 415, which, according to his meticulous calculation, should be his salary.¹²²⁵

The Head of the First Division of the Navy Department in the Netherlands Indies, P.C. Wouters, through whom Noordhoorn had sent his letter and who made a deposition, said that his Office could not yet verify 'the non-military related information' Noordhoorn claimed. However, he did confirm that schoolteachers with the rank of European head-teacher who resumed their teaching position did deserve a salary of Fl. 415, as of 1 September 1948 instead of 1 September 1947.¹²²⁶

¹²²² H.E. Dürst Britt to LGG, 24 March 1947, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

¹²²³ These were the three reasons Noordhoorn mentioned in claiming the status of *hoofdonderwijzer*. A specialization in the teaching of Dutch language was not as a rule a formal criterion for such a status but it did indeed offer more chances for the status.

¹²²⁴ The source does not tell if Noordhoorn had lost his academic credentials (diploma, certificates etc.) during the war. But his asking for an emergency diploma implies this.

¹²²⁵ Cornelis Henri Noordhoorn to LGG via Commandant of the Navy of the Netherlands Indies, 7 April 1947, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

¹²²⁶ Disposition letter concerning Cornelis Henri Noordhoorn of the Head of 1st Division of the Marine Department in the Netherlands Indies, 8 July 1947, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

Supposing the 'non-military-related information he supplied was correct, Noordhoorn was one year too early to claim the salary increase.

In May 1947, L. Greeven sought an exemption from the rules governing furlough. Greeven explained that he was the director of the public *kweekschool* for girls in Bandung as well as of the *Indisch Europees Verbond (I.E.V.)-Kweekschool* there. He asked whether an exception could be made for him as he, having reached the age of fifty-five by the time he wrote his letter on 13 May 1947, had enjoyed overseas leave more than three times (which by rule made him no longer eligible for leave). Greeven was born on 30 October 1891. He arrived in the Indies on 10 October 1914 as a third-rank teacher. In June 1916 he started his teaching career as a supplementary teacher (*wd. – waarnemend leraar*) at the Koning Willem III School in Batavia. He was granted a study leave and departed to the Netherlands on 4 November 1920. After two years, he earned a Diploma of Dutch Language and Literature for High School and returned to the Netherlands Indies in March 1923. He commenced his new position as a full teacher at the Prins Hendrikschool, then at the Koning Willem III School in Batavia. In May 1929, Greeven went on a second overseas leave from which he returned to the Indies in January 1930 to serve as the director of the *I.E.V.-Kweekschool* in Bandung. He was officially confirmed in this position in 1934 and became a government employee working in a private school. Greeven took a third leave in the Netherlands from 16 November 1936 and returned to the Indies on 15 July 1937.

Greeven said he was captured by the Japanese on 17 July 1942 and sent to different internment camps. On 4 February 1943 he was summoned from the camp and was asked to teach at an emergency *Hogere Burger School (nood-HBS)* in Tjimahi. After the Japanese surrender, at the request of the Recovered Allied Prisoners of War and Internees (RAPWI), Greeven went to Bandung and in May 1946 assumed the position of director of the public *kweekschool* there. 'It has already been ten years since I went on leave,' wrote Greeven in his letter. 'I am convinced I want to remain working in the teaching profession, but I think that a spell in the Netherlands for a certain period would be highly desirable.'¹²²⁷

Other Dutch teachers and educational officials did not seem to find any serious difficulties in resuming their positions in the post-war administration of the Netherlands Indies. In March 1946, A. Neijenhuis was promoted to the position of the acting Inspector General of Primary-, Upper Primary- and Teacher-Education of the Department of Education and Public Worship. Before the war, Neijenhuis was the Inspector of Western Primary Education with twelve years and seven months work experience. He earned Fl. 825. His appointment to the position of General Inspector was based partly on a tragic necessity. All the three officials responsible for the general inspection of the Western education before the war were no longer available for public service in the Indies. 'The former general inspector, Mr d'Haens, had to be evacuated to the Netherlands because of his wife's poor health. His [D'Haens'] successor, Mr Denker, is in such bad health that he also has to be evacuated to the Netherlands. It is very much doubted if the two will be able to return to the Indies. Meanwhile, the last inspector, Mr Kranen, had died in the internment camp,' says the letter of the Director of Education and Public Worship. Hence, owing to these distressing circumstances, Neijenhuis was

¹²²⁷ L. Greeven to LGG, 13 May 1947, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

appointed General Inspector with a salary of Fl. 950.¹²²⁸ He would be assisted by B. de Kruyff, who was appointed the administrative officer and deputy-inspector on 2 December 1946. Kruyff was entitled to a Fl. 900 a month salary.¹²²⁹ Another General Inspector, E.A. Kayadoe, was appointed to share Neijhenhuis's job but his appointment was shorted-lined as he had to depart to the Netherlands immediately 'to carry out a commission'.¹²³⁰

In April 1946, P.J. Velsen was first in line for the position of the director of a public High School in Batavia.¹²³¹ His doctorate assured him of this. Not only had the government already opened, or would soon open more High Schools, but 'now more than ever, the school leadership should be in the hands of competent and experienced teachers'. Because of 'the current circumstances, a large section of the educational personnel does not meet the legal requirements for an appointment and does not in any sense have the [educational and managerial] experience in the province of secondary education.'¹²³²

H. Kroeskamp assumed the position as Chief Official of the *Departement of Onderwijs en Eeredienst* and was on the list for placement as a director of a high school in November 1946. The Director of the Department of Education and Public Worship considered Kroeskamp, as P.J. Velsen, a person whose capabilities were very much needed 'to re-organize and redesign the curricula for the education of the geographically scattered territories of the Indies in the new political and cultural relationship.' Before this appointment, Kroeskamp had not been a government civil servant. Born in 1898,¹²³³ he had worked as a teacher in the Netherlands from 1919 to 1931. In 1923 he commenced his studies at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of Leiden University and in 1931 defended his doctoral thesis entitled '*De Westkust en Minangkabau, handelende over de vestiging der Compagnie in de Padangse Bovenlanden en haar betrekkingen met de vorsten van Minangkabau*' under the supervision of J. Huizinga. It was Huizinga who sent Kroeskamp, following his doctoral defence, to the Netherlands Indies to work as an assistant archivist. While on his mission in the Indies, Kroeskamp had also taught at the Christian *Kweekschool* in Soerakarta from 1932 to 1937. He learned the Javanese language and its literature as well as about the Japanese and Chinese culture and history, and became a member of the cultural philosophy study club of Mangkoenegoro VII.

In 1939 Kroeskamp was appointed director of the Christian HBS in Surakarta. During this time Kroeskamp 'developed a proposal for the new foundation of the training of the *volkschool* teachers, designed a new programme for the normal school, and became a government consultant on the programme for implementation of the *Indische Hoofdakte*, in which ideas about the sociological and cultural issues were assigned an important place.' What happened to Kroeskamp during the Japanese occupation is not known. But he was a deputy captain in the NEFIS from December 1945 to September 1946, and was responsible for research on the political and social movements in West and Central

¹²²⁸ Director of DOE to LGG, 26 March 1946, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 658 (ANRI).

¹²²⁹ Director of DOE to LGG, 2 December 1946, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

¹²³⁰ The statement in original: '[...] te begeven ter uitvoering van een hem verstrekte opdracht'. Decree No. 119 of the Ministerie van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen Commissariaat voor Indische Zaken Afdeling B.II (sent) to the Netherlands Indies Government in Batavia, 8 October 1947, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

¹²³¹ The source does not mention in which public High School P.J. Velsen would be posted.

¹²³² Director of DEPW to LGG, 29 April 1946, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 658 (ANRI).

¹²³³ The source, dated on 29 November 1946, reveals that Kroeskamp was (at the time it was in the making) 48 years old.

Java. While he was engaged with this work, Kroeskamp worked as a consultant to the Department of Education. This was why its Director promoted him as a Chief Official and opened the path to the status of civil servant for him, although he was already forty-eight. His twenty-year work experience in the private sectors as a teacher and researcher would be made equivalent to three years' government service. Kroeskamp was considered to deserve a salary of Fl. 900, instead of the initially proposed Fl. 1,000.¹²³⁴

In May 1947, J.A. Manusama was transferred from his position as a temporary teacher in the second-class Secondary School in Makassar to Ambon. There he was appointed temporary acting director of a Secondary School and, with a teaching experience of five years and seven months, was to earn Fl. 700 per month instead of his former salary of Fl. 405.¹²³⁵ Also in May 1947, F.W.A. Don assumed the position of acting director of the restored HBS in Tjideng, Batavia. Formerly he had been a temporary teacher in Secondary Education, also in Batavia, with an experience of eighteen years and ten months. In this new position, Don earned a salary of Fl. 762.50 instead of his former salary, Fl. 725.¹²³⁶

In August 1947, A.H. Luikens settled her position as director of the *Kweekschool* of the Ursulin Nuns at Postweg 2, Batavia. Before the war, she was a teacher at the subsidized HBS of the Ursuline Nuns, also in Batavia. It is said that Luikens was detained by 'some extremists in East Java until 30 June 1946'. Upon her return to Batavia, she resumed her teaching position at a European *kweekschool* run by the congregation and acted as its director on 1 September 1946. Holder of a teaching diploma in Geography for Secondary School with teaching experience of five years and seven months, Luikens was appointed full director of the *kweekschool* and was to receive Fl. 700 per month instead of her former salary of Fl. 565.¹²³⁷

C. Leertouwer became the director of the *Kweekschool*, which was just re-opened in Tomohon, northern Sulawesi in September 1947. Formerly, he had been a teacher at the Christian HBS in Kramat, Batavia at a salary of Fl. 825. Leertouwer was said to have 'long and multifaceted educational experience carried out satisfactorily. Born in Delft on 21 February 1900, Leertouwer was the holder of the teaching diploma for Maleis (1939), Pedagogy A-type, Geography and Ethnology (1940), and Political Economy and Statistics (1946), all for Secondary School. He assumed the position of the *Kweekschool* director as of 1 October 1947 and earned Fl. 950 per month.¹²³⁸

B.2.2 The Indonesian teachers

In February 1946, M. Hukom sent a request to the (Lieutenant) Governor-General for the repeal of the government decision to transfer him from Saparoea to Ambon. Hukom was an assistant teacher in an Indonesian school in Saparoea, in the sub-division of Lease in the Residency of Ambon. 'I had worked

¹²³⁴ Director of Departement van Onderwijs en Eeredienst (Director of DOE) to LGG, 29 November 1946, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI)

¹²³⁵ Besluit No. 7 van den LGG omtrent Bezoldigingstaat van Ir. J.A. Manusama, 16 May 1947, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

¹²³⁶ Besluit No. 7 van den LGG omtrent Bezoldigingstaat van F.W.A. Don, 16 May 1947, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

¹²³⁷ Director of DOE to GG, 29 August 1947, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

¹²³⁸ Director of DOE to (Lieutenant) Governor General (GG), 12 September 1947, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

in that school before the war and continued to work there during the Japanese occupation, at which time I experienced various difficulties including physical torture simply because I remained loyal to the Kingdom of the Netherlands,' Hukom wrote. He refused to be transferred from Saparoea to Ambon for three reasons. There were no houses for rent in Ambon as they had been destroyed during the war. Moreover, Hukom said, with a wife, eleven children and a salary of Fl. 48.50, it would be much harder to afford a family in Ambon than on Saparoea. Hukom said that six of his children went to Dutch schools on Saparoea which had better facilities than those in Ambon.

Hukom also reported to the (Lieutenant) Governor-General that he had managed to discuss his problem with the education controller of the sub-division Saparoea, A. Stoelenga. But he complained the inspector had not listened to him. 'Now is the time that common people can speak up to the government about anything they think inappropriate,' Hukom argued. 'But the education controller in Saparoea did not seem to be comfortable with this [freedom of speech] and forced ordinary people like myself to keep silent.'¹²³⁹ Hukom asked the (Lieutenant) Governor-General to help solve his problem.

In his letter to the (Lieutenant) Governor-General commenting on Hukom's inquiry, the Director of Education said that the planned transfer had nothing to do Hukom's outspoken behaviour.¹²⁴⁰ The 'real source of cause' of the transfer was the necessity to place a teacher with a certificate for teaching handicrafts (*handarbeid*) at a public continuation school on Saparoea. Consequently, one of the three teachers who already taught in that school had to be transferred. Of the three teachers, Hukom had the longest teaching career, namely eleven years. The government decided to move Hukom because the other two teachers had had far too short service in the afore-mentioned school.

Nevertheless, the Director said, the government appreciated Hukom's argument saying that the living costs in urban Ambon would disadvantage the economic situation of his big family. Therefore, the government intended to transfer Hukom immediately to one of the schools on Saparoea, where the living costs were cheaper than in Ambon. Unfortunately re-installment in the former school (where Hukom had taught) was not possible because that would create a precedent for other teachers in the residency to ask for a transfer to a place they considered more advantageous.¹²⁴¹

In August 1947, for tragic reasons Th. Maridjan Koop asked for a one-year overseas leave to the Netherlands commencing on 1 June 1946. 'Some extremist elements in Semarang created real dangers to the lives of their fellow citizens, who entertained dissident [political] perspectives'. An Indonesian principal of a public Western Primary School in Semarang, Th. Maridjan Koop was reported to have been 'strongly pro-Dutch' (*sterk pro-Nederlands*) and the political developments put him under threat. The Assistant-Resident of Semarang was said to have advised Maridjan Koop not to stay in town. To make matters worse, Maridjan Koop's health was not good so that a spell of leave in

¹²³⁹ M. Hukom to GG, 12 February 1946, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 658 (ANRI).

¹²⁴⁰ Indeed in his letter Hukom did not point to this difference of opinion with the inspector of Saparoea' as a cause to his transfer. Instead, he mentioned the unwillingness of the inspector to consider his objection to being transferred to Ambon.

¹²⁴¹ Director of DOE to LGG, 8 July 1946, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 658 (ANRI).

the Netherlands was desirable. While on leave, he intended to sit an examination to obtain a lower certificate for the teaching of English.¹²⁴²

This source does not reveal who Th. Maridjan Koop actually was and how he came to be 'strongly pro-Dutch', but, in his study on Indonesians in the Netherlands, historian Harry A. Poeze mentions that in the 1920s, the Jesuits in Java sent three lay people to study at Roman Catholic *kweekscholen* in the Netherlands.¹²⁴³ One of the pictures in his book shows Theo Maridjan, a student of a *kweekschool* in Hilversum in 1928.¹²⁴⁴ Maridjan was said to have taught in schools in the Netherlands when he had studied there for the purpose of gaining 'better understanding the difficulties of teaching'. In Semarang, from January to May 1946, Maridjan Koop initiated 'with dilligent enthusiasm' a school in Randoesari. The Director of Education said that however difficult it was to find a legal basis for Maridjan's request, it should be supported.¹²⁴⁵

The Director of Social Affairs of the Office of General Personnel Affairs announced that the plan to pursue a lower certificate in the teaching of English was not an argument his Office could endorse. Because of the lack of teachers, he thought it advisable that Maridjan Koop be transferred to other areas where he could carry out his activities without any particular threat to his life. If Koop persisted in his request for leave, the Director of Social Affairs suggested a reduced salary (*wachtgeld*) and temporary non-activity, instead of a regular leave. This meant that Maridjan Koop would not be guaranteed an automatic re-installment on his return. Unless the Health Council in The Hague declared that Maridjan Koop was still medically unfit to resume his duties in the tropics, he could not apply for 'a leave on account of illness'. In his hand-written disposition, a staff member of the Office of the Governor General in Batavia wrote that the government agreed to transfer Maridjan Koop to another place where he would not encounter serious threats in carrying out his duties as a European school principal.¹²⁴⁶

The following case is also an example of a political stand of an Indonesian teacher. On the 2 September 1946, Abdoelwahab, the principal of the Continuation School of Djenepono in the Takalar division of the Makassar Regency, made a report to Boediman, the local inspector in charge of schools. Abdoelwahab said that, without a known excuse, M. Anwar, one of the assistant-teachers at his school, had not shown up to school for a couple of days.¹²⁴⁷ On the 10 September, Boediman made a report on the Anwar's case to his superior, Baso, the school inspector of Takalar.¹²⁴⁸ On the 16, Baso passed the information about M. Anwar to the school commission of Djenepono.¹²⁴⁹ The absence of Anwar was already known. In his report, Baso attached a letter of resignation from Anwar, dated on

¹²⁴² Director of DOE to LGG, 13 August 1947, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

¹²⁴³ Harry A. Poeze et al., *Di Negeri Penjajah: Orang Indonesia di Negeri Belanda 1600-1950* (tr. Monique Soesman et al.) (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2008), 234.

¹²⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 232.

¹²⁴⁵ Director of DOE to LGG, 13 August 1947, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

¹²⁴⁶ Director of Social Affairs of the Office of General Personnel Affairs to LGG, 28 August 1947, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

¹²⁴⁷ Copy of letter of Abdoelwahab, the principal of Continuation School at Djenepono, to Boediman, local school controller, 2 September 1946, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

¹²⁴⁸ Copy of letter of Boediman, school controller of Djenepono to Baso, the school inspector of Takalar, 10 September 1946, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

¹²⁴⁹ Copy of letter of Baso, school inspector of Takalar to Chair of the School Commission of Takalar, 16 September 1946, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

the 30 August 1946. Unfortunately, the documents between the school officials exist only in re-typed versions sent as enclosures to the personnel dossiers of the Department of Education in Jakarta. Intriguingly, Anwar's original letter of resignation is missing from the dossier.

The reasons Anwar asked for an 'honourable discharge' were clear. He found his salary of Fl. 40 inadequate. He said: 'Even one litre of rice already costs me Fl. 0.80. This is without taking other daily necessities into account.' Furthermore, Anwar claimed that, 'The Dutch government still applies discriminating policies. It only fulfils the primary necessities of the employees it needs to sustain the colonization of Indonesia. For example, the military forces, police officers, and high-ranking civil servants.' Anwar said he was short of clothes and did not have any money. 'During the occupation by the NICA troops I never received any clothes. [The NICA] only distributed clothes to those who adored being colonized. Those who loved their own nation and *tanah air* remained oppressed and squeezed. Schoolteachers indeed needed clothes. It is on their shoulders that the *Indonesia Merdeka* will rely, if the Dutch were truly to give Indonesia independence.'¹²⁵⁰

The minute report on the case of Anwar soon arrived as classified in the hands of the Assistant-Resident of Makassar, N.C. Beudeker. On the 22 October, Beudeker sent the report to the Inspector of Indonesian Education in Makassar, with carbon copies forwarded to the Deputy Police Chief and to the head of the Country Division of the NEFIS. The report says Anwar had not shown up at school since the holiday for the end of the fasting month of Ramadhan in early August 1946. Anwar had been seen participating in the activities of the 'Pemoeda jang fanatiek' (the militant youth) from February to May 1946. In June 1946, Anwar swore before the chief of the police and the military commandant of Djenepono that he would foreswear his political activities. It was believed that Anwar had afterwards left Djenepono and 'possibly joined the Pemoeda Polombangkeng', another youth group.¹²⁵¹

In his classified report to the Director of Education in Batavia on 16 December 1946, the inspector of Indonesian Primary Education in Makassar, J.J. van Dijk, said he did not see the right 'mental attitude' (*geestes-gesteldheid*) in Anwar which would enable him to return to his duties as a teacher at the Continuation School in Djenepono. He suggested that Anwar could not possibly be discharged 'honourably'. Anwar had left his post without prior notice. He did not even let people know where he was. 'To whom his resignation letter was addressed is also unclear,' the inspector wrote.¹²⁵² The Director of Education seconded the inspector in Makassar in asking the Governor-

¹²⁵⁰ Copy of letter of M. Anwar, 30 August 1946, Algemeene Secretarie No. 659 (ANRI). The originals of the quoted sentences read as follows: '... beras sadja harganja F. 0.80 seliter. Belum ada keperluan lain2. Pemerintah Belanda masih amat mensifatkan sifat membeda-bedakan; hanja kepada tenaga jang diboetoehinja goena mempertahankan pendjadjahannya di Indonesia ini sadja jang diperhatikannya tentang keperluan2nja, seperti: rantsoen2nja dan lain2. Oempanja terhadap militairnja, Polisi dan pegawai2 tingginja soepaja mereka tidak ingat akan bangsanja sendiri. Saja ada kekoerangan pakaian loearan dan soedah habis oelang; karena selama pendoedoekan NICA saja ta' pernah mendapat pakaian loearan, hanja kepada mereka (perkakas2nja) jang tjinta dan soeka didjadjah sadja jang senantiasa mendapat pembahagian2, sedang pegawai2 jang tjinta akan bangsa dan tanah airnja tergentjet. Pada hal dalam golongan pergoeroean itoe boetoeh benar pada pakaian, dan tenaga pergoeroeanlah jang diboetoehi dalam Negara 'Indonesia Merdeka' bila betoel2 Belanda memberikan kemerdekaan kepada Indonesia.'

¹²⁵¹ Assistant-Resident of Makassar to Inspector of Elementary Education in Makassar, 22 October 1946, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

¹²⁵² Inspector of Indonesian Primary Education Makassar to Director of DOE Batavia, 16 December 1946, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

General to give Anwar a dishonourable discharge.¹²⁵³ However, the Government Secretary had other ideas. Anwar's desertion might be politically motivated, but before his disappearance Anwar had indeed requested a resignation with honour and explicitly mentioned his reasons.

The case of Anwar had not been the first one, according to the Government Secretary. Before Anwar, R. Arismoenandar 'voluntarily resigned his post as an official in the tax department'. 'He did this, it transpired, with the intention of joining the service at the Republic.' The director of the Department of Finance suggested Arismoenandar be dishonourably discharged. However, 'His Excellency [the Governor-General] found out that he [Arismoenandar] had sent a prior request for an honourable discharge'. Both Arismoenandar and Anwar, the Government Secretary said, were guilty for having deserted their posts. However, they had done this with a prior notice of an honourable resignation. In Anwar's case, the information was still not definitive. As is clear from the minute of the school controller of Djenepono, the Government Secretary pointed out, 'Anwar has *possibly* joined the Pemoeda Polombangkeng'.¹²⁵⁴ Therefore the Government decided to grant Anwar 'an honourable discharge'.¹²⁵⁵ The case of Anwar, as well as those of the other teachers, indicates that the Dutch administrative system had begun to function relatively normally by the second half of 1946. It also shows the post-war Dutch government in Indonesia was politically careful into dealings with individual teachers.

The Indonesian teachers' struggle for individual recovery was also carried on through professional bodies. On 3 March 1946, the Saparoea Branch of the Association of Teachers of the People's Schools (*Volksonderwijzersbond*) sent a motion to the government, urging it abolish the people's schools (*volkscholen*) in Saparoea and make them into regular ones. It also insisted that the financial position of the *volkschool* teachers be improved and that they be entitled to access to the national retirement funds.¹²⁵⁶ The Director of Education was seriously concerned about the motion. 'In this time of political agitation, social issues like this require appropriate solutions,' he wrote to the Governor-General, but he could not simply suggest what this might be. The transformation of a *volkschool* into a regular school, the Director said, 'would depend on the future re-organization of education in Indonesia'. Moreover, the government could not raise the salaries of the *volkschool* teachers in Saparoea without arousing the envy of teachers in other areas. It was also financially impossible to raise the salaries of all teachers at the *volkschool* who, the Director stated, numbered around 40,000. Finally, the demand to be allowed to participate in the retirement funds was also difficult to satisfy because 'those *volkschool* teachers, like other semi-government officials, had so far not contributed to the retirement funds'. The Director was thinking of signing agreements with insurance companies. In the end, he called for a discussion of this issue.¹²⁵⁷

Consequently, the Directors of Finance and of Internal Administration (*Binnenlands Bestuur*) were asked to comment on the issue. Both agreed on setting regulations for the retirement funds for the *volkschool* teachers. However, they argued, local governments of the autonomous regencies should first be consulted because these authorities had handled all matters of the *volkschool* teachers

¹²⁵³ Director of DOE to LGG, 26 January 1947, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

¹²⁵⁴ The emphasis on the word 'possibly' ('*moengkin*' or '*waarschijnlijk*') was in original.

¹²⁵⁵ Government Secretary to Resident of Makassar, 25 March 1947, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 659 (ANRI).

¹²⁵⁶ Director of DOE to LGG, 4 April 1946, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 658 (ANRI).

¹²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

since the pre-war time. In principle, the two officials also agreed on giving subsidy to the regencies, which were financially strapped.¹²⁵⁸

The Jakarta Branch of the Association of Indonesian Teachers also insisted that the government pay rises in salary. In its meeting on the 22 August 1948, the Association discussed the financial difficulties their individual families had experienced. 'The prices of everyday necessities are rapidly increasing. Non-consumption goods, however necessary, cannot be bought because our salary is simply too low. Many of us cannot afford to rent a house because the deposit is very high. These circumstances spell adversity not only for us, but also to all members of our families,' reads their statement.¹²⁵⁹ The government response to this inquiry is unknown.

This section has explored the individual and collective experiences of Dutch and Indonesian teachers struggling with the hardship of the barren post-war years. The Dutch teachers somehow managed to make use of all kinds of administrative channels to recommence their lives. As the sources indicate, many of them succeeded. In the meantime, the Indonesian teachers were forced to find their own paths through the tangle of chaotic political developments. The individual cases have been presented verbatim so as to demonstrate the flowing current of people in the re-institutionalization process of the Indonesian society. These teachers sought to go home – literally as well as figuratively: they sought for social, political, and economic resettlement. At this point, they found themselves not only in a dreadful physical condition but were also assailed by mixed feelings of dissolution and yearning.

B.3 The HIK graduates

So far the discussion has focused on the teachers' attempts to resume their personal lives. In the case of the Indonesian teachers, it has shown the troublesome paths of mobility confronting teachers of the *volkschool* and continuation school. Indonesian and Chinese teachers who held a diploma from the *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool* (HIK), the *Hollands Chinese Kweekschool* (HCK) and the *Hogere Kweekschool* (HKS) were perhaps luckier, although the hardships they had undergone were pretty much as awful as those of their colleagues.

The HIK students in Yogyakarta and Bandung scattered at the outbreak of the war. Some of them were able to return to school during the Japanese occupation, but in the wake of the Japanese surrender, these students were again thrown into chaos. Initially they were unaware that by a blessing in disguise, the courses of their life were poised to change forever. For example, Asvismarmo had to give up his third year at the Sekolah Menengah Tinggi 3 (SMT 3, or High School 3) in Yogyakarta in August 1945. This was the second time he had had to drop his schooling in third year. When the Japanese entered Yogyakarta in 1942, he had had to leave the third year of the HIK. Now, again because of a regime change, Asvismarmo had no choice in the matter. 'I felt truly hopeless in the beginning,' he told me in an interview. 'But in November 1945, I was told by a friend about the Badan

¹²⁵⁸ Response of the Director of Finance to the Director of Education's inquiry, 1 May 1946 *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 658 (ANRI); Director of Internal Administration to LGG, 6 May 1946, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 658 (ANRI).

¹²⁵⁹ 'Poatoesan (Resolutie) Serikat Goeroe Indonesia Tjbang Djakarta, 22 August 1948, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 668 (ANRI).

Ketahanan Rakyat (BKR or the People's Defence Corps)'.¹²⁶⁰ After being informed about it, Aswismarmo joined the BKR and took the first step on his professional career in the Army.¹²⁶¹

Likewise, Umar Said Noor gave up his teaching position for a career with the Air Force. He did so because, since the outbreak of the war, 'I had wanted to become a soldier and I wanted to continue my studies'. Noor had not even finished his first year at the HIK in Yogyakarta in March 1942, which is the reason he called himself as '*halfbloed* HIK' (half-cast HIK). In 1943, he entered the Japanese teacher training school for boys, the Kotto Shihan Gakko, also in Yogyakarta. He did not complete the training and in 1944 was given a job as an assistant teacher at a primary school in Jakarta. In 1946, Noor heard about the recruitment for the Indonesian Air Force in Yogyakarta. He applied successfully. 'So, I went to the Air Force school in the morning, and to the BOPKRI High School for my general education in the afternoon,' Noor said. He finished his training in 1948 and was immediately assigned to a post at the Indonesian Air Force headquarters in Bukittinggi, West Sumatra. Like Aswismarmo, Noor pursued a career in the military.¹²⁶²

Zurchiban Surjadipradja and Alfred Simanjuntak followed a similar path of social mobility. Zurchiban, who had not finished his fourth year of the HIK in Yogyakarta in March 1942, lost his job as a teacher when the Dutch attack the city in 1947, which resulted in the shutting down of the neutral school for boys and girls where he taught. Jobless and frustrated, Zurchiban happened to hear about the open recruitment campaign of the Department of Social Affairs and successfully applied. He ended his career in the service of the government central bank.¹²⁶³ Meanwhile, in 1946 Alfred Simanjuntak moved from his teaching post at a *sekolah rakyat* in Semarang to one in the Kernolong Street in Jakarta. But this job did not last long. In 1948 with the support of a Dutch man, Alfred said, he founded the Badan Penerbit Kristen (Christian Publishing Company) and pursued his future career there.¹²⁶⁴ Graduating from the Christian HIK in Solo in 1941, Alfred Simanjuntak, like many other HIK graduates, embraced the open chances of mobility that the tumultuous post-war years offered them.

The post-war position of the HIK graduates did not just depend on such 'historical blessings in disguise'. Perhaps to prevent the brain-drain of better educated Indonesian teachers, in 1947 the government endorsed the abolition in the salary scale differentials between teachers with HIK, HCK and HKS diplomas and those holding diploma of the European *kweekschool*. With the exception of the Dutch language, the pre-war training of these graduates was accredited at the same level as that of the European *kweekschool* graduates. In post-war Indonesia, the government stated, the Indonesian language was equally important as Dutch. Using Indonesian, the graduates of the HIK would share the same weight of teaching duties as the graduates of the HCK, HKS and the European *kweekschool*

¹²⁶⁰ In an interview in Jakarta on 4 September 2006, Aswismarmo called the defence body Badan *Ketahanan Rakyat*. According to the official website of the present-day Indonesian National Forces (<http://www.tni.mil.id>), it was actually Badan *Keamanan Rakyat* (BKR or People's Security Body). On 5 October 1945, the BKR had already been changed to Tentara *Keamanan Rakyat* (TKR or People's Security Forces) so that Aswismarmo might indeed have referred to the TKR. The TKR then changed into Tentara Republik Indonesia (TRI or the Republic of Indonesia's Forces) and, on 3 June 1947, changed into Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI or Indonesian National Forces). See <http://www.tni.mil.id/reputation.php?q=dtl&id=6>, accessed on 12 February 2010.

¹²⁶¹ Interview with Aswismarmo, Jakarta, 4 September 2006.

¹²⁶² Interview with Umar Said noor, Jakarta, 9 August 2005 and 25 August 2006.

¹²⁶³ Interview with Zurchiban Surjadipradja, Jakarta, 31 August 2006.

¹²⁶⁴ Interview with Alfred Simanjuntak, Jakarta, 23 August 2006.

who used Dutch. Therefore, the salary of the teachers graduating from the HIK, the HCK and the HKS would be raised from Scale 31 to Scale 58 according to the 1938 Salary Regulations of Civil Public Officials (*Bezoldigingsregeling Burgerlijke Landsdienaren* or BBL).¹²⁶⁵ Under Scale 31, a novice teacher with one year's teaching experience in Column I received Fl 70 per month. In Scale 58, he received Fl. 125.¹²⁶⁶

The government also considered the 'professional rehabilitation' of former students of the teacher training school, whether HIK, HCK, or European *kweekschool*. It argued that since the mobilization of (European) teachers in December 1941, only a very limited number of teachers had been available for service in primary schools. The fact that the chaotic situation at the outbreak of the war had hindered the distribution of school-leaving certificates to all students who were already in the final year of their training but who had not yet sat for their final examinations was also taken into consideration.¹²⁶⁷ In Bandung, for example, HIK students in year 6 had not received the emergency diploma (*nood-diploma*).¹²⁶⁸ Therefore in November 1948, the Head of the Department of Education, Art and Science put forward a proposal regarding 'diploma and statement of equivalent merit (*gelijkwaardigheidsverklaring*)' to the Supreme Representative of the Crown in Indonesia.¹²⁶⁹ Three categories were proposed. Former students, who in the school year 1941/1942 were in the highest year (Year 6 of the upper level/*bovenbouw*, and Year 4 of the lower level/*onderbouw* who by rule could not continue to the upper level), would straightaway be awarded a certificate of teaching competence. This certificate was meant to be a substitute for the normal graduation diploma.¹²⁷⁰

The second category was awarded to former students, 'who had nearly completed their study'. These students did not necessarily have to be in the final year but they ought to have been at the level of 'upper intermediate' in their overall knowledge and formation. 'Some of them, either in or outside the Japanese camp, might have received informal training during the war,' reads the proposal. For students in this category, reinstatement of schooling would be the best choice. They would have first choice to sit as external examinees in the usual final exams. However, it was realized that such a plan of reinstatement could put these former students in a difficult situation because of their higher than normal age, lack of study materials and so forth. Considering that simply giving these students a leaving diploma 'illogical', the Head of the Department of Education suggested 'the statement of equivalent merit'.¹²⁷¹

¹²⁶⁵ 'Regeringsrondschrijven', 5 April 1947, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 718 (ANRI).

¹²⁶⁶ 'Bezoldigingsregeling Burgerlijke Landsdienaren 1938', in Indonesische Onderwijzers Bond, *Handboek Indonesische Onderwijzers Bond 1942* (n/a: Indonesische Onderwijzers Bond, 1941), 189 and 192.

¹²⁶⁷ Head of the Departement van Opvoeding, Kunsten en Wetenschappen (DOKW) to the Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon in Indonesië, 13 November 1948, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 720 (ANRI), 1.

¹²⁶⁸ Suparno B. 'Mari Kita Bercerita', *Gema* No. 1 Tahun IX (March 1993), 4-8; Mohamad Isa, 'Bandung Menjelang Kapitulasi', *Gema* No. 4 Tahun XIII (June 1992), 37-41; interview with Moerdiono, Yogyakarta, 27 September 2006.

¹²⁶⁹ The change of the institutional names is worth noting here. According to this document of 13 November 1948, the name of the former *Departement van Onderwijs en Eeredienst* had already been changed to *Departement van Opvoeding, Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, and its chair was no longer a Director, but a Head. The change also applied to the former (*Luitenant*) *Gouverneur-Generaal*, which was then *Hoge Vertegenwoordiger van de Kroon in Indonesië*. See *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 720 (ANRI).

¹²⁷⁰ Head of the DOKW, 13 November 1948, 2-3.

¹²⁷¹ *Ibid.* 3-4.

The final category covered former students who did not complete their study at all. These students had not reached the upper intermediate level in their overall knowledge and formation as trainee teachers. However, having spent some time in the training school, these students were viewed by the Head of the Department as ‘already standing on the productive step towards being teachers’. For them, the Head of the Department suggested ‘a provisional statement of equivalent merit’.¹²⁷²

The facilitating scheme of diploma adjustment was a strategic policy adopted by the government to deal with the shortage of teachers. Like the policy of salary adjustment, it was aimed to discourage the HIK graduates from leaving their posts. Yet, in the dramatic upheavals of the post-war years, preventing the brain-drain of better educated teachers proved to be a hard task. The individual stories I have presented show that not only Indonesian but also Dutch teachers managed to look after themselves, even if they had to leave the teaching profession.

C. The reform plans

C.1 The Dutch proposals, 1944-1946

Dutch educationists who had worked in the pre-war Netherlands Indies continued to be concerned about the education of the Indonesian people in the fast changing post-war society. They drew up proposals for the reform of the educational system. The Dutch proposals for post-war educational reform in Indonesia appeared in the context of a minimum institutional capacity of the nationalists, although it might be doubted whether there was necessarily a correlation between the two. These proposals clearly indicate a fundamental change in colonial schooling.

The first proposal was contained in the *Paedagogische Richtlijnen voor Indonesië* written by J.F.H. Alb. de la Court, former director of the HIK in Bandung and editor in chief of *Journal Opvoeding* published by the *Indisch Paedagogisch Genootschap*, or the Indies Pedagogical Society.¹²⁷³ De la Court seemed to have submitted his proposal from Europe as he wrote: ‘This [proposal] was written in the summer of 1944, when on all sides [Nazi] Germany was appearing to reach its destiny, [...] and in the Far East Japan was entering full recruitment.’¹²⁷⁴

The second proposal was by M. Vastenhouw. In a letter to Lieutenant-Governor General, Dr. H.J. van Mook, in Batavia on November 25, 1945, Vastenhouw introduced himself as a teacher and school principal, who had resided in the Netherlands Indies since 1927. He also said he was a member of the ‘Catalogus Commissie’ of the Department of Education and Religious Affairs. As his address, he wrote: Hotel Schwarz, Palembang.¹²⁷⁵ The third proposal ‘Hervorming van het Indische Onderwijsstelsel’, was from the Acting Director of Education and Religious Affairs in Batavia and dated June 18, 1946.¹²⁷⁶

¹²⁷² Ibid. 4.

¹²⁷³ J.F.H. Alb. de la Court, *Paedagogische Richtlijnen voor Indonesië* (Deventer: Uitgeverij W. van Hoeve, 1945). An English excerpt of the book, without the sections of introduction and the lengthy historical overview, appeared a year later as ‘Some Proposals for Postwar Education in Indonesia’, *The Far Eastern Quarterly* Vol. 5 No. 2 (Feb. 1946), 152-61.

¹²⁷⁴ De la Court, *Pedagogische Richtlijnen*, 2. Italics added.

¹²⁷⁵ M. Vastenhouw, ‘Plan van het Onderwijs in Indonesië’, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 673 (ANRI), 3.

¹²⁷⁶ ‘Hervormingen van het Indische Onderwijsstelsel’, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 673 (ANRI).

Generally speaking, the three proposals sounded one note: 'democratic inclusion in education'. The Acting Director of Education and Religious Affairs admitted that in the colonial past the educational system in Indonesia had been 'strongly divided into a dualism of the so-called Western primary education and the indigenous education'. In each of the divisions, there was either racial or social 'variety' (*verscheidenheid*).¹²⁷⁷ The post-war politics necessitated that these differentiations be altered because, De la Court argued, 'the Netherlands and Indonesia had been immediately engulfed in the [war] drama, both had suffered under the terror of the invaders, both had missed the opportunity to have democratic freedom, and made sacrifices to obtain it [...therefore there was] an inevitably complete equality between the Netherlands and Indonesia.'¹²⁷⁸ The post-war educational system should introduce the effects of democratic principles, which Vastenhouw 'personally thinks the most important foundation', so as to contribute to 'the eradication of present-day difficulties'.¹²⁷⁹

De la Court argued that an education system was democratic if it accommodated the needs and the different realities of the society it served. Everywhere in the world, he said, the aim of an education was inseparable from the political aims and the social development of the society; it was an organic part of the society. 'In the past, we diverted the education for Indonesians away from the political and social realities of the country.'¹²⁸⁰ 'In large boarding schools like that of the HIK in Bandung – just exactly like in all boarding houses where Indonesian students were to be found – students from different islands all over the Archipelago sat night after night to work on subjects, which were often presented to them in an unfamiliar, foreign language.'¹²⁸¹

The prime aim of post-war education therefore was not to promote the intellectual level as the colonial schooling did,¹²⁸² but the formation of individuals who should grow up into 'free, autonomous, rational and spiritual but passionate personalities'.¹²⁸³ Early in 1945, while still in exile in Brisbane, the Netherlands Indies government had set up a working plan which said the spirit of the new education system in post-war Indonesia should place the emphasis on character building, the cultivation of a community spirit, the development of national sense of responsibility and leadership.¹²⁸⁴

Vastenhouw stated that the educational system should reflect plurality (*pluriformiteit*) in terms of the material as well as spiritual lives in society. It should also enable co-operation between the social and political diverse elements it reflected. In post-war Indonesia, Vastenhouw insisted, every child in all ethnic groups had the right to education and should be obliged to follow schooling. However, to guarantee that the children were given an appropriate education according to their cultural circumstances, there should be a freedom for all ethnic groups to set up their own school

¹²⁷⁷ Ibid. 1, also for the quote in previous sentence.

¹²⁷⁸ De la Court, *Paedagogische Richtlijnen*, 3.

¹²⁷⁹ Vastenhouw, 'Letter of November 11, 1945', *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 673 (ANRI).

¹²⁸⁰ De la Court, *Paedagogische Richtlijnen*, 44.

¹²⁸¹ Ibid. 51.

¹²⁸² Ibid. 56.

¹²⁸³ Vastenhouw, 'Plan', *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 673, 2.

¹²⁸⁴ 'Hervormingen', *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 673, 2.

curricula. Moreover, to guarantee accessibility, in principle education should be made free of charge.¹²⁸⁵

The three proposals shared the idea that the racial and social differentiations in the pre-war colonial school had to be eradicated from the post-war education system. However, it was essential that language-based differentiation should continue to characterize the primary education, because it would be much easier for children to follow the lessons if these were given in the language they spoke at home. Ironically, the authors of the proposals also argued that this principle of linguistic differentiation would be too complicated and expensive to realize throughout the various Indonesian communities as they used so many different languages. In the end, Vastenhouw proposed two 'equal systems of education': the Western system which would use Dutch and the Eastern system which would use Indonesian as the language of instruction.¹²⁸⁶ The Acting Director of Education and Religious Affairs said there should be only one system, namely the primary education system, but this system should be divided into one using Dutch, and one using 'Maleisch' and/or a vernacular language.¹²⁸⁷

De la Court more subtly proposed that the new education system should consist of only two pillars: one of the large ethnic groups, and the other of the ethnic minorities (Figure 6.1). The large ethnic group school would use the vernacular language throughout schooling from primary to secondary levels. The Indonesian language would be taught as a course subject and, commencing in the upper primary level, the Dutch language too. The ethnic minority school would use the vernacular language in the first three years of primary level and Indonesian would be taught as a course subject during these years. Commencing in the fourth year of primary level and throughout the secondary level, Indonesian would be used instead of the vernacular. The Dutch language would be taught as a course subject beginning the upper primary classes.¹²⁸⁸

On top of this structure, De la Court proposed another separate education system, which would use Dutch completely right from the first year of primary school. This school system was meant for children of purely Dutch descent (hence Eurasian children not included) who, De la Court stated, numbered about a quarter million before the war. He said that after the war 'only a relatively small number of Dutch children [in Indonesia] will need to be prepared for transfer to schools in the Netherlands. For such children, the opportunity must remain to follow the Netherlands system of education in Indonesia'.¹²⁸⁹ De la Court did not explain why he did not suggest these Dutch children follow and adjust themselves to the linguistically differentiated system of education he proposed earlier, if 'only a relatively small number' of those children would 'need to be prepared for transfer at any time to schools in the Netherlands'. In other words, if most of these native Dutch children were to remain in Indonesia, why should they be exempted from following an Indonesian educational system; why should they be treated with privilege, in De la Court words, to follow 'the Netherlands education system in Indonesia'?

¹²⁸⁵ Vastenhouw, 'Plan', *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 673, 2.

¹²⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 3.

¹²⁸⁷ 'Hervorming', *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 673, 2.

¹²⁸⁸ De la Court, *Paedagogische Richtlijnen*, 76.

¹²⁸⁹ De la Court, 'Some Proposals', 160.

De la Court also proposed that in the advanced school, namely at the level of higher education, Dutch would be the only language used. 'Although it might be possible in practice to establish a Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese and Malay university,' he said, 'such a differentiation would not be desirable since the choice of teachers would be severely limited; also, any exchange of professors would be impossible and the international standing of these Indonesian universities would suffer.' Therefore, the Dutch language should be used.¹²⁹⁰ So, while proposing a linguistically differentiated system of education for the majority of Indonesian children in which Dutch would be taught only as a course subject and while suggesting an exceptional education system for children of Dutch descent in which Dutch would be the school language of instruction, De la Court insisted that Dutch be used as the language of university education. Unfortunately, he did not explain how children from those linguistically differentiated primary and secondary schools, who were taught only limited hours of Dutch, could possibly continue to university, in which they would have to use only Dutch for the whole of their academic interaction.

De la Court stressed that the education in post-war Indonesia should be made as practical as possible throughout the whole system. 'A school system would be developed which would be simple in structure and would offer outlets to practical life at various educational levels,' he said. 'Even though this system would still fall short of standards demanded in Western countries, in form and content it would nevertheless have all the features of a progressive and democratic educational system.'¹²⁹¹ So, having previously insisted on the use of Dutch at university so as to maintain the international standing of tertiary education, De la Court also suggested that the education throughout the whole system (including that at the university level) be made practical or vocational, even though he realized that if (university) education were to be made practical, this orientation might lower its quality in comparison to Western standards. Unfortunately again, in this context he did not explain how the use of the Dutch language could promote the international standing of the educational system, which was of low standard because of its practical or vocational nature.

As he wrote his proposal in 1944, De la Court was perhaps the first Dutch schoolteacher to have defined what the democratic character in the post-war education in Indonesia should look like. He was perhaps also the first one to have stressed the many commonalities suddenly shared by Indonesia and the Netherlands. Somewhat out of the blue, the relationship between school and politics and between education and the transformation of Indonesian society became his concern. Just a little more than a decade earlier, as a Dutch language teacher at the HIK in Bandung, De la Court defined the strategic purpose of teaching the Dutch language. He wrote:

'The Dutch language must be ready to guide the process of transformation from vague feudal thinking to modern logic. It has to combat verbalism, to develop students' initiatives, to breathe a new spirit through the introduction of a new way of thinking and behaviour (*handelwijze*). The Dutch language is the gateway to the Western cultural heritage in general.'¹²⁹²

¹²⁹⁰ Ibid. 158, also for the quote in previous sentence.

¹²⁹¹ Ibid. 159.

¹²⁹² J.F.H. Alb. de la Court, 'Het Nederlandsch op de HIK', in *Dagelijksch Bestuur van het Indisch Paedagogisch Genootschap* (eds.), *De Nieuwe Onderwijzersopleiding in Indië* (Groningen, Den Haag, Batavia: J.B. Wolters, 1932), 39-55. Quote from p. 40.

The Director of Education and Religious Affairs suggested two types of primary school: the *Sekolah Rendah*, which would use Indonesian and the vernacular language, and the *Lagere School*, which would use Dutch. During the Japanese occupation, the Director noted that the number of people's schools (the *sekolah rakyat* or the pre-war *volkschool*) and the upper primary schools (*Sekolah Menengah Pertama* or pre-war MULO) had increased; also the continuation school (pre-war *vervolgschool*) had expanded from pre-war five years of schooling to six. However, the quality of the education in these schools, the Director claimed, had dropped drastically. 'In terms of academic capability, pupils in sixth year of the present school cannot be compared even to those in the fifth in colonial schools'. He also pointed out that student absenteeism during the Japanese occupation was as high as 80 per cent.¹²⁹³

The *Sekolah Rendah* as well as the *Lagere School*, the Director said, had to be reformed at the first opportunity, although any reformation would be very much restricted by the lack of teaching personnel and infrastructure. Moreover, in some places in Java and Sumatra, military confrontations between Indonesian revolutionaries and the Dutch troops raised anxieties that the Dutch government could only restore some schools and saw little possibility for achieving a real transformation of the educational system. The Director suggested that 'subjects of consideration [for the post-war educational reforms] be sought from the councils and other organs of autonomous governments' in South-Borneo, Celebes and Ambon. He also asked if the issue of the post-war education could be discussed at the Malino Conference scheduled to be held in July 1946.¹²⁹⁴

The pre-war three-year people's school (the *volkschool*) should be retained but it would have to undergo a total reform so as to meet the 'international idea/concept' of people's school. Two important points of reform would be the teaching of Dutch and the abolition of the pre-war two different school time-slots. The six-year *Sekolah Rendah* installed by the Japanese would also be retained but with substantial changes in curriculum, facilities and personnel. The qualification standard of the teaching staff would be improved, partly by recruiting new and better trained teachers and partly by providing refresher courses for in-service teachers as well as by intensifying the school inspection. Children who successfully completed the third year of the people's school would deserve the opportunity to continue to the *Sekolah Rendah* right to the fourth year. Local councils of the autonomous administrations would be authorized to decide whether the Indonesian or the local vernacular would be the language in the early years of the *Sekolah Rendah*, but the higher classes should use Indonesian.¹²⁹⁵

The *Lagere School* would be run for Dutch as well as Chinese and Indonesian children, who used Dutch at home. Like the three-year people's school and the six-year *Sekolah Rendah*, the six-year *Lagere School* had to be reformed, however, without explaining why, the Director proposed that the reform and administration of this school should be entrusted to private school foundations (*particuliere schoolverenigingen*). He also said that in the *Lagere School* system, there should be an 'exceptional

¹²⁹³ 'Hervormingen', *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 673 (ANRI), 3-4. The quote in the previous sentence is from p. 3.

¹²⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 3.

¹²⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 4.

division' between school for Indonesian and Chinese children, who 'desired a more solid basis of Dutch language and culture than that provided only as a course subject in the *Sekolah Rendah*'. This 'exceptional division' was meant to replace the function of the pre-war HIS (*Hollands Inlandse School*) and the HCS (*Hollands Chinese School*).¹²⁹⁶

According to the government official concerned, one of the most critical obstacles to the post-war educational recovery was the great variety in the teachers' qualifications and formal training. The teaching corps had so far consisted of teachers with a variety of professional skills and qualifications. At one end of the qualifications were non-diploma teachers of the pre-war *volksschools* (i.e. *volksonderwijzers*), who after the five-year primary school had learned about their profession through a *magang* or apprenticeship. At the other end, there were alumni of the *kweekschool*, who after ten years of general education had followed a three-year training course in a particular subject, all using the Dutch language.¹²⁹⁷ Therefore, it went without saying that there would need to be a homogenization of the teacher training system.¹²⁹⁸

As a concept plan, a twin teacher school was proposed, namely the *Sekolah Goeroe* for training teachers of the *Sekolah Rendah*, and the *Kweekschool* for the *Lagere School*. Both the *Sekolah Goeroe* and the *Kweekschool* would have a four-year curriculum. Applicants should have finished six years primary education and two years general secondary education. In this way, the Director said, the academic level of the graduates would be equal to that of 'the graduates of the HIK and HCK at present available'.¹²⁹⁹ The curricula of the *Sekolah Goeroe* and the *Kweekschool* should be inspired by 'a new spirit of [pedagogical] instruction'. Teachers in post-war Indonesia, the Director argued, had to bring 'a new sort of ability' to the educational construction.¹³⁰⁰

It was realized that the forming of a homogenous training system would mean it would be years before a number of teachers with a standardized qualification were ready to carry out their teaching duties. In the meantime, the need for teachers had to be met immediately. Therefore the existing different teacher training schools would be temporarily retained. This would include the training courses for teachers of the people's schools, the two-year and the four-year normal schools. These would be supplemented by a two-year training school, which would be called '*overgangskweekschool*', or transitional teacher training school, devised for graduates of the Indonesian MULO as well as the European Primary School. This training school, just as the four-year *Sekolah Goeroe* and the *Kweekschool*, would use Indonesian and Dutch.¹³⁰¹ It would take years to develop the above plan properly and the process would also depend greatly on the financial capacity of the government which would probably disadvantage the position of the most highly paid group of pre-war teachers.¹³⁰²

The educational reforms proposed by the Director of Education and Religious Affairs, just as those proposed by De la Court and Vastenhouw, clearly indicate the fundamental change in colonial

¹²⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁹⁸ Ibid. 5.

¹²⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹³⁰¹ Ibid.

¹³⁰² Ibid.

schooling. There were changes in the statement of educational principles, in which the ideas of equality (for example twin school), partnership and co-operation were developed in order to grasp, in De la Court's rhetoric, the 'democratic character' of the new Indonesian society. There were also modifications in the proposed school structure. Despite this high-flown oratory, the nature of discrimination murmured on, however gently and subtly formulated. The upshot was the proposed school structure constituted a stratified system which, although conceptually denied, would re-institutionalize the sharp division between the Indonesian and the Dutch communities.

The three proposals discussed in detail what post-war society of the indigenous Indonesian people should be like. They focused almost totally on the reform of schools for the Indonesian children and only touched slightly in passing on the schools for Dutch children. In his proposal the Director of Education and Religious Affairs even refused to present an elaborate plan of reform of the *Lagere School*, urging that it 'should be passed to private initiatives and remain outside the bounds of present consideration'.¹³⁰³ He used the prepositional expression 'the so-called' (*zgn.* or *zogenaamd* in Dutch) whenever referring to Western School or Education, as if the terms '*Westersche Lagere School*' and '*Westersch Onderwijs*' were unknown or had not been official in colonial time.¹³⁰⁴ All this, it seems to me, is an indication of Dutch efforts to regain the sympathy of the Indonesian people they had lost in the last years before and during the war.¹³⁰⁵ As a matter of fact, the post-war education for Dutch children in Indonesia would occupy an 'exceptional place' as De la Court suggested and therefore it should remain closed to public scrutiny as the Director urged. The Dutch proposals raised complicated political realities of the post-war educational reform.

C.2 The government plan, 1946-1947

The educational reform plan only became official on 13 June 1946 when the Dutch Minister of Overseas Territories in The Hague formed the Commission for the Study of the Problems Related to Indigenous Education in the Netherlands Indies.¹³⁰⁶ Today's historians generally agree that after 1942 there was no such 'Netherlands Indies' as that before the Japanese conquered the Archipelago. The use of 'Netherlands Indies' as the name of the Commission thus suggests the imagination of Dutch officials in The Hague about the return of the pre-war administration. In 1947, the political reality was that two autonomous governments controlled the territory of what formerly had been known as the Netherlands Indies, namely the government of the Republic of Indonesia and of the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration (NICA).

H.C. Croes chaired the Commission for the Study of the Problems Related to Indigenous Education in the (post-war) Netherlands Indies, P. Koeze was the secretary and A.J.A. Hofmeijer a member.¹³⁰⁷ The Croes Commission immediately realized that a long-term plan for educational reform

¹³⁰³ Ibid. 4.

¹³⁰⁴ Of course, the terminology was official as colonial education reports used it.

¹³⁰⁵ See again Chapters 4 and 5.

¹³⁰⁶ In original: 'Commissie tot bestudering van de vraagstukken, samenhangende met het onderwijs aan inheemsen in Nederlandsch-Indië'. Minister of Overseas Territories to Lieutenant Governor General of the Netherlands Indies, 24 May 1947, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 674 (ANRI).

¹³⁰⁷ The document does not mention who else members the Commission were. I shall refer to the Commission as the Croes Commission.

was still unattainable because of 'the towering uncertainty of the future structure of the state and society in Indonesia'. It also considered the post-war financial capacity of the Netherlands government a determining factor in the preparation of the reform plan.¹³⁰⁸ Nevertheless, after consulting the Director of Education and Religious Affairs, R.W. van Diffelen, and the Inspector of Indonesian Education in Batavia, J.C. Notebaart, who was summoned back to The Hague in February 1947,¹³⁰⁹ the Commission put together a proposal brainstorming seven issues.

The first issue was measures for combating illiteracy among adults up to the age of forty. Continuous efforts would be made by spreading reading materials to villages.¹³¹⁰ The Croes Commission also studied the structure of six-year primary education. This would be the standard system which would provide Indonesians with a general education 'based on their needs'. The Commission categorized what the Indonesian people needed into three sectors: agriculture, trade and industry! Hence, the later years of the six-year standard school would follow a differentiation based on these three sectors.¹³¹¹

In addition to the standard six-year primary education, there would be a separate system for the geographical areas in which the standard school was not available. This system would consist of three- or four-year basic instructions, plus two or three years of continued instruction. Both the standard and non-standard primary education would have a link to an upper-primary vocational education, which focused on agriculture, retail trade, and trade and industry. To provide staff for these types of schools, different sorts of normal school would be necessary. The Croes Commission 'fully re-considered the pre-war boarding school for teacher training'. The courses for teachers (*onderwijzersopleiding*) would also be subject to scrutiny. Finally, the Commission discussed the language issue; whether schools would use Dutch, Indonesian, the vernacular or combination of them all.¹³¹²

These were the main features of the reform plan. The Croes Commission took its time in working out the details. A proposal, some eighty pages long, was composed to tackle the literacy programmes. Readers were given a comparative overview of how the governments of Russia, Turkey, Mexico, China and the Philippines had managed to solve the problems of illiteracy.¹³¹³ In June 1947, the Commission separately issued an elaborate study report comparing the Dutch (pre-war) primary education system in Indonesia to its American counterpart in the Philippines.¹³¹⁴

The comparative report began with an analysis of the educational politics. Even since the Americans had occupied the Philippines at the beginning of the twentieth century, the report says,

¹³⁰⁸ H.C. Croes, Chair of the Commission for the Study of the Problems Related to Indigenous Education in the Netherlands-Indies', to the Minister of Overseas Territories, 25 April 1947, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 674 (ANRI), 1-2.

¹³⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 2.

¹³¹⁰ *Ibid.* 1.

¹³¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹³¹² *Ibid.*

¹³¹³ 'Bestrijding van het analphabetisme en het daarmede verband houdende vraagstuk van de nazorg betreffende de abiturienten van volksscholen en andere lagere scholen alsmede volwassenen', *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 674 (ANRI).

¹³¹⁴ H.C. Croes, Chair of the Commission for the Study of the Problems Related to Indigenous Education in the Netherlands-Indies', to the Minister of Overseas Territories, 6 June 1947, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 674 (ANRI).

they pursued the development of an autonomous national livelihood. Education for the Filipinos was designed to be the spearhead for that purpose. Through schooling, the Filipinos children would be learning to fulfil their own needs.¹³¹⁵ The Croes Commission was convinced self-autonomy in Filipino society had grown strongly because of strict, conscious and single-minded educational politics which were vigorously put into practice with the backing of the thoughtful idealism of social education.¹³¹⁶ The American educational system in the Philippines was one for all. It made no differentiation in schooling between the Western and Eastern children.¹³¹⁷

In contrast, the Dutch educational system in Indonesia emphasized the development of the intellectual level. The main purpose was to make children competent and flexibly ready to take up diverse functions in different aspects of the society. The Dutch system was dualistic. The purpose of school for the indigenous children was the general education of the village society. The Croes Commission was adamant that the dualistic educational system had been the source of both pedagogical and financial disadvantages. It seriously sabotaged the construction of a simple system for the greater mass of the population.¹³¹⁸

The Croes Commission said that the Dutch politicians and educationists who had laid the foundation of the educational system in Indonesia had been schooled in the Netherlands. They had grown up with the humanistic principles of the European Enlightenment, in which the Baconian thesis 'knowledge is power' was given a ready hearing. When these Dutch politicians and educationists were working on the school system in Indonesia, they managed to achieve a concordance or harmony between the schooling in Indonesia and that in the Netherlands. Emphasis was laid on the intellectual formation of the children, on the acquisition of knowledge and on high norms of the development of their faculties. While ideal qualitatively, this educational harmony did not necessarily meet the actual needs of the Indonesian society.¹³¹⁹

To learn from the American Philippines, the Croes Commission said, the post-war educational system in Indonesia had to develop 'the democratic principle of self-autonomy' it had lacked in the pre-war period. The intellectual aspect of the curricular lesson plans would need to be applicable in social development.¹³²⁰ The general and vocational streaming in upper-primary and high schools would connect to each other so as to combine the intellectual basis and the practical sense of the curricula.¹³²¹ As in the Philippines, physical as well as aesthetic education would also feature prominently throughout primary and high schools. Schools would use both morning and afternoon learning-slots and increasingly better reading materials and study facilities would be introduced. In the rural areas, the school would be made the educational and cultural centre of the villages.¹³²²

The Croes Commission believed that the educational personnel needed for a successful reform should be individuals who were pedagogically well trained, who were imbued with a strong personal

¹³¹⁵ 'Vergelijkend overzicht van de grondslagen der onderwijsvoorziening in Indonesië met het onderwijsstelsel in de Philippijnen', *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 674 (ANRI), 1.

¹³¹⁶ *Ibid.* 2.

¹³¹⁷ *Ibid.* 17.

¹³¹⁸ *Ibid.* 4.

¹³¹⁹ *Ibid.* 1-2.

¹³²⁰ *Ibid.* 17.

¹³²¹ *Ibid.* 19.

¹³²² *Ibid.* 17-8.

impetus of idealism for the goals of education, and who were conscious of their social duties. It is essential that schools should be under the leadership of individuals who possessed a strong intellectual and pedagogical sense of their responsibilities. School principals had to be able to manage and cultivate the potentials of their teaching staff in order to study diverse pedagogical questions and to find purposeful implementation of the study.¹³²³ In short, the Commission said, the re-organization of the teacher training system was extremely relevant. The training of teachers would follow simple curricula for years one to four. A higher level of curriculum would apply for years five and six.¹³²⁴

Some of the points that the Croes Commission highlighted were not indeed uniquely characteristic of the American educational policy in the Philippines. They were already set in the educational reform plan on which the colonial government was working prior to the outbreak of the Pacific War. The idea of schooling for individual autonomy, for example, was one of the core purposes of educational decentralization which the pre-war Netherlands Indies government had set forth in the early 1930s and implemented in Java and Madura in 1937.¹³²⁵ The intention of making school a cultural centre had been a major point of discussion among the colonial government officials in the late 1920s following the report made by Charles O. van der Plas about the nationalist education.¹³²⁶ The formulation of the criteria and qualifications of schoolteachers and principals that were needed for educational reform was also reminiscent of the re-organization plans for the teacher training school, which appeared in governmental correspondence at the close of the late colonial state.¹³²⁷ So, except for some statistical figures comparing the Philippines and Indonesia, the Croes Commission does seem to have revived the educational reform plan which the government of the pre-war Netherlands Indies itself had put together. This tallied the initial brainstorming which had proclaimed that the Croes Commission 'would fully reconsider the pre-war teacher training boarding school', including the courses for teachers (*onderwijzersopleiding*).¹³²⁸

As a matter of fact, the Croes Commission made it clear why a comparison with the American educational policy in the Philippines was necessary. It wrote: 'From *the Indonesian side*, it is often insinuated that the quality of the education system should be improved to be just like that which the Americans had introduced in the Philippines.'¹³²⁹ It perhaps referred to the Director of Education and Religious Affairs, R.W. van Duffelen, and the Inspector of Indonesian Education in Batavia, J.C. Notebaart, who had been called back to The Hague in February 1947.¹³³⁰ These two officials briefed the Croes Commission on the most recent (educational) situation in Indonesia at the time. But, with the exception of these two officials, the Commission did not mention any other matters referring 'the Indonesian side'.

¹³²³ Ibid. 18.

¹³²⁴ Ibid. 19.

¹³²⁵ I have discussed these points in Chapter 4. To refresh, see, for example, Minister of the Colonies to the Governor General, 16 Oct. 1934, in S.L. van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië: Een Bronnenpublikatie* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1963), 572-7.

¹³²⁶ Director of Education and Religious Affairs to the Governor General, 17 Jan. 1928, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 444-52.

¹³²⁷ Director of Education and Religious Affairs to the Governor General, 8 March 1940, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*, 677-90.

¹³²⁸ Croes to Minister of Overseas Territories, 25 April 1947, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 674 (ANRI), 1

¹³²⁹ Ibid. 3. Italics added.

¹³³⁰ Ibid. 2.

The Croes Commission itself continued to work on the reform proposals in The Hague. It made use of literary sources, for example, the study about ‘normative elements in pre-war education for the Indonesian people’ by A.D.A de Kat Angelino, so as to formulate the proposals of post-war educational reform.¹³³¹ When some of the proposals – those on the overall construction of educational system, the questions of school language, the design of curricula, and the teacher training system – had been completed, the Commission member, A.J.A. Hofmeijer ‘departed to the Indies by aeroplane on 27 October 1946 as to hand over them [the proposals] personally to the Director of Education and Religious Affairs and to give [the Director] necessary oral explanations’.¹³³² Hence it is difficult to eschew the impression that the proposals were promulgated top-down from The Hague. As had the Visman Commission 1941, the Croes Commission spoke on behalf or on the basis of ‘the wishes of the Indonesian people’. Also, like the reform proposals by the afore-mentioned Dutch educationists, the proposals by the Croes Commission impressively elaborated on the necessity of post-war society to embrace modern democracy. Nevertheless, while pointing out the American educational politics which reinforced individual autonomy, and while arguing for ‘democratic principles of education to develop democratic citizens’,¹³³³ the Croes Commission still worked on a top-down basis. It defined what the post-war education for the Indonesians should be or should look like. In my opinion, this was a strategic mistake in understanding the post-war politics.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the growing attention the world paid to educational development in Indonesia during the Second World War as well as the situation of Dutch and Indonesian teachers in its immediate aftermath from 1945 to 1949. It has also discussed the process of recovery which many individual teachers, Dutch and Indonesian alike, were going through during those tumultuous years. Both managed to look after themselves even if this meant they had to leave the teaching profession. The government systematically managed to prevent a brain-drain of teachers by adjusting salaries and the ranking systems. In general, the problems arising from the recovery process of Dutch teachers were administrative, while those of Indonesian teachers were both administrative and political because they had been affected by nationalism. The way the post-war Dutch government in Indonesia dealt with the problems of schoolteachers indicates that the administration in the former Netherlands Indies had begun to function relatively normally by the second half of 1946. It also shows that the post-war Dutch government in Indonesia was tactically careful in dealing with the problems arising from the recovery process of those individual teachers.

Since the outbreak of the Pacific War, there had been a growing international attention paid to public education in post-war Indonesia. This fact notwithstanding, the *Den Haag* controlled government of post-war Indonesia remained solidly bound to re-embracing the pre-war educational policy lines. While the phrases of democracy and democratic values burgeoned in the educational reform plans proposed by the government and Dutch educationists, probably as the result of international pressure, the underlying philosophy of the plans and the way they were constructed and

¹³³¹ ‘Vergelijkend overzicht’, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 674 (ANRI), 18.

¹³³² Croes to Minister of Overseas Territories, 25 April 1947, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 674 (ANRI), 3.

¹³³³ ‘Vergelijkend overzicht’, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 674 (ANRI), 17.

discussed reflected very much a top-down approach. These plans do not seem to have worked out partly because of the limited capacities of the government and partly because of the changing political constellation. Nevertheless, the first four years after the end of the Pacific War in Indonesia witnessed the rejuvenation of the pre-war spirit of education in which the Dutch dominated in determining what the education for Indonesians should be and should look like. ***AS

Chapter 7

New Time, Old Style

Introduction

The previous chapter has portrayed the chaotic situation from 1945 to 1949 in which school teachers managed to find their feet in the aftermath of the war. It has also analysed the educational reform plans which some Dutch teachers and the government considered appropriate for introduction in post-war Indonesia. Although these plans barely had the opportunity to be worked out, the process of educational (re-)institutionalization indicated a rejuvenation of the pre-war educational spirit. This held true in the geographical areas under the control of the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration (NICA). In the areas of the Republic of Indonesia, the recovery was highly prone to interruption necessitated by military mobilization.

The theme of this chapter is to explore the process of recovery and institutionalization of the teacher training system from 1945-1949. As the threat of the brain drain of school teachers was glaringly apparent and the contribution of teachers was especially counted on during the institutionalization of the educational system, the availability and the quality of school teachers soon emerged as a critical issue. This chapter will attempt to describe the teacher training system in the areas under the control of the NICA and in those under the jurisdiction of the Indonesian Republic, although the limitation of sources has obscured any effort to compare the situations in the two geopolitical areas fairly. The final part of this chapter will discuss the issue of schoolbooks and learning materials. Together, the issues of teachers, learning materials, and school buildings (to be addressed in Chapter 9) constituted the core of educational problems which Indonesia was facing during the tumultuous years of the breach in the dike from 1945 to 1958.

A. The new school system and consolidation of the teaching corps

As far as the Dutch government in post-war Indonesia was concerned and insofar as individual teachers and educational recovery were the issue, the chaotic situation which followed the Japanese capitulation in Indonesia lasted throughout 1946. Although educational reform plans were proposed (and had been suggested) as early as 1944, the process of institutional re-settlement only occurred in any systematic form from 1947. Steps were taken after the transfer of power from the British occupation administration to the Dutch in November 1946.¹³³⁴ Before this, in July 1946, Dutch-elected regional representatives and rulers of ethnic groups had conferred in the South Sulawesi resort of Malino. At the conference in Malino the representatives of the Dutch-led government suggested the formation of a federal administrative system because 'direct elections were impossible, [because] the population [was] lacking in both literacy and organization'. The Malino Conference – as it was then known – agreed to the government proposal. The federal states would include Borneo and Greater East Indonesia as well as the Republic of Indonesia, which had been declared on 17 August 1945. Another conference convened in Denpasar, Bali in December, 1946, ratified the establishment of the

¹³³⁴ Richard McMillan, *The British Occupation of Indonesia 1945-1946: Britain, The Netherlands and the Indonesian Revolution* (London: Routledge, 2005).

Borneo State and the Great East Indonesia State.¹³³⁵ The Great East Indonesia State was officially declared in Jakarta on 13 January 1947 and bore the name of *Negara Indonesia Timur*, East Indonesia State.¹³³⁶ It covered thirteen regions across Sulawesi and the Lesser Sunda Islands with its capital in Singaraja, Bali.¹³³⁷ The State of West Borneo was declared upon the signing of an agreement between the local leaders in Pontianak on 12 May 1947. This state became the State of Borneo on 27 August 1947 and covered the whole geographical area of Dutch Borneo.¹³³⁸ These federal states would be running under the umbrella administration of what was claimed to be 'the government of the Federal States of the Netherlands Indies' in Jakarta.¹³³⁹ Writing in November 1947, American political analyst H. Arthur Steiner said 'There is no report of international recognition apart from the de facto status which the Dutch have accorded under the Denpasar agreement'.¹³⁴⁰

In the meantime, in the West Javanese village of Linggajati (or Linggarjati¹³⁴¹) in March 1947, the Dutch and the government of the Republic of Indonesia ratified what is known as the Linggajati Agreement. In the form in which it was published by the 'Netherlands Indies Government Information Service',¹³⁴² the Linggajati Agreement consisted of seventeen articles. Both sides agreed to recognize the government of the Republic of Indonesia exercising de facto authority over Java, Madura and Sumatra (Article 1). By 1 January 1949 (Article 12), the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia should have formed a 'sovereign federal state, the United States of Indonesia' (Article 2),¹³⁴³ which would consist of the Republic of Indonesia and the Borneo as well as the East Indonesia States (Article 4).¹³⁴⁴

The political constellation which was formed in the wake of the Linggajati Agreement was extremely volatile so that the geographical boundaries between the areas controlled by the NICA and those by the Republic of Indonesia underwent, in Steiner's words, continuous and intermittent modifications.¹³⁴⁵ Nevertheless, according to Indonesianist Ben Anderson, 'during the four years of [Indonesian] Revolution (1945-1949), there were really two states functioning in Indonesia – that of the

¹³³⁵ Netherlands Indies Government Information Service, *The Indonesian Problem, Facts and Factors: What Happened since the End of the Pacific War* (Batavia: Netherlands Indies Government, 1947), 16. The 'Netherlands Indies' appears in this publication as the name of the publishing office. So, it should be written as it is no matter how complicated have been the historiography debates which surround the use of such a name in the post-war time!

¹³³⁶ H. Arthur Steiner, 'Post-War Government in the Netherlands East Indies', *The Journal of Politics* Vol. 9 No. 4 (Nov. 1947), 650.

¹³³⁷ Netherlands Indies Government Information Service, *The Indonesian Problem, Facts and Factors*, 17.

¹³³⁸ Steiner, 'Post-War Government in the Netherlands East Indies', 651.

¹³³⁹ Ibid. 650. For an elaboration on the historiography of the term 'Federal State of the Netherlands Indies', see footnote no. 19 in the Introduction Chapter.

¹³⁴⁰ Ibid. 651.

¹³⁴¹ Another version of the village name is Linggarjati (with an 'r').

¹³⁴² This is the proper noun of the publisher of the cited document. The use of the name 'Netherlands Indies Government' in this context indicates that the publishing institution of the cited-document was a Dutch government office, not a Republican one.

¹³⁴³ This Article 2 of the Linggajati Agreement indicates two points. First, even though the Malino Conference in July 1946 had claimed to include the Republic of Indonesia as a member, from the Republican perspective the Republic of Indonesia was not part of what the Malino Conference had declared as the 'Federal States of the Netherlands Indies'. Second, the Linggajati Agreement was created as a 'political tie' by which the Dutch aimed to 'impose' one of the results of the Malino Conference on the government of the Indonesian Republic, that is, to form a federation of states under the umbrella of 'the Netherlands Indies'.

¹³⁴⁴ Netherlands Indies Government Information Service, *The Indonesian Problem, Facts and Factors*, 33-4.

¹³⁴⁵ Steiner, 'Post-War Government in the Netherlands East Indies', 627.

infant Republic and that of the Netherlands-Indies'.¹³⁴⁶ In how far did this statement by Anderson hold true in terms of educational administration? In a radio speech in 1947, the Dutch education official J.A. Wiggers addressed the new design of the six-year primary school, pointing out the position of both governments. 'This [new design] is effective all over Indonesia. In this case, there is dissension between the governments of the Netherlands Indies and that of the Republic of Indonesia.'¹³⁴⁷ Wiggers tends to imply that although the two governments in the political arena were oppositional (so as to function in two different states in Anderson's sense), they shared the ideas of educational reforms.

In the territories under the control of the NICA an educational authority was gradually transferred from Jakarta to regional departments. On 1 April 1947, for example, the East Indonesia State founded its own Department of Education and was granted autonomous authority over the primary and secondary education in its territories by Jakarta.¹³⁴⁸ Details of the educational policies transferred only became known when people explored the re-centralizing process of the regional authorities of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia to found the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia in 1950.¹³⁴⁹

It is difficult to estimate how far the formerly explored proposals of educational reforms were put into actual practice during this period of vast political changes. But, viewing the situation from the Dutch perspective, the institutional re-settlement covered overall aspects of schooling. The publication of the office 'Information and Publicity Section of the Netherlands Indies Government Department of Education' cited above describes the process in 1948 as follows:

'Notwithstanding [this entire confused situation], [...] [i]n the areas where it was easy to reach the youth, all efforts were made in reconstructing education.'

'Teachers were called back from Holland, Siam, Malaya, Britain, Australia, Japan and the Philippines. Many Indonesian teachers remained true to their profession despite very many difficulties. Materials of study were collected, furniture was repaired or manufactured. But many school buildings were in use with the occupation-troops or were not available for educational purposes owing to other reasons.'¹³⁵⁰

¹³⁴⁶ Benedict R.O'G Anderson, 'Old States, New Society: Indonesia's New Order in Comparative Historical Perspective', *The Journal of Asian Studies: Review of Eastern and Southern Asia and the Adjacent Pacific Islands* Vol. 42 Issue 3 (May 1983), 477-96. Quote from p. 481. In this article Anderson does use the term 'the government of the Netherlands Indies' to refer to the political entity which governed the Indonesian areas outside the jurisdiction of the Indonesian Republic between 1945 and 1949.

¹³⁴⁷ J.A. Wiggers, 'Pengadjaran Rendah', in Afdeeling Voorlichting Departement Onderwijs en Eeredienst, *Radio Batavia: Pidato 2 Lezingen Juli-October 1947* (Batavia: Balai Poestaka, 1948), 39-44. Quote from p. 40. This is a direct quotation from Wiggers, thus the use of the term 'the government of the Netherlands Indies' is attributed to him and shows his perspective. Here, I mean to point out that, while the government of the East Indonesia State was seldom portrayed in opposition to the 'Netherlands Indies government', that of the Republic of Indonesia was often subject to a contrastive analysis.

¹³⁴⁸ R. Schrader, 'Pemandangan tentang Pengadjaran Sekarang' in Afdeeling Voorlichting, *Radio Batavia*, 10-5; Wiggers, 'Pengadjaran Rendah', in Afdeeling Voorlichting, *Radio Batavia*, 44.

¹³⁴⁹ This will be part of the discussion in Chapter 8. Although I found archives on the re-centralization, the de-centralizing process to the Federal States only appeared in separate archives concerning some policies.

¹³⁵⁰ The Information and Publicity Section, *Education in Indonesia*, without page number. Quote from the 8th and the 9th leaves/sheets.

Perhaps the most striking and critical process was the way in which the government managed to re-organize the position of teachers. Through a series of publications in *Madjallah Kita*¹³⁵¹ between 1947 and 1950, and through a series of radio talks in 1947,¹³⁵² it seems the post-war Dutch government in Indonesia made an attempt to raise the spirit of the teaching corps. In 1947 when the Jakarta-based Dutch government agreed to a plan of the new standard system of education, the readers of *Madjallah Kita* were reminded that 'the success or failure of such a new system does not depend on the plan in itself nor on its method. It counts on the full attention and enthusiasm that the teachers pay to it.'¹³⁵³

According to *Madjallah Kita*, instead of each individual teacher, every school received the printed material containing the six-year educational curriculum. The school principal was responsible for circulating the material among teachers, for example, by drawing a reading roster.¹³⁵⁴ 'After all, teachers – like pupils – are members of the school family,' the government said. 'It is not sufficient for a teacher to care only for the class which s/he teaches. S/he has to develop a sense of responsibility for the life of the whole school and help fellow-teachers in a reciprocal fashion. S/he also has to study overall the new curriculum.'¹³⁵⁵

The new system consisted of a six-year primary school and six or seven years of secondary school education.¹³⁵⁶ Unlike the pre-war set-up, the new educational system did not acknowledge racial and social discrimination. The six-year primary school was to be compulsory for all school-age children living in Indonesia. As the education minister of the East Indonesia State said, 'If Indonesia intends to be a great country in the Pacific and to play important roles in international community, it has to implement the six-year system of primary school.'¹³⁵⁷ However, the new educational system did not recognize linguistic differentiation. The education ministers of the federal states were to decide – upon agreement with their people – what language and what method of teaching and learning were to be used at school in their territories.¹³⁵⁸

The secondary education consisted of four years of secondary and three years of pre-university school. The secondary school would have the same curricula for all schools. The pre-university school would employ four streams of curricula, namely Western and Eastern literature, science and socio-economics.¹³⁵⁹ All these were general in character. Various vocational schools would

¹³⁵¹ The complete name of this monthly journal was *Madjallah Kita: Soerat Berkala oentoek Goeroe-Goeroe Sekolah Rendah*, published in the Indonesian language by the Departemen Pengadjaran dan 'Ibadat Djakarta. First edition appeared on 1 December 1947. For its tenth edition, 1 September 1948, the journal name was changed into *Pedoman Goeroe: Soerat Berkala oentoek Goeroe-Goeroe Sekolah Rendah*, published by Departemen Pendidikan, Keboedajaan dan Pengetahoean Djakarta. In 1949, the journal appeared bi-monthly, with its last edition of the second volume/year given as No. 11/12-Oct/Nov. 1949. The first issue of the third year was only appeared on 1 March 1950. No other issues after this March 1950 edition are available in library deposits.

¹³⁵² This is the source I have formerly referred to: Afdeeling Voorlichting Departement Onderwijs en Eeredienst, *Radio Batavia: Pidato 2 Lezingen Juli-October 1947* (Batavia: Balai Poestaka, 1948).

¹³⁵³ 'Rentjana Pengadjaran Baroe bagi Sekolah Rendah jang Lamanja Enam Tahoen', *Pedoman Goeroe: Soerat Berkala oentoek Goeroe-Goeroe Sekolah Rendah*, Tahoen I No. 12 (1 Nov. 1948), 6.

¹³⁵⁴ 'Rentjana Pengadjaran Baroe bagi Sekolah Rendah jang Lamanja Enam Tahoen', *Madjallah Kita: Soerat Berkala oentoek Goeroe-Goeroe Sekolah Rendah*, Tahoen I (1 Dec. 1947), 7.

¹³⁵⁵ 'Rentjana Pengadjaran Baroe', *Madjallah Kita*, Tahoen I (1 Dec. 1947), 8-9.

¹³⁵⁶ M. Crijns, 'Penjoesoenan Soeatoe Pergoeroean Baroe', in Afdeeling Voorlichting, *Radio Batavia*, 16-20.

¹³⁵⁷ Wiggers, 'Pengadjaran Rendah', in Afdeeling Voorlichting, *Radio Batavia*, 39.

¹³⁵⁸ Crijns, 'Penjoesoenan Soeatoe Pergoeroean Baroe', in Afdeeling Voorlichting, *Radio Batavia*, 18.

¹³⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 18-9.

be introduced at the secondary level, for example, for commerce, engineering and the training of primary-school teachers.¹³⁶⁰ Taking over where secondary schools left off, institutions of higher learning would provide students with instructions in engineering, medicine, literature, law, and the training of secondary-school teachers.¹³⁶¹

In 1947, the government projected that within five years, some 8 million Indonesians would attend the six-year primary schools. This would be an increase of about 5 million compared to the 1940 situation, when approximately 3 million Indonesian children enjoyed the benefit of education. If this goal were to be achieved, it was estimated that densely populated areas like Central Java should have one school for every community of 1,500 people.¹³⁶² Unfortunately, because the socio-economic and political situations made it impossible for the government to implement the new school system all over Indonesia, a transition period had to be organized. In the areas where the six-year primary school could not yet be established, the three-year school was extended to four years, and would gradually be increased to six years. All over Indonesia, the village school and the *vervolg-school* were absorbed into the six-year system.¹³⁶³

The new curriculum was also of a provisional character. 'In the future, this plan is likely to change, depending on developments in Indonesian society.'¹³⁶⁴ Moreover, one single curricular plan of primary school for the whole geographical area of Indonesia was 'not simply difficult to piece together, it was also impossible'.¹³⁶⁵ Taking these two points into consideration, the government serial publications in *Madjallah Kita* were designed to provide teachers with relevant details and guides.

In principle, the government intended to replace the class-based model of instruction with the Montessori System in combination with the Dalton System and the *Totaal Systeem*. The class-based (or classical) model placed too much emphasis on the uniformity of learning. Children with different individual interests and capabilities were obliged to sit in one class to take the same lessons. Consequently, individual differences in learning produced by personal competence and interests were not given enough recognition. The government said that this was the practice of schooling in the pre-war Netherlands Indies.¹³⁶⁶

In the Montessori System, the post-war school would allow pupils more freedom of learning. In class, they did not have to learn about the same thing. Instead, they could learn about a topic, which particularly suited their interests and capabilities. They could even sit in the way they found most convenient for their lessons because classroom chairs were free standing not regimented in rows. While the students were learning in their own ways, the task of the teacher was simply to supervise them and to give them assistance when needed.¹³⁶⁷ One problem which cropped up was that the educational experience of the United States, England, Japan and the Netherlands showed that the Montessori System did not function fully as planned. The major obstacle was the training of teachers.

¹³⁶⁰ Ibid. 19.

¹³⁶¹ Ibid. 20.

¹³⁶² Herman Leenes, 'Paedagogische Problemen in Indonesie II: Grote en Spontane Belangstelling voor Scholen en Onderwijs', *De Volkskrant* 13 November 1947.

¹³⁶³ Crijns, 'Penjoesoenan Soeatoe Pergoeroean Baroe', in *Afdeeling Voorlichting, Radio Batavia*, 18.

¹³⁶⁴ 'Rentjana Pengadjaran Baroe', *Madjallah Kita*, Tahoen I (1 Dec. 1947), 10.

¹³⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶⁶ Ibid. 12-3.

¹³⁶⁷ Ibid. 14.

Teachers in the Montessori School System were expected to be capable of supervising the learning process of each student.¹³⁶⁸ In other words, if the Montessori System was fully applied, every teacher had to be able to supervise and give assistance to the individual process of learning of every student in a class, each of whom would have a unique capability and interest in learning.

The aim of the Dalton System – first developed by Helen Parkhurst in 1920 and named after the Massachusetts town of Dalton in the United States – was to tackle the weaknesses of the Montessori System.¹³⁶⁹ In the Dalton System, a teacher would continue to assume the task of supervising and assisting each student's individual learning process. However, s/he should assign students work through which they learned, either independently or in co-operation, about problem solving and individual thinking.¹³⁷⁰

The '*Totaal Systeem*' facilitated students in learning from a contextual experience unlimited by the classroom. In the *totaal systeem*, teachers should stimulate the students' inquiry through their involvement in everyday life.¹³⁷¹ They had to be able to prepare teaching aids and materials which had direct relevance to the students.¹³⁷² Plants, animals, the human environment and inanimate objects provided endless sources of learning.¹³⁷³ Students would identify themselves with the characteristics and needs of the locality in which they lived.¹³⁷⁴ Therefore, teachers should begin to learn how to select appropriate teaching materials from their neighbourhood. Having done so, they would have to think creatively about how to use the materials in the new systems.¹³⁷⁵

'School has to teach children in such a fashion that they recognize different ways of acquiring knowledge. In short, school has to teach children how to learn!' an article in *Pedoman Goeroe* states. 'To force teachers to adopt the same method of teaching is not the purpose of this new system. We have to realize that teaching the same materials to all students all over the country is not possible because people in different regions have their own needs relating to their own region. School has to adjust to the needs of the people where they are.'¹³⁷⁶

Nevertheless, the new curriculum emphasized the three competences the government considered relevant that all children acquire irrespective of their geographical localities. They were language competence, character building, and basic knowledge and skills. The language competence was a requirement for developing children's independent thinking.¹³⁷⁷ The Director of Education and Worship, R. W. van Diffelen, explained the critical importance of school children learning three

¹³⁶⁸ 'Rentjana Pengadjaran Baroe bagi Sekolah Rendah jang Lamanja Enam Tahoen', *Madjallah Kita: Soerat Berkala oentoek Goeroe-Goeroe Sekolah Rendah*, Tahoen I No. 2 (1 Jan. 1948), 8.

¹³⁶⁹ On the Dalton system, see, for example http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dalton_Plan.

¹³⁷⁰ 'Rentjana Pengadjaran Baroe', *Madjallah Kita*, Tahoen I No. 2 (1 Jan. 1948), 9-11.

¹³⁷¹ 'Rentjana Pengadjaran Baroe bagi Sekolah Rendah jang Lamanja Enam Tahoen', *Madjallah Kita: Soerat Berkala oentoek Goeroe-Goeroe Sekolah Rendah*, Tahoen I No. 3 (1 Feb. 1948), 5.

¹³⁷² 'Rentjana Pengadjaran Baroe bagi Sekolah Rendah jang Lamanja Enam Tahoen', *Madjallah Kita: Soerat Berkala oentoek Goeroe-Goeroe Sekolah Rendah*, Tahoen I No. 8 (1 July 1948), 3.

¹³⁷³ 'Rentjana Pengadjaran Baroe', *Madjallah Kita*, Tahoen I No. 3 (1 Feb. 1948), 5-8.

¹³⁷⁴ 'Rentjana Pengadjaran Baroe', *Madjallah Kita*, Tahoen I No. 8 (1 July 1948), 7.

¹³⁷⁵ 'Rentjana Pengadjaran Baroe bagi Sekolah Rendah jang Lamanja Enam Tahoen', *Madjallah Kita: Soerat Berkala oentoek Goeroe-Goeroe Sekolah Rendah*, Tahoen I No. 9 (1 Aug. 1948), 5.

¹³⁷⁶ 'Rentjana Pengadjaran Baroe bagi Sekolah Rendah jang Lamanja Enam Tahoen', *Pedoman Goeroe: Soerat Berkala oentoek Goeroe-Goeroe Sekolah Rendah*, Tahoen I No. 11 (1 Oct. 1948), 7-9.

¹³⁷⁷ 'Rentjana Pengadjaran Baroe bagi Sekolah Rendah jang Lamanja Enam Tahoen', *Madjallah Kita: Soerat Berkala oentoek Goeroe-Goeroe Sekolah Rendah*, Tahoen I No. 5 (1 April 1948), 14-6.

languages: their mother tongue, Indonesian and Dutch. The mother tongue or vernacular language connected children with their society of origin. The Indonesian language, 'bahasa Melajoe', was spoken by the majority of the Indonesian population. Consequently, it connected people from one to other regions. The Dutch language – more than being simply the daily language of an ethnic minority of Dutch descent – was the language through which Indonesian children could pursue Western knowledge and science up to the higher level. The Dutch language rather than Indonesian or the vernacular languages was the gateway through which Indonesian children 'would find facilities to learn other foreign [Western] languages'. If the Dutch language was removed from school, 'the only element which links all schools throughout Indonesia would disappear, too'.¹³⁷⁸

The character building aimed to develop the child's ability to learn moral and social values. 'Through games and sports, children learn about self-confidence, self-control, courage and solidarity'.¹³⁷⁹ Children had to grow up in the values and characteristics of their own identities without becoming xenophobic.¹³⁸⁰ Finally, basic knowledge and skills were important to the comprehensive development of students, which was to cover physical, social, aesthetic and psychological aspects.¹³⁸¹ Vocational skills, technical education and the special education for girls would be paid extensive attention.¹³⁸²

Fairly exhaustive, this series of publications as well as the radio talks were devised to provide teachers with information about the new path in educational reform. They were meant to be a 'temporary' manual guide for teachers, as most schools lacked in experienced and well-trained teachers.¹³⁸³ They addressed teachers as the audience, although the readers of the publications and the listeners to the radio talks were not necessarily coterminous with teachers. Nevertheless, the exclusive selection of teachers as the target of the information dissemination nevertheless shows that, more than merely reminding teachers of their duties in the 'new' Indonesian society, the purpose of the government was to rebuild the spirit of the teaching corps. As the editors of *Madjallah Kita* wrote in the first issue, 'an educational reform plan will not work out if the people who carry out the plan in the field do not pay attention to and understand it, or they are not given an appropriate training in it'.¹³⁸⁴ 'Moreover,' wrote the editors in the first issue of the second year, 'only by close and continuous co-operation between all parties from the highest to the lowest can the new educational plan work out successfully'.¹³⁸⁵

¹³⁷⁸ R.W. van Diffelen, 'Penoentoen', in Afdeeling Voorlichting, *Radio Batavia*, 5-9. The quotes are from, successively, pp. 9 and 8.

¹³⁷⁹ 'Rentjana Pengadjaran Baroe bagi Sekolah Rendah jang Lamanja Enam Tahoen', *Madjallah Kita: Soerat Berkala oentoek Goeroe-Goeroe Sekolah Rendah*, Tahoen I No. 6 (1 May 1948), 12-6.

¹³⁸⁰ R.W. van Diffelen, 'Tirai Belakang Rohani dari Pengadjaran dan Pendidikan Watak', in Afdeeling Voorlichting, *Radio Batavia*, 21-5. This speech also appeared in *Madjallah oentoek Para Pendidik di Indonesia/Periodiek voor de Leerkrachten in Indonesië* No. 3 (1948), 36-8.

¹³⁸¹ 'Rentjana Pengadjaran Baroe bagi Sekolah Rendah jang Lamanja Enam Tahoen', *Madjallah Kita: Soerat Berkala oentoek Goeroe-Goeroe Sekolah Rendah*, Tahoen I No. 4 (1 March 1948), 4-7.

¹³⁸² W.F. Engels, 'Pengadjaran Pertoekangan dan Teknik', in Afdeeling Voorlichting, *Radio Batavia*, 57-61; M. Geldens, 'Pengadjaran Keradjanan oentoek Perempoean', in Afdeeling Voorlichting, *Radio Batavia*, 62-8.

¹³⁸³ 'Rentjana Pengadjaran Baroe', *Madjallah Kita*, Tahoen I (1 Dec. 1947), 11.

¹³⁸⁴ 'Toegas Madjallah Kita', *Madjallah Kita* Tahoen I (1 December 1947), 3.

¹³⁸⁵ 'Rentjana Pengadjaran Baroe bagi Sekolah Rendah jang Lamanja Enam Tahoen', *Pedoman Goeroe: Soerat Berkala oentoek Goeroe-Goeroe Sekolah Rendah*, Tahoen 2 No. 1 (1 Dec. 1948), 6.

In *Pedoman Guru* of March 1950 – perhaps the last issue of the journal – the government again reminded readers about how important the position of teachers was in the process of education. ‘However beautiful the school buildings are, however modern the facilities, they will not bear fruit without teachers who perform well,’ an article in *Pedoman Guru* ‘Pengadjar’, ‘Teacher’, says.¹³⁸⁶ The article insists that successful teachers should have two sorts of basic qualifications: satisfactory academic competence and appropriate personal qualities. A teacher had to be physically healthy. Besides general and subject knowledge, s/he also had to acquire pedagogical knowledge, but most importantly of all, the teacher had to have personal qualities like a love and passion for children, her/his profession and knowledge. ‘It is wonderful if any of you have served as a teacher for years. Make sure you do not turn into a machine, doing the same thing every day and expecting the same result!’ the article continues.¹³⁸⁷ In other words, a teacher should be eager to keep on learning.

The development of this characteristic figure was the focus of teacher training. Before the war, the unique training of teachers in boarding schools emphasized the acquisition of both professional competence and personal qualities. Students learned both ‘the theories and the practice’ of teaching.¹³⁸⁸ ‘In Teachers’ School, *Normaalschool* or the Training School for Primary Teachers, students were trained in the qualifications required for the profession,’ the article in *Pedoman Guru* states.¹³⁸⁹ In an attempt to encourage its teacher readers, the article continues: ‘After the war, teachers in Indonesia have continued to be devoted to their duty, brimming with resilience and self-confidence. Unfortunately, these teachers have remained in the shadows, away from the public and have received only few rewards.’¹³⁹⁰

B.1 The training of teachers

After a four-year secondary education, the new standard training of primary-school teachers would last two years; this was called *kweekschool nieuwe stijl*. The new standard training of secondary-school teachers would require two to three years of tertiary education for limited qualifications (*bepaalde bevoegdheid*), and five years for full qualifications (*volledige bevoegdheid*). Pedagogy and psychology, plus general and subject-content knowledge, would feature prominently in the curricula of these training schools.¹³⁹¹

Like the new standard school system, the new standard teacher-training system would only gradually be introduced. A government official declared that an immediate reform of all school systems was hindered by limited financial capacity, infrastructure and a serious lack of qualified personnel.¹³⁹² In 1947, the Department of Education in Jakarta proposed a budget of 133 million guilders for 1948, of which 33 million would go to the Education Department of the East Indonesia

¹³⁸⁶ ‘Pengadjar’, *Pedoman Guru* Tahun III No. 1 (1 March 1950), 10-6. Quote from p. 11.

¹³⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 15.

¹³⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 13.

¹³⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 11.

¹³⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 15.

¹³⁹¹ M. Crijns, ‘Pendidikan Goeroe-Goeroe dan Goeroe-Goeroe Sekolah Menengah/De Opleiding van Onderwijzers en Leraren’, in Afdeeling Voorlichting, *Radio Batavia*, 69-74. Referred are especially pp. 71 and 73. This speech also appeared in *Madjallah oentoek Para Pendidik di Indonesia/Periodiek voor de Leerkrachten in Indonesië* No. 3 (1948), 33-5.

¹³⁹² Crijns, ‘Pendidikan Goeroe-Goeroe’, in Afdeeling Voorlichting, *Radio Batavia*, 72.

State which had just begun operating. A projection forecast that within about five to seven years, with some 8 million primary-school and 500,000 secondary-school pupils, the total education budget would reach 215 million guilders.¹³⁹³ This was no more than an estimate. It is not known if the proposed 1948 budget was agreed upon.

Even if the proposed budget had been accepted, it would have taken years before the teacher training schools could deliver new teachers, but in fact the government was expecting some 1,500 new teachers in 1948. It was estimated that there would be 5,500 more teachers in 1949, 7,500 in 1950 and 11,000 in 1951; nothing more than an estimate and an expectation, not the actual capacity. In 1947, the Director of Education in Jakarta asked the Netherlands government in The Hague to send Dutch teachers tempted by an attractive remuneration scheme to Indonesia. These teachers would enjoy a permanent position in the public service. They would receive a salary based on the European standard, plus an additional income of as much as 70 per cent of the basic salary. The years of service would be counted double when they retired. Upon retirement, they would also receive a bonus and an extra payment calculated on each of their years of service.¹³⁹⁴ It seems The Hague did not approve the Jakarta proposal.¹³⁹⁵ Having embraced the autonomy principle for its colonies, The Hague would have been unlikely to share the amount it would have cost for sending Dutch teachers to Indonesia. Importantly, the Netherlands itself needed school teachers as badly as any other country in the aftermath of the Second World War.

The transitional period (circa 1947 to 1949) required an emergency policy to be put in place. There were still various types of teacher-training schools in operation, the majority revived on the basis of the pre-war models. These included the afore-mentioned *kweekschool nieuwe stijl*, the *normaalschool* and the *Opleiding School voor Volksschool Onderwijzers/-essen* (OSVO, training school for village-school teachers). These were supplemented by afternoon courses, both in writing and oral, equivalent to those three different types of teacher training. Last but not least, there were also afternoon courses to earn a teaching diploma in the field subjects (*vakopleiding*).¹³⁹⁶ Government officials realized that the pre-war training system for village-school teachers, which followed on for another two years after the five-year primary school, was simply inadequate to meet the post-war demands on qualified teachers. The same could be said of the pre-war *normaalschool*, which added four years onto five years' primary school.¹³⁹⁷ Nevertheless, these types of teacher training appeared to be the most reasonable choice in the midst of the severe difficulties besetting the government.

It has to be noted again that, although a variety of teacher training schools still existed after the war, this did not necessarily signify racial or social discrimination. As explored in the previous sections of this chapter, after the Second World War many Dutch educationalists and education officials in Indonesia consciously embraced the idea of democracy in school policies. This was perhaps a result of interaction with their American colleagues in the Philippines or a conclusion reached in

¹³⁹³ Herman Leenes, 'Paedagogische Problemen in Indonesia II', *De Volkskrant* 13 November 1947.

¹³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹⁵ The source does not mention if the proposal gained approval. Considering the transitional policy the Dutch government in post-war Indonesia then made, it was likely that no approval to the sending Dutch teachers to Jakarta was granted.

¹³⁹⁶ Crijns, 'Pendidikan Goeroe-Goeroe', in *Afdeeling Voorlichting, Radio Batavia*, 72.

¹³⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 70.

conference debates. Regardless of whatever political motivations underlined the post-war ideological contours of these Dutch educationalists and education officials, in my opinion, it is in this context of the growing consciousness of democratic values that the disappearance of such pre-war school categories as the *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool* (HIK), *Hollands Chinese Kweekschool* (HCS) and *Europese Kweekschool*, should be understood. The variety of the post-war schools and courses offered was indeed 'extraordinary' and of necessity transitional because these schools were operating in an emergency situation caused by the fact that the new standard training schools for primary- and secondary-school teachers¹³⁹⁸ would only gradually get off the ground, but the immediate demand for new teachers could not wait to be met. This is an appropriate juncture to look at the teacher training systems during this transitional period.

B.1.1 *Kweekschool nieuwe stijl*

The *kweekschool baru* or *kweekschool nieuwe stijl* was the new standard training school for primary school teachers. It would become the only school for this purpose, as far as the government could plan ahead by 1948. The *normaalschool*, the OVVO and all other sorts of courses, which still operated during the transitional years, would gradually be eased out.¹³⁹⁹

The *kweekschool nieuwe stijl* was claimed to be new in style because its curriculum required two years. Its students had to be graduates of a four-year general secondary school (those awarding Diploma A and Diploma B).¹⁴⁰⁰ Graduates of the six- or seven-year secondary schools could also apply. For the latter category, the training took one year only.¹⁴⁰¹

The pre-war *kweekschool*, for example the HIK, admitted pupils who had completed the seven-year Dutch primary school (*Hollands Inlandse School*/HIS or its equivalence). The HIK training lasted from four to six years. Hence, in terms of the length of training, the post-war *kweekschool*—the *kweekschool nieuwe stijl*—was shorter than its pre-war counterpart. Yet, unlike the HIK first-years who graduated from a seven-year primary school, the first-year students at the *kweekschool nieuwe stijl* had already completed four-year secondary education after six years primary school. Looked from the entire their length of schooling since primary education, teachers graduating from the *kweekschool nieuwe stijl* would have had twelve years of formation in total. This had normally taken those graduating from the pre-war HIK either eleven or thirteen years.¹⁴⁰²

The *kweekschool nieuwe stijl* ran at the level of secondary education. It provided a vocational training, which fully prepared teachers for the pedagogical duties in primary schools. As the new *kweekschool* was a vocational school, its students were not prepared for university education and its

¹³⁹⁸ Namely, for teachers of primary school, two-year training at secondary-education level after four-year secondary school. For teachers of secondary school, a higher learning of two to three years for limited qualifications (*bepaalde bevoegdheid*), and five years for full qualifications (*volledige bevoegdheid*). See again Crijns, 'Pendidikan Goeroe-Goeroe', in *Afdeeling Voorlichting, Radio Batavia*, 71 and 73.

¹³⁹⁹ 'Kweekschool Baroe', *Madjallah oentoek Para Pendidik di Indonesia/Periodiek voor de Leerkrachten in Indonesië* No. 5 (1948), 13-22; particularly referred here p. 13.

¹⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 16.

¹⁴⁰¹ Departement van Opvoeding, Kunsten en Wetenschappen, *De Nieuwe 2-Jarige Kweekschool* (Batavia: Balai Pustaka 1948), 4.

¹⁴⁰² I have said 'normally' because those who had come from indigenous/non-European educational system had to have had longer than 13 years of schooling in order to obtain a HIK diploma.

graduates had little opportunity to continue to higher learning. 'The *kweekschool nieuwe stijl* could not simultaneously be a vocational school and a preparation for university,' states an article in *Madjallah oentoek Para Pendidik di Indonesia* in 1948.¹⁴⁰³

The *kweekschool nieuwe stijl* provided a complete training in terms of the competence and qualification degrees of its graduates. Consequently, the pre-war *hoofdakte* courses for school principals would gradually be phased out. Graduates of the *kweekschool nieuwe stijl* were expected to possess a solid basis in knowledge, skills and capabilities to enable them to assume the position of teachers and principals of primary schools. Before being appointed a school principal, however, 'they had to prove in practice that they were indeed qualified for the position of a school principal'. Regional and federal educational authorities were responsible for setting regulations to govern the promotion of teachers and headmasters/headmistresses.¹⁴⁰⁴

Nevertheless, the *kweekschool nieuwe stijl* still provided its alumni with opportunities for upgrading. The best graduates would have a chance to advance their studies in pedagogy and psychology so that they could be promoted to the position of school inspector. Those showing an outstanding capacity could also follow courses in order to obtain a diploma in a subject. With the diploma, they could teach at the lower grades of secondary school. 'Hence,' it was said, 'the new *kweekschool* does not tie its graduates to the primary school.'¹⁴⁰⁵

It was previously said that the two-year *kweekschool nieuwe stijl* admitted students who had completed the four-year secondary school. Graduates of the six- or seven-year secondary schools could apply for a one-year *kweekschool* training. These two were the standard rule. In a period of transition, however, an exception applied. Those holding a Diploma A, B, or C of the pre-war Western *Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs* (MULO, upper primary school) were also allowed to apply. So were those holding a diploma from the pre-war *Hogere Burger School* (HBS, Secondary Community School) of the three-year model. Possessors of a pre-war indigenous MULO certificate could also apply. Those who had graduated from the *Sekolah Menengah Pertama* (SMP, Junior High School) – the Japanese model adopted in the territories of the Republic of Indonesia – could also apply to attend the *kweekschool nieuwe stijl* too.¹⁴⁰⁶

As on the basis of the different types of the previous schools they had passed through, those applicants to the new *kweekschool* possessed different levels of proficiency either in Dutch or in Indonesian, they were required to follow a one-year preparation for a *kweekschool* education. This was a two-edged instrument: to homogenize the levels of language proficiency and to introduce them to the *kweekschool* curricula. Those who attained a low proficiency in the Dutch language joined Group A; those with a low proficiency in the Indonesian language joined Group B. To accomplish a complete preparatory training and promote 'an interaction of an equal degree', students of Groups A and B were mixed in non-language classes, for example, in physical exercises classes. Table 7.1 contains a list of subjects taught in both groups of the preparatory class. If, after one year of preparatory class, the students' proficiency level, either in Dutch or Indonesian, was still unsatisfactory, the authorities at

¹⁴⁰³ 'Kweekschool Baroe', *Madjallah Para Pendidik di Indonesia* No. 5 (1948), 16-7; quote from p. 17.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Ibid. 21; also for the quote in this paragraph.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Ibid. 21-2; quote from p. 22.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Departement van Opvoeding, Kunsten en Wetenschappen, *De Nieuwe 2-Jarige Kweekschool*, 4; 'Kweekschool Baroe', *Madjallah Para Pendidik di Indonesia* No. 5 (1948), 22.

the individual *kweekscholen* had the right to divide the allocation of hours of the language subjects in the standard curricula. For example, if students' proficiency in Indonesian was still low in a class where Indonesian was the first language, then Indonesian for that class might be changed to be a second language.¹⁴⁰⁷

Graduates of the *kweekschool nieuwe stijl* would teach in different primary schools, in which the same curriculum applied with the exception of the language subjects and the language used as a medium of instruction. Consequently, the standard curriculum of the *kweekschool nieuwe stijl* recognized a division into two streams: one to prepare students to teach in Dutch-language primary school and the other in Indonesian-language one. In the latter stream, students also learned a vernacular language and Indonesian songs.¹⁴⁰⁸ Table 7.2 presents a subject list of the *kweekschool nieuwe stijl* for the standard training of two years. Table 7.3 presents a subject list of the one-year training for graduates of the six- or seven-year secondary schools.

Table 7.1: The *kweekschool nieuwe stijl* preparatory class subjects list

No	Subjects	Number of course hours per week (1 course hour = 50 minutes)	
		Group A	Group B
1	Dutch	12	4
2	Indonesian	4	12
3	English	3	3
4	History	2	2
5	Geography	2	2
6	Biology and natural sciences	2	2
7	Singing and music	2	2
8	Drawing	3	3
9	Handicrafts	3	3
10	Physical exercises	3	3
Total of hours per week		36	36

Source: Departement van Opvoeding, Kunsten en Wetenschappen, *De Nieuwe 2-Jarige Kweekschool* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka), 74. Group A for students with a low proficiency in Dutch; Group B in Indonesian.

Table 7.2: The *kweekschool nieuwe stijl* subjects list for a standard training of two years

No	Subjects	Number of course hours per week (1 course hour = 50 minutes)	
		Grade 1	Grade 2
1	Pedagogy	7	7
2	Dutch <u>or</u> Indonesian as the first language	8	8
3	Dutch <u>or</u> Indonesian as the second language	4	4
4	English	2	2
5	Arithmetic and mathematics	2	2
6	Natural science and school hygiene	2	3
7	Geography	2	2
8	History and social formation	2	2
9	Singing and music	2	2
10	Drawing and writing	3	3
11	Handicrafts	3	2

¹⁴⁰⁷ Departement van Opvoeding, Kunsten en Wetenschappen, *De Nieuwe 2-Jarige Kweekschool*, 5.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Ibid. 7.

12	Physical exercises	3	3
13	Commercial education for girls	(3)	(3)
14	Religion	--	--
Total of hours per week		40 + (3)	40 + (3)

Source: Departement van Opvoeding, Kunsten en Wetenschappen, *De Nieuwe 2-Jarige Kweekschool* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka), 8.

Table 7.2 shows that most hours were allotted to the language subject and pedagogy. More than a question of proficiency, language competence had to be emphasized for the formation of thinking. 'Language is the most important medium of interaction between teacher and students,' states an article in *Madjallah oentoeck Para Pendidik di Indonesia*. 'A solid language competence is the primary prerequisite of a successful teacher.'¹⁴⁰⁹ In Tables 7.2 and 7.3, Pedagogy was particularly emphasized. Unlike the pre-war school, in its post-war counterpart, it was expected that a teacher could creatively develop the teaching methods and materials most suitable to the needs and circumstances of the pupils. Therefore, student teachers had to learn to acquire these competences. 'It is not the point that graduating from the training school, new teachers should have a fully mature personality and capabilities; what they should have is a solid [personality] foundation to develop into a maturing adult, who will serve as a model for young people – the pupils.'¹⁴¹⁰ After the war, all schools were *sekolah rakjat*; social differentiation was abolished. Teachers should pay serious attention to the spiritual as well as material developments of the *rakjat*. It was this cultural life of the society which the curricula of the new training school aimed to make aspirant teachers aware.¹⁴¹¹

Table 7.3: The *kweekschool nieuwe stijl* subjects list for a standard training of one year

No	Subjects	Number of course hours per week (1 course hour = 50 minutes)
1	Pedagogy	12
2	Dutch or Indonesian as the first language	3
3	Dutch or Indonesian as the second language	2
4	Arithmetic	1
5	Natural science and school hygiene	4
6	Geography	2
7	History and social formation	2
8	Singing and music	3
9	Drawing and writing	4
10	Handicrafts	4
11	Physical exercises	3
12	Commercial education for girls	(3)
Total of hours per week		40 + (3)

Source: Departement van Opvoeding, Kunsten en Wetenschappen, *De Nieuwe 2-Jarige Kweekschool* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka), 78.

Table 7.2 also shows that the course subject 'religion' was not allocated school hours. Local authorities had to set regulations concerning religious lessons and activities at school in their

¹⁴⁰⁹ 'Kweekschool Baroe', *Madjallah Para Pendidik di Indonesia* No. 5 (1948), 18; also for the quote.

¹⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.* 19; also for the quote.

¹⁴¹¹ *Ibid.* 20.

territories. This autonomy also extended to the setting the times of school break. In principle, one lesson hour was equal to fifty minutes. On Friday, there should be no lessons after 11 o'clock in order to give Muslim teachers and students the opportunity to attend the mosque. Everyday, part of the afternoon time slots would be assigned to physical exercise and to lessons in handicrafts, songs and music, commercial education for girls and, if desired, creative writing. There is no indication of what time the morning lessons should begin and end.¹⁴¹²

In the second half of the first year, students had to teach at the practice school (*leerschool*) once every six weeks. In the second year, they had to go once every four weeks.¹⁴¹³ It was obligatory for teachers of the *kweekschool* to prepare the details of this practice work of the students. They had to spend some hours observing their students practising teaching. The director of the *kweekschool* was responsible for setting the schedule for the teacher's visit, which should not exceed the weekly maximum workload of the teacher. The director should also discuss the subjects which the *kweekschool* students should teach for a particular week with the headmaster of the practice school.¹⁴¹⁴

The students were sent as a class to the practice school for a one-week period each time. Pre-war experience had indicated, the government said, that this was the most preferable way. Students did their schoolwork while their teachers observed them. Non-teaching students had to observe teachers of the practice school teaching. Within a week, they would gain a general but cursory perspective of the class. At least they would be better informed about teaching aids and school facilities. The government said that, ideally, a *kweekschool* with the divisions into Dutch and Indonesian as the language of instruction should have two practice schools for each division. However, the transitional situation allowed the practice school to be combined.¹⁴¹⁵

Ideally, too, a *kweekschool* should have a boarding house for its students. Again learning from the pre-war experience, the government considered boarding school advantageous to the whole formation process, not just concerning schoolwork, but also to aspects of individual development, hygiene and social life skills. Moreover, 'temporarily a system of [open] boarding houses with more or less "controllable" measures has not yet won public confidence in Indonesia.' The Department of Education, Arts and Science in Jakarta suggested a boarding school of a pavilion type, with a maximum of twenty students and one teacher per pavilion. The *kweekschool* director would be the general manager of the pavilions. By the time the new *kweekschool* was launched in 1948, one question still unanswered was whether or not the *kweekschool* should consist of both boys and girls. 'Pre-war experience with mixed *kweekscholen* was certainly not unfavourable,' said the Director of Education, Arts and Science. 'If the *kweekschool* is to be made mixed, boarding houses should be strictly segregated between girls and boys.'¹⁴¹⁶

As previously indicated, the director of the *kweekschool* was also the general manager of the boarding house. He or she had to be a teacher who specialized either in pedagogy or in language (whether Dutch and Indonesian). The teaching staff under his/her leadership would normally include one pedagogy teacher with the B-type teaching diploma for secondary school, three teachers of Dutch,

¹⁴¹² Departement van Opvoeding, Kunsten en Wetenschappen, *De Nieuwe 2-Jarige Kweekschool*, 8.

¹⁴¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴¹⁴ Ibid. 10.

¹⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴¹⁶ Ibid. 9.

Indonesian and English respectively, with the teaching diplomas for Secondary School, teachers one for each other subject respectively. All *kweekscholen* should meet this standard requirement of staff qualifications.¹⁴¹⁷

There were two problems: the teaching staffs available were limited in number and the academic requirements were simply too strict. For example, to be a song-and-music teacher at the *kweekschool*, it was necessary to hold to possess a diploma from a conservatorium. A pedagogy teacher had to have passed the *doctoraal examen* (approximately equivalent to a master's degree) or have earned the B-type teaching diploma for secondary school. A teacher of arithmetic and mathematics had to possess a specific type of teaching diploma (the KI- or AI-diploma).¹⁴¹⁸ All these diplomas could only have been acquired from pre-war *kweekscholen* in the Netherlands. While the availability of Dutch teachers who possessed those diplomas for post-war service in Indonesia was still in question, much could not be expected of Indonesian teachers. According to the Central Office of Statistics, in 1948 even the capital city of Jakarta only had three Indonesian teachers who held the highest diploma of pre-war *hoofdakte* (certificate of school principal). In the whole Archipelago, there were 25,823 Indonesian teachers. Out of this number, 19,274 teachers were categorized as 'formally qualified' and 6,141 'not formally qualified'; the formal qualification of 408 teachers was unknown. Despite these figures, 71 per cent of the teachers who were declared to be 'formally qualified' possessed only the lowest degree of certificate for teaching at village schools and other non-formal courses. In the neighbourhood of Jakarta, as many as fourteen teachers holding the village-school teaching certificate taught at Indonesian/vernacular schools.¹⁴¹⁹ This overview nevertheless shows that the academic qualifications requirement for the *kweekschool* staff, however perfect in standard, could hardly have been met in reality. It is not clear how far the *kweekschool nieuwe stijl* was truly achievable in terms of the required qualifications of its teaching staff.

B.1.2 *Normaalschool*

As explained, the post-war *normaalschool* was temporary in character and supplementary to the *kweekschool nieuwe stijl*. It would be phased out as the capacity of the *kweekschool nieuwe stijl* to deliver new primary-school teachers meeting the new standard increased.¹⁴²⁰ The *normaalschool* teacher training had the stated aims to 'professionalize' and to prepare the participants for an upgraded training at the *kweekschool*.¹⁴²¹ Its graduates were to teach in six-year primary school. It was run by a director, who held a *hoofdakte* or the principal certificate. Its teaching staff consisted of one or more than one holder of the *lagere akte* (lower teaching certificate). In principle, the number of the teaching staff corresponded to the number of the classes plus one.¹⁴²²

¹⁴¹⁷ Ibid. 10-1.

¹⁴¹⁸ Ibid. 11.

¹⁴¹⁹ Penerbitan Kantor Pusat Statistik Republik Indonesia Serikat, *Statistik Pengajaran Rendah di Indonesia (1/6 1948)* (Jakarta: Martaco, 1950), XIII.

¹⁴²⁰ 'Didikan Sekolah Normal', *Madjallah Para Pendidik di Indonesia* No. 5 (1948), 7-12; especially referred here is p. 9.

¹⁴²¹ Departemen Pendidikan, Keboedajaan dan Pengetahoean, *Peratoeran oentoek Sementara oentoek Sekolah-Sekolah Goeroe Normal boeat Pendidikan Goeroe Pengajaran Rendah* (Batavia: Departemen Pendidikan, Keboedajaan dan Pengetahoean, 1948), 1.

¹⁴²² Departemen Pendidikan, Keboedajaan dan Pengetahoean, *Peratoeran Sekolah Goeroe Normal*, 4.

The training lasted for only two years. This was the new standard. There was, however, still a *normaalschool* from the pre-war period which took a student four years to complete. Before the war, students of that *normaalschool* were graduates of five-year primary education. After the war, this pre-war type of *normaalschool* still existed and only admitted graduates of the six-year primary school, but the plan was to merge it gradually with the two-year system.¹⁴²³ Although the difference in the entire length of formation (after primary school) was only one year, these systems differed greatly in terms of curricular emphasis. The two-year *normaalteacher* school required students to have passed two years of formation in general knowledge at secondary level, which the four-year *normaalteacher* school did not. Consequently, for two full years during this pre-war *normaalschool*, students had focused on developing their personal, social and intellectual capacities in order to be teachers.¹⁴²⁴

Applicants for the *normaalschool* should not be more than sixteen years old.¹⁴²⁵ An additional requirement was that they should have had a smallpox vaccination or be immune to the disease. Applicants had to present a letter from a medical doctor saying they were fit and healthy to undertake the study.¹⁴²⁶ The head of the local education office was responsible for the entrance selection, in which s/he had to consider the character and performance of the applicant, previous academic achievements, and the accompanying letter of recommendation.¹⁴²⁷

A *normaalschool* class consisted of fifteen to thirty students. Parallel classes were permitted only to a maximum of two. The weekly curriculum covered 40 hours, in which one lesson hour was equal to 45 minutes. In a *normaalschool* with a boarding house, some eight lessons hours per week were given in the afternoon. Where most of the students were Muslim, school hours ended at 11 o'clock on Friday. In an area where most of the students were Christian, Muslim students were given an exemption on Friday noon to allow them to attend the mosque. On submitting a request to the school director, Muslim teachers were also given an exemption on Friday.¹⁴²⁸

All students received training, books and study materials free of charge.¹⁴²⁹ Depending on its locality, a *normaalschool* should if possible have a boarding house, which provided students with free board and lodging in addition to monthly pocket money.¹⁴³⁰ At their own request, students could also lodge outside the school boarding house and find their own housing. If they chose to do so, no subsidy was available either for housing, food or pocket money. There were cases where the school boarding house was too small to accommodate all the students. Consequently, some students had to seek accommodation elsewhere. These students received a housing subsidy from the school.¹⁴³¹

As did the *kweekschool nieuwe stijl*, the post-war *normaalschool* stressed education in pedagogy and language. The 1947 curricula for years one and two contained 44 lesson hours per week divided among sixteen subjects. Indonesian language lessons were allocated 8 hours in Year 1 and six hours in

¹⁴²³ Ibid. 2-3.

¹⁴²⁴ 'Didikan Sekolah Normal', *Madjallah Para Pendidik di Indonesia* No. 5 (1948), 10.

¹⁴²⁵ Departemen Pendidikan, Keboedajaan dan Pengetahoean, *Peratoeran Sekolah Goeroe Normal*, 4-5.

¹⁴²⁶ Ibid. 5-7.

¹⁴²⁷ Ibid. 6.

¹⁴²⁸ Ibid. 10-11. The last sentence, as it is paraphrased from the regulations of the *normaalschool*, implies that the school director of the normal school was not a Muslim.

¹⁴²⁹ Ibid. 15.

¹⁴³⁰ Ibid. 13.

¹⁴³¹ Ibid. 14.

Year 2, and were restricted to grammar and reading. Dutch language was taught in 6 and 5 hours in Years 1 and 2 respectively. This was also the pattern for English. Pedagogy was assigned 6 and 12 hours in Years 1 and 2, including the teaching practice.¹⁴³² In the first version of the 1948 curriculum, the weekly hours were reduced to 40 divided by twelve lessons (actually by thirteen lessons, but the subject religion was not assigned). In Years 1 and 2 respectively, pedagogy was assigned 6 and 7 hours. Both Dutch and Indonesian were taught 12 hours in Years 1 and 2. English dropped to 2 and 3 hours only. Other subjects such as geography, history and society formation, hygiene, singing and drawing, allotted 1 hour each in 1947, were now taught 2 hours in 1948.¹⁴³³ The 1948 curriculum underwent a minor revision adding the subject 'commercial education for girls' for 3 hours per week in Years 1 and 2, making a total of forty-three lesson hours per week.¹⁴³⁴ The principal difference between the 1947 and the 1948 curriculum was the number of hours allotted to English. In the 1947 curriculum, English was assigned as many hours as Dutch because 'the compilers [of the curriculum] completely agreed on the English view that the oral use of the language should be given priority in school.'¹⁴³⁵ This statement does not explain why the lesson was not accorded the same emphasis in the 1948 curriculum. The sources unfortunately provide no further explanation.

The main focus of all course subjects of the *normaalschool* was social development. Students were trained to explore the teaching methods and materials which corresponded to the social and cultural life of the society of the pupils. 'To teach goes beyond the transference of knowledge,' an article in *Madjallah oentok Para Pendidik di Indonesia* stated. *Normaalschool* students had to develop their skills in how to help their (future) pupils understand their society. '*Normaalschool* is not the place where you learn to talk or to listen to talks. It is a place for learning to know and practice,' the article continues. Group studies and individual independent studies were both emphasized.¹⁴³⁶ All lessons were in Indonesian. A vernacular subject was obligatory for teachers who taught in a school where a vernacular language was used.¹⁴³⁷ As did students of the *kweekschool nieuwe stijl*, those in the *normaalschool* had to practise teaching at a primary school.¹⁴³⁸

Examinations were set three times a year.¹⁴³⁹ The final exam took place at the end of the second or fourth year, depending on the type of the *normaalschool* a student was attending. Successful candidates received a diploma and a notification of their placement as a teacher in a primary school after the head of the *normaalschool* education office had sent the names of these aspirant teachers to the

¹⁴³² Departement van Onderwijs en Eredienst, *Leerplan voor de 2-Jarige Normaalschool ter Opleiding van Volksonderwijzer tot Normalist (Voertaal: Indonesisch)* (Batavia: Balai Pustaka, 1947), 7.

¹⁴³³ Departement van Onderwijs en Eredienst, *Leerplan voor de 2-Jarige Normaalschool Aansluitend bij het Tweede Leerjaar van de Middelbare School* (Batavia: Balai Pustaka, 1948), 7.

¹⁴³⁴ Departement van Onderwijs en Eredienst, *Leerplan voor de 2-Jarige Normaalschool Aansluitend bij het Tweede Leerjaar van de Middelbare School: Tweede Herziene Druk* (Batavia: Balai Pustaka, 1948), 7.

¹⁴³⁵ Departement van Onderwijs en Eredienst, *Leerplan voor de 2-Jarige Normaalschool 1947*, 9. In original: De samenstellers zijn het geheel eens met het Engelse inzicht, dat het mondelinge taalgebruik in de school de prioriteit moet hebben.

¹⁴³⁶ 'Didikan Sekolah Normal', *Madjallah Para Pendidik di Indonesia* No. 5 (1948), 10-1; also for the quote.

¹⁴³⁷ Departemen Pendidikan, Keboedajaan dan Pengetahoean, *Peratoeran Sekolah Goeroe Normal*, 9.

¹⁴³⁸ *Ibid.* 11-2.

¹⁴³⁹ *Ibid.* 10.

officials of the local education offices in the area from which they originally came,¹⁴⁴⁰ which implies that graduates of the *normaalschool* were placed in primary schools in their respective areas of origin.

B.1.3 The OSVO

Temporary and supplementary in character, the post-war village-school teacher training programme for girls, *Opleiding School voor Volksschool Onderwijzeressen* (OSVO), was intended for pupils who had completed the six-year primary education. Its curriculum had the same emphasis as that of the new *kweekschool* and the *normaalschool*, namely pedagogy, language and social development. Unlike the pre-war training, the OSVO curriculum had Dutch as a course subject because it was anticipated that its graduates would follow an upgraded training in the future. Taking two years (after six-year primary school), the OSVO was in fact a system which people could realistically expect to deliver new teachers in the shortest possible time. 'As the number of primary school increased, the need for teachers became intolerable,' an article in *Madjallah oentoek Para Pendidik Indonesia* says. 'In the last school admission [1947/1948], thousands of children all over Indonesia had to be refused entrance simply because of a swingeing lack of teachers.'¹⁴⁴¹

No fees had to be paid for the OSVO training. Participants from outside Java were lodged free of charge.¹⁴⁴² In 1948, there was an OSVO boarding house, for example, in Jakarta. The students living in here came from many different places in Indonesia. A girl named Ramlah, for example, came from 'Koetei', Kutai, in East Kalimantan. Boarding house life encouraged these girls to work together and help each other. In the afternoon, they either played ping-pong, *kasti* (Indonesian softball) or basket ball. In the week-ends, they were allowed to pay visits or stay overnight at their relatives' houses.¹⁴⁴³

B.1.4 Afternoon courses

The afternoon courses were designed for in-service teachers and were conducted either orally or by correspondence. There were three sorts of course depending on the participants' educational background as well as on the diploma they could earn upon a successful completion of the courses:

- a. The afternoon course for teachers holding the *normaalschool* diploma to obtain a diploma equivalent to that of the *kweekschool nieuwe stijl*.
- b. The afternoon course for teachers holding the diploma of the village-school teacher training to obtain a diploma equivalent to that of the *normaalschool*.
- c. The afternoon course for teachers, who had been teaching in primary schools (mostly village schools), but who did not yet possess any teaching diploma. This third category of afternoon course was called the *Opleiding van Volksschool Onderwijzers/essen* (OVVO).

¹⁴⁴⁰ Ibid. 16-7.

¹⁴⁴¹ 'Didikan Mendjadi Goeroe Desa', *Madjallah Para Pendidik di Indonesia* No. 5 (1948), 4-5.

¹⁴⁴² Ibid. 7.

¹⁴⁴³ 'OSVO Mempoenjai Asrama!', *Madjallah Para Pendidik di Indonesia* No. 4 (1948), 63.

B.1.4.1 Afternoon courses for a teaching diploma equivalent to the diploma of the *Kweekschool nieuwe stijl*

After receiving a diploma and working as a teacher in either a six-year primary school or village school, graduates of the *normaalschool* could upgrade their qualification by taking a *kweekschool* course. This was an afternoon course to obtain a diploma equivalent to the diploma of the *kweekschool nieuwe stijl*. Whenever ten to twelve graduates of the *normaalschool* found the opportunity to congregate, they could ask the local educational authorities to run an oral course. Individual teachers living in areas where it was not possible to organize a group gathering could follow a correspondence course. The afternoon course for the *kweekschool*-equivalent diploma, either oral or written, lasted for two years.¹⁴⁴⁴

Study materials were printed by the Department of Education, Arts and Science in 'Jakarta Centrum' and circulated throughout the Dutch-occupied territory. For an example it is instructive to look at the first book for the second year of the course.¹⁴⁴⁵ Although suitable to use in an oral course at which an instructor was present, the book betrays the design of a correspondence course, directing towards independent study (without an instructor), either individually or in group. It contains materials for twelve lessons, similar to the lessons at the *kweekschool nieuwe stijl*. The work sheets of each lesson present questions and exercises which guide learners towards a deeper understanding of the study materials. The introductory section of the book sets out how to study independently. A timetable shows how many hours per week a learner should spend on a particular subject/lesson.¹⁴⁴⁶ Technical instructions are given. For example: 'Begin to study when the time is ripe for study, do not procrastinate. Always study seriously, in a quiet place and, whenever possible, under a bright lamp. Always use paper and pencil to write a summary, draw a map and pictures.'¹⁴⁴⁷ Participants had a choice in the course language, either Indonesian or Dutch. The final examination would be in the language the participants had chosen for the course.¹⁴⁴⁸ Upon successfully passing the final exam, the participants were awarded a diploma.¹⁴⁴⁹

In April 1949, the central government in Jakarta opened a one-year course for a European lower diploma (*Europesche lagere akte*) in Makassar, South Sulawesi. The course was the equivalent of the *kweekschool* afternoon course. Candidates for this course were expected to possess a diploma of the five-year *Hogere Burger School* (HBS), Secondary School for Girls, Gymnasium, or the six- or seven-year *Algemeene Middelbare School* (AMS). Those having a diploma from other types of secondary school could apply if their diploma were equivalent to the afore-mentioned diplomas. Unless s/he had any of these diplomas, a candidate had to pass a strict entrance examination. Besides the academic diploma requirement, candidates of the course should be eighteen years old or older.¹⁴⁵⁰

¹⁴⁴⁴ 'Didikan Sekolah Normal', *Madjallah Para Pendidik di Indonesia* No. 5 (1948), 11.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Departemen Pendidikan, Kebudayaan dan Pengetahuan, *Kursus Guru K.S.-Baru: Tahun Kedua Djilid Pertama/Schriftelijke Cursus Kweekschool Nieuwe Stijl: Tweede Jaar Eerste Deel* (Batavia: Balai Pustaka, 1949).

¹⁴⁴⁶ Ibid. 6.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Ibid. 10.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Ibid. 12.

¹⁴⁴⁹ 'Didikan Sekolah Normal', *Madjallah Para Pendidik di Indonesia* No. 5 (1948), 11.

¹⁴⁵⁰ 'Peraturan untuk "Kursus Kilat Setahun" untuk mendidik guru2 (-wanita) dengan Akte Rendah Eropah di Makassar', 28 April 1949, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 717 (ANRI).

The course was free of charge, but students had to pay for their own school books and learning materials. The curriculum included Indonesian language (one hour per week), Dutch (4/week), pedagogy (7/week), physical education (3/week), drawing (2/week), writing (1/week) and singing (3/week). The examination to acquire this European lower diploma was set by the Department of Education in Jakarta. Although the announcement about the course is dated 28 April 1949, the source says the examination would take place in the month of April 1949.¹⁴⁵¹

B.1.4.2 Afternoon courses for a teaching diploma equivalent to the diploma of the *Normaalschool*

While normal school graduates could upgrade their qualification by taking *kweekschool* afternoon courses, graduates of the OSVO and the OVVO could attend afternoon courses to obtain a teaching certificate equivalent to the diploma from the *normaalschool*.¹⁴⁵² These afternoon courses were also available orally and by correspondence. Again where ten to twelve candidates could congregate, they could ask for an oral course.¹⁴⁵³ 'It is not desirable for the course participants to memorize the learning materials but they should comprehend them and expand their horizons about their profession,' an article states.¹⁴⁵⁴ 'It is through their struggles in daily lives that teachers should become a model for their fellow citizens.'¹⁴⁵⁵

This afternoon course lasted three hours per day, five days per week for two years. The curriculum included the same subjects given in the morning *normaalschool*.¹⁴⁵⁶ The organization and teaching staff were also the same.¹⁴⁵⁷ The principal difference was that this course took place in the afternoon. This was practical. The majority of the participants in the course were teachers who had worked in a government or government-subsidized primary school for at least twelve consecutive months, either on a permanent or temporary basis. During their training, these in-service teachers continued to be paid a salary plus any other additional income to which they were entitled as government employees. Therefore, unlike other participants who were not in-service teachers, they had to pay a monthly fee if they lodged in the school boarding house.¹⁴⁵⁸ The May 1948 issue of *Madjallah Kita* published a content outline of the final examination of the course.¹⁴⁵⁹

B.1.4.3 *Opleiding van Volksschool Onderwijzers/essen (OVVO)*

According to the article 'Didikan Mendjadi Goeroe Desa', the village-school teachers made up the largest part (about 3/4 to 7/8) of the whole teaching corps in Indonesia in 1948.¹⁴⁶⁰ They had received various kinds of education and training either before or during the war. Many of them had taken their teaching job only after completing five years' primary education as there was a great demand for

¹⁴⁵¹ 'Peraturan untuk "Kursus Kilat Setahun"', 28 April 1949, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 717 (ANRI).

¹⁴⁵² Departemen Pendidikan, Keboedajaan dan Pengetahoean, *Peratoeran Sekolah Goeroe Normal*, 5.

¹⁴⁵³ 'Didikan Mendjadi Goeroe Desa', *Madjallah Para Pendidik di Indonesia* No. 5 (1948), 6.

¹⁴⁵⁴ 'Didikan Sekolah Normal', *Madjallah Para Pendidik di Indonesia* No. 5 (1948), 11.

¹⁴⁵⁵ 'Didikan Mendjadi Goeroe Desa', *Madjallah Para Pendidik di Indonesia* No. 5 (1948), 6.

¹⁴⁵⁶ 'Didikan Sekolah Normal', *Madjallah Para Pendidik di Indonesia* No. 5 (1948), 12.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Departemen Pendidikan, Keboedajaan dan Pengetahoean, *Peratoeran Sekolah Goeroe Normal*, 4.

¹⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 12-3.

¹⁴⁵⁹ 'Keterangan', *Madjallah Kita: Soerat Berkala oentoek Goeroe-Goeroe Sekolah Rendah Tahoen I* No. 6 (1 May 1948), 1-3.

¹⁴⁶⁰ 'Didikan Mendjadi Goeroe Desa', *Madjallah Para Pendidik di Indonesia* No. 5 (1948), 2-7.

teachers in the villages. After years of teaching service, some of these teachers eventually received a statement from the school inspector declaring their competence. This statement was considered equivalent to the teaching certificate for the village school.¹⁴⁶¹ Many others followed two-year or one-year afternoon courses and were finally awarded a teaching certificate as village-school teachers. There were those who had completed a two-year 'formal training' provided by the government in 1936. There were also those who had received six months' training during the Japanese occupation.¹⁴⁶² In short, the qualification profile of village-school teachers was extremely varied. Between 1947 and 1948, 71 per cent out of 19,274 Indonesian teachers who were declared 'formally qualified' held only the lowest degree of certificate for teaching at village schools and other non-formal courses.¹⁴⁶³

In 1947, the government set up the OVVO course for those in-service teachers who did not possess any teaching certificate at all.¹⁴⁶⁴ The purpose was two-fold. First of all it was devised to enable the participants to obtain a formal qualification for teaching the first four years of the six-year primary school. The second goal was to prepare the graduates for an upgraded training at the afternoon courses of the *normaalschool*.¹⁴⁶⁵ There was a great influx of participants immediately the course commenced. The standard rule was that one class should consist of twelve to thirty participants. Only two parallel classes were allowed.¹⁴⁶⁶

On a weekly basis, participants studied for five days. Each day, they studied three different subjects for 45 minutes each.¹⁴⁶⁷ This was an independent study load of a maximum of five hours per week.¹⁴⁶⁸ The curriculum emphasized pedagogy, language and social development. A vernacular language lesson was a must for those teaching in schools in which the vernacular was the language of instruction.¹⁴⁶⁹ The OVVO course was conducted in the Indonesian language.¹⁴⁷⁰ It was free of charge. Participants also received books and study materials for free. The April 1948 issue of *Madjallah Kita* published a content outline of the final examination of the course.¹⁴⁷¹ In addition to a diploma, those successfully passing the final examination received books for teaching and further studies.¹⁴⁷² The OVVO course was run under the auspices of a teacher holding the *kweekschool* diploma. The teaching staff consisted of holders of the *normaalschool* diploma.¹⁴⁷³ By December 1948, the first batch of candidates in the course finished. Teachers' enthusiasm for these different sorts of courses was said to

¹⁴⁶¹ Ibid. 2.

¹⁴⁶² Ibid. 2-3.

¹⁴⁶³ Penerbitan Kantor Pusat Statistik Republik Indonesia Serikat, *Statistik Pengadjaran Rendah*, XIII.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Departemen Pendidikan, Keboedajaan dan Pengetahoean, *Peratoeran oentoek Koersoes Petang Pendidikan Goeroe Negeri (O.V.V.O.) jang Doea Tahoen Lamanja* (Batavia: Departemen Pendidikan, Keboedajaan dan Pengetahoean, 1948), 4.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Ibid. 1-2.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Ibid. 2-3.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Ibid. 6.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Ibid. 3.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Ibid. 4-5.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Ibid. 5.

¹⁴⁷¹ 'Bagi Peladjar-Peladjar', *Madjallah Kita: Soerat Berkala oentoek Goeroe-Goeroe Sekolah Rendah Tahoen I* No. 5 (1 April 1948), 1-2.

¹⁴⁷² Departemen Pendidikan, Keboedajaan dan Pengetahoean, *Peratoeran OVVO*, 7.

¹⁴⁷³ Ibid. 3.

be high. Through *Pedoman Goeroe*, the government announced that more teachers had applied to join the second batch. Application was open until 1 January 1949.¹⁴⁷⁴

B.1.5 Courses for a teaching diploma in the field subjects

Three different sorts of training schools and three different sorts of courses equivalent to those schools have been explored. These training schools and courses were distributed across geographical localities in Indonesia in 1948.

Besides these schools and courses, there were courses for those teachers who intended to obtain a teaching diploma in their subjects (*vakopleiding*). The idea for the courses was raised in a proposal of the Director of Education, Arts and Science of the Dutch government in Jakarta on 23 June 1948. The director asked the Lieutenant Governor-General if a training course in the subject of pedagogy could be taught in Bandung.¹⁴⁷⁵ The reason for setting up the course was printed in bold: 'This matter is of the greatest urgency. Within a short time there should be a great number of pedagogy teachers for the *kweekscholen*, for the *normaalscholen* and for the village schools.'¹⁴⁷⁶ These teachers would not only be expected to teach pedagogy. They should become expert educationalists, who knew and would participate in the realization of the educational reforms. These expert educationalists would also be needed to assume the duty of educational inspection.

'In other countries,' the Director said, 'highly qualified people are appointed to the important duty of educational inspection. Besides having gained in experience, these people have received a thorough scientific education in pedagogy.' In Indonesia, the director continued, many educational problems were awaiting solutions. Teachers without a teaching diploma had to be trained or replaced. New officials were needed for inspection. Before they could commence, they had to follow all aspects of the scientific education designed for their post. The Director claimed that it was not possible to attract teachers from the Netherlands because, at that moment in post-war recovery, the Netherlands also needed many more qualified teachers than the existing number could meet.¹⁴⁷⁷

Therefore, the Director suggested that a course for a diploma in the teaching of pedagogy be opened immediately in co-operation between the Department of Education, Arts and Science and the Pedagogical Institute of the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy in Jakarta. The course itself would be given in the afternoon and be taught in Bandung because of 'better accommodation there'. Its curriculum reveals that this was a specialized study which was more advanced than the *kweekschool* training.¹⁴⁷⁸

The question of whether the course would be made equivalent to the A-type teaching diploma of Pedagogy for Secondary Schools in the Netherlands or to the diploma of those known as semi-qualified teachers (*halfbevoegd leraar*) already existing in Indonesia had still not been solved.¹⁴⁷⁹ The

¹⁴⁷⁴ 'Pada Permoelaan Tahoen jang Kedoea', *Pedoman Goeroe: Soerat Berkala oentoek Goeroe-Goeroe Sekolah Rendah* Tahoen 2 No. 1 (1 Dec. 1948), 2.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Director of Education, Arts and Science (EAS) to Lieutenant Governor General of the Netherlands Indies, 23 June 1948, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 717 (ANRI).

¹⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 1.

¹⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*; also for the quoted sentence in this paragraph.

¹⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 2-3.

¹⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 2.

Director said that it would be better to organize the course in such a way its graduates would have the possibility to continue their training for the B-type teaching diploma in the Netherlands.¹⁴⁸⁰ In other words, he implied the A-type teaching diploma, rather than the *halfbevoegd leraar* diploma, should be the model design of the course. Although the design of the course would be made concordant to that in the Netherlands, the course curriculum 'had to follow the Indonesian way'. It had to deal with the specific pedagogical problems Indonesian education was facing.¹⁴⁸¹ The Director of Finance agreed to a total budget of Fl. 15,300 to be spent for the last four months of 1948.¹⁴⁸²

These teacher training schools and courses confirmed the re-institutionalization of the pre-war training system, no matter how makeshift and transitional they might be.

B.2 The teacher training in the jurisdiction of the Republic of Indonesia

Most of my time has been devoted to the educational policy and practice of the federal government of the Netherlands Indies in its twilight and has not dealt with the teacher-training programmes under the control of the government of the Republic of Indonesia. As I touched upon earlier, the Indonesian Proclamation of Independence on 17 August 1945 asserted jurisdiction over all of the territory of the pre-war Netherlands East Indies. In the Linggajati Agreement ratified on 25 March 1947, the Dutch recognized the *de facto* territories of the Republic of Indonesia to cover Java, Madura and Sumatra.¹⁴⁸³ However, this Agreement was not as effective as it had been hoped it would be. The political constellation which followed the Agreement – two Dutch military attacks on the Republican capital of Yogyakarta interrupted by the intervention of the Renville Agreement – caused the geographical boundaries of the two jurisdictions to fluctuate.¹⁴⁸⁴

Addressing a forum at the Chatham House in London on 3 March 1949, the Lieutenant Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies,¹⁴⁸⁵ H.J. van Mook, said that, as an idea, the Republic of Indonesia spread like wildfire. 'But as an administration it has only a very limited authority. It possesses hardly any organization, hardly any efficient services, and it holds together only as an opposition to the return of colonialism. The Republic lacks almost every really sound foundation.'¹⁴⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the afore-mentioned American political analyst Steiner said the Republic of Indonesia was politically much more viable and significant than the other so-called 'federal states' sponsored by the Netherlands government. The Republic was more significant in terms of 'distinctiveness of character, the number of Indonesians affected by its operations, continuity of political existence and

¹⁴⁸⁰ Ibid. 3.

¹⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸² A note of the Department of Finance on the 'Oprichting van een leergang ter opleiding voor de acte Paedagogiek M.O. A te Bandoeng', 28 September 1948, *Algemeene Secretarie* No. 717 (ANRI).

¹⁴⁸³ See again, Netherlands Indies Government Information Service, *The Indonesian Problem: Facts and Factors*, 33-4.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Steiner, 'Post-War Government in the Netherlands East Indies', 627.

¹⁴⁸⁵ This was in fact the official name of the position of H.J. van Mook at the time. Because 'Lieutenant Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies' was the proper noun of an official position, 'the use of the name 'Netherlands Indies' in this context does not necessarily reflect a particular historiography perspective. In its original use in 1949 (as the archive is dated), the use of the name 'Lieutenant Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies' did reflect a political standpoint, that is, a perspective of the Dutch.

¹⁴⁸⁶ H.J. van Mook, 'Indonesia', *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* Vol. 25 No. 3 (July 1949), 274-85, quote from p. 276.

governing institutions, and international relations and foreign interests'.¹⁴⁸⁷ Correspondingly, Benedict Anderson argued that both the (post-war) 'Netherlands Indies'¹⁴⁸⁸ and the Republic of Indonesia truly functioned as two different states during the tumultuous years 1945-1949.¹⁴⁸⁹ The Dutch education official, J.A. Wiggers, implicitly affirmed this administrative division by saying that the governments of the (post-war) 'Netherlands Indies' and of the Republic of Indonesia, albeit political dissident, shared a common recognition of the new educational reform plan.¹⁴⁹⁰

In how far did the education and teacher training under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Indonesia continue during these 'revolutionary' years?¹⁴⁹¹ After conquering the Dutch colonial government in March 1942, the Japanese authorities closed down all schools, including the *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool* (HIK) in Yogyakarta. On 23 September 1942, they re-opened the teachers' school in Yogyakarta, now called the Teachers' Training School for Boys (*Sekolah Guru Laki-laki*, SGL). Its principal was an Indonesian Dutch-trained teacher of Javanese language, A.W. Karjoso, who had previously taught at the HIK.¹⁴⁹² Two months later, on 7 November, the Teachers' Training for Girls (*Sekolah Guru Perempuan*, SGP) was established under the directorship of Sri Umijati, a graduate of the Yogyakarta HIK.¹⁴⁹³ Early in August 1945, just before its capitulation, the Japanese administration transferred fully the management and administration of the SGL and SGP to the local educational authorities of Yogyakarta, the *Wijata Pradja*.¹⁴⁹⁴¹⁴⁹⁵

On 15 August 1945 the Japanese metropolitan government surrendered to the Allied Forces. On 17 August, the Indonesian people proclaimed their independence. Three months later, in November, British troops landed on Jakarta and Surabaya to carry out the Allied Forces mission pertaining to the Japanese surrender. Soldiers of the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration (NICA) accompanied the British. Surabaya was the scene of fierce battles between the British/NICA troops and the Indonesian nationalists. But Jakarta fell under the NICA fairly quickly, forcing the Republican government to move to Yogyakarta in January 1946. The Dutch troops attacked Yogyakarta twice, in July 1947 and again in December 1948, but never succeeded in seizing it or undermining the symbolic significance of the city as the centre of the Republicans.¹⁴⁹⁶ Yogyakarta remained the most important territory of the Indonesian Republic during this political and military dispute. Having lost its Dutch

¹⁴⁸⁷ Steiner, 'Post-War Government in the Netherlands East Indies', 639.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Again, Anderson uses the proper noun 'Netherlands Indies' to name the state other than the Indonesian Republic that existed between 1945 and 1949.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Anderson, 'Old States, New Society', *The Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 42 Issue 3 (May 1983), 481.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Wiggers, 'Pengadjaran Rendah', in Afdeeling Voorlichting Departement Onderwijs en Eeredienst, *Radio Batavia*, 40.

¹⁴⁹¹ To explore this question, I have relied on a publication in 1953 of the Department of Information of the Republic of Indonesia. The publication covered the territory of Yogyakarta. See Djawatan Penerangan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, *Republik Indonesia: Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta* (Jakarta: Kementerian Penerangan, 1953). Further references will be Djawatan Penerangan, *Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*.

¹⁴⁹² *Ibid.* 779.

¹⁴⁹³ *Ibid.* 780.

¹⁴⁹⁴ 'Wijata' in Javanese means 'onderricht' or instruction/education. See Th. Pigeaud, *Javaans-Nederlands Handwoordenboek* (Groningen & Batavia: J.B. Wolters, 1938), 619. Thanks to my colleague Sri Margana, who referred me to Pigeaud's dictionary upon my question about the Wijata Pradja (conversation via Yahoo Messenger on March 5, 2010).

¹⁴⁹⁵ Djawatan Penerangan, *Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*, 779.

¹⁴⁹⁶ This was, among other reasons, because of the position and the roles of the Sultan of Yogyakarta, Hamengku Buwono IX.

name and status in March 1942, the teachers' training schools in Yogyakarta, never technically returned under the management of the Education Department of the Dutch government in Jakarta.

In 1945, the names of the teachers' schools were changed from SGL to *Sekolah Guru B* (SG-B, Teachers' Training B) and from SGP to *Sekolah Guru B Puteri* (SG-BP, Teachers' Training B for girls). Perhaps for practical reasons, the names were changed again to be SGB-I and SGB-II respectively.¹⁴⁹⁷ Available archives and the alumni to whom I talked suggested that 'B' stood for no abbreviation; it was simply a proper name category.¹⁴⁹⁸ Lasting for four years, SGB-I and SGB-II indicated an approximate curricular equivalence to the *onderbouw* level of the HIK. SGB-I was no longer for boys only; girls were now admitted. It occupied the southern compound of the former HIK buildings in the Jetis area of Yogyakarta as the northern compound was in use by the Indonesian military. The SGB-II building and its boarding house were located in the Gondokusuman area. Sometime in 1947, D. Martodarsono replaced A.W. Karjoso as the director of SGB-I. Meanwhile, in 1948, Dien Wongsodjojo replaced Sri Umijati as the director of SGB-II.¹⁴⁹⁹

In September 1947, the *Sekolah Guru A* (SG-A, teachers' training A) was established and made use of part of the SGB-I building. The director was Sikun Pribadi, a graduate of the Bandung HIK. Again, one wonders what the 'A' might have stood for. I assume it was for 'Atas', upper, but, like the 'B' of the SG-B, it might have not stood for anything. The curriculum was for a three-year training after/following three years of general knowledge formation at *Sekolah Menengah Pertama* (SMP, junior high school), which was more or less equivalent to the Dutch *Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs* (MULO, upper primary school). The SG-A was focused on pedagogical subjects and teaching practice which closely resembled the *bovenbouw* (upper) level of the HIK. The HIK *bovenbouw* training admitted third years of the *onderbouw* level as well as MULO graduates. The SG-A admitted third years of the SG-B as well as SMP graduates. The SG-A was for boys and girls.¹⁵⁰⁰

The SGB-I, SGB-II and SG-A aimed to provide a general training for primary-school teachers. There was a training school of domestic science teachers for girls, the *Sekolah Guru Kepandaian Puteri* (SGKP). Moved from Jakarta, SGKP was opened in Yogyakarta in February 1946. The school took the afternoon hours in the Kotabaru and Lempuyangan areas of the city. It focused on domestic skills.¹⁵⁰¹

These teacher training schools were not destined to function normally. The Dutch attack on Yogyakarta in 1947 cost education in the Republican capital dear. After some time, schools were gradually resumed. But another Dutch attack in 1948 forced them to close. Male students plunged into guerrilla warfare. Female students joined such public services as the Red Cross and soup kitchens. Nine months later, on 1 September 1949, the schools were re-opened. But the students returning from the battle field found college facilities, such as desks and chairs gone.¹⁵⁰² The Indonesian military had occupied the northern and southern buildings of the SGB-I and SG-A completely.¹⁵⁰³ Homeless, the teachers' training schools had to share the buildings of the Secondary Technical School, *Sekolah*

¹⁴⁹⁷ Djawatan Penerangan, *Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*, 779-80.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Interview with Endang Daruni, Yogyakarta, 19 and 20 August 2006.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Djawatan Penerangan, *Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*, 779-80.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Ibid. 778-9.

¹⁵⁰¹ Ibid. 775-7.

¹⁵⁰² Ibid. 778-82.

¹⁵⁰³ Later in the 1950s, the occupation by the military of many school buildings would cause a public dispute.

Menengah Teknik, located just opposite the southern compounds of the SGB-I/SGA. It was said that students sat on the floor and listened to their teacher holding guns or other kinds of weapons instead of books and stationery.¹⁵⁰⁴

The story of the teacher training schools in Yogyakarta alone cannot possibly represent the educational situation in all other territories of the Indonesian Republic, including Sumatra, during the revolutionary years. Hampered by a limited number of sources, I cannot describe the educational situation in other geographical parts of the Republic. Nevertheless, the story presented here shows that the teacher training in the Republican capital was highly prone to disruption for war mobilization. Students and teachers immediately left schools when the situation called upon them to do so. While this story tells very little of contemporary educational practices, it confirms George Kahin's testimony to a 'carefully calibrated' and widespread measure of nationalism of the Indonesian masses.¹⁵⁰⁵

C. Learning materials: The issue

The availability of study materials, both for students and for teachers, is an issue which deserves at least a passing glance here. In December 1947, the Department of Education Commission for Study Materials in Jakarta, which was founded in November 1946, published a provisional list of books, maps, wall posters and all kinds of teaching aids, including laboratory equipment and sport facilities. Printed materials for eighteen subjects (from reading to the girls' household chores) were available in Indonesian and Dutch, as either first or second language. Furthermore to the Indonesian and Dutch versions, the materials of reading, writing, arithmetic, biology, hygiene, singing, and physical exercise were available in the Javanese, Maduranese, and Sundanese languages. There were textbooks in English too. School principals and educational inspectors should submit a request in writing through the educational authorities in their territories for the study materials they needed. The list and regulation were to be effective from August 1948 for public and subsidized schools all over Indonesia.¹⁵⁰⁶

In a meeting with the Jakarta chapter of the Primary-School Teacher Corps on October 6, 1949, the head of the Commission said that the study materials remaining from the pre-war time, if there were any, could not possibly be used in the post-war curricula which had been reformed.¹⁵⁰⁷ New books had to be published to suit the new curricula. However, many authors who submitted their manuscripts to the Commission had only a hazy idea of the teaching method in the post-war educational system. 'We have to reject the manuscripts they have submitted,' the Commission chair said. In principle, the federal states, indeed even regions, had the autonomy to choose the educational method which they considered most appropriate to the needs and the conditions of their areas. This

¹⁵⁰⁴ Interviews with Endang Daruni, Yogyakarta, 19 and 20 August 2006; with Soesilowati Basuki, Yogyakarta, 10 February 2009; with Atas Asih, Yogyakarta, 9 February 2009.

¹⁵⁰⁵ George Mc. T. Kahin, 'Some Recollections and Reflections on the Indonesian Revolution', *Indonesia* Vol. 60 (Oct. 1995), 1-16; particularly referred are pp. 2-4.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Departemen Pendidikan, Keboedajaan dan Pengetahoean, *Daftar Sementara tentang Alat-alat Peladjaran, dsb. [dan sebagainya] oentoek Keperloean Pengadjaran* (Djakarta: Departemen Pendidikan, Keboedajaan dan Pengetahoean, 1948), III-VII.

¹⁵⁰⁷ 'Perlengkapan Alat-Alat Pengadjaran', *Pedoman Goeroe: Soerat Berkala oentoek Goeroe-Goeroe Sekolah Rendah Tahun II* No. 11/12 (Oct./Nov. 1949), 268-78.

led to the suggestion that that a textbook for each subject should be provided with three to four different methods. Local authorities could then decide which particular method in the book they would apply.¹⁵⁰⁸

The Commission initially ordered the printing of the books in Australia. 'However, they [the Australian party] did not seem to have worked professionally,' the Commission chair said. 'They printed 10,000 copies of student books and 100,000 of teacher's manual books, which should have been the other way around!'¹⁵⁰⁹ Therefore, Jakarta took over the printing of the works. But new problems cropped as a tremendous shortage of paper compounded by a shortage of employees in the printing houses seriously slowed the target down. Even when the books were ready, shipping and distribution posed another difficulty as the schools requesting them were located throughout the length and breadth of Indonesia.¹⁵¹⁰ Because the printing and the shipping deadlines were frequently missed, the government had to search around and employ other strategies for disseminating study materials, for example, by setting up the series of programmes broadcast by Radio Batavia as well as by publishing *Madjallah Kita* (the then *Pedoman Goeroe*) and *Madjallah oentoek Para Pendidik di Indonesia*. Government officials also made use of their supervisory visits to schools. They talked about the new teaching methods and the new educational reform. Last but not least, they discussed the issue effectively in the periodical meetings of teachers.¹⁵¹¹ The matter concerning the procurement of study materials shows how frantic the post-war educational situation was. Added to other issues in educational reform, it raised question of the pre-war efficiency of the Jakarta-centred educational policy.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the recovery process and the (re-)institutionalization of the teacher training system in the areas under the Dutch control and under the jurisdiction of the Indonesian Republic. It has also discussed the issue of schoolbooks and study materials which contributed to the hurdles faced by education authorities. Although the Dutch government in post-war Indonesia apparently (re-)dominated the educational arena as early as 1947, it ran into a host of complications when it tried to launch the post-war school system, mostly because of a considerable lack of institutional and individual capacities. Nevertheless, to a large extent the post-war Indonesia witnessed the revival of the pre-war teacher training system, albeit of a provisional nature, although it took different forms of schools and courses. This formation period vividly illustrates the confusion resulting from the breach in the political dam of the colonial structure. It witnessed the early reconstruction, and hence the foundation, of the post-war system, which to some extent mirrored the re-institutionalization of the 'new' Indonesian society.

Political and military disputes left the education and teacher training in the territories of the Indonesian Republic relatively untouched. However, the limited sources do show that the strife for a new educational and teacher training system seems to have been too weak to confirm Anderson's

¹⁵⁰⁸ Ibid. 270-1. Quote in this paragraph from p. 270.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Ibid. 269-70.

¹⁵¹⁰ Ibid. 270.

¹⁵¹¹ 'Pada Permoelaan Tahoen jang Kedoea', *Pedoman Goeroe Tahoen* 2 No. 1 (1 Dec. 1948), 2; 'Rentjana Pengadjaran Baroe', *Pedoman Goeroe Tahoen* 2 No. 1 (1 Dec. 1948), 4.

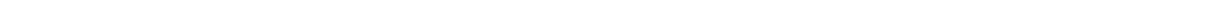
thesis that 'during the four years of Revolution (1945-1949), there were really two states functioning in Indonesia – that of the infant Republic and that of the returning Netherlands-Indies'.¹⁵¹² In contrast, it confirms the analysis of R. Murray Thomas, who remarked that many educational aspects of the pre-war system, with the exception of the stratification of schools and – in different geographical cases – the school language, were revived after the war, either fully or in modified forms. Even in the territories controlled by the Republic, according to Thomas, schools completely abandoned the emphasis on the teaching of the Japanese and Asian history and culture. They resumed the Western way of teaching and of course, made most room for Indonesian history and culture.¹⁵¹³ While many contemporary Dutch politicians believed the Indonesian Republic was Japanese made, the educational practices between 1945 and 1949 still betrayed a heavy colonial undertone. After the transfer of sovereignty in 1949, the continuity of the pre-war educational polity was not absolutely ruled out regardless changes and modifications.¹⁵¹⁴ ***AS

¹⁵¹² Anderson, 'Old States, New Society', *The Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 42 Issue 3 (May 1983), 481.

¹⁵¹³ R. Thomas Murray, 'Educational Remnants of Military Occupation: The Japanese in Indonesia', *Asian Survey* Vol. 6 No. 11 (Nov. 1966), 630-42.

¹⁵¹⁴ In this case, Anderson was correct in referring to postwar Indonesia as 'old state, new society'. The society was 'new' in terms of expectation and, unexceptionally, political views. However, the structural polities were basically 'old' as they were a prewar inheritance. This is the least this chapter can imply.

Chapter 8
(Under embargo until 2014)







Chapter 9

Sorely Needed, Severely Limited

Introduction

The training of school teachers in the 1950s was an especially critical issue. Teachers were to act as role models in the process of the creation of public intellectuality, but their number simply fell short of the growing demand. Strategic policies were necessary to solve the problem. In 1950 the government created emergency training courses because the ordinary training colleges could not turn out enough teachers. This shortfall inevitably raised questions about qualitative aspects of the training. The various kinds of the teacher training schools produced plural professional qualifications, reminiscent of the pre-war situation. The public enthusiasm about entering the teaching profession also revived the latent social problems of teachers' welfare. The strategic measures taken by the government throughout the 1950s were not adequate enough to meet the high expectations of the public about the availability, the training and the welfare of teachers. In truth, the history of Indonesian education of the 1950s was a paradoxical story of widespread enthusiasm for schooling and of the reality of flawed teaching.

This chapter contains an examination of how the Indonesian government managed to solve the quantity and quality problems pertaining to teachers between 1950 and 1958. These problems arose from the 'waves' which breached the political dike during the first two decades of post-war Indonesia. They were part and parcel of larger educational problems which Indonesia was facing at the time. It will also be necessary to deal with the supply of school buildings, which I consider to be – in addition to the supply of teachers and schoolbooks – very crucial to educational development in general. Finally, this chapter will explore the position of what can be designated nationalist education, especially the Taman Siswa variant, in the context of educational policy making in the 1950s.

The Taman Siswa movement which spearheaded the nationalists' pre-war struggle to achieve a typically Indonesian educational system was tragically sidelined from the educational reconstruction after the war. It would seem that the change from the colonial to the postcolonial regime in Indonesia was purely and simply a transition of political power quite separate from the nationalists' educational aspirations. A discussion of these issues will help to achieve a better understanding of the educational policy in which the teacher training reform was taking place.

A. The chicken-or-egg puzzle

The shortage of school teachers was remarkable. Hutasoit claimed that there were only 81,000 teachers available for 5,040,800 primary school pupils in 1950. On the basis of classes of fifty pupils(!), the number of the teachers should have been 100,816. In a nutshell, the number of the teachers in 1950 fell 19,816 short. Hutasoit calculated the prospective demand for teachers against an annual population growth rate of 1.5 per cent, and a growth rate of school-age children of 15 per cent. The Indonesian population in 1950 was about 70 million. By 1951 it would be 73.08 million. The number of school-age children in 1951 would be 10,962,000. Hence, in 1951 there would be 5,921,200 more children, who were at risk of not attending primary school unless school capacity and the number of teachers were

raised proportionally. With fifty pupils per class and making up the shortfall of 19,816 teachers, Indonesia would need in 1951 a total number of 138,240 primary-school teachers in 1950.¹⁶⁶⁵

Perhaps Bengkalis Regency on the East Coast of Sumatra best exemplified the case of teacher shortage at a local level. In the five districts of Bengkalis in the 1951/1952 school year, there were in total 11,835 pupils in eighty-five primary schools in which 229 teachers worked (Table 9.1). This implies that a school of six classes consisting of about 140 pupils would be run by only two or three teachers. Abdoellah Sani, the Head of the *Sekolah Rakjat* Inspectorate of the Bengkalis Regency, said there should be at least six teachers in each of the eighty-five schools so that every class could at least have one teacher. In other words, Bengkalis needed 281 more teachers. Even if this minimum standard was met, according to Abdoellah Sani, conditions were not yet ideal. In March 1952, the population of Bengkalis numbered 220,000 people. Ideally, there should be one primary school in every neighbourhood of 1,000 people. This would add up to a figure of 220 primary schools all over Bengkalis, in which 1,320 teachers (six per school) would work. In the 1951/1952 School Year, therefore, Bengkalis was running 135 schools and 1,091 teachers short. The real situation – eighty-five schools with 229 teachers – was far below the minimum standard expected by the head of the local inspectors' office.¹⁶⁶⁶

In 1950, the 'production capacity' of the four-year teacher training schools (the *Sekolah Guru B*, SGB) all over Indonesia was 1,423 novice teachers and that of the six-year training school (the *Sekolah Guru A*, SGA) was 732 novice teachers.¹⁶⁶⁷ In 1952, there were 184 SGBs spread over the country with a total of 32,955 aspirant teachers and fifty-four SGAs with 7,948 aspirant teachers (see Tables 9.2 and 9.3).¹⁶⁶⁸ In 1953, the SGBs grew in number to 195, with 36,681 aspirant teachers and the number of SGAs rose to fifty-seven with 8,949 aspirant teachers.¹⁶⁶⁹ These numbers show that even if all students at the regular teacher training schools up to 1953 had graduated, the shortage of teachers could not have been made up.

Structurally, the problem of the 'production capacity' of the teacher-training schools could be pinpointed in the bottleneck between primary and secondary schooling. Many children who had finished primary school could not enter secondary school because of the limited seating capacity and the finite number of teachers. In SGB and SGA in particular, student intake could not possibly exceed the capacity of these schools in spite of the fact that there were great expectations of more novice teachers. Once again the Regency of Bengkalis provides a good example. Up to 1952, there were only two secondary schools in the Regency, namely a general Junior High School (*Sekolah Menengah Pertama*, SMP) and an SGB. The SMP had five classes and five teachers, whereas the SGB had five classes and three teachers.¹⁶⁷⁰ At the beginning of the 1951/1952 School Year, some of the teachers were transferred, probably to Tanjung Pinang as a political rumour whispered that both schools

¹⁶⁶⁵ M. Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education in Indonesia* (Paris: Unesco, 1954), 84.

¹⁶⁶⁶ 'Keadaan Murid2 Kabupaten Bengkalis dalam Tahun Adjaran 1951/1952. Kantor Inspeksi S.R./Djawatan P.P.K. Kabupaten Bengkalis', Arsip Kabinet Presiden No. 1086 (ANRI).

¹⁶⁶⁷ Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education*, 83.

¹⁶⁶⁸ Ibid. 59 and 61.

¹⁶⁶⁹ 'Daftar Angka-Angka', Arsip Kabinet Presiden No. 1131 (ANRI).

¹⁶⁷⁰ 'Resolusi dari gabungan partai/organisasi-organisasi dan wali-wali murid tentang kekurangan guru SMP dan SGB di Kabupaten Bengkalis', Arsip Kabinet Presiden No. 1086 (ANRI).

would be moved there.¹⁶⁷¹ Hence, the shortage of teachers became even more critical. In the same school year, as many as 400 pupils completing primary school all over Bengkalis competed for admission to the SMP and the SGB. Only 120, or about 30 per cent, out of those 400 examinees were admitted to secondary school and even this relatively low rate of successful examinees created chaos because the SMP and the SGB had only a few teachers. It was anticipated that the number of primary school pupils who managed to get into secondary school would increase. The prediction was that 700 of them would compete for secondary school places in 1952-1953; 1,100 in 1953-1954; 2,000 in 1954-1955; and 2,500 in 1955-1956. Suppose the rate of successful examinees were to increase to 60 per cent, this would mean a rise of several thousand new students in the secondary schools. One SMP and one SGB could not possibly accommodate all these new students. The teachers at these schools – fewer than eight people altogether – would be overburdened. The various groups which made up Bengkalis society, consisting of political parties, parent associations, youth organizations, government officials and school administrators, therefore insisted that the central government in Jakarta send more secondary-school teachers.¹⁶⁷²

Table 9.1: Number of primary schools, pupils and teachers in the Regency of Bengkalis, Central Sumatra, the 1951/1952 School Year

District	Number of		
	Primary schools	Pupils	Teachers
Bengkalis I	22	3050	66
Bengkalis II	21	2311	49
Selatpandjang	19	2952	57
Bagansiapiapi	12	2512	28
Pelalawan	11	1010	29
Total	85	11,835	229

Source: 'Resolusi dari gabungan partai/organisasi2 dan wali2 murid tgl. 5-3-52 tentang kekurangan guru pada SMP dan SGB', Arsip Kabinet Presiden No. 1086 (ANRI), appendix.

Table 9.2: Distribution of SGBs in Indonesia, mid-1952

Province	Number of		
	Schools	Pupils	Teachers
North Sumatra	20	3,116	171
Central Sumatra	14	2,100	110
South Sumatra	4	610	33
West Java	25	5,095	240
Central Java	41	7,721	359
East Java	22	4,647	240
Jogjakarta	10	1,732	108
Kalimantan	7	1,261	65
Sulawesi	20	3,813	136
Lesser Sunda Islands	14	1,627	84
Maluku	5	750	26
Jakarta	2	483	18
Total	184	32,955	1,590

Source: M. Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education in Indonesia* (Paris: UNESCO, 1954), 59.

¹⁶⁷¹ Dewan Pemerintah Propinsi Sumatra Tengah in Bukittinggi to Ministers of Internal Affairs and of Education, Instruction and Cultural Affairs in Jakarta, 25 March 1952, Arsip Kabinet Presiden No. 1086 (ANRI).

¹⁶⁷² 'Resolusi Kabupaten Bengkalis', Arsip Kabinet Presiden No. 1086 (ANRI).

Table 9.3: Distribution of SGAs in Indonesia, mid-1952

Province	Number of		
	Schools	Pupils	Teachers
North Sumatra	7	804	58
Central Sumatra	3	377	24
South Sumatra	1	97	17
West Java	5	1,232	63
Central Java	8	1,651	121
East Java	12	1,231	99
Jogjakarta	6	1,116	79
Kalimantan	1	61	7
Sulawesi	6	716	61
Lesser Sunda Islands	1	80	19
Maluku	1	134	18
Jakarta	3	449	51
Total	54	7,948	617

Source: M. Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education in Indonesia* (Paris: UNESCO, 1954), 61.

The case of Bengkalis clearly shows that the limited number of places and teachers at secondary school level was a serious hindrance to student admission to secondary school. This in turn affected the standing of primary schools. Hutasoit stated that most primary school pupils preferred SMP to SGB. Upon graduating, those going to SMP normally attempted to go on to general senior high school rather than take a training course for teaching primary school.¹⁶⁷³ In short, gaining admission to the SGB itself was not a priority for primary school leavers. Certainly the low capacity of the SGB to turn out new teachers had to do with the overall educational problems, but the bottleneck between primary and secondary schooling was a major hurdle.

It is quite appropriate to say that the problem of teacher shortage in the early 1950s was like the chicken-or-the-egg conundrum. Indonesia needed teachers. But they were not available because there were hardly any staff who could train aspirant teachers to work to attain educational improvement and carry out expansion programme, which in turn could produce more teachers. Many graduates of the pre-war HIK—the cream of the Indonesian educated stratum who could have served to educate aspirant teachers—had gone into different professional careers, mostly the military. Those remaining in the educational sector assumed duties in the ministry and at inspectors' offices. Not many HIK graduates continued to teach. As most SGA graduates, they were assigned to teach at junior and even senior high schools.¹⁶⁷⁴ 'I could not even begin to imagine we had to teach Mathematics and Natural Science to high school students,' a HIK graduate, Imam Sajono, said in an interview. 'Most of us only knew arithmetic and science at primary school level as we had been trained to teach primary-school pupils.'¹⁶⁷⁵ Sajono's testimony confirms an interesting fact. While the lack of teachers at secondary school level affected the structural production of new teachers, it had

¹⁶⁷³ Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education*, 92.

¹⁶⁷⁴ A government educational report of 1953 confirms that most SGA graduates 'are temporarily placed to teach at SMP'. See 'Pendidikan, Pengadjaran dan Kebudajaan 17 August 1952-17 Augustus 1953', Arsip Muhammad Yamin No. 258 (ANRI).

¹⁶⁷⁵ Interview with Imam Sajono, Jakarta, 6 September 2006. According to Sajono, the experience of teaching high school students was a 'quantum leap' for HIK alumni.

also caused the brain-drain in the personnel resources of the primary school. Primary teachers had left their posts and taught in secondary schools in order to speed up the training of novice teachers.

Clamours for school teachers were heard on all sides.¹⁶⁷⁶ During his visit to Aceh in 1951, President Soekarno was handed seven motions from different educational organizations in northern Sumatra, all requesting teachers for secondary schools.¹⁶⁷⁷ A.K. Pringgodigdo, director of the presidential cabinet, said that the demand for teachers in Aceh was a shared concern of the public 'from the left and the right, the young and old, government officials and self-employed parents'.¹⁶⁷⁸ Central Java also wanted more teachers. In 1953 the local People's Representatives (the DPRD) urged the central government in Jakarta to allow them to appoint teachers with whatever qualifications available. This could even include SMP leavers who did not have any training in teaching.¹⁶⁷⁹

In this desperate situation, anyone with some education could serve as a teacher.¹⁶⁸⁰ This circumstance added even more levels to the professional profile of teachers which had already been varied since colonial times. From the data Hutasoit presented, it is known that about 18 per cent out of 84,413 primary teachers in the 1950/1951 school year had four years training after primary school; 42.8 percent had two years training and the rest, 39.2 per cent, had fewer than two years of training.¹⁶⁸¹ What Central Java proposed was actually a confirmation of the situation which revealed the many different levels of teachers' qualifications.

One of the consequences of the various levels of the training backgrounds of the teachers was that educational results were not standardized. The various levels of the qualifications of novice teachers resulted either systematically from the different schemes of the training programmes, or from the fact that the professional profile of the teachers was not standardized. Hutasoit had already pointed out that different training programmes had contributed to a variety of professional teacher profiles. The complaint from the People's Representatives (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*, DPRD) of the Regency of Hulu Sungai Utara in South Kalimantan presents a telling illustration of a case where the teacher's qualification problems were not necessarily systemic.¹⁶⁸² It was said that many of the teachers sent to the region could not adjust themselves to the local communities. 'It seems they [the teachers] show little social intelligence in interacting with the locals,' the motion reads. These school teachers had difficulty in understanding the local *adat* and tradition which kept them aloof from the

¹⁶⁷⁶ In retrospect more, than twenty-five years later, Minister of Education and Culture Daoed Joesoef (1978-1983) half jokingly said that Indonesia had only needed two sorts of professionals, namely school teachers and the rest. This expression is well-known among Indonesian educationalists today.

¹⁶⁷⁷ 'Resolusi-resolusi (7) mengenai soal kekurangan guru di Atjeh', Arsip Kabinet Presiden No. 1085 (ANRI). The statements came from the IPPI in Kutaradja, the head of Negeri Peusangan in Matangplumpangdua, the Panitia Memajukan Pendidikan (Education Improvement Committee) in Leuken Bada, the Badan Permusjawaratan Orang-orang Terkemuka (Conference Board of Prominent People) in Bireun, the head of Mukim Lueen Bata in Kutaradja, the Lembaga Islam dan Pendidikan Atjeh (Atjeh Islam and Education Institution) in Kutaradja, and the Lembaga Islam dan Pendidikan of sub-district Seulimeum in Indrapuri.

¹⁶⁷⁸ '7 (Tudjuh) keperluan guru di Atjeh', Arsip Kabinet Presiden No. 1085 (ANRI).

¹⁶⁷⁹ 'Salinan surat keputusan Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Daerah Propinsi Djawa Tengah, 30 September 1953', Arsip Kabinet Presiden No. 1086 (ANRI).

¹⁶⁸⁰ It reminds me of a Dutch proverb: *In het land der blinden is eenoog koning*, which literally means: In a country of the blind, the one-eyed man is king; or of an Indonesian one: *Tak ada rotan akarpun jadi*, literally: If there is no rattan, even the roots will do.

¹⁶⁸¹ Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education*, 45.

¹⁶⁸² Hence, 'not systematic' means 'not to do with the system of training'.

people. Even more detrimentally, they lacked the basic knowledge which they were supposed to impart. ‘A school teacher of religion who cannot lead a community prayer, is hardly likely to be efficacious as a teacher [of religion],’ the motion reads. It was emphasized that up and coming teachers should be trained in social competence to enable them to do their jobs properly and act as effective role models in the performance of social duties.¹⁶⁸³

Table 9.4: Teacher’s wage, effective as of December 1, 1949

Grade	Subject taught at	Payment/hour/subject			
		1 st hour	2 nd and 3 rd hours	4 th hour and for every two-hour that followed	Max per month
I	Higher education by				
	• Professor	F. *60/m	F. 45/m	F. 30/m**	F. 360
	• Reader (<i>lector</i>)	F. 50/m	F. 37.5/m	F. 25/m	F. 300
	• Junior lecturer	F. 35/m	F. 27/m	F. 17.5/m	F. 211.5
	• Chief assistant	F. 35/m	F. 27/m	F. 17.5/m	F. 211.5
	• 1 st chief assistant	F. 30/m	F. 22.5/m	F. 15/m	F. 180
	• Assistant	F. 25/m	F. 19/m	F. 12.5/m	F. 150.5
II	College	F. 30/m	F. 22.5/m	F. 15/m	F. 180
III	SMA, STM, SEM, SGKP, SPM, SGA, Courses equivalent to HIK, etc.***	F. 25/m	F. 19/m	F. 12.5/m	F. 213
IV	SGB, ST, SPTk., SD, SKP, SMP, etc.****	F. 20/m	F. 15/m	F. 10/m	F. 170

Source: ‘Putusan Menteri Pendidikan, Pengajaran dan Kebudayaan No. 462/C, 23 Djanuari 1950’, Arsip PM-RI Jogja No. 12 (ANRI), appendix

Note: *F = Dutch guildler; **m = month;

*** SMA = *Sekolah Menengah Atas* (Senior High School), STM = *Sekolah Teknik Menengah* (Technical High School), SEM = *Sekolah Ekonomi Menengah* (Commercial High School), SGKP = *Sekolah Guru Kepandaian Putri* (Training school for teachers of the domestic science school for girls), SPM = *Sekolah Pendidikan Masyarakat* (School for Social Education), SGA = *Sekolah Guru A* (Senior Teacher Training High School), Courses equivalent to HIK = *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool* (Dutch-Indonesian Teacher Training School);

**** SGB = *Sekolah Guru B* (Junior Teacher Training High School), ST = *Sekolah Teknik* (Junior Technical School), SPTk. = *Sekolah Pertukangan* (Junior High School for Constructors), SD = *Sekolah Dagang* (Junior Commercial School), SKP = *Sekolah Kepandaian Putri* (Domestic schools for girls), SMP = *Sekolah Menengah Pertama* (Junior High School).

The case of Hulu Sungai Utara was less a systemic and more a structural issue.¹⁶⁸⁴ Lack of social competence could happen to any teacher, with four years or less than two years of training. It did not necessarily have to do with the kind of programmes followed. In pedagogic theory, social competence is normally depicted as pedagogical craft knowledge. It is the knowledge which grows along with the practice of teaching. Armed with this knowledge, a teacher develops her/his ‘professional profile’ by internalizing the values, characteristics and knowledge needed to execute her/his duties in the society. Traditionally, pedagogical craft knowledge was not taught as an individual course subject, but was embedded in all subjects. Its acquisition was part of the process of

¹⁶⁸³ ‘Motion of November 18, 1957, Resolusi Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Daerah Peralihan Kabupaten Hulu Sungai Utara, 18 November 1957’, Arsip Kabinet Presiden No. 1237 (ANRI).

¹⁶⁸⁴ By ‘structural’, I mean having to do with the structure of the curriculum of the training system. It includes the scope of competences which a curriculum should elaborate as a core feature of expertise students must acquire. By ‘systematic’, I mean to refer to the system of the teacher training, thus a much wider scope than a curriculum.

being a teacher. It was therefore inappropriate to expect a new teacher to be 'fully rounded' in social competence. The fairest measure would have been to see whether a new teacher possessed a basis in social competence (interaction and communication skills, empathy and care, co-operative skills and the like). In the 1950s, novice teachers were supposed to have acquired this social competence during training in the SGB and during practicing their stints at the practice school, when the guidance of their teachers would have played a central role. The case of Hulu Sungai Utara might have been connected to the fact that the SGB curricula of the 1950s (see Table 9.6) did not contain the course subject 'history and social development' or the like, as the *Normaalschool* curricula did. Yet the evaluation made and released of the teacher's qualifications in Hulu Sungai Utara, makes it more likely that there was a problem in the teachers' social competence. It was clearly required that trainee teachers be trained in the social competence. This implies that the root of the problem went farther back to the training process of the teachers, in which the teachers' teachers were a key factor.

So far, this exploration has pointed out the relationship between the shortage of teachers (quantitative problem) and the relatively low levels of educational outcomes (qualitative problem). The teacher-related problems in the 1950s were by no means confined to pedagogical issues. There were other problems and one of them, probably the most pertinent, was the teachers' welfare. Teachers' salaries became a focus of welfare policies, but it has to be realized that teachers' welfare extended to much more complicated issues than salary per se.

In January 1950, the education minister of the Indonesian Republic, S. Mangoensarkoro, issued a decree pertaining to the salary of non-permanent teachers (Table 9.4). 'Instruction in each particular course subject should be in the hands of one teacher,' the decree reads.¹⁶⁸⁵ Extra teaching hours would therefore be paid accordingly. Another point in this policy was that the 'centralization' of teaching authority on a particular course subject would be likely to stimulate the professional competence of the teacher as s/he would be more specialized. In March, the government rescinded the decree and replaced it with another, in the expectation of setting forth an improved set of regulations. In the new decree issued in March, the salary scale was drastically raised (Table 9.5). Rules were set in detail, for example, stipulating the minimum number of extra teaching hours the government would pay.¹⁶⁸⁶ In August, the government once again revised the decree to include the salary for the teachers of the training course for teachers in the preparatory programme in compulsory education.¹⁶⁸⁷ Table 9.4 deals with teachers' wages and Table 9.5 with teachers' salaries. The schedule on Table 9.4 was for non-permanent teachers and calculation was based on the total teaching hours of day-to-day jobs in a week. Table 9.5 was for both permanent and non-permanent teachers. Calculation including that for the non-permanent teachers was made on a monthly basis and was relatively constant. The steady progress in the regulations was considered likely pre-empt the issue of teachers'

¹⁶⁸⁵ 'Putusan Menteri Pendidikan, Pengajaran dan Kebudayaan No. 462/C, 23 Djanuari 1950, tentang djumlah maximum uang honorarium guru2 tidak tetap', Arsip PM-RI Jogja No. 12 (ANRI).

¹⁶⁸⁶ 'Salinan putusan Menteri Pendidikan, Pengajaran dan Kebudayaan No. 2404/C, 11 Maret 1950, tentang peraturan tentang pemberian honorarium atas dasar djam peladjaran untuk sekolah2 dan kursus2 negeri', Arsip PM-RI No. 12 (ANRI).

¹⁶⁸⁷ 'Kutipan dari Buku Daftar surat2 putusan Menteri Pendidikan, Pengajaran dan Kebudayaan No. 6071/C, 5 Agustus 1950', Arsip PM-RI Jogja No. 12 (ANRI).

salaries from becoming counter-productive to the growing enthusiasm for schooling and for the teaching profession.

Table 9.5: Teacher's salary, effective as of March 1, 1950

Grade	Subject taught in	Payment/hour/subject			
		1 st hour	2 nd and 3 rd hours	4 th hour and for every two-hour that followed	Max per month
I	Higher education by				
	• Professor	90*	67.5	45	765
	• Reader	75	56	37.5	637
	• Junior lecturer/Chief assistant	60	45	30	510
	• 1 st Assistant	50	37.5	25	425
	• Assistant	40	30	20	340
II	College by				
	• Reader	75	56	37.5	637
	• Junior lecturer/Chief assistant	50	37.5	25	425
	• Practicing teacher	40	30	20	340
III	Senior secondary school by				
	• Teacher of 1 st rank	50	37.5	25	425
	• Teacher of 2 nd rank	40	30	20	340
IV	Junior secondary school by				
	• Teacher	30	22.5	15	255
V	KPKPKB**	20	15	10	170

Sources: 'Putusan Menteri Pendidikan, Pengajaran dan Kebudayaan No. 2404/C, 11 Maret 1950 tentang pemberian honorarium atas dasar djam peladjaran untuk sekolah² dan kursus² negeri', Arsip PM-RI Jogja No. 12 (ANRI), appendix; 'Kutipan dari Buku Daftar surat² putusan Menteri Pendidikan, Pengajaran dan Kebudayaan No. 6071/C, 5 Agustus 1950', Arsip PM-RI Jogja No. 12 (ANRI).

Note: *It is not known in what currency the payment was given, most probably in the Indonesian Rupiah; **KPKPKB = *Kursus Pengajar pada Kursus Pengantar ke Kewajiban Belajar* (the training of teachers for the Introductory Courses to Compulsory Education).

The question of teachers' welfare the 1950s concerned a more complicated issue than simply that of salary. Several examples provide a good indication of the complexity which followed in the wake of the growing enthusiasm for education. In June 1955, the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) of the Regency of Sumedang, West Java, tabled a motion expressing serious concerns about the plan of all teachers in Sumedang to go on strike. The Sumedang section of the Indonesian Republic Teachers' Association (*Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia*, PGRI) was behind the plan. The PTA motion stated that, since its congresses in Malang in 1952 and in Semarang in 1954, the PGRI had demanded that its members be made civil servants, but the government had never responded to the requests. Therefore, in June 1955 the PGRI issued the government with an ultimatum saying that, unless it granted what the PGRI had requested within three months, all its members would go on strike. The Sumedang PTA said the government should have granted what the PGRI had requested. 'Otherwise, the teachers' enthusiasm for their work would fade,' the statement reads. It also says that teachers' widows would be greatly disadvantaged by the fact that they would not be entitled to any retirement fund. What worried the PTA most was that the teachers' strike 'would harm the schoolchildren in particular and our society in general'. Therefore, the Sumedang PTA urged the government to take the measures necessary to prevent the teacher strike from going ahead. 'The government must solve the problem [of teachers' appointments] within three months, by granting what the PGRI has asked.' It should also

give all school inspectors in Sumedang motorcycles because of what they had achieved and because they had a hard time reaching remote areas.¹⁶⁸⁸

The problem of appointment was also an enormous worry to the Association of the Teacher's Colleges for Junior High School (*Himpunan Keluarga Pendidikan Guru Sekolah Lanjutan Pertama*, HK-PGSLP) in Yogyakarta. At its congress in 1955, the HK-PGSLP issued a resolution insisting that the position of PGSLP graduates should be improved. It complained that their position was no better than that of SGA graduates. The PGSLP training lasted for one year after senior high school (*Sekolah Menengah Atas*, SMA). Students had to take two or three courses as their focus of specialization. Upon graduation, they had to teach in SMP. What dissatisfied the PGSLP graduates was that they were paid the same as SGA graduates, whose training had lasted for three years after SMP and who were supposed to teach at primary school. In reality, the SGA graduates taught at SMP as did the PGSLP graduates. The HK-PGSLP could not come to terms with the fact that they were treated the same way as the SGA graduates, both in terms of the level of the school they had to teach and the salary they received. Upon graduation, many of PGSLP students did not even get an immediate placement in government schools, although the shortage of teachers was a serious problem everywhere. The HK-PGSLP stated that the problem was rooted in the fact that there was no special regulation governing the placement of the PGSLP graduates. Nor were there any clear regulations dealing with in-service training to improve their qualifications. The HK-PGSLP itself realized that there was a variety of qualifications among the graduates of different PGSLPs because 'the curricula [of PGSLP] varied both in quality and quantity'. The HK-PGSLP urged the government to draw up regulations for the improvement of the position of the PGSLP graduates, the immediate placement of teachers newly graduated from the PGSLP and the uniformity of the PGSLP curricula.¹⁶⁸⁹

In January 1955, the Association of Students of the Teacher Training School (*Persatuan Peladjar Sekolah Guru*, PPSG) in Banten, West Java, highlighted the poor conditions of the teacher's housing, student boarding houses and study facilities and the teaching aids at the teacher training schools in the area. As a result of these poor conditions, '[M]any teachers who are assigned to Banten do not want to come.' The PPSG Banten also pointed out the fact that many SGB graduates could not continue on to SGA because Banten did not have an SGA and 'practice schools are not always available at the SGBs'.¹⁶⁹⁰

The PPSG of Semarang, Central Java, was concerned about the small, irregular allowances which the students of the teacher training schools received from the government under their study contract agreements. In December 1956, it urged the government to raise the allowance, to pay it regularly and to continue to grant it for a year longer to students who failed in the first examination and intended to re-sit it. The Semarang PPSG was also concerned about the unsatisfactory standard of inspecting teachers who taught at the practice schools. It pointed out the scarcity of school infrastructure and to the high price of school books. It urged the government to subsidize private teacher training schools, to cancel the rise in the fee for SGB examinations, and to raise the total

¹⁶⁸⁸ 'Resolusi Perkumpulan Orang Tua/Murid/Guru Seluruh Kabupaten Sumedang, 16 June 1955', Arsip Kabinet Presiden No. 1174 (ANRI).

¹⁶⁸⁹ 'Resolusi Himpunan Keluarga P.G.S.L.P. Jogjakarta', Arsip Kabinet Presiden No. 1173 (ANRI).

¹⁶⁹⁰ 'Resolusi Persatuan Peladjar Sekolah Guru Daerah Banten, 16 January 1955', Arsip Kabinet Presiden No. 1086' (ANRI).

educational budget.¹⁶⁹¹ Although confirming the growing public enthusiasm for the teaching profession, all these cases reflect the spiral effects of the problems teachers were facing in the 1950s.

B. Disentangling the puzzle

The government did take strategic measures which addressed the many problems besetting teachers, but the effectiveness of the policies was constantly challenged by the huge complexity of the problems. More than ever, the Indonesian government elite had to address social realities such as illiteracy. The unification of the State in 1950 raised the complexity of educational problems so much that a government official once said, 'The problem with independence lies first and foremost in education.'¹⁶⁹² It is quite astonishing, how correctly and tactically the government approached and unravelled the complex knots of educational problems. Amid urgent demands for more school places, books and buildings, the availability and the quality of teachers were the factors put at the centre of the disentanglement of the puzzle.

This section will explore the emergency itself and the systematic efforts the government made to expand the availability and the quality of teachers. As already mentioned, in 1953 the People's Representative Council of Central Java suggested the government appoint teachers with whatever professional qualifications they might have had.¹⁶⁹³ As Hutasoit observed: 'After Indonesia had gained its independence, ... [a]nybody who wanted to join the teaching profession was appointed; it did not matter at all whether s/he had any training or not'.¹⁶⁹⁴ Earlier, in 1950, the Association of Teachers of the Illiteracy Eradication Programme in Gresik, East Java, proposed introducing a compulsory teaching service for all educated members of the society.¹⁶⁹⁵

The most striking idea among the efforts to cover the shortage of teachers was perhaps that proposed by three student associations in Yogyakarta, the Student Corps (*Corps Mahasiswa*, CM), the Association of Indonesian Young Pupils (*Ikatan Pemuda Peladjar Indonesia*, IPPI) and the Association of Indonesian Student Youth (*Ikatan Pemuda Mahasiswa Indonesia*, IPMI). In 1950, they sent the government a proposal for a compulsory teaching service for students. They said part of the problem of the teacher shortage lay in the fact that many teachers were either attached to non-educational departments or were assigned to administrative rather than teaching jobs. If the government would re-place those teachers, it could also employ second-year university students in the teaching service. This would help to cover the lack of teaching personnel in secondary schools. 'Actually, many students have volunteered to teach at school,' the proposal reads. 'The availability of student teachers would be sustainable if a compulsory teaching service programme (*onderwijsplicht*) is set up. If run

¹⁶⁹¹ 'Resolusi-resolusi Konferensi ke IV P.P.S.G. Daerah Semarang di Salatiga 24-25 Desember 1956', Arsip Kabinet Presiden No. 1206 (ANRI).

¹⁶⁹² 'Tugas Negara dalam Pendidikan Masyarakat', Arsip Muhammad Yamin No. 247 (ANRI), 1.

¹⁶⁹³ 'Salinan surat keputusan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Propinsi Djawa Tengah, 30 September 1953', Arsip Kabinet Presiden No. 1086 (ANRI).

¹⁶⁹⁴ Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education*, 58

¹⁶⁹⁵ 'Resolusi Gerakan P.B.R. Indonesia, Konferensi Guru-Guru Pemberantas Butahuruf, 26 Djuni 1950', Arsip Kabinet Perdana Menteri RI Yogya No. 40 (ANRI).

legitimately with a basis in law, such a programme will be a landmark in the people's progress. It will also introduce students to the work process in society.'¹⁶⁹⁶

In the regulation on the compulsory teaching service they drafted, the student associations suggested several points. Teaching service should be compulsory for students, who had passed the first-year examinations. The service would last for one full year on a rolling basis. Consequently, after serving at school the students would have to catch up the university courses they had missed. In return for this 'lost study time', the one-year teaching service would be considered as employment in the government service. The government should give the student teachers a financial subsidy for two years while they were finishing their university studies.¹⁶⁹⁷ The government seemed to be very interested in this proposal. In February 1950, it commissioned a team to carry out a thorough investigation of the proposed idea. In April, the team issued a plan of the 'student mobilization programme'.¹⁶⁹⁸ Unfortunately, my archives do not seem to contain any elaborate details of its implementation. Nevertheless, this policy shows the serious efforts made to deal with the shortage of teachers. The most systematic way to deal with the shortage of teachers was, of course, by training aspirant teachers. Besides the regular training in schools and colleges, there were numerous training programmes in the form of courses.

B.1 The regular training of primary-school teachers

Generally speaking, the regular schools of teacher training in the 1950s was a metamorphosis of the pre-war-style schools, which had resurfaced (with some modifications) under Netherlands Indies jurisdiction from 1945 to 1949.¹⁶⁹⁹ By 'regular schools', I mean those schools which were relatively permanent and formally linked to the standard system of education. Hutasoit wrote that, after the Proclamation of Independence, the education ministry of the Indonesian Republic established three different types of teacher training schools. The *Sekolah Guru C* (SGC) which provided two years training, the *Sekolah Guru B* (SGB) with four years training and the *Sekolah Guru A* (SGA) with six years training; all to be commenced after six years of primary education.¹⁷⁰⁰ Baedhowi, the secretary of the Directorate General of Primary and Secondary Education (1996-2003), claimed that the establishment of these schools could not possibly be achieved until 1950,¹⁷⁰¹ when the Ministry of Education of the Indonesian Republic commenced effectuating educational reform policies for the whole territory of the former Netherlands Indies, apart from West Papua.

¹⁶⁹⁶ 'Compulsory Teaching Programme', Corps Mahasiswa Pusat to Prime Minister of the Indonesian Republic in Yogyakarta, February 17, 1950, Arsip Kabinet PM-RI Yogya No. 266 (ANRI).

¹⁶⁹⁷ 'Pokok2 peraturan kewadajiban mengadjar bagi tenaga2 mahasiswa', Arsip Kabinet PM-RI Yogya No. 266 (ANRI).

¹⁶⁹⁸ 'Putusan Menteri Pendidikan, Pengajaran dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia No. 1306/A', Arsip Kabinet PM-RI Yogya No. 266 (ANRI).

¹⁶⁹⁹ See again Chapter 7.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education*, 58.

¹⁷⁰¹ Baedhowi, et al., 'Perkembangan Kualitatif Sekolah Menengah Keguruan Tahun 1945-1989', in Dedi Supriadi (ed.), *Guru di Indonesia: Pendidikan, Pelatihan dan Perjuangannya sejak Zaman Kolonial hingga Era Reformasi* (Jakarta: Direktorat Tenaga Kependidikan, 2003), 103-46; quote from p. 104.

Looking back at the training system during the last two colonial decades,¹⁷⁰² there had been the *Opleidingschool voor Volksonderwijzers/essen* (OVVO, training school for teachers of the *volksschool* or village school), in which the vehicle was the vernacular and which lasted for two years after four years primary schooling in the *volksschool*. There was the *normaalschool*, which used the Indonesian language and which lasted for four years after five years of primary education at a *Tweede Klasse School* or Second-Class school. Graduates of the *normaalschool* were intended to teach at the Second-Class School. The OVVO and the *normaalschool* were run in what was called the Eastern line education system, which used either the vernacular or the Indonesian language. In the *normaalschool* the Dutch and other European languages were taught as course subjects. In the Western line education system, in which Dutch was the medium of instruction, the training of teachers took place in the *kweekschool*. As explored in Chapter 3, since 1927 the *kweekschool* had been reformed so that it had changed into the *Hollands Indische Kweekschool* or HIK for indigenous Indonesians with a better economic status, *Hollands Chinese Kweekschool* (HCK) for the Chinese and *Europese kweekschool* for the European children. The HIK offered a six-year course after seven years of *Hollands Indische School* or HIS. HIK graduates were meant to teach at the HIS. The six-year HIK training consisted of two principal stages, the lower level or *onderbouw* and the upper level or *bovenbouw*. All students received a general education in the first three years (that is, the lower level). At the end of the third year, they were examined. A limited number of students showing high potential (Dutch proficiency being the main yardstick) were selected to continue to the next three years (that is, the upper level). The majority normally went to the fourth and final year, in which they studied pedagogical subjects and practised teaching. Graduates of this four-year training taught the lower classes of the HIS and at the *normaalschool*. After passing comprehensive examinations at the end of the sixth year, the lucky few in the upper level taught upper classes of the HIS or continued their training to obtain the *hoofdacte* or School Principal's Certificate. With different levels of trainings, all these teachers were entitled to different scales of salary and career prospects until the Japanese abolished the whole stratification of colonial schools and the teacher training systems.

As I explored in Chapter 7, the pre-war teacher training system was revived under the Netherlands Indies jurisdiction during the tumultuous period of 1945 to 1949. The education ministry of the Indonesian Republic inherited the policy of a uniform or non-pluralistic educational system in which the Indonesian language was the only medium of instruction from the Japanese. After the unification of both systems in 1950, there was no longer any linguistic and ethnic differentiation in the schools. Across the different political regimes (Dutch, Japanese, and Indonesian), the curricula of the course subjects in history, language and geography were changed to conform with the political and social interests of the regime in power. However, the structure of the teacher training system which the Indonesian government set up during the 1950s clearly shows a similarity to that set up by the Dutch administrations. For instance, the SGC could be compared to the OVVO. There is a strong chance that the SGB is a combination of both the pre-war *normaalschool* and the lower level of the HIK, or simply the post-war *normaalschool*. The SGA was a close modification of the upper level of the HIK, or the post-war *kweekschool nieuwe stijl*. The Indonesian teacher training system of the 1950s was

¹⁷⁰² This paragraph basically summarizes the institutional changes of the teacher training schools which previous chapters have explored. That such a summary is presented here has been partly inspired by Hutasoit (pp. 55-7).

simpler than the system implemented by the pre-war Netherlands Indies government, but only in terms of the language medium of the school. The ethnic differentiation of the colonial days had gone forever, but the stratified levels of quality training remained the same and resulted in the different strata of professional competencies of the teachers.

One much quoted explanation is the economic factor. The government had little money to launch an entirely new educational system however much it wanted to. As a government report put it in 1953, 'The expansion in and the improvement of education and teacher training will only take place gradually owing to the limited financial capacities of the State.'¹⁷⁰³ It also had to do with the fact that most, if not all, officials at the Ministry of Education offices were graduates of the pre-war Dutch schools. They had seen how the colonial training had maintained a standard quality and therefore took their own schooling experience as a benchmark of pedagogical improvement. 'Reforms are taking place both in the content and in the method of teaching. Emphasis is placed on the stimulation of a student's creative thinking and social care,' the overview report reads.¹⁷⁰⁴

Table 9.6: The SGB curriculum, 1952

Subjects	Lesson hours per week in the year			
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th
Education	-	-	2	6
Practice teaching	-	-	-	-
Indonesian	5	6	4	3
Local language	4	4	3	3
English	4	4	3	2
Mathematics	6	6	6	2
Arithmetic	2	1	1	1
Physics and chemistry	2	3	3	1
Biology	2	2	3	2
Geography	2	2	-	1
History	2	2	3	2
Structure of government	-	-	-	1
Writing and drawing	3	2	2	2
Singing	2	2	2	2
Handicrafts	1	1	1	-
School administration	-	-	-	1
Physical education	3	3	3	3
Domestic science or scouting	3	3	3	3
Total of lesson hours per week	41	41	39	35

Source: M. Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education in Indonesia* (Paris: UNESCO, 1954), 60.

Table 9.7: The SGA curriculum, 1952

Subjects	Lesson hours per week in the year		
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd
Education	4	5	5
Practice teaching	-	-	6
Indonesian	4	4	4
English	3	3	2
Local language	4	3	3

¹⁷⁰³ 'Pendidikan, Pengajaran dan Kebudayaan, 17 Agustus 1952-17 Agustus 1953', Arsip Muhammad Yamin No. 258 (ANRI), 1.

¹⁷⁰⁴ Ibid. 5

German	2	2	2
Mathematics	2	2	2
Arithmetic	2	2	1
Physics	2	2	1
Chemistry	1	1	1
History	2	2	1
Structure of government	1	1	1
Geography	2	2	2
Biology	2	2	2
Drawing/Writing	2	2	1
Physical education	3	3	3
Singing	2	2	1
Economics	1	1	1
Handicrafts	1	1	1
Total of lesson hours per week	40	40	40

Source: M. Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education in Indonesia* (Paris: UNESCO, 1954), 62.

Despite similarities, the post-war education was cut off from the pre-war system by the abolition of Dutch and the collapse of the internationalization of teacher training as proposed in the *Kweekschoolplan 1927*. The ‘metamorphosis’ of the training system did not work out entirely according to plan. Hutasoit claimed that the SGC had to terminate even before it came into operation. ‘The teaching profession itself was opposed to it, considering a two-year course of training [after a six-year primary education] inadequate,’ Hutasoit wrote.¹⁷⁰⁵ Only the SGB and the SGA worked. By mid-1952, there were 184 SGBs spread over the twelve provinces of Indonesia, in which 32,955 aspirant teachers were instructed by 1,590 teachers.¹⁷⁰⁶ The SGAs had as many as fifty-four schools attended by 7,948 students and 617 teachers.¹⁷⁰⁷ In 1955, the number of the SGB was 539 and SGA eighty-nine. In 1960, the SGB decreased slightly in number to 527, but the SGA increased drastically to 253.¹⁷⁰⁸ That trend was connected with the growing idea of merging the SGB with the general junior high school or SMP, which I shall discuss in a moment.

Most of what has been said about the *normaalschool* and the *kweekschool nieuwe stijl* (in Chapter 7) also applies to the SGB and the SGA. The administration and the administrators of the schools, the regulations concerning the teachers, the boarding-house regulations, allowances and study contracts for students, remained basically the same as those of the *normaalschool* and the *kweekschool nieuwe stijl*. The curricula did not alter radically, except for the foreign language subjects (Tables 9.6 and 9.7). Dutch was abolished entirely. English was taught as a foreign language at the SGB; English and German at the SGA. The rest was only slightly different.

Hutasoit stated that the future plan of the government was that SGA graduates would teach at primary school. Hence, primary school teachers would have to have an education at least six years above the school level at which they taught. Likewise, the junior high school would have the teaching

¹⁷⁰⁵ Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education*, 58

¹⁷⁰⁶ Ibid. 59. According to Hutasoit, the twelve provinces in 1952 were North Sumatra, Central Sumatra, South Sumatra, West Java, Central Java, East Java, Yogyakarta, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Smaller Sunda Islands, Maluku and Jakarta.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Ibid. 61

¹⁷⁰⁸ Baedhowi et al., ‘Perkembangan Kuantitatif Sekolah Menengah Keguruan Tahun 1945-1989’, in Dedi Supriadi (ed.), *Guru di Indonesia: Pendidikan, Pelatihan dan Perjuangannya sejak Zaman Kolonial hingga Era Reformasi* (Jakarta: Direktorat Tenaga Kependidikan, 2003), 75-102; quote from p. 80.

staff members who had at least two years training above the level of SGA and the general senior high school (SMA). This meant five years of training above the school level at which the teachers taught. Finally, the teachers of senior high school or SMA would be those who had received four or five years of training above the SMA or the SGA. This stipulation meant that they should be graduates of the Teacher College with a master's degree or its equivalent. This was the plan. In practice, teachers from various training backgrounds were still making up the teaching staff at primary schools in 1952. Those who held an SGB certificate increasingly became the majority. But there were also graduates of the *normaalschool*, called the *normalisten*, and teachers who had followed different sorts of non-regular courses, which were of lower standard than the SGB. Most SGA graduates assumed their duties at SMP instead of primary schools. SMA was staffed by teachers who held a certificate of two-years training above high school, and by second-year university students. Until 1955, the 'confused' staffing situation continued. This was evident from the motion tabled by the HK-PGSLP in Yogyakarta, which protested about the government's policy of placing the SGA graduates at SMP in June 1955. 'SGA graduates, as intended, should teach at primary school,' the motion reads.¹⁷⁰⁹

The assignment of SGA graduates to teaching duties at SMP was inappropriate considering their training. Pertinently, the government plan did not leave a place for SGB graduates. Possession of an SGA diploma, not that of an SGB, would become the minimum qualification requirement for a primary school teacher. By the early 1950s, the government was already envisioning not employing SGB graduates. Someday the SGB had to come to an end and so would all the non-regular courses. It was to nobody's surprise, therefore, that on July 22, 1957, the Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs, Prijono, issued Decree No. 69691/S which declared the transformation of the SGB into the SMP. The decree was effective as of August 1, 1958.¹⁷¹⁰ Therefore, beginning the 1957/1958 school year, the SGB was phased out. New students were admitted to SMP instead. The last batch of students (admitted in 1957) graduated in 1961.¹⁷¹¹

So far, the SGB had been the lowest level of the regular training for teachers. It goes without saying that with its abolition, the non-regular training programmes or courses of lower standard than the SGB had to disappear too. Now that the SG-B and the SG-C no longer existed anymore meant there could not possibly be an SG-A.¹⁷¹² So, following the transformation of the SGB into SMP in 1958, the SGA was changed to the *Sekolah Pendidikan Guru* (SPG, Teacher Training School).¹⁷¹³ On the surface the reason for changing the name SGA to SPG sounds purely technical, but it was much more than that.

The transformation of SGB into SMP marked a new phase in the professional requirements for primary school teachers in Indonesia. It signalled the termination of a century-long institution of teacher training for the Indonesian middle-class elite. Simultaneously, by abolishing the SGB the goal

¹⁷⁰⁹ 'Resolusi Himpunan Keluarga P.G.S.L.P. Jogjakarta', Arsip Kabinet Presiden No. 1173 (ANRI).

¹⁷¹⁰ Baedhowi et al., 'Perkembangan Kualitatif', 106.

¹⁷¹¹ Interviews with 18 alumni of the Ungaran SGB for Girls in Yogyakarta, Ungaran, Semarang, and Gunung Pati, Central Java in December 2006.

¹⁷¹² When established in 1950, the school was named after the SG-A because of its contrast to the other two schools, the SG-B and the SG-C.

¹⁷¹³ For the year of the transformation of SGB to SMP, I rely solely on Baedhowi et al., 'Perkembangan Kualitatif', 106. It is not mentioned when exactly the SGA changed its name to SPG.

of the government was to raise a new standard of professional requirements for primary teachers. The SPG was now the minimum training required of teachers of primary school. The training of school teachers had to undergo continuous pedagogical and managerial improvements, and it also had to meet the new socio-political expectations in a country which, as an independent nation-state, now faced the challenges of a much more complicated world.

B.2 Teacher training programme in the form of courses

In addition to the regular training at SGBs and SGAs, there were numerous training programmes in the form of courses. As explained earlier, many of the teachers serving at primary schools in the early 1950s did not meet the minimum standard of professionalism, for which at least an SGB diploma was required. Hence, in the 1950s, the government managed to improve the qualifications of these teachers and to provide an in-service training programme for those 'officially-trained' teachers, who did not have the chance to continue to upgrade themselves in the regular training.

In 1952, the government opened 116 *Kursus Lisan Persamaan SGB* (KLPSGB, Oral Courses Equivalent to SGB) and twenty *Kursus Lisan Persamaan SGA* (KLPSGA, Oral Courses Equivalent to SGA).¹⁷¹⁴ The KLPSGB courses lasted for four years; the KLPSGA two years. The KLPSGB was meant for the teachers, who had taught at primary schools but who had not acquired any teaching diploma. The KLPSGA was for the in-service teachers, who already held an SGB diploma but who could not find the opportunity to continue to the formal training at the SGA. These courses required a minimum of twenty-five participants per class, in which at least three teachers or instructors were available. The participants had to pay the school fees and for the study materials. In the curricula of the courses, education/pedagogy, Indonesian language and arithmetic were the subjects which received the most time allocation, namely three hours per week. Overall, both the KLPSGB and the KLPSGA provided a total of twenty study hours per week throughout the four and two years of training respectively.¹⁷¹⁵

Because for logistic reason the KLPSGB and the KLPSGA could only operate in urban areas where teachers were available, the government opened up two other sorts of courses for the teachers who lived in the rural areas. These 'rural courses' were more like a study group than a formal training stage. They were called the *Rukun Belajar B* (RBB, Study Group B) and the *Rukun Belajar A* (RBA).¹⁷¹⁶ In groups, participants studied independently without the guidance of a teacher or an instructor. One participant assumed the role of the group leader, who kept administration of the group activities and corresponded with the central educational office in Jakarta about the study content or other problems. In Java, one RBB or RBA had to consist of at least fifteen participants, whereas outside Java, five participants were enough. It was reported that in 1952 there were 39.431 members of the RBB and the RBA throughout Indonesia. Hutasoit claimed that the greatest value of the RBB and the RBA was to give the teachers moral support and encouragement to keep their thirst for learning alive.¹⁷¹⁷ For these four different courses (KLPSGB, KLPSGA, RBB and RBA), through the office of its *Balai Kursus* (Bureau of Courses) in Bandung the education department published no fewer than 45,000 copies of a

¹⁷¹⁴ Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education*, 64; Leader Section Didactics, *Large Scale Teachers' Training in Indonesia* (Bandung: Balai Kursus Tertulisa Pendidikan Guru, 1954), 25.

¹⁷¹⁵ Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education*, 64-5.

¹⁷¹⁶ Leader Section Didactics, *Large Scale Teachers' Training*, 25.

¹⁷¹⁷ Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education*, 66.

weekly magazine, which contained between 48 and 64 pages per issue.¹⁷¹⁸ These publications were an effective medium through which the government could orchestrate the centralization policy.

It is quite unfortunate that little is known about the implementation and the results of these courses. Nevertheless, they seemed to be as varied as those conducted in the previous period (1945-1949).¹⁷¹⁹ Apart from these courses, the early 1950s witnessed other sorts of training courses which were characteristic of the educational policy of the time. One of these was a massive training course, called *Kursus Pengajar pada Kursus Pengantar ke Kewajiban Belajar* (KPKPKB, Training Courses for Instructors of the Introductory Courses to Compulsory Education). KPKPKB was officially launched on July 5, 1950 by the Education Ministry of the Indonesian Republic in Yogyakarta.¹⁷²⁰

As explored in the former section, the Republican government managed to meet the vastly growing need for primary education in a time when resources were few and far. To deal with the emergency situation, the government offered primary school training in the form of temporary courses called *Kursus Pengantar ke Kewajiban Belajar* (KPKB, 'Introductory Courses to Compulsory Education'). The plan was to upgrade the KPKB into a full standard of six-year *Sekolah Rakjat*.¹⁷²¹ The initiation of the KPKB courses marked a rise in public enthusiasm for school education. Once again, the KPKB posed the government with the challenge of providing a sufficient number of teachers.

Consequently, the goal of the KPKPKB was to offer a fast, massive and relatively cheap training of new teachers in the KPKB. The KPKPKB courses were open to primary-school leavers, who were between fifteen and eighteen years of age and wished to teach at the KPKB. The training was attached to a standard six-year primary school, in which a minimum number of eight teachers/instructors should be available. These teachers/instructors assumed two duties at once. Their first task was to teach pupils at the ordinary primary school with which they were institutionally affiliated. Their second task was to teach, guide and supervise the student trainees at the KPKPKB which was attached to the primary school.¹⁷²² Of course these teachers/instructors received an extra payment for the double duty. The headmaster received an extra payment of Rp 40 and the teachers Rp 30, excluding an additional payment for each trainee they turned out.¹⁷²³

The government developed the KPKPKB training gradually. When it was first inaugurated in 1950, the course lasted for one year.¹⁷²⁴ In 1953 it was extended to two years 'in order to raise the level of education of the trainees'.¹⁷²⁵ The eventual plan was to upgrade the KPKPKB to a four-years training, then to transform it into an SGB.¹⁷²⁶ The next step would be to transform the SGB into an SGA by way of sustainable correspondence training (through written courses) as well as by equivalent oral courses.¹⁷²⁷ Like the KPKB, which served as an embryo of the six-year standard primary school,

¹⁷¹⁸ Leader Section Didactics, *Large Scale Teachers' Training*, 25. I truly wonder whether any copy of these publications is left today.

¹⁷¹⁹ See Chapter 7.

¹⁷²⁰ Putusan Menteri Pendidikan, Pengajaran dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia No. 5033/F, 5 Djuli 1950, Arsip PM-RI Jogja No. 12 (ANRI).

¹⁷²¹ Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education*, 97.

¹⁷²² Leader Section Didactics, *Large Scale Teachers' Training*, 19.

¹⁷²³ Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education*, 87.

¹⁷²⁴ Leader Section Didactics, *Large Scale Teachers' Training*, 19.

¹⁷²⁵ Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education*, 88.

¹⁷²⁶ Leader Section Didactics, *Large Scale Teachers' Training*, 24.

¹⁷²⁷ Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education*, 90.

the KPKPKB was an embryo of the standard teacher-training school. This measure was strategic given the limited capacity of the government at the time.

The training curricula of the KPKPKB consisted of a total of thirty-nine structured hours and six hours of independent study per week (Table 9.8). The aim was to accostume the trainees to the practice, the didactics and the methods of teaching as well as to educational tricks of the trade.¹⁷²⁸ Each class had twenty small blackboards which students could use to do micro-teaching practice. Their first priority was to learn to teach Indonesian, arithmetic, drawing and writing.¹⁷²⁹ In the second year, the trainees did a teaching practice during the morning hours at the primary school to which the KPKPKB was attached. After 11 a.m. the trainees continued their study. The mentor teachers closely supervised and guided them throughout these activities.¹⁷³⁰ Upon completion of the KPKPKB courses, the trainees began to undertake a part-time teaching task (from 7.30 to 11 a.m.) at the KPKB schools. They did it fiarly independently, meaning without the direct, close supervision of their mentor teachers. However, they regularly had to report to and consult their mentor teachers at the KPKPKB. During their early years of service, the nearly qualified teachers were still accorded the status of trainees and that was why they were only assigned on a part-time basis. As trainees, they had to continue their lessons by studying the material published by the *Balai Kursus* in Bandung and by being actively engaged in consultations, peer discussions and regular meetings with the programme supervisors of the central educational office.¹⁷³¹

Table 9.8: The KPKPKB curriculum, 1952

Subject	Lesson hours per week in the year	
	1 st	2 nd
Indonesian	5	5
English	3	2
Education	2	2
Didactics	3	2
Psychology	-	2
Physical education	4	4
Arithmetic	4	2
Mathematics	-	3
Physics	1	2
Geography	2	2
History	2	1
Biology	2	2
Drawing	2	2
Singing	2	2
Handicrafts	2	2
Local language	3	2
Religion	2	2
Private study	6	6
Total of lesson hours per week	45	45

Source: M. Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education in Indonesia* (Paris: UNESCO, 1954), 88.

¹⁷²⁸ Leader Section Didactics, *Large Scale Teachers' Training*, 21.

¹⁷²⁹ Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education*, 89.

¹⁷³⁰ Leader Section Didactics, *Large Scale Teachers' Training*, 21; Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education*, 89. The elementary school and the KPKPKB attached to, were together called the *sekolah induk* or the mother school.

¹⁷³¹ Ibid. 21-2; Ibid.

Although the KPKPKB was officially launched in July of 1950, the first batch of students of the course did not begin their training until September. Logically it took the government time to prepare before it could really work on the programme. A report says that in September 1950, each of the regencies began with two groups of KPKPKB courses. One class in this course consisted of forty trainees.¹⁷³² Table 9.9 provides the geographical distribution of the KPKPKBs in the end of the 1951/1952 school year. The central government constantly managed to involve local administrations and people in providing the training facilities. It was reported that East Java showed the fastest progress of all the provinces. In 1952, forty-six out of the sixty-nine KPKPKB training centres in this province had boarding houses supported by the locals.¹⁷³³

Table 9.9: Distribution of KPKPKB, 1951/1952 School Year

Province	Number of KPKPKB courses	Number of teachers	Number of trainees		
			1 st batch*	2 nd batch**	3 rd batch***
Jakarta	8	30	147	284	320
West Java	39	116	1,330	1,513	1,560
Central Java	47	140	1,437	1,865	1,880
Jogja/Surakarta	26	76	932	1,035	1,040
East Java	69	205	2,425	2,687	3,760
North Sumatra	44	132	1,566	1,643	1,760
Central Sumatra	27	80	810	923	1,080
South Sumatra	30	68	807	879	1,200
Kalimantan	27	77	728	608	1,080
Sulawesi	25	75	405	982	1,000
Lesser Sunda	21	63	649	835	840
Maluku	11	31	n.a.	343	440
Total	374	1093	11,236	13,597	15,960

Source: M. Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education in Indonesia* (Paris: UNESCO, 1954), 91.

* 1st batch started in 1950, thus they were in their 3rd year at the time this report was made in the end of 1952

** 2nd batch started in 1951—in the second year in the end of 1952

*** 3rd batch started in July 1952—in the first year in the end of 1952

By August 1951, the trainees participating in the first batch of the KPKPKB courses were ready for their service at the KPKB. But, for a few months, the shortage of buildings and furniture at the KPKBs delayed them. When they finally began to teach at the KPKB, other problems arose, showing how hectic the situation was. In theory they should assume only part-time teaching duties because they were indeed still in training. In reality, many of them had to do complete days of school work simply because the KPKB where they were placed needed teachers very badly. Hence, these trainee teachers were already overburdened from the first day of their service. As a result, many of them could not continue their training as intended either by correspondence or oral lessons. Another problem was the matter of geography. Many of the trainees had to assume their duties as many as 100 kilometres away from the *sekolah induk* or the mother school where the KPKPKB was located (whereas the plan was 15 kilometres at the farthest). Consequently, they lost contact with their mentor teachers

¹⁷³² Leader Section Didactics, *Large Scale Teachers' Training*, 19. By rule, a class of KPKPKB course should have a minimum of 25 and a maximum of 40 participants. See Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education*, 87.

¹⁷³³ Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education*, 90.

and were deprived of continuous supervision and guidance.¹⁷³⁴ Notwithstanding all these problems, the KPKPKB turned out to be an effective way of combating the teacher shortage. The government claimed that the first batch of KPKPKB trainees had enabled 600,000 more children to attend primary school.¹⁷³⁵ Optimism about the compulsory education programme now heightened. On July 1, 1953, the government transformed all KPKBs into standard primary schools.¹⁷³⁶ Baedhowi claims that the KPKPKBs were transformed into public SGBs in 1955.¹⁷³⁷ In this fashion, all irregular courses had become standard schools by the mid-1950s. How this worked out is not known.

Whereas the KPKPKB trained primary-school leavers to be teachers at the KPKB, there were also training courses for graduates of junior and senior high schools (SMP and SMA) who wished to be teachers. They were *Kursus Guru B* (KGB, Teachers' Training Course B) and *Kursus Guru A* (KGA). Both courses lasted for one year after SMP and SMA respectively and ended with the granting of a certificate to the participants. Public response to these courses was muted. Most SMP graduates opted for SMA instead. If they did wish to become teachers, these SMP graduates preferred to continue to the regular training at the SGA – 'the real SGA' as one said. Faced with this problem, the KGB and the KGA had to terminate before they actually began to operate.¹⁷³⁸

In summary, apart from the regular training at the SGB and the SGA (as well as the SGC, which did not work out), there were several different courses in which the training of teachers took place in the 1950s. For the in-service teachers, who did not have any training and who lived in urban areas, there was the KLPSGB, an oral course equivalent to the SGB. For the in-service teachers in rural areas, there were the RBB and the RBA. For the in-service teachers who held the SGB diploma but who could not continue their training at the regular SGA, there was the KLPSGA, which provided an oral course leading to a certificate equivalent to the SGA diploma. Primary-school leavers who wished to be teachers at the embryo primary school (the KPKB) could attend the KPKPKB. For junior and senior high school graduates, there were the KGB and the KGA respectively, neither of which was successful. In short, the teacher training system in the 1950s was extremely plural. Many of the pre-war legacies obviously continued to exist.

B.3 The training of teachers of the teacher training schools

The training of primary-school teachers was carried out both in the regular training schools and through various sorts of courses. Who were the teachers at these teacher training schools and courses and where were they to get their training? This was one of the educational complexities which Indonesia had to handle following the unification of the State in 1950. Now more than ever, the Indonesian government elite had to stand on its own feet. The question of creating secondary-school teachers was one of the realities which the elite had never faced directly before.

It is perhaps relevant to cite again the statement made by M. Sadarjoen Siswomartojo, a government educational official in 1953. He said:

¹⁷³⁴ Leader Section Didactics, *Large Scale Teachers' Training*, 22.

¹⁷³⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷³⁶ 'Pendidikan, Pengajaran dan Kebudayaan 17 Agustus 1952-17 Agustus 1953', Arsip Muhammad Yamin No. 258 (ANRI), 2.

¹⁷³⁷ Baedhowi et al. 'Perkembangan Kualitatif', 105-6.

¹⁷³⁸ Leader Section Didactics, *Large Scale Teachers' Training*, 24.

'The problem of freedom [independence]¹⁷³⁹ lies first and foremost in education. And the search for a solution of the problem of freedom [independence] means also a search for a new educational basis and system which will make possible the creation and growth of man and the new Indonesian society according to the ideals of the nation that is fighting for the supply of its *Lebensraum*.'¹⁷⁴⁰

In 1954, the *Balai Kursus Tertulis Pendidikan Guru* (Bureau for Correspondence Courses for Teachers) in Bandung released a report saying:

'The educational problem in Indonesia is primarily a question of teaching personnel. Primary education cannot be expanded rapidly enough owing to the lack of teachers. And the number of teachers' training colleges cannot be increased rapidly enough owing to the shortage of their training personnel.'¹⁷⁴¹

If the problem of independence lay first and foremost in education and if the problem of education was primarily a question of teaching personnel or lack of them, the problem of independence was logically a question of teaching personnel! This syllogism sounds a bit exaggerated but the point is clear.

Up to 1942, European teachers had made up the largest part of the teaching personnel in secondary schools, including the teacher training school. They came to the Netherlands East Indies in either the service of the colonial government or the religious missions. During the tumultuous years 1945-1949, the number of European teachers in Indonesia logically declined owing to the hardships of the war and its aftermath. Nevertheless, they remained an important element. Commencing in 1950, European teachers and other affairs related to the former Dutch administration no longer assumed a central role in the mainstream educational policy and practice. The year 1950 marked the point at which *Indonesianization*, or indigenization as it had been debated by the protagonists of the Ethical Policy around 1910 or *nationaliseering* as Charles Olke van der Plas pointed out in the 1920s, was achieved completely.

As I previously noted, after the fall of the colonial society in the 1940s, many HIK graduates left the educational sector for careers in other sectors. A limited number of HIK graduates did stay in education but generally they assumed administrative duties in educational offices. Although they did not take on teaching duties, they were behind the re-institutionalization of the school system and the forging of the teacher-training policies in the 1950s. In contrast, I have not found any presence of Dutch teachers in the public teacher training schools in the archives after 1950. There certainly were Dutch teachers in the Dutch-language schools for European and Indo-European children which still existed in a limited number and particularly in urban areas like Jakarta. In the dynamics of political changes in Indonesia of the 1950s, these Dutch-language schools and teachers could not possibly have

¹⁷³⁹ In the Indonesian version of his statement, Siswomartojo used the word 'kemerdekaan' (independence) instead of 'kebebasan' (freedom), which he used in the English version of the speech quoted here. To provide a politically stronger sense of the message conveyed in the Indonesian version of the speech, I have put both 'freedom' and 'independence' in this quotation.

¹⁷⁴⁰ 'Tugas Negara dalam Pendidikan Masyarakat', Arsip Muhammad Yamin No. 247 (ANRI), 1; also M. Sadarjoen Siswomartojo, *Address: Introducing the Ceremonial Opening of the Faculty at Bandung, 20 October 1954* (Bandung: Tjetakan Saksama, 1954), 19.

¹⁷⁴¹ Leader Section Didactics, *Large Scale Teachers' Training*, 5

played roles greater than the community they served. A bundle of archives in the *Algemeene Secretarie* at the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia in Jakarta do record the full service of some thirty Dutch professors in different faculties at the University of Indonesia. They received a full-scale salary from the Netherlands government, the highest bracket being 1,700 Dutch guilders. The last Dutch professor in service was noted in 1959. It is very likely that Dutch professors also taught at the Bandung Institute of Technology and the Bogor Institute of Agriculture up to the late 1950s, but the *Algemeene Secretarie* archives I looked into do not indicate it.¹⁷⁴²

Indonesian teachers with different training backgrounds made up the teaching personnel of the teacher training schools and the general secondary schools in the 1950s. The SGB and the SGA were staffed by a limited number of diploma holders from the HIK, the *Kweekschool Nieuwe Stijl* and some *normalisten*, who were in possession of the *hoofdacte* certificate. A number of SGA graduates became increasingly noticeable in the personnel of the SGB. In the meanwhile, second year university students also joined the SGA teaching corps. As a rule, it was the *normalisten* who provided the backbone of the KPKPKB teaching personnel. Unfortunately I do not have any data about the precise composition and figure of teachers at these different teacher training schools.¹⁷⁴³

The government was naturally concerned about the limited number and the diverse educational backgrounds of the teaching personnel at the teacher training schools. Attempts to increase their number and to improve the quality of the personnel were inextricably bound up with the training programmes for secondary school teachers in general. 'To improve the educational level of our school, first of all we have to improve the quality of our teachers,' said Soeroto, an official in the Information Section of the Ministry of Education. 'The training of the secondary school teachers has to be improved so that the school can deliver a better educated cadre for our country.'¹⁷⁴⁴

Soeroto says that in 1950 the government operated what were known as B-I and B-II training programmes to upgrade the educational level of senior high school graduates, who wished to teach in secondary schools. The B-I training lasted for two to three years; the B-II for four to six years. 'B-I and B-II programmes were like the *Middelbareacte Optrek A* and *B* (MO-A and MO-B) of the Dutch type in the past,' Soeroto wrote. However, the public response to these programmes was fairly lukewarm. Soeroto reported that the main criticism was that teachers with the B-I and the B-II certificates were not considered 'full academics' because the B-I and the B-II programmes did not run at a university level although they required four to six years training after senior high school.¹⁷⁴⁵ Therefore the aim of the government was to upgrade the B-I and the B-II training to university level by establishing the *Perguruan Tinggi Pendidikan Guru* (PTPG, Higher Institute for Teacher Education).

The first PTPG was officially opened in Malang, East Java on October 18, 1954; the second in Bandung, West Java on October 20 and the third in Batungsangkar, West Sumatra on October 23.¹⁷⁴⁶

¹⁷⁴² See *Algemeene Secretarie* archives concerning the years 1950s at ANRI, Jakarta.

¹⁷⁴³ For the structural analysis of the teaching personnel of the teacher training schools about which I write in this paragraph, I have used random sources already referred to, including Hutasoit, *Compulsory Education*, 55-66, 86-92; Leader Section Didactics, *Large Scale Teachers' Training*, 19-25.

¹⁷⁴⁴ Soeroto, 'Pendidikan Guru S.L.A. Tingkatan Perguruan Tinggi: Membuka Perspektif jang Djauh dan Luas tentang Suatu Pendirian Radikal dari Kem. P.P. dan K.', Arsip Muhammad Yamin No. 277 (ANRI), 1.

¹⁷⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Muhammad Yamin, *Pidato Pembukaan Perguruan Tinggi Pendidikan Guru di Kota Malang: Diucapkan pada 18 Oktober 1954* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1954); Muhammad Yamin, *Pidato Pembukaan Perguruan Tinggi*

The reason for establishing the PTPG was of course to upgrade secondary-school teachers to 'full academics' as Soeroto had argued. In his speech during the Cultural Congress in Surakarta in September 1954, the Minister of Education, Muhammad Yamin, said that the foundation of the PTPG was part of the grand project of independence. As an independent nation-state, Indonesia had to improve the well-being of the people on the basis of the ideology of Pancasila. The Indonesian people had to stand equally among other nations, not only in terms of political independence but also in terms of welfare and modernization. Yamin asserted that higher education was a key to achieving this aim. 'In order to improve higher education, we need to improve the secondary school,' Yamin concluded. Although preparing students for university education, Yamin said, the secondary school was terribly lacking in well-educated teaching personnel. 'The PTPG aims to train future secondary school teachers. It provides education and training at the university level; therefore its graduates are fully competent to teach at secondary school,' Yamin said. As stated above, in 1954 the government founded three PTPGs in Malang, Bandung and Batusangkar respectively, but Yamin said the plan was to establish the PTPG in each province of Indonesia.¹⁷⁴⁷

The PTPG was open to leavers of general senior high school (SMA) and of SGA, as well as to graduates of the earlier teacher-training schools (HIK, HCK, HKS, *Europese Kweekschool*, and holders of the *Hoofdacte*).¹⁷⁴⁸ The PTPG programmes consisted of two major parts, namely the *bakaloreat* and the *doktoral* or *atjarja*.¹⁷⁴⁹ The *bakaloreat* programme took two years and its diploma entitled the holder to academic authority to teach at *Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Pertama* (SLTP, Junior Secondary Schools including SMP and SGB). In special cases, holders of the *bakaloreat* diploma were allowed to teach at *Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Atas* (SLTA, Senior Secondary Schools including SMA and SGA). A new graduate of the *bakaloreat* programme had to assume teaching duties as soon as possible unless s/he wanted to go on to the *doktoral* or *atjarja* programme.¹⁷⁵⁰ For the sake of efficiency, Soeroto suggested *bakaloreat* degree holders should teach at SMP in the morning hours and to continue their *doktoral* programme in the afternoon.¹⁷⁵¹ The *doktoral* programme took two years after the *bakaloreat*. A holder of the *doktoral* or *atjarja* diploma received the academic title '*doktorandus* (Drs.)' and was authorized to teach at SLTA. S/he could also continue to a higher degree of training by writing and defending a full doctoral thesis, which gave her/him the title of doctor (Dr.).¹⁷⁵²

Pendidikan Guru di Kota Batusangkar: Diucapkan pada 23 Oktober 1954 (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1954). I did not find the original of Muhammad Yamin's speech during the opening ceremony of the Bandung Teachers' Faculty. Instead, I found the one republished by Soeprapto, E. Karwapi Sastradiwiryana and Dedi Supriadi, 'Sejarah Kelembagaan Pendidikan Guru', in Dedi Supriadi (ed.), *Guru di Indonesia: Pendidikan, Pelatihan dan Perjuangannya sejak Zaman Kolonial hingga Era Reformasi* (Jakarta: Direktorat Tenaga Kependidikan, 2003), 51-74. Muhammad Yamin's speech appears in a sub-section 'Pidato Prof. Mr. Muhammad Yamin pada Peresmian PTPG Bandung 20 Oktober 1954', pp. 68-74.

¹⁷⁴⁷ Muhammad Yamin, *Perkembangan Kebudajaan*, Pidato pada malam pembukaan Kongres Kebudajaan di Kota Surakarta, 18 September 1954, 5-6.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Article 8, Peraturan tentang Perguruan Tinggi Pendidikan Guru, Putusan Menteri P.P.K. tanggal 1-9-1954 No. 38742/Kab.

¹⁷⁴⁹ Article 2, Peraturan tentang PTPG.

¹⁷⁵⁰ Articles 9 and 10, Peraturan tentang PTPG.

¹⁷⁵¹ Soeroto, 'Pendidikan Guru S.L.A.', Arsip Muhammad Yamin No. 277 (ANRI), 2.

¹⁷⁵² Article 11, Peraturan tentang PTPG.

Table 9.10: List of course subjects of the PTPG curricula, 1954

1. Foundations of educational science
2. Social education
3. Physical education
4. Psychology
5. Introduction to philosophy and the philosophy of Pancasila
6. Sociology
7. Social demography
8. The science of nations [ilmu bangsa-bangsa]/Ethnography
9. History of Indonesia, Southeast Asia and the World
10. Indonesian state law
11. Economics
12. Indonesian language and literature
13. English language and literature
14. German language and literature
15. French language and literature
16. Classical Javanese and classical Indonesian language and literature
17. Foundations of the Arabic language
18. Foundations of the Sanskrit language
19. Comparative Austronesian linguistics
20. Introduction to natural science
21. Introduction to physics
22. Introduction to chemistry
23. Biology
24. Cosmography
25. Studium generale

Source: Peraturan tentang Perguruan Tinggi Pendidikan Guru, Putusan Menteri P.P.K. tanggal 1-9-1954 No. 38742/Kab.

The curricula of both the *bakaloreat* and the *doktoral/atjarja* programmes at the PTPG consisted of the twenty-five subjects listed in Table 9.10. Academic streaming or specialization only took place at the *doktoral/atjarja* programme. There were five departments, namely Educational Sciences and Physical Education, Language and Literature, Cultural History, Physics and Science, and Economics and State Law.¹⁷⁵³ In every case, the curricula put a proportional emphasis on both the theory and the practice of teaching. On September 1, 1957, the PTPG changed in its name to become *Fakultas Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan* (FKIP, Faculty of Teacher Training and Educational Sciences). Then, it became an integral part of the university.¹⁷⁵⁴

The founding of the PTPG, Soeroto claimed, was a 'radical breakthrough'. 'Even people in the Netherlands are not yet familiar with teacher training at university level. They only have the MO-A and MO-B,' Soeroto said.¹⁷⁵⁵ In the Netherlands, the upgrading from secondary to higher education level of the teacher training school only took place in 1968, when the *Rijkskweekschool* was made *Pedagogische Academie*.¹⁷⁵⁶ As the next chapter will explore, the 'radical breakthrough' in Indonesia

¹⁷⁵³ Article 5, Peraturan tentang PTPG.

¹⁷⁵⁴ Peraturan Pemerintah No. 51 Tahun 1958 tentang Perubahan Nama Perguruan Tinggi Pendidikan Guru Menjadi Fakultas Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan, Arsip Peraturan Pemerintah No. 415 (ANRI).

¹⁷⁵⁵ Soeroto, 'Pendidikan Guru S.L.A.', Arsip Muhammad Yamin No. 277 (ANRI).

¹⁷⁵⁶ http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pedagogische_academie_voor_het_basisonderwijs (accessed on Saturday, 14 November 2010 at 13.59).

during the 1950s mirrored the trend in the United States where high school teachers were prepared only in colleges or university faculty of education.¹⁷⁵⁷

In his speeches during the opening ceremonies of the PTPG in Malang, Bandung and Batusangkar respectively, the Minister of Education, Instruction and Cultural Affairs, Muhammad Yamin, said that secondary-school teachers should have a balance between the theory and the practice of teaching. 'They should have the foundation for thinking like a scientist so as to overcome the difficulties of their duties and hence to maintain the educational level of secondary school.'¹⁷⁵⁸ In 1954, M. Sadarjoen Siswomartojo, the dean of the Teachers' Faculty of Bandung, insisted that future teachers had to be much more creative and innovative so as to face the new challenges of the changing world. 'The PTPG should train students so that they not only become intelligent teachers but also grow up into a fully mature person,' Siswomartojo said.¹⁷⁵⁹

The foundation of the PTPG coupled with the abolition of the SGB and the changing of the SGA into SPG successively ended the diversity and marked the institutional uniformity of the teacher training system. Commencing in 1958, the PTPG (then FKIP or IKIP¹⁷⁶⁰) and the SPG would become the only colleges at which candidate secondary and primary school teachers were officially trained. Politically speaking, the foundation of these schools drew a line after the long colonial legacy and signified a new direction in the education of school teachers. As Chapter 10 will explore, different institutions and funding agencies from the United States played increasingly significant roles in the changes in the Indonesian teacher training system throughout the 1950s and the 1960s. Although remnants of the colonial and the Japanese legacies were still observable for several more decades, the main educational framework was already switching from continental Europe (the Netherlands) to the US. Therefore talking of the decolonization of Indonesia in the 1950s, it is inevitable that Americanization is mentioned in the same breath.

The 1950s showed that the breaking of the colonial dam led to a highly confusing educational situation. The government elite worked extensively on stimulating the public desire for learning because it realized that a large number of uneducated masses would become a stumbling block to 'true and complete independence' as it had defined it. But the domino effects were unprecedented. Hence the 1950s witnessed a great wave of paradoxes on the government side and a *mélange* of hopes and despair on the side of the masses.

C. School buildings: The issue

This exploration would not be complete without an exposé of school buildings or lack of them. The shortage of school buildings was one of the critical strategic issues which delayed the implementation of school education innovation in the 1950s. A review released in 1948 by the Netherlands Indies government points out the 'dreadful condition of the school buildings'. Some of the available school buildings, which were still in relatively good shape, were annexed by the military forces and this

¹⁷⁵⁷ See, for example, James W. Fraser, *Preparing America's teachers: A history* (New York and London: Teachers College Columbia University, 2007), 196-7.

¹⁷⁵⁸ Quote from Yamin's speech in Malang, 7.

¹⁷⁵⁹ Siswomartojo, *Address*, 9.

¹⁷⁶⁰ IKIP = Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan, Institute of Teacher Training and Educational Sciences—the next institutional upgrade of the FKIP.

created disputes. The Netherlands Indies government managed to construct new buildings using local materials like bamboo. Captions of some of the pictures published in the review reveals that a compound of bamboo-built school buildings cost between US\$ 16,000 and US\$ 40,000. Maintenance of the construction was estimated to last a maximum of four years. One compound was approximately 5,000 square metres and could house some 600 pupils.¹⁷⁶¹ The construction of this simple sort of school premises emerged as an option as the government wished to find an immediate solution to the problem, however temporary. Even so, the price (US\$ 16,000 at least) was by no means cheap. In the aftermath of the Pacific War, alongside administrative re-institutionalization, a priority was given to strategic issues, such as law and order.

Table 9.11: Number of secondary schools and the school buildings, 1954

No	Types of secondary school	Number of		School buildings needed (differences a-b)
		Schools (a)	School buildings available (b)	
1	SMP	354	146	208
2	SMEA	10	-	10
3	SMEP	68	15	53
4	STP	164	77	87
5	ST	36	10	26
6	STM	13	8	5
7	Sekolah Kerja ST 1 tahun	13	-	13
8	SGPD	3	1	2
9	SGKP	6	3	3
10	SKP (2 tahun)	55	-	55
11	SKP (4 tahun)	121	50	71
12	Sekolah latihan SKP	4	2	2
13	SGA	35	6	29
14	SGB	453	23	430
15	Sekolah latihan SGA/SGB	112	5	107
16	SMA	61	12	49
17	SGTK	4	-	4
18	Sekolah latihan SGTK	8	-	8
Total number		1520	358	1162

Source: 'Daftar Djumlah Sekolah2 Gedung2 jang ada pada sekolah2', Arsip Muhammad Yamin No. 337 (ANRI) Notes on the names of school, referred to by its ordinal number

1 = Junior High School; 2 = Senior Economics High School; 3 = Junior Economics High School; 4 = Junior Engineering School; 5 = Engineering School; 6 = Senior Engineering School; 7 = Practice school (for Engineering Schools); 8 = Training School for Teachers of Physical Education; 9 = Training Schools for Teachers of Domestic School for Girls; 10 & 11 = Domestic School for Girls; 12 = Practice school (for Training Schools for Teachers of Domestic Schools for Girls); 13 = Teacher Training School A; 14 = Teacher Training School B; 15 = Practice school (for Teacher Training Schools); 16 = Senior High School; 17 = Training School for Kindergarten Teachers; 18 = Practice school (for Training School for Kindergarten Teachers).

In the 1950s, the issue of school buildings became even more critical because the mass education and the compulsory education programmes required more buildings. Here one of the biggest stumbling blocks again was the buildings for secondary schools. As shown in Table 9.11, for the 1,520 secondary schools existing in 1954, there were only 358 buildings available. Therefore, this

¹⁷⁶¹ Information and Publication Section of the Netherlands Indies Government Department of Education, *Education in Indonesia before, during and after the Pacific War* (Batavia: Information and Publication Section, 1948). No page is numbered. Quote and information is from the 8th leaf.

number fell short by 1,162. The SGB had the most desperate need of buildings: twenty-three buildings were available whereas 453 were needed. The government arranged the use of the available buildings by employing a system of shifts between different schools from morning to afternoon hours. In Surakarta, for example, a new senior high school (SMA) was established in February 1950 which had to share the building of the SMA already in existence.¹⁷⁶² Such an arrangement did not solve the problem. The number of the secondary-school buildings available (358), even if used in morning and afternoon shifts, could not meet the demand.¹⁷⁶³ In many rural areas in Java and Sumatra, private houses with large gardens were borrowed. The educational budget shows that the construction of new school buildings received the largest allocation of expenditure in 1952 (Rp 299,619,800 out of a total of Rp 912,489,300).¹⁷⁶⁴

Local initiatives and contributions to the constructions of school buildings sprang up, but back-up from the central government in Jakarta was always sought. In the sub-district Tarusan in Western Sumatra, in 1954 a committee worked to raise a fund to be used for constructing a new building for the Junior High School (SMP). The fifteen primary schools (SR) in Tarusan produced hundreds of school-leavers every year. On the average, some 250 of them sat the admission test for SMP and half succeeded. The capacity of the existing SMP was only eighty places. The aim of the committee was to build premises for a new SMP which would consist of eight classrooms (between 320 and 400 places), for which Rp 650,000 was needed. Unfortunately, up to 1956 the committee had only been able to collect Rp 60,000! The committee asked the education ministry in Jakarta for the rest of the construction budget.¹⁷⁶⁵ A similar story emerged in the Regency of Bengkalis in 1957. A new building was needed for the new four-year teacher training school (SGB). The cost was 1 million Rupiahs. The local committee could only raise Rp 150,000. The difference (Rp 809,725) was to be requested from Jakarta.¹⁷⁶⁶ In the two cases, the amount of the money which the committees could collect was absolutely inadequate for the construction of a new school building. Commendably, the local community had already provided the piece of the land on which the school building was to be constructed. In the case of Bengkalis, for example, the people provided no less than 20,000 square metres of land. The masses insisted that the government give them schools as they knew it was the responsibility of the State to provide education for its people. Instead of simply begging and insisting, the people first stuck their hands out of their sleeves and did whatever they could do to pay their share.

Taking a look at the overall issues concerning school buildings in the 1950s, it is obvious that the occupation of existing buildings by the military and the police force was phenomenal. Almost all of the best school buildings in Java and Sumatra were occupied by them. In some cases, this

¹⁷⁶² 'Kutipan dari Daftar Putusan Menteri Pendidikan, Pengajaran dan Kebudayaan No. 1163/B', Arsip PM-RI Jogja No. 12 (ANRI).

¹⁷⁶³ 'Daftar Djumlah Sekolah2: Gedung2 jang ada pada sekolah2', Arsip Muhammad Yamin No. 337 (ANRI). This source does not indicate the year the data are from. I estimate they were from around 1954, as most of the sources in the Arsip Muhammad Yamin collection were dated in the year.

¹⁷⁶⁴ 'Undang-Undang No. 50 Tahun 1954 tentang Penetapan Anggaran', Arsip Sekretaris Kabinet-Undang-Undang No. 143 (ANRI).

¹⁷⁶⁵ 'Minta bantuan begrooting dari Pemerintah untuk penyudahan SMP Tarusan dengan segera', Arsip Kabinet Presiden No. 1199 (ANRI).

¹⁷⁶⁶ 'Pembangunan Sekolah Guru Bengkalis', Arsip Kabinet Presiden No. 1221 (ANRI).

occupation has continued right up to the present. When this sort of occupation began to become a common military practice is difficult to pin down in the archives. My informants said that the Japanese soldiers took over school buildings, hospitals and government offices immediately after their conquest of Java in March 1942. Most hospitals were kept as they were; so were government offices. Some school buildings remained as schools but many were transformed into military headquarters and barracks. The novel *Balada Dara-Dara Mendut* (the Ballad of the Girls of Mendut) by Y.B. Mangunwijaya supplies the information that there were possible cases where colonial school buildings were totally destroyed, not necessarily by the Japanese soldiers but by the militant locals.¹⁷⁶⁷ The Indonesian military, which was formed during the early years of independence, took over the school buildings previously occupied by the Japanese soldiers. But details about all these stories still need to be checked.

The school buildings which were subjected to the military and the police occupation were the permanent, mostly spacious buildings which had been constructed before the war by the colonial administration. It is perhaps relevant to know that a Dutch-language teacher training school (*kweekschool*) in the colonial era was always a compound. A school compound consisted of the front buildings for classrooms and school/teacher offices, then the hall for the refectory which sometimes also did duty as the common study room and was located in the centre of the compound, a block of boarding houses on the left and right sides of the hall, and another block at the rear for public utilities like the kitchen, storage rooms, bathrooms and lavatories. A separate building connected to the boarding house by a doorway was the house of the school director, who also managed the boarders. A recreation room where students could play music and games like chess and cards was available. The *kweekschool* in Bukittinggi and the HIK in Bandung had a separate music room in addition to the recreation room. A sports complex was located right next to the school buildings. In Bukittinggi, Bandung, Yogyakarta and Ungaran (near Semarang), the teacher training schools had two compounds which were separated some hundred metres from each other (except for these in Bandung). One compound was for junior and the other for senior students. Hence, the school compounds as a whole covered a relatively large piece of land. The buildings, used by the first-class schools during the colonial era, were very well built.

Ben Anderson's *Revoloesi Pemoeda: Pendudukan Jepang dan Perlawanan di Jawa 1944-1946* includes an appendix of photographs, one of which can provide readers with some information about the building of the teacher training school in Jakarta.¹⁷⁶⁸ The photograph shows several men of medium height being rounded up by a man in uniform, who is holding a gun and who looks much taller than they do. These men are being herded into a building surrounded by a corrugated iron fence. On the far left in the photo, another man stands watching. This last man, also in the uniform and holding a gun with a fixed bayonet, looks as tall as those men being herded into the building. The caption says that the tall man is a Dutch military officer, the other man in uniform is a Japanese soldier, and those being rounded up are Indonesian revolutionaries. The picture must have been taken

¹⁷⁶⁷ Y.B. Mangunwijaya and Ibu-ibu ex-Mendut, *Balada Dara-Dara Mendut* (Yogyakarta: Yayasan DED, 1992).

¹⁷⁶⁸ Benedict R.O. Anderson, *Revoloesi Pemoeda: Pendudukan Jepang dan perlawanan di Jawa 1944-1946* (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1988), 525-6. The English version of the book, however, does not contain the photographs. See *Java in a time of revolution: Occupation and resistance 1944-1946* (Ithaca: Cornell University Modern Indonesia Project, 1972).

somewhere around the end of 1945. On the wall of the building far in the background, a name board reads 'Sekolah Guru Laki-laki' (SGL, Teacher Training School for Boys). So, if I am correct, the building must have been the former *Holland Chinese Kweekschool* (HCK) located in the East Jakarta area of Jatinegara in a street previously named *Leonielaan*. In 1942, the HCK was changed into an SGL by the Japanese. Some of the former HIK students like Moerdiono went to this SGL to follow a crash training for some time during the occupation years. This photograph perhaps gives a small indication that the building of the HCK, then SGL, was turned into a military post during the tumultuous *Bersiap* months following the surrender of the Japanese.

The most dramatic story perhaps concerns the buildings of the Yogyakarta teacher training school. The occupation of nearly the entire southern and northern compounds of the school by the Indonesian military led to a fierce dispute, which erupted into a clash between students of the SBA/SGB and the *Sekolah Teknik Menengah* (STM, Engineering Secondary School) on the one hand, and some officers of the Military Police Corps of the Daerah Militer V (5th Military Region) of Java on the other hand in mid-January 1950. The incident occurred when the students were playing football. A military officer literally shot the ball and argued the students should have asked for permission to play in the courtyard, which he said was part of the military headquarters. The students, of course, protested about the officer.¹⁷⁶⁹ They strongly insisted the military governor of Yogyakarta on returning the whole compound of the teacher training school, which the Military Police Corps had occupied for some time, to the SGA/SGB. In a motion table on January 23, 1950, the students sent an ultimatum saying that, unless all the buildings of the teacher training school were returned by the military forces within twelve days, they would go on strike.¹⁷⁷⁰ On February 9, they repeated their demand, sending another motion.¹⁷⁷¹ In reply, the military governor of Yogyakarta said his institution was unable to comply with the students' demand. Unfortunately he did not give any reason or explanation.¹⁷⁷² Therefore, the students went on strike, beginning February 16.¹⁷⁷³ Their action soon received wide-scale support. On February 20, teachers from the SGA/SGB and of the *Sekolah Teknik* released a statement indicating that the students' strike action was 'logical and proper'.¹⁷⁷⁴ On February 28, the *Ikatan Pemuda Peladjar Indonesia* (IPPI, Indonesian Association of Students) of the Madiun Section also released a statement supporting the strike and insisted that the government solve the problem quickly.¹⁷⁷⁵

The football incident triggered the open, much more political conflict concerning the occupation of the Yogyakarta teacher training buildings by the military. The conflict itself had begun

¹⁷⁶⁹ 'Keterangan singkat tentang soal Gedung2 SGA/B dan pemogokan murid-murid', Arsip PM-RI Jogja No. 265 (ANRI).

¹⁷⁷⁰ 'Mosi permintaan gedung, 23 Januari 1950', Arsip PM-RI Jogja No. 265 (ANRI).

¹⁷⁷¹ 'Desakan Mosi Panitia Bersama Permintaan Gedung Sekolah STM dan SGA/B Negeri Jogjakarta, 9 Februari 1950', Arsip PM-RI Jogja No. 265 (ANRI).

¹⁷⁷² 'Gubernur Militer Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta/Daerah Militer V di Djawa' to 'Ketua Keluarga Sekolah Guru A/B Jogjakarta', 2 Februari 1950, Arsip PM-RI Jogja No. 265 (ANRI).

¹⁷⁷³ 'Keterangan singkat', Arsip PM-RI Jogja No. 265 (ANRI). While the archive mentions about the student's strike as starting on February 16, it does not indicate when the strike ended.

¹⁷⁷⁴ 'Pernyataan Pimpinan dari Guru2 SGA/B dan STM Republik Indonesia di Jogjakarta', Arsip PM-RI Jogja No. 265 (ANRI).

¹⁷⁷⁵ 'Resolusi ke-2 dari Conferentie Ikatan Pemuda Peladjar Indonesia Daerah Madiun', Arsip PM-RI Jogja No. 265 (ANRI).

sometime in 1946 following the removal of the Republican capital from Jakarta to Yogyakarta. Some of the military post buildings in the Kotabaru area were either turned into government offices or houses for government officials. As school activities were often stopped because of military mobilization, the school buildings were transformed into military posts and barracks as substitutes for these military posts. These Indonesian military forces consisted of both the 'regular' soldiers and the student brigades (*Tentara Peladjar*). In his letter to R.F. Atmodarsono, the acting director of the SGA/SGB in Yogyakarta on August 18, 1949, the cabinet secretary Maria Ullfah Santoso stated explicitly that the SGA/SGB buildings had been temporarily commandeered and used by the military forces and would be returned to the SGA/SGB.¹⁷⁷⁶ These SGA/SGB buildings included the entire northern and southern compounds with the sport facilities. As a consequence, students of the SGA/SGB moved into the building of the STM, located just across the street. As school was not always open during the revolutionary wars in which most of the students themselves also participated, the mixture of the SGA/SGB students with the STM students in one building did not become a problem until 1949. However, when the wars were over and the students resumed normality and returned to school in 1950, this was the case.

The first student motion of January 23 mentions the under-capacity of the STM facilities, shared by the STM and the SGA/B students. A classroom of thirty places was flooded by eighty-three students. The boys' boarding house, which was 7.5 x 16 m, was occupied by eighty-four people with all their bags and baggage like bicycles, shoes, suitcases, laundry and so forth. While teachers' offices already took a part of the refectory (7.5 x 20 m), as many as 261 male students had to share the remaining section of the room during meal times. For the 261 male students, there were six bathrooms and eight lavatories. The girl's section of the boarding-house did not have any study room. It had two bathrooms and one lavatory for all the seventy-four female students. Female students had to study in their bedrooms and went to the homes of their teachers nearby the school to use the lavatory and the bathroom.¹⁷⁷⁷ The motion stated unequivocally that these conditions were unhealthy and detrimental to the students' well-being and their study. The government had to solve the problem soon by returning the SGA/SGB buildings to the school. 'Does the government not consider the education of technicians and professionals to be very important to our country?' the motion reads.¹⁷⁷⁸

Following the 'football incident', the Republican prime minister, Abdul Halim, commissioned a team to find solutions.¹⁷⁷⁹ Halim also wrote to the Defence Minister of the United States of the Republic of Indonesia (RUSI) in Jakarta. He asked for the removal of several brigades of the *Angkatan Perang Republik Indonesia Serikat* (APRIS, the RUSI War Forces) from the city of Yogyakarta. 'Problems to do with the buildings of government offices, schools and military barracks (*kazerne*) are especially pressing in the capital of the Republic [Yogyakarta]', Halim's letter reads.¹⁷⁸⁰ The response of the RUSI

¹⁷⁷⁶ 'Sekretariat Dewan Menteri' to 'Direktur sementara SGA/SGB', 18 Agustus 1948, PM-RI Jogja No. 265 (ANRI).

¹⁷⁷⁷ 'Lampiran 1' to 'Mosi permintaan gedung, 23 Djanuari 1950', PM-RI Jogja No. 265 (ANRI).

¹⁷⁷⁸ 'Masihkah diperlukan tjalon2 Technici dan Pendidik2 untuk Pembangunan Indonesia?', appendix to 'Mosi Permintaan gedung, 23 Djanuari 1950', PM-RI Jogja No. 265 (ANRI).

¹⁷⁷⁹ 'Surat Keputusan Dewan Menteri Republik Indonesia No. 5/1950', 23 Februari 1950, PM-RI Jogja No. 265 (ANRI).

¹⁷⁸⁰ 'Perdana Menteri Republik Indonesia' to 'Menteri Pertahanan Republik Indonesia Serikat' on 'Kekurangan gedung2 sekolah dan kazerne di Kota Jogjakarta', 27 Februari 1950, PM-RI Jogja No. 265 (ANRI).

Defence Minister is not known, but the Commission Halim formed did make a report on its investigation. It said that as many as three of the former military buildings in the Kotabaru area could be returned to their original owners. The Commission also quoted the statement of the RUSI Defence Minister, who said that the Military Police Corps of Yogyakarta would be posted to Kalimantan. Last but not least, the Commission pointed out the political statements made by the students and said they 'had repeatedly asked to have their school buildings back'.¹⁷⁸¹ The military governor of Yogyakarta, Colonel Paku Alam VIII, insisted that the students should wait for another two months until his troops had been removed from the buildings. 'The need for school classrooms is not terribly urgent,' he said. The three buildings in the Kotabaru area which would be returned to the army could only house about 260 people.¹⁷⁸² An army officer was quoted by the building Commission as saying that the military corps in Yogyakarta at the time consisting of some 3,000 soldiers, was itself waiting for the return of all of the buildings of the former headquarters.¹⁷⁸³

The students' patience began to wear thin. On March 18, the General Inspector of Teacher Education, Abidin Djojonegoro, released a report (probably directed to the education minister) saying that the students planned to move into their school buildings by force on March 23.¹⁷⁸⁴ The end of this story remains shrouded in mystery. But as we see it today, the former building of the SGA/SGB on Jalan Jetis (today Jalan A.M. Sangaji) is now the building of SMA Negeri 11 Yogyakarta. This was part of the southern compound, which had been the HIK building before and the SGL during the Pacific War, and then became the SPG building from the 1960s to the 1980s. The school assembly hall is preserved as part of the cultural heritage because it was the venue of the first congress of Budi Utomo in 1908.¹⁷⁸⁵ The purpose of the rest of the buildings of the southern compound has changed completely, including boarding-houses. The former practice school (*leerschool*), located at the south-west corner of the cross-roads of Jalan A.M. Sangaji and Jalan Profesor Doktor Sardjito, is now SMP Negeri 6 (public junior high school). The former northern compound of the SGA/SGB, about 500 metres from the southern compound, still remains an army post. I did not obtain permission to take pictures of this post when I visited it in April 2007. The STM building across the street from SMA 11 is today the *Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan Negeri 1* (SMK Negeri 1, public senior vocational school).

The story of the buildings of the teacher training schools being occupied by the military or police is repeated in the main cities of Java and Sumatra wherever such schools existed. Even today, some of these buildings are still used by the military or the police. When I visited Bandung in November 2006 and February 2007, I discovered that the compound of the former HIK upper-level

¹⁷⁸¹ 'Beberapa kesan mengenai pembijtaraan tentang soal gedung-gedung SGA/B dalam panitya jang dibentuk oleh Dewan Menteri', PM-RI Jogja No. 265 (ANRI).

¹⁷⁸² 'Gubernur Militer Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta/Daerah Militari V di Djawa' to 'Dewan Menteri Republik Indonesia di Jogjakarta', 7 Maart 1950, PM-RI Jogja No. 265 (ANRI).

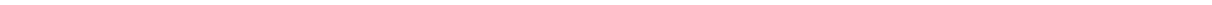
¹⁷⁸³ 'Beberapa kesan', PM-RI Jogja No. 265 (ANRI).

¹⁷⁸⁴ 'Pelaporan tentang soal gedung2 Sekolah jang ditempati tentara dan hingga sekarang belum dikembalikan', PM-RI Jogja No. 265 (ANRI).

¹⁷⁸⁵ I visited this building in 2007. The principal of SMA Negeri 11, which occupies the building today, said the maintenance of the building—declared a national cultural heritage—was costly and the school did not receive enough financial support from the government. I do not know when the military returned this building for educational use and whether this happened because of the politically historical background of the assembly hall—as the venue of the first congress of Budi Utomo in 1908. In the indoor courtyard between the assembly hall and the school offices, there stands a monument of the HIK, which Imam Sajono and friends set up in 2000.

classes (the *bovenbouw*) on Jalan Merdeka had become the Bandung Metropolitan Police Headquarters. The building of the lower-level classes, located in the Tegal Lega area (about 2.7 km south of Jalan Merdeka), is the Office of the Logistical Bureau of the Bandung Police Department. The former practice-school (*leerschool*), located near the Office of the Logistical Bureau, is now SD Negeri 4 Tegal Lega (public Primary School 4). The former football field of the training school is now the Taman Tegal Lega, the Tegal Lega Park. In Ungaran, near Semarang, Central Java, the building of the former *kweekschool* now houses SMP Negeri 2 (Public Junior High School 2). In the 1950s, the same building was used by the SGB Puteri (SGB for girls). The other compound across from this school is in use by the Information Department of the Indonesian Air Force. In the archive, I found a photograph dated to 1912 showing the building and its spacious forecourt. On the front left and right pillars, both in the photograph and in the actual building today, stands 'Anno 1910'. When I visited the building in January 2008, it seemed dilapidated. An officer to whom I talked said the building and its compound were in the process of being sold. In Bukittinggi, West Sumatra, in March 2007, I also found out that one of the compounds of the former *kweekschool* boarding-house had become the Bukittinggi District Police Office. Yet, the main building, located just across the street, was still being used for educational purposes by SMA Negeri 2 (public Senior High School 2).

The occupation of many colonial school buildings by the military and the police forces added to the complexity of educational infrastructural problems of the 1950s. It is true that the need for new school buildings at the time far exceeded the total capacity of the premises which the military and the police forces occupied. Nevertheless, the use of those colonial school buildings by different institutions for different purposes raises a question about their preservation today. From what I have seen, it seems it is no exaggeration to say that there has hardly been any guarantee that the buildings – except for the assembly hall of the former *kweekschool* of Yogyakarta, which is protected by the cultural heritage bill – will not be destroyed or sold to any third party. It is incredibly important to realize that these former *kweekschool* buildings are witnesses to the formation of the Indonesian middle class and intellectual elite, who served as the pioneers towards modern literacy of the masses. The preservation of some of these buildings should be seriously considered!



Conclusion

This chapter has explored the problems of the number and quality of teachers in the period of 1950 and 1958, and the strategic measures the Indonesian government took to resolve them. The problems of teacher shortage in the 1950s were like the chicken-or-the-egg puzzle. Indonesia needed primary school teachers, but these teachers were simply not available because there were hardly any secondary-school teachers who would educate trainee teachers to work for the improvement and expansion of primary education which in turn could deliver more student candidates of the secondary-level teacher training schools.

Partly because of a limited economic capacity to launch a totally new educational system and partly because many educational officials were Dutch-trained graduates, the government managed to transform the pre-war types of the training schools for primary school teachers into new national ones. In the level of quality, the SGA, SGB and SGC represented a 'metamorphosis' of the two stages of the *kweekschool*, the *normaalschool* training and the training courses for village teachers successively. Unfortunately, the 'metamorphosis' of the older training system did not work out well. The Indonesian teaching corps deemed the two-year SGC simply inadequate as a training standard for primary school teachers, so that the government dropped the SGC even before it began to operate. The government plan itself was that, in the near future, teaching at a primary school would require at least an SGA diploma, the highest level primary-school teaching diploma presented by any formal school at the time. The SGB, which was the second in the level of quality among the three training schools, was then transformed into an SMP, *Sekolah Menengah Pertama* or (general) Junior High School, in 1958. Shortly after the transformation of the SGB into SMP, the SGA was transformed into SPG, *Sekolah Pendidikan Guru* or (vocational) High School of Teacher Training.

The termination of the SGB in 1958 ended a century-long legacy of the colonial teacher training in the Indonesian Archipelago. On the other hand, the foundation of the SPG marked a new line in the history of primary-school teacher training in Indonesia because the SPG education provided a mono standard of minimum requirements of formal training for anyone wishing to teach at primary school. In other words, the foundation of the SPG put an end – at least theoretically – to the plural nature of elementary-school teacher training which had characterized the public teacher training system in Indonesia for many decades.

Another striking point concerns the training of secondary teachers. The scarcity of secondary-school teachers hampered the development of primary schools as the capacity of the secondary-level teacher training schools of primary-school teachers (the SGB and the SGA) to turn out new teachers was increasingly more limited. Even more seriously, the scarcity of secondary-school teachers forced the government to employ primary-school teachers as teachers in secondary schools, thereby reducing the number of capable human resources in primary schools. Partly to resolve the chicken-and-the-egg puzzle of which the scarcity of secondary-school teachers lay at the core and partly to improve the quality training of the teachers, the government founded the PTPG, *Perguruan Tinggi Pendidikan Guru* or Higher Institution of Teacher Training, in 1954. By now, in the 1950s, as an independent State,

Indonesia had to train its own secondary-school teachers. The foundation of the PTPG marked, at least spiritually, the educational independence of Indonesia. Despite this institutional progress, in the 1950s Indonesia still had to deal with many other vast educational problems, such as the limited supply and poor quality of school buildings.

Last but not least, it has to be noted that all these dynamics of educational and teacher training reforms in the 1950s generally excluded the pre-war nationalist schools like the Taman Siswa, which had characterized indigenous struggles for *the* Indonesian education system in the last two decades of the colonial administrations. The changing politics of the pre-war and post-war regimes did not reflect shared aspirations. Instead, the politics bolstered the transfer of powers between conflicting groups of political elites, setting aside the educational bodies which had represented the mass movements in colonial times. ***AS

Chapter 10

Towards a New Standardization of Teacher Training, 1956-c. 1964¹⁸²⁴

Introduction

By the end of the 1950s, the breach in the colonial political dike had fundamentally altered the course of the teacher training in Indonesia: Indonesian primary-school teachers should now be graduates of a uniform style training school and they should at least have received a secondary education. The *Sekolah Pendidikan Guru* or SPG, founded in 1958 as the direct successor to the *Sekolah Guru A* or SGA, was devised to fulfil these two criteria. Now at last Indonesia was training its own teachers who would train the pre-service teachers of the primary schools at secondary-level teacher training school. The establishment in 1954 of the *Perguruan Tinggi Pendidikan Guru* (PTPG, higher institution of teacher training) was evidence of a strategic attempt by the government to deal with this third issue.

The emergency circumstances thrust up by the continuous changes in political regimes from 1945 to 1958 had forced the successive ruling governments to employ, with some modifications, the stratified systems of teacher training of the pre-war past. However, the philosophy and the educational atmosphere which made the need of school teachers so urgent in the 1950s gradually revealed a vision of the future profile of the school teachers, whom Indonesia should and would have. The question is in how far the decolonization of teacher training on the one hand and the making of a new standardization of the training on the other hand reflected the conflicting ideological undertones of the changing regimes and the emerging nation-state. This chapter will therefore focus on the development of the PTPG from 1956 to 1964, paying particular attention to switch from tinkering with the Dutch teacher training to adopting the American one.

The unification of the pre-war stratified styles of teacher training schools by the end of the 1950s was an echo of the process of the Indonesian State-formation. It was born of the political unification of Indonesia earlier that decade.¹⁸²⁵ As a Nation State, Indonesia could not possibly afford diversity in the systems of education and teacher training, especially if such diversity led to greater social stratification in the student intake and output. Hence the standardization of teacher training in the late 1950s reflected the spirit of equality on which it was felt education in 'new' Indonesia should be based. It also presented a strategy which made school education an ideological instrument to unify the State. The uniform or single-style teacher training system, combined with the centralization in the educational policy making, set up a scheme of educational practice which resembled a template of the centralized State structure. Just as there was one (unitary) State of Indonesia running the Archipelago, there was also one system of primary-school teacher training. In terms of educational philosophy and system structure, shorn of its plural nature and characterized by trial and error, primary-school teacher training had become stabilized by 1958.

Notwithstanding, the next period in Indonesian educational history tells its own story. As already explored,¹⁸²⁶ the expansion of primary schools in the 1950s was slowed down by the limited

¹⁸²⁴ The first draft of this chapter was a paper presented to the History of Education Society Conference at Le Meridien Hotel, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 3-7 November, 2010. I thank Prof. James W. Fraser, who gave a commentary on the paper during the conference.

¹⁸²⁵ See Chapter 8.

¹⁸²⁶ See Chapter 9.

capacity of the secondary schools, in which the limited number of secondary-school teachers was one of the most critical issues which created a chicken-or-egg puzzle of education.¹⁸²⁷ An adequate flow of secondary-school teachers was the key to solving the problems of the expansion of primary education. In this context, the founding of the public PTPG in 1954 marked a moment of the educational independence of the country. It shows immediately that the history of primary-school teacher training in the 1950s was a matter of not only the training of primary-school teachers *per se*, but also with the training of secondary-school teachers because the latter were the key to removing the bottle-neck problems in the former. The aim of the PTPG was to train the pre-service teachers for secondary schools, including aspirant teachers at the SPG. In the larger context of resolving the overall educational problems in the 1950s, the PTPG and the SPG should be seen as the two sides of one coin.

If for better or worse the SPG had inherited the legacy of the older style of the vocational high school for teacher training (the SGA), how did the government set up the next step in the development of the PTPG? In the 1950s, this was a brand new type of teacher training institution in a country which so far only had experience of the Dutch type of *kweekschool*. As Soeroto, an official of the Information Section of the Education Ministry, said, the founding of the PTPG was a 'radical breakthrough'. 'Even people in the Netherlands are not yet familiar with teacher training at university level. They are only familiar with the *Middelbare acte Optrek-A* and *Middelbare acte Optrek-B* [secondary-level advanced courses A-B],' Soeroto said.¹⁸²⁸ Soeroto was right.

In the post World-War II Netherlands, reforms in the teacher training schools did not occur until 1968, although the Dutch parliament (*De Tweede Kamer*) had passed a new teacher-training school bill (the *Kweekschoolwet*) as early as February 1952.¹⁸²⁹ In that year 1968 the *Rijkskweekschool* – founded in 1924 – was transformed into a *Pedagogische Academie*,¹⁸³⁰ which required a five-year secondary education diploma at the HAVO and offered training at tertiary education level.¹⁸³¹ Not only for political reasons could the Indonesian government of the 1950s no longer refer to the educational system in the Netherlands. In order to improve the PTPG and to keep pace with quality teacher training at tertiary education level, it needed a new reference model.

In 1956 the Indonesian government chose the American colleges of teacher training as a benchmark, and this was how it managed to set up the next development of the PTPG. If history has ever anything to do with co-incidences, perhaps the PTPG was just one of the examples. In the 1950s – at the time when Indonesia was financially and professionally in dire need of improving the PTPG – a number of US institutions were actively offering aid. More surprisingly, the desire of Indonesia to have prospective teachers for secondary school prepared at a tertiary institution was growing parallel with what was happening in the United States. As education historian James W. Fraser says, in the

¹⁸²⁷ See again Chapter 9.

¹⁸²⁸ Soeroto, 'Pendidikan Guru S.L.A. Tingkatan Perguruan Tinggi: Membuka Perspektif jang Djauh dan Luas tentang Suatu Pendirian Radikal dari Kem. P.P. dan K.', *Arsip Muhammad Yamin* No. 277 (ANRI).

¹⁸²⁹ Mineke van Essen, *Kwekeling Tussen Akte en Ideaal: De Opleiding tot Onderwijzer(es) vanaf 1800* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij SUN, 2006), 290-1.

¹⁸³⁰ See http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pedagogische_academie_voor_het_basisonderwijs (accessed on Saturday, 14 November 2010 at 13.59, and on Monday, 6 December 2010 at 15.47).

¹⁸³¹ Van Essen, *Kwekeling Tussen Akte en Ideaal*, 291-2. HAVO stands for *hoger algemeen voortgezet onderwijs*, literally Higher General Continued Education; it is one of the secondary-education streaming types in the Dutch system.

1950s American high schools required every teacher to have a college degree for which 'the restructuring of the institutions which offered these degrees' was prerequisite. During these periods, the century-long American normal schools of two-, three- and four-year programmes, which had gradually been upgraded since 1928, had been completely transformed into colleges for teacher training. By 1960, the US had already reached the stage at which only university colleges had the authority to train high-school teachers. 'American teachers,' Fraser says, 'were prepared in – and only in – education departments and schools of large, multipurpose colleges and universities'.¹⁸³² The American offers of educational aid to Indonesia and the standardization in the US itself of the institutional preparation of American high-school teachers coincided with the need in Indonesia for assistance and with its desire to have its secondary-school teachers trained at a higher learning institution.

The choice of Indonesia to take the US teacher training system as its standard reference broke new ground in its educational history and marked the foundation of educational co-operation between the two countries. For Indonesia of the 1950s, taking the US as its example served as a milestone in the transition from the continental European to the American system of teacher training. For the US, closer educational co-operation with Indonesia accelerated the need to formulate a strategic policy for the US interests in restructuring Indonesian education.¹⁸³³

Hence, the PTPG became a sort of meeting point between the US and Indonesia from which the two countries could benefit. However, the American involvement in developing the PTPG does raise the question of whether the decolonization of Indonesian teacher training in the 1950s was simultaneously an Americanization. Whereas the accreditation of the *Hollands-Inlandse Kweekschool* (HIK) in the Netherlands Indies to the standard of the training school in the Netherlands in 1927 did somehow represent the nature of the relationship between the colony and the metropolis, recent educationists like Philip G. Altbach are asking whether the same pattern was repeated in the 1950s when Americans became involved in reforming the educational systems in Southeast Asia.¹⁸³⁴

The PTPG was a historical phenomenon. It was a brand new institutional type of teacher training in Indonesia and it set forth a new path in anyone wishing to understand the process of the decolonization of Indonesian education. Politically the PTPG symbolized Indonesian independence in education. But the later development of the PTPG, in which the involvement and the influence of American educationists loomed large, raises doubts about the extent of that educational independence. The PTPG was also historic because, for Indonesia, it marked a new standardization in the training of school teachers: a switch from the Dutch to the American style and an improvement from the secondary-education to the tertiary-education level.

Radical changes in the PTPG occurred in 1956 when the deans of the Bandung, Malang and Tondano PTPGs visited various educational institutions in the United States. Hard on the heels of the

¹⁸³² James W. Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers: A History* (New York and London: Teachers College Columbia University, 2007), 196-7.

¹⁸³³ See Chapter 6.

¹⁸³⁴ Philip G. Altbach (ed.), *An ASEAN-American Dialogue: The Relevance of American Higher Education to Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Regional Institute of Higher Education and Development, 1985). See especially Chapter 4 by Gerald A. Dorfman, 'Higher Education and Its Role in Development: Reflections on the U.S. Land Grant Model', 51-65.

deans' visit came exchanges of Indonesian students and American professors. After a short interruption because of the September 30, 1965 Movement in Indonesia, the exchanges of students and professors recommenced in 1967 but, this time, the political set up which underlined the teacher training in Indonesia had completely changed. By about the end of the 1960s, independent Indonesia had emerged from its first phase of educational reconstruction and had begun to embark on another phase, which needs a different frame of study.

The PTPG and the SPG were two different educational institutions but were pedagogically connected. PTPG education was meant to instruct pre-service teachers in the secondary schools, including the pre-service teachers of the SPG, who would train the pre-service teachers of the primary schools. Nevertheless, the development of the PTPG also affected the SPG, even if only indirectly. The symbolic meaning of the combining of SPG-PTPG was politically so great during the early years of the Indonesian State-formation that a discussion on the Indonesian training of school teachers in the 1950s and the 1960s cannot possibly be restricted either to the SPG or the PTPG alone. Even though I am aware of this, in this chapter I shall focus on the PTPG in an effort to comprehend its blueprint and shall reserve the exploration of the SPG for the next chapter.

I shall pay due attention to the American educational initiatives in Indonesia of the 1950s and the 1960s because of the contextual relevance they offer to understanding the processes of regime change in Indonesia. Although plenty has been said about the American educational initiatives in Indonesia in the training of economists, engineers and agriculturalists, those promoting the training of secondary-school teachers have barely been touched upon. Although the American aid programmes were not the only ones of their type in Indonesia during the period, their long-term impact was probably the most remarkable. Certainly Indonesia was not the only country in the Southeast Asian region in which the United States was actively engaged in educational aid, but it was perhaps the only one which became the main concern of the US non-military foreign policies at the time.

A. A focus on the training of secondary-school teachers

The founding of the PTPG and the early structure of its curriculum has been explored in Chapter 9. Soeroto, an official of the Information Section of the Education Ministry, says that the embryo PTPG were the B-I and B-II training programmes, which the government launched in 1950. These programmes were designed to upgrade the educational level of those senior high school graduates who wished to teach at the secondary schools. After several years, the public response to these programmes proved disappointing. Soeroto claims that the teachers who held the B-I and the B-II certificates were not considered 'full academics' because these programmes were not run at a university level, although they lasted for four to six years after senior high school.¹⁸³⁵ The government therefore upgraded the B-I and the B-II programmes to university level by establishing the public PTPG in Malang, East Java on October 18, 1954; in Bandung, West Java on October 20; and in Batungsangkar, West Sumatra on October 23.¹⁸³⁶ In 1955, another public PTPG was established in

¹⁸³⁵ Soeroto, 'Pendidikan Guru S.L.A.', *op cit.*

¹⁸³⁶ Muhammad Yamin, *Pidato Pembukaan Perguruan Tinggi Pendidikan Guru di Kota Malang: Diucapkan pada 18 Oktober 1954* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1954); Muhammad Yamin, *Pidato Pembukaan Perguruan Tinggi Pendidikan Guru di Kota Batusangkar: Diucapkan 23 Oktober 1954* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1954); Soeprapto, E. Karwapi Sastradiwirya and Dedi Supriadi, 'Sejarah Kelembagaan Pendidikan Guru', in Dedi Supriadi (ed.),

Tondano, North Sulawesi¹⁸³⁷ and sometime in 1956 yet another public PTPG was established in Medan, North Sumatra.¹⁸³⁸

In his speech to the Cultural Congress in Surakarta, Central Java, in September 1954, the Indonesian Minister of Education, Instruction and Culture, Muhammad Yamin, said that the founding of the PTPG was part of the grand project of political independence. He said the government plan was to establish a public PTPG in every Indonesian province.¹⁸³⁹ During the opening ceremonies of the PTPG in Malang, Bandung and Batusangkar respectively, Yamin said that secondary-school teachers 'should be trained to think as scientists so as to overcome difficulties in their duties and thereby maintain the educational level in secondary school.'¹⁸⁴⁰ In 1954, M. Sadarjoen Siswomartojo, the dean of the Bandung PTPG, said that 'the PTPG should train students so that they not only become intelligent teachers but also grow up as fully mature persons.'¹⁸⁴¹

The aims and the expected outcomes of the PTPG, not to mention the place and the role of the PTPG in the overall design of the 'imagined society' of independent Indonesia were clearly formulated by the government elite because the philosophy and the ideological lines which underlined (or should have underlined) the PTPG were already well defined. But, as always, the proof of the pudding was in the eating. The Indonesian government in the 1950s faced a tremendously limited capacity to be able to provide the people with such basic needs as food, health and educational services. The rate of illiteracy among Indonesians above the age of ten was extremely high compared to other countries in Southeast Asia.¹⁸⁴² To crown it all, the lack of school buildings and books contributed to the complexity of the education expansion which had already been hampered by the shortage of school teachers.¹⁸⁴³ The financial capacity of local administrations was limited and varied¹⁸⁴⁴ and the educational budget of the central government displayed a huge imbalance, as shown in the 1952/1953 fiscal year.¹⁸⁴⁵ In short, the government required a great deal of effort and a

Guru di Indonesia: Pendidikan, Pelatihan dan Perjuangannya Sejak Zaman Kolonial Hingga Era Reformasi (Jakarta: Direktorat Tenaga Kependidikan, 2003), 51-74.

¹⁸³⁷ 'Teacher Training Colleges (PTPG) in Indonesia', p. 2, Ford Foundation Grant No. 05600326, *Study Tour by Deans of Indonesian Teacher Training Colleges*, Reel No. 0843.

¹⁸³⁸ R. Murray Thomas, *A Chronicle of Indonesian Higher Education: The First Half Century 1920-1970* (Singapore: Chopmen Enterprises, 1973), 124. Unfortunately I could hardly find any archives about the founding of the Medan PTPG so I shall not be able to discuss it in detail. Thomas only mentions that the Medan PTPG was established within two years of the founding of the first three public PTPGs in Malang, Bandung and Batusangkar. Archives of the Ford Foundation also mention the Medan PTPG in passing.

¹⁸³⁹ Muhammad Yamin, 'Perkembangan Kebudayaan', Pidato pada malam pembukaan Kongres Kebudayaan di Kota Surakarta, 18 September 1954, 5-6.

¹⁸⁴⁰ Yamin, *Pidato Pembukaan Perguruan Tinggi Pendidikan Guru di Kota Malang*, 7.

¹⁸⁴¹ M. Sadarjoen Siswomartojo, *Address: Introducing the Ceremonial Opening of the Faculty at Bandung, 20 October 1954* (Bandung: Tjetakan Saksama, 1954), 9.

¹⁸⁴² In 1930, the majority (90.9%) of indigenous Indonesians over ten years was illiterate. The illiteracy in Malaya was 72.2%, in Thailand 68.8%, Singapore 63.5% and the Philippines 51.1%. See L.S. van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië: Een Bronnenpublikatie* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1963), Note 2 on p. 654.

¹⁸⁴³ See, for example, 'Daftar Djumlah Sekolah2 Gedung2 jang ada pada sekolah2', Arsip Muhammad Yamin No. 337 (ANRI).

¹⁸⁴⁴ See some of the archives which indicate this weak financial capacity of local administrations, for example, 'Minta bantuan begrooting dari Pemerintah untuk penyudahan SMP Tarusan dengan segera', Arsip Kabinet Presiden No. 1199 (ANRI); 'Pembangunan Sekolah Guru Bengkalis', Arsip Kabinet Presiden No. 1221 (ANRI).

¹⁸⁴⁵ See 'Undang-Undang No. 50 Tahun 1954 tentang Penetapan Anggaran', Arsip Sekretaris Kabinet-Undang-Undang No. 143 (ANRI).

huge amount of resources before it could develop the PTPG to the projected advanced teacher training at tertiary level.

Where there is a will, there is a way. Despite the huge gap between ideals and reality encountered in setting up the PTPG, the Indonesian government did manage to find a way out. Here two events during officials' visits unprecedentedly stipulated the Indonesian choice of US teacher training. In August 1954, A.G. Pringgodigdo, a government education official who was to assume the presidency of Airlangga University in Surabaya in November, represented the Indonesian Ministry of Education in the 200th anniversary of Columbia University in New York City. Observing the local situation during his visit, Pringgodigdo reported to Education Minister Muhammad Yamin that the Teachers' College of Columbia University was one of the most respected colleges in the US. He suggested that, if Indonesia were to open a teachers' college, it should likewise nominally be part of a university.¹⁸⁴⁶ Sometime at the beginning of 1956, Soegarda, director of Instruction of the Indonesian Education Ministry, also paid a visit to New York. During a business dinner, he was approached by an executive of the Ford Foundation who asked whether the Indonesian Education Ministry would submit in a request for the training of staff members and for the improvement of the PTPG.¹⁸⁴⁷ This dinner became a crucial turning point for the Indonesians. The Ford Foundation would lay the next foundation stones for the development of the PTPG in the next few years to come.

More than just showing a concern about the institutional level, the Ford Foundation represented the United States educational initiatives towards Indonesia in a broader context. The Ford executive's approach to Soegarda did not happen out of the blue, because the Ford Foundation was obviously participating in the US government foreign policy on Southeast Asia at the time. This policy involved a greater agenda of State-to-State interests, which will be discussed below. At this juncture it is immediately possible to see that the Indonesian educational problems in the 1950s and the 1960s, by themselves a domestic issue, became an international concern once they were put in the context of power relations. After the communication between Soegarda and the Ford Foundation executive in New York, the questions concerning the PTPG developed into a wider arena of political narratives in which issues like State-formation and the balance of State powers were a central theme. For Indonesia, the American educational initiatives in the 1950s took place just at a time when Indonesia was in dire need to re-launch its education and teacher training at all levels.

From 1 October to 10 December 1956, the deans of the public PTPGs of Bandung, Malang and Tondano visited various higher education institutions in the United States and other countries under the financial sponsorship of the Ford Foundation. Their purpose was to study the organization of curricula and the management of college-level teacher training. Following the PTPG deans' study visits abroad, the training of secondary-school teachers in Indonesia would soon attain a momentous stage of development. Important as it was, it has to be noted that teacher training was only one of the educational fields in which the US and Indonesia began to engage in at the time. Some other US educational institutions and non-profit organizations – with their Indonesian counterparts – were also working on partnership programmes. They provided advanced education and training for Indonesian doctors, economists, engineers, agriculturalists and technical teachers. Table 10.1 presents an outline

¹⁸⁴⁶ Thomas, *A Chronicle of Indonesian Higher Education*, 97-8.

¹⁸⁴⁷ Interview with Robert Murray Thomas, Los Osos, California, 16-17 October 2010.

of the co-operation between American and Indonesian universities from 1956 to 1969. The PTPG deans' visit to the US in 1956 marked one of the historic moments at the very beginning of the US-Indonesian co-operation in higher education.

Table 10.1: US-Indonesian co-operation in higher education, 1955-c.1969

Fields	US institution organizers	Indonesian institution organizers
Medicine and Economics	University of California at Berkeley	University of Indonesia Jakarta
Engineering	University of California University of Kentucky	University of Indonesia Jakarta Gadjah Mada University Yogyakarta
Agriculture	University of Kentucky	Bogor Institute of Agriculture
Technical teacher training	Tuskegee Institute	Technical Teacher Training Center in Medan (North Sumatra) and Semarang (Central Java)
Public secondary-school teacher training	State University of New York	Higher Institution of Teacher Training (PTPG) in Bandung (West Java), Malang (East Java), Tondano (North Sulawesi)

Sources: Bruce Lannes Smith, *Indonesian-American Cooperation in Higher Education* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Institute of Research on Overseas Programmes, 1960), 121-4; Francis Eugene Mooney, Jr., 'United States-Indonesian Co-operation in Higher Education: 1950-1961', *The Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 34 No. 2 (Feb. 1963), 94-6; Kenneth L. Neff, *National Higher Technical Education in Indonesia* (Washington, DC: US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1960).

B. Organization, aims and principal activities

Although both the programme and its impact were to last a long time, the US-Indonesian co-operation in the training of the public secondary-school teachers was politically much less intangible and controversial compared with, for example, the training of the Indonesian economists, later gained some notoriety as the Berkeley Mafia.¹⁸⁴⁸ They were part of the PTPG project. When the Indonesian government changed the name PTPG to FKIP in 1957, the project name changed accordingly and became the SUNY/Ford PTPG/FKIP Project.¹⁸⁴⁹ In the reports stored at the Ford Foundation Archives Department in New York City today, the FKIP Project was described as having been devised 'at the request of the Ministry of Education, the government of the Republic of Indonesia'. It ran under the institutional co-ordination of the State University of New York (SUNY) College of Teachers' Training at New Paltz and with the financial sponsorship of the Ford Foundation. On behalf of the Indonesian government, the Institute of International Education in New York City worked on technical details of the co-operation programmes and represented the Indonesian government in dealing with educational institutions in the US.

The FKIP Project was devised to support the FKIP by training Indonesian university staff abroad and by providing foreign instructors. The foreign instructors' main task was to provide professional aid to the FKIP in developing curricula and in improving teaching methods. Another

¹⁸⁴⁸ It is perhaps for this reason that projects for the training of Indonesian school teachers in the 1950s and the 1960s have received much less attention in the studies and historiography of the US-Indonesian (educational) co-operations today.

¹⁸⁴⁹ For technicality but also for a more recent sense of the project development, from now on I shall use here the short term 'FKIP Project' to mean the PTPG/FKIP project organized by the SUNY and supported by the Ford Foundation.

purpose was to provide students of the FKIP with books/study materials and hence a great deal of time and money was devoted to the acquisition of books/study materials. The project was worth \$ 600,000 for an extendable duration of three years. The fund made possible for twelve prospective Indonesian members of the FKIP teaching staff to be sent to study abroad each year, and ten foreign educationists to be sent to Indonesia to help improve the FKIP.¹⁸⁵⁰

The PTPG deans' study visit to the US was one of the characteristic activities carried out under the FKIP Project. Between 1956 and 1964, dozens of (prospective) PTPG/FKIP faculty members studied in various higher education institutions in the US on an FKIP fellowship of the Ford Foundation. In 1957, the dean of the SUNY College of Teachers' Training visited the FKIPs of Bandung, Malang, Tondano, and Batusangkar and met educational officials in Jakarta. The purpose of his visit was to dig deeper into the Indonesian needs for the secondary-school teacher training programmes, both at the policy-making and the practice levels. Finally, beginning 1958, American educationists came to teach at the FKIPs. All these activities paved the way for a new direction in Indonesian teacher training. How could (or should) the US-Indonesian educational co-operation of the late 1950s be understood in the broader context of the time?

C. Contexts

C.1 Americans' old dreams of Indonesia

The American educational aid to Indonesia in the 1950s was part of the bigger narrative of US foreign policy, whose mission was to guard domestic interests. It is true that, as is commonly believed, the Cold War context underlined the motivation of the American (educational) initiatives on Indonesia and other countries in Southeast Asia. However, the Cold War was only one of the issues with which the US had to deal at the time. Robert Pringle states that the US had deeply rooted interests in three categories: security, economy and ideology. While the US did aim to keep the security of South East Asia by balancing the world military powers there, it could not possibly overlook the economic potential of the region. In all its doings the purpose of the US was also to spread its ideological credo as elaborated in the American Constitution: universal human rights, to other nations.¹⁸⁵¹

The US outreach towards Indonesia in the 1950s was indeed also an extension of the Americans' old dreams of the Indonesian islands dating back to the early years of the twentieth century. Reading about the way American writers of the post World War II re-depicted how Americans before them had described the Indonesian islands and society, it is not difficult to catch a glimpse of the American version of Dutch concept *mooie Indië*, beautiful Indies.¹⁸⁵² The 13,000 islands of Indonesia, comprising the world's largest archipelago, are situated in a geographically strategic position. They connect the Indian and the Pacific Oceans, and bridge the Asian and the Australian

¹⁸⁵⁰ 'Request for Allocation Action, August 23, 1956', p. 2, Ford Foundation Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty of Indonesian Teacher Training Colleges (FKIP's)*, Reel No. 843.

¹⁸⁵¹ Robert Pringle, *Indonesia and the Philippines: American Interests in Island Southeast Asia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 18-21.

¹⁸⁵² See, for example, Harry D. Gideonse, 'American Policy in Indonesia', Excerpts from an Address before the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations, Chicago, Ill., Feb. 2, 1949; William A. Withington, Donald Pond, B.R. O'G Anderson, and John R.W. Smail, *Republic of Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1963); Howard Palfrey Jones, *Indonesia: The possible Dream* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Inc., 1971).

continents. Hundreds of volcanoes have made the Indonesian soil so fertile that rain forests paint the mountainous areas green. Blue seas and white beaches lined with coconut palms are a typical illustration in views of the coasts. This is how Americans generally viewed the Indonesia of the past, presumably heavily influenced by Dutch impressionists.

Beauty aside and pragmatism to the fore, the real reason the US had aimed to become much more deeply involved in the affairs of the country long before the outbreak of the Second World War were Indonesian natural resources. Until the Wall Street shares crashed in 1929, triggering the global economic crisis, the American public was bombarded with news about the Netherlands East Indies exports of rubber and oil. Dutch historians Frances Gouda and Thijs Brocades Zaalberg write that in the early 1920s the US government sent a trade mission to the Netherlands East Indies which was followed by the opening of US consular offices in the cities of Batavia, Surabaya and Medan.¹⁸⁵³ The Indonesian journalist Tribuana Said has unearthed the fact that by the late 1930s, the US had gained a share concession in the oil wells near the South Sumatra sub-districts of Pendopo and Talang Akar.¹⁸⁵⁴ So, when the Japanese conquered the Netherlands Indies and captured the oil wells in Tarakan (East Kalimantan) and Sungai Gerong (South Sumatra) in 1942, the US immediately saw a threat not only to the existing American companies in Indonesia but also to future economic expansion in that country.

After the Second World War, the US kept taking active positions as to deal with the political developments in Indonesia. Initially it supported the Dutch government in The Hague both by giving financial assistance to re-build the post-war Netherlands and by agreeing to the Dutch claims to its former colonies in the East. However, following the second Dutch attack on the Indonesian Republican capital of Yogyakarta in 1948, the US refrained from giving the Netherlands any assistance on the ground of human right issues.¹⁸⁵⁵ This sounded the death knell of claim of the Netherlands to the Netherlands East Indies – Indonesia – in December 1949.¹⁸⁵⁶ Across the post-war years, the US engaged actively and closely in Indonesian political affairs which culminated, many historians believe, in the September 30, 1965 Movement. Nevertheless, as Tribuana Said says, the US political

¹⁸⁵³ Frances Gouda with Thijs Brocades Zaalberg, *American Visions of the Netherlands East Indies/Indonesia: US Foreign Policy and Indonesian Nationalism, 1920-1949* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), 66-7; 83-6.

¹⁸⁵⁴ Tribuana Said, *The American Containment Policy and United States-Indonesian Relations* (Master of Development Studies thesis, Institute of Social Studies The Hague, 1981), 39.

¹⁸⁵⁵ The decision of the US government to withdraw its aid from the Netherlands might have, in part, resulted from persistent domestic pressure in the US. On p. 155 of their *American Visions*, Gouda and Zaalberg present two significant photographs. The photographs show American people in San Francisco and Los Angeles demonstrating in July 1947 against the first Dutch Military attack on Yogyakarta earlier that month. The banners that those people carry read, among others, 'Stop use of U.S. material to MURDER INDONESIANS', 'Netherlands Gov't Withdraw from INDONESIA!', 'Support a FREE INDONESIA', 'The NAZI ravaged Holland 1940, the Dutch ravaged Java 19..[sic]'.

¹⁸⁵⁶ On this American influence on the development of Indonesian nationalism and politics, see: Frances Gouda with Thijs Brocades Zaalberg, *American Visions*; Robert J. McMahon, *Colonialism and Cold War: The United States and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence, 1945-1949* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1981); Gerlof D. Homan, 'The United States and the Indonesian Question, December 1941-December 1946', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 93 (1980), 35-56; 'American Business Interests in the Indonesian Republic, 1946-1949', *Indonesia* Vol. 35 (April 1983), 125-32; 'The United States and the Netherlands East Indies: The Evolution of American Anti-colonialism', *The Pacific Historical Review* Vol. 53 No. 4 (Nov. 1984), 423-46; 'The Netherlands, The United States and the Indonesian Question, 1948', *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 25 No. 1 (Jan. 1990), 123-41.

involvement in the Indonesian affairs was a means, not an end, to its foreign policy.¹⁸⁵⁷ Said affirms that the US foreign policy in Indonesia and Southeast Asia throughout the post-war years pursued three points of mission: to support the independence of the regions from 'colonial tutelage'; to prevent the spread of Communism; and to 'secure open access to the area as a source of strategic raw materials and as an export market to the US and its allies'.¹⁸⁵⁸ Indonesianist Bradley R. Simpson suggests that economic motives loomed largest in the US involvement in the political affairs in Indonesia.¹⁸⁵⁹

It was also in the context of economic interests that the US showed particular concern about the increasing popular influence of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI, *Partai Komunis Indonesia*) and about its close ties to China. In the early 1950s, US foreign office officials in Jakarta were in intense communication with their colleagues in Kuala Lumpur and Washington DC about the potential threat, if the PKI were to seize power, to the American investment in Indonesia.¹⁸⁶⁰ In such an event, Indonesia would close all its doors to foreign investment and would probably take over the foreign investments already there. Not only would the US lose its oil wells, the opportunity to expand its investment in the mining and other sectors would be put paid to. So, in anticipation of the possible victory of the PKI in the general election of 1955,¹⁸⁶¹ the US set out the lines of its foreign policy in a pre-emptive style (see Table 10.2).

In principle, the US policy was aimed at improving the relations between the US and Indonesia and raising the degree of trust of the Indonesian people in America. Point Number 15 of the policy especially suggests American willingness to 'broaden Indonesian understanding of the US'. This point was broken down into several operational points, which explicitly regard the American need to develop deeper educational co-operation with Indonesia (Table 10.3). It was from these operational points that several educational programmes began to be developed in collaborations between American and Indonesian institutions.

Table 10.3 shows that the US government sought to broaden Indonesian understanding of the US by assisting Indonesians to travel and study in the US and other free world countries and by making full use of US private organizations to assist educational, cultural, medical and scientific activities in Indonesia. Hence, the involvement of American organizations and educational institutions in the Indonesian development projects set the tone which underlined the US foreign policy at the time.

¹⁸⁵⁷ Tribuana Said, *The American Containment Policy*, 8.

¹⁸⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 5.

¹⁸⁵⁹ Bradley R. Simpson, *Economists with Guns: Authoritarian Development and US-Indonesian Relations, 1960-1968* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008). On p. 208 Simpson writes, among other remarks, 'The United States had both greater responsibility and greater leverage than other countries to press the army to undertake the far-reaching economic reforms it considered essential to Indonesia's recovery, and thus it was the United States that should help cobble together the military-technocratic alliance it expected to dominate the political and economic landscape'.

¹⁸⁶⁰ See *Foreign Relations of The United States, 1955-1957. Southeast Asia: Volume XXII; Foreign Relations of The United States, 1958-1960. South and Southeast Asia: Volume XV; Foreign Relations of The United States, 1958-1960. Indonesia: Volume XVII; Foreign Relations of The United States, 1964-1968, Volume XXVI, Indonesia; Malaysia-Singapore; Philippines.*

¹⁸⁶¹ The PKI turned out to be in the fourth place (with 39 out of 257 seats) in the 1955 General Election. See Herbert Feith, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962), 434-5.

Table 10.2: US policy on Indonesia, 1955-1957

<p>Courses of action:</p> <p>11. In carrying out our policy toward Indonesia, avoid so far as possible the appearance of interfering in Indonesian internal affairs.</p> <p>13. Contribute to such an outcome of the impending elections as will permit a non-Communist party or coalition to form a government free of dependence upon Communist support. At the same time, take care not to prejudice our ability to work with any non-Communist government that may come to power.</p> <p>15. <i>Seek to broaden Indonesian understanding of the U.S. and to convince Indonesia that closer cooperation with the U.S. is desirable.</i></p> <p>16. Increase Indonesia's military and police capabilities</p> <p>17. Assist Indonesia in meeting its important economic problems and in countering attempted Communist economic penetration.</p> <p>18. Seek to develop better relations between Indonesia and other free nations.</p> <p>19. While for the present maintaining neutrality in the New Guinea dispute in our relations with other governments, explore within the U.S. Government solutions to this problem compatible with over-all U.S. objectives, for possible discussion with other interested governments.</p>
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Source: Document No. 95: The US National Security Council 5518—May 3, 1955

(<http://www.history.state.gov/historicaldocuments>, accessed on September 11, 2010 at 12.55 pm)

Table 10.3: Basis of US-Indonesian educational co-operations, 1955-1957

<p>15. <i>Seek to broaden Indonesian understanding of the U.S. and to convince Indonesia that closer cooperation with the U.S. is desirable by:</i></p> <p>a. Assisting Indonesians to travel and study in the U.S. and other free world countries.</p> <p>b. Undertaking a broad programme for increased training of Indonesians.</p> <p>c. Making full use of U.S. private organizations to assist educational, cultural, medical, and scientific activities in Indonesia.</p> <p>d. Identifying the U.S. with willingness to assist peoples struggling with problems of independence, and emphasizing the U.S. tradition of anti-colonialism.</p>
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Source: Document No. 95: The US National Security Council 5518—May 3, 1955

(<http://www.history.state.gov/historicaldocuments>, accessed on September 11, 2010 at 13.05 pm)

C.2 Power balance of foreign aid

The American aid for secondary-school teacher training to Indonesia during the 1950s and the 1960s was one of the different types and system of aid which the US donated. Books, equipment, teaching assistance, consultants and capital assistance were also provided. As I indicated earlier, the US government—through public and private American organizations—provided training for Indonesian doctors, economists, agriculturalists, and engineers. Table 10.1 presents the areas of educational co-operation between Indonesia and the US from 1955 to 1969. The US aid programmes to Indonesia were co-ordinated by the International Co-operations Administration (ICA).¹⁸⁶²

Although the US constituted one of the many countries from which the Indonesian government was actively seeking support and aid, the Soviet and the East European countries, the so-called Colombo Plan countries¹⁸⁶³ and West European countries like West Germany, France and Italy

¹⁸⁶² Dan Lev, *Some Descriptive Notes on Foreign Assistance in Indonesian Technical Education* (Jakarta: Ford Foundation, 1962), 6-11.

¹⁸⁶³ The Colombo Plan country group was formed during the British Commonwealth Conference on Foreign Affairs held in Colombo, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) in January 1950. Originally it was called *The Colombo Plan*

and also Japan were other sources of help. At an international level, Indonesia was granted assistance by some United Nations organizations such as the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the United Nations Technical Assistance Board (UNTAB), which provided vocational education, aeronautical engineering and high-school science teaching.¹⁸⁶⁴

Up to the end of 1961 Indonesia, which had joined the Colombo Plan in 1953, had received a total of US\$ 20.8 million in grants from this group. Australia contributed the largest share, US\$ 5.7 million.¹⁸⁶⁵ According to Dan Lev, in 1961 an executive of the Ford Foundation in Jakarta, Australia paid special attention to the Indonesian printing industry. It supported Jakarta with experts, books and bookbinding and photo-engraving equipment. In 1954, three Australian experts assisted the Indonesian government to establish the printing school.¹⁸⁶⁶

New Zealand aided Indonesia in developing trade schools in Malang and Bandung. It initially operated under the ILO project and in 1956/1957 under the Colombo Plan. Under the same plan, the United Kingdom helped Indonesia establish the Science Teaching Center (SCT) in Bandung by providing experts and scholarships for Indonesian students. The Canadian government provided scholarships for Indonesians to study in Canada: three in electrical engineering, three in advanced geology, three in geology, five in metallurgy, three in chemical engineering, three in mechanical engineering, one in physics and three in aeronautics.¹⁸⁶⁷

Indonesia also received a total of US\$ 95 million of loans, US\$ 50 million of capital aid, and US\$ 55 million of credit from West Germany. From France, Indonesia received loans worth US\$ 81.4 million and from Italy a smaller amount. In January 1958 Japan agreed to provide Indonesia with US\$ 400 million of loans and US\$ 223 million for war reparations, for a total of twelve years. Between September 1959 and January 1961, Yugoslavia gave Indonesia loans worth US\$ 25 million. Up to the end of 1961, various United Nations agencies including ILO and UNTAB gave Indonesia a total of US\$ 9.6 million. Tables 10.4 and 10.5 present the amount of the aid which Indonesia had received by 1961 from the US and from the Soviet and the East European countries respectively. At a rough estimate, from January 1956 to December 1962 the foreign aid that Indonesia received had amounted to a total

for Cooperative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia, consisting of seven British Commonwealth nations, namely Australia, Britain, Canada, Ceylon, India, New Zealand and Pakistan. The organization of this country group was officially launched on 1 July 1951 'as a cooperative venture for the economic and social advancement of the peoples of South and Southeast Asia'. In 1977, its name was changed to *The Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic and Social Development in Asia and the Pacific* 'to reflect the expanded composition of its enhanced membership and the scope of its activities'. When launching the first programmes in 1951, the organization of the Colombo Plan was projected to last for a period of six years. However, it was then extended several times until 1980, when it was extended indefinitely. Today (December 8, 2010), the Colombo Plan group is an international organization of 28 country members, including non-Commonwealth countries like Indonesia, which joined the group in 1953. The main purpose of the Colombo Plan is to create 'a framework for bi-lateral arrangements involving foreign aid and technical assistance for the economic and social development of the region'. Sources for this footnote on the Colombo Plan: <http://www.colombo-plan.org/home.php> and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colombo_Plan, both accessed on 8 December, 2010 at 17.29.

¹⁸⁶⁴ Lev, *Some Descriptive Notes*, 16-9. I have known about what UNTAB stands for from

<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O25-UNTAB.html> (accessed on December 8, 2010 at 19.06).

¹⁸⁶⁵ Donald Hindley, 'Foreign Aid to Indonesia and Its Political Implications', *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 36 No. 2 (Summer, 1963), 107-19

¹⁸⁶⁶ Lev, *Some Descriptive Notes*, 12-4.

¹⁸⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 14-6.

of US\$ 2,700 million. This excludes American military aid and 'non-tangible' aid: small-scale co-operation agreed upon by Indonesia and countries like Saudi Arabia, India and Guinea.¹⁸⁶⁸

As foreign affairs analysts like Guy J. Pauker and Donald Hindley have suggested, in the larger context of the world political dynamics at the time, the influx into Indonesia of a large amount of foreign aid from ideologically different blocs of countries is impossible to understand outside of the framework of the competition for power between the blocs, which viewed Indonesia as a strategic ideological battlefield.¹⁸⁶⁹ Naturally, the various forms of foreign aid to Indonesia were also not without strings tied to the economic interests of the donor countries.

Tables 10.4 and 10.5 indicate that a substantial portion of financial aid was received in the form of loans, which meant that the Indonesian government had to return the sums by any kind of payment it had at its disposal. Pauker claims that the Soviet Bloc loans were payable at an annual interest of 2.5 per cent over a period of twelve years.¹⁸⁷⁰ There is no mention of how the US wished Indonesia to repay the loans. Most of the financial aid Indonesia received from the Soviet Bloc countries was directed towards strengthening the Indonesian military forces.¹⁸⁷¹ While this was true, in the case of non-military aid, the Indonesian government made use of Soviet Bloc assistance 'in an economically sensible manner'.¹⁸⁷²

Table 10.4: US Aid to Indonesia, 1950-1961 (in million US dollars)

Year	Amount of aid	Form of aid
1950	40.0	Grant
1951	74.9	67.6 loans; 7.3 grant
1952	15.7	8.5 loans; 7.2 grant
1953	23.7	15.8 loans; 8.0 grant
1954	5.8	Grant
1955	7.6	Grant
1956	114.3	96.7 sales; 11.1 grant; 6.5 loans
1957	13.4	11.0 grant; 2.4 loans
1958	26.0	16.3 loans; 9.8 grant
1959	85.0	51.6 sales; 23.0 loans; 10.2 grant
1960	86.3	50.1 loans; 25.1 sales; 11.0 grant
1961	52.2	19.7 sales; 17.2 grant; 15.2 loans

Source: 'The US Agency for International Development (US-AID) Programme Office, Jakarta' as cited by Donald Hindley, 'Foreign Aid to Indonesia and Its Political Implications', *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Summer 1963), 107-19; table from p. 109.

Using the Soviet loans the Indonesian government built up the 'Asian Games Complex' in Jakarta, an iron and steel mill in the west of Jakarta and a fertilizer plant. It also constructed 662

¹⁸⁶⁸ Hindley, 'Foreign Aid to Indonesia', all figures in this paragraph have been cited from p. 110. According to Hindley, in January 1962, Saudi Arabia provided 18 two-year scholarships for Indonesians to study at a university in Medina. India gave training to some Indonesian air-force personnel. Guinea and Indonesia exchanged small number of experts.

¹⁸⁶⁹ Guy J. Pauker, *The Soviet Challenge in Indonesia* (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, 1962); Hindley, 'Foreign Aid to Indonesia', 107-19.

¹⁸⁷⁰ Pauker, *The Soviet Challenge*, 4.

¹⁸⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷² Hindley, 'Foreign Aid to Indonesia', 111.

kilometres of new roads and two mechanized rice enterprises in Kalimantan. Last but not least, Soviet non-military aid helped the Indonesian government establish the Faculty of Oceanography in Ambon.¹⁸⁷³ Besides the loans, American assistance was also given in the form of the Marshall Plan, which enabled Indonesia to purchase vital consumer goods, sell surplus agricultural commodities, and purchase technical assistance. The technical assistance meant 'basically the provision of United States' specialists and the training of Indonesians'.

Table 10.5: Soviet and East European Aid Agreement with Indonesia, 1955-1961 (in million US dollars)

Month/Year	Country	Amount of aid	Form of aid
February 1955	East Germany	9.2	Loan
March 1955	Rumania	2	Loan
May 1956	Czech	1.6	Loan
September 1956	Soviet	100, increased in 1959 by 17.5	Loan
1957	Czech	0.8	Loan
1958	Czech	6	Loan
1958	Poland	39.1	Loan
1959	Poland	5	Loan
September 1959	Czech	14	Loan
February 1960	Soviet	250	Loan
July 1960	Czech	33.8	Loan
1960	East Germany	unknown	Loan
January 1961	Soviet	450	Loan
May 1961	Bulgaria	5	Loan
August 1961	Poland	30.1	Loan
September 1961	Hungaria	29.6	Loan
November 1961	Rumania	50	Loan

Source: Donald Hindley, 'Foreign Aid to Indonesia and Its Political Implications', *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Summer 1963), 107-19; table from pp. 108-9.

According to Hindley, by 1961 there were approximately 200 American specialists in Indonesia; the largest groups being in education (40 people), transportation (39), public health and sanitation (32), agriculture and fisheries (30) and public administration (29). He claims that the presence of the American specialists in Indonesia who helped the Indonesian education ministry raise the standards of teaching and the number of graduates was of special importance. Up to 1961, a total of 2,500 Indonesians had been sent to the US and other Western Bloc countries paid for by the American government.¹⁸⁷⁴ The Soviet and Eastern Bloc countries also provided technical assistance to help Indonesia train its human capital. As of July 1961, at least 300 technicians from Soviet Bloc countries were working in Indonesia and about 300 Indonesian students were studying in these countries. In total, up to July 1961, approximately 4,410 Indonesians had received or were receiving specialized training abroad financed by foreign aid from any one of the Western and the Soviet Blocs sponsors.¹⁸⁷⁵

It is interesting to note that the study of the subject 'education' and the training of Indonesian public school teachers was on the agenda of the US-Indonesian educational co-operations but was

¹⁸⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷⁴ Ibid. also for the quoted figures in the previous sentence and the last sentence of the previous paragraph.

¹⁸⁷⁵ Ibid. 111-2.

missing from the educational co-operation agreements between Indonesia and the Soviet and East European Bloc countries. The Colombo Plan country members like New Zealand also set a programme for the improvement of the Indonesian school education. The scale of this aid was very modest as Robert Murray Thomas recalls it¹⁸⁷⁶ and the educational project of the Colombo Plan countries did not seem to promote either the study by Indonesians of the subject 'education' or the training of Indonesian public school teachers abroad.

A few years ago, I talked to some of those Indonesians who had formerly studied Medicine, Economics, and Literature at Lumumba University in Moscow (Russia), Agriculture in a state university in Belgrade (former Yugoslavia), Linguistics in Tirana (Albania) and Economics in Bucharest (Rumania).¹⁸⁷⁷ They could not recall whether any of their Indonesian contemporaries studied Educational Science or Teacher Training, for example, at the Pedagogical University of Cracow (Poland) or Moscow State Pedagogical University, which had (and have) reputations in the field of education. At the ANRI in Jakarta, I found archives to do with the contractual agreement between the Indonesian government and those Indonesians sent to study somewhere abroad in the 1950s. The archives indicate the student choices of subjects such as Fisheries, International Trade and Shipment, Law, and Political Science – in addition to the same subjects as taken by the Indonesians mentioned above.¹⁸⁷⁸ None of the archives shows anyone having chosen Educational Science or Teacher Training as the field of study.

Sardjijo Mintardjo, who studied Economics in Rumania in 1962, recalls that the Indonesian government decided the fields of study which he and his colleagues had to choose. The government projected that upon the completion of their study abroad, those students would take over the managements of the Dutch companies it nationalized in 1958 and of the industrial and steel plants which were (being) established with the assistance from the Soviet Bloc countries.¹⁸⁷⁹ Dan Lev of the Ford Foundation Jakarta Office confirms the testimony of Mintardjo. Writing his report in November 1961, Lev said that after their study the Indonesian nationals who received training abroad were expected to 'take over the operation of the capital assistance project' in Indonesia.¹⁸⁸⁰ The capital assistance was primarily aimed at building infrastructure, plants and industries. 'My Indonesian fellow students in Rumania either studied Mining Engineering, Engineering or Economics,' Mintardjo said.¹⁸⁸¹

In short, the fact that the subject field 'education' and the training of Indonesian public school teachers was one of the areas of the US-Indonesian educational co-operation (see again Table 10.1) was quite exceptional. The Indonesian government seemed to have been motivated by the need for more English-speaking citizens. English-speaking school teachers were needed to prepare the younger

¹⁸⁷⁶ Interview with Robert Murray Thomas, California, 16-17 October 2010.

¹⁸⁷⁷ Talks with Tante Ning, Om Sugeng and Tante Sri in Amsterdam in 2001 and 2003; with Pak Koeslan and Pak Mintardjo in Oegstgeest in 2009 and 2010. These Indonesians moved to the Netherlands and live (or lived) there after they had been banned by the Indonesian government from returning to Indonesia following the September 30, 1965 Movement. Many of them only visited Indonesia again after Soeharto stepped down from power in 1998.

¹⁸⁷⁸ See Arsip Muhammad Yamin at the ANRI collections.

¹⁸⁷⁹ Telephone conversation with Sardjijo Mintardjo, 17 November 2010 at 12.30.

¹⁸⁸⁰ Lev, *Some Descriptive Notes*, 5.

¹⁸⁸¹ Telephone conversation with Sardjijo Mintardjo, 17 November 2010 at 12.30.

Indonesians for a globally minded community, which the Education Minister Muhammad Yamin called the 'Family of Nations'. Such people were also required by the upcoming developments in the job market at the time.¹⁸⁸² Politically speaking, the Indonesian general public of the 1950s – incited by their political leaders – showed an intolerable degree of resentment to the colonial Dutch and any symbols of their representation, especially the Dutch language.¹⁸⁸³ Many Indonesians were motivated by the democratic values which they could imagine at work in American society, especially by the way the leaders disseminated the spirit of the 1776 American Revolution to the US younger generations.¹⁸⁸⁴ The dreams of an American education grew stronger as Indonesians learned about the expansion of public education in the Philippines during the first half of the twentieth century, which had laid the foundation for a relatively high rate of literacy among the Filipinos.¹⁸⁸⁵

Above all, the reason Indonesians turned towards American education was quite practical. Until 1956, it was only the US which massively and openly offered Indonesia assistance by which to improve general public school education. Other countries provided Indonesia with assistance in the field of education as well, but this was mostly for the improvement of education in science, trades and industry and was rather small scale. 'In the late 1950s and into the 1960s, there were some New Zealanders who taught in Bandung under the Colombo Plan,' Robert Murray Thomas recalled. 'But the number [of these teachers] was very modest. Although the US did not stand entirely alone, it certainly exhibited leadership in training the Indonesian teachers during the time.'¹⁸⁸⁶

¹⁸⁸² The alumni of the *Hollands-Inlandse School* (HIS), the *Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs* (MULO), and the *Hollands-Inlandse Kweekschool* (HIK), who spoke Dutch very well during the heyday of the schools and who were sent to study in the US during the 1950s and the 1960s, often switched code to English when they were involved in conversations during my interviews. It seems then that English replaced Dutch in the position of symbolic capital, which raised Indonesian's feeling of pride associated with one's level of intellectuality, social prestige and economic opportunities. Interview with Mochtar Buchori, Jakarta, 10 August 2005.

¹⁸⁸³ Dutch historian Kees Groeneboer writes that from 1945 to 1950 the returning Netherlands Indies government attempted to 'promote the learning both Indonesian and Dutch on a larger scale than previously'. However, the attempts were difficult to achieve owing to the Japanese language policy during the World War II. See Kees Groeneboer, *Gateway to the West: The Dutch Language in Colonial Indonesia 1600-1950: A History of Language Policy*, tr. Myra Scholz (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), 280-8; quote from p. 285. If the schoolbooks of the 1950s (e.g. geography, hygiene, Indonesian language, mathematics) and the archives of Muhammad Yamin and of the Indonesian Department of Education at ANRI are glanced at, it is obvious that by the end of the 1950s, Dutch-language books and subject courses had been removed from primary and secondary schools. Most of the Dutch professors had left Indonesia and Dutch was no longer the language of instruction in the universities. In certain university departments like History and Law, Dutch continued to be taught as one of the required subjects, principally because core reference sources of the two disciplines were written in Dutch.

¹⁸⁸⁴ Gouda and Zaalberg, *American Visions*, especially Chapter Two: "It's 1776 in Indonesia", pp. 44-65. The front and back covers of Gouda and Zaalberg's *American Visions* show photographs of Indonesian postage stamps—perhaps issued in the late 1940s—in which President Soekarno as well as Prime Minister Sutan Sjahrir were posing with American revolutionary leader Thomas Jefferson in the background, while Vice-President Muhammad Hatta was with Abraham Lincoln. To me, Gouda and Zaalberg's Chapter Two and the photographs of Indonesian postage stamps on their book cover show how deeply the Indonesian founding fathers were inspired by their American predecessors.

¹⁸⁸⁵ Indonesian inspiration in the 1950s to acquire the Philippines schooling experience under the US influence seemed to have been inherited from the Netherlands Indies administration after the Second World War. See a long account of comparison between education in the Philippines and in Indonesia sent by chair of the Commission for Studying Questions concerning Education for the Indigenous People of the Netherlands Indie (*Commissie tot Bestudeering van de Vraagstukken Samenhangende met het Onderwijs aan Inheemschen in Nederlandsch-Indië*), H.C. Croes, to the Netherlands Minister of Overseas Territories in The Hague, 6 June 1947, 'Vergelijkend overzicht van de grondslagen der onderwijsvoorziening in Indonesië met het onderwijsstelsel in de Philippijnen', Alegeemeene Secretarie No. 674 (ANRI).

¹⁸⁸⁶ Email communication with Robert Murray Thomas, 18 November 2010 at 12.27.

Critically, from the Indonesian perspective the American educational aid came just at the time when the Indonesian government, while willing to work on educational reform and expansion, lacked experience, benchmark, human resources and the financial capacity as to deal with the coil of problems engendered by the war years and decolonization. The Indonesian government selection of the US educational system and teacher training was both philosophical and pragmatic in nature.

From the American perspective, the educational aid to Indonesia was absolutely inseparable from the larger scheme of US security, ideological and economic interest. The course of action of US policy from 1955 to 1957 (Table 10.2) clearly reveals the American purpose in broadening Indonesian understanding of the US and for convincing Indonesia that a closer co-operation with the US was desirable. Closely resembling the Netherlands Indies government educational policy in the late 1930s,¹⁸⁸⁷ US policy saw education as a cultural approach by which to achieve a prescribed scheme of interests. Here US strategy towards Indonesia seemed to be more outreaching than its Soviet counterpart. The training of the Indonesian technicians, economists, agriculturalists, doctors and engineers in and by the Western and the Eastern Bloc countries was of course crucial to developing a favourable Indonesian political attitude to the respective bloc countries. However, training the school teachers was a truly strategic decision. By training Indonesian school teachers hence making them study the American educational system, curricula, school books and how to teach English, the US government actually secured the dissemination of the American way of thinking to the future generations of Indonesia. When teaching Indonesian students back home later, these American-trained Indonesian teachers would bear in mind not only the experience they had built up when living in American society, but also the knowledge they had acquired from American colleges about American values such as democracy, individual freedom and privacy. In this sense, the US policy went beyond the teacher training *per se*. It was aimed at reaching a larger group of Indonesians in the future through education.

Indonesia was certainly not the only target of recipient of US educational aid. Up to 30 April 1956, the US International Co-operation Administration had financed or was financing some fifty-two US universities in conducting eighty co-operation projects with universities in thirty-six countries across Latin America, the Near East, the Far East, South Asia, Africa and Europe.¹⁸⁸⁸ Nor was the US cultural approach to Indonesia devised to pull Indonesians' educational orientation exclusively towards the US. Point 18 of the Courses of Action of the US policy on Indonesia (see Table 10.2) reads that the US aimed to 'seek to develop better relations between Indonesia and other free nations'. In a moment it will be shown that the Indonesian deans' orientation visit abroad in 1956 included study visits to the US and continental European countries as well as to India and Puerto Rico.

Initially, the FKIP Project also allowed selected Indonesians to study Educational Science anywhere in the 'free nations', which was most likely defined as the Western Bloc countries, but this policy changed when there were signs that Indonesians were avoiding coming to the US. For example, the first five Indonesians who were sent to study in the US under the FKIP Project had initially requested training in the Netherlands. The Secretary General of the Indonesian Ministry of Education

¹⁸⁸⁷ See again Chapter 4.

¹⁸⁸⁸ International Co-operation Administration, 'Quarterly Summary Statements: ICA-Financed University Contracts in Operation as of April 30, 1956 Unclassified', p. 2, Grant No. 05600326, *Study Tour by Deans*.

could not approve the request because the political relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands were at a very low ebb at the time and culminated in the closing of the Indonesian representative office in The Hague. Therefore, the five scholarship holders sought admission to Belgium. The Ford Foundation representative in Jakarta, Michael Harris, was bothered by the fact that these fellowship holders did not make any attempt to gain admission to American universities. 'It seems to indicate that there is a prejudice against education in the United States,' Harris wrote to Ford Foundation executive in New York, Kenneth R. Williams, on 24 May, 1956. 'If this is true, training in some other country may result in fortifying resistance to any changes from the continental educational system.'¹⁸⁸⁹

The PTPG/FKIP, naturally a domestic issue in Indonesia in early independence years, had by then turned into a kind of meeting point between the Indonesian needs for educational reconstruction and the US foreign policy of serving economic, security and ideological interests. In practice, the process in which the PTPG/FKIP developed was more technical than political or ideological, as might have been expected. The next section will present some snapshots of the activities carried out under the FKIP Project.

D. Snapshots of practices

It was pointed out earlier that the FKIP Project activities included study visits by deans of universities, the training of PTPG staff in the US and the staffing of the PTPG with American and foreign professors. Lengthy reports on these activities are preserved today in the Ford Foundation Archive Department in New York City. I shall quickly skim-through the reports.

D.1 Indonesian teachers in the US

The Indonesian deans who paid study visits abroad under the FKIP Project were M. Sadarjoen Siswomartojo of the Bandung PTPG, Adam Bachtiar of the Malang PTPG and G.M.A Inkiriwang of the Tondano PTPG. The political situation in West Sumatra prevented the dean of the Batusangkar PTPG, M. Zainudin, from joining the tour. Within a period of four months beginning at the end of August 1956, the three PTPG deans spent ten weeks visiting twenty-one teacher training colleges and university schools of education in the US and six weeks in other countries including Puerto Rico, India and some in continental Europe.¹⁸⁹⁰ The tight schedules of the visits tired the three deans so much they cancelled their trips to the secondary teachers' training colleges in Bombay and Calcutta, India.¹⁸⁹¹

The principal purpose of the deans' study visits abroad was to analyse the problems and the prospects of the PTPG/FKIP. The Indonesian deans desired 'to examine by personal inspection teacher training methods in other countries to identify and better understand teacher training methods, administration, articulation, etc. which may fit into and benefit the Indonesian system'.¹⁸⁹²

¹⁸⁸⁹ Jakarta Representative, Michael Harris, to executive Kenneth R. Williams, 24 May 1956, p. 2, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁸⁹⁰ The visit to the US was indeed organized in the middle of the tour schedules and, as pointed out earlier, took place from 1 October to 10 December 1956.

¹⁸⁹¹ New Delhi representative, Douglas Ensminger, to Jakarta representative, Michael Harris, 25 January 1957, Grant No. 05600326, *Study Tour by Deans*.

¹⁸⁹² Ford Foundation Grant No. 05600326, *Study Tour by Deans*.

In his report of 9 January 1957 to the Ford Foundation Overseas Development Programme Executive Associate, Carl G. Burness, the Institute of International Education Director of the Department for Asia-Africa, George B. Bennett, wrote that overall the PTPG deans' visits to the US were a success. 'They had an opportunity to study and confer on the various methods and philosophies of teacher-training in the US and, secondly, they had an opportunity to become better acquainted with the US and its people,' Bennett wrote.

'It should particularly be noted,' Bennett wrote, 'that [Bachtiar] formed an almost entirely new opinion of the United States' attitude on racial integration and on the progress being made in the South, and he will, I am sure, convey his improved impressions to his friends and colleagues in Indonesia'.¹⁸⁹³

Sadarjoen had some criticisms, saying that he and his colleagues had lacked preparation for the study visits and that their schedules in the US were too heavy. The deans had had to visit and hold conferences in the twenty-one educational institutions. Sadarjoen said he had little idea of what he and his colleagues were to look for or to study in the US and felt he was 'completely unacquainted with the US' geography, customs, and educational systems'. Besides, there were 'too many luncheons, dinners and other entertainment, meetings only with deans and professors with insufficient opportunity to talk with student teachers and students, and insufficient opportunity to observe classroom teaching'.¹⁸⁹⁴

While the PTPG deans paid study visits abroad, the Secretary General of the Indonesian Education Ministry, M. Hutasoit, recommended five PTPG instructors be funded for advanced study in the US. In the letter of 14 August 1956, to Ford Foundation representative in Jakarta, Michael Harris, Hutasoit said that the five instructors should commence their study in the US in the Fall Semester of September 1956. The five instructors were David Henki de Queljoe, Constantijn Adelbert Pakasi, Mas Achmad Gazali Surianatasudjana, Slamet Rahardjo, and Nji Raden Hatidjah Wiriaatmadja.¹⁸⁹⁵ The Ford Foundation agreed that these five people enter American universities in September 1956 for a period of two years. Upon completing their academic courses, they had to return to Indonesia and assume teaching positions at the PTPG/FKIP.¹⁸⁹⁶

The five PTPG instructors were the first batch of the PTPG/FKIP staff members to pursue advanced studies in the US under the FKIP Project. Hutasoit said an agreement had been made between his office and the Ford Foundation Jakarta Office. Annually, the Ford Foundation would fund twelve PTPG/FKIP instructors for graduate studies in the US, eight in Pedagogy and four in Science. Hutasoit said that the second group of the 1956/1957 batch quota – consisting of seven

¹⁸⁹³ Institute of International Education Director of the Department for Asia-Africa, George B. Bennett to Ford Foundation Overseas Development Program Executive Associate Carl G. Burness, 9 January 1957, pp. 2-3, Grant No. 05600326, *Study Tour by Deans*.

¹⁸⁹⁴ 'A Statement by Deans of the Teacher University Colleges of Malang, Tondano and Bandung submitted to the Ford Foundation, during the final evaluation sessions in New York, arranged by the Institute of International Education on the 5 December 1956', p. 2, Grant No. 05600326, *Study Tour by Deans*.

¹⁸⁹⁵ Indonesian Ministry of Education, Instruction and Culture Secretary General, M. Hutasoit, to Ford Foundation Representative Jakarta, Michael Harris, 14 August 1956, p.1, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁸⁹⁶ Program Activity Proposal, 25 August 1956, p. 1, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

people – would leave for the US before the second semester of 1956/1957 commencing in February 1957.¹⁸⁹⁷

The sending of the five PTPG instructors at the end of August 1956 marked the realization of the agreement more concrete. In the Ford Foundation Programme Activity proposal of 23 August 1956, there was a description of how the Indonesian Ministry of Education had sought assistance in ‘enabling the advanced training of persons who, with such training, would qualify fully as faculty members and at the same time make a significant contribution to the development of concepts, curriculum, and methods of teacher training in Indonesia.’ Obviously, the purpose of sending the PTPG instructors was not only ‘to add to the total teaching staff but also to improve the quality of teachers available and to contribute toward the gradual raising of the level of teacher training’.¹⁸⁹⁸ The operational objectives of the training of the PTPG instructors abroad were specifically as follows:

1. to train a nucleus of permanent faculty members of PTPG’s
2. to contribute to Indonesia’s knowledge of pedagogy and educational policy
3. to contribute to the gradual evolution as well as well-organized, well-equipped institutions with a capacity to meet Indonesia’s requirements for well-trained secondary school teachers
4. to meet immediate needs for additional teachers in selected subjects
5. to improve the quality of instruction in secondary schools.¹⁸⁹⁹

The training of the PTPG/FKIP staff was limited to persons who were teaching in public schools or occupied other positions in the Ministry of Education. They should be those who, with a minimum of advanced training abroad, could qualify for a full-time appointment to the PTPG. They should be ‘mature, experienced instructors, all of whom have had the equivalent of several years training beyond the secondary level but who do not have a formal academic degree and who need additional training in their field of subject matter and in education.’¹⁹⁰⁰

Ford Foundation representative in Jakarta Michael Harris was impressed by the calibre of the afore-mentioned five people, who made up the first batch of FKIP staff studying in the US in August 1956. ‘They are mature people, with considerable experience and previous academic training,’ Harris said. ‘I think that, on the whole, the [Indonesian Education] Ministry has made a considerable effort to select the best people consider.’¹⁹⁰¹

While Harris’ impression was good, the tight selection criteria logically affected the number of the potential scholarship applicants. In January 1957, the Indonesian Ministry of Education could recommend only six, instead of seven, candidates for training in American universities commencing in February 1957.¹⁹⁰² This did not tally with the planned annual quota of twelve candidates five of whom for the year 1956/1957 had already left for the US in August 1956. For the 1957/1958 year, the

¹⁸⁹⁷ M. Hutasoit to Michael Harris, 14 August 1956, p.1, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁸⁹⁸ Program Activity Proposal, 23 August 1956, p. 2, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁸⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰¹ Jakarta representative, Michael Harris, to Overseas Program Director Kenneth R. Iverson, 10th August 1956, p. 2, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹⁰² Program Activity Proposal, 2 January 1957, p. 1, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

Education Ministry recommended eleven candidates.¹⁹⁰³ Harris said the maturity and experience requirements narrowed the opportunity to a limited number of eligible applicants only.

In fact, one of the more serious stumbling blocks to the recruitment of scholarship recipients was the Indonesian policy makers' lack of a frame of reference to the extent to which the PTPG/FKIP would be developed. The Indonesian Ministry of Education had not tried 'to establish any relationship between its anticipated requirements for FKIP instructors and the subjects in which the fellows will specialize'.¹⁹⁰⁴ 'Neither the Deans nor the Ministry people have mentioned anything but the ordinary content of a secondary school curriculum, languages, sciences, mathematics, etc.' Harris said. Initially, the Ministry did not indicate any interest in or plans for preparation in 'Education' as a field of study. Harris said: 'I'm wondering if we can really fundamentally affect teacher education in Indonesia unless there is concentrated attention on study of teacher training, curriculum, educational methods, etc.'¹⁹⁰⁵

In due course, the Indonesian Ministry of Education was able to draw up the expected academic profile of FKIP instructors. The majority of the candidates should specialize in education – just as Harris had suggested. 'Even those few who may major in the natural sciences should have a strong dose of education,' Harris noted following a discussion with M. Hutasoit. Those selected for training abroad had to take courses specifically directed towards improving the process of teacher education and the content of the subject matter. It was hoped they would qualify for either Bachelors' or Masters' degree.¹⁹⁰⁶ All holders of FKIP fellowships were expected 'to become competent as teacher trainers in planning curriculum, to improve their teaching methods, and to know better how to administer their responsibilities'.¹⁹⁰⁷

The anticipated outcomes of the individual teacher profiles were fixed, but challenges to candidate recruitment did not disappear completely. The candidates' varying educational backgrounds also mattered. Applicants for the FKIP scholarships were mostly those Indonesians who held high-school diplomas from different types and levels from the colonial and Japanese times and who, after the war, continued on to the B-I or B-II courses. They had 'been taught in highly theoretical, bookish fashion'. Upon an assessment, which included an interview, it was found out that many of the applicants showed a limited capacity to conduct the independent study required for an effective academic life at an American university.

To deal with the problem, the Ministry of Education and the Ford Foundation Jakarta Office, in co-operation with the University of Kentucky team and the UNESCO Science Teacher Centre, arranged a seven-month preparatory course in Bandung for the FKIP fellowship holders, who would study the Science Education. This way, 'the available candidates would have been able to work effectively in the applied work in American universities without additional preparatory training'. With the selection process commencing much earlier to allow the selected candidates to take the

¹⁹⁰³ Program Activity Proposal, 17 September 1957, p. 1, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹⁰⁴ Jakarta representative, Michael Harris, to consultant Kenneth R. Williams, 24 May 1956, p. 2, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, postscript on pp. 5-6.

¹⁹⁰⁶ Program Activity Proposal, 23 August 1956, p. 2, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹⁰⁷ Michael Harris to Kenneth R. Iverson, 10 August 1956, p. 4, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

seven-month preparatory course in Bandung, the number of the nominated candidates increased to thirteen for the 1958/1959 year.¹⁹⁰⁸

Last but not least, the candidates' level of English proficiency constituted a latent problem which postponed or even cancelled the commencement of their study. On December 1956, for example, Michael Harris reported to the Ford Foundation Programme Director F.F. Hill that two prospective candidates, Soesanto Darmodjo and Jonas Frederick Tahalele, were having difficulties in English language placement. 'Mr. Soesanto Darmodjo received only 59% correct answers on the Lado English language tests. Most of his difficulties are in speaking, and in lack of sufficient vocabulary,' Harris wrote.¹⁹⁰⁹ Tahalele did not perform satisfactorily in English language tests either. Harris said that he and the Ministry of Education agreed to withdraw the candidacies of both men.¹⁹¹⁰ But George H. Bennett, Asia-Africa Department Director of the Institute of International Education in New York City which arranged the registration to American universities of all FKIP fellowship holders, had suggested different ideas. After consulting the English Language Institute at the University of Michigan, Bennett recommended the two candidates take one eight-week term of instruction in English before heading to the US. After taking the suggested preparatory course of English, both Darmodjo and Tahalele could finally make their way, with the FKIP fellowship in the autumn of 1957, to the University of Texas and George Peabody College respectively.¹⁹¹¹ The Darmodjo and Tahalele cases are early samples of the English proficiency issue.

On 5 July, 1957, Michael Harris sent F.F. Hill fourteen names for admission to American universities. Two of the names, Sumadji and Made Sastera Inggas both of whom were to study Physics, had to be dropped immediately because of their low scores in their English proficiency tests.¹⁹¹² Indeed, seven out of the thirteen fellowship applicants, whose files were in for selection on 19 July, 1957, failed to reach the required score in the English proficiency tests so that their applications could not be processed until the requirement was met.¹⁹¹³ Like Darmodjo and Tahalele, some of those applicants were finally able to study in the US on an FKIP fellowship. Nevertheless, these cases show us that English proficiency became a major obstacle which had to be confronted.

Up to 1964, approximately eighty FKIP staff members had received or were receiving advanced training in the US, mostly leading for master's degree.¹⁹¹⁴ They received full scholarships under the FKIP Project which covered a monthly stipend, health insurance, tuition fees, clothing and book allowances, overseas transportation, shipment of personal effects, field trips and expenses for

¹⁹⁰⁸ Program Activity Proposal, 8 July 1958, p. 1, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹⁰⁹ Jakarta representative, Michael Harris, to program director, F.F. Hill, 3 December 1956, p. 1, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹¹⁰ Jakarta representative, Michael Harris, to program director, F.F. Hill, 29 November 1956, p. 1, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹¹¹ IIE Asia-Africa department director, George H. Bennett, to Jakarta representative, Michael Harris, 11 January 1957, p. 1, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹¹² Jakarta representative, Michael Harris, to Program Director F.F. Hill, 5 July 1957, p. 1, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹¹³ Jakarta representative, Michael Harris, to Program Director F.F. Hill, 19 July 1957, pp. 1-2, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹¹⁴ This is my rough calculation based upon the scattered numbers of grant recipients mentioned in separate letters between Jakarta and New York Ford Foundation executive officials.

children and husband/wife.¹⁹¹⁵ They studied at the State University of New York in Albany, New York Teachers College in New Paltz, the University of California in Santa Barbara, Columbia Teachers College in New York, George Peabody Teachers College in Nashville, the University of Texas, Miami University of Oxford in Ohio, the University of Michigan, State University of Chicago in Illinois, Harvard University School of Education, and other higher education institutions. The subjects which the FKIP faculty studied ranged from chemistry, physics, biology, audio-visual aids, economics, education, history, mathematics, physical education, to psychology.¹⁹¹⁶ With the exception of those who studied education, all received a substantial portion of training in educational science and didactics in addition to the subject in which they were specializing. Those who studied education normally focused on curriculum design, school management and leadership. As consultant to the FKIP Project, Kenneth R. Williams said the staffing needs of each PTPG more or less covered the teacher training curriculum spectrum, namely: (1) the general education areas of social studies, humanities, mathematics and the biological and physical sciences; (2) the cultural and developmental areas of arts and crafts, homemaking and physical education and so forth; and (3) the professional areas of educational sociology, educational psychology, the materials and methods of instruction and so on.¹⁹¹⁷

To conclude this section, I shall briefly cite the experience of the five persons, who made up the first group of the FKIP fellowship holders. I want to provide a sample of the daily life and the academic endeavours of the FKIP personnel during their first days at American universities. Of the five people commencing studies in the autumn of 1956, Slamet Rahardjo and C.A. Pakasi enrolled in the George Peabody Teachers College in Nashville, Tennessee¹⁹¹⁸; D.H. de Queljoe and Achmad Gazali went to Columbia Teachers College in New York¹⁹¹⁹; and Nji Raden Hatidjah Wiriaatmadja to Miami University, which remarkably enough was located in Oxford, Ohio.¹⁹²⁰ On 26 November, 1956, acting-director of the Special Programmes Department of the Institute of International Education, George H. Bennett, wrote to the Ford Foundation Jakarta representative, Michael Harris, saying that the five people had adjusted well to American society.

'Hatidjah initially felt quite homesick,' Bennett wrote. 'She now seems to be adjusting to the climate of Miami University in Oxford, Ohio.' Hatidjah was a special student whose status would be decided at the end of the first or second semester of 1956/1957. She was accepted by Miami for graduate work in science education and was expected to end up with a master's degree. C.A. Pakasi and Slamet Rahardjo also did well. The dean of Instruction at Peabody, Felix C. Robb, told Bennett that 'both men have adjusted well to the work at Peabody after some initial trouble in understanding

¹⁹¹⁵ Department of Special Program Acting Director, George H. Bennett, to Slamet Rahardjo, 15 November 1956, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹¹⁶ Michael Harris to F.F. Hill, 5 July 1957, p. 1; 19 July 1957, p. 2, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹¹⁷ Consultant Kenneth R. Williams to Jakarta representative, Michael Harris, 8 August 1956, p. 2, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹¹⁸ Jakarta representative, Michael Harris, to head of Education Ministry Bureau of International Relations and UNESCO Affairs, Soemitro Reksodipoetra, 31 August 1956, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹¹⁹ Assistant to Jakarta representative, Harrison Parker, to IIE Department of Special Programs acting director, George Bennett, 8 September 1956, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹²⁰ IIE, 'Indonesian PTPG Faculty Training Project: Explanation of IIE Proposed Budget, 17 September 1956', p. 2, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

the speech of the South.' Rahardjo was particularly happy because his wife and children finally joined him in Nashville.¹⁹²¹

D.H. de Queljoe and Achmad Gazali were stepping out on two different paths of fate at Columbia Teachers College. Only three months after beginning the study programmes in September 1956 was De Queljoe considered by his academic advisor, Barbara Finberg, to be able to complete his master's study by June 1957 and, upon receiving his master's, to be able to work towards an Educational Doctor's degree (EdD). Gazali was not yet able to change his status from an undergraduate to a graduate student. Both De Queljoe and Gazali came from the same educational background.¹⁹²²

The details of the schooling experience of De Queljoe and Gazali in the US are very interesting. The conditions set by the Indonesian Ministry of Education required all fellowship holders to return to Indonesia immediately upon completing their studies, mostly at the master's level. Both De Queljoe and Gazali were sent to Columbia Teachers College for a master's study. After academic and administrative fights, Gazali finally had his status upgraded to the graduate school. He earned his master's degree in Educational Science in September 1957 with the grades ranging from B- to A+ for the course subjects Curriculum and Instruction in Higher Education, Problems in Junior and Senior High School Teaching, American Culture and Education, Psychology of Late Adolescence, Education and the Frontiers of Knowledge, and Practice in English as a Second Language. Gazali then returned to the Bandung PTPG after a month's study trip in the US with his wife.¹⁹²³

Knowing his way to a doctorate was open, De Queljoe fought administratively and politically to benefit from this opportunity, with full support of his supervisor and graduate programme co-ordinator. Because it was not possible for him to complete his doctoral work by the end of his two-year fellowship in June 1958, De Queljoe asked for a one-year extension until June 1959. Initially the Education Ministry could not accede to his request. Although the duration of the Ford scholarships was two years, the Ministry required those who had completed their studies sooner than the duration of the scholarship, to return immediately to the PTPG/FKIP institutions which had sent them because they were 'desperately needed' there.¹⁹²⁴ De Queljoe went lobbying both at the Ford Foundation and the Institute of International Education offices in New York City. During his talks with the Ford and the IIE people, he seized the opportunity to question the authority of Max Makagiansar, director of Higher Education of the Indonesian Ministry of Education, to have requested him to return immediately to Bandung.¹⁹²⁵

The De Queljoe case resulted in a huge pile of communications involving himself, the Ford Foundation Jakarta and New York offices, the IIE, the Indonesian Embassy in Washington DC, and the Indonesian Education Ministry. De Queljoe was finally granted a permission to continue towards

¹⁹²¹ IIE Special Programs Department acting director, George H. Bennett, to Jakarta representative, Michael Harris, 26 November 1956, pp. 1-2, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹²² George H. Bennett to Michael Harris, 26 November 1956, p. 1, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹²³ IIE Asia-Africa Department director, George H. Bennett, to Jakarta representative assistant, Harrison Parker, 17 May 1957, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹²⁴ George H. Bennett to Harrison Parker, 17 May 1957, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹²⁵ IIE Asia-Africa Department director, George H. Bennett, to Jakarta representative assistant, Harrison Parker, 27 June 1957, pp. 1-2, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

an EdD at Columbia Teachers College with, as he had requested, an additional fellowship up to June 1959. The extension would allow him to follow the prerequisite courses at Columbia, but would not leave him time to write his dissertation there. So, it was suggested that he wrote his dissertation in Bandung.¹⁹²⁶ The Ford Jakarta representative assistant, Harrison Parker, was even of the thought that De Queljoe should have the chance to defend his dissertation at the Bandung PTPG by having his supervisor come from Columbia Teachers College.¹⁹²⁷ Unwilling to commit, however, IIE director assistant, Ross Dixon, said that the IIE would only make a decision prior to De Queljoe's departure back to Indonesia in June 1959 and after consulting De Queljoe's supervisor at Columbia, Professor Stratemeyer.¹⁹²⁸

His wishes fulfilled and on the verge of coming true, De Queljoe did not stop fighting. On 22 August 1957, Michael Harris, who seemed to be in New York at the time, wrote to Carl Burness, the IIE director of the Asia-Africa Department, informing him that De Queljoe just dropped in at his office and said that he had anticipated problems and difficulties in applying his experience and training from the United States in Indonesia. De Queljoe suggested to Harris 'the organization of a research institute in Indonesia as a means of mitigating difficulties'. The institute 'should hook up with Columbia Teachers College, which would provide American personnel to advise Indonesian personnel.' Harris reported that De Queljoe thought that it would be necessary for American personnel to give additional leadership to the Indonesians. De Queljoe was quoted by Harris as saying that 'the training which Indonesians have received in the US, while of great assistance to them, would not enable them, by themselves, to do such things as attempting to standardize curriculum work on long-range plans for educational developments, etc.' Harris said he told De Queljoe that 'that work of this sort would be undertaken by the PTPG's', which would be assisted by the staff made available by the State University of New York. In response, according to Harris, De Queljoe expressed some concern about the rivalries between the various PTPG.

'I do not think that de Queljoe's views represent anything more than his own personal thoughts,' Harris told Burness. 'I mention them only because he may stop in to talk to you about them.'¹⁹²⁹ In an interview, Robert Murray Thomas, an American educationist who later worked closely with De Queljoe in Bandung in the 1960s, told me that De Queljoe never actually earned his doctorate.¹⁹³⁰

D.2 American educationists in Indonesia

While the future permanent staff members of the FKIP were receiving training in the US, there was still an immediate need for more teaching personnel and for improving the educational quality of the

¹⁹²⁶ See archives on the De Queljoe case in the reports of Ford Foundation Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty of Indonesian Teacher Training Colleges (PTPG's)*, Reel No. 0843; Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum at Indonesian Teacher Training Colleges (FKIP's)*, Reel No. 0849.

¹⁹²⁷ Jakarta representative assistant, Harrison Parker, to IIE Asia-Africa Department director, Carl Burness, 14 August 1957, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹²⁸ IIE Asia-Africa Department director assistant, Ross Dixon, to Jakarta representative assistant, Harrison Parker, 20 August 1957, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

¹⁹²⁹ Michael Harris to Carl Burness, 22 August 1957, Ford Foundation Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum at Indonesian Teacher Training Colleges (FKIP's)*, Reel No. 0849.

¹⁹³⁰ Interview with Robert Murray Thomas, Los Osos, California, 16-17 October 2010.

FKIP. One of the aims of the FKIP Project was to provide the FKIP with foreign assistance in developing and improving the curricula, teaching methods and study materials. Unfortunately, until the return of the PTPG deans to Indonesia in December 1956, the people of the Ford Foundation were somewhat in the dark about what it was precisely the Indonesians wanted from the foreign assistance which the FKIP Project should provide. This is reminiscent of the lack of reference of the Indonesian government about to what extent the PTPG/FKIP should be developed.

A letter sent on 16 January, 1957 – probably from the New York office¹⁹³¹ – to the Ford Foundation representative in Jakarta, Michael Harris, remarked on the deans' visits as follows:

'They [the deans] did not appear to comprehend the need for them to come to clear conclusions of their own about the kind of programme they wanted to undertake, and for some programme to be developed on the basis of their recommendations which would have governmental approval. Certainly they betrayed no awareness of the difficult and time-consuming task of locating and preparing personnel to go to Indonesia under the best of circumstances. This was discussed as often and as pointedly as circumstances permitted, but unfortunately we doubt if any real clarification resulted.'¹⁹³²

The deans' visits left the Ford people with only a general impression about the assistance they needed to improve the PTPG. 'They [the deans] referred repeatedly to the importance of the "spirit" in all the relationships they had, and those to which they look forward in the future'. In terms of possible future contacts, the deans stated they felt 'the need for affiliation with someone who could keep their own unique problems constantly in mind in an attentive and personal way, rather than persons or organizations preoccupied with other responsibilities who could only view their problems in a comparatively detached and professional manner'. The deans referred to the US as 'always moving ahead', or 'looking for something better', or 'finding new answers'. They said change was a major characteristic of American life and one from which Indonesia could learn.¹⁹³³

The Ford Foundation requested a consultation with the Board of Education of the City of Atlanta.¹⁹³⁴ Its first priority was to find out which US institutions the PTPG deans considered to have 'the greatest potential in terms of a possible contractual relationship for services' and, secondly, the substantive nature of such contractual relationships.¹⁹³⁵ In his letter of 4 March, 1957, to the Ford Foundation executive associate, Carl Burness, the deputy superintendent of the City of Atlanta Board of Education, Kenneth R. Williams, who had already been involved in the related activities during the deans' study visits, highlighted two points. He suggested that any institution which would be asked to enter into any sort of contractual or sisterhood relationship to support the PTPG 'should be a Teachers College rather than a College or School of Education which is a division of a University'. He said a separate Teachers College 'would be more in consonance with and more easily related to the

¹⁹³¹ The letter does not contain any information of the sender.

¹⁹³² The letter of 16 January 1957 to Jakarta representative Michael Harris, p. 3, Grant No. 05600326, *Study Tour by Deans*.

¹⁹³³ Ibid. 2-3.

¹⁹³⁴ Why the Ford Foundation sought the Board of Education of the City of Atlanta for consultation, is not indicated in the archives. It was perhaps because the Board deputy-superintendent, Kenneth R. Williams, had been previously involved in consultations with other projects of the Ford Foundation.

¹⁹³⁵ City of Atlanta Board of Education deputy superintendent, Kenneth R. Williams, to executive associate, Carl Burness, 4 March 1957, 'Assistance to the Indonesian PTPG's', p. 1, Grant No. 05600326, *Study Tour by Deans*.

PTPG than would a teacher education division of the university'.¹⁹³⁶ Importantly, the PTPG deans did not seem to accept 'the sort of educational programme being pushed by the teacher education division of Gadjah Mada University under Professor Sigit', a reason Williams thought was understandable 'only in terms of a development in Indonesia'.

Williams also highlighted the personal characteristics required of the American individuals who would be sent to Indonesia under the FKIP Project. During their visits, Williams said, the PTPG deans were very insistent that any individual sent from the US 'be selected not only in terms of his ability as a teacher or consultant but also with high priority being given to the individual's interest in and ability to work with the Indonesians'. 'They [the deans] kept saying "Be sure we have people who will accept us [Indonesians] as we are and who will work with us where we are,"' thus Williams.¹⁹³⁷

For four reasons, Williams recommended the Ford Foundation consider the State University of New York Teachers' College as 'a possible institution for contractual arrangements'. Chief among them, the SUNY had a wide competence from an educational standpoint. Second, it had 'the organizational and administrative machinery' to establish and operate a contractual relationship easily. Third, the SUNY had a number of 'relatively autonomous Teachers Colleges – each with a complete staff for its respective purposes' – which were well organized and 'pooled' by a single officer. 'Hence,' Williams wrote, 'the desire of the PTPG deans to work with Teachers' Colleges would be accomplished and at the same time we would be tapping the potential of a number of colleges through the single contractual relationship'. Finally, a number of the SUNY staff members were already 'knowledgeable and very interested in the PTPG problem' and had the reputable professional capacity in comparative and international education.¹⁹³⁸ Williams did not deal in details of the recruitment of American personnel. He only recommended that they be contracted to work in Indonesia for 18 to 24 months.¹⁹³⁹

In the contract it then signed somewhere in mid-1957¹⁹⁴⁰ with the Ford Foundation, the SUNY agreed to act as a US backstopping institution, which would work with and for the Indonesian government in improving the teacher training colleges. The contract remained in force until 31 July 1960 unless otherwise terminated earlier by the US Department of State, the Indonesian government or by 'reason of acts of God, force majeure or a threatened civil rebellion which [is deemed] to imperil the safety of its [SUNY's] personnel'.¹⁹⁴¹ The contract was worth US\$ 639,500.¹⁹⁴²

¹⁹³⁶ Saying this Williams seemed to accommodate the deans' evaluations. He said he personally did not believe that the organizational type of the training institution mattered so much for the success or failure of instruction improvement programmes.

¹⁹³⁷ Kenneth R. Williams to Carl Burness, 4 March 1957, p. 2, Grant No. 05600326, *Study Tour by Deans*; also for the previous paragraph.

¹⁹³⁸ Ibid. 3.

¹⁹³⁹ Ibid. 4.

¹⁹⁴⁰ When exactly the contractual agreement for the FKIP Project between SUNY and Ford Foundation was signed, I do not know. I assume the contract became effective sometime by mid-1957 based on the fact that on 26 July 1957, Ford Foundation had been processing a programme activity proposal for SUNY Teachers' College dean, John Jacobson, to travel to Indonesia. See 'Request for program action', Ford Foundation Grant No. 05790317, *Program Specialists (Indonesia): Consultation with Ministry of Education, Indonesian Teacher Training Colleges (PTPG's)*, Reel No. 0846.

¹⁹⁴¹ The Research Foundation of State University of New York executive secretary, Mort Grant, to executive associate Carl Burness, 15 May 1958, pp. 1-2, Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

From August to September 1957, John Jacobson, the dean of the SUNY College of Teachers' Training in New Paltz, visited Indonesia. His purpose was 'to initiate negotiations with the Indonesians concerned' in order to reach an explicit agreement about 'the nature of the relationship between the PTPGs and SUNY on the assignment of visiting faculty, and on needs for instructional equipment, materials and supplies'.¹⁹⁴³ Jacobson met members of the Indonesian Ministry of Education. He also visited the public PTPGs in Bandung, Malang, Batusangkar and Tondano and, seizing the opportunity, 'conferred with the Dean and various members of the faculty, examined buildings and instructional facilities, and managed to become acquainted with the community and surrounding of the region'.¹⁹⁴⁴ 'In addition to handicaps imposed by inadequate buildings, materials, and books, the educational programme at each institution suffers from an insufficient number of resident full-time faculty members, and from the lack of competent guidance in curriculum planning and student personal services,' Jacobson wrote in his report on 26 November, 1957, to the SUNY president William S. Carlson.¹⁹⁴⁵

On September 1, 1957, the name PTPG was changed to *Fakultas Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan* (FKIP, Faculty of Teacher Training and Educational Sciences), and nominally became a part of a university.¹⁹⁴⁶ The Bandung PTPG became the FKIP of Padjajaran University in Bandung; the Malang PTPG became the FKIP of Airlangga University in Surabaya and the Tondano PTPG of Hasanuddin University in Makassar.¹⁹⁴⁷ Hence, in the agreement then reached between SUNY and the Indonesian Ministry of Education following the Jacobson visit, it was stated that SUNY would assist the Indonesian government in the development of programmes of instruction for the training of secondary school teachers in each of the three FKIPs. SUNY would send American personnel qualified to assist the teaching programmes in the field of education (pedagogy), science and the teaching of science, physical education, and other fields directly related to the preparation of teachers for Indonesian secondary schools.¹⁹⁴⁸

The Americans to be sent to Indonesia, Jacobson stated, should be 'of recognized competence in their respective fields', with ten years' experience, and 'able to act as advisers on curriculum and other organizational problems in the college'. Pertinently, they should 'demonstrate a genuine capacity for communicating effectively with college students and faculty and for stimulating their interest'. Like Williams, Jacobson also underlined the elements of personality and character. He said the American candidates for the teaching assignment at the FKIPs should be persons of 'a strong, even

¹⁹⁴² The Research Foundation of State University of New York, 'A Proposal for Assistance to the Ministry of Education of the Government of Indonesia', p. 2, Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

¹⁹⁴³ 'Request for program action', Grant No. 05790317, *Program Specialists (Indonesia)*.

¹⁹⁴⁴ SUNY Teachers' College dean, John H. Jacobson, to SUNY president, Williams S. Carlson, 26 November 1957, pp. 1-2, Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

¹⁹⁴⁵ John H. Jacobson to Williams S. Carlson, 26 November 1957, p. 3, Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

¹⁹⁴⁶ Peraturan Pemerintah No. 51 Tahun 1958 tentang Perubahan Nama Perguruan Tinggi Pendidikan Guru Menjadi Fakultas Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan, Arsip Peraturan Pemerintah No. 415 (ANRI).

¹⁹⁴⁷ John H. Jacobson to Williams S. Carlson, 26 November 1957, pp. 2-3, Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

¹⁹⁴⁸ The Research Foundation of State University of New York, 'A Proposal for Assistance', p. 3, Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

zealous, desire to work with and to help people of other lands'. They should be 'outgoing personalities who can work easily and naturally with other persons and groups' and had 'the capacity to make adjustments to differences in climate, food, housing conditions, domestic economy, education and other aspects of the culture'. 'He and his family must possess a certain kind of enthusiasm for adventure among new places and new peoples which will allow them to be interested and happy during a two year stay in an Asiatic community.'¹⁹⁴⁹

Jacobson's description of the personality and character requirements appropriately matched the wishes the FKIP deans had expressed during their visits to the US. The rub was that his opinion about the academic fields of the personnel differed quite substantially from those expected by the deans, especially Sadarjoen of the Bandung FKIP. Sadarjoen 'did not at first want a generalist in education or teacher training generally,' but, rather, 'a tests and measurements man for assistance to his research department'. Jacobson agreed 'for SUNY to hire as team leader a generalist in education with some expert knowledge as well in tests and measurements'. While both Jacobson and Sadarjoen agreed that the second man to be sought would be in physics or in science teaching generally, Sadarjoen also emphasized his wish to have 'a physical education man as well'.¹⁹⁵⁰ Last but not least, Sadarjoen wanted 'English teachers primarily to teach English to all his students – and only secondarily to teach the teaching of English to future English teachers'. For this reason, he put two teachers of English first on the list of personnel needed which he gave to Jacobson, followed by personnel in physics, physical education, geography and so forth. Sadarjoen was 'apparently dissatisfied with the staff he had obtained – from the British Council – in the field'.¹⁹⁵¹ The requests that Sadarjoen submitted to SUNY not only reflected the need for personnel in different academic fields, but also for greater numbers of the personnel themselves. Notwithstanding this, Jacobson's idea was that SUNY should initially deploy two American personnel at each of the FKIP, taking into account the time- and energy-consuming process in recruiting them.¹⁹⁵² He consequently crossed out some of the deans' requests. Apparently Jacobson was aware that by 1958 some of those Indonesian FKIP staff members who were undertaking a master's study in the US would have returned to Indonesia and would have been able to strengthen the FKIP faculty.

The recruitment of American personnel took place after Roger Bancroft was appointed the field chairman of the project in January 1958. Bancroft was Director of Education at the State University Teachers' College at Cortland. As the field chairman of the FKIP project, he began his job by touring various teachers' colleges throughout the US and interviewing prospective candidates. He finally selected six educationists whose fields of specialization were fairly close to the ones which the FKIP deans had asked for: Harold M. Elsbree, June E. Lewis, Harold E. Richardson, James J. Sampson,

¹⁹⁴⁹ John H. Jacobson to Williams S. Carlson, 26 November 1957, p. 4, Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

¹⁹⁵⁰ Jakarta acting representative, Harison Parker, to New York executive, F.F. Hill, 27 August 1957, p. 3, Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

¹⁹⁵¹ Harison Parker to F.F. Hill, 27 August 1957, p. 2, Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

¹⁹⁵² John H. Jacobson to Williams S. Carlson, 26 November 1957, p. 6, Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

Robert Murray Thomas, and Herbert S. Bailey (see Table 10.6).¹⁹⁵³ Bancroft also appointed a secretary, Beryl Dwight, to help him in the project headquarters in Bandung. Besides being the field chairman of the project, he would personally serve as a supervisor and consultant to the Indonesian Ministry of Education in Jakarta.¹⁹⁵⁴

Table 10.6: American personnel of the FKIP Project in Indonesia and their fields of specialization, as compared to the requests made by the FKIP deans

American personnel			Specialization fields of American personnel requested by FKIP deans ¹⁹⁵⁵
Name	Field of specialization	Position held at the time of appointment	
Roger Williams Bancroft ¹⁹⁵⁶	EdD in Psychology from Syracuse University, 1952	Director of Education, State University Teachers' College, Cortland	Bandung FKIP: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education, with qualifications in evaluation, tests, measurements, and research techniques • Science, preferably in physics and if possible the teaching science • Science, preferably in physics • Geography Malang FKIP: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education—generalist • Science, preferably zoology, and also if possible the teaching of science Tondano FKIP: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education, if possible with qualifications in the teaching of science • Science, physics and/or chemistry
Harold M. Elsbree ¹⁹⁵⁷	EdD in Research and Administration from Syracuse University	Professor of Education; Director of Placement, State University Teachers' College, New Paltz	
June E. Lewis	EdD in Science and Mathematics from Harvard University	Associate professor of Science and Mathematics, Plattsburgh State Teachers College	
Harold E. Richardson	EdD in Junior High School Education from New York University, 1949	Professor of Science, Oswego Teachers College, NY	
James J. Sampson	EdD in Education from Columbia Teachers' College, 1950	Professor of Education, Oneonta Teachers College	
Robert Murray Thomas	PhD in Education from Stanford University, 1950	Professor of Education and Psychology, Teachers College at Brockport	
Herbert S. Bailey ¹⁹⁵⁸	Not known	Not known	

Sources: see related footnotes!

¹⁹⁵³ 'Biographical Data on SUNY Team Members', Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

¹⁹⁵⁴ SUNY executive dean, John H. Slocum, to program associate Carl G. Burness, 23 January 1958, pp. 1-2, Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

¹⁹⁵⁵ 'Requests by PTPGs for American Faculty Members accepted for consideration', Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

¹⁹⁵⁶ 'Curriculum vitae of Roger Williams Bancroft', SUNY executive dean, John H. Slocum, to program associate Carl G. Burness, 23 January 1958, pp. 1-2, Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

¹⁹⁵⁷ On Elsbree, Lewis, Richardson, Sampson and Thomas, see New York executive associate, J.A. Quinn, to Jakarta representative, Michael Harris, 11 April 1958, 'Biographical Data on SUNY Team Members', Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

¹⁹⁵⁸ No information about Herbert S. Baily and his field of specialization is available in my archives. He was only referred to as 'Dr. Baily' in FKIP Project field chairman, Roger Bancroft, to New York executive associate, J.A. Quinn, 18 April 1958, 'Suggested Proposed Assignment of American Faculty to FKIP's', Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*. I have found Bailey's complete name in a letter of the acting representative in Jakarta, Carl G. Burness, to head of Foreign Aid and Projects Division of the Indonesian Education Ministry Bureau of International Relations and UNESCO Affairs, A.N. Hadjarati, 1 July 1958, Grant No. 05800283, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

The six personnel, Bancroft and Dwight, all accompanied by their respective spouses and children, took pre-departure courses at Cornell University from 15 June to 1 September, 1958. These courses on Indonesian language, culture, society, history and politics were co-ordinated by John M. Echols.¹⁹⁵⁹ Upon finishing the Cornell courses, the FKIP team and their accompanying family members left for Indonesia between 8 and 13 September, 1958.¹⁹⁶⁰

Robert Murray Thomas, who was thirty-seven years old at the time and the youngest among the educationists, recalled that he was very enthusiastic about going to Indonesia as he 'had never known about the country and its people and was wondering about what he might see and experience there'.¹⁹⁶¹ Thomas, Lewis and the project field leader Bancroft and secretary Dwight were assigned to Bandung, with Sampson and Bailey assigned to Malang. Elsbree and Richardson were initially planned for assignment in Tondano.¹⁹⁶² The outbreak of the *Permesta* rebellion in Sulawesi in 1958 forced SUNY to cancel the placement of any staff in Tondano so that the Tondano FKIP, like its Batusangkar counterpart, never did receive any foreign assistance from the SUNY/Ford FKIP project. According to Thomas, Richardson was then assigned to the FKIP in Malang and Elsbree to Bandung.¹⁹⁶³

The arrival at the FKIP of the American professors ushered in a new episode in the teaching methods, curriculum design, textbooks and the internal organization of the Indonesian teachers' training colleges, but it took them some time before they could actually work out the planned reforms. They first had to come to terms with the frustrations and surprises caused by logistical problems, which were 'not necessarily professional in nature but closely related and, at times, grimly controlling the professional work'. Upon his arrival in Jakarta on 9 September, 1958, Bancroft found 'no cars, no houses, no air or sea freight, no appliances' so that he jokingly referred to himself as 'unsophisticated project chairman'.¹⁹⁶⁴ Housing in particular was one of the serious logistical problems which those educationists and their families had to deal with during the first three months. In the contractual agreement signed in April 1958 by SUNY and the Indonesian Ministry of Education, it was stated that the latter would provide the former with 'a house of suitable size for each family together with suitable furnishings (except refrigerators, stoves, and other furnishings from abroad which require expenditure in foreign exchange)'.¹⁹⁶⁵ As early as June, SUNY had arranged with the Indonesian

¹⁹⁵⁹ 'Revised Budget of 24 January 1958', Grant No. 05800160, *Orientation Program at Cornell University for Foundation-Financed Personnel Going to Indonesia*, Reel 0848.

¹⁹⁶⁰ Project chairman, Roger W. Bancroft, to Jakarta representative, Michael Harris, 10 August 1958, Grant No. 05800283, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*. The date of Bancroft's letter was much earlier than the dates of the departure of the personnel. Here Bancroft, who seemed to aim to pre-notify the Ford Foundation representative in Jakarta about the impending arrival of the personnel, reported the confirmed dates of the flights that he had previously received from the travel agent American Express Company.

¹⁹⁶¹ Interview with Robert Murray Thomas, Los Osos, California, 16-17 October 2010.

¹⁹⁶² Roger W. Bancroft to J.A. Quinn, 18 April 1958, 'Suggested Proposed Assignment', Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

¹⁹⁶³ Interview with Robert Murray Thomas, Los Osos, California, 16-17 October 2010.

¹⁹⁶⁴ Project field chairman, Roger Bancroft, to SUNY vice president, John Slocum, 30 November 1958, p. 1, Grant No. 05800283, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

¹⁹⁶⁵ 'Contractual Agreement between the Ministry of Education of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Research Foundation of State University of New York', 24 April 1958, p. 4, Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

government to have the housing issue settled,¹⁹⁶⁶ but in reality it was to be November.¹⁹⁶⁷ With these logistical problems solved, the American personnel would face more challenges in their professional work.

E. Areas of influence

The initial work of the American personnel might be best addressed by examining some areas of influence, such as curriculum and teaching methods, the internal management of the FKIP, and supplies of books, study materials and equipment. This section will describe the FKIP features of the curriculum and teaching, management and supply at the time when the American personnel began their work.

E.1 Curriculum and teaching methods

In the first-six-month report of 30 November, 1958, which he wrote to the incumbent SUNY vice-president, John Slocum, FKIP project leader Roger Bancroft paraphrased the three educational issues, which the Bandung FKIP dean Sadarjoen had pointed out. First, nearly all – 99 per cent Bancroft wrote – of education in Indonesia at high school and college level consisted of ‘lecture, pure lecture’. All examinations were based on the lectures and the assigned reading. Degrees were ‘determined by a series of oral examinations based on a certain number of lectures’. ‘The student does not have to attend the lectures,’ Bancroft wrote quoting Sadarjoen. ‘If he can get copies, he can memorize these and get a degree or pass the course.’

This method of learning, again according to Sadarjoen as quoted by Bancroft, was typified by the story told by one of the University Presidents who went to Holland in the early 1920s to study law. ‘Living was cheaper in Paris than in Leyden, so the students lived in Paris and, once a year, went to the University to take their examinations, having, in the meantime, borrowed notes, read lectures and by devious other means prepared for the examinations’.¹⁹⁶⁸ However difficult it is to cross-check whether the story Bancroft quoted was true, the point is clear: the teaching and learning methods were one of the most critical educational concerns with which Bancroft had to deal.

The second point which Sadarjoen highlighted concerned the social application of Indonesian education. ‘Increasing thousands of Indonesia’s finest young people are being graduated from the SMA’s [*Sekolah Menengah Atas*, general Senior High Schools] into the ranks of the unemployed’. ‘Their education has been a highly theoretical, memorized process which bears practically no relationship to the needs of Indonesia. Mathematics is a memorized theory with no suggestion of how this can be put to work in Indonesia’s society and economy’. Bancroft put forward his own judgment:

¹⁹⁶⁶ See piles of letters between the SUNY, Ford Foundation and Education Ministry officials, for example, Jakarta representative, Carl G. Burness, to New York executive, John Provinse, ‘FKIP Housing-Bandung’, Grant No. 05800283, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

¹⁹⁶⁷ See, for example, Jakarta representative, Michael Harris, to New York executive, George Gant, 16 October 1958, pp. 1-2, Grant No. 05800283, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*; SUNY vice president, John H. Slocum, to FKIP-SUNY project chairman, Roger W. Bancroft, 3 November 1958, p. 1, Grant No. 05800283, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

¹⁹⁶⁸ Roger Bancroft to John Slocum, 30 November 1958, p. 4, Grant No. 05800283, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

'Indonesia has rejected the Dutch way of life. They have taken over the industries, government, [and] economy and have truly "Indonesianized" their country in the most aspects. However, in their education, they have adhered rather totally to the Dutch-European system of heavy-handed, impractical, lecture method, with drill and memorization of irrelevant material the dominant theme. This is true on all levels of education. There is no relationship between these educational processes and the social needs of Indonesia.'¹⁹⁶⁹

Thirdly, Sadarjoen and Bancroft shared the opinion that there was a complete lack of understanding among staff in Indonesia about the education of the teacher, at whatever level he is to teach. 'We have agreed that teachers are made, not born, and that there is a specific content involved in the professional preparation of a teacher,' Bancroft wrote. Sadarjoen emphasized on the unique professional task of preparing teachers, which was different from preparing research scholars and university personnel. There should be a 'specialized curriculum at the FKIP which distinguishes it from other *Fakultas*.'¹⁹⁷⁰

Table 10.7: *Sardjana Muda* degree programme curriculum of Education major at the Malang FKIP, 1958

Year	Course subjects	Week hours
1 st	1. Introduction to psychology	2
	2. Anthropology	2
	3. Bahasa Indonesia	2
	4. English (practice)	-
	5. German	1
	6. General pedagogy	2
	7. Didactics	2
2 nd	1. Educational psychology	1
	2. Anthropology	1
	3. Sociology	2
	4. Philosophy	1
	5. Bahasa Indonesia	1
	6. German	1
	7. History of education	1
	8. Theory of pedagogy	2
	9. Didactics	2
	10. Child and adolescent psychology	2
3 rd	1. History of education	1
	2. Theory of pedagogy	2
	3. Didactics	1
	4. Child and adolescent psychology	1
	5. Social psychology	1
	6. Social education	1

Source: Project field chairman, Roger Bancroft, to SUNY vice president, John Slocum, 30th November 1958, p. 9, Ford Foundation Grant No. 05800283, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum at Indonesian Teacher Training Colleges (FKIP's)*, Reel No. 0850.

Bancroft found confirmation of Sadarjoen's evaluative statements in the field. In the monitoring sessions he conducted regularly in Bandung and Malang, Bancroft concluded that '[Indonesian FKIP] staff and students alike [are] at a kindergarten level of comprehension as far as practical education is concerned'. June Lewis, who taught Science at the Bandung FKIP, for example,

¹⁹⁶⁹ Ibid. 4.

¹⁹⁷⁰ Ibid. 5.

complained about the complete silence of the students whenever she asked them to state their opinions on a particular problem. She said the students would not participate in discussions. 'Participation and applied science are completely new concepts to them,' Bancroft wrote. 'It is a new alphabet, a new world, a new language.'¹⁹⁷¹

The FKIP curriculum was another matter which had to be addressed. The question was not so much about the kinds of the individual course subjects the curriculum offered, but, of how the content of the subjects was developed. By 1958, the curriculum of the FKIP *bakaloreat* programme had been upgraded from two to three years, leading to a *Sardjana Muda* or Bachelor degree (Table 10.7). 'A major in Education does not really teach in a high school as such but goes into the SGA to train elementary teachers,' Bancroft said. They taught methods, didactics and general psychology in the SGA and let other teachers teach other subjects like arithmetic. 'This means that Dr. Sampson's class in Curriculum with Education majors must deal with preparing good high school teachers of elementary teachers,' Bancroft wrote. In fact, the FKIP was intended to train teachers for general high schools and those in the training schools for teachers of the primary schools (the SGA – then SPG). Despite the upgraded curriculum, there was not always lecturer to teach the subjects. For example, there were no lecturers available who could teach the subjects Educational Psychology and Philosophy in the second year.¹⁹⁷²

E.2 Internal organization, supplies of study materials, and how to take care of them

The Bandung and the Malang FKIPs were only four years old when the American personnel arrived. Bancroft recalled that they were both 'struggling desperately to come out from under the educational fog inherited from colonial rulers'.

Bancroft said the framework of departmental structure and the general administrative organization of the Malang FKIP were both more casual than those in Bandung. In Malang, it was impossible to obtain a faculty roster for 1958-1959. 'Class schedules were announced on a bulletin board under the main building archway entrance.' A boy kept the schedule by sitting inside the front door. The dean's secretary neither typed nor took shorthand. Neither in Bandung nor in Malang were there any campus mailboxes so that each lecturer could be contacted by a mimeographed form personally delivered to his/her home. In Bandung, 'the main office did not know where two of the heads of departments were living'.¹⁹⁷³

Both in Bandung and in Malang, the science programme of FKIP was 'in a fantastic mess'. Although Sadarjoen wanted to make the study of Science one of the characteristic strengths of the teacher training, Bancroft complained, 'seldom do students get any chance for participation and real laboratory experience'. The rooms and the laboratories in the Science building of the Bandung FKIP were wonderful. But 'it is difficult to find small dissecting tools and easy to find large "post-doctoral" research machines,' Bancroft wrote. From Malang, Herbert Bailey and Harold Richardson told Bancroft that some 200 crates of Science equipment, which was said to have arrived from somewhere nobody could recall at the Malang FKIP/PITPG in 1954, had remained untouched in a warehouse.

¹⁹⁷¹ Ibid. 7.

¹⁹⁷² Ibid. 9.

¹⁹⁷³ Ibid. 8-9.

Bailey and Richardson 'unearthed' the equipment and said they were caught in 'at once completely fascinating and utterly incredible' surprises. 'Box after box of microscopes, micrometers, ammeters, voltmeters and the like, have come to light,' they told Bancroft. There was also 'glassware (of all sizes and shapes) enough for undergraduate, graduate and post-doctoral science classes for years'. All the equipment was estimated at a value of US\$ 100,000. 'Yet, the Biology Department, headed by a Dutchman, for four years has never had other than a lecture system with nothing approximating a demonstration or laboratory.'¹⁹⁷⁴

At the FKIP in Malang and in Bandung, books were scattered. The Malang FKIP had US\$ 15,000 worth of books scattered on the 'many shelves of a farcical library'. For unknown reasons, Bancroft was told, the Bandung FKIP had boxes of the books deposited in the warehouse of the Education Ministry in Jakarta. 'However, with some mystery, the books were one day in Jakarta and the next on the shelves of the FKIP library in Bandung.'¹⁹⁷⁵

All these incidents made Bancroft and his colleagues believe that there was a key factor in the behaviour of the Indonesians which they had to deal tackle first. In the eyes of these Americans, the bottleneck in Indonesian educational improvement lay not as much in the lack of facilities as in the absence of operational guidance towards the actual vigour or dynamism which could set progress and improvement in motion. 'There is the tendency for people to do things without knowing why, for much disjointed effort,' Elsbree and Thomas told Bancroft. For example, people in the Institute of Educational Research (*Lembaga Penelitian Pendidikan, LPP*) in the Bandung FKIP had asked Elsbree and Thomas to buy them tests. The following conversation was quoted by Bancroft:

'What tests do you want?'

'What tests would be best?'

'What do you want the tests to test?'

'We want the tests to determine how good our students are.'

'What do you want your students to be like?'

Only then did the LPP people begin to think, why they had actually wanted to have the tests. It was deemed crucial to 'get the staff and students alike to go through this exercise (again a brand new process) of stating objectives in terms of desired behavioural patterns'.¹⁹⁷⁶ Bancroft said 'There seems to be only one way to success: [for American personnel] to be there in person, to supervise closely each minute operation.'¹⁹⁷⁷

F. Outcomes

In a nutshell, the work of the American personnel began in complex situations and needed arranging and organizing. Bancroft said he had personally directly led the arrangement of books and the laboratory equipment in Bandung, as well as supervising that in Malang. He kept close contact and consultation with both Sadarjoen, dean of the Bandung FKIP and Adam Bachtiar, of Malang. Harold Elsbree taught three classes on Methods of Research and conducted seminars with various sub-

¹⁹⁷⁴ Ibid. 10.

¹⁹⁷⁵ Ibid. 12.

¹⁹⁷⁶ Ibid. 8.

¹⁹⁷⁷ Ibid. 10.

department groups. Robert Murray Thomas taught six two-hour classes in Education, Statistical Methods and General Classroom Methods. June Lewis tried to connect her classes on Mathematics and Science at the FKIP with the Science Teaching Center and a high school in Bandung. In Malang, Herbert Bailey, Jim Sampson, and Harold Richardson also initially worked on the arrangement and organization of the courses already available, library and laboratory which, according to Bancroft, meant it would take them 'a longer time to see the daylight'.¹⁹⁷⁸

Some of the FKIP personnel who had received the Ford fellowship had returned home. In 1958, Slamet Rahardjo and C.A. Pakasi returned from the Peabody Teachers College with a master's degree in educational science. Rahardjo got a placement in the FKIP in Bandung and Pakasi was in Malang. Nji Raden Hatidjah Wiriaatmadja, returning from Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, sometime in December 1958, was assigned to assist June Lewis in Bandung. Tahalilli assisted Sampson and Patti helped Richardson in Malang. Winarno Surachmad, who had studied educational psychology from 1957 to 1959, worked closely with Thomas in Bandung and both collaborated in writing Indonesian-language textbooks on the methods of teaching, tests and measurements. Santoso, who earned his bachelor in audio-visual equipment in 1959, worked with Elsbree in constructing a model for audio-visual aided learning interactions.¹⁹⁷⁹ Many more staff members returned later in the 1960s: Mochtar Buchori, Raka Djoni, Tarwotjo, Soedijarto, H.A.R. Tilaar and others.

In total, approximately eighty FKIP staff members received or were receiving advanced training in the US between 1956 and 1964, mostly leading to a master's degree. I have based my calculations on the correspondence archives of the Ford Foundation. However, Francis Eugene Mooney, Jr, from 1959 to 1961 an Education Programme Officer of the US Agency for International Development in Jakarta, said that over 200 Indonesians were sent to the US and twenty American technicians to Indonesia between July 1958 and March 1961 alone.¹⁹⁸⁰ I cannot confirm the data but Mooney might have been referring to the training programmes for secondary school teachers and for technical teachers of agriculture and lower-level engineers.¹⁹⁸¹

Those Indonesians who were sent to the US under the FKIP Project had studied various areas of education and science with an emphasis on teaching. As education consultant Kenneth Williams had said in the early phase of the designing of the project:

'It would be desirable to have some spread or diversity in the totality of the training sponsored. It would be hoped that not all who sought advanced training would specialize in any one field – be that field physical education, psychology, social studies, languages, curriculum or instruction.'¹⁹⁸²

¹⁹⁷⁸ Ibid. 6, 7, and 9.

¹⁹⁷⁹ Interview with Robert Murray Thomas, Los Osos, California, 16-17 October 2010; Roger Bancroft to John Slocum, 30 November 1958, p. 7, Grant No. 05800283, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

¹⁹⁸⁰ Francis Eugene Mooney, Jr. 'Some Highlights of the Development of Secondary and Teacher Education in Indonesia, 1950-1961', *Peabody Journal of Education*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (Nov. 1962), 137-41; referred is p. 139.

¹⁹⁸¹ On the training of technical teachers, see Kenneth L. Neff, *National Higher Technical Education in Indonesia: Recent Trends* (Washington, DC[?]: US Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1960); also Lev, *Some Descriptive Notes*.

¹⁹⁸² Kenneth R. Williams to Michael Harris, 8 August 1956, p. 2, Grant No. 05600336, *Training Abroad for Faculty*.

They all made up the core team of the FKIPs in the 1960s. Some of them, while still teaching at the FKIP became permanent advisors to the Ministry of Education on the making of policies concerning school teachers and school-teacher training until they retired in the 1980s.

As the American-trained Indonesian and the American personnel worked side-by-side, the outcomes of their co-operation gradually became viable in several aspects of the FKIP. I am limited by my data in making a point-by-point analysis of the outcomes. Here I rely on my interview with Robert Murray Thomas, who served in the Padjajaran University FKIP in Bandung from 1958 to 1964 and then became a consultant to the Indonesian Ministry of Education until the 1980s.¹⁹⁸³ Thomas said that the American professors employed the student-based learning approach as their method of teaching at the FKIP, instead of giving lectures. They also set out academic activities in a way which allowed students to study real-life cases – the project-based learning approach. Thomas said he had believed most teachers taught by modelling their teaching style on that of those who had taught them rather than by following theoretical instructions from the books. Therefore, when trying to modify the teaching method at the FKIP in Bandung, he taught by making the students do what they had to learn. This way, Indonesian student teachers had much more freedom to learn.

Another point, perhaps the most notable divergence from the pre-war school curriculum, was the introduction of the knowledge of social structure in Sociology classes. Thomas assigned students to conduct simple surveys by asking school children to rank a number of objects in their daily lives: the type of houses, the type of professions, the type of popular games, the type food and so on.¹⁹⁸⁴ The students had to order these objects from the most wanted/desired to the least favoured according to the children's choices or opinions. The aim was to understand the characteristics and the social backgrounds of the children. 'Understanding the social background of children will help us understand what and how to teach them,' Thomas said.¹⁹⁸⁵

The social structure subject which Thomas introduced to the FKIP students seemed to be based simply on pedagogical reasons, but its political meaning went beyond the pedagogical sphere, seen within the context of the Indonesian society at the time. During the Dutch time, teaching social structure to school children was one of the various topics which public schools had to avoid. The stratification of schools at the time was devised for children of different social origins. That is, village children from an agricultural family background could only attend village schools where the curriculum was related to their social circumstances. This way, the colonial society was developed and the status quo balance of powers was maintained. Reviewing the different types of schooling which existed in the Netherlands Indies, it was only in the *Sekolah Rakjat* (People's School), founded by Indonesian socialist Tan Malaka in Semarang, Central Java in 1921, that the subject of social structure had ever been taught to school children.¹⁹⁸⁶ Hence, the introduction of the subject of social structure to the FKIP students by Thomas and friends opened up a new way for these students to gain a better understanding of themselves and their society.

¹⁹⁸³ Interview with Robert Murray Thomas, Los Osos, California, 16-17 October 2010.

¹⁹⁸⁴ See, for example, R. Murray Thomas, 'Reinspecting a Structural Position on Occupational Prestige', *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 67 No. 5 (Mar. 1962), 561-565.

¹⁹⁸⁵ Interview with Robert Muray Thomas, Los Osos, California, 16-17 October 2010.

¹⁹⁸⁶ See, Tan Malaka, *Dari Penjara ke Penjara* (Djakarta: Widjaja, 1947).

Edward R. Fagan classified the teaching methods which Thomas and his colleagues used at the FKIP as discussion and laboratory. In 1963, Fagan was a member of a committee of American educators whom the Indonesian government consulted about what was known as the Malang Report, which will be addressed presently. By discussion method, 'students have the right to question the teacher about the validity and reliability of information sources'; they contribute to course content from their own research and take the initiative in organizing learning experiences. The laboratory method meant that 'theories are integrated with experiences', that 'local community is a laboratory for testing content based hypotheses', that abstractions can be demonstrated, tested and verified', and that 'exchange of research findings in an environment of democratic give and take are a necessary part of effective student learning'. Fagan believes that the discussion and laboratory were operational measures of democratic principles in the teaching practices. In a democracy, Fagan said, those who will be affected by a policy have a vote in its making. He asserted that in America the discussion and laboratory methods had helped prospective teachers broaden their outlook and improve their teaching methods.¹⁹⁸⁷

Certainly, having American personnel work on-site improve the teaching methods of the FKIP, the Indonesian Department of Education itself also managed to improve the in-service and the pre-service training of school teachers. All in-service teachers were now expected to take a course in Educational Administration provided by the FKIP, for which they were given a temporary exemption from teaching.¹⁹⁸⁸ In Chapter 9 it was explained that the PTPG began in 1954 with the *bakaloreat* and the *doktoral/atjarja* programmes, which ran for two and four years respectively after the high school. Academic streaming or specialization only took place in the *doktoral/atjarja* programme. There were five departments, namely Educational Sciences and Physical Education, Language and Literature, Cultural History, Physics and Science, and Economics and State Law.¹⁹⁸⁹ In 1958, the two year *bakaloreat* programme was extended into a three year programme (see Table 10.7). Now a *Bakaloreat* or *Sardjana Muda* degree became the minimum degree any new teacher should possess to qualify for a teaching position in high school.¹⁹⁹⁰

The government managed to strengthen three clusters of courses – general education, professional education and special education – as academic emphases characteristic of the curriculum of the FKIP departments. The general education courses dealt with the fundamentals of knowledge, the professional education courses with the teaching of subject matter and the special education courses with the subject matter. In 1959, the Ministry of Education again sent a team consisting of educational officials, led by Soejono Kromodimoeljo to the US. The sole mission of the team was to bring home recommendations on the structure of the three clusters on the basis of the curricula in US teachers' colleges.¹⁹⁹¹ The report of the team's study tour was then discussed in a special conference

¹⁹⁸⁷ Edward R. Fagan, 'Extending the Roots of Indonesian Teacher Education', *International Review of Education* IX, No. 3 (1963-1964), 278-87; referred is p. 284.

¹⁹⁸⁸ Edward R. Fagan, 'American School Administration: Indonesian Perspectives', *International Review of Education* Vol. 6 No. 1 (Dec. 1960), 374-9; referred is p. 378.

¹⁹⁸⁹ Article 5, Peraturan tentang PTPG.

¹⁹⁹⁰ Fagan, 'American School Administration', p. 378.

¹⁹⁹¹ Soejono Kromodimoeljo (ed.), *Group Report of a Study of Educational Administration in the U.S.A.* (Albany: State University of New York, 1959) as cited by Fagan, 'American School Administration', p. 376. Unfortunately I was not successful in locating the original report edited by Soejono Kromodimoeljo, neither at

held at the Malang FKIP in 1960, during which the participants drafted operational recommendations in the Malang Report. The Education Ministry, to which the recommendations had been addressed, had the Malang Report reviewed and commented on by a team of American educators, consisting of a specialist in curriculum and education psychology, Joseph Leese, specialist in educational administration, Theodore H. Fossieck, and specialist in teacher education, Edward R. Fagan.¹⁹⁹²

Table 10.8: Course subject clusters of Indonesian and American teachers' colleges compared, c. 1963

	Indonesian		American	
	Credit hours	%	Credit hours	%
General Education	13	12	37	25
Professional Education	22	21	31	20
Special Education	70	67	86	55
Total	105	100%	154	100%

Source: Edward R. Fagan, 'Extending the Roots of Indonesian Teacher Education', *International Review of Education* IX No. 3 (1963-1964), p. 279.

Fagan reported that the structures of the Indonesian and the American curricula of teachers' training college were 'much alike in the proportions of programmes' as the Malang Report had recommended for the general, the professional and the special education programmes (see Table 10.8). The special education courses were allotted the most hours both in Indonesian and American curricula, but general education courses received much less time in the Indonesian curricula than those in its American counterpart. The participants in the Malang Conference wished to equate the FKIP course cluster to the American structure. Before this could happen, Fagan argued, some measures needed to be taken to deal with the flexibility and integration principles which had underlined the development of the American curriculum. The flexibility principle provided students

any SUNY libraries in Albany or in Buffalo. I also tried Cornell University Asia Collection as well as the Ford Foundation, which had sponsored the Indonesian group visit to the US—all without success. Here, therefore, I shall base my citation of Soejono's report on the article 'American School Administration' written by Fagan, who served as a member of the American educator team, whom the Indonesian government consulted on the matter.

¹⁹⁹² Fagan's article 'American School Administration' has provided information about the team members. I sought the details about these American consultants. An initial search on Edward R. Fagan in the Google led me to Milne High School in Albany, where I was re-directed to Ms Judy Madnick of the Alumni Office. Ms Madnick recalled that she had Fagan as her English teacher at Milne in 1961 but that she did not know whether Fagan was involved in a project on Indonesia. After I told Ms Madnick that this Indonesian Project on teacher training was co-ordinated by the State University of New York either at Albany or Buffalo, she contacted Geoffrey Williams, the University Archivist/Campus Record Officer of the SUNY at Albany. The results of the search which Mr Williams then did were quite interesting. Mr Williams said that the archives on Theodore H. Fossieck and Joseph Leese in his Campus Records indicated that neither Fossieck nor Leese had ever worked on any project related to Indonesia. On May 19, 1961, Fagan requested leave (Williams did not mention from whom/what/where) to travel to Indonesia for two months during the autumn of 1961 to conduct research on higher education in this young country. Fagan 'specifically stated in his request that he would be meeting with American scholars already in Indonesia while he was there'. But Williams found no archives which indicate whether Fagan was actually granted the leave he had asked for. In 1961, Theodore H. Fossieck was Fagan's supervising principal at the Milne School while Joseph Leese was a professor in Education at the State University College of Education at Albany. According to Williams, Fagan might have consulted both Fossieck and Leese on the evaluation report he was writing on the recommendations of the Malang Conference. Williams did not describe how Fagan could have been involved in the Indonesian education project. Sources: email communications between myself and Judy Madnick, and between Judy Madnick and Geoffrey Williams, respectively on January 20-21, 2010 at 3.32 pm, 5.02 pm, and 11.55 am.

with 'adaptation to and participation in any change which occurs in all areas of American life'. The integration principle helped the students 'see the interrelationships of all parts of their teacher education programme'. The two principles combined were expected to allow 'each prospective teacher [to] see all parts of his undergraduate programme – extra-class activities, formal course work, group living, human relationship – as a single totality designed to prepare him to teach in American classrooms'.¹⁹⁹³

The point of departure for the Indonesians should be what they wanted their high school teachers to be like. In the US, Fagan said, 'we want a student to explore widely the kinds of specialization available to him in his later college programmes'. All students in American colleges of teacher training, 'regardless of their later specialization' had 'to know something about their cultural heritage, other cultures, the arts and similar matters so that whatever their later specializations might be, they will put that specialization in the spectra which comprises universal knowledge'. Fagan asserted that this was an approximation of Aristotle's 'whole man' which is what America wanted its school teachers to be.¹⁹⁹⁴ To achieve this ideal figure, senior high school students in the US pursued 'throughout most of their high school studies a broad and general programme'. 'Continuation of general education courses in the early college years along with other courses and the important daily campus experience gives American students further opportunities to explore various specialties before making a career choice,' Fagan said. Liberal education was 'held to be so critical a factor in the development of free, democratic men'.¹⁹⁹⁵

Indonesians and Americans, according to Fagan, shared 'a common expectation of what a teacher should be: a democratic, self-directed person, willing and able to accept responsibility in his work with people of all ages to advance the heritage and ideals of his culture'.¹⁹⁹⁶ Whatever the expectations, the curriculum for preparing the teachers differed quite substantially in terms of flexibility and integration. One very big difference was that 'students who leave Indonesian high schools have already started to specialize in their respective disciplines,' Fagan said. The relatively small number of hours devoted to the general education courses of the FKIP curriculum made student transfer from one major to another difficult, if not impossible. 'Experience in the United States, as has that in Europe, demonstrates that early selection and crystallization of programme infuses curriculums with difficult inflexibilities,' said Fagan. In many cases, as described in the Malang Report, this inflexibility in achieving a transfer meant students needed a longer time to graduate.¹⁹⁹⁷

Re-writing in 1984, Fagan pointed out the changes in the FKIP curriculum following the consultation of the Malang Report. Courses were constructed individually, but inter-college committees – consisting of staff members from general, professional and specialized clusters – conducted regular evaluations to test the relevance and the connectivity of courses of the different clusters. This accommodated the integration principle. The flexibility principle fared less well. Changes could not be made structurally as it would have meant a complete re-shuffle of both the FKIP and the high school curricula. Both the officials of the Education Ministry and the FKIP staff members

¹⁹⁹³ Fagan, 'Extending the Roots', 279-80.

¹⁹⁹⁴ Ibid. 280.

¹⁹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹⁶ Ibid. 282.

¹⁹⁹⁷ Ibid. 280-1.

agreed to the ideas proposed by the American educators that general education should play a more characteristic role in the training at FKIP. Although it could not take place within the curriculum, the fundamentals of general education were embedded in the teaching methods. The element of the abstraction in learning, for example, was 'tied to daily Indonesian living in community, school and college community'. Extra-class activities were also 'utilized along with academic experiences as laboratory learning'.¹⁹⁹⁸

The outcomes of the Indonesian-American co-operation in developing the FKIP were also apparent in some other ways. Indonesian trainee teachers gradually became familiar with the use of English, which had been officially adopted as the foreign language for the nation to learn in schools. Bruce Lannes Smith says that by 1960, English had gradually replaced Dutch as the Indonesians' 'principal medium of access to the bulk of the world's educational, scientific and technological writings'. It also served as the principal medium by which Indonesians could 'access to political, economic and cultural relations with most of their neighbouring countries in South East Asia such as Burma, Ceylon, India, Malaya, Singapore as well as Australia and New Zealand', where English was the majority language.¹⁹⁹⁹ The use of English was bolstered by both the American professors and the American-trained Indonesian staff of the FKIP who stood in front of the class and by English-language books which came to fill in the FKIP libraries. The Ford Foundation reports indicate that the procurement of books, study materials and laboratory equipment was carried out on a large deal of scale during the execution of the FKIP Project.²⁰⁰⁰

The American aid also helped the Indonesian government to construct school buildings. Mooney noted that school buildings in Indonesia were built with three different sources of finance: the central government, the provincial governments and districts and individual communities. With the financial supports of the US, the Indonesian central government, assisted by the provincial governments of West Java and East Java respectively, constructed the FKIP buildings in Bandung and Malang. The building of the Bandung FKIP was 'an unusual and unusually beautiful building' whereas the one in Malang was 'of a utilitarian type admirably suited to the purposed intended'.²⁰⁰¹ As Mooney recalled in 1963, all in all the US educational initiatives in Indonesia had 'helped train the Indonesians to run their own institutions of higher education'. They also 'assisted them [the Indonesians] in revising university curricula'. Last but not least, the American educational projects 'supplied teaching aids and books which have been instrumental in establishing English as the language of instruction in several Indonesian universities', in which Dutch had traditionally been used.²⁰⁰²

¹⁹⁹⁸ Edward R. Fagan, 'Indonesia's Teacher Education', *Asia Pacific Community A Quarterly Review* No 23 (Winter, 1984), 86-95; referred is p. 89.

¹⁹⁹⁹ Bruce Lannes Smith, *Indonesian-American Cooperation in Higher Education* (Michigan: Michigan State University Institute of Research on Overseas Programs, 1960), xi.

²⁰⁰⁰ See for example, Ford Foundation Grant No. 05800209, *Improvement of Instruction and Curriculum*.

²⁰⁰¹ Mooney, Jr, 'Some Highlights', 140-1.

²⁰⁰² Francis Eugene Mooney, Jr, 'United States-Indonesian Co-operation in Higher Education: 1950-1961', *The Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 34 No. 2 (Feb. 1963), 94-6; referred is p. 96.

Conclusion

The American involvements in developing the PTPG/FKIP provided the training of (secondary-school) teachers in Indonesia with a quality reference (or benchmark) in terms of curriculum, teaching methods, organizational management and school books. Indonesia was now adopting new standards of teacher qualifications. Until the PTPG was founded in 1954, Indonesia only recognized secondary-level teacher training school to prepare primary teachers. After 1954, although the diploma of the secondary-level training school remained the standard requirement for teaching in primary school, the desired qualifications of a school teacher already improved. The PTPG was the new standard of the 1950s under which school teachers should ideally be prepared at a tertiary level. From 1956 to approximately 1964, the United States – through governmental and private organizations – shared Indonesian efforts to set up the blueprint, the courses and the contents of the training at the PTPG – then FKIP.

The American involvement disrupted the traditional orientation in Indonesia towards the European/Dutch style of teacher training. This process of disruption was another concept of standardization in which Indonesia was embracing a new international orientation. As I pointed out earlier, the trigger for the switch in Indonesia away from the Netherlands training system was quite accidental. Indonesia was in need of support and for a new benchmark to develop the PTPG, but the training school available in the Netherlands only ran at the secondary level. The reforms and the upgrading into a tertiary learning institution of the teacher training schools in the Netherlands only happened in 1968, fourteen years after the founding of the PTPG in Indonesia. Hence, it was not necessarily for political reasons that the Indonesian governments of the 1950s did not take the Netherlands system of teacher training as a reference for developing the PTPG. However, if any political framework should be applied in reading the PTPG development, the Indonesian switch from the Dutch teacher training style could be regarded as de-colonization, that is moving away from the shadow of colonial entity.

De-colonization was not a clear-cut concept. The close co-operation between the US and Indonesia in the 1950s and 1960s raised questions about the extent of educational independence, from which viewpoint the PTPG would be understood in Indonesian history. Here, if the term ‘Americanization’ suited the context of the time at all, it would mean the parallel standardization rather than the contents of curriculum or teaching methods which both the American and the Indonesian teachers’ training colleges developed. It held true that, from the American personnel working in Bandung and Malang and from the Indonesian personnel trained in the US, the FKIP benefited improvements in the curriculum and teaching methods. Just as in most American colleges of the 1950s, for example, student-based learning and project-based learning gradually became an approach to instructional activities in the FKIP, replacing the lecture method. Laboratory work involved as much students’ active participation as what the principle of democratic learning should mean and so forth. However, it was the direction in which the teacher training in Indonesia (should be) developed which revealed much of that idea of ‘Americanization’.

As I pointed out earlier, the Indonesians’ desire to have the teachers of secondary schools prepared at an institution of higher learning was growing – co-incidentally perhaps – at the time when teachers’ training colleges in the US became the standard norm for preparing American secondary-

school teachers. Dating back to the year 1897 in the US, the desire to have teachers trained in colleges had grown long before it took root in Indonesia. The founding of teachers' colleges in different states began in the 1920s and gradually occurred throughout America until the 1950s to be stabilized by 1960.²⁰⁰³ Post-secondary training for teachers in Indonesia only began in 1950 when the B-I and B-II courses were launched and, as already explained, the college level training began in 1954 with the PTPG. Despite the lapse in time, Indonesia and the US shared stages and motivations. Both began their teachers' colleges by terminating the different programmes of teacher training at the *normal schools* – thereby unifying the diversities in schooling.²⁰⁰⁴ At the time they founded colleges of teachers' training, both Indonesia and the US were experiencing a shortage of primary-school teachers. While preparing secondary-school teachers, the teachers' colleges were expected to set off a domino effect by which the training of primary-school teachers could be bolstered. Finally, there was a social aspect. In the US, keeping pace with the growing demand for teachers' qualifications, the *normal school* diploma was gradually devalued because it was not an equivalent to a collegiate baccalaureate degree.²⁰⁰⁵ In Indonesia, as Soeroto said, public responses to the B-I and B-II courses were reticent because the diploma they issued as not a university degree.²⁰⁰⁶ So, the process and the underlining motives by which the teachers' training college in Indonesia developed followed the American experience in the same field quite closely. As education historian James W. Fraser puts it, it was almost the same process but at different times that Indonesia and the US shared in the experience of preparing their high school teachers.²⁰⁰⁷ Whether using this loose definition the process could be regarded as 'Americanization' is still an open question.

One thing is obvious: education and teachers' training in Indonesia during the 1950s, naturally a domestic issue, was growing to become an international concern faceted by different ideological undertones. However by early 1960s, the school systems looked stabilized and the course of development which culminated in the September 1965 Movement would show just how close and how prone school education was to the radiation from arena of ideological competitions and power relations. ***AS

²⁰⁰³ Fraser, *Preparing America's teachers*, 125-6.

²⁰⁰⁴ The US and Indonesian educational experiences were different in many ways. The US experience shows that, while there was recognition of the right of citizens to control and manage their own schools through a decentralized system of education, there was also a need for 'economically and technically sophisticated nation' so that a national system of education might be constructed. On the other hand, in 1950 Indonesia embraced a centralized system of education in order to enforce the making of a unitary Indonesian state. On the US case, see, for example, John B. Orr, 'The American System of Education', in: Luther S. Luedtke (ed.), *Making America: The society and culture of the United States* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 376-91; referred is p. 387. On the Indonesian case, see Chapter 9.

²⁰⁰⁵ Fraser, *Preparing America's teachers*, 127.

²⁰⁰⁶ Soeroto, 'Pendidikan Guru S.L.A.', Arsip Muhammad Yamin No. 277 (ANRI).

²⁰⁰⁷ James W. Fraser made these commentaries during my presentation at the History of Education Society Conference held at Le Meridien Hotel in Cambridge, Massachusetts, 3-7 November, 2010.

Chapter 11: Epilogue

Introduction

In this final chapter I shall present an overview of the quantity and quality supply, the training, and the professional organization of school teachers during the 1960s. My purpose is to sketch a transitional moment in which the blueprint, the provision and the character of school education and teachers in Indonesia were once again dissolved by the change in the political regime. This moment did not necessarily completely disrupt or uproot the structural system of the training, which had been standardized by the end of the 1950s. Nevertheless, it had a severe impact both on the availability of school teachers and on the future quality, by which the professional profiles of teachers would be defined. In Indonesian education, the 1960s were a period of deterioration after which the State hegemony over schools and school teachers grew increasingly tight and teachers and schools were kept in a glass bubble, out of the reach of politics and the issues aroused by social change. Because of the massive impact which the 1960s had on the development of schooling and human resources in Indonesia, I feel obliged to devote some lines to them, even if only in an epilogue.

In the 1960s, Indonesia had already reached a phase of stabilization in terms of the standard structure of teacher training. Stabilization signals that the emergency nature and the trial-and-error experimentation which had characterized the training of teachers throughout the 1950s had come to an end. The teachers at the standard six-year *Sekolah Rakjat* (primary school) were trained at the *Sekolah Guru A* (SGA), which was a three-year course after junior high school. The SGA was then transformed into the *Sekolah Pendidikan Guru* (SPG). Junior high school teachers were initially prepared at the training school for junior high school teachers (*Pendidikan Guru Sekolah Lanjutan Pertama*, PGSLP).²⁰⁰⁸ In 1961, the integration of the PGSLP into the Faculty of Teacher Training and Education (*Fakultas Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan*, FKIP) was set in motion. In 1964, the PGSLP admitted the last batch of students, after which all junior high school teachers, as were their senior high school counterparts, were trained at the FKIP.²⁰⁰⁹ Using the various sorts of aid it received from the international community, the Indonesian government kept on improving the quality and the number of its school teachers and bettering off education in general.

In 1965, UNESCO published a report on educational attainments in Indonesia since 1951, and presented a very optimistic twenty-year projection based on a five-year calculation (*quinquennium*).²⁰¹⁰ The percentage of illiterates²⁰¹¹ in the population above 13 years of age sharply decreased from 91.8 per cent in 1951 to 32.3 per cent in 1962. The illiteracy rate decreased 5 per cent (or 1,700,000 people) annually during the period.²⁰¹² A great achievement, but out of the total population above ten years of

²⁰⁰⁸ For the PGSLP, see Chapter 9.

²⁰⁰⁹ W.P. Hutadjulu, 'Pendjelasan Mengenai Perkembangan PGSLP Selama 5 Tahun', in: Djawatan Pendidikan Umum Dep. P.D. dan K., *Pantjawarsa: 15 Maret 1957-15 Maret 1962* (Jakarta: Urusan Naskah/Penerangan Djawatan Pendidikan Umum, 1962), 200-6; referred is p. 203.

²⁰¹⁰ UNESCO, *Long-Term Projection for Education in Indonesia: Report of the UNESCO Regional Advisory Team for Educational Planning in Asia* (Bangkok: UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia, 1965).

²⁰¹¹ Here the UNESCO defined literacy as 'able to read and write an easy letter in any character. Those who could only read but not write were considered illiterate', see UNESCO, *Long-Term Projection* p. 9.

²⁰¹² UNESCO, *Long-Term Projection*, 9.

age in 1961 (63,954,000 people), the majority (64.8%) had still not completed any schooling.²⁰¹³ Of those in education (38.2% of the total population), most only attended primary school (32.1%) and only a very small group (0.1%) went on to higher education, in which no female participation was recorded.²⁰¹⁴ Despite these figures, there was a progress. The proportion of enrolments rose between 1956/1957 and 1961/1962: in public primary schools from 86.2 per cent to 89.2 per cent, in junior high from 61.2 per cent to 61.7 per cent and in senior high from 48.9 per cent to 56.8 per cent. In 1961 when the UNESCO report was being prepared, the total number of enrolments in primary schools was 9,643,000 compared to that in the teacher training school (the SGAs), 53,000.²⁰¹⁵ UNESCO projected that by 1981 Indonesia would have to provide 25,949,600 new places in primary school and to increase the teacher-student ratio from 1:39.3 (in 1961) to 1:35. The need for new primary school teachers would nominally increase from 137,600 in the first *quinquennium* (1961-1966) to 454,600 in the fourth *quinquennium* (1976-1981). The capacity of the SGA would have to be increased accordingly. Optimistically UNESCO predicted that, if Indonesia made consistent progress, it would see the heyday of its school education in the 1980s. ²⁰¹⁶ 'It is an amazing fact that in recent years [1951-1962] illiteracy has been reduced by a figure of 1.5 million each year,' the report said.²⁰¹⁷

With its course set fair, in the early 1960s the Indonesian government was stepping confidently into the future with the prospect of positive developments in its school education and human resources. The optimism swelled as many faculty members of the FKIP and other personnel who had been trained abroad in many different fields ranging from engineering, economics, medicine, the arts, agriculture, and fishery, gradually returned home. A growing number of Indonesian intellectuals and trained people set to work to develop the education, economy and society of the Nation.

As yet unseen, heavy weather was threatening the smooth course of Indonesian politics in the 1960s and the consequent disruption turned the optimism which the progressive improvement Indonesia was making upside down. The rivalry between the *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (PKI, Indonesian Communist Party) in opposition to the army, religion-based and nationalist parties literally divided the public school structure, teacher training school, teachers' professional organizations and the Department of Education into two opposing groups. The events which preceded and which followed the killing of six army generals at the night of September 30, 1965 (or the early morning of October 1) dragged teachers away from their teaching duties at schools on a massive scale. They also forced the displacement of a substantial size of the newly trained Indonesian technicians and intellectuals. Those who were still studying abroad were banned by the new rulers from returning to their homeland. At the end of the 1960s, Indonesia had to recommence from the beginning the educational arrangement it had already disseminated in the earlier decade. It also had to train anew school teachers, technicians and intellectuals, not to mentioning re-design the future.

²⁰¹³ I do not have other data as to verify this calculation supplied by the UNESCO report. The percentage of the school-goers was (38.2%) and non-attendants (64.8%) making a total of 103%.

²⁰¹⁴ This statement raises doubts. The *Arsip Kabinet President* and the *Arsip Diknas* stored at ANRI Jakarta indicate women's enrolment, for example, to Gadjah Mada University during the 1950s and the 1960s.

²⁰¹⁵ UNESCO, *Long-Term Projection*, 7-9.

²⁰¹⁶ *Ibid.* 67-8 and Appendix Table 31.

²⁰¹⁷ *Ibid.* 9.

Both the inception and the aftermath of the September 30 events were a tragedy which resulted in an incalculable loss for the Indonesian nation as a whole.

One individual study dedicated to the subject is needed to examine the greater impact the political rivalry during the 1960s had on school education and on the development of human resources. So far, I have seen four studies, by Ruth MacVey, by R. Murray Thomas and by Lee Kam Hing, which closely examine the PKI and education. McVey's 'Teaching Modernity: PKI as an Educational Institution'²⁰¹⁸ explores the process by which the PKI was forming its cadres. McVey examines education more in the light of a cultural and ideological upbringing than as pedagogical schooling in the classical style. Therefore she analyses not only the education taught in the schools established by the PKI but also, in a broader sense, the education embedded in the activities of organizations like the Indonesian Peasant Front (*Barisan Tani Indonesia*, BTI). Thomas's 'Indonesian Education: Communist Strategies (1950-1965) and Governmental Counter Strategies (1966-1980)'²⁰¹⁹ and his *A chronicle of Indonesian higher education: The first half century 1920-1970* (1973)²⁰²⁰ present an analysis on the Communist approaches and the non-communist counter-moves to winning the support of schools, school populations and educational policy makers. Lee Kam Hing's *Education and Politics in Indonesia 1945-1965* contains chapters on the PKI influence on education.²⁰²¹

Taking the four publications as paramount sources of insights and inspiration, in this epilogue my goal is to place the political dynamics of the 1960s in the framework of the disruption of Indonesian intellectuals and human resources – what might be called the framework of a cultural or social revolution. Both the periods immediately before and after the September 30 tragedy were characterized by the instrumentation of school education and teachers in rival political ideologies.²⁰²² Despite this similarity, the two periods differed quite substantially. A notable degree of freedom of speech featured the dynamics of the Indonesian teachers and other professional groups in the period leading up to the tragedy. Historian M.C. Ricklefs says that observers often saw growing practices of dictatorship²⁰²³ especially in Soekarno's administration which resulted in the banning of oppositional mass media and artists. Nevertheless, compared to the three decades which followed the failed coup of September 30, 1965, these preceding years allowed more space for individual and communal public expressions. Various, sometimes oppositional, journals, pamphlets and massive shows of force were

²⁰¹⁸ Ruth McVey, 'Teaching Modernity: The PKI as an Educational Institution', *Indonesia*, Vol. 50, 25th Anniversary Edition (Oct. 1990), 5-27.

²⁰¹⁹ R. Murray Thomas, 'Indonesian Education: Communist Strategies (1950-1965) and Governmental Counter Strategies (1966-1980)', *Asian Survey: A Monthly Review of Contemporary Asian Affairs*, Vol. XXI No. 3 (Mar. 1981), 369-92.

²⁰²⁰ Id., *A Chronicle of Indonesian Higher Education: The First Half Century 1920-1970* (Singapore: Chopmen Enterprises, 1973), especially Chapter X: The Age of Guided Democracy: 1959-1965 (pp. 175-217).

²⁰²¹ Lee Kam Hing, *Education and Politics in Indonesia 1945-1965* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1995), especially Chapter 7 'PKI and Education' (pp. 209-240) and Chapter 10 'The Contest for Education, 1962-1965' (pp. 299-346).

²⁰²² It is simply for technical ease that I use the tragic events of September 30, 1965 as a differentiating point of time. I am aware that the kidnapping of the army generals at night of that day did not result in a sudden and immediate change in political regime. Until 1966 or 1967, pro-Communist officials of the Department of Education still remained in office. This example shows that strict measures which materialized after the September 30 event were only issued gradually. So, my use of the date as a differentiating point should not be understood too rigidly.

²⁰²³ M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200* (fourth edition) (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 294.

obvious manifestations of the freedom of speech which can be picked up to illustrate the situation prior to the September 30 tragedy. This basic element of democracy 'disappeared' in the late 1960s.

Indonesia in the post-September 30 coup period had to face an immediate loss in a stunning number of its intellectuals and school teachers. With them it also lost the quality of ideological and political literacy which many intellectuals, school teachers and other professional groups had shown so notably since the 1930s. In the several decades which have followed the tragedy, unlike their predecessors who enjoyed schooling before the 1960s, the better educated Indonesians have grown apolitical in the sense that generally they have held themselves aloof from taking an active part in the process of social change. For school teachers, the eleventh congress of the Indonesian Teacher Association (the PGRI) in Bandung in 1967 perhaps marked the milestone. Speakers at the congress vigorously emphasized that school teachers should focus exclusively on their educational tasks and should not mingle in any sort of politics-related activities.²⁰²⁴ Here, tragically, 'politics' was defined not only as affairs pertaining to structural power but also the awareness of the process of social change.²⁰²⁵ It will be interesting to examine the changing standardization of the quality figure of school teachers from being political intellectuals in the three-decade period leading to the September 30 coup (1930s-1965) to being politicized instructors in the three-decade period following the coup (1965-1990s). The purpose of such an examination should be to see the changing levels of State intervention, namely from a measurable control to hegemony and its overall impact on the design of school education. This epilogue is meant to stimulate a study of this sort of framework and objectives.

First and foremost, I shall focus on the development of the training of primary school teachers. Disregarding the political circumstances, the dynamics of education up to 1965 were running 'business as usual' to some extent. Progress, improvement and some attainments were visible in education, but as in the 1950s the core problems of quality and quantity supplies remained basically unsolved. One of these problems concerned the training of primary teachers to keep pace with the expansion of primary and secondary schools and the availability of the teachers for these schools. Hence the 'internal' dynamics of education up to 1965 show a sharp contrast with the 'external' dynamics of the turbulent political atmosphere of the day. In the second section of this epilogue, I shall discuss the ideological rivalry and touch briefly on the re-design of education and teacher training in the late 1960s.

A. Unity in uniformity

The Indonesian government abolished the *Sekolah Guru B* (lower level teacher training) in 1958 and subsequently changed the name of the secondary level teacher training from SGA to SPG.²⁰²⁶ This policy marked the end of the century-old Dutch educational legacy and the beginning of an era of uniform style, in which primary teachers were prepared at the secondary level training school. The

²⁰²⁴ See, for example, Djenderal Soeharto, 'Potensi Guru Sangat Vital bagi Pembangunan Masyarakat Pantjasila: Pidato Sambutan Djenderal Soeharto pada Harlah ke-XXI PGRI di "Gita Bahari"', in: PB PGRI, *Prasaran dan Usul-Usul untuk Konggres ke XI PGRI di Bandung pada Tanggal 15 s/d 20 Maret 1967* (Jakarta[?]: Pertjetakan Harapan Masa, 1967), 108-11.

²⁰²⁵ See, Major Djenderal Sutjipto, 'Peranan Guru dalam Membina Orde Baru: Prasaran Bapak Majdjen Sutjipto SH', in: PB PGRI, *Prasaran dan Usul-Usul*, 112-5.

²⁰²⁶ See again Chapter 9.

year in which the SGA was actually transformed into the SPG cannot be found in the archives at my disposal. Senior Indonesian educationist Winarno Surakhmad indicates to 'the early 1960s'.²⁰²⁷ Recent officials at the Indonesian Ministry of Education like Baedhowi say that the transformation took place 'somewhere after' the abolition of the SGB.²⁰²⁸ Meanwhile, pre-1965 statistical reports refer to the teacher training secondary schools as SGA whereas the post-1965 ones call it SPG.²⁰²⁹

Between 1954 and 1964, enrolment at the SGA was nominally lower than that at the general high school, *Sekolah Menengah Atas* (SMA) but was still higher than that at other vocational schools at the secondary level. By contrast, the enrolment rate at SGA during that ten-year period (1954-1964) was higher than that of the SMA, namely 224.5 compared to 178.6, but lower than the enrolment rate to other secondary-level vocational schools, 502.7 (see Table 11.1). Hence, both in nominal number and in rate of increase during the ten-year time span, the enrolment to SGA hovered in the middle between the enrolments at SMA and at vocational secondary schools. This can be interpreted as the SGA exerted moderate attraction to prospective students, but the need for new teachers at primary school was still enormous.²⁰³⁰

UNESCO noted an enrolment increase of 64 per cent in primary schools between 1954 and 1964, from 7,034,000 to 11,061,000 pupils.²⁰³¹ This sounded an alarm bell that in the long run, the teacher/pupil ratio might decrease rather than increase. The random example of the 1962/1963 school year showed that the teacher/pupil ratio value (1:40.6) had decreased from the previous school year (1:39.2) (see Table 11.2).²⁰³² Many factors might have triggered the decrease, but the changed proportion in ratio of enrolments at SGA and at primary schools was certainly one of the explanations. Three years earlier—in the 1960/1961 school year—the proportion of enrolments at SGA and primary school jumped to 1:18.4, from only 1:-20 (minus twenty) in the previous year, 1959/1960.²⁰³³ Assuming that the SGA graduates took up a teaching position straight after graduation—which was quite unlikely as will be seen later—this jump of nearly 38.4 points could have caused the teacher/pupil ratio to decrease three years later when those students, who entered the SGA in 1960/1961, launched their teaching careers. Obviously, to balance the enrolments at SGA and primary schools was one of the challenges that the government had to face in trying to keep pace with the need for teachers.

After the abolition of the SGB, all primary-school teachers were expected to be holders of at least a diploma from the three-year training at secondary level. The SGA became the sole training

²⁰²⁷ Winarno Surakhmad, 'Indonesia', in Francis Wong (ed.), *Teacher Education in ASEAN* (Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, Hong Kong: Heinemann Educational Books [Asia] Ltd, 1976), 35-55; referred is p. 39.

²⁰²⁸ Baedhowi et al., 'Perkembangan Kualitatif Sekolah Menengah Keguruan Tahun 1945-1989', in: Dedi Supriadi (ed.), *Guru di Indonesia: Pendidikan, Pelatihan dan Perjuangannya sejak Zaman Kolonial hingga Era Reformasi* (Jakarta: Direktorat Tenaga Kependidikan, 2003), 103-46; referred is p. 106.

²⁰²⁹ See, for example, UNESCO, *Long-Term Projection*; and *Daftar Banjarknja dan Alamat2 Sekolah di Seluruh Indonesia tahun 1967* (no author, no publisher, no year).

²⁰³⁰ This figure and interpretation has been based on the UNESCO, *Long-Term Projection*, 17.

²⁰³¹ *Ibid.* 10.

²⁰³² *Ibid.* 14.

²⁰³³ This ratio figure is my calculation based on the UNESCO data of enrolments in primary schools and SGA during the school years concerned. For verification, see UNESCO, *Long-Term Projection*, pp. 10 and 17 respectively Table 5 on 'Rapid speed of increase in elementary school enrolment', and Table 7c on 'Enrolment in senior high schools (public and private)'.

school for primary teachers.²⁰³⁴ An apparent improvement but it did not mean that the standard of teachers immediately improved.²⁰³⁵ Until 1964, new teachers holding a SGB diploma still flooded the six-year *Sekolah Rakjat* (SR). These were some 115,000 new teachers, who enrolled in the last batch of the SGB in 1957/1958.²⁰³⁶ Indeed, by 1969 only 25 per cent of primary teachers had completed the secondary training at the SGA (or SPG).²⁰³⁷

Table 11.1: Enrolment in senior high schools (public and private), 1954/1955-1963/1964

Year	Total	General	Vocational	Teacher training
1954/1955	80,500	55,800	7,200	17,500 (1,300)
1955/1956	92,600	63,100	8,100	21,400 (1,800)
1956/1957	98,500	62,600	10,100	25,800 (2,400)
1957/1958	104,300	67,100	10,900	26,300 (2,700)
1958/1959	113,000	78,700	12,500	21,800 (3,000)
1959/1960	136,700	94,500	17,900	24,300 (3,400)
1960/1961	166,300	107,100	28,100	31,100 (3,600)
1961/1962	203,600	119,700	31,100	52,600 (3,800)
1962/1963	227,100	148,800	38,200	40,100 (4,200)
1963/1964	275,700	175,500	43,400	56,800 (4,000)
Rate of increase in ten years	242.4	178.6	502.7	224.5 (207.6)

Source: UNESCO, *Long-Term Projections for Education in Indonesia: Report of the Unesco Regional Advisory Team for Educational Planning in Asia* (Bangkok: UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia, 1965), p. 17. Enrolment in vocational school does not include private schools. Teacher training excludes schools for Madrasah teachers. Figures in brackets show enrolment in teacher training schools for vocational and technical. All figures and legends are quoted as they are presented in the Report.

Table 11.2: Teacher/pupil ratio at public primary schools, 1952/1953-1962/1963

Year	Number of pupils	Number of teachers	Ratio
1952/1953	5,597,000	93,000	1:60.2
1956/1956	6,524,000	119,000	1:54.8
1961/1962	8,618,000	220,000	1:39.2
1962/1963	9,411,000	232,000	1:40.6

Source: Source: UNESCO, *Long-Term Projections for Education in Indonesia: Report of the Unesco Regional Advisory Team for Educational Planning in Asia* (Bangkok: UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia, 1965), 14.

The government nurtured plan to expand the number of the SGAs so that there would be one SGA every 500,000 people,²⁰³⁸ but money was a serious problem. The cost of training one primary teacher at the SGA in the early 1960s was 3.57 and 2.88 times higher respectively than the cost of educating one student at the general senior high school and at the vocational senior high school.²⁰³⁹

²⁰³⁴ B.A. Mogot, 'Inspeksi SGA', in: Djawatan Pendidikan Umum Dep. P.D. dan K., *Pantjawarsa*, 151-65; referred is p. 156.

²⁰³⁵ Surakhmad, 'Indonesia', 39.

²⁰³⁶ UNESCO, *Long-Term Projection*, 15. UNESCO recorded that the last four batches of enrolment to the SGB numbered 138,000 (in 1954/1955), 141,000 (1955/1956), 138,000 (1956/1957) and 115,000 (1957/1958).

²⁰³⁷ Surakhmad, 'Indonesia', 40. Here Surakhmad has referred to the data provided by Peter Slors, *Teachers in Elementary Schools by Official Qualification 1969* (Djakarta: Badan Pengembangan Pendidikan, 1971).

²⁰³⁸ Mogot, 'Inspeksi SGA', 151.

²⁰³⁹ UNESCO, *Long-Term Projection*, 27. I have calculated this based on the data supplied by the UNESCO report. The cost of education per student per month in 1965 was Rp 1,880 for general senior high school, Rp

Limited financial capacity also paralysed the efforts of the central and local governments to co-found new primary schools in Java and beyond. In turn, this troubled expansion of primary schools in turn delayed the placement of the teachers newly graduated from the SGA. In 1962, Inspector of the SGA, B.A. Mogot, reported that tens of thousands of SGA graduates were left unemployed. Their appointments as government teachers were delayed until new primary schools could be erected.²⁰⁴⁰

Mogot did not mention how many primary schools existed in 1962 or how many more should be founded. He said that between 1957 and 1961 the SGA had produced 8,485 graduates, who had enabled some 7,000,000 more children between six and twelve to enjoy an education.²⁰⁴¹ In 1962, the government ran eighty-three public SGA, owned thirty SGA buildings with student boarding houses, and employed 555 permanent SGA teachers. The government realized, Mogot said, that more buildings with boarding houses attached were needed and that the existing ones should be improved. Ideally one SGA should be staffed by seventeen teachers so that there should be in total 1,411 teachers for eighty-three SGA. All this could not yet be realized because of limited financial capacity. In 1962, the government still retained the policy of employing university students as teachers' assistants at the SGA.²⁰⁴² The total number of SGA – public and private – increased only slightly between 1960 and 1965 (from 253 to 327), despite the fact that the number of SGA students rose substantially (from 31,100 in 1960 to 51,043 in 1965).²⁰⁴³

In short, the limited financial capacity of the government hindered the expansion of primary schools and consequently many SGA graduates could not be employed immediately. Although it is undeniable, the shortage of primary school premises was not the only factor which underlined the irony of the gap between the tremendous need of teachers and the unemployment of many SGA graduates. According to the afore-mentioned educationist Winarno Surakhmad,²⁰⁴⁴ there was a serious lack of co-ordination in regulating teacher supply, the number and the distribution of classrooms, the geographical location of classrooms, and the financial capacity of the government.²⁰⁴⁵ Most of the SGA graduates only wanted to teach in Java, so that a special policy was necessary which would assert in the distribution of teachers to the SGA outside Java. At this point in time, the teachers' salaries were falling sharply in real value so that a teacher who held more than one post, mostly

2,330 for vocational senior high school, Rp 6,720 for secondary teacher training school for primary-school teachers, and Rp 9,600 for secondary teacher training school of technical junior high-school teachers.

²⁰⁴⁰ Mogot, 'Inspeksi SGA', 156-7.

²⁰⁴¹ Ibid. 151.

²⁰⁴² Ibid. 151-2.

²⁰⁴³ Baedhowi et al., 'Perkembangan Kuantitatif Sekolah Menengah Keguruan Tahun 1945-1989', in: Dedi Supriadi (ed.), *Guru di Indonesia: Pendidikan, Pelatihan dan Perjuangannya sejak Zaman Kolonial hingga Era Reformasi* (Jakarta: Direktorat Tenaga Kependidikan, 2003), 75-103; referred are pp. 80-1 and 88.

²⁰⁴⁴ Winarno Surakhmad was one of the FKIP staff members, who had been trained in the US in the SUNY/Ford FKIP Project. He left for State University of New York at Albany in 1957/1958. Upon returning to Indonesia, he taught at the FKIP of Padjajaran University in Bandung. Throughout his career, Winarno has assumed many different strategic posts at the Indonesian Department of Education. He was president of the Jakarta Institute of Teacher Training (IKIP Jakarta) from 1975 to 1980. I met with him for a brief moment during the annual meeting of the Indonesian Educationists Association (*Ikatan Sarjana Pendidikan Indonesia*, ISPI) held in Jakarta in November 2006. In August 2010, I was unsuccessful in my attempts to make a contact with him prior to my departure to California, where I met with Robert Murray Thomas, Winarno's colleague at the Padjajaran University in the late 1950s. My calls to Winarno's home number in West Jakarta were neither answered nor returned.

²⁰⁴⁵ Surakhmad, 'Indonesia', 38.

teaching at two or three different schools, was commonplace in the 1960s. This practice reduced the teacher's performance because s/he spent most time on teaching lessons and least on developing teaching methods or new learning materials. It also reduced the employment opportunities of newly graduated teachers because even temporary teaching positions were snatched away by the more senior teachers. Surakhmad points out various other circumstances in different localities during the 1960s: firstly, too many classrooms for the number of trained teachers available; secondly, enough classrooms but too few trained teachers; and, thirdly, enough classrooms and enough teachers but the government was either 'unable or unwilling to hire additional teachers because of financial shortages'.²⁰⁴⁶

Hence, the chronic problem of the quality of teachers and consequently of their teaching was exacerbated by quantity issues, but it did not necessarily follow that the SGA remained qualitatively stagnant. Between 1957 and 1961, the government reformed the SGA curriculum by allocating more contact hours to Indonesian language, singing, painting and drawing, writing, physical exercises and handicrafts. The approach to academic activities gradually shifted from teacher-centred to student-centred learning. Extra-curricular activities like dancing, sports and handicrafts were introduced so that SGA students had opportunities to develop their non-academic talents. To raise the quality of student input, the government tightened the admission criteria and henceforth these would include both written tests and interviews – thereby adding to the traditional requirements of satisfactory passes at junior high school or SGB. Last but not least, the government also raised the requirements of the final examination so that before being awarded a diploma third-year SGA students were not only tested on the knowledge they had acquired during the three years of study, but were also evaluated on their mastery of teaching skills, personal character and attitude.²⁰⁴⁷ All in all, although perhaps open to question in terms of quantitative indicators, the SGA did improve relatively in terms of qualitative indicators.

This exploration reveals that, as in the 1950s, the questions of the supply of quantity and quality continued to characterize the policy and practice of teacher training during the 1960s. Unlike the vagueness of the 1950s, the questions about teacher supply during the 1960s began to crystallize into some points of structural features. With the school system having been simplified from what it had been in the previous decades, some questions about education could now be identified sooner even though they were not necessarily easier to answer. The 'horizontal problems' of teachers (low ratio, disorganized placement and distribution, decreasing salary and so forth) still remained difficult to deal with, but now the government was focused on the improvement of 'vertical affairs', that is, the professional quality of the teachers.²⁰⁴⁸

To end this section I shall review the transformation process of the SGA into the SPG. In 1962, the Department of Basic Education and Culture explored the idea of integrating all schools which prepared primary teachers. So far, the SGA had trained teachers for the general primary schools. The teachers at special primary schools for children with disabilities, especially the deaf and dumb, were

²⁰⁴⁶ Ibid. 38, 44-5; quote is from p. 38; also Mogot, 'Inspeksi SGA', 151 and 156.

²⁰⁴⁷ Mogot, 'Inspeksi SGA', 153-4; 156-9.

²⁰⁴⁸ The terms 'horizontal' and 'vertical' problems are used by Mogot, 'Inspeksi SGA', p. 151, to refer respectively to quantity and quality issues.

trained at a different training school, called the *Sekolah Guru Pendidikan Luar Biasa* (SGPLB). Kindergarten teachers were trained at the *Sekolah Guru Taman Kanak-kanak* (SGTK). The ultimate goal of the Department of Basic Education and Culture was to integrate these three different schools for primary teacher training into one type of SGA, the *Sekolah Guru Pembangunan*, which was to consist of three academic streams (kindergarten teacher training, general teacher training and training of teachers for children with disabilities or special needs). The number of the (integrated) SGA would be limited to fifty only. Each SGA should be made into a large campus consisting of 1,000 to 1,200 students and would be expected to produce 200 graduates annually.²⁰⁴⁹

There is a huge gap in the information and sources about the 1962-1966 period. For example, in how far was the above-mentioned plan of integrating the training of primary-school teachers put into detail and worked out? Despite this gap, jumping to the year 1967 and perusing some publications dated in that year and after, understanding begins to dawn that there was only one type of training school for primary teachers, that is, the SPG – the SGA had been consigned to the past. Winarno Surakhmad does note that, until the late 1960s, in some geographical areas the government still retained the SPG C-1, SPG-C2 and SPG C-3 – one-year and two-year training programmes established in 1959, 1963 and 1967 respectively – as an immediate solution to the problem of teacher distribution. In West Irian, the SGB even still continued well until the early 1970s.²⁰⁵⁰ But all these programmes were exceptions and of a temporary nature. As far as accessible sources reveal, by 1967 SPG education had become the standard training for primary teachers. Its curriculum consisted of three academic streams just as in the plan discussed in 1962.²⁰⁵¹ In total there were 190 public SPGs located throughout Indonesia in 1967, from Aceh in Sumatra to Fak Fak in West Irian.²⁰⁵² The process of the formation of the SPG still needs to be thoroughly investigated throughout the gap period from 1962 to 1966. This is where I stop my research on this topic.

B. A tragedy which endured

In 1957 President Soekarno introduced what he called 'Guided Democracy'.²⁰⁵³ This was he said a system of government which was based on the traditional village system of consensus and discussion.²⁰⁵⁴ Leslie H. Palmier characterizes it as the 'centralization' of political and economic administration by which the shares of power between the central government and several levels of

²⁰⁴⁹ Ibid. 161 and 165.

²⁰⁵⁰ Surakhmad, 'Indonesia', 39, 41-2; for information about the year the SPG-C1 and SPG-C2 began, see also PB PGRI, *Lampiran 2 Progress Report Pengurus Besar PGRI kepada Konggres ke XI PGRI di Bandung pada tanggal 15 s/d 20 Maret 1967* (Jakarta[?]: Pertjetakan Harapan Masa, 1967), 102. According to Surakhmad, the development of teacher training in West Papua was quite late compared to other areas, because the Indonesian government could only begin to develop the schools in West Papua after the transfer of the territory from the Netherlands to Indonesia in 1963.

²⁰⁵¹ Baedhowi et al., 'Perkembangan Kualitatif', 106.

²⁰⁵² *Daftar Banjarknja dan Alamat 2 Sekolah*, 1-8.

²⁰⁵³ Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 294. While it is commonly believed that this 'Guided Democracy' officially commenced after the publication of Presidential Decree on July 5, 1959 and the presidential speech on August 17, Ricklefs correctly puts the issue as follows: 'In the midst of the crisis of 1957, *the first steps* were taken towards a form of government which Soekarno called "guided democracy" (p. 294, italics mine).

²⁰⁵⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guided_Democracy_in_Indonesia, accessed on December 28, 2010 at 13.04 CET.

local governments were re-negotiated.²⁰⁵⁵ Taking rather a different point of view, historian M.C. Ricklefs says that Guided Democracy ‘was dominated by the personality of Soekarno, although he [Soekarno] shared the initiatives for its introduction with the army leadership’.²⁰⁵⁶ Debates and discussions have flourished about this singular period in Indonesian history but, as stated in Herbert Feith’s magnum opus,²⁰⁵⁷ one thing is for certain: the introduction of Guided Democracy marked the end of its constitutional predecessor.

Ricklefs explores in detail the process of institutionalization of Guided Democracy and implicitly acknowledges Soekarno’s presidential speech on the Independence Day, August 17, 1959, as the final stage in the process. The speech elaborated on the necessity for the revival of ‘the spirit of the Revolution, social justice and the “retooling” of the institutions and organizations of the nation in the name of ongoing revolution’. Soekarno’s speech became known as the political manifesto (*Manifesto Politik*, abbreviated as *Manipol*). Early in 1960 an acronym, USDEK, was added making the term ‘*Manipol USDEK*’. The USDEK stood for the 1945 Constitution, Indonesian socialism, guided democracy, guided economy and Indonesian identity.²⁰⁵⁸ ‘*Manipol USDEK*’ was rapidly embraced as an ideological creed, which was vigorously and repeatedly introduced into broader arrays of institutions and to individuals, including schools and school teachers and children by government officials.

On April 4, 1961, Soekarno proclaimed the Five Points of Loyalty (*Pantja Setia*), which public civil servants – including public school teachers – were expected to observe. The second point of the *Pantja Setia* reads that all public civil servants owe their sole loyalty to the ‘State of the Republic of Indonesia, which is based on *Manipol USDEK*’. The fourth point states that all civil servants should embrace the ideology of *Manipol USDEK*.²⁰⁵⁹

In the meantime, on August 17, 1961, the Minister of Basic Education and Culture, Prijono, issued a decree called the Five Principles of the Educational System (*Pantja Wardhana*). The decree stated that school education in Indonesia should be based on the *Pantja Sila* – the State ideology – as well as on the political manifesto, *Manipol USDEK*. Prijono said that the *Pantja Wardhana* itself constituted an operational translation of the political manifesto in the field of education. The *Pantja Wardhana* stressed that school education should balance the development of the individual’s sense of nationalism and patriotism, morality and religious values, cognitive intelligence, arts and emotion, craft skills and physical bodies. Prijono declared Saturday *Hari Krida*, or activity day, on which instead

²⁰⁵⁵ Leslie H. Palmier, ‘Centralization in Indonesia: Review Article’, *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (Jun. 1960), 169-80. In this article Palmier compares and analyses the works written by Wilopo and Widjojo Nitisastro, *The Socio-Economic Basis of the Indonesian State* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Modern Indonesia Project, 1959), and ones by J.D. Legge, *Problems of Regional Autonomy in Contemporary Indonesia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Modern Indonesia Project, 1957) and by G.S. Maryanov, *Decentralization in Indonesia as a Political Problem* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Modern Indonesia Project, 1959).

²⁰⁵⁶ Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 294.

²⁰⁵⁷ Herbert Feith, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1962).

²⁰⁵⁸ The description of Guided Democracy in this paragraph is solely based on Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 304; also for the phrase directly quoted here. The USDEK stands in Indonesian for Undang-Undang Dasar 1945, Sosialisme ala Indonesia, Demokrasi Terpimpin, Ekonomi Terpimpin and Kepribadian Indonesia.

²⁰⁵⁹ ‘Peraturan Presiden No. 3-1961 tgl. 4 April 1961’, in: Djawatan Pendidikan Umum Dep. P.D. dan K., *Pantjawarsa*, 37.

of engaging in academic study, school children should participate in sports, the performing arts and take part in cultural activities, play games or work on handicrafts projects.²⁰⁶⁰

In the preface to a book published to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the Bureau of General Education, the head of the Bureau, R.M. Ali Marsaban, who graduated from *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool* in Yogyakarta in 1935,²⁰⁶¹ noted that the purpose of the *Pantja Wardhana* was 'to eradicate the remnants of colonialism completely' and therefore it should be disseminated through educational conferences, workshops, trainings.²⁰⁶² In another preface to the same book, the Secretary General of the Department of Basic Education and Culture, Soepardo, emphasized the role of school teachers as key personnel who educated the future cadres of the country on the basis of the spirit of the 1945 Revolution. Soepardo argued that one integrated institution of teacher training would be necessary. 'A fundamental reform of the FKIP is a must,' he said. 'The FKIP has to be made into an Institute of Educational Science so as to give reassurance that there is only one single institution for training the teachers for all different types of schools.' Soepardo said that the SGA would become an ideal school for internships, where students from the Institutes of Educational Science could put the realm of Socialism into practice. 'May we arrive at the Gate of the Hall of Indonesian Socialism, which abounds in hope and glory,' he concluded the preface.²⁰⁶³

Following upon its 'inauguration', *Manipol USDEK* entered the realm of the jargon which underlined the concepts of educational reform. The government gradually designed strategic policies which would implement the political manifesto in educational practice. State officials – from the President to the head of the Bureau of General Education – clearly suggested one perspective of school education as a breeding ground for *Manipol USDEK* ideology. This created a precedent for the instrumentation of schools in a larger context, and did so blatantly.

Before summarizing the ideological conflicts in education which preceded and followed the failed coup of the September 30 1965 Movement, I shall discuss the Education Congress of the Indonesian Communist Party in an attempt to find out about the PKI policy on public education. The PKI education congress was held at the SBKA²⁰⁶⁴ Hall in Jakarta from July 25 to 28, 1960.²⁰⁶⁵ The debate was based on four pillars: the growing public spirit for the struggle against imperialism and feudalism; the growing number of school teachers who were members of the party; the lack of theoretical, political and programmatic designs, which would connect the internal education of the party and school education in general; and the general trends in educational reform at the time.²⁰⁶⁶

²⁰⁶⁰ 'Instruksi Menteri Pendidikan Dasar dan Kebudayaan No. 2 (Pantja Wardhana/Hari Krida)', issued on August 17, 1961, in: Djawatan Pendidikan Umum Dep. P.D. dan K., *Pantjawarsa*, 27.

²⁰⁶¹ 'Riwayat Hidup Kepala Djawatan Pendidikan Umum Departemen P.D. dan K. (R.M. Ali Marsaban)', in: Djawatan Pendidikan Umum Dep. P.D. dan K., *Pantjawarsa*, 48-50.

²⁰⁶² R.M. Ali Marsaban, 'Kata Pengantar dari Kepala Djawatan Pendidikan Umum', dated on March 15, 1961, in: Djawatan Pendidikan Umum Dep. P.D. dan K., *Pantjawarsa*, 6.

²⁰⁶³ Soepardo, 'Kata Sambutan Sekdjen/Pembantu Utama Departemen P.D. dan K.', dated on February 28, 1962, in: Djawatan Pendidikan Umum Dep. P.D. dan K., *Pantjawarsa*, 36.

²⁰⁶⁴ SBKA stands for *Serikat Buruh Kereta Api*, Association of Railway Workers. I learned about what the SBKA stood for from a blog on the biography of Rhoma Irama, an Indonesian *dangdut* musician. See <http://www.kaskus.us/showthread.php?p=296075047>, accessed on December 29, 2010 at 18.21 CET.

²⁰⁶⁵ Departemen Pendidikan dan Ilmu CC PKI, *Untuk Pendidikan Nasional, Kerakjatan dan Ilmiah (Hasil2 Seminar Pendidikan Umum PKI)*, (Djakarta: Jajasan 'Pembaruan', 1962).

²⁰⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 13-4.

The congress programmes dealt with the role and principles of education, the structural system of education and the principle underlying methods and didactics.²⁰⁶⁷

The congress addressed the educational principles at length. Indonesian education should become a means to improve the people's dignity, knowledge and culture. It was suggested that educational progress should be made not for the sake of education itself, but for the Indonesian people and the Motherland (*Tanah Air*). Importantly, it should eradicate the colonial mentality which was still apparent in daily life. 'It has to ruffle the "Hollands denken" [Dutch way of thought] of the people, who continued to lack self-confidence in their own capacity and capability,' said Jusuf Adjitorop, a candidate member of the PKI Central Committee, during the opening session of the congress. 'We need to re-write the existing school books, most of which are plagiaristic copies of Dutch language books from the outdated colonial era,' Adjitorop said.²⁰⁶⁸ The congress warned its participants against what it called 'American imperialism', which 'is gradually replacing the Dutch imperialism in Indonesian economy, politics and culture'.²⁰⁶⁹

The congress participants shared the idea that the teachers at kindergarten, primary and secondary schools as well as at tertiary establishments should be prepared fairly exclusively so as to meet the task of developing children of different school ages. However, no matter what age group of school children they taught, all teachers should be 'patriotic and democratic persons, who are competent to transfer knowledge and who have the Spartan quality required to fire up the patriotic spirit of their students'.²⁰⁷⁰ The chairman of the PKI Central Committee, D.N. Aidit, was quoted as saying that all school teacher members of the party should simultaneously possess the quality of being 'a good Marxist' and 'an educator of the new breed'. What he meant was that school teachers should not only transmit their knowledge to students but they should inspire their students to transform the knowledge into actual practice. The congress endorsed the speech, which President Soekarno delivered on the 29 July 1960, during a meeting with school teachers and educational officials. Soekarno stressed the importance of enforcing the political manifesto he had formulated a year earlier on teachers and children at all educational levels.²⁰⁷¹

The aim of classroom instruction should concur with the operational break-down of the education principles elaborated above.²⁰⁷² Classroom instructions should facilitate students in their growth as patriotic individuals, who cherished labour, science and knowledge, achievement, peace, the Motherland and their parents. The congress outlined basic curricular competencies, which any classroom instruction should be able to disseminate, namely: knowledge and science, skills, character building and artistic senses, and physical exercises.²⁰⁷³ At its closure, the congress participants issued a blueprint of the structural system of education (Figure 11.1). They also discussed the course subjects at the six-year *Sekolah Rakjat* compared with those of the seven- and ten-year primary schools in the

²⁰⁶⁷ Ibid. 15.

²⁰⁶⁸ 'Untuk Pendidikan Nasional, Kerakjatan dan Ilmiah (Pidato Sambutan CC PKI Disampaikan oleh Kawan Jusuf Adjitorop, Tjalon-Anggota Politbiro CC PKI', in: Departemen Pendidikan dan Ilmu CC PKI, *Untuk Pendidikan Nasional*, 11.

²⁰⁶⁹ Departemen Pendidikan dan Ilmu CC PKI, *Untuk Pendidikan Nasional*, 18.

²⁰⁷⁰ Ibid. 37.

²⁰⁷¹ Ibid. 16.

²⁰⁷² Here the congress rigorously differentiated *pendidikan* (education) from *pengajaran* (instruction or teaching).

²⁰⁷³ Departemen Pendidikan dan Ilmu CC PKI, *Untuk Pendidikan Nasional*, 50.

Soviet Union (Table 11.3). However, the congress recommended no proposal for the reform of the curriculum.

The PKI educational congress of July 1960 was the first party congress which was deliberately aimed to address the typical, formal school education.²⁰⁷⁴ Before this, as a political organization the PKI had focused on education for the internal purposes; that is, for the dissemination of the party policies and programmes exclusively to its cadres. According to McVey, the central and regional organizations of the PKI had long sponsored the party schools (*sekolah partai*) 'in order to improve their cadres' political sophistication'.²⁰⁷⁵ Besides these schools, mass organizations such as the Indonesian Peasant Front co-founded primary schools (*Sekolah Dasar Sederhana*, SDS) in attempts to 'bring literacy and the Communists' general message to the villages'.²⁰⁷⁶ At the end of 1958, the PKI established the People's University (*Universitas Rakjat*, Unra) in order to bolster the training of its members systematically. The Unra offered adults courses on party ideology. Modelled on the *volksuniversiteit* in the Netherlands, McVey says, Unra drew 'much of its ideological inspiration and teaching methods from the Taman Siswa' and that the Taman Siswa itself 'had considerable influence on PKI educational thinking'. Within a year, Unra had expanded into ten schools and had an enrolment of 2,816 students.²⁰⁷⁷ In July 1963, Unra underwent a fundamental reform, which now made it an umbrella institution for party education at the primary and secondary levels. There was the *Mimbar Pengetahuan Rakjat* (Mipera) at senior secondary level; the *Balai Pengetahuan Rakjat* (Bapera) at junior secondary level; and the *Panti Pengetahuan Rakjat* (Panpera) at primary level.²⁰⁷⁸

Following its Sixth National Congress, held from 7 to 14 September, 1959, the PKI solidified the nomenclature of its organizational structure so as to include public and private schools and institutions of higher learning as branches.²⁰⁷⁹ Public and private schools referred to the typical institutions offering formal education run by both the government and private organizations; they were not party schools but were open to the public in general. In this way, the PKI officially expanded its influence to a wider array of targets. Its policy now reached beyond its own educational institutions towards the arena of general schools, where teachers and students alike were seen as potential cadres.

Leaving the exploration of the Communists and their education policies at this point, I shall now address a presidential policy, which did not necessarily have to do with the PKI congresses or with Manipol USDEK, but was nevertheless very influential in the political development of education in the early 1960s. It concerned the splitting up of the Ministry of Education, Knowledge and Culture into the Departments of 'Basic Education and Culture' and of 'Higher Education and Knowledge', each with its own minister. The legal basis of the split was Presidential Decision No. 130 Tahun 1961

²⁰⁷⁴ Ibid. 13-4.

²⁰⁷⁵ McVey, 'Teaching Modernity', 12.

²⁰⁷⁶ Ibid. 14.

²⁰⁷⁷ Ibid. 12-3; also for the quoted phrases in the previous sentence.

²⁰⁷⁸ Ibid. 14-5. *Mimbar Pengetahuan Rakjat*, Podium (or Forum) of People's Knowledge; Balai = Hall; Panti = House.

²⁰⁷⁹ Justus M. van der Kroef, 'Indonesian Communist Policy and the Sixth Party Congress', *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 33 No. 3 (Sep. 1960), 227-49; referred is p. 231.

signed by Soekarno on April 14, 1961.²⁰⁸⁰ The Decision does not state the reason for this split. The new minister of Basic Education and Culture was responsible for such tasks as the management, administration, consultation and supervision of primary, junior and senior high schools, whereas the new minister of Higher Education and Knowledge was in charge of tertiary education and research.²⁰⁸¹ There was still a minister of Education, Knowledge and Culture, who co-ordinated the two department ministers, but the holder of this position exerted no authority in strategic policy making.²⁰⁸²

This institutional split meant that the SGA fell under the Department of Basic Education and Culture but the FKIP, which trained SGA teachers, ran under the Department of Higher Education and Knowledge. Furthermore, SGA graduates, who then taught in primary schools, were subject to the policies made by the Department of Basic Education and Culture. The same applied to FKIP graduates, once they had joined the teaching staff at junior and senior high schools. In short, the Department of Basic Education and Culture exerted a wider field of political influence than the Department of Higher Education and Knowledge, and this difference would later be the cause of conflicts.

Table 11.3: PKI comparison of the curriculum plans for Primary School in Indonesia and the Soviet Union

Curriculum plan for six-year primary school in Indonesia (cited from a decree of the Minister of Education, Knowledge and Culture, 18 March 1947)	Curriculum plan for seven- and ten-year elementary school in the Soviet Union (cited from <i>Lehrbuch der Paedagogik</i> by I.T. Ogorodnikov and P.N. Schimbirev)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Character building 2. Indonesian 3. Counting 4. Natural science 5. Biology Ilmu hayat 6. Geography 7. History 8. Painting 9. Writing 10. Sports/gymnastics 11. Handicrafts 12. Household education 13. Singing 14. Sanitary education/hygiene 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Russian language and literature 2. Mathematics 3. Psychology 4. Logics 5. Biology 6. History 7. State administration 8. Geography 9. Natural science 10. Astronomy 11. Chemistry 12. Foreign language(s) 13. Physical education 14. Painting 15. Sketching/technical drawings 16. Singing

Source: Departemen Pendidikan dan Ilmu CC PKI, *Untuk Pendidikan Nasional, Kerakjatan dan Ilmiah (Hasil Seminar Pendidikan Umum PKI)* (Jakarta: Jajasan ‘Pembaruan’, 1962), p. 51.

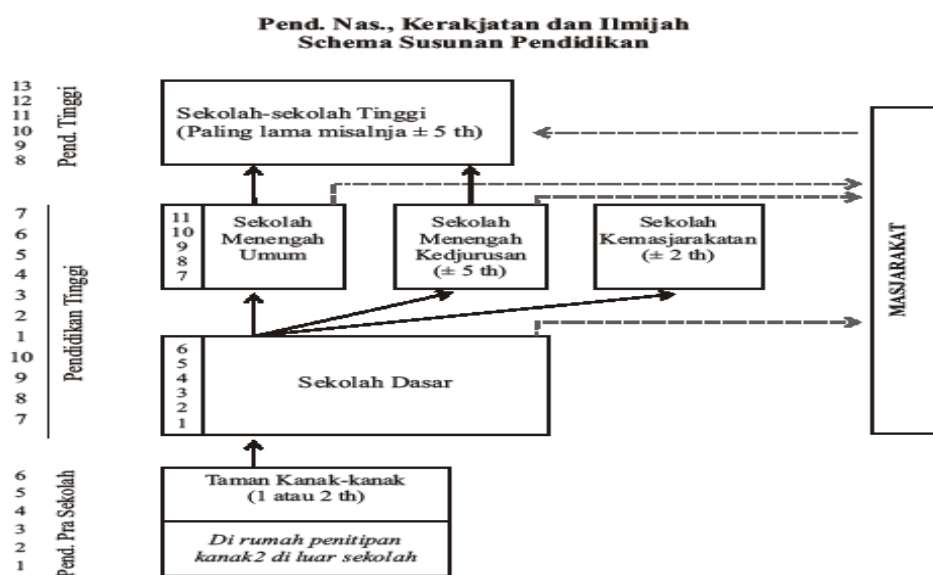
²⁰⁸⁰ ‘Keputusan Presiden Republik Indonesia No. 130 Tahun 1961’, in: Djawatan Pendidikan Umum Dep. P.D. dan K., *Pantjawarsa*, 41-4.

²⁰⁸¹ Respectively Article 4 point 1.a and Article 9 point 1a and b of ‘Keputusan Presiden Republik Indonesia No. 130 Tahun 1961’, in: Djawatan Pendidikan Umum Dep. P.D. dan K., *Pantjawarsa*, 42-3.

²⁰⁸² See Article 1 of ‘Keputusan Presiden Republik Indonesia No. 130 Tahun 1961’, in: Djawatan Pendidikan Umum Dep. P.D. dan K., *Pantjawarsa*, 41.

In the 1960s, the ideological conflicts in school education erupted in the throes of these political developments. Guided Democracy was pooling State authority to the personality of President Soekarno, who was personally not greatly involved in the actual policy making but who, as Ricklefs says, was a skilled manipulator of men and symbols so that no State policies were made without a vision of his own future vested in them.²⁰⁸³ Because Manipol USDEK was based on Soekarno’s presidential speech on the Independence Day of 1959 and brought the spirit of Guided Democracy to the field of school education and other strategic sectors, a precedent in the instrumentation of schooling was created.

Figure 11.1: The PKI structure of the typical school, introduced in 1960



Disadur dari *Untuk Pendidikan Nasional, Kerakjatan dan Ilmiah* (Hasil-hasil Seminar Pendidikan Umum PKI) (jajasan "Pembaruan" Djakarta 1962) Departemen Pendidikan dan Ilmu CC PKI, p. 82

- Ket**
1. TK djika hanja 1 th anak-anak mampu pada usia 6 th.
 2. —————> ke masjarakat untuk bekerja sambil belajar dengan segala macam jalan (teori dan politik)
 3. <————— Sjarat-sjarat khusus dari masjarakat untuk masuk Perguruan Tinggi perlu lebih lanjut dipertimbangkan dengan mengingat disamping unsur demokratis djuga unsur-unsur ilmiahnja.

Source: Departemen Pendidikan dan Ilmu CC PKI, *Untuk Pendidikan Nasional, Kerakjatan dan Ilmiah* (Hasil Seminar Pendidikan Umum PKI) (Djakarta: Jajasan 'Pembaruan', 1962), p. 82.

The Communist Party claimed the Manipol USDEK legitimated its right to spread its ideology to educational personnel, policies and institutions. Conversely, after the attempted coup of September

²⁰⁸³ Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 294.

1965, the new regime under General Soeharto appealed to the same ideology of Manipol USDEK to legitimize its retaliation against the Communists' educational strategies and programmes. Educationist R. Murray Thomas has argued that, as a non-ruling party, the PKI attempted to accumulate power by discreetly 'infiltrating influential organizations and by discrediting opponents in the eyes of the people'. In contrast, the goal of the ruling party of the Soeharto regime was to prevent 'infiltration and discrediting by opponent groups', by identifying potential opponents, restricting identified opponents and indoctrinating 'the populace in the philosophy of the incumbent government'.²⁰⁸⁴

The Communists managed to gain control of the Ministry of Education, the public schools, the Indonesian teachers union (PGRI), and other existing education organizations such as the Taman Siswa.²⁰⁸⁵ After the split in the Ministry of Education, Knowledge and Culture, Soekarno appointed Iwa Kusumasumantri and Prijono as the Minister of Higher Education and Knowledge and as the Minister of Basic Education and Culture respectively.²⁰⁸⁶ Both Iwa and Prijono were affiliated with the Murba (*Musyawahar Rakjat Banjak*, the Consensus of Many People Party), a party founded among other politicians by Tan Malaka in 1948.²⁰⁸⁷ The policies which Iwa made as a minister of Higher Education and Knowledge pleased the Communists and their allies as well as 'some elements of West Java's Sundanese ethnic group' but distressed political moderates, some student elements and non-Sundanese university officials.²⁰⁸⁸ Iwa issued 'regulations that stopped additional Indonesians from accepting scholarships to study in the United States', and required students 'to swear allegiance to Manipol USDEK and not to marry overseas'.²⁰⁸⁹

Through Mas Achmad Gazali Surianatasudjana, a former Ford Fellow at Columbia University who later assumed the position of deputy dean of the FKIP at Padjadjaran University in Bandung,²⁰⁹⁰ Iwa revoked the introduction of the guided study system, which would have been fully effective at the end of 1961. This study system, which was 'modeled after university procedures in the United States', suggested that students would be dismissed from colleges if they did not complete their studies within a certain limited period of time – normally four to five years for a bachelor degree. In the early 1960s, the guided study system was new. Before this, the free study system, which had been inherited from the Dutch according to Thomas, had applied. The free study system allowed students

²⁰⁸⁴ Thomas, 'Indonesian Education', 383.

²⁰⁸⁵ Ibid. 373-8.

²⁰⁸⁶ R. Murray Thomas, *A Chronicle of Indonesian Higher Education*, 181.

²⁰⁸⁷ I have learned about the Murba party from <http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Murba>, accessed on January 2, 2011 at 9.15 CET. The Murba was also known as the indigenous Communist party; it was not based on International Communism like the PKI but its leading figures such as Tan Malaka, Iwa Kusumasumantri and Chaerul Saleh had been students of the International Communism. Not identified as a Communist party of itself, the Murba did indeed tend to be leftist and, to a particular point, was a rival to the PKI.

²⁰⁸⁸ Thomas, *A Chronicle of Indonesian Higher Education*, 181-2.

²⁰⁸⁹ Ibid. 182.

²⁰⁹⁰ In an interview, Robert Murray Thomas recalled Mas Achmad Gazali Surianatasudjana as 'an unfriendly Indonesian' who showed an obvious feeling of dislike towards Americans. This surprised Thomas considering that Gazali had been educated in the US. Thomas himself showed a gesture of dislike towards Gazali when he was telling me about this former Ford Fellow. Out of respect for privacy, I did not ask Thomas what the problem between Gazali and him might have been. Interview with Thomas, California, 16-17 October 2010. It is quite unfortunate that I was not successful in my attempt to collect information about Gazali as to find out if he was still alive.

to postpone taking a regular final examination until they felt they were ready for it. They were also allowed to re-sit an exam if they failed at the first try, and actually to do so again and again until they passed, without being sent down. Consequently, there was a bottleneck in the input and output channels of enrolling students. The guided study system was designed to clear this bottleneck so that 'trained specialists might enter Indonesian society at a predictable rate'. Iwa cancelled the implementation of the guided study system after a public appeal released by a number of students who faced the direct impact of the new system.²⁰⁹¹

A controversial figure, in March 1962 Iwa was replaced by Tojib Hadiwidjaja, an academic who was not a member of a political party but who had won the strong backing of the army leaders.²⁰⁹² The appointment of Tojib somewhat eased the tense atmosphere inside the universities and among university academics. However, it opened up a new conflict front, this time between the Department of Higher Education and Knowledge and that of Basic Education and Culture, mainly because Tojib and Prijono belonged to oppositional ideological factions.²⁰⁹³

The most notable clash between the two educational departments concerned the training of secondary school teachers. In the early 1960s, while more and more in-service teachers of secondary schools strove to pursue advanced education at the FKIP, this teachers' college could not admit them because of the limited number of staff and sheer lack of capacity. Furthermore, the FKIP professors required those in-service teachers to enrol as full-time students for the scheduled period of five years so that they could meet the academic standards set. Being older and fully employed at high schools, most of the in-service teachers were either unable or unwilling to meet these requirements. Many of them lived in the country side. Although the number of public FKIP had risen from five in 1961 to seven in 1962 and almost thirty in 1965, the lack of infrastructural access from the countryside made it impossible for in-service teachers to reach the nearest urban localities where an FKIP was situated.²⁰⁹⁴

The in-service school teachers, who officially fell under the co-ordination and supervision of the Department of Basic Education and Culture, urged Minister Prijono to establish a separate institute of teacher training so that the Department of Basic Education and Culture could prepare its own teachers independently of the FKIP. For their part, the FKIP professors – officially co-ordinated and supervised by the Department of Higher Education and Knowledge – warned Minister Tojib of the prospect of the degradation of education at all levels if secondary teachers were trained outside the FKIP. These professors certainly meant to say that FKIP graduates should train SGA teachers, at which primary school teachers were educated. Although the arguments they set forth could hardly be denied, the FKIP professors seemed to forget that their ministerial department was not politically strong enough to handle this issue. As noted earlier, the Department of Basic Education and Culture had more political clout as it co-ordinated and supervised both the primary and secondary schools, where the FKIP graduates were employed. Now the conflicts between FKIP professors and in-service teachers mushroomed into a rift between the Department of Higher Education and Knowledge and

²⁰⁹¹ Thomas, *A Chronicle of Indonesian Higher Education*, 182-3.

²⁰⁹² *Ibid.* 188.

²⁰⁹³ *Ibid.* 206.

²⁰⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 205.

the Department of Basic Education and Culture, which were headed by ministers belonging to two opposite camps of political ideology.²⁰⁹⁵

Amid this raging dispute, Prijono signed a decree for the founding of *Institut Pendidikan Guru* (IPG, Institute of Teachers Education), as demanded by the in-service teachers. Thomas records the first IPG was founded in Bandung in September 1962.²⁰⁹⁶ Within a year, at least two other IPGs were established in Jakarta and in Madiun, East Java.²⁰⁹⁷ The founding of the IPG sharpened and widened the scope of the conflict. Not only the professors but also the students of FKIP launched protests against the IPGs. The reasons for protesting were as much political as economic. Soedijarto, a former student at the Bandung FKIP, who led the FKIP delegates in the debate with IPG delegates which was summoned to his presidential palace in Jakarta by Soekarno in December 1961, told me in an interview in 2006 that it was feared that the IPG would take job opportunities away from FKIP graduates. Now that the Department of Basic Education had founded its own institution of higher learning for training secondary school teachers, FKIP graduates would have to compete with IPG graduates for teaching positions in schools. Because both the IPG and the elementary and secondary schools fell under the control of the Department of Basic Education and Culture, Soedijarto and his comrades would have found it extremely difficult to envision that the future recruitment of teachers would be conducted openly and fairly.²⁰⁹⁸ President Soekarno personally had to cut the Gordian knot. After listening to the arguments of both parties, Soekarno issued Presidential Decree No. 1/1963 in which he announced the FKIP and the IPG would be fused into the *Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan* (IKIP, Institute of Teachers' Training and Education).²⁰⁹⁹ The IKIP became the new, one single institution of higher learning where all secondary school teachers were trained. It was separate and independent of the university structure.²¹⁰⁰

The President's decision to fuse the FKIP and the IPG into the IKIP soon won the support of IPG students. Representatives of the IPG student bodies urged the minister of Basic Education and Culture to speed up the process of merger.²¹⁰¹ They demanded that the IKIP curriculum be constructed on the basis of the needs of the Department of Basic Education and Culture because this department would employ the IKIP graduates.²¹⁰² They also proposed a conference to discuss the didactics and methodology of the indoctrination of State principles, which would be the Pancasila and Manipol USDEK.²¹⁰³ The FKIP students and professors also happily welcomed the creation of the IKIP. Thomas says that logically they viewed the President's decision as a victory for their side

²⁰⁹⁵ Ibid. 204-6.

²⁰⁹⁶ Ibid. 207.

²⁰⁹⁷ I learned about the founding of these two IPGs in 'Resolusi I: Konperensi Mahasiswa Institut Pendidikan Guru Seluruh Indonesia ke-I, Madiun, 8 Nopember 1963', Arsip Ruslan A. Gani No. 433 (ANRI). This student resolution was signed by representatives of the student bodies of the Bandung, Jakarta and Madiun IPGs.

²⁰⁹⁸ Interview with Soedijarto, Jakarta, 23 November 2006.

²⁰⁹⁹ 'Resolusi I', Arsip Ruslan A. Gani No. 433 (ANRI). R. Murray Thomas says that Soekarno issued his decision on the founding of IKIP on January 3, 1963. See Thomas, *A Chronicle of Indonesian Higher Education*, 209.

²¹⁰⁰ Thomas, *A Chronicle of Indonesian Higher Education*, 209.

²¹⁰¹ 'Resolusi I', Arsip Ruslan A. Gani No. 433 (ANRI).

²¹⁰² 'Pernyataan dan Saran IV: Konperensi Mahasiswa Institut Pendidikan Guru Seluruh Indonesia ke-I, Madiun, 8 Nopember 1963', Arsip Ruslan A. Gani No. 433 (ANRI).

²¹⁰³ 'Resolusi XI: Konperensi Mahasiswa Institut Pendidikan Guru Seluruh Indonesia ke-I, Madiun, 8 Nopember 1963', Arsip Ruslan A. Gani No. 433 (ANRI).

because, as a higher learning institution, the IKIP fell under the co-ordination and supervision of the Department of Higher Education and Knowledge.²¹⁰⁴ For Soedijarto personally, the President's decision to found the IKIP remained a long-remembered source of pride as it proved his (Soedijarto's) competence as a negotiator.²¹⁰⁵ In my opinion, however, the overall winner was no one less than Soekarno himself. The FKIP-IPG case showed that Soekarno was the central figure to whom dissenting parties turned for solutions to whatever problems they were disputing; it was a clear case of guided democracy – that is consensus under Soekarno's leadership.

Unrest and conflicts characterized the Indonesian teachers union (PGRI). Thomas says that the PKI 'carried out a vigorous programme of recruiting teachers and headmasters'.²¹⁰⁶ Led by Subandri, the Communists manipulated the tenth PGRI Congress in Jakarta in 1962 in an attempt to seize the leadership of the organization. Although Subandri personally chaired the committee of the congress, this attempt failed. In 1964, Subandri founded what he called the PGRI *non-vak centraal* (non-aligned PGRI).²¹⁰⁷ Within a year, Subandri's PGRI claimed a membership of 20,000 school teachers.²¹⁰⁸

While a furious atmosphere clouded the PGRI, on August 24, 1964, Minister Prijono dismissed twenty-seven top officials of his department following a letter in which they questioned his statement on the so-called *Pantja Tjinta* (five loves) principles of education. The *Pantja Tjinta* consisted of five points which were derived from the *Pantja Wardhana* described earlier (love of Motherland, Knowledge, Work, Peace, and Parents). The formulation of the *Pantja Tjinta* emerged as a recommendation of the conference held on February 16 to 18, 1963, by the *Lembaga Pendidikan Nasional*, a PKI-controlled national education institute. Prijono had stated earlier that the *Pantja Tjinta* was simply a match between the *Pantja Wardhana* and the State principles, Pancasila; they all were indeed complementary. Prijono said the *Pantja Tjinta* was the moral system which would guide the implementation of *Manipol USDEK* in education. The twenty-seven top officials questioned Prijono's statement because the *Pantja Tjinta* did not address the love of God as required by the State principles. The dismissal of the twenty-seven top education officials elicited fierce reactions from other officials at local educational offices. Again, President Soekarno had to intervene to end this conflict. After listening to the team he had commissioned to investigate the issue, Soekarno re-instated thirteen of the officials fired by Prijono, re-located the employment of the other fourteen people to the Department of Internal Affairs and to the army headquarters, and replaced Prijono as the minister of Basic Education and Culture with Artati Marzuki Sudirjo. Prijono was appointed co-ordinating minister of Education,

²¹⁰⁴ Thomas, *A Chronicle of Indonesian Higher Education*, 209.

²¹⁰⁵ Interview with Soedijarto, Jakarta, 23 November 2006.

²¹⁰⁶ Thomas, 'Indonesian Education', 375.

²¹⁰⁷ M. Rusli Yunus, et al., 'Sejarah Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia', in: Dedi Supriadi (ed.), *Guru di Indonesia: Pendidikan, Pelatihan dan Perjuangannya sejak Zaman Kolonial hingga Era Reformasi* (Jakarta: Direktorat Tenaga Kependidikan, 2003), 931-88; referred are pp. 964-6. There appeared two factions of the PGRI, namely the Communist-supported PGRI, chaired by Subandri—naming itself after PGRI *non-vak centraal* (non-aligned PGRI)—and the PGRI chaired by M.E. Subiadinata, which was called by Subandri et al. PGRI *vak centraal* (PGRI aligned to the army), but which later named itself after 'Pancasila-based PGRI'. See Thomas, 'Indonesian Education', 376-7.

²¹⁰⁸ Thomas, 'Indonesian Education', 376-7.

Knowledge and Culture, a post which was higher than the post he had previously held but which technically had no authority in policy making.²¹⁰⁹

By early 1965 the heated atmosphere had spilled over into open warfare, literally speaking. The afore-cited R. Thomas Murray, an American professor who taught at Padjajaran University at that time, witnessed posters with slogans like 'Bandit professor go home' attached to the houses of foreign academics in Bandung. A group of young Indonesians, probably students, shouted slurs directly at him as he was walking home from the university. Thomas also recalls that in Jakarta, Bogor, Surabaya and Malang, Communist-supported journalists published newspaper articles referring the Americans as neo-colonialists. In March 1965, the staff of the teachers' college in Malang unanimously agreed to cut off the aid which the Ford Foundation and the State University of New York had provided for the past couple of years. In Jakarta, 'Communist labor unions cut off water and electric power to the homes and offices of US-AID and Ford Foundation personnel.' Worried by all these attacks, the Americans sought for protection from the army. Fred Coffey, director of the United States Information Service (USIS)²¹¹⁰ based in Jakarta from 1960 to 1968, recalls that soldiers were sent to guard the offices and houses of the Americans in Bandung and Surabaya. Thomas writes that Minister Sjarif Thajeb of the Department of Higher Education and Knowledge, who was himself an army general and who replaced Tojib Hadiwidjaja, intervened on behalf of the American professors. Both Coffey and Thomas say that in April 1965, the US embassy in Indonesia evacuated all Americans from the cities of Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, and Malang.²¹¹¹

All this was cast in the shade by the September 30 Movement, culminating in the kidnapping and murder of six army generals on the night of September 30 and October 1, 1965. This event marked a complete turn out of the wheels of power in Indonesia. Guided Democracy mixed with *Manipol USDEK* ideology and with the educational principles of *Pantja Wardhana* and *Pantja Tjinta* had now erupted in conflicts and clashes, which grew increasingly furious and violent. As a result, schooling was rapidly being transformed into more a stage of propaganda activities rather than a process of mutual pedagogical interaction. Nevertheless, the period from 1959 to 1965 witnessed a rapid expansion of institutions of higher education. The number of public teacher training institutes (FKIP/IPG/IKIP) grew from five in 1961 to eleven in 1962 to more than thirty in 1965. Public universities also grew in number, from a handful in 1959 to fourteen in 1962 to about twenty-eight in

²¹⁰⁹ Waskito Tjiptosasmito and Soepojo Padmodipoetra, 'Perjuangan Menegakkan Pancasila dalam Lingkungan Department Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (Peristiwa di Jalan Cilacap 4 Jakarta Antara Tahun 1964-1966)', an unpublished paper, written in Jakarta, May 2, 1983. This paper included the appendices to the copies of original documents, such as Decision Letter No. 35 X/S signed on August 1964 by minister Prijono on the dismissal of the 27 top officials with a list of their names; Presidential Decision Letter No. 313 signed on December 9, 1964 by Soekarno on the settlement of this problem. I thank Prof. Tarwotjo, one of the 27 top officials dismissed by minister Prijono in 1964, for lending me a copy of the unpublished paper written by Waskito and Soepojo. Unfortunately, my interview with Tarwotjo at his home in West Jakarta on 28 November 2006 was requested off the record.

²¹¹⁰ On the USIS, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Information_Service (accessed on January 3, 2011 at 12.46 CET). The USIS was the overseas name for The United States Information Agency (USIA), a US agency founded by President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1953, devoted to 'public diplomacy'. The Foreign Affairs and Restructuring Act abolished the U.S. Information Agency effective October 1, 1999.

²¹¹¹ This paragraph, except for the information about the USIS, has been based on Thomas, *A Chronicle of Indonesian Higher Education*, 215 (also for the sentences quoted here) and on interviews with Thomas, California, October 16-17, 2010 and with Fred Coffey, Washington DC, October 28, 2010.

1965.²¹¹² So by September 1965, each of the provinces of Indonesia already had at least one public institution of higher learning. This fitted perfectly with the design of the Eight-Year Development Plan released by Soekarno in August 1959.²¹¹³

The response of the army under the command of Major-General Soeharto to the September 30 Movement was tremendously fast and efficient. On October 11 and 13, 1965, Minister Brigadier-General Sjarif Thajeb shut down sixteen universities and institutions of higher learning, which he identified as 'the "cages" where Communist and pro-Communist intellectuals have nestled'.²¹¹⁴ He had Supardo, E.A. Parengkuan and Subandri arrested. These three were education officials who worked under Prijono of the Co-ordinating Ministry of Education, Knowledge and Culture. General Thajeb also seized Prof. Sukirno, chairman of the Indonesian Scholars' Association (*Himpunan Sardjana Indonesia*, HSI), and dismissed Prof. Sumarja, Prof. Djodjodiguno, Prof. Tjan Tjoe Som and Prof. Tjan Tjoe Sim of the University of Indonesia for an alleged involvement in the September 30 Movement. Prijono wrote to President Soekarno asking for the liberation of those arrested;²¹¹⁵ the president's answer is not known.

On October 20, 1965 the minister of Basic Education and Culture, Artati Marzuki Sudirdjo, froze the non-aligned teachers' union, the PGRI *non-vak centraal*. This decision was made following the allegation that the chairmen and members of the PGRI *non-vak centraal* were 'involved either directly or indirectly in the September 30 Movement'.²¹¹⁶ A year later, on September 12, 1966, the chairmen of what had formerly been known as the 'Pancasila-based PGRI' released a public statement listing critical points. In it, they declared that the PGRI was a professional union of school teachers, who acknowledged the Pancasila as the only ideology and who did not and would not participate in any political party or activity. The chairmen also stated that the PGRI and its members would join other forces in the fight against Communism, and that they would support the New Order.²¹¹⁷ In the

²¹¹² I have cited this number of institutions of higher learning from Thomas, *A Chronicle of Indonesian Higher Education*, 189 and 205.

²¹¹³ Interview with Soedijarto, Jakarta, 23 November 2006.

²¹¹⁴ 'Keputusan Menteri Perguruan Tinggi dan Ilmu Pengetahuan No. 01/dar. Tahun 1965', signed by the minister on October 11, 1965, and 'Keputusan Menteri Perguruan Tinggi dan Ilmu Pengetahuan No. 04/dar. Tahun 1965', signed on October 13, 1965, Arsip Departemen Pendidikan Nasional No. 1 (ANRI).

²¹¹⁵ 'Menteri Koordinator Kompartimen P dan K Republik Indonesia No. 305/MKPK/65', signed by the minister on November 18, 1965, in: PB PGRI, *Lampiran2 Progress Report Pengurus Besar PGRI kepada Konggres ke XI PGRI di Bandung pada tanggal 15 s/d 20 Maret 1967* (Jakarta[?]: Pertjetakan Harapan Masa, 1967), 68-9.

²¹¹⁶ 'Keputusan Menteri Pendidikan Dasar dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia No. 144/1965', signed by the minister on October 20, 1965, in: PB PGRI, *Lampiran2 Progress Report*, 77-9. On May 7, 1965, President Soekarno had ordered Minister Prijono to unify the two factions of the PGRI, namely the Communist-supported PGRI chaired Subandri and the 'Pancasila-based PGRI' (as this group called itself) chaired by M.E. Subiadinata. 'This stage of our Revolution does not allow a space for divisive conflicts among educators,' Soekarno said, adding that he wished to have the two factions unified by the twentieth anniversary of Indonesian independence in August 1965. Minister Prijono worked on the President's Instruction by asking the two factions to send him a list of personnel whom they recommended for the chairmanship of the new, unified PGRI which would be formed. This process of unification did not seem to have been completed at the outbreak of the September tragedy. See 'Presiden Republik Indonesia' to 'Minister Prijono', May 7, 1965; 'Menteri Koordinator Kompartimen P dan K Republik Indonesia No. 110/MK-PK/1965, May 13, 1965', in: PB PGRI, *Lampiran2 Progress Report*, 61 and 60 respectively.

²¹¹⁷ 'Pendirian Pengurus Besar Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia dalam Menanggapi Situasi Tanah-Air Setelah Sidang Umum ke-IV Madjelis Permusjawaratan Rakjat Sementara (MPRS) Tahun 1966 (No. X/Pen.-9/PB/X/66), signed by chairman M.E. Subiadinata and secretary Ms. S. Sunardi on September 12, 1966, in: PB PGRI, *Lampiran2 Progress Report*, 20-4.

eleventh PGRI congress held in Bandung from 15 to 20 March, 1967, the top PGRI chairman, M.E. Subiadinata, re-phrased the commitment of his organization.²¹¹⁸ Welcoming the stated commitment General Soeharto, who delivered one of the keynote speeches to the congress, required the teachers to keep solely to their pedagogical roles in the education and the character-building of children. 'Schools and universities should not become an arena of political power contestation,' Soeharto said. 'So as to guard the Pancasila,' Soeharto said, 'education and culture should be made an offensive as well as defensive fortress of the New Order'.²¹¹⁹ He called the PGRI to draw up a specific curriculum of Pancasila education.²¹²⁰

In the late 1960s, the school curriculum underwent a fundamental amendment so as to consist of three compulsory subject clusters, namely the construction of the spirit of the Pancasila, the construction of the fundamentals of knowledge, and the construction of specialized skills.²¹²¹ The first cluster – the construction of the spirit of the Pancasila – was applied equally to all different types and levels of schooling. It was an almost completely new cluster, especially as it included religious education and civics/state ideology in addition to Indonesian language and sports education. Until 1967, religious education had been taught at school on a free-choice basis in conformity with the Education Bill No. 4/1950. Therefore as in the pre-war curriculum, children (or their parents) had the right to decide whether or not they wished (or their parents wished them) to take the religious education course at school. They also had the right to choose which religious education to take, if indeed they wished to take one. Meanwhile, in step with the making of public intellectuality during the 1950s and early 1960s, educational officials had declared the State ideology, Pancasila, the principles on which school education should be based. But, no course subject had been constructed specifically on Pancasila. When Pancasila and religious education were made compulsory subjects in the late 1960s, this mirrored the ideological undertone of the new regime.

In 1968, the Soeharto's administration installed the first Five-Year Development Plan. It emphasized the development of agriculture and the exploitation of natural resources. Transportation, communications, administration and education received particular attention in the programmes designed for this first five-year series of development.²¹²² A project was set up which gave a priority to the writing of the schoolbooks on religious education, Pancasila and other courses of the first cluster.²¹²³ Concerns were rife about the integration of school and society, especially in villages. Formal schooling, it was argued, should not create the brain drain of the best human resources of the

²¹¹⁸ PB PGRI, *Progress Report PB-PGRI pada Kongres PGRI XI 15 s/d 20 Maret 1967 di Bandung* (Jakarta[?]: Pertjetakan Harapan Masa, 1967), 13.

²¹¹⁹ Djenderal Soeharto, 'Potensi Guru Sangat Vital', 110-1; in original: 'Sebagai suatu usaha ketahanan Pantjasila, bidang pendidikan dan kebudayaan harus dijadikan benteng pertahanan dan pangkalan offensif Orde Baru' (p. 111).

²¹²⁰ Djenderal Soeharto, 'Potensi Guru Sangat Vital', 111.

²¹²¹ See, for example, the SPG curriculum of 1967 in Baedhowi et al., 'Perkembangan Kualitatif', 107.

²¹²² Soedijarto, Lexy Moleong, A. Suryadi, Darlis Machmud, F. Pangemanan, A.F. Tangyong, N. Nasoetion, and R. Murray Thomas, 'Indonesia', in: T. Neville Postlethwaite and R. Murray Thomas (eds.), *Schooling in the ASEAN Region: Indonesia, Malaysia, The Philippines, Singapore, Thailand* (Oxford, New York, Toronto, Sydney, Paris, Frankfurt: Pergamon Press, 1980), 48-96; referred is p. 54.

²¹²³ See, for example, Saadoe'ddin Djambek, *Pendidikan Agama di Sekolah Pendidikan Guru* (Jakarta: Sub Projek Penjusunan Pedoman Keguruan Projek Rehabilitasi Pendidikan Guru Tahun I Pembangunan Lima Tahun, 1969/1970); Harsono, *Petunjuk Kurikulum Pendidikan Djasmani di Sekolah Pendidikan Guru* (Jakarta: Sub Projek, 1969/1970).

villages. A school curriculum and system which was integrated into local communities would prevent school leavers from going away from their villages to seek jobs in the cities. Instead, an integrated village school would encourage the leavers to create rural work for the development of the village.²¹²⁴ Teachers played crucial roles in the process of integration between the school and the village society. The curriculum of the SPG therefore should allocate some hours of practical courses to dealing with the village system.²¹²⁵

An explorative survey on the first Five-Year Development Plan – such as that presented above – might easily give the impression that school education had resumed normality by the end of the 1960s, and that new developments were under way that would not be wide of the mark. However, it simply overshadowed the tragedy on a larger scale following the political turmoil culminating in 1965 which cost and still would cost Indonesian education. In the aftermath of the failed coup of September 30, 1965, the counter-Communist strategy of the new regime caused a massive removal of school teachers for alleged involvement in the September 30 Movement. These teachers were killed, imprisoned or dismissed from schools.

The Communist PGRI under Subandri had claimed a membership of 150,000 teachers, most (100,000) in Central and East Java. But the eleventh Congress of the Pancasila-based PGRI in March 1967, in which these statistics were cited, refuted the claim and declared that the members of the Communist PGRI amounted to no more than 10,000 teachers.²¹²⁶ Indonesian educationist Winarno Surakhmad asserted between 30,000 and 90,000 teachers had been removed from classrooms in the uproar of the aftermath.²¹²⁷ The Indonesian historian Bambang Purwanto gives an approximate number of between 50,000 and 100,000 teachers, including those from the Taman Siswa and even from the Muhammadiyah schools.²¹²⁸ Citing a report compiled on July 5, 1966 by chief of the Basic Education Directorate Sutarta, American educationist R. Murray Thomas has estimated 32,000 teachers had been lost, of whom 15,000 had been taken from schools in Central Java, 11,000 in East Java, 2,000 in West Java, 1,200 in Ambon, 900 in Timor and 2,000 in the remainder of the islands.²¹²⁹

The precise number of teachers who were removed from schools in the aftermath of the September 1965 coup still has to be investigated, cross-checked and confirmed. But even if the number were 'only' thousands, it was enough to rock the boat and to cause devastation in the normal operation of schooling in the years immediately following the coup. Thomas says that primary, secondary and tertiary schools did not recommence properly until April 1967 because students did not come to school, and when they did, there were no teachers to teach them.²¹³⁰ The Department of Basic Education and Culture claimed a shortage of some 90,000 teachers in the aftermath of the coup, including 25,000 teachers who had been dismissed.²¹³¹ The quantitative loss of teachers could have been repaired quickly because the first Five-Year Development Plan bolstered an education expansion

²¹²⁴ A. Soenarjo, 'Integrasi Sekolah Desa', *Basis* Vol. XVIII No. 1 (Oct. 1968), 13-8; 'Integrasi Sekolah Desa II', *Basis* Vol. XVIII No. 2 (Nov. 1968), 33-8.

²¹²⁵ M.F. Moeljono, 'Guru Desa dalam Pelita', *Basis* Vol. XVIII No. 9 (Jun. 1969), 279-83.

²¹²⁶ PB PGRI, *Progress Report PB-PGRI pada Kongres PGRI XI*, 8.

²¹²⁷ Surakhmad, 'Indonesia', 40.

²¹²⁸ Email communication with Bambang Purwanto, December 15, 2010 at 16.14 GMT+7.

²¹²⁹ Thomas, 'Indonesian Education', 376.

²¹³⁰ Thomas, *A Chronicle of Indonesian Higher Education*, 234.

²¹³¹ PB PGRI, *Progress Report PB-PGRI pada Konggres PGRI XI*, 8; Surakhmad, 'Indonesia', 40.

programme under which the number of the public training schools for primary teachers (the SPG) jumped up from 175 in 1966 to 499 in 1971.²¹³² But, again, even if this were the case, the qualitative loss was immeasurable.

Most importantly, the killings and the displacement of those teachers raised a serious human rights issue. Another important consideration, it was not necessarily military operations which literally murdered the allegedly Communist teachers. One of my informants, who requested to remain anonymous, told me that in the Yogyakarta area of Prambanan groups of people carried out the killings in retaliation for the Communist-PGRI teachers who had already incited harsh agitations prior to the September coup. A report of the eleventh Congress of the PGRI in 1967 insinuated that a similar story had been the case in East Java.²¹³³ This shows that the loss of school teachers in the 1960s implied a degree of horizontal conflicts which had penetrated deeply among teachers at the grass-root level. The final point following the September 1965 coup is that Indonesia gradually lost the quality profile of school teachers who shared public concerns about and were actively engaged in the process of social change. The eleventh PGRI Congress in 1967 marked the beginning of a three-decade period in which school teachers were prepared to become no more than instructors. It was possible to witness a process which changed the profile of school teachers from political intellectuals to politicized instructors. ***AS

²¹³² Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, *Statistik SPG: Keadaan pada Akhir Bulan Maret 1971 Seluruh Indonesia* (Jakarta: Badan Pengembangan Pendidikan, 1971), Table II (no page).

²¹³³ Interview with Informant X, Yogyakarta, 2 December 2006; PB PGRI, *Progress Report PB-PGRI pada Kongres PGRI XI*, 8.

Conclusion

This study has explored the transformation of the teacher training system in Indonesia from 1893 to the 1969. It has also dealt with the changing (self-)perception of Indonesian teachers which kept pace with the alteration in circumstances engendered by the transition in political and educational regimes. The aim of this 'Conclusion' is to set out the principal findings of the present study.

In colonial Indonesia, the changes in the policy concerning the public teacher training were geared to the improvement of education in the primary schools and therefore they generally followed, or were put in line with, the primary school reforms. In this process the making of benchmark or quality reference was a key issue. By the educational reform of 1893, the training of Indonesian teachers was oriented towards local culture. When the public primary school for Indonesian children was reformed in 1907 and was then made equivalent to the primary school for the Europeans in 1914, the professional requirements of the teachers of the school were changed concomitantly. Indonesian teachers were now expected to possess knowledge of Western culture, including satisfactory mastery of Dutch. The setting of quality reference was initially carried out by having European teachers who had been trained in the Netherlands to teach in the schools for Indonesians. This strategy put too much strain in the government budget and did not close the professional gap between European and Indonesian teaching staff. Hence, improving the training of Indonesian teachers became a government priority.

The educational policies made between 1893 and 1927 in overall created the foundation for the process of the benchmarking of the training of Indonesian teachers. Pedagogically, the aims of the primary school and concomitant *kweekschool* reforms were to achieve a standardized education. At the elite level, this meant an education for indigenous children, which was made concordant to that for their European counterparts. At the 'grass-root' level, it was a schooling which was continuously improved in terms of access and comprehensiveness of the course subjects taught. Politically, the reforms raised the question of whether standardization meant, to use the term of historian I.J. Brugmans, a Dutchification (*Vernederlandsching*) at the expense of indigenous identity. In addition, the educational policies during this period marked the birth and the strengthening of the so-called 'dualistic system of education'. While opening the gateway to Western education for a wider array of indigenous society, these policies also signified the systemization of 'social exclusion' in the Netherlands Indies.

The transformation of the *kweekschool* into the *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool* (HIK) in 1927 upgraded the level of Indonesian teacher training to the standard of the European teacher training in the Netherlands Indies and in the Netherlands. It would be true to say that the launch of the HIK was an exercise in the internationalization of education. Theoretically, the concordance principle set up by the 1927 *Kweekschoolplan* amounted to a re-organization of the curriculum of the teacher training school. In practice, it was not the final answer to the educational problems of the European community in the Indies, the issue of cultural interface, let alone, the nationalists' demands for equal access to school education. Notwithstanding this, the random implementation of the concordance training of teachers had a long-lasting impact on those who enjoyed it.

The '*concordantie*' design of the HIK also carried the covert implication that the preparation of Indonesian teachers was cut off from the cultural origins of the students themselves. Expected to embrace symbols of Dutch culture as core values of professional competence, HIK students were trained to become indigenous representatives of the West in a colonial society. They were highly selected and few in number and hence became a new elite group despite, the fact that many of them had come from non-elite families. This implied that the imperial Netherlands was not actually strongly embedded in the cultural sphere of the lives of the Indies society which has been a common assumption of the post-war Dutch public. Although by the 1920s Western education had been increasingly directed towards the cultural concordance between the Indies and the Netherlands, the elite nature of the training of Indonesian teachers prevented the spread of Dutch culture – notably the Dutch language – among the majority of the Indonesian population. This was precisely the main critique which the Indonesian nationalists in such organizations as *Sarikat Islam*, *Sekolah Rakyat* and the *Taman Siswa* had voiced in the wake of the expansion of school in Java and Sumatra. In a manner similar to the French policy in Indo-China, the policy of the Netherlands Indies government was to limit the access of the indigenous mass to Western education and prevent them from entering the core sphere of Western culture in the colony. It pre-empted the existence of a mutual interface between Eastern and Western communities. The purpose of this politics of differentiation was to keep a preponderant balance in the relationship between the colonial subject and the overlord, reflecting the principle of indirect administration.

During the 1930s the real challenge for the government to create a standardized teacher training dealt as much with the pedagogical as with the economic and the political aspects. The Great Depression forced the government to change the focus of its educational policy. The concordance plan was partially revoked; at the very least it was no longer a priority. The school for Indonesian commoners (*volkschool*), which had remained localized and had received no place in the design of concordance education in the 1920s, was now (in the 1930s) transposed to the centre of reform simply because its operational costs were less expensive than those of the elite schools and because its costs were shared by the central and local governments. While turning to the *volkschool* was the most strategic policy which the government could have made to cope with economic difficulties in the 1930s, the impact of this move was unprecedented both pedagogically and politically. By focusing on the *volkschool* and setting aside the concordance plan, the government consequently slowed down or, not to put too fine a point on it, degraded the process of benchmarking in the education system in the Netherlands. From the perspective of the HIK students, the changing line in government educational policy was a clear sign of the demise of the colonial dream, despite the fact that it was necessitated by the external factor of economic circumstances. Many of them could not obtain an appointment in government schools and, as an alternative, joined private schools, including those which fell into the category of *wilde scholen* or unofficial schools. The Great Depression easily metamorphosed the docile nature of those indigenous subjects who had been trained in Dutch schools because, while the financial capacity of the government to maintain standardized education had sharply declined, the concordant design of the schools had created an impression about economic promises rather than mutual cultural understanding. Just as everywhere in the world now and then, disappointment which was motivated by economic factors could quickly turn into political dissidence when the politics of

differentiation or discrimination had been looming. Had the majority of Indonesian population been introduced to Dutch culture through a concordant school on a wide scale earlier than the 1920s, the relations between the Netherlands and the Indies society would have been based on a foundation deep and vast enough to resist the impact of the Great Depression in the 1930s and of the Japanese cultural propaganda in the early 1940s.

The structure of pre-war teacher training eventually fell apart in the post-war era because its foundation had been subjected to persistent cultural and political weakening since the 1930s and because the more recent socio-political developments in the 1950s cut off its lines of survival in the larger context. The docile subjects, formerly so characteristic of the colonial State, had disappeared. Many Dutch-trained individuals (including schoolteachers) had left the posts for which their education had destined them to enter other professional fields. All traces of the old system were rapidly vanishing. Dutch was abolished from public schools and Dutch-language schoolbooks were translated into Indonesian. European teachers were 'isolated' to a number of Dutch schools which had become private schools by the early 1950s, before they were abruptly replaced at the end of the decade. In short, the Dutch system of education had been toppled from its pedestal as a quality reference. Although the factors which led to the rupture between the post-colonial State and its colonial predecessor had been observable to the discerning in the 1930s, they became especially striking in the 1950s.

Nevertheless, the transition from colonial to post-colonial regime in Indonesia was a paradoxical phenomenon. It reflected some confusion in the thought process of the Indonesian leaders in their search for the meaning of political independence and its implications for the construction of national identity. The end of the Second World War had shifted the self-perception and expectations of Indonesian people about their position and role in society. Indonesians were no longer a mere faceless mass but citizens of a sovereign State. Schoolteachers now had to play a role in the throes of change gripping the society for more actively than in colonial days. Although Indonesians' self-perception had drastically altered, moving towards a growing consciousness of citizenship, the newly born State was simply too weak to materialize the promises of Independence. The re-institutionalization of the structure of the pre-war educational system in the early 1950s was an indication of a conflict of feeling which Indonesian leaders, the majority of them graduates of pre-war Dutch schools, were struggling to overcome. In independent Indonesia, at a political level the heritage of colonial educational was overlooked, even despised. Nevertheless, there was a tremendous lack of institutional capacity on the part of the Indonesian State to rebuild its education system from the ground up. This stirred the reluctance of the leaders to move away from the pre-war educational system. The upshot was schooling which was replete with messages about new State formation and nation-building, but which had no educational benchmark as a point of reference. When the American educational system was adopted and a number of English-speaking educationalists began to collaborate with their Indonesian counterparts in an effect to reform teacher training at the end of the 1950s, the training system which was still in place was at best characterised by valuable expressions of nationalism, public pride and enthusiasm instead of any real indicator of educational quality.

The transformation of the teacher training system is a case which can be taken as a mirror in which to see the process of State formation in twentieth-century Indonesia. Keeping pace with overall changes in regimes from 1893 to 1969, characteristically the policy on education and teacher training was the vehicle of the ideological line of the governing polity. Just as anywhere else, the process of regime transition in Indonesia revealed the politics of elimination with a startling lack of understanding of historical experience. This confirms the theory that, by design, school education is a persistent arena of power contestation. More often than not, the making of educational policy was directed by political domination rather than by pedagogical thoughts. ***AS

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Eighteen alumni of the Ungaran SG-B for Girls, Yogyakarta, Ungaran, Semarang, and Gunung Pati, Central Java in December 2006

Email and telephone communications

Bambang Purwanto, professor on Indonesian economic history, Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta, 15 December 2010 at 16.14 GMT+7

Judy Madnick, administrator of All-Alumni Newsletter and websites of the Milne School, Albany, New York, 20-21 January 2010 at 3.32 pm, 5.02 pm, and 11.55 am CET

Geoffrey P. Williams, University Archivist/Campus Records Officer, State University of New York at Albany, 20-21 January 2010 at 3.32 pm, 5.02 pm, and 11.55 am CET

Robert Murray Thomas, 18 November 2010 at 12.27 CET

Sardjijo Mintardjo, 17 November 2010 at 12.30 CET

Thomas Lindblad, economic historian, Leiden University, 29 June 2010

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Curriculum Vitae

Agus Suwignyo earned a Bachelor of Education degree from Sanata Dharma University Yogyakarta, Indonesia in 1997 and a Master of Arts in Educational Science from The University of Amsterdam in 2001; taught at his *Alma Mater* and at Pelita Harapan University in Jakarta; is currently a staff member of the History Department, Gadjah Mada University Yogyakarta.

A three-time recipient of Education Article Award from the Indonesian Minister of Education (2004, 2005, 2009); the 2010 Indonesian Fellow of the United States-Indonesia Society (USINDO) in Washington DC.

His publications (2004-2012) include forty-three opinion articles in Indonesian *Daily Kompas* and eight chapters in books/journals – mostly written in Indonesian and nearly all about Indonesian education.

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- Some of the former students of HIK Jogja during a reunion in 2005; private collection of Umar Said Noor, Jakarta
- The former building of the *Kweekschool voor Inlands Onderwijzers in Ungaran*, Central Java; my photograph of 27 January 2007

