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Historical studies

In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 144 (1988), no: 2/3, Leiden, 215-229

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HISTORICAL STUDIES

INTRODUCTION

Historical studies by Japanese authors may be classified in two ways: firstly, chronologically in order of publication date; secondly, according to research topic. Broadly speaking, Japanese publications on Indonesian history fall into two periods – those of before 1945, and those after 1945. But it should be noted that the period after 1900 was hardly ever studied before the end of World War II. Therefore, I will concentrate more on the research topic and period here, rather than arranging the discussion according to date of publication, which would not be a very fruitful way of proceeding in this case. Each research period will be placed under its own heading.

1. Following in the Steps of an Age-Old Tradition: From the Beginning to the 16th Century

The use of Chinese source materials for historical studies of Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries was a long established tradition in Japanese scholarship until well after World War II. As early as 1896, Junjiro TAKAKUSU annotated and translated I-Tsing's account of his 7th-century voyage to the Malay Archipelago and India. Endowed with a good knowledge of written Chinese, Japanese historians were fascinated by the problem of Chinese corruption of Indonesian toponyms. Rokuro KUWATA, for example, supported Georges Coedès' theory identifying as the site of the capital of Srivijaya the area around modern-day Palembang. A collection of articles written by him in the 1930s was re-edited and translated into English in 1972. Since his use of sources was mainly limited to Chinese texts, some major challenges to his theory, linking Srivijaya with Palembang, soon arose. Sumio FUKAMI, for example, in a summary of recent developments in researches on Srivijaya up to 1981, cast doubts on the established theory. Spurred on by the meagre results of the archaeological excavations carried out by Bennet Bronson around Palembang in 1974, and by Boechari's new interpretation of the Kĕdukan Bukit inscription of A.D.682, Fukami put forward his own theory that it was precisely in this year that the capital of Srivijaya was moved to Palembang from an unknown previous site. He tentatively

suggested that this site might have been located on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. This new capital based on the area around Palembang was, according to him, renamed Srivijaya. Before this move took place, he argued, the local kingdom of Mĕlayu was located on the exact site of present-day Palembang, and not in Jambi, as was originally proposed. Although he has yet to explain where the east coast Malay capital of Srivijaya was originally located, his suggestion concerning its site does make I-Tsing's somewhat complicated account of the archipelago as he knew it in the 7th century slightly easier to understand. Fukami put forward a strong argument that textual criticism of Chinese sources should go hand in hand with careful archaeological research – an observation to which few scholars would raise any objection. So far, however, his new theories concerning Srivijaya have attracted little attention in Japan.

Regarding the Hindu/Buddhist period in Java and the great temple monuments associated with it, some works already appeared in Japan before World War II. These were mostly written from a Buddhological perspective. After the War, the architectural aspects of Borobudur attracted the attention of the trained architect Daigoro CHIHARA. Not only did he write a large number of books and articles on the subject, but he also participated in the UNESCO-funded project for the restoration of the monument between 1973 and 1982 as a member of the Consultative Committee for the Safeguarding of Borobudur. Although his studies are strongest on the architectural and technological aspects of the monument, his work (especially his 1982 monograph) does reflect the growing interest in Southeast Asian monuments in Japan.

In the same vein, Yutaka IWAMOTO between 1981 and 1984 published a translation of almost all the available Sanskrit inscriptions in Java. Not only did he provide a Japanese translation, but he also discussed the interpretations of these inscriptions by Hendrik Kern, J. Ph. Vogel, N. J. Krom, F. D. K. Bosch, Louis Damais, and so on. Although he himself contributed little that was original to the field of Old Javanese epigraphy, his excellent command of Sanskrit made a great impact on Japanese Indonesianists unfamiliar with the language. He vigorously attacked, among others, Kozo NAKADA's 1972 hypothesis that the name 'Ho-ling', which often appears in Chinese chronicles, is identifiable with the name of the Javanese north-coast port of Pĕkalongan – a thesis which depends on the stripping away of the prefix *'pĕ-'* and the suffix *'-an'* in Pĕkalongan. The inventory of Javanese inscriptions compiled by Nakada in 1982, too, became the object of Iwamoto's harsh criticism. Indeed, the controversy between Iwamoto and Nakada makes one realize just how difficult it is to study ancient Indonesian history without an adequate knowledge of Sanskrit.

As regards the somewhat later period of the Mongol attack on Java at the end of the 13th century, Tomosaburo NIWA wrote a detailed

work in 1953 on the relations between the Vijaya and Singasari dynasties. This work was based solely on Chinese sources. In 1969, the afore-mentioned Nakada wrote a short article comparing the Chinese sources used by Niwa with available Javanese chronicles such as the *Pararaton* and *Nagarakrtagama.*

2. **The Heritage of the Dutch: From the 17th to the Late 19th Centuries**

The Japanese have a fairly long tradition of study of the early Dutch commercial activities in the East Indies and the gradual establishment of the Dutch colonial power in the area. Although totally disconnected from the *rangaku,* or Dutch learning, which flourished in Japan during the 'closed country' period (i.e. from the 1630s to 1853), Japanese scholars have always been keen to acquire a knowledge of things western through the medium of the Dutch. Until the end of World War II, the only Japanese university which had a permanent professorship in *Nan'yoshi,* or Southeast Asian history, was Taihoku Imperial University (the present-day National Taiwan University) in Taipei. Seiichi IWAO occupied this chair for nearly two decades, from 1929 to December 1946, when he returned to Japan. In both Taipei and Tokyo, where he taught from 1948 to 1961, he gave regular courses in the history of the relations between pre-modern Japan and the West. One of his major academic assets was his reading knowledge of Dutch, which gave him access to 17th-century Dutch East India Company documents. He also gave instruction in the Dutch language to his students, which motivated them to research the same period. However, as a historian he was interested not so much in the history of Indonesia proper as in that of the Japanese and Chinese minorities who had made their home in the Archipelago in the 17th century. His former students in Taiwan continued this line of research when they came home to Japan after completing their courses. Shinjiro NAGAOKA, for example, wrote on various aspects of Javanese and Kalimantan history under the Dutch East India Company (VOC). Another, Norio TANAKA, introduced into Japan the Dutch historiographical focus on the system of forced deliveries of agricultural products in West Java in the late 17th century, a subject which had been studied in depth by Dutch scholars such as Frederik de Haan. Tanaka has always retained his interest in West Java, but has now concentrated his researches more on the modern period, often writing on the *ménak* or landed aristocracy of the Sunda region. Although his works were the fruits of diligent research, they were even so heavily influenced by the bias of Dutch writing on the subject.

Even after Japanese authors began to place more emphasis on the indigenous populations of Indonesia – a trend which developed strongly after the 1960s – they generally remained slow in conducting field work in either the Netherlands or Indonesia. Accordingly, their works were based on a rather limited range of sources, mainly Dutch-language,

which were made available to them through the ambitious microfilming and xeroxing projects of the prominent Japanese Institutions to which they were attached. Hiroyuki MORI, Yasuo UEMURA, and Yoshifusa NAITO all represented this trend amongst Japanese Indonesianists from the 1960s onwards. Thus, although they produced substantial works on land-ownership in Java in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the sources they used for these were almost exclusively Dutch – e.g. printed ones like Bergsma's *Eindresumé* and the multi-volume *Adatrechtbundels* series. From one point of view, the use of these Dutch materials and printed sources is perhaps understandable – the Japanese had so much to do just catching up with Dutch specialists on Indonesia in the post-War years, and needed to gain a firm grounding in the works of these Dutch scholars before being able to even think of surpassing them.

In the field of Sumatran history, Tsuneyuki SUZUKI has written a series of substantial articles on Aceh and the Lampong territories in the 17th century. Since he depended largely on Dutch sources, his main focus was on the relationship between these areas and the Dutch East India Company. However, he also managed to shed some light on the nature of Acehnese rule over its neighbouring states and on the importance of the nominal suzerainty of the Central Javanese kingdom of Mataram over the Lampong districts. In his most recent article (1986), he has investigated the way in which the trade monopoly system of the Dutch differed between the East and the West Coast of Sumatra. In the latter area (the West Coast), the Dutch interfered little with the internal affairs of the local kingdoms, but in the former, he argues, they were forced to concern themselves very directly with local society because of their need to supplant the Acehnese in the supremacy of the area.

It seems that young Japanese Indonesianists are being increasingly attracted to the study of Sumatran history in the period before the intensification of Dutch colonial rule in the late nineteenth century. Aceh and West Sumatra are the favourite study areas. Indeed, one can discern something of a development of a tradition of scholarly studies of these areas in Japan in recent decades. Tsuyoshi KATO, for example, in 1980 wrote an interesting article on a West Sumatran trader, a certain Mohammed Saleh of Pariaman. This man went on an extensive *rantau,* or trading journey, along the entire West Coast of Sumatra in the latter half of the 19th century. Kato makes a very effective use of Saleh's autobiography to depict the social conditions in West Sumatra during this period.

Takeshi ITO, another Sumatra specialist, completed his dissertation on a Sumatran topic at the Australian National University in 1984. The greatest merit of his work is that he not only consulted contemporary Dutch documents preserved in the State Archives in The Hague, but also analysed local chronicles, above all the *Adat Aceh* – a text which had not been used before for purposes of historical analysis. Through the use of these sources, he was able to shed new light on the political

structure, port administration, and religious institutions of the important Sumatran sultanate of Aceh. Although his work is rather voluminous, one hopes that its core will soon be published, because it contains so much vital new material.

3. **The Quest for Originality: The New Trend**

For Japanese Indonesianists, there were two ways of transcending the rather stagnant academic atmosphere of the 1950s – the first was by finding a field of study where Japanese source materials could add invaluable insights; the second was by dismissing, in a rather simple-minded fashion, all Dutch scholarship on Indonesia as 'colonial' and grafting an entirely new methodology on to the Dutch stump. As regards the former option, a new epoch was ushered in when Shigetada NISHIJIMA and Koichi KISHI instituted a joint research group to study the Japanese occupation of Indonesia and its aftermatch at the Okuma Institute of Social Sciences of Waseda University. After a few months of intensive study, this group in 1959 published a bulky volume entitled *Indoneshia ni okeru Nihon-gunsei no kenkyu* [Study of the Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia]. This study was the first of its kind ever produced in Japan. Indeed, Japanese Indonesianists old enough to have experienced the Pacific War personally felt psychologically inhibited from undertaking research on such a recent subject. The two compilers of the *Indoneshia ni okeru* study, Nishijima and Kishi, had both been in Indonesia for the duration of the war, and the task of researching the volume must have been not only exciting but also emotionally taxing for them. Nishijima, especially, who had been one of the few Japanese eye-witnesses of the formation of the Republic of Indonesia, had much to say about George Kahin's pioneering work, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia,* which appeared in 1952.

When Nishijima and Kishi's work was published, even non-Japanese specialists of the Japanese occupation evinced a keen interest in it, and within a few years two English versions appeared. Although the value of the work lay principally in its reproduction of Japanese primary sources, rather than in the quality of its historical analysis, its exhaustive use of Japanese documents provided a fresh impetus for a whole new generation of Japanese scholars of modern Indonesia. This generation, free of all personal involvement in the events of the occupation period, launched forth on its studies with a much more detached attitude.

As for the second option mentioned above (i.e., disregarding the heritage of Dutch scholarship on Indonesia), its advocates gave priority to the pursuit of individual research *in situ* (i.e., personal archive research or field work in Indonesia). The establishment of the Institute of Developing Economies in 1960, as we have already noted, opened a new era in this respect. Not only did quite a few of the younger scholars find temporary employment there, but they were also given an opportun-

ity to conduct research in developing countries, sometimes spending many years in the field. This direct approach to research seemed, on the face of it, an excellent way of overcoming the age-old weakness of Japanese scholarship on the region, provided by its 'armchair' approach to Southeast Asian studies. However, this was easier said than done. To start with, Western countries, including the Netherlands, had a far longer experience in the research field, and whatever topic a Japanese scholar might choose, he was bound to follow, to some extent, in the footsteps of Dutch or other Western predecessors. Furthermore, no matter how hard the Japanese scholar tried to adopt a pro-nationalist standpoint in order to distinguish himself or herself from previous 'colonial' scholars, his or her approach was often not original. The newly emerging nations of Southeast Asia during these decades were themselves also markedly anti-colonial in outlook, and their historians shared this standpoint in full measure. This was also the case with the post-War generation of American scholars, many of whom, like Kahin, were sympathetic to the cause of these new nations. Thus, despite the attempts at originality and uniqueness on the part of these Japanese scholars, one might say that they tried to escape the influence of one model, only to fall under the sway of another.

With the burgeoning interest in Southeast Asian affairs at American universities from the mid-1950s, these began to attract an increasing number of foreign Indonesianists from various disciplines, especially history, anthropology, political science, economics, linguistics and international relations. Cornell, Yale, Michigan and Berkeley were the American institutions which attracted the largest number of Japanese Indonesianists, 'Area Studies' being a favourite catchword with them.

Since the term 'history' tended to be interpreted more widely and flexibly in the United States than in Japan, many Japanese Indonesianists who went to study in the former country chose it as their major subject in preference to the subjects which they had previously studied in Japan. The choice of an aspect of the very recent past as a thesis topic, and the interview-based research method, had a great impact on those who had been trained solely in archival research. The flexibility of the curricula at the American Universities to which they were attached was both an asset and a liability for them. The teaching staffs at these universities consisted of individuals of various nationalities and educational backgrounds, and this permitted the development of creative lines of enquiry through the confrontation of different intellectual traditions. The main drawback was that this enthusiasm and interest in things Southeast Asian in the United States was often rather 'short-lived'. The result was that research interest in the area declined quite rapidly when practical circumstances changed, as was the case after the end of the Vietnam War in the mid-1970s. However that may be, the impact of American scholarship in Indonesian studies, especially that at Cornell, on young

Japanese scholars was not only great but also enduring, as will become clear below. For convenience sake, I shall divide the period of Japanese studies on modern Indonesia into two parts: firstly, the late colonial period (1870-1941); secondly, the period of World War II and its immediate aftermath.

A. The Late Colonial Period, 1870-1941

When the present author (Akira Nagazumi) entered the Cornell University graduate school in 1961, his American colleagues as well as Faculty members took it for granted that a PhD candidate would go to the Southeast Asian country of his thesis topic choice in order to get the feel of the area. His plan for limiting his field work to the Netherlands in the years 1964-66 thus looked somewhat old-fashioned. Given Indonesian social and political conditions at the time, however, this was not such a bad choice. Besides, as far as the Dutch colonial period was concerned, it was simply impossible for any researcher to ignore the Dutch documents. With a slow but steady revival of Dutch interest in Indonesian studies in Holland in the mid-1960s, the secret documents of the former Ministry of the Colonies were gradually declassified. At the same time, an ambitious project for editing and publishing Dutch sources for Indonesian history was launched under the sponsorship of the University of Utrecht.

The present author's 1967 Cornell thesis and its revised version, published in 1972, dealt with the first ten years of the Budi Utomo, one of the earliest Javanese cultural organizations, formed for the enlightenment and moral uplifting of the people. This thesis, and those of others of the same generation, encouraged a whole new generation of Japanese Indonesianists to undertake similar research. Although the present author's fond comparison of the late 19th- and early 20th-century Javanese lower *priyayi* (government servants) with the lower warrior class *(samurai)* of Japan of several decades earlier turned out to be rather too far-fetched, his work did serve as an exemplar for a handful of other young Japanese scholars who were attracted to the study of the 'Ethical' Period in Indonesia in the first quarter of the 20th century.

Kenji TSUCHIYA has been pursuing this line of research ever since the early 1970s. Greatly influenced by Benedict Anderson's analysis of *kasĕktèn,* or power, in Java, he emphasized the importance of *wicaksana* (spiritual wisdom) in the anti-colonial struggle conducted by Javanese intellectuals of the period. He evinced a particular interest in the ideas of Suwardi Suryaningrat (after 1919 Ki Hajar Dewantara), who founded the Taman Siswa School System in 1922. Tsuchiya found Dewantara's educational ideas the most interesting part of his philosophy, stressing as they did the traditional role of Javanese religious teachers and their pupils. In his view, an alternative educational establishment should be created to counterbalance the overwhelmingly rational and scientific emphasis of the Dutch-dominated colonial education system. His monu-

mental work, published in 1981, is a testimonial to his research accomplishments in the previous decade, and won him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Tokyo. An especially interesting part of his work is his description of Dewantara's challenge to the Dutch colonial order over the issue of control of the so-called *wilde scholen,* or unauthorized, Indonesian-run private schools, a confrontation from which Dewantara emerged victorious through his rejection of Governor-General de Jong's 1932 decree and the latter's climb-down. Unfortunately, the only one of Tsuchiya's works so far available in English is his 1975 article, which appeared in the *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies.* However, the present author learnt some years ago that his 1981 monograph was in the process of being translated into Indonesian, a development which will at last make it more widely accessible there.

Takashi SHIRAISHI evinced a similar interest in Javanese political developments in the period of the early 20th century, concentrating particularly on the Central Javanese principalities. Combined with his earlier interest in other Southeast Asian subjects, he gradually developed an interest in indigenous Javanese society *per se.* In his 1986 Cornell doctoral thesis he dealt with the issue of Islam and Communism in Java between 1912-1926; this thesis is soon to appear as a Cornell University monograph. So far he has published the introduction and one chapter of his thesis in Japanese, in two collections of essays which have appeared recently in Japan. On the basis of these articles it would appear that he has chosen quite an original and perceptive approach to the Indonesian *pergerakan,* or Movement for National Self-Awareness, in the first quarter of the 20th century. He lays more emphasis on the study of the way in which Indonesian political leaders mobilized the people than on the often rather sterile analysis of the Communist and Islamic ideologies. He also argues convincingly that previous historians specialized in Indonesian nationalism have tended to overemphasize the influence of these ideologies from the vantage point of post-War independence in Indonesia, rather than paying attention to their impact on the contemporary Indonesian population. Shiraishi gives a demonstration of his method in his 1982 Japanese-language article, where he describes how and why a local chapter of the radically anti-colonial Insulinde party deviated from the line of the less successful central body led by the veteran Javanese politician, Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, and achieved phenomenal success through the adaptation of traditional negotiation procedures with the Dutch colonial government. Shiraishi's approach is likely to shed new light on Indonesian movements in general during this crucial period.

Sumio Fukami, whom I already mentioned above, between 1975 and 1979 published a series of articles on the evolution of the Sarekat Islam movement up to 1916. The last two of these articles are particularly useful because they are based on personal archive research in the Nether-

lands, and provide a detailed list of local leaders and their political activities. Although his articles are the fruit of careful research and study of the available colonial documents, he still owes his readers an integral study of Sarekat Islam such as Pieter Korver has recently attempted. Fukami also published in 1980 a short article on the Djowo Dipo movement, which flourished briefly from 1917-23 and was dedicated to the abolition of *kromo,* or the higher social speech level in Javanese. Here he argues that, since Djowo Dipo and Sarekat Islam shared the same leadership, the decline of the two organizations went hand in hand with each other when the Dutch colonial government started suppressing the latter one in 1919. As was mentioned earlier, Fukami abandoned his studies of modern Indonesian history after this article, focusing his interest instead on the rise of 8th-century Srivijaya.

It is interesting to note that both Tsuchiya and Shiraishi were attracted by the Samin movement – apparently devoid of Islamic influence – amongst the peasantry of North Central Java. Under the stimulus of The Siauw Giap, Harry J. Benda and Lance Castles, they wrote articles, in 1971 and 1979 respectively, analysing the Hindu-Javanese character of Samin thinking. Mitsuo NAKAMURA, by contrast, has strongly challenged the idea that Islam in Java has been deformed and syncretized by its contact with local beliefs. His 1976 Cornell thesis was revised and published in both English and Indonesian under the title *The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree* by Gadjah Mada University Press in 1983. This work is based primarily on a nineteen-month field-work period in Kota Gedé, a long-established royal capital-cum-market town near Yogyakarta in Central Java. Four of the seven chapters of this work are devoted to the history of the Islamization of Java and the response to this process by traditional society, and to the history of the Muhammadiyah Movement from its foundation in 1912 to the end of World War II. Although this falls within the period of my interest, I prefer to leave a full discussion of this work to an anthropologist, because Nakamura's analysis does not always proceed strictly within a chronological framework. Many of his descriptions have the ring of originality, but I am somewhat hesitant about the application of his 're-Islamization' concept in Java outside the narrow boundaries of Kota Gedé.

In the field of economic history, Hiroyoshi KANO has been very productive over the past few years. In a careful re-evaluation of the debate between J. H. Boeke and D. H. Burger on the 'dual economy' idea in the 1920s, he points out that the historical economic tradition has been all but neglected in recent Indonesian studies. In the same vein, he has effectively criticized Clifford Geertz's theories of 'agricultural involution' and 'shared poverty', stating that Geertz has simply advanced impressionistic theories based on a completely inadequate structural analysis of the Javanese village economy as a whole. Kano's historical analysis of the Javanese village community during the Great

Depression of the 1930s is well worth reading. At the same time, his recent Japanese-language article on the Javanese sugar industry in the 1920s deserves translation into English in the light of Bob Elson's recent work on the subject.

Tsuchiya, in his two recent publications, seems to have returned in terms of research topic to the questions of clichés and stereotypes in the literature and fine arts of what he has aptly termed the 'mestizo culture' of *'tempo doeloe'* or the 'good old days' in the Indies. His masterful survey covers subjects ranging from Kartini's writings and drawings to popular *kroncong* melodies, and he concludes about the latter that they were 'naturalized' into Javanese (or Indonesian) culture in the course of these decades. His approach can be characterized as a sensible critique of Indonesian culture in the colonial period. It should be mentioned that one of the said two articles was translated into English in 1986. The present author has recently been concentrating his attention on the formation of an 'Indonesian' nationalist consciousness, a consciousness which transcended ethnic and religious loyalties. During his research on this subject, he believes he has come across the earliest use of the name 'Indonesia' in the history of the modern Indonesian nationalist movement – namely at an official meeting organized in The Hague in 1917 by the Indische Vereniging, the Indonesian student organization in the Netherlands. The term soon caught on, but there appears to have been a different interpretation of it amongst the various major ethnic groups. Both the Dutch and the Chinese regarded 'Indonesia' as a toponym which could stress the cooperation of all those residing in the Netherlands Indies, regardless of ethnic origin. The native population, however, stuck to a much narrower interpretation of the name, taking 'Indonesians' to refer only to the original residents of the archipelago (i.e., not to immigrants like the Chinese, or to foreign merchants and administrators like the Dutch). This narrower interpretation of the concept 'Indonesian' was to culminate in the Youth's Oath (Sumpah Pemuda) of 1928, which stressed the three bases of Indonesian nationalism – the land Indonesia, the people of Indonesia, and the Indonesian language.

Turning to the areas outside Java, we should note that Akira OKI has recently published a Japanese version of his 1977 thesis which won him a doctorate at the Australian National University. Although Dr. Oki will himself be discussing his work in the section on economics below, I should like to point out here that he has presented a most important critique of Clifford Geertz's theory of 'agricultural involution', which, he argues, cannot, under any circumstances, be applied to West Sumatra, and which even raises problems in the Javanese context. To readers who have grown accustomed to the picture of the Minangkabau of the Highlands of West Sumatra as forming a typically matrilineal society, Oki's focus on the dynamics of economic exploitation in that society affords fresh insights.

In conclusion, it can be said that recent Japanese scholarship concentrated on the modern period in Indonesia has been particularly fruitful as regards research on the 'Ethical' Period (i.e., 1900 to the early 1920s), and it is likely that this trend will continue.

B. Word War II

The Japanese southward thrust prior to the outbreak of the Pacific War has been neatly summarized by Ken'ichi GOTO in a recently published work, *Showa-ki Nihon to Indoneshia* [Japan in the Showa Era and Indonesia]. Ten years earlier, in 1976, the author also published an extremely well-researched short biography of Tatsuo Ichiki, a Japanese resident in Indonesia who sided with the Indonesians at the time of their struggle for independence after World War II. This biography also highlights the dilemma of many other Japanese in this period who later took out Indonesian citizenship. On a more general level, Ato MASUDA wrote a history of contemporary Indonesia, which was published in 1971 and has been much used for teaching purposes. Indeed, general Japanese-language histories of this period in Indonesia are so numerous that it is impossible to discuss them all here.

With regard to Japanese economic policy in the Southeast Asian region during the period of the Japanese occupation, Teruhiko IWATAKE completed a painstaking study in 1981. Although his work deals mainly with Malaya, Sumatra and Java, he did try also to discuss Japanese wartime economic policy on a more general level, focusing on the ruthless exploitation of natural resources by the Japanese military and the exclusive export of these to Japan. This policy, he argues, in no way resulted in the 'Co-Prosperity Sphere' that was so much trumpeted by the Japanese wartime propaganda, but led much sooner to a 'Co-Poverty or Co-Suffering Sphere'. As for the formation of the PETA, or National Defence Force, and the February 1945 Blitar Mutiny, Aiko KURASAWA has written a series of detailed articles, none of which have, unfortunately, been translated into English.

As this is also a period which Japanese still alive today can recall, many people have been keen to write their memoirs. As of June 1986, there were no fewer than 236 'Friendship Organizations' scattered throughout Japan for Japanese, both military and civilian, who had been somewhere in Indonesia during World War II. These organizations may be classified according to the social groups to which the participants belong, the places at which they stayed, or the experiences which they shared. Although some of these groups have contacts with local Indonesians, most of them have been founded solely to provide a focus for an annual gathering of the Japanese members themselves. At the request of Dra. Soemartini, current Director of the Arsip Nasional, in November 1985, the present author consulted with the Toyota Foundation and secured an agreement for Japanese cooperation with the Arsip's Oral History Project. Kurasawa attended the Oral History Workshop held

in Jakarta from 24-26 February 1986, where the Indonesian participants put the following requests to their Japanese counterparts:

1. To conduct interviews with all Japanese, regardless of their occupation, who were actively engaged in the Japanese military administration of Indonesia, and to have these interviews recorded, the emphasis here being on Japanese currently residing in the home islands. As for the so-called 'Japindo' (i.e., Japanese siding with the Indonesians during the Revolution who later took out Indonesian citizenship or married Indonesians), the Indonesian side undertook to conduct interviews with these individuals in Indonesian. It was agreed that duplicates of the tapes made in Japan should be presented to the Arsip.
2. To transcribe the recorded interviews from the tapes as quickly as possible, depending on the availability of skilled scribes and finance. Priority, however, should be given to point 1. above.
3. To translate these transcriptions into Indonesian, a task which would have to await the successful completion of the projects of points 1. and 2. above.

With the generous aid of the Toyota Foundation, an Indonesian Oral History Project team was formed in April 1986, with a membership of 14, half Japanese and half Indonesian. It was agreed at the same time to hold meetings every two months, with a speaker being invited from among those, both Japanese and Indonesians, who had been engaged in the military administration of Indonesia. Moreover, inventories of previous interviews and lists of first-hand materials and of the membership and activities of the various Friendship Organizations in Japan are to be compiled. Although the funds for the project will be reviewed on an annual basis, it is hoped that the project will continue for at least three years, until March 1989. The address of its secretariat is: C/o Mr. Kunio IGUSA, Economic Development Research Unit, Institute of Developing Economies, 42 Ichigaya-Honmura-cho, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo, 162 Japan.

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