

An Early Account of the Independence Movement

In October 1921 Semaun, chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, left his homeland and travelled to China, then northwest to the Siberian center of Irkutsk. There he attended, in November, the opening session of a Comintern-sponsored gathering usually referred to as the First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East. That meeting, though it had originally been designed as a demonstration against the Great Powers in the Pacific, saw the eruption of a long-seething controversy as to whether Communism in the "colonial and semicolonial" countries should concentrate solely on the working class movement or whether they should embrace the bourgeois nationalist forces in close alliance. The course of battle brought the congress from Irkutsk to Moscow, where it re-opened in January 1922; there it witnessed a major tug-of-war between the Bolshevik right and left, the latter headed by Comintern chairman Zinoviev and the former triumphant only, so it is said, through the personal intervention of Lenin.(1)

Semaun's contributions to this struggle were at best fortuitous, as no one at the congress spoke Indonesian or Dutch, and he only began to learn an international tongue--English--after his arrival in Irkutsk. Nonetheless, and in spite of his youth (he was then about 22), Semaun was made a member of the congress' presidium and of a special committee to discuss the labor movement in the East; he also seems to have been one of a small group of Asian Communist delegates granted an opportunity to talk with the ailing Lenin, who singled him out as the representative of the most distant party. The Comintern leaders were pleased not only to receive the emissary of a far affiliate but also to obtain information on a revolutionary movement about which they had hitherto been ignorant:

If we had received at least occasional reports on the revolutionary struggle in Japan, China, and Korea, indefinite as they may have been, we knew absolutely nothing about the Dutch East Indies. . . . The sole representative of the Dutch East Indies at the Congress of the Revolutionary Organizations of the Far East, Comrade Semaun, who reached Moscow only after overcoming great difficulties, gives in his comprehensive article extremely valuable and interesting material on the life of the toilers in the

(1) For a discussion of the ideological background of the congress and references to other sources, see McVey, The Rise of Indonesian Communism (Ithaca, 1965), pp. 127-133. For a discussion of the relation between the Chinese and Indonesian bloc within strategies, mentioned below, see Ibid., pp. 76-83.

Dutch East Indies and on their struggle for liberation from the yoke of capitalism and imperialism.(2)

Semaun's report described a minute and struggling Communist party--its 1921 membership counted a little over two hundred souls--which acted within a larger but poorly articulated and quarrel-ridden national movement. The activities of the PKI were impressive, however, when balanced against those of any other Communist movement outside Europe: a measure not simply of the feebleness of non-European Communism in that day but of the considerable influence which the PKI had accumulated beyond the limits of the party itself. The development of proletarian activity seemed particularly impressive, for labor organizations and strikes had flourished in the Indies in the wake of World War I, and of the two Indonesian labor federations one was under Communist control. Of more enduring significance, however, were the PKI's achievements in the political movement, where the practice of multiple party membership had allowed it to act as a highly effective bloc within the Sarekat Islam and to gain influence over much of that movement's following. This relationship sufficiently impressed the Comintern for it to be recommended later to the Chinese Communists as the basis for their evolving alliance with Sun Yat-sen's Kuomintang, which was pictured as a bloc of four classes in which the CCP represented the proletariat.

The following is a translation of Semaun's report, which was published in the Russian-language account of the congress' proceedings, Pervyi s"ezd revoliutsionnykh organizatsii Dal'nego

(2) Ch. E. [Eiduss], "Der erste Kongress der revolutionären Organisation des Fernen Ostens," Die Rote Gewerkschafts-Internationale, no. 9, September 1922, p. 603. Emphasis in the text. Actually, the International had not been as completely in the dark about the Indonesian movement as Eiduss' remarks imply: Sneevliet, the Dutch founder of the organization that became the PKI, attended the second (1920) Comintern congress and provided a brief account of the party and its environment: see H. Maring [Sneevliet], "Niederländisch-Ost-Indien. Bericht für den zweiten Kongress der Kommunistischen Internationale," in Berichte zum zweiten Kongress der Kommunistischen Internationale (Hamburg, 1921); and Ch. Maring, "Le mouvement révolutionnaire aux Indes Néerlandaises," in Le Mouvement communiste internationale (Petrograd, 1921). Darsono was the first Indonesian Communist to attend an international meeting, participating in the third Comintern congress in November 1921; but he seems to have contributed no report. The International still felt sufficiently ignorant of Indonesian affairs that when in November 1922 Tan Malaka visited Moscow as delegate to the fourth Comintern congress, he was put to writing a book for it on "Indonesia and its Place in the Awakening East"--Indoneziia i ee mesto na probuzhdaemsa Vostoke (Moscow, 1924 and 1925).

Vostoka (Moscow/Petrograd, 1922) under the title "Indiiskoe dvizhenie v Niderlandskoi Indii." It was thought such a translation might be useful because Russian is not normally a language commanded by Indonesia specialists and because very few copies still exist of the volume in which the report is contained.(3)

In addition to forming a basis for initial Comintern estimates of the colonial situation, Semaun's account constitutes one of the earliest Indonesian attempts at a history of the national movement, and the first designed for an audience beyond Indonesia and the Netherlands.(4) It is also more than a historical curiosity, as it provides information on some aspects of the movement which have not usually been considered and gives data on organizational membership and publications which are

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- (3) The copy I have used is in the collection of the Hoover Memorial Library at Stanford University. So far as I know this is the only one existing outside the USSR. The article can be photocopied, and runs from pp. 254-289 in the volume.
- (4) The early date of the report is responsible for a difficulty in translation, due to the fact that "Indonesian" was not yet a word in common usage for the indigenous population of the archipelago. In 1921 it was just beginning to gain currency in intellectual circles; it seems likely Semaun did not use it here--the Russian word employed is Indiiskii, which translates literally as Indies or Indian, and in referring to Bahasa Indonesia the term malaiskii iazyk, Malay, is used. I have substituted "Indonesian," however, as the literal alternatives are confusing or gramatically awkward. I have generally used the literal translation "natives" for tuzemtsy, though, in order to give a sense of time past and a very different psychological and political world. I should point out that Semaun's account appears to have been translated from Indonesian or Dutch into German and then to Russian; moreover, at least one version must have been handwritten, for only this would account for some of the extremely odd spellings of proper names (which I have corrected insofar as possible). It is probably difficulty or carelessness in copying that accounts for some of the mistakes in dates and places which it is hard to imagine Semaun making himself--for example, the founding year of his own party!--though like many other Indonesian political writers of the period he had no particular concern for rendering time accurately. I have left such inaccuracies as is, with corrections in brackets.

otherwise to be obtained with difficulty if at all.(5) Most important, however, it presents the national movement as it was seen by one of its leaders at a critical point in the history of the independence movement.

Semaun wrote at a time which marked the end of the national movement's early, explosive expansion, which had occurred under the pressures of encroaching modernization and war-born strain, and the beginning of a decline brought about by government repression, internal schism, and popular loss of faith. He illustrates the turning-point character of the period graphically in devoting his discussion for the most part to the situation as it was until 1920, when a tide of labor and rural unrest combined with a still uncertain government response to produce a situation that, in spite of increasing dangers and discouragements, still contained excitement and some cause for hope. The concluding portion, however, is written from the perspective of the movement after mid-1920, when the disastrous failure of an ill-advised sugar strike marked the end of its radical upsurge; the section is composed in a minor key and ends on a note of distant though still cherished hope.

A good part of Semaun's analysis of the Indonesian situation (beyond the Marxist framework itself) is modern, interpreting the times in terms commonplace today but quite unusual for the Indies of the early 'twenties. At the same time, however, it reflects a profound reaction against the alien and untraditional, conjuring up the vision of a pre-colonial "primitive communism" and speaking of the regents as defenders of the common folk against intrusion from outside. This Janus attitude, both past and future oriented, was expressed quite explicitly by Indonesian Communism in the 1920s, and was to become a major implicit factor in the popularity which Communism would achieve in abangan Java after independence.

Semaun wrote his report at a juncture critical in a very specific sense for the national movement. A few weeks before he departed for Irkutsk, he had been defeated in an attempt to preserve such unity as the Indonesian movement possessed by preventing the expulsion of the Communists from the Sarekat Islam's central board. The division of the mass movement into Red and White began, the former group assuming a radical revolutionary stand that led to sectarian intransigence and the latter adopting a religious orientation that ended in political quietism. Needless

(5) Statistics given in the Appendix for members of political parties are those claimed by the organizations concerned and thus need not represent the actual following of the group at that time; this is particularly true of the Sarekat Islam figures. The labor union figures are, as Semaun remarks, only estimates; however, insofar as they can be checked against actual figures or estimates from other sources they are quite good approximations.

to say, the schism was accompanied by considerable embitterment, which is evident, in spite of Semaun's promised effort at objectivity, in his description of the "White" SI leadership and especially his archrival Tjokroaminoto.

It is one of history's minor ironies that the meeting to which Semaun delivered his report marked an important step towards the adoption for China of the very relationship whose collapse in Indonesia he was describing. For the colonial PKI the schism, involving popularity and not physical power, resulted in a dubious victory for the Communists, who emerged from the fray with most of what remained of the mass movement's popular support. For the Chinese Communists, possessing influence but not military power within the Kuomintang, the outcome was that which would befall the PKI itself four decades later: when arms were brought to bear, neither the bloc of four classes nor the bloc of three aliran provided sanctuary, and the Communist movement was drowned, for the while, in blood.

R. T. McVey

The Indonesian Movement in the Netherlands Indies

Report by Comrade Semaon

Foreword

The statistics I have provided here are of necessity only approximations; however, it can be said they are quite close to the actual facts. Official data do not exist in the Netherlands Indies, and our movement in that country is still too poorly developed to compile figures of its own; moreover, the illiteracy of the masses and hence of the majority of party members presents a serious drawback. In the present work I cannot always refer exactly to the sources which I have used, as I do not have them here at hand.

The main purpose of my report is to give an objective description of the present situation in the Netherlands Indies; it seemed to me a presentation of my purely subjective viewpoint would not be appropriate, because representatives of the other parties of my country are not present at our congress.

I allow myself to hope that my report will enable the reader to get a clear idea of the situation in the Netherlands Indies.

Factors Affecting the Rise of the Movement

The beginning of the indigenous movement in the Netherlands Indies dates from 1908; a powerful upsurge of European imperialism had revolutionized the masses. The development of capitalism in Europe, overproduction, and a surplus of goods caused the

capitalists to seek salvation in the colonies. The Netherlands Indies had been conquered three hundred years before, and since that time had suffered under the yoke of European rule; but the consequences of an imperialist policy only made themselves felt since 1900, that is, since the time the country was opened to international capital.

The penetration of international capital fundamentally altered the economic and political situation of the Netherlands Indies. Until 1900, a complete outward peace had reigned in the country under a feudal system, since its conquest by the Dutch. The peasantry comprised about 95% of the population; the Netherlands Indies was and to a significant degree still is a country of primitive communism. The land belonged to the community, which at an assembly apportioned it among its members for a set length of time, at the end of which period it was redistributed. Local civil authority rested with an elder elected at the assembly, who was aided by a committee of older peasants. The "open rural assembly" represented in its way a primitive soviet and embodied the highest administrative and legislative power of the village. At the same time other district administrative institutions united these centers of authority under a powerful landowner of the region, who bore responsibility for them to the Dutch.

These native landowners, although they outwardly maintained friendly relations with the Dutch conquerors, were nonetheless extremely unfavorably inclined toward the foreign-run government and made every attempt to sabotage its measures, fighting against foreign influence and acting, where possible, on behalf of the native rural population. The latter, too, constantly placed obstacles in the way of local [Dutch] administration. In this fashion comparative quiet reigned over the whole Netherlands Indies, with the exception of the province of Atjeh on the island of Sumatra, where for a long time a partisan war had been going on between the native population and the conquerors. From time to time there were disturbances, but none of this was of great significance.

The year 1900 saw great changes: the growth of capitalism had brought the exploitation of the natives, and with this their proletarianization. The capitalists, in order to acquire a staff of clerical workers and petty officials, opened the opportunity for education to the natives. The government began to implement the so-called "Ethical Policy," by which, under the guise of raising the natives' standard of living, the authorities pursued the essentially quite different goal of acquiring from among the natives cadres of lesser functionaries for the foreign exploiters.

This Ethical Policy was at the same time historically necessary in view of the new aspirations of the indigenous upper classes, whose ideals reflected those being brought into

fruition in Japan. The government, we must remember, was strongly dependent on friendly support from the side of these strata. Japan's victory in 1905 gave new strength to the ambitions of the native upper classes, among which they crystallized into a nationalist mood.

This was the beginning of the revolutionary nationalist movement in the Netherlands Indies.

The Political Movement "Budi Utomo"

The first organization of nationalists emerged about 1908 under the name Budi Utomo, which means "Noble Aspiration." This movement was limited solely to the island of Java; it set as its task the spreading of education and general culture in the country. The movement did not [at the beginning] pursue political aims; natives were at that time forbidden to apply themselves to political problems.

Budi Utomo and the government's Ethical Policy promoted the growth of an intelligentsia. This class of intellectuals became, as it were, the spinal column of Javanese nationalism, and Budi Utomo gradually evolved into a political organization. The nationalists from the Budi Utomo have been more inclined to be favorable than not towards the government: In essence theirs has been a completely peaceable organization, striving only to achieve various concessions by means of sending deputations [to the authorities] and making use of their connections. However, with the spread of education and pauperization in the country there has developed a revolutionary nationalist group whose demands have been unacceptable to Budi Utomo. Dwidjo Sewojo has been the driving spirit of the Budi Utomo movement.

The National Indies Party, or Sarekat Hindia

In the Netherlands Indies there exists a class of people belonging neither to the European nor to the indigenous population groups, the so-called Eurasians. For the most part these people are descended from European fathers and Indonesian mothers. They form the middle class of the population, are usually better educated than the natives, and in general monopolize the better paid positions in government and private concerns. The activity of Budi Utomo and the Ethical Policy of raising the educational level of the native intelligentsia made that group a competitor of this middle class, which organized for the defense of its class interests.

The majority of the Eurasians rejected their ties of relationship with the Indonesian people and, taking the side of the government and the ruling foreigners, formed an extremely reactionary movement. A second group, now the minority but in 1912 still composing the majority, called themselves "children

of the country" and formed a revolutionary party which became known as the Indies Party [Indische Partij].

The program of this second group included the liberation of the Indies from Dutch rule and the formation of an indigenous government consisting of Eurasians and natives, a national government. At the head of this movement stood Douwes Dekker; many Javanese nationalists, such as Tjipto Mangunkusumo, Suwardi Surjaningrat, and others were drawn into it.

The government quickly became convinced that a serious threat was posed by this steadily expanding movement, and in suppressing it in 1913 exiled from the country the three above-named leaders. Persecution was not limited to this, and in order to protect itself from further reprisal the organization elected to change its name to Insulinde (Indies Archipelago). At the same time the entire organization transformed the general character of its leadership.

At present the members of Insulinde are recruited mostly from among the intelligentsia and the petty bourgeoisie. The majority of them occupy lower positions in the government bureaucracy or in private firms. There is no difference of principle between the programs of Insulinde and Budi Utomo, save for the fact that the latter is a purely Javanese organization while Insulinde consists of a mixture of Eurasians, Dutchmen, and Indonesians, under the leadership of the first.

In 1919, after the exiled leaders were again allowed to return to the island of Java, they influenced Insulinde to change its name again; it became the National Indies Party [Nationaal Indische Partij] or Sarekat Hindia, and grew more radical. In 1919-1920, however, this radicalism resulted in Douwes Dekker being sentenced to a year of forced labor, Suwardi Surjaningrat to three months, and Tjipto Mangunkusumo being banished from Central Java.

The Sarekat Islam or Peoples Party of the Netherlands Indies(6)

In 1912, concurrently with the foundation of the Indies Party, there arose on Java another nationalist organization, the

(6) The use of the term People's Party of the Netherlands Indies (Narodnaia partiia Niderlandskoi Indii) is rather a mystery, though it appears from a reference later on that Semaun meant it as an alternative title and not just a reference to the SI's mass character. National Indies Party advocates at the 1919 Sarekat Islam congress had urged the organization to drop its confessional label in favor of Sarekat India, to which the Communists responded with the not very serious counter-proposal that it become Sarekat Internasional. In November 1921, at a meeting to discuss strategy following the expulsion of the Communists from the Central Sarekat Islam, the Bandung PKI leader Gunawan suggested the Sarekat Rakjat instead of Sarekat Islam for the Red SI branches. However, the Red locals were united instead under the name Persatuan Sarekat Islam, and it was not until 1923 that the term Sarekat Rakjat was put forward again.

Sarekat Islam or Peoples Party of the Netherlands Indies. At the time that foreign capitalism rooted itself in the Netherlands Indies the middle and petty trading and manufacturing bourgeoisie consisted primarily of Chinese, many of whom acquired millions. A large part of the commercial establishments, shops, and stores in the Netherlands Indies were in fact, if not necessarily directly, under Chinese control. Besides the Chinese, part of the middle class consists in some places of "hadjis"--people who have been to Arabia; the local petty bourgeoisie thus consists either of hadjis or of immigrant Chinese.

The Sarekat Islam was founded by such hadjis, among whom Hadji Samanhudi is considered the real founder of the party and the first who carried on serious propaganda for its ideas. At the outset the movement called itself Sarekat Dagang Islam, that is Union of Islamic Merchants. However, after a year the name of the organization was changed. In the beginning the association was a closed one and demanded an oath of secrecy of its members, but as the party's popularity grew it transformed itself into an open mass organization.

As the exploitation of the country by the capitalists steadily increased, it not only deprived the people of the means of subsistence but frequently drove them from land they had long inhabited. This difficult situation led the masses to unite under the banner of the Sarekat Islam. As we have already mentioned, the Sarekat Islam was an organization of petty capitalists, and they hastened to make use of the situation and of the striving of the masses for unity. They put forth the slogan "Religion and Fatherland" and began to exploit the people in their private interest. It thus came about that the native propertied class, which hitherto had suffered from the oppression of the Chinese petty bourgeoisie, could itself profit from the new situation. In the course of the first year of its existence alone, 200,000 members entered the People's Party. Initially, the movement's leaders pursued the following line: protecting nationalist merchants, they encouraged the growth of national capital; in all cities and large centers of rural population, local organizations of the Sarekat Islam were opened and people's cooperative shops set up.

The Sarekat Islam's development went forward at a headlong pace. However, like the rank and file of the membership, the leaders were inexperienced, and this prevented the working out of a political program. Religious and nationalist propaganda quickly led to a sharp political struggle: in many places the Chinese merchants suffered severely from popular restiveness; public disturbances were in general of such proportions that even the Europeans and government officials were not infrequently subjected to attacks.

The government did not hesitate to take measures to suppress the movement, and set its armed forces to the task. A great

number of party members were killed in armed clashes, and still more were sentenced to prison and forced labor for periods of from one month to fifteen years. The repression reached even into the rural areas.

The founder of the Sarekat Islam, Hadji Samanhudi, proved incapable of leading the revolutionary masses. He was removed, and Tjokromidjojo came to head the organization. This "leader," the offspring of a landed family, turned out to be an adventurer, however. No better was Tjokroaminoto, a landlord-nationalist; such a person was not capable of providing proper leadership for a "bourgeois-nationalist" movement like the Sarekat Islam. Besides that, he was exceedingly inexperienced for someone who had to lead a movement as massive as the Sarekat Islam, although he was a splendid orator. The compromises made by such leaders in all their agreements with government officials and with proponents of the Ethical Policy have been the undoing of the Sarekat Islam.

The fate of the peoples' shops started by this organization has been no less sad. The establishments suffered from the fact that they sold wares to their members on credit, and often the debts were not repaid. On top of that, it was generally impossible to rely on the majority of the leaders, for their real aim was to become capitalists themselves. By the end of the 1914-1917 period, almost all--97%--of the trading establishments of the Sarekat Islam were closed.

In this manner the disintegration of the Sarekat Islam has become inevitable. Only in scattered places does the organization still show some signs of activity; of the SI enterprises, which had once numbered nearly 3000, there now remain only a few dozen, and even these have turned into purely capitalist undertakings.

The Persarikatan Kommunist India and Its Significance
in the Political Life of the Netherlands Indies(7)

Dutch socialists grew disturbed at the danger which they felt was presented to them by an Indonesian movement which did

- (7) This title, more usually given as Perserikatan Kommunist di India, was used by the PKI until its June 1924 congress, when it adopted the present Partai Komunis Indonesia. The use of perserikatan does not seem to have signified that the PKI did not consider itself a party, as the Dutch version of its name was Partij der Kommunisten in Indië. Probably partai, then still spelled in the Dutch fashion, was not considered an Indonesian word; it was only with the debate over party discipline that shook the national movement in the early 1920s that partai became an Indonesian word for a disciplined, structured political grouping.

not limit itself to the economic sphere but carried on a propaganda of hatred toward other nationalities and religions. In 1915 [sic; 1914] a small group of these Dutch socialists established an organization under the name Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereniging [Indies Social Democratic Association], the founder of the union being H. Sneevliet. From the moment of its birth two tendencies were evident in this organization. The first desired that the group be no more than a "research club"; in the opinion of the partisans of this school, the Indies Social Democratic Association must merely comprise part of the Social Democratic Workers Party of Holland, fulfilling the role of a "consultative organ" for supplying information on Netherlands Indies affairs to the parliamentary fraction of the Social Democratic Workers Party. In 1919 partisans of this wing, having abandoned the Indies Social Democratic Association, formed the Indies Social Democratic Party [ISDP]. In general the significance of this "research party" in the popular political movement of the Netherlands Indies has always been minute, and therefore it is not necessary to consider it further.

As for the second tendency, it was from its inception in the very thick of the Indonesian movement, not wishing to play the role of a Social Democratic Labor Party alone: its partisans carried on socialist propaganda directly among the native population. This wing played a large role in the political life of the Netherlands Indies, finding advocates among the Indonesian Communists (among them the author of this report and Comrade Darsono). In 1920, after the formation of the Indies Social Democratic Party and under the influence of the revolution in Russia, the Indies Social Democratic Association was re-named the Persarikatan Kommunist India (Indonesian Communist Association). From the very beginning of its activity the Indonesian Social Democratic Association (later PKI) attracted the sympathies of broad circles of the Indonesian workers who were members and leaders of the left wing of the Sarekat Islam, and in this fashion the PKI was able to exert very significant influence among the people and in the labor movement.

In 1919 [sic; 1916] in the province of Djambi in Sumatra, members of the Sarekat Islam threw themselves into a spontaneous revolt; their uprising was occasioned by the abuse of the corvée system (a government-imposed forced labor system, whereby the population is required to work without pay fifteen or sixteen days a year on the construction of public roads and so on). As a result many party members were killed, and more than twelve persons were sentenced to prison for varying lengths of time. In the same year [sic; 1918] members of the Sarekat Islam in Kudus, on Java, came into violent conflict against Chinese "middle" capitalists; here too a considerable number fell before the bullets of government forces, and still more were thrown into prison.

In 1919 a Dutch contrôleur was killed by members of the Sumatran [sic; Celebes] organization of the Sarekat Islam; and in Garut, on Java, the government discovered a secret organization of the Sarekat Islam which was preparing an uprising against the Dutch. As a result many members of the organization were thrown anew into jail, both rank and file and leaders (among the latter were Tjokroaminoto and Sosrokardono, secretary of the Central Committee of the Sarekat Islam).

There were frequent strikes occasioned by the arbitrary behavior of the Dutchmen who headed the private capitalist enterprises; such strikes against the Dutch conquerors bore an especially strong revolutionary character.

At last, in 1919, under the influence of the revolution in Russia, and also of the German and Austrian revolutions, the PKI found the moment approaching for a soldiers' and sailors' uprising in the Netherlands Indies, but--Troelstra let the psychological moment for revolution in Holland pass by; and at the same time the Netherlands government became aware of the revolution being prepared in the Indies and nipped it in the bud.⁽⁸⁾ Thereafter repressive blows rained against the PKI. Comrade H. Sneevliet was expelled from the Indies; many soldiers and sailors were thrown into prison for terms of from three to six years; even the author of this report became a "guest of the government" in that way. However, the revolutionary movement in the Netherlands Indies was not easily extinguished; in 1919 the head of the then existing soldiers' organization, Comrade Brandsteder, and in 1920 Comrade Baars, one of the better theoreticians and more intelligent members of our party, were also exiled. In the same period our comrades Darsono, Dengah, and Najooan were thrown into prison, along with many others.

The National Indies Party also took part in the revolutionary movement, and many of its leaders likewise landed in jail. It was in such a time that Budi Utomo adopted its "liberal political" program (which until now exists solely on paper).

(8) Semaun's reference is to the "Troelstra Revolution," a period of unrest in the Netherlands in late 1918 which resulted from general wartime strain and the influence of the Kaiser's overthrow in neighboring Germany. No real attempt at a seizure of power was made, but considerable anxiety about a Dutch socialist revolt developed among the conservative Europeans in the Netherlands Indies, and correspondingly exaggerated expectations were entertained by revolutionaries there. Nervousness over this situation was a major reason for the "November Promises" made by the Governor General to the first Volksraad session. Soldiers' and sailors' soviets were sponsored by the ISDV, on the Bolshevik model, in 1918 and early 1919; they were eliminated by the authorities in the latter year.

The revolutionary period we have described here did much to further the development of the political movement in the Netherlands Indies. In response to this movement there arose a number of reactionary organizations, the majority of which were oriented around the Dutch or Eurasians. They formed the Indo-European Union [Indo-Europees Verbond] or union of Eurasians and Europeans, which was aimed against the National Indies Party; the Political Economic Union [Politiek-Economisch Bond] which competed with the PKI and the Sarekat Islam; and several others of this sort. It can be said that the most dangerous enemy of our movement has been the Political Economic Union, which carried its work to the heart of the people by means of bribing secular and Islamic leaders; moreover, the Union receives enormous sums of money in grants from the sugar kings and other capitalist groups and institutions (thus, for the three-year period 1919-1921 it received 500,000 guilders, not including various donations). However, in spite of all this the Political-Economic Union has never achieved great influence over the mass of the population.

The revolutionary actions we have described compelled the government to make concessions and grant some reforms--as, for example, reducing the number of unpaid days of labor required on Sumatra, Borneo, and elsewhere. A law was passed concerning equal taxation of all residents (until then the Europeans had paid fewer taxes than the Indonesians); the Indonesians were also given suffrage, though only those who could speak Dutch and had a yearly income of not less than 600 guilders (and even so the Indonesians could vote only for the municipal councils).

At the present time in the Netherlands Indies political organization and assembly is permitted. True, there exist innumerable laws and regulations regarding all manner of press infractions, diverse administrative and other rights of banishment, constant spying etc. The Indies have gotten a Popular Assembly (Volksraad) but--the people themselves do not have the right to send to it their own representatives, and the Assembly is merely an advisory organ for the government. Other state reforms are at present being discussed in various committees, and, in general, are something for the future.

The examples given above show well enough that our small organization, the PKI, is carrying on rather meaningful and useful work in the Netherlands Indies, but, naturally, our task is still far from completed.

THE ECONOMIC MOVEMENT

Labor Unions

The labor movement in the Netherlands Indies has not had a long history. In 1908 a few members of the Budi Utomo, teachers by profession, set about organizing a teachers' union (the Perserikatan Guru Hindia Belanda). In the beginning this organization did not carry on any sort of labor union activity, but devoted itself solely to the improvement of the educational program; in essence it simply formed a part of the Budi Utomo. Some time later it turned itself into a union, but, as a true child of the Budi Utomo, it refused to recognize the strike as a method of struggle. In general the organization led a precarious existence, and in 1916-19 many of its members, dissatisfied with its activities, took to deserting the union and forming several separate organizations of teachers.

In the same period that Budi Utomo was founded, the workers of European and Eurasian extraction formed, out of fear of competition from the Indonesians, their own independent labor unions uniting workers according to separate branches of industry. The standard of living enjoyed by the members of these particular unions was and remains very satisfactory, in view of the fact that their members are employed in good positions by the capitalists. The result of this has been that this type of union promptly became, and still continues to be, extremely reactionary; in time of strikes it acts outwardly as if it agrees to take part in the struggle, which it actually always prepares to betray.

For this reason there is no need to dwell on the "white" labor movement in the Netherlands Indies. It can, in general, be reckoned as belonging to the capitalist world. However, I would like to say a few words about one of the white trade unions, which was transformed in 1917 into an Indonesian union. I am referring here to the union of railway workers of the Netherlands Indies [VSTP; Vereniging van Spoor- en Tramweg-personeel). This union was founded by European workers in 1909, but from the very start it accepted into its ranks Indonesian railway workers, who, as you know, constituted the majority of workers in the Netherlands Indies railways (the proportion of native workers was about 7-10 for one European). The union stuck to this policy thanks to the influence of its leaders, who were concurrently heads of the PKI; for the same reason the railroad workers' union transformed itself into an Indonesian proletarian trade union. The latter development, however, caused a hasty exit from the union by workers of European extraction, who formed three separate trade unions for whites. As for the tactics of the railroad workers union, its activity had already taken on a radical cast in 1914, this also being due to the influence of leaders of the PKI. These leaders--who also headed the union--carried on an extremely energetic propaganda

campaign for the purpose of strengthening the labor movement. In this fashion the Railroad Workers Union acted from a very early date as a catalyst for the unionization of the Indonesian workers.

Very close to the Railroad Workers Union stands the Perserikatan Pegawai Pegadaian Bumiputera, the Union of Officials and Employees of the Government Pawnshops, which consists of native workers (in the Netherlands Indies, pawnshops are government monopolies). There is another union of pawnshop workers, but this is only for whites; it accepts Indonesians into its ranks, but without voting rights. Naturally enough, the propaganda of the Sarekat Islam found favorable reception here, arousing the national feelings of the Indonesians and awakening the native workers in the pawnshops to organize their own trade unions. The union developed in this manner as the spiritual offspring of the Sarekat Islam and was revolutionary in character, especially in its nationalist striving. Many of the leaders of this union are at the same time leaders of the Sarekat Islam; useful work has also been carried out in the union by leaders of the PKI. The union recognizes the strike as a means of struggle.

There is further a massive union of sugar industry workers known as the Personeel Fabrieksbond [PFB]. The union, founded in 1917, owed its rise directly to propaganda among the workers organized by the PKI. The dockers' union (Havenarbeiders Bond) [HAB] likewise represents a powerful force. We should mention the Sarekat Pegawai Pelikan Hindia [SPPH], or the union of workers in metallurgical and extractive industries (petroleum, coal, etc); in addition, there is a union of printers (the Typografenbond). A large part of the leaders of the three last-named organizations are also members of the PKI.

There are many unions other than those we have listed here. However, they are extremely insignificant, and it is scarcely possible to say anything about them. All these unions arose in the period between 1917 and 1920. There is one more, older union--a trade union of workers employed in the government irrigation service, construction, and public works (Vereeniging van Inlandse Personeel Burgerlijke Openbare Werken) [VIPBOW]; however, in recent times this organization has not played a large role in the general labor movement of the Netherlands Indies.

In 1919 the Railroad Workers' Union agitated for the formation of a federation of labor unions, as a result of which there was established that same year the Persatuan Perkumpulan Kaum Buruh Hindia [PPKB], or General Federation of Netherlands Indies Labor Unions, which united almost all the Indies trade unions. However, in 1921 this organization split into two parts: one (the left wing of the Personeel Fabrieksbond, the dockers' union,

the railroad workers, etc) formed the Revolutionary Trade Union Federation (Revolutionnaire Vakcentrale), under the influence of the PKI; while the other, under the influence of the right wing of the Sarekat Islam, retained the form of the PPKB. We will come later to a discussion of the details of this split and to the schism within the Sarekat Islam.

In the labor movement, as in the political and cooperative spheres, we encounter enormous difficulty due to the fact that 95% of the population of the Netherlands Indies is illiterate; and, we might add, the majority of the members of our movement are also illiterate. Aside from this, it is generally characteristic for Asia, in contrast to Europe, that the movement there has more emotion than real organization--that is to say more spirit than substance. Thanks to this quality our organizations often appear very stable and strong on the outside, in spite of the fact that internally and spiritually the movement is undoubtedly still immature.

The "inner strength" of the movement is best illustrated in the actions of the workers' organizations during the period 1918-1920. In Semarang, where the influence of the PKI is very strong, the Sarekat Islam carried out a successful economic strike of workers in a furniture factory, where about 300 people were employed. This success served to bring about the rapid growth of the Indies labor movement by furnishing an example of how one must arrange strikes and organize unions. Soon after this first strike in Semarang two more stoppages were called, both among printers and both under the leadership of the Sarekat Islam Labor Grouping [Vakgroep S.I.] in Semarang (at the present time this grouping has been re-organized into a separate local union of printers). Both these strikes ended successfully. After them strikes in other places followed--in Batavia, in Surabaya, in Bandung etc. The Dockers' Union (at that time still existing as a sub rosa organization) mounted a strike in 1918, in which about 3000 workers took part; all harbor work was halted. In the same year more or less largescale strikes took place elsewhere. In 1919, soon after its founding, the General Federation of Labor Unions organized a sizeable strike in the printing firms in collaboration with the Printers' Union: about 2000 workers, among them 300 women workers, struck nine printeries. The strike lasted two months and ended in a victory for the workers. Following the pattern of this strike, others were held wherever there were factories or other capitalist enterprises. A successful strike of about 2000 railroad workers was organized by the Semarang-Tjirebon railroad workers' union. Subsequently, in 1919 and 1920, the sugar workers' union, which was active in 170 to 200 mills, organized a series of strikes by its members. (For details of the strike movement in the 1916-1921 period see Appendix II of this report).

All these strikes arose chiefly on economic grounds, but they also derived in part from the unbearably arbitrary behavior of the Dutch factory administrators, and such strikes bore a national-political character. Purely political strikes have never yet occurred, and indeed at present are still banned by the Dutch government; therefore, in organizing a strike wave, the young Indies labor movement cannot inject political motivations into it. In spite of this primarily economic character of the strikes, the majority of their agitators and leaders have suffered cruelty at the hands of the government, which has persecuted them for "political" crimes. In point of fact the majority of those prominent in the labor movement in the Netherlands Indies have been concurrently leaders of political organizations (PKI, SI, BU, etc). Since in the Netherlands Indies there does not exist freedom of speech and press, it is nothing for the government to catch us for various "crimes" against the press laws; and for making any speech our leaders very often are sentenced to prison terms of lengths varying from seven days to three years. It is only to be expected, too, that in their struggle against strikes and the revolutionary movement the capitalists are resorting to blacklists, bribery, lockouts, etc.

In general, as we have said, the economic position of the working class in the Netherlands Indies was considerably improved by strikes during the above-described period: wages increased no less than 100-150%, and in several branches of industry more than 200%; in almost all branches the working day was shortened to eight hours, and so on. And this has been one of the reasons for the current slackening of the Indies movement.

The Peasant and Cooperative Movement

Not much can be said about the movement in the villages of the Netherlands Indies. A majority--up to 90% of the population are peasants--work common land (sawah desa) or even land they own themselves, and their sole enemies are the sugar mill managers who contract with the peasants for renting their land. Inasmuch as the peasants understand nothing of what is in these agreements, and nothing of money matters in general, they frequently are victimized by the millowners' representatives. Government officials stand, naturally, on the side of the latter, and themselves cause no little damage and discomfort to the rural population. The peasant movement thus leads almost inevitably to a struggle with the industrialists.

Comrade A. Baars, a Communist, began in 1918 to carry on propaganda and to develop a draft set of rules and regulations for the organization of a peasant movement. Thanks to this, and with the participation of members of the PKI and the Sarekat Islam, the movement was then brought into being, and it has continued to grow. Nonetheless, all this is still really in a

rudimentary stage; the movement is economic in character and does not have political goals. "Producers' cooperatives" have been organized, which help the peasants in their struggle for higher rents from the sugar kings. The main obstacle to the activity of these peasant organizations is their universal--up to 90%--illiteracy. However, in view of the fact that no more than one fifth of all peasant land in the Netherlands Indies is rented to the managers of sugar mills, the peasant movement cannot play a major role in the Indies revolutionary movement.

[In the Princely Territories] the peasants were not considered individual owners of their land: this belonged entirely to the aristocracy, who, should they find any capitalists wanting to rent the land, would drive the local peasants from it. This disgraceful practice was sanctioned by the law, which thus converted the peasants into nothing more than slaves. However, in 1918 and the following years the Indonesian leader Tjipto Mangunkusumo began to agitate for a strike on the land leased by the peasants; notwithstanding legal interdiction the strike movement unfolded with great power, and the spirit of the strikers was such that the effort ended in victory. This led to a significant alleviation of economic conditions, and hundreds of new members were added to the movement. But Tjipto himself was banished by the authorities.

The government tax system has always placed the bulk of the burden on the agrarian population of the Netherlands Indies, and therefore it is not surprising that the movement in the countryside has been directed primarily against government policy. This is why the revolutionary peasant movement was born within the popular organization Sarekat Islam, and was especially active in those places where the influence of the PKI was noticeable.

In addition to the producers' cooperatives there are in Java also consumers' cooperatives, which are still in an embryonic stage of development and are spread over a number of very small local organizations. Such cooperatives have not enjoyed much popularity among our people.

WOMEN'S AND YOUTH MOVEMENT

Women's Movement

Once the general movement we have been describing had come into being it was only natural that a women's movement would also be founded; this, however, has only developed weakly up to the present.

Around the year 1900 there appeared a book by Kartini, in which the author put forth her ideas regarding the emancipation

of Indonesian women. This book, which is in Dutch, was written in the form of correspondence between the writer and her friends--Netherlanders, for the most part supporters of the "Ethical Policy". In the work a new spirit was evidenced; the author condemned Muslim polygamy (although, it must be noted, polygamy is almost non-existent among our people; it amounts to not more than 2%, and is found chiefly in the Princely Territories of Solo and Jogja, among the middle and upper classes). The writer further demanded that women be given better education, inasmuch as they are the mothers of our race. In general, this book had a significant influence on the subsequent development of the women's movement. However, until 1912--that is, not until after the death of Kartini, who died very young, only 23 years old--no women's organization existed in the Netherlands Indies. The first was started by a man, and its members belonged to the middle and upper social classes; the organization collapsed almost as soon as it was born.

The movement continued to grow, however: several representatives of the Dutch Ethical tendency founded so-called "Kartini schools," and other schools were subsequently set up in the major cities; they were opened to girls of the middle and upper class. This was a weak beginning, but it nonetheless yielded positive results, particularly if one bears in mind the well-known lowly position of women in Islamic countries. It was already a great step forward that school doors were opening to women, for it placed them on an equal footing with men. In our day a woman can occupy the same position as a man in all institutions and branches of service in the Netherlands Indies, and she can study in all schools. Naturally, the spirit of conservatism and ancient prejudice strongly impedes a quicker development of the women's movement.

After the collapse of the women's organization mentioned above, several others arose among the middle and upper classes; but all of them were small and insignificant. Their activity was directed toward propaganda and organization for women's education. In 1917 the PKI began, via the Sarekat Islam organization in Semarang, to make propaganda aiming at opening membership in the SI to women. You must not forget that "Islam" is an organization for men, and to allow women to enter it was a great success for the cause begun by Kartini. There has thus come to exist a real national women's movement in the Netherlands Indies, although, it is true, it comprises part of the basic movement of the Sarekat Islam.

There are very few women among the skilled workers, and because of this there are still few women in labor unions. However, in the Sarekat Islam there are at present 35,000 women, for the most part in its left wing. The majority of the leaders of this women's segment of the Sarekat Islam are also members of the PKI [there follow two names which cannot be identified from the transliteration: Suparre, Fkita Munas'ia].

The position of women of the working and peasant classes is, as you know, significantly different from that of women in the upper and middle classes. In the former case the woman is the companion and co-worker of her husband, existing on equal economic terms with him. A woman plays an important role in strikes by encouraging her husband and other workers to join in the struggle. Women workers have unfailingly taken part in all strikes--as happened, for example, in the printers' strike of 1919 in Semarang. Besides this the women's movement, it goes without saying, educates the children and young people in a revolutionary spirit.

In 1919 the first local women's organization of the Sarekat Islam made its appearance in Semarang. On the island of Java the traders in the openair markets are chiefly women; and when the author of this report was thrown into jail these women--members of the Sarekat Islam--called a market strike in Semarang as a protest against the government. The strike lasted several days; it was excellently organized on a conspiratorial basis, and therefore the local capitalists found themselves without fresh produce, which was expensive enough in that period because the workers had laid in supplies in anticipation. For all these reasons the women's movement has acquired increasing popularity, and at present we find these women commissioners in the central executive organization of the Sarekat Islam.

Youth Movement

In addition to the women's movement in the Netherlands Indies there is a youth movement. In order to understand its function clearly it is necessary, however, not to forget that everyone in the Indies above the age of sixteen is considered adult, and therefore worker and peasant youth form part, properly speaking, of the general Indonesian movement.

It is different, however, with secondary school students from 15 to 23 years of age. In 1916 they formed a youth organization on Java, to which were admitted only members of secondary and higher schools and universities (in 1920 there was still only one university-level school in the Indies, the engineering institute in Bandung). This youth organization calls itself "Jong Java." After it "Jong Soematra" and "Jong Ambon" were formed. In 1920 all three of these united in a federation. Members of these unions consist of the children and youths of the middle and upper classes, and therefore the movement bore in the beginning a purely national character, without evincing any proletarian tendencies whatever. However, in 1917 the situation changed with the beginning of propaganda by the PKI: this organization began to show how important it was to instill Communist ideas into the youth movement. As a result Jong Java (which numbered up to 3000 members, while the other two youth groups together counted not more than 2000 people) began to

respond sympathetically to the new socialist trend after the appearance at all four of its congresses of representatives of the PKI. At present ten young Communists are to be found among the members of this organization. Under the influence of Communist propaganda the youth movement has engaged in careful research on both economic and political questions, and it therefore can be hoped that in the near future youth will give to the Indonesian movement new workers in the form of intellectual leaders and cadres.

I forgot, by the way, to note that Jong Java was formed under the direct influence of the Budi Utomo concept and that in consequence the members of this organization can only be ethnic Javanese. However, part of the movement, which did not submit gladly to Budi Utomo's influence, began to develop a revolutionary nationalist tendency; already in 1918-1919 there were two or three strikes in secondary schools, occasioned by the actions of Dutch teachers who insulted national feelings.

Until now the chief work [of the youth movement] has been devoted to the holding of theatrical performances, money from which has gone to charitable goals or for the aid of private schools in the Netherlands Indies. We can, by the way, judge the influence of PKI propaganda from these youthful performances. At the 1920 congress of Jong Java it was apparent that this organization stood very much closer to the workers and peasants than it had in 1919.

There are other [youth] organizations in the Netherlands Indies, but they do not play a great role. There is, however, also a children's movement, part of which is led by the National Indies Party. In Jogja it has a national school in which about 300 pupils are involved; the movement's name is Adi Darmo. Another such movement, under the name Kommunist Muda, is under the leadership of the PKI: it began with a Communist school opened in Semarang in 1921 by the Sarekat Islam organization, which after six months of its existence already has 150 pupils. The opening of another such school is expected next year in Bandung. We train our pupils in the thought that they must be self-reliant; in the schools choral and other societies are formed to earn money for themselves and acquire the means for maintaining the school and library. Those attending are for the most part the children of workers.

At the head of this emerging Communist children's movement, which in the near future ought to develop into a Communist youth movement, is our comrade Tan Malaka, an Indonesian teacher who received his education in Holland. We intend in the near future to open a Communist teachers' training school for preparing cadres of Communist teachers, whom we will place in our own schools all over the Netherlands Indies. We think that we will fully achieve our project. Naturally, all the government officials are inclined against our Communist schools, and we are experiencing

not a few financial difficulties, with the government placing obstacles at every step and forbidding members of the PKI and Sarekat Islam, and even the pupils themselves, from undertaking any sort of enterprise through which they might earn the necessary means.

Conclusion

Since the second half of 1920, and throughout 1921, the movement in the Netherlands Indies suffered heavy setbacks. We already referred to one of the reasons for this sad fact, the improvement in the economic condition of the working class as a result of a series of successful strikes; another causative factor has been that the agrarian sector has been able to obtain high prices for its goods. Aside from that, many of our members and leaders were thrown into prison (between 1916 and 1920 about 75 soldiers and sailors, 2,100 civilians for infractions of the press and speech laws, over 1,000 persons for general revolutionary activity, and so on). Naturally some were killed and thousands suffered very hard times as a result of various blacklists, lockouts etc.

All this, however, would not be so terrible if we possessed more good and reliable workers. Our comrade Darsono came forth in late 1921 [sic; 1920] with an accusation against Tjokroaminoto; he condemned him especially sharply for his lack of reliability. The aim of this criticism was to purge our ranks, in which only trustworthy people should be found; but the result has been to weaken the movement even further. As you see, comrades, we are openly and honestly admitting our mistake; though it also seems to us that this setback is of a temporary character and is a natural result of extreme reaction and the improvement of the economic situation of the people. Unreliable people are now leaving the leadership; but in their place new ones have not come, and the same is true of the rank and file, among whom apathy is apparent.

In 1921 the Sarekat Islam split into the "Reds," under the leadership of the PKI, and the supporters of Tjokroaminoto. The lines of this schism are only just in the process of demarcation, however. The same thing happened with the labor movement, where there are at the moment two official federations of trade unions, the major one being the Revolutionnaire Vakcentrale (transport workers, oil and coal workers, printers, etc).

A general stagnation of trade, industry, and plantation activities occasioned by the disordered capitalist economy has led to unemployment among us, but this unemployment does not stir us to action, chiefly because the jobless can find work in the rural areas in the interior of the country, with the native peasants and petty industries and trading enterprises.

Thus, we are now experiencing a "breathing spell" and "inward concentration on study." Both leaders and the rank and file of the workers are busy with serious preparations for future activities, are studying international problems etc. It is possible to say with conviction that the moment will soon come when our work will be revived and will go forward with doubled strength. Moreover, one must of course not forget that the best propaganda for us is the behavior of the capitalists themselves.

[Appendix I, containing general information on the geography, population, economics, and government of the Netherlands Indies, has been omitted here.]

APPENDIX II

Statistical Information on the Movement in the Netherlands Indies

A. Political Movement

Name of Organization	Europeans and Eurasians	Chinese and Mestizos	Indonesians	Europeans and Eurasians	Chinese and Mestizos	Indonesians
	1908			1913		
Budi Utomo	--	--	500	--	--	1,000
NIP(a)	--	--	--	3,000	500	4,500
PKI(b)	--	--	--	--	--	--
Sarekat Islam (c)	--	--	--	--	--	200,000
	1915			1919		
Budi Utomo	--	--	700	--	--	1,200
NIP	1,000	200	2,000	1,000	150	8,500
PKI	100	--	3	25	5	300
Sarekat Islam (c)	--	--	1,000,000	--	--	1,500,000
	1920			1921		
Budi Utomo	--	--	1,500	--	--	1,400
NIP	700	100	4,000	500	50	2,000
PKI	15	4	250	5	3	200
Sarekat Islam (c)	--	--	2,000,000	--	--	2,000,000

(a) [Until 1919, Insulinde].

(b) [Until 1920, ISDV].

(c) [There are two further entries, but it is not possible to determine the organizations to which they refer].

Address of the organizations:

Budi Utomo: Hoofdbestuur, Budi Utomo, Jogja.

Nationaal Indische Partij: Hoofdbestuur N.I.P., Semarang.

Sarekat Islam: Bestuur Centrale S.I., Jogja (left wing: Semarang).

Persarikatan Kommunist di India: Hoofdbestuur P.K.I., Semarang.

Statistical Information on the Movement in the Netherlands Indies (Con't.)

B. Economic Movement

<u>Name of Organization</u>	<u>Europeans</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>Indonesians</u>	<u>Europeans</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>Indonesians</u>
	1919			1920		
Vakcentrale PPKB	200	70	50,000	150	75	60,000
Revolutionnaire Vakcentrale	--	--	--	--	--	--
	1921					
Vakcentrale PPKB	--	10	25,000			
Revolutionnaire Vakcentrale	100	75	27,000			

Address of the Organizations:

Vakcentrale PPKB: Hoofdbestuur Vakcentrale P.P.K.B., Jogja.

Revolutionnaire Vakcentrale: Hoofdbestuur Revolutionnaire Vakcentrale, Semarang.

Number of members of the PPKB (Federation of Labor Unions)

(by individual organization)

1. PGHB [Perserikatan Guru Hindia Belanda, Union of Netherlands Indies Teachers] -- in 1908, 500 Indonesians; in 1914, 2000 Indonesians; in 1917, 5000 Indonesians; in 1919, 4000; in 1920, 3000; in 1921, 2000.
 Address: Purwokerto (Banjumas).
2. Kweekschoolbond [Union of Teachers' Training School Employees] -- in 1917, 100 Indonesians; in 1919, 200 Indonesians; in 1920, 300 Indonesians; in 1921, 290 Indonesians.
 Address: Jogja.
3. PGB [Perserikatan Guru Bantu, Union of Assistant Teachers] -- in 1917, 500 Indonesians; in 1919, 2000 Indonesians; in 1920, 3000 Indonesians; in 1921, 2500 Indonesians.
 Address: Solo.
4. VIPBOW [Vereniging van Inlandse Personeel Burgerlijke Openbare Werken, Union of Native Public Works Employees] -- in 1917, 1000 Indonesians; in 1919, 2000 Indonesians; in 1920, 3000 Indonesians; in 1921, 2500 Indonesians.
 Address: Modjokerto.
5. PFB [Personeel Fabrieksbond, Union of Sugar Mill Employees] -- in 1917, 4000 Indonesians, 1 Chinese; in 1919, 30,000 Indonesians, 10 Chinese; in 1920, 8000 Indonesians, 7 Chinese; in 1921, 4000 Indonesians, 5 Chinese. The left wing of the sugar workers went over to the Revolutionnaire Vakcentrale.
 Address: Jogja.
6. PPPB [Perserikatan Pegawai Pegadaian Bumiputera, Union of Native Pawnshop Officials] -- in 1914, 500 Indonesians; in 1917, 4000 Indonesians; in 1919, 5000 Indonesians; in 1920, 5500 Indonesians; 1921, 5000 Indonesians.
 Address: Jogja.
7. Other labor unions -- in 1917, 10,000 Indonesians; in 1919, 15,000 Indonesians; in 1920, 10,000 Indonesians; and in 1921, 8000 Indonesians.

Number of members of the "Revolutionnaire Vakcentrale"

(by individual organization)

1. VSTP [Vereniging van Spoor- en Tramwegpersoneel, Union of Rail- and Tramway Personnel] -- in 1908, 200 Europeans and Eurasians and 10 Indonesians; in 1914, 1500 Europeans, 1 Chinese, and 900 Indonesians; in 1917, 700 Europeans, 15 Chinese, 3000 Indonesians; in 1919, 300 Europeans, 56 Chinese, 8000 Indonesians; in 1920, 200 Europeans, 63 Chinese, 11,000 Indonesians; in 1921, 100 Europeans, 73 Chinese, 15,000 Indonesians.
Address: Semarang.
2. HAB [Havenarbeidersbond; Dockers' Union] -- in 1919, 2 Chinese and 3000 Indonesians; in 1920, 2 Chinese, 2500 Indonesians; in 1921, 1 Chinese, 2000 Indonesians.
Address: Semarang.
3. Printers -- in 1919, 2 Chinese, 2000 Indonesians; 1920, 2 Chinese, 1500 Indonesians; 1921, 1 Chinese, 1000 Indonesians.
Address: Semarang.
4. SPPH [Sarekat Pegawai Pelikan Hindia, Union of Indies Employees of Extractive Industries] -- 1919, 3000 Indonesians; 1921, 2500 Indonesians.
Address: Semarang.
5. PPDH [Perserikatan Pegawai Dinas Hutan, Union of Forestry Employees] -- 1919, 1000 Indonesians; 1920, 900 Indonesians; 1921, 800 Indonesians.
Address: Purwokerto (Banjumas).
6. Left wing of the PFB -- 1921, 3000 Indonesians.
7. Others -- 1921, 2000 Indonesians.

STRIKE STATISTICS

<u>Name of Organization</u>	<u>Number of strikers</u>				
	<u>1917</u>	<u>1918</u>	<u>1919</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1921</u>
1. Vakgroep S.I. (Semarang)	300	--	--	--	--
2. H.A.B. (dockers)	--	3,000	4,000	3,000	3,000
3. Printers	--	500	1,000	5,000	--
4. VSTP (railroads)	--	500	1,000	5,000	--
5. PFB (sugar workers)	--	--	30,000	50,000	1,000
6. Other unions and unorganized workers	--	3,000	30,000	20,000	50

The length of strikes varied between one day and three months. Out of all strikes, 25% ended in a complete victory for the workers; 50% in a compromise, and 25% in a defeat for the strikers. In general it can be said, however, that the strike movement had a favorable influence on the improvement of the economic situation of the working class.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

Political Journals

- (a) Neratja. Unofficial government organ. Published in Weltevreden (Batavia), in the Indonesian language, daily, 2000 copies; the issues are large but very inexpensive; receives a financial subsidy, has its own press.
- (b) Publications of the Political-Economic Union (a reactionary organization): Kaoem Moeda, published daily in Bandung, in the Indonesian language; 100 [sic: probably misprint for 1000] copies, has its own press. Soro Tomo, published in Jogja, weekly, in Javanese, 500 copies.
- (c) Publications of Budi Utomo: 1. Boedi Oetomo, published in Jogja in the Indonesian and Javanese languages, 3 times every 2 weeks, 500 copies in each language; has its own press, is an official organ of the party. 2. Darmo Kondo, published in Solo, also in the two languages and on a similar schedule, 700 copies, has its own press; an unofficial organ of the party. 3. Djojobojo, published weekly in Kediri in Indonesian; an unofficial organ possessing its own press.
- (d) Publications of the Sarekat Islam: Oetoesan Hindia, published daily in Surabaya, in Indonesian, 1,600 copies; has its

own press and is an official organ. Merdika, published in Medan, daily, in Indonesian, 1,000 copies, unofficial organ, has its own press.

- (e) Left wing of the Sarekat Islam: Sinar Hindia, published in Semarang in Indonesian, daily, 1,300 copies. Official organ of the S.I. left wing, but at the same time an unofficial organ of the PKI; has its own press, which also prints PKI and other revolutionary publications.
- (f) National Indies Party: De Beweging, published weekly in Semarang in Dutch; official organ, has its own press. Persatoean Hindia, also in Semarang, weekly, in Indonesian, 1,000 copies, official organ with its own press.
- (g) Perserikatan Kommunist India: 1. Het Vrije Woord, Semarang, in Dutch, three times a month, 500 copies, official organ. 2. Soeara Ra'jat, also in Semarang, in Indonesian, twice a month, 1,200 copies, official organ. 3. Sinar Hindia, in Semarang, daily, 1,300 copies, unofficial organ. 4. Soeara Boeroeh, in Purwokerto, weekly, Indonesian language, 500 copies, unofficial organ. 5. Masa Baroe, in Bandung, Indonesian language, 500 copies, unofficial organ. All these publications [sic; but one would think not the last two] are printed on the press of Sinar Hindia (left wing of the S.I.).

Economic Journals

1. Journal of the Revolutionnaire Vakcentrale: Soeara Berkelai, in Semarang, monthly, 1,000 copies, official organ; has led a faltering existence, and is dying as a result of a boycott by capitalist presses.
2. Journal of the PFB (sugar mill workers); Boeroeh Bergerak, published in Jogja, in Indonesian and Javanese. A weekly, 1,000 copies, official organ; at present also having a hard time.
3. Journal of the PPPB: Soeara Boemipoetera, published in Jogja, in Indonesian, twice a month, 6,000 copies; official organ, has its own press.
4. Journal of the VSTP: Si Tetap, published in Semarang, in Indonesian, monthly, 15,000 copies; official organ, printed on the Sinar Hindia press. De Volharding, published in Semarang in Dutch, monthly, 500 copies; also an official organ printing on the Sinar Hindia press.
5. Journal of the PGHB: Goeroe Hindia, in Batavia, in Indonesian, monthly, 4,000 copies; official organ.

6. Journal of the PGB: Goeroe Bantoe, published in Solo, in Indonesian, monthly, 3,000 copies; official organ.

The remaining labor organizations still do not have their own periodical publications, both because they cannot count on a sufficient quantity of readers (partly in view of the almost universal illiteracy of their members) and because they do not have available a press on which to print.

Study Material, Current Literature, etc.

Aside from the publications enumerated above, the condition of the movement in the Netherlands Indies has inspired all sorts of current literature, leaflets, and bulletins, which are published and distributed as needed. Leaders of the movement have also made use of other, unspecialized publications, for the most part independent weeklies, for placing their articles and commentaries.

Lectures, in the sense of regular series or courses, are still extremely limited: they often come down to short reports. We also still possess very few books and libraries. The NIP (National Indies Party) owns a better library, and publishes books written by leaders of that party. A significant number of books have also been published by the PKI: Among them are Het Proces Sneevliet (in Dutch), authored by Sneevliet and Baars, published in 500 copies; Indië Weerbaar, in Indonesian, by Semaun, 3,000 copies; Sovjet dan Parlemen [sic: Parlemen atau Sovjet?], by Tan Malaka, 1,000 copies. In addition, we have a number of books by well-known European Communist and Socialist writers--Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Gorter, Roland Holst, Radek, Kautsky and many others. Books in Dutch are extremely important for our party. We by no means have a complete library, but what we do own is studied extremely carefully, both by the leaders and the rank and file of the membership, as well as by members of the SI.

As regards the supply of literature, the trade union movement is in the same position as the political movement. The richest literature received from Holland (in Dutch) is obtained by the VSTP; it concerns the trade union movement. The same organization published (in 3,000 copies) and distributed a book, Penoentoen Kaoem Boeroeh, which I wrote; this has been the main guideline and reference book for the labor unions.

However, something that is very important and which we do not have enough of is Communist books that are well translated into the Indonesian language. At present we are busy working on this problem.

Semaoen