

SOME ASPECTS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION AND THE
TAMAN SISWA INSTITUTE OF JOGJAKARTA

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The Principle of Acceptance

We live in a period of transition; all about us change is taking place. Here the disappearance of a surviving custom saddens us, elsewhere renovation brings delight. Some times we set ourselves against a change in adat; at others it is we who seek to do away with antiquated and impeding custom. Sooner or later, however, we come to realize how useless it is to fight against the inevitable and how everything comes in its time. Then we reconcile ourselves to the unavoidable, if only because we know that what comes is not our choice but sheer necessity.

Fortunately, we also discover that the feelings of sorrow and joy we experience as the old gives way to the new are not constant but that both emotions, the bitter and the sweet, are forever replacing each other. Necessity orders and arranges our entire existence, without a single exception, beyond our desire and detached from our will, even wholly against our nature; and when at length we have comprehended that this is so we will surely cease complaining. We will then have reached the point where we see that all that happens is good, even for us, since the one Governor is eternally in control, with no other beside Him, holding the reins of leadership forever in His hand, not for His Own benefit, but for the sake of order in all existence.

This, in brief, is the principle of acceptance which imbues and inspires all of us who work for the Taman Siswa ideal and which stimulates us to strive tirelessly towards the Perfect. It reflects the inner meaning of our motto "Sutji tata ngesti tunggal,"¹ which literally means "purity and order, striving for perfection." It is this watchword that can eliminate in us the wavering and doubt so typical of a period of transition.

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1. Ki Hadjar Dewantara notes: "Following Javanese custom, this motto also indicates a date--tjandra sangkala--representing the Javanese year 1854 (1922 A.D.), the founding year of the Taman Siswa Association." Actually, the 1922 slogan was "Lawan sastra ngesti mulia" (through education to excellence), representing the Javanese year 1852 (the initiation of the Taman Siswa idea?). The slogan was changed to the one given by Ki Hadjar in 1923. See Ki Hadjar Dewantara, Azas-azas dan Dasar-dasar Taman Siswa (Jogjakarta: Madjelis Luhur Taman Siswa, 1952), p. 14.

Artificial Factors

It is not an easy task to go through a period of transition, and it becomes even harder when extraneous factors intervene in the renovation process, greatly hindering a normal adjustment. How often we have been misled by presumed needs which we considered natural but which we later realized were proper to alien forms of civilization. We discover too late that such demands can be satisfied only with difficulty or not at all from our own resources. Dissatisfaction has thus befallen us, and worse: slowly but surely we have become alienated from our own people and our own environment. This alienation would have been bearable had it not been that in our case the abandonment of our own culture did not at the same time bring access to another civilization. Thus we have sacrificed what was ours but have not gained in its place anything that might be considered its equivalent; we have lost our world, but we have not entered another.

Our Own Fault

Who is to blame? Our answer is that it is our own fault, though only indirectly so. We had to choose, and we made our choice. It was the wrong choice, and it was also a choice dearly made, for again and again we have had to give of our cultural treasure in order to gain something new, though what we had before was often of greater intrinsic value to our life. We did not know then, but realize now to our sorrow, that in our deliberate effort at reconstruction we have lost much that was good and beautiful and which could have greatly increased our inner harmony. We have added much new cultural material, the value of which cannot be discounted; however, it often fits so ill with our own style or is so far removed from it that we can use it at best as a decoration and not as material to build with.

It is quite understandable why we have been so mistaken in our choice. In the first place, much has to be chosen, and there has been so little to choose from.

Inferiority Complex and Imitation

Because of the great inferiority complex which we derived from our particular governmental experience, we were easily satisfied with anything that made us look a bit Dutch. We had a feeling of satisfaction or mild delight every time we had the opportunity to be among Europeans, to speak Dutch even to our own countrymen, to appear in western clothes, to arrange our houses according to western style. We even went further in our

imitation: a small party at home would be too common, too banal without western food, without a jazz band, without a glass of Dutch gin from Schiedam itself, so necessary to the "modern" sociability and "European" freedom usually on such occasions.

We also introduced this western imitation into our private life at home. So far as possible we cast away what might seem wrong or insufficient to the eyes of the westerner. We called our boy "Jonny" if his name was Sudjono, or a girl "Marietje" if her name was the beautiful Sumariah. This placed us, after all, on the same level as the Dutch.

In spite of all this adaptation we have found little that might be considered of real moral value according to world cultural standards. Outside the small and superficial stratum of intellectuals, people have all tended to regard as western or European or modern things that were only the outward appearance, the byproduct, of modern society and which even reflected the seamy side of life to the civilized westerner.

Even in the most perfect cases of imitation, I think, any Dutchman who was above chauvinism would probably not be able to keep from laughing if he saw how much effort we make to attain a European appearance. We may certainly sigh together with Rabindranath Tagore: "Our life is a quotation from that of the westerner; our voice an echo of that of Europe; instead of intellectuals we are nothing but a bag full of information; there exists such an emptiness in our mind that we are not in a position to absorb what is beautiful and worthy."²

Western Education and Intellectualism

As I pointed out before, we are only indirectly to blame for the disruption of our cultural life. Circumstances forced us to do what we did. We had to choose between what was national and what was western; the former implied isolation in our own small world, without social perspectives other than those offered by our own restricted community. The latter promised mountains of gold, and indeed, the first of us to experience westernization were spoilt with such luxury that people became possessed by a desire for the good life which was only attainable through western schooling. The man who sent his children to the western school for other reasons was considered mad.

At one of our education congresses I defended the thesis that materialism was so encouraged by intellectualism that we could consider it intellectualism's child. Here we notice the opposite case: materialistic aims have pushed us toward

2. Translated from the Dutch; I have not been able to locate the English text.

intellectualism. For it was by popularizing western education that King Intellect emerged as the autocrat, as the dictator of our mind. Slowly but surely, loftier feelings and aspirations gave way to the tyrant who tolerated no equal beside him. With such a selfish and materialistic ruler dominating our inner life, it goes without saying that individualism very soon appeared as a powerful factor in the process of our social disruption.

To the same extent that it enjoyed popularity in the early days of its existence here, the western school now causes resentment in those who expected from Europe something other than intellectualism, materialism, and individualism. It is now more obvious than ever that these three products of the western school constitute the most visible causes of our spiritual as well as our social unrest. (See the reports on the First National Congress on Education in Solo.³)

Education a State Concern

The Government Regulation of 1818 included something on education; however, this article was revoked in 1836. From 1848, or better since the Government Regulation of 1854, education became "a matter of continuous concern for the Government" (see articles 125-128). However, it was only from 1862, when the so-called Ethical policy became a system,⁴ that we could speak of a cultural goal for education; but this was conceived entirely on a western basis.

I should remark in this connection that only leaders of the Protestant Mission (Van Hoëvell, Graafland, Neurdenburg)⁵

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3. This was the Permusjawaratan Perguruan-perguruan Indonesia, which was held in Surakarta in 1935 after several years of negotiations between political and religious groups promoting various forms of national education. For a description of its background, see Ki Hadjar Dewantara, "Sekedar Riwayat 'Permusjawaratan Perguruan Indonesia,'" Wasita (I, 4/5), June 1935, Karja, pp. 117-119. For the text of Ki Hadjar's speech to the congress, see Sutedjo Bradjanagara, Sedjarah Pendidikan Indonesia (Jogja: n.p., 1956), pp. 94-106. A second congress was held in 1937.
 4. The Ethical period is usually reckoned as beginning about the turn of the century, and the preceding three or four decades are referred to as the Liberal period. Here Ki Hadjar considers them as two approaches to the same policy and calls them "early" and "recent" Ethical periods.
 5. W. R. van Hoëvell, N. Graafland, and J. C. Neurdenburg were teaching missionaries from the Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap, the Dutch Reformed mission which became active in Indies

had previously considered education as having a basic cultural function; this, to be sure, was quite consonant with the evangelistic point of view.

Early and Recent Ethical Policy

Then the new Ethical era came with its pioneers and leaders: Van Kol, Van Deventer, Fock, Snouck Hurgronje, Abdendanon, and others.⁶ All of them did a great deal for the further expansion and intensification of education. Female education was also given strong support, thanks to the noble ideas of Raden Adjeng

education early in the nineteenth century. Van Hoëvell led the "May Movement" of 1848, a ripple from the European revolutionary wave of that year; it culminated in a demonstration at the Harmonie club in Batavia which petitioned the King for an improvement in educational facilities in the colony. In 1849 Van Hoëvell became a member of the lower house of the Netherlands parliament, where he urged an adjustment of instruction to the needs and customs of the Indonesians. N. Graafland was director of a mission school in Tanawangko, Minahasa, which was opened in 1855. He later became Associate Inspector for Native Education, and urged instruction useful to the Indonesian population, as did Neurdenburg in his influential speech on "De eischen van het Inlandsch onderwijs in Ned.-Indië," Indisch Genootschap, Vergadering, 1879, pp. 51-70.

6. The 1938 version of this article adds Van Vollenhoven. H. van Kol was a Socialist parliamentary leader from the turn of the century who urged the adjustment of the Indies educational system to Indonesian culture. C. Th. van Deventer was the principle formulator of the Ethical policy; he was instrumental in securing various educational reforms, including the establishment of secondary and higher education for Indonesians and the admission of Indonesians to higher study in the Netherlands. As Liberal minister of colonies at the beginning of the century, D. Fock (later Governor General) pressed the extension of facilities for native education. C. Snouck Hurgronje (later professor of Islamic studies at the University of Leiden) was adviser for native affairs at the time of Fock's ministry; he advocated association rather than assimilation as the goal of Indonesian education and stressed the improvement of educational facilities for the Indonesian elite. J. H. Abendanon, director of Indies education from 1900 to 1905, was a highly idealistic proponent of associationism, and was particularly active in making Dutch-language schooling available to a broader segment of the Indonesian elite. C. van Vollenhoven, also an associationist, was a specialist in adat law and leader of the Leiden group of Ethical intellectuals; he urged local custom be given greater consideration in formulating policy.

Kartini.⁷ We can say of all the Ethici that from the bottom of their hearts they aimed at doing good; however, with all due respect to their pioneer work, they identified us too much with themselves and measured us against their own western standards, so that many of their ideals and much of their labor were doomed to strand on the invisible rocks of our uncomprehended inner life.

We live at present in a different time, one which we may best call the rational era. Alongside the official lines pursued by western-style public and private education, there has grown the realization that no educational system can be imposed upon a people from without, and that a system can flourish only if it has developed out of their way of life. The government should therefore remain in the background, interfere only when this is desired, render aid where it is needed, and in brief put itself entirely at the service of popular initiative. Of course, it should retain its full right of inspection and intervention when state interests require. This is more or less the view of those I would like to call proponents of rational ethics, of whom the well known governor Ch. O. van der Plas might be considered one of the best representatives (see his essay on national education in British India in the magazine Koloniaal Tijdschrift).⁸

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7. R. A. A. Kartini Djojoadingrat, eldest daughter of R.M.A.A. Sosroningrat, the progressive Bupati of Djepara, was a proponent of Dutch-language education for the daughters of the Indonesian aristocracy. She found a valuable ally in Abendanon, who published her letters on the subject, arousing great interest in an age fascinated by exotic lands and female emancipation: Door duisternis naar licht (The Hague: Luctor et Emergo, 1911; abridged and translated as Letters of a Javanese Princess (New York: Knopf, 1920, introduction by Louis Couperus; New York: W. W. Norton, 1964, introduction by Hildred Geertz). In 1913, at the instigation of Van Deventer, a Kartini Fund was established which set up a system of schools for Indonesian girls.
8. This presumably refers to Ch. O. van der Plas, "Rabindrantah Tagore's denkbeelden over 'Education,'" Koloniaal Tijdschrift (IX, 1), 1920, pp. 665-673; the article praises Tagore's ideas highly. At the time of Ki Hadjar's essay, Van der Plas was governor of East Java. He prided himself on the progressiveness of his views and his efforts to promote education in his province. See his article "The Battle Against Illiteracy," in Raden Loekman Djajadiningrat, From Illiteracy to University (Netherlands and Netherlands Indies Council of the IPR, Bulletin 3, 1944), pp. 65-68; and M. Vastenhouw, Inleiding tot de vooroorlogse paedagogische problemen van Indonesië (Groningen, Djakarta: Wolters, 1949), p. 52.

Happily, we can confirm that, slowly but surely, this rational-ethical view is gaining ground. The head of the Department of Education, Dr. de Kat Angelino, seems himself to be adherent of this view, as can already be seen from his various official decisions and recommendations on education.⁹

Let us proceed now to the discussion of national education as it is understood and undertaken by the people themselves.

First National Stage

We must begin by pointing out that schools had been founded by Indonesians themselves long before the introduction of the term national education. Various educational institutions came into being due to the initiative of the oldest national association, Budi Utomo, which since 1908 has been most distinguished in its service to the general intellectual interests of the people. (Its efforts have included the foundation of schools and hostels by the Darmo Woro Scholarship Fund and the discussion of educational affairs at its annual congresses.) The Pasundan association did the same for the Sundanese. Later the Muhammadiyah set up schools everywhere, religious ones of course. Then came the Adidarma association, which was founded by the well known Sarekat Islam leader R. M. Surjopranoto and which established the Adidarma Institute of Education in Jogjakarta. Other educational associations followed, among them Taman Siswa, about which more will be said later on.¹⁰

The purpose and nature of the aforementioned educational bodies can be described briefly by noting the following facts:

- a. These schools were established because the education provided by the government was far too inadequate to meet the great need;
- b. they sought only to provide the same instruction as the government did, both qualitatively and quantitatively;

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9. A. D. A. de Kat Angelino's views on Indonesian education are expressed in extenso in his Staatkundig beleid en bestuurszorg in Nederlandsch Indië (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1931) (III), pp. 216-287.
 10. The Darmo Woro Scholarship Fund was established by Budi Utomo in 1913 in line with that movement's attempt to spread western-style education among the Javanese elite; it was to provide funds for higher study in the Indies or the Netherlands to deserving students. See Akira Nagazumi, "The Origin and Earlier Years of the Budi Utomo" (Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, 1967), pp. 183-185. The Batavia-centered Pagujuban Pasundan was established in 1914 as a cultural-educational association of Sundanese elite equivalent to Budi Utomo; for its schools, see Mededeelingen . . . 1930, cols. 46-47. For Muhammadiyah and Adidarma see the preceding essay.

- c. in general they counted on receiving a government subsidy, without which it was thought impossible for schools to function.

So far as the last point is concerned some associations, such as Adidarma, were exceptions. Moreover, some of these schools were already willing to deviate here and there from the official curriculum: more Javanese might be taught, or book-keeping and sometimes commercial mathematics might be introduced as subjects. Nonetheless, nobody was so daring as to initiate a general national curriculum--that is to say, an entirely new approach. There was apparently a certain feeling that the existing education system was too impractical, too theoretical, and too little adjusted to the life of the people; however, each demand for change was guided by social--or rather by economic or, to be still more precise, by materialistic--interests. One could occasionally hear a principled position on national culture expressed in some Budi Utomo circles, but this was the voice of a small minority, notably R. M. Sutatmo Surjokusumo, R. Sumarsono, and R. Sutopo.¹¹

Return to the National: Principle!

In the year 1921 the Taman Siswa was set up in Jogjakarta.¹² The school immediately declared itself to be a national institution of education, something which of course remained to be proved. What is its national content; why is it necessary; is there really a national system of education? These questions were asked both by sympathizers and opponents, all of whom seemed to have been alarmed by the new words. When the Taman Siswa leaders ordered, "Return from western to national principles," one of the consequences was the use of the native tongue as the medium of instruction and another the replacement of Dutch children's games and songs by national ones (we mention only some of the more terrifying innovations in the curriculum). Then judgment was immediately passed: Taman Siswa is lowering the educational standard and setting us back decades!

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11. The 1938 text adds the name of R. Abdulrachman and notes that these leaders were members of the Wederopbouw (Reconstruction) group, associated with a Dutch-language magazine of that name with a strong cultural-philosophical bent. They were also, we might note, leaders of the Pagujuban Selasa-Kliwon and founders of the Taman Siswa.
12. The 1938 version indicates the Taman Siswa idea was conceived and preparations were begun in 1921, but the opening of the school did not take place until July 3, 1922. The latter is usually considered its founding date.

We did not object to such an accusation; on the contrary, we confirmed it: "Indeed, we should go back some decades, for we want to rediscover our 'starting point' in order to re-orient ourselves; for we have taken the wrong road."

Fortunately, we had supporters who immediately devoted their energies to the new movement. Soon Taman Siswa schools emerged in various localities, particularly after lectures setting out the general principles of Taman Siswa were given by its founder in the major cities of Java.

Our schools call itself *perguruan* (Javanese: *paguron*). Derived from the word *guru* (teacher), it means literally the place where the teacher lives. It can be also taken as a derivation of the word *berguru* (Javanese: *meguru*), i.e., learning from somebody else. In this sense, the word may also mean a center of study. *Paguron* often implies the teaching in itself, notably in these cases where the personality of the teacher constitutes the most important element, and in this sense it means the school of thought being pursued.

We Taman Siswa people accept the word in all three meanings. We want the school to be a center of study, to have a previously defined line, and at the same time to be the dwelling place of the teacher. Of these three principles the last is to most people no doubt something new; therefore, we shall start by explaining a few things about it.

The Teacher's Personality

According to the ancient Javanese system of education, and indeed that of ancient Indonesia and perhaps even of Asia in general, the school should be at the same time the dwelling place of the teacher. There he resides permanently; he gives his name to it, or better, the place is called after him. From near and far pupils come to him; he does not go to the pupils. He should not be, as we put it, a *sumur lumaku tinimba* (a walking well from which the public drinks). The entire atmosphere of the *paguron* is imbued with the spirit of his personality.

In such a *paguron* formal study comes second. This does not imply that little attention is paid to it; otherwise we would not have given it a special name, *pawijatan* (*wijata* means teaching). But the first thing is always the personality of the teacher, providing guidance for life; this we call, using a modern word, "opvoeding" (upbringing).¹³

13. In the 1938 version the Indonesian term "pendidikan" is substituted for the Dutch "opvoeding." A distinction was then made between *pendidikan*, as education in the sense of character-building, and *pengadjaran*, education in the sense of conveying knowledge.

Let us for a moment make a comparison with the contemporary western school system. We see a building which may immediately be recognized as matter-of-fact, anonymous. Crowded in the morning with children studying or playing, and with a number of teachers pacing or sitting, it is closed and unoccupied after 1 P.M.

A person who is used to a Taman Siswa schoolhouse immediately feels the similarity between such a western schoolbuilding and an office, a shop, a factory, a café, or the like.

How different it is in a Taman Siswa dwelling, where in the morning, afternoon, and evening groups of students are continually engaged in study, in sport or art activities, under the leadership of their teachers, all of them *living there* with their families. How unimpressive an ordinary morning school schedule looks compared to the continuous presence together of pupil and teacher even till late in the evening. One should not underestimate the importance of the fact that the students in the asrama (another name for paguron, used in the Hindu-Javanese era) enjoy the same family life as at home with their parents. These factors make living in a paguron for learning purposes at the same time a morally beneficial experience in every respect. Most importantly, the personality of the teacher frequently makes all rules of order unnecessary, so that the students have ample opportunity to develop their personalities without mechanical prohibitions or obedience to written rules.

This system of paguron or asrama, with pawijatan as a subsidiary institution, constitutes a complete synthesis of education in the sense of character moulding and education in the sense of character moulding and education in the sense of conveying knowledge. Do not suppose that the paguron is only a memory to the present generation, preserved in literature and wajang. It still exists in our contemporary Islamic era, in spite of the turbulent centuries through which we have passed. The national paguron continues to exist as pondok or pesantren, though it frequently does so in a primitive, culturally rudimentary form.

The Taman Siswa Family Dwelling and Social Training Sphere

When earlier we provided a sketch of the ancient national form of our educational system, we at the same time described what Taman Siswa is and what it wants. We do not desire merely intellectual development, but also and particularly upbringing in the sense of moral care and moral training. To this end all Taman Siswa schools are in the first place the house of the teacher; concurrently, they are the school (paguron plus pawijatan). This type of school-house (the word has a literal meaning here!) is not the same as a boarding school, where the

family character is often neglected and little close contact exists between the pupil and the director, usually a very dreaded commandant. Nor should we think of a hostel, which, owing to the lack of a family atmosphere, may well be marked by a crude barracks spirit. Has no one ever considered how dangerous such a hostel may be for young adolescents? Will youngsters not consider such a dwelling simply as a hotel, where, to their way of thinking, the only question that need be asked is, "how much does it cost?" There in the hostel there is no father or mother; true, there is a director or a strict assistant, but they can always be deceived.

In our Taman Siswa dwelling we pay much attention to art; the one draws, the other plays music; those who have the necessary talent practice the dance. There is a gamelan which fills the paguron with its sonorous music at least three days of the week; it is played by the students themselves, both boys and girls. They mix with each other freely; this is allowed since they are at home with "Ibu" (Mother) and "Bapak" (Father), as they must call us, their leaders. Outside they are not allowed to be so free; this is not accepted in our national manners and customs, and is also not a good thing, since at their age they have such little self control.

New students, particularly girls, at first find it strange that they are not allowed to go out with their fellows, not even during the day, on a Sunday, for example. On the other hand, the girls may dance to the gamelan, they may ride bicycles, and they may engage in sports provided they are girls' sports. In the beginning this is usually beyond their comprehension and perhaps also beyond that of their parents: Taman Siswa seems now very "conservative," and then again "radical."

Let me tell you something, dear readers; after a year, when they come back to school from their holidays, you will hear those same girls complain again, but differently: "Oh, those parents of mine, they don't do something because it is right or not do it because it is wrong, but--because others do or don't do it."

Our older children not only practice art and sport, but also take part in club life. To this end they have their central PTS, the Pemuda Taman Siswa, with its many branches: sports club, debating club, dramatic club, teaching club (for those who set themselves the task of teaching as many illiterate people as possible to read within a certain time). There is also a clothing-fund committee which collects old clothes for the poor, a first aid group, and so on. Though about the same as students of other schools in their associational life they differ in that they carry on these activities together with us, their leaders. We always remain in the background, however, acting as advisers and "leaders behind the scenes" (tutwuri andajani, a Javanese term meaning those who, though remaining in the background, constantly make their authority felt). This unity between students

and their teachers is, I believe, rather rare.¹⁴

Because of our tutwuri andajani attitude it often happens that our children do something wrong before we can correct their mistake. That is not so bad. Each error brings its own punishment; and if not, then we, their leaders, stimulate its occurrence, thus making each mistake into a lesson.

Our Curriculum

How do we go about giving instruction? What subjects are taught and in what manner? Where do the teachers come from? Is there any concordance or convergence with the public school curriculum, etc., etc.? I shall take up these questions briefly at this point.

We aim at the concrete realization of our genuine national program; by which we understand that, insofar as possible, it is our duty to act consistently in keeping with our principles. This involves, among other things the complete divergence of our curriculum from that of the public schools. Can this be achieved at present without causing the children to become victims of *Prinzipiënreiterei* on our part? Our answer to this objection is that as long as we do not have university education of a national style, our secondary schools must also serve to prepare for the western university. When later we have our own university, our national high schools will prepare exclusively for our university. In the end we see no real difference between adjusting the curriculum to comply with public education requirements and arranging it so that the two systems eventually converge, particularly since we wish ultimately to be in tune with the outside world. We wish to maintain our identity as long as possible and to become part of a higher unity only when we can make ourselves felt as equals in relation to the other parts. This goal should be reached not through the granting of equality in form but through the achievement of equality in value.

On the other hand we accept the inevitable. We do so even though we are of the opinion at the moment the inevitable occurs that we have a right to something better. Thus we endeavor "to make the best of things."

After this clarification it can easily be understood that we teach at our schools about the same academic subjects as at any other school, with the difference, of course, that we are

14. Note from the 1938 version: Professor [Ralph] Bunche of Howard University in Washington, who was our guest in Jogja for a week in May 1938, maintained that never before had he seen such a harmonious "family relationship" between students and teachers.

entirely free (for we work without subsidy) to introduce both qualitative and quantitative changes in the curriculum in response to specific purposes of a national or practical social nature.

As regards methods of teaching, we also retain the right to choose freely what we think good. Now we use our own methods, then again we take what is generally practiced elsewhere, since after all the best method is the one which, irrespective of its origin, enables us to obtain the best results in the shortest possible time.

It goes without saying that, being a national school, we devote more to our own culture than do other institutions (language, history, music, dance, etc.). Furthermore, the language of instruction is the children's native tongue, or, in places where no pure mother tongue any longer exists (as in Batavia), the modern form of Malay, which we call by a new name, Indonesian. Some subjects are taught in Dutch so as to give practice in that language or because Javanese and Malay are not yet capable of functioning as the teaching medium (for example, in mathematics). The rule for introducing languages in our curriculum is as follows: the native tongue as the general vehicle of instruction, particularly for the lower grades; instruction in Dutch and Malay for the higher grades of the primary school, and English for secondary school.

Enough, however, about the formal subjects of instruction.

Capability Rather Than Certification

We recruit our teaching staff partly from our own Taman Guru teacher training schools (in Jogjakarta, Batavia, Semarang, Surabaya, Medan, and Malang)¹⁵ or we give a year's training to graduates from other schools (A.M.S., H.B.S., Stovia, Nias, and so on).¹⁶ Some of our staff have been university students

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15. Although Ki Hadjar Dewantara gives the names for cities normally used in the colonial period in this article, the Taman Siswa normally used "national" ones. Some of these have become official since independence (Djakarta, Djatinegara, and Bogor for Batavia, Meester Cornelis, and Buitenzorg); others have not (Mataram for Jogjakarta, Badung for Den Pasar). Taman Siswa branches were given the names of ancient kingdoms: Blambangan, Singasari, Madjapahit, Galuh, and so on. See S. A. Soedibjo, "Sedikit Tentang Organisasi Taman-Siswa," Taman Siswa 30 Tahun (Jogjakarta: Madjelis Luhur Taman Siswa, 1952), p. 174.
16. The AMS (Algemeen middelbare school) was designed to provide secondary school education which was adjusted to Indies needs but was also capable of preparing for higher study. There

for several years and have dropped their study and shifted to the teaching profession; they have proved to be very useful workers. There are among us also graduates of technical schools (such as the agricultural school, the nautical school, the Amsterdam business school), and even one who is certified as a government inspector of weights and measures.¹⁷ In this respect

were two main divisions, the academic (A) and scientific (B); the first school of the latter type opened in Jogja in 1919, and was followed by others. The A schools were divided into those emphasizing western civilization and those stressing oriental (principally Indonesian) culture; a western A school was opened in Bandung in 1920 and an oriental A school in Surakarta in 1926; they had no successors. The Surakarta AMS-A--the sole concession of the Indies educational system to its Asian environment--had a considerable impact on the development of modern Indonesian cultural leadership.

The HBS (Hogere burgerschool) was a Dutch secondary school; the first was established in Batavia in 1867, the second in Surabaya in 1875, and a third in Semarang in 1877. The Stovia (School ter opleiding van Inlandsche artsen) was formed in 1902 from the "Dokter-Djawa" school begun in Batavia in 1851. It was given university-level status as the Geneeskundige Hogeschool in 1927. The Nias (Nederlandsch-indische artsenschool) was established in Surabaya in 1913 on the same lines as the Stovia. Other important institutes of higher education in the Dutch period were the law school, which opened in 1909 and was given university-level status as the Rechtshogeschool in 1924; the technical institute (Technische Hogeschool), which opened in Bandung in 1920; and the school of agriculture, which began in Buitenzorg (Bogor) in 1903 and became the Landbouwkundig Fakulteit in 1941. A school of arts and letters (Literaire Fakulteit) was installed in Batavia in 1941 as the final section of a University of the Netherlands Indies comprising the various university-level schools. The first teacher training school (Kweekschool) was established in Surakarta in 1875. Training for Indonesian administrators was given first in the "hoofdenschool" begun in 1878 in Bandung, Magelang, and Probolinggo; in 1900 it became the (Middelbare) opleidings-school voor Inlandsche ambtenaars, or (M)osvia. In 1938 a university-level administrators' school (Bestuursacademie) was begun. For a survey of Netherlands Indies education, with an extensive bibliography in English and Dutch, see S. van der Wal, Some Information on Education in Indonesia up to 1942 (The Hague: Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation, 1961).

17. The 1938 version adds: We also are privileged to have in our ranks some teachers who have returned to serve the Taman Siswa after finishing their higher education overseas, at such institutions as Tagore's university in Bolpur.

we may hope that within the not too distant future, university graduates will also join the forces of national education, not by teaching with us for a while *pour passer le temps* pending their appointment to permanent posts but because they are so interested in the pioneering work we have undertaken that they are prepared to serve in our cause. I pray this may be so.

The Financial Secret

Perhaps many of you will ask, where does their money come from? I believe myself that this is the most difficult problem of the whole system. We are not allowed by statute to accept gifts which might in any way be binding; on the other hand donations given purely *con amore* are not rejected. We do not wish to rely on aid from outside, as in principle we are firmly determined to stand on our own feet. First of all, this cultivates the self-confidence we so greatly need; secondly it stimulates our activity; and finally we are all compelled because of it to observe the utmost simplicity and austerity, qualities essential to moulding good character.

In this respect we speak of a "self-supporting system," which we declare in our program to be a basic principle. With this system it is no longer appropriate to set up schools only if there are government subsidies for them, as was previously the case. This former attitude meant that we could never hope to establish an adequate number of schools for our people.

We have no fixed income other than school fees, which are based on about the same rates as those of the public schools. With this money we have to cover all expenses of education and school management; in keeping with the self-supporting system, funds for the maintenance of the "pondok" are defrayed from donations for board and lodging made by both students and teachers.¹⁸

I think this has given the reader sufficient information concerning our financial affairs (although many, particularly those who make a rough calculation, will not stop shaking their

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18. The Taman Siswa also developed various supporting groups to increase its financial resources. These included the Badan Ekonomi (Economic Committee), which existed at the Madjelis Luhur and madjelis tjabang levels; its purpose was to solicit contributions for the movement's general fund. The Badan Fonds Keluargaan Taman Siswa (Taman Siswa Family Fund Committee), also existing under Madjelis Luhur and madjelis tjabang sponsorship, was aimed at aiding teachers who were no longer able to work and supporting the families of those who had died. Badan Penjokong (Committees of Supporters) were ad hoc bodies created either at the central or at the branch level to collect funds for particular projects, such as for the purchase of a schoolhouse.

heads and wondering how on earth it is possible for us to manage!)

The Organization

A few words should still be said on the Taman Siswa organization. Our schools are not legal associations (nor do they possess contributing members), but call themselves "free wakaf." That is, they are a sort of native foundation, but not one registered with the Islamic courts as is required for ordinary wakaf, since the Taman Siswa has no desire to be tied by Islamic religious rules. Further, we are also wary of applying for a corporate status because corporate bodies belong to the jurisdiction of European law (and thus may not own land). Perhaps now the Taman Siswa, as a result of the decision of the last congress, will undertake the formation of a foundation, a matter which is being studied by our legal commission.¹⁹

Each Taman Siswa (there are about two hundred throughout the Indies)²⁰ is a branch of an association called the Persatuan Taman Siswa. This is seated in Jogjakarta and is under the leadership of a Madjelis Luhur or Central Executive, which is elected by a congress held every four years. At the head of this body there is a General Leader, who is elected for an indefinite period and vested with the same rights as those wielded by the congress. Together with the Council of Elders--the Badan Pengetua, a body providing guidance and advice--the General

19. This sentence was deleted from the 1938 version, and a footnote was inserted, reading: "What we want is the official recognition of Taman Siswa as a free wakaf, which is what it is in reality; this may be made possible by a draft law which has been in preparation for some time but so far (1938) has not yet been enacted." The "free wakaf" concept had been formulated by the Taman Siswa leadership in 1923. In 1951 the Taman Siswa accepted the (European) status of jajasan (foundation, stichting) on the grounds that in independent Indonesia there was no distinction between European and indigenous legal status. See Wardoyo, "Sedikit Tentang Organisasi Perguruan," Taman Siswa 30 Tahun, p. 175.
20. The 1938 version gives the number of Taman Siswa schools as 250, but Sayoga (p. 244) states that at the end of the colonial period the Taman Siswa had 199 branches with 207 schools. Of these, 4 branches were in Bali, 70 in East Java (with 71 schools), 42 in Central Java (45 schools), 28 in West Java (32 schools), 49 in Sumatra, 2 in Borneo, 2 in Celebes, 1 in Ambon, and 1 in Ternate.

Leader and the Central Executive constitute the top organizational leadership.

Women in the Taman Siswa

In discussing the organization it may be interesting, particularly for women readers, to note that the Taman Siswa has various regulations guaranteeing the absolutely equal position of the women members. It is provided in the first place that, in addition to the women members elected to its leading bodies in the normal course of things, there should also be a woman representing the Wanita Taman Siswa (an association of women teachers plus the wives of male teachers); this extra member is elected independently by the women's group. Furthermore, all cases of improper behavior, the appointment of women teachers, and the setting of moral standards, particularly those having to do with sex, are subject to the judgment of the Wanita Taman Siswa. There is, in addition, a Central Women's Council, which ranks not below but alongside the Central Executive.²¹

Leadership, Supervision, and Order

All these central executive bodies have their representatives in various regions. These areas are Central Java, East Java, West Java, Atjeh, East Sumatra, West Sumatra, South Sumatra, Southeast Borneo, West Borneo, Bali, and Celebes; each already has one or more Taman Siswa schools.²² These regions are subdivided into smaller areas, usually (but not always) coinciding with government administrative districts; these are under the leadership of "instructors." In this way it is possible to provide supervision and leadership from the headquarters of the Madjelis Luhur. By means of the existing rules, which lay down the main principles of centralization in fundamental matters (a minimum curriculum, the appointment of headmasters, the confirmation of teacher appointments, the senior class of the central teacher's college in Jogjakarta, general policy toward government and public, etc.), together with the forms of decentralization in the local areas (material management, handling of local concerns, and so on), it has generally been possible to achieve

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21. For an elaboration of Ki Hadjar Dewantara's opinion on the role of women, see his Soal Wanita (Jogjakarta: Madjelis Luhur Taman Siswa, 1961).
 22. In 1952, the following major areas were listed: East Java, Central Java, West Java, South Sumatra, Central Sumatra, North Sumatra, and Kalimantan (Taman Siswa 30 Tahun, inserted statistical tables).

a considerable portion of the inner peace and order we so urgently require.²³

We endeavor to achieve this peace and order, which our statement of principles declares to be our "loftiest ideal," through recognizing and applying the principle of the individual's right of self-determination coupled to the demand for collectivity. All our rules governing relations between individuals and between groups must derive from this or be tested against it. Thus, for example, there exists not the faintest sign of the employer-employee antithesis within Taman Siswa. Even the fixing of nafkah (subsistence; we do not speak of salary) is one of the powers of the workers collectively and not merely the competence of the executive committee. The Taman Siswa enterprise is thus immediately recognizable as one of cooperative form.

It is in the nature of the organization, having independence as its fundamental principle, that it is not always easy to achieve peace and order. Therefore the Taman Siswa statutes have a provision stipulating that in certain cases the General Leader may act as a dictator, in which capacity he need no longer abide by the existing rules and regulations but only by their main principles.

Now we have come to the conclusion of our account. The reader should not think that we with our Taman Siswa are the only workers in the sphere of national education, let alone that we pretend to have a monopoly on wisdom and are confident of achieving the best results. By no means; we are only one of many groups which in this difficult time of transition would do anything for the cultural and social development of our country and folk. We are searching together for the best ways to the same goal. If there is something that distinguishes us from the others, then it is probably the fact that we have the courage to be ourselves again.

Return to the National principle. That is the form in which --so we hope and believe--there will be manifested that deep and only and thus far recondite truth, that it is in our own national life that all natural rhythms and harmonies are developed

23. The 1938 version notes: "Governor van der Plas called the tata-tentram (peace and order) experienced within Taman Siswa the soul of our organization."

and experienced, and only in this can the highest human happiness in this world be found.

May this soon come to pass!²⁴

24. Ki Hadjar Dewantara concludes his account with a statistical footnote, the figures of which were changed for the 1938 version of the article to accord with the figures of the annual report of 1937-1938. The text of the note, with the 1938 figures in parentheses, is as follows:

Some statistical data taken from the annual report of 1932-1933:

1. Number of branches: 175 (190), with 208 (225) schools; some branches and schools are still "candidates," as they have not yet been inspected on behalf of the central board or have not yet reached the required standard.
2. Out of 175 (190) branches, 145 (147) are in Java and Madura, 25 (57) in Sumatra, 3 (4) in Borneo, 1 (1) in Celebes, and 1 (1) in Bali.
3. Each branch has a kindergarten and a primary school and/or an intermediary school; there are further 26 (20) junior high schools (Mulo), 6 (6) teacher training schools, and 1 (1) high school (middelbare school). Some branches also maintain on an experimental basis an extension school providing adult education, an extension school for girls, an agricultural primary school, a trade school, or the like.
4. There are altogether 700 (700) teachers, among them 100 (100) women; and there are 17,000 (17,000) students, of whom 4,000 (4,000) are girls. [Sic; it is not apparent if the figures for the two years were the same or if the earlier statistics were recopied by mistake.]