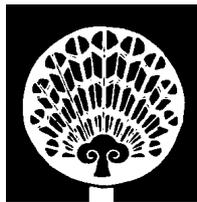


THE
IMPOSSIBILITY
OF LIBERALISM AND
DEMOCRACY IN
INDONESIA

1840–1940

Tommy Svensson



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**The Impossibility of Liberalism and Democracy in Indonesia
1840–1940**

by Thommy Svensson

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The wave of neoliberal ideas, which swept over many parts of the world during the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s, makes the historical study of liberal thinking and liberal policies important. The breakdown of European communism, and the diminished political importance of socialist ideology, has put liberal philosophy in a partly new light and, among others, resulted in a renewed debate about the possible relationship between capitalism, liberalism and democracy.

In the Western part of Europe, it is safe to argue that the foundation of today's liberal thinking was laid in the 1930s. In Sweden, to take a concrete example, the Liberal Party's leader Bertil Ohlin was the one who in the mid-1930s most clearly formulated the welfare-liberal ideology which today constitutes the core of the Swedish Liberal Party's political program. It was a kind of liberalism which Ohlin termed social liberalism. It implied a strong belief in free enterprise but this was combined with the demand for a socially active state whose power should be used to improve the conditions of underprivileged people. In Sweden at that time, the underprivileged were not the industrial workers, who had the support of powerful unions and the ruling Social Democratic Party, but "those who were poor, those who had many children, and those who were less well organized." As Jörgen Weibull has concluded, Swedish liberalism in its Liberal Party guise became in this way "a radical reform party concerned with the problems of the small people ... a middle-of-the-road party independent of all class interests."¹

This type of liberalism is the result of a long process of intellectual development. It combines two historical traditions in liberal thinking: on the one hand the *economic*, which advocates freedom for the individual to maximize his material self-interest, on the other the *humanitarian*, which advocates the right of the individual to spiritual self-development and social security. These constitute the opposite poles of liberal philosophy. The problem is to find a way to combine freedom and security, market economy and welfare society, in a social system based on competition between people with unequal resources of power. Economic freedom is maximized by as little state interference as possible in the lives of the individuals; social security is maximized through collective regulation of the framework for the citizens' lives. For the liberal, the major task is to establish a balance between these two legs – the market

and the state – in historically shifting contexts which put different weight on, and political possibilities for, individual freedom and collective security.

The axis of gravity of the Liberal program has changed through history.² The Liberalism that emerged in Europe after the Napoleonic wars rested almost entirely on the free market-leg. It advocated, first and foremost, the interests of a group of businessmen and industrialists who demanded political influence on a level with their growing economic importance. Liberal thinkers like Benjamin Constant³ and Alexis de Tocqueville⁴ demanded constitutional changes but regarded genuine political democracy as a threat to private property. Limited voting rights were necessary to avoid the despotism of the people. The individual's unlimited economic freedom was the important thing.⁵ The keyword was *laissez-faire*. The state should be passive. It should not interfere in economic life but act as a night-watchman, limiting itself to maintaining law and order, handling foreign relations and providing for the defence of the country. Herbert Spencer heralded Social Darwinism when he claimed that life in society is characterized by the same struggle for existence as life in nature.⁶

In Sweden, these ideas were given their first political expression in the 1820s. They resulted in the *Fabriks- och hantverksordning* of 1846, which abolished the guild system; the *Handelsordning* of 1846, which made provision for trade in rural areas and for businesses run by women; the *Folkskolestadga* of 1842, which made primary education available for most children; the *Kommunalförordning* of 1843, which increased the local political influence of the non-landholding classes; the *Fattigvårdsförordning* of 1847, which regulated how the poorest people should be taken care of; and the *Läroverksförordning* of 1849, which provided a foundation for higher education. Taken together, these legal changes broke down the old social system of the four Estates and laid the foundation for a more capitalistically organized and less state-ruled society.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the programme was displaced as more weight began to be laid on the other leg of liberal thinking. Liberalism adjusted its emphasis on economic freedom and began to recognize the role of the state. Greater scope was given to humanitarian ideas. The so-called 'workers' question' was put on the agenda. The poor conditions of the lower classes must be improved. Slowly, democratic ideas – forcefully put forth by, for example, Johan Stuart Mill who underscored the educational importance of political freedom – entered

the scene.⁷ Reforms were carried out which were incompatible with rigorous, old liberal *laissez-faire* thinking.⁸

To start with, this New Liberalism was intensely paternalistic. In the Swedish case, this was illustrated by the private welfare institutions which many industrial estates established for their workers. The democratic turn of the tide took place, in a politically organized manner, by the establishment in Stockholm in 1884 of *Liberala valmansföreningen* (the Liberal Voters' General Association). This was led by Adolf Hedén, who in the same year introduced a motion in the Parliament for compulsory accident insurance and old-age pensions. The Liberal Party was established as a parliamentary party in 1895 when the political struggle for universal suffrage started. Five years later it was reorganized into the *Liberala samlingspartiet* (United Liberal Party). Its leader Karl Staff formed a Liberal government in 1911 and, among other things, put the Pensions Act through Parliament. Ten years later, another Liberal government, led by Nils Edén, administered the definite introduction of political democracy.

In Western Europe, the inter-war years – encompassing the deep economic depression of the 1930s when many thought that capitalism was on the road to collapse with liberalism on its tail – were the transitional period when the so-called welfare state was established. This was the time when the other leg, the state and its regulation of society, began to bring liberal ideology up onto an equal footing with the market. At the same time, the liberal parties of many countries were ousted from their dominant political positions by Social Democracy. Liberalism took up the struggle against socialism – in the sense of state control and planned economy – by emphasizing more and more in its economic theory the necessity of government intervention to prevent excessive market fluctuations and improve social welfare. This shift in liberal thinking is aptly symbolized by the title of John Maynard Keynes' book of 1926, *The End of Laissez-Faire*.⁹ The night-watch state was replaced by the welfare state.

This development of liberalism – from economic freedom via paternalistic humanism and representative political democracy to government-regulated security – is well documented. The same pattern can, in one form or another, be found in all of the Western European countries, irrespective of which historical persons transformed the ideas into action in each individual case. These are countries which have shared a joint political tradition and similar state formations, and have experienced much the same pattern of economic development.

Liberalism as a political phenomenon outside Western Europe is much less investigated. This is particularly true of the colonial world. During the decades before and after the turn of the century, when it had a strong position in countries such as Great Britain, France, Germany and the Netherlands, liberalism also put its mark on social developments in entirely different contexts. In what ways were the liberal ideas in the imperial centres reflected in the colonies? Did liberal governments in the home countries pursue a special colonial policy? What were the effects on the colonized peoples? In what way did political and ideological development in the colonies differ from that in the mother countries?

This study attempts to shed light on these questions and thereby contribute to an increased understanding of liberalism as ideology and practical policy. The scene is Indonesia and the Dutch variety of Western European liberalism.

The Pre-History of Liberal Colonialism

When Indonesia gained independence in December 1949, the Dutch had been on Java for almost 350 years. The first came to the archipelago in 1595. The Dutch East India Company (VOC)¹⁰ was formed in 1602 and was given by the States General sole and exclusive trading rights in Asia. During the century that followed, the company grew to become a major power. It concluded agreements with local rulers, established trading stations and built fortifications. The company officials were businessmen at war. They engaged in plundering. But their guiding star was trade, not colonization. Profits were created by exploiting the price differences between markets which were not connected with one another. A prerequisite for a good profit was the establishment of a monopoly. This made it possible to determine supply, set prices and procure fixed deliveries.

As a result, however, the company was gradually compelled to acquire territories, mainly in the Moluccas and along the northern coast of Java. Supremacy was established by military and political means. The VOC got rid of European and local competitors, played the rulers of the archipelago off against each other, and gradually became a new central authority over and above existing state formations in the area. Hereby, the company could start to use existing systems of exaction to procure its merchandise. The VOC's administration continued to grow during the eighteenth century in order to supervise indigenous rulers and lords, who were responsible for the collection of products.

Around the year 1800, most parts of Java had come under the control of the company. But the old Javanese state structure remained by and large intact. It was a loosely organized administration. Regional rulers and local lords paid tribute to a more powerful ruler. They were required to make regular deliveries but had, aside from that, a great deal of independence. The Dutch had few contacts with the people, in whom they showed little interest and of whom they had a limited knowledge.

The policy of the VOC led in many areas to an impoverishment of the population. The loosely organized administration and weak constabulary left room for robber bands and bandits, who ravaged the countryside. Corruption was widespread among both company officials and indigenous potentates. The craving for profit was great and the abuse of power extensive.

During the eighteenth century, the VOC suffered losses which ultimately led to its economic collapse. It has been claimed that one of causes was the decline in agricultural production in Java.¹¹ Even more important, however, were the structural changes that took place in Asian trade: the growing political instability in South and West Asia, the opening of China and the shift from luxury goods to staples.¹²

The company's debts and possessions were taken over by the Dutch crown in 1800. The first years were marked by turbulence in the shadow of the Napoleonic wars. A new system for exploiting the resources of the island was established in 1830, the Forced Cultivation System (*Kultuurstelsel*). It was now that the true colonial period began. The purpose was a singular one: to make the colony as profitable as possible for the mother country. Javanese peasants were forced to cultivate, harvest, transport and to some extent refine export crops (sugar, coffee, tea, tobacco, indigo), which were sold by a state-monopolistic trading company on the world market at a generally good profit. In return, the peasant received an economic compensation which was far below the market value of their land and labour. In theory, each village was to set aside one-fifth of its land and one-fifth of its working force. The indirect form of rule was retained. Everything was organized by local chiefs. This resulted in considerable differences between the prescribed and the actual allocation of land and labour. To increase their incentive, local rulers were given a provision on delivered products. The result was abuses of power and harsh methods. It was a continuation of the VOC's old policy in a more systematic manner and on a much larger scale. The freedom of the peasants was very small and the opportunities for Europeans to engage in private enterprise were very limited.¹³

The financial profits were considerable for the Dutch crown. The value of exported goods rose from 13 million guilders in 1830 to 75 million in 1840. State revenues increased from 19 million in 1831 to 44 million in 1850. At the same time, costs were kept down. Out of the colonial government's expenditures of 40 million guilders in 1840, only 1,000 guilders were used for improving the health and educational level of the indigenous population. The net gain for the Dutch state treasury, that which the Dutch called the *batig slot*, was on average 4 million guilders at the beginning of the 1830s. Twenty years later, it had risen to 15 million.¹⁴ Much of this was used to build up the infrastructure which laid a foundation for the industrialization of the mother country.

The Forced Cultivation System increased the amount of money in circulation in rural areas. This had positive consequences for some of the natives. Groups who were able to exploit the system strengthened their position.¹⁵ For most of the people, however, the results were disastrous. Local rulers made use of much more land for forced cultivation than was allowed. The volume of forced labour, not just in agriculture but in all sorts of fields, reached levels which had not been seen during the period of the VOC. The per capita production of food fell in many areas. Starvation occurred in some places. Hard work and brutal punishments took many lives. Parts of the island were depopulated as people fled to places where there was less exploitation. It was not only the Dutch who exploited the Javanese. Their own leaders were hand in glove with the system.¹⁶

The Liberal Reaction

The Forced Cultivation System was the opposite of a liberal creation. It was built on compulsion and state monopoly. Paradoxically enough, it was established at the time when liberalism began to exert a political influence in the Netherlands.

In 1830, the king still had the decisive power over colonial affairs. The liberals opposed the Forced Cultivation System. But their opposition was not directed against the exploitation of the natives; the defendants of the Javanese were few. The liberals were just as exultant as Wilhelm I over the great economic gains. But they wanted to place these under the control of the States General. The aim was to get constitutional power over colonial policy, to obtain influence over the colonial budget and over how the *batig slot* was used; and to open up the resources of the East Indies to private capital.

The new Dutch state which was created at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 was short-lived. Belgium left the union in 1831. Soon after the Peace of 1839, Wilhelm I abdicated. A period of political reorganization followed, led by the liberals under J.R. Thorbecke. In the revolutionary year of 1848, the ministries were made responsible to the States General. Reforms were carried out which favoured the growing bourgeoisie. In 1854, the States General assumed power in colonial matters. Fifty years of liberal government began.¹⁷

By the beginning of the 1860s the liberals had managed to make practically every colonial question a subject of political debate. Attempts were made to ease the worst effects of the Forced Cultivation System. Slavery was abolished in 1860. Dutch private citizens were given some opportunities to rent land for export agriculture. The strict press censorship was softened. Nevertheless, the fundamental features of colonial policy remained intact. The state controlled the major share of export production and trade. Those who had the franchise and the freedom to engage in business in Holland lost these rights the minute they set foot on Javanese soil. Here, a representative political assembly with the aim of protecting and furthering the rights of citizens was lacking. Political associations and meetings were forbidden. There was good reason for the saying "liberal in Holland, but conservative in the East Indies."¹⁸

Karel F. Holle and the Liberal Alternative during the 1860s

How could a profit-making export agriculture be organized along liberal principles? An example was the Waspada tea plantation which was established by Karel Fredrick Holle during the 1860s.¹⁹

Holle was one of a few private entrepreneurs who were given permission by the government to lease 100 hectares of uncultivated land for 20 years to grow tea in the mountainous highlands of Western Java. This was in January 1865. The land was located on the western slope of Mount Cikuray, a bit to the side of a narrow road running south of *negroij* Garut, not far from present-day Cilawau.

Holle was 36 years old. He had behind him a career as administrator of forced coffee cultivation. He was interested in plantation business, but also in the natives. He was a liberal with a humanistic spirit and was one of the very few Europeans who had taken the trouble to learn the language and customs of the indigenous people.

In 1868, Holle published a report on his plantation. It gives a detailed description of the local conditions. He tells that it was a wild

region that he had come to. The leasehold could only be reached on horseback but was located in a populated area. All around were small villages from which he intended to recruit his labourers. The villages were bothered by wild boars and buffaloes on the loose which belonged to the local chiefs and a few wealthy villagers. The animals trampled and ate in the fields, destroyed the walls, ponds and irrigation ditches. The destruction was so extensive that the villagers were sometimes only able to harvest half of their crops.

The people were the victims of the whims of a small number of influential persons. They did not have power and courage to complain. The animals also caused damage to Holle's plantings. He had ditches dug around the fields and, using the white man's powerful language, tried to get the owners to chain their buffaloes or keep them fenced in. He initiated an intensive hunt for wild boar in which the villagers soon participated with a great deal of energy. After two years, he writes, the problem had been eliminated.

For more than a hundred years, the peasants in the area had been forced to cultivate coffee, and to some extent indigo, in return for miserable economic compensation. Holle's plantation was one of the first to be run in a different way, with use of free wage-labour. He recruited a bit more than 120 workers, *bujangs*, and their families – about 500 people in all. Most of them came from the neighbouring area but some were migrant workers from Cirebon, Sukabumi and Cianjur, and there were even a few from Central and Eastern Java. All of them lived on the plantation, where each household was provided with a small house, a garden and regular rations of rice. Holle took care of all necessary things. Separate baths were built for men and women. Dancers were hired when it was time for feasting.

One group of labourers was put to work in the building which was erected for preparing the tea. Others gathered wood and carried out all sorts of simple tasks. Some were given the opportunity to learn a trade and became smiths, masons and carpenters. The overwhelming majority, however, worked in the fields. During the high season, the permanent work force was supplemented with temporary *bujangs* who were hired from the surrounding villages for shorter periods.

We recognize this method of acquiring and training a disciplined work force from many rural industries run by liberal entrepreneurs all over Europe in the middle and the end of the nineteenth century.²⁰ The same is true of the wage system which Holle introduced. The salary was proportional to the amount of work carried out: the number of acres that

were cleared, the length of the ditches that were dug, the number of tea plants planted, the amount of leaves picked, the number of bales packed. This, Holle writes, made the workers work harder than in other places.

People were interested in earning money. This became especially apparent when the road was to be built between the plantation and the country road. The work was carried out by people from the nearby villages. The wage paid was based on how long a stretch of road was built each day. People fought for a place in the work force. Even the peasants who had work to do in their own fields took part. Holle makes a point of the comment of the district sheriff: “I now realize that money has more power than force (*duwit kéwat batan paréntah*). If I had built the road with the same work force, it would have taken three times as long. And I would have needed the help of local bigwigs with loud voices to drive them on.”

Holle presents us with an idyllic picture of the community he built up. His relations with his foremen and workers were just as demanding but also just as paternal as those of many foundry or mill owners in Western Europe at the end of the nineteenth century. The number of workers who ran away decreased more and more as time went on. This had been a curse for centuries in the areas of forced cultivation. After four years the turnover of labour had become very small:

... the people and to an even greater extent their children, who in a manner of speaking get their feeling for free labour together with their mother's milk, grow up to be good and competent labourers used to regular work... One even gets hold of skilled workers, who are practically impossible to find in the villages with their *heere-*, *hoofden-*, *kultuur-* and *gemeente-diensten* and lack of competent management.

The workers' families were happy. The women and children did not run and hide and the dogs did not bark at white people, which almost always happened in other places.

Holle's story presents a greatly idealized picture. The Waspada plantation was a propaganda number for the liberals, who wanted to open the resources of the colony on a large scale to private initiative. His report illustrates the arguments they put forth. The population was suffering because of the greed, abuse of power and capriciousness of its own, incompetent leaders. Large profits could be made by freeing the forces of the market and by cultivating export crops with the help of free labour – which would benefit the natives as well as private entrepreneurs and the state treasury.

Liberalism as Colonial Economics, 1870-1900

It was during the second half of the 1860s that the Liberal breakthrough occurred when Franssen van de Putte, who had considerable personal experience of life on Java, took up the duty as Minister of Colonial Affairs in The Hague. This gave the liberals the decisive influence over colonial policy and a series of reforms were carried out. The new era was confirmed in 1870, when a new Agricultural Act was passed. The indigenous population was given unlimited rights to cultivated land but, at the same time, it was made possible for private non-natives to lease land on a long-term basis – both native land and unused government land.

During the following decades, European plantations were established at a rapid rate. Most of the forced cultivation was terminated. The indigenous lords were deprived of their estates and their rights to exact *corvée* labour and produce. A new colonial administration was built up. The Liberals attempted to convert the indigenous rulers and their bailiffs into a professional civil service corps with fixed salaries and clearly-defined areas of responsibility. More Dutchmen were introduced at lower levels. The aim was to create a new, rationally functioning state. If a good framework was established, man's natural striving to improve his situation should produce miracles.

In the province of Priangan, where Holle's Waspada was located, 1,400 large and small tea, quinine and cocoa plantations were started between 1870 and 1920. By 1890, about 45,000 hectares were being cultivated by non-natives. In 1926, the figure had risen to 220,000 hectares, which corresponded to three-quarters of all the irrigated land cultivated by the indigenous population. More and more Dutchmen moved to the colony. Around 1850, there were more than 22,000 Europeans in the archipelago. By 1900, the number had increased to 70,000. In Priangan their number rose from a few hundreds in 1870 to more than 27,000 sixty years later.²¹

Large investments were made to meet the transportation needs of the plantations. Two main roads were built, connecting the major towns of Java with one another. The network of minor roads was improved. 2,200 kilometers of railway had been built by the year 1900. More and larger ships were added to the merchant fleet.²²

A prerequisite for producing in a capitalistic manner with the help of free wage labour was a monetarized economy that forced the Javanese out onto the labour market. The previous *corvée* obligations and exactions in kind were replaced by taxes paid in money. This made it

necessary for the natives to seek work on the plantations or, if they had access to land, to begin commercial farming.

It was a *laissez-faire* economy that was created. Within the framework provided for by the state, private initiative was given free rein. What happened? The figures show that rapid growth followed. In 1856, according to existing trade statistics, government exports amounted to 64 million guilders, private to 34 million. By 1885 the figures had been reversed. The state's share was then only 16 million, while private interests accounted for 169 million.²³ The production of the most important privately cultivated crops rose considerably:

Table 1: Production of most important privately cultivated crops, 1870–1900 (tons)

Crop	1870	1900
sugar	172,000	744,000
tobacco	8,000	78,000
tea	1,500	6,600
quinine	4	5,600

Source: P. Creutzberg (ed.), *Indonesia's Export Crops 1816-1940*. The Hague 1975, pp. 52-3.24

During the same period, coffee production was nearly halved, from 90,000 to 54,000 tons. This was the most important crop that was still force-cultivated until early in the twentieth century.

Besides the plantations, other raw-material producing branches of the economy also grew. This occurred on the islands outside Java, which during the nineteenth century were finally placed under Dutch sovereignty. The copra industry grew from nothing into an export industry worth more than seven million guilders by the turn of the century. Tin and coal mines gave good returns. Shell increased its oil production from 300 tons in 1880 to 363,000 tons in 1900.²⁵

The policy of free enterprise meant that the wealth of the colony no longer flowed mainly into the state treasury but into the purses of the Dutch bourgeoisie. Many private entrepreneurs made great fortunes. To be sure, government revenues increased. But the expenses increased even more. The growing administrative apparatus cost large sums. Investments in railways amounted to 150 million guilders and in irrigation facilities 40 million. More than 250 million guilders were spent on the long and bloody war in Aceh to bring the last independent part of Sumatra under

the control of Liberal colonialism. By the turn of the century, the government's spending deficit was more than 150 million guilders.²⁶

It was, however, the indigenous people who were first and foremost hit by the runaway market economy. Living conditions on the plantations were miserable and the work was underpaid. From Sumatra, terrifying stories surfaced about planters and overseers who manhandled workers to death, and about foremen who tortured pregnant women whose condition prevented them from doing a full job. It was not seldom that the recruit-ment of labourers took the form of a slave trade, with unscrupulous recruiters and indebtedness used as a means of tying people to long contracts. Private court proceedings took place.²⁷

Abuse of power was common also in Java. The Europeans took possession of the best land. The plantation owners were in collusion with the former rulers and bailiffs.²⁸ The colonial civil servants had, in reality, little chance of maintaining the administrative principles that were laid down in the law. What they intended to do, or believed that they were doing, was one thing – what was actually done was quite another matter.²⁹

The free economy favoured economically powerful groups among the indigenous population. A class of entrepreneurial landlords emerged in some places and contributed to create an obvious economic dynamism in native society.³⁰ But the poor people, who had no land, saw their living conditions deteriorate. There was not enough land as a result of the large increase in population. After 1889, increasing amounts of rice had to be imported. Indigenous handicrafts were unable to compete with the cheap products imported from industries in the Netherlands.³¹

There was much talk about the declining welfare, *mindere welvaart*, during the years around the turn of the century. A major investigation was initiated in 1902. Data dealing with most social and economic aspects of the natives' lives were collected. The result was 35 thick volumes, containing a goldmine of information.³² They showed that the effects of the free market economy varied from area to area depending on local conditions. It was not possible to draw any general, unequivocal conclusions about a deteriorating standard of living, even if many who belonged to the landless half of the population lived under hard conditions.³³

Many Dutch plantation owners were also hard hit. Competition was fierce and the fluctuations in the market rapid. When prices fell on the world market, those who had invested at the wrong time and in the wrong things went bankrupt. A strong financial position was of crucial

importance. As a result, the banks came to play a more and more important role. After the depression of 1885, they exercised a decisive influence. The individualism which had characterized the earlier years was gone. The market was limited through cartels, sales organizations, and planters associations which demanded regulations and supervision. Individual interests were collectivized and the economy corporatized.³⁴ Together with the government budget deficits, and the worsened situation of many of the natives, this was the final nail in the Old Liberal coffin. *Laissez-faire* politics did not work. Liberalism began to shift its weight over to its other leg. The atmosphere was changing.

Liberalism as Ethical Politics, 1900-1930

It was a new spirit that characterized Queen Wilhelmina's speech from the throne at the official opening of the States General in The Hague one clear autumn morning in 1901. Accompanied by the speakers of both chambers, she ascended the throne in the ancient Hall of Knights and spoke to the deputies. Outside, the guard of honour of the marines stood at attention. The huge crowd that had gathered could also hear her words through the tall gothic windows:

As a Christian nation, it is the duty of the Netherlands to improve the conditions of the natives far away in the East Indies, to support the Christian missionary work, and to make it clear to the entire administration that the Netherlands has a moral duty to fulfil with regard to the population of these areas.³⁵

This might appear at first sight to be Calvinist influenced rhetoric without obligations. But this was not the case. The queen's speech was the official birth of what in the Netherlands was called *de etische politiek*, the Dutch equivalent of *the white man's burden* in Great Britain and *la mission civilisatrice* in France.

The new, ethical policy had its roots in a more than fifty-year-old tradition of liberal-humanitarian ideas, which until that time had had little political voice. One of the forerunners was the Protestant clergyman W.R. van Hoëvell. As early as 1837, he started what gradually developed into one of the most prestigious colonial journals, *Tijdschrift voor Neêrlandsch Indië*. Here, he wrote articles critical of the forced cultivation system and the inhuman treatment of the natives. In the revolutionary year of 1848, he came into conflict with the government as a result of his attempts to organize the Eurasian population of Batavia

and was compelled to leave Java.³⁶ Following his return to the Netherlands, he became a Member of Parliament and an expert in colonial affairs for the Liberal Party. He conducted a persistent struggle in the States General against slavery and for native education.³⁷

Few people helped more to turn the public opinion in a liberal direction than the author Edward Douwes Dekker, who in 1860, under the pseudonym Multatuli, published the autobiographical *roman à clef* entitled *Max Havelaar*.³⁸ It is nowadays considered to be one of the masterpieces of Dutch literature. The book describes the author's bitter experiences as a colonial civil servant in the province of Banten in West Java during the year of 1856. It deals with the local ruler's oppression of the population and Havelaar's fruitless attempts to get his superiors, and in the end the Governor General himself, to intervene. They were only concerned about the usefulness of the colony to the mother country and for that reason compelled to deny the rights and human value of the natives. The book greatly influenced intellectual opinions in the Netherlands. After its publication, the question of colonial policy was no longer uncontroversial for the educated public.

The humanitarian voices grew in strength during the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Critical pamphlets and articles saw the light of the day more and more often. The colony should not be governed for the benefit of Dutch capitalists but to aid the millions of helpless natives. At the turn of the century, words such as these could be heard in most political quarters. The Anti-Revolutionary Party's political platform was based on Calvinist theology. Its leader, Abraham Kuyper, although deeply conservative, was of the opinion that "our colonial policy must be governed by moral and ethical responsibility." Similar strains were heard within the Catholic State Party. The exploitation of the archipelago must be limited, schools be built for the natives, intensive missionary work be started, and a program for public works be established.³⁹

In leftist circles considerably stronger words were used. In 1888, the first socialist deputy in the Lower House, F. Dormela Nieuwenhuis, accused the Netherlands of "having stolen 850 million guilders" from the colony. It was time to repay "this terrible theft." The Socialist leader, H.H. van Kol, described the East Indies as a thriving country bound in the chains of Dutch capitalism. He advocated a new, socially-oriented colonial policy but also envisioned an independent Indonesia.⁴⁰

It was between these two wings that the new Liberalism emerged. Especially influential from a political point of view was the article *Een eereschuld* (A debt of honour), written in 1899 by the new liberal leader,

Conrad van Deventer.⁴¹ He claimed that the Netherlands had brought home 200 million guilders from the East Indies during the years 1867-1899. This money could have been used in the colony to develop the social policy that was so desperately needed. It was a debt of honour which must be repaid. It was time for the mother country to inject money into the colony in order to improve the conditions of the natives.

In 1901, Pieter Brooshooft's pamphlet, *De etische koers in de koloniale politiek* (The moral course in colonial policy), which gave a name to the new policy, was a settling of accounts with old liberalism. The Old Liberals claimed, Brooshooft writes, that they had given the East Indies the maximum opportunity to develop. But freedom has, in fact, increased the dependence of the natives and turned them into slaves under our own commercial and agrarian interests. The government has taken possession of 25 per cent of their average earnings. It is time to take to our heart the spiritual and material well-being of the natives, even if it involves great expenses. The old liberalism has been an external principle. There is now a need to address the question of inner righteousness and moral calling. The same welfare policy as is conducted in the Netherlands must be carried out in the colony.⁴²

The old colonial policy had catered to the European interests. Now, there was agreement among New Liberals, Calvinists, Catholics and Socialists that the guiding star of politics must be the spiritual, moral, social and economic progress of the colonized people. This calling was genuinely and deeply felt by many people in the Netherlands. In 1848, a liberal could write that "a desire for revenge, ingratitude, indifference, jealousy, vanity, laziness, and fanaticism" characterized the natives "from the highest to the lowest".⁴³ Few liberals dared say anything like this publicly fifty years later. Condemnation had been replaced by understanding and, among some, even sympathy.⁴⁴

There were several Dutchmen who had been and were working in this spirit. They were not particularly engaged in the theatre and the slogans that occupied the politicians, but were busy in a practical way out in the field. They were called *ethici* and were the standard bearers of the new, ethical spirit.⁴⁵

One of them was the aforementioned K.F. Holle. His Waspada project was based on a genuine feeling for the Sundanese people of West Java. He devoted his energies to educating indigenous people. Among other things, he was involved in the establishment of a teachers' school in Bandung as early as 1865. And he spent time trying to teach the Javanese peasants more efficient farming methods. His knowledge of Sundanese

language and culture made him, in 1871, advisor to the colonial government in so-called 'indigenous' matters. When the ethical policy was introduced after Holle's death (he died in 1891), the ideas he had attempted to realize at Waspada were lifted up to a national level and became a programme for colonial politics at large.

A more academic, scientifically-inclined *ethicus* was C. Snouk Hurgronje, a specialist on Islam and advisor to the government during the Aceh War. During the 1890s, he acquired considerable knowledge of the life of the people of Java and became one of the most powerful advocates of an advanced programme of education. The best of European culture would be made available to the natives. When they understood what opportunities this would present, their informed self-interest would bring forth a progressive society, loyal to the mother country.

In 1891, Snouk Hurgronje was made advisor on indigenous affairs. In time, this position became a permanent office, *Adviseur van Inlandsche Zaken*, which played an important role as a centre for practical ethical politics and a support for Javanese organizations. The men who succeeded Snouk Hurgronje were academics and scholars with considerable knowledge of Indonesia and a burning interest for its people. They differed from the ordinary, conservative colonial administrators.⁴⁶ Most of them were trained at the University of Leiden, where Snouk Hurgronje worked after 1906 as Professor of Islamic and Arabic Studies, and spread his passion for social justice among students and disciples.

Another *ethicus* was the assistant resident of Purwokerto, W.P.D. de Wolff van Westerroede. At the turn of the century, he organized local savings-, loan-, and seed-banks in order to cope with the dependence of the peasants on moneylenders who demanded extortionate rates of interest. His work laid the foundation for the state agricultural credit system which was later established in most parts of the colony.

The one who often has been called the foremost of *ethici* was J.H. Abendanon. He was appointed Director of Education in the East Indies in 1900. With the assistance of his wife, he supported a number of young Javanese, helping them to acquire education and self-awareness. His protégés later became outstanding men in the struggle for independence. He corresponded with Raden Ajeng Kartini, the young daughter of the Bupati of Jepara. Their exchange of letters illustrates the first attempts of emancipation among Indonesian women.⁴⁷ It led to the founding of the first school for girls and the emergence of a group of educated young women who shared their experiences with young intellectual men. Abendanon's thinking and work were too advanced for many of his

Dutch colleagues. He was sent home in 1904. Even though he had his wings trimmed, he continued to help and support young Indonesians who came to study in the Netherlands.

These people – and others such as F. Fokkens, P.H. Fromberg, R.A. Kern and J.E. Stokvis – personified the new Liberal ideals. But ideals and private involvement were one thing, practical politics and large-scale reforms something else. Let us investigate what the political agreement that existed at the turn of the century accomplished in practice.⁴⁸

One of the most important fields of ethical policy was education, where up to this point extremely little had been done. Now village schools were organized with the aim of making the population able to read and write. A number of native secondary schools were established. In addition, places were made available in Dutch-speaking schools for the children of the native elite. A few natives were given the opportunity to study at universities in the Netherlands. A number of special schools were started for the training of doctors, nurses and teachers, as well as technical and agricultural schools.

Obscene literature was banned, a ban which was later extended to indecent films. A special Office for Popular Literature was established, which spread literature in pamphlet form written in the vernacular through the help of travelling booksellers and libraries. The writings dealt with everything from agricultural techniques and hygiene to industrial cooperation, traffic rules, and forestry. Many European authors were published in translation, from Shakespeare and Kipling to Dickens, Tolstoy and Pearl Buck.

In the area of agriculture, major investments were made in irrigation projects, which benefitted both indigenous peasants and European sugar plantations. Experimental and plant-breeding stations were established and agricultural extension services offered. Agricultural consultants gave peasants advice and attempted to introduce new crops and methods of cultivation. Seed and lending banks were set. Art and handicraft schools, credits, and handicraft fairs came into being for the purpose of supporting indigenous handicrafts and industry. Efforts were made to move people from the increasingly overpopulated Java to the surrounding islands.

A body of colonial labour legislation appeared. A people's health service for preventive hygiene was built up. Bacteriological and parasitological research was carried out on tropical diseases and vaccination campaigns were conducted. The use of opium was more sternly regulated and efforts were made to limit prostitution.

What effects did these measures have? To what extent did they improve the material and spiritual conditions of the Indonesian population? With the exception of the war years and the recession at the beginning of the 1920s, the period 1900-1930 was characterized by strong economic expansion. The economy became more diversified. More and more Indonesians got their income from off- and non-farm work.⁴⁹ The value of agricultural exports increased twenty-five fold, from 207 million guilders in 1900 to 5,567 million in 1929. The incomes of the European plantations increased most but the small-holders' share of the export value rose from about 15 per cent to 36 per cent during the same period.⁵⁰ At the same time, the state of health improved.

In some parts of Java indigenous agricultural yields increased through the introduction of new commercial crops, the improvement of labour organization and new cultivation techniques. In areas where this was combined with a growing number of job opportunities outside agriculture, the result was a raising of the standard of living for the majority of the population.⁵¹

These areas were, however, an exception. The population continued to grow rapidly, which increased the pressure on land. The attempts to move people from Java to the surrounding islands were unsuccessful. An investigation carried out in 1924 indicated that the average income level among the indigenous population was in many places lower than it had been at the turn of the century.⁵² Conditions deteriorated at the beginning of the 1930s, when the world depression hit agricultural export production hard. Job opportunities on the plantations vanished and people were forced back into the already overcrowded indigenous agricultural sector.

Only a small elite received the benefit of Western education. In 1930, after three decades of ethical education, the indigenous population was still almost entirely illiterate. The census of that year shows that 76 per cent of the Europeans and 36 per cent of the Chinese were able to read, but only 6 per cent of the Indonesians. Among the latter, only 0.3 per cent understood Dutch, which was a prerequisite for obtaining a well-paid job on a higher level.⁵³

An Evaluation

In relation to the goal that had been set, the results of the ethical policy were meager. Seen in relation to the establishment of the welfare state in Europe during the same period, it was a total failure. Why?

One reason was the lack of economic resources. The sums invested were a drop in the bucket of what was needed.⁵⁴ Only small amounts were transferred from the national budget of the mother country. It was politically impossible to tax the population of the Netherlands for the benefit of the colony. It is today almost impossible for the prosperous economies of the West to get their citizens to support the one-per-cent foreign aid goal; it was even more difficult before the Second World War.

The bulk of the money therefore had to be mobilized on the spot but the indigenous community of the East Indies had no power to tax. Most families were very poor. There was no economic growth which could have increased the resources. Nevertheless, the Indonesian population paid a major share of the colonial budget. In the middle of the 1920s, the landholding peasants paid about 10 per cent in tax on annual incomes of 200-225 guilders. The Europeans paid a corresponding amount on incomes in the 8,000-9,000 guilder class. The lack of progressivity meant that in 1936, to take one example, the Indonesians paid a total of 124 million guilders in tax, while the Europeans and Chinese paid 115 million.⁵⁵

Other sources of revenue were import and export duties, corporate and excise taxes, and various fees, but they all played a relatively small role. It would have been reasonable to tax the Europeans more heavily. Attempts along these lines were also made but were largely fruitless; the planters and other businessmen protested vociferously. They argued that a more powerful taxation would undermine private initiative and reduce investments. A proposal in 1922 for higher taxes on corporate profits led to a compromise between business and government. In return for a relatively insignificant profits tax, the progressivity called for in the original proposal was eliminated.⁵⁶

This brings us to a more fundamental cause of the failure of the ethical policy, viz. political power. The Europeans had a powerful position, the Indonesians a very weak one – despite the fact that many *ethici* championed their cause. Ideals were one thing; realizing them in practical politics something else. Compared with banking and industry, on which the economy of the mother country rested, the advocates of liberal-humanitarian reforms had limited influence, despite the fact that they often held high political positions.

The business community was certainly not monolithic. Those who produced for or imported goods to the colony had an interest in raising the standard of living and thereby increasing the purchasing power of the Indonesian population. Consequently, they supported large parts of the

reform programme. The political heavyweights were, however, the planters. Their activities were based on cheap labour. Accordingly, they opposed every substantial contribution to ethical policies.

The effects of this become apparent when looking at the attempts to support native handicrafts and cottage industries. At the turn of the century, many viewed industrialization as the only way to solve the basic, agrarian-demographic problem of the colony. However, practically all attempts to provide support were blocked by the representatives of the planters. An indigenous industrial sector would, they maintained, lead to increased competition for labour and cause wages to rise to a level that could ruin agrarian export production.

A new political situation arose as a result of the depression of the 1930s. Prices on the world market fell sharply and large sections of the plantations were laid fallow. As a result, the export interests lost a considerable share of their influence in The Hague. At once, it became possible to take stronger measures. Protective tariffs were introduced. Import duties on raw materials and machinery were abolished. Subsidies were granted which led to a reduction in transportation costs. Special credit arrangements were established. On this foundation, an indigenous textile industry quickly developed during the 1930s. It only flourished briefly, however. When the war broke out and the Japanese invaded the colony in 1942, the possibilities for continued growth vanished.⁵⁷



In its colonial version, liberalism never developed into a democratic welfare-state ideology of the type that arose in Western Europe after the turn of the century. The basic ideas remained paternalistic. It was the Dutch who knew what the Indonesians needed. Not even the most fully-fledged ethici believed that indigenous culture and social organization could have anything to contribute to the superior Western paradigm of development.

Pieter Brooshoft, who was responsible for the ideological settling of accounts with the Old Liberals, and who christened the ethical programme, expressed this in the following way in 1901:

The thing that for us is a compelling duty in the East Indies is the best of human virtues: a sense of justice, a feeling that we must give the Javanese, who against their will have become dependent on us, the best that we can give, the noble calling of the strong to treat the weak with justice. Only when our colonial policy is permeated with this spirit will we be good teachers and masters.⁵⁸

The leader of the New Liberals, Conrad van Deventer, spoke passionately and in a similar vein about his mission:

What an honorable goal we are striving for! It is to create, out there in the Far East, a society that stands in debt to the Netherlands for its welfare and its enlightened culture, and that gratefully acknowledges the fact.⁵⁹

In Europe, the rise of New Liberalism went hand in hand with the realization of political democracy and universal suffrage. Paternalism was, to begin with, strong also there. The upper class tried to implement its humanitarian visions of what was best for the lower classes without consulting the latter. The trade unions and the labour movement made it possible for the poor to speak with their own voice. This made paternalism become politically obsolete. It was necessary to develop the Liberal program in order to take up the struggle against Socialist ideas.

This democratization never took place in the East Indies. Liberalism never left the paternalistic phase. Cultural and racial differences were too great; the gap between the European upper class and the Indonesian lower class was apparently insurmountable.

The difference between the colonial world and Western Europe can be illustrated with the help of the Office for People's Literature. It had the noble aim of providing the natives with edifying literature in their own languages. But these were only Western books. When Indonesian intellectuals began to write themselves, it was forbidden to spread their works, which had an independent and, of necessity, nationalistic tone. Many Western European factory owners practised a similar policy at the end of the nineteenth century. They attempted to enlighten their workers with the help of edifying lectures organized by a local lecture society and by establishing libraries for which they themselves selected the books. After the turn of the century, however, the opportunities for most industrialists to do this disappeared as a result of the organized, Socialist labour movement – but not so in the colonial world.

Free general elections were unthinkable in the East Indies. A limited number of natives who had received a Western education were admitted to representative assemblies on the local, regional, and national levels. These were a front decor lacking constitutionally codified political influence. In the course of their studies, most Indonesian intellectuals had come into contact with the liberal ideas and become aware of the real power relations existing. They saw that the basic liberal principle of the individual's right of self-determination was not being applied. The unavoidable result was the growth of independent political organizations.⁶⁰

At the beginning of the twentieth century, there was considerable freedom of organization and assembly in the East Indies. These freedoms had come about through Liberal initiatives and satisfied the interests of the Europeans. They now began to be used also by the indigenous population. Attempts were made to form trade unions in the cities. Native political clubs were organized. During the first decade of this century, popularly-based organizations saw the light of day. In the years around 1920, when their demands became more vociferous, and their activities more and more challenging, the freedom of organization was restricted. The doors were closed for good in 1925. All radical and mass-oriented political activity was forced underground until the Second World War when the Japanese unseated the Dutch.⁶¹ After that, there was no turning back. The war of independence broke out following the Japanese capitulation in 1945, when the Dutch attempted to retake their lost position. It ended with Dutch capitulation and Indonesian independence in December 1949.

The idea of the individual's right to freedom and self-determination could not be realized within a colonial system. If one peeled away the outer layers and got down to the philosophical core, fully developed liberalism and colonialism were never compatible. This was something that only few of the liberals of the time understood. It is easier to do so in hindsight, when the answers are known.

Notes

1. J. Weibull, (ed.), *Liberal ideologi och politik 1934-1984*. Falköping 1984, p. 6.
2. See R. Larsson, *Politiska ideologier*. Uppsala 1968, pp. 93-128.
3. B. Constant, *Cours de politique constitutionnelle*, t. 1-2. Paris 1872 (1st. ed. 1818-1820).
4. A. de Tocqueville, *De la démocratie en Amérique*, t. 1-4. Paris 1888-1890 (1st. ed. 1835-1840).
5. E.g., J. Bentham, *A Manual of Political Economy*. London 1798; D. Ricardo, *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*. London 1913 (1st. ed. 1819).
6. H. Spencer, *Social Statics*. Osnabrück 1966 (1st. ed. 1850).
7. J.S. Mill, *Om det representativa styrelsesättet*. Norrköping 1862 (1st. ed. 1861).
8. See e.g. T.H. Green, *Liberal Legislation or Freedom of Contract*. Oxford 1881.

9. J.M. Keynes, *Laissez-faire-systemets slut*. Stockholm 1927 (1st. ed. 1926).
10. Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie.
11. G.C. Klerck de Reus, *Geschichtliche Überblick der administrativen, rechtlichen und finanziellen Entwicklung der Niederlandisch-Ostindischen Kompagnie*. Batavia 1896, p. 192.
12. C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800*. Middlesex 1973; C. Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade, 1620-1740*. The Hague 1958; M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630*. The Hague 1962.
13. C. Fasseur, *Kultuurstelsel en koloniale baten: De Nederlandse exploitatie van Java 1840-1860*. Diss. Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden 1975; R. Van Niel, 'Measurement of Change under the Cultivation System in Java.' *Indonesia*, 14, 1972, pp. 89-109.
14. J.M. van der Kroef, *Dutch Colonial Policy in Indonesia, 1900-1941*. Diss. Columbia University 1953, p. 13 ff.
15. See e.g. R. Elson, *Javanese Peasants and the Colonial Sugar Industry: Impact and Change in an East Java Residency 1830-1940*. Singapore 1984.
16. P. Boomgaard, *Children of the Colonial State: Population Growth and Economic Development in Java, 1775-1880*. Amsterdam 1989; R. Fernando, *Famine in Cirebon Residency in Java 1844-1850: A New Perspective on the Cultivation System*. Melbourne 1980; R. Van Niel, 'The Effect of Export Cultivations in Nineteenth-Century Java,' *Modern Asian Studies*, 15:1, 1981.
17. K.E. van der Mandele, *Het liberalisme in Nederland*. Amsterdam 1933.
18. J.T. Buys, 'Het koloniale debat,' *De Gids*, 22, 1870 p. 355; Kroef, *Dutch Colonial Policy in Indonesia*.
19. K.F. Holle, 'Verslag betreffende de thee-onderneming Waspada onder ultimo Juni 1868,' *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 3 ser., 2:2, 1868, pp. 439-455.
20. See T. Svensson, 'Japansk företagsledning och svenska bruk – en felande länk,' *Arkiv för studier i arbetarrörelsens historia*, 33, 1986, especially pp. 11-18.
21. T. Svensson, 'Bureaucracies and Agrarian Change: A Southeast Asian Case', in M. Lundahl and T. Svensson (eds), *Agrarian Society in History*. London 1990, pp. 282-317; A. van Marle, 'De groep der europeanen in Ned. Indië, iets over ontstaan en groei,' *Indonesië*, 5, 1951-52.
22. H.C. Colijn and D.G. Stibbe (eds), *Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 2. Amsterdam 1932, pp. 328-333, 344; J. Furnival, *Netherlands India: A Study in Plural Economy*. Cambridge, Mass. 1940, p. 209.

23. W. de Bruyn Kops, *Statistiek van den handel*. Batavia 1888, pp. 43-47.
24. The statistics probably exaggerate the development somewhat because of a certain amount of under-reporting in 1870.
25. Kroef, *Dutch Colonial Policy in Indonesia*, pp. 34-5.
26. E.B. Kielstra, *De financiën van Nederlandsch-Indië*. The Hague 1904, pp. 3-17; C. Gonggrijp, *Schets eener economische geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indië*. Amsterdam 1928, p.175; Furnival, *Netherlands India: A Study in Plural Economy*, p. 329.
27. J. van den Brand, *De millionen uit Deli*. Amsterdam 1905; J. Breman, *Kolies, planters en koloniale politiek: Het arbeidsregime op de groot-landbouwondernemingen aan Sumatra's oostkust in het begin van de twintigste eeuw*. Dordrecht 1987.
28. E.g. J. Breman, *Control of Land and Labour in Colonial Java: A Case Study of Agrarian Crisis and Reform in the Region of Cirebon during the First Decades of the 20th Century*. Dordrecht 1983.
29. See T. Svensson, *State Bureaucracy and Capitalism in Rural West Java*. Copenhagen 1991, pp. 23 *et seq.*
30. See e.g. *ibid.*, pp. 26-36.
31. Regarding the textile industry, see T. Svensson, 'Majalayan Sarong Weavers and the Bakul System in Historical Perspective: Some Notes on Proto-Industrialization in Java,' in C. Gunnarsson, M.C. Hoadley and P. Wad (eds), *Rural Transformation in Southeast Asia*. Lund 1986, p. 50 *et seq.*
32. *Onderzoek naar de mindere welvaart der inlandsche bevolking op Java en Madoera*. Batavia 1906-1914.
33. Cf. G. Prince, 'Dutch Economic Policy in Indonesia,' in A. Maddison and G. Prince (eds), *Economic Growth in Indonesia 1820-1940*. Dordrecht 1989, p. 207.
34. J.H. Boeke, *The Evolution of the Economy of the Netherlands Indies*. New York 1946, chap. 1; Kroef, *Dutch Colonial Policy in Indonesia*, p. 32 *et seq.*
35. Kroef, *Dutch Colonial Policy in Indonesia*, p. 53-4.
36. 'Eurasian' was the label given to people of mixed European and Asian origin.
37. H. Stapelkamp, 'De rol van Van Hoëvell in de Bataviase Mei-beweging van 1948.' *Jambatan*, 4:3, 1986, pp. 11-20. See, among others, W.R. van Hoëvell, *De emancipatie der slaven in Neêrlandsch-Indië*. Groningen 1848; W. R. van Hoëvell, *Reis over Java Madoera en Bali in het midden van 1847*, dl. 1-2. Amsterdam 1849.
38. Multatuli (pseud. for E. Douwes Dekker), *Max Havelaar – of de koffieveilingen der Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij*. Amsterdam 1860.
39. A.Kuyper, *Ons program*. Amsterdam 1903; J.M. van der Kroef, 'Abraham Kuyper and the Rise of Neo-Calvinism in the Nether-

lands', *Church History*, 17, 1948, pp. 316 *et seq.*; Kroef, *Dutch Colonial Policy in Indonesia*, p. 20.

40. Kroef, *Dutch Colonial Policy in Indonesia*, pp. 20-1.
41. C. van Deventer, 'Een eereschuld.' *De Gids*, 1899. Cf C. van Deventer, *De Eereschuld in het Parlement*. Amsterdam 1920.
42. P. Brooshooft, *De ethische koers in de koloniale politiek*. Amsterdam 1901. Cf. E. B. Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek in fragmenten: Vijf studies over koloniaal denken en doen van Nederlanders in de Indonesische archipel 1877-1945*. Utrecht 1981, pp. 11-54.
43. Anon., 'Het onderwijs op Java en de invloed daarvan op den toestand der bevolking.' *Tijdschrift voor Neêrlandsch-Indië*, 11, 1849, p. 331.
44. Cf Kroef, *Dutch Colonial Policy in Indonesia*, p. 50.
45. R. van Niel, *The Rise of the Modern Indonesian Elite*. The Hague 1960, p. 34 *et seq.*
46. See H. Maier and A. Teeuw (eds), *Honderd jaar studie van Indonesië 1850-1950: Levensbeschrijvingen van twaalf Nederlandse onderzoekers*. Den Haag 1976.
47. R.A. Kartini, *Door duisternis tot licht*. 's-Gravenhage 1912. English translation *Letters of a Javanese Princess*. London 1921.
48. For details, see e.g., Kroef, *Dutch Colonial Policy in Indonesia*, chap. 3-5.
49. T. Svensson, 'Contractions and Expansions: Agrarian Change in Java since 1830,' in M. Mörner and T. Svensson (eds), *Classes, Strata and Elites: Essays on Social Stratification in History*. Göteborg 1988, pp. 209-219.
50. Creutzberg (ed.), *Indonesia's Export Crops 1816-1940*, pp. 35-6, 142.
51. See e.g. Svensson, *State Bureaucracy and Capitalism in Rural West Java*, pp. 30 *et seq.*
52. *Verlag van de economische toestand der inlandsche bevolking*. Batavia 1924.
53. *Volkstelling 1930*, dl. 1-8. Batavia 1933-1936.
54. A. Maddison, 'Dutch Income in and from Indonesia, 1700-1938' in A. Maddison and G. Prince (eds), *Economic Growth in Indonesia, 1820-1940*. Dordrecht 1989, p. 21.
55. Kroef, *Dutch Colonial Policy in Indonesia*, pp. 332-3.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 333.
57. H. Antlöv and T. Svensson, 'From Rural Home Weavers to Factory Labour: The Industrialization of Tectile Manufacturing in Majalaya', in Alexander, P. et al. (eds), *In the Shadow of Agriculture: Non-farming Activities in the Javanese Economy*. Amsterdam 1991, pp. 113-126.
58. Brooshooft, *De ethische koers in de koloniale politiek*, p. 7.
59. Cited in Van Niel, *The Rise of the Modern Indonesian Elite*, p. 39.

60. See *ibid.*, especially pp. 42 *et seq.*
61. T. Svensson, 'Peasants and Politics in Early Twentieth-Century West Java', in T. Svensson and P. Sørensen (eds), *Indonesia and Malaysia: Scandinavian Studies in Contemporary Society*. London 1983, pp. 75-138.

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