MEDIA OF RESISTANCE:
A COMMUNICATION HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES, 1920-1926

by

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A dissertation submitted to the

Faculty of the Graduate School of the

University of Colorado in partial fulfillment

of the requirement for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

College of Media, Communication and Information

2016

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ABSTRACT

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Media of Resistance: A Communication History of the Communist Movement in the Dutch East Indies, 1920-1926

Dissertation directed by Professor Janice Peck, Ph.D.

This dissertation is a communication history of the early communist anti-colonial movement in the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) in 1920-1926. While for three centuries struggles against Dutch imperialism had been sporadic, local, and traditional in character, in this period people organized themselves for the first time in a radical, national, and global revolutionary movement. Rather than resort to weapons and warfare, the resistance movement developed collective actions around new emerging communicative technologies and practices—"media of resistance"—that included schools, public debates, popular journalism, arts, and literature. The dissertation examines the processes by which ordinary people produced these media of resistance as a new way of organizing and mobilizing. The aim is twofold: first, to reveal the centrality of communicative sociotechnical systems (practices, processes, and technologies) in the emergence, development, success, and demise of a social movement; and, second, to highlight the roles of ordinary people in that process, a focus hidden in the previous historiography due to leader-, party-, and formal event-centered narratives. I utilize underexplored concepts of mobility and sociability to analyze shipping and railway lines, *openbare vergaderingen* (public meetings), People's Schools, the revolutionary newspaper *Sinar Hindia*, as well as government legal interventions into these communicative practices. This research suggests two main findings. First, while the aforementioned media of communication were intended to expand colonial power, the ordinary people in the movement *creatively*

repurposed and brought them together to become the “media of resistance,” revealing the centrality of media of communication in the making of a social movement. These creative repurposing practices point to the nature of communicative sociotechnical systems as projects and sites of struggle. Second, through historical GIS method, I also find that the movement was mobilized for the first time across widespread geographical areas, as well as across different cultural borders and identity markers. This widespread solidarity gave voice to anti-colonial sentiments, Islamic modernism, national liberation, women’s emancipation, and human rights, appealing to universal concerns. The dissertation concludes by arguing for the broader significance of this research for global media studies, its treatment of non-western experiences, and studies of enlightenment and social movements.

For those who continue the struggle for freedom and justice in Indonesia

"Geloof me, stilstand is de dood!"

("Believe me, idleness is death.")

(Multatuli*, Max Havelaar of de Koffiveilingen der Nederlandsche Handelmaatschappy,* 1860)

"Badan manoesia bisa disiksa,
digantoeng tinggi diboeang djaoeh.
Tetapi kebenaran tinggal menggoda,
sampai kelaliman hantjoer loeloeh."

("The human body may be tortured,
hung up high or thrown far away.
But the truth will still plague us,
until tyranny is utterly crushed.")

(Tan Malaka*, Toendoek kepada Kekoeasaan, tetapi tidak Toendoek kepada Kebenaran*, 1922)

"Tidak, Nak, ini perbuatan manusia. Direncanakan oleh otak manusia, oleh hati manusia yang degil. Pada manusia kita harus hadapkan kata-kata kita. Tuhan tidak pernah berpihak pada yang kalah."

("No, Child, these are the deeds of human beings. Planned by the brains of humans, and by the warped hearts of humans. It is to people we must speak our words. God has never sided with the defeated.")

(Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Child of All Nations*, 1981)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Writing this dissertation has been an intellectual and personal journey through which strangers became friends, and friends became family. I would like to take this opportunity to thank those individuals and institutions who have given me the support and encouragement that enabled this work came to fruition.

The research for this dissertation was funded by the American Association of University Women (AAUW) International Fellowship and James R., Ann R. and R. Jane Emerson (McCall) Dissertation Fellowship of CU Boulder. I also would like to acknowledge Fulbright Scholarship that supported me to pursue graduate education in the US in the first place—special thanks to Piet Hendrardjo and Ratna Manurung for helping me take that first step.

My archival research was hosted by Southeast Asia Program (SEAP) at Cornell University and KITLV/The Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies, Leiden, The Netherlands.

I am also thankful for the resourceful staff and librarians of Karl A. Kroch Library at Cornell University—especially Ben Abel and Jeff Petersen, KITLV library—in particular Rini Hogewoning, International Institute of Social History (IISH)—notably Emile Schwidder and Marcel van der Linden, Leiden University library, National Archives of the Netherlands, Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI), Perpustakaan Nasional (Perpusnas), The British Library, and The National Archives of the UK.

The following individuals have generously shared important archives and documents from their personal collection: Audrey Kahin, Harry Poeze, Marieke Bloembergen, Herlambang P. Wiratraman, and John Riddell, to whom I am thankful.

I owe my greatest debt of gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Janice Peck. Through her mentoring, she has challenged me to think beyond the trends and always demanded the highest quality work, pushing me to expand my research beyond what I could have imagined it to be. Dr. Peck has also provided me with a generous amount of care and attention throughout my time as a graduate student. Her commitment to rigorous scholarship and passion for education have helped carry me through the completion of this dissertation and my arrival on a tenure track job, at a difficult time in my life over the past year. I aspire to embody her philosophy of teaching and research in my own, and I am eternally grateful and honored to have had her as a mentor, and now as a friend.

My heartfelt gratitude also goes to my committee members: Dr. Andrew Calabrese, Dr. Stewart Hoover, Dr. Nabil Echchaibi, Dr. Carla Jones, Dr. Marcia Yonemoto, and Dr. Harry Poeze, as well as to Dr. Chad Kautzer who served as a member for my prospectus committee. This dissertation took inspiration from each of them through their classes, work, and personal mentoring. Their passion and commitment is also reflected in my own success.

I would like to express my appreciation to the Center for Media, Religion and Culture, which played an important role in the early formation of my ideas in my first years at CU. Thanks also to Dr. Elizabeth Skewes, who helped me with my statistical analysis, and Martha LaForge, who has made SJMC (now CMCI) a warm and welcoming intellectual home.

I am indebted to Laura Nash of The Graduate Writing Support Program at CU Boulder, who has been one of the best devil's advocates for the past two years and whose critical eyes and intriguing questions and feedback—most memorable, "holy clauses, batman!"—have assisted me in an otherwise painful writing process. Some of the ideas in this work solidified through our weekly intense debates, which I cherish in gratitude.

Pursuing an academic career can be a solitary journey. In no way could I have completed this dissertation without the continuous encouragement of my colleagues and friends, who have made this road less bumpy and more like an adventure. Conversations with Om Ben Anderson inspired me to be especially attentive to taken-for-granted details and absences. Gerry van Klinken, Henk Schulte Nordholt, and Yayah Siegers made KITLV a welcoming home. Thanks to Ririet Triaswarin Sutanarihesti, my Dutch teacher.

I am also thankful for the guidance of my teachers at Universitas Indonesia who first introduced me to critical thinking and studies on humanities and helped raise me to be a scholar, Melani Budianta, Manneke Budiman, Junaidi, Grace Wiradisastra, Sisilia Halimi, Zamira Loebis, Dhita Hapsarani, Krystina Mitayani, Susi Sunarya, Diding Fachrudin, Ida Luhukay, Cornel Sembiring, M. Fuad, and Retno Mamoto. I am also lucky to be surrounded with brilliant colleagues of Prodi Inggris at UI, especially Gietty, Asri, Intan, Wiwin, Bayu, Ita, and Haru.

I am honored to gain support from Indonesians who have lived in exile since 1965: Pak Sardjio Mintardjo, Om Wardjo (Sarmadji), Pakde Kuslan Budiman, and Pak Ibrahim Isa. In the Netherlands, Om Gogol always made sure I had access to necessary documents and Paramita Soedjono opened her home every time I went to IISH in Amsterdam. Friends I met during my stay in the Netherlands kept me sane and made sure I took a break from scrutinizing the microfilm copies of the newspapers: Tri, Abi, Widi, Vando, Jajang, Yuli, Ingrid, Julinta, Nadia, and Matheos.

I also share this intellectual journey with my cohorts and other friends at CU-Boulder: Brice, Caitlin, Ully, Benjamin, Rachael, Maggie, Kimberly, Olga, Marco, Samira, Brooke, Guilia, Krissy, Tyler, Gino, Kevan, Shannon and many others, as well as the linguists Velda, Rich, Steve, and the CLASP lab friends.

Thanks to my friends who are only a WhatsApp away in times of (mental and emotional) emergency and who always make time to listen to my academic woes: Laura, Herdi, Hanum, Dorita, Wenny, Una, Temmy, and Amali.

I am thankful to be a part of the Indoprogress.com editorial board that has provided me with an intellectually challenging and politically engaging forum vital in the development of my own ideas.

As "anak rantau," I would like to thank my family in the US for their unconditional love and support: Mbak Menuk, Bu Riri and Pak Win, Heather Linville and the Linvilles, John Riddell and Suzanne Weiss, Nadia Benyamin's family, Fuke Senjaya's family and my in-laws Celena and Tony Williams.

Lastly, my deepest gratitude goes to my family, without whom this dissertation could not have been possible. My late father Agus Subijanto was the first to open up my eyes to the cruelty of Suharto's regime and to seek an alternative understanding through furthering education. My late mother, Meiniarty Subijanto, always pushed me to go beyond my boundaries, in her words "tidak ada yang tidak bisa, tidak mampu, dan tidak mungkin." I forever thank her for encouraging me to pursue my dreams even if that means she had to live thousands of miles apart from her daughter. My siblings, Rini, Farida, and Andi, are the best cheerleaders one could ask for.

Nick Williams has accompanied me in this journey and provided me important support in my process of becoming and overcoming myself. His love, patience, and intellect permeate every word in this dissertation. Our daughter, Daya Moyra, emerged just as this dissertation itself was materializing. In a sense her twin, the dissertation would never have been completed without her.

This dissertation is dedicated to women, men, and children of all nationalities who continue the struggle for freedom and justice in Indonesia.

Boulder, April 29, 2016

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CHAPTER I

THE PROJECT (INTRODUCTION)

To speak of communicative sociotechnical systems of resistance immediately conjures up the antagonism between "structure" (system) and "human agency" (resistance) prevalent in the social sciences. What I propose in this dissertation is to explore the necessary relation between the two, i.e. the dialectical interaction of structure and agency. In other words, instead of negating each other—as implied by the idea of an antagonistic relation—both structure and agency (system and resistance) are necessary in the (re)production of society.

Communicative sociotechnical systems of resistance consist of communicative practices, processes, and technologies that make up the culture of resistance of a period. They are the lived experiences that at the same time shape and re-shape the communicative social and technical (hence "sociotechnical") systems in the society. This perspective shifts away from concerns within social movement studies that often treat media in terms of uses and functions as tactics and strategies in people's mobilization, assuming them to be merely tools to send messages rather than complex sociotechnical institutions. In such cases, media are seen as independent and neutral vis-à-vis the dynamics of the movement and they are just technological add-ons to more important political aspects of social movements—organization, contentious actions, community leaders etc.[1] In contrast, I propose that communicative sociotechnical systems and a social movement are indispensable to each other. Already from the beginning, communicative sociotechnical systems are central in the emergence, development and success/demise of a social movement as a circuit of struggle, as well as the new order that comes about.

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[1] John Downing, "Social Movement Theories and Alternative Media: An Evaluation and Critique," *Communication, Culture & Critique* 1 (2008): 41.

I explore this issue through a historical study of the early communist anti-colonial movement in the Dutch East Indies in 1920-1926. In mainstream historiography, the history of this movement formed a major chapter in the history of Indonesia as well as that of global anti-colonial movements in the Southern hemisphere. The early communist movement laid the foundation not only for the rise of the idea of a united independent "Indonesia"[2] but, more importantly, for the emergence of collective political organizations that were different in character than any previous anti-imperialist movements in the Indies. For the three centuries prior, struggles against Dutch imperialism had been sporadic, local, and traditional in character.[3] In the period of 1920-1926, however, ordinary people organized themselves for the first time in a radical, national and global revolutionary movement.

The early communist movement in the Dutch East Indies also emerged at the same time as the revival of global struggles against colonialism. Its rise was influenced by two international events at the turn of the twentieth century that created new consciousness among the indigenous peoples of the Indies and elsewhere. First, the defeat of the Russian navy by a small Japanese fleet in the Tsushima Strait in May 1905 was celebrated for breaking the myth of Western superiority. This fleet, commanded by admiral Togo Heihachiro, ended the Russo-Japanese war over control of Korea and Manchuria. As Pankaj Mishra argues, the Tsushima victory certainly opened up a new perspective among the colonized. For example, a group of modern Asian

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[2] Prior to this movement, the word "Indonesia" had not been used as an identity marker. At that point, people still carried their ethnicities—Javanese, Dayak, Minangkabau, Timorese etc—as markers of their uniting identities. Indonesia as an identity to an "imagined community" belonging to the same nation colonized by the Dutch, however, would be born in this period of anti-colonial movement. See: Benedict R. O. G. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991) and R. E. Elson, *The Idea of Indonesia: A History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[3] Some examples of previous anti-colonial resistance are Java war (Surakarta and surrounding areas, 1825-1830), Padri war (West Sumatra, 1821-1838), Lampung rebellion (Lampung, 1825-1856), and Aceh War (Aceh, 1873-1903). For a more complete list, see: Robert Cribb, *Historical Atlas of Indonesia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 122.

intellectuals such as Jamal Al-Din al-Afghani, Liang Qichao, Ho Chi Minh, Sun Yat-sen, Rabindranath Tagore, Ali Shariati, Sayyid Qutb, and Gandhi wrote about the idea of an emancipated Asia, national freedom, and racial dignity. As such, this new spirit of intellectual awakening among the colonized reflected a larger trend across Asia. People from Egypt, Turkey, Persia, China, Indonesia, Vietnam, and Burma were awakened and rejoiced at the possibility of the rise of Asian power.[4] Even the African-American leader W.E.B. Du Bois recognized this awakening as a worldwide outburst of "colored pride."[5]

The second event was the October Revolution in 1917 in Russia, which led these native awakenings in the early twentieth century to quickly become more radical and global in character. The communist movement spread around the world and attracted the colonial South with its anti-colonial program, which supported national liberation while remaining committed to international liberation of all workers from capitalism. For the first time, struggles against colonialism were organized in both the West and the East. The Congress of the Peoples of the East held by the Communist International in Baku, Azerbaijan, in 1920 was attended by almost 1900 delegates from Asia and Europe to support revolutionary nationalist movements in the colonial world.[6] In the Congress of the Communist International (Comintern) in 1922, Tan Malaka of Indonesia spoke alongside Antonio Gramsci of Italy, M.N. Roy of India, Mahmud Husni el-Arabi of Egypt, and other delegates from other countries to discuss ideas and strategies

[4] Pankaj Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire: The Intellectuals who Remade Asia* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012), 1-9.
[5] Ibid., 2.
[6] See John Riddell, *To See the Dawn: Baku, 1920-First Congress of the Peoples of the East* (New York: Pathfinder, 1993).

for resistance.[7] These two international events contributed to the emergence of a radical popularization of an anti-colonial struggle in the Indies and elsewhere.

Occurring at a time in which the communicative environment in the Dutch East Indies was undergoing changes, the history of the early communist movement in the Indies provides an ideal opportunity to understand the interplay of communicative sociotechnical systems and resistance. The modern anti-colonial communist movement in the Indies in the 1920s was made possible by previous technological advancements in the Dutch East Indies. These advancements occurred during the agrarian reform, or "liberal period," which replaced the infamous forced labor system (*Cultuurstelsel)*, which was implemented between 1830-1870.[8] There were two major relevant developments during the liberal period of 1870-1900. The first was economic development in which the traditional plantation model was industrialized and modernized through the use of more advanced technology and science of production.[9] This entailed other necessary advancements in communication technology. In terms of transportation, starting from

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[7] See John Riddell, ed., *Toward the United Front: Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, 1922* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Also, John Riddell, ed., *To the Masses: Proceedings of the Third Congress of the Communist International, 1921* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); On Comintern in Asia: Onimaru Takeshi, "Living "Underground" in Shanghai: Noulens and the Shanghai Comintern Network," in *Traveling Nation-Makers: Transnational Flows and Movements in the Making of Modern Southeast Asia,* ed. Caroline S. Hau and Kasian Tejapira (Singapore: NUS Press and Kyoto University Press, 2011), 96-125.

[8] The *Cultuurstelsel* (forced labor system) occurred in Java in which Javanese were required to use a fifth of their land to cultivate specified commodities for export, among them coffee, cane sugar, tea, peppers, tobacco, and quinine tree. This was known as a period of intense colonial suppression bringing much economic hardship for Javanese and was recorded in the first anti-colonial literature *Multatuli* (1860) written by a Dutch government official Douwes Dekker working in the Indies. See M C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia Since C. 1200* (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University Press, 2001), 155-61.

[9] For specific use of science and technology in advancing sugar industry, see Ulbe Bosma, *Sugar Plantation in India and Indonesia: Industrial Production, 1770-2010* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 130-63. For general use of science and technology in the Indies, see Suzanne Moon, "Constructing 'native Development': Technological Change and the Politics of Colonization in the Netherlands East Indies, 1905-1930" (PhD Diss., Cornell University, 2000); "The Emergence of Technological Development and the Question of Native Identity in the Netherlands East Indies," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 36 (2) (2005), 191-206; Wim Ravesteijn and Jan Kop, *For Profit and Prosperity: The Contribution Made by Dutch Engineers to Public Works in Indonesia, 1800-2000* (Zaltbommel: Aprilis, 2008).

the 1880s, shipping lines operated regularly and linked the islands within the archipelago as well as connected them to the metropole (thanks to the opening of the Suez canal in 1869). Railroads and asphalt roads connected port cities with the interior regions of Java and Sumatra to ease the transportation of crops and commodities from the plantations in the hinterlands. In terms of social communication, newspapers changed their function from government's means of report and Dutch missionaries' means of proselytization to a tool for supporting commerce through advertisement, as well as to educate people in the science and technology of agriculture.[10] Likewise, telegraph and postal services were developed to facilitate more widespread communication.[11] However, this economic expansion and its attendant technological and scientific changes did not bring qualitative changes to the workers' lives, due to ongoing cruelty and high death rates in the plantations, nor to the Javanese natives, who suffered from famine due to the conversion of their land from rice to crop-for-commodity production.[12] In response to these conditions, at the fin de siècle, the Dutch Queen Wilhelmina installed a new period of "Ethical Policy" (1901) in an effort to bring about prosperity, progress, and education for the natives.

The Ethical Policy provided the context in which new media of the period facilitated the emergence and development of the early communist movement in the Indies. However, this policy should not be seen as a benevolent program. It was a mere variant of the British "White

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[10] See Bosma, *Sugar Plantation,* 130-63. Also, Adam Ahmat, *The Vernacular Press and the Emergence of Modern Indonesian Consciousness (1855-1913)* (Ithaca, N.Y: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1995), 1-36.
[11] Telegraph line was first established in 1856 between Batavia and Buitenzorg and postal service was incorporated in 1862. See William C. Redfield, *The Dutch East Indies: Holland's Colonial Empire* (New York: Guaranty Company, 1922), 24.
[12] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia,* 162.

Man's Burden" and the French "Mission Civilisatrice"[13]: by providing modern education and introducing legal rights for the natives, the colonial state simultaneously heightened its control of the social and cultural aspects of the natives' everyday lives.[14] Despite being accessible at the beginning only to a smaller segment of higher class natives, the introduction of modern education, legal rights to public gatherings and political associations, and the opportunity to publish newspapers for the indigenous population eventually led to the development of new and more innovative strategies of anti-colonial popular resistance. That is, rather than resort to weapons and warfare, the resistance movement developed collective actions around new emerging communicative technologies and practices accessible to the indigenous populations—schools, public debates, popular journalism, arts, and literature—to organize themselves and resist colonialism.

The contexts above provide a background for the following questions regarding the centrality of communicative sociotechnical systems in a social movement that this dissertation seeks to address: how did the development of new communicative sociotechnical systems occurring within the Indies and abroad—railways, steam shipping, print, telegraph, legal products for the natives, education, and the rise of global anti-colonial consciousness—facilitate the emergence and development of the early communist movement and shape its new character? How did the communicative developments intended to strengthen Dutch control and extend capitalist infrastructure over this vast archipelagic colony actually create the condition of possibility for the revolutionaries to organize and propel the movement more successfully than had been the case for previous anti-colonial movements?

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[13] Elsbeth Locher Scholten, *Ethiek in Fragementen: Vijf Studies over Koloniaal Denken en Doen van Nederlanders in de Indonesische Archipel 1877-1942* (Utrecht: Utrecht Hess Publishers, 1981), 176-208 quoted in Bosma, *Sugar Plantation,* 177n53.
[14] On the Ethical Policy in the Indies, see Marieke Bloembergen and R Raben, *Het Koloniale Beschavingsoffensief: Wegen Naar Het Nieuwe Indië, 1890-1950* (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2009).

These questions illustrate but do not exhaust the range of issues I am concerned with in this dissertation. While the history of the early communist anti-colonial movement in the Indies provides a key case to explore and explain the communicative sociotechnical systems of resistance, my aim in scrutinizing these questions is also to reveal new perspectives in the historiography of this movement. That is, by investigating the communicative sociotechnical systems, I seek to shift away from the existing historiography of the movement that has centered around narratives of formal political parties, leaders and formal events and to focus on the role played by ordinary people. It is important, however, to know what the narratives of formal political parties, leaders, and formal events have revealed regarding the emergence of the early communist movement and its importance for the history of anti-colonial struggles in Indonesia.

The foundations of native modern political organizations in the form of unions and political parties emerged in the period of the Ethical Policy discussed earlier. The first modern native political party, Budi Utomo, was founded in 1908—three years after the Tsushima victory—by the "new" or "lesser" *priyayi* of Java. Unlike the older generation of *priyayi,* who often took government positions based on inheritance as the son of a *bupati* (regent) of a royal family, the lesser *priyayi* was a group of indigenous people who were educated with the Ethical Policy's modern education and were making their careers in government services. Therefore, the formation of the new lesser *priyayi* became the backbone for the expansion of the Dutch administrative system (about 90% of government officials in the Dutch East Indies by 1931 were natives occupying positions in government offices, police institutions, and courts).[15] Budi Utomo was a primarily Javanese *priyayi* organization that promoted the idea of emancipating Indonesians through Western education and was predominantly attended by the *priyayi* class. As

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[15] Benedict Anderson, *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 98.

such, throughout the Dutch East Indies, the period after 1908 witnessed the proliferation of new organizations of educated elites. Many of them, however, were based on ethnic identities, the Eurasian (European and Asian, mixed blood) Indische Partij (Indies Party) (1911), Jong Java (Young Java) (1915), Jong Sumatranen Bond (Young Sumatrans Union) (1917), Jong Ambon (Young Ambon) (1920), etc. Still, these organizations had not successfully attracted a mass following among the uneducated lower class natives.

It was the foundation of two political parties, Sarekat Islam (Islamic Union, SI) and Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereeniging (Indies Social-democratic Association, ISDV) that would change this and would later became the basis of the early communist popular movement in the Indies. Tirtoadisurjo, a *priyayi* who had left government service to become a journalist, founded Sarekat Dagang Islamiyah (Islamic Commercial Union, SDI) in Batavia in 1909 and in Buitezorg (Bogor) in 1910. This organization was designed to support Indonesian traders, so the use of the term Islam in the name of the organization was a uniting identity to reflect that the Indonesian trader members were Muslims while the Chinese and Dutch competitors were not.[16] Other branches in other regions were soon established. In Surakarta, Haji Samanhudi led the SDI branch as a Javanese *batik* traders' cooperative there. The Surabaya branch was founded by H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto—a charismatic figure with a hostile attitude against those in authority—who would soon take over the leadership of SDI as a whole and changed the organization name into Sarekat Islam (SI). Under the leadership of Tjokroaminoto, the Islamic and commercial origins of the organization were replaced with resentful voices against the government, giving the organization a reputation as the savior of the lower class people and Tjokroaminoto as the *ratu adil* (the "just king"), a messianic character in Javanese legend. From 1912, as the

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[16] Racial segregation was a part of Dutch colonial system with Europeans as the highest class, the Chinese as the second and the indigenous population last. Unlike the natives, the Chinese was given a lot of opportunities and ease in business.

organization spread throughout the villages, the membership of SI rapidly swelled with many uneducated lower class natives joining the organization.[17]

In the midst of SI's expansion, Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereeniging (Indies Social-democratic Association, ISDV) was founded. It was established by a young Dutch labor leader, Hendricus Josephus Franciscus Marie Sneevliet, who had arrived in the Indies in 1913 seeking a job. At the time, educated Europeans were in high demand in the Indies, and Sneevliet—who had left Holland due to a disagreement with his fellow Dutch socialists—had no problem finding employment as an editorial member of the *Soerabajaasch Handelsblad,* a principle newspaper in East Java and the voice of the powerful Sugar syndicate based in Surabaya. Soon after, he would move to Semarang to take a job in the Semarang Handelsvereniging (Commercial Association). As a product of the Ethical Policy's goal of raising the Indonesian standard of living, Semarang had become an expanding urban port city in Java, the center of European commerce, and the base of radical activities in the Indies. It was also the headquarters of the Indonesian railroad workers' union (VSTP). As a talented propagandist who had moved from Catholicism to socialism in his search for salvation, Sneevliet's firebrand nature found a home in VSTP. But helping VSTP with its publication *De Volharding* (persistence) newspaper was not enough, so on May 9, 1914, he initiated a gathering of sixty social democrats—mostly Europeans—to found ISDV, the goal of which was to

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[17] See Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia,* 206-26 for a brief history of the period. For a more comprehensive history of the period, Takashi Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912-1926* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990); Ruth T. McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1965); Fritjof Tichelman, *Socialisme in Indonesië: bronnenpublicatie: De Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereeniging, 1897-1917* (Dordrecht: Foris, 1985); Emile Schwidder and Tichelman, *Socialisme in Indonesië: Het Proces Sneevliet, 1917* (Leiden: KITLV, 1991); A. P. E. Korver, *Sarekat Islam, 1912-1916: opkomst, bloei en structuur van Indonesie's eerste massabeweging* (Amsterdam: Historisch Semenarium van de Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1982); Soe Hok Gie, *Di Bawah Lentera Merah: Riwayat Sarekat Islam Semarang, 1917-1920* (Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Yayasan Bentang Budaya, 1999); John T. P. Blumberger, *De Communistische Beweging in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1935).

propagate socialist principles, notably revolutionary anti-imperialism, in the Indies, which they saw in turn would help defeat colonialism.[18]

It was one thing to create an agenda to participate in the Indies politics; it was another to actually put it into practice. With most of the association's original members being European, how could their propaganda succeed? Since there was no regulation prohibiting people to join more than one political organization, ISDV would soon find followers through existing organizations. They did not achieve much success with the Eurasian-oriented socialist group Insulinde, but they did with VSTP and SI. VSTP was dominated by radical native railways activists, while SI had no comparable standing in terms of its popular following. Together with Sneevliet and A. Baars (the editor of ISDV's organ *Het Vrije Woord*), Semaun—a fifteen-year-old talented VSTP leader—and other Indonesian members attended and addressed SI gatherings and kept close relations with its leaders. As a result, SI in its development became even more radicalized. When in 1918 Sneevliet was sent in exile and forever banned from re-entering the Indies,[19] ISDV had already had a generation of Indonesian leaders who would continue its program and turn the party into the first Communist party in Asia outside of Russia. Together with SI, ISDV (later Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI)) would become the basis of the first nationally and globally connected popular anti-colonial movement in the Indies.[20]

The first few decades of the twentieth century, however, did not just produce a national revival in terms of political organizations; it also produced a generation of important political leaders. Existing literature on Indonesian communism has pointed to the roles of different leaders

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[18] Ibid.
[19] The Russian revolution of 1917 inspired ISDV so much that they saw it as the path to follow in Indonesia. Sneevliet's article on the Russian revolution "Zegepraal" (Victory) published in *de Indier* blatantly provoked a struggle against colonial rule. Because of this he was arrested and a year later in 1918 was sent in exile and banned from coming back to the Indies.
[20] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia,* 206-26.

of the period and in the process reveals different understandings of the dynamic of the movement's development. Ruth McVey's *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* argues against the theory that communism was an imported movement and demonstrates that in fact it was a movement that played an equally important role in Indonesian politics as well as in the international communist movement. Drawing largely from Comintern official sources, she brings us the details of the party's history, its place in the Indonesian political movements, and its influence on colonial government policy, revealing the role of party leaders Sneevliet, Baars, Semaun, Tan Malaka, Darsono, Musso, and Alimin locally and abroad. Sneevliet, for example, after his exile from the Indies under the name of A. Maring, would establish the Chinese communist party and work for the Comintern in Russia. Likewise, Tan Malaka—a giant Indonesian communist leader and intellectual—along with Semaun, Darsono, and Musso, would work during their exile for communist parties in different parts of the world. Complementing McVey's analysis, Takashi Shiraishi's *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912-1926* looks into the local dynamics of the movement, focusing on Surakarta and the rank-and-file leaders, who, while never becoming a part of international activities, played an important role in the Indonesian movement. He reveals the roles of Haji Misbach, "the red haj," and Mas Marco Kartodikromo, an important Indonesian journalist, and discusses the importance of newspaper publications in creating political and social "motion," as well as the complex relations between SI and PKI with other existing local unions and political parties. The biographies of these leaders have also been chronicled in literature demonstrating their important contribution to Indonesia and political movements in general.[21]

[21] On Tan Malaka: Harry A. Poeze, *Tan Malaka: Strijder Voor Indonesië's Vrijheid : Levensloop Van 1897 Tot 1945* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1976); *Verguisd En Vergeten (3 Vols.): Tan Malaka, De Linkse Beweging En De Indonesische Revolutie, 1945-1949* (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2007); Rudolf Mrazek, "Tan Malaka: A Political Personality's Structure of Experience," in *Indonesia* 14 (October 1972), 1-48.

Existing literature has therefore formed certain established aspects of the historiography of the early communist anti-colonial movement in the Indies. Besides the political parties and the leaders involved, they also agreed on the chronology of SI radicalization. In October 1921, the alliance between PKI and SI began to break after the central leadership of SI decided to install "party discipline."[22] One reason for the break was that SI wished to purify its uniting principle under Islam and not communism; another was that because the communists had infiltrated and made use of SI's followers, the party had been given a bad name to SI, according to some SI central leaders who were no longer sympathetic to the radical nature of PKI. This was soon to be followed with a break within SI into what became "SI merah" (red SI) and "SI putih" (white SI). Red SI joined PKI in mobilizing as a communist movement. The name would later be turned into Sarekat Rakyat (People's Union, SR) taking off the term Islam as it was deemed to be too limiting in the goal of uniting all elements of the Indies against colonialism. This proved to be successful and SR branches, which often also carried the banner identifying them as PKI branches, gained even more support and became even more radical. Eventually the government restricted SR's movement and the ill-fated communist revolt—the first widespread revolt against colonialism conducted in several regions—erupted in Java in December 1926 and in Sumatra in January 1927. The revolt was followed with the banning of communism until it was later revived in 1945 during the Indonesian independence revolution. This event in 1926/7 has been associated

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On Sneevliet: P.J. Meertens, *Biografisch Woordenboek Van Het Socialisme En De Arbeidersbeweging in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Stichting tot Beheer van Materialen op het gebied van de Sociale Geschiedenis IISG, 1986), 111-19. On Semaun: Dewi Yuliati, *Semaoen, Pers Bumiputera, Dan Radikalisasi Sarekat Islam Semarang* (Semarang: Bendera, 2000). On Haji Misbach: Nor Hiqmah, *H.m. Misbach: Kisah Haji Merah* (Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2008). On Musso: *Musso: Si Merah Di Simpang Republik* (Jakarta: KPG (Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia) and Majalah Tempo, 2011). On Marco Kartodikromo: Marco Kartodikromo and Agung D. Hartanto, *Karya-karya Lengkap Marco Kartodikromo: Pikiran, Tindakan, Dan Perlawanan* (Jakarta: I Boekoe, 2008). The interest on leaders is also shown on the following document collected by the U.S. government on Indonesian communist leaders: "Articles on the leaders of the Indonesian Communist Party" (Washington D.C.: U.S. Joint Publications Research Service, 1955).

[22] McVey, *Rise of Indonesian Communism,* 105.

with the early communist movement and is seen as creating a break and marking the livelihood of the first phase of PKI's existence.[23] What happened between 1927 until PKI was revived again in 1945 was unknown. Another established aspect of the existing literature concerns the sites of the movement. Most historians agree that the movement was different from the previous anti-colonial movement because this was the first time that a movement was able to mobilize people beyond a certain region, covering all of Java and even reaching other islands. However, little has been told about the movement outside of Java. If the movement was connected across the archipelago, in which other islands did it occur, and how?

The questions regarding the historical break and the locations of the movement lingered with me at the beginning of this dissertation research along with those arisen from what the leader-, event-, and official party-centric narratives have revealed. If this was truly a popular movement, as previous historians have claimed, why do we know nothing about the involvement of women, children and other ethnic groups—outside of Javanese?[24] Why has the narrative been dominated by the actions of men, whether leaders or rank-and-file members? If this movement affected the livelihood of ordinary people, which it must have given historians' agreement that it was a popular movement for over a decade before it was banned, should not there be other smaller yet important events contributing to the dynamics of the movement, those outside of formal events by the political parties (e.g., dates of congresses/strikes held or of the arrests of leaders)? Additionally, despite its being banned in 1926/7, what was the possibility that the movement kept on the move in different ways despite the collapse of the communist party?

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[23] On 1926/7 event, see Harry J Benda and Ruth T. McVey, *The Communist Uprisings of 1926-1927 in Indonesia: Key Documents* (Ithaca, N.Y: Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Dept. of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell University, 1960).

[24] Even Saskia Wieringa, *Sexual Politics in Indonesia* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2002) that chronicles the women's roles in communist movement in Indonesia did not make any specific treatments of women's involvement in the early communist movement of 1920s.

Several scholars have more recently attempted to explain some of these possibilities. In terms of geographical dispersement of the movement, recent works by Audrey Kahin on the Muslim communist involvement in West Sumatra, Steve Farram on the Christian communist movement in Timor, and Gerry van Klinken on Dayak communist in Borneo opened up the possibility to explain the processes by which the movement spread.[25] From a transnational perspective, van Rossum discusses the involvement of Indonesian sailors in the transnational communist movement and Petersson points out the involvement of Indonesian students in the Netherlands in creating international solidarity through the League of Anti Imperialism.[26] These scholars help us think beyond the Java-centric narrative and begin looking for the possibility that the movement took root in the Outer Islands as well as outside of the Indies. Additionally, Cheah Boon Kheng points to the available archives of Malaysia's Communist Party, which indicates that Indonesian communists who fled from the Indies after the banning in 1926/7 later partook in the Malaysian party's establishment in 1929. Bloembergen also demonstrates that as a response to the movement, the Dutch colonial state reformed its police institutions and its surveillance system, thereby suggesting a direct relation between how the communist movement and the colonial state (re)produced each other,[27] including in the area of communicative systems. These

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[25] In Sumatra: Audrey Kahin, *Rebellion to Integration: West Sumatra and the Indonesian Polity, 1926-1998* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999). In Timor: Steve Farram, "From 'timor Koepang' to 'timor Ntt': A Political History of West Timor, 1901-1967" (PhD diss., Charles Darwin University, 2004).; "Revolution, Religion and Magic: The Pki in West Timor, 1924-1966," *Bijdragen Tot De Taal-, Land En Volkenkunde* 158 (1) (2002), 21-48. In Borneo: Gerry van Klinken, *Dayak Ethnogenesis and Conservative Politics in Indonesia's Outer Islands* (Unpublished paper, KITLV, Leiden, 2001). Another work looking at the movement from the perspective of workers' politics and unions: John Ingleson, *Workers, Unions and Politics: Indonesia in the 1920s and 1930s* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).
[26] Matthias van Rossum, *Hand Aan Hand (blank En Bruin): Solidariteit En De Werking Van Globalisering, Etniciteit En Klasse Onder Zeelieden Op De Nederlandse Koopvaardij, 1900-1945* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2009); Fredrik Petersson, "'We are Neither Visionaries Nor Utopian Dreamers': Willi Münzenberg, the League against Imperialism, and the Comintern, 1925-1933" (PhD diss., Åbo Akademi University, 2013).
[27] Marieke Bloembergen and Tristam P. Moeliono, *Polisi Zaman Hindia Belanda: Dari Kepedulian Dan Ketakutan* (Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas, 2011).

recent studies allow me to go beyond the traditional periodization and the Java-centric narrative and to explain the dynamic of the movement beyond what the current literature has offered. Therefore, while the focus of this dissertation is the early communist movement between 1920 and 1926 (1927 in Sumatra), the scope discussed covers the period of the 1800s to 1933.

My aim in this study is then to move away from elite/leader-, political organization-, and formal event-centric narratives of the history of the early Indonesian communism. The goal is to understand and explain the emergence, dynamics, development, and success/demise of the early communist anti-colonial movement in the Indies in 1920-1926 by investigating the communicative sociotechnical systems (practices, processes, technologies) in which ordinary people mobilized themselves in the movement. By exploring the communicative sociotechnical systems of the communist resistance by ordinary people during the period, new participants of the movement can be identified, new processes—the ones created in the day-to-day life process of the participants—can be observed, and new narrative of the dynamics of the movement along with the "new order" resulting from it can be revealed. The latter will especially take into account the development of the movement through its dialectical relations with other competing corresponding movements, be they "counter-movements" or "movements from above,"[28] i.e. the government. By investigating and revealing these new aspects of the Indonesian communist movement, notably the political involvement of ordinary people in ordinary life, I hope to offer a new perspective of social movements in general, one that takes communicative technology, practices, and processes as central to it.

With this in mind, in this dissertation I seek to answer the following questions: What were the communicative sociotechnical systems (practices, processes, technologies) produced by ordinary people to mobilize themselves in the early communist anti-colonial movement in the

[28] Terms within social movement studies will be discussed in chapter 2.

Dutch East Indies in 1920-1926? How, in producing their own communicative sociotechnical systems, did the participants of the movement alter the existing systems—produced and provided by the Dutch colonial government—into ones of resistance? In what way did this communication history of the movement demonstrate the centrality of communicative sociotechnical systems as circuits of struggle between contesting groups in a social movement?

This dissertation consists of eight chapters, each of which discusses an aspect of the communicative sociotechnical systems of resistance in the period. I call these systems "media of resistance" to bring the seemingly separated communicative practices and technologies together and identify them as a historical phenomenon that characterized the movement. Unintentionally, the people of the movement designed "media of resistance" as their means of struggle.

In the second chapter, I will explain and unpack "communicative sociotechnical systems," an important methodological concept that underlies this research, as well as situate this concept within current approaches in media studies and social movement studies. This will be followed by an explanation of data collection processes including my use of statistical analysis and historical GIS (Geographic Information System) for data processing and analysis.

Chapters three and four, "Geography of Colonialism as Geography of Resistance," explain how the geography of colonialism reveals the geography of resistance in two parts. The first part discusses how the implementation of modern transport networks created a condition of possibility for new forms of mobility, and hence, a new form of organizing resistance in the Indies. In the second part, I explain how mobility shaped the detailed aspects of sociability in the movement. This chapter builds off the history of transport networks and elucidates the idea of mobility from the perspective of the movement of people and ideas through time and space.

Chapter five, "*Openbare Vergaderingen*: Politics is Ordinary," is an exploration of *openbare vergaderingen* as a communicative means of resistance to understand the making of politics, i.e. the common cultures of resistance, in its ordinary setting by ordinary people in their ordinary lives. Here, I discuss *openbare vergaderingen* based on my qualitative data—speeches, newspaper reports. I explain how the three social functions of *openbare vergaderingen,* namely as entertainment, as educational institutions, and as cultures of defiance, reveal the interplay of the political and the ordinary in producing the resistance movement.

Chapter six, "The Birth and Development of the Revolutionary Press," explains the tradition of "the revolutionary press" that emerged during the early communist movement. This chapter focuses on the development of one of the main sources of my data, the revolutionary newspaper *Sinar Hindia* (later *Api*), between 1920-1926. Drawing on data gathered through textual analysis of the publications as well as archival material, I investigate its specific quality (language use, content, organization, funding sources, readership), its relationship with the colonial state, as well as the socioeconomic factors that contributed to its development as "the organ of *orang kromo* (the proletariat)." The purpose of this chapter is to shed light on how print communism became the handmaiden of an "organized community."

Chapter seven, "'Public Peace and Order': The State's Law and Policy Measures on Media of Resistance," analyzes the regulatory framework around the communicative sociotechnical system that the Dutch colonial state created as a response to the existing communist movement. The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate how communication technologies have historically been a battleground for power between the state and the people, or a "circuit of struggle," as well as to question the perversion of "public peace and order" that has often become the colonial state's pretext to create policy products that suppress and disempower

ordinary people's freedom of speech and expression. This chapter points to the role of communication technologies in disempowering the people through legal interventions in the name of restoring/maintaining "public peace and order."

This dissertation will be closed with an epilogue that discusses the findings of this study, a reflection of its limitations, the study's broader significance for media studies, as well as some considerations on the potential future research projects.

In the chapter that follows, I will explain and unpack the term "communicative sociotechnical systems" as the methodology that underlies this dissertation as well as how the concept is situated within current approaches in media studies as well as social movement studies.

CHAPTER II

COMMUNICATIVE SOCIOTECHNICAL SYSTEMS AS NETWORKS OF MOBILITY AND SOCIABILITY: A CRITICAL METHODOLOGY

> "For while it is possible to discuss communications—meanings and messages—at the level of simple *ideas,* it is impossible in the end to separate such discussion from that very important and indeed primary branch of social production which is the making of communications technologies and systems."
> (Raymond Williams, 1981)[1]

Every theory—and its interpretation thereof—is a product of its own generation and hence is conditioned by the existing polemics and debates. The concept "communicative sociotechnical system" I use in this dissertation as a metholodogy is of no exception. The prevailing dichotomous views between "culture" and "non culture" (economy/structure/system)—"human agency" and "condition"—within social sciences have provided a methodological conundrum that demands to be resolved. The task of this chapter is therefore twofold. First, I aim to go beyond binary oppositions and argue for the importance of both human agency and conditions in studying the making of history by offering an alternative concept of communicative sociotechnical systems. Second, by so doing, I propose to explore the central role of communication systems and technologies not only in the limited "communication" sphere—symbols, meaning-making, information, propaganda, etc.—but in a larger sense in terms of its role in (re)producing society in general. This methodology will eventually help understand the centrality of communicative sociotechnical systems in the emergence, development, dynamics, and success/demise of a social movement as a circuit of struggle, as well as the new order that comes about.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section deals with the development of the concept "communicative sociotechnical system" and its eventual contribution to current

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[1] Raymond Williams, *Contact: Human Communication and Its History* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1981), 15.

approaches in social movement studies. I start with the discussion of the intellectual history within communication studies that leads to the current binary dividing scholars to take sides between "culture" and "structure." This is followed with an exploration of the concept communicative sociotechnical system as an alternative view that, rather than taking sides, argues for the importance of both culture and structure. The methodological viability of the concept communicative sociotechnical system will then be further assessed and defined in the next subsections through the discussion of communication systems as networks of sociability and mobility and through the sample use of this concept in a study of British society in Raymond Williams's work *The Country and the City* (1973). This methodological discussion will then consider the question "what does the concept communicative sociotechnical systems as networks of sociability and mobility offer to the existing approach to social movements within communication studies and beyond?" As part of answering that question, I will also explain the idea of "circuit of struggle" as a working concept connecting concerns within media studies and social movement.

Based on the methodological framework discussed in the first section, the second section will explain the process of data collection and analysis for the specific study that this dissertation deals with, the communication history of the early communist anti-colonial movement in the Dutch East Indies.

2.A SECTION I: METHODOLOGY

2.A.1 The intellectual trajectory of the binary

Scholars within communication studies are usually familiar with—and might probably be bored to be reminded of—the conceptual break between the fields of cultural studies and political economy inaugurated by the debate between Nicholas Garnham and Lawrence Grossberg some

two decades ago.[2] The break reflects not an obstinate hostility between the two fields but in fact a continuous intellectual journey within the field of communication to define "culture." In the attempt to define it, however, "non-culture" becomes its necesssary other. My aim to review at length the intellectual development of this binary is to examine how in this development scholars have built a governing binary that separate the realms of "culture" from those of "non-culture." I argue that the binary is problematic because in both sides they treat communication technologies/systems in a reductive manner. This will later become the basis for why an alternative view that moves away from the binary is necessary.

There are two dominant tendencies within communication studies that dictate the study toward "culture." The first is born out of communication studies in North America, namely the "transmission vs. ritual tradition," theorized by the American communication theorist James Carey.[3] Carey criticizes "the rhetoric of the technological sublime" that grounded works in communication studies when it was transformed into a branch of psychology, ending its interdisciplinary character and separating it from historical studies.[4] The rhetoric of the technological sublime went back as far as early communication theorists, such as Charles Horton Cooley and Robert Park, who view advances in communications techniques as the determinant of progress towards the making of a united and civilized society.[5] In both cases, communications

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[2] Nicholas Garnham, "Political Economy and Cultural Studies: Reconciliation or Divorce?," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* (March) (1995): 62-71; Lawrence Grossberg, "Cultural Studies vs. Political Economy: Is Anybody Else Bored with This Debate?," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* (March) (1995): 72-81.
[3] James Carey, "Culture, Geography and Communications: The Work of Harold Innis in an American Context," in *Culture, Communication, and Dependency: The Tradition of H.A. Innis,* ed. William H. Melody et al. (Norwood, NJ: Able, 1981); James Carey, "A Cultural Approach to Communication," in *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989).
[4] Carey, "Culture, Geography and Communications," 77-78.
[5] Daniel Czitrom, "Metahistory, Mythology and the Media: The American Thought of Harold Innis and Marshall McLuhan," in *Media and the American Mind: from Morse to McLuhan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 161.

technology is seen in a *mechanistic way* and is given a deterministic and independent role to exert influence on society; hence, according to Cooley, communication history is "the foundation of all history" because "social influences act through a mechanism; and the character their action depends up [sic!] the character of the mechanism."[6] This mechanism of communication system includes not only transportation but also "gesture, speech, writing, printing, mails, telephones, telegraphs, photography, the technique of the arts and sciences—all the ways through which thought and feeling can pass from man to man." Comparing this mechanism to that of the nervous system in the human body, Cooley highlights the way it creates a system that connects distant times and spaces.[7]

The importance of the idea of time and space as functions of media of communication was also the focus of Harold Innis's work. Differently from Cooley and Park, however, Innis included questions of control and power that are a part of all human civilizations. Innis's argument centers on his concept of the "bias of communication"—the spatial and temporal tendency in media that creates certain parameters for the spread of knowledge and monopoly over time and space.[8]

> Media that emphasize time are those that are durable in character, such as parchment, clay, and stone. The heavy materials are suited to the development of architecture and sculpture. Media that emphasize space are apt to be less durable and light in character, such as papyrus and paper. The latter are suited to wide areas in administration and trade…. Materials that emphasize time favor decentralization and hierarchical types of institutions, while those that emphasize space favor centralization and systems of government less hierarchical in character. Large scale political organizations such as empires must be considered from the standpoint of two dimensions, those of time and space, and persist by overcoming the bias of media which overemphasize either dimension.[9]

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[6] Charles Cooley, "The Process of Social Change," in *Mass Communication and American Social Thought: Key Texts 1919-1968,* ed. John Durham Peters and Peter Simonson (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 1897/2004), 21.
[7] Cooley, "The Process of Social Change," 21-22.
[8] Czitrom, "Metahistory, Mythology and the Media," 156.
[9] Harold Innis quoted in Ibid.

Here, Innis argues that the materiality of the media—whether they are durable or light—can explain if they emphasize time or space. Innis held that "time-biased" media embody a concern with history, tradition, and community, while those that are "space-biased" suggest the growth of empire and expansion.[10]

Inspired by Innis, Carey claims that there is no "disinterested technology."[11] Even if a society resembles an organism ruled by natural laws, there are still controlling elements, such as a region or a group of people, that hold the power to direct the operation of the means of communication and transportation. This means that not only does this particular region and group control the technology, but they also monopolize knowledge and culture produced by the same technology. Carey further takes from Innis the idea of "control" and proposes the study of "time" as "the new frontier." He argues that while the ecological niche of "space" has been filled as an arena of commerce and control due to the advancement of railroads and telegraph, "time" remains a new arena waiting to be invaded and co-opted by the forces of commerce and politics already exerting control over the dimension of space. He sees market activity as shifting "from certain space to uncertain time."[12]

However, Carey's theoretical observation based on the historical development of communication technology quickly changed, leading to a different conception of communication. In a 1989 publication "A Cultural Approach to Communication"—eight years after the previous article that engaged with Innis's legacy, Carey outlines two alternative conceptions of communication existing in American culture: "a transmission view of communication" and "a ritual view of communication."

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[10] Ibid.
[11] Carey, "Culture, Geography and Communications," 81.
[12] Ibid., 88-9.

> The transmission view of communication is the commonest in our culture—perhaps in all industrial cultures—and dominates contemporary dictionary entries under the term… It is formed from a metaphor of geography or transportation… The center of this idea of communication is the transmission of signals or messages over distance for the purpose of control. It is a view of communication that derives from one of the most ancient of human dreams: the desire to increase the speed and effect of messages as they travel in space.[13]

He goes on to define the "ritual view" as

> The ritual view of communication, though a minor thread in our national thought, is by far the older of those views—old enough in fact for dictionaries to list it under "Archaic." In a ritual definition, communication is linked to terms such as "sharing," "participation," "association," "fellowship," and "the possession of a common faith." This definition exploits the ancient identity and common roots of the terms "commonness," "communion," "community," and "communication." A ritual view of communication is directed not toward the extension of messages in space but toward the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting information but the representation of shared beliefs.[14]

There are several premises underlying this contrast. First, communication is abstracted from its materiality—technology, system, etc.—and turned into a *metaphor* that the technology signifies. This is captured nicely in the quote,

> If the archetypal case of communication under a transmission view is the extension of messages across geography for the purpose of control, the archetypal case under a ritual view is the sacred ceremony that draws persons together in fellowship and commonality.[15]

Second, Carey points out the *antagonism* between the transmission view and the ritual view. Transmission carries the idea of power, politics, and economy, while ritual demonstrates an idea of community and solidarity. Undoubtedly—perhaps also inspired by Innis's long standing idealization of oral culture over written culture,[16] Carey puts a priority on the ritual view over the transmission view. This antagonism between the two views implies a very strong message in that Carey seems to suggest that market and politics can be considered as just one separate dimension of human life, irrelevant for analyzing the dimension of the "ritual order." By so doing, he also

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[13] Carey, "A Cultural Approach to Communication," 14-15.
[14] Ibid., 18.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Czitrom, "Metahistory, Mythology and the Media," 157.

summons an end to the "obsessive commitment" to the transmission view and encourages a shift in focus toward the ritual view.[17]

His idea of communication motivated by this theorizing clarifies Carey's appeals for a reorientation of communication studies to a "cultural studies approach," which puts the human subject back in a discussion of communication.[18] Communication "is a form of action—or, better, interaction—that not merely represents or describes, but actually molds or constitutes the world,"[19] so that "[t]o study communication is to examine the actual social process wherein significant symbolic forms are created, apprehended, and used."[20] However, in the process of reorienting communication studies through the development of the concept of "culture," Carey seems to separate and move it away from those aspects of transmission view of communication, namely politics, market, and economy.

Carey's dichotomy of the transmission and the ritual view initiated a much larger theoretical impact in communication studies. First, there has been a tendency toward an abstraction of communication, separating the *idea* of communication from its materiality—technology, systems, and institutions. Seeing the technology only as a metaphor reduces its political meaning and role to a mere technical entity. Second, the attention to human subjects also entails a move away from the idea of power, politics, and economy. The materiality of communication is dominated by the idea of "symbol systems."[21] What we have, then, is an antagonism between human subjects vs. inanimate beings, with the latter put in a subordinate position to the former. Third, this theoretical turn to "cultural studies" was motivated not by a wider political

[17] Carey, "A Cultural Approach to Communication," 34.
[18] James Carey quoted in Daniel Czitrom, "Review: Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society by James W. Carey," *American Quarterly* 42 (4) (1990): 680-684.
[19] Carey quoted in Czitrom, "Review: Communication as Culture," 684.
[20] Carey, "A Cultural Approach to Communication," 30.
[21] Ibid.

commitment that grounded the tradition—British cultural studies—from which Carey found his inspiration,[22] but rather by a development *within* academia, i.e. changes of approaches and research topics.

While Carey's emphasis on the human subject in the ritual view is influenced by the thinking of the British cultural studies founder Raymond Williams,[23] Williams has a different idea of the human subject, especially in relation to structure. Williams's emphasis on the human subject is born out of a criticism of the notions of mass culture and of culture as superstructure. For Williams, the mass culture theory is exemplified by F. R. Leavis's widely influential *Mass Civilization and Minority Culture*,[24] which argues for a separation of high and low (real) culture. Both Hoggart's *The Uses of Literacy*[25] and Raymond Williams's *The Long Revolution*[26] seek to explore the cultural and social life of the working class and define their relationship with "common culture," including popular and mass-mediated culture. In this case, mass-mediated culture becomes a part of the lived experiences of the social subjects; in other words, instead of seeing culture bifurcated into high and low forms, both thinkers argue for a concept of culture that is ordinary and dynamic.

Raymond Williams's works were also founded on a criticism of the idea of culture as superstructure—or as a reflection of something "other than culture." Williams opposes the

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[22] Discussed in Alan O'Connor, "The Problem of American Cultural Studies," in *Critical Studies in mass Communication* 6 (1989): 405-413. For a criticism of American tradition from the perspective of British scholar, see Stuart Hall, "The Rediscovery of 'Ideology': Return of the Repressed in Media Studies," in *Culture, Society and the Media,* ed. M. Gurevitch et al. (Metheun, 1982).
[23] An example is in Carey, "A Cultural Approach to Communication," 34. Also see a discussion of British cultural studies by Carey at length in "Mass Communication Research and Cultural Studies: an American View," in *Mass Communication and Society,* ed. James Curran, Michael Gurevitch and Janet Waolacott (London: Edward Arnold in association with the Open University Press, 1977).
[24] F. R. Leavis, *Mass civilisation and minority culture* (Cambridge, Eng: Minority Press, 1930).
[25] Richard Hoggart, *The uses of literacy: aspects of working-class life with special references to publications and entertainments* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1957).
[26] Raymond Williams, *The long revolution* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1961).

perspective of what he termed "received Marxism" that viewed superstructure and base dichotomously, with superstructure assigned a subordinate position vis-à-vis the economic base. Within that perspective, culture as superstructure was seen as a mere passive reflection of the economic base. For Williams, this position reflected a misreading of Marx, whose original criticism was actually that thought and activity are not separate areas.[27] Equally important, Williams argues the very idea that superstructure is a reflection of the base does not really originate in Marx, saying "Marx's own proposition explicitly denies this, and puts the origin of determination in men's own activities."[28] Williams seeks to restore Marx's position by demonstrating that what is commonly seen as superstructure, such as culture and politics, is also always "base."[29] In fact, he even argues that "the base is the more important concept to look at if we are to understand the realities of cultural process… 'The base' is the real social existence of man."[30] This is also the reason why Williams puts emphasis on "the human subject." In developing the concept of culture, Williams argues against the dichotomy between culture and economy—superstructure and base—and proposes that both are in fact rooted in human practical activities. This is a different view than that of Carey.

However, the thinking that laid the foundation of British cultural studies underwent a dramatic change in 1980—two years after Stuart Hall took over British Cultural Studies from his predecessor Hoggart. Hall's "Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms"[31] inaugurated a move away from the founders of the field. In this article, Hall calls for a *break*: "where old lines of thought are disrupted, older constellations displaced, and elements, old and new, are regrouped around a

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[27] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and literature* (Oxford [Eng.]: Oxford University Press, 1977), 78.
[28] Raymond Williams, *Problems in materialism and culture* (London: Verso, 1980), 31.
[29] Williams, *Marxism and literature*, 82.
[30] Williams, *Problems in materialism and culture,* 33.
[31] Stuart Hall, "Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms," in *Media, culture and society*, ed. T. R. Young (Fort Collins, Colo: Colorado State University, 1980).

different set of premises and themes."[32] What Hall means by old lines of thought here is what he calls "culturalism" as "the dominant paradigm," first conceptualized by Hoggart and Williams as, who Hall deems, the founders of British Cultural Studies. Here, Hall seeks to oppose culturalism with structuralism. Hall was attracted by structuralism's "promise to the 'human sciences of culture' of a paradigm capable of rendering them scientific and rigorous in a thoroughly new way."[33] What is it about structuralism that attracts him? Hall argues that the great strength of structuralism is first, its emphasis on "determinate conditions," "the *relations* of a structure on the basis of something other than their reduction to relationships between 'people'."[34] The second strength is the presence of a "continuous and complex movement *between different levels of abstraction.*"[35] Third, structuralism's strength relies on its "decentering of 'experience' and its work in elaborating the neglected category of 'ideology'."[36] Hall's attraction to structuralism was mediated through his reading of Althusser, a French structuralist Marxist. Even when he mentions Gramsci and his concept of hegemony, his reading of hegemony as the domain of the "unconscious"[37] is understood via Althusser instead of via Williams, who in fact has tackled the question of "the complexity of hegemony" within his own work.[38]

For cultural studies under Hall, there are two ways in which the turn to structuralism marks a move away from a humanist view of culture; hence, the realm of culture is separated from that of economy. First, it is a move away from the concept of culture as *base*, as Williams otherwise suggests. Specifically, Williams's placing of human practical activity as the base is

[32] Hall, "Cultural Studies," 33.
[33] Hall, "Cultural Studies," 40.
[34] Hall, "Cultural Studies," 43.
[35] Ibid. Emphasis in the original.
[36] Hall, "Cultural Studies," 45.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Williams, *Problems in materialism and culture,* 37-40.

replaced by Hall with an external determining force, i.e. structure. In other words, he moves away from the idea of culture as "social" to culture as "ideology." Second, Hall also disavows the approach of political economy of "culture" as economically deterministic,[39] using what had become a catchphrase among cultural studies scholars in their rejection of political economy. In Hall's view, "critical paradigm" in cultural studies would examine media as active in terms of signifying practices. This means that instead of looking at media technology and systems, researchers must analyze symbols and meaning making.[40] Although in the late 1980s British cultural studies moved away again from structuralism to poststructuralism and restored the place of the human subject through the idea of "the autonomy of audience,"[41] the antagonism between political economy and cultural studies continues.[42]

The dichotomy between culture and economy is further exacerbated by the lack of interest among scholars of cultural studies and those of media studies to resolve the dichotomy. In somewhat hostile exchange between political economy scholar Nicholas Garnham[43] and cultural studies scholar Lawrence Grossberg,[44] Grossberg accuses political economy of being economically deterministic:

> not merely by their logic of necessary correspondences (reductionist and reflectionist), but by their reduction of economics to the technological and institutional contexts of capitalist manufacturing… by their reduction of the market to the site of commodified and alienated exchange, and by their rather ahistorical and consequently oversimplified notions of capitalism.[45]

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[39] Hall, "Cultural Studies," 46.
[40] Stuart Hall, "The Rediscovery of 'Ideology': Return of the Repressed in Media Studies," in *Culture, Society and the Media,* ed. M. Gurevitch et al. (London: Metheun, 1982).
[41] An example is John Fiske, "Active audiences", in *Television Culture: Popular Pleasures and Politics,* (New York: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1987).
[42] See Janice Peck, "Itinerary of a Thought: Stuart Hall, Cultural Studies, and the Unresolved Problem of the Relation of Culture to "Not Culture," in *Cultural Critique* 48 (1) (2001): 200-249.
[43] Garnham, "Political Economy and Cultural Studies," 62-71.
[44] Grossberg, "Cultural Studies vs. Political Economy," 72-81.
[45] Ibid., 80.

Grossberg seems to suggest that political economy is guilty of having a reductionist idea of economy, which usually revolves around an attention to technology and institution as well as the idea of market as a commodified space, removing the idea of human subjects and their fluid creative activities. In fact, this criticism was actually echoed within political economy itself. Garnham himself has raised his own criticism[46] that despite its sympathetic affinity to Marxism, scholars of political economy are not Marxist enough, or, in other words, not materialist enough. They are not materialist enough, in Garnham's view, because political economy has often only focused on a reductionist idea of economy that lacks an attention to the contradiction surrounding it. Dallas Smythe's call to fill the "blindspot" of communication study was followed, according to Garnham, by a reduction of political economy of communication to an analysis of "commodity" form. This perspective, he argues, "lacks any sense of contradiction"[47] as it tends to overly focus on communication practices in relation to the capitalist market as mere commodity relations.

From my perspective, the problem in both cultural studies—after Williams—and with political economy is the narrowing down of the concept of culture and economy to a mere abstraction. That is, the focus of political economy is reduced to an attention to commodity, while the focus of cultural studies is reduced to culture/ideology/representation/signifying practices. Dan Schiller in *Theorizing Communication*[48] has analyzed this symptom of abstraction, which he calls the process of "reification"[49] of culture, and hence also of economy.

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[46] Garnham, "Contribution to a Political Economy of Mass Communication," in *Media and cultural studies: keyworks*, ed. Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas Kellner (Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1995/2001).
[47] Garnham, "Contribution," 212.
[48] Dan Schiller, *Theorizing communication: a history* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
[49] Schiller, *Theorizing communication,* 184.

The dominant trends in North American and British traditions discussed above imply a certain understanding of communication technology/system. The focus on the creation of community through meaning making and symbols in the "ritual view of communication" resembles the idea of active human subjects within cultural studies. In both views, however, technology tends to be seen as merely technical, carrying with it a neutral and non-political role. In this case, theory plays a role in neutralizing the political dimensions of technology. In the ritual and cultural studies view, society has the central role in determining social changes. On the other hand, in the transmission and political economy perspective, there is a tendency to think of communication technology, systems, and institutions in a technological deterministic way. Studies often revolve around the idea of how media and systems of communication further the capitalist logic of commodification and labor alienation. It is interesting to note that within contemporary studies of communication, scholars tend to narrow the scope of "communication" to what are considered to be directly observable cases of "communication," such as the study of media ownership, representations of identity in media, ideology in news, journalism, etc. This often leads to a study of a particular communication technology isolated from its relationship within the networks of other communication technologies/machineries/institutions or with the social system of which it is a part.

The call for a dialogue to bridge the antagonistic relation between political economy and cultural studies has been made by many scholars.[50] I would like to contribute to this dialogue by thinking about how to bridge the relation between human subjects (human agency) and communication technology, systems, and institutions (structure), without subsuming one to the

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[50] Andrew Calabrese and Colin Sparks, *Toward a political economy of culture: capitalism and communication in the twenty-first century* (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004); Vincent Mosco, *The political economy of communication*, (London: SAGE, 2009); Janice Peck, "Why We Shouldn't be Bored with the Political Economy vs. Cultural Studies Debate," *Cultural Critique* (Fall) (2006): 92-126.

other. To accomplish this, we need an epistemological view that allows us to see human agency *and* structure as equally central, and neither in a deterministic way.

2.A.2 Communicative sociotechnical systems: Overcoming the binary

In offering an alternative to the binary of human agency and structure, in this subsection I would like to explain their dialectical relation through an exploration of how technologies/systems embody this dialectical relation. The aim is not just to overcome the binary and offer an alternative to it, but also to give an understanding of the centrality of communications technologies/systems in the making of human history in general.

One important question that confronts us when we seek to explain social change in relation to communication technology/system is how to avoid a technologically deterministic view of history. Technological determinism sees technologies as capable of independently causing social changes due to certain defining characteristics of the technology itself disconnected from political, economic, and cultural processes. The rejection of such teleological views of technology often leads to an equally extreme position—a society deterministic view, that reduces technology to mere technical matters, and makes social and political elements the central causes of social changes. Both views are problematic. It is important to address the question emerging from this polarity: how to think about the *centrality* of technology/system in social change without being deterministic. To answer this, we now turn to Karl Marx and Langdon Winner who demonstrate the dialectical relation between technology and society and explain how human agency and structure are inherent in that relation.

In *Capital,*[51] Karl Marx argues for the centrality of technology in the transition to and the development of the capitalist mode of production. The centrality of technology in the

[51] Karl Marx, *Capital Volume I* (London: Penguin Group, 1867/1976).

(re)production of human life in general might be best expressed in the following quotation from a chapter on "Machinery and Modern Industry":

> Technology reveals the active relation of man to nature, the direct process of the production of his life, and thereby it also lays bare the process of the production of the social relations of his life, and of the mental conceptions that flow from those relations.[52]

Here, Marx explains that technology reveals the processes of and our relations to (1) nature, (2) production processes, (3) mental conceptions, and (4) social relations. He sets up these four categories as elements of the (re)production of life, of which technology is expressive. This understanding enables Marx to explain how the introduction of machinery structures time, gender and generational relations, labor processes/relations, and mental conceptions in a way that fulfills capitalists' purpose to accumulate profit within capitalism. Aside from explaining a certain economic epoch, this conception of technology is also useful to explain how the machinery used to improve the production of surplus value could also function as a weapon of social struggle.

However, does this mean that Marx is technologically deterministic? It is important to note that Marx does not talk about the centrality of technology in a cause/effect manner, which is characteristic of deterministic thinking. Marx uses the words "technology reveals" to express the dialectical relations between technology and society. It is indeed human beings who use the technology they invented to modify and transform nature and hence our biological environment. However, the existing technology also creates certain imperatives that shape and structure our social as well as mental life. As technologies profoundly affect our mental conceptions, human mental conceptions are at the same time embodied in the technologies—in its uses, regulations surrounding it, etc.

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[52] Marx, *Capital Volume I,* 493n4.

Langdon Winner in "Do Artifacts Have Politics?"[53] builds from Marx to develop a more specific account on the relation of technology and politics. He discusses a common argument against technological determinism, which is usually expressed through the idea that "people have politics; things do not." So, it is the social and economic systems of which technology is a part that have to be analyzed while "technical *things* do not matter at all."[54] The purpose of Winner's paper is to debunk this position with the thesis that *technical things do have political qualities*. Winner supports his thesis by asserting that "[t]he theory of technological politics draws attention to the momentum of large-scale sociotechnical systems, to the response of modern societies to certain technological imperatives, and to the ways human ends are powerfully transformed as they are adapted to technical means."[55] Central to his argument is that modern human life and environment have been conditioned by existing sociotechnical systems, but that the development of these systems was in the first place a human "response"—emerging out of human decisions—to a particular perceived necessity within the society. As the systems developed, they then conditioned and created new needs and ends. This includes new problems, as humans cannot foresee the unintended consequences of their actions. This argument forces us to evaluate technology differently: rather than seeing technology as tools or uses, Winner invites us to look at it in terms of "the meaning of the designs and arrangements of our artifacts."[56] Indeed, humans develop and arrange the designs of technologies in a certain way to serve a particular purpose. For example, a port is built in a city hub and this creates a new need for

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[53] Langdon Winner, "Do Artifacts Have Politics?," in *The Social Shaping of Technology,* ed. Donald A. MacKenzie and Judy Wajcman (London: Open University Press, 1980/1999). Other useful literature on technology and society: Lewis Mumford, *Technics and civilization* (New York [N.Y.]: Harcourt, Brace and Co, 1934); and Jacques Ellul, *The technological society* (New York: Knopf, 1964).

[54] Winner, "Do Artifacts Have Politics?," 20-21. Emphasis in the original.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid., 25.

transport that can connect it to the hinterlands—where goods and people can be transported to and fro—leading to the development of railroads. This is why,

> [t]he things we call 'technologies' are ways of building order in our world. Many technical devices and systems important in everyday life contain possibilities for many different ways of ordering human activity. Consciously or unconsciously, deliberately or inadvertently, societies choose structures for technologies that influence how people are going to work, communicate, travel, consume, and so forth over a very long time. In the processes by which structuring decisions are made, different people are situated differently and possess unequal degrees of power as well as unequal levels of awareness.[57]

Implementation of a certain technological order and technological innovations are human creations, just like legislative acts, laws, and policies. They work similarly in a sense that they involve decision making by certain people for certain purposes. They establish a framework for public order which will last over many generations.[58] Therefore, Winner argues that

> the same careful attention one would give to the rules, roles, and relationships of politics must also be given to such things as the building of highways, the creation of television networks, and the tailoring of seemingly insignificant features on new machines. The issues that divide or unite people in society are settled not only in the institutions and practices of politics proper, but also, and less obviously, in tangible arrangements of steel and concrete, wires and semiconductors, nuts and bolts.[59]

By seeing technical things as political, we are forced to explain not only the characteristics of technical objects, what those characteristics mean and how they have created a certain order in our world, but also the sociopolitical processes surrounding the decisions to invent and design them in the first place.

Similarly, communications technologies and systems embody political and sociopolitical processes that make them central in the (re)production of human life and human history.[60] This leads us to the question, borrowing from Marx: how does *communication technology/system*

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[57] Ibid., 28-29.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] John Durham Peters, *Speaking into the air: a history of the idea of communication* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); and, Peter Simonson et al., *Handbook of communication history*, (New York, NY: Routledge, 2013).

reveal the active relation of man to nature, the direct process of the production of his life, and thereby how does it lay bare the process of the production of the social relations of his life, and of the mental conceptions that flow from those relations? Raymond Williams has in fact argued for the role of means of communication in revealing the reproduction of life in general.

Williams's argument centers on the idea that the specific means of communication are in essence a means of (re)production of life in general.

> It is true that means of communication, from the simplest physical forms of language to the most advanced forms of communications technology, are themselves always socially and materially produced, and of course reproduced. Yet they are not only forms but means of production, since communication and its material means are intrinsic to all distinctively human forms of labour and social organization, thus constituting indispensable elements both of the productive forces and of the social relations of production.[61]

As humans (re)produce our relations to nature and the processes of production, social relations, and mental life, we also (re)produce the means of communication (language, gestures, codes, print, and electronic media) as an integral and indispensable part of those processes. In that reproduction of life, the development of communications technology/system is therefore central for two reasons. First, it is produced with clear "intention." The practices and purposes have already been calculated prior to the development of the technology/system and this development from the beginning is a "response" to known existing social conditions. The development of communications technology/system also includes a response to the unintended consequences resulting from the decisions and actions made by the previous generations manifest in the existing technology that created those conditions. Second, the purposes and practices are "direct" in a sense that the social needs, purposes, and practices emerge out of a perception that the development/application/design of the technology is central to fulfilling them.[62]

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[61] Raymond Williams, *Culture and materialism: selected essays* (London: Verso, 1980/2005), 50.
[62] Raymond Williams, *Television: technology and cultural form* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), 7.

Therefore, the means of communication, just like other technologies, are subject to historical development.

> This is so, first, because the means of communication have a specific productive history, which is always more or less directly related to general historical phases of productive and technical capacity. It is so, second, because the historically changing means of communication have historically variable relations to the general complex of productive forces and to the general social relationships which are produced by them which the general productive forces both produce and reproduce.[63]

There are relative homologies between the development of means of communication and that of the more general social productive forces and relationships. This for example includes the development in twentieth-century societies of specific "communicative productions"—transport, printing and electronic industries—in relation to "economic" and "industrial" production in general.[64] And, in that historical process, as Williams demonstrates, the means of communication understood as means of "social production" also acquired a new significance and a qualitatively new place in the process of the (re)production of society in general. That being the case, the study of the development of the means of communication necessitates the study of the conditions of their development, and vice versa.

Based on this explication of the dialectical relation between technology and society from Marx to Winner to Williams, we gain an understanding that communications technologies and systems are central in the (re)production of society: communicative sociotechnical systems encompass communicative technologies, systems, practices, processes, and actions. They are first and foremost constitutive of and constituting human agency. Therefore, communication history is a story in which human creativity is integral in the making of communications

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[63] Williams, *Culture and materialism,* 50.

[64] Here, Williams argues against received Marxism that tends to see the development of communication as a second-order process vis-à-vis the development of capitalist production in terms of isolated 'market' production. He instead argues that it is inadequate to perceive it as a second-order process while in fact in the 20th century the development of communications technologies has reached a significantly new process especially in relation to the advancement of capitalism through industrialization. See Williams, *Culture and materialism,* 53.

practices, technologies, and systems both as a response as well as a consequence. Humans create and transform their communications technologies/systems as a response to a particular condition of their life time. Communications technologies/systems therefore inhere within them human creativity, needs, and intention. At the same time, in the process of this creative making, humans are also conditioned by the existing communications system/technologies that the previous generations have made. These existing systems/technologies become the conditions of constraints and the conditions of possibility for the making of the new ones. It is therefore equally useful to think of these social conditions as objectified forms of human responses—be that of the previous generation—in the form of institutions, systems, and technologies manifesting both the *intended and unintended* consequences of human actions within the totality of a whole way of life.

With this understanding, I would like to use the idea "communicative sociotechnical systems"[65] as a working tool to analyze the central role of the social as well as technical (hence sociotechnical) systems of communications in the making of history in a given society. In this case, communicative sociotechnical systems bring our attention not only to communicative practices and processes but also technologies and designs. In the next subsection, I will explain further how in considering the social and political processes embedded in communicative sociotechnical systems, these processes also include relations of mobility and sociability.

2.A.3 Communicative sociotechnical systems as transport and social networks

Williams's theoretical concept on the dialectical relation of communication technology and society is useful not only in terms of understanding communication technology's central role in the (re)production of society in general but also in offering us an alternative to the binary

[65] This combines Winner's term "sociotechnical systems" (1980/1985) with Williams's concern on "communicative production" (Ibid.)

opposition between "culture" and "non-culture" prevalent in the current epistemological approaches within communication studies and the social sciences more generally. In the conceptual alternative he offers, however, it is his idea of "communication systems as transport networks and social networks" that can be a promising start to develop a method that surpasses the binary.

In reading Williams's work as early as *Communications* and as late as *Contact,*[66] one might notice his discussion of transport communication alongside his analyses of what is commonly now seen as the "social" media of communication, such as television, literature, and newspapers. His idea of "communication systems as transport networks and social networks" is scattered throughout his works,[67] but is never given a complete treatment as a theory or a case study. Nevertheless, this notion warrants our serious attention. In what follows I have attempted to reconstruct this notion by observing how Williams treats the connection between the two and how it helps him understand the role of means of communication in the reproduction of society in general.

There are two ways in which Williams discusses the notion "communication systems as transport networks and social networks." First, he looks at it in terms of the historical development of the use of the word "communication." In *Communications*, *Television, Keywords,* and *Contact,*[68] he explains that the word "communication" in English has changed meaning over a period of time due to the development of the means of communication:

> **Communication** was first this action and then, from lC15, the object thus made common: a **communication**. This has remained its main range of use. But from lC17 there was an important

[66] Raymond Williams, *Communications* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1966); *Contact: Human Communication and Its History* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1981).
[67] Williams, *Communications*; *The country and the city* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); *Television; Keywords: a vocabulary of culture and society*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976); *Culture and materialism; Contact.*
[68] Williams, *Communications; Television; Keywords; Contact.*

> extension to the *means* of communication, specifically in such phrases as **lines of communication**. In the main period of development of roads, canals and railways, **communications** was often the abstract general term for these physical facilities. It was in C20, with the development of other means of passing information and maintaining social contact, that **communications** came also and perhaps predominantly to refer to such MEDIA (q.v.) as the press and broadcasting, though this use (which is earlier in USA than in UK) is not settled before mC20. The **communications industry**, as it is now called, is thus usually distinguished from the *transport industry:* **communications** for information and ideas, in print and broadcasting; *transport* for the physical carriage of people and goods. …In controversy about communications systems and communication theory it is often useful to recall the unresolved range of the original noun of action, represented at its extremes by *transmit,* a one-way process, and *share* (cf. **communion** and especially **communicant**), a common or mutual process.[69]

The word "communication" was originally used to refer to "transport," but as forms of social communication, like the printing press, developed, the word gained two different meanings: one in terms of "transmission," "movement," and "transfer" of information, people, and goods originating from the idea of transport, and the other as a "process of sharing" implied by social communication. In other works, Williams provides a concrete historical study of the development of the two meanings in looking at the development of the British printing press.[70] In that he argues that even the emergence of the meaning "social communication" cannot be separated from "transport communication." He notes how the existing technological developments create a certain necessity for a new mode of communication. In this case, not only did railways help the birth of newspapers, but also played a major role in assigning a new function to newspapers as "social communication."[71] Because the relation between transport and newspapers was not one of cause and effect, it is important to highlight the idea that as transport helped transform newspapers as a new social institution, newspapers at the same time altered transport's function from means of mere transfer of people and goods to that of newspaper distribution.

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[69] Williams, *Keywords*, 62-3, emphasis in original; also see, *Communications,* 17. Emphasis in the original.
[70] Williams, *Television,* 21-22.
[71] Williams, *Contact,* 231.

The second way Williams discusses the notion of "communication systems as transport networks and social networks" is by treating it beyond a mere historical description and observing and developing it to the level of a "concept."

> From another familiar approach, through traditional economics, we have seen the central concerns of society as property, production, and trade. These approaches remain important, but they are now joined by a new emphasis: that society is a form of communication, through which experience is described, shared, modified, and preserved. We are used to descriptions of our whole common life in political and economic terms. The emphasis on communications asserts, as a matter of experience, that men and societies are not confined to relationships of power, property and production.[72]

In this excerpt, Williams identifies a different meaning of communication drawn from the perspective of human experience, which involves community creation, sharing, participation, and news making beyond traditional functions of serving economic and political goals. What is important to highlight is that the notion of "social communication" or "society as a form of communication" seems to be used to make a point that "societies are not confined to relationships of power, property and production". This is made even clearer in his 1975 work:

> But the critical difference between the various spheres of applied technology can be stated in terms of a social dimension: the new systems of production and of **business or transport communication** were already organised, at an economic level; the new systems of **social communication** were not.[73]

Here, it seems that he talks about "social communication" to create a distinction between an arena of "human agency" in communication and that of "politics, economy and power." There are two ways of interpreting this distinction. The first is that Williams naively advocates for the existence of an independent institution that can genuinely represent human agency. The second interpretation is that the distinction is a working tool to investigate how the arena of human experience is also subject to the invasion of political economic power.

The first interpretation can be refuted with the following excerpt on the development of social communication within the specific history of capitalism. Williams argues that modern

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[72] Williams, *Communications,* 18.
[73] Williams, *Television,* 17-18. Emphasis in the original.

means of social communication are born within the history of capitalist development, in which case it was not purposefully created to serve human agency/resistance but was intended from the beginning to serve a specific function within capitalism.

> In no way is this a history of communications systems creating a new society or new social conditions. The decisive and earlier transformation of industrial production, and its new social forms, which had grown out of a long history of capital accumulation and working technical improvements, created new needs but also new possibilities, and the communications systems, down to television, were their intrinsic outcome.[74]

The second interpretation of Williams's conceptual differentiation between the arena of human experience and political economy is to in fact highlight the relation between the two spheres. That is, human experience can be coopted into the domain of political economic power, and the sphere of political economic structure emerges out of human creative actions. By highlighting communication as a "creative activity" inherent to human agency and practical action, Williams reminds us that even existing institutions and means of communication—business, transport—are *also* an expression of human creative activity, a past response to its particular condition of reality. It is therefore clear that Williams's differentiation of the two networks of communication is not to be seen as an effort to differentiate two arenas of human reality, i.e. economy and politics on the one hand and social and cultural life on the other. As he mentions elsewhere, "there is one lived reality" to which humans respond with their creative actions in many different ways—social, political, economic.[75] In fact, transport communication and social communication develop dialectically.

Additionally, we have discussed before that transport helps the emergence of the newspaper as a social institution through its wide distribution. The existence of newspapers on

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[74] Ibid., 19.
[75] Williams, *Contact,* 435.

the other hand also leads to the redefinition of the *social* function and processes of transport.[76] For example, newspapers help people become aware of change and mobility not in the abstract, but as lived experiences. In this case, transport is as much "social" as newspapers.

This understanding is reminiscent of James Carey's transmission and ritual views of communication, which was also influenced by Williams, that we have earlier discussed. My discussion of Williams's works here has demonstrated that Carey misreads Williams's view by isolating the realm of economy and politics (transmission view), on the one hand, from that of culture and human expression (ritual view), on the other. Carey also advocates for the superiority of the ritual view and argues for its independence from the transmission view. Differently from Carey, Williams's take on the function of social communication as an arena of sharing and community making is seen first as a historical development and second as a development *in relation to* the more traditional political economic function of transport communication. For Williams, this does not mean that "social communication" carries with it just a social and cultural function, while "transport communication" bears a political and economic function; "social communication" might also play a political and economic role and "transport communication" a social and cultural one. Therefore, what can be derived from Williams is the view that while technologies and systems—be they social or transport—are central in human life, their influences stem from cultural meanings and the significance given to them by people in the first place.

2.A.4 Networks of mobility and sociability in *The Country and the City*

Williams's unconscious preoccupation with the connection between transport networks and social networks that is scattered in his works provides methodological promises to study the relation between communication technology/system, history, and society. What I am trying to do

[76] Williams, *Television,* 22.

next is to assess further the methodological viability of the connection between transport and social networks as aspects of communicative sociotechnical systems. In this subsection, I am building a methodological connection between the idea of "mobility" and "sociability" that the concept of transport and social networks implies. In order to see how this is put to work methodologically, I use Williams's *The Country and the City* (1973) to show examples of how communication technology consisting of transport and social networks is able to explain to us social changes in nature, social relations, production, and mental conceptions, and how those changes are embedded in the subsequent forms, content, and styles of communication.

The Country and the City reflects Williams's larger commitment to the study of literature and Marxism.[77] He takes literature as the subject of his study in order to understand the transition from feudalism to capitalism, and the corresponding changes in nature, mental conceptions, social relations, and geography. Literature as a particular means of production is seen as an active "response" to its historical conditions. By seeing both at work at the same time, Williams argues that the study of means of production must be coupled with the study of the conditions of their existence. His purpose is

> to try to show simultaneously the literary conventions and the historical relations to which they were a response—to see together the means of the production and the conditions of the means of

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[77] Williams is not the first person to tackle the question of the antagonism between the city and the country. It could be argued that Karl Marx's phenomenal work *Capital* is a dialectical study of the city and the country set against the backdrop of the study of the transition from feudalism to capitalism. Additionally, Marx also mentions here and there the centrality of the means of communication in the capitalist conquer of feudalism, capital's sudden expansion and growth, and in creating the antagonistic relation between the country and the city. Transports, he notes, are the "general conditions of the social process of production", the revolution of which was made necessary by the revolution in the modes of production of industry (Marx, *Capital Volume I,* 241, 505-6, 785). Marx's mentions of means of communication are scattered, but it is there and this might be why Williams develops his own analysis of the dialectical relation between the city and the country from a communication perspective. Another person from within the Marxist tradition that has tackled the same question is the Italian communist Antonio Gramsci in his *Selections from the Prison's Notebooks,* ed. trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 90-102. While Marx talks about the antagonism between the two in terms of the transition of the two modes of production, Gramsci discusses it in terms of political leadership and party influence in Italy.

> production. For the conditions of the means of production are quite crucial to any substantial understanding of the means of production themselves.[78]

He clarifies that "means of production" refers to not just "techniques but whole social relationships…" that surround the utilization, regulation, and design of these machineries and artifacts. As a particular means of production, it is therefore important to see literary texts not as mere records, but as representations and, often times, mis-representations of history.[79]

Williams's philosophical approach serves as one of the strengths of the book. In analyzing the history of the English country and city over a period of several centuries through an analysis of an extensive corpus of English literature, Williams exhibits a particular attitude to the idea of "change." He argues that "[i]t's not about the history of change but a particular kind of *reaction* to the fact of change" that becomes his concern.[80] Therefore, what historians have to inquire into "is not, in these cases, historical error, but historical perspective,"[81] and what matters is "not the disorder of change, but the kind of new order that is made to emerge from it."[82] This idea of change implies the centrality of human action within history and how this human creative practice is expressed as a response to the condition that sets limits to it. But, this does not mean that human agency is free floating and entirely self-determining. As this practice of human agency is materialized, it will contribute to the emergence of a "new order" which in turn will set limits to human life. This idea is the crux of Williams's dialectical understanding of change that forms the basis of and runs through his detailed analysis of the country and the city. With this idea of change, Williams also has a particular way of looking at "archives." He states that an archive—in his case, literature—is a kind of record "not only of the facts, but of a way of

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[78] Raymond Williams, *Politics and letters: interviews with New Left Review* (London: NLB, 1979), 304-5.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Williams, *The country and the city*, 35. Emphasis added.
[81] Ibid., 10.
[82] Ibid., 162.

looking at the facts."[83] Reading archives then means not only to document facts—and to trace them chronologically—but also to recognize and explain "the complex of different ways of seeing even the same local life."[84]

From this idea of change, the myth of the ideal countryside is seen as a response to the development of cities. In his discussion of the works of several nineteenth century novelists (Dickens, Henry Mayhew, Elizabeth Gaskell), Williams reports that there was a particular kind of city emerging within capitalism at the time that was characterized by processes of urbanism and industrialism. These cities were specifically built as "places to work." But Williams also explains that central to that process is the existence of transportation, notably railways, which were part and parcel to the development of cities. Transportation in this case has not only transformed the geography and nature but also, through the new social "mobility" (also made possible by newspapers and literature), served to extend cultures, ideas, and social life.[85]

Therefore, transport also transforms the mode of production and the social relations of production. In his observation of 1868-1870s Britain, Williams notes that the sharp increase in imports of food—via the availability of steamships and railways to reach inlands—had expanded the market in the overall population in England so much that there was a corresponding increase in demand for meat and dairy, as opposed to bread.[86] In turn, the increase in meat and dairy demand affected the decline of agriculture, especially the production of grain. As imports and exports of goods continued to increase, London was transformed into a "capital city of a complex

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[83] Ibid., 118.
[84] Ibid., 109.
[85] Ibid., 220, 253.
[86] This was also facilitated by the implementation of new refrigerating technology in commercially refrigerated shipping voyage to freeze meat supplies to be transported by sea. The first ship, the *Dunedin,* sailed for London on February 15, 1882 and was the foundation of the refrigerated meat industry. See: Colin Williscroft, *A lasting Legacy: A 125 year history of New Zealand Farming since the first Frozen Meat Shipment* (N.Z.: NZ Rural Press Limited, 2007).

national and overseas economy and society." The city became organized in terms of trade, as a "centre of trades and of distribution: of skilled craftsmen in metals and in print; of clothing and furniture and fashion; of all the work connected with shipping and the market." In other words, as the city became connected with shipping and the international market, it also became a center of production and distribution of fashion, print, metal, and furniture. Williams also provides an interesting remark on production vis-à-vis consumption ("practical" and "aesthetic"), suggesting that the separation between them is also part of social history. For example, the English countryside, which used to be where crops were produced, eventually became the place of unadulterated nature, "as objects of conspicuous aesthetic consumption." The idea of country underwent a change from center of agricultural *production* to refer to "nature," a place for retreat and solace from ordinary and mundane life of the city, and thus an object of urban people's *consumption*.[87]

Williams's notion of communication systems as transport networks and social networks also allows for attention to the questions of space (geography) and time (history). Transport changed the physical designs and structures of our geographical environment and with it, our relation to nature. From Williams's reading of Richard Jefferies's biographical life and works between 1860s to late 1880s, at a small city called Swindon, as railways were built through it, "a railway workshop was being built, and the town expanded rapidly as a junction and repair center." New professions and new jobs emerged and a new town was built and was given a new role in the whole society as "a junction and repair center." As towns underwent changes, so did cities. In his discussion of the works of mid-1900s novelists that includes those from Kenya, Malaya, and South Africa in the chapter "The New Metropolis," Williams argues that as the process of urbanization became commonplace within industrialized societies like Britain, the city changed

[87] Williams, *The country and the city*, 147, 154, 128-9, and 187.

its meaning from the older sense and was pushed more and more toward commercial and administrative development. Additionally, rural and semi-rural areas were transformed into new towns, suburbs, and industrial estates, connected among them and between them with the city centers by what is called "a transport network." Williams explains how "the concentrated city is in the process of being replaced, in the industrial societies, by what is in effect a transport network: the conurbation, the city region, the London-Birmingham axis." As a form of response to the needs and preferences of the era, this network also required different modes of distribution and transport, necessitating the building of a road system along with railways. But, more importantly, at this point Williams argues that "the land itself is looked on, abstractly, as a transport network, just as it is looked on elsewhere, again abstractly, as an opportunity for production."[88]

Williams's attention to changes in the geography of both space and place can be seen in his sensitivity to the designs of a city, which calls to mind Langdon Winner's idea of the sociotechnological design of a society. Williams notes that "the most evident inhabitants of cities are buildings and connection between shapes and appearances of buildings and of the people who live in them."[89] An attention to these buildings including its shapes and designs is fundamental in the study of space.

Moreover, reaction to changes was also manifested in the idea of time.[90] As landscape changes, the perception of time also changes. Williams argues against the idealization of the past as a way to criticize the problem of the present. He asks, "is it anything more than a well-known habit of using the past, the 'good old days,' as a stick to beat the present?" Williams dedicates a

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[88] Ibid., 193, 287, and 294.
[89] Ibid., 156.
[90] The question of "time" has also been discussed by another founder of British Cultural Studies, E.P. Thompson. See E. P. Thompson, *Time, work-discipline, and industrial capitalism* (Oxford: Past and Present Society, 1967).

full chapter on the "Golden Ages" to criticize this particular "use of the past." He discusses how the feudal and aristocratic order was used in a celebratory way, in an idealist retrospect, as a critique of capitalism. Williams here seems to criticize a perception of the "innocence" of the past as anti-history. Additionally, this change of the idea of time also changed our relationship with nature. In his discussion of the "pastoral," he argues that there is a "renewed intensity of attention to natural beauty by scientist/tourist but not working countrymen." In it, "[n]atural plenty reabsorbed into a moral attitude."[91] Rural areas were read from the lens of a pastoral view, which gives a sense of nature and unadulteratedness. Williams's critical rejection of this can be seen in his description of Thomas Hardy's biography:

> Thomas Hardy was born a few miles from Tolpuddle, a few years after the deportation of the farm labourers who had come together to form a trade union. This fact alone should remind us that Hardy was born into a changing and struggling rural society, rather than the timeless backwater to which he is so often deported.[92]

Instead of being characterized with a sense of unchanging peacefulness as the common perception was, rural society was marked with struggles and conflicts.

Another observation on transport communication that Williams notes was his discussion of Charles Dickens's novel. Here, Dickens expresses a particular attitude and response to "railway" which was a relatively new means of communication that set changes in his environment.

> All the pride of power—the new power of the Industrial Revolution—is felt in the language: the circulation by railway is the 'life's blood'. But there is also the recognition of this power overriding all other human habits and purposes… The railway is at once the 'life's blood' and 'the triumphant monster, Death'. And in this dramatic enactment Dickens is responding to the real contradictions—the power for life or death; for disintegration, order and false order—of the new social and economic forces of his time. His concern is always to keep human recognition and human kindness alive, through these unprecedented changes and within this unrecognisably altered landscape… That is the mobility, the critical mobility, which was altering the novel. It is also the altered, the critically altered relationship between men and things, of which the city was the most evident social and visual embodiment. In seeing the city, as he here sees the railways, as at once the exciting and the threatening consequences of a new mobility, as not only an alien and indifferent system but as the unknown, perhaps unknowable, sum of so many lives, jostling, colliding, disrupting, adjusting,

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[91] Williams, *The country and the city*, 12, 20, 24, and 35.
[92] Ibid., 197.

> recognising, settling, moving again to new spaces, Dickens went to the centre, the dynamic centre, of this transforming social experience.[93]

Here Williams turns our attention to Dickens's particular attitude to railway, which Dickens called "life's blood and death." In Williams's view, as the social mobility accommodated by railways altered the landscape and social and economic forces, it too altered the novel and its author's ways of seeing the world. The changes the city underwent were embedded within the very practice of writing the novel itself.

In this case, railways changed both social relations and mental conceptions. They brought new mobility and with it dramatic extension of landscape and social relations. On the other hand, the reaction to this change can include a willing illusion to see that "it is manufacturing and the railways which destroy this old England."[94] But, this, according to Williams, naively assumes that "old England" is an idealized place to escape and seems to offer that the solution to the present is by going to a non-existing, idealized past.

While these changes and the responses to them were expressed and "recorded" in the means of production—here literature—these means of production also underwent changes. Williams documented the changes in the materiality of language. "Work," for example, was mystified as "natural sweets," which in a way reflects "abuse of language." In poems, the practice of poetry combines protest and nostalgia, and these emotions in turn became the characteristics of the poetry of the period of 1700s. He notices that "[s]ocial forces that are dispossessing the village are seen as simultaneously dispossessing poetry." Elsewhere in the book, Williams carefully observes that, in the development of eighteenth-century landscape poetry, cases of "abstract

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[93] Ibid., 163-4.
[94] Ibid., 179 and 281.

aesthetic" that project a certain idealization of rural landscape was born out of a practice in which "the order was being projected while it was also being composed."[95]

As much as railways and other technologies bring about changes, they also were born out of responses to past conditions. Hence, transport and social communication are not to be seen as separate. Because just like poetry, railways are also social communication and contribute to changes of place and space, in terms of ideas and consciousness.

> The communication system is not only the information network but also the transport network. The city, obviously, has always been associated with concentration of traffic. Notoriously, in modern transport systems, this is still the case, and the problem often seems insoluble. But traffic is not only a technique; it is a form of consciousness and a form of social relations… It is impossible to read the early descriptions of crowded metropolitan streets—the people as isolated atoms, flowing this way and that; a common stream of separated identities and directions—without seeing, past them, this mode of relationship embodied in the modern car: private, enclosed, an individual vehicle in a pressing and merely aggregated common flow; certain underlying conventions of external control but within them the passing of rapid signals of warning, avoidance, concession, irritation, as we pursue our ultimately separate ways but in a common mode. And this is no longer only a feature of the city, though it is most evident there. Over a whole network of the land this is how, at one level, we relate; indeed it is one form of settlement, intersecting and often deeply affecting what we think of as settlements—cities, towns, villages—in an older mode.[96]

As Williams observes here, traffic is not just a technique but also "a form of consciousness and a form of social relations." As much as traffic—which includes roads, road signs, cars, and other means of transport—shape and structure people's mobility, character, and sociability, they are also embedded with social and cultural meaning and values given by the people. The communicative technology in this case shapes the composition and character of the "public"/"community" in a given space at a given time.

Williams's notion "communication systems as transport networks and social networks" lends me a new way of looking at the centrality of communicative sociotechnical systems in the process of the (re)production of society in general and the history of anti-colonial resistance in particular. Looking at transport and social networks together and as inseparable elements of

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[95] Ibid., 32-33, 76-77, and 126.
[96] Ibid., 296.

communications systems encourages the understanding that "mobility" cannot be separated from the making of community, sharing of common identity, etc. Mobility continually changes the composition of the social as the social shapes, among others, the form, ways, access, and direction of mobility.

2.A.5 Communicative sociotechnical systems and social movement studies

With the epistemological understanding of the centrality of communicative sociotechnical systems explored above, I am now confronted with a question specific to my research subject: "what does the concept communicative sociotechnical systems as networks of sociability and mobility offer to the existing approaches to social movements within communication studies and beyond?"

The idea of social movements is associated with their historical roots in democratic processes and political life in modern society.[97] Sidney Tarrow defines social movements as "collective challenges, based on common purposes and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities."[98] Tarrow's dense definition points to several key concepts in the development of theories within social movement studies. "Collective challenges" means that participants of a movement will use known or innovate new "repertoires of contentious action"[99]—routine ways of acting collectively such as through riots, strikes, public associations and meetings, protests—both public or hidden[100] in order to reach their "common purposes." Therefore, "social solidarities" are central in the creation of these collective actions;

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[97] Charles Tilly, *Social movements, 1768-2008* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2004).
[98] Sidney G. Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3-4.
[99] Tilly, *Social movements.*
[100] James C. Scott, *Domination and the arts of resistance: Hidden transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

participants need to share "collective identity"[101] as well as collective enemies and hopes. This is where "framing processes"[102] are essential in the making of this sense of collectiveness through "consensual or action-oriented cultural frames."[103] Through symbols, ideology and propaganda, collective identity is framed in a certain way to create a sense of belonging among the participants and to maintain the "cultural dimension" of resistance itself.[104] However, Tarrow maintains that collective actions cannot be mere episodic outbursts, but have to be "sustained" in order to count as a social movement. This is where collective organization, both formal (hierarchical) and informal (autonomous), is crucial in the creation of social networks and connective structures that can sustain a movement over widespread areas and diverse groups of participants.[105] "Interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities" means that a movement can also ignite "countermovements."[106] This includes "movement from above,"[107] i.e. a movement run by the state to counter the movement organized from below or a grassroots movement. This can be manifested in a form of state violence, regulation to repress dissents, etc.

Several other concepts developed in the classical literature on social movements studies have furthered our understanding of how social movement develop. "Resource mobilization theory"[108] argues that a movement emerges through the ability to acquire and mobilize necessary resources, such as money, knowledge, labor, solidarity, and support. This concept has been

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[101] Francesca Polletta and James M. Jasper, "Collective Identity and Social Movements," *Annual Review of Sociology* 27 (August) (2001): 283-305.
[102] Robert D. Benford, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 (August) (2000): 611-639.
[103] Tarrow, *Power in Movement,* 10.
[104] Hank Johnston, ed., *Culture, social movements, and protest* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009).
[105] Tarrow, *Power in Movement,* 1-2.
[106] Ibid., 97-8.
[107] Alf Gunvald Nilsen and Laurence Cox, "What Would a Marxist Theory of Social Movements Look Like?," in *Marxism and social movements,* ed. Colin Barker et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 66-73.
[108] J. Craig Jenkins, "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements," *Annual Review of Sociology* 9 (August) (1983): 527-553.

criticized by "political process theory,"[109] which insists that mere mobilization of resources does not guarantee the sustainability and success of a social movement. What is needed instead are sociopolitical and economic conditions that provide an opportunity for the movement to rise, e.g., a fragmentation of elites and financial crisis. Yet another theory, "movement spillover,"[110] maintains that new movements emerge through the success of previous movements by borrowing both their strengths and strategies. In this case, every movement begets another movement. John Downing, however, reminds us that all these theories in the study of social movements are not static, since social movements themselves are fluctuating and transitory, hence they are "resistant to ironclad theorizing."[111]

Even with this long established scholarship on social movements, little attention has been given to the role of media and communicative practices. Only in the past decade have scholars in media studies paid attention to social movement media produced by resistance movements.[112] A few others like Sreberny and Mohammadi's *Small Media, Big Revolution*[113] are one exception. Outside media studies, notably within anthropology, sociology, and political science, where the study of social movements has a longer history, the treatment of media and communicative practices in social movements has been minimal. As Downing argues,

> Very often, media are defined simply as technological message channels rather than as the complex sociotechnical institutions they actually are… and get referenced here only as part of a laundry list, but not as major cultural agents, not as ongoing lifetime articulators and developers of precisely the myths, ideologies, narratives, and frameworks.[114]

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[109] See chapter 1-3 of Doug McAdam, *Political process and the development of Black insurgency, 1930-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).
[110] David S. Meyer and Nancy Whittier, "Social Movement Spillover," *Social Problems* 41 (2) (1994): 277-298.
[111] John Downing, "Social Movement Theories and Alternative Media: An Evaluation and Critique, Communication", *Culture & Critique* 1 (2008): 42.
[112] See the list in Downing, "Social Movement Theories," 40. Also see: John Downing, *Radical media rebellious communication and social movements* (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 2001).
[113] Annabelle Sreberny and Ali Mohammadi, *Small media, big revolution: communication, culture, and the Iranian revolution* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).
[114] Downing, "Social Movement Theories," 41-2.

The attention to media as mere technological add-ons playing a neutral, technical role in social movements and as secondary to other aspects of social movements, such as leadership, organization, political structure, and mobilization, points to the need for a study of media and communication that does not just explain the communicative aspects of a movement but, more importantly, is able to reveal the larger picture of the emergence, development, and dynamics of the movement itself. My research aims to fulfill this urgent need "for more specific theoretical approaches that recognize the environmental role of media in contentious politics, [and] encompass the totality of media and communication practices in a holistic way,"[115] particularly through my use of the concept of communicative sociotechnical systems.

The study of the communicative sociotechnical systems of a social movement seeks to move away from an attention to media and communicative practices as symptoms of a movement. This symptomatic view usually manifests in the thinking of media in terms of uses, tactics, strategies, and tools and implies that the mere access to a particular media technology can give a partial understanding to the success or demise of a movement. It takes a media-centric view, failing to explain the communicative processes and technologies beyond the readily observable limited cases of media of communication. Current trends on the study of the Internet and social movements provide an example. The rise of the study of resistance media—in lieu of coverage of resistance movements in mainstream media[116]—unsurprisingly has occurred at the same time as the emergence of digital media leading to an outburst of the study of the role of

[115] B. Cammaerts, Alice Mattoni, and Patrick McCurdy, *Mediation and protest movements* (Bristol, UK: Intellect, 2013), 3.
[116] Víctor Sampedro Blanco, "The Media Politics of Social Protest," *Mobilization: The International Journal of Theory and Research in Social Movements* 2 (2) (1997): 185-205.

new media in twenty-first-century social movements.[117] Even this welcome development in the study of emergent new media and social movements takes at the center of its analysis the operation of the media as uses and strategies for organizing the movement, leaving us with a question: beyond pointing to the limited symptoms of the rise and fall of a movement, how can communicative technologies and practices explain the larger dialectical processes of a movement as a whole?

The idea of communicative sociotechnical systems offers two working concepts for the study of social movements. First, it aims to identify the central role of communicative processes and technologies in creating the conditions of both constraint and possibility for the emergence, development, dynamics, and success or demise of a movement. This involves two additional key ideas:

(1) human agency is conditioned by the existing communicative technologies and systems to communicate and mobilize resistance. (condition/structure).

(2) human creativity to adopt and make something new, i.e. communicative practices and technologies of resistance, is facilitated by the technologies and systems that are available by assigning to them new function, form, and operation (agency).

This dialectical process of communication in a social movement then creates what I call a "circuit of struggle"[118] in which (1) available conditions/structures are (2) turned into an opportunity to create new conditions/structures and (3) thereby result in new order. This concept

[117] *Manuel Castells,* "Communication, Power and Counter-power in the Network Society," *International Journal of Communication* 1 (2007): 238-266; Victoria Carty, *Wired and mobilizing: social movements, new technology, and electoral politics* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Wael Ghonim, *Revolution 2.0: the power of the people is greater than the people in power : a memoir* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2012). An example of a study on resistance media: Andrea Langlois, Ron Sakolsky, and Marian Van der Zon, *Islands of resistance: pirate radio in Canada* (Vancouver, BC: New Star Books, 2010).

[118] "Circuits of struggle" is the Union for Democratic Communications (UDC) 2015 conference theme.

of communicative sociotechnical systems as circuit of struggle lends us a new way of looking at human agency and structure in that the process of the development of a social movement necessitates the identification and analysis of both the historical agents and their creative process of communication in their ordinary life, as well as the existing conditions that facilitate it. In this analysis, we are also led to clarify the new emergent order—be it coming from the movement or the counter movement—resulting as both the intended and unintended consequences of this creative process of resistance itself. These conditions and new order encompass processes, technologies, designs, and law, among others communicative practices. This dialectical concept connects to a notion within radical philosophy, i.e. the dialectic of immanence and transcendence: "a process of identifying and developing emancipatory possibilities immanent to existing conditions in order to enliven them,"[119] while surpassing the existing conditions to create a new condition.

The second working concept in the application of communicative sociotechnical systems in studying social movements is the understanding of these systems as networks of mobility and sociability. The ideas of mobilization and collective solidarity are at the core of all social movement theories, but little do we realize that both necessitate communicative processes to achieve them. The concepts of mobility and sociability open up a new way in looking at existing aspects of a social movement. Mobility helps us consider issues of mobilization, the spread of news and messages, movement of leaders, and networks of people; on the other hand, sociability pays attention to collective identity, symbols, images, icons, discourse, and framing. In this case, this concept also helps bring together disparate aspects of social movements under the structure of communicative sociotechnical systems. What is important in looking at both sociability and

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[119] Chad Kautzer, *Radical philosophy: an introduction* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2015), 21.; Colin Barker et al., *Marxism and social movements* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

mobility as necessary aspects of communicative systems in a movement is that we move beyond thinking of the role of media as mere tactics and strategies and consider them instead as necessary parts of the making of a movement itself. Additionally, focusing on mobility and sociability helps highlight other aspects currently absent in the study of social movements, e.g. the role of transport. The idea of mobility helps consider how distant cultures and identities of different groups of people become reachable through available transport, hence showing how transport also plays a role to broaden aspect of sociability of a movement. This for example forces the questions – is class struggle homogenous? Is solidarity across widespread geography a recent phenomenon made possible by the new media or has it been a concern of previous movements too? [120] Is solidarity based on a single issue (environment, gender, race), such as the one voiced by the New Social Movements, more effective than one that transcends different identity markers? [121] These questions warrant new perspectives in approaching social movements. The two concepts offered by the idea of communicative sociotechnical systems offer a promising start.

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[120] Jackie Smith, "Globalizing Resistance: The Battle of Seattle and the Future of Social Movements," *Mobilization* 6 (1) (2001), 1–19; Leila J. Rupp, "Constructing Internationalism: The Case of Transnational Women's Organizations, 1888-1945," *The American Historical Review* 99 (5) (1994): 1571-1600.

[121] Current movements and philanthropy politics: Daniel Faber and Deborah McCarthy Auriffeille, *Foundations for social change: critical perspectives on philanthropy and popular movements* (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005); Incite! Women of Color Against Violence, *The revolution will not be funded: beyond the non-profit industrial complex* (Cambridge, Mass: South End Press, 2007). New Social Movements: Alberto Melucci, "The new social movements: A theoretical approach," *Social Science Information* 19 (2) (1980): 199-226; Nelson A. Pichardo, "New Social Movements: A Critical Review," *Annual Review of Sociology* 23 (August) (1997): 411-430; Jo Freeman and Victoria L. Johnson, *Waves of protest: social movements since the sixties* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999); Barbara Epstein, *Political protest and cultural revolution nonviolent direct action in the 1970s and 1980s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). Environmentalism: Steven Best and Anthony J. Nocella, *Igniting a revolution: voices in defense of the earth* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2006); Brian K. Obach, *Labor and the environmental movement the quest for common ground* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2004); Aric McBay, Lierre Keith, and Derrick Jensen, *Deep green resistance: strategy to save the planet* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2011). Pro-choice movement: Suzanne Staggenborg, *The pro-choice movement: organization and activism in the abortion conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

2.B SECTION II: METHODS

2.B.1 Data collection: Archives as means of production

In this historical research, I treat archives as "means of production" in two ways. First, as the materials produced by the historical agents who are the subject of this study, archives are parts of the totality of the period of my study and hence the windows that provide a possibility to understand its history. On the one hand, new data can mean an opportunity to produce a new historical argument or even a counter-narrative to the existing arguments; on the other hand, a new perspective brought to the existing data can generate a different perspective on reading history. In both cases, archives are means of producing new historical knowledge, effective to (un)learn what we know about the past. This relates to archives' second role as means of production – that of being a means of producing a different future. I view historiography as praxis that can facilitate a re-assessment of an unjust condition of the present, and thereby lead to social change in the future. Borrowing from Jean Chesneaux, history is "an active relationship to the past" in which the "past is present in every field of social experience." However, we experience the past as "both constraint and need, whereby, the past weighs on us and we strive to break its hold." To define the future, one therefore needs a past. The past is not an inanimate object; it is 'a political issue, a theme of struggle'."[122]

To talk about communism in Indonesia immediately conjures memories (real or imagined) of the coup on September 30, 1965 in which communist leaders allegedly killed several high-ranking generals in the Indonesian military. This was the official, state-sponsored narrative of the event for over 30 years and a view that remains the common perception even in today's post-authoritarian, "reformation era" Indonesia. It only later emerged that this narrative was an attempt to cover up the actual coup led by Suharto, Indonesia's 32-year-long dictator, to

[122] Jean Chesneaux, *Pasts and futures: or, What is history for?* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 11.

depose the nation's first president, Sukarno, a socialist. Suharto was successful in taking over control of the state and headed Indonesia under his thirty-two-year military regime.[123] For more than three decades, communist movements in Indonesia were severely repressed, leading to the massacre by the Suharto regime of between one and three million people who were allegedly communist party members.[124] Despite the overthrow of the Suharto regime in 1998, efforts to challenge or revise the received narrative about Marxism/communism/socialism in Indonesia have been largely inadequate, despite the fact that some historians have shown that Marxism/communism/socialism has played a more important role in Indonesian cultural and intellectual politics than is commonly acknowledged.[125] My research attempts to revise this historical narrative by focusing on the fundamental role communism has played in Indonesian politics from the very early stages of Indonesia's birth as a nation-state. Together with the Islamist and liberal nationalist traditions, communism begot national consciousness and mobilized an anti-imperialist national revolution. The suppression of our historical knowledge about communism in Indonesia, I argue, disadvantages the process of social change both there and elsewhere. Therefore, the views of archives and historiography as means of producing new historical knowledge and of defining the present struggle for future changes motivate me to take a critical perspective regarding existing historical writings on the history of Indonesian communism and to question the nature of primary sources, which always inflected by questions of power.

The primary sources for the early communist movement in the Dutch East Indies, including the ones used by the historians of the period, carry with them certain power relations.

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[123] Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, "Exit Suharto," *New Left Review* (50) (2008), 27-62.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Anthony Reid, *The Indonesian National Revolution 1945 – 1950* (Victoria, Australia: Longman Australia, 1974); Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, *Java in a time of revolution; occupation and resistance, 1944-1946* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972).

Ruth McVey's (1965) pioneering analysis of the Indonesian communist party in the period of 1914-1927 relies heavily on government resources, including Comintern (the Communist International) files, classified documents, intelligence and police reports, and accounts by local administrators. On the other hand, since "the major Indonesian papers… functioned more as journals of debate than of record and were not overly concerned with recounting events,"[126] McVey avoids newspapers for their lack of accountability. While these resources help her reveal the history of the main events and main leaders of Indonesian communism as a political party, the political processes in everyday life of the ordinary, rank-and-file members of the movement are largely absent from the historical record. Similarly, Takashi Shiraishi's (1990) take on local/provincial leaders—though using popular literature and newspapers besides government reports—in Surakarta in the period of 1912-1926 enriches our understanding on the dynamics of the movement, yet still treats communism as a political organization and a network of local leaders. This heavy reliance on official documents—whether originating from the colonial government or from the Comintern—accounts for the tendency to focus on the communist movement as a political party, a political event, and a network of leaders.

Indeed, as I discovered at the beginning of my research in the Kroch library at Cornell University, the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, KITLV/Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies in Leiden, National Archives of the Netherlands in Den Haag, and the British Library in London between 2012-2013, the official documents are readily accessible and easily obtainable, which again explains the unequal power relation between official and non-official sources. Such official documents provide rich accounts of the biography of the communist leaders, the local parties, and events. But I wanted to discover

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[126] Ruth T. McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1965), xv-xiv.

the voices of the ordinary people involved in the movement, which prompted me both to seek alternative resources and to develop alternative ways to uncover the avenues where "the subaltern could speak."[127]

Contra McVey, I decided to take the communist newspapers as the venue with the most potential to show us the voices of the ordinary people and the day-to-day processes of the movement. First, the communist newspapers were written during the period by the contemporary historical agents. Viewing these historical agents in the process of producing the newspapers, their lives' projects, in their ordinary daily life gives a different perspective to understanding their biographies than if we were to see these same people merely as party leaders. Furthermore, since the purpose of the newspapers was to mobilize people, this gave me the opportunity to delve into the detail of the "people" (readers) as they were viewed by the newspapers, as well as how those ordinary people were actively involved in the movement. Second, newspapers were written in the midst of the making of history as it took place. In other words, the newspapers' focus on their present and daily events as they unfolded—often times not knowing the outcome—made the content transient and full of contradictions. I argue that this is an important quality—rather than a weakness—to understanding the communist movement as a "process." This quality gives us nuances of perspectives that are often lacking in official reports released by the government after an event is concluded. Additionally, communist newspapers clearly carried certain biases, i.e. the intended audience, the political agenda, the stance vis-à-vis their enemies, etc., which allow us to see the dialectical relations between the movement and the countermovements from their own perspectives. This bias, however, was not unique to communist newspapers, as the government reports or the Comintern files also carried with them

[127] Cf. Gayatri Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Cathy Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, ed., *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271-314.

their own political biases. Therefore, the study of the communist newspapers necessitates the study of these other formal archives, especially in an attempt to situate their narratives within their dialectical dynamics.

During my archival research, I consulted twenty periodicals produced by communist-related organizations in Java, Sumatra, and the Netherlands during the period,[128] one of which I analyzed in-depth. *Sinar Hindia* (later *Api*) published in Semarang was produced by the radical members of Islamic Union Party and had successfully become one of the main organs of the communist movement. In contrast to other periodicals that remained local in their distribution, *Sinar Hindia* was distributed across Java and even reached remote islands in the archipelago (see Chapter VI for my analysis on the revolutionary press). This authoritative role of the newspaper in the eyes of communist members across the Indies archipelago and beyond, and across different ethnicities, nations, genders and classes, is the main reason that I chose *Sinar Hindia* as one of my main sources, in addition to its accessibility and availability through its whole tenure from 1918-1926 in the KITLV library.

In reading the *Sinar Hindia* newspaper, I created a set of keywords based on the communicative practices and technologies used by the movement to mobilize people. I carefully followed reports on a) **transport technologies and workers**, b) **public meetings**, c) **communist schools**, and d) **the development of the production of the newspaper** itself, including its content, language use, organization, funding sources, and readership. These four keywords later become the units of analysis of this research. One of the most revealing data among these four was found in the category of public meetings. I was able to gather 865 reports on public meetings

[128] *Perempoean Bergerak, Soenting-Melajoe, Al Moenir, Pemandangan Islam, Djago! Djago!, Doenia Achirat, Suara Tambang, Sinar Hindia, API, Njala, Doenia Baroe, Doenia Bergerak, Islam Bergerak, Medan Bergerak, Medan Moeslimin, Persatuan Hindia, Rasa, Boeroeh Bergerak, Doenia Merdeka,* and *Pandoe Merah.*

held between 1920 and 1926 and from those create codable data on the dates of events and publications, the type of meetings, the number in attendance, the participation of women, the extent of police observation, the presence of government officials, the reported ethnicity of participants (Chinese/Indians/Arabs/Europeans), the type of space, the location, the name of the communist-related organizations holding the meeting, the name of speakers, and the topics discussed (See Appendix A).

My close reading of *Sinar Hindia* was followed with the collection of other data from both official and non official sources. Some of the main official data collected were Comintern reports[129] consisting of meetings between Indonesian leaders and communist leaders in Russia, which included discussions of slogans and the importance of print media for propaganda. Government reports[130] on the making of legal and policy measures around public meetings, "wild schools," and the press also give me important insights on government legal interventions and actions against the movement. Further, sources on economic production as well as the development of railways and shipping lines shed light on the important roles of transport modes of communication in facilitating both the spread of colonial power and of the communist movement. Additionally, a memoir by an Indonesian sailor narrating his role smuggling print media between Russia and the Indies and holding clandestine communist meetings in mainland Southeast Asia and Europe was helpful in revealing the transnational scope of the communist struggle.[131]

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[129] "Komintern PKI," "Komintern CPH/CPN," "CPH," and "Partai Komunis Indonesia" collections, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

[130] *Persbreidel ordonnantie 1931* (press banning ordinance)*; Recht van vereeniging en vergadering: Handleiding voor bestuurs- en politie- ambtenaren* (Landsdrukkerij Weltevreden, 1928); Sunario, *Het Recht van Vereeniging en Vergadering der Indonesiers* (Leiden, Nederland: Perhimpoenan Hakim Indonesia, 1926); *Wilde Scholen Ordonnantie 1932* (wild schools ordinance).

[131] Timorman, "Korban-korban PARI (Partai Repoblik Indonesia)," August 1935, International Institute of Social History (Komintern PKI collection), Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

The collection of data based on the four keywords, i.e. transport, public meetings, press/print media, and schools, is intended to address the first question of this research: "What were the communicative sociotechnical systems (practices, processes, technologies) produced by ordinary people to mobilize themselves in the early communist anti-colonial movement in the Dutch East Indies in 1920-1926?" The attention to the development of these four key communicative practices/technologies of the period and their process of changes over time and space are traced by collecting reports on events and historical agents surrounding their development. That allowed me to answer my second question: "How, in producing their own communicative sociotechnical systems, did the participants of the movement alter the existing systems—produced and provided by the Dutch colonial government—into ones of resistance?" My final question, "In what way did this communication history of the movement demonstrate the centrality of communicative sociotechnical systems as circuits of struggle between contesting groups in a social movement?" is addressed by collecting data from different groups that made up the countermovements. They include reports from the government related to the legal interventions and surveillance actions surrounding the four communicative practices/technologies as well as newspaper reports on anti-communist actions by grassroots organizations. Additionally, reports on how the Comintern perceived the use of propaganda through print media and the recruitment of Indonesian sailors to be educated in Russia are useful in giving nuances in the dynamic within the movement itself.

2.B.2 Data analysis: The field of possibles

Within the social sciences generally and media studies in particular, there is a tendency to see qualitative and quantitative methods as two distinct approaches that are considered incompatible if not carefully combined in a "mixed methods" approach. Qualitative approaches rely on texts

and are characterized by an "emic focus," representing phenomena based on the data or participants. On the other hand, quantitative approaches generate data through predefined measures and hypotheses, i.e. "etic focus," to turn them into numeric data that can be calculated.[132] In this study, in lieu of taking the side of qualitative or quantitative, I view both qualitative and quantitative approaches as tools available to analyze the data. The range of different methods within media studies—historical, critical, qualitative, quantitative, among others—forms a "field of possibles"[133] that makes possible different ways of interpreting and analyzing data and, thus, reveals different social realities.

My approach in this research is mainly historical, but it relies on a qualitative approach as much as a quantitative one. What makes it historical is not just a concern with events happening in the past, but also the explanation of how and why a communist anti-colonial movement emerged and developed in the way it did by tracing its changes over time, i.e. from 1920 to 1926. In that process of studying changes over time, it is necessary that I understand the context, including its complexity and dynamics—both incidental and non incidental—from the perspective of that period itself, namely the historical agents and the historical conditions in which they found themselves. This is where the dialectic of human agency and structure, inherent in the concept communicative sociotechnical systems as circuit of struggle, guides me. In the process of changes over time—and space—I analyze what new, innovative creations were produced by the movement and how they were produced by altering what already existed in their time. Additionally, I analyze the political and cultural conditions to which the historical agents responded in creating these new changes.

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[132] Russell K. Schutt, *Investigating the social world: the process and practice of research* 4th Edition (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Pine Forge Press, 2004), 415.
[133] Cf. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Search for a method* (New York: Knopf, 1963), 93.

The keywords of transport, public meetings, communist schools, and the revolutionary press, under which I categorize my data, become the units of analysis. To that, I add one more unit based on the data from official reports, i.e. legal measures around communicative practices. In considering each of the units, I focus on the relation between the modes of mobility and sociability. I analyze the roles of these communicative sociotechnical systems in creating the mobility of the movement—the spread of news and messages, the movement of leaders and police and networks of people and intelligence, as well its sociability—collective identity, symbols, images, icons, discourse, and framing, including the creation of the idea of "red scare" by the countermovements. Connections and relations between the units are also analyzed. For example, in analyzing how the communist newspapers were distributed, I look at the reports on public meetings and find how meetings became a venue for reading newspapers aloud to the majority illiterate participants. Likewise, I connect the locations of railway stations with those of public strikes to understand if the proximity to public transport explains the density of public meetings leading to public strikes. In addition to creating connections and relations between different communicative technologies and practices, I also follow the development and dynamic of each of the specific practices to investigate how the movement became popular and radicalized, and how it ended seemingly abruptly after the revolt 1926/7.

Complementing my historical and qualitative analysis, I conducted statistical analyses of the coded data on public meetings through the use of SPSS.[134] While "Intercoder Reliability" (IR)[135] is typically considered necessary, I went ahead without it during my archival research due to constraints on time and distance. The statistical analysis generated using these data on public

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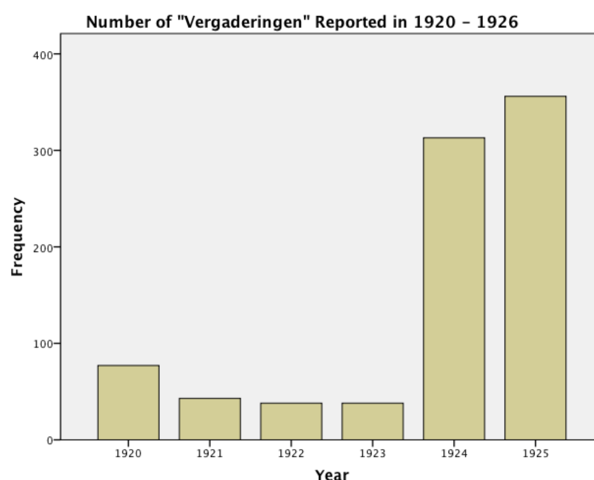
[134] William E. Wagner, III, *Using Spss for Social Statistics and Research Methods 2nd Ed* (London: Pine Forge Press, 2010); Andy P. Field, *Discovering statistics using SPSS: (and sex and drugs and rock 'n' roll) 2nd Ed* (Los Angeles [i.e. Thousand Oaks, Calif.]: SAGE Publications, 2005).
[135] A procedure in which two or more coders agree on the coding of content variables to show that the coding scheme is reliable.

meetings reveals two kinds of information. First, it provides new information and hence a new perspective in looking at the dynamics of public meetings that a qualitative analysis does not offer. For example, the simple statistical result of the aggregated numbers of public meeting held across the period 1920-1926 demonstrates that it was in fact after 1923 that most public meetings were held (see graph 1).



Graph 1. Number of vergaderingen (meetings) reported in 1920-1926

The year 1923 was actually a point at which most national and local leaders of the communist movement had been arrested and/or exiled. This led me to investigate further the public meetings in the years 1924-1925, which most historians of the period had paid little attention to, in order to explore how the dynamics of these two years directly contributed to the 1926/7 revolt. The second role of statistical analysis in this research is that it confirmed some of my suspicions and assumptions. An example of this is the involvement of women and Chinese people in the movement. About ten percent of the total of ordinary people who spoke and led the public meetings I examined were women, and two percent of this total number were Chinese speakers. These numbers confirmed my assumption during my archival research that the public meeting

participants were not just native Indonesian males. Both kinds of information prompted me to then further trace important details qualitatively and historically.

In doing the statistical analysis, I conducted three tests: simple statistical test, correlation, and regression. The simple statistical test, or frequency, gives information on mean, median, and mode providing a general statistical view of the progression of the meetings and their details between 1920-1926 (see Appendix B). One simple statistical analysis I ran is to calculate the message travel time by deducting the date of the meeting held from the date the publication of the report of the meeting. This helps explain how quickly information was sent from across the Indies to Semarang city, where *Sinar Hindia* newspaper was located. Next, the correlation was conducted using cross tabulations (crosstabs) tests to explain a relation between two nominal variables. Crosstabs can demonstrate if a relation between two variables' chance is slim, which means they correlate. Though it does not tell anything about the nature of the relation, Crosstabs is useful to show if there is a relation between two variables. There are several criteria used in order to check the significance of the results. The tests resulting in significant results are reported in Appendix C. One finding shown by the crosstabs analysis was the correlation between the "number of attendance" variable and the "organization" variable, which demonstrates how communist-related organizations tended to hold meetings for smaller groups of between 100-500 people. Lastly, I conducted Logistic Regression to create a model that is able to predict whether or not a gathering existed before or after the colonial government's May 1923 ban on public meetings. I picked three predictors, i.e. the number in attendance, whether or not police attended (category variable), and whether or not the organization holding the gathering was a communist organization (category variable). The results indicated that the model is good at predicting the outcome and demonstrates that the number of attendance played an important role in the

dynamic of the meetings after the 1923 ban.[136] All the information deriving from statistical analysis is used in my historical analysis, some of which is integrated in the narratives in the next chapters.

The last approach I used is historical GIS (Geographic Information System), a research method that is able to capture changes in geographical politics over time.[137] By visually turning the recorded data of location variables into GIS maps, I was able to explore evidence in new ways and consider spatial politics as a central part of communicative practices of resistance. I use the exact locations of the public meetings to develop GIS maps and create correlations between these locations and other variables, such as speakers, number in attendance, women's attendance, topics discussed, as well as the dates of the meetings and the kinds of government interventions. Although the names of villages are known, the exact locations of the public meetings so far have been grouped only under the residencies level due to the lack of data on the exact village locations. For this, I re-grouped about 182 location names—each consisting of a number of villages, collected from the location information of the 865 meetings, into 22 residencies. I used Robert Cribb's map of 1931 residency boundaries in Java island as a model (see Map 1 and 2).

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[136] The Hosmer and Lemeshow Test is significant at $p > 0.05$ at 0.978. This indicates that the model is good at predicting the outcome. Without any predictor variables involved (only the constant is included), the model is able to correctly classify 81.4% of the gatherings. The inclusion of the predictors in the model, however, increases the prediction ability of the model to 86.7%.Within it, it seems that the model is able to predict the cases occuring after the ban (94.9%) more so than before the ban (50.9%).

If we see the "variable in the equation", it is clear that "attendance" is making significant contribution to the prediction of the outcome. Its beta coefficient at -0.01 indicates that as the predictor increases, the outcome occuring decreases. In other words, if the number of attendance increases, there will in fact be less gatherings held. That means if in 1924-1925 there are more gatherings held, it is likely that the number of attendance in those gatherings is significantly less than in the gatherings before 1924 (where there were less gatherings but more attendance).

[137] Anne Kelly Knowles, *Past time, past place: GIS for history* (Redlands, Calif: ESRI Press, 2002).; Anne Kelly Knowles, Tim Cole and Alberto Giordano, *Geographies of the Holocaust* (Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 2014).

Map 1. Robert Cribb's map of 1931 residency boundaries in Java[138]

For my map, I merged Klaten and Soerakarta residencies into one, making a total of 19 residencies in the main Java island instead of 20 residencies as Cribb's map shows. Residencies outside of Java, i.e. Sumatra's Weskust, Timor en Onderhoorigheden and Molukken, that showed activities of public meetings are inserted individually within the map. It is important to note that the GIS maps generated strictly reflect the data collected from the *openbare vergaderingen* reports in *Sinar Hindia* and *Api*; therefore, they do not include other locations in the Dutch East Indies where other communist activities might be found.[139]

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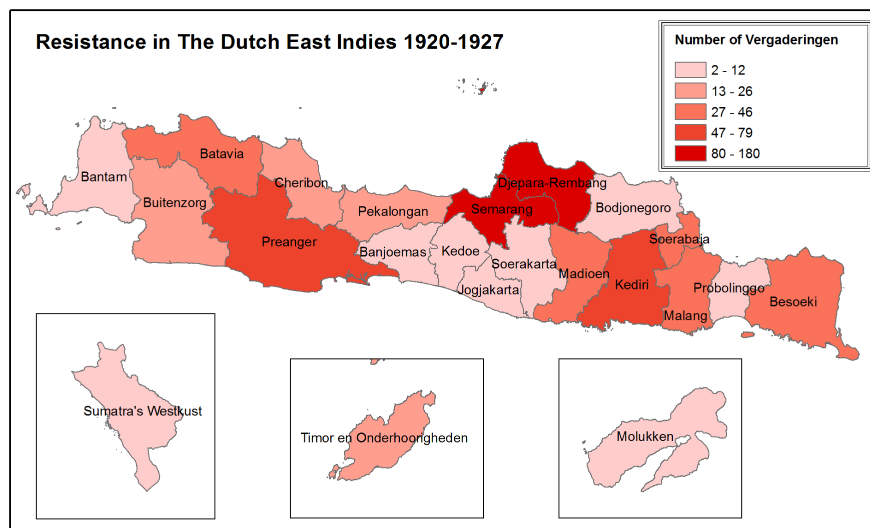
[138] Robert Cribb, *Historical Atlas of Indonesia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 126.
[139] For example, Gerry van Klinken demonstrates communist activities among Dayak people in Borneo, *Dayak Ethnogenesis and Conservative Politics in Indonesia's Outer Islands* (Unpublished paper, KITLV, Leiden, 2001).



Map 2. Resistance in the Dutch East indies 1920-1927 based on the locations of public meetings

The changes over time *and space* of the movement that the data on public meetings demonstrate create valuable new information for this historical analysis of the movement. Together, the GIS maps and spatial analyses produced create what I call the "geography of resistance" in the Dutch East Indies (see Chapter IV).

The discussion on the emergence, dynamics, and development of the communist anti-colonial movement in the Indies between 1920 and 1926 in the chapters that follow is divided based on the units of analysis of this research: transport and geography (chapter III and IV), public meetings (chapter V), the revolutionary press (chapter VI), and the government legal interventions on communicative practices and technologies (chapter VII). In the next two chapters, I will discuss how the geography of colonialism explains the geography of resistance by delving into the role of transport networks in changing the modes of mobility and sociability. This discussion is essential to understand how the communist movement came up with a new way of organizing and mobilizing.

CHAPTER III

GEOGRAPHY OF COLONIALISM AS GEOGRAPHY OF RESISTANCE, PART I

Innovation in transport technologies played a big part in the success of Dutch colonialism. The invention of steamships allowed the implementation of regular shipping lines between the Netherlands and other regions in Asia as well as railway lines between the hinterlands and port cities in the Indies, enhancing Dutch economic and political power. In fact, the story of transport technologies and networks as the main pillars of the expansion of Dutch power in the East Indies archipelago seems to be in line with what Napoleon said: “The larger the empire, the more attention has to be paid to the major means of communication.”[1] Take the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagine,* VOC) as an example. Within 200 years of its establishment in 1602, VOC had a fleet of more than 1,500 ships, making it the largest mercantile shipping company in the world. With its advanced shipping and navigating technologies, the company dominated Asian trade and became one of backbones of the Golden Age[2]—the period of economic prosperity in the seventeenth century in which the Netherlands conquered and led the world’s market. Though VOC ceased to exist on December 31, 1799, the Dutch continued to take a leading role in innovation in maritime technologies.[3]

The vital role of transport networks for the Dutch empire is reflected in mainstream literature on Dutch colonialism. J.N.F.M. a Campo in *Engines of Empire: Steamshipping and State Formation in Colonial Indonesia* provides a comprehensive account of how shipping lines

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[1] Joseph Norbert Frans Marie à Campo, *Engines of Empire: Steamshipping and State Formation in Colonial Indonesia* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002), 22.
[2] C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800* (New York: Knopf, 1965).
[3] Another example is that in the late 1930s, the passenger liner *De Oranje* sailing between Amsterdam and Batavia was touted as the fastest steamship in the world. (From transport exhibition in Tropen museum. There are at least 3 maritime-related museums in the Netherlands, including KRL museum in Rotterdam, Scheepvaart museum in Amsterdam, and Maritiem museum in Rotterdam.)

promoted the formation of the Dutch colonial state. Likewise, G. Roger Knight in *Sugar, Steam and Steel: The Industrial Project in Colonial Java, 1830-1885*, highlights the role of transport networks in the economic development of colonial Java. Original documents released by British military in 1919 on *The Netherlands' possessions in the East Indies*[4] contain thorough information on the types of transports as well as the routes of transport networks within the Indies archipelago, demonstrating their importance for military and security purposes.[5]

While transport networks were vital for the creation of the Dutch colonial state, its economic productivity, and its political sovereignty, little attention has been paid to their eventual roles in shaping and transforming the mobility of ordinary people, i.e. the colonized. If the transport networks supported the economic and military success of the colonial state by connecting expansive areas in the Indies—remote and central as well as rural and urban, what was the likelihood that they also changed the scope and direction of ordinary people's mobility? And, how did this new mobility play a key role in the ways anti-colonial movements were organized and mobilized? Recognizing the often janus-faced nature of technology and power, this chapter explores the ways in which technology designed to strengthen and improve a colonial empire in fact became one of the sources of its own failure. This is to say, how did the development of transport networks, intended to strengthen Dutch control and extend capitalist

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[4] Campo, *Engines of Empire;* G. Roger Knight, *Sugar, Steam and Steel: The Industrial Project in Colonial Java, 1830-1885* (Adelaide, South Australia : University of Adelaide Press, 2004); General staff of War Office, *The Netherlands' possessions in the East Indies,* January 1919, British Library, London, UK.

[5] Outside of the Indies, on the role of transport on colonialism and empire, see: D. Headrick, "A Double-Edged Sword: Communications and Imperial Control in British India," *Historical Social Research* 35 (1) (2010): 51-65; Jody Berland, "Space at the Margins: Colonial Spatiality and Critical Theory after Innis," *TOPIA* 1 (Spring) (1997): 55-82; Colin Divall and George Revill, "Cultures of transport: Representation, practice and technology," *The Journal of Transport History* 16 (1) (2005), 99-111; Seth Siegelaub, "Preface: A communication on communication," in *Communication and Class Struggle,* ed. Armand Mattelart and Seth Siegelaub (New York: International General, 1983), 11-13; Donal P. McCracken and Ruth E. Teer-Tomaselli, "Communication in Colonial and Post Colonial Southern Africa," in *Handbook of Communication History*, ed. Peter Simonson et.al. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2013), 423-436.

infrastructure over this vast archipelagic colony, in fact become the conditions of possibility for ordinary people to organize and to propel the early communist movement against colonialism across widespread geography and identity markers? The chapter begins with the "geography of colonialism," a brief overview of the historical development of two kinds of related and important transport networks—railways and shipping lines—a few decades prior to the emergence of the early communist movement. Three terms of transport in colonialism are reported here, namely technological, economic, and symbolic. The second part of the chapter, "geography of resistance," demonstrates how the spatial expansion of the early communist movement nationally and internationally differed from previous anti-colonial resistance, which tended to be local and sporadic. It explains how the implementation of massive transport networks in the latter period of the nineteenth century helped make modern transports ordinary parts of the lives of ordinary people a few decades later, allowing transport and plantation workers to take a central role in moving the anti-colonial resistance.

3.A Geography of colonialism

Transports, just like any other technological innovations, are not value-free. They are built out of specific motivations, needs, goals, and interests of social groups and individuals, and once they are materialized, they shape and construct social spaces "from the global to the everyday."[6] To think about transport—i.e. technology of mobility—in relation to colonialism reveals the spatial production of colonial power and its ensuing implications for ordinary lives within the colony.[7]

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[6] Divall and Revill, Cultures of transport," 104.
[7] On topic of technology and colonial Dutch East Indies, see Antoine Cabaton and Bernard Miall, *Java, Sumatra and the Other Islands of the Dutch East Indies* (London: T.F. Unwin, 1911); Rudolf Mrázek, *Engineers of Happy Land: Technology and Nationalism in a Colony* (N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002); Wim Ravesteijn and Jan Kop, *For Profit and Prosperity: The Contribution Made by Dutch Engineers to Public Works in Indonesia, 1800-2000* (Zaltbommel: Aprilis, 2008); Frances Gouda, "Mimicry and Projection in the Colonial Encounter: The Dutch East Indies/Indonesia As Experimental Laboratory, 1900-1942," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 1 (2) (2000); Suzanne Moon,

The history of the shipping lines and railways, two of the most important transport networks in the Dutch East Indies, explains how colonial interests and needs were embedded in these machineries. The implementation of the transport technologies across the Indies and between the Indies and abroad in turn brought colossal changes socially, politically, economically, and culturally.

3.A.1 Transport as technology

The massive development of transport networks in the Indies archipelago began in the late 1800s in response to both economic and administrative needs of the colonial government. For about 30 years, the inter-insular steamship connections between the many scattered islands were served by British lines because the Dutch colonial state lacked modern infrastructure and technologies. Compared to the Dutch, the British by the nineteenth century had gained superiority in shipping infrastructure by maintaining a good network of ports and wharves. In fact, until about 1886, the Dutch did not have a direct steamer connecting Sumatra island and Java island. Tobacco freights from Deli in Sumatra, for example, had to make a stop in British Singapore before continuing to Batavia. Other lines from Sumatran cities in the Indies, such as from Padang, would stop in the British city Penang. Compared to Java ports, the freight rates to Singapore were much lower and the facilities for ships' maintenance were more advanced there, causing most traffic to pass through Singapore. However, despite the available British services, shipping lines for the transportation of commodity and communication of state administration between the islands in the Indies remained patchy.

"Constructing 'native Development': Technological Change and the Politics of Colonization in the Netherlands East Indies, 1905-1930" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2000); Suzanne Moon, "The Emergence of Technological Development and the Question of Native Identity in the Netherlands East Indies," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 36 (2) (2005), 191-206.

Realizing how important modern transport infrastructure was, the Dutch began to construct massive transport networks, facilities, and technologies in the1880s. The *Stoomvart Maatschappij "Nederland"* and the *Rotterdam Lloyd* agreed in1887 to merge and become the Royal Packet Navigation Company (*Koninklijke Paketvaart-Maatschappij*, KPM). KPM sealed an exclusive contract with the government, which was signed in July 1888 and went into effect on January 1, 1891, to conduct regular mail and cargo services in the Indies. KPM's exclusive monopoly in the Indies waters allowed the company to quickly develop into a comprehensive shipping network to the exclusion of most of its rivals. In this case, English liners were limited in their movements and could no longer enjoy such high profits off the Indies.[8]

The right for monopoly and government subsidy came with several requirements from the government, which further reflects the motives and interests behind the development of KPM and their implications socially and politically. The requirements were as follows:

> The ships had to maintain a definite time schedule, transport the mails free of charge, establish maximum rates for passengers and for freight with special discounts for Government traffic; they had to be placed at the immediate disposal of Government in case of war, or else had to follow instructions issued to them by the commanders of Netherlands men-of-war in such events. Two thirds of the number of vessels to be built had to be constructed on Netherlands wharves.[9]

The first concern was with the creation of order through standardization of time, rates, and routes. Order here became the epitome of modernity, replacing the traditional operation of indigenous transport. While indigenous people with their traditional sailing ships were often used for colonial transports, their operations could not promise regularity, especially because they relied on nature. In contrast, the modern, state-of-the-art steam-powered ships of KPM were powerful enough that they often could operate regardless of weather. Machines here overcame

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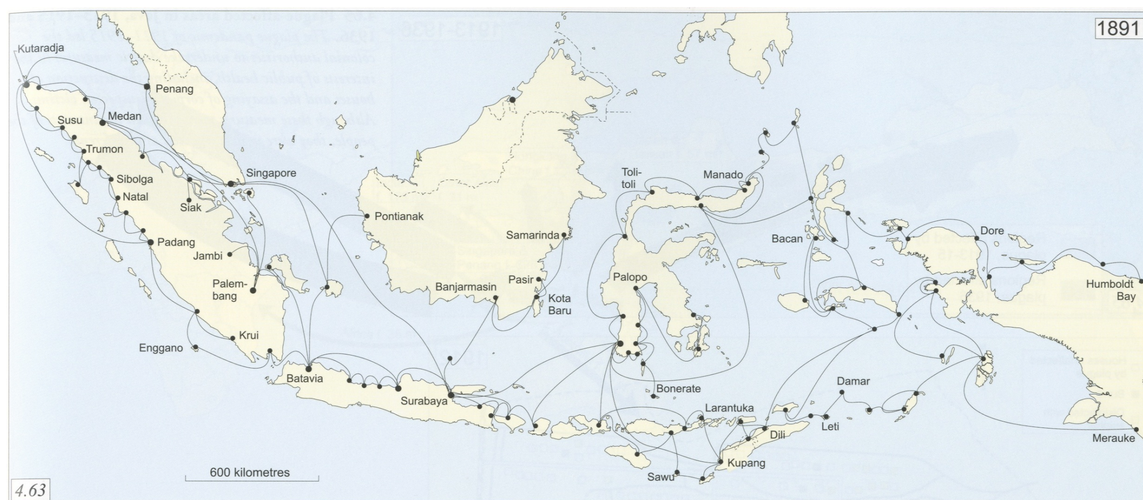
[8] *Official KPM Year Book 1937-1938* (Holland: N.V. Koninklijke Paketvaart-Maatschappij), 5-6. From the collection of Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies, KITLV), Leiden, The Netherlands (henceforth, KITLV).

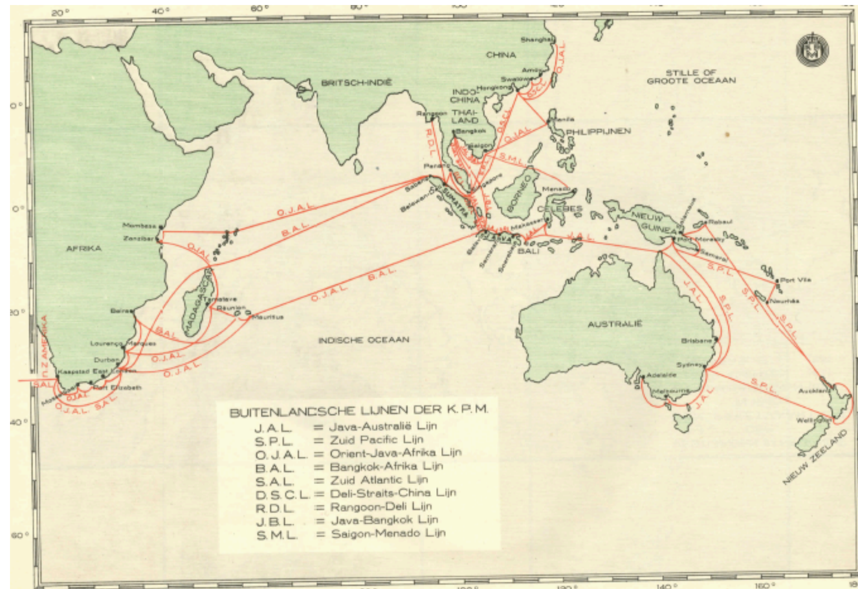
[9] *Official KPM Year Book 1937-1938,* 6.

the limits imposed by nature. Additionally, a regular shipping schedule transformed prevailing ideas of “time.”[10] The new time keeping practice upheld modern values of promptness and efficiency, further benefiting the colonial state’s economic goals. Eventually, by standardizing time, spaces were compressed. Reaching an island was no longer about distance but rather about taking a standardized route and following a particular regularized schedule. As we can see in the following map, the distance between the many islands in the Indies and between the Indies and regions abroad was compressed into one regular shipping network facilitated by KPM.



Map 3. Regular services of the Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM) connecting scattered islands in the Indies archipelago[11]

[10] On a study on time and transport in colonial Egypt, see On Barak, *On Time: Technology and Temporality in Modern Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).
[11] Robert Cribb, *Historical Atlas of Indonesia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2000), 141.



Map 4. Regular KPM services between Indies and abroad.[12]

The requirement also spoke for the state's needs to heighten bureaucratic administration. Mail was the way regular reports from government officials in smaller islands could reach the central government in Buitenzorg in Java, so the priority of KPM remained to serve administrative control as well as military services. KPM became the extension of the government in smaller scattered islands, and in time of indigenous revolts, wars, and rebellions that often followed economic expansion, ships became the technological means to transport troops.

Another concern expressed through the requirement was the enforcement for KPM ships to use the Dutch wharves. Indeed, after the establishment of KPM, ports and wharves were constructed in the next decades, with Batavia, Semarang, and Soerabaja as the main ones. In total, there were 300 ports, both traditional and modern, across the archipelago. The development of modern ports meant creating progress in communication networks. This progress was followed with the development of vessels. Types of vessels became varied, fulfilling the different geographical needs: freight, river boats, coal transport, and passenger.[13] Knowing these

[12] *Een halve eeuw paketvaart 1891-1941* (Amsterdam, 1941), appendix 8. From the collection of KITLV.
[13] *Official KPM Year Book 1937-1938,* 8-9.

concerns helps us learn the motivation and interests behind the implementation of KPM, i.e. to modernize transport and to expand administrative control. In effect, the sense of time and space too was transformed, infused with a modern idea of order and efficiency.

The idea of efficiency and order also became the motivation to develop the railway system. Following the development of regular shipping lines, the colonial government also saw the need to develop railways to connect port cities to the hinterlands. As early as 1840, discussions to construct a railway had started to emerge because of problems related to transporting government produce grown under the *Cultuurstelsel* in Java. However, the plan was hindered by the lack of familiarity with railways and rail construction, as well as by hesitation around the capital-intensive nature of railway building. In 1860 a "Committee on Means of Transport" was formed, which suggested that the construction of a railway from the port city Semarang to the hinterland would be profitable without much risk of financial loss. On August 10, 1867, the first part of the railway line between Semarang and the interior Principalities was opened, built by Beyer, Peacock and Company in Manchester and run by the *Nederlandsch-Indische Spoorweg Maatschappij* (Netherlands-Indies Railway Company).

Photo 1. A train brought produce from the hinterlands directly to the port in Semarang.[14]

In the span of several decades, railways, both belonging to the state and private enterprise, had connected the island of Java. The maps below illustrate how the construction of railway lines in Java progressed quickly between 1888 and 1925. In 1888, the lines served only Batavia, Buitenzorg, and Bandung in West Java, while areas between Bandung and Semarang, northeast of Purwodadi, and east of Probolinggo were unconnected. In less than four decades, however, all of Java through to the interior was connected with railway networks. With such networks, Java became integrated, allowing for a still inchoate national consciousness/identity to emerge and develop.

[14] Etto Krijger, *Slauerhoff in Zelfbeelden* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Atlas, 2003), 84.

Map 5. "The spread of railways on Java, 1888-1925"[15] (bold black: state railways, grey: private railways, thin black: tramways (light railways))

Map 6. "The spread of railways on Java, 1888-1925"[16]

The attention to railway and shipping networks demonstrated a larger colonial interest in transport communication. Since the development of railways and shipping lines, the Dutch continued to create more advanced and modern transport facilities. Wim Ravesteijn notes that by 1950 there were 12,000 km of asphalted surface, 7,500 kilometers (4,700 miles) of railways, bridges, irrigation systems—covering 1.4 million hectares (5,400 sq miles) of rice fields, and several harbours. Together they created the material base for an *integrated* Dutch colonial—and

[15] Cribb, *Historical Atlas,* 140.
[16] Cribb, *Historical Atlas,* 140.

later Indonesian—state.[17] In other words, a sense of a national unity, which later was voiced by the anti-colonial nationalist movement, might in fact be the product of more networked mobility in the first place, which was built only at the turn of the twentieth century.[18]

3.A.2 Transport as economic production

Although the social and economic integration of the Indies in the late 19th century through the implementation of regular and rapid transport systems was motivated partly by the need for a more efficient and robust agricultural production, it essentially opened new frontiers and new labors in the wide scattered islands in the East. In other words, the construction of transport networks supported the pacification of these remote islands economically and administratively.

The expansion of economic production entailed two things. First, more and more land belonging to the natives was forcibly taken over (through government policies) to be rented cheaply to private enterprises. More and more native land that used to be cultivated for the natives' livelihood and for planting various kinds of crops was transformed and converted into one-crop plantations—coffee, tea, sugar, coconut, rubber, etc. The following table shows the numbers of the total export production in Java and Madura as well as in the Outer Islands (Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Moluccas, and other islands) before and after the implementation of transport networks.

	1879	**1889**	**1900**	**1910**	**1925**
Java & Madura	96,837	112,703	156,993	258,737	335,654
The Outer Islands	37,541	51,382	73593	153,658	453,784

Table 1. The total export in Dutch guilder fl.1,000.[19]

[17] Wim Ravesteijn, "Between Globalization and Localization: The Case of Dutch Civil Engineering in Indonesia, 1800-1950," in *Comparative Technology Transfer and Society* 5 (1) (2007): 32.
[18] For the first three centuries, the Dutch were mostly present in Java, some parts of Sumatra and some eastern islands. It was only at the end of the 19th century that the whole archipelago was integrated under the Dutch administrative rule.

Before the implementation of regular transport networks in 1888, production in the Outer Islands was just a little more than one third of the production of crops in Java and Madura. By 1900, a decade after the construction of transport, the export production in Java and in the Outer Islands increased by almost half, and by 1925, the export produce of the Outer Islands exceeded that of Java and Madura. As the graph above demonstrates, export production increased substantially after the construction of modern networked transport services.

Second, because of the increasing production as well as industrialization of production, more laborers were required. Bosma[20] notes that along the same period of the implementation of transport system, agricultural production was also industrialized through the introduction of agricultural machineries and science. The construction of more factories and plantations built in the hinterlands as well as in remote islands required the availability of laborers; thanks to the transport networks, laborers could be transported en masse to these areas, enforcing massive migration of natives from one area to another for work.

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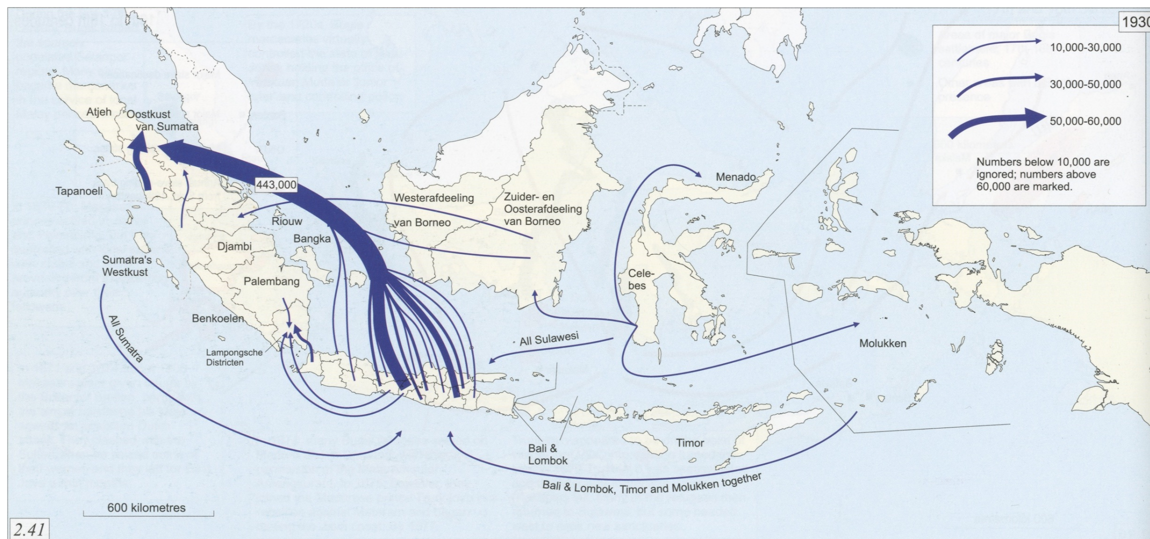
[19] W. L. Korthals Altes, *Volume 12a: General Trade Statistics 1822-1940*, *Changing Economy in Indonesia: A Selection of Statistical Source Material from the Early 19th Century up to 1940,* ed. P. Boomgaard (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute (KIT), 1991), 191-3.
[20] Ulbe Bosma, *Sugar plantation in India and Indonesia: industrial production, 1770-2010* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).



Map 7. Inter-regional migration in the Netherlands Indies in the period to 1930[21]

Previously, the colonial authorities limited population movement between the various islands in the Indies. However, beginning in the latter part of the 19th century, especially because of the demand for labor in the plantations in northern Sumatra, the Dutch permitted a massive migration of indentured laborers from Java to northern Sumatra,[22] facilitated by the transport networks. The movement of people at the turn of the century from Java to the outer islands, as well as from densely populated central Java to the eastern part of Java populated with sugar plantations, reveals not only the pursuit of colonial agricultural enterprise, but also explains the social background of the mass followers of anti-colonial resistance movement, which we will discuss shortly.

By facilitating economic production and distribution as well as the mobility of labor, the implementation of transport technology and the industrialization and modernization of agricultural production had proven a success for the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies (see chart below).

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[21] Cribb, *Historical Atlas,* 54.

[22] Ibid.; Also see Ann Laura Stoler, *Capitalism and Confrontation in Sumatra's Plantation Belt, 1870-1979* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

Destination	Value
Netherlands	f. 263 m
Other Europe	f. 312 m
United States	f. 201 m
Other America	f. 2.5 m
Australia	f. 50 m
Hongkong and China	f. 111 m
Japan and Taiwan	f. 57 m
Singapore and Penang	f. 326 m
India	f. 175 m
Other Asia	f. 31 m
Africa	f. 36 m

Table 2. Destination and value of exports from the Netherlands Indies, 1928[23]

In the early 20th century, the Netherlands Indies enjoyed a healthy and successful export trade in agricultural produce to Europe, North America, and immediate neighbors in Asia. By 1925, the Netherlands Indies was the main exporter of sugar to the world (excluding Cuba) and the second highest sugar producer after India (most of India's sugar production was consumed locally).[24]

While the regular shipping services of KPM, as well as railway services, were deemed important by the colonial government as an element of infrastructure for economic development, they were also considered a symbol of the Dutch claim to sovereignty in remote regions of the Indies. The economic expansion to remote islands and areas in Java was followed by administrative spread: local government offices were created and gave monthly reports shipped via the regular shipping lines.[25] This was reinforced with the recruitment of indigenous people—especially in Java—to work as government officials. Modern education available for upper class natives in the beginning of the twentieth century created a rank of the *prijayi* class, who mostly

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[23] Cribb, *Historical Atlas,* 143.
[24] Bosma, *Sugar plantation in India and Indonesia,* 162.
[25] Julinta Hutagalung, "Good Tidings from the Frontiers" (M.A. Thesis, Leiden University, 2008).

worked in local offices as government officials.[26] The penetration of the Dutch colonial administration in remote areas in Java and the Outer Islands entailed the penetration of the state in the mundane, everyday life of the people.

However, despite this economic expansion, the Dutch administration, including the organization of trade and commerce, was centralized in Java, creating a center and periphery relation between the Outer Islands and Java, with Java being the center of state administration and of trade and commerce control. Therefore, while economic production and state administration expanded from Java to the Outer Islands, economic distribution and state power became even more centralized in Java. The transport networks facilitated this "centralization by decentralization" process by sending information—mails, reports, letters—to and from Buitenzorg in Java, where the Governor General office was, and the rest of the Indies.

3.A.3 Transports as symbols

So far we have discussed how the close relation between commerce and state administration was further facilitated by transport networks. However, transport networks were also materialized symbolically, i.e. through maps. Maps became the avenue for colonial power to represent its geographical rule, and hence to fulfill its need for rhetorical self-creation. Through maps, colonialism was disguised behind the discourse of progress, and the unequal hierarchy between the islands and between the people was masked in the idea of a "united" archipelago.

The new transport technology, agricultural industrialization and science embodied the Dutch colonial spirit of "progress." In world exhibitions the Dutch repeatedly expressed that "it was a good thing that they were there [in the colony]."[27] For example, for them, the use of the latest machines and the means of transport illustrated the technological progress. The creation of

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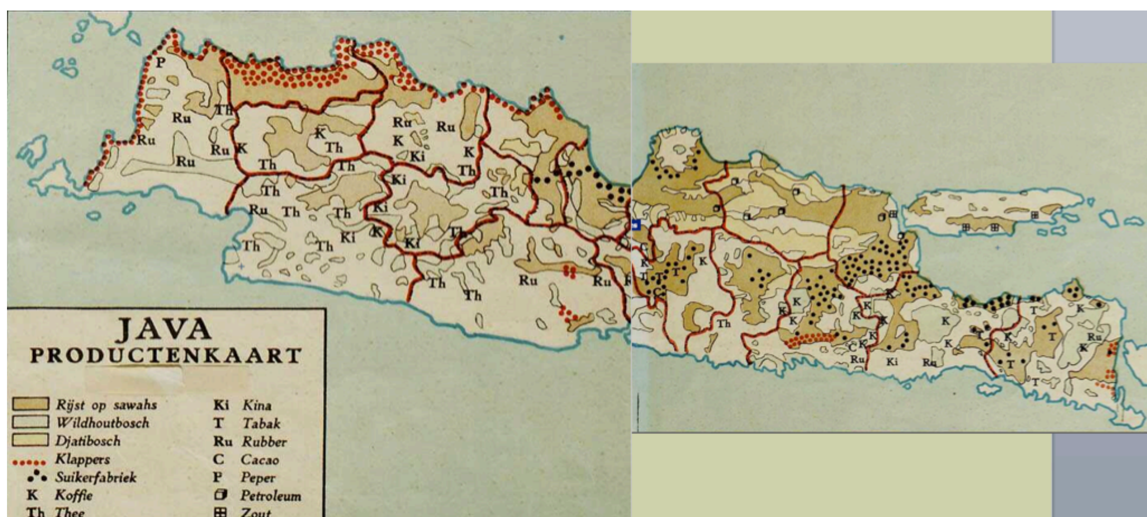
[26] On Prijaji: Ron Hatley et al., *Other Javas Away from the Kraton* (Melbourne, Australia: Monash University, 1984).
[27] From an exhibition on "Progress" at Tropen Museum, The Netherlands.

infrastructure, bridges, and factories demonstrated a strong economy and progress. One of the manifestations of the colonial pride in progress was demonstrated through maps. Indeed, previous scholars have suggested how maps were not natural artifacts, but instead they were part of the making of power.[28]

Such maps became a part of formal education. In the beginning of the 20th century, when the colonial government began to enjoy benefits from its "progress," its pride was communicated by putting atlases in every school classroom.



Map 8. "Java map of production" that was decorating classrooms in schools.[29]

In 1920, the "Java productenkaart" (Java production map) started to appear in schools. This map later became a part of the atlas the "*Wandkaart van Nederl.-Oost-Indië*" (Wall maps of the Netherlands East Indies) by W. van Gelder and C. Lekkerkerker produced in 1928.[30] It pinpointed locations of rice, wood, coconut, sugar, coffee, tea, kina, rubber, cacao, salt,

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[28] Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping early modern Japan : space, place, and culture in the Tokugawa period, 1603-1868* (Los Angeles : University of California Press, 2003).

[29] Source: accessed on 29 February 2016, http://maps.library.leiden.edu/apps/iipview?marklat=0&marklon=0&sid=xz35fe3998397&svid=&code=05336-2&lang=1#focus. Also see: Ferjan Ormeling, "School atlases for a colonial society: The Van Gelder/Lekkerkerker school atlases for the Netherlands East Indies 1880-1952," (working paper, 2006), accessed on May 17, 2015, http://www.icahistcarto.org/PDF/Ormeling_Ferjan__School_atlases_for_a_colonial_society.pdf.

[30] Ibid.

petroleum, tobacco, and pepper production across the Java island. The map also highlighted this economic production and the network of transportation. With these maps, students were exposed to a visual means through which to imagine the spatial construct of the Indies.

Maps also eventually pushed forward a new form of mobility: tourism. As the tourism industry boomed in the early 20th century, thanks to the regular shipping lines and the latest maritime technology that reduced travel time from the Netherlands to the Indies to only a few weeks (compared to 6-8 months two centuries before), the railway system became an important aspect of the map produced by the Tourism Bureau in 1923. The map below shows the geographical imagination of exotic places in Java and the available modern railways that could take people to the hinterlands where tea plantations, mountainous areas, and hot springs were located.

Map 9. "Java map" from tourism bureau in Batavia in 1923

Through these maps, we see how a representation of the Indies as powerful, productive, modern, and exotic was constructed. For example, the map juxtaposed exotic "places of interest for tourists," such as lakes, rivers, mountains, and Hindu temples and ruins (Java used to be one of the biggest Hindu kingdoms) with detailed modern networks of "mailsteamers," "railroad and tunnel," "steamtram," "high and cart road," as well as "horse and foot path." Elsewhere, tea

plantations were also advertised as objects of tourism[31] boasting the Indies' productivity and economic power. The construction of transport networks in the Indies as modern yet exotic in the tourism discourse, however, conceals the exploiting aspects of colonialism.

These maps suggest that the true contradiction of colonialism is only revealed if transport is understood as a workplace. See the following photo of tourists on board of the ship to the Indies, advertised in one of the tourist brochures.

Photo 2. Javanese seamen working as servants on board KRL ship to the Indies.[32]

Here, native Indonesians were hired in the position of lower class seamen, working as servants. They were required to wear traditional clothes as a way to maintain their exotic identity.

[31] *KPM Yearbook 1937 – 1938*, KITLV, The Netherlands.
[32] Collection of Maritiem museum, Rotterdam, The Netherlands. Visited on June 13, 2013.

Photo 3. Tourism brochure advertising KPM's Rotterdamsche Lloyd[33]

Similarly, this tourism brochure from one of the private shipping companies, *Rotterdamsche Lloyd*, also boasts how the exotic native woman will serve the white European tourists as they arrive in the Indies, exploiting the colonialist imagination of the exotic and submissive native woman. In the background of the brochure stood a gallantly modern and grand ship, ready to take European visitors to the Indies. As the tourism industry boomed, bringing European visitors to the Indies, more Indonesians were needed as lower class sailors, port workers, and transport workers. While the unequal working environment tainted with racism—by exoticizing indigenous people, for example—was apparent in the advertisements, it was at the same time unnoticeable because it was "normal."

Racial segregation, in fact, had become such a central part of the colonial society that it was taken for granted as the norm. In the following photo from an anniversary book of

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[33] Ibid.

Rotterdamsche Lloyd,[34] local workers are shown working at the seaports carrying foreign tourists on their shoulders from the small boats to the dry land so they did not get wet.

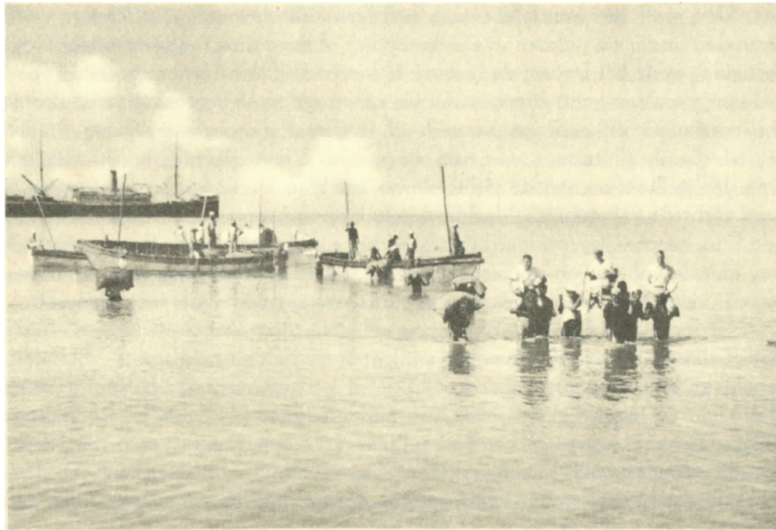

Photo 4. Native workers in a port carried European tourists on their shoulders from the small boats to the dry land.

While showing how the working conditions of the indigenous transport workers normalized the unequal relations under colonialism, the photos above reveal the mobility of ordinary lower class Indonesians. For the first time, lower class natives were able to go abroad and hang out with other fellow seamen from other parts of the world.

The official maps above that included transport networks reveal how colonialism was ideologically produced and preserved by concealing the very exploitative aspect of colonialism itself. The idea of progress underpinned the technological transformation of the Indies at the turn of the 20th century. It was followed by the displacement of native people to work in other areas as laborers in the plantations and factories. The changes in native social relations were also marked by native people working as transport workers. Workers in the railways across Java were able to connect with other Indonesians working in other cities. Seamen and port workers had more contacts with other people of other nationalities. All these changes formed the backdrop of

[34] *Een halve eeuw paketvaart 1891-1941*, 387.

the rise of the first national anti-colonial resistance in the Indies in 1920-1927. Understanding these spatial changes in the colonial geography, led by the implementation of the latest technology and science, and how they changed social experiences, helps us discover a new aspect of the resistance itself.

3.B Geography of resistance

During the time of the early communist movement of 1920-1926—some thirty years after the Dutch colonial government began to modernize transports—railway services had become an ordinary, mundane part of life for the indigenous people living in the cities and in the hinterlands. By 1920, transport networks had connected urban and remote areas in Java and the Outer Islands. The following figures on the number of railroad passengers in the Indies in 1929 indicate the mundaneness of transport. There were a total of 146,696,000 railroad passengers that year: 129,736,000 in Java and Madura and 16,960,000 in the Outer Islands. Of the total Java passengers, 0.1% were first class passengers; 2.5% were second class; 21.16% were third class; and, 76.16% were fourth class, with the third and fourth class primarily used by the indigenous population.[35] This means there were about 126,259,075 indigenous people using railway services in Java. If the indigenous population in Java was about 37,393,740 people,[36] then one indigenous person would use railway services 3.4 times on average. This might seem a small number, but a

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[35] These were for passengers using services from the following companies: *Staatsspoorwegen, Nederlandsch-Indische Spoorweg Maatschappij,* and *Urban trams* in Batavia. In Gerrit J. Knaap, *Volume 9: Transport 1819-1940*, *Changing Economy in Indonesia: A Selection of Statistical Source Material from the Early 19th Century up to 1940,* ed. P. Boomgaard (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute (KIT), 1991), 30-1.

[36] The table "Indigenous population by residency, 1912-1942," did not include the number of 1929. So, I predicted this number by calculating the average growth of the population between 1921-1928 which was 366,176 people and then added this number to the number of population in 1928, i.e. 37,027,564. P. Boomgaard and A.J. Gooszen, *Volume 11: Population Trends 1795-1945*, *Changing Economy in Indonesia: A Selection of Statistical Source Material from the Early 19th Century up to 1940,* ed. P. Boomgaard (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute (KIT), 1991), 120.

comparison to the condition of natives' mobility just sixty years before reveals the importance of the changes that railways services brought to people in Java.

Compared to the ease and comfort of public transport in Java in the 1920s, in the period before railroad was installed, the main and modern transport was a horse-drawn carriage, accessible only by upper class people. The lower class's mobility was largely limited to travel by foot and, occasionally, horses. Multatuli's description in his 1860 *Max Havelaar*[37] offers an example of this poor and often wretched condition of mobility in Java,

> "The main road" is perhaps a slight exaggeration in respect to the wide footpath that… one called the "road." But when, with a coach and four, one started for *Serang,* the chief township in the residency of *Bantam,* intending to drive to *Rang-Betoong,* the new centre of *Lebak,* one might be fairly sure of arriving there some time or other. It was, therefore, a road. It is true that time after time one would be stuck in the mud, which in the *Bantam* lowlands is heavy, clayey, and sticky… The driver would crack his whip, the "runners" [or footmen, people who helped a coach from getting stuck in the mud]… with their short thick whips, trotted again by the side of the four horses, shrieked indescribable sounds, and beat the horses under the stomach by way of encouragement.[38]

What was called a main road in this area in Bantam was nothing but a pathway that was muddy and sticky, making it hard even for a carriage run by four powerful horses not to get stuck occasionally.

What this comparison points us to is the possibility that different transport systems created different material social conditions, and hence different kinds of resistance movements. The limited mobility illustrated the conditions facilitating previous anti-colonial resistance by indigenous population. As we can see from the map below, previous resistance was sporadic, local, and traditional.

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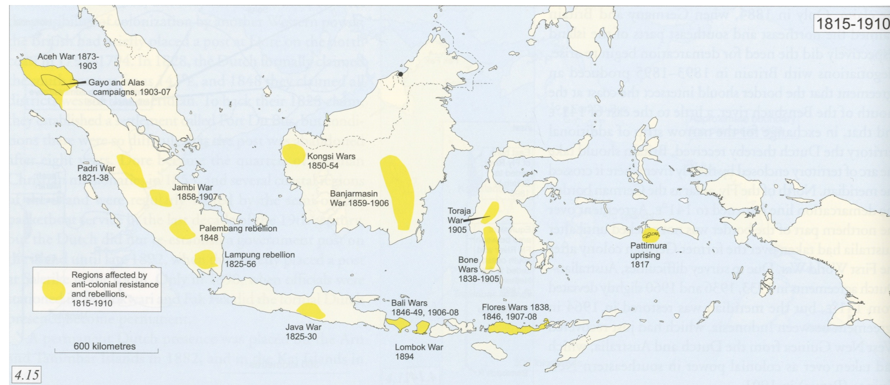
[37] Eduard Douwes Dekker is a Dutch writer who wrote *Max Havelaar* published in 1860 using his pen name "Multatuli" or Latin for "I have suffered much." The book depicted the experience of native Indonesians under the *cultuurstelsel* period and denounced the abuse made by the Dutch colonial government.

[38] Multatuli, *Max Havelaar* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Narasi, 2008), 44. Translation and emphasis by author.



Map 10. "Colonial warfare and indigenous resistance, 1815-1910"[39]

Though resistance against colonial power frequently occurred across the Indies archipelago between 1815 and 1910, these resistance movements were isolated from each other. The famous Java War led by Pangeran Dipogenoro in 1825-1830 to resist the cruelty of the forced labor system mentioned in Chapter I was an early popular resistance in Java that was able to mobilized hundreds thousands lower class people in a guerilla warfare.[40] Even then, the war only covered one region in central Java including Yogyakarta, Surakarta, and the neighboring towns. This experience of limited mobility and resistance a century before the early communist movement supports the argument that different transport and communication networks shaped different kinds of resistance movements.

Unlike the previous century, public transportation such as railways had connected most areas of Java in the time of the early communist anti-colonial movement in 1920-1926, making other cities, towns, and villages accessible even for ordinary people. This was demonstrated in the *Sinar Hindia* newspapers through the announcement from *Centrale oentoek Revolutionaire Propaganda* (Center of Revolutionary Propagandists, CORP) which was founded with the aim to send propagandists to *vergaderingen* in different places in order to lead discussions or report certain issues related to the movement. The announcement explained that "CORP would send

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[39] Cribb, *Historical Atlas,* 122.
[40] About 200,000 people died in Java war, accessed February 29, 2016, wikipedia.com.

propagandists only if the requests were accompanied with travel money by train or other transports and if meal and lodging were covered."[41] This announcement suggested that modern transports were not only easily accessible but also facilitated the ability for propagandists to move from one place to another.

While rank-and-file leaders mobilized from place to place to participate in *vergaderingen,* ordinary people also took modern transport to attend the meetings.[42] At this point, it is clear that modern transports, such as trains and trams, had become ordinary means of mobility in the lives of the people during the time of the movement. The next question is: what specific roles did these individuals take in spreading the movement? In other words, how did people take advantage of the networked transport systems?

3.B.1 The role of transport workers

While transport networks did facilitate and give access to ordinary people to mobilize, it was the individual transport workers who took greatest advantage of this material condition. Both railway workers and sailors created some of the biggest unions in the period and these unions became important engines of the communist movement. Through their roles as transport workers, they connected ordinary people in different places and created a network for the movement, enabling it to go beyond one location and reach most areas in Java, in the Outer Islands, and outside of the Indies globally.

3.B.2 Railway workers

As the city where the first railway was created, Semarang was also the headquarters for one of the radical organizations: *Vereeniging voor Spoor-en Tramweg Personeel* (The Union for

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[41] *Sinar Hindia,* July 7, 1924.

[42] For example, a short story in *Sinar Hindia* narrated two men taking a tram to join an *openbare vergadering* across town in Semarang. Tjempaka-Pasoeroean, "Aliran djaman atau seorang gadis yang sengsara" (The flow of time or a girl who suffers), *Api* August 18 – September 10, 1925.

Railway and Tram Workers, VSTP). Founded in 1908,[43] VSTP was one of the oldest and most progressive Indonesian labor unions, and was known as a "powerful and best-led organization."[44] Some of the famous leaders in the history of Indonesian communism began their careers there before establishing the Indonesian communist party, PKI. VSTP's members consisted of skilled and semiskilled Dutch and Indonesian urban railway workers. Together they created a sector of an educated working class. Though centralized in Semarang, VSTP's branches were spread out all over Java, especially along the railway lines. This explains how the communist movement, of which VSTP was a part, spread out to other cities and the hinterlands across Java. The 1923 strike illustrates this process.

On January 1, 1923, the Dutch colonial government's decision to reduce the cost-of-living bonus took effect for the first time. This announcement was followed by the private rail lines stating that they would also implement major wage and personnel cuts that day. At VSTP's congress in February, the workers agreed to strike.[45] The plan to hold the strike continued to be discussed in *openbare vergaderingen* held by either VSTP or SI over the next several months. In early May that year, as the strike plan progressed, the union leader Semaoen was accused of planning a threat to public order and arrested by the government. His arrest provided the momentum for VSTP members to hold the strike. On May 9-11, 1923, VSTP-led strikes occurred in stations at Tegal, Cheribon, Kroja, Ambarawa, Semarang, Soerabaja, Bangil, Malang, Klakah, Pasoeroean, Tjikampek, Madiun, Gubeng, Jogja, Solo, Pekalongan, Kertosono,

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[43] M C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia Since C. 1200* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2001), 202.
[44] Ruth T. McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1965), 14, 42, and 111.
[45] Ibid., 147.

Wonokromo, Sidhoardjo, Ponorogo, Djombang, and Kudus.[46] This is the reconstructed map with locations where the strikes occurred across Java.

Map 11. Locations of VSTP strike on May 9-13, 1923

The success of the strike lay in the well-structured and organized planning. One leader, for example, emphasized in a planning meeting that the strike "must be well disciplined and properly timed, and must not consist of local ventures at wildcat walkouts and sabotage."[47] The strikes that began with railways workers in trains and stations were soon followed by strikes in workshops and factories,[48] showing it was possible to do such a dispersed strike across multiple sites, carried out not just by railway workers but also other workers in other professions. The May 1923 strike would become the biggest strike ever held in its time. In response, the Dutch government sent Semaoen into exile, arrested many leaders and members, and revoked the rights to hold *vergaderingen.* This example shows how railway workers, through their union VSTP, were able to link different networks of resistance in different parts of Java.

3.B.3 Sailors and port workers

While railway workers took part in mobilizing people across Java towns, it was the sailors and port workers who connected the movement in the Indies with the outside world. After Semaoen arrived in the Netherlands in mid-1923, he continued to mobilize Indonesians there by founding

[46] "Korban korban pemogokan" (The victims of the strike), "Apakah Djadinja" (What the result was), "Pergerakan kita" (Our movement), *Sinar Hindia,* May 12, 1923.
[47] McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism,* 148.
[48] "Apakah djadinja?" (What the result was), *Sinar Hindia,* May 12, 1923.

Sarekat Pegawai Laoet Indonesia (Union of Indonesian Seamen, SPLI) based in Amsterdam. About 3,000 seamen and 2,000 dockers joined the union.[49] In February 1925, its Indonesian-based affiliate organization was created by unifying the existing seamen's and dockers' unions into one organization called *Sarekat Pegawei Pelabuhan dan Lautan* (Seamen's and Dockers' Union, SPPL).[50] In 1925, Profitern[51] encyclopedia noted that SPLI contained 3,000 seamen and 9,000 dockers, which likely meant that this included the members of SPPL who were mostly dockers.[52] Soon after they were founded, SPPL and SPLI joined Profintern and maintained international contact through Profintern offices in Canton, Manila, and other ports.[53]

The international sailors played an important role in creating global solidarity against colonialism and imperialism under the umbrella of communism. In fact, the idea to organize maritime workers had also been an interest of international communism for some time. The benefit from organizing international maritime workers ensured coordinated actions among them, and therefore a better network of communication. The important role of sailors in creating global solidarity is nicely summed up in the following poster made by the Communist Party of Holland.

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[49] Quoted from M.A., "Die Arbeiterbewegung in Indonesien." In McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism,* 442n78.
[50] Agustinus Supriyono, *Buruh Pelabuhan Semarang: Pemogokan-Pemogokan pada Zaman Kolonial Belanda, Revolusi dan Republik, 1900-1965* (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Amsterdam, 2008).
[51] Profintern is also known as The Red International of Labor Unions (RILU), an international body established by the Communist International with the aim of coordinating Communist activities within trade unions. Accessed on February 29, 2016, wikipedia.com.
[52] Quoted from M.A., "Die Arbeiterbewegung in Indonesien." In McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism,* 442n78.
[53] McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism,* 276-7.

Photo 5. Brochure released by the Communist Party of Holland depicting sailors[54]

It contains a line "free Indonesia from Holland now," Karl Marx's statement "no nation is free if it oppresses another nation," and a line urging to "choose communism." The call was followed with a depiction of four sailors and a ship as important symbols of global solidarity against colonialism and capitalism. The choice of sailors as a symbol for global solidarity reveals how the environment onboard the ships involving multinational sailors created a condition for this global solidarity to happen in the first place.[55]

There were two main roles of port workers and sailors in expanding the Indonesian communist movement. The first was their role as messengers. By the end of 1923, most of the

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[54] From "Collectie CPH" in International Institute of Social History (IISH), Amsterdam, The Netherlands.
[55] Matthias van Rossum, *Hand aan hand (Blank en Bruin): Solidariteit en de werking van globalisering, etniciteit en klasse onder zeelieden op de Nederlandse koopvaardij, 1900-1945* (*Hand to Hand (White and Brown): Solidarity and the Effect of Globalization, Ethnicity and Class among Sailors on the Dutch Merchant, 1900-1945)* (Aksant: Amsterdam 2009) provides more detailed accounts on the processes in which global solidarity among sailors emerged. It was not a surprise that often times communist members worked as sailors or port workers in order to create these international networks. After SPPL was founded, for example, an Indies Chinese, Tan Ping Tjiat, was appointed to the executive of the union, so that Chinese sailors temporarily staying in the archipelago during their transit would join the union. (McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism,* 448n139) Additionally, after the communist revolt of 1926/7, many communist members escaped arrests by being sailors. Some of them arrived in British Malaya and began the Malayan Communist Party there (see Cheah Boon Kheng, *From PKI to the Comintern, 1924-1941: The Apprenticeship of the Malayan Communist Party* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1992).

main leaders of the Indonesian communist party—Tan Malaka, Semaoen, Baars, Sneevliet, and Bergsma, among others—had been banished from the Indies. During their exile, they continued working and/or networking with the Comintern and lived in different places by choice — Sneevliet helped develop the communist party in China, Semaoen and Bergsma stayed in the Netherlands, and Tan Malaka[56] moved from Berlin to Russia to Canton, and later to Manila and Singapore. Eventually, the movement of leaders became restricted and highly surveilled, so another means to carry information was needed. Sailors became the messengers who smuggled letters, newspapers, and brochures to and from the leaders in the Indies and those in these other regions. Among important newspapers smuggled to/from the Indies that provided important knowledge on the development of the communist movement were *Sinar Hindia, Pandoe Merah,* the organ of SPLI, and *Djankar* (sic!) (Anchor), a monthly newspaper belonging to SPPL.[57]

The sailors' second role in creating networks of solidarity beyond the Indies was in strengthening the communist party, PKI, by being cadres for international communism, by organizing *vergaderingen* abroad, and by providing reports. In 1925, three Minahasan PKI members who were sailors, Djohannes Waworuntu, Daniel Kamu, and Clemens Wentuk, left the KPM ship in Rotterdam and joined two other sailors, Mohamad Saleh from Tapanuli and Usman from Padang. They took the Russian steamer "Wasla Warasley" en route to Russia. Together with a sixth person, Sumantry, who was already a student at Leiden University and who took the train to Russia, they joined University of the Toilers of the East (Коммунистический

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[56] See: Harry A. Poeze, *Tan Malaka: Strijder Voor Indonesië's Vrijheid : Levensloop Van 1897 Tot 1945* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1976); *Verguisd En Vergeten (3 Vols.): Tan Malaka, De Linkse Beweging En De Indonesische Revolutie, 1945-1949* (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2007); Rudolf Mrazek, "Tan Malaka: A Political Personality's Structure of Experience," in *Indonesia* 14 (October) (1972): 1-48.

[57] In an interview with Ruth McVey in 1959, Semaoen recalled that the first government action against this smuggling activity was a raid on the incoming passenger ship *Insulinde* in Java. Police confiscated a suitcase full of letters and publications that a cabin boy acted as the "consul" for the SPLI on that ship had brought in. Among the publications were *Pandoe Merah* and other Communist materials. In McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism,* 452n181.

университет трудящихся Востока), a training college for communist cadres in the colonial world located in Moscow.[58]

Sailors also took actions by organizing *vergaderingen* abroad. The following announcement demonstrated a call for an *openbare welkomst vergadering* (a welcoming public meeting), which was held to welcome Semaoen who had just recently been exiled to the Netherlands.

Photo 6. An invitation to a welcoming public meeting for the arrival of Semaoen in the Netherlands[59]

Though there was no information on the attendance, the fact that it was held in Concertgebouw makes it reasonable to infer that some thousands of people sympathetic to communism, including Indonesian and multinational sailors, gathered in this meeting on September 21, 1923.[60] In this

[58] In 1927, following the ill-fated revolt, these sailors/students left for the Indies bringing more news from the exiled leaders. But they were arrested by the Dutch in Batavia (Jakarta). The news of their arrest spread out to the Netherlands and this is how I found out about their story. Earlier notes on the movement of these sailors could also be traced in Semaoen's exchanges with the Comintern, see: "Komintern PKI" Collection in IISH.
[59] From "Collectie CPH" in International Institute of Social History (IISH), Amsterdam, The Netherlands.
[60] Additionally, a short story written by Semaoen called *Pak Matosin* (Mr. Matosin) narrated how Pak Matosin organized meetings attended by sailors and Indonesian students. These meetings were held in cafes and sailors' headquarters in Rotterdam, and often had to be discreet in order to avoid Dutch intelligence. It is hard not to think that Pak Matosin's story was in fact the story of Semaoen himself while he was in exile in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, this story revealed how sailors were actively involved in mobilizing the movement even by attending and organizing meetings outside of the Indies. Semaoen, *Skets Sedjarah Pak Matosin* (Surabaja, Indonesia: P.T. Matang, 1962).

case, sailors played a role in mobilizing people outside of the Indies to join in rallies to raise awareness for an anti-colonial solidarity.

Moreover, sailors took part in ensuring that the movement in the Indies was well informed with the outside world. The role of sailors as "reporters" was made known through a memoir written by Jamaluddin Tamim under his pen name "Timor man" (the man from the East). Tamim was a communist from West Sumatra who escaped Dutch police during the arrests of communist people in 1927 by working as a sailor for a few years. In his memoir, he wrote that on December 10, 1928 as he was working in the British-North Borneo ship,

> Two weeks we sailed, a week in Singapore, that's how it went for about a year. The one week we had in Singapore, we used the night time for reading letters, newspapers and meeting with colleagues, while from dusk to dawn we had to work really hard [in the ship]. If the ship was already sailing in the big sea, then we can sleep a bit. Even at night we had to work! Sometimes in those sailings, we had to work in the middle of the night because the ship made frequent stops and unload cargos. For 2-3 hours at night, one of us went all the way up to the pool or up on the ship's toppest deck to do night watch. To watch if there are other ships, islands etc. this responsibility to do the night watch is really hard. If the ship hit another ship or went ashored, then the people doing the night watch will be in trouble. Even during these times, we multitasked and wrote letters, reports, and read the newspapers.[61]

This excerpt explains the dual functions of labor enacted in the work of sailors. On the one hand, they fulfilled their job to do the night watch, to supervise the unloading of cargos, and to ensure the safety of the ships. On the other hand, despite the difficult demands and conditions of work, sailors also produced a different kind of labor. It is an act of labor that sought to liberate the alienation of sailors, and other workers, from the exploitive working conditions within colonialism. For this work, they wrote letters and reports and read newspapers to continue spreading information for the resistance movement. Sailors' important role in the movement was not just in being messengers but also in being the organizers and mobilizers of the movement globally.

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[61] Timorman, "Korban Korban PARI" (The victims from PARI), August 1933. From "Komintern PKI" collection, IISH.

3.C Conclusion

Modern transport networks in the Dutch East Indies that were built to facilitate the increase of colonial power became one of the sources of colonialism's own failure. While the networks helped the spread of the economic, political, and social conquest by the colonial state, they also created a condition of possibility for the spread of resistance. Transport networks made possible the mobility of indigenous people as labors and transport workers, which helped create new forms of contacts and associations that allowed a global and trans-island and trans-region coordination to happen. Transport networks also made physical mobility a part of the mundane life of the ordinary indigenous people. This new form of mobility meant that creating a collective community beyond its specific geographical location became possible. As this chapter explains, the study of transport communication as a condition of mobility enables us to learn how the early communist movement in the Indies was developed through a new way of organizing and mobilizing.

While this finding confirms previous scholars of communism[62] who argue that the movement was the first anti-colonial resistance organized nationally and globally, it still has not revealed how widespread the movement exactly was and who were the people mobilizing it. In other words, while we now know that the movement was mobilized under the condition of widespread mobility of the ordinary people, we still need to explore how the idea of mobility might help us further unearth the nuts and bolts of the spatial development of the movement. The next chapter looks at the fundamentals of the temporal and spatial development of the movement with the goal of explaining the composition of the ordinary people involved in the movement.

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[62] McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism*; Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion.*

CHAPTER IV

GEOGRAPHY OF COLONIALISM AS GEOGRAPHY OF RESISTANCE, PART II

Could the prevalence of public meetings have been the key to the spread of communism, the growth of the anti-colonial movement, and its eventual demise after the 1926/7 revolt in the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia)? Between the years 1920-1926, approximately 900 communist public meetings led by Sarekat Islam were held across the Indies archipelago in both private residences and public parks, attended by up to 15,000 people. Abroad, Indonesian sailors working on Dutch shipping lines organized clandestine meetings aboard the ships as well as in the sailors' quarters in Holland, often involving sailors from other countries. When most of the central leaders of the party had been exiled abroad in 1923, removing them from their very space of struggle, public meetings continued to appear in remote areas of Java and the Outer Islands.

A look at the communicative practices of this movement points to an oft-neglected yet crucial point about anti-colonial movements: that an understanding of communicative practices is particularly revealing of the ways space and power operate in the colonial context. By using spatial analysis (i.e. historical GIS) to investigate the role of public meetings—the public sphere of the colonized in the Indies[1]—in the popularization and radicalization of this early communist movement, I argue that resistance against colonialism was as much a spatial struggle as it was a political one. A number of questions emerge in thinking about the spatiality of this movement: What does mapping the locations of public meetings reveal about the active involvement of ordinary, uneducated, lower-class people in mobilizing the movement? Can the

[1] Jürgen Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere: an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1989).

differences in the locations' physical and social characters debunk the myth that "class struggle is homogenous"? How did the movement define solidarity across geographical sites and social and cultural differences (sex, religion, ethnicity, nation, class)? What does the spatial distribution of the meetings tell us about the expansion of Dutch control over colonial space in the years after the banning of the meetings in 1923? Lastly, how can we, in the early twenty-first century, visualize the geography of the first national anti-colonial resistance in Indonesia? In this chapter we will grapple with some of these questions by exploring how solidarity was operating on the ground level.

In the previous chapter, we discussed how the implementation of modern transport networks created a condition of possibility for new forms of mobility, and hence, a new form of organizing resistance in the Indies. These findings suggest that the mobility of people across (remote) regions during the time of the movement was relatively accessible and that plantation and transport workers played an important role in the mobility of ideas of resistance. What the last chapter was not able to do, however, was to explain how mobility shaped the detailed aspects of sociability in the movement. This chapter, then, builds off the history of transport networks and elucidates the idea of mobility from the perspective of the movement of people and ideas through time and space. It is a kind of mobility—made visible by the archives instead of by means of mobility such as transport—that enables us to trace how ideas and people moved around.

The data comes from 865 reports in *Sinar Hindia* newspapers of *openbare vergaderingen* (open meetings) held across the Indies archipelago; those reports include detailed information on locations, dates, speakers, topics, number of attendees, and

government interventions.[2] By visually turning the recorded data into GIS maps, I came up with a set of maps that describe the spatial changes of the movement vis-à-vis its social, political, mental, and cultural compositions. Together these maps show "the geography of resistance."

Besides showing us the nuts and bolts of the movement, this geography of resistance also acts as a counter narrative. As the geographer Anne Knowles argues, historical GIS mapping is both a research method and a mode of representation[3] that can enable us to recover how resistance was communicated in its transient time and space. I concur with this argument and add that the development of these maps is aimed to visually represent "spaces of contentions."[4]

4.A The development of the communist movement over space and time

The first set of maps demonstrating the spread of *openbare vergaderingen* between 1920 and 1925 in the Indies reveals the spread of the movement into important new areas as well as the important events that triggered the development of the movement. The first map shows the aggregated locations where 865 *openbare vergaderingen* were held during the period. It illustrates that the meetings were held in all residencies across Java island as well as in Sumatra Weskust, Timor en Onderhoorigheden (henceforth, Timor),

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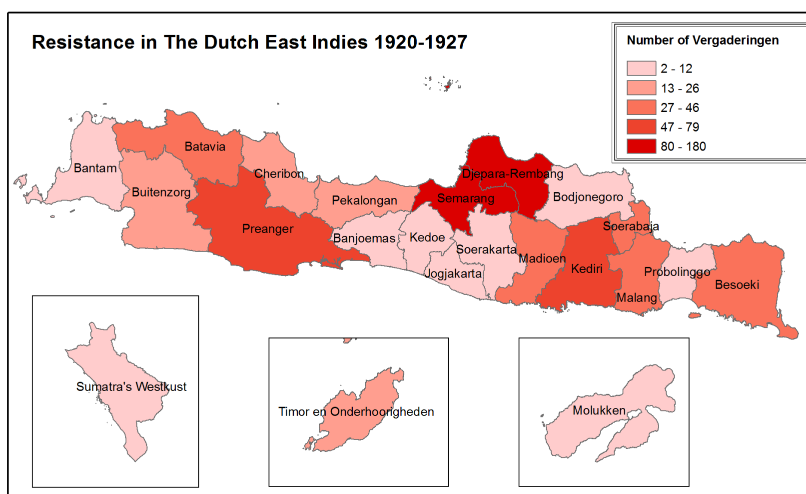
[2] Although not all *openbare vergaderingen* were reported in *Sinar Hindia*—there were those that might be reported elsewhere and those that did not get reported, the frequency of reporting in *Sinar Hindia* provided adequate data to be run statistically.

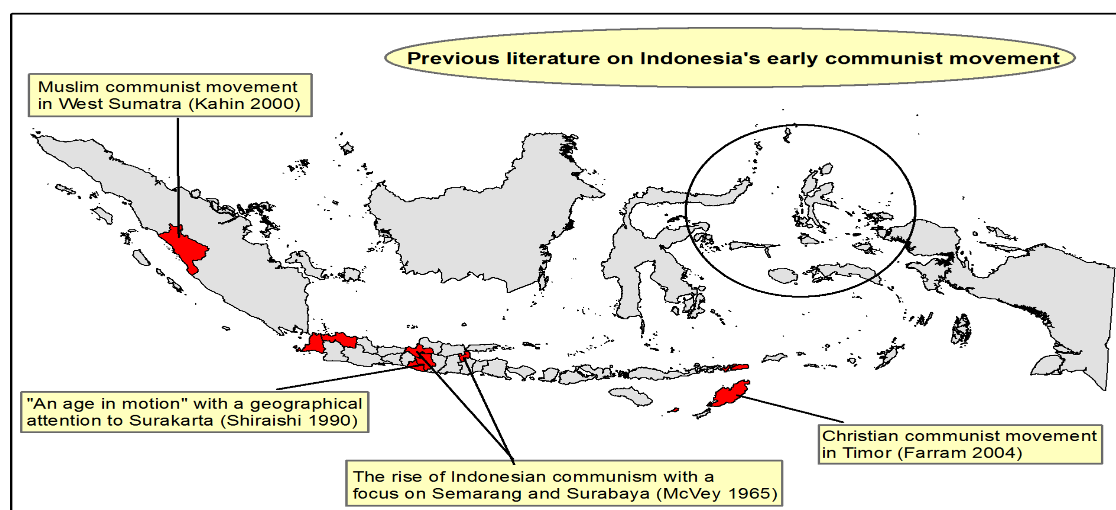
[3] Anne Kelly Knowles et al., ed., *Geographies of the Holocaust* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014); Anne Kelly Knowles, *Past Time, Past Place: GIS for History* (Redlands, Calif: ESRI Press, 2002).

[4] Cf. Charles Tilly, *Spaces of Contention* (New York, N.Y.: Lazarsfeld Center at Columbia University, 1998); and, Walter Nicholls, Byron Miller and Justin Beaumont, eds., *Spaces of Contention: Spatialities and Social Movements* (Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013).

and Molukken residencies. Semarang and its neighboring town Djepara Rembang became the center for the most *vergaderingen* held.



Map 12. The number of *openbare vergaderingen* held in 1920-1925 by residencies

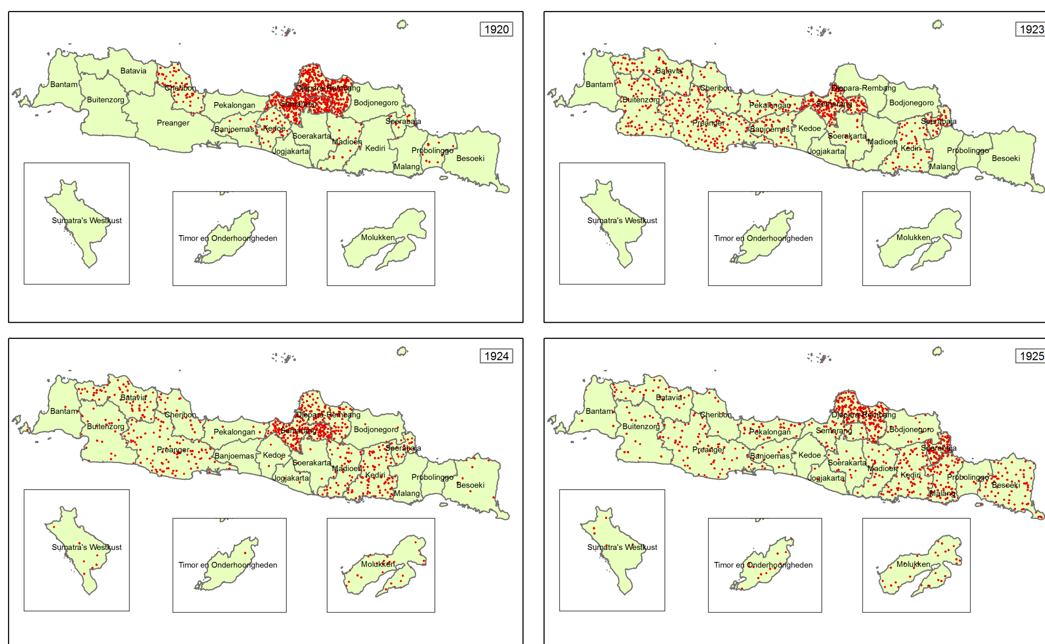


Map 13. Locations of communist movement in the Indies in 1920-1927 in previous literature

The above finding contrasts with what existing literature has described. McVey's *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* (1965), for example, focuses on Semarang and mentions activities in Surabaya and Batavia, but does not explain how Semarang's neighbor Djepara Rembang also became one of the biggest centers of the movement. Shiraishi's *An Age in Motion* (1990) also centers on Surakarta and fails to demonstrate that the movement expanded outside of central Java. However, more recent findings by Kahin

(2000) and Farram (2004) reveal communist activities in West Sumatra and Timor respectively. My findings confirm theirs while also providing a larger picture of the geographical scope of the movement.

A comparison of the number of *vergaderingen* in 1920, 1923, 1924, and 1925 reveals how important the spread of the movement was and highlights how it was de-centralized from cities in central Java, i.e. Semarang, Djepara-Rembang, and Surakarta, to other areas in Java and the Outer Islands. The years 1921 and 1922 are not included here because not much development occurred in those years; more on this later when we discuss the effect of the 1923 strike on the number of *vergaderingen* held.



Map 14-17. The number of *openbare vergaderingen* by residencies in 1920, 1923, 1924, and 1925 respectively.

The map of 1920 (before SI split into white SI and red SI) shows that 77 *openbare vergaderingen* took place, mostly centralized in Semarang (30) and Djepara Rembang (29). In other residencies in Java island, *vergaderingen* were also held in Cheribon (6),

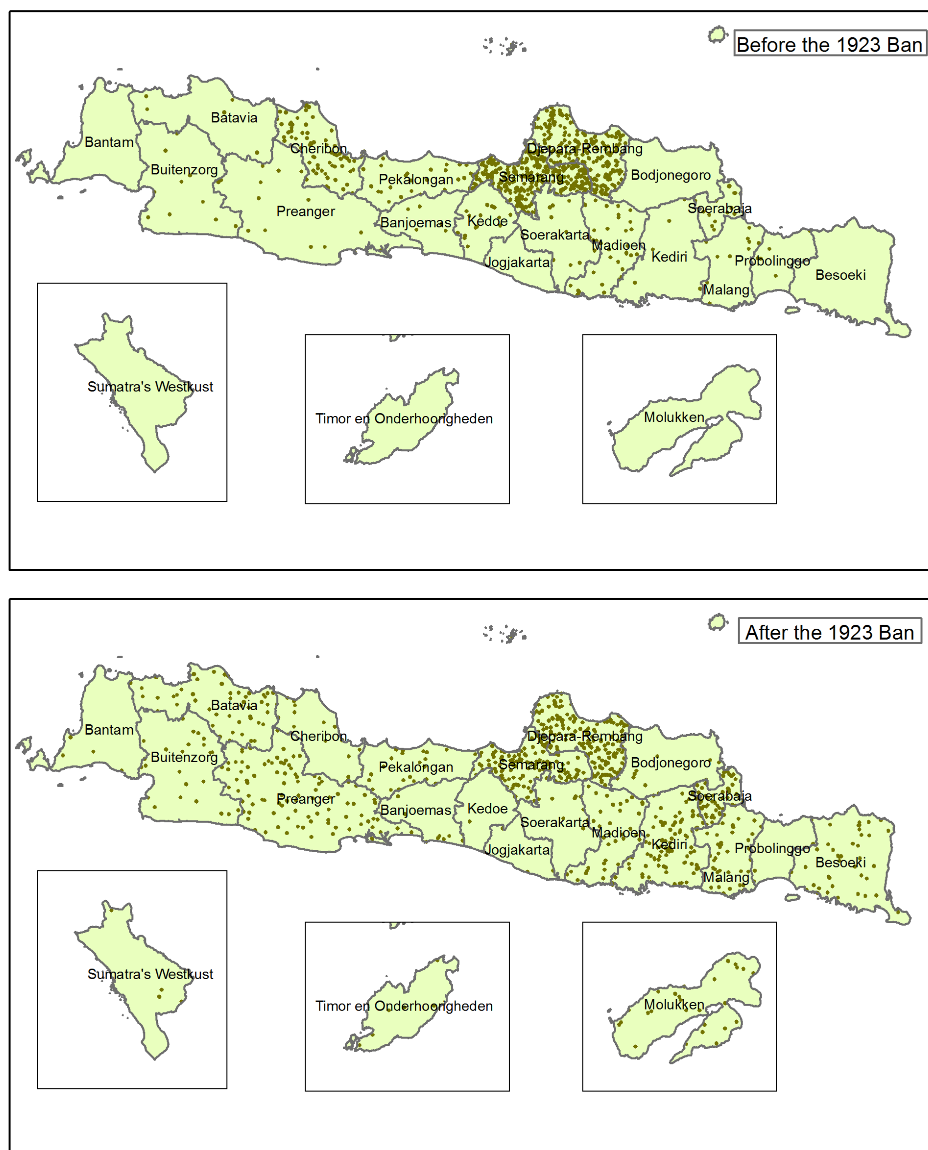
Banjoemas (1), Kedoe (3), Madioen (2), Soerabaja (1), and Probolinggo (1). However, no *vergaderingen* held outside of Java were reported. In 1921, 1922, and 1923, the number of *vergaderingen* decreased and leveled out with only a total of 43, 38, and 38 *vergaderingen* held respectively. Semarang and Djepara Rembang continued to be the center of the movement with the most *vergaderingen.* It was in the years 1924 and 1925 that we witness a burgeoning number of *vergaderingen* being held in Java as well as in the Outer Islands. In 1924 there were 313 reported meetings and in 1925 there were 356, increasing fourfold from the number in 1920. One important finding from this data is that Semarang was no longer the only center for *vergaderingen.* A new center in West Java appeared in Preanger with 37 *vergaderingen* in 1924 and 31 *vergaderingen* in 1925. Likewise, in the Eastern part of Java, Kediri, Malang, Soerabaja, and Besoeki residencies became the new centers. Kediri had 37 meetings held in 1924 and 30 in 1925; Malang had 32 meetings in 1925, shooting up from zero in the previous year; Soerabaja had 33 by 1925; and Besoeki had 28, showing an increase from four meetings in 1924. Outside of Java, Sumatra's Westkust held 12 meetings, Timor 17 meetings, and Molukken two meetings in 1924-1925. What this aggregated number shows us is that the movement had spread outside of the radical center of Semarang and created new centers across Java and the Outer Islands by 1925.[5] These maps are key because they suggest something we did not know before: within the span of only five years the movement developed quickly and spread to areas that previously have never been highlighted before. Additionally, the maps give a comprehensive and powerful visual account of this spread.

[5] The number of the meetings in the Outer Islands might seem small but we need to be reminded that information channels to send reports to *Sinar Hindia* headquarter in Semarang, especially from the Outer Islands, were limited and the practice of reporting might not be as common as the one in Java.

4.A.1 The movement before and after the 1923 ban

The spread of the movement was triggered by two things: the 1923 ban of *openbare vergaderingen* and the split between the red wing and the white wing of Sarekat Islam, which further reveals to us how the movement became not only popularized but also radicalized. One of the effects of the May 1923 strike on the movement, discussed in the previous chapter, was that for the first time the Dutch colonial government forbade any *vergaderingen* to be held. Of course, this was in violation of the rights of association and assembly that were constitutionally adopted in the Indies for indigenous people in the beginning of the twentieth century (see chapter VII on policy). The ban was installed not at the central level by the Governor General but rather at the level of residencies starting in the residency of Semarang and then spread to the neighboring residencies. The banning of *vergaderingen* was applied not just for communist-related organizations but all native and non-native organizations.

Through this map, however, we learn that following the banning on the communist movement after the 1923 strike, the number of *vergaderingen* instead swelled fourfold, from 153 before the ban to 673 after the ban.



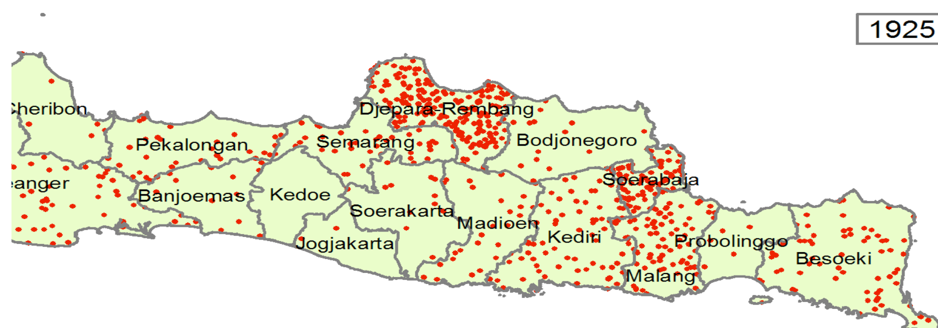
Map 18-19. The number of *openbare vergaderingen* by residencies before and after the 1923 ban

Some of the residencies that witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of meetings were Batavia (from 1 to 39), Preanger (from 3 to 76), Semarang (from 67 to 113), Djepara-Rembang (from 41 to 128), Madioen (from 7 to 29), Kediri (from 1 to 70), Malang (from 2 to 32), Soerabaja (from 3 to 42), and Besoeki (from 0 to 32). The Outer Islands, including Sumatra's Westkust, Timor, and Molukken, all held *vergaderingen* for the first time after the 1923 ban. This finding indicates that, despite the revocation of the rights of assembly (which meant explicit repression of the communists), the movement

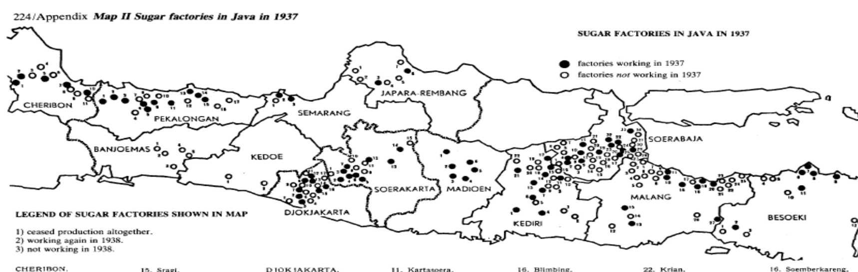
became more attractive and more active in expanding its influence across geographical locations.

4.A.2 The spread to plantations

While we have learned now that over time the movement had become popularized and radicalized, we are confronted with a question: who were the people involved, besides the urban and educated transport workers? The spatial spread of the *vergaderingen* eastward over the years also demonstrates an important finding about the composition of the people who attended communist *vergaderingen* and joined the movement. The following is the *vergaderingen* map of 1925 showing that outside of Semarang and Djepara-Rembang, new centers in the East emerged, that is Kediri, Soerabaja, and Malang.



Map 20. The number of *openbare vergaderingen* by residencies in 1925.



Map 21. Sugar factories in Java in 1937 (black dots were factories working in 1937 and white dots were those that no longer operate in 1937)[6]

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[6] W.A.I.M. Segers, *Volume 8: Manufacturing Industry 1870-1942*, *Changing Economy in Indonesia: A Selection of Statistical Source Material from the Early 19th Century up to 1940,* ed. P. Boomgaard (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute (KIT), 1991), 224.

As we compare it with the map of sugar factories in Java, both maps illuminate how those three residencies were in fact one of the centers of sugar factories and plantations. This map explains the important role of sugar workers in mobilizing the movement into rural plantation areas.

The significant involvement of sugar workers in the period is confirmed by the existence of an institutionalized surveillance mechanism through the formation of sugar syndicates and a state-owned Dactyloscopies Bureau. An article in *API* newspaper on January 29, 1926[7] reported a classified letter written by *Suikersyndicaat* (sugar syndicates) formed by sugar owners and managers to create an internal and classified regulation to surveil their workers. They asked the managerial level to cooperate with the Dactyloscopies Bureau, an office that kept photos and fingerprints of communist members in order to screen and identify their workers—or potential workers—who were communist members. They demanded that these workers to be watched especially "after working hours on Friday when they attended vergaderingen [*blenggandring blenggandringan*]." This finding demonstrates the involvement of sugar plantation workers in mobilizing the movements in rural plantations. This is important especially in light of the previous chapter where we discussed that the implementation of transport technologies to transport both indentured labors and the flow of commodities enabled the Indies to become one of the leading producers of world's sugar.[8] The need for the sugar

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[7] "Si Manis kontra si Merah!" (The Sweet against the Red), *Api,* Januari 29, 1926.
[8] Although India was the biggest producer, it consumed most of its sugar production domestically; therefore, the Indies became the biggest exporter of sugar in lieu of India. (See: Bosma, *Sugar plantation in India and Indonesia: industrial production, 1770-2010* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 162).

companies to surveil their workers meant that their involvement, which must not be miniscule, in the movement had become a threat.

The involvement of workers, including the railway workers and seamen that we discussed in the previous chapter, indicates how available transport networks and technologies facilitated the spread of the movement. The available railways that connected port cities with the hinterlands and the shipping lines and their regular schedules to and from the port cities in the Indies to other parts of the world made it possible for solidarity to spread across widespread geography. But, workers were not the only movers of the movement.

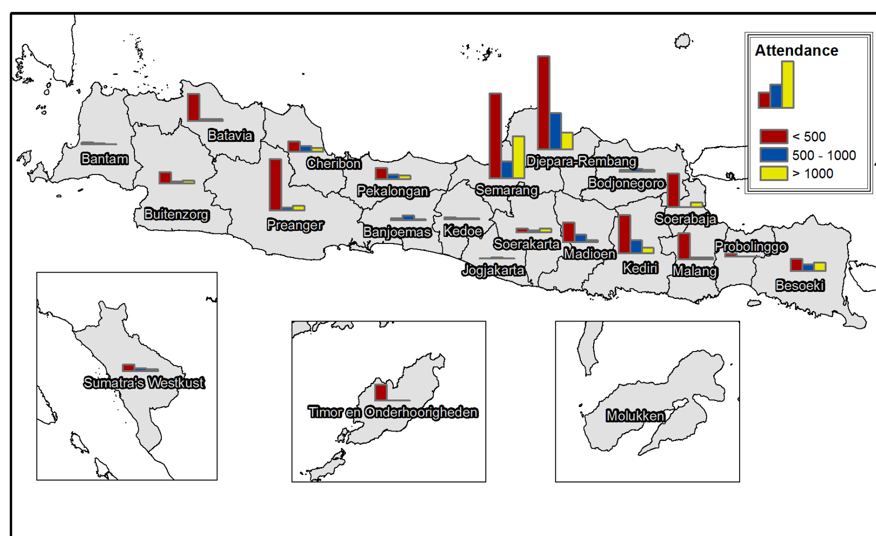
4.B Spatial and social characteristics of the movement

4.B.1 Attendance

The *openbare vergaderingen* reports usually included the number of people who attended the meetings. This information often specified the gender and the nationalities of the attendees. For example, in an *openbare vergadering* held by SI Semarang on May 8, 1921, the report said, "4000 people attended, also Baars [a Dutch communist leader who co-founded ISDV], and also Dutch and Chinese people as well as women." Based on the number of the attendees that I classified into several groups, i.e., "500 and fewer," "500-1000," and "1000 and more," most meetings were attended by 500 people or fewer.

Given what we have learned so far about radicalization and surveillance, it is important to recognize that over the years there was a shift toward more meetings and more participants, but also smaller meetings in terms of the numbers of people in attendance. The detail is as follows: 39.4% of *vergaderingen,* or a total of 341 meetings, were attended by 101-500 people, and 32.3%, or a total of 279 meetings, were attended

by fewer than 100 people. Additionally, 14.1% meetings were attended by 1,000-10,000 people. Out of that 14.1%, 98 meetings were attended by 1,001-3,000 people, 19 meetings by 3,001-5,000 people, and five meetings by 5,001-10,000 people. What can be inferred from this information is that most meetings, i.e. 71.7% of the total *vergaderingen* held, were attended by 500 people or fewer. This is likely because the meetings were usually held in houses, and if they were held in remote areas, big rooms that could hold more than 500 people might not be available—*openbare vergaderingen* could not be held in an open space area like parks, etc. (see chapter VII on policy).



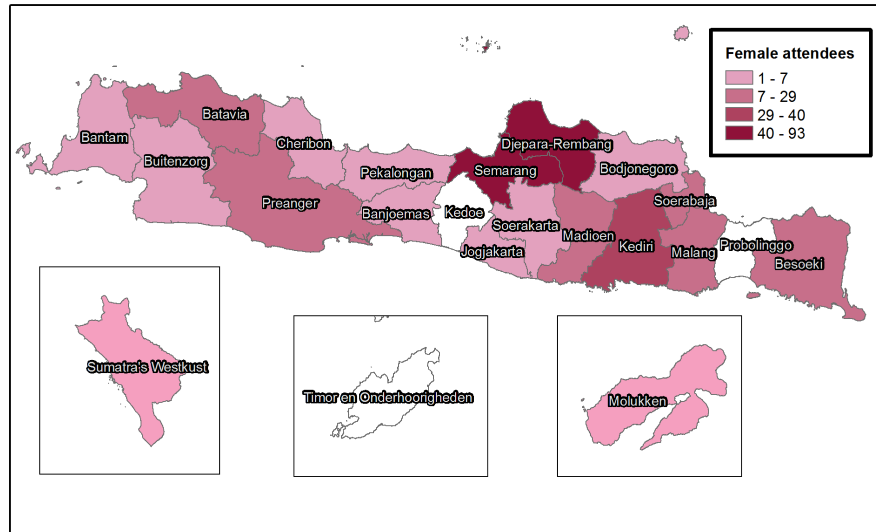
Map 22. The number of *openbare vergaderingen* based on attendance in different residencies

If we look at the above map, the meetings with the number of attendees that exceed 1,000 people took place in Semarang and Djepara-Rembang residencies, both big port metropolitan cities. In the meantime, meetings in other residencies were usually attended by fewer than 500 people.

A correlation run between the number of attendees and the sponsoring organization also demonstrates that meetings held by red wing (communist-leaning) organizations—Red Islamic Union, People's Union, and the Communist Party—tended

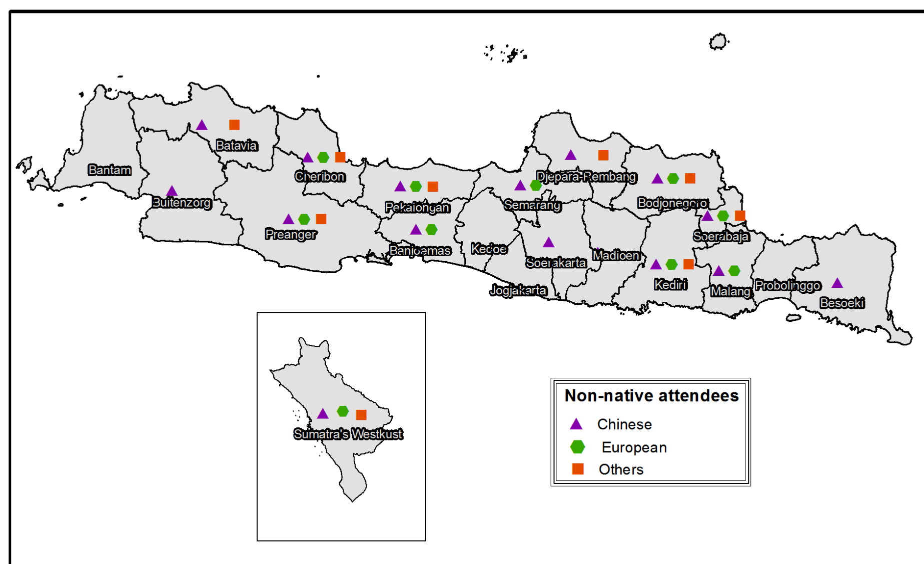
to be attended by fewer participants (449 people) than those sponsored by Sarekat Islam (the Islamic Union) (836 people), which was the name of the organization before it split into red wing and white wing in 1922. The communist meetings were attended by a much smaller number of people especially after the government put communism under its close watch, further revealing that the meetings were likely no longer held by main leaders who were by then under government surveillance. Instead, it suggests that the meetings were held in houses belonging to ordinary people, often times in remote, rural areas where large office buildings were not available. On the other hand, before the government ban and the split of the party, Sarekat Islam meetings were attended by a larger number of people and could occur more openly in office buildings and halls.

As the movement became more radicalized and more popular and the meetings became more frequent yet smaller, the composition of the people attending also became more diverse. In terms of the composition of attendees, women and non-indigenous people were frequent attendees. In the map below, we see that women attended most *vergaderingen* except those in Kedoe, Probolinggo, and Timor residencies; Semarang, Djepara-Rembang, Kediri, Soerabaja, Besoeki, Malang, Preanger, and Batavia residencies were the locations of at least 20 meetings in which women participated. Based on a correlation test run between women's attendance and year of event, it can be further concluded that women began to attend *openbare vergaderingen* more often from 1924 onward. Again, this strengthens the finding that the movement expanded in size as well as becoming more diverse after the 1923 government ban.



Map 23. The number of *openbare vergaderingen* in different residencies based on whether women attended the meetings

In the meantime, while people of other nationalities who lived and worked in the Indies—Dutch, European, Indian, Arab, and Chinese—often attended the meetings, Chinese people still dominated this demographic. Eighty-five meetings were attended by Chinese, compared to 15 by Europeans and 12 by people of other nationalities (India and Arab).



Map 24. The number of *openbare vergaderingen* in different residencies based on whether non-native people attended the meetings

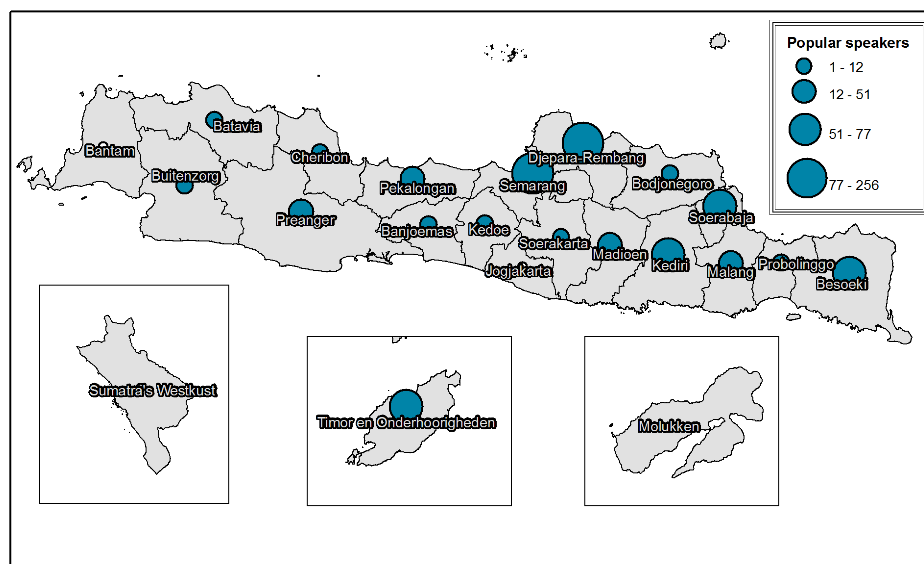
The involvement of women and non-indigenous people in *openbare vergaderingen* discloses two important points. First, unlike histories that often see anti-colonial resistance as eastern/the colonized people against western/the colonizers, it is clear that the Indonesian anti-colonial movement was supported by people of other nations, including people from the colonizers' nation. The involvement of Dutch people alongside native Indonesians, Chinese, and other Asians shows that the battle did not exclusively belong to the indigenous people. However, the reverse is also true: indigenous people could often be supporters of colonialism. As Anderson mentions, about 90% of government officials in the Dutch East Indies by 1931 were natives occupying positions in government offices, police institutions, and courts (see chapter I). What this means is that resistance in non-western societies against colonialism was not something triggered only by their identity as "non-western"—it was not merely the responses of "indigenous eastern" people against "western" imperialism. With the involvement of people of other nationalities in the early communist movement in this period, the movement spoke of anti-colonial resistance more as shared common interests across nationalities rather than simply as one indigenous political unity. Additionally, the involvement of women and of non-native nationals indicates that the movement built solidarity across different sex and nationalities. The next question, then, is whether this diversity is also reflected in the demography of the propagandists, i.e. the rank-and-file leaders.

4.B.2 Speakers

Because we want to see how the movement developed democratically, it is important to know if the speakers, and not just the attendees, also represented diverse groups. So, what was the composition of the rank-and-file leaders? Did it also include women and people

of other nationalities? To answer the first question, I gathered the names of speakers and chairpersons from the *vergaderingen* reports and processed them based on the frequency they spoke in and/or led a meeting. Based on 913 names of speakers and chairpersons, I found that about 69% spoke or led in one to two meetings, 18% in three to five meetings, 7% in 6 to ten meetings, 5% in 11-20 meetings, and fewer than 1% in 21-38 meetings. This means that it is likely that the propagandists were not just the people sent by the communist-related parties from the headquarter in Semarang, but instead were composed of ordinary people leading the debates and discussions.

I then processed the data differently by re-grouping the names of speakers into "popular speakers." Popular speakers referred to those who spoke in at least 10 meetings; non-popular speakers were those who spoke in less than 10 meetings. I came up with a total of 59 names who spoke in 18.4% of the meetings. I found that the number of meetings that were led by non-"popular speakers" was four times more than those led by the popular ones. This confirms the previous finding: the speakers of the meetings were not dominated by popular leaders, which further demonstrates that the meetings were participatory and democratic since a good proportion of people led the meetings.



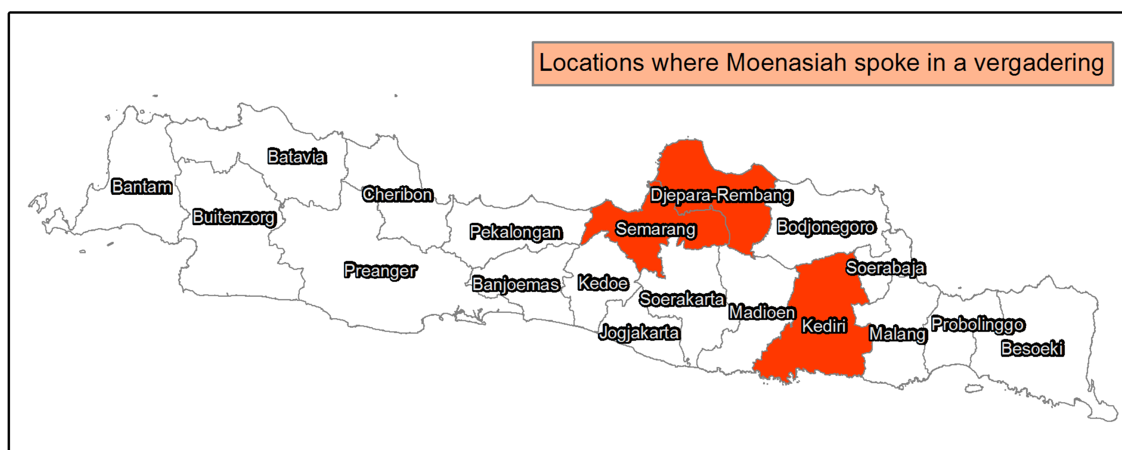
Map 25. The number of *openbare vergaderingen* in different residencies based on popular speakers

Turning the popular speakers data into a historical GIS map demonstrates that most "popular speakers" led meetings in Semarang, Djepara-Rembang, Preanger, Kediri, Soerabaja, Besoeki, and Timor. In the case of Timor residencies, all meetings were led by Christian M. Pandij, a Christian communist leader there. This shows that not all areas involved an active participation of ordinary people; in some areas, like Timor, the meetings were led by one person.

While the speakers were diverse, there were also some speakers who moved around, such as the CORP propagandists we discussed in the previous chapter. This means that there were people who took on a more leading role. Among these people who took an important role, it is surprising to learn that there were women who moved around. By doing the mapping, I was able to tie data otherwise scattered and hidden so as to show the existence of these particular instances within the movement.

While women in this period were often still seen as the property of their fathers, or, if they were married, of their husbands, this map shows that women in the movement

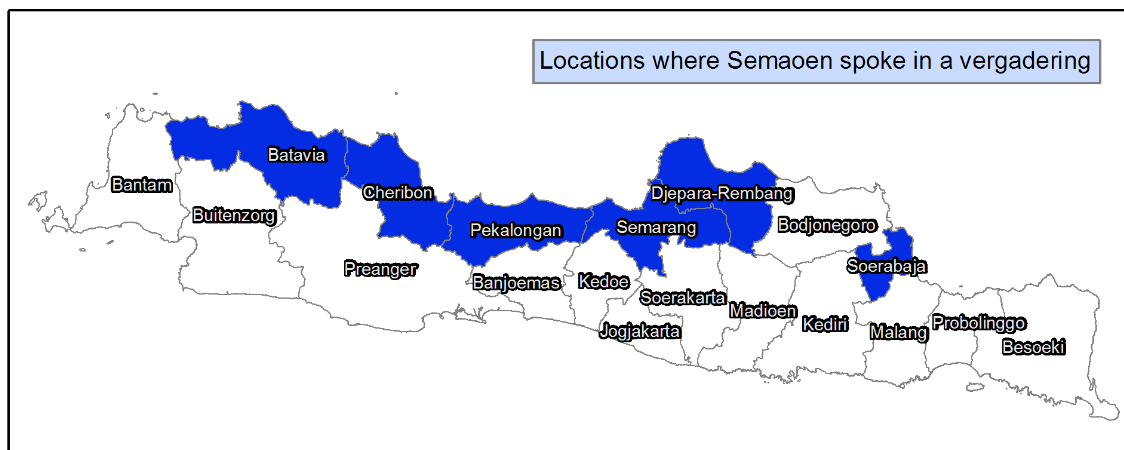
dared to travel around. One example is the following map that visually represents the movement of Ms. Moenasiah, a female propagandist, as a leader and a speaker in a meeting.



Map 26. Locations where Ms. Moenasiah spoke in *vergaderingen*

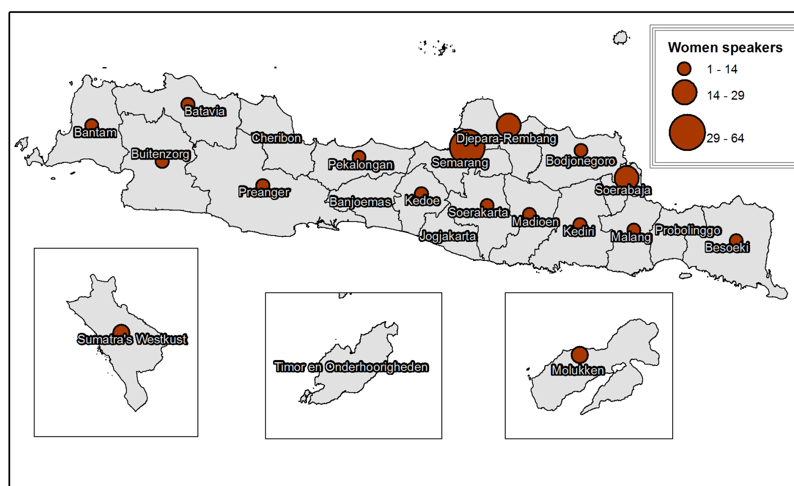
From a total of 17 meetings she led or spoke at, these meetings were held in three residencies, Semarang, Djepara-Rembang, and Kediri. Ms. Moenasiah lived in Semarang and, with easy access by train to Djepara-Rembang and Kediri, she could go to these neighboring residencies. It could be that Ms. Moenasiah was accompanied by her husband, but there is not enough data to support it.

A comparison of women's and men's mobility can be seen in the next map, which shows the locations where Semaoen, one of the main leaders, spoke in *vergaderingen*. Semaoen travelled across the island of Java, reaching as far as Batavia and Cheribon in West Java, Pekalongan, Djepara-Rembang, and Semarang in central Java, and Soerabaja in East Java. Compared to the movement of Ms. Moenasiah, Semaoen travelled to more distant areas than she did, but again the mobility limit for women was much greater at the time than for men.



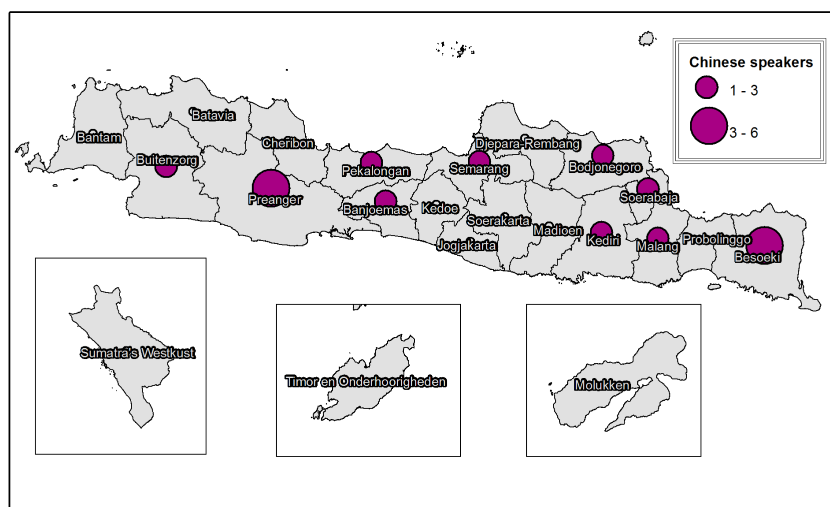
Map 27. Locations where Mr. Semaoen spoke in *vergaderingen*

In terms of female speakers, I found evidence of 93 women who spoke and led public meetings: 38 spoke in a meeting more than once. Based on the GIS map below, women speakers spoke at 198 meetings held in most residencies in Java and the Outer Islands, except in Cheribon, Banjoemas, Jogjakarta, Probolinggo, and Timor. In Java, Semarang, Djepara-Rembang, Soerabaja, Kediri, Batavia—all big cities—were the residencies where at least ten meetings were held that had women speakers. Outside of Java, Sumatra's Weskust held two meetings and Molukken held one meeting with women speakers.



Map 28. The number of *openbare vergaderingen* in different residencies based on female speakers

After the 1923 ban, we also witness an emergence of people of other nationalities who joined as speakers in meetings; the most among them were Chinese people. I found 17 names of Chinese people who led and spoke in *vergaderingen* held in Buitenzorg, Preanger, Pekalongan, Semarang, banjoemas, Kediri, Malang, Soerabaja, Besoeki, and Bodjonegoro. Outside of Java, there were no speakers of other nationalities involved.



Map 29. The number of *openbare vergaderingen* in different residencies based on Chinese speakers

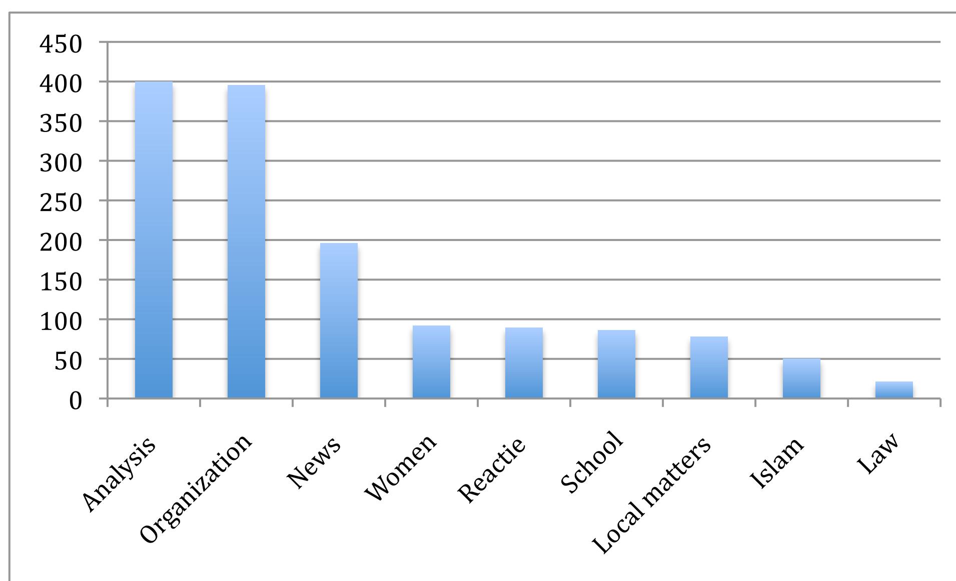
These findings on the involvement of women and people of other nationalities as leaders in the movement indicate that, as the communist movement grew, these people of different sexes and nationalities took a more leading role in the movement.

4.B.3 Mental landscapes of resistance

Another way to explain whether the movement was mobilized democratically from bottom top or hierarchically from the top of central communist party to the bottom is by looking at the topics discussed in *vergaderingen.* If topics sent from the formal central party dominated the meetings, this could indicate that the meetings were just held to expand the formal parties' interests rather than to serve the different interests of the

people mobilized. I classified the topics discussed into nine groups: analysis, organization, news, women, *reactie* (reaction), school, local matters, Islam, and law. "Organization" consists of topics related to formal parties, including vision, mission, structure of the organization, votes on leaders, and party motions. "Analysis" includes broad discussions on capitalism, class struggle, and oppression and exploitation. In "News," people discussed wars that were occurring at the time, news from Russia, China, and other colonized countries, reports on labor strikes in other countries, and local news on the movement. "Women" as a topic involved a discussion on women's emancipation, women's place in the movement, and the specific oppression and exploitation experienced by women. "*Reactie,*" one of the important vocabularies of the movement, involved a discussion on the counter-movement and actions led by people who did not agree with the movement. From the story of *reactie,* we can understand how anti-communist propaganda in the Indies emerged for the first time in this period. "School" includes discussions on education in capitalist society, the creation of Sarekat Islam schools, education in general, and the place of Islamic schools in the movement. "Local matters" is a specific discussion on problems faced by the people in their villages. "Law" comprises of the discussions on the changing policy and regulation affecting the movement. In "Islam," people debated the compatibility of the religion with communism.

The following graph provides us with the information on how the mental landscape of the resistance comprised of varied topics that were discussed and debated—from capitalism, organization, women, children and education, religion, to law.



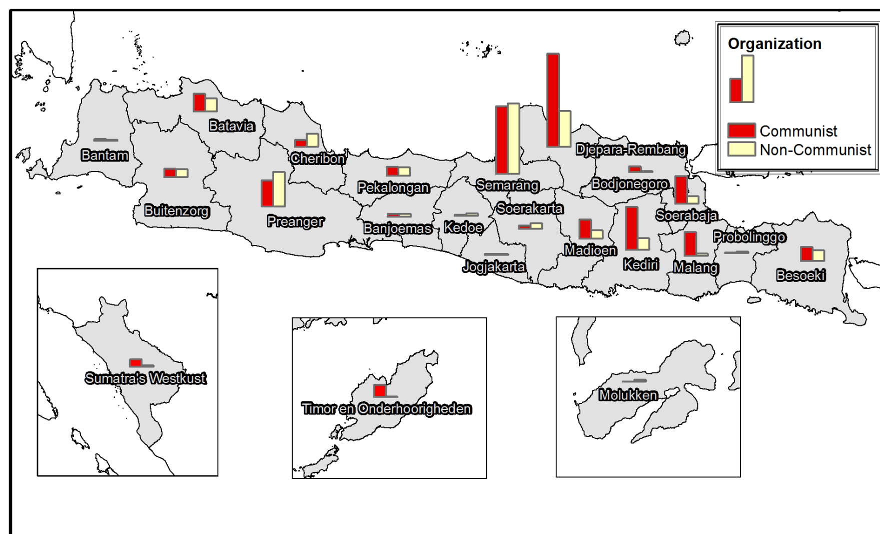
Graph 2. The number of topics discussed in *openbare vergaderingen*

Based on the aggregated number of the topics, "analysis" and "organization" were most frequently discussed in the meetings; about 400 meetings discussed these topics. "News" came next with 196 meetings that included discussion of international and domestic reports. Ninety-two meetings talked about women's issues in the movement; eighty-nine discussed anti-communist propaganda; eighty-six talked about the importance of education for communist cadres—children and adults; seventy-eight talked about local and immediate problems the people faced, such as a broken bridge, lack of rice production, etc.; fifty focused on Islam; and, twenty-one on law. It is important to note that a meeting could include discussion of several of these topics. What the information from the graph shows us is that while "analysis" and "organization" remained the important topics debated in the meetings, other topics on news, women, *reactie,* and education were also deemed important. Through meetings, the communist movement acted like an educational institution in which matters regarding organization and collective issues were debated and discussed on a daily basis. In this case, the movement

was mobilized democratically by including various matters relevant to the ordinary members. Unlike a popular understanding that communism and socialism have been concerned only about class struggle or formal party building, the breadth of the topics discussed in the meetings reveals that the widespread scope of the movement was not just manifested geographically but also mentally in the topics people discussed.

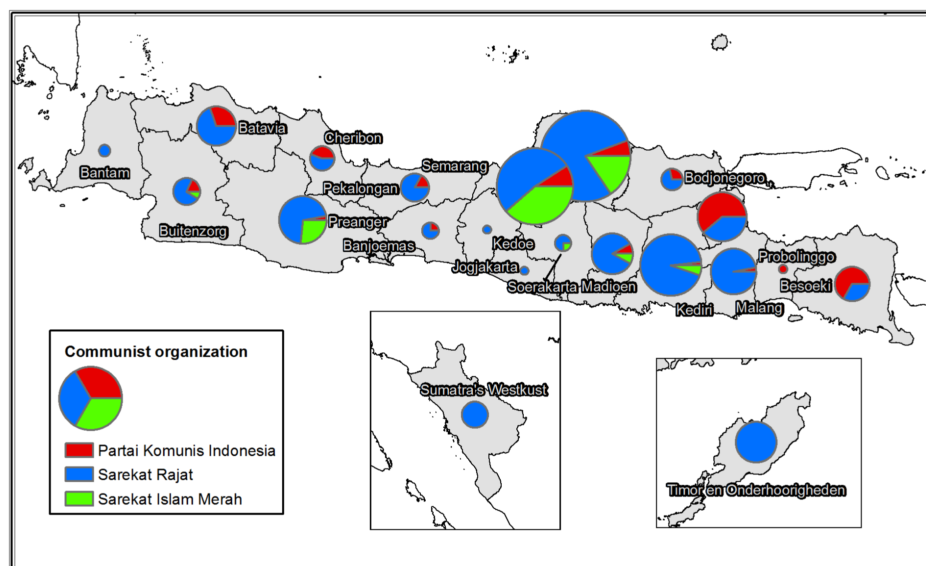
4.C Mapping collective organizations

So far we have learned that both the participants and the topics are diverse, but what about the collective organization that represented these people in the movement? A study on the names of the organizations holding the meetings indicates that the communist movement in this period was created by a network of several different organizations. These include "Sarekat Islam" (Islamic Union, SI), "Sarekat Islam Merah" (Red Islamic Union, SI Merah), "Sarekat Rakjat" (People's Union, SR), "Partai Komunis Indonesia" (Indonesian Communist Party, PKI), "Sarekat Islam Perempuan" (Women's Islamic Union), "Sarekat Rakjat Perempuan" (Women's People's Union), and various labor unions, including VSTP. It is important to note that before the split of the red and white wings of SI, all branches of SI bore the names "SI" only. After the split circa 1922-1923, the communist-leaning branches changed their names into "SI Merah" and then "SR."



Map 30. The number of *openbare vergaderingen* in different residencies based on communist vs. non-communist organizations

The map above shows that, with the exception of Preanger and Semarang, most meetings were held by communist-leaning organizations--SI Merah, SR, and PKI. In fact, out of the total meetings reported, SI meetings comprised only 19%. The rest were run by the communist organizations. Within the communist organizations, the number of *openbare vergaderingen* held by the communist SR was the highest, at 44%, and meetings held by PKI, the communist party, was actually low, only 8.7%. What this shows us is that PKI was not the main mover in the communist movement.



Map 31. The number of *openbare vergaderingen* in different residencies based on communist organizations

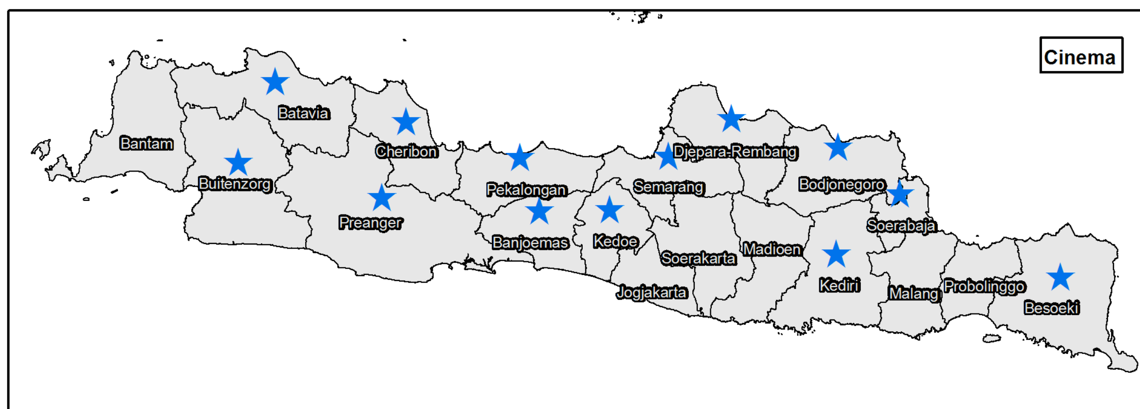
To confirm the limited role of PKI in mobilizing *vergaderingen*, I ran GIS mapping on the number of *vergaderingen* held only by the communist-leaning organizations, i.e. SI Merah, SR and PKI, and the map above reveals that most meetings were actually held by the former SI branches, which by then bore the new names SI Merah and SR (This is with the exception of Soerabaja, Besoeki, and Probolinggo). With the exception of Surabaja and Besoeki, which became the basis of PKI, my findings suggest that the early communist movement in the Indies was not mobilized by PKI alone, but that in fact, its success is owed to the communist-leaning SI networks. In other words, while PKI membership was small and centered around a small group of leaders, the massive following of the movement came from the SI branches that had shifted its direction by uniting with communism. This confirms further that the movement was not a product of centralized PKI propaganda. While I use the name “communist movement” for this movement, it does not mean that it was purely communist. In fact, the nuances

and varied cultures of resistance that it produced might be better described in terms used by Shiraishi, who calls the period “an age in motion.”

4.D Occupy space

Reflecting on how the communist movement became bigger while the meetings became more frequent but smaller, an examination of the spaces used to hold the meetings can further confirm my findings. The *openbare vergaderingen* were held in various spaces, including “private house” (283) “village” (135), “office” (78), “cinema” (56), “school” (47), “private building” (26), and “*stamboel*/art theater” (7). It is not clear where exactly the locations of the meetings when “village” was used to describe the location. However, given that the government was not in support of communism, it was unlikely that it was held in a *balai desa* (village meeting hall). This means that the meetings in “villages” most likely occupied private houses. The combined number of “village” and “private house” would then generate a figure of 66% in which meetings were held in people’s houses, which means that ordinary people mobilized the movement by opening their houses for meeting and organizing.

While private houses could only host some hundred attendees, it was in places like cinemas, schools, *stamboel*/art theaters, and offices that meetings with a larger number of participants were held, further revealing the mundaneness of the movement. In cinema spaces, for example, the number of the participants could range between 3,000 to 10,000 people.



Map 32. Residencies in which *openbare vergaderingen* were held in cinema[9]

Cinemas usually belonged to Chinese people, and the fact that they allowed the movement to use these spaces for meetings once again supports the previous finding that the movement was not mobilized only by indigenous people. The map above is useful to show us the existence of cinemas all over Java and how movie theaters became the main locations that could offer space for a large number of attendees.

Besides cinemas, people also used school buildings for meetings. These were SI schools built in recent years by the communist movement (see chapter V for more discussion on SI schools). The use of SI school buildings as spaces for public meetings reveals the widespread existence of SI schools, as the following map shows.

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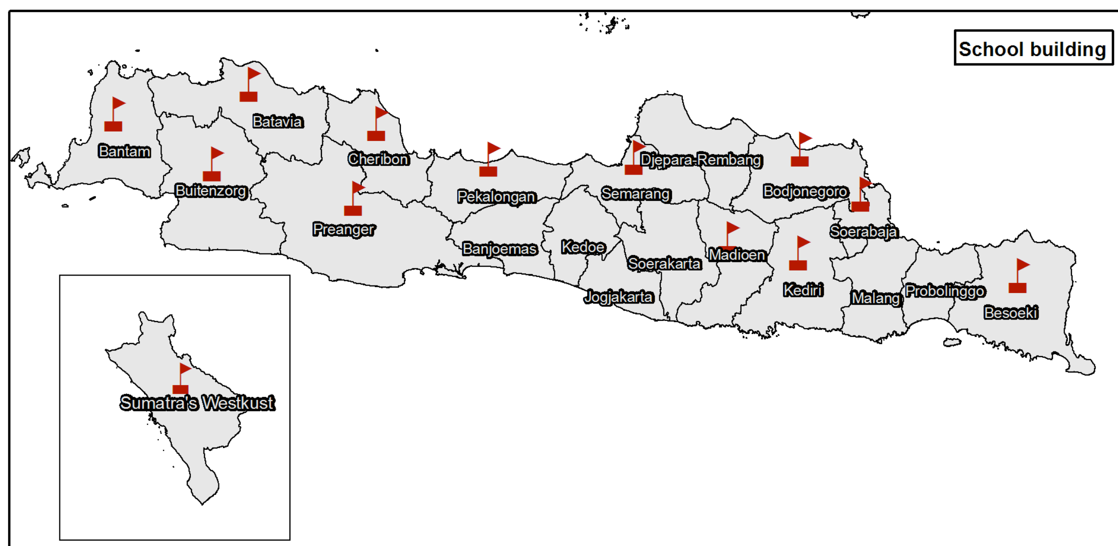
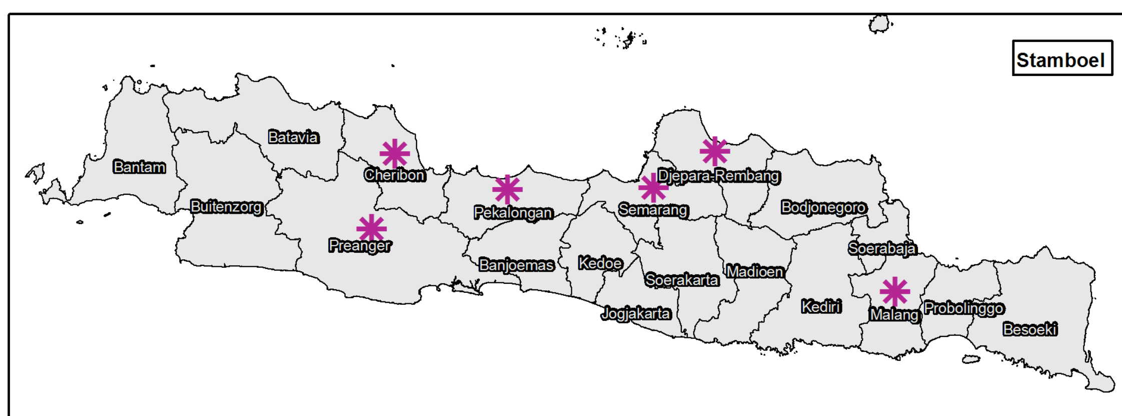
[9] There is an indication that cinema also played a role in the expansion of Russian communist propaganda as reported by Sir Hesketh Bell, former British governor of Uganda, Northern Nigeria, Leeward Islands and Mauritius, who reported his observation of cinema and communist ideology upon visiting Java. More research remains to be done on this. Sir Hesketh Bell, "The Cinema in the East: Factor in Spread of Communism," *The Times* (London, England), Issue 44380, September 18, 1926, p. 9; *Foregin Colonial Administration in the Far East* (London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1928). Also see: Dafna Ruppin, *Komedi bioscoop: the emergence of movie-going in colonial indonesia 1896-1914* ([Place of publication not identified], John Libbey & Co Ltd, 2016); Misbach Yusa Biran, *Sejarah Film 1900-1950: Bikin Film di Jawa* (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu dan Dewan Kesenian Jakarta, 2009/1993).



Map 33. Residencies in which *openbare vergaderingen* were held in SI school buildings

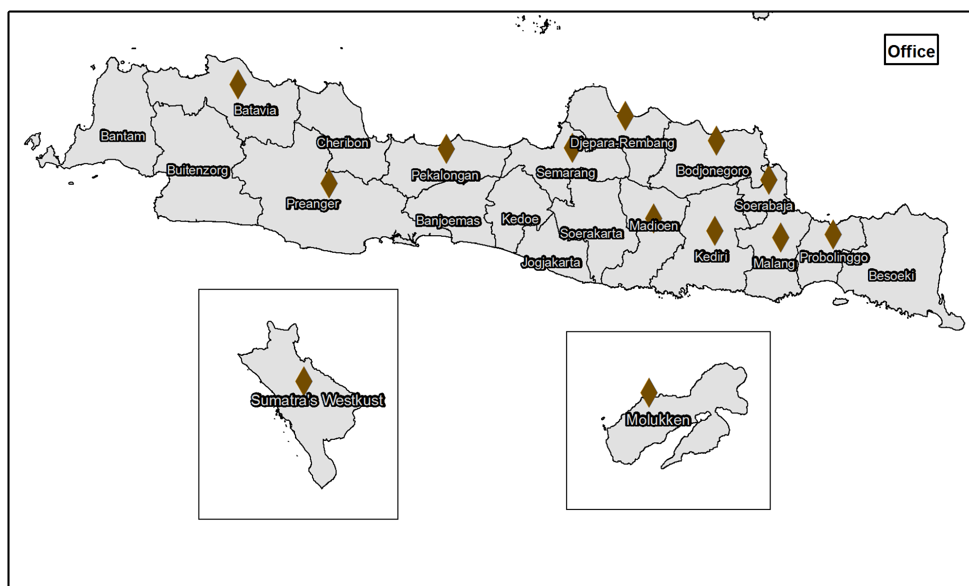
In this map, we can see that SI schools existed in Bantam, Buitenzorg, Batavia, Preanger, Cheribon, Pekalongan, Semarang, Madioen, Kediri, Bodjonegoro, Soerabaja, Besoeki, and Sumatra's Westkust. This is not an exhaustive list, and further data from other sources are needed to have a more complete picture of the existence of SI schools.



Map 34. Residencies in which *openbare vergaderingen* were held in *Stamboel*

The next two spaces occupied to hold *openbare vergaderingen* that could accommodate a large number of attendees were *Stamboel,* which designates art theaters. The map above shows the existence of *Stamboel* in different parts of Java: Cheribon, Preanger, Pekalongan, Semarang, Djepara-Rembang, and Malang. *Stamboel* was an important and

popular kind of theater at the time and this map reveals how scattered was its existence then.[10]



Map 35. Residencies in which *openbare vergaderingen* were held in offices

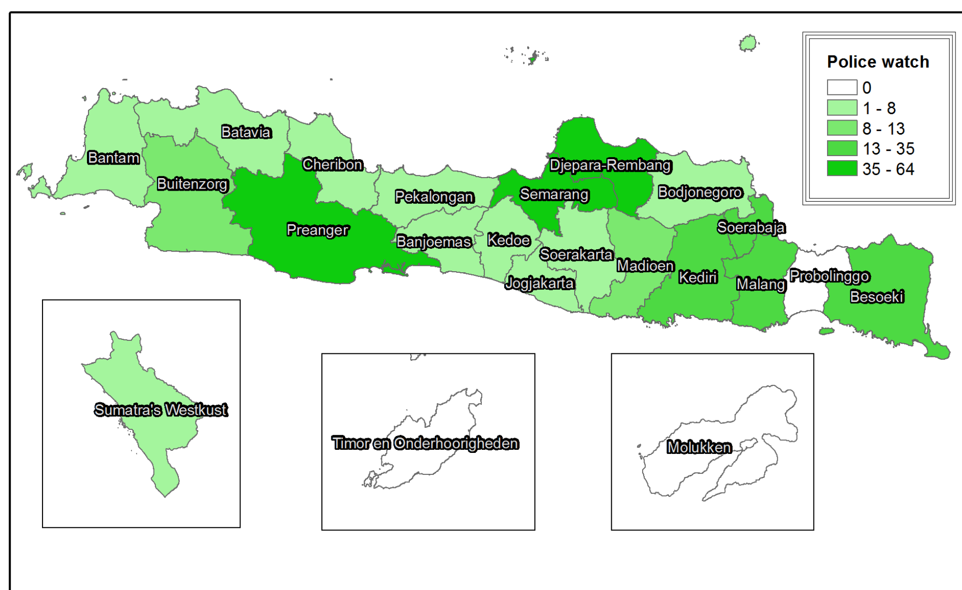
The political parties usually held meetings in their offices, and the above map shows the existence of those offices across Java, in Sumatra's Westkust, and in Molukken. All these maps showing cinemas, offices, schools, and *stamboels* as "spaces of contention" at the same time indicates the movement's mundane and ordinary quality. In other words, unlike formal party congresses that took place in halls and office buildings, the communist movement occupied ordinary spaces in people's lives that normally also functioned as places for education, entertainment, and work.

4.E Spatial politics of the countermovement from the government

Another important aspect of *openbare vergaderingen* reports is that they contain information on whether or not police watched the meetings. The following map shows

[10] More on *Stamboel*: Matthew Isaac Cohen, *Komedie Stamboel Popular Theater in Colonial Indonesia, 1891-1903* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006).

how widespread and coordinated police watch was. According to the reports, most meetings were watched by police, with the notable exclusions of Probolinggo, Timor, and Molukken.



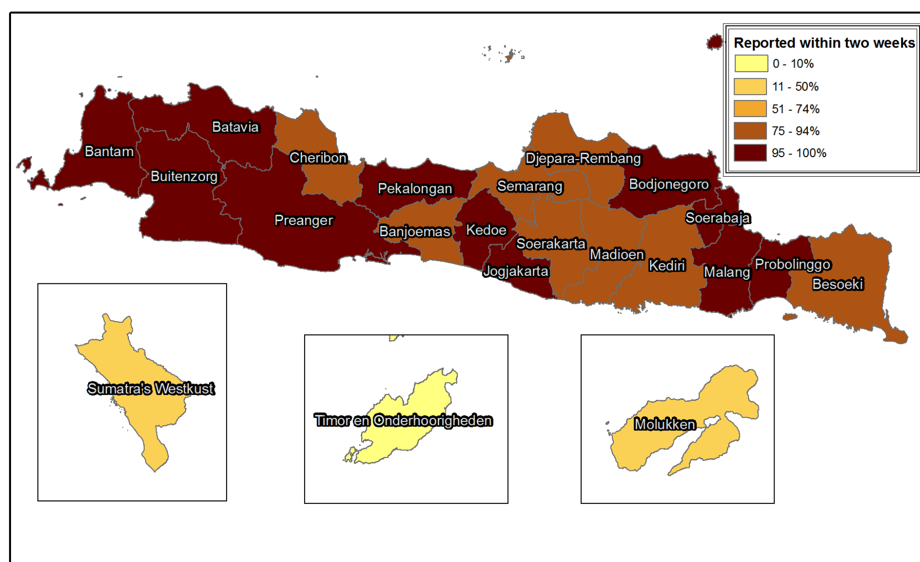
Map 36. The number of *openbare vergaderingen* in different residencies based on whether police watch occurred

Most of the police observations occurred in meetings held in Preanger (41 meetings), Semarang (51), Djepara-Rembang (64), Madioen (13), Kediri (35), Malang (20), Soerabaja (26), and Besoeki (22). It is important to keep in mind this information about how widespread police surveillance was when we discuss the repression of public meetings and the extent of anti-communist harassment prior to the communist revolt in 1926 (see chapter VII on policy).

4.F Compression of time and space

The last important finding obtained from GIS mapping is information on how long it took for the reports on *openbare vergaderingen* to reach *Sinar Hindia* headquarters in Semarang and to be announced in the newspaper. A report could take between a minimum of less than one day to a maximum of 209 days. A length of four days was the

mode, the number occurring most frequently, and on average it took 7.5 days for news of a meeting to be reported in the newspaper.



Map 37. The length it took for *openbare vergaderingen* report to be reported in *Sinar Hindia* based on residencies

According to the map above, meetings held in Java were reported in *Sinar Hindia* within two weeks after they were held. However, it took a bit longer for meetings in the Outer Islands, notably Sumatra's Westkust, Timor, and Molukken, to be reported. Only 42% of *vergaderingen* in Sumatra's Westkust, 6% in Timor, and 50% in Molukken were reported within two weeks. This information confirms how communication between places in the Indies was relatively quick, making it possible for coordinated trans-island and trans-region actions to occur.

4.G Conclusion

The GIS maps of *vergaderingen* are a window for us to look at the mundane processes of the making of the Indonesian communist movement in time and space. They also provide us with information on the mental, social, spatial, and political composition of the movement by giving us a visual representation of the exact mapping of the movement

and hence the demography of the people in the movement. The visual representation is an important and innovative finding in its own right, as it reveals one vital point about the making of solidarity in the movement. As we've seen, solidarity was built not just across widespread geographical locations, but also across different identities, including women and people of other nationalities. This means the movement was mobilized not through a leader-centric or a party-centric development, but through a democratic participation of ordinary lower class people. The democratic participation was effected not through an abstract, static, isolated, and homogenous form of class struggle, but rather through the inclusion of people from different regions, nationalities, religions, and genders. The movement was therefore non-parochial in imagining its understanding of solidarity and liberation. This finding reveals to us that the movement was able to create solidarity and struggle that could be universalized by incorporating the ordinary particulars as it spread and expanded its ideas of anti-colonial resistance.

CHAPTER V

OPENBARE VERGADERINGEN: POLITICS IS ORDINARY

> "Isn't this proof that it is not only religions of the prophets that can save mankind, but that ordinary people too can control their own fortune?" (*Sinar Hindia,* April 10, 1924)

5.A A people with means

If there is one thing capitalism affects in us, it is our sense of community and belonging. Scholars have grappled with the question of how a community, a collective of ordinary people, the subaltern, and the public can empower themselves in the face of (colonial) capitalist encroachment in cultural and social aspects of our daily lives. From Ferdinand Tönnies's contrast of *gemeinschaft* (community) and *gesellschaft* (society), British cultural studies' focus on ordinary people versus the elites, postcolonial studies' concern with the subaltern versus the authoritative voice, and the Frankfurt School's concept of the public sphere,[1] the idea of what constitutes a people has been defined differently.

I argue that a way to understand the creation of a community/public/collective is in fact by looking at the communicative means that produce a specific shared identity, ideas, and knowledge of that community. In other words, the creation of a collective, which implies a shared consciousness and identity, depends on the existence of its means of communication, and these means of communication, in turn, determine the social character of the collective. This chapter narrates the processes by which a shared community and solidarity among ordinary

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[1] Ferdinand Tönnies and José Harris, *Community and civil society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964); Vivek Chibber, *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital* (London: Verso, 2012); Jürgen Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere: an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1989). Other works on this question: James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven [u.a.]: Yale Univ. Press, 2000); James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven [u.a.]: Yale Univ. Press, 2009.

people in the communist movement in the Dutch Indies was produced through the constant production of their means of resistance: *openbare vergaderingen.*

Politics is ordinary is an exploration of a communicative means of resistance to understand the making of politics, i.e. the common cultures of resistance, in its ordinary setting by ordinary people in their ordinary lives. The concept comes from Raymond Williams's "Culture is Ordinary" (1958),[2] in which he argues against the idea that culture belongs only to the elites and/or to the moralists of a given society. Williams's explication of culture as ordinary responds to and challenges a way of viewing people as a "mass" that has curiously shared by both the Marxists and the Leavisites in his era.

This chapter takes inspiration from Williams by understanding the production of new political culture, thought, and art in two ways. First, a new politics is produced through interaction, negotiation, and re-interpretation of the old ("known meanings and directions") and the new ("new observations and meanings").[3] The contact between the two, found in texts, ideas, and practices, unearths how new political cultures manifest both the traditional and the creative aspects of human lives and how new resources are used "to make good common culture."[4] Therefore, politics is common, ordinary, and shared. If we take this perspective, then instead of seeing a movement only through the eyes of a few leaders and understanding its development as a top-down process—as an attempt to influence people from the top of formal parties—we are able to see politics as participatory, as experienced and produced in the ordinary and mundane setting of its producers. The desire for resistance is thus ordinary: while it does involve the elites, the state, and the government, it cannot be separated from the mundane lived experiences of the

[2] Raymond Williams, "Culture is ordinary," in *The Everyday Life Reader,* ed. Ben Highmore (London: Routledge, 2002), 91-100.
[3] Ibid., 93.
[4] Ibid., 97.

people. The "lived politics" of resistance is therefore not only found in palaces, offices, battlegrounds, and town halls, but also in what are traditionally seen as "non-political" settings: in the home, the family, song, fashion, language, and art.

Its important to remember, however, that ordinary is not necessarily a positive thing. We know that the organization and reproduction of capitalist system are manifested as relations of capitalist exploitation not only economically but also socially and culturally. In these relations, capitalist ideology governs the organization of daily lives in even the most mundane and ordinary areas such as entertainment, comedy, art, amusement, and language.[5] Some of the terms within Marxism that are useful in unearthing this operation are "false consciousness," "hegemony," and "ideological state apparatus."[6] In Williams's expansion of Gramsci's concept of hegemony, he explicates that hegemony is lived and produced in a continuous struggle[7] and therefore alternative and emergent politics are equally present in the process of the struggle itself. To counter the ordinary operation of (colonial) capitalist ideology and to differentiate it from the ordinary making of resistance to it, Williams focuses on exploring the idea of ordinary by identifying *the actors*: who, he asks, were the conscious makers of the ordinary politics?

This is the reason why the subjects in this chapter are women and children. I want to show how the people who have been underrepresented in the historiography of communism in Indonesia (if not more generally) were active historical agents who played a vital role in

[5] In 1944, Horkheimer and Adorno explains this operation in their seminal work "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception," in Max Horkheimer, Theodor W. Adorno, and Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, *Dialectic of enlightenment: philosophical fragments* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002).

[6] Antonio Gramsci and Quintin Hoare, and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (New York: International Publishers, 1972); Louis Althusser, *Lenin and philosophy, and other essays* (Delhi: Aakar Books, 2006).

[7] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 112.

mobilizing the movement. Their participation reveals the "ordinary" characteristics of the movement.

Shifting from the bigger-picture focus on transport networks as conditions of mobility, as well as GIS maps as windows on the social, mental, and political makeup of the movement, I will now explore the production of the movement from the personal experiences of the ordinary people. In that exploration, I ask how communist cultures of resistance emerged out of the lived experiences of these people and how, in turn, this new culture was embedded into and changed the cultural structure of their ordinary lives. This chapter presents the *ordinary politics* of this communist movement by exploring *openbare vergaderingen* in three rubrics: as entertainment, as educational institutions, and as cultures of defiance.

5.B *Openbare vergaderingen* as entertainment

It was the afternoon of November 4, 1923. Some people were busy decorating the office building in Gendong village, Semarang, where an *openbare vergadering* would be held that night. Photos of Lenin, Marx, Semaoen, Tan Malaka, Sneevliet, Sun Yat-sen, and Rosa Luxemburg were hung around the center of the room on the bamboo beams supporting the roof. Beneath them, rows of chairs had been neatly set out. Some potted green plants were placed in front of the tables on the podium, which had been adorned with a red cloth. Red flags with hammer and sickle symbols ornamented the walls.

Some people started to gather in front of the building and chatted while waiting for others to come. From Djoewana, a neighboring town, the S.J.S train (*Semarang-Djoewana Stoomtram Maatschappij/Tramway Company)* heading toward Semarang was full of men and women planning to attend the meeting. The men wore red ties, and the women wore red *kebaja* (Javanese traditional clothing). A group of peasants travelled on foot from the sugar plantations

in the northeast of Semarang, each bringing a torch to light their way home later in the night. As the sun set, some 4,000 people from around Semarang and the neighboring towns and plantations had filled the building. Sitting in the front rows were several government officials and police, there to keep a close watch on the meeting, as well as reporters from various newspapers.

Fifteen minutes before the *vergadering* started, children of the Semarang Sarekat Islam school entertained the attendees by singing in a choir, "wearing red pants and white shirts, standing in line singing red songs that attracted the hearts of the viewers."[8] Right at 6 p.m., Ms. Moenasiah, the chair of the women's branch of Semarang Red SI, opened the meeting by tapping a gavel. She explained the agenda of the meeting, and as she invited the people not to stay silent "like the *blangkon* people" (*blangkon* is a Javanese hat worn by the aristocrats), the attendees laughed. She then invited Mr. Jasin to speak about the exile of Semaoen. As the night wore on, different speakers took turns leading the discussion, from Mr. Soemantri on the banning of *vergaderingen*, to Ms. Djoeinah on capitalist exploitation, Mr. Nawawi Arief on Islam, and Ms. Soepijah on women. Several attendees from the audience occasionally raised their hands to ask questions so challenging that the rest, wanting to hear more, called out loudly, "debate, debate, debate!" At times, when a speaker talked about the people's suffering under colonialism, the attendees shouted in support; when another speaker gave hopeful remarks about the promise of communism, the audience members simultaneously clapped their hands and shouted, "long live communism!" At 9:25 p.m., chairperson Ms. Moenasiah tapped the gavel again, signaling the end of the meeting. Together, everyone stood up and sang *Marianna* and *Internationale* before heading home.[9]

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[8] "Propaganda vergadering Serikat Ra'jat" ('Propaganda meeting of People's Union), *Sinar Hindia,* July 24, 1924.
[9] Reconstructed from various descriptions of *openbare vergaderingen* reported in *Sinar Hindia.*

This reconstruction of a typical scene of an *openbare vergadering*, as reported in *Sinar Hindia* newspaper, provides us with a vivid example of how *vergaderingen* had become a common and ordinary aspect of the people's mundane lives, and how, in this sort of setting, a common identity and a shared collective community was built by members and sympathizers of the communist movement. Throughout this chapter, I will frequently refer to this account as I unpack the manifestations of the resistance politics in the movement.

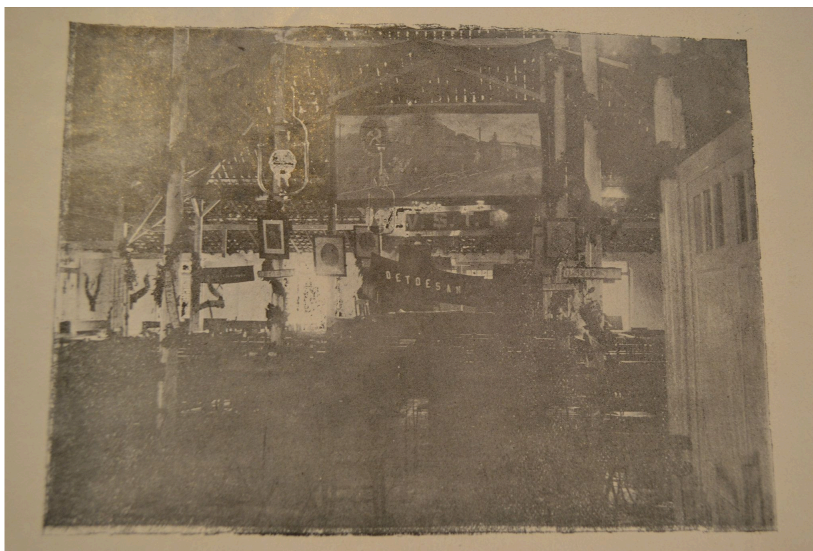

Photo 7. Office of S.I. Gendong, Semarang, 1923. We can see photos were hung and (red) clothes decorated the bamboos.[10]

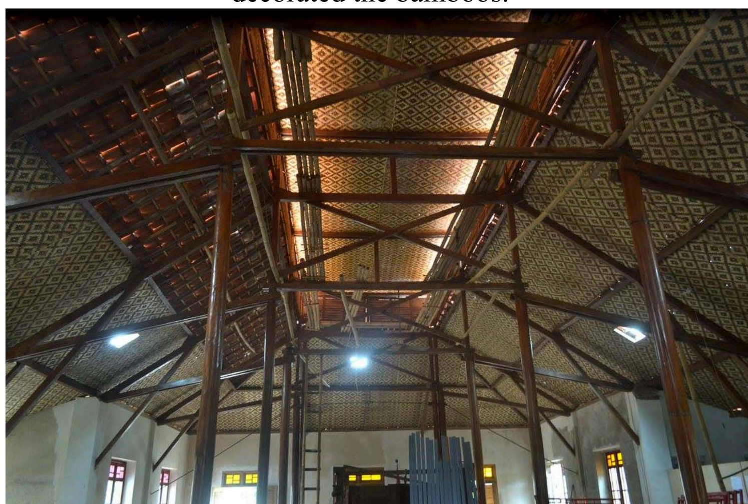

Photo 8. The office of S.I. Gendong is now preserved as a historical landmark. The inside—bamboo roof—is still maintained.[11]

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[10] Collectie Documentatiebureau voor Overzees Recht, Documentatiebur, Overzees Recht, Call no. 2.20.6. No. 144, National Archives of the Netherlands, The Hague, The Netherlands.

Photo 9. Female members of *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (PKI) took a photo together with a communist symbol, hammer and sickle.[12]

Politics is ordinary because *openbare vergaderingen* were, first and foremost, a form of entertainment. They were forums that appealed to the simple human enjoyment of comedy, beauty, and creativity. Discussions on communism were conducted in the open, instead of in secret, with songs and decorative adornments, affecting participants' sense of arts and fashion. Indeed, at a time when electricity and modern mass media, like TV and radio, were nonexistent, getting together after a long day of work in plantations, factories, workshops, and homes created a sense of enjoyment for the people, especially given that they gathered to discuss matters relevant to their own suffering as *kromo* (lower class) people. The meetings gave them a clear sense of hope and a feeling of belonging to a community in which their very own existence—despite being lower class and uneducated—mattered.

[11] Photo courtesy of Rukardi Achmadi, taken in 2015.
[12] Thanks to Martijn Eickhoff for sharing this photo he took from Marx-Engels Forum in Berlin, Germany in 2015. This photo depicting the female members of PKI seems to be coming from PKI's 1920-1926/7 period, rather than post-independence PKI.

To think of politics as a form of entertainment therefore opens up a different understanding of resistance. Instead of thinking of resistance in terms of propaganda or warfare, seeing resistance as entertainment shows how it is produced even in the realms of feelings and sensations. In other words, resistance changed people's senses, consciousness, and feelings in taken-for-granted areas like language, relationships, friendship, and art. In that process, songs, art, and rituals were such important parts of this movement that they became political.

5.B.1 Songs

Indeed, songs[13] became important cultural expressions of the communist movement. Through meetings, people learned to memorize and sing different communist songs, which were institutionalized as an important part of the movement. Just as in the *vergadering* described above, meetings usually began and ended with all of the attendees standing and singing "red songs," which became an important part of the *vergadering* agenda and was replicated whenever a *vergadering* was held. Taking part in the movement meant participating in a meeting, and attending a meeting exposed participants to these songs. Therefore, it was not a surprise that people knew the following songs by heart: "Internationale", "Darah Ra'jat" (people's blood), "Sair Kemerdikaan" (verses of liberation), "Bendera Merah" (red flag), "Perlawanan" (resistance), "Barisan Moeda" (young troop), "Enam Djam Bekerja" (six working hours), "Meiviering" (May day celebration), "Proletar," "Socialisme," "Hidjo-Hidjo" (the green), "Roode Garde" (red guard), and "Marianna."

The above songs came from various places: some were composed by Indonesians themselves, but some were translated and adapted from foreign songs. Take "L'Internationale" as an example. As a socialist song originally written in French, the first time the song was

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[13] On songs and politics in Indonesia: Steven Farram, "*Ganyang!* Indonesian Popular Songs from the Confrontation Era, 1963-1966," in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 170 (2014): 1-24; Harry Poeze, "Songs as a Weapon" (working paper, KITLV, Leiden, The Netherlands, 2013).

translated into Malay was by Soewardi Soerjaningrat, also known as Ki Hadjar Dewantara, during his exile in the Netherlands in 1913 a few years before the communist movement emerged in the Indies. However, soon after the development of communism, the song was adopted to be one of the communist movement's anthems. While "Internationale" was a translation, "Enam Djam Bekerdja" (six working hours) was invented by railway workers during a strike demanding a cut in their working hours.[14] This process of translation, adaptation, and invention shows that the movement's cultural expressions, such as songs, were products of transnational cultural contacts as well as political conflicts.

This idea of transnational co-production of cultural expression can be understood further by analyzing the lyrical content of the songs. "Marianna" is a good example.

Marianna	**Marianna**
Saja Marianna, Proletar. Namakoe telah tersiar. Saja memakai topi merah. Tandanja kaoem merdika. Saja anaknja kaoem rendah. Djikalau kita merdika ia 'kan djadi soeamikoe, jang berani mempihak akoe. Mari, Marianna! Pimpinlah kita, toeloeng doenia dari penindas, bikinlah kita merdika!!	I am Marianna, the Proletar. My name has been known. I wear a red hat. The sign of free people. I am the child of poor people. When we are free, I will take as my husband he Who dares to be on my side. Come on, Marianna! Lead us, help the world From the oppressors, make us free!!
Hai, toekang besi jang bekerdja dalam boemi ta' liat tjahja dan kau, jang kerdja di laoetan, kau tani, penggarap sawah! Toean kamoe, lintah daratan printah kau pertjaja Allah, Sebab ia hidoep di Soerga Tapi kau hidoep di neraka. Mari, Marianna! Pimpinlah kita, toeloeng doenia dari penindas, bikin merdikalah kita.	Hi, blacksmith who works inside the earth without light and you, who works in the sea, you peasant, who works in the paddy field! Your lord, a leech commands you to believe in Allah [God], because he lives in heaven but you live in hell. Come on, Marianna! Lead us, help the world From the oppressors, make us free!!

[14] Ramelan, "Toedjoeh atau enam Djam?" (Seven or six hours?), *Sinar Hindia,* April 29, 1924; "enam djam bekerdja" (Six working hours), *Sinar Hindia,* April 26, 1924.

Roemahkoe, o, kaoem proletar Telah lama 'mat terbongkar. kau akan makan sama sama, bila datang persamaan. Saja reboet wadjib sama boeat laki dan perempoean. Demikianlah kita dirikan Negeri damai, kema'moeran. Mari, Marianna! Pimpinlah kita, toeloeng doenia dari penindas, bikinlah kita merdika!! *From:* Sinar Hindia*, Saptoe, 16 Oktober 1920.*	My house, o, the proletariat has long been destroyed. You will eat together, when there comes equality. My struggle should be the same for both men and women. That's how we build A peace, prosperous nation. Come on, Marianna! Lead us, help the world From the oppressors, make us free!! *From:* Sinar Hindia*, Saturday, October 16 1920*

This song depicts Marianna as an emancipated woman who was hailed as a leader in a movement against the oppressors. Notice also how the song is saturated with communist terms and language, e.g. "Proletar," "free people," "poor people," "blacksmith," "peasants," and "struggle," introducing and familiarizing the common people who participated in the movement with the language of the movement.

The song also inspired a vivid idea of resistance for the ordinary people. "Marianna" was adapted from a French song "Marianne," which was a famous female symbol of the French revolution.[15] By drawing inspiration from the French revolutionary character and indigenizing her through the mix of communist words and Islamic vocabulary, Marianna became a symbol for women who joined the communist movement in the Indies. Women, through the character of Marianna, were invited to be critical of religion, especially of how Islam had been used by the capitalists to support the exploitation of workers and oppression of women. As the song puts it, "Your lord, a leech/commands you to believe in Allah [God],/because he lives in heaven/but you live in hell." During this period when the society was still dominated and dictated by the

[15] Some lyrics were direct translations of the original: Hendrik De Man, *The Psychology of Marxian Socialism* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1985/1928), 158; Carl Strikwerda, *A House Divided: Catholics, Socialists, and Flemish Nationalists in Nineteenth-Century Belgium* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997), 115.

common Javanese and Islamic tradition in which women were seen as the property of their fathers, the bold reference to Islam was emancipating. Additionally, the song also gave a clear message about women's position in the society, where their position was elevated to be equal with men. Therefore, to present Marianna, the child of poor people, as a woman who could independently choose the man she would take as her husband inspired an emancipatory politics for women as well as for other members of the movement.

The emancipatory politics in this song is personified through the character Marianna, who was a product of contact between different cultures. We know that Marianna is a symbol of French republic representing liberty and reason, but to ask if the emancipatory ideas contained in the song were foreign or native becomes irrelevant, especially because the common use of the song and its translation into Indonesian seems to indicate that these principles have been fully embraced by the movement. By indigenizing Marianna, the character and its entailing representation of emancipation became both French and Indonesian.

Photo 10-11. A picture of French Marianna on the left and Javanese women wearing *kebaya* circa 1930 on the right[16]

An example of an indigenizing process as a product of contact between these two cultures is the following skit performed before a *vergadering* was held. An Indonesian playing Marianna took on the stage. While "wearing a koepiah [a Muslim traditional hat] and a red kebaja [traditional Javanese clothing], letting loose her long hair with a red flag on her left hand and a sword on her right hand, she sang [Marianna] with very loud voice."[17] In this Indonesian song, which uses references to a French revolution figure, we can see "contact" between ideas of religion, ideas of women's emancipation, and ideas of communism become the commonplace language in the movement.

[16] Source: Marianne, accessed on April 6, 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marianne; "Twee meisjes in sarong en kebaja op Java," KITLV digital media collection, image code: D7358.
[17] "Satoe Mei di Semarang" (May 1st in Semarang), *Sinar Hindia,* May 2, 1924.

5.B.2 Traditional arts

The birth of politics of resistance through the cultural contact of old and new was not only manifested in the adaptation of foreign songs, but also in the transformation of traditional arts by the movement. The people of Java had a long, evolving history of traditional arts, such as *wajang* (puppet show), *loedroek* (drama comedy), *ketoprak* (theater), and Javanese songs.[18] During the communist movement, revolutionary ideas of resistance were also presented to the public through these traditional art forms. For example, in a *vergadering*,[19] a live-action *wajang orang* was performed in front of the attendees narrating the story of Kadiroen, a socialist novel written by Semaoen about a native government official who left his job to join the communist movement (see chapter VI on socialist literature). In fact, the use of traditional arts to disseminate communist resistance was confirmed by Barbara Hatley, a historian of *ketoprak* (Javanese traditional theater). During the time of the movement, *ketoprak* was often performed disseminating communist ideas.[20] The adaptation of old forms of arts by the new emerging politics of resistance reminds us of how Islam spread across Java in the first place. Between the thirteenth and sixteenth century, Islam arrived and was quickly disseminated across Java through the help of these traditional art forms, notably *wajang* and Javanese songs.[21] This continuous adaptation of traditional arts shows us that the emergence of new political ideas out of the

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[18] Jan Mrázek, *Phenomenology of a Puppet Theatre: Contemplations on the Art of Javanese Wayang Kulit* (Leiden: KITLV, 2005); Edward C. Van Ness and Shita Prawirohardjo, *Javanese Wayang Kulit: An Introduction* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1980); Carl J. Hefner, "Ludruk Folk Theatre of East Java: Toward a Theory of Symbolic Action" (PhD diss., University of Hawaii, 1994); Barbara Hatley, *Performing Contemporary Indonesia: Celebrating Identity, Constructing Community* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Matthew Cohen, *Inventing the Performing Arts: Modernity and Tradition in Colonial Indonesia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016).
[19] "Perayaan 1 Mei" (May 1st celebration), *Sinar Hindia,* May 5, 1925.
[20] Barbara Hatley, *Javanese Performances on an Indonesian Stage: Contesting Culture, Embracing Change* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 9-12.
[21] M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c.1300, 2nd Edition* (London: MacMillan, 1991).

contact between the old and the new was not unique to the period of communist movement, although it did set a precedent for the movement.

5.B.3 New rituals

The communist movement also gave birth to new rituals, leading to the creation of a new common identity and a new collective community around them. The first example of the new rituals was the structure of *openbare vergaderingen*. As we can see in the sample scene described at the start of this chapter, *vergaderingen* became highly ritualistic. They began and ended with the attendees singing together communist songs, usually Internationale, Darah Rakjat, and Marianna. The meetings were also led by a *voorzitter* (chairperson) and several speakers; see the following photo of a *vergadering* below.

Photo 12. An *openbare vergadering* held by *Sarekat Islam* in the open air.[22]

The *voorzitter* sitting in the center of the photo, right next to the podium, was responsible for introducing the speakers and for facilitating the discussion. He had to strike a gavel to signal the beginning and the end of the meeting. Next to him (as in this photo) was a secretary responsible

[22] "Vergadering van de Sarekat Islam over Indië Weerbaar te Moearatewe," code: 86968, album number: 478, on October 15, 1916, in KITLV Digital Image Library.

for writing a summary of the meeting, which later would be sent to a communist newspaper to be published. Even if the meeting was held in a private house and was attended by only a couple people, the meeting would follow this ritual. This set of rituals made *vergaderingen* develop into an important institution that stood for the movement.

Other rituals central to the movement included holidays, something like the "national holidays" of our current time. Under Dutch colonialism, holidays that were celebrated by ordinary people were either religious holidays, such as the Islamic Eid al Fitr, Eid al Adha, and the birth of the prophet Muhammad, or political/government holidays, such as the birthday of the Dutch Queen Wilhelmina. With the emergence of the communist movement, two dates were celebrated as important holidays for the communists. The first was May 1, which was Labor Day, and November 17, which was to celebrate the Russian revolution of 1917. During these important days, *vergaderingen* were held in many places as the celebration of the proletar. Offices of the communist-leaning parties and unions as well as their newspapers were closed. The decorations and merriment in the party resembled the description of the scene from the opening of this chapter, but it often also included children and adults marching around villages wearing uniforms and singing communist songs.

It is therefore not a surprise that they also celebrated the famous communist leaders in meetings. In the same way that the prophets Jesus and Muhammad were seen as holding a special place in Islam, the international communist leaders such as Lenin, Marx, Sneevliet, Sun Yat-sen, and Luxemburg, as well as the Indonesian exiled leaders Semaoen and Tan Malaka, became the people's role models in the fight for a liberation. In fact, it was not uncommon to see large pictures of these leaders hanging on the walls in people's houses.[23] Since people had previously lived under a religious framework, it is not a surprise that the communist leaders were

[23] Photos of Semaoen, Tan Malaka, Lenin, and other leaders were usually sold at f0.50 – f2.

seen almost like religious leaders or the prophets. The practice of having the communist leaders' pictures in houses created another ritual common during this movement.

As the communist movement developed, *openbare vergaderingen* as entertainment gave birth to new cultural practices of resistance. From communist songs, to styles of fashion and traditional arts, to rituals created out of the contact between the old and the new, new institutions were integrated as mundane parts of ordinary people's lives. Through entertainment, politics became ordinary. The process of becoming for the ordinary politics of resistance was also demonstrated in *openbare vergaderingen* as educational institutions.

5.C *Openbare vergaderingen* as educational institutions

Politics is ordinary because *vergaderingen* also played a role as educational institutions. Unlike traditional kinds of weaponry, this movement took the education of the people's minds as a key part of its mission and its ultimate success. This education was far from mere one-directional propaganda; instead, the appeal to human senses of critical thinking and education was motivated by the idea that everyone had a shared ability to think, and hence, the right to receive education.

5.C.1 A new tradition of debates

It is no surprise that *openbare vergaderingen* were closely integrated with efforts to educate the people. One aspect of *openbare vergaderingen'*s focus on education was the critical content of the discussions. For the audience, which consisted mostly of *kaoem kromo* who had not received formal education in schools and hence could not read or write, the meetings became an avenue for them to learn about political, economic, and social matters and news, many with direct effects on their lives. A newspaper, such as *Sinar Hindia*, the organ of Partai Komunis Indonesia, was often read aloud by one literate person in a meeting so it could then be discussed and debated among the attendees. *Vergaderingen* also became a venue to report foreign affairs, historical

accounts, and local issues. Consequently, these meetings were a fulcrum between oral and written literacies.

Another characteristic of *openbare vergaderingen* as an educational institution was the culture of debate. A published invitation was usually accompanied with the phrase "*debat vrij*" (*debat* = debate and *vrij* = free).

> 'My fellow men and women of all nations and religions.
> Come! Come!
> Debate *vrij*, question *vrij*, talk *vrij*.'[24]

Notice the repetitive use of the word *vrij* (free) here. For lower class people whose ordinary lives continuously included suppression and exploitation, the word *vrij,* especially as it applied in the realm of debate and discussion, became an invitation to enlightenment. In one *vergadering* led by Ms. Moenasiah, one male peasant named Suprapto raised his hand and posed a question: "in Islam, men could practice polygamy. What do you think?"[25] This question might not be directly relevant to communism, but such questions related to everyday lives were often discussed in the meeting. Ordinary people could address questions that could usually only be answered by people of higher status, in the case above, a religious authority. *Vergaderingen* then transformed this hierarchy in the traditional Islamic education and allowed Islamic matters to be discussed in open debates, thereby ensuring participatory parity. It was not clear what Ms. Moenasiah said, but the report then included her saying in Javanese—a more informal and intimate language for these people, "yen durung jelas kena takon maneh" (if it's not clear yet, please ask again) and Suprapto said "poeoeoeoen" (that's iiiiiiiiit). This exchange, in which Ms. Moenasiah invited Suprapto to ask an otherwise taboo topic further, demonstrates how open the conversation was. More importantly, though, the code-switching to Javanese, the mother tongue of these people, in the

[24] *Sinar Hindia,* July 31, 1924.
[25] "Verslag pendek S.I. Wadon Ambarawa" (Short report on S.I. Wadon Ambarawa), *Sinar Hindia*, April 27, 1920.

setting of a *vergadering,* in which Malay was normally used, meant that Ms. Moenasiah wanted to avoid face-threatening Suprapto with her answer. In the end, Suprapto by lengthening his word "poeoeoeoen" sounded relieved and did not feel confronted. This at the same time shows that in the meeting people could confront taken-for-granted practices.

These communicative characteristics of *openbare vergaderingen* demonstrate the defining qualities of the social movement of this period: education, debate, popular and democratic participation, which became the means for people's organization. These qualities at the same time became the new emerging cultures of resistance in the history of the Indies.

5.C.2 SI schools

The next institution produced by the movement through *openbare vergaderingen* was the People's Schools.[26] The public meetings of the communist movement in 1920 expressed these concerns: 1) that children could not get a basic modern education, which meant to read, write, learn math and learn Dutch; and 2) that many of them were forced to work, oftentimes on plantations. For example, one leader, Semaoen, began to work in a railway company when he was 13.[27] This table from the 1928 census shows the number of native children between the ages 6 to 13 in the entire Indies who did and did not have access to the schools provided by the government.

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[26] Also see: Ruth McVey, "Teaching Modernity: The PKI As an Educational Institution," *Indonesia* 50 (1990): 5-27.; "Taman Siswa and the Indonesian National Awakening," *Indonesia* 4 (1967): 128-149. Other research on education in Indonesia: Agus Suwignyo, "The Great Depression and the changing trajectory of public education policy in Indonesia, 1930-42," in *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 44 (03) (2013): 465-489; Lee Kam Hing, "Taman Siswa in Postwar Indonesia," in *Indonesia* 25 (April) (1978): 41-59; I. J. Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indie* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1938).
[27] see chapter VI.

Years in school	Access	% of native population	No access	% of native population
3 years	1,431,429	29.8%	3,372,200	70.2%
5 years	1,623,745	20.3%	6,386,200	79.7%
7 years	1,647,761	14.7%	9,568,578	85.3%

Table 3. The number of native children with access to government schools in 1928[28]

As the table shows, only between 14.7% and 29.8% of the total population of children, depending on the age group, had access to government-provided education. Between 70.2% and 85.3% of native children remained entirely uneducated.

Through *vergaderingen,* Sarekat Islam (SI) schools named "People's Schools"—schools specially created for lower class people—were founded.[29] The communists in the *vergaderingen* agreed that People's Schools had to be different from the Dutch schools. The school's motto clearly explains this motivation: "the domination of the capitalists stands on education based on the logic of capital. To resist this: people's freedom can only be earned through education based on the people [*kerakjatan*]."[30] The schools achieved this aim by teaching Marxist concepts such as capitalism, labor, and value, in addition to fundamental skills—Dutch, Math, sports, reading and writing, cooking and sewing. Additionally, one thing worth noting here is how the creation of the school was decidedly ordinary. People's Schools were built by ordinary people who worked together to develop them and these schools used private houses belonging to members of

[28] Perhimpoenan Peladjar-Peladjar Indonesia (Indonesian Students Association) *Menentang Wilde-Scholen Ordonnantie,* January 1933, in KITLV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
[29] Tan Malaka, *S.I. Semarang dan Onderwijs* (*S.I. Semarang and Education*) (Semarang: S.I. School, 1921), p. 16, microfilm collection, IISH, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.
[30] "Hidoeplah S.I. Scholen!" (Long live S.I. schools!), *Sinar Hindia,* January 23, 1924.

the movement as the space for learning and studying. Sneevliet's wife, for example, who stayed in the Indies with their children while Sneevliet was in exile, helped decorate these schools in Semarang and donated some books for the students.[31] Up until 1925, People's Schools mushroomed across the Indies (see map of SI schools in the previous chapter).

Photo 13. Tan Malaka posed together with teachers and students of SI schools.[32]

Tan Malaka was the first person to initiate the creation of SI schools.[33] In the above photo, he poses with the children and other teachers, many of them women. We can see in the photo that the children wore uniforms of white shirt and red pants. Those standing and sitting in the first two front rows held red flags, some of which had the hammer and sickle symbol.

Students from People's Schools occasionally attended *vergaderingen* and helped teach the illiterate adults. These children, according to Malaka, were "wise and brave to give a speech" and we all witnessed how "*vergadering* functioned in order (with rules) and with firm heart

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[31] "Njonjah Sneevliet, Selamat-Djalan!" (Mrs. Sneevliet, farewell!), *Sinar Hindia,* July 4, 1923.

[32] Tan Malaka, *Indonezii□a□ i ee mesto na probuzhdai□u□shchemsi□a□ Vostoke* (Moskva: Gos. izd-vo, 1925), 135.

[33] For Tan Malaka's biography, see: Harry A. Poeze, *Tan Malaka: Strijder Voor Indonesië's Vrijheid : Levensloop Van 1897 Tot 1945* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1976); *Verguisd En Vergeten (3 Vols.): Tan Malaka, De Linkse Beweging En De Indonesische Revolutie, 1945-1949* (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2007).

(from both the speakers and the listeners)."[34] Naturally, these meetings became an avenue to introduce communist vocabulary and ideas, such as "revolutionair," "kapitalisten" (capitalists), "kapitalisme" (capitalism), and "rintangan" (determination). Students would share what they learned in schools with the *vergadering* attendees, including adults who never were able to attend school. Outside of Java, schools also became an important institution for the development of the movement in the Outer Islands. In west Sumatra, communism in fact began in the Islamic school *Sumatra Thawalib.*[35]

5.D *Openbare vergaderingen* as cultures of defiance

Politics is ordinary because *openbare vergaderingen* gave birth to various cultures of resistance. They appealed to the human senses to "negate"—that is, to rebel against the compartmentalization of identity, the domination of religion, and the extension of repression in family relations. By looking at politics as ordinary, we are able to reveal how differences based on identity, nationality, religion, and sex were historically produced through power struggle.

Between 1918 and the beginning of 1923, *vergaderingen* emerged as entertainment; however, after the banning of *vergaderingen* between May and September following the 1923 strike, the number of *vergaderingen* swelled and meetings became demonstrations of open defiance, not just against colonial repression of freedom of speech but also in the colonial government's attempt to compartmentalize political groups based on identity.

5.D.1 "'Men and women of all nationalities and religions,' unite!"

In line with the popular tone of the meetings, people of different backgrounds—based on class, gender, religion—were urged to join in the debate and to join in the movement. It was common

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[34] Tan Malaka, *S.I. Semarang dan Onderwijs,* 14.
[35] Audrey Kahin, *Rebellion to Integration: West Sumatra and the Indonesian Polity, 1926-1998* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999).

to see this statement at the end of an invitation distributed through newspapers and leaflets: "all men and women from all nations and religions are invited."[36]

Partai Kommunist India
BRANCH
SEMARANG

ATTENTION! ATTENTION!
Big Openbare-Vergadering (Public Meeting)
On February 3, 1924
On Monday at 9 AM.
In ISLAMIC-UNION office Gendong.
What will be discussed:
The fate of our brothers who were arrested because of bombing.
This is a really important matter!
That is why we hope the people in Semarang, men and women, come together in this *vergadering* (meeting)!
Check and tune into this bombing matter.
Make time to come!

And take your friends to come along!
THE BOARD

Photo 14. A sample invitation to an *openbare vergadering*

This is especially interesting when we understand that around mid-1923, due to its popularity, the communist movement began receiving antagonistic reactions from other native political organizations. We should not forget that when Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI) was founded in 1920, Sarekat Islam split into the red wing—taking the line of communism—and the white wing—adhering to the line of Islamism. The call for *partijdiscipline* (party discipline) was in fact made by White Sarekat Islam for fear that PKI had gone "too far from Islamic teachings." In fact, this idea that Islam and communism were not compatible was the basis on which anti-communist propaganda was later mobilized. The Dutch government created the compartmentalization of different political groups into Islam, communism, and nationalism[37] to make the three sound not

[36] *Sinar Hindia,* July 16, 1924.
[37] In 1928, the young Soekarno, who later became the first president of Indonesia, wrote a book *NASAKOM* (Na-tionalisme/nationalism, A-gama/religion, KOM-unis/communism) that tried to unite the seeming differences among these three ideologies. Soekarno, and Ruth Thomas McVey, *Nationalism, Islam, and Marxism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Dept. of Asian

only different but conflicting. Despite this purported rift, people in fact defied such "politics by exclusion" by instead creating a hybrid identity. For example, many communist leaders, such as Hadji Misbach, proudly called themselves "Muslim communists or communist Muslims."[38] While this example shows us how difference was politically produced, it also shows how the movement universalized itself by accommodating these differences. Eventually, openness to any religions, sexes, and nationalities was crucial in making the communist movement and its *openbare vergaderingen* a democratic and popular space.

5.D.2 On the religion question

One of the hotly debated topics in *vergaderingen* was the idea of the compatibility of Islam, the religion of most indigenous Indonesians, and communism. At the time, people were divided between those who saw communism as a godless idea that posed a threat to Islam and those who saw that through communism the practices of Islam could be strengthened. In any case, the "contact" between these two ideas, Islam on the one hand and communism on the other, resulted in efforts to re-interpret Islam and "communism." Muslim communists were confronted with explaining how ideas of liberation, resistance, and justice—all key communist ideas—also had roots in Islam. In the newspapers of this period, discussions on this re-interpretation of Islam on issues of social justice were common. Arabic verses of the Quran were juxtaposed with communist concepts to explain how in fact they were compatible with each other. The idea of a "red hajj" (hajj = Muslim who had done pilgrimage to Mecca) became popular.

In this period, some practitioners reformed Islam by defining it in terms of universal concern with social justice. One of the famous red hajj was Haji Misbach. An article called

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Studies, Cornell University, 1970). Tjokroaminoto also wrote a book on socialism and Islam: *Islam dan Socialisme* (Jakarta: Penerbit Bulan Bintang, 2003/1924).

[38] Nor Hiqmah, *H.M. Misbach Kisah Hadji Merah* (Depok, Indonesia: Komunitas Bambu, 2008).

"Islam and the Movement" that Misbach wrote emphasized the universal idea of humans able to live peacefully together, to take care of each other, and to resist capitalist exploitation.

> Men and women live in this world to live peacefully together. That is God's command. To live peacefully together, we have to follow God's commands. If somebody chooses to follow God's commands while not caring for other people's needs, he has instead committed sins and instead has followed the devils' will. Devils are our enemies. In this century, they work for capitalism. Capitalism is a lust for destroying our belief in God. Communism taught us to resist capitalism, because that idea is already covered in Islam. I explain this as a Muslim and a communist.[39]

We can see how the terminology of Islam, like "God's commands," "sins," "devils," and "belief," was juxtaposed with key terms of communism, like "live peacefully together," "capitalism," and "resist." This juxtaposition explains how the period had triggered the production of new interpretations of Islam as well as of communism. Islam was re-interpreted in terms of resistance and social justice, while communism was expressed through the language of religion.

The compatibility of religion and communism was not just demonstrated in writing or speeches but also in the collective organizations mobilized under the umbrella of communism. Indeed, since its emergence, religious institutions had been the basis of the communist movement. In Java, Sarekat Islam became the seed of the communist movement developed a few years later. In West Sumatra, Muslim leaders such as Datuk Batuah turned their Islamic school into the basis of communist party. So too did leaders in Timor meld religious and political ideals, where Christian Pandij spread communism through Christian beliefs in churches.[40]

5.D.3 Emancipation in the family

The cultures of resistance promoted through *vergaderingen* also emancipated the most mundane and ordinary relation—within the family. Among the communist women, for example, the

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[39] Ibid., 77.

[40] See: Kahin, *Rebellion to Integration*; Steve Farram, "From 'timor Koepang' to 'timor Ntt': A Political History of West Timor, 1901-1967" (PhD diss., Charles Darwin University, 2004); "Revolution, Religion and Magic: The Pki in West Timor, 1924-1966," *Bijdragen Tot De Taal-, Land En Volkenkunde* 158 (1) (2002), 21-48.

critical thinking that became the culture of *vergaderingen* gave them the ability to redefine their relationship with their husbands. This was hinted at several times in the speeches, but an exemplary description appeared in a story titled "The stream of time or a girl who suffers," in which a woman from the audience in an *openbare vergadering* argues:

> My family! Now I no longer have a husband. Because when in his workplace there was a strike, my husband refused to join the strike. Those who did not know me would think that it was me who hindered him from joining the strike. At the time when my husband came home and said he didn't join the strike, I asked for a divorce. I am not lying! I think it'd be better to be a divorcee than having a husband with a long tail [i.e. a coward]!

It is not clear if this quote is a reflection of something that actually occurred, but for the writer to include this episode shows the common expectation for women to be liberated both in marriage relation as well as in the movement. While communist women often asked for a divorce from husbands who did not want to join the movement, the reverse was also true. In a discussion of *reactie* (reaction against communism), women often divorced their communist husbands because they feared anti-communist harassment. In this period, divorce was highly frowned upon, especially if initiated by the woman. But it seems that the critical culture encouraged by *openbare vergaderingen* also began transforming the social practices among the people.

How did the women explain the daring move in their domestic life? According to Djoienah, women were oppressed in both domestic life and public life, in their past and their present, and by family as well as by strangers (in this case the capitalists). In front of 1,000 people attending an *openbare vergadering*, Djoeinah gave a speech on women's oppression:

> It is clear that the crime committed by money people [capitalists] will chop down the world…this will not only suffer men. Women will also be destroyed due to the high price of basic goods. In this period, the wage that workers receive is not enough. So wives are forced to work as well… Money people are happier to employ female workers because their bodies [labor] are cheaper than men. This is a threat to the unity of men and women… Many wives also sell their body [for sex] for money to the capitalists. This has united workers to struggle against the capitalists. But at the same time the government also tightens our movement by controlling our meetings.[41]

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[41] Djoeinah, "Pemimpin Istri dalam vergadering (Oengaran)" (Women's leaders in *vergadering* (Oengaran), *Sinar Hindia,* October 2, 1920.

Here Djoeinah explains that the politicization of women's bodies within colonial capitalism occurred in two ways. The first is by exploiting their bodies as commodities, i.e. as labor power to sell in exchange for wages. The second is that the entrance of women into the market led to the emergence of more widespread prostitution, i.e. sexual activity as a specific form of labor to sell. Elsewhere, Djoeinah explained that just as the capitalist mode of production oppressed women by turning their bodies into commodities, women were equally oppressed by the men who controlled women in "the grasps of their hands." Indeed, the problem of women's condition as the property of men and parents that had been the character of "adat kolot" (old tradition) was given serious attention by this movement. Another writer said that women were still "tied and hindered by disastrous men and parents who were still holding to old traditions."[42] Therefore, it was important for women to join the movement—and for women and men to unite in the struggle, as the struggle against capitalism meant the struggle against the commodification of women's bodies. Whereas colonialism perpetuated and exacerbated the traditional oppression in family relations, the story about women and family relations above shows how the politics of defiance against this oppression was also produced in ordinary and mundane settings, i.e. in the family.

An act of defiance during the period of this movement also manifested in naming practices. Parents began to give their children communist names, rather than Javanese names. Some examples are "Samirasa" (equality), "Sovjeto" (from Soviet), "Mintasama" (another word for equality), "Hardjoproletar" (Hardjo the proletar), "Siti Sowjetika" (*Siti* is an Arabic name and it is combined with *Sowjetika* from Soviet) "Indier" (the native), "Si Kromo" (the lower class).

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[42] D.T., "Terhadap kaoem poeteri terpeladjar" (To the Educated Women), *Sinar Hindia,* February 16, 1921.

Photo 15. After the 1926 revolt, PKI was banned and hundreds of thousands of its members were arrested and exiled to Digoel, some 2000 miles away from Java in the Malaria-ridden land of Papua. This is a picture of some of the PKI members who had just arrived in Digoel. Four of them sitting on the chairs were women. The boy squatting in the middle is "Sovjetto", named after "Soviet."[43]

In this way, the politics of resistance materialized in a very individual experience—naming—and points to another way in which politics became ordinary during this period.

5.E Resistance is ordinary

Politics is ordinary because resistance became ordinary. It was created by ordinary people in their ordinary setting affecting the cultural and political structure of their ordinary lives. In other words, politics was expressed in the whole lived experiences of the people and was manifested in diverse cultures of resistance.

Politics is ordinary because anti-colonial resistance happened in the very common setting of everyday life; while it was shared, it was also personal. In names, songs, family relations, religion, expressions of art and the mind, resistance seeped into the structure of feeling and the senses of the people. It appealed to the human basic senses of beauty and enjoyment, of the ability to think, and the desire to negate and resist. Politics was created in mundane ordinary

[43] Source: "Komintern PKI" archive, IISG, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

settings, and in turn this led to the ordinary becoming political. The realm of the "unpolitical" gradually became political.

Through the process of translation, negotiation, circulation, and transnational co-production, contacts between cultures and also between the new and the old brought into existence new common cultures of resistance. Alongside the anti-colonial struggle, women's rights, children's needs, and the interests of people of other nationalities were also forwarded. That is why, while these cultures of resistance were local and personal, they were also global, universal, and human.

Politics is ordinary because it elevated ordinary people into political subjects. Along with men, women and children were unexpectedly turned into historical agents of resistance.[44] In this chapter, I chose to narrate the story of *vergaderingen* by highlighting the experiences of women and children in the movement; this was not based on a theoretical choice but because it was historically imperative. By looking at politics in the ordinary setting, the story reveals how the identity of the ordinary people—the lower class, the uneducated, the underrepresented—became important as subjects who moved history itself. The movement's ability to appeal to the different interests of these people explains how solidarity was able to universalize through its politics of inclusion. Looking at the history this way also illuminates a different idea of leaders and elites. They were not a special group of people separated from the ordinary lives and the ordinary people. They too were ordinary people who played a specific function within the movement.

[44] Women's involvement beyond the Indies can be traced in the story of an exiled communist member Soekaesih who was found in the Netherlands after the revolt 1926/7. From PID intelligence interview in 's-Gravenhage on October 27, 1937, no. 52450, accessed on May 1, 2013, Historici.nl. On the involvement of women in the communist movement in post-independence Indonesia: Saskia Wieringa, *Sexual Politics in Indonesia* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2002); and, Annie Pohlman, "Janda PKI: Stigma and sexual violence against communist widows following the 1965-1966 massacres in Indonesia," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 44 (128) (2016): 68-83.

Lastly, the history of *openbare vergaderingen* has taught us that *politics is ordinary* because through the daily processes we have discussed above, cultures of resistance were made, not to be heroic or revolutionary, but to be ordinary. Perhaps, in so doing, ordinary politics in and of itself is extraordinary.

CHAPTER VI

THE BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PRESS

The growth of the native vernacular press and political organizations in the first two decades after the turn of the twentieth century provided the conditions for a unique period in Indonesian press history, a roughly eight-year period during which the "revolutionary press" saw its rise and fall. Although vernacular press had existed in the Dutch East Indies since 1855, it was dominated by the Dutch, Eurasian (European-Indonesian mixed race), and *peranakan* (locally born) Chinese. It was only in the beginning of the 1900s that Indonesian natives began to produce their own newspapers.[1] Between 1903 and 1913, as growth of the native-owned vernacular press exploded, so did the development of political organizations in the hands of journalists. Tirto Adhi Soerjo—the first Indonesian journalist publishing the first native-owned newspaper—created Sarekat Prijaji (the *priyayi* [Javanese noble class] society*)* and its organ, the *Medan Prijaji*, in 1906-1907[2]; Dr. Wahidin Soedirohoesodo, the editor of the periodical *Retnadhoemilah,* created Boedi Oetomo, another *priyayi* society, in 1908[3]; a Eurasian journalist E.F.E. Douwes Dekker was in charged of *De Expres* when he founded Indische Partij (Indies Party) in 1912; and Tjokroaminoto was the editor-in-chief of *Oetoesan Hindia* when he began leading Sarekat Islam in 1913.[4] Together these vernacular newspapers and their political organizations made up the beginning of a *pergerakan* (movement) age[5] in the Indies, a period when modern Indonesian national consciousness emerged.

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[1] Adam Ahmat, *The Vernacular Press and the Emergence of Modern Indonesian Consciousness (1855-1913)* (Ithaca, N.Y: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1995), 16, 108.
[2] Ibid., 110-111.
[3] M C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia Since C. 1200* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2001), 207-208.
[4] Takashi Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912-1926* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 51, 58.
[5] As Shiraishi rightly calls it "an age in motion." Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion.*

It was not until the years between 1918 and 1926 that this *pergerakan* became even more popularized and radicalized. As the communist movement spread globally following the Russian revolution in 1917, its revolutionary mission also influenced the movement in the Indies. Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party)— the first native party ever to bear the word "Indonesia" in its name—arose from the rabble and, together with Sarekat Islam, would soon lead and organize ordinary lower class people in a popular, radical movement against Dutch colonial rule.

While existing literature[6] has recognized the link between native vernacular press and political organizations in facilitating the modern national anti-colonial movement, little has been written about their relation during the time of the communist movement of 1918-1926. Consequently, their scholarship has not adequately differentiated the pre-revolutionary vernacular press from the later communist revolutionary press, nor addressed the specific characteristics and significance of the revolutionary press in the movement. Therefore, the narrative of the "vernacular press" is problematic on two grounds, particularly when we examine the history of the early communist anti-colonial movement in the Indies between 1918-1926. First, covering this history only from the perspective of the vernacular press ignores the possibility that a diversity of press forms emerged during this period. Second, by focusing on the vernacular press, this approach essentially suggests that national consciousness emerged simply through the existence of the press and native people's reading of the press. As a result, those practical processes necessary to create an ordinary people's movement are not recognized. Additionally, given that only one tenth of the native population could read at the time,[7] we are

[6] Ahmat, *The Vernacular Press*; Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*; Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*; Benedict R. O. G. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).
[7] Ruth T. McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1965), 178.

confronted with a fundamental question: how exactly was the press—accessible only to a small number of literate educated natives—able to raise national consciousness and play a role in moving ordinary people in an anti-colonial movement? In this case, how exactly the press was able to garner popular support among illiterate natives remains unclear.

This chapter explains the tradition of "the revolutionary press" that emerged during the development of the early communist movement in 1918-1926 in the Indies. By examining the development of *Sinar Hindia* (later *Api*) (henceforth SH/Api) from its first conception in May 1918 until its closure in April 1926 as an exemplary case of the revolutionary press, this chapter demonstrates that a different model of the press, i.e. the revolutionary press, emerged out of the tradition of the vernacular press. With its unique characteristics, distinct from the existing vernacular press, the revolutionary press revealed the processes by which print media were able not only to create revolutionary resistance but also to organize lower class ordinary people to move against Dutch colonial rule.

5.A The evolution of *Sinar Hindia*: A brief history

The name changes in the history of *Sinar Hindia* (Beacon of the Indies, SH) newspaper reflected both the conscious creation of a revolutionary press and the radicalization and popularization of the anti-colonial movement in the Indies. In 1912, Sarekat Islam was founded in Surakarta—about sixty miles away from Semarang—and became the native association that for the first time was successful in garnering popular support from the lower-class, uneducated, native population. This support, though, dwindled after a year and was only revived in 1918, following the rise of global communism after the 1917 Russian revolution. At the time SI's mass following support was revived, Indonesian communist leaders had begun joining SI and founded its more radical Semarang branch. In 1913, *Sinar Djawa* (Beacon of Java) was published when SI gained a mass

following in Semarang—a bustling cosmopolitan port city in Central Java. In 1918, the Semarang branch of Sarekat Islam party (Islamic Union, SI) bought *Sinar Djawa* and changed the name into *Sinar Hindia*. The name change was important as the new editors no longer imagined the newspaper as the organ of the people of Java only but rather of the Indies. Therefore, when launched on May 1, 1918 by its founding editors, Semaoen, Mas Marco Kartodikromo, and Darsono, *Sinar Hindia* carried a new masthead: "the newspaper for *kromo* people in the Indies." Its use of the Javanese word *kromo* meaning "illiterate people without rank, status or wealth"[8] to represent its reading public gave the communist term "proletariat" a more familiar and local flavor and worked to indigenize communism in the Indies.

In 1924, the newspaper changed its name again, this time to *Api* (Fire), and with a new masthead: "the voice of the proletariats of all nationalities and religions." The shift in the newspaper's masthead from the "newspaper for *kromo*" to a paper for "proletariats of all nationalities and religions" was more than a change of wording: it reflected a deeper split in the organization behind the paper, SI. The split, into a white wing and a red wing, occurred due to a disagreement about whether or not Islamism and communism were mutually compatible ideologies. Eventually, the white SI refused to stand together with the communist members, afraid that they would betray their belief in Islam in favor of communism. The red wing of SI—led by SI Semarang branch—responded to this by claiming that Islam and communism were not only compatible but that it was in the interests of the Muslims that the communist struggles against Dutch imperialism should succeed. To fight Dutch rule, however, they suggested that the anti-colonial communist movement should not use a religious banner—given that there were other people of other nationalities and religions in the Indies who fought against colonialism—and instead to use non-religious symbols as a way to unite the diverse anti-colonial contingents.

[8] Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*, 64.

Therefore, the term "proletariat" replaced the Javanese term "*kromo*" not only because, after 1924, communism became the only movement with the most popular following[9]—many of them people of other nationalities, but also because at that point the term "proletariat" had become a commonplace word. Following the internal rift within SI, the red wing of SI soon merged with Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party, PKI) and changed its name into Sarekat Rakjat (people's Union, SR), in order to no longer bear the name of Islam. Therefore, between 1924 and 1926, Red SI, SR, and PKI were essentially operated and followed by the same people, i.e. those who moved under the banner of communism. *Api* newspaper would then become an important organ for the branches of these radicalized communist parties that had expanded beyond Java all over the Dutch East Indies. The change of name to *Api* and Sarekat Rakjat symbolized how the movement had revolutionized the history of native political associations in that they were able to diffuse the movement across identity markers and to move away from representing a homogenous group of people—Javanese, Muslims, Chinese—toward a more inclusive collective community based on proletariat class.

5.B Defining "the revolutionary press"

It was the publishers, editors, and journalists behind the SH/Api newspapers who self-identified as "the revolutionary press" ("*pers revolutionair*") with a purpose of representing the voices and interests of the *kromo* people. A close read of their understanding of "the revolutionary press," however, uncovers a more important development in native press. That is, in making the case for the revolutionary press, they also revolutionized the press by struggling for journalistic practices that truly embodied the enlightenment project.

In an April 9, 1924 article "The freedom of press, Sowing the seeds of hatred?" Synthema—the pen name of Soemantri—defined "the revolutionary press of Indonesia" as "the

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[9] Ibid., 245.

effort to seek an improvement for a better fortune and liberation for the *Kromo* class." Soemantri wrote this in response to the accusation made by D.A. Rinkes,[10] who had been hired by the government to take care of education and cultural matters. In the eyes of Rinkes, the revolutionary press spread the seeds of hatred between classes, and he had recently suggested to the government to release a new regulation requiring all newspaper publishers to pay insurance in the amount of 5,000 roepijah (with a newspaper sold at 0.10 roepijah a piece, this was not an insignificant amount). According to Soemantri, as Rinkes threatened, "[i]f that press has a revolutionary direction and does not listen to the warning of the head of the government up to three times, then the money will not be returned and the newspaper will be banned to publish."

While Rinkes saw the revolutionary press as troublesome, Soemantri instead saw it as necessary to realize an accountable government. In the same article, Soemantri asked: "how could stealing the government's money [corruption] that has put people at a disservice happen?" and he answered: "it is because we do not have the right to control and criticize. And if we dare to express criticism to keep watch over crimes not to happen, these writings were considered *sowing hatred*."[11] Even at this time, the revolutionary journalists had seen their roles as a controlling and criticizing mechanism toward the activities of the government. Therefore, Soemantri's article is revealing in two ways. First, he saw the need for a newspaper to be inclusive of the voices of the *kromo* people, which was clearly absent in the mainstream papers. Second, and more importantly, in pointing to the need of an organ to serve the interests of the *kromo* class, Soemantri offered a new concept of the role of the press, i.e. as means of keeping

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[10] G Drewes, "D.A. Rinkes: A note on his life and work (Met portret)," in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 117 (4) (1961): 417-435; Doris Jedamski, "The Subjective Factor in Cultural Change- Between political strategies and ethical idea(l)s: D.A. Rinkes, a 'Marginal Man' in the colonial context" (Yayasan Kabar Seberang, 1995), *Leiden University Repository,* accessed April 14, 2016, https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/16463.

[11] Emphasis in the original.

the government in check through control and criticism, which interestingly reminds us of Habermas when he talks about the corrective effect of the "public sphere."[12] While he sought to make a case for the revolutionary press, Soemantri at the same time offered revolutionizing ideas about the press in general.

In fact, the agenda to create SH/Api into a revolutionary newspaper was consciously made to differentiate itself from mainstream newspapers. In discussing the role and job of a journalist, Darsono, with his pen name D.A.S., wrote an article arguing for a differentiation between "journalists of rice/bread" ("*journalis roti of nasi")* and "journalists as defenders" (*"journalis pembela")*—in other words, those working for a living and those working for the anti-colonial struggle.[13] This was in response to the development of Press Bureaus that were mushrooming at the time; as a result, many *peranakan* and native people were hired to work as journalists often with limited training. The differentiation between journalists of rice/bread and those of defenders was first triggered by a writing by a *peranakan* Chinese journalist with a pen name Koetoe Bolspik (Bolshevik flea), who, while observing the mushrooming of new young journalists, also lamented their qualities. He called them journalist "*tjingtjau*," which literally means "grass jelly," but also metaphorically refers to the green scum that grows in stagnant ditches.[14]

This article was then responded to by Darsono with his comparison between "journalists of rice/bread" and "journalists as defenders." In it, he wrote:

> Indeed, in the world of journalism there are two categories, i.e. journalists of bread or rice and journalists of "the defenders."

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[12] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1989); Craig J. Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1992).
[13] D.A.S., "Persdelict dan preventief" (Press offense and preemptive), *Api*, October 2, 1925.
[14] Koetoe Bolspik, "Djournalist tjingtjau" (Journalists of green scum). *Api*, August 21, 1925.

> Of course the destiny of these two journalists is different. Journalists of bread, if they happen to find themselves in trouble because of their writings, it is just an accidental matter. This is because they already take side with the people or the class who have power over bread (bread here means living necessities), so everything for them is better and more liberating than it is for the journalists of the defenders.
>
> The journalists of the defenders in general consists of two groups: the defenders of the workers and peasants, and the defenders of our land and nation [nationalist]. These two groups of journalists—their mind and action—are not interested in money, but are interested in their knowledge and their belief. But, the nations who have power over the world, the oppressors, they really hate these revolutionary journalists, who defend those who are oppressed and humiliated. Not only do they hate them, but they also create a law to protect themselves so they do not lose their power.
>
> The journalists of the defenders however are not afraid to suffer or to tire, to be persecuted or to be harassed. Because they are convinced that all of their thinking and deeds contradict with those of the ruling capitalist class...
>
> For this reason, we are not afraid to witness various oppressions that our journalists [of the defenders] face.
>
> In our group there are many who have become the victims of their writings. But, our enemies' purpose to oppress our journalists has not succeeded. Instead it leads the proletariats to think that if the front row gets oppressed, the back row will replace them by rolling up their sleeves and sharpening their pens. One [writer] down…one [writer] up![15]

The contrast here is clearly made between journalists that did not actively involve themselves in the movement, seeing the badge of journalism as simply a profession, and those that actively took risks and launched active defense for the people. The contrast is also then made between the "revolutionary" and the "reactionary"/"capitalist"/"white" press. The former were journalists who appealed to knowledge. They did a very risky job because they are always at risk of arrest, and seen by the government and police as troublemakers who "sew the seed of hatred" (see list of arrest in chapter VII). The latter were journalists by profession who did the job as journalists simply for the money (for the bread/rice). These journalists, instead of joining the movement, "slept at home and then wrote all of [their] dreams in their newspapers"—compromising the quality of their writing by making it of *tjingtjau/*green scum standard.[16] These journalists were considered disrespectful. Respectful journalists instead "will not sensationalize an event, the news of which will not be shortened or added. They will just take the essence, so people

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[15] D.A.S., "Persdelict dan preventief." My translation.
[16] "Journalistiek Indonesia" (Indonesian journalism), *Api,* October 26, 1925.

understand because newspapers should be educative, propagandistic, defensive, and helping for our class."[17]

The contrast that Darsono made uncovers a larger problem of press in the colonial Indies. Colonial capitalism seemed to have produced journalistic professions as a mere salary-making career, leaving behind its political potential as bearer of reason and truth. By questioning the integrity, duty and responsibility of the journalists of his time, Darsono at the same time demonstrated how being a revolutionary journalist might mean more than just defending the *kromo* class. It also led to the emergence of a new type of journalists, more responsible and ethical than mainstream journalists, who in their reporting they sought for truth and used reason as their compass, instead of sensationalism. Additionally, his likening the duty of journalists with that of soldiers, "rolling up their sleeves," explained how the revolutionary press recruited writers and editors from the ranks of the proletariat class, inviting them to join the anti-colonial struggle by "sharpening their pens" and write. And, like in a battlefield, As Darsono said, "one writer down, one writer up." This image of an army of writers tells us two things. First, these writers came from the rank of the ordinary people and not from the educated higher class. Second, more importantly, it reminds us that this phenomenon of lower class people taking up literacy as a weapon is novel in the history of anti-colonial movement in the Indies.

5.C Revolutionary journalists as movement leaders

Darsono's call for a more accountable journalist with integrity and dedication to reason and truth as well as to the cause of the *kromo* class was followed with the merge between the identity as a journalist and as an activist. This is in fact another key characteristic that distinguished SH/Api from the previous native vernacular press. Unlike the previous generation of *pergerakan*

[17] Ibid.

newspapers that was produced and led by "journalists-turned-professional" leaders,[18] SH/Api was created by propagandists-turned-journalists.

With the exception of Mas Marco, the founding editors, Semaoen and Darsono, were both native propagandists of Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereeniging (Indies Social Democratic Association, ISDV) which later became Indonesian Communist Party, PKI. Semaoen was born in 1899 in Mojokerto. His father was a railway worker. Although he was not of a *priyayi* class, Semaoen grew up in the Ethical era when education became a priority of the government, so he also enjoyed Western-style education and graduated from a first-class native school. When he was thirteen years old in 1912 he worked at the SS (railway company) as a clerk while working as a secretary in SI Surabaya branch. Three years later he joined the Union of Rail and Tramway Personnel in the Indies, VSTP, and ISDV.[19] Since then, he would become one of the important radical leaders of SI, VSTP, and ISDV/PKI.

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[18] Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*, 48, 59.
[19] Ibid., 99; and, Dewi Yuliati, *Semaoen, Pers Bumiputera, dan Radikalisasi Sarekat Islam Semarang* (Semarang: Penerbit Bendera, 2000), 5.

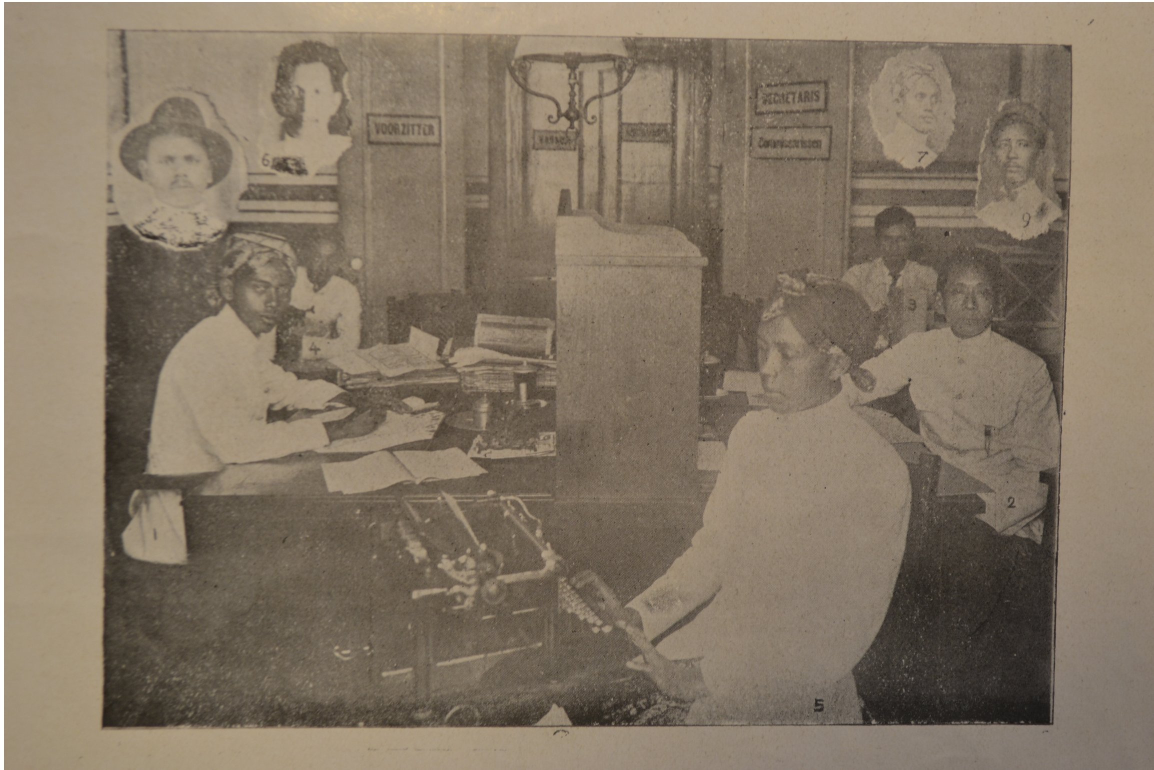

Photo 16. The same editors who produced SH/Api also produced the organs of VSTP, *Si Tetap* and *De Volharding.* This is the room of the VSTP board of directors. Semaoen is sitting down on the far left. Others, sitting down, from left to right: Semaoen--leader, Soedibio—editor in chief of *Si Tetap,* Soegono—editor in chief of *De Volharding,* Kadarisman--secretary, and Abdoelrachman—propagandist. Attached photos left to right: Zainoedin—committee from Aceh, F.A. Zeijdel—treasurer, Mohamad Ali—treasurer, and Abdoelwahab—committee from Padang.[20]

Darsono, on the other hand, was a young Javanese aristocrat born in 1897. At the age of twenty, upon attending Sneevliet's trial in 1917, he converted to communism on the spot. With the invitation from Semaoen, he joined SI Semarang and would become a first-class leader who, like a few others, made a serious study of Marxism.[21] Unlike Darsono and Semaoen, Mas Marco born in 1890 was much older than his fellow editors, hence belonged to the previous generation of *pergerakan* leaders, including Tjokroaminoto (1882).[22] Mas Marco began his career in the *pergerakan* as an apprentice in *Medan Prijaji* and was trained by the father of native press,

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[20] Hoofdbestuur, *Poesaka V.S.T.P.* (Semarang: Drukkerij V.S.T.P. Semarang, 1923), Collectie Documentatiebureau voor Overzees Recht (Documentatiebur, Overzees Recht, Box: 2.20.61, Folder: 144, National Archives of the Netherlands, The Hague, The Netherlands.
[21] McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism,* 36.
[22] Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*, 53.

Tirtoadhisurjo. When he led the editorial board of *Sinar Hindia* with Semaoen and Darsono, it was likely because he was a senior and well experienced journalist of the *pergerakan* at the time, able to train propagandists-turned-journalists that dominated the editorial and printing staff of SH/Api.

Therefore, SH/Api was produced by a post-war generation of propagandists. As the "organic intellectuals"[23] of the movement, they were working-class intellectuals creating the revolutionary press as part of a struggle against colonialism. Even if some of them were native intellectuals from the educated higher class *priyayi* background, like Darsono, they identified themselves with the *kromo* class and joined their cause.

Year	Editor-in-Chief
1918-1923	Semaoen Soemantri (1923)
1924	Soekindar Soemantri Soebakat
1925	Soebakat Heroemoeljono
1926	Soewitowignjo A Mangoensamarata W Kamsir

Table 4. List of SH/Api editors

Other important editors were Soemantri, who took over the editorial position of *Sinar Hindia* when Semaoen was banished from the Indies in 1923, Samsi, and Ms. Djoeinah, who was SH/Api's first female editor. Ms. Djoeinah was the leader of the women's branch of SR in Salatiga—a mountainous town near Semarang. The correspondents of the newspapers were also members or sympathizers of the movement, coming from all over Java, West Sumatra, and several outer islands, the regions with the most followers of Red SI, SR, and PKI. SH/Api for the next eight years would produce revolutionary journalists recruited from rank-and-file

[23] Cf. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers, 1971).

membership of these parties to produce and write in the newspaper. Together, these people wrote in the newspapers as well as led strikes and public meetings in remote places across Java, West Sumatra, and some outer islands. Since they grew up during the time when native political organizations and vernacular press were emerging, between 1900 and early 1910s, the language of resistance and anti-colonial consciousness had already become a part of their everyday life. This is why, unlike the previous journalists of *pergerakan,* the writings of Semaoen's generation were more direct, fierce, and strong—the same characteristics of the language used in speeches, rallies, and strikes.

While we have only been talking about SH/Api, the emergence of the revolutionary newspapers was in fact a general trend in other cities across the Indies. Like SH/Api, there were other newspapers in its time that shared its characteristics and openly voiced the interests of the proletariats or lower class people. Among them were *Oetoesan Hindia* (Surabaya), *Ra'jat Bergerak* (Solo), *Matahari* (Bandung), *Halilintar* (Pontianak), *Panggoegah* (Djokja), *Soeara Ra'jat* (Semarang), *Soeropati* (Soekaboemi), *Djago-Djago* (West Sumatra), *Proletar* (Batavia), *Soeara Tambang* (West Sumatra), *Pemandangan Islam* (West Sumatra), *Njala* (Batavia), *Doenia Achirat* (West Sumatra), and *Pandoe Merah* (The Netherlands). More importantly, just like in SH/Api, their editors were also leaders in the communist-leaning movements in their respective regions.

5.D Producing *Sinar Hindia*

The fact that only in the beginning of the twentieth century did native Indonesians join the printing industry—ending periods of European, Eurasian, and Chinese monopoly in both the ownership of printing presses and journalistic occupations[24]—shows how running a daily newspaper in the time of SH/Api was no small or inexpensive task. In fact, it was common for

[24] Ahmat, *The Vernacular Press,* 108.

native vernacular newspapers to be published for only a short time, often times due to a lack of funding and/or readership. For example, Tirtoadhisurjo's *Medan Prijaji* existed for only five years[25] and Marco's *Doenia Bergerak* for one year.[26] SH/Api's relatively long lifespan, that is for eight years, reveals the struggle of a revolutionary press to operate independently, despite meager funds, through its community-based alternative funding strategies.

The quick turnaround in newspaper and printing press ownership characterized the development of native vernacular press, following at least two broader changes in political scenes. First, the socioeconomic and political awareness of being an "Indonesian," which means "a national unity of indigenous peoples under Dutch rule," had become commonplace among native publishers and editors. Second, SI had gained mass following from ordinary lower class Indonesians. Consequently, By 1911-1913, native-run newspapers were mushrooming, and Eurasian and Chinese publishers that used to have educated natives as their loyal readers lost their indigenous readerships to the newly born native newspapers. Not being able to target the *peranakan* and indigenous audience had forced these publishers to sell off their printing equipment. When the newspaper *Sinar Djawa* was founded at the end of 1913 as the organ of SI Semarang branch before it was changed to be *Sinar Hindia* in 1918, it was purchased from a Chinese firm Hoang Thaij and Co. Soon after, its chief editor Raden Moehamad Joesoef "launched the sale of shares… to form a trading company to run the paper" under the printing company named "Naamlooze Vennootschap (N.V.) [Limited Company] Sinar Djawa." Therefore, the predecessor of SH/Api, just like other native vernacular press, was still run through the logic of commerce and trade. In other words, despite being oriented toward creating an association to represent an indigenous solidarity, the prime objectives of the press were still

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[25] Ibid., 111-120.
[26] Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*, 85.

for commerce and trade[27]; hence, advertisements, besides subscriptions, were still the main funding sources for its operation.

On the other hand, SH/Api's critical yet seemingly ambivalent attitude toward advertising gave way to a different concept of advertising. SH/Api might be among the very first newspapers in the Indies that strongly criticized capitalist encroachment in newspaper production, which they claimed compromised the quality of reporting.[28] In an article explaining why the price of subscription was so expensive, the editors explained that they were against the support of big capitalists who "sucked the sweat and the energy of the workers in the Indies." Therefore, they were different from other papers that gained support from the government or industry, such as *Neratja* and *Kaoem Moeda.* The support from advertising could be big enough that some papers were given free of charge to the readers.[29] As "a weapon of workers who are weak and oppressed," instead, they invited the *kromo* people to advertise their business in SH/Api. Accordingly, they asked the readers to support these advertisers by buying goods and services from those merchants who advertised in SH/Api. "By so doing, *Ra'jat* [lower class people] could strengthen their business and organ!"[30] SH/API's attitude against capitalist commerce and trade consolidated when on May 16, 1924 SR of Semarang bought off the printing company N.V. Sinar Djawa at 3200 guilders.[31] Since then, the production of SH/Api was solely in the hands of this radical party. This seemingly ambivalent attitude —still wanting ads yet critical of ads from big industry—uncovered a new concept: that it was important to continue the support for the

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[27] Ahmat, *The Vernacular Press,* 120. 159, 175-181, 172, 176, and 180.
[28] "Journalistiek Indonesia" (Indonesian journalism), *Api,* October 26, 1925.
[29] Directie Api, "Apa sebabkah Api begitoe mahal harganja?" (Why is the cost of Api expensive?), *Api,* May 28, 1925.
[30] Administrasi dagblad Api Semarang (The administration of the daily Api Semarang), "Bagaimana Api bisa dimadjoekan?" (How to develop Api?), *Api,* July 30, 1925.
[31] Directie Api, "Apa sebabkah."

businesses of lower class people while fighting the domination of the colonial government and more powerful capitalist industries.

However, because advertising from lower class businesses could not generate much income, SH/Api relied on subscriptions not only as its main financial support, but also to expand its readership. There was no complete annual report on the exact number of subscribers over the years, but at the end of 1924, *Api* reported that they earned a total of 36,999 guilders, of which 26,438 guilders came from subscriptions, 5,004.93 guilders from advertisements and the rest was from the balance of the previous year and some advances.[32] Based on that year's subscription yield divided by the price of a single copy at 0.10 guilders and a monthly subscription cost at 1.70 guilders, there were about 1101 to 1295 subscribers that year. This shows an increase in subscribers from 720 people during the time of *Sinar Hindia*'s inception in 1918 as well as 1126 people a year later.[33]

However, to think that this number of subscribers represents the actual number of *readers* is misleading. As the paper repeatedly announced, there were five duties of SH/Api subscribers:[34]

> "1. after reading, pass API on to those who could not afford subscriptions;
>
> 2. send articles on events based on facts to the editorial staff;
>
> 3. help find new subscribers;
>
> 4. help find new advertising clients;
>
> 5. pay subscription cost ON TIME!"

According to the first duty, the daily would be passed on to other people not able to afford the cost of subscriptions, dramatically multiplying the number of actual readers. This was also

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[32] Ibid.
[33] Redactie, "1 Mei" (May 1), *Sinar Hindia,* May 1, 1919.
[34] "5 Kewadjiban bagi abonne Api" (5 duties of Api subscribers), *Api,* March 23, 1926.

endorsed through slogans like: "Don't tear and throw away SINAR! Pass it onto those who could not afford to subscribe!" and "Put SINAR, after reading it, in places where people can find and read it." This number would increase even further as the newspapers were often read aloud to a group of illiterate natives (see the discussion on *vergaderingen* below). Additionally, just like the propagandists in the movement, the subscribers were also responsible to help find new subscribers and new advertising clients, entailing how the expansion of the readership eventually meant the expansion of the movement itself. While SH/Api's primary readership might be seemingly so small, it was how the paper was read and distributed that helped spread the movement.

The fact that SH/Api lasted for eight years attests to the viability of subscriptions to finance its production, yet this did not mean that SH/Api did not struggle economically, affecting the working environment for its publishing staff. Until the end of its time in print, SH/Api was produced on used printing equipment "from the 1700s" that was still "manually operated by hand rather than powered with steam or electricity like other big printing houses." The machine was so old and often broken, impeding the publication for a day or two. Once, "[we] just began printing the second glass yielding only 1100 pages, the printing machine broke and the letters fell sprawling on the floor."[35] We know that the machine at some point was purchased from a Chinese printer, but the fact that it was still manually operated could explain that this machine had been passed on from a printer to another and that the previous Chinese printer might have bought it used from another printer. With this manual printing press, they could not print enough to lower the cost of production. While they criticized the "big capitalist printing houses" that were able to use "perfect machineries," SH/Api's desire to buy steam and electrically powered printing machines to "modernize" the production at the same time shows its fascination with the

[35] Directie Api, "Apa sebabkah."

modern machines' capability to mass produce newspapers using "newer [state-of-the-art] fonts" and at much lower cost.[36]

However, its doddery printing equipment was not the only problem. The editors also complained about how small and narrowed the printing office that they could rent was, pointing out that "many typesetters etc fell sick due to the small and unhealthy working environment."[37] SH/Api's meager working environment can be observed from the following picture released by VSTP depicting its organs *Si Tetap* and *De Volharding*'s typesetters and printers, who would also print SH/Api when its printing equipment was confiscated or broken.

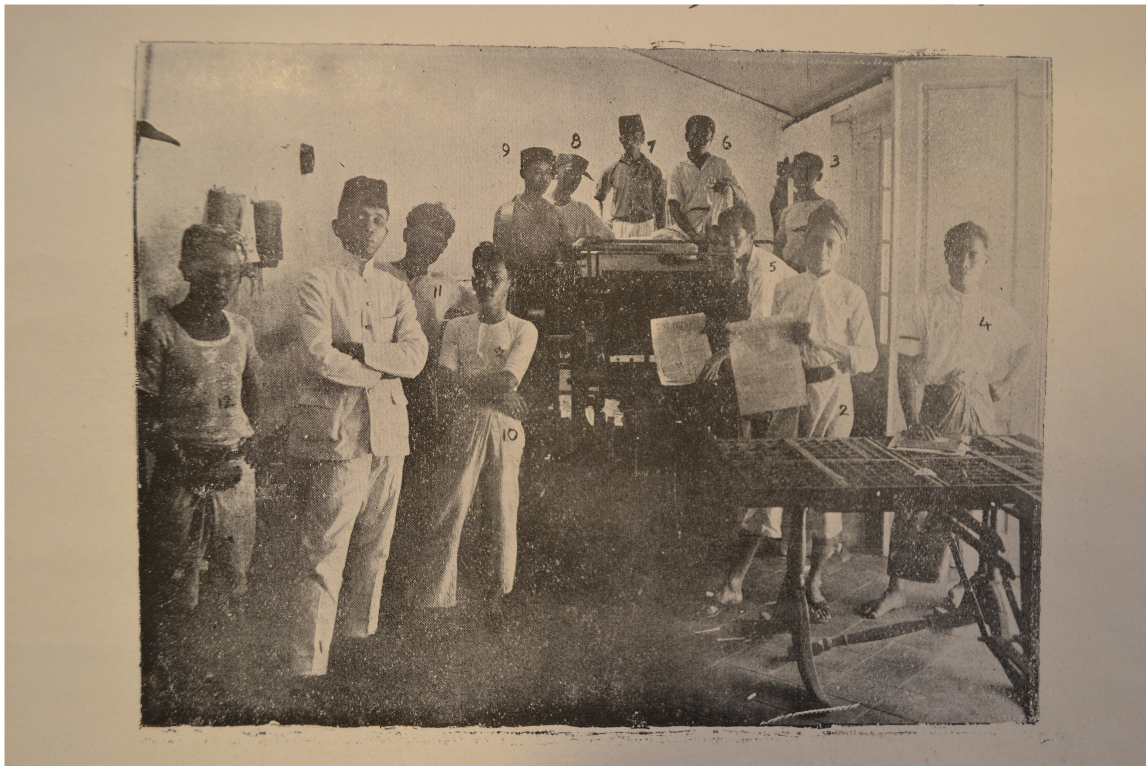

Photo 17. VSTP printing staff in the printing office, left to right: Oesin, Partondo (head of printing and administration), Bibit, Doeldjalil, Markimin, Djaspan, No-ong, Koming, Satiman, Drachman (head of printing), Kasman (head of typesetter), Kaslan.[38]

[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Hoofdbestuur, *Poesaka V.S.T.P*

In this picture, a small printing machine with no attachment to electricity was located in the middle of the room and on the front right were cases where fonts were stored. In a room that was about the size of 13 by 13 feet, if half of these twelve people in the photo operated the machine, it would indeed feel very cramped. Compare this condition with the one of government's printing houses, *Balai Pustaka*, below.

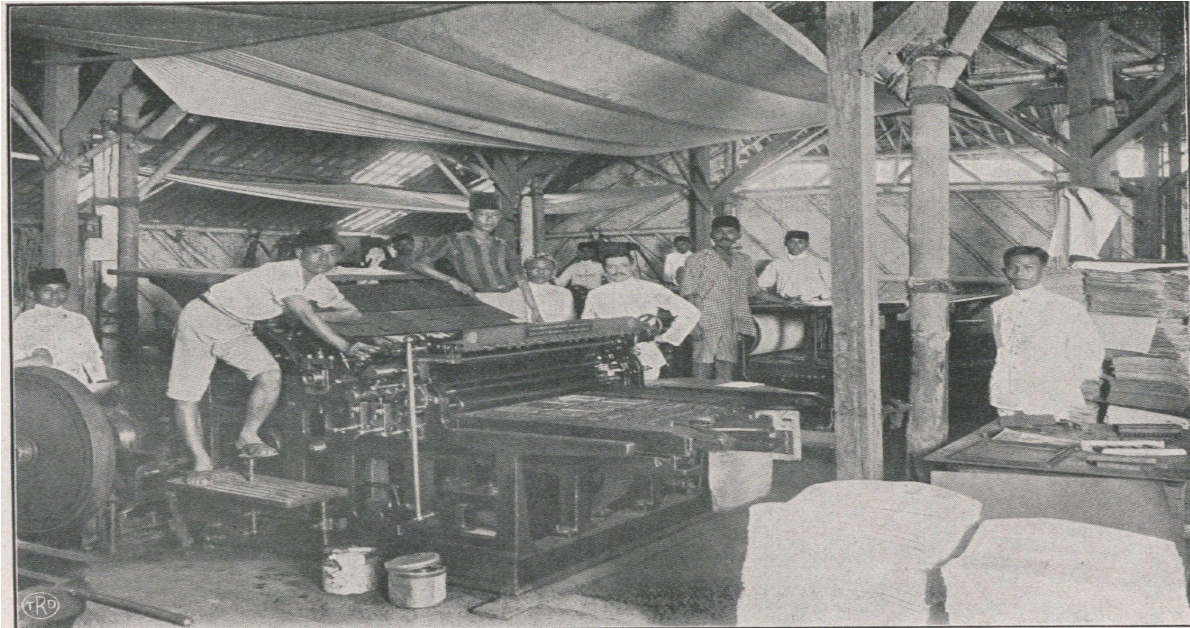

Photo 18. The printing-Office of *Balai Pustaka*[39]

The government's printing office with a large modern printing machine in a spacious room contrasts clearly with the cramped, manual set-up of the anti-government revolutionary press SH/Api and *Si Tetap/De Volharding*. While anecdotal, even the amount of the papers shown in both pictures strengthens this contrast: the government operated with abundant resources, apparent from the stacks of paper in the mid-to-front right of the photograph, while only two sheets of paper are shown in the whole room in the *Sinar Hindia/Api/Si Tetap/De Volharding* photograph.

[39] Bureau voor de Volkslectuur (The Bureau of Popular Literature of Netherlands India), *What it is and what it does,* ed. B. Th Brondgeest and G.W.J. Drewes (Batavia: Kantoor voor de Volkslectuur, 1929), 24; Another work on Balai Pustaka: A. Teeuw, "The Impact of Balai Pustaka on Modern Indonesian Literature," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 35 (1) (1972): 111-127.

It is not clear how the lack of funding kept these newspapers going; however, it seems that VSTP's people were motivated by a reason other than salary. Some of them did not just work as printers or typesetters but also helped contribute articles. Partondo, VSTP's head of printing, second left in the photo, was also the translator of the first Indonesian version of Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, which was first published serially in *Soeara Ra'jat.*[40] Some of the editorial staff, like Semaoen, also worked for SH/Api while working full time to publish *Si Tetap* and *De Volharding*.

From late 1925 to early 1926, the government began harassing people who read *Api* by searching their homes to confiscate reading materials. As a result, many subscribers did not want to pay subscriptions, afraid of confiscation. *Api*'s eventual demise in April 1926, due to a lack of funding support, showed that without the people and without a guarantee for freedom of expression a revolutionary newspaper struggled to exist. Yet, the reverse was also true: with enough popular support and a free legal environment, a revolutionary newspaper—one supported by subscription and donation—could flourish.

Anticipating current concerns over the commodification of mass media and journalism through advertising, one of which is explained in the concept of "audience as commodity,"[41] this story about the production of the Indonesian revolutionary press reveals how the struggle to operate using alternative resources other than advertisement had already become the concern of Indonesian journalists a century ago.

5.E "A struggle with pens and words": The content

On February 28, 1922, a slogan at the bottom page of that day's issue read "Sinar Hindia will give enlightenment to begin a new thought." It illustrated perfectly one of SH/Api's projects as a

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[40] Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*, 245.

[41] Dallas Smythe, "On the Audience Commodity and its Work," in *Dependency Road* (Norwood, N.J: Ablex Pub. Corp, 1981), 22-51.

revolutionary newspaper: to build a new system of thinking. SH/Api's conscious characterization of itself as an institution producing new lines of thought seems to rightly perceive "media as epistemology," institutions that produce knowledge and meaning, as Neil Postman suggests.[42] Viewing the necessity to produce new knowledge through what Mas Marco called "a struggle with pens and words"[43] as a part of an anti-colonial struggle is telling, especially in light of the prevalence of violent resistance for two centuries prior. As an epistemological institution, SH/Api strove not only to change its funding strategies but also its content.

5.E.1 Language use

While previous native vernacular press had laid out the foundation of vernacular press as a means for voicing criticism and protest against colonialism,[44] SH/Api continued this legacy but developed it further: as means for organizing collective actions and maintaining collective identity of the movement around communist language, concepts, and concerns. Vocabulary of the *pergerakan* that had circulated for the past decade—many of them originated from Javanese culture, such as "Sembah jongkok" (paying homage by squatting), "sama rata sama rasa" (equality, also casteless society), "zelfbestuur" (self-rule), and "kaoem kromo" (the *kromo*s)—were used as the daily language of the newspaper along with widely known communist terms like "kaoem Bolsjewik" (the Bolsheviks), "kaoem kapital" (the capitalists), "kaoem proletar" (the proletariats), "reactie" (reactionary), "anarchist," "geest" (spirit), "historisch materialisme" (historical materialism), "nationalisme" (nationalism), and "internationalisme" (internationalism). Theoretical articles devoted to explication of important communist terminology also commonly appeared, for example, "What is Bolshevism?," "Revolutionary or

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[42] Neil Postman, *Amusing ourselves to death: Public discourse in the age of show business* (New York, N.Y., U.S.A: Penguin Books, 2006), 16-29.
[43] Marco, "Nasib Kami" (Our Fate), *Sinar Hindia,* July 11, 1921.
[44] Ahmat, *The Vernacular Press,* 176.

evolutionary," and "Socialism."[45] Additionally, SH/Api's rubrics demonstrated its concerns on the importance of organizing collective actions. Just like other papers, a big segment of SH/Api's space was dedicated for education, debates, opinion, analysis, and propaganda in rubrics like "telegram"—emergency news sent via telegram, "warta-warta penting"—important local, regional, international reporting, "feuilleton"—literary works, and "soerat kirim"—letters to the editor. But, in 1923, a rubric called "Pergerakan" (movement) appeared replacing its old name "Kabar S.I." (SI news), which collected reports on *vergaderingen* (meetings) both public (*openbare)* and member only (*leden*) held by the Red SI, SR, and PKI. This change of name showed how public and member-only meetings were no longer seen as merely party activities, but more as engines of a larger movement.

The style and tone of the written language of SH/Api is often propagandistic, agitating, and fierce yet dialogical, resembling that used in strikes and rallies. The dialogical tone of the language clearly demonstrated the paper's purpose to target and address poor and illiterate readers, especially knowing that it was often consumed by being read aloud to an audience. Often, an article was followed with an editorial comment such as this footnote from an article entitled "Do we want to reconcile?"[46]:

> 7. Why with the misunderstanding, prijantoen [Javanese: noble man]! *Semaoen* said: 'we don't have time to quarrel and be fussy,' because we need to help workers to fight against the employers. If Marco likes, he can hold a vergadering [Dutch: meeting], if the preparation is klaar [Dutch: done/ready] then we will come to debate… Don't turn our words around like Abdoelmoeis, brother *Tjitro!*

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[45] Soeradi, "Apakah Bolsjewisme itoe?" (What is Bolshevism?), *Sinar Hindia,* February 19, 1920; "Revolusioner atau evolusioner" ("Revolutionary or evolutionary"), *Api,* September 17, 1925; Karl Radek, "Socialisme: Dari Angan-angan hingga djadi pengetahoean (wetenschap)" (Socialism: From fantasi to knowledge (science)), *Api,* November 22, 1925.

[46] S. Tjitrosoebono, "Soekakah bersatoe hati?" (Do we want to reconcile?, *Sinar Hindia,* July 26, 1921. Italics in the original.

Name calling and labeling as well as the use of exclamation marks characterized the dialogical nature of the language. But, this oral-to-written style was also built through code mixing. While low Malay was the most dominant language, code mixing it with Javanese and Dutch was common. Low Malay had been a lingua franca of the Malay archipelago for centuries. It was first used by people of various races in the cities and commercial ports for commerce and trade but then developed into an identity differentiating indigenous people with foreigners. (Low Malay was to be differentiated from High Malay, which was a more proper and pure form of Malay that the Dutch government promoted to counter Low Malay).[47]

Apart from its dialogical nature, SH/Api's language is also propagandistic and agitating. See this example from an article that explained what "capitalist" means:

> The capitalists are a group of people who live off of the labor of workers and peasants. In *Api* we have explained many times that what makes the capitalists powerful is *meerwaarde* [Dutch: value] (the surplus of value coming from the labor of workers that are not returned to them).
> The trickery and deceit of the capitalists is very subtle that the people who are tricked and squeezed are not aware of it. They only think that their poverty and their bad destiny is because of God's will.
> Workers and peasants who used to live and work alone are now gathered in factories, trains, ships, and mining industries.
> So, it is our enemies who *educate the heroes from our class.*[48]

The use of this agitating language was very different from the proper language promoted by the government. In an article "Kekoeasaan soerat kabar" (The power of newspapers) republished from *Neratja* newspaper in *Sinar Hindia* on April 5, 1920, the Governor General Idenburg[49] called for the press to use "polite, and sweet, language that does not offend anybody. This is called goede toon [good manner]. On the other hand, if the press use harsh language and create

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[47] Ahmat, *The Vernacular Press,* 9-10.

[48] "Perkoempoelan soerat kabar dan perskantoor" (The association of newspapers and persbureau), *Api,* November 21, 1925.

[49] This was the highest position in the Dutch colonial government. He was responsible to report directly to the Dutch Cabinet.

offense, this is called slechte toon [bad manner].” This use of agitating language, so discouraged by the colonial authorities, served to further the movement’s cause.

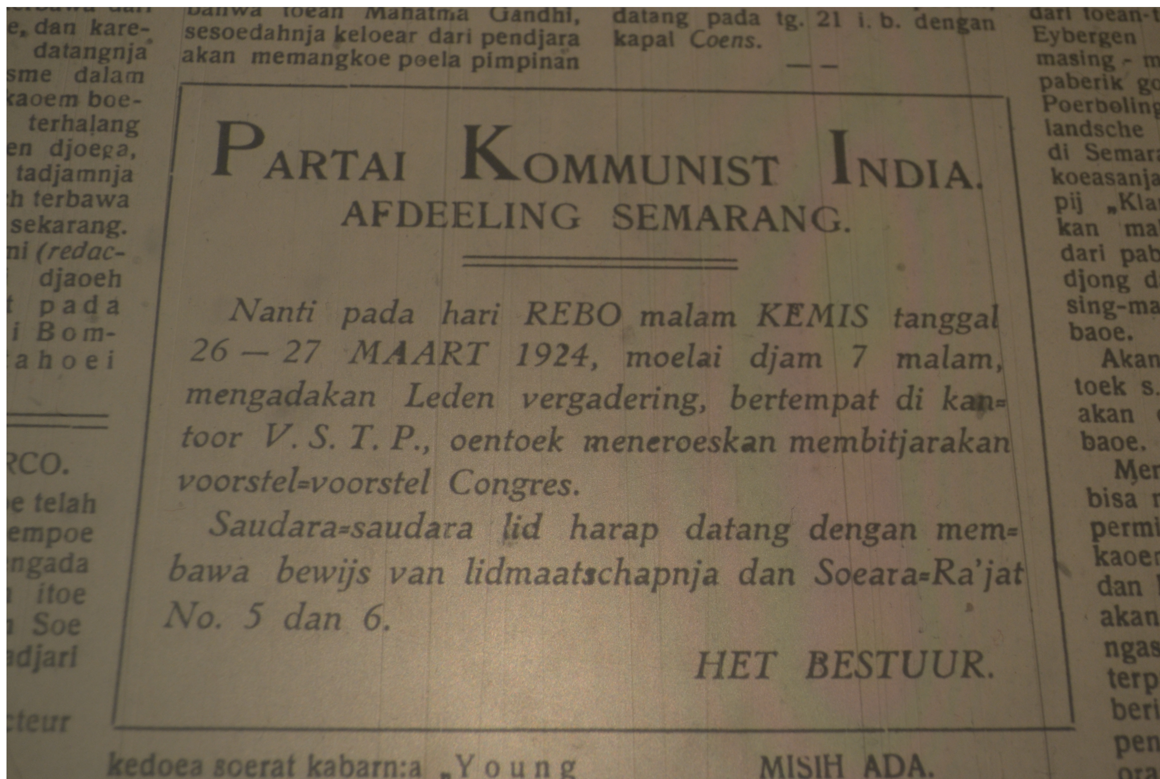
5.E.2 *Vergaderingen* reports

Besides language use, the reporting on *vergaderingen* also differentiated SH/Api from its non-revolutionary counterparts. Reports in SH/Api between 1920-1925 outlined around 900 *openbare vergaderingen* (public meetings) held across the East Indies archipelago. These meetings were held in mountainous, coastal and remote areas with as few as 50 and as many as 10,000 attendees, including men, women and children, Chinese, Indonesian natives, as well as those of Indian and Arab descent who had settled in the archipelago. The meticulous reports on *vergaderingen* included dates on which the meetings were held, number of people attended, spaces used for the meetings (house, park, office), whether or not women, men, people of other nationalities, and government officials attended, whether or not police watched the event and which organization (which branch of Sarekat Islam or other communist-leaning parties) held the event. These details would then be followed with a detailed account of the speakers involved, the topics discussed, the conclusions/motions they came up with and, if important, the details of the debates involved.

Photo 19. This photo taken from *Balai Pustaka*'s propaganda book provides an example of how it was a common practice in the Indies for a literate person to read a book/newspaper outloud to an illiterate group of people. In this photo, a schoolboy was reading to his parents and neighbors[50]

It was in these meetings that newspapers were usually read aloud to the attendants, who mostly were illiterate. After the reading, the contents of the newspapers would be discussed and debated. It was also common for a meeting to require its attendees to bring a particular issue of a newspaper. This means one of the meeting's agenda would be to discuss a particular article in the paper, usually one that was deemed important and relevant for the attendees. This discussion would often be followed with a response article sent to the respective newspaper.

[50] Bureau voor de Volkslectuur, *What it is and what it does,* p. 26.



PARTAI KOMMUNIST INDIA.
AFDEELING SEMARANG.

Nanti pada hari REBO malam KEMIS tanggal 26 — 27 MAART 1924, moelai djam 7 malam, mengadakan Leden vergadering, bertempat di kan=toor V. S. T. P., oentoek meneroeskan membitjarakan voorstel=voorstel Congres.

Saudara=saudara lid harap datang dengan mem=bawa bewijs van lidmaatschapnja dan Soeara=Ra'jat No. 5 dan 6.

HET BESTUUR.

Photo 20. This is a sample invitation to a gathering: "*On Wednesday March, 26-27 1924, starting at 7 PM, a member gathering will be held in V.S.T.P. Office to discuss recent Congress motions. All members should bring their membership card and* Soeara-Ra'jat *newspaper number 5 and 6."* (Source: *Sinar Hindia,* March 24, 1924).

Additionally, the *vergaderingen* would assign one person to take notes and later write a report on the meetings to send to SH/Api. Because the reports on *vergaderingen* were written by local correspondents, the language was not only informal but also dialogical, capturing the content of the debates from both the speakers and the debaters. When discussing a debate, they often included, "and then the audience yelled 'debate, debate, debate!'" showing how engaged the members were.

While the newspapers were read in the gatherings, reports of particular gatherings, especially those that triggered important discussions, often led to discussions and debates in the newspapers. This interplay between the press and the public meetings became a unique characteristic of the revolutionary press. That is, there was almost no difference between the press and the people. The same journalists and correspondents were people who led, attended, or

reported the public gatherings. They were "leaders" who found themselves "in the midst of things," instead of reporting an event as an outsider.

5.E.3 The *kromo*'s enlightenment project: analyzing the issues

As one delves into the issues being discussed in SH/Api, it is difficult not to see resemblances with those ideas produced and fought for in Europe two centuries before under "the Enlightenment project." Jonathan Israel in his *Radical Enlightenment* explains,

> the Enlightenment—European and global—not only attacked and severed the roots of traditional European culture in the sacred, magic, kingship, and hierarchy, secularizing all institutions and ideas, but (intellectually and to a degree in practice) effectively demolished all legitimation of monarchy, aristocracy, woman's subordination to man, ecclesiastical authority, and slavery, replacing these with the principles of universality, equality, and democracy.[51]

In SH/Api, ideas of individual rights and duties, collective freedom, equality and liberation were voiced not only against colonialism but also the hegemony of religion and superstitious belief. These ideas were expressed in different genres, perhaps most lucidly in opinion articles, slogans, caricatures, and short stories.

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[51] Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), vi-vii. For more discussion on enlightenment project, its relation with colonialism, and a future project to overcome its Eurocentric narrative, see: Pankaj Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire: The Intellectuals who Remade Asia* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012); Lynn Festa and Daniel Carey, "Introduction: Some Answers to the Question: 'What is Postcolonial Enlightenment?," in *Postcolonial Enlightenment,* ed. Daniel Carey and Lynn Festa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1-33; Daniel Carey and Sven Trakulhun, "Universalism, Diversity, and the Postcolonial Enlightenment," in *Postcolonial Enlightenment,* ed. Daniel Carey and Lynn Festa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 241-280; W. Daniel Wilson and Robert C. Holub, *Impure Reason: Dialectic of Enlightenment in Germany* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1993); Susanne Zantop, "Dialectics and Colonialism: The Underside of the Enlightenment," in *Impure Reason: Dialectic of Enlightenment in Germany,* ed. W. Daniel Wilson and Robert C. Holub (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1993), 34-47; Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000); Peter Gran, *Beyond Eurocentrism: A New View of Modern World History* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1996); Vivek Chibber, *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital* (London: Verso, 2013).

5.E.3.1 Culture of debate in articles

SH/Api actively promoted the idea of freedom and equality and women's emancipation. This might be the first time an attention to women's liberation was put in the main agenda of an anti-colonial movement, both in theory and practice. Ms. Djoeinah—SH/Api's first female editor—wrote extensively about the rights and duties of women and the place of their struggle in the communist movement. One of her articles entitled "Learning not to seclude oneself"[52] was a call for women to open their minds to revolutionary thinking, to put women's emancipation on the agenda of the movement, and most importantly, to stand equally next to men to strive for freedom and justice against capitalism. Throughout SH/Api's years, Ms. Djoeinah tirelessly promoted the idea of women struggle as a part of communist anti-colonial struggle. Her other articles include "This [new] age," "The movement of Women SI Semarang," "Let's move," and "Obstacles."[53] Likewise, men were also involved in voicing this struggle against women's oppression and exploitation from both colonial capitalism and old (Javanese) tradition. Darsono wrote a three-part long article on "Kaoem perempoean" (The women) on January 12, 17, and 31, 1921,[54] which also advocated for women's equality and liberation from both religion and old tradition as a project of the movement. Indeed, the new language and discourse on communism triggered debates around its relevance to the natives' lives. Besides the discussion of how it spoke against women's exploitation and oppression, debates on how communism was compatible with Islam—the religion of most natives in Java and West Sumatra—frequented the front page of SH/Api up until the year 1926.

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[52] Djoeinah, "Beladjar ta' mengasingkan diri!" (Learning not to seclude oneself), *Sinar Hindia,* February 7, 1921.

[53] Djoeinah, "Zaman ini" (This [new] age), *Sinar Hindia,* December 7, 1920; "Geraknja S.I. Perampoean Semarang" (The movement of Women SI Semarang), *Sinar Hindia,* December 20, 1920; "Bergeraklah" (Let's move), *Sinar Hindia,* March 22, 1921; "Rintangan" (Obstacles), *Sinar Hindia,* July 4, 1921.

[54] Dars, "Kaoem perempoean" (The women), *Sinar Hindia,* January 12, 17, and 31, 1921.

Criticism might have already been a part of native vernacular press for a while when SH/Api was published. But, it was one thing to express criticism against the colonial government and it was another to do so against the internal leaders of the *pergerakan.* In 1912-1913 when Sarekat Islam party was first founded, its leader Tjokroaminoto was so popular and well respected by the ordinary mass that he was seen as a "*ratu adil*" (a Javanese messianic character). This myth was to be deconstructed when a few years later in 1920 Darsono, a young radical leader from SI Semarang branch, launched criticism against Tjokroaminoto on a possible corruption case. The long article in which Darsono explained his criticism was published in three parts. The first part was a lengthy justification for why a "criticism" was needed for the movement and the collective organization.

> We have to express this criticism because we believe that with a criticism all mistakes and fraudulence can be fixed and then prevented [so as] not to affect out movement and association… A criticism, as we perceive it, is like a soap that can clean all dirt… A criticism is an effective medicine that can cure all diseases that can lure the association and other order.[55]

The extensive argument expressed by Darsono brought to the surface a new need in the movement: a culture of criticism on the internal working of the leaders. This culture of criticism, or rather self-criticism—done with respect and without targetting "persoonlijk" (personal) matters—was deemed important for the collective good, i.e. the movement, association, and order. Like a "soap" and "medicine," criticism can fix, clean, and cure problems. Only after explaining this did Darsono then in the second part of his article explain in detail the accusations against Tjokroaminoto ("Tjokro") over the case of a fraudulence of party money.[56] For Darsono to break Tjokro's image as a messiah, to ask him to clarify the case as a part of his individual

[55] Darsono, "Pimpinan, centraal sarekat Islam (kritik terhadap kepada Kongres 1920)" (Leadership, Central Sarekat Islam A critic on the 1920 Congress), *Sinar Hindia,* October 6, 7 and 9, 1920.
[56] Ibid.

duty as a leader to the people, and to point out that it was the people's collective rights to know the truth was foreign even for the *pergerakan.*

Therefore, for a hierarchical society like the Javanese, Darsono's criticism did not just create a controversy; it also divided the people. Some people wrote letters or opinion articles implying that it was very un-Javanese of him to criticize the leader Tjokro, who was supposed to be immune from sins and mistakes. Some welcomed this criticism as a healthy tradition needed by the movement. What was Tjokro's response? Having his face threatened, he wrote a response article in *Neratja*, later reprinted in *Sinar Hindia,* brushing off all the accusations as not true. He further refused giving serious treatment on the accusations saying that at the time he was busy taking care of a more important problem—the SI leaders Muso and Alimin who were currently in jail.[57] This altercation occuring in October 1920 was followed with heated debates among the readers for months to come with articles like "Darsono ngamoek" (Darsono runs amok, "amok" originates from Javanese for behaving uncontrollably and disruptively), "Kritiknja kommunist Darsono pada pimpinan C.S.I. berekor" (Communist Darsono's criticism against C.S.I. leaders with tails), and "Kritik Darsono!" (Darsono's criticism!).[58]

The divide in the movement following this altercation was exacerbated by the news of Lenin's statement on colonial questions and the position of communist movement with Islam that were expressed in the Comintern's (Communist International) second congress. In the congress held in July-August 1920, Lenin introduced "Soviet Eastern Policy," explaining that before communism could succeed in the West, the capitalist world had to be weakened through

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[57] Tjokroaminoto, "Pemboekaan rahsia pemimpin C.S.I." (Revealing the secret of C.S.I. leadership), *Sinar Hindia,* October 21, 1920.
[58] Kadhool, "Darsono ngamoek" (Darsono runs amok), *Sinar Hindia,* January 19, 1921; Soedarjo Tjokrosisworo, "Kritiknja kommunist Darsono pada pimpinan C.S.I. berekor" (Communist Darsono's criticism against C.S.I. leaders with tails), *Sinar Hindia,* February 1, 1921; S. Praptodihardjo, "Kritik Darsono!" (Darsono's criticism!), *Sinar Hindia,* February 2, 1921.

the loss of its colonies. Eastern revolutionaries, such as the Bengali communist M.N. Roy, in the second comintern congress hoped that this meant the European revolution would be tied directly to the Eastern anti-colonial revolutions. But, Lenin and the congress rejected this interpretation. The congress' attention was instead directed toward Europe, and Asia received little attention. Despite this introduction of the Soviet Eastern Policy, the second congress also adopted a major set of theses on the national and colonial questions, drawn up by Lenin, that were uncompromising on pan-Islam. In the congress, Lenin said

> It is necessary to struggle against the pan-Islamism and the pan-Asian movement and similar currents of opinion which attempt to combine the struggle for liberation from European and American imperialism with a strengthening of Turkish and Japanese imperialism and of the nobility, the large landowners, the clergy, etc.[59]

The news of Lenin's hostile position vis-à-vis Islam shook the *pergerakan* in the Indies. Pro-government newspapers took this opportunity to attack the communists saying that they were just passively following imported ideas of communism. On February 12, 1921, PKI released a statement to clarify the relation between Islam and communism but this was not enough to avoid the split that followed. Articles such as "Kommunisma dan Islamisma" (communism and Islamism) and "Kommunisme dan Igama" (communism and religion)[60] appeared in the subsequent months, beginning a long debate on the compatibility of communism and religion, especially Islam. Already at this point, SI followers were divided between those who saw communism with suspicion and those who believed that communism strengthened the Muslim cause for anti-colonial liberation. Especially in light of Darsono's attack on Tjokroaminoto, anti-

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[59] McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism,* 61; also see, for discussion on the alliance between Islam and Communism: Ben Fowkes and Bülent Gökay, *Muslims and communists in post-transition states* (London: Routledge, 2011); for the involvement of people of the East in Comintern congresses: John Riddell, *To See the Dawn: Baku, 1920-First Congress of the Peoples of the East* (New York: Pathfinder, 1993), *Toward the United Front: Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, 1922* (Chicago, Ill: Haymarket, 2012), *To the Masses: Proceedings of the Third Congress of the Communist International, 1921* (Chicago, Ill: Haymarket Books, 2016).

[60] "Kommunisma dan Islamisma" (communism and Islamism), *Sinar Hindia,* February 14, 15, 17, 1921; Sp. Hard, "Kommunisme dan Igama" (communism and religion), *Sinar Hindia,* February 15, 1921.

communist SI members saw communism as only creating trouble for the unity and strength of SI party, leading Semaoen to release an article in which he made a call to unite between these two groups.[61] In spite of that, this debate on communism and religion began to turn into a discussion on *partijdiscipline* (party discipline), suggesting that SI should rid of the communist-leaning members and leaders. Though the actual break between Red SI and White SI did not happen until 1923, the intense sentiments against and for communism were first triggered by the young Communist Darsono's attack on the SI leader Tjokroaminoto, and they were aggravated by Comintern's policy on pan-Islamism.

5.E.3.2 Political slogans

Just like how the oral tradition made way into the style of SH/Api's written language, so did political slogans.[62] Though often used in strikes and rallies, SH/Api used political slogans throughout its pages to remind its readers the importance of SH/Api and the new system of thought—the "penerangan" (enlightenment)—that it promoted.

> "How loud the voice of SINAR, to defend the Proletariat"
>
> "The sun brightens the earth, SINAR brightens the workers' mind"
>
> "Rice is the medicine for a hungry stomach, SINAR is the medicine for a lost mind"
>
> "SINAR demands equality between men"
>
> "SINAR is the workers' mind"
>
> "SINAR fights against capitalism and its slaves"

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[61] Semaoen, "Haloean bersatoe hati ditetapkan oleh Kongres S.I." (A call to unite set by S.I. Congress), *Sinar Hindia,* March 12, 1921.

[62] Literature on the political significance of slogans: Joel D. Aberbach and Jack L. Walker, "The Meanings of Black Power: A Comparison of White and Black Interpretations of a Political Slogan," *American Political Science Review* 64 (02) (1970): 367-388.; Anna L Ahlers and Gunter Schubert, "'Building a New Socialist Countryside'—Only a Political Slogan?," *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 38 (4) (2009): 35-62; Ludwig Bieler, "A Political Slogan in Ancient Athens," *The American Journal of Philology* 72 (2) (1951): 181-184.

"SINAR is fierce, but also sweet"

"Being loyal to SINAR means defending humanity"

These slogans that frequently appear at the bottom pages of SH/Api make it clear that SH/Api's *penerangan* project was founded on the idea of fierce defense, equality, education, and humanity. Moreover, during the time of strikes, these slogans were used to encourage the spirits of the workers in a simple, agitating, and fierce tone. For example, when the VSTP strike launched on May 8, 1923, the following slogans appeared:

> "When on a strike, don't use weapons, just stay at home. Truly your employer will have a stomach ache [due to anger]"
>
> "The communists are always ready to pay back the devils' [capitalists'] exploitation! Beware"
>
> "Don't accept sweet words from the capitalists; they are all poisons! Believe in your [workers'] own strength"
>
> "Don't rely on fate. That is an old idea. 'Fate' only comes from reactionary's mouth."

The last slogan is representative of SH/Api's attitude to the anti-communist group's use of Islam. Anti-communist propaganda often discredited communism for being non-Islamic and upheld that the only true way of life was by surrendering to the "fate" already written by God. Instead, in the last slogan, the communist newspaper SH/Api argued that it was important to believe in one's strength and to not easily give in to "fate."

Indeed, political slogans were among the most important media that the central leadership of communist party in Russia paid serious attention to. In reports from PKI leaders to the Comintern, the existing parties in the Indies were described by mentioning their different slogans—SI with its "Riches and wealth of the Islams for the Islam" and Boedi Oetomo with its

"Java for the Javanese."[63] During the conference between Alimin, Semaoen, and the Comintern leaders, Semaoen suggested that the slogan "Down with the Dutch government" needed to be followed with "The United Kingdom of Indonesia,"[64] demonstrating how the creation of slogans involved serious discussions among party top leaders. There is no evidence yet whether or not these slogans from high leadership were actually put to use on the ground given that SH/Api's slogans seem to have more nuance in both content and expression, but it is clear that, despite their simple and often times vague language, slogans were deemed important to carry the cause of the movement as well as its enlightenment project.

5.E.3.3 Caricatures: Symbolism and imagery

The fierce and straightforward character of the language was also manifested in the use of caricatures. As in other parts of the world where visual imagery was used to speak resistance,[65] SH/Api used these caricatures to heighten the agitating effects of its verbal content. In a meeting with the Comintern in Russia, Darsono said, "we work through organizations, not only political organizations but also artistic organizations and various village units."[66] This explains why, besides news and articles, slogans and caricatures were deemed important and were created through cooperation with existing artists. It is not clear, however, who made these caricatures because it was common for correspondents or journalists to conceal their names for fear of government persecution. The newspaper *Pemimpin* that Mas Marco edited, for example, was confiscated in 1921due to a caricature in its front page that was considered expressing insult to

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[63] "Replies on the twelve questions," pp. xx and 6, in Archief Komintern - Partai Komunis Indonesia, Collection ID: ARCH01744, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

[64] "Indonesian Conference, July 22, 1923," p. 6, in Archief Komintern - Partai Komunis Indonesia, Collection ID: ARCH01744, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

[65] P. J. Brummett, *Image and imperialism in the Ottoman revolutionary press: 1908-1911* (Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 2000).

[66] "Report of Comrade Darsana to India Sub-Secretariat," May 6, 1926, in Archief Komintern - Partai Komunis Indonesia, Collection ID: ARCH01744, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

the government.[67] Therefore, it was common for both writers and caricaturists to use pseudonyms such as "Moeda Merah" ("Young [and] Red"), "Anarchist," "Si Kromo Boeroeh" ("The Lower Class Labor"), "Sama rata" ("Equality"), and "Tjamboek" ("The Whip," a possible twist of the Dutch racist newspaper of the same name),[68] which protected the writers/artists from being recognized by the colonial authorities while still living up to the newspaper's revolutionary spirit.

Because of their visual roles to carry ideology and deconstruct myths, caricatures dovetailed well with SH/Api verbal messages of liberation and struggle. For example, to accompany the headline "Capitalism or Communism that leads to sufferance,"[69] two caricatures were placed next to it.

[67] Marco, "Nasib Kami."
[68] The whip symbol might be used to fight against the most notorious racist and reactionary newspaper of the Dutch, *De Zweep* (The Whip). Thanks to Benedict Anderson for pointing this out.
[69] "Kapitalisme atau Kommunisme-kah jang membikin kemelaratan," (Capitalism or Communism that leads to sufferance), *Sinar Hindia,* January 12, 1924.

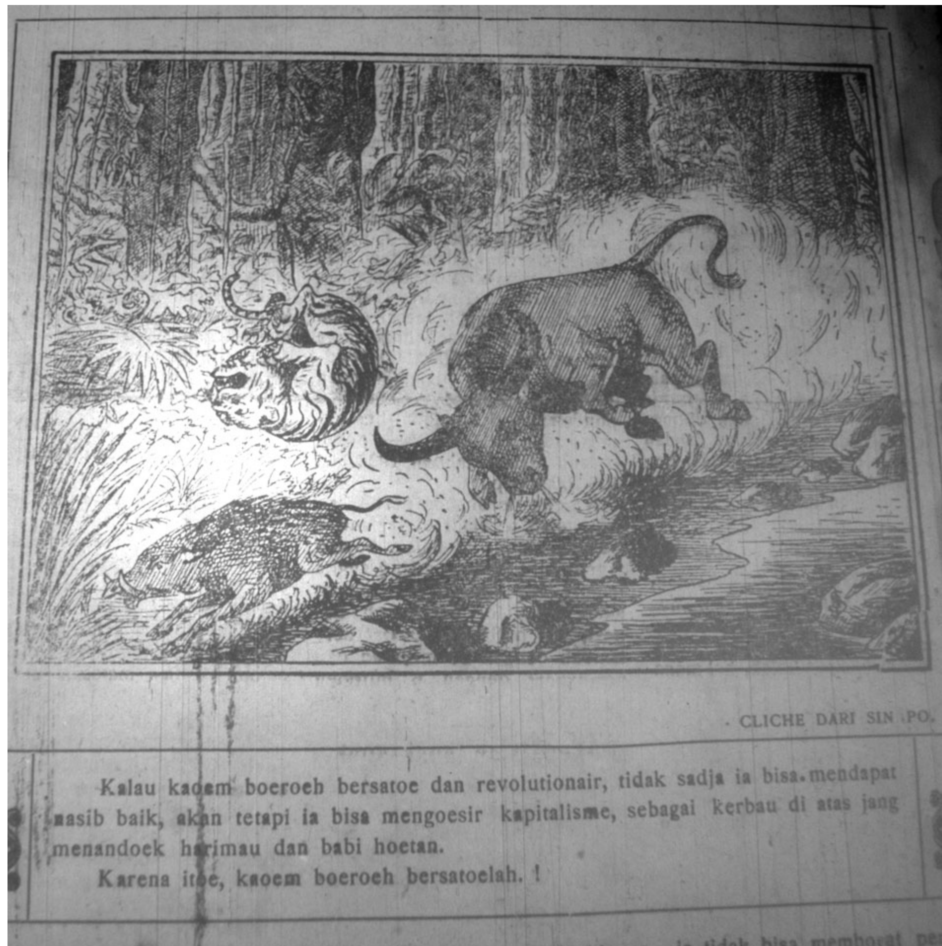
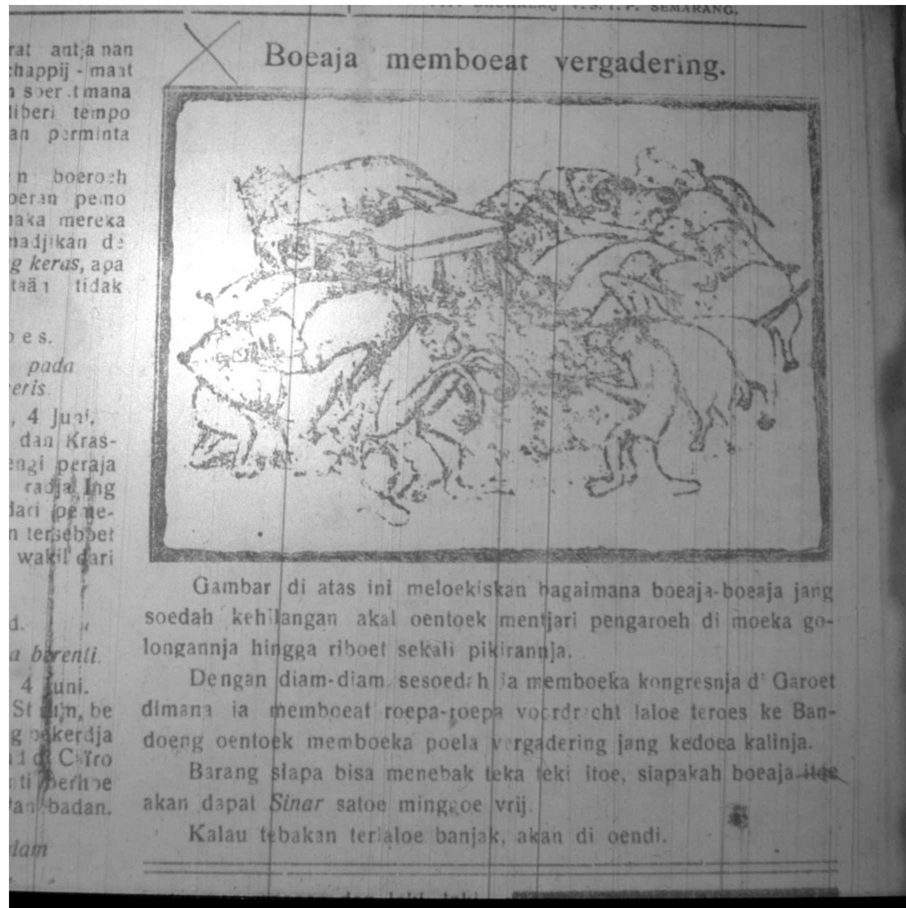


Photo 21. Caricature "Tiger and water buffalo"

Under the caricature, it reads: "if the workers are united and revolutionary, not only could they have a better luck but they could also kick out capitalism like a water buffalo that headbutts a tiger and a wild boar. Therefore, workers, unite!" The water buffalo, commonly used to work in paddy rice fields to plough the land, is used here as a metaphor for workers. It is hard working, strong and powerful; it is physically large and adorned with strong horns making it unbeatable. The tiger represents the idea of a predator while the wild boar represents an invader, both suitable metaphors for colonial capitalists who invaded and ruthlessly exploited the workers in the Indies. The other caricature accompanying the headline was,

Photo 22. Caricature “Monkey and water buffalo”

Here, a monkey symbolizing the capitalist class is shown urinating on a water buffalo symbolizing the working class. This metaphorically depicts the persistence of the working class to work hard, despite constant assaults from the capitalists. Indeed, among SH/Api’s caricatures, animals were commonly used. Another example is



Boeaja memboeat vergadering.

Gambar di atas ini meloekiskan bagaimana boeaja-boeaja jang soedah kehilangan akal oentoek mentjari pengaroeh di moeka golongannja hingga riboet sekali pikirannja.

Dengan diam-diam sesoedah ia memboeka kongresnja d' Garoet dimana ia memboeat roepa-roepa voordracht laloe teroes ke Bandoeng oentoek memboeka poela vergadering jang kedoea kalinja.

Barang siapa bisa menebak teka teki itoe, siapakah boeaja itoe akan dapat *Sinar* satoe minggoe vrij.

Kalau tebakan terlaloe banjak, akan di oendi.

Photo 23. Caricature "Crocodiles in *vergadering*"

This caricature described crocodiles in a *vergadering.* It was released during the time when the top leaders of White SI, including Tjokroaminoto, held a secret meeting in Garut. Crocodiles here symbolized traitors, the White SI leaders, who expelled the communist-leaning members of SI party.[70] The use of images of animals as symbolism might be inspired by the work of the first Indonesian painter, Raden Saleh (1807-1880), famous for his use of animal imagery, such as tigers, deers, and buffalos, to express social criticism.[71]

5.E.3.4 *Feuilleton*: The birth of socialist literature

Besides articles, political slogans, and caricatures, ideas of resistance were also voiced in poems, novels, and short stories, literary styles which first emerged and popularized through the

[70] *Sinar Hindia,*June 6, 1924.
[71] Thanks to Harry Poeze for pointing this out.

vernacular press. If the birth of native vernacular press was highly influenced by *peranakan* Chinese press, so too was the development of native literary genres. Between 1870 and 1880, Indonesian-Chinese literature appeared in *peranakan* Chinese newspapers and soon became popular among the *peranakan* Chinese readers, who themselves would send and contribute poems and short stories to the newspapers. Fictional stories would usually be published serially in the section *feuilleton* (French word for literary and art section in a newspaper) and only later be bound and sold in booklets or brochures to expand sale and readership.[72] Therefore, the press played a role in the spread of literary fictions and the emergence of its readability.

Within the backdrop of the popularity of literary fictions in vernacular newspapers, the revolutionary newspapers such as SH/Api utilized literary genres to popularize communist ideas of resistance. These radical fictions were labeled "literatuur socialistisch" by Semaoen—and "bacaan liar" (wild readings) by the government.[73] According to Semaoen, "socialism is knowledge that regulates social life in that humans do not exploit one another,"[74] so the socialist literature was a medium to educate the *kromo* class about the existence of colonial capitalist exploitation and to organize them to overcome that exploitation. Some of the most famous works published as a series in SH/Api and then later as a novel were Semaoen's *Hikajat Kadiroen* (The Tale of Kadiroen)[75] and Soemantri's *Rasa Mardika: Hikajat Soedjanmo* (A Sense of

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[72] Claudine Salmon, *Sastra Indonesia Awal: Kontribusi Orang Tionghoa* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2010), 15-16. See also: Claudine Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia: A Provisional Annotated Bibliography* (Paris: Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1981).
[73] Razif, *"Bacaan Liar" Budaya dan Politik pada Zaman Pergerakan* (?: Edi Cahyono's Experience, 2005), 2. Also see: Hilmar Farid and Razif, "Batjaan Liar in the Dutch East Indies: a Colonial Antipode," *Postcolonial Studies* 11 (3) (2008): 277-292. A. Teeuw, *Modern Indonesian Literature* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967), 15-17.
[74] Razif, *"Bacaan Liar."*
[75] Semaoen, *Hikajat Kadiroen* (Semarang: Kantoor P.K.I, 1920), Kroch Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, USA. Also, a recent edition: Semaoen, *Hikayat Kadiroen: sebuah novel* (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Bentang Budaya, 2000).

Independence: The Tale of Soedjanmo).[76] *Hikajat Kadiroen* recounted a story of a native young government official, Kadiroen, who were frustrated to see how, despite having already worked hard to help them, *kromo* people still lived in misery and poverty. Realizing this, Kadiroen joined the communist party, PKI, and left his work with the aim to liberate his people from capitalist exploitations. In fact, leaving one's job to join the party was a popular theme propagated in short stories in the *feuilleton* section, as the main character in another story with a similar line summed up, "bekerja atau bergerak" ("to work or to move") mirroring the real condition at the time of how antagonistic the relation between the anti-communist employers and the communist workers often was.[77] In fact, news in SH/Api often reported how workers left their jobs because of their involvement in the movement, just like what was called for in *Hikajat Kadiroen*.[78]

Although these works predated the debate among the post-independence Indonesian left about the application of socialist realism in Indonesian literature,[79] already at the outset these radical fictions promoted socialism and communism as a promising way to liberate workers and the *kromo*s. Indeed, often defined as "full, central, immediate human experience,"[80] literature enacts sensibility and desires differently than in other non-fiction genres. To speak of exploitations and inequality in colonial society, women's oppression, and workers' struggles in the immediate living experience of the main character Kadiroen helped readers to

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[76] Soemantri, *Rasa Merdika: Hikajat Soedjanmo* (Semarang: V.S.T.P., 1924), Kroch Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, USA. Anderson mistakenly thought this was the work of Mas Marco who produced many literary works in the previous years of the *pergerakan* (Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* 32n53), but Mas Marco in 1920-1924 was not active in the *pergerakan* due to a disagreement with the communist Darsono and Semaoen on their attack to Tjokroaminoto. He also continuously faced charges during this time making him seclude himself in the city Salatiga.
[77] Tjempaka-Pasoeroean, "Aliran Djaman atau Seorang Gadis yang Sengsara," *Api,* September 1, 1925.
[78] "Dilepas karena tertoedoeh lid S.R.," *Api,* July 23, 1925.
[79] Michael Bodden, "Dynamics and tensions of LEKRA's modern national theatre, 1959-1965" in *Heirs to world culture: being indonesian, 1950-1965,* ed. Jennifer Lindsay and Maya H.T. Liem (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2012), 455-58. Also see: Pramoedya A. Toer, *Realisme-sosialis Dan Sastra Indonesia* (Jakarta: Lentera Dipantara, 2003); For Socialist realism in Britain: Nick Bentley, *Radical Fictions: The English Novel in the 1950s* (Oxford, England: Peter Lang, 2007).
[80] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1977), 45.

sympathetically take sides with him and to emulate his choices and attitudes in real life. Therefore, the use of fictions to promote communism was not intended for just a mere creation of a "revolutionary taste" but rather as a part of an emancipatory and revolutionary project of working class to organize.[81] In other words, these fictions were produced to organize and not just to consume.

The efficacy of literary fictions to propagate communist ideas can not be understated. One way to assess this is by looking at the subsequent *feuilleton* stories published in SH/Api written by ordinary people. In 1925, there were four short stories published in *Api*: 1) Korbannja nafsoe birahi atau godanja pertjinta'an jang soetji" (The victim of lust or the seduction of sacred love) by Tjoa Moh Shan and Ong Kiong Giam[82]; 2) "Rohmani: kekejaman iboe tiri" (Rohmani: The cruelty of a step mother) by Djamboemerah (alias. Red rose apple)[83]; 3) "Siti Maryam, Perempoean jalang yang berboedi" (Siti Maryam, a virtuous bitch) by Djola Djali (an alias) [84]; and 4) "Aliran djaman atau seorang gadis yang sengsara" (The flow of time or a girl who suffers) by Tjempaka-Pasoeroean (alias. a tjempaka flower from Pasoeroean).[85] Given that in 1925 *Api* newspaper had become even more radical and concentrated more in aiding the radical and popular communist movement on the ground, it was quite peculiar for *Api* to publish not one but four short stories with a cheesy romance theme throughout the year.

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[81] Williams explained that literature developed into bourgeois consumption being read as a part of the creation of taste rather than seen and produced as an active actions of writers conditioned by their social reality. Ibid., 50.
[82] Tjoa Moh Shan and Ong Kiong Giam, "Korbannja nafsoe birahi atau godanja pertjinta'an jang soetji" (The victim of lust or the seduction of sacred love), *Api,* January 5 - February 12, 1925.
[83] Djamboemerah, "Rohmani: kekejaman iboe tiri" (Rohmani: The cruelty of a step mother), *Api,* February 14 - March 19, 1925.
[84] Djola Djali , "Siti Maryam, Perempoean jalang yang berboedi" (Siti Maryam, a virtuous bitch), *Api,* March 20 – May 12, 1925.
[85] Tjempaka-Pasoeroean, "Aliran djaman atau seorang gadis yang sengsara" (The flow of time or a girl who suffers), *Api,* August 6 – September 10, 1925.

Although these stories did not center around the story of a communist member like Semaoen's and Soemantri's, it is the reproduction of the movement's vocabulary and concepts as well as the theme of liberation that demonstrates how communist language no longer belonged to the leaders but had circulated among ordinary readers who contributed these stories to SH/Api. All four stories' main character is a woman. Story 1 was about a young *peranakan* Chinese woman, Tjian Nio, who lived with his widower uncle to take care of his four children. Story 2 centered on Rohmani who lived with her father and his cruel new wife. Story 3 was on Siti Maryam, a beautiful Sundanese woman who fell into prostitution. Story 4 was about Soediati, the daughter of a police officer who forced her to marry an old government official for money. In each of these stories, the female character faced a typical condition that women faced at the time—an uncle who almost raped Tjian, Rohmani and Soediati who were going to be forced to marry a man for money by her step mother and her father respectively, and Siti Maryam who became a sex worker to survive economically. Eventually, by finding their sense of self as a woman within the condition of their oppression, these women were able to seek refuge: Tjian, Rohmani, and Soediati ran away to another city and found the love of their life while Siti Maryam stopped from being a sex worker and lived with her boyfriend. If these stories were to be read in the twenty-first century, people would laugh over how cheesy they were. But, these were from the early twentieth century colonial Indies where women were still tied to the confine of their home, their marriage was determined by the parents—usually father—to whom they belonged, and love was a totally strange concept. So, for these women to run away alone from their homes to liberate themselves and to determine the love life of their own was a completely modern phenomenon. The application of the concept of liberation on women's condition that the

communist movement inspired exhibited how ideas of resistance had become a currency of the everyday life of the people.

Likewise, communist concepts and vocabulary of liberation and new ways of thinking and living were applied in the language as well as the social commentaries embedded in these love stories.

> "money marriage" (story 1)
>
> "Our romance is degenerated because of wealth" (story 1)
>
> "Don't believe in superstition [because] it doesn't rely on truth" (story 1)
>
> "It is an old-fashioned understanding to say that women had to stay at home" (story 2)
>
> "Those [Dutch] women felt embarrassed and lowly… to sit at the same level as their maids [who had to sit on the floor]" (story 2)
>
> "Those poets who think in an old-fashioned way assuming women as just objects for entertainment or display" (story 3)
>
> "people these days still feel weird to see a love union between two people with different races" (story 3)
>
> "Soediati sit on the floor facing her parents who are sitting on the chairs. Actually Soediati does not like to follow this old-fashioned rule… In this day and age *sembah djongkok* [paying homage by squatting] is no longer approriate." (story 4)

These examples express one thing in common that there is a clash between an old and new way of thinking. The new way of thinking only relied on truth, saw women as a free thinking being, perceived people of different races as equal, and disapproved marriage based on money and old ways of paying respect. The fact that these commentaries were found in stories with a cheesy romance theme is telling. The theme of romance might be intended to target a wider audience than the theme on communism could. (Perhaps, it was intended to attract more readership in the time when communism had begun to be repressed by the colonial government.) However, the social commentaries in fictional stories on themes other than communism showed how the new

way of thinking the communist movement had built had circulated and been applied in mundane seemingly non-political areas, such as love and marriage, and therefore it had become the language of the ordinary.

Similar to revolutionary press in other parts of the world,[86] SH/Api introduced ideas of individual/collective rights and duties, freedom, liberation, and justice by creating a new system of meaning. In SH/Api's case was through the use of communist language, concepts and concerns in varying genres of non fictions, political slogans, visual imagery, and literary works. What is more important to note, however, is that it organized ordinary lower class people by making this new system of meaning ordinary. The mix of new communistic terms with old *pergerakan* words, the interplay of the press and the people in *vergaderingen,* the continuous debates on the relevance of communist ideas in aspects of natives' lives, and the use of the new language of resistance and enlightenment in everyday mundane life made the new system of meaning an everyday exchange.

5.F Print communism as an organized community

This systematic study of SH/Api rescues an important yet little recognized tradition within the history of the press in Indonesia, known as the revolutionary press. The revolutionary press emerged out of the tradition of the vernacular press and developed into an institution whose characteristics differed in several ways from its predecessors. Uncovering the revolutionary press's distinct characteristics demonstrates new ways to understand the processes by which ordinary people organized themselves in a radical anti-colonial movement. The movement did not just "use" existing media, but instead intentionally seized the opportunity available through

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[86] C. L. Cutler, *Connecticut's Revolutionary press* (Chester, Conn: Pequot Press, 1975); J. D. Popkin, *Revolutionary news: The press in France 1789-1799* (Durham [u.a].: Duke Univ. Press, 1999); M. Edelstein, "La Feuille villageoise, the Revolutionary Press, and the Question of Rural Political Participation," *French Historical Studies* 7 (2) (1971): 175-203.

the existing native vernacular press of the *pergerakan* age to create a new institution of the revolutionary press as a part of a conscious way of organizing the people. In this effort, they also revolutionized the theory and practice of journalism itself, one of which by developing an institution that appealed to a new way of thinking, centering on humanity than religion, on truth and knowledge making than fate, and on civic rights and duties. Under these premises, they voiced criticism against Islam and old tradition, women oppression and exploitation, unethical practice of journalism, state power, and colonial capitalism.

The conscious making of the revolutionary press reveals a broader significance of the tradition in Indonesia. Historically, SH/Api's agenda of liberation through writing, its function as a mechanism of control and criticism of the government, and its insistence on upholding integrity by relying on objective truth and reason vis-à-vis journalistic practice as "business as usual," all showed how its practices embodied the project of enlightenment. What is telling is how this enlightenment project was not something inherited from the West through the Dutch—though perhaps triggered and introduced by it, but rather something the ordinary illiterate *kromo* people struggled for themselves. This becomes even more apparent upon learning that it was through the revolutionary press that ideas of individual/collective rights and duties, freedom, and justice were developed in the Indies. And, through it, the revolutionary cultures and practices of resistance became ordinary. The enlightenment project, as a foundation for the struggle against colonialism, emerged as one of the main features of this revolutionary press.

Furthermore, understanding the revolutionary press also explains the processes by which it helped organize people around a common identity, language, and system of thought, i.e. communism, as well as a common action of *vergaderingen* and public debates and discussion. This history of the revolutionary press showcases a model of collective action centered around

the making of the media of resistance. The role of the vernacular press was limited to building an "imagined community," Benedict Anderson's seminal concept.[87] Following Anderson, Sidney Tarrow explains that a social movement's substance changes in capitalism as it gave birth to print media and new models of association that transcend local and regional boundaries, diffusing words—and hence the movement—and creating unified yet interdependent social networks of a movement in widespread geographical locations.[88] However, this argument assumes that the mere existence of the press in capitalism automatically created the opportunity for a new way of organizing. The history of SH/Api demonstrates, in fact, that the revolutionary press was a conscious creation of the broader revolutionary movement, i.e. its organizing role was purposefully created at the outset. Therefore, it might be telling to learn that if print capitalism gave birth to an "imagined community," it is print communism that became the handmaiden of an "organized community."

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[87] Anderson, *Imagined Communities.*
[88] S. G. Tarrow, *Power in movement: Social movements, collective action, and politics* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 48-61.

CHAPTER VII

"PUBLIC PEACE AND ORDER": THE STATE'S LAW AND POLICY MEASURES ON MEDIA OF RESISTANCE

> Judge: Is it true that you, Ms. Ati, gave a talk in an openbare vergadering in Donomoelio on August 6, 1925?
> Ms. Ati: Yes.
> Judge: What kind of vergadering was that and did you get a permission from the local government to hold it?
> Ms. Ati: We did.
> Judge: During the vergadering did you not see if there were police present?
> Ms. Ati: I did! But I did not know each one of them personally.
> Judge: Before you gave a talk, didn't the police warn you already not to talk about something that violates the state's law?
> Ms. Ati: No!
> Judge: Did you deride government officials saying: 'in the past, women chose *prijaji* to marry, but now you shouldn't choose them.' Is that right?
> Ms. Ati: Yes!
> Judge: What did you mean by that? Who were the *prijaji*? Didn't you know that *prijaji* refer to government officials?
> Ms. Ati: I said *prijaji* were not just government officials, but everybody who receives a high salary and is a white collar is also a *prijaji.*
> Judge: 'Even if one threatens to kill, I still will not marry a *prijaji.*' Didn't you say that?
> Ms. Ati: No!
> Judge: How so?
> Ms. Ati: After my talk, a police stopped me, and instead I said: 'we are women who move [in communism]. Even if there are those who prevent us or threaten to kill us, we will not give up, before we gain independence.'[1]

7.A Media of resistance in the circuit of struggle

We have so far discussed the development of media of resistance during the period of the early communist movement. Within the span of six years, networks of transport and social communication that had existed in colonial Indies prior to the movement were turned into networks of resistance. Railways and shipping lines, as well as *openbare vergaderingen,* schools, and newspapers became keys to the spread of the movement in expansive geographical areas. As I explained in chapter II, the concept of "communicative sociotechnical systems" helps illuminate the centrality of media—encompassing both transport and social networks—in the

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[1] "Spreekdelikt [sic!] jang pertama di Indonesia bagi pemimpin perempoean s. woro ATI" (The first speech offense in Indonesia for women's leader Ms. Ati) *Api,* January 29, 1926.

making of a social movement. Through this concept, media are understood not just as technologies, but also as specific practices[2] and processes surrounding the communicative aspects of the movement.

It is not enough, however, to see media of resistance in isolation; in order to fully understand their significance—and hence the broader significance of the movement, we need to locate this communist project dialectically among the contradictions generated by colonial capitalism. In other words, it is important to explain the communist project alongside the project that countered it, both from the government or other horizontal groups. This is why I have also highlighted the importance of understanding communication as a "circuit of struggle"—that is, to understand it as an arena of political and cultural struggle. Communicative practices, including the adaptation of communication technologies and the invention of law and regulation, are therefore first and foremost projects of struggle. Looking at it this way reveals how communicative practices are both conditions and forms of agency from which a new emergent order comes to be.

To give an example of communication as a circuit of struggle, anti-communist organizations developed as a response to the communist movement, and their propaganda and harassment of communist sympathizers developed and intensified during the last few years of the period before the communist revolt of 1926/7. We have previously explored how capitalist groups, such as the sugar owners, created an internal regulation of surveillance and adopted technologies like dactyloscopy to screen and profile workers.[3] From within the Muslim organizations, *Sarekat Hidjo* (Green Union) emerged and began to mobilize organized anti-

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[2] Some recent discussions on media practice: Nick Couldry, "Theorising media as practice," *Social Semiotics,* Vol. 14 (2) (2004): 115-132; Mark Hobart, "What do we mean by 'media practices'?, in *Theorising Media and Practice,* ed. B. Braucheler and J. Postill (New York: Berghahn, 2009).

[3] See chapter IV.

communist propaganda, often times violently disrupting *vergaderingen* and harassing alleged communist members by throwing rocks at their houses or attacking them physically.[4] However, a more repressive response came from the Dutch colonial state. The Dutch state took actions through the laws and regulations related to the communicative practices of the citizens to hinder and repress further development of the anti-colonial movement in the Indies. In fact, it was in this communist period that we see for the first time that the Dutch colonial state took the arena of communication as a serious threat to its existence and, perhaps more strikingly, invented and amended an elaborate set of legal measures and policing institutions in an effort to curtail the threat. In this regard, the legal measures by the state surrounding communicative practices became a part of the whole communicative sociotechnical system that made up the history of the communist movement specifically, and more generally of the broader Dutch colonization project.

This chapter analyzes the regulatory framework that the Dutch colonial state created around the communicative sociotechnical system as a response to the existing communist movement. The purpose of the chapter is to demonstrate how communication technologies have historically been a circuit of struggle, that is, a battleground for power between the state and the people. It is also aimed to question the perversion of "public peace and order"[5] that had often become the state's pretext to create policy products that actually suppress and disempower, rather than protect. The chapter relies on historical research to examine the rationale behind three legal products of the Dutch colonial state: "the Press Banning Ordinance," "the Wild School Ordinance," and (the repression of) "the Rights of Association and Gathering" after the 1926/7

[4] Ruth T. McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1965), 295; Takashi Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912-1926* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 312, 314.

[5] Other research on public order: Chris Greer and Eugene McLaughlin, "We Predict a Riot?: Public Order Policing, New Media Environments and the Rise of the Citizen Journalist," in *British Journal of Criminology,* 50 (2010): 1041-1059; P.A.J. Waddington, *Liberty and Order: Public Order Policing in a Capital City* (London: UCL Press Limited, 1994).

communist revolt. I argue that, while the native Indonesians utilized existing communication technologies in creative ways to organize and mobilize themselves in an anti-colonial movement, the colonial state dialectically responded through increasingly repressive policy measures by banning the people's access to public media, on the one hand, and implementing a highly controlled regulatory framework for public communicative practices, on the other.

7.B The rights of association and gathering

To explore the constitutional right to hold and attend *openbare vergaderingen* as a circuit of struggle reveals that the rationales around the changes in the law regulating this right shifted over time. In the beginning, it was developed to *recognize and protect* human fundamental freedom for political activities; however, soon as it was adopted in the colonial Indies, the law was implemented to *regulate, control, and later repress* political activities. The later changes became more obvious, especially in the period of the communist movement.

The constitutional right to *openbare vergaderingen* was protected under the *recht van vereeniging en vergadering* (the right of association and assembly). Influenced by the spirit of the French revolution, *recht van vereeniging en vergadering* was first instituted in 1848 in the Netherlands under the protection of the constitution to recognize the rights of the citizens of the Netherlands to create political and cultural associations and to hold their assemblies. However, while this law was developed to protect the Dutch citizens' rights for political activities, its adaptation in the colonies reversed this reasoning and instead was implemented to forbid these same political activities.

Less than a decade later, in 1854, a regulation to prohibit—instead of recognize—the activities of associations and assembly in the Dutch East Indies was installed to prevent the

potential of threats to "public order."[6] This prohibition of association and assembly was not lifted even after the installment of the Ethical Policy in the early 1900s, when the Dutch colonial state began to recognize the natives' rights regarding education, public health, and modern infrastructure, among others.

In spite of this prohibition, native political organizations (inspired by the Eurasian and Chinese who had earlier founded their own political organizations) emerged and developed on a large scale from the turn of the twentieth century onward. This included Sarekat Islam (Islamic Union, SI) party, which later became one of the most important bases of the communist movement. The proliferation of these political organizations was supported partly by the use of *openbare vergaderingen* as a means of organizing and mobilizing. The first time an *openbare vergadering* was ever held in the Indies was on December 25, 1912 in Bandung[7] by the leaders of the *Indische Party* E.F.E. Douwes Dekker, Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, and Soewardi Soerianingrat.[8] Soon, this method was borrowed by SI to mobilize the poor and illiterate *kromo* people. Clearly, the prohibition on political associations and assemblies that was implemented in 1854 was not fully operative at that time.

The proliferation of native political organizations and *openbare vergaderingen* paradoxically led to the change of the law that imposed limits on the holding of the meetings to certain regulatory conditions. In 1915, under the government rule of 111, the right of citizens to

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[6] *Recht van Vereeniging en Vergadering* (*Right of Association and Assembly)* (Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij, 1928), 1. Also see: S. Koster and P. Dekker, *Handboek voor Politieambtenaren*, (Weltevreden: Politiegebied te Weltevreden, 1930).

[7] Bandung continued to be an important place in the history of anti-colonial struggles. It was the location of 1955 Bandung conference of non-aligned nations that was a part of the continuing anti-colonial movement in the "third world." See: George McTurnan Kahin, *The Asian-African Conference, Bandung, Indonesia, April 1955* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1956); and, Richard Wright, *The color curtain; a report on the Bandung Conference. Foreword by Gunnar Myrdal* (Cleveland: World Pub. Co, 1956).

[8] Nicholas Tarling, *Nationalism in Southeast Asia: 'If the People are with Us'* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 109.

associate and assemble in the Dutch East Indies was recognized. However, while it was clear that the widespread presence of political organizations and public meetings made the government anxious about state security, it was no longer an option to continue to ban the activities particularly because, despite the prohibition, the natives' political activities in fact had grown more extensive. The creation of the law and regulations to regulate political freedoms was therefore considered more suitable and beneficial for the government—hence the 111 rule was instituted. Following this rule, a royal decree was released to ensure that the recognition of the right to assemble would not create a threat to public order. According to the state police guidebook, the regulation stated that "the exercise of that right would be regulated and limited in the interest of *public order*."[9] Together with this royal decree, regulation of natives' political associations and assemblies was put in place on September 1, 1919.

It is clear from the outset that the right of assembly and association for the citizens in the Indies was accepted by the colonial state not to protect the natives' freedom of speech, but instead to control and restrict it. The motivation to control reflects the government's anxiety around security, which is demonstrated in a regulation that collocated the recognition of the right with the regulation of it.

> The right of citizens to association and assembly shall be recognized and the exercise of that right would be regulated in the interest of public order through general and limited regulation.[10]

It was not made clear in the wording what "public order" meant, nor was there an explanation of what "general and limited regulation" was. But the article was followed with the following note:

> Prohibited associations:
> 1. whose existence or purpose is kept secret;
> 2. which stated at the foot of the article by the Supreme Court of the Netherlands Indies are to be contrary to public order.[11]

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[9] *Recht van vereeniging en vergadering,* 2. Author's italics.
[10] Author's translation.
[11] Author's translation.

At the time, there was no association in the Indies that was considered a prohibited association. When the note was written, it pointed indirectly to a Chinese secret society in the Netherlands that had been banned earlier.

However, subsequent changes in the law around the right of association and assembly soon followed, starting with an amendment in 1923 made with the threat of the communist movement in mind. Since the communist movement was being popularized and radicalized, especially with the increased number of organized strikes, the colonial government saw the need to amend the law. Two strikes held by communist-leaning organizations in particular triggered government reaction. The first was the strike led by pawnshop workers in 1922 that led to the arrest and exile of Tan Malaka and A. Baars. The second was the strike by the railway workers in 1923 that led to the banishment of Semaoen. Both strikes were planned for several months in *openbare vergaderingen* in which Tan Malaka, Baars, and Semaoen were involved. The government wariness after the strikes led to two legal products: an amendment of the 111 rule and a new article on strikes.

The 1923 amendment shows that while "public order" had been the main concern of the previous 1915 version of the law, it was in response to the communist movement that the regulations around "the exercise of that right" were specified based on the activities in the movement that were considered a threat to the state. The amendment was created after the May strike led by railway workers, which forced most local governments in Java to completely ban *openbare vergaderingen.* Although the ban was not lifted until October 1 that year, an amendment of the regulation by the central government was already underway, which added three articles that led to limits in at least three areas of the conduct and participation in *vergaderingen*: nationalities, spaces, and age limits.

Considering the development of legal measures around communicative practices as a circuit of struggle allows us to see the motives behind this later amendment. That is, by adding limits on nationalities, the Dutch wanted to stop the active involvement of people from different nationalities in helping build an anti-colonial movement in the Indies.

> Section I (Association), article 2:
> Those other than Dutch East Indies nationals may not be a member of political associations and have to have attained the age of eighteen years. (modified by Sb. No. 1923 452)[12]

The new article 2 under the 111 law stated that people who joined a political association and attended a meeting had to be a Dutch East Indies citizen and had to be over 18 years old. The Dutch colonial state deemed that it was important to regulate the nationalities of the people who attended the public meetings for two reasons. First, the communist movement was first founded by the Dutch socialists—Sneevliet, A. Baars, etc—who brought and propagated socialist ideas to native political organizations and native organizers. This is also apparent in the state's perception of the Indonesian communist movement as a movement created from the outside, controlled, and mobilized by foreign entities. By banning and regulating the nationalities of the people who could run and attend the meetings, the government believed it would be able to prevent foreign influences from contaminating the natives.[13] Second, the need to regulate nationalities was also triggered by the active involvement of people of other nationalities, further emphasizing for us the fact that the movement was really diverse, including not just the natives but also Chinese, Europeans, Indians, and Arabs.

Another new article, article 5, mandated that all *openbare vergaderingen* had to receive a permit before the meeting was held, which helped the government profile *openbare*

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[12] Author's translation.
[13] Cf. Kwame Anthony Appiah, "The Case for Contamination: Why Cultural Preservation Is Not Always a Good Thing," *RSA Journal* 153 (5522) (2006): 38-45.

vergaderingen and the people involved and to regulate the space in which the meetings took place.

> Section II (Meetings), article 5:
> Public meetings to debate are prohibited in the open air, unless prior authorization from the Head of Local Government has been obtained.
> Head of the regional State Administration may revoke similar permit or refusal of authorization by the Head of Local Government, bestow her on his part at the request of interested parties. (amended by Sb. No. 1923 452)[14]

By requiring the meetings to obtain permits, local governments not only could have a say on which organizations that could hold a public meeting but could also track down which organizations held a meeting, where it took place, and who were the speakers. In other words, obtaining a permit gave authorities an excuse to surveil the movement. The article was also followed by another restriction regarding space. Indeed, there were three kinds of *vergaderingen*: *openbare* (public in closed space), *openlucht* (public in open space, such as parks), and *besloten* (closed, usually only membership card holders could attend). The different meetings meant different kinds of people could attend and listen to the rally, with *openlucht* seen by the state as the most dangerous because different people could come and access the meetings; therefore, the article specifically states that "public meetings to debate" could not take place "in the open air."

Further addition of new regulations, as reflected in article 6 of the amendment, identified three new additional components: police watch, age of the attendees, and the right of the Governor-General to limit the right to attend.

> Section II (Meetings), article 6:
> In all meetings in which the public is admitted, the officials or the police officers have full access. (amended by Sb. No. 1923 452)
> Article 7a:
> At the meetings, people who have the characteristics as under the age of eighteen years have no access. (amended by Sb. No. 1923 452)
> Article 8a:

[14] Author's translation.

> When any part of the Dutch East Indies is threatened by serious risk of public order disturbance, the Governor-General can provide that the exercise of the right of assembly be subject to the following limitations:
> a. all public meetings as well as meetings held in public places
> b. the Head of the District Administration is authorized to prohibit the holding of the meeting. (amended by Sb. No. 1923 452; further endorsed in Sb. No. 1925 582)[15]

This article led to police attendance at meetings as a new element of the ritual. Meetings after 1923 were characterized by the frequent presence of the police—often more than two dozen officers would be in attendance (see chapter IV section 4.E). The increase in the number of *vergaderingen* held meant an increased demand on the government to hire more police officers. Because the demand was for these officers to keep watch on the movement, including taking notes of the names of the participants of the meetings, police personnel hired from the rank of the natives multiplied, given their linguistic as well as cultural knowledge of the people they were required to watch.[16]

The rise of internal policing from within the native population was also followed with controls on the age of attendees, who had to be eighteen years and above. This was particularly problematic because of the lack of written verifiable documents such as ID cards, which meant that there was no way to prove one's age except by the police looking at one's physical appearance. Therefore, age could be judged from individual "characteristics" only. Because many Indonesian natives were by nature short in stature, many people who were more than 18 years old were expelled from the meetings due to this new regulation. This new regulation also marked a new cultural construct of, and therefore politicization of, the idea of "children." Where did the number eighteen, the age purportedly signifying the entrance to adulthood, come from?

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[15] Author's translation.

[16] On the reformation of the police institution during the communist movement, see: Marieke Bloembergen, *Polisi Zaman Hindia Belanda: Dari Kepedulian dan Ketakutan* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2011); "The Dirty Work of Empire: Modern Policing and Public Order in Surabaya, 1911-1919," in *Indonesia* 83 (April) (2007): 119-150; "The Perfect Policeman: Colonial Policing, Modernity, and Conscience on Sumatra's West Coast in the Early 1930s," in *Indonesia* 91 (April) (2011): 165-191.

Many of the native Indonesians started to work at a very young age, especially because they could not access basic education (we are reminded of Semaoen who worked when he was thirteen). Also, many people got married and had children before reaching the age of eighteen. It was thus not a surprise that "children" did indeed join the gatherings, but many of them participated because they already worked on plantations and wanted to speak against child labor. By using this arbitrary age limit, the police could expel these people from the meetings, limiting the possibility for the movement to include a large number of younger members.

Another point was the right of the Governor General to authorize local governments to ban meetings, especially in the case of a risk of disturbances to public order. What we are seeing in this amendment is the merging of the political (the government) with the legal realm of the constitution. That is, the new amendment allowed the government—for the sake of protecting its authority—to decide and control what was in fact the constitutional right of the people. It allowed an abuse of power on the side of the government.

The next legal measure produced in response to the 1923 strike was specifically to restrict strikes. Given that regulations against striking did not exist before this, it demonstrates how dangerous strikes were deemed to be by the government. On August 7, 1923 article 161 bis[17] was released that stated:

> Any person, who has the intention of causing the disruption of public order or damage of life in terms of the domestic economy, knew or should have to feel that the damage to public order or damage to life in terms of economy in the country eventually will cause or promote more people to neglect it, or despite being given a lawful order to do the work that has been promised or according to his [working] obligations he should do it, will be punished with a maximum prison sentence of five years or a fine of as much as one thousand rupiah.[18]

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[17] "Art. 161 bis," *Sinar Hindia,* September 29, 1923.

[18] "Fatsal 161 bis dan tjaboetan vergadering" (Article 161 bis and the banning of vergadering), *Sinar Hindia,* May 16, 1923. Author's translation. In Indonesian: "Barang siapa, yang dengan maksud akan menimbulkan gangguan atas keamanan umum atau kerusakan atas kehidupan dalam hal ekonomi dalam negeri ataupun mengetahui atau sepatutnya harus merasa bahwa karena itu kerusakan keamanan umum atau kerusakan kehidupan dalam hal economie dalam negeri akan kesudahannya, menyebabkan atau memajukan hal lebih banyak orang mengalpakan atau, walaupun sudah diberikan perintah yang sah

The regulation clearly restricts the calling and staging of strikes as a "disruption of public order or damage of life." In this case, life is defined as "domestic economy," which includes production (the case of plantation workers on strikes) and distribution (the case of transport workers on strike). The article also permitted the arrest of individual workers who joined the strike on the basis of their neglect of their "obligations" as workers. Further, this regulation affected family members as well as active strikers, since even the act of collecting funds for families whose husbands were in jail due to their involvement in a strike was considered a disturbance to public order and economic life, and hence was prohibited.[19]

Despite the amendment of article 111 and the release of the new article 161 bis after the 1923 strike, the frequency and scope of the *vergaderingen* between 1924 and 1925 instead swelled considerably, forcing the government to take even more repressive measures around the holding of *vergaderingen.* On November 20, 1925, the government released the "emergency ordinance" under Stb. No. 582, which allowed the Governor-General "in the interest of public order to restrict political gatherings for one or more specific associations."[20] The ordinance made it clear that it was created to counter "specific" associations. As a response to the burgeoning of communist *openbare vergaderingen* in 1924-1925 at a rate beyond what the government could handle, this ordinance was formed specifically to restrict *vergaderingen*, but more generally to curtail the communist movement.

The creation of this ordinance to respond to a specific organization indeed opened the door to the abuse of power. Sunario, a native lawyer, contested this emergency ordinance. He

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dengan melakukan pekerjaan yang telah dijanjikan atau menurut kewajiban jabatannya harus ia mengerjakannya, dihukum dengan hukuman penjara setinggi-tingginya lima tahun atau hukuman denda sebanyak-banyaknya seribu rupiah."

[19] "Derma delict" (Offense on donation), *Sinar Hindia,* June 6, 1923.

[20] Sunario, *Het Recht van Vereeniging en Vergadering* (The Right of Association and Assembly) (Leiden, The Netherlands: Perhimpoenan Hakim Indonesia, 1926), 14.

argued that it could not be used to suppress the communist party because party members abided by the existing regulation in their political activities. A state of emergency could only be implemented in the "event of war and rebellion."[21] Since the communist movement through its legal activity in its gatherings did not create any public disturbance, the emergency ordinance could not be used and in fact was "illegal" to use.[22]

Sunario's scrutiny of the state's move through the emergency ordinance to abuse power as well as to restrict freedom of speech should not be underestimated, especially because the implementation of the regulation of *vergaderingen* was coupled with another regulation that was specifically targeted at individual leaders. It was article 156, which read:

> to anyone who deliberately declares hostile feelings, hates or humiliates groups within the population in the Dutch East Indies will be punished a maximum period of 4 years or a fine f300.[23]

The language used in this article is particularly revealing. It might be common to regulate hate speech, as reflected also in the *haatzaai* articles we will discuss shortly, but including acts of "humiliation" is a different matter. How could the state measure the subjective feeling of being humiliated? On what basis could it be determined, other than through immeasurable senses, that one's pride and ego had been harmed? The choice of this word may reflect that it was in fact the colonial state's ego and pride—having brought "civilization" to the Indies—that was injured through the rise of anti-colonial sentiments. Nevertheless, many rank-and-file leaders were arrested on the basis of this article; in giving speeches in rallies and *openbare vergaderingen,* they were accused of spreading hatred against and humiliating the government, the capitalists, and/or (Dutch) colonialism.

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[21] Ibid., 14-15.
[22] Ibid.
[23] SAM, "Artikel 165 [sic!] strafwetboek" (Article 165 [sic!] of the Criminal Code), *Sinar Hindia,* July 16, 1923. Author's translation.

The case of Ms. Ati—one of the prominent female leaders from Malang—that opens this chapter is an illustration of the use of article 156. Ms. Ati was charged with a violation of the state's law because, in her speech in one *vergadering*, she invited other women to not choose *prijaji* men as husbands in order to gain a "comfortable" life. Instead, she advised women to have the audacity to join in the communist movement until they gained independence, with the implication that a "comfortable" life would come from their own freedom to choose who they would marry. What led Ms. Ati to receive a one-year jail sentence was that she *humiliated* the *prijaji* class—the government officials—and at the same time boldly stated that "if one threatens to kill" "we will never give up," and thus allegedly incited violence. Not only was she considered to have intentionally declared hostile feelings toward government officials (the *prijaji*), she did so by raising "extreme" sentiments—to not give up even if one threatens to kill—which, according to the judge, could lead to "public order disturbance." Ms. Ati was among the numerous leaders arrested because of their statements in *vergaderingen.* Indeed, many were arrested without clear charges. In *Api* newspaper this was expressed as: "tangkap dulu perkara belakangan" (arrest first, charge comes later),[24] in which people complained about how the government unfairly detained the people.

As the repression by the government against the communist movement was heightened at the end of 1925, public gatherings ceased to be held. However, a few communists planned revolts in several cities, and those erupted on November 16, 1926 in Java and in early January 1927 in West Sumatra. The revolts in this case had to be seen as a reaction to the intense repression by the government to the communicative activities of the movement especially *openbare vergaderingen*, which were in fact legally held by the people by abiding to the existing rules.

[24] "Nasib tahoen 1925" (The fate of 1925), *Api,* January 2, 1926.

7.C The press banning ordinance

To think of the regulations of the press as a circuit of struggle also reveals that the state's power struggle against the communist movement was manifested in the legal changes regarding the operation of the press. In 1931, just four years after the banning of communism, and for the first time in the history of the press in the Dutch East Indies, the government invented a new law specifically to control the communicative sociotechnical system of the press. This included curtailing the practices of printing/publishing/distribution, the technologies of the press (machineries and papers), and the whole process of printing communication itself through the banning and closing down of premises.[25]

Similar to the rights of association and assembly, freedom of press was recognized by the Dutch colonial government, especially during the Ethical Policy era. During the Ethical Policy, in 1906 the *Drukpersreglement* was amended. It abolished the earlier version of *Drukpersreglement,* originally enacted on April 8, 1856, which: 1) allowed censorship by asking any publication to send a copy to the government before it was released to the public; and 2) introduced criminal liability for defamation, insult, or slander against the King of the Netherlands, his family, as well as public officials.[26] The 1906 amendment put an end to this censorship regulation, but this did not mean an absence of restrictions on the printing presses. In fact, the amendment should be seen as a relaxation rather than a repeal of the law on censorship.

When the revolutionary press emerged and increased rapidly in numbers and social effects, the Dutch government deemed it necessary to create a stricter environment for the press.

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[25] On the political context of the changes on the press regulation during the communist movement, see: Mirjam Maters and Mien Joebhaar, *Dari Perintah Halus ke Tindakan Keras: Pers Zaman Kolonial antara Kebebasan dan Pemberangusan, 1906-1942* (Jakarta: KITLV, 2003).

[26] Herlambang Perdana Wiratraman, *Press Freedom, Law and Politics in Indonesia.* (PhD. diss., University of Leiden, 2014), 48.

At the time, however, administrative intervention into press matters was not allowed legally,[27] so the authorities released *haatzaai artikelen* (hatred sowing articles) in order to protect public order and peace, which stated:

> Article 63a: He, who by words, signs or depictions or in any other way gives rise or promotes feelings of hostility, hatred or contempt against the government of the Netherlands or the Netherlands Indies, shall be punished with a penal servitude sentence of five to ten years.
> Article 63b: He, who by words, signs or depictions or in any other way gives rise to or promotes feelings of hostility, hatred or contempt against different groups of Dutch nationals or residents of the Netherlands Indies, shall be punished with imprisonment varying between six days and five years.[28]

These articles clearly indicate that the promotion of hostility, hatred, and contempt against both the government of the Netherlands and the Netherlands Indies, as well as against horizontal groups within the society in the form of words, signs, and depictions (see the case of caricature on chapter VI), would be punished.

Under these articles, the government was allowed to arrest editors and authors on charges of promoting hostility and hatred against the government. Between 1918-1923, most of the editors of *Sinar Hindia* newspaper were arrested and/or sent in exile, leaving behind only a few others to run the paper.

Name	Date	Cause
Darsono	Dec 16, 1918	Press offense
Semaoen	March 12, 1919	Press offense
Marco	1918	Press offense
Darsono	October 1920	Press offense
Mhd. Kasan	November 1920	Speech offense
Marco	1920	Press offense
partoatmodjo	1920	Press offense
Sanjoto	Dec 1920	Speech offense
Marco	July 4, 1922	Press offense
Semaoen	Augustus 1923	Press offense, exile to the Netherlands

Table 5. List of arrested and exiled *Sinar Hindia* editors

[27] Ibid., 53.
[28] Ibid., 52-53.

On April 16, 1926, because of the lack of editors—at that point only W. Kamsir and Nawawi remained—and the continuous harassment of its readers, *Sinar Hindia* was closed. Other revolutionary newspapers met a similar fate. By the end of 1925 and early 1926, most editors, including correspondents from small regions, had been arrested and either faced jail time or were sent into exile abroad.

Newspapers	**Arrested or exiled editorial members in 1925-1926**
Proletar	Moeso Soedibio
Soeara Tambang	Nawawi Arief Idroes
Pemandangan Islam	Dr Batoeah Djamaloeddin Tamim
Njala	Dahlan Moh Sanoesi Alimin Gondhojoewono Tjempono
Djago-Djago!	Natar Zainoeddin
Doenia Achirat	H.S.S. parpatieh

Table 6. List of arrested and exiled editors of various revolutionary press in the Indies

The continuous arrests and exiles of editorial members demonstrates the contentious relationship between these newspapers and the government. Additionally, the government's attempt to control speech and ideas through the invention of new regulations proves just how unsettling the revolutionary press was.

After the communist revolt in 1926-1927, the government sought to create even stricter controls, despite the fact that most of the revolutionary publications bearing the flag of communism had met their demise at that point, because other native presses were still considered dangerous. In response to the communist insurgency, the government released *persbreidel Ordonnantie* (Press Banning Ordinance) on September 7, 1931, which legally called for the

"Protection of public order against undesirable periodicals and printed matter" (Stb. 1931 394).[29] Instead of arresting individual editors or authors, this ordinance allowed the government to completely ban publications for a maximum of eight days in the interest of public order, as well as to confiscate and close buildings if deemed necessary:

> Article 2 section (1):
> If the designation referred to previous article does not have the desired effect, the Governor-General may, after hearing the Council of the Netherlands Indies, issue a ban on printing, publishing and distributing such print works, in the case of a newspaper for a maximum of eight days and in the case of other printed periodicals for a maximum of three times the period between the appearance of two consecutive issues.
> Article 3 section (2):
> The Head of Administration takes immediate action to prevent the printing, publishing and distributing of the magazine for the duration of the ban, and can proceed with the seizure of printing presses and other materials used at the printing company and with the sealing of buildings or premises where those objects are located. The Head is allowed to this end, if necessary, to use the strong arm to provide the access to all enclosed places, including homes.

During the communist movement, the government did not have legal grounds on which to stop the production of printing presses; therefore, *haatzaai artikelen* were instead used to arrest main editors and printers. This lack of a legal basis to regulate the press was considered by the government as a limitation, as new editors and printers emerged to continue the production of the press despite the constant arrests of editors. The release of the Press Banning Ordinance meant that the government could engage in a broader form of persecution against the press. This included 1) banning printing, publishing, and distribution of print works; 2) seizing presses and other materials used by printing companies; and, 3) completely closing the buildings and premises of printing presses. The ordinance allowed the government to use its power to decide if a publication was deemed dangerous to the establishment of the state and threatened "public order" and to entirely ban and close operations, as well as confiscate machinery and technology.

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[29] Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indie 1931 No. 394 jo. Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indie 1932 No. 44. The original title is "*Drukwerken, Bescherming van de openbare order tegen ongewenschte periodiek verschijnende drukwerken"* (Printer matters: Protection of public order against undesirable periodical printings). Also discussed: Ibid., 54. Thanks to Herlambang Perdana Wiratraman for sharing with me this document.

7.D The wild school ordinance

Unlike the regulation of association and assembly and of the press, the regulation around the creation of private schools—or what the government called "wild schools," which referred to schools that were not held or subsidized by the government—was not enacted until 1923. Indeed, regulation around "wild schools" did not exist until the dramatic growth of Sarekat Islam schools (later, People's Schools) in the early 1920s led by Tan Malaka. On March 28, 1923, ordinance no. 136 to regulate the proliferation of "wild schools" was released,[30] which stated:

> Article (1) section 5:
> Teachers have to report and explain the lessons taught.
> Article (2) section1:
> Teachers have to allow government officials to sit in and observe the class.[31]

This ordinance required for the first time that teachers report both their identity and the content of their courses. It also made it possible for government officials to observe the conduct in classrooms. This requirement to report created a burden for teachers in the People's Schools: because they ran on donations and many teachers were volunteers, one teacher might teach math on one day but then replace another teacher to teach Dutch on another day. In the case of replacing another teacher like this, it was difficult to report the kind of lessons taught because the only available forms of communication with the government were personal letters. Many teachers were arrested because of failure to report the content of all the courses they taught. Another problem with letting government officials observe classes was that the law did not specifically state the maximum number of the officials allowed in a given observation. On many occasions, more than three officials could sit in on a particular class, which was no doubt distracting, to say the least. This ordinance effectively allowed the colonial government to

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[30] "Onderwijs ordonnantie dengan praktijknja d.l.l." (The education ordinance and its practice etc."), *Sinar Hindia,* July 30, 1924.
[31] *Menentang Wilde Scholen Ordonnantie (Against Wilde Scholen Ordonnantie)* (Jakarta: Perhimpunan Pelajar-Pelajar Indonesia, 1933), 5. Author's translation.

dismantle the "wild schools" using legal measures that the natives had no power to challenge or resist.

After the communist revolt of 1926/7, the fear of communist uprising was so great that the effort to dismantle the "wild schools" was not enough; thus, a new ordinance with even stricter regulation of the schools was released. In 1932, the government released *Wilde Scholen Ordonnantie* (Wild School Ordinance). Significantly, the inclusion of the term "public order" in the ordinance indicates that it was produced with the erstwhile communist People's Schools in mind.

> Teachers teaching education in unsubsidized schools had to receive a permit from the Head of Administration before they can teach. The permit has to be requested through a letter with three copies of a photo attached.
> This permit will only be released if the school is deemed not to disrupt public order and that the inspector of education states that the said teachers were not dangerous.[32]

Reading this regulation through the concept of circuit of struggle illuminates how the colonial state perceived the educational institution as such a potential threat to public order that a close watch on its operation was required. The ordinance's condition that new teachers obtain a permit from the head of the local government as well as send three copies of a photo was important because, at a time when a threat to public order occurred involving wild schools, teachers could be profiled and surveilled for further security measures.

After the ordinance was released, it was followed with *Memorie van Toelichting* (Explanatory Statement), which stated that the rationale behind the release of the ordinance should be that:

> The government should confine themselves to prevent and cut off the excess and the removal of serious abuses. It aims only to take away some disadvantages, which occurred in the private education provision, that are in practice… only to counter excesses.[33]

[32] Author's translation.
[33] Ibid., 4. Author's translation.

However, within the total of 21 articles in this ordinance, there was no mention of "excess," "abuses," or "disadvantages." All of the articles were instead directed at all teachers and at "wild schools" in general. The ordinance was criticized by the organization of Indonesian students (PPPI)[34] as opening the door to an abuse of power. In fact, within the legal terms used in the ordinance, the words "public order and peace" (article 4), "good name and reputation" (article 4), and "public order" (article 13) were repeatedly used, and yet no protections against the possibility of "excess" and "abuses" of state power against "wild schools" were mentioned. The repeated mention of "public order and peace" was considered by the Indonesian students as dangerous given the fact that it was an "elastic and vague term," with potential to lead to legal confusion.[35] Indeed, even the booklet on the right of association and assembly produced for police officers acknowledged that the term "public order" was an "elastic and vague term."[36] While the police booklet did not treat this as a negative consequence, the Indonesian student association saw it as a way for authorities to abuse their power and potentially lead to "the assault of the *public justice*."[37]

7.E "Public peace and order" as a masquerade

After the emergence of the anti-colonial communist movement in the Dutch East Indies, which ended in the revolt in 1926/7, the areas of communication, notably press freedom, the rights of assembly, and the right to provide education, were the ones most affected by the government's repression. This is not surprising because press, public gatherings, and schools were the main communicative means the communist movement used to mobilize and popularize anti-colonial consciousness. Although the use of these communicative means—in lieu of weapons—was a

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[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid., 7.
[36] *Recht van Vereeniging en Vergadering*, 17.
[37] Ibid., 8. Emphasis added.

novel step in the struggle against colonialism, it also forced the government to heighten control and surveillance over native conduct in those areas. Through this history we learn that communication laws and policies aimed to restrict freedom of expression and speech in the Indies began in this early period of the communist movement. These legal products were not born in a vacuum, but rather in a constant dialectical interplay between the colonial state and the anti-colonial movement. As colonial struggles in the Indies shifted from warfare to communicative sociotechnical systems of resistance, the government also opted for the use of laws regulating public communication to counter the movement, instead of using the military apparatus. In this case, the area of communication became one of the main circuits of struggle between the state and the movement, in which the emergence of the media of resistance and of the laws regulating them became the period's critical characteristics.

Additionally, the state's repeated mention of "public peace and order" demonstrates how it perceived itself as continuously in danger, and communication became one of the areas that posed a real threat to its sovereignty. In the aftermath of the 1926/7 revolt, the new legal measures allowed the government to watch and control every communicative action carried out by the natives—the authority to restrict teachers in non-government schools, to ban and confiscate press products and press machinery, and to prevent and ban political gatherings—all in the name of protecting "public peace and order."

With the tight control of the government over the communicative practices of the native public, the Dutch colonial state sought to create a myth that public order had been maintained through the implementation of these new regulations, while the fact is that this myth was a cover for repression. In reality, public protests against the government, including political movements,

were disabled and disempowered through repressive control manifested in the three areas of communication technologies, i.e. the press, the assembly, and the education.

The emergence of law and policy in the specific areas of communication in this period not only created a new order in the Dutch East Indies but also provides a new insight into how later 20th century Indonesian communication law and policy stems from legal products from this period, a fact that has not been given an adequate attention by media scholars.[38] Indeed, this history reveals two points about the nature of communication law and policy in Indonesia in general. First, at the outset, communication law and policy was born out of the struggle between the state and the people.[39] Second, it was produced to limit and control freedom of expression and speech, rather than to facilitate and protect it.

[38] Krishna Sen and David T. Hill, *Media, culture and politics in Indonesia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2000).
[39] Regulations of media historically in other parts of the world, some were invented to protect freedom of expressions and some were to limit it: Robert Darnton and Daniel Roche (eds.), *Revolution in Print: The Press in France, 1775-1800* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989); and, Robert Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime (*Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982).

CHAPTER VIII

EPILOGUE

Study of the past often illuminates opportunities to rethink issues of present relevance. This study is no exception. I set out to explore the communication history of the early communist anti-colonial movement in the Dutch East Indies in 1920-1926 by asking how ordinary people organized themselves in the movement through the production of their own media of resistance. The aim was twofold. First, I sought to explain how media of resistance revealed the centrality of communicative practices/processes/technologies in the emergence, development, and demise of a social movement. Second, I expected to open up new vistas regarding the roles of ordinary people in the communist movement, a dimension of that process that has been hidden in the previous historiography due to its leader-, party-, and formal event-centered narratives. In this chapter, I will summarize the key findings of this study, highlighting how these findings help us (un)learn the past, as well as shed light on present issues. I will also address some limitations of the study.

The focus on the media of resistance elucidates the centrality of media in the early communist movement in the Indies, the nature of that centrality, and the nature of the movement. I started this dissertation by discussing at length the debate on the dichotomy between agency (culture) and condition (structure) that has long been central in the field of communication studies, if not broadly in the social sciences. Based on this discussion, I set up the theoretical concept of "communicative sociotechnical system"—encompassing communicative practices, technologies, and processes—that views the dialectical relation between agency and structure as necessary parts of the making of the media of resistance. While the idea of "resistance" often alludes to human agency, here I attempted to explain resistance not just in isolation in terms of

agency, but also in its historical totality by delving into the conditions of its possibility and the new order it triggered into existence, both intentionally and unintentionally. To explain the conditions of possibility also meant that the idea of communicative sociotechnical system needed to be expanded to consist of both transport networks and social networks, because historically the implementation of modern transport networks pointed to the possibility that they changed the nature of how anti-colonial struggles in the Indies were organized. Therefore, the concept of communicative sociotechnical system allowed me to unearth media of resistance that included railway and shipping networks, *openbare vergaderingen,* schools, fashion, songs, and traditional arts, alongside what have traditionally been understood as "media," such as newspapers and books. In this regard, media of resistance emerged out of the existing traditional and modern modes of transport and social means of communication.

These communicative aspects of the movement further reveal two important points regarding the nature of people's agency in the movement. First, while the existing and seemingly unconnected media of communication were intended to expand colonial power—such as transports, the right of association and assembly, schools, and print—the ordinary people in the movement *creatively repurposed* those existing means of communication and brought them together to become the media of resistance. Second, the media of resistance were also media that affected those same people in their ordinary setting. The interplay between the political and the ordinary in the creative process of repurposing these media in people's mundane communicative environment made the political ordinary and the ordinary political. In sum, not only do these two points explain the processes whereby the existing structures set limits while also making possible the creative making of the media of resistance of the period, but they also reveal how the making of the movement was centered around the making of communicative means and practices.

Furthermore, the media of resistance uncover the nature of communicative sociotechnical systems as circuits of struggle. Instead of being merely technological add-ons seen in terms of only their uses within a social movement, media of resistance were themselves arenas of political and cultural struggle. The transition of *openbare vergaderingen* from spaces of entertainment to those of participatory politics of resistance demonstrates that the political changes of this period manifested first and foremost in the areas of communication. As the movement became more popular and radical, the meetings also took on a different character identified more as expressions of defiance. Furthermore, the colonial state's responses of regulating the areas of communication in which the media of resistance were manifested explain not just how central were the means of communication for this period of colonialism, but also how these means of communication were essentially circuits of struggle. In other words, seeing the dialectical process between the colonial state and the communist movement in the area of communication shows how communicative sociotechnical systems—including both the media of resistance and the legal and cultural responses around them—were projects of struggle.

Focusing on the media of resistance also points to an unexpected finding about the movement in general, i.e. its appeal to universal demands. We have learned that, through an analysis of the geography of resistance, the movement was mobilized for the first time across widespread geographical areas in the Indies archipelago, as well as abroad. This allowed the movement to be organized across different cultural borders and identity markers—nation, gender, class, age, and ethnicity. As solidarity was voiced by the people from diverse backgrounds, the idea of resistance on which it was built became universal. Some examples are the change of the party name from Islamic Union to People's Union and the change of *Sarekat Hindia* newspaper's imagined audience from the Javanese *kromo* people to the proletariat, as

written in its mastheads. Additionally, rather than resort to weapons and warfare as had previous movements, the resistance movement developed democratic collective actions around new emerging communicative technologies and actions—public meetings, schools, popular journalism, arts, and literature—to voice not just anti-colonial sentiments, but also more universal impulses and concerns regarding social justice, religious reform, national liberation, women's emancipation, and human rights.

Of course, the movement was not free of shortcomings: some leaders were young and naïve, and some others were reckless and ignorant of the impending state's repressive responses; nonetheless, the people of this movement achieved novel means and ideas for organizing and mobilizing as demonstrated in their use of transport networks, *openbare vergaderingen,* newspapers, and schools. These are achievements in the history of social movements in the Indies because they helped change the way anti-colonial resistance was organized and mobilized.

Upon considering the findings, it is also important to acknowledge the limitations of this study. The current historical GIS maps demonstrated the locations of *openbare vergaderingen* only at the level of residencies. Although the names of the villages in which *openbare vergaderingen* were held were known, the absence of a master map—transferrable to GIS—from the colonial era which included the exact location of the villages posed as a challenge during the time of the research. For this reason, I regrouped the villages into the residencies level and manipulated a contemporary GIS master map of Indonesia using the available data on the location of the residencies in 1931. This way I was still able to visually represent powerful information on the geographical expansion and demography of the movement. In the future, this problem can be overcome by collecting data on the exact location of the villages, towns, and cities—possibly from the *Volkstelling 1920* and *Volkstelling 1930* (Population Census 1920 and

1930).[1] Using these data, a GIS master map reflecting the detailed location of the villages can be produced that could be used to create the maps of resistance on the village level.

Furthermore, the study also lacks a story of the day-to-day ordinary processes by which the countermovements, both the government and the horizontal groups like Sarekat Hidjo (Green Union), emerged. This focus is important to show that the repression after 1926/7 revolt was only the culmination of many previous counter responses against the increasingly popular communist movement. The focus can also reveal the different (and possibly contradictory) moves even within the countermovements, further demonstrating that the development of the countermovements goes hand-in-hand with the development of the communist movement itself. The mission of this study to unearth the production of the ordinary people's media of resistance led me to focus on the communist newspapers. As a result, the stories on the countermovements coming from these newspapers were limited and carried with it a biased perspective. However, the focus on the ordinary people not only helped uncover the previously hidden knowledge on their vital role in the movement, but also make visible their otherwise underrepresented voices and concerns. These advantages outweighed the limitations. In the future, questions about the daily processes of the development of the countermovements, including whether there was a mutual affinity and collaboration between the government and Sarekat Hidjo, can be addressed by studying the reports from the local governments as well as from the non-communist newspapers.

Now that we have revisited some key findings from the communication history of the early communist movement in the Indies and acknowledged the limitations of the study, in the

[1] Abdul Wahid, "Framing colonial society: Population census and the ethnic and social categorization in the late colonial Indonesia," in *Kolonialisme, Kebudayaan dan Warisan Sejarah,* ed. Sri Margana and Heri Priyatmoko (Yogyakarta: Jurusan Sejarah Fakultas Ilmu Budaya UGM, 2011), 308-32.

remainder of this epilogue I would like to present three key themes that highlight several issues of the present and possible future research trajectories that this history of the communist movement in early twentieth century Indonesia has illuminated.

One of the key concerns that this dissertation brings up is how some of our academic disciplinary tendencies influence how we read non-Western experiences. The project of de-westernizing communication studies as a response to the Eurocentric character of the field has often created an antinomy. On the one hand, the field inherited Daniel Lerner's position[2] that saw Western experience as normal, natural and universal. This understanding assumed that it was equally unavoidable that the replication of Western "achievements" to non-Western societies, e.g. through the import of modern media of communication, would annihilate the diversity that the latter societies had lived. In response to this universalistic account—and its related oppressive and colonizing tendency—the field looked in the opposite direction by taking a serious account of difference/diversity. However, this account of diversity has often been accomplished through a complete rejection of universal ideas. Thus, differences are celebrated, while universal values/concepts are rejected. But attending to diversity without taking into account any universal human experience has created its own shaky ground, because it does not allow us to evaluate oppression and exploitation through concepts that are valid for our shared experience as humans. The consequences of this antinomy of universalism vs. diversity for the study of resistance movement is this: it forecloses our ability to see similar impulses between resistance movements across the globe, from the Haitian revolution, the French revolution, the US civil rights movement, to anti-colonial movements worldwide.[3]

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[2] Daniel Lerner, *The passing of traditional society: modernizing the Middle East* (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1958).

[3] Nick Nesbitt, *Universal emancipation: the Haitian Revolution and the radical Enlightenment* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia press, 2008); Susan Buck-Morss, *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal*

Because of this antinomy, we fall short by saying that resistance in non-western societies against colonialism was something triggered only by their identity as "non-western," and not being able to view them as complex beings who share some fundamental human values and aspirations with their fellow humans around the world. My study, in contrast, reveals the connection between the universal notions with the specificity of local manifestations and expressions. For example, the case of the Muslim communist Hadji Misbach demonstrates how adopting communist ideas did not necessarily cancel one's religious identity; on the contrary, it triggered a demand for a change in the interpretation of the Koran and the practices of Islam that was more in line with ideas of universal social justice. We can immediately recall historical events in which religious reform was voiced as part of a demand for freedom and liberation, notably in the eighteenth century enlightenment era in Europe and in the movement for Islamic modernism in Egypt.[4]

How, then, do we account for both the universal and the difference(s)? This takes us to the second theme: globalization study as a theoretical lens. The implication of this research for the debate between diversity vs. universalism in the field of media studies is twofold. First, global media studies as a theoretical project needs not to reject universalism in favor of diversity, or diversity in favor of universalism. To overcome the antinomy between universalism and difference, the idea of "contact" used in this study —facilitated by the available transport and

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History (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012); Seamus Deane, *The French Revolution and Enlightenment in England, 1789-1832* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1988); Raymond N. D'Angelo, *The American civil rights movement: readings & interpretations* (Guilford, CT: McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, 2001); Vivek Chibber, *Postcolonial theory and the specter of capital* (London: Verso, 2013).

[4] Originally written on September 30, 1984, Immanuel Kant, "An Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment?," in *Practical Philosophy*, trans. and ed. Mary J. Gregor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Malcolm H Kerr, *Islamic reform; the political and legal theories of Muḥammad ʻAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966); Reinhard Schulze, "Was ist die islamische Aufkla¨rung?," *Die Welt des Islams* 36 (3) (1996): 276–325; Schulze, "Islam und andere Religionen in der Aufkla¨rung," *Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook* 7 (2008): 317–340.

social networks—can instead offer new insights into how they in fact necessitate each other: how universal ideas and cultures nurture diversity as much as diversity influences conditions of universal cultures and structures. For this to happen, I think we need to "pluralize universalism," which means finding universal impulses and concerns in plural and diverse expressions and manifestations. In moments of contact between circulating ideas and their translation, re-interpretation, and re-articulation, universal ideas of solidarity emerge. This brings to mind the juxtaposition of the French figurine with the Javanese female communist in the story about the Marianna song, a case in point for the idea of contact. Second, in understanding West versus East, what is important is not to essentialize the dichotomy but instead to understand how it has been historically produced, especially how media of communication played a part in that production. For example, colonialism and its communicative technology has been a part of the creation of the gap between West and East. In this regard, then, differences and diversity are not something to be merely celebrated. What is more important is to understand how diversity has been produced in our shared global world.

In fact, the early communist history in the Indies helps us develop nuance in our understanding of "the actually existing globalization." Our contemporary global world is inherited from centuries of history of colonialism and imperialism. The history of the media of resistance gives us insights into the nature and history of globalization inflected by the history of communication technologies and practices and social movements. Understanding how communicative practices and technologies were produced within the colonial environment enables us to understand that the colonial legacy of a restrictive legal environment, inequality across class, race, and gender, and inequality between center and periphery in access to technology and capital, are still central aspects of our global world. However, the resistance

against colonialism and imperialism also carried with it universal appeals to the ideas of justice, reason, and freedom. The communicative sociotechnical systems of resistance often manifested democratic ideals. The anti-colonial rhetoric demanded by the early communist movement encompassed demands for the liberation of women from oppression rooted in feudal tradition and Islamic teachings, for economic equality, access to critical education for children, a just journalistic ethics, and freedom for political expression. Additionally, the solidarity built across widespread geographical locations and spanning different identity markers attested to the universal appeal of the movement.

The task of global media studies is therefore to discover, identify, and bring to the surface the practical and material experiences of resistance from different parts of the world, however different they seemingly are. The field needs to analyze and evaluate the emancipatory (and anti-emancipatory) potentials of their communicative actions, organizations, and technologies, as well as to represent them, given how transient emancipatory social movements usually are. The history of *openbare vergaderingen* prompts us to revisit the history of the public sphere in the eighteenth century Europe explicated by Jürgen Habermas and also of ADDA in Bengali society narrated by Dipesh Chakrabarty.[5] While they emerged in different times and spaces and hence were different in character, they shared similarities in terms of the culture of debate and discussion, publicity, critical thinking, and political significance. A question for future study is "what is the possibility that *openbare vergaderingen,* the public sphere, and ADDA reveal to us a shared history of global public sphere?"

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[5] Jürgen Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere: an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1989); Craig Calhoun, *Habermas and the public sphere* (Cambridge, Mass. [u.a.]: MIT Press, 2011); Jürgen Habermas, Nick Crossley, and John Michael Roberts, *After Habermas: new perspectives on the public sphere* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Pub, 2004); Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008).

This takes me to my final point: I argue that the early communist anti-colonial movement in the Indies can be understood as an enlightenment project. By enlightenment I mean that the communist anti-colonial movement in the Indies sought to "enlighten" the people for the purpose of progress and emancipation by appealing to universal concerns regarding social justice, equality, and liberation. The prevailing historical narrative of this period tends to see anti-colonial struggles as mere responses to Western imperialism/colonialism. My research suggests, though, that the mobilization of ordinary people, whose demands were equality, justice, and liberation, clearly demonstrates significant parallels with the universal values of the enlightenment. The newspaper's *Sinar Hindia* repeatedly labeled its mission as "penerangan" (enlightenment) project. Though this could be a mere slogan, *openbare vergaderingen,* the revolutionary press, and the "wild" schools all embodied pursuits for reason, critical thinking, and social change that were voiced in the European enlightenment project two centuries earlier. Through these media of resistance, ordinary people expressed openness to new ideas, cultures, and achievements, which were also features of the enlightenment era. Whereas in Europe, enlightenment ideas fought against the church and the despotism of monarchs, in the Indies, the movement struggled against Dutch colonialism, religious parochialism, and aristocracy.

Therefore, this study opens up a new possibility to understand the history of the global enlightenment project. In this way, it joins an ongoing conversation found in the work of scholars who have tried to deconstruct the view that the history of enlightenment was homogeneous and monolithic, originating exclusively in Europe in the 18th century. Jonathan Israel in *Radical Enlightenment*, for instance, argues that seeing enlightenment from a homogeneous, nation-centric perspective creates an obstacle to understanding enlightenment as a

phenomenon that is actually "international and pan-European."[6] From within postcolonial studies, terms such as "postcolonial enlightenment," "provincializing Europe," and "Islamic peripatetic philosophy"[7] demonstrate theoretical and empirical efforts to disavow a western-centric view of the enlightenment and to offer an alternative view that accounts for the important roles non-western experiences have played in shaping our idea of enlightenment. Similarly, Sebastian Conrad's "Enlightenment in Global History"[8] proposes that we rethink the nonlinear spatiality and temporality of the global enlightenment.[9] Borrowing from Conrad, I argue that the enlightenment project was not simply a moment of the past or bound to a specific geographical space. It is rather an ensemble of continued processes of global circulation, translation, and transnational co-production as the history of media of resistance in the communist movement has shown us. Seeing the enlightenment project this way helps us understand that the universality of enlightenment was the work of many different people in the West and the East, South and North, manifested through diverse cultural contacts and conflicts, and often conditioned by unequal power relations as seen in colonialism, imperialism, and racism.[10] From this perspective, the enlightenment project is seen as a project of struggle. The question is, then, not so much about the origin of enlightenment, but about finding manifestations and expressions of universal impulses and concerns, regarding social justice, equality, liberation, and emancipation, in different parts of the world and in different cultural contexts.

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[6] Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical enlightenment: philosophy and the making of modernity, 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), v.
[7] Daniel Carey and Lynn M. Festa, *The postcolonial enlightenment: eighteenth-century colonialism and postcolonial theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*; Sayyed Hassan Houssaini, "Rationality in Islamic Peripatetic and Enlightenment Philosophies," in *Philosophy Emerging from Culture,* ed. William Sweet et al. (Washington D.C.: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2013).
[8] Sebastian Conrad, "Enlightenment in Global History: A Historiographical Critique," *American Historical Review*, October (2012): 999-1027.
[9] Ibid., 1026.
[10] Ibid., 1027.

This renewed perspective on the enlightenment project points to the need to study the intersection of enlightenment, social movements, and radical media in the contemporary time. Case studies comparing social movements and the production of resistance through both traditional and digital media in Indonesia and several neighboring countries in Southeast Asia can be a promising starting point to reveal and discern those hidden cultural, political, and economic conflicts and contacts specific to the Southeast Asian region, in which appeals to critical and universal concerns of enlightenment project might be manifested.

If there is a similarity shared between a social movement, media of resistance, and an enligtenment project, it is in their nature as a continuous project of struggle.

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APPENDIX A

CODE SHEET

ENTRY NUMBER:
year and number. 1920 (20) entry 1 (01) becomes 2001.

YEAR OF REPORT IN THE PERIODICAL

DATE OF REPORT IN THE PERIODICAL

YEAR OF EVENT

DATE OF EVENT

A. NAME OF PERIODICALS
The name of the periodicals in which the reports appeared.
(1) Sinar Hindia (SH)
(2) Api (A)

B. THE TYPE OF EVENT
(1) Public gathering
(2) Propaganda gathering
(3) Closed gathering and unspecified

C. THE GENDER TYPE OF EVENT
(1) women only: *woro; perempuan; isteri*
(2) men only
(3) mixed
(4) unspecified

D. ATTENDANCE
Input number, eg. 250 people

KIND OF PEOPLE WHO ATTEND
E. Did women attend?
(1) Yes
(2) No
(3) unspecified
F. Did police attend/*jaga*?
(1) Yes
(2) No
(3) unspecified
G. Did *wakil pemerintah* (government official) terkait attend?
(1) Yes
(2) No
(3) unspecified

H. Did Chinese people attend?
(1) Yes
(2) No
(3) unspecified
I. Did European attend?
(1) Yes
(2) No
(3) unspecified
J. Did other nationalities attend (Indian, arabs etc)?
(1) Yes
(2) No
(3) unspecified

K. THE TYPE OF SPACE
(1) Office
(2) House/residence
(3) Cinema
(4) Village
(5) People's School
(6) Private building
(7) Stamboel/theater
(8) Drilling site
(9) unspecified

L. LOCATION
See list

THE ORGANIZATION
M. Name of the political organization
- **(1)** Islamic Union (S.I.)
- **(2)** Red Islamic Union (S.I. merah)
- **(3)** People's Union (Sarekat Rajat)
- **(4)** PKI
- **(5)** Labor unions
- **(6)** S.I. Women (S.I. Perempuan)
- **(7)** People's Union Women Organization (Sarekat Rajat Istri/perempuan)
- **(8)** Combination of several organizations
- **(9)** Unspecified

N. THE BRANCH OF THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION
See list

O to T. NAME OF SPEAKERS
See list

U to Y. TOPIC DISCUSSED

(1) Organization
(2) Local matters
(3) Islam
(4) Law
(5) School/Education
(6) Women
(7) Analysis
(8) News
(9) Reactie
(10) Unspecified

LIST OF VALUES FOR L. LOCATION

No	Residencies
1	Bantam
2	Batavia
3	Buitenzorg
4	Preanger
5	Cheribon
6	Pekalongan
7	Semarang
8	Djepara-Rembang
9	Banjoemas
10	Kedoe
11	Jogjakarta
12	Soerakarta
13	Madioen
14	Kediri
15	Malang
16	Soerabaja
17	Probolinggo
18	Besoeki
19	Bodjonegoro
20	Sumatra's Westkust
21	Timor en Onderhoorigheden
22	Molukken
23	Unspecified

LIST OF VALUES FOR N. THE BRANCH OF THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

A. Islamic Union (S.I.): 59 branches

1 Unspecified, combination
2 S.I. Tajoe
3 S.I. Pati
4 S.I. Kaliwoengoe (Soemoer)
5 S.I. Salatiga
6 S.I. Blora
7 S.I. lasem
8 S.I. Rembang
9 S.I. Oengaran
10 S.I. Dempet
11 S.I. Tjepoe
12 S.I. Djepon
13 S.I. Poerwodadi
14 S.I. Selo (Poerwodadi)
15 S.I. Randoeblatoeng
16 S.I. Tjepiring
17 S.I. Bandjaran
18 S.I. Madjalengka
19 S.I. Babakan
20 S.I. Ambarawa
21 S.I. Dringoe
22 S.I. Keling (Japara)
23 S.I. Semarang
24 S.I. Parakan
25 S.I. kring Ngaringan
26 S.I. Djoewana
27 S.I. Gebang
28 S.I. Soekahadji
29 S.I. Telaga
30 S.I. Soebah
31 S.I. Magetan
32 S.I. Kring Sekarolas
33 S.I. Wirosari
34 S.I. Genoek
35 S.I. Kendal
36 S.I. Tjirebon
37 S.I. Dampit
38 S.I. Karangampel
39 S.I. Tjiandjoer
40 S.I. Gedong
41 S.I. Wokoh Ngrambe
42 S.I. Ngrambe
43 S.I. Kring Bringin
44 S.I. kampoeng Gendong
45 S.I. Tengaran
46 S.I. Madioen
47 S.I. Ngandjoek
48 S.I. Koendoeran
49 S.I. Tjilatjap
50 S.I. Tegal
51 S.I. Pekalongan
52 S.I. Soekaboemi
53 S.I. Ampel (Bojolali)
54 S.I. Tasikmalaja
55 S.I. Tjitjalengka
56 S.I. Bogor
57 S.I. Soemedang
58 S.I. Bandoeng
59 S.I. Blitar
60 S.I. Kraksaan

B. Red Islamic Union (S.I.M.): 27 branches

501 S.I. M. Wirosari
502 S.I. M. Blitar
503 S.I. M. Kalinjamat
504 S.I. M. Djepara
505 S.I. M. Bandjaran
506 S.I. M. Keling (Djepara)
507 S.I. M. Mlonggo
508 S.I. M. Tjaroeban
509 S.I. M. Bandjar
510 S.I. M. Oengaran
511 S.I. M. Madioen
512 S.I. M. Randoeblatoeng
513 S.I. M. Semarang
514 S.I. M. Tjepoe
515 S.I. M. Wates
516 S.I. M. Soekaboemi
517 S.I. M. Salatiga
518 S.I. M. Tengaran
519 S.I. M. Kalibaroe
520 S.I. M. Tasikmalaja
521 S.I. M. Kalikendel
522 S.I. M. Ampel Bojolali
523 S.I. M. Soeloer (Wirosari)
524 S.I. M. Radjapolah
525 S.I. M. Preangan Timoer
526 S.I. M. Nagreg
527 S.I. M. Tjitjalengka

C. People's Union (SR): 108 branches

801 SR Poerwokerto
802 SR Ngandjoek
803 SR Ambarawa
804 SR Tjimahi
805 SR Waroedjajeng Ngandjoek
806 SR Poerwosari
807 SR Betawi
808 SR Meester Cornelis
809 SR Sindanglaoet
810 SR Tjitjalengka
811 SR Pakisredjo
812 SR Bandjar
813 SR Brebes
814 SR Solok
815 SR Blitar
816 SR Soerabaja
817 SR Poerwodadi
818 SR Kertosono
819 SR Soekaboemi
820 SR Bandoeng
821 SR Petir-Tjiamis
822 SR Kalinjamat
823 SR Kramat Weltevreden
824 SR Paree
825 SR Tjiandjoer
826 SR Glenmore
827 SR Madioen
828 SR Semarang
829 SR Tasikmalaja
830 SR Padang Pandjang
831 SR Bandjaran (Djepara)
832 SR Garoem Blitar
833 SR Tengaran Salatiga
834 SR Tjepoe Blora
835 SR Djepara
836 SR Tjirebon
837 SR Pekalongan
838 SR Baloeng
839 SR Oengaran
840 SR Pariaman
841 SR Pajakoemboeh
842 SR Kertasemaja Indramajoe
843 SR Keling (Kelet) (Djepara)
844 SR Tjermee (Soerabaja)
845 SR Tandjoengpoera (krawang)
846 SR Krawang
847 SR Klari (Krawang)
848 SR Kota Lawas
849 SR Tagogapoe
850 SR Tajoe
851 SR Mlonggo (Japara)
852 SR Gresik
853 SR Malang
854 SR Toeren (Malang)
855 SR Singosari
856 SR Toeloeng Agoeng
857 SR Seoandjang (Soerabaja)
858 SR Ngawi
859 SR Koedoes
860 SR Tjiamis
861 SR Pasirian
862 SR Tjibatoe
863 SR Sidjoendjoeng (Soematera)
864 SR Gandoesari
865 SR Wlingi
866 SR Tjikampek
867 SR Soemedang
868 SR Djeblah
869 SR Djengglong
870 SR Tempeh
871 SR Grissee
872 SR Gembong (Soerabaja)
873 SR Waroedja
874 SR Oengasih/Pengasih
875 SR Perning Modjokerto
876 SR Kepandjen
877 SR Pasargede Djokja
878 SR Tikalak (Soematera Barat)
879 SR Solo
880 SR Djombang
881 SR Toempang
882 SR Tjaroeban
883 SR Timor Koepang
884 SR Bogor
885 SR Djoewana
886 SR Batang
887 SR Wedaridaksa
888 SR Doekoeh Benailmongko
889 SR Krian
890 SR Petoengsewoe Malang
891 SR Srengat
892 SR Djapara/Japara
893 SR Goeboeg
894 SR Dampit
895 SR Kelet
896 SR Banjoemas
897 SR Mendjangankaloeng
898 SR Ngoenoet
899 SR Ngrambe
900 SR Soekaradja (Banjoemas)
901 SR Ngantang
902 SR Besoeki
903 SR Tjiledoek
904 SR Tegal
905 SR Lawas
906 SR Panindjawan
907 SR Balapoelang

SR Donomoeljo
908 Malang

D. Indonesia Communist Party (PKI): 31 branches

1001 PKI afd Makassar
1002 PKI afd Semarang
1003 afd Pekalongan
1004 PKI Sindanglaoet
1005 PKI Madioen
1006 PKI Bandoeng
1007 PKI Tjirebon
1008 PKI Betawi
1009 PKI Soerabaja
1010 PKI Salatiga
1011 PKI Tjiandjoer
1012 PKI Kerandji
1013 PKI Krian (Sidoardjo)
1014 PKI Djepara
PKI Perning
1015 Modjokerto
1016 PKI Oengaran
1017 PKI Mergotoehoe
1018 PKI Tjermee
1019 PKI Ambarawa
1020 PKI Pekalongan
1021 PKI Banjoewangi
1022 PKI Malang
1023 PKI Djombang
1024 PKI Poerwokerto
1025 PKI Koedoes
1026 PKI Bodjonegoro
1027 PKI Sidoardjo
1028 PKI Padangan (Bodjonegoro)
1029 PKI Besoeki
1030 PKI Tjiledoek
1031 PKI Kertosono

E. Various Labor Union: 16 organizations

161 VSTP
162 Suikerbond
163 PKBO
164 PKBT
165 pegawai DPM
166 Sarekat pegawai pelikan (tambang)
167 PPPB
168 SPPH
169 Sarekat Postel
170 PGHB
171 FOSIO
172 Serikat boeroeh Tjitak (SBT)
173 Timorsch Verbond
174 PPP (Perkumpulan Pegawai Pegadaian)
175 Koetsir Bond
176 Pasarbond

LIST OF VALUES FOR O to T. NAME OF SPEAKERS

Note: *If name is too short, e.g. "Ali," then choose 1. Also choose 1 for "Mohammad" or "Noto" since they are too general.*

1	Unspecified or N/A
2	Mhd. Kasan
3	Semaoen
4	Tjiptoprawiro
5	Bergsma (Semarang)
6	Sastrodihardjo (Salatiga)
7	Hardosoetomo (Salatiga)
8	Kariosantosa
9	Samsi

10	Hardjosoewarto
11	Soekindar
12	Hadisoebroto
13	Tjokroaminoto
14	Tirodanoedjo
15	*Government officials (wedono etc)*
16	T Mohammad
17	Dwidjosoemarto
18	Sastrodimoeljo

19	Ismail
20	Soegeng
21	Wirjoatmodjo
22	Prijodihardjo
23	Achmad
24	Latjipsastroamidjojo
25	Soerjopranoto
26	Sanjoto
27	Pronggo Hardjo
28	Hadji Idris
29	Soemardi
30	Harjodikromo
31	Avandie
32	(Mohamad) Djaid
33	Chamidin (Poerwodadi)
34	Poerworawiro
35	Kadiroen
36	Abdoelchalim
37	Ali Sastrosoewirjo
38	Mohamad Tahar
39	Partoatmodjo
40	Najoan (Semarang)
41	Hadiawiro
42	Soemoprodjo
43	woro Soemoprodjo
44	woro moh singgih
45	soepijah
46	woro soetijah
47	Imam Prawiro
48	Soetitah
49	Moenasiah
50	Poerwowinoto
51	Kasmo
52	Soekarian
53	Prawiromiastro
54	Soetarno
55	Sastrodirdjo
56	Prawiro Soehardjo (Madioen)
57	Partosimodjo
58	Nolowardjojo
59	Soemodiprodjo
60	woro Soemodiprodjo
61	E Kariodimedjo
62	Hadiprawiro
63	Kasboelah
64	Hardjosoewarjo
65	Djojodirekso
66	Wirjosoesastro
67	Danoediwongso
68	Soewarni (woro)
69	Aalijah (woro)

70	Boedisoetjitro
71	Soediro (Wirosari)
72	Agoes salim (CSI)
73	Notoatmodjo
74	Kasanmoestari
75	Djoeinah (woro)
76	Soekarto
77	Marijamah (woro from Ambarawa)
78	Mangkoediardjo
79	Prawitowerdojo
80	Djojosoewondo
81	Hasanbasari
82	Sastrosoewirjo (Tjirebon)
83	Kartosoedarmo
84	Abdullah Fatah
85	Noersam
86	Boesro
87	Soeradi
88	Soedibjo
89	Baars
90	Marco
91	Djoedohadiwinoto
92	Soebakat dari Bandoeng
93	Sastrowigoena
94	Koesrin
95	Tan Malaka
96	Soeratmodjo
97	Abdoerrachman
98	Mohamad Jasin
99	Kadarisman
100	Prapto (Ambarawa; PKI Salatiga)
101	Mardjoan (Mardjohan)
102	Abdoel Moeis
103	Kodir
104	Sidik
105	Ahmad
106	Moeis
107	Aboe bakar
108	Kertosastro
109	Hardjosoewirjo
110	Tirtoatmodjo
111	Iskandar (woro)
112	Mohamad Djohari
113	A Adjis
114	Soedjak
115	Nafsiah
116	Soeminah
117	Tjokroredjo
118	Wiradimadja
119	Soekantawidjaja
120	Haroen

121	Kasnoer
122	Soemowikarto
123	Hardho
124	Soeroatmodjo
125	Tjitrowidjojo
126	Soekardono
127	Moh Hasan
128	Hardjosoewignjo
129	Maitodirono
130	Djoepri
131	Pramono
132	Salimin
133	Djojomerkaso
134	Sopoero
135	Sastrokoesoemo
136	Prijokoesoemo
137	Hardjosoemarto
138	Sastrosoedarmo
139	Hadipranoto/H Pranoto
140	Tjiptorahardjo
141	Padmotanojo
142	Soekirah (woro) (Soeloer)
143	Koesnan
144	Soediran Hardjowijoto
145	Nawawi (Arief)
146	Soepardan
147	Parimin
148	Moehammad tahir
149	Soerosastra
150	Djasmin
151	Soepoeman
152	Tarsimin
153	*Police official*
154	Soemantri
155	Moh. Joesoef
156	Soetarman
157	Siswo
158	Soeleman/Soeleiman (Malang)
159	Soeminah (woro)
160	Soellah (woro)
161	Roes (woro)
162	Napsiah (woro)
163	sastroatmodjo
164	Salimoen
165	Tjiptoprawiro (woro)
166	Soenarjo
167	Kartowitjitro (Moh. Saleh)
168	Dirdjosoemarto
169	Goenawan Prawirosardjono (Soerabaja) (Goenawan)
170	Haris Soehardja

171	Wiradimardja
172	Salam
173	Kasman
174	Ngadino
175	Danadi
176	Darmoprawiro
177	Bratanata
178	Kaboel (Kediri)
179	Misbach
180	Abdul halim
181	Mawardi
182	Hardjowijoto
183	Iskander
184	Oemar (Djokja)
185	Ngoesman
186	Sastroprajitno
187	Ardij/Ardy Soeroto
188	Ali Archam
189	Martojo
190	Notosoedarmo
191	Sastrosoeprapto
192	Djojopranoto
193	Wignjoparmono (Salatiga)
194	Soegiri
195	Kartowinoto
196	Soetopawiro
197	Prawiroredjo
198	Sardjono (Soekaboemi)
199	Prawiroatmodjo
200	Moechtar (Soekaboemi, Bogor)
201	Winata
202	Djahidi
203	Darsono
204	Soekirlan
205	A. Winanta
206	Koesno
207	Moesirin
208	Soemoprawoto
209	H Prajitno (Tjepoe)
210	SH Prawito (Soeloer)
211	Prawoto
212	Soekirno
213	Moestedjo
214	Amattajib
215	Poerwodihardjo
216	Mochtar dari Soekaboemi (prop VSTP) same as 200
217	Soemitrawinata
218	Djadi
219	Prawirowinoto
220	Soebagijo (propagandist VSTP West Java)

221	Soetan Djenain
222	Adiwidjaja
223	Amon
224	P. Manesah
225	Soemito
226	Kartawiria (Kartadiwiria, Kartawirja from Cimahi)
227	Tjokrowardjojo
228	Woro Moerdiman
229	Roro Marsini
230	Sastrosoeratmo
231	Moestidjo
232	Woro Koerlia Djajadiradja
233	Woro Wieziettoch-Ardjo
234	Marsoem
235	Asnawi
236	Djajadiredja
237	Alimin
238	Moechtar Buitenzorg
239	Achmad Tajib (Kediri)
240	Tarmoedji (lid bestuur locale SI Blitar)
241	Moeso (Betawi)
242	Djajakoesman
243	Soedarso
244	Kijahi Abdulchadir (Djepara)
245	S. Bachrom
246	*N/A*
247	Prawirosimoen/Simoen
248	S.H. Rasid/Alirasid
249	Soemobroto
250	Soeroto
251	Broto Prajitno
252	Djajoesman
253	Moeto Kalimoen/Moetokalimoen
254	Soegono
255	Moh Sanoesi (Bandoeng)
256	Hardjooetomo
257	Soerjonitihardjo
258	A. Bassach
259	Prawirosardjono (Soerabaja)
260	Soegiman
261	Soekartono
262	Samin Karto Soewignjo
263	Rochmanda
264	Kamidin
265	Moh Bachram (Pati)
266	Soerogoetomo
267	Soepardi
268	Kartorasad
269	Sirroto (before: Sastrodidjojo) from Kertosono
270	Soekir (Kertosono)

271	Soenario (ngandjoek)
272	Mintoroto (Kertosono)
273	Martodisoemo
274	Atmowasito
275	Ranoewisastro
276	Atmosoedarmo
277	Prawirosantono
278	Sosroatmodjo
279	Soemosoebroto
280	Sdardjono
281	Oesoep Mangoendwiradja
282	Soekiban (Randoeblatoeng)
283	Sastrohardjo (Tjepoe)
284	Woro Moertini
285	Soeprapto (Koewoe)
286	Roso
287	Slamat
288	Soebandi
289	Soenarno
290	Moh Tajib (Paree)
291	Sastromartono
292	Iskak
293	Ambijah
294	Woro Ngadiman
295	Koosno z/d titel
296	Woro Kotidjah
297	Amir (Semarang)
298	Ali (Semarang)
299	Soendoro (Semarang)
300	Wirjosoewondo (Smrg)
301	Pasimin (Smrg)
302	Mariman (Smrg)
303	H Moh Imam
304	Djamaluddin Tamim
305	Idroes (Sumbar)
306	Baharuddin (Sumbar)
307	Noer Ibrahim (Sumbar)
308	M.A.A.S. Parpatieh (Sumbar)
309	H.S.S. Parpatieh (Sumbar)
310	D.t.M. Besar (Sumbar)
311	Ahmadchatib (Sumbar)
312	Taibin (Sumbar)
313	Moh Iman
314	Ahmad (Karangpilang Surabaya)
315	Djojosoedarmo
316	Ismaoen
317	Soekandar
318	Atmosoedirdjo
319	woro Moedjinah (Soeloer)
320	H Prawito (Wirosari)
321	Soemardi (Randoeblatoeng)

322	Loekito (Tjepoe)
323	Soeroso (Rakitan) (Bandoeng)
324	Wiroastro (Rakitan)
325	Wardojo (Doplang)
326	Sodipoero
327	Dhaham
328	Aminkoesasi (Paree)
329	Hatmosoenjoto (Kalinjamat)
330	Sajoeti
331	Amatbakri
332	Boekari
333	Djojosoediro
334	Somowikarto
335	Ijam
336	Slamet
337	Djojodimedjo
338	Sajoebi
339	Woro Koestini (kertosono)
340	Soeradji
341	Soekir
342	Soekadis
343	Sambik
344	Prawiro (Soekaboemi)
345	Moedjina
346	Partasoeganda
347	Soepirdi
348	Somomihardjo
349	Soerachman
350	Kartaatmadja
351	Kamari
352	Soepardji
353	Ditawilastra (Tjiamis)
354	Sanraip (Tjiamis)
355	Soelaiman (Tjiamis)
356	Istohari (Tjiamis)
357	Bahri (Tjiamis)
358	Tarhami (Tjiamis)
359	Kartomidjojo
360	Soemosoedirdjo
361	E Karijodimedjo
362	Boehari
363	Soekreno
364	Soedarsono
365	Soeriosepoetro
366	Kasijo
367	Woro Soekini
368	Heroejono
369	Tjokroatmodjo
370	Boediman
371	Soekrawinata

372	Moersito
373	Sasmito
374	Soewandi (Kalibaroe)
375	Mch Soeparto
376	Joedhohadinoto
377	Woro Moerdinem
378	Soenargo
379	Soleh (Smrg)
380	Abdulrasid (Smrg)
381	Tohir (Smrg)
382	Tjitrodipoero (Smrg)
383	Woro Soeketji (Smrg)
384	woro Mardjohan (Smrg)
385	Soedirdjo (Smrg)
386	Haditomo (Smrg)
387	Soebroto (Smrg)
388	Saleman (Smrg)
389	Woro Soetiran (Smrg)
390	Woro Soenardi (Smrg)
391	Soewardjo (Smrg)
392	Matoesin (Smrg)
393	Achmad Basach
394	Mohamad Djaidi
395	Karmawidjaja
396	Ramelan
397	A Wahab (Sumbar)
398	Datoek Mangkoetobesar (Sumbar)
399	St Batoeah (Sumbar)
400	Marah Soetan (Sumbar)
401	Moenaf (padang)
402	Oding
403	Kasmin (Kalinjamat; Mlonggo; Pati)
404	Soeparjo
405	Tisna
406	Sarjoen
407	Satja
408	Semedi
409	Soeldjana
410	Masnoen
411	Ibrahim Madjid
412	Jatmin
413	Harmili
414	Karnowidjaja
415	Soedjono
416	Mardjoeki (Salatiga)
417	Soentil Natasapoetra
418	Kardjono
419	Djamil
420	Soekrabat
421	Kasmana

422	Aboe
423	Tomoprawiro
424	Adenan
425	A Wiratma
426	Djiman
427	Ratmadji
428	K Soemardo
429	Amongsoewarno
430	Anggakoesoema
431	Ali Achmad
432	Moh Djaidi
433	Pranotosoedarmo
434	Tjokrowardojo alias Hadipidjono from Ngandjoek)
435	A Thaib (A Thajib)
436	Soetjipto
437	woro Marmi
438	Woro Kasri
439	Joedohadinoto
440	Kartosoewignjo
441	Oesman Loebis
442	Sastrodarmodjo
443	Mangoensoehardjo
444	Sastrosoemitro
445	Sastromartojo
446	Brotoprajitno (Mlonggo)
447	Ngaliman (Semarang)
448	Wirjosoedarmo
449	Santoso/Santosa
450	Woro Djoeminah (Soekaboemi)
451	Adoer (Soekaboemi)
452	Kemis (Soekaboemi)
453	Djimat (Randoeblatoeng)
454	S Asanoedin (Meester-Cornelis)
455	Affandi (Manggarai)
456	Soeratman
457	Prawirosoehardjo (Madioen)
458	Hardjosoekotjo
459	Sosrokardono
460	Soetaslekan
461	Soemowijoto (Notoprodjo)
462	Bedawi (Pekalongan)
463	Mamesah
464	Djoewardi
465	Woro Karsi (Tjepoe)
466	Koesoemowidjo
467	Soepradja
468	Soedarman
469	Woro Andjani
470	Sastropawiro
471	S.H. Pratisto
472	Djajadirdja
473	Prawiromedjo
474	Arkieman
475	H Acsari
476	Djoefrie
477	Soedono
478	Kartosoewiknjo
479	Soemodisastro
480	Marhoen (Soematra)
481	Bakar S (Soematra)
482	Hakan (Soematra)
483	Sastrosoelias (Keling)
484	Soemarto (Keling; Djepara)
485	Hasanoedin (M Cornelis)
486	Matkrani (M Cornelis)
487	Patty (Ambon)
488	Notohardjo
489	Prawirodiprodjo
490	Soemarlan (Marlan)
491	S.A. Siregar
492	Soebeni
493	Joadohadinoto
494	Wongsoredjo
495	Moh Said
496	Woro Koerlijah Djajadiredja
497	Tan Thaij Tiwan
498	Soedoro
499	Moetalib
500	Radimin (Tjirebon)
501	Boentarman (Indramajoe)
502	Soedomo (Indramajoe)
503	Harjono
504	Ngadiman
505	Darmosoewito (Smrg)
506	A Moethalib (Smrg)
507	Siswojo (Amboeloe Djember)
508	Isdi (Amboeloe Djember)
509	Djojosepoetro (Amboeloe Djember)
510	Darmosoemarto (Amboeloe Djember)
511	Siam
512	Woro Sastrosoeprapto
513	Slamat
514	Sastrowidjojo
515	Soenarto (Bandjaran)
516	Mangoen (Bandjaran)
517	Mangoenhardjo
518	Wirodarmojo
519	Dasoeki (Solo)
520	Abdullah
521	Soetamiarsa
522	Soetadihardjo
523	Kartawidjaja

524	Prawirodihardjo
525	Z Mohamad (Djepara)
526	Marsoen
527	Wasimin
528	Prawirawinata
529	Kasmidjan
530	Aloewi
531	Marsino
532	Marsiman
533	Boediprawiro
534	Soemartojo
535	Moekmin zonder titel
536	woro Boed Prawiro (woro Boediprawiro)
537	woro Moh Jasin
538	Joewono
539	Brotoatmodjo
540	Soekardi
541	Amatsaleh
542	Sastrosoekarto
543	Endoen (sindanglaoet)
544	Oomar (sindanglaoet)
545	Adiwisastro (sindanglaoet)
546	Soedjandi
547	Woro Soelijah
548	Woro Sittie Roesilah
549	Woro Roesminah
550	Prawiranata
551	Poeradisastra
552	Soemoatmodjo
553	Woro Moerdini
554	Michrab
555	HA Djoenaedi
556	Oerip-Asnawi
557	Joedodinoto dari Madioen
558	Ong Ek Kiam (Preangan Timoer)
559	Hadji Abdoelkadir
560	Projokoesoemo
561	Oesman (Voorzitter B.O. Kalinjamat)
562	Toebin
563	Joesman
564	Partaatmadja
565	Harafiah
566	Woro Rachmat
567	Padmodisastro
568	O.K. Jaman
569	Waliki
570	Nawawi Arief (Padang Pandjang)
571	M Soleh Dj (Padang Pandjang)
572	Roestam (Padang Pandjang)
573	Achmad Soebrata

574	Soehardi (Tjimahi, Solo)
575	Djajasasmita (Tjimahi)
576	Woro Kartadipoera (Tjimahi)
577	Soemilto
578	Amir (Leuwegadjah)
579	Wiranta (Leuwegadjah)
580	Atjeng (Leuwegadjah)
581	Oele (Leuwegadjah)
582	Kartodipoero
583	Wiratmadja
584	Nataatmadja (Togogapoe)
585	Soekria (Togogapoe)
586	Padma (Togogapoe)
587	Alip Soemarto (Djapara)
588	Djojodiwirjo (Djoewana)
589	Moehtadi/Moehtadlie Sastrohardjo (Japara/Mlonggo)
590	Ngali (alias Boediprawiro) (Japara/Mlonggo/Bandjaran)
591	Mangoen Sastromaninong (Japara/Mlonggo)
592	Woro Soejatmi (Japara/Mlonggo)
593	H Azat (Japara/Mlonggo)
594	Soeardjo (Djepara)
595	Mardjoen
596	Sastrodimoelio
597	Tirtowardojo
598	Koesoemowidjojo
599	Amat Soeleman
600	Handoyomo
601	Basiran
602	Soemoekjat
603	Lalombo
604	Sundah
605	Roro Anisa
606	H.S. Assor
607	Soekadi (Cornelis)
608	Amat Nawawi (Cornelis)
609	Woro Moersito (Cornelis)
610	Partodiwirjo (Cornelis)
611	Pontjo (Cornelis)
612	Boedihardjo (Cornelis)
613	Soemadi (Djepara, ada dari Solo)
614	Basir/baseer (Djepara)
615	Padmosoemadjo (Malang)
616	S Atir (Bandjaran)
617	Padmosoemarto
618	Soewito
619	A Moeloek
620	Partoredjo
621	Kartodanoedjo godek/Danoedja (Kalinjamat)

622	Boedjak (Kalinjamat)
623	Soepardjo (Kalinjamat)
624	Ahmat (Soerabaja)
625	Adikoesoemo (Soerabaja)
626	Sadrin (Bogor)
627	Moh Sidik (Bogor)
628	Hosen (Bogor)
629	Singomentolo alias Sadi
630	Kartadipoera
631	Nahootmadja
632	Oen Poen Seng
633	Soeljana
634	Walikin
635	Soemedi
636	Soedarno
637	Astroredja
638	Markiman
639	Dilawilastra
640	W Sasmito
641	Moch Ali (Betawi)
642	Lata Ali-Acbar (Betawi)
643	H Basri (Betawi)
644	Said Alatas (Betawi)
645	Soerijosepoetro (Betawi)
646	Samoedro (Betawi)
647	Kamsir (Betawi)
648	Brahim (Betawi)
649	Essom (Betawi)
650	Soewarno (Betawi, solo)
651	Dhana (Tjibatoe)
652	Adiwinata (Tjibatoe)
653	Ahmadsasmita (Tjibatoe)
654	Woro Eni (Tjibatoe)
655	Moh Soeebsoetisnasendjaja (Tjibatoe)
656	MS Djaafar (Soematera)
657	Adjraam (Soematera)
658	A Limin (Soematera)
659	Gazali (Soematera)
660	Hadji Moehamad Iman (Blitar)
661	Moestakim (Blitar)
662	Tirtomihardjo (Wates)
663	Warnomo (Blitar)
664	Angsakoesoema
665	Djojotoegimin
666	Soekandar
667	Soerat (Tajoe)
668	Woro Mintarata
669	Koesnomalibari
670	S Dasir
671	A Moeloeh
672	Partowidarmo

673	Soekirman
674	W Samarata
675	Soerjadi (Tjimahi)
676	Ami (Tjimahi)
677	Gandasasmita (Tjimahi)
678	Maliki (Tjimahi)
679	Oeij Poen Seng (Tjimahi) (Oen Poen Seng)
680	Woro Ento (Tjimahi)
681	Soemirta (Tjimahi)
682	Soerijabrata (Tjimahi)
683	Madnaseh (Tjimahi)
684	Djajasoemita (Tjimahi)
685	Woro Soertinah
686	Woro Kosasih
687	Koo Tjoen
688	Isdy Soeroto
689	Djoeperi
690	Hadisasmito
691	Tamjis
692	Nagli (Bandjaran)
693	Prawiro-Adiprodjo
694	Benoe
695	Mashoel
696	Sidin
697	Padmosoemardhjo
698	Sehat
699	Hardjaoetomo
700	Hardjoprawiro
701	Mat Rawi
702	Partosoedarmo
703	Karawoe
704	Samirasa
705	Woro Kadinah
706	Hoesen
707	Sastroprawiro
708	Kiswarin
709	Hardjosoeparto (Glenmore)
710	Tjokrosoedoro
711	Isteri rat (Tjiamis)
712	Eni
713	Dartowidarmo
714	Koerdaat
715	Moeroto Wirjosoemarto
716	Moekimin
717	Tobin (Salatiga)
718	Ngalise
719	Woro Sastrodimoelio
720	Djojowijono
721	Soepeno
722	Tjokrowioto
723	Ramlam

724	Sirroto (Kertosono)
725	Samiardjo
726	Soengkono
727	Hardjowinoto
728	Djoedi
729	Prawirohardjo
730	Roeslam (Blitar)
731	Danoe/Danoewarso (Mlonggo)
732	Riedoewan (Mlonggo)
733	Kastamoen
734	Pramoedihardjo
735	Woro Misirah
736	Soemardjo
737	Soemasoebrata
738	Sandjojo
739	Hardjodiwongso
740	Sastrowidjono (Solo)
741	Djojoatmodjo
742	Soekra (Betawi)
743	Toha (Mlonggo)
744	Woro Tarjati (Soekaboemi)
745	Basoer (Djepara)
746	Wirasoedarmamjardja
747	Tjokrosoemarta
748	Kasmeni
749	Ngadina
750	Moedjiman/Medjiman
751	Moehamad Arief (Soematra)
752	Ramaja (Soematra)
753	Woro Soemarisah
754	Karwadi (Mlonggo)
755	Koewat (Singosari)
756	Padmosoedijo
757	Parto Widomo (malang)
758	Tasmoen (Blitar)
759	Djolowijono
760	Woro Innah
761	Woro Isdarwati (Wirosari)
762	Tolia (Mlonggo)
763	Ater (Mlonggo)
764	Koesmin/Koesnin
765	Partooetomo
766	Soekiman
767	Partowi (Malang)
768	Soejadi (Mlonggo)
769	Wirosoeharto (Solo)
770	Respati
771	Hamingwardojo
772	Koendiat
773	Md Praptosoedirdjo
774	Prawiraadinata
775	Woro Soemarni (Malang)
776	Woro Ngaribi
777	Woro Mardjoen
778	Prajitnowisastro
779	Mardjoko
780	Handojomo
781	Chasan Rahmat (Toeren)
782	Soehirman/Soeherman (Kepandjen)
783	Sosrosoedarmo
784	Kartono
785	Sari (Sidoardjo)
786	Ch. M. Pandij
787	M.B. Mael
788	F. Noelik
789	L.L. Neubessie
790	K.B. Kuslulat
791	Dachlan
792	M.B. Amtiram
793	Lando Oemar
794	Hadji Asaad
795	Partodihardjo
796	Dartodihardjo
797	Ch Rachmat
798	Pramoedjo
799	Soeparman (Mangoenboedojo)
800	Woro Pamintoroto
801	Darmono
802	Djoetri
803	Soejono
804	Woro Djojo (from Mergotoehoe)
805	Sirat (Mergotoehoe)
806	Md Sjamsoe
807	Soenardi
808	Woro Dj Toegimin
809	Woro Soepardi
810	Matdosin/Matdasim
811	Moh Sirat (Tajoe)
812	Woro Kasim
813	Soenarsi
814	Leim Boen Thaij
815	Moehadi
816	Asmosoenjoto
817	Padmohoetomo
818	Nitimarsaid
819	Woro Toempoek
820	Atmokarjono
821	Markazan/Markasan
822	Sakariman
823	Warwomo

824	Tadjoewit
825	Saham
826	Oentoeng
827	Sowowijoto
828	Wiroboedojo
829	Tjitrosendjojo
830	Woro Moesniati
831	H. Raflie
832	Moh Sadik
833	Tan Shee Khing
834	Moch Halil
835	Woro Rakimin
836	Woro Mardjoko
837	Rakimin
838	Koo Liong Tjiang (Dampit)
839	Kartodinoedjo
840	Woro Celestine Chamidin (poerwodadi)
841	Mochtadi (Sastrohardono)
842	Njo Joe Tik (representative of Kong Sing Hwee)
843	Soemobasir
844	Notosamarata
845	Astrolpan
846	Sastroredjo
847	Iksan
848	Soekarno
849	Woro Reksokoesoemo
850	Soeprodjo
851	Moeljowidjojo (Glenmore)
852	Soemoeki
853	Hadisoemarto
854	Soewigjo
855	Soerahman
856	Brotowinotho
857	Oeij Hong Tjoan
858	Tan Ping Tjiat
859	Woro Ati (Malang)
860	Albi
861	Marsait
862	Soerjosaprodjo
863	Krain Baba
864	Tjiptoamidjojo
865	Hatmowidjojo
866	Atmowidjojo
867	Achmadbadri
868	Atmosardjono
869	Notosoemarto
870	Moekandar
871	Woro Roemelah
872	Liem Boen Thay/Thaij
873	Tasmian
874	Sodjojo

875	Doelkamid
876	Liem Kiem Tiwie
877	Lie The Ik Bie
878	Moesfa'at
879	Djoepel
880	Ronoprawro
881	Tan Swie He (Soerabaja)
882	Moes Pardin
883	Ismadi
884	Notosoewandi
885	Abas
886	Atmosiswojo
887	Tjan Sioe Tjoan
888	Woro C Sjamsoe
889	Samsoeri (Solo)
890	Atmosoemarto (Solo)
891	Hardjosoepardjo
892	Hadji Abas
893	Roro Tasmijah
894	Moestamir
895	Makroep
896	Woro Djoewangsih
897	A Moentalib
898	Saboer
899	Soekarman
900	Oetojo
901	Koo Liong Poo
902	Rotohadidjojo
903	H Sirad
904	Wardono
905	A Raoef (Lawas)
906	St Radja (Lawas)
907	Maimoenah (Lawas)
908	Katimah (Lawas)
909	Saarah (Lawas)
910	Rangkajo (Lawas)
911	H St Kajo (Soematra)
912	Alamoeddin (Soematra)
913	Djamaloeddin (Soematra)
914	Woro Reno (Soematra)
915	Woro Kawi (Soematra)
916	Woro Maimoenah (Soematra)
917	Woro Rabiah (Soematra)
918	Rademo
919	Notowardojo
920	Nitioetomo
921	Woro atikah (Bandoeng)
922	Moch Sarip (SI Tjokro)
923	Woro Pranoto
924	Gees
925	Paiman

926	Machoedoem Sali (Padang Pandjang)
927	Marhoem (Padang Pandjang)
928	Basjarroeddin Gafoer (Padang Pandjang)
929	Baharoeddin Said (Padang Pandjang)
930	Saleh Djafar (Padang Pandjang)
931	Djojodihardjo
932	Kordaat

APPENDIX B

SIMPLE STATISTICAL RESULTS

Year of report

Number of Vergaderingen Reported in 1920 -1926

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1920	77	8.9	8.9	8.9
	1921	43	5.0	5.0	13.9
	1922	38	4.4	4.4	18.3
	1923	38	4.4	4.4	22.7
	1924	313	36.2	36.2	58.8
	1925	356	41.2	41.2	100.0
	Total	865	100.0	100.0	

Note: Mean: 1923.77 (the latter part of 1923—after the 1923 banning was lifted on Sept 30); Median: 1924; Mode: 1925; Std. Deviation: 1.567. The reports on *vergaderingen* increased significantly in 1924-1925 with the most *vergaderingen* reports in 1925.

Year of event

Number of Vergaderingen Held in 1920 - 1926

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1919	1	.1	.1	.1
	1920	76	8.8	8.8	8.9
	1921	43	5.0	5.0	13.9
	1922	38	4.4	4.4	18.3
	1923	38	4.4	4.4	22.7
	1924	314	36.3	36.3	59.0
	1925	355	41.0	41.0	100.0
	Total	865	100.0	100.0	

Note: The number of *vergaderingen* held in 1920 was quite significant at 76 before being constantly low in 1921-1923 at 38-43. The years 1924-1925 however saw a boom of the number of *vergaderingen* held at 314 and 355. This seems to end abruptly at the end of 1925 with no *vergaderingen* held in 1926.

Number of vergaderingen before and after May 1923 ban

Number of Vergaderingen Before/After May 1923 Ban

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Before May 1923 Ban	161	18.6	18.6	18.6
	After May 1923 Ban	703	81.3	81.4	100.0
	Total	864	99.9	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.1		
Total		865	100.0		

Note: Mean: 2.63; Median: 3 (After the ban); Mode: 3 (After the ban); Std. Deviation: 0.779. The number of *vergaderingen* held after it was banned between May 12-Sept 30, 1923 quadrupled from 161 event before the ban to 703 after the ban. People became more eager to hold vergadering after the government suppressed it.

Message travel time

How long did it take for a "vergadering" to be reported?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0-3 days	213	24.6	24.6	24.6
	4 days	152	17.6	17.6	42.2
	1 week	234	27.1	27.1	69.2
	2 weeks	181	20.9	20.9	90.2
	3 weeks	44	5.1	5.1	95.3
	1 month	19	2.2	2.2	97.5
	Over 1 month	22	2.5	2.5	100.0
	Total	865	100.0	100.0	

Note: Mean: 7.5 days; Median: 5 days; Mode: 4 days; Std. Deviation: 10 days; Minimum: 0 days (10 events); Maximum: 209 days.

Name of periodicals

Number of "vergaderingen" reported by periodical

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Sinar Hindia	487	56.3	56.3	56.3
	API	378	43.7	43.7	100.0
	Total	865	100.0	100.0	

Note: Although API only existed for less than two years, it reported almost half of the total number of vergaderingen held. This could indicate that as Sinar Hindia changed its name to API,

its purpose became more and more defined toward becoming the voice of the communist movement. So, supposed there were a lot more vergaderingen held before 1923 that did not get reported, we still could conclude that if there were equal number of vergaderingen held in the time of SH and API, API focused more on reporting them than SH.

Type of event

Number of "public" vs. "propaganda" meetings

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Public	597	69.0	74.0	74.0
	Propaganda	210	24.3	26.0	100.0
	Total	807	93.3	100.0	
Missing	System	58	6.7		
Total		865	100.0		

Gender type

Attendance by Gender

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Gender-based	20	2.3	4.8	4.8
	Mixed	393	45.4	95.2	100.0
	Total	413	47.7	100.0	
Missing	System	452	52.3		
Total		865	100.0		

Attendance

Number of Attendance

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0-50	158	18.3	18.3	18.3
	51-100	121	14.0	14.0	32.3
	101-500	341	39.4	39.4	71.7
	501-1000	123	14.2	14.2	85.9
	1001-3000	98	11.3	11.3	97.2
	3001-5000	19	2.2	2.2	99.4
	5001-10000	5	.6	.6	100.0
	Total	865	100.0	100.0	

Note: Mean: 601.3; Median: 250; Mode: 0; std. Deviation: 957.36; Minimum: 0; Maximum: 8000. Most *vergaderingen* were attended by 100 – 500 people. There were more than 100 *vergaderingen* attended by more than 1000 people.

Women participation

Did women participate?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	460	53.2	53.2	53.2
	Yes	405	46.8	46.8	100.0
	Total	865	100.0	100.0	

Police

Did police watch the event?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No/Unknown	524	60.6	60.6	60.6
	Yes	341	39.4	39.4	100.0
	Total	865	100.0	100.0	

Participation of government officials

Did government officials participate?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	763	88.2	88.2	88.2
	Yes	102	11.8	11.8	100.0
	Total	865	100.0	100.0	

Participation of Chinese people

Did Chinese people participate?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	777	89.8	89.8	89.8
	Yes	88	10.2	10.2	100.0
	Total	865	100.0	100.0	

Note: 88 vergaderingen were frequented by Chinese people.

Participation of European people

Did Europeans participate?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	850	98.3	98.3	98.3
	Yes	15	1.7	1.7	100.0
	Total	865	100.0	100.0	

<u>Participation of other nationalities</u>

Did other nationalities participate?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	852	98.5	98.5	98.5
	Yes	13	1.5	1.5	100.0
	Total	865	100.0	100.0	

<u>Type of space in which *vergaderingen* were held</u>

Type of Space

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Residence	283	32.7	44.8	44.8
	Village	135	15.6	21.4	66.1
	Office	78	9.0	12.3	78.5
	Cinema	56	6.5	8.9	87.3
	School	47	5.4	7.4	94.8
	Private building	26	3.0	4.1	98.9
	Stamboel/art theater	7	.8	1.1	100.0
	Total	632	73.1	100.0	
Missing	System	233	26.9		
Total		865	100.0		

Note: It was not clear if "village" meant house, town hall or village administration office, but I assumed most of the time it referred to a "house." If this was the case then over 66% of the events with known sites took place in people's houses. Another thing to note here is that cinema also became an important site for the meetings. Most meetings in the cinemas gained high attendance.

Organization

Organization

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	SR	380	43.9	45.7	45.7
	SI	164	19.0	19.7	65.5
	PKI	75	8.7	9.0	74.5
	Red SI	71	8.2	8.5	83.0
	Mixed	71	8.2	8.5	91.6
	Labor unions	63	7.3	7.6	99.2
	Women SI/SR	7	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	831	96.1	100.0	
Missing	System	34	3.9		
Total		865	100.0		

Note: Most meetings held by Sarekat Rajat. PKI actually only held less than 10% of the *vergaderingen*. See also another table in which I re-classified the above data into "communist groups" and "non-communist groups" (here I excluded women SI/SR from the former—because it was not clear which SI it aligned with—as well as "mixed"--because there's a probability that it was held jointly with non-communist "SI." Labor unions are included as communist groups).

Organization "communist" vs "non-communist"

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	SR/PKI/Red SI	526	60.8	60.8	60.8
	Others	339	39.2	39.2	100.0
	Total	865	100.0	100.0	

Location

Location by residencies

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Semarang	180	20.8	21.8	21.8
	Djepara-Rembang	171	19.8	20.7	42.4
	Preanger	79	9.1	9.6	52.0
	Kediri	71	8.2	8.6	60.6
	Soerabaja	52	6.0	6.3	66.9
	Batavia	40	4.6	4.8	71.7

	Madioen	36	4.2	4.4	76.1
	Malang	34	3.9	4.1	80.2
	Besoeki	32	3.7	3.9	84.0
	Cheribon	26	3.0	3.1	87.2
	Pekalongan	23	2.7	2.8	90.0
	Buitenzorg	21	2.4	2.5	92.5
	Timor en Onderhoorighede n	17	2.0	2.1	94.6
	West Sumatra	12	1.4	1.5	96.0
	Soerakarta	11	1.3	1.3	97.3
	Banjoemas	8	.9	1.0	98.3
	Kedoe	4	.5	.5	98.8
	Bantam	3	.3	.4	99.2
	Probolinggo	3	.3	.4	99.5
	Jogjakarta	2	.2	.2	99.8
	Molukken	2	.2	.2	100.0
	Total	827	95.6	100.0	
Missing	System	38	4.4		
Total		865	100.0		

Note: There are 182 locations (each could have more than 1 village). Since many of these places were unknown at the time of research, I classified them into residencies.

Location by provinces

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Central Java	399	46.1	48.2	48.2
	East Java	228	26.4	27.6	75.8
	West Java	169	19.5	20.4	96.3
	Outside Java	31	3.6	3.7	100.0
	Total	827	95.6	100.0	
Missing	System	38	4.4		
Total		865	100.0		

Topic

Frequency	Definition
2918	Unspecified
400	Analysis
395	Organization
196	News
92	Women
89	Reactie
86	School
78	Local matters
50	Islam
21	Law

Note: I gathered about 33 topics discussed in the gatherings. I simplified them into 9 topics.

Speakers

Number of Speakers by Frequency of Speaking

Frequency of Speaking	Speakers	%
1 to 2	626	68.56
3 to 5	167	18.29
6 to 10	61	6.68
11 to 20	50	5.48
21 to 38	9	0.99

Note: I gathered 913 names who spoke or led vergaderingen. About 70% speakers only spoke 1-2 times in the vergaderingen. This indicated that it was not just the propagandists from the headquaters who spoke; people were involved in leading the discussions/debates. Also, several people could have the same name and so this was the challenge in name identification. From the 59 people who spoke more than 10 times, I gathered just unique names in order to run the correlation tests. So, there are two classifications for names that can be run for correlation: 1) most popular speakers (59 people); and 2) women speakers (93 people). Here are the statistics for women speakers, popular speakers and Chinese speakers respectively.

Women speakers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Women	209	4.0	7.4	7.4
	Other	2608	50.3	92.6	100.0
	Total	2817	54.3	100.0	
Missing	System	2373	45.7		

Total		5190	100.0		

Popular speakers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Popular	956	18.4	33.9	33.9
	Other	1861	35.9	66.1	100.0
	Total	2817	54.3	100.0	
Missing	System	2373	45.7		
Total		5190	100.0		

Chinese speakers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Chinese	27	.5	1.0	1.0
	Other	2790	53.8	99.0	100.0
	Total	2817	54.3	100.0	
Missing	System	2373	45.7		
Total		5190	100.0		

Branch of organization

There is a total of 237 organizations that held *vergaderingen*: 59 Islamic Union (SI) branches; 27 Red Islamic Union (SI Merah) branches; 106 People's Union (Sarekat Rajat) branches; 29 Indonesia Communist Party (PKI) branches; 1 VSTPs (the Union of Train and Tramway Workers) (counted as 1) and 15 labor unions.

Frequency	Times
Once	134
2 to 5	76
6 to 10	11
11 to 20	13
more than 20	3

Note: Out of 237 organizations, 134 organizations only held the meeting once; three organizations held more than 20 times (VSTP, SR Bandjaran-Djepara and SR Ambarawa); 13 organizations held between 11-20 meetings each; and 76 organizations held between 2-5 each.

APPENDIX C

CORRELATION RESULTS

1. Cross tabulations

The following is the list of variables that correlate. The correlations were tested using crosstabs (cross tabulations) to check if two nominal variables correlate. If two variables correlate, it means that the relation between two variables to happen by chance is slim. This is done through covariance analysis measuring if the deviation of one variable from its means is followed with the same pattern in the other variable. Cross tabs shows if there is a relation between two variables but does not tell the nature of that relation. I use the following conditions that the test need to meet in order to show a significant result:

1) <20% cells have expected count of at least 5 in each cell
2) in each cell there should be at least >1
3) *p*-value ≤ .05

<u>Message travel time and date of event (after 1923 ban)</u>

Msgtraveltimecomp6 * Dateofevent1923banning Crosstabulation

			Dateofevent1923banning		
			Before May 1923 Ban	After May 1923 Ban	Total
Msgtraveltimecomp6	0-3 days	Count	43	170	213
		Expected Count	39.7	173.3	213.0
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	20.2%	79.8%	100.0%
		% within Dateofevent1923banning	26.7%	24.2%	24.7%
		% of Total	5.0%	19.7%	24.7%
	4 days	Count	14	138	152
		Expected Count	28.3	123.7	152.0
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	9.2%	90.8%	100.0%
		% within Dateofevent1923banning	8.7%	19.6%	17.6%
		% of Total	1.6%	16.0%	17.6%
	1 week	Count	16	218	234
		Expected Count	43.6	190.4	234.0
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	6.8%	93.2%	100.0%

		% within Dateofevent1923banning	9.9%	31.0%	27.1%
		% of Total	1.9%	25.2%	27.1%
	2 weeks	Count	64	116	180
		Expected Count	33.5	146.5	180.0
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	35.6%	64.4%	100.0%
		% within Dateofevent1923banning	39.8%	16.5%	20.8%
		% of Total	7.4%	13.4%	20.8%
	3 weeks	Count	17	27	44
		Expected Count	8.2	35.8	44.0
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	38.6%	61.4%	100.0%
		% within Dateofevent1923banning	10.6%	3.8%	5.1%
		% of Total	2.0%	3.1%	5.1%
	1 month	Count	6	13	19
		Expected Count	3.5	15.5	19.0
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	31.6%	68.4%	100.0%
		% within Dateofevent1923banning	3.7%	1.8%	2.2%
		% of Total	0.7%	1.5%	2.2%
	Over 1 month	Count	1	21	22
		Expected Count	4.1	17.9	22.0
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	4.5%	95.5%	100.0%
		% within Dateofevent1923banning	0.6%	3.0%	2.5%
		% of Total	0.1%	2.4%	2.5%
Total		Count	161	703	864
		Expected Count	161.0	703.0	864.0

	% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	18.6%	81.4%	100.0%
	% within Dateofevent1923banning	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	18.6%	81.4%	100.0%

Police attendance and type of event

PoliceAtt2 * TypeofEvent3 Crosstabulation

			TypeofEvent3		Total
			Public	Propaganda	
PoliceAtt2	No	Count	331	145	476
		% within PoliceAtt2	69.5%	30.5%	100.0%
		% within TypeofEvent3	55.4%	69.0%	59.0%
	Yes	Count	266	65	331
		% within PoliceAtt2	80.4%	19.6%	100.0%
		% within TypeofEvent3	44.6%	31.0%	41.0%
Total		Count	597	210	807
		% within PoliceAtt2	74.0%	26.0%	100.0%
		% within TypeofEvent3	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chinese participation and type of event

Crosstab

			TypeofEvent3		Total
			Public	Propaganda	
ChineseAtt2	No	Count	522	199	721
		% within ChineseAtt2	72.4%	27.6%	100.0%
		% within TypeofEvent3	87.4%	94.8%	89.3%
	Yes	Count	75	11	86
		% within ChineseAtt2	87.2%	12.8%	100.0%
		% within TypeofEvent3	12.6%	5.2%	10.7%

Total	Count	597	210	807
	% within ChineseAtt2	74.0%	26.0%	100.0%
	% within TypeofEvent3	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Type of space and type of event

TypeofSpace2 * TypeofEvent3 Crosstabulation

			TypeofEvent3		Total
			Public	Propaganda	
TypeofSpace2	Office	Count	64	5	69
		% within TypeofSpace2	92.8%	7.2%	100.0%
		% within TypeofEvent3	14.2%	3.4%	11.5%
	Residence	Count	219	54	273
		% within TypeofSpace2	80.2%	19.8%	100.0%
		% within TypeofEvent3	48.7%	36.5%	45.7%
	Cinema	Count	47	3	50
		% within TypeofSpace2	94.0%	6.0%	100.0%
		% within TypeofEvent3	10.4%	2.0%	8.4%
	Village	Count	52	79	131
		% within TypeofSpace2	39.7%	60.3%	100.0%
		% within TypeofEvent3	11.6%	53.4%	21.9%
	SI School	Count	39	5	44
		% within TypeofSpace2	88.6%	11.4%	100.0%
		% within TypeofEvent3	8.7%	3.4%	7.4%
	Private building	Count	22	2	24
		% within TypeofSpace2	91.7%	8.3%	100.0%

		% within TypeofEvent3	4.9%	1.4%	4.0%
	Stamboel/theater	Count	7	0	7
		% within TypeofSpace2	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within TypeofEvent3	1.6%	0.0%	1.2%
Total		Count	450	148	598
		% within TypeofSpace2	75.3%	24.7%	100.0%
		% within TypeofEvent3	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Number of attendance and women attendance

Attendance2 * WomenAtt2 Crosstabulation

			WomenAtt2		
			No	Yes	Total
Attendance2	0-50	Count	133	25	158
		Expected Count	84.0	74.0	158.0
		% within Attendance2	84.2%	15.8%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	28.9%	6.2%	18.3%
		% of Total	15.4%	2.9%	18.3%
	51-100	Count	71	50	121
		Expected Count	64.3	56.7	121.0
		% within Attendance2	58.7%	41.3%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	15.4%	12.3%	14.0%
		% of Total	8.2%	5.8%	14.0%
	101-500	Count	150	191	341
		Expected Count	181.3	159.7	341.0
		% within Attendance2	44.0%	56.0%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	32.6%	47.2%	39.4%
		% of Total	17.3%	22.1%	39.4%
	501-1000	Count	48	75	123

		Expected Count	65.4	57.6	123.0
		% within Attendance2	39.0%	61.0%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	10.4%	18.5%	14.2%
		% of Total	5.5%	8.7%	14.2%
	1001-3000	Count	43	55	98
		Expected Count	52.1	45.9	98.0
		% within Attendance2	43.9%	56.1%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	9.3%	13.6%	11.3%
		% of Total	5.0%	6.4%	11.3%
	3001-5000	Count	13	6	19
		Expected Count	10.1	8.9	19.0
		% within Attendance2	68.4%	31.6%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	2.8%	1.5%	2.2%
		% of Total	1.5%	0.7%	2.2%
	5001-10000	Count	2	3	5
		Expected Count	2.7	2.3	5.0
		% within Attendance2	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	0.4%	0.7%	0.6%
		% of Total	0.2%	0.3%	0.6%
Total		Count	460	405	865
		Expected Count	460.0	405.0	865.0
		% within Attendance2	53.2%	46.8%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	53.2%	46.8%	100.0%

Attendance and police attendance

Attendance2 * PoliceAtt2 Crosstabulation		
	PoliceAtt2	Total

			No	Yes	
Attendance2	0-50	Count	121	37	158
		Expected Count	95.7	62.3	158.0
		% within Attendance2	76.6%	23.4%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	23.1%	10.9%	18.3%
		% of Total	14.0%	4.3%	18.3%
	51-100	Count	75	46	121
		Expected Count	73.3	47.7	121.0
		% within Attendance2	62.0%	38.0%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	14.3%	13.5%	14.0%
		% of Total	8.7%	5.3%	14.0%
	101-500	Count	188	153	341
		Expected Count	206.6	134.4	341.0
		% within Attendance2	55.1%	44.9%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	35.9%	44.9%	39.4%
		% of Total	21.7%	17.7%	39.4%
	501-1000	Count	70	53	123
		Expected Count	74.5	48.5	123.0
		% within Attendance2	56.9%	43.1%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	13.4%	15.5%	14.2%
		% of Total	8.1%	6.1%	14.2%
	1001-3000	Count	54	44	98
		Expected Count	59.4	38.6	98.0
		% within Attendance2	55.1%	44.9%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	10.3%	12.9%	11.3%
		% of Total	6.2%	5.1%	11.3%
	3001-5000	Count	12	7	19
		Expected Count	11.5	7.5	19.0
		% within Attendance2	63.2%	36.8%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	2.3%	2.1%	2.2%
		% of Total	1.4%	0.8%	2.2%
	5001-10000	Count	4	1	5
		Expected Count	3.0	2.0	5.0

		% within Attendance2	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	0.8%	0.3%	0.6%
		% of Total	0.5%	0.1%	0.6%
Total		Count	524	341	865
		Expected Count	524.0	341.0	865.0
		% within Attendance2	60.6%	39.4%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	60.6%	39.4%	100.0%

Attendance and organization

Attendance2 * Organization3 Crosstabulation

			Organization3		Total
			Others	SR/PKI/Red SI	
Attendance2	0-50	Count	68	90	158
		Expected Count	61.9	96.1	158.0
		% within Attendance2	43.0%	57.0%	100.0%
		% within Organization3	20.1%	17.1%	18.3%
		% of Total	7.9%	10.4%	18.3%
	51-100	Count	35	86	121
		Expected Count	47.4	73.6	121.0
		% within Attendance2	28.9%	71.1%	100.0%
		% within Organization3	10.3%	16.3%	14.0%
		% of Total	4.0%	9.9%	14.0%
	101-500	Count	112	229	341
		Expected Count	133.6	207.4	341.0
		% within Attendance2	32.8%	67.2%	100.0%
		% within Organization3	33.0%	43.5%	39.4%
		% of Total	12.9%	26.5%	39.4%
	501-1000	Count	46	77	123
		Expected Count	48.2	74.8	123.0

		% within Attendance2	37.4%	62.6%	100.0%
		% within Organization3	13.6%	14.6%	14.2%
		% of Total	5.3%	8.9%	14.2%
	1001-3000	Count	59	39	98
		Expected Count	38.4	59.6	98.0
		% within Attendance2	60.2%	39.8%	100.0%
		% within Organization3	17.4%	7.4%	11.3%
		% of Total	6.8%	4.5%	11.3%
	3001-5000	Count	16	3	19
		Expected Count	7.4	11.6	19.0
		% within Attendance2	84.2%	15.8%	100.0%
		% within Organization3	4.7%	0.6%	2.2%
		% of Total	1.8%	0.3%	2.2%
	5001-10000	Count	3	2	5
		Expected Count	2.0	3.0	5.0
		% within Attendance2	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
		% within Organization3	0.9%	0.4%	0.6%
		% of Total	0.3%	0.2%	0.6%
Total		Count	339	526	865
		Expected Count	339.0	526.0	865.0
		% within Attendance2	39.2%	60.8%	100.0%
		% within Organization3	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	39.2%	60.8%	100.0%

Police watch and women attendance

Crosstab					
			WomenAtt2		Total
			No	Yes	
PoliceAtt2	No	Count	323	201	524

		% within PoliceAtt2	61.6%	38.4%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	70.2%	49.6%	60.6%
	Yes	Count	137	204	341
		% within PoliceAtt2	40.2%	59.8%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	29.8%	50.4%	39.4%
Total		Count	460	405	865
		% within PoliceAtt2	53.2%	46.8%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Type of space and women attendance

Crosstab

			WomenAtt2		Total
			No	Yes	
TypeofSpace2	Office	Count	41	37	78
		% within TypeofSpace2	52.6%	47.4%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	13.9%	11.0%	12.3%
	Residence	Count	101	182	283
		% within TypeofSpace2	35.7%	64.3%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	34.1%	54.2%	44.8%
	Cinema	Count	37	19	56
		% within TypeofSpace2	66.1%	33.9%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	12.5%	5.7%	8.9%
	Village	Count	70	65	135
		% within TypeofSpace2	51.9%	48.1%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	23.6%	19.3%	21.4%
	SI School	Count	26	21	47
		% within TypeofSpace2	55.3%	44.7%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	8.8%	6.3%	7.4%
	Private building	Count	14	12	26
		% within TypeofSpace2	53.8%	46.2%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	4.7%	3.6%	4.1%
	Stamboel/theater	Count	7	0	7

		% within TypeofSpace2	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	2.4%	0.0%	1.1%
Total		Count	296	336	632
		% within TypeofSpace2	46.8%	53.2%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Organization and women attendance

Crosstab

			WomenAtt2		Total
			No	Yes	
Organization2	SI	Count	131	33	164
		% within Organization2	79.9%	20.1%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	29.3%	8.6%	19.7%
	Red SI	Count	48	23	71
		% within Organization2	67.6%	32.4%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	10.7%	6.0%	8.5%
	SR	Count	159	221	380
		% within Organization2	41.8%	58.2%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	35.6%	57.6%	45.7%
	PKI	Count	19	56	75
		% within Organization2	25.3%	74.7%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	4.3%	14.6%	9.0%
	Labor unions	Count	54	9	63
		% within Organization2	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	12.1%	2.3%	7.6%
	Women SI/SR	Count	2	5	7

		% within Organization2	28.6%	71.4%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	0.4%	1.3%	0.8%
	Mixed	Count	34	37	71
		% within Organization2	47.9%	52.1%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	7.6%	9.6%	8.5%
Total		Count	447	384	831
		% within Organization2	53.8%	46.2%	100.0%
		% within WomenAtt2	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

government representative attendance and police attendance

Crosstab

			PoliceAtt2		Total
			No	Yes	
GovAtt2	No	Count	476	287	763
		% within GovAtt2	62.4%	37.6%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	90.8%	84.2%	88.2%
	Yes	Count	48	54	102
		% within GovAtt2	47.1%	52.9%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	9.2%	15.8%	11.8%
Total		Count	524	341	865
		% within GovAtt2	60.6%	39.4%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Type of space and police attendance

Crosstab

			PoliceAtt2		Total
			No	Yes	
TypeofSpace2	Office	Count	49	29	78

		% within TypeofSpace2	62.8%	37.2%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	14.0%	10.3%	12.3%
	Residence	Count	131	152	283
		% within TypeofSpace2	46.3%	53.7%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	37.4%	53.9%	44.8%
	Cinema	Count	36	20	56
		% within TypeofSpace2	64.3%	35.7%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	10.3%	7.1%	8.9%
	Village	Count	93	42	135
		% within TypeofSpace2	68.9%	31.1%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	26.6%	14.9%	21.4%
	SI School	Count	19	28	47
		% within TypeofSpace2	40.4%	59.6%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	5.4%	9.9%	7.4%
	Private building	Count	16	10	26
		% within TypeofSpace2	61.5%	38.5%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	4.6%	3.5%	4.1%
	Stamboel/theater	Count	6	1	7
		% within TypeofSpace2	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	1.7%	0.4%	1.1%
Total		Count	350	282	632
		% within TypeofSpace2	55.4%	44.6%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Organization and police attendance

Crosstab					
			PoliceAtt2		Total
			No	Yes	
Organization2	SI	Count	130	34	164

		% within Organization2	79.3%	20.7%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	25.9%	10.3%	19.7%
	Red SI	Count	36	35	71
		% within Organization2	50.7%	49.3%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	7.2%	10.6%	8.5%
	SR	Count	228	152	380
		% within Organization2	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	45.4%	46.2%	45.7%
	PKI	Count	32	43	75
		% within Organization2	42.7%	57.3%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	6.4%	13.1%	9.0%
	Labor unions	Count	47	16	63
		% within Organization2	74.6%	25.4%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	9.4%	4.9%	7.6%
	Women SI/SR	Count	6	1	7
		% within Organization2	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	1.2%	0.3%	0.8%
	Mixed	Count	23	48	71
		% within Organization2	32.4%	67.6%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	4.6%	14.6%	8.5%
Total		Count	502	329	831
		% within Organization2	60.4%	39.6%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Type of space and organization

TypeofSpace2 * Organization3 Crosstabulation

			Organization3		Total
			Others	SR/PKI/Red SI	
TypeofSpace2	Office	Count	47	31	78
		Expected Count	29.0	49.0	78.0

		% within TypeofSpace2	60.3%	39.7%	100.0%
		% within Organization3	20.0%	7.8%	12.3%
		% of Total	7.4%	4.9%	12.3%
	Residence	Count	78	205	283
		Expected Count	105.2	177.8	283.0
		% within TypeofSpace2	27.6%	72.4%	100.0%
		% within Organization3	33.2%	51.6%	44.8%
		% of Total	12.3%	32.4%	44.8%
	Cinema	Count	28	28	56
		Expected Count	20.8	35.2	56.0
		% within TypeofSpace2	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
		% within Organization3	11.9%	7.1%	8.9%
		% of Total	4.4%	4.4%	8.9%
	Village	Count	42	93	135
		Expected Count	50.2	84.8	135.0
		% within TypeofSpace2	31.1%	68.9%	100.0%
		% within Organization3	17.9%	23.4%	21.4%
		% of Total	6.6%	14.7%	21.4%
	SI School	Count	22	25	47
		Expected Count	17.5	29.5	47.0
		% within TypeofSpace2	46.8%	53.2%	100.0%
		% within Organization3	9.4%	6.3%	7.4%
		% of Total	3.5%	4.0%	7.4%
	Private building	Count	15	11	26
		Expected Count	9.7	16.3	26.0
		% within TypeofSpace2	57.7%	42.3%	100.0%
		% within Organization3	6.4%	2.8%	4.1%

		% of Total	2.4%	1.7%	4.1%
	Stamboel/theater	Count	3	4	7
		Expected Count	2.6	4.4	7.0
		% within TypeofSpace2	42.9%	57.1%	100.0%
		% within Organization3	1.3%	1.0%	1.1%
		% of Total	0.5%	0.6%	1.1%
Total		Count	235	397	632
		Expected Count	235.0	397.0	632.0
		% within TypeofSpace2	37.2%	62.8%	100.0%
		% within Organization3	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	37.2%	62.8%	100.0%

Popular speakers and women speakers

Popularspeakercomp * Womenspeakercomp Crosstabulation

			Womenspeakercomp		Total
			Women	Other	
Popularspeakercomp	Popular	Count	17	939	956
		% within Popularspeakercomp	1.8%	98.2%	100.0%
		% within Womenspeakercomp	8.1%	36.0%	33.9%
	Other	Count	192	1669	1861
		% within Popularspeakercomp	10.3%	89.7%	100.0%
		% within Womenspeakercomp	91.9%	64.0%	66.1%
Total		Count	209	2608	2817
		% within Popularspeakercomp	7.4%	92.6%	100.0%
		% within Womenspeakercomp	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Organization and women speakers

Organization2 * Womenspeakercomp Crosstabulation

			Womenspeakercomp		Total
			Women	Other	
Organization2	SI	Count	29	366	395
		% within Organization2	7.3%	92.7%	100.0%
		% within Womenspeakercomp	14.9%	14.5%	14.5%
	Red SI	Count	15	208	223
		% within Organization2	6.7%	93.3%	100.0%
		% within Womenspeakercomp	7.7%	8.2%	8.2%
	SR	Count	77	1296	1373
		% within Organization2	5.6%	94.4%	100.0%
		% within Womenspeakercomp	39.5%	51.2%	50.4%
	PKI	Count	27	287	314
		% within Organization2	8.6%	91.4%	100.0%
		% within Womenspeakercomp	13.8%	11.3%	11.5%
	Labor unions	Count	8	142	150
		% within Organization2	5.3%	94.7%	100.0%
		% within Womenspeakercomp	4.1%	5.6%	5.5%
	Women SI/SR	Count	17	10	27
		% within Organization2	63.0%	37.0%	100.0%
		% within Womenspeakercomp	8.7%	0.4%	1.0%
	Mixed	Count	22	220	242
		% within Organization2	9.1%	90.9%	100.0%
		% within Womenspeakercomp	11.3%	8.7%	8.9%
Total		Count	195	2529	2724

	% within Organization2	7.2%	92.8%	100.0%
	% within Womenspeakercomp	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Message travel time and women speakers

Msgtraveltimecomp6 * Womenspeakercomp Crosstabulation					
			Womenspeakercomp		Total
			Women	Other	
Msgtraveltimecomp6	0-3 days	Count	54	614	668
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	8.1%	91.9%	100.0%
		% within Womenspeakercomp	25.8%	23.5%	23.7%
	4 days	Count	40	449	489
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	8.2%	91.8%	100.0%
		% within Womenspeakercomp	19.1%	17.2%	17.4%
	1 week	Count	64	765	829
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	7.7%	92.3%	100.0%
		% within Womenspeakercomp	30.6%	29.3%	29.4%
	2 weeks	Count	47	530	577
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	8.1%	91.9%	100.0%
		% within Womenspeakercomp	22.5%	20.3%	20.5%
	3 weeks	Count	4	122	126
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	3.2%	96.8%	100.0%
		% within Womenspeakercomp	1.9%	4.7%	4.5%
	1 month	Count	0	65	65
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within Womenspeakercomp	0.0%	2.5%	2.3%

	Over 1 month	Count	0	63	63
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within Womenspeakercomp	0.0%	2.4%	2.2%
Total		Count	209	2608	2817
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	7.4%	92.6%	100.0%
		% within Womenspeakercomp	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Attendance and popular speakers

Attendance2 * Popularspeakercomp Crosstabulation

			Popularspeakercomp		Total
			Popular	Other	
Attendance2	0-50	Count	103	191	294
		% within Attendance2	35.0%	65.0%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	10.8%	10.3%	10.4%
	51-100	Count	135	284	419
		% within Attendance2	32.2%	67.8%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	14.1%	15.3%	14.9%
	101-500	Count	382	842	1224
		% within Attendance2	31.2%	68.8%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	40.0%	45.2%	43.5%
	501-1000	Count	184	279	463
		% within Attendance2	39.7%	60.3%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	19.2%	15.0%	16.4%
	1001-3000	Count	120	226	346
		% within Attendance2	34.7%	65.3%	100.0%

		% within Popularspeakercomp	12.6%	12.1%	12.3%
	3001-5000	Count	24	36	60
		% within Attendance2	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	2.5%	1.9%	2.1%
	5001-10000	Count	8	3	11
		% within Attendance2	72.7%	27.3%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	0.8%	0.2%	0.4%
Total		Count	956	1861	2817
		% within Attendance2	33.9%	66.1%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Type of space and popular speakers

Typeofspace2 * Popularspeakercomp Crosstabulation

			Popularspeakercomp		Total
			Popular	Other	
Typeofspace2	Office	Count	70	180	250
		% within Typeofspace2	28.0%	72.0%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	9.7%	12.4%	11.5%
	Residence	Count	405	661	1066
		% within Typeofspace2	38.0%	62.0%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	56.0%	45.4%	48.9%
	Cinema	Count	54	111	165
		% within Typeofspace2	32.7%	67.3%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	7.5%	7.6%	7.6%
	Village	Count	128	272	400

		% within Typeofspace2	32.0%	68.0%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	17.7%	18.7%	18.4%
	School	Count	36	126	162
		% within Typeofspace2	22.2%	77.8%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	5.0%	8.7%	7.4%
	Private building	Count	23	94	117
		% within Typeofspace2	19.7%	80.3%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	3.2%	6.5%	5.4%
	Stamboel/theater	Count	7	12	19
		% within Typeofspace2	36.8%	63.2%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	1.0%	0.8%	0.9%
Total		Count	723	1456	2179
		% within Typeofspace2	33.2%	66.8%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Location and popular speakers

		Popularspeakercomp		Total
		Popular	Other	
Locationrecidencies	Bantam	0	9	9
	Batavia	11	130	141
	Buitenzorg	5	63	68
	Preanger	51	191	242
	Cheribon	5	35	40
	Pekalongan	30	38	68
	Semarang	174	339	513
	Djepara-Rembang	256	318	574
	Banjoemas	8	13	21
	Kedoe	2	11	13
	Jogjakarta	0	5	5
	Soerakarta	12	29	41

	Madioen	29	93	122
	Kediri	77	135	212
	Malang	29	94	123
	Soerabaja	72	109	181
	Probolinggo	1	7	8
	Besoeki	74	61	135
	Bodjonegoro	5	26	31
	West Sumatra	0	62	62
	Timor en Onderhoorigheden	71	6	77
	Molukken	0	5	5
Total		912	1779	2691

Organization and popular speakers

Organization2 * Popularspeakercomp Crosstabulation

			Popularspeakercomp		Total
			Popular	Other	
Organization2	SI	Count	110	285	395
		% within Organization2	27.8%	72.2%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	11.8%	15.9%	14.5%
	Red SI	Count	114	109	223
		% within Organization2	51.1%	48.9%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	12.2%	6.1%	8.2%
	SR	Count	472	901	1373
		% within Organization2	34.4%	65.6%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	50.7%	50.3%	50.4%
	PKI	Count	130	184	314
		% within Organization2	41.4%	58.6%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	14.0%	10.3%	11.5%
	Labor unions	Count	31	119	150
		% within Organization2	20.7%	79.3%	100.0%

		% within Popularspeakercomp	3.3%	6.6%	5.5%
	Women SI/SR	Count	7	20	27
		% within Organization2	25.9%	74.1%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	0.8%	1.1%	1.0%
	Mixed	Count	67	175	242
		% within Organization2	27.7%	72.3%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	7.2%	9.8%	8.9%
Total		Count	931	1793	2724
		% within Organization2	34.2%	65.8%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Branch of organization and popular speakers

BranchOrgTop16 * Popularspeakercomp Crosstabulation

			Popularspeakercomp		
			Popular	Other	Total
BranchOrgTop16	VSTP	Count	24	91	115
		% within BranchOrgTop16	20.9%	79.1%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	2.5%	4.9%	4.1%
	SR Bandjaran	Count	56	41	97
		% within BranchOrgTop16	57.7%	42.3%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	5.9%	2.2%	3.4%
	SR Ambarawa	Count	28	49	77
		% within BranchOrgTop16	36.4%	63.6%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	2.9%	2.6%	2.7%
	SR Djepara	Count	34	42	76

		% within BranchOrgTop16	44.7%	55.3%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	3.6%	2.3%	2.7%
	SR Timor Koepang	Count	71	6	77
		% within BranchOrgTop16	92.2%	7.8%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	7.4%	0.3%	2.7%
	SR Mlonggo	Count	40	30	70
		% within BranchOrgTop16	57.1%	42.9%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	4.2%	1.6%	2.5%
	SI Kaliwoengoe	Count	14	12	26
		% within BranchOrgTop16	53.8%	46.2%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	1.5%	0.6%	0.9%
	SI Blora	Count	3	13	16
		% within BranchOrgTop16	18.8%	81.3%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	0.3%	0.7%	0.6%
	SR Blitar	Count	18	24	42
		% within BranchOrgTop16	42.9%	57.1%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	1.9%	1.3%	1.5%
	SI Semarang	Count	11	21	32
		% within BranchOrgTop16	34.4%	65.6%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	1.2%	1.1%	1.1%
	Red SI Salatiga	Count	21	8	29
		% within BranchOrgTop16	72.4%	27.6%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	2.2%	0.4%	1.0%

	SR Madioen	Count	11	27	38
		% within BranchOrgTop16	28.9%	71.1%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	1.2%	1.5%	1.3%
	PKI Krian	Count	34	23	57
		% within BranchOrgTop16	59.6%	40.4%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	3.6%	1.2%	2.0%
	PKI Banjoewangi	Count	36	25	61
		% within BranchOrgTop16	59.0%	41.0%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	3.8%	1.3%	2.2%
	SI Salatiga	Count	12	19	31
		% within BranchOrgTop16	38.7%	61.3%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	1.3%	1.0%	1.1%
	SR Bandoeng	Count	1	37	38
		% within BranchOrgTop16	2.6%	97.4%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	0.1%	2.0%	1.3%
	Others	Count	542	1393	1935
		% within BranchOrgTop16	28.0%	72.0%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	56.7%	74.9%	68.7%
Total		Count	956	1861	2817
		% within BranchOrgTop16	33.9%	66.1%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

<u>Message travel time and popular speakers</u>

Msgtraveltimecomp6 * Popularspeakercomp Crosstabulation		
	Popularspeakercomp	Total

			Popular	Other	
Msgtraveltimecomp6	0-3 days	Count	215	453	668
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	32.2%	67.8%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	22.5%	24.3%	23.7%
	4 days	Count	150	339	489
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	30.7%	69.3%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	15.7%	18.2%	17.4%
	1 week	Count	263	566	829
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	31.7%	68.3%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	27.5%	30.4%	29.4%
	2 weeks	Count	198	379	577
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	34.3%	65.7%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	20.7%	20.4%	20.5%
	3 weeks	Count	37	89	126
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	29.4%	70.6%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	3.9%	4.8%	4.5%
	1 month	Count	50	15	65
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	76.9%	23.1%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	5.2%	0.8%	2.3%
	Over 1 month	Count	43	20	63
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	68.3%	31.7%	100.0%
		% within Popularspeakercomp	4.5%	1.1%	2.2%
Total		Count	956	1861	2817
		% within Msgtraveltimecomp6	33.9%	66.1%	100.0%

	% within Popularspeakercomp	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Type of event and chinese speakers

Typeofevent3 * Chinesespeakercomp Crosstabulation

			Chinesespeakercomp		Total
			Chinese	Other	
Typeofevent3	Public	Count	27	1986	2013
		% within Typeofevent3	1.3%	98.7%	100.0%
		% within Chinesespeakercomp	100.0%	73.7%	74.0%
	Propaganda	Count	0	708	708
		% within Typeofevent3	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within Chinesespeakercomp	0.0%	26.3%	26.0%
Total		Count	27	2694	2721
		% within Typeofevent3	1.0%	99.0%	100.0%
		% within Chinesespeakercomp	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Police attendance and Chinese speakers

PoliceAtt2 * Chinesespeakercomp Crosstabulation

			Chinesespeakercomp		Total
			Chinese	Other	
PoliceAtt2	No	Count	9	1529	1538
		% within PoliceAtt2	0.6%	99.4%	100.0%
		% within Chinesespeakercomp	33.3%	54.8%	54.6%
	Yes	Count	18	1261	1279
		% within PoliceAtt2	1.4%	98.6%	100.0%
		% within Chinesespeakercomp	66.7%	45.2%	45.4%
Total		Count	27	2790	2817
		% within PoliceAtt2	1.0%	99.0%	100.0%

	% within Chinesespeakercomp	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Topic and type of event

Topic9values * Typeofevent3 Crosstabulation					
			Typeofevent3		Total
			Public	Propaganda	
Topic9values	Organization	Count	286	92	378
		% within Topic9values	75.7%	24.3%	100.0%
		% within Typeofevent3	26.4%	34.2%	28.0%
	Local matters	Count	59	16	75
		% within Topic9values	78.7%	21.3%	100.0%
		% within Typeofevent3	5.4%	5.9%	5.5%
	Islam	Count	45	4	49
		% within Topic9values	91.8%	8.2%	100.0%
		% within Typeofevent3	4.2%	1.5%	3.6%
	Law	Count	17	2	19
		% within Topic9values	89.5%	10.5%	100.0%
		% within Typeofevent3	1.6%	0.7%	1.4%
	School	Count	67	14	81
		% within Topic9values	82.7%	17.3%	100.0%
		% within Typeofevent3	6.2%	5.2%	6.0%
	Women	Count	80	9	89
		% within Topic9values	89.9%	10.1%	100.0%
		% within Typeofevent3	7.4%	3.3%	6.6%
	Analysis	Count	290	88	378

		% within Topic9values	76.7%	23.3%	100.0%
		% within Typeofevent3	26.8%	32.7%	28.0%
	News	Count	156	39	195
		% within Topic9values	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
		% within Typeofevent3	14.4%	14.5%	14.4%
	Reactie	Count	83	5	88
		% within Topic9values	94.3%	5.7%	100.0%
		% within Typeofevent3	7.7%	1.9%	6.5%
Total		Count	1083	269	1352
		% within Topic9values	80.1%	19.9%	100.0%
		% within Typeofevent3	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Topic and police attendance

Topic9values * PoliceAtt2 Crosstabulation

			PoliceAtt2		Total
			No	Yes	
Topic9values	Organization	Count	248	147	395
		% within Topic9values	62.8%	37.2%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	33.6%	22.0%	28.1%
	Local matters	Count	49	29	78
		% within Topic9values	62.8%	37.2%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	6.6%	4.3%	5.5%
	Islam	Count	28	22	50
		% within Topic9values	56.0%	44.0%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	3.8%	3.3%	3.6%
	Law	Count	12	9	21
		% within Topic9values	57.1%	42.9%	100.0%

		% within PoliceAtt2	1.6%	1.3%	1.5%
	School	Count	47	39	86
		% within Topic9values	54.7%	45.3%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	6.4%	5.8%	6.1%
	Women	Count	40	52	92
		% within Topic9values	43.5%	56.5%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	5.4%	7.8%	6.5%
	Analysis	Count	194	206	400
		% within Topic9values	48.5%	51.5%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	26.3%	30.8%	28.4%
	News	Count	87	109	196
		% within Topic9values	44.4%	55.6%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	11.8%	16.3%	13.9%
	Reactie	Count	34	55	89
		% within Topic9values	38.2%	61.8%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	4.6%	8.2%	6.3%
Total		Count	739	668	1407
		% within Topic9values	52.5%	47.5%	100.0%
		% within PoliceAtt2	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

2. Independent sample T-Test

The Independent sampe T-Test compares the means for only two groups to see if there is a correlation between a dummy variable (a variable with only 2 values) and an interval variable.

<u>1923 ban and number of attendance</u>

Group Statistics					
	Dateofevent1923banning	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Attendance	Before May 1923 Ban	161	1271.087	1532.6407	120.7890
	After May 1923 Ban	703	444.459	675.9806	25.4951

After the ban of public meetings between May-September 1923, there were more meetings held but with a smaller number of attendance.

Number of attendance and organization

Group Statistics					
	Organization3	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Attendance	Others	339	836.584	1223.6979	66.4621
	SR/PKI/Red SI	526	449.616	696.7793	30.3810

Meetings held by communist organizations were usually attended by fewer participants (449 people) than the ones held by non-communist organizations (836 people).

Year of event and women attendance

Group Statistics					
	WomenAtt2	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Year of event	No	460	1923.24	1.778	.083
	Yes	405	1924.38	.989	.049

Women started to attend public meetings later after 1924.

Police attendance and year of event

Group Statistics					
	PoliceAtt2	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Year of event	No	524	1923.47	1.636	.071
	Yes	341	1924.24	1.335	.072

Police watch during public meetings occurred later after 1924.

Year of event and organization

Group Statistics					
	Organization3	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Year of event	Others	339	1922.65	1.939	.105
	SR/PKI/Red SI	526	1924.49	.548	.024

***C**ommunist organizations held public meetings later in 1924-1925; non-communist organizations held the meetings in 1922-1923.*

Message travel time and police watch

Group Statistics					
	PoliceAtt2	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Msgtraveltimecomple	No	524	8.1527	12.40673	.54199

te	Yes	341	6.5015	4.30227	.23298

When police watched the meetings, the message travel time (the length it took for a report on a meeting to be published in the newspaper) was higher (6.5 days) than when they did not (8.1 days).

Chinese speakers and year of event

Group Statistics					
	Chinesespeakercomp	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Yearofevent6x	Chinese	27	1924.8148	.39585	.07618
	Other	2790	1924.0642	1.35696	.02569

Chinese speakers spoke later in 1924-1925.