

NOTES

CHAPTER I

- 1 Karl J. Pelzer, *Planter and Peasant, Colonial Policy and the Agrarian Struggle in East Sumatra 1863–1947*, The Hague, 1978, p. 134-35.
- 2 The members of this committee, all relatives of sultans or of minor rulers, were: Tengku Mansur, Tengku Hafaz, Tengku Dzulkarnain, Datuk Hafiz Haberham, Djomat Purba, Raja Sembiring Meliala also known as Ngeradjai Meliala, Tengku M. Bahar, Djaidin Purba, Raja Silimahuta, Raja Kaliamsjah, Madja Purba, Anak Raja Panei, and Crang Kaja Ramli (*Medan Bulletin*, 2, No. 173, 1 August 1947). Their petition to the Netherlands Indies government was based on Article 3 of the Linggarjati Agreement: The United States of Indonesia shall comprise the entire territory of the Netherlands Indies with the provision, however, that in case the population of any territory, after due consultation with the other territories, should decide by democratic process that they are not, or not yet, willing to join the United States of Indonesia they can establish a special relationship for such a territory to the United States of Indonesia and to the kingdom of the Netherlands.
- 3 *Medan Bulletin*, 2, Nos. 223 and 240.
- 4 A. Arthur Schiller, *The Formation of Federal Indonesia, 1945–1949*, The Hague, 1955, pp. 155-58.
- 5 *Pemandangan ringkas ekonomi dan tata Negara Soematera Timoer – Staatkundige en Economische Schets van Negara Soematera Timoer*, Medan, 1948.
- 6 Tengkoë Mansoer, “Oost-Sumatra in een nieuwe gestalte”, *Indonesië*, 2 (1948-49), pp. 97-100.
- 7 Tengkoë Mansoer, “Oost-Sumatra in een nieuwe gestalte”, p. 100.
- 8 Instruction issued by the Republican Resident in Pematangsiantar, 1 May 1947, No. 1138/VI/16.
- 9 *Ordonnantie onrechtmatige occupatie van gronden*, *Staatsblad* 1948, No. 110.
- 10 J.H. de Haan, *Reisrapport No. 14 van het Hoofd van het Bureau der Landinrichting naar de Negara Sumatera Timur van 19 t/m 30 October 1948*, pp. 10-11.
- 11 J.H. de Haan, *Rapport No. 26, reis naar Medan van 11-15 April 1950*, pp. 4-5.
- 12 See Pelzer, *Planter and Peasant*, Table 15, p. 106.
- 13 The Javanese who settled in the Pertuhanan Huta Bayu Merubun agreed to live according to Simelungun *adat* and, to this end, formed their own *marga*. This was named Sinaga Tambah to show their status as a sub-*marga* of the Simelungun *marga* Sinaga (*tambah* means to add or to increase).

CHAPTER II

- 1 R. Soepomo, *De reorganisatie van het agrarisch stelsel in het gewest Soerakarta*, 's-Gravenhage, 1927.
- 2 G. Schwencke, *Het Vorstenlandsche grondhuurreglement in de practijk en het grondenrecht in Jogjakarta*, Yogyakarta, 1932, pp. 142-43.
- 3 The distribution of water in Java was once the prime source of agrarian discontent.
- 4 It may be better to speak of the right of regulating land use, since the community does not have the right of disposal in the sense of alienation.
- 5 B. ter Haar, *Adat Law in Indonesia*, New York, 1948, pp. 81-100.
- 6 Conversation with the late Haji Agus Salim.
- 7 In the last century the Netherlands Indies government set the rental at one guilder per hectare. This rate was never changed. After the transfer of sovereignty the Indonesian government collected annually one Rupiah per hectare, although the currency lost most of its former value. Not until after the abrogation of the Round Table Conference agreement in 1956 was the rate changed, so that for several years the planters paid practically no rental for their land.
- 8 *Suara Tani*, 1958.
- 9 A. Doak Barnett, *Echoes of Mao Tse-Tung in Djakarta, An Interview with D.N. Aidit, Secretary General of the Indonesian Communist Party*, American Universities Field-Staff, Indonesia, ADB-6-'55.

CHAPTER III

- 1 *Bintang Merah* (December 1951), pp. 15-22; Aidit in *Bintang Merah* (July 1953), pp. 332-40.
- 2 Among these slogans, as given in *Bintang Merah* (July 1953), p. 339, were: Lower land rents; Reduce loan interests; Lower state taxes; Cancel arrears in land tax; Abolish compulsory payment (*setoran paksa*); Abolish unpaid village labor; Abolish compulsory labor on roads; Don't touch land that is cultivated by peasants; Give the peasants the right to negotiate the rent for land leased by foreign estates; Arm the peasants in order to crush the Darul Islam (DI), Tentara Islam Indonesia (TII), and other terrorist gangs; Assist peasants with seed and tools; Each *kecamatan* its own agricultural school; Abolish the slaughter fee; Abolish the fee for the identification certificate; Improve old irrigation systems and construct new ones; and Form a village government which defends the people.
- 3 D.N. Aidit, *Problems of the Indonesian Revolution*, Bandung, 1963, pp. 252-53.
- 4 Partai Komunis Indonesia, "Laporan Mengenai Pekerjiaan Partai Dikalangan Kaum Tani", *Bintang Merah* (April-May 1959), as quoted by Donald Hindley, *The Communist Party of Indonesia 1951-1963*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1964, p. 164.
- 5 D.N. Aidit, *Kaum Tani Mengganjang Setan-Setan Desa*, Jakarta, 1964, pp. 19-27.
- 6 *The kaum kapitalis birokrat* are the officials of State Commercial Enterprises (*Perusahaan Dagang Negara*, PDN), State Enterprises (*Perusahaan Negara*, PN), and Government Estates Administration (*Pusat Perkebunan*

- Negara*, PPN). "Village bandits" are individuals who serve as guards for landlords, bureaucratic capitalists, and managers and who commit crimes against the peasants in the interest of their exploiters.
- 7 Aidit, *Problems of the Indonesian Revolution*, p. 37.
 - 8 Aidit, *Problems of the Indonesian Revolution*, p. 424-25.
 - 9 Aidit, *Kaum Tani Mengganjang Setan-Setan Desa*, pp. 20-21.
 - 10 Aidit, *Kaum Tani Mengganjang Setan-Setan Desa*, p. 22-23.
 - 11 Aidit, *Problems of the Indonesian Revolution*, p. 422.
 - 12 Aidit, *Kaum Tani Mengganjang Setan-Setan Desa*, p. 18.
 - 13 Partai Komunis Indonesia, *Tuntutan untuk Bekerdja Dikalangan Kaum Tani*, Jakarta, 1955, p. 44.
 - 14 Aidit, *Problems of the Indonesian Revolution*, p. 425-426.
 - 15 Hindley, *The Communist Party of Indonesia*, pp. 175, 340-41 note 68.
 - 16 Dare, *Dare, and Dare Again: Political Report Presented on February 10, 1963 to the First Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia*, Peking, 1963.
 - 17 Aidit, *Problems of the Indonesian Revolution*, p. 524.
 - 18 Aidit, *Problems of the Indonesian Revolution*, p. 524-5.
 - 19 Aidit, *Problems of the Indonesian Revolution*, p. 526.
 - 20 Aidit, *Kobarkan Semangat Banteng! Madju Terus, Pantang Mundur!*, p. 21, as quoted by Justus M. van der Kroef, "Indonesian Communism's 'Revolutionary Gymnastics' ", *Asian Survey*, 5 (1965), 220.
 - 21 *Indonesian Observer* (July 10, 1964).
 - 22 Van der Kroef, "Indonesian Communism's 'Revolutionary Gymnastics' ", p. 220.
 - 23 *Antara* (Cologne), v. 16, n. 3661 (November 13, 1964).
 - 24 *Suluh Indonesia* (December 5, 1964).
 - 25 *Antara* (Cologne), v. 16, n. 3818 (June 4, 1965).
 - 26 Among the founders were Mohammad Tauchid and Sadjarno, the latter an employee of the Land Tax Office in Surakarta.
 - 27 Since the traditional markets for sugar and tobacco were inaccessible, the Japanese shifted to the cultivation of such fibers as cotton, ramie, and rosella and to the production of castor beans, the source of lubricating oil; John O. Sutter, *Indonesianisasi: Politics in a Changing Economy, 1940-1955*, Ithaca, N.Y., 1959, 1, 151, 156-58.
 - 28 Hindley, *The Communist Party of Indonesia*, p. 165. The BTI leadership, however, included men like Mohammad Tauchid who were members of the Indonesian Socialist Party.
 - 29 *New York Times* (November 6, 1965).

CHAPTER IV

- 1 The articles were numbered 27, 29, and 33 in the Constitution of 1945 and became articles 7, 18, and 38 respectively in the Provisional Constitution of 1950. Some modifications were made in the first two but the third was unchanged. An English translation of the Provisional Constitution of 1945 was published in *Voice of Indonesia*, October 1945; the Indonesian and Dutch versions can be found in W.A. Engelbrecht, *Kitab² Undang², Undang² dan Peraturan² serta Undang² Dasar 1945 Republik Indonesia*, Brussels-Leiden, 1960, pp. 34-42. On 5 July 1959 the Republic of Indonesia returned to the Provisional Constitution of 1945.

- 2 Personal communication from the former Sultan of Deli.
- 3 Sarimin Reksodihardjo had been the head of the Agrarian Section in the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Indonesia before 1950 and had served as chairman of the *Panitia Agraria Yogyakarta*. In 1950 he was head of the Agrarian Service of the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia.
- 4 Urgency Program of 20 July 1950 (*Urgensi-Program PPNKST, Tanggal 20 Djuli 1950*).
- 5 The instructions, drafted by Abdul Hakim, a senior official of the Ministry of Interior who was attached to Sarimin's staff, were entitled *Tjara Melaksanakan Urgensi-Program PPNKST, Tanggal 20 Djuli 1950, jang mengenai futsal IV Soal Agraria dan Ekonomi* and were published at Medan, 26 September 1950. This document is reproduced as Appendix 7 to *Pelaporan dengan Pertimbangan-Pertimbangan serta Usul-Usul dari Panitya Negara Urusan Pembagian Tanah Perkebunan Sumatera Timur*, Jakarta, 1954.
- 6 This summary is based on an unpublished working paper entitled: *Beknopte samenvatting van de huidige stand van het agrarisch vraagstuk in de Deli-tabaksstreken en uitstippeling van een onderhandelings- en werkbasis voor de Regering*.
- 7 *Pengumuman* No. 1219/IV, Medan, 28 September 1950.
- 8 Unpublished report entitled: *Vergadering betreffende het Grondenprobleem in het Tabaksgebied, gehouden op 24 Maart 1951 ten kantore van de Djawatan Perkebunan te Djakarta*.
- 9 Decree Agr. 12/5/14, 28 June 1951.
- 10 Decree No. UP/5/3/27, 27 June 1951.
- 11 Decree No. 36/K/Agr., 28 September 1951.
- 12 I.J. Kasimo, a prominent Catholic politician, member of parliament of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and member of *Sekata*, identified most of these; the remainder were included on the basis of newspaper articles and other contemporary sources.
- 13 *Suara Rakjat*, 12 and 13 April 1950. A copy of this report was circulated among planters of East Sumatra.
- 14 *Waspada*, 30 March 1951.
- 15 This explains why the tobacco companies continued to pay the annual ground-rent for the total concession area rather than the 125,000 hectares earmarked for their exclusive use.
- 16 *Suara Rakjat*, 19 October 1951.
- 17 They were BTI, RTI, Perti, Gaperta, and *Gabungan Buruh Tani Tionghoa*. The statement is included as Appendix 12 to *Pelaporan . . . Panitya Negara Urusan Pembagian Tanah Perkebunan Sumatera Timur*.
- 18 Order No. 26/K/Agr., 15 August 1951.
- 19 On 2 January 1951 the acting governor of North Sumatra canceled Decree No. 1138/VI/16 which had been issued 1 May 1947 by the Resident of East Sumatra.
- 20 *Rentjana Tuntutan Pekerdjaan Melaksanakan Pembahagian Tanah untuk Taraf Pertama*, Medan, 11 February 1952.
- 21 *Mestika*, 21 June 1952.
- 22 *Suara Rakjat*, 4 March 1952, carried an account of a Petani meeting at which the speakers protested the discrimination against plantation workers who had become subsistence farmers during the war or the

- revolution. See also *Suara Rakjat*, 21 April 1952.
- 23 *Suara Rakjat*, 26 March and 2, 19, 21, and 25 April 1952.
- 24 *Ichttisar Parlemen*, 1952, pp. 249-51.
- 25 Kasimo was referring to the letter No. 22063/3/6 and directive No. Agr. 12/4/16 of 28 May 1952 sent by the Ministry of Interior to Governor Hakim.
- 26 *Suara Rakjat*, 4 March 1952; *Mimbar Umum*, 9 May 1952.
- 27 *Waspada*, 30 May 1952.
- 28 Letter No. 22063/3/6 and directive No. Agr. 12/4/16; *Mestika*, 17 June 1952.
- 29 *Waspada*, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, and 10 June 1952.
- 30 *Waspada*, 9 June 1952.
- 31 *Mestika*, 18, 19, 20, and 21 June 1952.
- 32 Letter of Munar S. Hamidjojo No. 976/KPPT, dated 31 May 1952, reprinted in *Ichttisar Parlemen*, 21 May 1953.
- 33 Geraktani, KTI, STII, and BPRP did not attend since they opposed policies pursued by BTI. Petani, too, was not represented in the congress, but this peasant union joined the *Sekretariat Bersama* shortly after the congress.
- 34 *Waspada*, 26 February 1953.
- 35 *Waspada*, 7 and 9 March 1953.
- 36 *Waspada*, 11 March 1953.
- 37 *Waspada*, 30 December 1952.
- 38 See, for example, "Agrarian Structure and Reform in Indonesia", *ECAFE Tsuchin No. 145* (Tokyo), 21 January 1958.
- 39 *Tangkas*, 17 March 1953, reported that the Chinese attacked the police shouting, "Attack! Life or death for Stalin!"
- 40 The account presented here follows the one given by Mohamad Roem, Minister of Interior, to a parliamentary committee. See also, *Tangkas*, 17 March; *Keng Po*, 21 March; and *Waktu*, 2 May 1953.
- 41 *Antara*, 22 March 1953.
- 42 Chairman of the committee was Ersat Trunodjojo of Masyumi; secretary was Abdullah Jusuf of PNI; members S. Sardjono and Mohammad Tauchid belonged to BTI, Maizir Achmaddyn to Masyumi. Trunodjojo, Tauchid, and Achmaddyn supported the Minister of Interior and the governor; Jusuf and Sardjono were highly critical and opposed the whole agrarian program. In September 1953 Mohammad Tauchid broke with BTI.
- 43 *Mimbar Umum*, April 1953.
- 44 *Mimbar Umum*, 7 April 1953.
- 45 Herbert Feith, *The Wilopo Cabinet, 1952-1953: A Turning Point in Post-Revolutionary Indonesia*, Ithaca, N.Y., 1958.

CHAPTER V

- 1 The appointments were as follows:
 - 1 Subakti Pusponoto, Resident and Acting Governor of Central Java (Chairman). He became sick, left for Java in May, and did not return. His duties were assumed by the Vice-Chairman.
 - 2 Singgih Praptodihardjo, Ministry of Agrarian Affairs, Jakarta (Vice-Chairman).

- 3 Radjamin, Ministry of Agriculture and Chief of *Tata Bumi*, Medan.
- 4 S.M. Tarigan, representing the Joint Secretariat of Peasant Organizations for the Settlement of the Agrarian Problem in North Sumatra (*Sekretariat Bersama Organisasi Tani untuk Penyelesaian Tanah Sumatera Utara*) in Medan.
- 5 Sjamsul Bahri, representing the Indonesian Islamic Peasant Union (*Sarekat Tani Islam Indonesia*, or STII), Sumatera Utara, in Medan.
- 6 Abdul Kadir, representing the Council for the Struggle of the Autochthonous Population (*Badan Perjuangan Rakyat Penunggu*, or BPRP).
- 7 Abdul Djafar, representing the Government Estates Administration (*Pusat Perkebunan Negara*, or PPN).
- 8 R. Nolen, head of AVROS, representing the perennial-crop estates.
- 9 E.M. Vorstman, representative of the United Deli Company, representing the tobacco estates.
- 10 Asjro Effendi, representing the *Sekretariat Bersama* (see Tarigan, 4, above).
- 11 Amiruddin Tito, representing the *Sekretariat Bersama*.
- 12 J.M. Simbolon, representing the *Sekretariat Bersama*.
- 13 Zainal Abidin, representing STII, North Sumatra.
- 14 Kongsu Semiring Depari, representing the BPRP.
- 15 Soerdjadi, representing the Council of Cooperating Peasant Organizations of North Sumatra (*Badan Kerdja-Sama Organisasi Tani Sumatera Utara*, or BKOTSU).

In addition, the following two staff appointments were announced: Iman Supangat Sastrohadiprodjo, chief of subsection Agrarian Policy, Ministry of Agrarian Affairs, Jakarta (First Secretary).

M. Parlindungan, chief of the Agrarian Section for the province of North Sumatra (Second Secretary).

- 2 See *Memorandum inzake "De Richtlijnen voor de Staatscommissie voor de verdeling van ondernemingsgronden ter S.O.K."*. This memorandum was prepared by the Agrarian Committee of AVROS and distributed to the officers of the organization as an appendix to a letter of 4 May 1954.
- 3 The tension between Subakti and Singgih is believed to have greatly contributed to Subakti's decision to obtain a doctor's certificate and not to return to Medan at the end of *puasa* in mid-June. For a brief period in June, Singgih showed a more objective behavior — possibly in response to criticism expressed by Minister Hanafiah — but by July he was acting once more "as if he were a member of the '*Sekretariat Bersama*'"; R. Nolen in a letter of 4 August 1954.
- 4 *Algemene Verklaring: Particuliere ondernemers in de Staatscommissie voor de verdeling van ondernemersgronden in Sumatera Timur*, Medan, 26 March 1954 (mimeo).
- 5 *Memorandum inzake het Grondenvraagstuk in Sumatera Timur*, Medan, 17 June 1954 (mimeo).
- 6 *Algemene Beschouwing over de Wijze van Oplossing van het Gronden-vraagstuk ter Oostkust van Sumatra*, Appendix III of R. Nolen's letter, Medan, 26 April 1954. (Indonesian text, *Pemandangan umum untuk djalan penyelesaian masalah tanah di Sumatera Timur*, Medan, 16 April 1954, Appendix 21 of *Pelaporan dengan Pertimbangan-Pertimbangan*

- Serta Usul-Usul dari Panitia Negara Urusan Pembagian Tanah Perkebunan Sumatera Timur.*)
- 7 R. Nolen's letter of 4 August 1954.
 - 8 *Keterangan Umum para Wakil dari "Badan Perjuangan Rakjat Penunggu Indonesia Sumatera Timur" dalam Panitia Negara untuk Pembagian Tanah Perkebunan di Sumatera Timur*, 12 April 1954, Appendix 20 of *Pelaporan . . . dari Panitia Negara*.
 - 9 *Ichtisar*, p. 7, in *Pelaporan . . . dari Panitia Negara*.
 - 10 *Persoalan Pendudukan Tanah Perkebunan di Sumatera Timur*, Appendix 30 of *Pelaporan . . . dari Panitia Negara*.
 - 11 *Konsepsi mengenai soal pembagian tanah-tanah konsesi perkebunan Sumatera Timur*, Appendix 22 of *Pelaporan . . . dari Panitia Negara*.
 - 12 K. van der Molen's letter of 3 May 1954 to Abdul Djafar, head of PPN (Government Estates Administration) in Medan and member of the state commission.
 - 13 The alternating hope and frustration of Nolen over the outcome of the sessions, and reports of his clashes with Tarigan and Singgih, can be read in his letters to the AVROS Board of Directors dated 24 April, 4 August, and 10 August 1954.
 - 14 The report is available in both Indonesian and Dutch: *Pelaporan dengan Pertimbangan-Pertimbangan Serta Usul-Usul dari Panitia Negara Urusan Pembagian Tanah Perkebunan Sumatera Timur* (44 pp. and 33 appendices, mimeo); and *Rapport alsmede Adviezen en Voorstellen van de Staatscommissie voor de Verdeling van Ondernemingsgronden in Sumatera Timur* (30 pp. and only 5 of the 33 appendices, mimeo).
 - 15 See, for example, AVROS letter No. 151, 25 January 1954, addressed to the Governor of the Province of North Sumatra.
 - 16 AVROS letter No. 397, 1 March 1954, addressed to the Attorney General of the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta.
 - 17 *Maklumat* No. 1138/XXV/KPPT.
 - 18 *Maklumat* No. 1416/XXV/KPPT.
 - 19 *Maklumat* No. 33966/3.
 - 20 AVROS letter No. 1207, 19 July 1954.
 - 21 Letter No. 3068/XXV/KPPT, Medan, 31 August 1954.
 - 22 *Maklumat* No. 4393/XXV/KPPT.

CHAPTER VI

- 1 *Kort Verslag bezoek Minister Agrarische Zaken* (appended to AVROS letter No. 26/Bl., 7 February 1955).
- 2 *Kort Verslag bezoek Minister Agrarische Zaken*.
- 3 Decree No. Agr. 12/5/14.
- 4 Decree No. 36/K/Agr.
- 5 Text will be found in the Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting of 15 May 1955.
- 6 AVROS letter No. 750, 19 May 1955.
- 7 Letter Ka 12/2/16, 26 May 1955.
- 8 Letter No. 121, 3 June 1955, addressed to the attention of Singgih Praptodihardjo, Ministry of Agrarian Affairs. See AVROS letter, Medan, 7 June 1955.
- 9 AVROS letter No. 891, 16 June 1955.

- 10 *Interne Nota t.b.v. Dagelijks Bestuur inzake Agraria*, 20 August 1955.
- 11 *Nota inzake Gezamenlijk Besluit No. 1/1955, d.d. 30 June 1955 van de Ministers van Agraria, van Landbouw, van Economische Zaken, van Binnenlandse Zaken en van Justitie*, Medan, 29 August 1955 (mimeo).
- 12 AVROS, *Memorandum inzake de uitvoering van de Noodwet No. 8/1954*, Medan, 6 September 1955 (mimeo); also issued as an appendix to AVROS letter No. 163/Bl., Medan, 6 September 1955.
- 13 AVROS, *Memorandum betreffende het agrarisch probleem in Sumatera Timur*, October 1955; also issued as an appendix to AVROS letter No. 188/Bl., Medan, 12 October 1955.
- 14 *Memorandum nopens de Toepassing van de Strafbepalingen tegen "Onwettige Occupaties" in de Noodwet No. 8/1954* (appended to AVROS letter No. 17/Bl., Medan, 17 January 1956).
- 15 *Resumé van het besprokene op de vergadering der Agrarische Commissie der Contactcommissie Grootlandbouw-organisaties, gehouden op 27 January 1956* (mimeo).
- 16 This is illustrated by an article in Medan's *Tangkas*, 29 February 1956, citing a resolution passed by the directors of the *Gerakan Tani Indonesia* in Bogor on 27 February 1956.
- 17 The problems of expired concessions were discussed in AVROS letters No. 32/Bl., 2 February 1956; No. 46/Bl., 8 March 1956; No. 58/Bl., 3 April 1956; and No. 103/Bl., 6 June 1956; as well as in a legal memorandum prepared by W.J. Borgerhoff Mulder, dated Klein Sungei Karang, 10 April 1956, and deposited in the AVROS archive in Medan. See also *Pendorong*, 1 June 1956, and *Mestika*, 30 May 1956.
- 18 *Pendorong*, 7 April 1956.
- 19 See, for example, the editorials in *Tjerdas*, 20, 21, and 30 April 1956, and in *Tangkas*, 19 April 1956.
- 20 *Mestika*, 6 April 1956.
- 21 *Pendorong*, 2 May 1956.
- 22 AVROS letter No. 808, Medan, 3 July 1956 (attached to AVROS letter No. 126/Bl., Medan, 4 July 1956).
- 23 *Tjerdas*, 23 July 1956.
- 24 AVROS letter No. 953, Medan, 1 August 1956; this letter was also attached to AVROS letter No. 150/Bl., Medan, 3 August 1956.
- 25 *Mimbar Umum*, 31 October 1956.
- 26 *Lembaga*, 23 November 1956.
- 27 AVROS letter No. 236/Bl., Medan, 21 November 1956.
- 28 AVROS letter No. 234/Bl., Medan, 16 November 1956.
- 29 Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting of 4 December 1956.
- 30 Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting of 29 December 1956.
- 31 Some ten years later, in January 1967, when I interviewed the retired Tengku Kotjik about this incident, he recalled that the PKI and the BTI had made every effort to block this project for political reasons but had failed to win the support and cooperation of the squatters. For them the choice was between illegally occupying other estate land or moving with government assistance to land to which they would receive agrarian rights.
- 32 The eight organizations were: Petani, STII, GTI, BPRP, Sakti, Gaperta, BPRTI, and BPR.
- 33 Petani and GTI continued to oppose such agreements.

- 34 *Lembaga*, 31 July 1957, reported the arrest of 65 members of the BTI because of illegal occupation of land belonging to the United Deli Company estates of Bulu Cina and Paya Bakung.

CHAPTER VII

- 1 Herbert Feith, "Dynamics of Guided Democracy", in *Indonesia*, ed. Ruth T. McVey, New Haven, 1963, pp. 332-34.
- 2 *Pengumuman*, No. Peng/00001/1/1957.
- 3 *Surat Keputusan*, No. KPTS 0030/1/57.
- 4 AVROS letters No. 44/AH., Medan, 16 February 1957, and No. 59/AH., Medan, 12 March 1957.
- 5 *Maandberichten van de Algemeene Vereeniging van Rubberplanters ter Oostkust van Sumatra*, No. 4 (1957), p. 6.
- 6 *Surat Keputusan*, No. PM/KPTS 0007/5/57.
- 7 The Indonesian text together with a Dutch translation were sent to the Board of Directors with AVROS letter No. 87/Bl., Medan, 19 June 1957.
- 8 See, for example, *Lembaga* and *Mestika*, 28 June 1957.
- 9 AVROS letter No. 897, 26 July 1957 (distributed to the members with letter No. 153/AH., Medan, 20 August 1957).
- 10 Rozendaal's letter No. 842/M, Jakarta, 10 September 1957.
- 11 A "target area" is that part of a plantation which the planter regards as the minimum necessary for its continued operation.
- 12 The law gives each member of the permanent labor force the right to ask for a garden not less than 200 square meters and not more than 600 square meters.
- 13 *Resumé van de Vergadering van het Bestuur der Algemeene Vereeniging van Rubberplanters ter Oostkust van Sumatra (AVROS), gehouden op Woensdag, 11 September 1957*, Medan, 12 September 1957 (mimeo).
- 14 *Samenvatting van de besprekingen vertegenwoordigers ministeries op het hoofdkwartier van de Landmacht op 11 September 1957 bij wijze van recommandatie aan de Centrale Militaire Gezaghebber*, Jakarta, 11 September 1957. This document was attached to AVROS letter No. 142/Bl., Medan, 21 September 1957.
- 15 The AVROS delegation included J. Fernhout, G. van Wezel, D. van Eck, J.D. Schoon and F. Benders.
- 16 Unpublished minutes headed "*Resumé van de Buitengewone Algemene Ledenvergadering, gehouden op Vrijdag de 27 September 1957*".
- 17 Minister Sunarjo's letter No. Ka 13/19/5 of 2 October 1957 was distributed to all AVROS members together with AVROS letter No. 210/Ah., Medan, 18 October 1957.
- 18 The composition, as listed in AVROS letter No. 165/Bl., Medan, 22 October 1957, was:

Singgih Praptodihardjo, Chairman	Ministry of Agrarian Affairs
M. Hardjoamidjojo, Vice-Chairman	Ministry of Agriculture
Saleh Wariatmadja, Member	Ministry of Agriculture
Ir. Agus Prawiranata, Member	Ministry of Public Works
M. Muntoha, Member	Cadastral Service
Gozali, Member	Ministry of Labor
Sosroharsono, Member	Ministry of Social Affairs

- Sumitro Tjokrowardoyo, Member Ministry of Agrarian Affairs
 Major Sukardi, Member Headquarters, Army Chief of Staff
 S. Anwar Kasim, Member Ministry of Agrarian Affairs
- 19 This explains the striking difference between the first draft, given in AVROS letter No. 168/Bl., 25 October 1957, and the final letter No. 239, addressed to the Minister of Agrarian Affairs on 31 October 1957 and attached to AVROS letter No. 219/AH., Medan, 5 November 1957.
 - 20 Persbiro Indonesia-Aneta, 22 October 1957.
 - 21 Persbiro Indonesia, *Weekly Airmailer*, Jakarta, 13 November 1957, p. 4.
 - 22 *Weekly Airmailer*, 20 November 1957, p. 1.
 - 23 *Weekly Airmailer*, 4 December 1957, pp. 17-18.
 - 24 *Weekly Airmailer*, 4 December 1957, p. 1-2.
 - 25 *Weekly Airmailer*, 12 December 1957, pp. 2-3.
 - 26 *Weekly Airmailer*, 12 December 1957, p. 19.
 - 27 The "Algemeen Landbouw Syndicaat" (ALS) was represented by W.H. Meijer and A.H. van Geuns, the "Algemeen Syndicaat van Suikerfabrikanten in Indonesië" (ASSI) by L. de Jong and C. van der Made, and AVROS by P. Rozendaal.
 - 28 *Resumé van de bespreking van de Minister van Landbouw met een delegatie van vertegenwoordigers van Nederlandse cultuurmaatschappijen op 10 December 1957 in het Ministerie van Landbouw te Djakarta*, Jakarta, 10 December 1957.
 - 29 Minister of Agriculture, Decree No. 247/UM/57.
 - 30 Chief Justice Mahadi of the North Sumatran Provincial High Court later officially witnessed the signatures; *Weekly Airmailer*, 19 December 1957, p. 13.
 - 31 *Weekly Airmailer*, 26 December 1957, pp. 18-19.
 - 32 *Staatsblad 1939*, No. 582.
 - 33 For example Djuanda's Decree No. 1063/PMT/1957 of 9 December 1957 was replaced by Ordinance No. 24/1958 of 17 April 1958, signed by both Sukarno and Sadjarwo. Sadjarwo's Decree No. 229/UM/57 was replaced by his Decree No. 49/UM/58 of 17 April 1958. These two legal documents permitted the continued supervision of Dutch plantations.
 - 34 Herbert Feith, "Dynamics of Guided Democracy", in *Indonesia*, ed. Ruth T. McVey, p. 332.
 - 35 Decree No. 225 superseded a similar decree issued in March 1957.
 - 36 As it turned out later, the final target area approved for the tobacco industry was fixed at 60,911 hectares, of which 44,000 were assigned to the former United Deli Co., 15,000 to the former Senembah Co., and 1,911 to the Cinta Radja Co.
 - 37 Gappersu letter No. 192/M, Jakarta, 3 March 1958.
 - 38 Gappersu letter No. 160/Djk., Medan, 8 April 1958.
 - 39 The figures for December 1957, 1958, and 1959 are taken from A.E. Johann, *A la Indonesia: Sorgen und Hoffnungen eines unfertigen Landes*, Gütersloh, 1961, pp. 276-77. Johann's figures come from Gappersu. His figures for earlier years agree with my figures in Table 11, so that I have no doubt about their validity.
 - 40 See *Waspada*, 29 July 1958, and *Mestika*, 1 August 1958.
 - 41 The order was No. PP/KPTS-0132/8/1958 issued on 14 August 1958.
 - 42 Minister Sunarjo's decree was No. Sk. 224/Ka./1958.

- 43 Suleika's letter No. 572/M of 4 September 1958 reports that the original plan provided for the representation of laborers, peasants, and Gappersu (i.e. planters) but that Sunarjo had crossed these out because he felt that their presence in the committee would only lead to delays.
- 44 Minister of Agriculture, Order No. 30/Um/58 of 3 March 1958.
- 45 In the other organizations, i.e. BUD and BAPPIT, the army officer served as director of the agency.
- 46 *Berita Negara 1958*, No. 162.
- 47 Ordinance No. 4. Ordinance No. 2 provided the guiding principles for implementation of the Nationalization Act. Ordinance No. 3 established a Nationalization Board of Dutch Enterprises (*Badan Nasionalisasi Perusahaan Belanda*, BANAS). These ordinances (Nos. 2, 3, and 4) were all signed and promulgated on 23 February 1959.
- 48 Ordinance No. 19 of 2 May 1957, promulgated on 20 May.
- 49 The full text of the Netherlands note of 28 February 1959 was released by The Netherlands Information Service in New York on 16 March 1959.
- 50 Minister of Agriculture Sadjarwo on Nationalization Act, *Indonesian Spectator*, 15 July 1959.