



## **The Kyoto-Berkeley Seminar on Indonesia**

**10 January 2014, Rakuyu Kaikan**

**Kyoto University**

**(Access: [http://bpsu.nucleng.kyoto-u.ac.jp/bpsi/usjws8/usjws8/Raku-yu\\_Kaikan.html](http://bpsu.nucleng.kyoto-u.ac.jp/bpsi/usjws8/usjws8/Raku-yu_Kaikan.html))**

**Co-sponsored by the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University “Toward Sustainable Humanosphere in Southeast Asian Studies” Research Program and the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of California-Berkeley**

Although Indonesia has long been a major area of study for scholars and students of Southeast Asia, it has recently become the focus of renewed attention, often centering on its experience of political transition, its economic growth (fueled in part by the high prices of commodities) and rich natural resources, its checkered record of successes and failures in managing ethnic and religious pluralism and co-existence, and its vibrant literary and arts scene. This seminar brings together scholars from Japan, Indonesia, and the USA in a day-long intensive seminar grouped around three theme-based sessions: culture and the arts; resources; and politics. The seminar presents a wide range of debates and perspectives in the field of Indonesian studies, while offering non-Indonesia specialists an opportunity to learn more about the biggest and most populous country in Southeast Asia, a country that is playing an ever-more important role in the region and the world.

## **PROGRAM**

**9:30-9:45 Welcome Remarks by Professor Kono Yasuyuki (Vice-Director, CSEAS, Kyoto University) and Jeffrey Hadler (Chair, CSEAS Berkeley)**

**9:45-11:45 SESSION 1: Culture and the Arts**

**Chair: Okamoto Masaaki**

**(Im)moral Compass: Erotic Literature and the Education of Modern Man  
Elizabeth Chandra**

***Night Letters: The Ambiguous Archive of Soeharto's New Order (1968-1977)*  
Jeffrey Hadler**

**Postcolonial Identity and "Yankee Style" Architecture in Urban Indonesia  
Rina Priyani**

**The Rhetoric of Class: The Labor Movement and Its Print Media  
Jafar Suryomenggolo**

**11:45-13:00 LUNCH BREAK**

**13:00-15:00 SESSION 2: Resources**

**Chair: Jeffrey Hadler**

**Changing Regimes of Forest Land and Labor Use: A Study of Histories and Futures  
Nancy Lee Peluso**

**Present Boom of Forestation in Java in the Historical Context of Indonesian Forest Management.  
Kosuke Mizuno**

**Impact of Energy Mix Policy on Local Politics and Resources: The Case of Coal Railway Projects in Kalimantan  
Akiko Morishita**

**Palm Oil Goes Global and the Start of "Different" Oil Wars  
Okamoto Masaaki**

**15:00-15:15 COFFEE BREAK**

**15:15-17:15 SESSION 3: Old Politics and New**

**Chair: Kosuke Mizuno**

**Journalists Associations in the Indies: *Inlandsche Journalisten Bond* and *Persatoean Djoernalis Indonesia***

**Nobuto Yamamoto**

**Post World War II Chinese Indonesian Migration to the Netherlands**

**Yumi Kitamura**

**“Indigenous” or “Asli”? The Return to *Swapraja* Domain and the Politics of Aristocracy in Indonesia**

**Fadjar I. Thufail**

**Apologia Indonesia: Transitional Justice and the Politics of Apology in Post-Suharto Indonesia**

**Ehito Kimura**

**18:00 RECEPTION**

## **ABSTRACTS**

**“(Im)moral Compass: Erotic Literature and the Education of Modern Man”  
Elizabeth Chandra**

The long struggle for legal equality with Europeans, for the Chinese population in the Netherlands Indies, rested in part on the Chinese adoption and application of the Dutch family law. A revision in the 1925 Indies Constitution signaled that European legal privileges could now be accorded to non-Dutchmen who in their home country were subjected to a family and marriage law based on the same principles as had been adopted in Dutch law. It was toward achieving this goal that in 1931 the European Civil Code was extended to the Chinese population, including the marriage law, and the principle of monogamy was enforced. But while legal applications have tidy chronology, matters related to marriage and family were complex and changes were incremental, not least because they involved cultural idiosyncrasies and practices hidden from public view. In the case of the Chinese in the Indies, the education of (carnal) desire and of monogamous ethics came from the least likely of sources, i.e. the erotic print market. This presentation will focus on one particular brand of erotic

literature produced between the 1920s and 1930s, and explore its portrayal of polygamy as an affront to modern, capitalist ethics.

Elizabeth CHANDRA is a lecturer at the International Center, Keio University, and a visiting research fellow at the International Institute for Socio-cultural Research, Ryukoku University.

### **“Indigenous” or “Asli”? The Return to *Swapraja* Domain and the Politics of Aristocracy in Indonesia**

**Fadjar I. Thufail**

After the New Order regime crumbled in 1998 and in the aftermath of the initiative put forward by the UN to incorporate the discourse of ethnic rights in many of its legal instruments, ethnic rights movement has mushroomed in Indonesia. The emerging ethnic rights movement has generated debates and contestations over the conceptual, legal, and political implication of “indigeneity.” The historical context of Indonesia as a postcolonial, albeit non-settler, nation complicates the direction, relation, and significance of ethnic politics, and at the same time challenges the rights activists to find a common platform on which their conception of “indigeneity” could rest.

This paper addresses how aristocrats seek to take part in the historical moment by resorting to their own notion of “indigeneity.” While often considered as hostile to ethnic rights movement, the aristocrats’s interest in maintaining or reviving self-regulated (*swapraja*) domain demonstrates traditional attachment to territorial control and their perceived symbolic role as the custodian of culture. These are indispensable aspects of cultural claim similarly found in ethnic rights movement and encouraged by rights activists. Therefore, the proliferation of new or revived palaces (*keraton* or *kesultanan*) over the last decade throughout the country attests to the emergence of cultural rights movement that is parallel and crosscutting the ethnic rights movement. At the center of the debate and contestation between the cultural rights and the ethnic rights is how the discourse of “indigeneity” takes place as a declaration of emotional or material attachment to “indigenous” or “*asli*” form of territorial control, either a symbolic or a political one.

Fadjar I. Thufail is an anthropologist and senior researcher at the Research Center for Regional Resources of the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (PSDR-LIPI). He received his Ph.D in cultural anthropology from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He was post-doctoral fellow (2007-2010) at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle/Saale, Germany, and currently research fellow (2011-2014) in the Program of Cultural Heritage and Cultural Property at the Goettingen University, Germany. He (with Martin Ramstedt) edited “Kegalauan Identitas” (Grasindo, 2011) and guest-edited (also with Martin Ramstedt) a special edition of Asian Ethnicity Journal (Vol 13:4, 2012) on Law, Ethnicity, and Religion.

***Night Letters: The Ambiguous Archive of Soeharto's New Order (1968-1977)***  
**Jeffrey Hadler**

The artist and philosopher Nashar (1928-1994) was an anticommunist intellectual, a signatory of the 1963 Cultural Manifesto and a founder of the Jakarta Art Institute. In late 1976 he published a key text in modern Indonesian cultural and political history, the *Night Letters* ("Surat-Surat Malam"). The book appears to be a series of sixteen letters written to an unnamed friend and dated sequentially from 1968 to 1974. It was apparently presented as an archive of the early years of the New Order regime. However, *Night Letters* is not an archive of the late 1960s and early 1970s, but an artfully constructed and cohesive text from 1976. Why would Nashar create a false archive? How does the changing concept of authenticity shape Indonesian historical discourse? This presentation, a draft of a book, will situate the *Night Letters* in relation to Nashar's own textual influences and examine his writings through the theoretical work of James Scott, Martin Jay, and Gérard Genette. It will examine Nashar's paintings and the relationship between his visual art and his writing. And finally it will consider the possibility of a cultural interpretation for the *Night Letters*, and the place of Nashar's Minangkabau-ness in his work. I will reconsider the critical voices of the anti-Sukarnoists and *Manikebuis* activists, and suggest a new intellectual and cultural history of the early Soeharto years.

Jeffrey Hadler first lived with a Minangkabau family as a high school exchange student in 1985. He studied comparative literature and Southeast Asian Studies as an undergraduate at Yale and then Southeast Asian History as a graduate student at Cornell. He taught at the State Islamic University in Jakarta in 2000 before joining the Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies at U.C. Berkeley, where he is currently an Associate Professor and Chair of the Center for Southeast Asia Studies. His book *Muslims and Matriarchs: Cultural Resilience in Indonesia through Jihad and Colonialism* won the 2011 Benda Prize from the Association for Asian Studies.

***The Rhetoric of Class: The Labor Movement and Its Print Media***  
**Jafar Suryomenggolo**

As in other post-authoritarian societies elsewhere, media freedom is an important element that ensures the democratization process in Indonesia since Reformasi 1998. It allows rooms for any social actor, including the labor movement, to express their interests, and provides them with the chance to influence the nation's political debates. However, it also raises specific challenges for the labor movement as major media groups have their own economic and political interests to defend, and rarely give favorable coverage of workers' growing activism. This paper discusses the socio-political contours that challenge the labor movement in asserting its representation in the media and also influence its decision to establish its own media arms. A number of unions have published, albeit irregularly, extensive newsletters, magazines, and newspapers to voice their concerns and to cater to their members' thirst for labor-related news items. In the current context of the diversity of the nation's print media, unions' publications are striding at the margin. Although the struggling existence of unions' publications is a constitutive element that defines the condition of Indonesian (il)liberal democracy, this paper shows that it helps shape the formation of working-class identity.

Jafar Suryomenggolo is research fellow at Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University

**Apologia Indonesia: Transitional Justice and the Politics of Apology in Post-Suharto Indonesia**  
**Ehito Kimura**

Well over a decade now since the fall of Suharto, little to no justice has been served for the past human rights violations of the authoritarian New Order. This presentation reflects on some of the initiatives that have been put forth and the obstacles they have faced. It focuses in particular on the recent discussions of an official state apology for human rights abuses during the Suharto era and the dilemmas of such an initiative.

Ehito Kimura is currently a visiting fellow at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University. He is an associate professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. His research interests are at the nexus of Southeast Asian politics, comparative politics, and political change.

**Post World War II Chinese Indonesian Migration to the Netherlands**  
**Yumi Kitamura**

This paper will examine the impact of socio-political conditions in Indonesia on the lives of Chinese Indonesians through interpreting the life history narratives of those who migrated to the Netherlands between the 1950s and 1970s. The migration patterns of Southeast Asia Chinese in the post-World War II period are reflections of socio-political changes in the region. In the case of the Chinese of Indonesia, the largest number of migrants was to China in 1960 in reaction to the Presidential Regulation No. 10 (PP10), which restricted retail activities of foreign residents in rural areas. In addition, a considerable number of Chinese Indonesians decided to migrate to other countries and some of these patterns are continuing into the present. Some of the destination countries include the Netherlands, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Australia, in accordance with the timing and resources available to the migrants. By considering both the personal life trajectories of Chinese Indonesians in the Netherlands and social conditions of Indonesia in the early decades of Indonesian independence, this paper will explore the unique experiences of a part of the Chinese migration to the West.

Yumi Kitamura is currently Associate Professor at the Kyoto University Library. Her research interests are on the contemporary history of Chinese Indonesians and history of Southeast Asian Studies through the analysis of libraries.

**Present Boom of Forestation in Java in the Historical Context of Indonesian Forest Management.**  
**Kosuke Mizuno**

Now we find the phenomena of forestation at many places in Java island. People are enthusiastic about planting *Sengon* (*Albizia chinensis*, *sengon jawã* (Javanese));

*jeungjing* (Sundanese)) on their land. So now in Java we do not find deforestation but rather forestation of the people's own land. In many cases these lands do not belong to the Government-designated forest area (*kawasan hutan*). Around 1998-2000, we found many illegal logging in Java also, and even now we find many illegal logging in Sumatra and other islands. In many cases these illegal logging have been taken place on Government-designated forest area, the forest that the government is supposed to protect.

This paper sheds light on the irony of illegal logging on the Government- designaged forest area while forestation is taking place in areas that are not counted as forest area. One of the reasons why this forestation is now taking place is the deregulation of the logging permit for timber in privately owned land. And there are many cases of this logging permit system hampering the efforts at forestation of the privately owned land, especially in the outer-Indoensia. This paper locates the idea of forest area in historical context, and discusses the meaning of illegal logging.

Dr. Kosuke Mizuno is Professor of Development Studies at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University. He got his Ph.D. from Kyoto University in 1994. He has studied people's organizations, institutions and economic development in democratizing Indonesia based on extensive field works. His publications include *Populism in Asia* (NUS Press, 2009), *Direktori Serikat Pekerja/ Serikat Buruh Indonesia. Bandung, Indonesia: (Directory of Trade Unions in Indonesia)*, (Akatiga Pusat Analisis Sosial, Bandung, 2007), and *Rural Industrialization in Indonesia, a Study on Community-based Weaving Industry in West Java* (IDE, 1996). His recent books and article include *Regeneration of Tropical Biomass Society: Perspectives from Peatland Field Studies in Indonesia* (Kyoto University Press, in Japanese, 2012) and "Talun-Huma, Swidden Agriculture, and Rural Economy in West Java, Indonesia," *Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol.2, No. 2 (August 2013) pp.351-381.

**Impact of Energy Mix Policy on Local Politics and Resources: The Case of Coal Railway Projects in Kalimantan**  
**Akiko Morishita**

The Indonesian government changed its energy policy, in which oil accounted for approximately half of primary energy, and mapped out the Blueprint for National Energy Management (2005-2025) in 2005. The new policy calls for decreasing oil to 20% and increasing coal to 33%, natural gas to 30%, and renewable energies to 17% by 2025. As one direct consequence, the energy mix policy brought about an accelerated demand for coal and related infrastructure development. How does this policy change affect local development plans and politics over resources particularly in coal-producing regions? My presentation demonstrates the case of the Barito region in Kalimantan, where local governments are embarking on rail infrastructure projects for coal transportation at a rapid pace.

Dr. Akiko Morishita is a Program-specific Researcher at Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University. Her field of interest is resource politics in Indonesia and Malaysia, particularly in the mining and forestry sectors. She is currently at work on a

study that examines political dynamics of foreign-invested development projects in Indonesia in the context of decentralization and globalization.

### **Palm Oil Goes Global and the Start of “Different” Oil Wars Okamoto Masaaki**

Palm oil has been the most produced and consumed vegetable oil in the world because it is the cheapest and most versatile among edible oils. With the rapid growth of oil palm plantation area, the criticism against the palm oil has become harsher and globalized. The two largest palm oil producing countries, Indonesia and Malaysia are the main target of criticism. The deforestation and carbon emission are the main reason of current criticism against the plantation expansion. When the palm oil became the global issue for the first time in the 1970s and 80s, however, the main reason was not the environmental one, but the unhealthiness of palm oil. The conflict was mainly between Malaysia and the United States. It was rather severe and dubbed as “different” oil wars. This paper aims to examine when and how the palm oil issue has become globalized and also show the changing and unchanging faces of conflicts surrounding oil palm plantation.

Dr. OKAMOTO Masaaki is an associate professor at Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University. His research interest is on the decentralization in Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia and also on the urban politics and the political economy of oil palm plantation. He worked for JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) as an expert on the facilitation of decentralization scheme in Indonesia in early 2000s.

### **Changing Regimes of Forest Land and Labor Use: A Study of Histories and Futures Nancy Lee Peluso**

Forests are important components of agrarian environments and household livelihoods, but as broad political economies and agrarian environments change, how important is land control? Forest villagers in Java during Indonesia’s New Order (1966–1998) were highly dependent on access to state forests for their livelihoods. In the teak forests, long reserved and enclosed lands were guarded closely by foresters in the State Forestry Corporation. Most villagers’ income was locally earned and both land and forest dependent. By 2010, this highly localized and forest and agricultural land-dependent situation had changed dramatically. In Singget, a hamlet I studied in the mid-1980s, I found that nearly all local families derived some income from urban and distant industrial or rural work sites by 2010. Most hamlet residents, however, do not move away permanently to work, but migrate for periods of several months to several years. As in other parts of rural Java, these other sources of income are transforming household livelihood portfolios. Unlike many other parts of Java, the new practices affect villagers’ relations to state forest and to their private agricultural lands. This essay examines these transformations in land control and labor dynamics, focusing on the changing importance of teak forest land to villagers’ livelihoods over the last thirty-plus years.



Nancy Lee Peluso is Henry J. Vaux Distinguished Professor of Forest Policy in the Division of Society & Environment, Department of Environmental Science, Policy, and Management, University of California, Berkeley, California. She specializes in historical political ecology and the management of land-based resources, with a particular emphasis on land and forest transformations in Indonesia. She has worked in Indonesia since she was an undergraduate living in Yogyakarta in the late 1970s, at which time she attended classes at Universitas Gadjah Mada. She has carried out research in rural Yogyakarta, Blora and Brebes, East Kalimantan, and West Kalimantan. She is author or co-author of over 60 peer reviewed articles, and co-editor, with Christian Lund, of *New Frontiers of Land Control* (Routledge, 2012); co-editor, with Joseph Nevins, of *Taking Southeast Asia to Market: Commodities, People and Nature in a Neoliberal Age* (Cornell University Press, 2008); co-editor, with Michael Watts, of *Violent Environments* (Cornell University Press, 2001); co-editor, with Christine Padoch, of *Borneo in Transition: People, Forests, Conservation, and Development* (Oxford University Press, 1996, second edition 2006) and sole author of *Rich Forests, Poor People: Resource Control and Resistance in Java* (University of California Press, 1992). Her current research is a history of violence, resource extraction, and property rights in West Kalimantan.

### **Postcolonial Identity and “Yankee Style” Architecture in Urban Indonesia** **Rina Priyani**

This research argues that Indonesia's vernacular architecture of "Yankee Style," prevalent in 1960s urban development considered a populist pan-Indonesian style by the Indonesian Institute of Architects, provided Chinese Indonesian a vehicle for their expression of a postcolonial cultural identity.

The Bandung Conference discussed the Chinese overseas problem in terms that shaped subsequent historical discourse. Indonesian cultural policy of the 1950s banned the public expression of Chinese language, proper names, and religion. In the 1959, government urban policy introduced zoning for foreign national commercial zones, triggering the migration of Chinese Indonesians from the rural to the city, primarily in Java. As these new ethnic enclaves rose, the "Yankee" style represented not only a fresh approach to architecture for Indonesian architects freed from Dutch colonial design practices, but also a means to define urban space with a hybridized Chinese Indonesian identity among building clients. In spite of its name and contemporary interpretation, the "Yankee" style provides a case study in how a new postcolonial identity was claimed and constructed in urban Indonesia during a period of non-aligned politics and guided democracy.

Rina Priyani is a PhD student in Architecture at the University of California, Berkeley, with a focus on Environmental Design and Urbanism in Developing Countries. Her research interests are architectural and urban history, politics, and Southeast Asia. Prior arriving to Berkeley she taught at Bandung Institute of Technology, Indonesia. She received her B.Arch and M.Eng from Bandung Institute of Technology and trained as a cultural heritage preservationist at the Asia-Pacific Cultural Centre for

UNESCO in Nara, Japan. She is a Fulbright and the US Ambassador Grant for Cultural Preservation recipients.

**Journalists Associations in the Indies: *Inlandsche Journalisten Bond* and *Persatoean Djoernalis Indonesia***  
**Nobuto Yamamoto**

In the last three decades of Dutch colonialism, the vernacular press in the Indies flourished. Journalists played a significant role in mounting various nationalistic and social movements by circulating and articulating both news and political messages. In March 1915 the first union of indigenous journalists called *Inlandsche Journalisten Bond* (IJB) was officially founded in Soerakarta, Central Java. It was considered as a part of social-democratic movements along with the Indies Social Democratic Association (ISDV) and the Federation of Rail and Tramway Personnel (VSTP). The president of IJB, Marco Kartodikromo, was connected to a high profile Dutch communist, Henk Sneevliet, the mastermind behind many social-democratic associations in Java. One year later the journalists association ceased to function when Marco was imprisoned.

In December 1933, another indigenous journalists association called *Persatoean Djoernalis Indonesia* (Perdi), or the Association of Indonesian Journalists, was established in Soerakarta. When radical political organizations were banned in the 1930s, it took a nationalistic stance with the annual national congresses it organized. Its leadership moved from Soetopo Wonobojo to Soedarjo Tjokrosisworo to Mohamad Tabrani. It was allowed to continue to exist under the Japanese occupation; and when Indonesia gained its independence, the association assumed a new name, *Persatoean Wartawan Indonesia*.

The two associations came into being under different colonial censorship regimes. The former drew various attentions among contemporary intellectuals and activists both in Java and the Netherlands, whereas the latter expanded its network throughout the Indies. In short, the IJB was short-lived, while Perdi survived three different regimes. This paper will explore the political positions of journalists in the colonial setting, and argue that ideologically imagined threats influenced the performance (and lifespan) of the two journalists associations.

YAMAMOTO Nobuto, Professor of Southeast Asian Studies and International Relations, Department of Politics, Keio University.