

Conference Paper

Minimizing Radicalization in Dutch East Indies

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Abstract.

The emergence of radical and social movements in the Dutch East Indies was ignited by various social and dynamic governmental policies which were not in line with the Indonesian people's ideas. Organizations started performing their actions to oppose government policies at the beginning of the 20th century. They mainly criticized policies which never benefited and did not bring welfare to the people. However, their resistance was considered unsuccessful. According to John Ingleson, their failure was caused by the lack of consolidation and the absence of continuity between the organizations. The research aimed to develop Ingleson's findings, that there were factors responsible for their unsolid and poor organizational base. The results of the study found that the unsolid organizational base was because of the government's new laws, established *Algemeene Recherche Dienst*, and the threats of *Exorbitante Rechten*. The new policies had weakened the groups, resulting in the conditions of the consequences that may befall them.

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INTRODUCTION

The state of the social economy in the decade after World War I had speeded up the movement of radicalism in Indonesia. One of the main causes is the increasing inflation and forced rent of agricultural land with cheap prices which was used for sugar cane plantations. In addition to that, there was a problem with the unbalanced wage and mounting living costs that eventually triggered the growth of labor unions in Java along with the strike actions demanding higher wages.

The prior social phenomenon also gave impacts to the community of Bumiputera (indigenous) about the idea of the spirit of freedom from Dutch colonialism. According to Alan Akbar (2013), the consciousness of nationalism feeling was always manifested in the form of organizations that strive for the welfare and the improvement of the indigenous people and for the demand to the government to be independent. Consequently, more social-cultural, religious, and political organizations of the movement grew enormously in the early 20th century in Dutch East Indies.

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Organizations in Dutch East Indies were grouped into three, the group that took the side of the government, a group that didn't take any side at all, and the ones that opposed the government. Each of the organizations had its foundations and directions. However, the research will focus on the response of colonial authorities in coping with or minimalizing the social organizational movement against the government. The strategies applied by the colonial government were essentially aimed to defend the legitimacy of its power in Dutch East Indies.

Organizations opposed to the government aimed to overthrow colonial rule in Dutch East Indies. Colonials were deemed to have caused big losses to the indigenous, not to mention the racial discrimination between the Dutch and the natives, the restriction to obtain modern education, the cheap wages for factory workers, coercive farming for export commodities, shackled political rights, and many more. *Gemeenteraad* Institutions (city council) which essentially aimed to convey people's aspirations did not function well even turned back and fully supported government policies.

These conditions made the indigenous people furious until they founded organizations of social movements, such as *Nederlandsch-Indisch Onderwijzers Genootschap* (1894), *Staatsspoor Bond* (1905), *Suikerbond* (1907), *Cultuurbond* (1907), *Vereeniging voor Spoor-en Tramweg Personeel in Ned-Indie* (1908), *Perkoempoelan Boemipoetra Pabean (Boemipoetra Custom Union)* (1911), *Perserikatan Goeroe Hindia Belanda (Teacher Alliance of The Dutch- Indies)* (1912), *Bowni* (1912), *Persatoean Goeroe Bantoe (Assistant Teacher Union)* (1912), *Pandhuisbond* (1913), *Persatoean Pegawai Pegadarian Boemipoetra (Boemipoetra Pawnshop Employee Union)* (1914), *Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereniging* (1914), *Opium Regie Bond* (1916), *Vereeniging van Inlandsch Personeel Burgerlijk Openbare Werken* (1916), *Personeel Fabriek Bond* (1917), dan *Persatoean Pergerakan Kaoem Boeroeh (Labor Movement Union)* (1919).

The study by Ingleson (1986) showed that the socio-dynamic problem In Java during colonization was the forerunner of establishment for the militant social movement organizations. The social dynamic problems were caused by economic depression and the absence of social assurance for the workers. Furthermore, it pushed the indigenous to demand unbalanced social policies. However, the laborers and the social organizations experienced failure in their missions. According to Ingleson, the failure was caused by the lack of teamwork and consolidation as well as the absence of continuity in organizational work.

Ingleson's finding was consistent, but Ingleson did not find other reasons unless for the lack of teamwork, consolidation, and cooperation between the organizations. Therefore, this study will reveal the basic problems stated by Ingleson. There are a

variety of government policies that weakened the spirit of the organizations' members which is the implementation of the new laws. The laws were guarded strictly by the intelligence agency as well as the military security system.

1. The Prohibition Laws Against The Government

In the Dutch colonial era, the regulations on the monitoring and prevention of the press which were against the government were set on The Act 1856 in *Reglement op de Drukwerken in Nederlandsch-Indie*. Erman Anom (2016) based on the published article on 8th April 1856 (ind. stb No 270) declared that the manuscript should be sent first to the local government, the justice officials. The delivery was to be done by a printing or publishing agent with the signature needed. Then based on 1906 (KB Mac 106 ind.stb No. 207) with the revised version, that the provision of legislation was to be abolished, so the manuscript submission to the officials is done within 24-hours after the publications were released.

In 1914, the government issued *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch Indie* through articles 156 and 157. The new regulations were issued due to the growing numbers of propaganda, critics, agitations degrading the Dutch government of colonial government undertaken by opposing groups (Adam, 1997). *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch Indie* was a set of information published by Ter Drukkerij van A.D. Scincel in which the regulations were prompted by *Strafwetboek* 63a and 63b dedicated for European citizens and 66a and 66b for common citizens (Bumiputra). *Strafwetboek* 66a and 66b of 1914 was the first amendment of criminal penalty No.206 and started to be applied on 15th March 1914. The text of *Strafwetboek* (article) 66a and (article) 66b[?] No. 206, mentioned:

Wijziging van het wetboek van strafrecht voor inlanders in nederlandsch-indie (stats-bland 1914, inwerking getreden op 15 maart 1914).

Artikel 66a: *Hij die door woorden of door teekens of vertooningen of op andere wijze gevoelens van vijandschap, haat of minachting tegen de regeering van Nederland of van Nederlandsch-Indie opwekt of bevordert, wordt gestraft met dwangarbeid in de ketting van vijf tot tien jaren.*

Artikel 66b: *hij die door woorden of door teekens of vertooningen of op andere wijze gevoelens van vijandschap, haat of minachting tusschen verschillende groepen van Nederlandsch onderdanen of van ingezetenen van Nederlandsch-Indie opwekt of bevordert, wordt gestraft met dwangarbeid buiten de ketting van ten hoogste vijf jaren.*

Poging tot dit misdrijf is strafbaar.

Strafwetboek (article) 66a was aimed to set the people of Indies who insulted and made propaganda towards the government using pictures and words (literature, article/publishing, speech) to be imprisoned and pushed to do forced- work over the past 5-10 years. While article 66b extended to strengthen a section of article 66a, which is to minimize or pose threats to those who delivered hate speech, made insults, agitations, propaganda, offensive actions to Dutch citizens or inhabitants of the Dutch East Indies not only using pictures or words but also by signs. Those who broke the law would be punished outside the iron bars with forced- work at least for 5 years. Dutch Government Official also made rules about people who did incitement, propaganda, or insult to the government as stated in article 63a and 63b as followed:

Wijziging van het wetboek van strafrecht vor Europeanen in nederlandsch-indie (koninklijk besluit van 7 januari 1914 No. 28 staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indie 1914 No. 205, inwerking getreden op 15 maart 1914).

Artikel 63a: Hij die door woorden of door teekens of vertooningen of op andere wijze gevoelens van vijandschap, haat of minachting tegen de reegering van Nederland of van Nederlandsch-Indie opwekt of bevordert, wordt gestraft met tuchthuisstraf van vijf tot tien jaren.

Artikel 63b: Hij die door woorden of door teekens of vertooningen of op andere wijze gevoelens van vijandschap, haat of minachting minachting tusschen verschillende groepen van Nederlansche onderdanen of van ingezetenen van Nederlandsch-Indie opwekt of bevordert, wordt gestraft met gevangenisstraf van zes dagen tot tien jaren. Poging tot dit misdrijf is strafbaar.

The article applied to citizens of the Netherlands, both located in the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies. The above decisions were based on crime amendments established on the 7th of January 1914 and it was valid from 15th March 1914. Article 63a was intended to protect the power of the Dutch East Indies government from being considered low by the people, if citizens in Netherland did it, they got sentenced to imprisonment for 5-10 years. Article 63b was only limited to strengthening article 63, which was to prevent agitations and hatred to people of the Netherlands or Dutch Indies. So, the rights of protection of the government as the regulatory system remained in the amendment, moreover, the rights as citizens the security was fulfilled.

The fear continued as strikes and protests by thousands of workers who joined in Indies Vakbond Union increased significantly. In 1921-1923, the workers simultaneously took actions to strike and there were dozens of mining workers, printing workers, around 360 laborers of a pawnshop in Jogjakarta in 1922, a thousand laborers from *Vereeniging*

voor *Spoor en Tramweg Personeel* (VSTP) in 1923, Surabaya labor union, workshop workers, and many more in some of the cities in Java.

The strikes and protests aimed to take responsibility for the economic crisis happening at that time and government policies that made people miserable, as the price of daily needs was not balanced with the wages given by the company. The strikes were responded to by General Governor Dirk Fock (24th March 1921- 6th September 1926) along with massive employee dismissal at the same time. Those who were fired then allied with Haji Misbach, some of them even actively sabotaged and terrorized the government (Bakri, 2015).

Besides taking action in groups, the groups of laborers also wrote their ideas in newspapers. In that certain situation, the government enhanced previous rubber amendments with article 161 on 10th May 1923. The article stated as follows: bis:

Butir 1: Barang siapa menyiarkan, mempertunjukkan atau menempelkan di muka umum tulisan yang menghasut supaya melakukan perbuatan pidana, menentang penguasa umum dengan kekerasan, atau menentang sesuatu hal lain seperti tersebut dalam pasal di atas, dengan maksud supaya isi yang menghasut diketahui atau lebih diketahui oleh umum, diancam dengan pidana penjara paling lama empat tahun atau pidana denda paling banyak empat ribu lima ratus rupiah.

Butir 2: Jika yang bersalah melakukan kejahatan tersebut pada waktu menjalankan pencariannya dan pada saat itu belum lewat lima tahun sejak pemedanaannya menjadi tetap karena kejahatan semacam itu juga, yang bersangkutan dapat dilarang menjalankan pencarian tersebut.

The implementation of article 161 bis served to limit and narrow the space of the movements of the groups in delivering opinions, critics, or protests to the government as it was considered as breaking laws and interfering with the stability of the colonial government.

News in newspaper Sinar- Hindia, May 31st, 1923 stated that there were prominent persons in the body of VSTP such as Semaoen, Soemantri, Soendoro, Abdoelrachman, Soedibio, H. Abdoeladjis, Wirosoetikno, and Ngadino being arrested because of their involvement in massive strikes in Semarang related to article 161 bis on 14th May 1923. It led to the arrest of important people and some of them were exiled, Semaoen as an example, in August 1923 in the Netherlands.

Article 161 bis did not make Bumiputera (indigenous people) fear the government. The impingements of leaders' arrests and dismissals drove some of the movement groups to do anarchic actions in some places. On June 20th, 1923, a bombing happened inside the train route Purwosari- Wonogiri and in the same month, another bombing happened

in Madiun dan Semarang.[?] During the celebration of Sekaten (14-23 October 1923) someone threw a bomb in the city hall behind Sunan Surakarta's car. In addition, Genung Mangkunegara was burned down by unknown people on 20th September 1923.[?]

In congress held in Kota Gede Yogyakarta on December 1924, Alimin, Darsono, and Musso warned all the audience to increase the propaganda among the workers to unite. At that time, PKI (Indonesia Communist Party) had 38 sections, 1.237 members, 45 branches of union with around 33.478 members. *Api* newspaper, one of the vocal media expressing independence, socialism- communism purposely ignited rebellions in Dutch East Indies in 1926.

The government did not stay quiet in confronting the rebellion waves of PKI 1926 along with their propaganda through militant media. In response to the rebellions, the government established policies to strengthen article 161 bus specifically article 153 bis and 153 ter. The amendment served to dampen crimes towards public safety and was valid from 1st May 1926. Article 153 bis and 153 ter stated as follow:

Aanvulling van titel V van het tweede boek van het wetboek van strafrecht voor nederlandsch-indie (koninklijk besluit van 20 maart 1926 no. 40, staatsblad van nederlandsch-indie 1926 no. 139)

Artikel 1: in titel V van het tweede boek van het wetboek van strafrecht voor nederlandsch-indie artikel 154 twee nieuwe artikelen ingevoegd, luidende:

Artikel 153 bis: hij die zich opzettelijk uit in woord, geschrift of afbeelding, waarin, zij het ook zijdelings, voorwaardelijk of in bedekte termen, verstoring der openbare orde of omverwerping dan wel aanranding van het in Nederland of in Nederlandsch-Indie gevestigd gezag wordt aangeprezen of daarvoor stamming wordt gemaakt, wordt gestraft met gevangenisstraf van ten hoogste zes jaren of geldboete van ten hoogste driehonderd gulden.

Artikel 153 ter: hij die een geschrift of afbeelding, waarin, zij het ook zijdelings, voorwaardelijk of in bedekte termen, verstoring der openbare orde of omverwerping dan wel aanranding van het in Nederland of in Nederlandsch-Indie gevestigd gezag wordt aangeprezen of daarvoor stamming wordt gemaakt, met het oogmerk om aan den inhoud ruchtbaarheid te geven of de ruchtbaarheid daarvan te vermeederen, verspreidt, openlijk ten toon stelt of aanslaat, wordt gestraft met gevangenisstraf van ten hoogste vijf jaren of geldboete van ten hoogste driehonderd gulden.

However, in its implementation, the 5 to 6-year conviction had never been applied to the people of the Dutch East Indies such an example to be taken Mas Marco, Semaoen, Darsono, Soerjaningrat, Tjipto, and many others. Most of the convicts were sentenced

to one or two years behind bars. Conclusively, injustice law enforcement had never been neutral and consistent. Even so, after Indonesia achieved independence, article 153 ter was abolished by act No. 1 1946, article 8, item 34.

The law also never mentioned explicitly the radical movements or people considered dangerous for the government to be exiled. In practice, the government provided an extreme policy for the groups considered perilous to the government to be exiled to Kupang, Bangka, Ambon, Netherland, and Boven Digoel.

2. ESTABLISHING ALGEMEENE RECHERCHE DIENST

The notion and actions of the socio-political movement of the Bumipoetra people continued to progress significantly. At the same time, the government thrived to provide domestic political security and was concerned about the threat of foreign affairs as the impacts of World War I (1914- 1918) were worrisome. One of the actions taken by the government was the establishment of *Politieke Inlichtingen Dienst* (Department of Political Intelligence) on May 6, 1916, by Governor-General Graaf J.P. van Limburg Stirum. The institution was placed under *Procureur Generaal* (attorney general) in *Hooggerechtshof* (Poeze, 1994). *Politieke Inlichtingen Dienst* held responsibility more than that of *Kantoor Inlichtingen* which was formed in 1914 under the supervision of the Army of The Dutch East Indies (KNIL).

According to Sutherland (1983), *Politieke Inlichtingen Dienst* is a security agency that was formed by the colonial government to obtain information related to the social and political situation of the Boemipoetra people because they no longer relied on sources from Pangreh Praja.

Politieke Inlichtingen Dienst was scattered in major big cities in Java and Sumatera. In making monthly and quarterly reports, *Politieke Inlichtingen Dienst* worked together with government agencies and paid some people in some regions to espionage individual activities, *vergadering*, and other community movements.. Nevertheless, during Governor-General Graaf J.P. van Limbug Stirum's leadership, it was much more loosened than that of Governor-General Idenburg leadership era. Quoting from Utomo (1995), Governor-General Graaf J.P. van Limbug Stirum was a more liberal person, who thought that society has equal rights, responsibilities, and justice. Dutch Indies people were given openness and the opportunity to manage movements. After World War I ended, *Politieke Inlichtingen Dienst* was disbanded on 2nd April 1919.

According to Shiraishi (2003), after *Politieke Inlichtingen Dienst* was disbanded, instead of giving good impacts, it resulted in bad consequences in Dutch Indies. Riots

happened in some places. Anti-Chinese riot controlled by cigarette manufacturers and Muslim traders in Kudus; strikes led by haji Misbach; strikes held by sugar factories incorporated in *Personeel Fabriek Bond* led by Soerjopranoto the leader of *Centraal Sarekat Islam* in Yogyakarta; Toli-Toli incident in Central Sulawesi were taken as examples.

The people of the Dutch Indies became increasingly radical, which made Governor-General Graaf J.P. van Limburg Stirum react at the opening of *volksraad* on 1st September 1919. Five months afterwards, *Politieke Inlichtingen Dienst* was reestablished. The name had been changed to *Algemeene Recherche Dienst* and was ratified on 24th September 1919 (Shiraishi, 2003). *Politieke Inlichtingen Dienst* oversaw the leader's movement activities individually, the group movement during meetings or associations, newspaper media, and other public facilities.

Allan Akbar (2013) understood that *Algemeene Recherche Dienst* became the most feared agency by the people because it kept an eye for whatever they did regardless of the place. Congress, meetings, or gatherings conducted by the leaders were always supervised by *Algemeene Recherche Dienst*. During supervision of the people and their movements, *Algemeene Recherche Dienst* not only used agents like wedana (sub-district head) and the assistance of the sub-district head but also employed spies who were paid if they can gather information for *Algemeene Recherche Dienst*. Spies (*spionnen*) mainly came from poor local Bumiputera people and got paid based on the importance and the amount of information given to *Algemeene Recherche Dienst*.

In terms of security, the highest rank of indigenous was given to Pangreh Praja. *Algemeene Recherche Dienst* maintained the name of the rank originated from the natives such as Wedono (sub-district head) and Assistant of Wedono (sub-district head assistant). The system of the rank remained using the civil system not the rank from the police agency. The system aimed to facilitate the supervision at the same time to conceal the member's identity. Another possibility was also used to save the budget.

Wedono (sub-district head) and Wedono Assistant (sub-district head assistant) were responsible not only for the affairs of regional administration but also for the security and order of their territories (Bloembergen, 2011; Akbar, 2013). One wedono police (sub-district head) police had at least three assistants of sub-district head police and 15 police nurses. Police nurses together with six head investigators (*hooffrechercheurs*) and 24 Bumiputera investigators were deployed in every police sector in the city (Bloembergen, 2011).

The biggest fear of the government is the news in the newspapers mainly criticized the government system, created discourse, and the texts that controlled radicalism

against the government. To do so, *Algemeene Recherche Dienst* conducted tight surveillance towards newspapers, magazines, and any publishing that was considered dangerous and triggered subversive activities. If the newspapers were considered very dangerous, they got banned or censored to issue.

Media bans were ruled in *regeeringsreglement* (government regulation) article 110,[?] as follows:

Pengumuman terhadap pers diatur oleh sebuah peraturan umum berdasarkan pengertian, bahwa pikiran dan perasaan yang diumumkan melalui pers tidak boleh mendapatkan rintangan lain terkecuali untuk menjamin ketertiban. Barang cetakan berasal dari Nederland bebas masuk dengan syarat pertanggungjawabannya diatur dalam peraturan umum.

Algemeene Recherche Dienst in the previous term explained it as an extension of the government to minimalize movements and improve security in the Dutch Indies. Allan Akbar (2013) stated that *Algemeene Recherche Dienst* had numerous strategies to knock down national movements including sternly overseeing prominent figures or leaders, seeing the infiltration of intelligent agents, controlling meetings or congress, banning media that opposed to the government, imprisoning and putting them in exile.

Making strict regulation of *vergadering* (meeting) was the obligation of *Algemeene Recherche Dienst* to resist the group of movement to unite in subversive actions and to strengthen the mission of rebellion against the colonial government. John Ingleson (2004) argued the temporary abrogation of assembly rights was applied in some regions in Java such as Semarang, Surabaya, Pekalongan, Madiun, Kediri, and Priangan. The cities were one of the epicenters of the movements and were claimed as dangerous because the leaders of the movements expanded their strongest propaganda there. Moreover, the growing numbers of radical members of a labor union were detected there.

Although the groups were granted permission of *vergadering* from *Algemeene Recherche Dienst*, they still had to follow strict supervision from a government security agent. The permit report of activities should be given a day before, security was granted by the police authority, children under 18 years old were not permitted to come, and if there were infringements during the activities, they would be fined or be jailed. (Mirjam, 2003). The rules infringements of *vergadering* had been done by Mohamad Bondan (ex-Digulis) during the general assembly conducted by the groups of movements. Bondan was still 18 years old and he wanted to join an assembly held in Mignom Theater Building and disguised himself wearing a Sundanese batik headband, black coat combined with batik cloth with folds at the front side. However, when he got

into the building, he felt nervous and afraid of getting caught. Fortunately, the police did not recognize his disguise because of the crowds, elderly and young people could enter the building unnoticed.[?]

Mohammad Bondan explained, reinforced by Haji Misbah post in *Islam Bergerak*, 10th of April 1920, showed how strict it was in applying policies to involve in organizational activities:

Politie memaksa mereka (orang-orang desa) untuk menunjukkan *bewijs* (kartu anggota) dari para anggota Sarekat Hindia dan mencatat nama-nama mereka. Jika anggota itu tidak mau, mereka ditakut-takuti dengan kata-kata kasar dan ancaman.

The police held the authority to halt the meetings, catch everyone suspicious that could trigger subversive actions, agitations, and propaganda.

3. POLICY OF EXORBITANTE RECHATEN

The banishment and exile of the leaders involved in movements of rebellion or against the government and the policies was the last way taken by the colonial government to control the movements. Magazine entitled *Indonesia Merdeka* (1931) released an article about Dutch's strategy of how to treat people considered dangerous in Dutch East Indies with implying *Exorbitante Rechaten* (exorbitant laws). The rights were considerably latitude and intended for Governor-General in making policies, like *internering*, *verbanning*, and *externering* (banishing).

Exorbitante Rechaten is an extraordinary right to capture or cope with people perilous for the government. The people engaged in political crime, such as propaganda, agitation, or hate speech to the ruler or government would be subjected to the article *de Haatzaai Artikelen* (hate speech article). If *de Haatzaai Artikelen* was insusceptible, the court held the right to give *Exorbitante Rechaten* as the ultimate way. The enforcement of *Exorbitante Rechaten* had impacts on some leaders of the movements in the Dutch Indies, one of them was Mas Marco Kartodikromo who was exiled to Boven Digoel in 1926. Furthermore, *Exorbitante Rechaten* also caught Bung Karno once during the colonial era. He was accused of violating articles 153, 161, 169, and 171 about hate speech and coup de etat.

Tan Malak (1952), once commented that *Exorbitante Rechaten* is an invisible danger for the ruler, as a hidden bomb that could blast at anytime and anywhere. The exorbitant rights held by the Governor-General of The Dutch Indies to banish and exile people were considered dangerous for public safety. As long as the Governor got hold of the exorbitant rights, anyone who was considered dangerous for the Dutch Indies if

desired could be arrested and exiled without being able to defend oneself on the justifiably open public court.

Meanwhile according to Takashi Shiraishi (1990), before the accused got banished or exiled, he had to undergo a series of strict inspections under the command of the *Procureur Generaal* (Attorney General). *Wolterbeek Muller* ordered Van der Lely in *Algemeene Recherche Dienst* to gather data and document. This data was supported by Allen's statement (2013) that if they already gathered the data, they would arrest the people based on information and data as well as evidence from the witness. After being arrested, the suspect underwent some inspection before the open court, it was where the suspect could defend himself before the court. The last part of the court was the session in court and the final sentence. It was a decision of the Governor-General whether the suspect was put behind the bars or got exiled.

Not all of the procedure policies of *Exorbitante Rechten* were applied like previously disclosed by Takashi Shirasi and Allen Akbar. Although there were many figures of the movement who got punished based on a strict system from *Procureur Generaal* for instance Haji Misbach, Tan Malaka, Semaoen, Bung Karno, Bung Hatta, and Sjahrir. In the article written by Rivai in *Bintang Timoer*, 16th May 1928 stated *besluit-besluit interneering* (banishment regulations) to Boven Digoel was not justified. He stated:

...apa betul orang-orang seperti mereka berbahaya bagi keamanan negeri. Juga *interneering* terhadap orang-orang tua yang berumur 60-75 tahun. Apakah *interneering* pada orang-orang seperti mereka itu perlu ?

Based on Rivai's observation, children, the elderly, and low-class workers like peasants were found in Boven Digoel, they were exiled from their origin hometowns. His statement was justified by Marco Kartodikromo that not all of Boven Digoel inhabitants came from educated scholars, people engaged in movements, or politically exiled. Almost 90% of them had heard about theories given by the people of movements during *vergadering*. [?] So that, those people involved in the eye of intelligence were considered dangerous and threatening the government position.

In the testimony in front of the trial, mostly those paid people imposed the accused, and the accuser would make overstated reports. This was disclosed by Tan Malaka (1952) that the actions of arresting until he was convicted were not justifiable in a democratic society. The arrest was run by officials from the Dutch East Indies government agency in the name of the official agency. The indicator used was based on information obtained by *resisir inlanders* which were partly untrue.

There were several processes before the people got exiled, the first process was *ten laste lencing*, charges based on evidence that could be proven by the sworn

witnesses in front of the suspect, the evidence indeed contained violations of the state's laws, written and authorized by the house of representatives, was not required by the administrations of The Dutch Indies. Secondly, *vooronderzoek* was a thorough inspection before the open court where the accused was allowed to bring a witness along with legal experts to assist, without exorbitant rights of Governor-General of The Dutch Indies. The rights of the accused in *vooronderzoek* which actually could be withdrawn by the prosecutor and brought to the judge in open court where the rights of the accused (witness and legal experts) and proven to be guilty of violating the articles of the law, he would get definite and fair punishment justified by the house of representatives. All of these beautiful rights were not recognized by *exorbitante rechten* held by The Governor-General of The Dutch East Indies.

It is not surprising that people who got disposed and exiled to Boven Digoel were not harmful to the colonial government. As narrated by Ali Akbar (2013), after the failed rebellion done by (Indonesian Communist Party), the government attempted to destroy PKI through a large-scale arrest, imprisonment, and banishment. On 17th November 1926, the Attorney General ordered that all people connected to PKI would be arrested, regardless of whether they were involved directly in the rebellions or not. No less than 13.000 people were captured, out of 13.000, 4.500 people were prisoned, 10 people were executed, 1.300 people were sentenced to internment according to *Exorbitante Rechten* (McVey, 2009)

4. CONCLUSION

Before the Independence of Indonesia, Dutch held the authority to rule the policies in the Dutch Indies (Indonesia) starting from the lowest sectors to the highest sector in the government. Such steps were taken to maintain the colonization and to control crops and assets in Dutch Indies. However, the applied policies made the indigenous suffer from misery and travail. The indigenous people who had grown critical consciousness formed social organizations to fight the policies of the colonized government.

The resistance actions from the indigenous were done in any form, including labor strikes, bombings, and creating media of propaganda. The government then created policies or new laws in response to those who critically opposed the government to threaten them. The establishment of *Algemeene Recherche Dienst* and the threat of *Exorbitante Rechaten* could be examples of government response. The steps taken by the government could lessen their criticism and it could be seen from many organization members who got arrested and punished without justifiable court process and were

banished or exiled. This had put other members in fear so coordination between members and organizations was ignored, consolidations weakened, and the continuity of organizations was absent.

5. AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

THIS PAPER REJECTS THE FINDINGS OF INGLESON (1986), THAT THE DESTRUCTION OF RADICALIZATION IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES WAS'T CAUSED BY A LACK OF CONSOLIDATION BUT BECAUSE OF THE STRICT POLICIES IMPLEMENTED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

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