印尼的獨立建國*

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No, Your Majesty, this is not your country. It is our country, our homeland. One day it will be free, free forever- we have sworn it!

Ernest Douwes Dekker (McMahon, 1981: 30)

Though life in Indonesia was filled with hardship during Japanese military rule, Japan was a model for us in one way, which was that Asia too could defeat Western colonialism. This was an important thing we learned from Japan. Before then, it had never entered our minds.

Pramoedya Ananta Toer (ISHP, n.d.)

With the arrival of the Japanese just about everyone was full of hope, except for those who had worked in the service of the Dutch.

Pramoedya Ananta Toer (Wikipedia, 2019a)

Is Liberty and freedom only for certain favored peoples of this world? Indonesians will never understand why it is, for instance, wrong for the Germans to rule the Holland if it is right for the Dutch to rule Indonesia. In either case the right to rule rests on pure force and not on the sanction of the population.

Sukarno (McMahon, 1981: 95)

On examination we find that the autonomy offered us by Dr. van Mook is as different from true autonomy as chalk is from cheese. Under fancy titles and a gilded facade Dr. van Mook is out to impose on us a streamlined version of the old Dutch colonial policy—something far, far less than what we already hold. The Dutch are graciously permitting us entry into the basement while we have climbed all the way to the top floor and up to the attic.

Mohammad Hatta (McMahon, 1981: 96)

前言

印尼(印度尼西亞, Indonesia¹)原本是荷蘭²所屬的東印度群島(Netherlands Indies)殖民地,荷蘭在 1602 年成立特許壟斷的東印度公司(Dutch United East India Company, VOC)來經營,公司因為貪腐無能而在 1799 年破產,終究由政府在 1816 年接管。在二次世界大戰期間,荷蘭在 1940 年 5 月被德國佔領,無力顧及海外屬地,日本在 1942 年進攻東印度,流亡的殖民政府依然不願意放棄群

^{&#}x27;發表於台灣國際研究學會主辦「蓬勃發展的印尼學術研討會」,台北,2019年9月28日。

¹ 「印度尼西亞」(Indonesia) 這個名詞,是自然科學家在 1920 年左右所創,原本是用在東印度群島的族群、及地理分類,旋被學生組織 Indonesian Alliance of Students 青睞,民族運動者用來想像人民的同心(unity of peoples)(Seekins, 1993: 35; Wikipedia, 2019: Indonesian National Awakening)。

² 荷蘭(Dutch Republic, United Provinces of the Netherlands, United Provinces, Republic of the Seven United Netherlands) 是在 1581 年脫離西班牙獨立 (Wikipedia, 2019: Dutch Republic)。

島的領土。日本在 1945 年 8 月 15 日投降,獨立運動領導者蘇卡諾 (Sukarno)、以及哈達 (Mohammad Hatta) 在日本的默許下³,8 月 17 日於前者在雅加達居所外發表簡短的獨立宣言、宣布成立印尼共和國 (Republic of Indonesia) (附錄 1)。在荷蘭的眼中,共和國的主事者多半跟日本軍合作、缺乏正當性,因此沒有把他們看在眼裡;只不過,由於荷蘭殖民政府面對日軍不堪一擊,白人比較優越的假象一夜破功。既然荷蘭拒絕放棄印尼的主權,荷軍在英國軍隊卵翼下漸次返回,試圖重新取回領土的控制,卻無力擊潰共和政府。經過四年多的獨立戰爭,荷蘭終於在 1949 年 12 月 27 日被迫承認印尼的主權。

印尼是荷蘭帝國主義的產物,也就是說,在殖民統治的壓榨下,印尼人不斷面臨人口過多、及貧窮的惡性循環,進入二十世紀,儘管外來政權嘗試透過恩寵般的生活改善來拉攏當地人,或許可以在衛生、及教育層面略施小惠,卻不願意積極推動自治、更無視他們獨立的渴望,而官僚化的分配方式更是讓仕紳(priyayi)倍感疏離,印尼人的政治自主呼聲日益增強;在這時候,經過西方現代教育的「印尼青年」(Young Indonesians)已經蹶然而起⁴,他們依據彼此被殖民的經驗,試圖超越文化、語言、及社會層面的分歧⁵,嘗試建構一個想像的共同體(imagined community),也就是想要有一個屬於自己的現代國家的印尼民族(Indonesian Nation)(Seekins, 1993: 3, 31-33; Anderson, 1991; Cribb & Brown, 1995)。

接下來,我們先將介紹印尼民族主義的發展,接著回顧荷蘭的殖民統治,再來考察日本的軍事佔領,然後檢視宣布獨立後所展開的革命,最後以外交途徑vs.武裝奮鬥來做結尾。

³ 個別日本軍官表示支持,其他人則擔心盟軍的報復而不敢表態(Hays, 2008: 2)。

⁴ Raden Satiman Wirjosandjojo 在 1918 年創立爪哇青年(Jong Java),討論土地、及人民的未來,接著,哈達、及 Mohammed Yamin 組青年蘇門答臘青年協會(Jong Sumatren Bond),陸續又有米納哈薩青年(Jong Minahasa)、安汶青年(Jong Ambon)、及蘇拉威西青年(Yong Celebes)(Huis, 2018: 5)。

⁵ 根據 Tagliacozzo (2013: 1-2),印尼在獨立建國的前夕,社會上有四種嚴重的分歧,這些社會力量交織:(一)主張與日本合作對抗荷蘭、伺機爭取獨立者,譬如蘇卡諾、以及哈達,之於潛入地下抗日者,譬如夏赫里爾(Sutan Syahrir)、及陳馬六甲(Tan Malaka):(二)尋求獨立者,之於獨立必須伴隨社會革命者;(三)希冀現代化,之於支持封建制度者,後者譬如亞齊(Aceh)的蘇丹;以及(四)民族主義之於國際主義者。

印尼民族主義的發展

印尼的民族主義孕育於十九世紀的傳統抗爭⁶、發軔於二十世紀初,強烈受到印度、菲律賓、日本、中國、土耳其、及俄羅斯的民族運動影響,在動亂的1930年代快速發展,在日本佔領的1940年代初期茁壯成長、多元社會終於凝聚為渾然一體,也因此,二十世紀的前半部因此被稱為「印尼民族覺醒」的時代(Seekins, 1993:31; Wikipedia, 2019: Indonesian National Awakening; McMahon, 1981:29)。促成印尼民族意識發展的因素很多,包括本土印刷媒體、都市化、共產主義、回教、教育、大眾娛樂、以及荷蘭的種族隔離,再加上民族主義者的孵育,其中,最重要的還是荷蘭殖民政府的政治壓迫;由於統治者打著「教化」、及「現代化」的巨擘,必須容忍象徵性的政治結社自由,對於當地人的聲音橫加打壓,異議團體飽受抓耙子監控,一般人刻意規避殖民者,仕紳則自足於順從合作,只有少數的菁英膽敢高聲疾呼抗拒殖民主義,憑藉的就是這些人的熱情、以及奉獻(Wikipedia, 2019: Indonesian National Awakening)。

在1901年,荷蘭女王威廉明娜(Wilhelmina of the Netherlands)宣布所謂的「倫理政策」(Ethical Policy),表示荷蘭對於殖民地臣民有照顧其福祉的倫理責任,也就是物質生活的改善,具體的作為包括灌溉設施、內部移民、以及西方教育,而教育的目的是培養殖民統治所需要的技術,說穿了就是遂行間接統治的人力;在1900年,只有1,500名印尼小孩念歐洲學校,相較之下,歐洲人的小孩高達13,000,不成比例,但是到了1928年,就有75,000印尼人完成西方小學教育、6,500念到中學(Wikipedia, 2019: Dutch Ethical Policy; Kahin, 1952: 30-31)。此後,印尼菁英的小孩才開始有機會唸荷語小學、及中學,表現優異的畢業生可以進一步跨海到荷蘭念大專(Huis, 2018: 1)。只是沒有想到,絕大多數菁英回到故鄉找不到跟自己受訓相關的工作,也就是說,東印度的高級文官排除非歐洲人,因為個人出人頭地的管道受阻,提供民族主義領導者的溫床(McMahon, 1981: 27;

⁶ 譬如在 1890 年出現的 Saminism Movement,最後在 1917 年被殖民政府武力剷除 (Wikipedia, 2019: Saminism Movement; Kahin, 1952: 43-44)。

Kahin, 1952: 33) •

經過 300 年的殖民籠絡,任紳在政治上傾向於保守,然而,低階菁英並不滿於現狀,尤其是小公務員、落魄貴族、教員、及醫生;在這樣的背景下,雅加達本土醫生訓練學校 Doctor Djawa School 的學生,在 1908 年組織第一個現代的政治組織 Noble Endeavor⁷(Budi Utomo),領導這是 Wahidin Sudirhusodo、及,Raden Soetomo,目標是改善印尼老百姓的社會、經濟、及文化福祉;這是印尼民族運動的搖籃,他們刻意降低爪哇語的支配性、採用東印度群島的通用(lingua franca) 馬來語(bazaar Malay)作為官方語言,宣示獨立的印尼會拿來當作國家語言,象徵著國家的團結⁸(Huis, 2018: 2; Seekins, 1993: 34; McMahon, 1981: 29-3; Kahin, 1952: 390)。在同年,留學荷蘭的印尼學生成立了首度使用印尼為名的社團 Indonesian Association (Perhimpoenan Indonesia),推動印尼通盤由荷蘭獨立;這個團體的成員日後在印尼政治場域佔有一席之地,譬如哈達 (Huis, 2018: 1)。

在 1910 年,一個比 Noble Endeavor 更果敢的政治團體 National Indies Party (Nationale Indische Partij)出現,領導者是歐亞混血(Indo-Europeaans, Eurasians)的報社主編 Ernest Douwes Dekker 與兩名醫生 Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo、及 Soewardi Soerjaningrat,他們訴求結合東印度所有人追求獨立、高喊「東印度屬於以這裡為家的人」(The Indies for those who make their home here); Dekker 跟總督 Alexander Willem Frederik Idenburg 嗆聲,倫理政策應該包含為殖民地準備自治、而且終極目標是獨立,總督則反唇相譏,印尼永遠不可能獨立,然後在1913 年查禁該黨;同年,Dekker 與兩位醫生友人 Tjipto Mangunkusumo、及 R. M. Suwardi Surjaningrat 在萬隆 (Bandung)組成 Native Committee,打算向荷蘭王室情願、要求設立東印度議會,終究,後者因為在1913 年7月3日撰寫小冊子〈假如我是荷蘭人〉(If I Were for Once to Be a Dutchman)、諷刺荷蘭慶祝獨立百年賈禍,政黨以顛覆罪被禁、領導者被放逐荷蘭(Seekins, 1993: 34-35; Wikipedia, 2019:

⁷ 又譯為 High Endeavor、或是 Prime Philosophy。

⁸ 事實上,荷蘭人在日常行政刻意使用馬來語、不讓當地人使用荷語跟自己交談,認為如此一來 才可以維持荷蘭人的威信、以及印尼人的自卑感(Kahin, 1952: 39)。

Indonesian National Awakening; Ernest Douwes Dekker; Huis, 2018: 5; McMahon, 1981: 30; Kahin, 1952: 70-71)。Surjaningrat 這樣寫著:

In my opinion, there is something out of place - something indecent — if we (I still being a Dutchman in my imagination) ask the natives to join the festivities which celebrate our independence. Firstly, we will hurt their sensitive feelings because we are here celebrating our own independence in their native country which we colonize. At the moment we are very happy because a hundred years ago we liberated ourselves from foreign domination; and all of this is occurring in front of the eyes of those who are still under our domination. Does it not occur to us that these poor slaves are also longing for such a moment as this, when they like us will be able to celebrate their independence? Or do we perhaps feel that because of our soul-destroying policy we regard all human souls as dead? If that is so, then we are deluding ourselves, because no matter how primitive a community is, it is against any type of oppression. If I were a Dutchman, I would not organize an independence celebration in a country where the independence of the people has been stolen.

面對爪哇華商的惡性競爭,回教徒商人(尤其是蠟染業)在 Haji Umar Said Cokroaminoto 的領導下於 1909 年成立 Islamic Trading Association (*Sarekat Dagang Islam*),該組織進而在 R. Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto 於 1912 年轉為政治味道較強的 Islamic Union (*Sarekat Islam*),推動東印度的自治,這是第一個廣招老百姓加入的組織,在 1914 年號稱成員有 36 萬人;溫和派回教徒於 1912 年在日惹成立 Followers of Muhammad (*Muhammadiyah*),特別是蘇門答臘省高地的原住民米南佳保人(Minangkabau)踴躍參加,很多人投入獨立運動,譬如哈達;在 1926 年,保守的 Revival of the Religious Scholars (*Nahdlatul Ulama*) 出現,制衡溫和派⁹ (Seekins, 1993: 35-36; Huis, 2018: 3; Kahin, 1952: 65)。

在 1914 年,荷蘭共產主義者 Hendricus Sneevliet(化名 alias Maring 馬林¹⁰)組成的 Indies Social-Democratic Association(ISDV),先在 1920 年轉為 Communist Association of the Indies (*Perserikatan Komunisi di Hindia*)、繼而在 1924 年正式 改名 Indonesian Communist Party (PKI),在共產國際的撐腰下採取滲透手段,印 共活躍於工會、及鄉下;印共在 1926、1927 年錯估人民的支持,不顧共產國際

⁹ 荷蘭殖民政府忽視回教徒,日軍在 1943 年成立 Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims (*Masyumi*),納入溫和派的 *Muhammadiyah*、及保守派的 *Nahdlatul Ulama*,這是馬斯友美黨 (Council of Indonesian Muslim Associations, Masyumi Party)的前身(Seekins, 1993: 41)。

¹⁰ 馬林在 1918 年被驅逐出境,是共產國際派到中國的第一位代表,他根據在印尼的經驗,建議中國共產黨加入中國國民黨,利用其鬆散的組織進行宣傳、發展群眾基礎(Kahin, 1952: 72, 74)。

特務(托派)陳馬六甲的勸阻,在爪哇、以及蘇門答臘躁進起義,殖民政府總共逮捕了 13,000 共黨份子,其中 4,500 判刑入獄、1,308 人拘留、823 人流放到放逐到西紐幾內亞¹¹(Western New Guinea)的丹那美拉(Tanah Merah)(Seekins, 1993: 36; McMahon, 1981: 31; Kahin, 1952: 71, 74-89)。此後,荷蘭的統治益加嚴峻。

第一個全國性的政治人物是蘇卡諾,他是在 1920 年代嶄露頭角,學生時代就與 Indies Party、及 Islamic Union 的領導者交往,在萬隆技術學院(Technische Hoogeschool te Bandoeng)畢業後,於 1925 年成立 Perhimpoenan Pelajar-Pelajar Indonesia(PPII)整合所有學生組織,又於 1928 年成立 Indonesian Nationalist Union¹²(PNI),強調群眾組織、不合作主義,終極目標是獨立;他的勁敵是米南佳保人夏赫里爾、及拉達,兩人的學位是荷蘭的大學、政治傾向是社會民主,行事理性、偏好漸進模式,不喜歡蘇卡諾浪漫的政治風格,他們在 1931 年創立 Indonesian National Education(PNI-Baru,又稱 New PNI),目標是培養政治人才、而非政治行動,終究兩人被捕,先後放逐巴布亞的波文迪哥爾(Boven Digoel)、及摩鹿加群島的班達島(Banda)(Seekins,1993: 37; Wikipedia, 2019: Indonesian National Party; Huis, 2018: 11; McMahon, 1981: 32-33)。

到了 1920 年代末期,面對印尼人逐漸高漲的獨立呼聲,殖民政府漸次捨棄「倫理政策」,蘇卡諾等領袖因為組織被秘密警察滲透在 1929 年被捕,以顛覆罪放逐小巽他群岛中的弗洛勒斯島(Flores)、再轉押蘇門答臘的明古魯(Bengkulu),PNI 因此解體,取而代之的是 Indonesian Party (*Partindo*),也因為要求獨立而被打壓,在 1934 年自行解散;日軍在 1942 年進佔荷屬東印度,蘇卡諾重返政壇,他跟哈達認為這是印尼獲得獨立的大好機會,兩人同意跟日軍合作,而日方也對於蘇卡諾號召群眾的能力刮目相看,認為可以借重進行戰爭動員,特別是被稱為「勞務者」(*rōmusha*)的強迫勞動者¹³ (Seekins, 1993: 37-38, 41)。

¹¹ 後改名為西巴布亞(West Papua)、西伊里安(West Irian Jaya)。

¹² 又稱為 Indonesian Nationalist Party。

¹³ 在戰爭期間,據估光在爪哇就有 400-1,000 萬勞務者,另有 27 萬被派到外島、或是日本在東南亞佔領的地方,終究只有 5 萬 2 生還回到爪哇 (Seekins, 1993: 39-40)。

荷蘭殖民統治

東印度公司在 1610 年設置總督,第四任總督科恩(Jan Pieterszoon Coen) 在 1619 年征服雅加達,將總部設在這裡,日後接管公司的荷屬東印度也沿用為首府。稱皇的拿破崙戰敗後,荷蘭重新獲得獨立、復國建立荷蘭王國(Kingdom of the Netherlands),開始積極展開在東印度的擴張,經濟考量至上,特別是在 1830 年推動「耕種制度」(Cultivation System),強制農民將原本種植稻米的田地改種外銷經濟作物,所抵的土地稅則用來補貼荷蘭的經濟,老百姓只要不餓死就好;儘管當地菁英、殖民官員、以及華人中介因此獲利,農民的負擔加重,直到自由派政府上台,才在 1860 年代開始鬆綁專賣制度;在 1870-1940 年期間,由於工業自動化興起,在歐洲及北美的市場擴張,經濟作物的發展更是快速,殖民經濟看來已經難以揻動(Seekins, 1993: 21-30; McMahon, 1981: 23)。根據McMahon(1981: 25-26)的說法,在間接統治下,東印度公司一方面壓榨農民,一方面討好菁英、讓他們無法國同身受,無形中掠奪老百姓的天然領導者。

相較於其他帝國主義的作法,荷蘭大眾及政治人物對於東印度群島的屬地有較高的關注,主要是因為本身只是一個中型的國家(middle power),要統治幅員大、人口多、資源豐富的殖民地,並不是簡單的挑戰¹⁴;再來,由東印度搜刮而來的營收對荷蘭的經濟相當重要,另外,海外的工作可以安排國內的大學畢業生(Steinberg, 2011: 7-8)。一般而言,歐洲國家並不樂於見到當地人的能力發展、也不太願意賦予權利,其中以法國的海外殖民者最為惡名昭彰,而荷蘭的態度也是相當負面,尤其是在1926年共黨騷動後(Steinberg, 2011: 17)。有時候,荷蘭會言不由衷表示想要培養一種東印度的民族意識(sense of Indies Nationality),然而,有時候又會改口,由於當地的社會、及族群相當多元,有效的政治制度必須因地制宜;因為如此,難免讓人家質疑,荷蘭認為當地人永遠不可能凝聚出印尼民族,言下之意,即使可以獲得地方型的自治,還是需要荷蘭的統治、及協調

 $^{^{14}}$ 在二次大戰之際,印尼人口 7,200 萬,荷蘭人口不過 900 萬(Steinberg, 2011: 11)。

(Steinberg, 2011: 11) •

對於荷蘭政府來說,殖民地的民族主義是警視課題、而非政治問題,因此不准官員跟民族運動者有所接觸,在他們的心目中:當地人對於政治沒有興趣,而民族主義者畢竟是那些接受西方教育、自私自利的一小撮人;即使荷蘭想要跟當地人合作,那些激進的民族主義者毫無準備;至於溫和的民族主義者,雖然他們很想跟荷蘭合作,這些人卻是無足輕重(Steinberg, 2011: 17)。就統治的手段來說,如果必須進行殖民戰爭,荷蘭人的殘暴不下於法國在中南半島、英國在印度、或是美國在菲律賓;一旦完成綏靖行動,荷蘭會採取高度組織、嚴格管理的方式,大體人性化,畢竟目標是如何汲取最多的乳汁(Steinberg, 2011: 19)。

荷蘭在 1916 年設置所謂的人民議會(Volksraad, People's Council)應急,既沒有代表性、也沒有立法的實權,頂多算是一個議會的原型(proto-parliament),用來應付那些俯首稱臣的傳統盟友;直到一次大戰末期,倉皇失措的總督 Johan Paul van Limburg Stirum 擔心共黨取得荷蘭政權,未經訓令應允賦予實權、以及自治;一旦右翼政府上台,總督組成憲政改造委員會(Commission for Constitutional Reform)進行調查、建議政府賦予東印度自治,被殖民大臣消遣為「學術習作」,自治之議無疾而終:儘管如此,後來經過修憲,東印度群島跟庫拉索(Curaçao)、及蘇利南的地位提升為荷蘭王國的一部分、不再是殖民地,此後,倡議獨立將被視為叛亂(Seekins, 1993: 33-34; Steinberg, 2011: 20, 51-52; Wikipedia, 2019; Indonesian National Awakening; McMahon, 1981: 30-31)。

在 1930 年代,人民議會向荷蘭情願(Soetardjo Petition),希望依據荷蘭憲法第一條獲得自治,被嗤之以鼻,官方的理由是政治自治必須伴隨社會及經濟發展自然成熟而來;總督 Bonifacius Cornelis de Jonge 躊躇滿志地表示,荷蘭至少還會統治印尼 300 年;在 1941 年,總督宣布光復後會考慮修憲,接者,荷蘭女王威廉明娜在 1942 年 12 月 7 日廣播宣布(Radio address by Queen Wilhelmina on 7 December 1942),將會召開圓桌會議討論帝國的改造、應允印尼自治(Steinberg, 2011: 20, 53; McMahon, 1981: 34; Kahin, 1952: 95-99)。

日本的軍事佔領

日軍在1942年1月10日進軍荷屬東印度群島、摧枯拉朽無心抵抗的荷軍,取代搖搖欲墜的荷蘭殖民統治¹⁵,印尼人刮目相看。日本覬覦的是豐富的自然資源(圖1),特別是在1937年7月入侵華北,必須仰賴進口原料,譬如55%原油靠美國供給、25%來自東印度;東印度政府在1941年隨美國對日本實施禁運,東京政府同意軍方的「南進政策」,在中南半島勢如破竹,接著又在爪哇海戰役(1942/2/27)痛宰英國、荷蘭、澳洲、及美國的聯合艦隊,東印度政府未經磋商盟軍¹⁶就在1942年3月9日投降;對於印尼人來說,荷軍人數較多、武器精良,竟然不戰而降,徹底改變印尼人對於荷蘭人的看法、認為荷軍無膽¹⁷,這是印尼歷史的分水嶺(Seekins, 1993: 38-40: Kahin, 1952: 101-102)。



來源:WowShack Team(2019)。 說明:金剛石=鑽石、石炭=煤。

圖 1:日本戰前對印尼的想像(1932)

¹⁵ 有關於日本在印尼的殖民統治,見 Aziz(1955)。第二任總理謝里夫丁(Amir Sjarifuddin)曾經描述,日本人根本是拿著刺刀在統治印尼(Aziz, 1955: 197)。

¹⁶ 當時,尚有 8,000 名英軍、及美軍駐紮爪哇(Kahin, 1952: 101)。

 $^{^{17}}$ 有一種說法是荷蘭打算跟日本商量暗盤,希望能仿效法國維琪政府的作法,繼續統治在中南半島的屬地(Kahin, 1952L 102)。

日本人將 17 萬荷蘭人、及歐洲人囚禁在集中營,提拔數以千計印尼人下屬接手填補中高階職位、開放了殖民地的社會流動,另外,新的統治者又禁止荷蘭語的使用,將標準化的印尼語¹⁸(Indonesian Language, *Bahasa Indonesia*)當作小學三年級以上教學、日常行政、生意、及文化活動的公共語言,儘管長期目標是以日語取而代之,並未強迫推銷日本文化、只認為注入日本精神或可對抗西方殖民主義¹⁹;一開頭,日本敵視印尼獨立的主張,後來發現,獨立的印尼或許可以結盟而有利軍事,因此在戰爭末期開始訓練當地人²⁰,到了 1944 年,這些義勇軍在意識上是反日、反荷的民族主義者,軍官日後成為獨立運動的骨幹,在印尼宣布獨立後立即轉換為共和軍(Seekins, 1993: 40; Steinberg, 2011: 24; McMahon, 1981: 35; Aziz, 1955: 209; Kahin, 1952: 109, 131-32)。

一開頭,印尼人視日軍為解放者、興高采烈歡迎;由於日本軍事政府沒有足夠的行政人手,加上盤據中高階位置的荷蘭人、及歐亞混血收押集中營,低階印尼人頓時升了 1-3 級,對日本即使沒有好感、至少也沒有反感;然而,不到幾個月,由於日軍的無禮、甚至於殘暴,印尼學生漸漸顯露敵意、甚至於出現反抗,終究,高壓統治激發出印尼人的民族意識,連鄉下農民的政治意識都因為徭役過重而大為高漲(Kahin, 1952: 102-104, 128-29)。日軍先後成立 Poetera (*Poesat Tenaga Rakjat*, Center of People's Power)、及奉公會(*Djawa Hokokai*)收編菁英,主事者蘇卡諾則利用官方組織傳播民族主義(Kahin, 1952: 106-10)。

相較於緬甸、及菲律賓,日本在 1943 年並未許諾印尼戰後獨立;事實上, 日本在 1943 年 11 月 5-6 日於東京召開大東亞會議(Greater East Asia Conference), 揭櫫大東亞共榮圈(Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere),號召亞洲民族對抗

 $^{^{18}}$ 這是一種經過標準化的馬來語(Malay language),與馬來西亞官方語言馬來西亞語(Bahasa Malaysia)相近。

¹⁹ 日軍在 1942 年 3 月 7 日發佈『第一號敕令』,還說日本人跟印尼人屬於同一個種族(race)。 20 稱為郷土防衛義勇軍(Tentara Sukarela Pembela Tanah Air/Volunteer Army of Defenders of the Fatherland,簡稱 *Peta*),總共有 57,000 人受訓;戰後,這些人接收日軍的武器,得以成功對抗 嘗試班師回朝的荷蘭軍隊(Tagliacozzo, 2013: 2; Kahin, 1952: 109; Aziz, 1955: 226-30)。

西方殖民主義,印尼並未參加正式會議²¹;然而,隨著太平洋戰爭吃緊,日本首相小磯國昭(Kuniaki Koiso)終於在 1944 年 9 月 7 日宣布,在「不久的將來」(in the near future)讓荷屬東印度群島獨立,儘管範圍並不明確,讓一向主張跟日軍合作的蘇卡諾、及哈達鬆一口氣;為了平息印尼人的騷動,同時也是要維護兩人在支持者心目中的地位,佔領當局²²受命鼓勵當地的民族主義,只不過,可能因為主事者回應太慢,民眾反日的情緒依然不斷高漲、勢不可當(Hays, 2008: 2; Seekins, 1993: 42; Aziz, 1955: 217: Kahin, 1952: 106)。

終究,日軍在 1945 年 3 月 1 日宣布即將成立獨立準備調查會²³(Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence, BPUPKI),為爪哇島的獨立做準備;會議決定未來的印尼不僅包含荷屬東印度群島的範圍,還擴及英屬馬來亞及北婆羅乃、葡屬帝汶、及荷屬西巴布亞,也就是「大印尼」(Indonesia Raya) (Wikipedia, 2019: Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Independence; Seekins, 1993: 42)。在獨立準備調查會第一次全體會議結束時(1945/6/1),蘇卡諾宣讀有名的『建國五項原則』(Pancasila),包括信仰、人道主義、民族主義、民主、及社會正義;在第二次全體會議上,有人主張成立類似美國的世俗自由式民主,也有人力推回教國家,同樣地,在憲政體制方面,蘇卡諾推動單一體制,哈達則偏好聯邦制;最後,眾人以獨立優先捐棄歧見,同意採取單一體制,簽下『雅加達憲章』(Jakarta Charter)作為日後憲法的前言,同時推舉蘇卡諾為總統、哈達為副總統(Wikipedia, 2019: Jakarta Charter; Hays, 2008: 2; Seekins, 1993: 42-43: Kahin, 1952: 122-27)。

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²¹ 與會的代表包括日本首相東條英機(Hideki Tojo)、滿州國的張景惠、中國的汪精衞、緬甸元首巴莫(Ba Maw)、自由印度臨時政府元首(鮑斯 Subhas Chandra Bose)、菲律賓第二共和國總統勞雷爾(Jose P. Laurel)、及泰國特使威泰耶康親王(Wan Waithayakon),蘇卡諾、及哈達是在會議結束後才抵達東京參加非正式會議:由於日本不願意得罪納粹扶植的法國維琪政府,並未邀請越南、及高棉代表與會(Wikipedia, 2019: Greater East Asia Conference; Aziz, 1955: 217-18)。因為哈達跟地下組織有所聯繫,駐爪哇日軍原本打算一下飛機就叫憲兵拘留在日本,東京誤以為他們屬於前來感謝將獲得自治的團體(Commission of Thanks),逃過一劫(Kahin, 1952: 106-107)。
²² 日本將駐軍分為戍守爪哇及馬都拉島的陸軍 16 軍團、蘇門答臘歸 25 軍團、以及群島東部歸海軍,後兩者的主要任務是治安、及資源開採,16 軍團對於民族主義、及回教徒的政治活動採取包容態度,也因此,爪哇日後在印尼的政治場域扮演主導的角色(Seekins, 1993: 39-40)。

²³ 漢字翻譯採取日本用字,羅馬字簡寫來自印尼文原文、而非英文。

由於美國在 1945 年 8 月 6、8 日分別在廣島、及長崎丟下原子彈,日本被迫加速荷屬東印度群島獨立的準備工作,在 7 日,南方軍總司令寺內壽一(Hisaichi Terauchi)應允設置一個 21 人的獨立準備委員會(Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence, PPKI),蘇卡諾、及哈達分別擔任正副主席;到了 9 日,日方將蘇卡諾、哈達、及 BPUPKI 主席 Radjiman Wediodiningra 載到法屬越南大叻市商議,寺內壽一指派蘇卡諾為 PPKI 主席,同意在 19 日召開制憲會議、在 24 日讓印尼獨立,並明確表示領土包含所有荷屬東印度群島;PPKI 在 12 日正式成立,三人則是在 14 日才飛回,沒想到,日本在 15 日後就宣布投降了,會議來不及召開;由於情勢不明,蘇卡諾、及哈達小心翼翼,青年軍(pemudas)擔心新政府會淪為日軍的附庸,在 15-16 日將兩人擴走、軟禁在位於雅加達東邊卡拉旺(Karawang)的軍營,脅迫兩人不要經過日軍許可就宣佈獨立,希望能激勵首府的百姓自發起義(Hays, 2008: 2; Wikipedia, 2019: Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence; Gale, 2007b: 2; McMahon, 1981: 38; Kahin, 1952: 127)。

蘇卡諾在 1945 年 8 月 17 日宣佈獨立²⁴、倉促成軍的 PPKI 在次日召開會議,推選蘇卡諾及哈達為正副總統²⁵,成立七人小組,在首度會議核可 BPUPKI 在 7 月已經草擬的臨時憲法(State Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, 1945);在 19 日的第二次小組會議, 將印尼分為西爪哇、中爪哇、東爪哇、蘇門答臘、加里曼丹(Kalimantan,即婆羅洲 Borneo)、蘇拉威西(Sulawesi)、摩鹿加(Maluku)、及小巽他群島²⁶(Lesser Sunda Islands);在 22 日的第三次會議,小組設置決策機制 Central Indonesian National Committee(KNIP)、國家政黨 Indonesian National Party (PNI)、及武裝部隊的前身(People's Security Agency),然後在 29 日功成身退、被擴充成員的 KNIP 吸納而取代(Wikipedia, 2019: Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence; Central Indonesian National Committee)。

²⁴ 宣言是在日本海軍少將前田精(Tadashi Maeda)家中草擬的(Wikipedia, 2018: Tadashi Maeda (admiral))。前田精跟蘇卡諾、以及哈達保證不會干預,輕舟已過萬重山(Gale, 2007b: 3)。

²⁵ 在夏赫里爾主導下,憲政體制在 1945 年 11 月改弦更張為內閣制,他出任首位總理;他在 1947 年 6 月被副手謝里夫丁取代。

²⁶ 相對於爪哇島、蘇門答臘島、及加里曼丹島等所組成的大巽他群島(Greater Sunda Islands)。

民族革命

印尼民族革命(Indonesian National Revolution)往往又稱為印尼獨立戰爭(Indonesian War of Independence),是指由印尼宣布獨立(1945/8/17)、到獲得荷蘭正式承認(1949/12/27)之間所從事的武裝革命,前後整整四年(Wikipedia, 2019: Indonesian National Revolution)。戰後,負責接收的是盟軍東南亞戰區(South East Asia Command, SEAC)最高司令蒙巴頓(Louis Mountbatten),由於印尼並非主戰場,以大英國協為主的英軍在1945年9月才姗姗來遲登陸爪哇²⁷;已經投降的日軍被賦予維持治安的工作,角色相當尷尬,一方面必須配合盟軍壓制共和軍,另一方面則私下提供武器給他們(Hays, 2008: 3; Drooglever, 1998)。

事實上,盟國對於印尼的未來沒有想太多、也沒有一致的政策,只是含混地希望雙方好好坐下來談:只不過,大多數的印尼老百姓則認為盟國的胳膊向內彎,當然是要幫荷蘭恢復殖民地,因此,在1945年8月17日宣佈獨立、及9月29日盟軍登陸短短六個禮拜之間,共和國領導很快就解除日軍武裝、鞏固政治權力;由於來不及舉辦全國性選舉,新政府將 PPKI 轉換為諮詢機制 KNIP(日後轉為立法機構),行政上則接收沿用日本佔領期間設置的奉公會組織、及人員,政權轉移大致順利,尤其是在爪哇(Hays, 2008: 3-4: Wikipedia, 2019: Jawa Hokokai; Seekins, 1993: 43-44)。

在地方上,儘管在並在區域、及地方設置諸如 KNIP 的小組委員會,情勢稍微比較紛亂,一般老百姓大致上認為這是一場革命,因此,對於過去跟荷蘭、日本合作的菁英不假辭色,特別是激進的青年軍;兵荒馬亂,很難判斷究竟是革命份子、還是不法之徒的行為,原有的社會分歧被撩撥惡化,包括宗教、族群、以及城鄉之間,共和國在地方上的領導者同時面對荷蘭軍、分離主義、及左派的夾擊(Hays, 2008: 3-4)。澳洲軍隊在 1945 年 9 月展開登陸,進佔群島的東半部²⁸,荷屬東印度群島代理總督 Hubertus van Mook 在 10 月 2 日抵達雅加達,荷蘭得以

²⁷ 主力是印度軍。

²⁸ 澳軍負責接收外島 (Outer Islands), 英軍負責爪哇、及蘇門答臘。

移入設在澳洲布里斯班(Bisbane)的荷屬東印度文人政府,發現情勢比先前預期的更顯險惡(Netherlands Indies Civil Administration, NICA)(Hays, 2008: 4; Wikipedia, 2019: Hubertus van Mook; Gale, 2007b: 3-4)。

蒙巴頓將軍原本的任務是一邊維持治安、一邊解救被日軍囚禁在集中營的歐洲人,他知道不可不可小覷亞洲的民族主義,因此,他將兵力部署在沿海的城市、把鄉下交給共和政府,沒有想到,青年軍把矛頭指向所有可能反對獨立者,包括華人、及通敵的印尼人²⁹都被暴力相向,連地方仕紳都不免遭殃,蘇卡諾政府束手無策(Hays, 2008: 4)。從1945年8月到1946年12月的動亂,被稱為Bersiap時期,總共有3,600名歐亞混血證實罹難、20,000失蹤,據估有20,000印尼人喪命、大多數是參加革命的年輕人,而是日軍也損失士兵1,000左右,英軍則有660人,主要是印度軍(Wikipedia, 2019: Bersiap)。

英軍上岸馬上遭遇共和國正規軍(Indonesian National Army, TNI)、以及民兵(*Iaskar*)的武裝抵抗,特別是在1945年10月底登陸東爪哇的泗水(Surabaya),沒有想到受阻於青年軍所號召的百姓頑抗,印度步兵第49旅指揮官 A. W. S. Mallaby 陣亡,英軍在11月10日發動陸海空報復性攻擊,戰事延續三個禮拜才完成綏靖,具估有6,000-12,000印尼人往生,英軍也有295-2,000人陣亡,鼓起印尼人的同仇敵愾,迄今11月10日是印尼的「英雄日」(Heroes Day);泗水之役(1945/10/10-24)是印尼獨立戰爭最血腥的一役、也是英軍在東南亞最慘烈的一役,由於英軍的殘暴,引起國際輿論反對印尼殖民,盟軍不得不正視共和國的存在,同時說服英國終究必須盤算撤軍(Hays, 2008: 4-5; Wikipedia, 2019: Battle of Surabaya; Seekins, 1993: 44; Gale, 2007b: 3)。

戰後,荷蘭執意取回印尼這塊殖民地,主要的理由是:如果沒有東印度的資

²⁹ 主要是指服役於荷蘭皇家東印度軍(Royal Netherlands East Indies Army, KNIL)的南摩鹿加的 安汶人(Ambonese)、及北蘇拉威西的米納哈薩(Minahasa Menadonese)。他們是基督徒、軍餉 比一般回教徒印尼阿兵哥較高,不少印尼領袖相信,荷蘭統治者刻意以夷制夷,讓他們相信一旦 印尼獨立,自己的優勢就會不見(Kahin, 1952: 60-61)。

源³⁰,不止荷蘭的經濟無法復甦,也會被其他歐洲強權看輕為三流的國家,而且在領導階層的眼中,印尼「非法」宣佈獨立不止是羞辱、而且也違反『1922 年憲法』;主導戰後印尼命運的關鍵人物是 van Mook,他主張印尼獨立必須循序漸進,先讓荷蘭恢復統治再說,無視共和國政府在佔領區已經實質維持治安³¹ (Steinberg, 2011: 26-27; McMahon, 1981: 39-40)。對於荷蘭來說,既然印尼獨立已經是擋不住了,不如順水推舟成立一個支離破碎的聯邦國家,讓荷蘭可以至少可以儘量控制而維護原有的經濟利益(Seekins, 1993: 4)。

荷蘭將蘇卡諾、及哈達撻伐為通敵分子,視印尼共和國是日本法西斯份子的產物,沒有想到印尼人民族意識高漲;由於荷蘭本身在戰爭期間被納粹佔領、缺乏資源東山再起,殖民地的收復並不是那麼順利,特別是青年軍、及共產黨策動武力抗爭,因此轉而責怪共和政府無力面對境內華人、印度人、以及崛起的共產黨,無能節制暴力份子;英軍在1946年11月抽腿,55,000荷軍已經漸次進駐爪哇,終究高達100,000兵力,既無力部署、又不能解甲,箭在弦上、不得不發,因此,除了荷共,荷蘭國會各路人馬咸認為對印尼共和國展開軍事行動已經不可避免;荷軍不止擴獲監禁共和國官員,還轟炸位於蘇門答臘的巨港(Palembang)、及棉蘭(Medan),並在蘇拉威西島南部藉口剿匪屠殺百姓四萬人32,更鼓動少數族群建立傀儡政權,處心積慮,就是要削弱共和國政府的威信(Hays, 2008: 4-5; Wikipedia, 2019: Hubertus van Mook; Gale, 2007a: 2)。

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³⁰ 當時黑市猖獗、共和政府無力遏止,尤其是與新加坡的橡膠走私,而反荷份子又控制蘇門答臘、及爪哇的商業性現金作物,荷蘭財政部長憂心殖民地可能會破產,墾殖園主甚至於遊說政府採取武力介入,荷蘭皇家東印度軍躍躍欲試(Gale, 2007a: 1)。

³¹ 事實上, van Mook 具有自由主義傾向、又同情印尼民族主義,保守政客並不喜歡他,也因此,他終究並未真除;終究,他在 1948 年選擇去職,離開出生地爪哇、遠走聯合國,歿於法國(Wikipedia, 2019:)。

³² 荷蘭皇家東印度軍指揮官韋斯特林(Raymond Westerling)主張為了殺雞儆猴,必須採取就地審判、槍斃的方式,在兩個月之內(1946/12/10-1947/2/21)展開十一次拂曉綏靖行動,往往不加審判就地槍斃共和政府的支持者;日後,他擁兵捍衛荷蘭在西爪哇所扶植的帕蘇丹共和國(Pasundan Republic),不果,又在荷蘭政府的默許下發動流產政變,惡名昭彰的他被印尼視為戰犯(Wikipedia, 2019: Raymond Westerling; South Sulawesi Campaign)。由於不光彩的紀錄,荷蘭視印尼的去殖民為禁忌,一直到 1960 末期,才有榮民出面承認、或是作證表示目睹戰犯行為;近年來,由於「殖民世代」逐漸凋零,或許是因為有足夠的歷史距離,才有比較多的討論(Gale, 2007a: 5)。

(—) Linggadjati Agreement

蒙巴頓原本打算實質承認共和國政權,不願讓荷軍登陸爪哇、及蘇門答臘,沒有想到,荷軍透過日本海軍先前佔領的婆羅洲、及大東方³³(Great East)展開反攻(圖 2);一開頭,荷蘭由於元氣尚未恢復,van Mook 提議終究會讓荷屬東印度的殖民地獨立、再與荷蘭共組國協;荷蘭先於 1946 年 7 月驅策來自婆羅洲、及東印尼各地的代表,自行在蘇拉威西召開 Malino Conference,在英國的斡旋下,不得不於 10 月與共和國政府展開談判、在 11 月 15 日達成外交協定 *Linggadjati Agreement*(Wikipedia, 2019: United States of Indonesia; Malino Conference; Hays, 2008: 5; Seekins, 1993: 44-45; Hadi, n.d.: 1-2)。



來源:Wikipedia (2019: Great East)。

圖 2:荷屬東印度的大東方邦(1938-46)

根據協定,荷蘭同意承認印尼共和國在爪哇、蘇門答臘、及馬都拉(Madura)的實質管轄權,條件是印尼共和國同意與婆羅洲(State of Borneo)、及大東方邦(Great Eastern State)合組聯邦制的印度尼西亞合眾國(United States of Indonesia,

³³ 大東方包含蘇拉威西、馬魯古、小巽他群島、及西紐幾內亞。

USI)(圖 3),大家再共同組成一個國協般的荷蘭印尼聯盟³⁴(Netherlands-Indonesian Union),以荷蘭女王為元首;然而,雙方對於聯盟內涵有不同的想像,荷蘭認為這是政治聯盟(*staatsverband*),共和國方面則以為這是一種鬆散的結盟(*bondgenootschap*),最後的妥協是「聯盟下平等的主權伙伴」(sovereign and equal partner in a union)(Hays, 2008: 5; Wikipedia, 2019: Linggadjati Agreement; Kahin, 1952:196-97)。



來源: Wikipedia (2019: Linggadjati Agreement)。

圖 3: Linggadjati 協議的印度尼西亞合眾國

荷蘭代表團(Commission-General)在會後澄清,這份協議只不過是原則性計畫,用意是將荷屬東印度的政治現實貼近荷蘭王國的地位;van Mook 未經協商,就逕自從事聯邦體制的建構,在 1946 年 12 月 7-24 日於峇里島片面召開登帕薩會議(Denpasar Conference),扶植東印尼邦(State of East Indonesia)³⁵,試圖製造共和政府內部的分歧(Wikipedia, 2019: Linggadjati Agreement; State of East Indonesia)。儘管協議最後在 1947 年 3 月 25 日簽訂(附錄 3),雙方都不是很滿意,荷方不高興共和國有自主的外交、及在荷蘭轄區任命總督,共和國則不滿荷方又慫恿建立西婆羅洲邦(Wikipedia, 2019: Linggadjati Agreement)。

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³⁴ 其實,還包含荷屬蘇利南(Suriname)、及荷屬安地列斯(the Netherlands Antilles)。

³⁵ 包括婆羅洲東部和爪哇島以外的所有島嶼,不含西紐幾內亞。

(二) Renville Agreement

荷蘭在 1947 年 7 月 20 日以共和國無心合作為由撕毀 Linggadjati 協定,隨即在第二天發動攻勢(Operation Product),為了國際社會的消費號稱「警察行動」、說是「清理」(cleansing)叛亂份子,其實是從事掃蕩³⁶,節節敗退的共和政府只能掌握爪哇三分之一、及大多數蘇門答臘範圍³⁷,仍然奮力展開游擊戰;由於國際輿論的壓力,澳洲在聯合國³⁸安理會提議停火、美國則進一步提議成立斡旋委員會(Committee of Good Offices, CGO)出面調停³⁹,於 1947 年 12 月 8 日在停泊於雅加達灣的美國攻擊運輸艦 Renville 展開談判;荷方一邊談判,一邊逕自進行聯邦政府的成立,包括在新奪取的領土扶植東蘇門答臘邦(State of East Sumatra),召開區域代表會議籌組過渡聯邦政府;荷蘭提了 12 項原則、CGO 也補充了 6 項原則,最後經過美國代表以經濟援助重建曉以大義,共和國代表判斷各地公投會同意加入聯邦、而且自己將可以取得聯邦政府的支配,雙方終究在1948 年 1 月 17 日簽訂停火協議 Renville Agreement (附錄 4) (Hays, 2008: 5; Wikipedia, 2019: Renville Agreement; Seekins, 1993: 45; Gale, 2007a: 2)。

(三) Van Rooijen-Rum Agreement

儘管停火,雙方因為互信不足,外交談判沒有進展,荷方逕自進行聯邦的建構,一方面扶植馬都拉(Madura)、西爪哇(Pasundan)、南蘇門答臘、巴順丹邦、及東爪哇等邦,由各邦領袖共組聯邦諮議會(Federal Consultative Assembly, BFO)為組成過渡政府鋪路,刻意不提共和國、只提爪哇及蘇門答臘,就是要逼共和國政府就範(Wikipedia, 2019: Renville Agreement; United States of Indonesia)。經過1848年大選,由貝爾(Louis Joseph Maria Beel)、到德雷斯(Willem Drees)首

 $^{^{36}}$ 最惡名昭彰的是 1947 年 12 月 9 日發生在西爪哇的拉哇格德屠殺 (Rawagede Massacre),總共有 431 名手無寸鐵的村民被荷軍冷酷屠殺 (Wikipedia, 2019: Rawagede Massacre)。

³⁷ 由於印尼軍隊草創、部署範圍遼闊,而民間武力抗爭沒有組織,荷軍很快就收復 70%爪哇、60%蘇門答臘的橡膠林場 (Gale, 2007a: 2)。

³⁸ 有關於聯合國的介入,見 Taylor (1960) 的詳細紀錄。

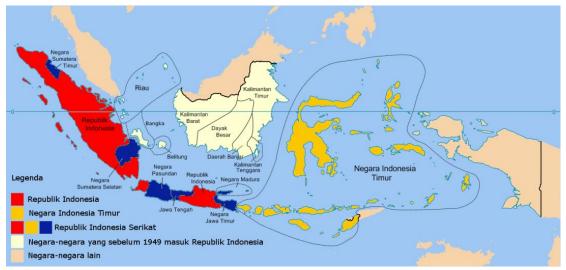
³⁹ 有關於美國戰後的角色,見 McMahon (1981)、及 Roadnight (2002)。

相的聯合政府依然積弱,孤注一擲寄望軍事解決,荷軍在 1948 年 12 月 18 日發動二次「警察行動」(Operation Kraai),突襲佔領共和國的臨時首都日惹(Yogyakarta),擴獲共和國總統蘇卡諾等人、將其放逐曼谷,逼迫共和國接受聯邦政府,而殘餘者則流竄西蘇門答臘的武吉丁宜(Bukittinggi)成立緊急政府(Wikipedia, 2019: Operation Kraai; gale, 2007a: 5)。

儘管軍事行動大有斬獲,國際輿論譁然,特別是美國威脅中斷『馬歇爾計畫』(Marshall Plan)對荷蘭的重建援助,聯合國安理會先呼籲停火,又通過『第 67號決議』(Resolution 67)要求荷方恢復共和政府、釋放領導者、在 1949 年 7 月1 日前將交出印尼主權;終究,雙方在美國的壓力下於 1949 年 5 月 7 日簽署協定 Roem—van Roijen Agreement,得以避免第三次警察行動(Wikipedia, 2019: Roem—van Roijen Agreement; Seekins, 1993: 46)。在聯合國印尼委員會(United Nations Commission for Indonesia)的協助下,荷方、共和國、及聯邦諮議會代表於 1949 年 8 月 23 日在海牙展開圓桌會議,最後在 11 月 2 日簽署『主權轉移憲章』(Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty)、『聯盟條例』(Statute of Union)、憲法草案、及經濟等協議(Wikipedia, 2019: Dutch—Indonesian Round Table Conference; Seekins, 1993: 46)。

在 1949 年 12 月 27 日,荷蘭將所屬東印度主權轉移給印度尼西亞合眾共和國(Republic of the United States of Indonesia, RUSI,印度尼西亞聯邦共和國)(圖4)⁴⁰,包含印尼共和國等 7 個邦、及 9 個直屬自治領地,然而,不少民族主義者認為聯邦制的安排,是殖民者存心不良刻意製造分化、弱化印尼的陰謀;在1950 年 4 月,除了東蘇門答臘、及東印尼,其他組成單位被打散併入印尼共和國,接著,三者在 5 月合併成為單一體制國家印尼共和國,『1950 年臨時憲法』(Provisional Constitution of 1950)取代『1949 年聯邦憲法』(Federal Constitution of 1949),印尼合眾國則正式消失(Wikipedia, 2019: United States of Indonesia)。

⁴⁰ 主權轉移必須獲得三分之二荷蘭國會議員同意,為了安撫保守派議員,協議不含西紐幾內亞, 直到 1962 年,雙方簽訂『紐約協議』(*New York Agreement*),才歸還印尼(Gale, 2007b: 7; Wikipedia, 2019: New York Agreement)。



來源: Wikipedia (2019: United States of Indonesia)。

圖 4: 印度尼西亞合眾共和國(1949-50)

外交途徑 vs.武裝奮鬥

二次大戰結束後,蘇卡諾在 1945 年宣布印尼獨立,一直到 1949 年才獲得荷蘭承認,那麼,新生國家成功抗拒殖民統治死灰復燃,究竟是因為國際外交途徑 (diplomacy, diplomasi)的努力奏效、還是要歸功於武裝奮鬥(struggle, perjuangan) (Cribb, 1986: 72; Gale, 2007b: 6) ?根據 Tagliacozzo (2013: 3),有關於印尼獨立的詮釋,除了傳統的馬克斯主義途徑,基本上可以歸納為兩大派:(一) Benedict Anderson 認為,當時的溫和派政治領袖把重心放在獨立建國、對於社會革命戒慎小心,相對地,真正能有助於瞭解革命的是那些奉獻革命的青年軍;(二) William Frederick 則採取修正主義的觀點,認為重點不在時勢、也不在於英雄,而是如何動員老百姓參與革命。由於牽涉到不同路線的定位、以及政治人物的褒貶,對於歷史事件難免會有南轅北轍的詮釋,譬如 Linggadjati Agreement,特別是關鍵時刻所採取的策略,也就是外交途徑 vs.武裝奮鬥。

在蘇哈托(Suharto)主政的所謂「新秩序」(New Order, *Orde Baru*)期間 (1966-98),印尼的歷史教科書強調軍方在印尼獨立過程的重要性,相對地,在 後蘇哈托時代,也就是當下所謂「改革」(Reform, *Reformasi*)時代,政治人物、 以及學者開始思考外交努力的重要性跟軍事奮鬥一樣重要;前者對於 *Linggadjati*

Agreement 的評價十分負面,因為根據協議,共和國必須放棄一些領土,因此認為不啻是屈服於外國壓力的投降行徑,相對地,後者則認為談判協議在現實上是必要的,畢竟,剛成立的共和國政府獲邀談判,平起平坐,未嘗不是實質承認印尼是一個新國家,因此,*Linggadjati Agreement* 應該是外交戰略上的突破,接下來才有聯合國安理會的辯論、及介入(Hadi, n.d.: 6-8; Wikipedia, 2019: New Order (Indonesia); Post-Suharto Era)。

Gale(2007b: 6-7)指出,共和國政府認為只要主權國家能建立就好、願意暫時委曲求全接受荷蘭的支配,西方強權越來越可以接受,相對地,荷蘭政府不可面對印尼獨立的事實、片面撕毀協議,因此在國際社會越形孤立;相持不下,雙方只好在戰場見真章,荷蘭兩度發動軍事掃蕩、戰線部署過長,共和國則以逸待勞展開游擊戰,終究還是有勞看不下去的聯合國出面調停,尤其是原本保持中立的美國對轉而威脅利誘荷蘭讓步;臨門一腳的是印共在1948年發動的「茉莉芬事件」(Madiun Affair),共和國政府出兵掃蕩,讓美國相信新政府是反共的(Gale, 2007b: 6; Wikipedia, 2019: Madiun Affair)。

附錄 1: 印尼獨立宣言 (Proclamation of Indonesian Independence) 41

Brothers and Sisters All!

I have asked you to be in attendance here in order to witness an event in our history of the utmost importance.

For decades we, the People of Indonesia, have struggled for the freedom of our country—even for hundreds of years!

There have been waves in our actions to win independence which rose, and there have been those that fell, but our spirit still was set in the direction of our ideals.

Also during the Japanese period our efforts to achieve national independence never ceased. In this Japanese period it merely appeared that we leant upon them. But fundamentally, we still continued to build up our own powers, we still believed in our own strengths.

Now has come the moment when truly we take the fate of our actions and the fate of our country into our own hands. Only a nation bold enough to take its fate into its own hands will be able to stand in strength.

Therefore last night we had deliberations with prominent Indonesians from all over Indonesia. That deliberative gathering was unanimously of the opinion that NOW has come the time to declare our independence.

Brothers and Sisters:

Herewith we declare the solidarity of that determination.

Listen to our proclamation:

PROCLAMATION

WE THE PEOPLE OF INDONESIA HEREBY DECLARE THE INDEPENDENCE OF INDONESIA. MATTERS WHICH CONCERN THE TRANSFER OF POWER AND OTHER THINGS WILL BE EXECUTED BY CAREFUL MEANS AND IN THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME.

DJAKARTA, 17 AUGUST 1945 IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE OF INDONESIA SUKARNO—HATTA

So it is, Brothers and Sisters!

We are now already free!

There is not another single tie binding our country and our people!

As from this moment we build our state. A free state, the State of the Republic of Indonesia—evermore and eternally independent. Allah willing, God blesses and makes safe this independence of ours!

⁴¹ Kahin (2000) °

附錄 2:雅加達憲章 (Jakarta Charter) 42

Whereas independence is a genuine right of all nations and any form of foreign occupation should thus be erased from the earth as it is not in conformity with humanity and justice,

Whereas the struggle of the Indonesian independence movement has reached the blissful point of leading the Indonesian people safely and well before the monumental gate of an independent Indonesian State which shall be free, united, sovereign, just and prosperous,

By the grace of Almighty Allah and urged by the lofty aspiration to exist as a free nation,

Now therefore, the people of Indonesia declare herewith their independence,

Pursuant to which, in order to form a Government of the State of Indonesia that shall protect the whole people of Indonesia and the entire homeland of Indonesia, and in order to advance general prosperity, to develop the nation's intellectual life, and to contribute to the implementation of a world order based on freedom, lasting peace and social justice, Indonesia's National Independence shall be laid down in a Constitution of the State of Indonesia, which is to be established as the State of the Republic of Indonesia with sovereignty of the people and based on the belief in the One and Only God, with the obligation to abide by Islamic law for adherents of Islam, on just and civilized humanity, on the unity of Indonesia and on democratic rule that is guided by the strength of wisdom resulting from deliberation / representation, so as to realize social justice for all the people of Indonesia.

Jakarta, 22 June 1945

Signed:

Sukarno

Mohammad Hatta

A.A. Maramis

Abikoesno Tjokrosoejoso

Kahar Moezakkir

Agus Salim

Achmad Soebardjo

Wahid Hasjim

Mohammad Yamin

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⁴² Wikipedia (2019: Jakarta Charter) •

附錄 3: Linggadjati Agreement

Preamble - The Netherlands Government, represented by the Commission-General for the Netherlands Indies, and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, represented by the Indonesian delegation, moved by a sincere desire to ensure good relations between the peoples of the Netherlands and Indonesia in new forms of voluntary co-operation which offer the best guarantee for sound and strong development of both countries in the future and which make it possible to give a new foundation to the relationship between the two peoples; agree as follows and will submit this agreement at the shortest possible notice for the approval of the respective parliaments:

Article 1 - The Netherlands Government recognizes the Government of the Republic of Indonesia as exercising de facto authority over Java, Madura and Sumatra. The areas occupied by Allied or Netherlands forces shall be included gradually, through mutual co-operation, in Republican territory. To this end, the necessary measures shall at once be taken in order that this inclusion shall be completed at the latest on the date mentioned in Article 12.

Article 2 - The Netherlands Government and the Government of the Republic shall co-operate in the rapid formation of a sovereign democratic State on a federal basis to be called the United States of Indonesia.

Article 3 - 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.

Article 4 - The component parts of the United States of Indonesia shall be the Republic of Indonesia, Borneo, and the Great East without prejudice to the right of the population of any territory to decide by democratic process that its position in the United States of Indonesia shall be arranged otherwise.

Without derogation of the provisions of Article 3 and of the first paragraph of this Article, the United States of Indonesia may make special arrangements concerning the territory of its capital.

Article 5 - The constitution of the United States of Indonesia shall be determined by a constituent assembly composed of the democratically nominated representatives of the Republic and of the other future partners of the United States of Indonesia to which the following paragraph of this Article shall apply.

Both parties shall consult each other on the method of participation in this constituent assembly by the Republic of Indonesia, by the territories not under the authority of the Republic and by the groups of the population not, or insufficiently, represented with due observance of the responsibility of the Netherlands Government and the Government of the Republic, respectively. Article 6 - To promote the joint interests of the Netherlands and Indonesia, the Netherlands Government and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia shall co-operate in the establishment of a Netherlands Indonesian Union by which the Kingdom of the Netherlands, comprising the Netherlands, the Netherlands Indies, Surinam and Curacao, shall be converted into the said Union consisting on the one had of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, comprising the Netherlands, Surinam and Curacao, and on the other hand the United States of Indonesia.

The foregoing paragraph does not exclude the possibility of a further arrangement of the relations between the Netherlands, Surinam and Curacao.

Article 7 –

A The Netherlands Indonesian Union shall have its own organs to promote the joint interests of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the United States of Indonesia.

B These organs shall be formed by the Governments of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the United States of Indonesia and, if necessary, by the parliaments of those countries.

C The joint interests shall be considered to be co-operation on foreign relations, defence and, as far as necessary, finance as well as subjects of an economic or cultural nature.

Article 8 - The King (Queen) of the Netherlands shall be at the head of the Netherlands Indonesian Union. Decrees and resolutions concerning the joint interests shall be issued by the organs of the Union in the King's (Queen's) name.

Article 9 - In order to promote the interests of the United States of Indonesia in the Netherlands and of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Indonesia, a High Commissioner shall be appointed by the respective Governments.

Article 10 - Statutes of the Netherlands Indonesian Union shall, furthermore, contain provisions regarding:

A Safeguarding of the rights of both parties towards one another and guarantees for the fulfilment of their mutual obligations.

B. Mutual exercise of civil rights by Netherlands and Indonesian citizens.

C Regulations containing provisions in case no agreement can be reached by the organs of the Union.

D Regulation of the manner and conditions of the assistance to be given by the services of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the United States of Indonesia as long as the services of the latter are not, or are insufficiently, organized; and

E Safeguarding in both parts of the Union of the fundamental human rights and liberties referred to in the Charter of the United Nations Organization.

Article 11 -

A The statutes of the Netherlands Indonesian Union shall be drafted by a conference of representatives of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the future United States of Indonesia.

B The statutes shall come into effect after approval by the respective parliaments.

Article 12 -The Netherlands Government and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia shall endeavour to establish the United States of Indonesia and the Netherlands Indonesian Union before January 1, 1949.

Article 13 - The Netherlands Government shall forthwith take the necessary steps in order to obtain the admission of the United States of Indonesia as a Member of the United Nations Organization immediately after the formation of the Netherlands Indonesian Union.

Article 14 - The Government of the Republic of Indonesia recognizes the claims of all non-Indonesians to the restoration of their rights and the restitution of their goods as far as they are exercised or to be found in the territory over which it exercises de facto authority. A joint commission will be set up to effect this restoration and restitution.

Article 15 - In order to reform the Government of the Indies in such a way that its composition and procedure shall conform as closely as possible to the recognition of the Republic of Indonesia and to its projected constitutional structure, the Netherlands Government, pending the realization of the United States of Indonesia and of the Netherlands Indonesian Union, shall forthwith initiate the necessary legal measures to

adjust the constitutional and international position of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the new situation.

Article 16 - Directly after the conclusion of this agreement, both parties shall proceed to reduce their armed forces. They will consult together concerning the extent and rate of this reduction and their co-operation in military matters.

Article 17 –

A For the co-operation between the Netherlands Government and the Government of the Republic contemplated in this agreement, an organization shall be called into existence of delegations to be appointed by each of the two Governments with a joint secretariat.

B The Netherlands Government and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia shall settle by arbitration any dispute which might arise from this agreement and which cannot be solved by joint consultation in conference between those delegations. In that case a chairman of another nationality with a deciding vote shall be appointed by agreement between the delegations or, if such agreement cannot be reached, by the President of the International Court of Justice.

Article 18 - This agreement shall be drawn up in the Netherlands and Indonesian languages. Both texts shall have equal authority.

附錄 4: Renville Agreement⁴³

- A The Principles Proposed by the Netherlands and accepted by the Parties on January 17, 1948:
- 1. That the assistance of the Committee of Good Offices be continued in the working out and signing of an agreement for the settlement of the political dispute in the islands of Java, Sumatra and Madura, based upon the principles underlying the Linggadjati Agreement.
- 2. It is understood that neither party has the right to prevent the free expression of popular movements looking toward political organizations which are in accord with the principles of the Linggadjati Agreement, It is further understood that each party will guarantee the freedom of assembly, speech and publication at all times, provided that this guarantee is not construed so as to include the advocacy of violence of reprisals.
- 3. It is understood that decisions concerning changes in administration of territory should be made only with the full and free consent of the populations of those territories and at a time when the security and freedom from coercion of such populations will have been ensured.
- 4. That on the signing of the political agreement provision be made for the gradual reduction of the armed forces of both parties.
- 5. That as soon as practicable after the signing of the truce agreement, economic activity, trade, transportation and communications be restored through the co-operation of both parties, taking into consideration the interests of all the constituent parts of Indonesia.
- 6. That provision be made for a suitable period of not less than six months nor more than one year after the signing of the agreement during which time uncoerced and free discussion and consideration of vital issues will proceed; at the end of this period free elections will be held for self-determination by the people of their political relationship to the United States of Indonesia.
- 7. That a constitutional convention be chosen according to democratic procedure to draft a constitution for the United States of Indonesia.
- 8. It is understood that if, after signing the agreement referred to in item 1, either party should ask the United Nations to provide an agency to observe conditions at any time up to the point at which sovereignty is transferred from the Government of the Netherlands to the Government of the United States of Indonesia, the other party will take this request in serious consideration. The following four principles are taken from the Linggadjati Agreement:
 - 9. Independence for the Indonesian peoples.
 - 10. Co-operation between the peoples of the Netherlands and Indonesia.
- 11. A sovereign State on a federal basis under a constitution which will be arrived at by democratic processes.
- 12. A union between the United States of Indonesia and other parts of the Kingdom of the Netherlands under the King of the Netherlands.
- B Six Additional Principles Submitted by the Committee of Good Offices and accepted by the Parties on January 19, 1948:
 - 1. Sovereignty throughout the Netherlands Indies is and shall remain with the

⁴³ 又稱為 Renville Political Principles。

Kingdom of the Netherlands until, after a stated interval, the Kingdom of the Netherlands transfers its sovereignty to the United States of Indonesia. Prior to the termination of such stated interval the Kingdom of the Netherlands may confer appropriate rights, duties and responsibilities on a provisional federal Government of the territories of the future United States of Indonesia. The United States of Indonesia, when created, will be a sovereign and independent State in equal partnership with the Kingdom of the Netherlands in a Netherlands Indonesian Union, at the head of which shall be the King of the Netherlands. The status of the Republic of Indonesia will be that of a State within the United States of Indonesia.

- 2. In any provisional federal Government created prior to the ratification of the constitution of the future United States of Indonesia, all States will be offered fair representation.
- 3. Prior to the dissolution of the Committee of Good Offices, either party may request that the services of the Committee be continued to assist in adjusting differences between the parties which relate to the political agreement and which may arise during the interim period. The other party will interpose no objection to such a request. This request would be brought to the attention of the Security Council of the United Nations by the Government of the Netherlands.
- 4. Within a period of not less than six months or more than one year from the signing of this agreement, a plebiscite will be held to determine whether the populations of the various territories of Java, Madura and Sumatra wish their territory to form part of the Republic of Indonesia or another State within the United States of Indonesia, such plebiscite to be conducted under observation by the Committee of Good Offices, should either party in accordance with the procedure set forth in paragraph 3 above request the services of the Committee in this capacity. The parties may agree that another method for ascertaining the will of the populations may be employed in place of a plebiscite.
- 5. Following the delineation of the States in accordance with the procedure set forth in paragraph 4 above, a constitutional convention will be convened through democratic procedures to draft a constitution for the United States of Indonesia. The representation of the various States in the convention will be in proportion to their populations.
- 6. Should any State decide not to ratify the constitution and desire, in accordance with the principles of Articles 3 and 4 of the Linggadjati Agreement, to negotiate a special relationship with the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands, neither party will object.

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