

## HH3027 A History of Modern Indonesia

Semester 2, AY 2019-2020; Academic Units: 3

Venue: LHS-TR+42

Time: Tuesdays, 1:30-4:30pm

Course Instructor: Assistant Professor ZHOU Taomo

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### I. Course Description

This course will examine the historical forces that shaped a collection of islands spread across the equator named by the Dutch colonizers as “the Netherlands East Indies” into today’s Indonesia—the world’s fourth most populous nation and the largest Muslim-majority democracy with the most enthusiastic users of Twitter and Facebook. The course serves two purposes: first, to provide some of the factual grounding to understand a profoundly important neighbour of Singapore; second, to use modern Indonesia as a pair of lenses to investigate a number of broader questions: How can a sense of statehood be forged upon a kaleidoscopic body of territories with diverse ethnicities, languages and belief systems? What caused the economic underperformance in some formerly colonised countries despite their rich natural resources and an abundance of labor? Is violence unavoidable in times of radical political changes in developing countries? We will also look at issues such as the entangled and embattled relations among nationalism, Islam and communism, the longstanding question of interethnic conflicts as well as the ongoing tension between the center of state power and the periphery.

### II. Learning Objectives

1. Investigate and explain the role of a range of historical processes in the political, cultural, and societal formation of modern Indonesia;
2. Compare and contrast major historical approaches to the study of modern Indonesia;
3. Articulate compelling, evidence-based, and well-reasoned arguments related to modern Indonesia in written and oral form;
4. Explore and evaluate materials from online Indonesia-related archival platforms and databases & formulate original historical arguments that effectively deploy these sources;
5. Develop novel ways of presenting historical ideas about Indonesia—an important neighboring country of Singapore—to specialist and non-specialist audiences.

### III. Course Format

The format of this course is designed to encourage participation at every meeting. Except for Weeks 1 & 13, we will follow the schedule below:

1:30-2:20pm Lecture

2:20-2:30pm Break

### 2:30-3:20pm Presentations

Each student will pick a topic ahead of time from the “Presentation Topics & Recommended Readings” section of the syllabus and conduct further research. The recommended reading listed on the syllabus serves as a gateway for more in-depth study on the subject. The presenter is expected to unpack the recommended reading, evaluate it, relate it to the debate topic of the week, and compare it to the required readings. Students will present their findings in an 8-minute presentation, followed by a 5-minute Q & A session. **PowerPoint slides** are compulsory and a **one-page outline** plus a bibliography, is due at the time of the presentation. Hardcopies of the outline should be distributed in class. If you are interested in presenting on topics outside of the listed selection, please consult the instructor beforehand.

### 3:20-3:30pm Break

### 3:30-4:20pm Debate

We will have debates at which each student will bring to class a “**Position Paper**” summarizing his or her position on the week’s debate topic. This paper consists of an opening sentence of approximately twenty-five words. In the opening sentence, each student takes an unequivocal position in the affirmative or the negative. In position papers for Week 2, for example, every student should open by saying either, “Yes, the 17th century marked a watershed in the interactions between ‘Indonesia’ and the West.” or “No, the 17th century did not mark a watershed in the interactions between ‘Indonesia’ and the West.” Hard copies of position papers need to be handed in at the end of every class.

To launch the debate each week, three or four students will act as **Debate Moderators**. The **Debate Moderators** have two responsibilities:

- 1) Prepare a **Debate Moderator Sheet** and upload it to the “Discussions” section of NTULearn by 9am on the day he or she has signed up for. In class, the hardcopies of the Debate Moderator Sheet should be distributed (please print out 6-7 copies, one for each table). This sheet should contain quotations from the week’s required readings and questions formulated in response to these readings. Both questions and quotations should be chosen for the purpose of stimulating discussion surrounding the debate topic of the week.
- 2) Open discussion in class by making a brief (5 minutes) **oral statement** in which the moderators identify the topics that should be taken up in that session. Ordinarily, the moderators’ statements will be based on the required readings, the instructor’s lecture, other students’ presentations, and their own list of questions and quotations.

**It is extremely important for the presenters and debate moderators to honor their commitments. As a general rule, cancellations are not accepted.** If urgent circumstances prevent a student from fulfilling his or her duty, one should inform the

instructor as early as possible. The student must find someone to replace his or her role for that week.

#### IV. Assessment

- a. **Active Participation (10%).** Position papers as well as engagement in debates will be evaluated throughout the semester. *If you expect to miss more than 20% of seminars, you must come see the instructor to explain your absence and how you will make up for the lost time.*
- b. **Presentation (15%).** Each student should give one presentation in the semester. The depth of research & organization of ideas as reflected in the presentation outline, PowerPoint slides and oral delivery will be evaluated.
- c. **Performance as Debate Moderator (15%).** Each student should serve once in the semester as debate moderator, on a topic different from his or her presentation. The moderators will be evaluated as a group based on the quality of the Debate Moderator Sheets, the students' verbal communication skills and ability to organize class discussion.
- d. **Research Essay Proposal (20%).** 800 words with bibliography due 5pm, March 25, 2020, on Turnitin. The proposal should address the research question you are pursuing and how it is positioned in the existing literature (i.e. engagement with key issues or points of debate in secondary sources).
- e. **Final Research Paper (40%).** 2,000 words-3,000 words (the word count excludes footnotes and bibliography) due 5pm, May 4, 2020, on Turnitin.

#### V. Reference Books

- a. Adrian Vickers, *A History of Indonesia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
- b. Theodore Friend, *Indonesian Destinies* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003).
- c. Elizabeth Pisani, *Indonesia Etc.: Exploring the Improbable Nation* (Jakarta: The Lontar Foundation, 2014).

All the readings are available as PDF files on NTULearn as well as in hard copies at the Library Outpost.

#### VI. Course Schedule:

##### Week 1 (Jan 14) Introduction

Housekeeping: *Assignment of presentation & debate moderating topics.*

##### Required Readings:

- Vickers, "Introduction" *A History of Indonesia* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1-8.
- Pisani, *Indonesia Etc.*, "Prologue" and "Chapter 1. Improbable Nation."

##### Week 2 (Jan 21) Early History

Debate Topic: The 17th century marked a watershed in the interactions between “Indonesia” and the West.

Required Readings:

- Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800-1830*, Volume 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 763-856.
- Anthony J.S. Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680: The Lands Below the Winds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 1-10, 62-119, 120-152.

Presentation Topics & Recommended Readings:

- Srivijaya and Java to the Early Tenth Century  
Kenneth Hall, *A History of Early Southeast Asia: Maritime Trade and Societal Development* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), pp. 103-133.
- Structural Change in the Javanese Community, ca. 900-1300  
Kenneth Hall, *A History of Early Southeast Asia: Maritime Trade and Societal Development* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), pp. 135-157.
- The Theatre State in Bali  
Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre State in Bali* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 98-120.

**Week 3 (Jan 28) Colonialism**

Debate Topic: Dutch colonialism was exploitative in design but beneficial to the Indies’ prosperity in outcome.

Required Readings:

- Vickers, *A History of Indonesia*, Chapter 1.
- Clifford Geertz, *Agricultural Involution: The Process of Ecological Change in Indonesia* (Berkeley, Published for the Association of Asian Studies by University of California Press, 1963), pp. 47-82.
- R. E. Elson, *Village Java under the Cultivation System, 1830-1870* (Sydney: Asian Studies Association of Australia in association with Allen and Unwin, 1994), pp. 301-324.

Presentation Topics & Recommended Readings:

- Technology  
Rudolf Mrazek, *Engineers of a Happy Land: Technology and Nationalism in a Colony* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 1-42.
- Medicine  
Hans Pols, “European Physicians and Botanists, Indigenous Herbal Medicine in the Dutch East Indies, and Colonial Networks of Mediation,” *East Asia Science, Technology and Society: An International Journal* (2009) 3:173-208.
- Colonialism, Capitalism and Sumatra’s Plantations

- Ann Laura Stoler, *Capitalism and Confrontation in Sumatra's Plantation Belt, 1870-1979* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1995), pp. 1-46.
- The Inner Life of Colonial Society  
Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasians in Colonial Indonesia* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), pp. 135-174.

#### **Week 4 (Feb 4) Islam & Nationalism**

Debate Topic: Secularism and the spread of print media under Western influence gave rise to "Indonesia" as a nation.

##### Required Readings:

- Vickers, *A History of Indonesia*, Chapter 2.
- Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma below the Winds* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), pp. 1-36.
- Benedict R'O. G. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), pp. 1-8, 67-82.
- Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (University of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. 1-7, 121-130.

##### Presentation Topics & Recommended Readings:

- G.W.J. Drewes, "New light on the coming of Islam to Indonesia?," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 124 (1968): 433-459.
- The Politics of the Hajj in the colonial eyes  
Eric Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey: Southeast Asians and the Pilgrimage to Mecca* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 157-171.
- Pan-Islam and Religious Nationalism  
Chiara Formichi, "Pan-Islam and Religious Nationalism: The Case of Kartosuwiryo and Negara Islam Indonesia," *Indonesia*, Volume 90 (October 2010), pp. 125-146.

#### **Week 5 (Feb 11) Japanese Occupation**

Debate Topic: Japanese occupation shattered the myth of white prestige in Indonesia.

##### Required Readings:

- Vickers, *A History of Indonesia*, Chapter 4.
- Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *The Mute's Soliloquy* (NY: Hyperion East, 1999), "Death in a Time of Change" and "Working for the Japanese," pp. 153-191.
- Anthony Reid, "Indonesia: From Briefcase to Samurai Sword," in Alfred W. McCoy ed., *Southeast Asia under Japanese Occupation* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1980), pp. 16-32.

##### Presentation Topics & Recommended Readings:

- Ethan Mark, *Japan's Occupation of Java in the Second World War: A Transnational History* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), Chapter 6. [E-book accessible from NTU Library]
- Indonesian Islam under the Japanese occupation  
Harry J Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation 1942-1945* (W. van Hoeve Ltd., The Hague and Bandung 1958).
- Propaganda  
Aiko Kurasawa, "Film as Propaganda Media on Java under the Japanese, 1942-1945," in Goodman ed., *Japanese Cultural Policies in Southeast Asia during World War 2* (London: MacMillian Press, 1991), pp. 36-92.

### **Week 6 (Feb 18) Sukarno & Indonesia's Internationalism**

Debate Topic: Sukarno's vision for Third World neutralism was impossible during the Cold War.

#### Required Readings:

- Vickers, *A History of Indonesia*, Chapter 3.
- Audrey Kahin and George McT Kahin, *Subversion as Foreign Policy: The Secret Eisenhower and Dulles Debacle in Indonesia* (New York: The New Press, 1995), pp. 1-19. [on NTULearn]
- Theodore Friend, *Indonesian Destinies* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), pp.71-99.

#### Presentation Topics & Recommended Readings:

- Indonesian Diplomacy  
Samuel E. Crowl, "Indonesia's Diplomatic Revolution: Lining Up for Non-Alignment, 1945-1955," in Christopher E. Goscha and Christian Ostermann eds., *Connecting Histories: Decolonization and the Cold War in Southeast Asia, 1945-1962* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), pp. 238-257.
- Cultural Exchanges  
Tony Day, "Honored Guests: Indonesian-American Cultural Traffic, 1953-1957," in Jennifer Lindsay and Maya H. T. Lie eds, *Heirs to World Culture: Being Indonesian 1950-1965* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2012), pp. 119-142.
- Intellectual Cosmopolitanism  
Liu Hong, "Pramoedya Ananta Toer and China: The Transformation of a Cultural Intellectual," *Indonesia*, Volume 61 (April 1996), pp. 119-144.

### **Week 7 (Feb 25) The 1965 Regime Change & Mass Killings**

Debate Topic: The mass murder of 1965-1966 was triggered more by "the dark side of human nature" than by political purposes.

#### Required Readings:

- Vickers, *A History of Indonesia*, Chapter 5 &6.

- John Roosa, *Pretext for Mass Murder: The September 30<sup>th</sup> Movement and Suharto's Coup d'Etat in Indonesia* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), pp. 3-33; 176-201
- Robert Cribb ed., *The Indonesian Killings of 1965-1966: Studies from Java and Bali* (Monash Papers on Southeast Asia, 1990), pp. 169-176.
- Geoffrey Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise: Political Violence in Bali* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 1-17 and 307-313.

Presentation Topics & Recommended Readings:

- Siddharth Chandra, "Glimpse of Indonesia's 1965 Massacre Through the Lens of the Census: The Role of Trucks and Roads in 'Crushing' the PKI in East Java," *Indonesia* 108 (October 2019).
- Katharine E. McGregor, "Confronting the Past in Contemporary Indonesia: The Anticommunist Killings of 1965-1966 and the Role of Nadhlatul Ulama," *Critical Asian Studies* 41:2 (2009), pp. 195-224.
- Vanessa Hearman, "Guerrillas, Guns, and Knives? Debating Insurgency in South Blitar, East Java, 1967-68," *Indonesia* 89 (April 2010): 61-90.
- Jess Melvin, *The Army and the Indonesian Genocide: Mechanics of Mass Murder* (Routledge, 2018), Introduction & Chapter 1.

**March 3 Recess Week**

**Week 8 (March 10) Authoritarianism**

Debate Topic: Suharto's regime is a benevolent dictatorship that forged economic growth.

Required Readings:

- Vickers, *A History of Indonesia*, Chapter 7.
- Theodore Friend, *Indonesian Destinies*, pp. 188-253.

Presentation Topics & Recommended Readings:

- Geoffrey B. Robinson, *The Killing Season: A History of the Indonesian Massacre, 1965-1966* (Princeton University Press, 2018), Chapters 8 and 9.
- Bradley Simpson, *Economists with Guns: Authoritarian Development and U.S.-Indonesian Relations, 1960-1968* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), pp. 207-259.
- Sulfikar Amir, "Symbolic Power in a Technocratic Regime: The Reign of B. J. Habibie in New Order Indonesia," *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (April 2007): 83-106.
- Anto Mohsin, "Wiring the New Order: Indonesian Village Electrification and Patrimonial Technopolitics (1966-1998)," *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 29 (1): 63-95.

**Week 9 (March 17) The Downfall of Suharto & Violence against the Chinese**

Debate Topic: Despite, or perhaps because of, their disproportionate monetary power, the ethnic Chinese are a powerless minority who easily become the targets of discrimination and violence.

Required Readings:

- Vickers, *A History of Indonesia*, Chapter 8.
- Jemma Purdey, *Anti-Chinese Violence in Indonesia, 1996-1999* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2005), pp. 107-141.
- Ien Ang, "Trapped in Ambivalence: Chinese Indonesians, Victimhood, and the Debris of History," in Meagan Morris and Brett de Bary eds., *"Race" Panic and the Memory of Migration* (Hong Kong Univ. Press, 2001), pp. 21-48.

Presentation Topics & Recommended Readings:

- Robert Cribb and Charles A. Coppel, "A Genocide that Never Was: Explaining the Myth of Anti-Chinese Massacres in Indonesia, 1965–66," *Journal of Genocide Research* 11, 4 (December 2009): 447–65.
- Jess Melvin, "Why Not Genocide? Anti-Chinese Violence in Aceh, 1965-1966," *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, vol. 32, no. 3, pp.63-91.
- Jusuf Wanandi, *Shades of Grey: A Political Memoir of Modern Indonesia, 1965-1998* (Jakarta/Singapore: Equinox, 2012), pp. 84-109, 252-280.

**Week 10 (March 24) Meeting Cancelled due to Conference Travel of the Instructor**

**Week 11 (March 31) The Geographical Margins**

Debate Topic: The deep-rooted reason for the downfall of Suharto was not the Asian financial crisis but political oppression of the people outside of Java.

Required Readings:

- Elizabeth Pisani, *Indonesia Etc*, Chapters 9 &10.
- Theodore Friend, *Indonesian Destinies*, pp. 254-308.

Presentation Topics & Recommended Readings:

- West Kalimantan  
Jamie S. Davidson and Douglas Kammen, "Indonesia's Unknown War and the Linages of Violence in West Kalimantan," *Indonesia* 73 (April 2002), 53-87.
- Aceh  
Ed Aspinall, *Islam and Nation: Separatist Rebellion in Aceh, Indonesia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), pp. 49-83.
- West Papua  
S. Eben Kirksey & J. A. D. Roemajauw, "The Wild Terrorist Gang: The Semantics of Violence and Self-determination in West Papua," *Oxford Development Studies*, 30:2(2002): 189-203.
- Timor Leste  
Douglas Kammen, *Three Centuries of Conflict in East Timor* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2015), pp. 119-142.



## **Week 12 (April 7) The Post-Suharto Era**

Debate Topic: Democracy in Indonesia remains fragile given the lingering power of the coercive agents of the state (military and police) and the rise of Islamic radicalism.

### Required Readings:

- Theodore Friend, *Indonesian Destinies*, pp. 380-404; 460-498.
- Siddharth Chandra and Douglas Kammen, “Generating Reforms and Reforming Generations: Military Politics in Indonesia’s Democratic Transition and Consolidation,” *World Politics*, Vol 55, No. 1 (Oct 2002), pp. 96-136.
- Noorhaidi Hasan, “Faith and Politics: The Rise of the Laskar Jihad in the Era of Transition in Indonesia,” *Indonesia* 73 (April 2002), 145-169.

### Presentation Topics & Recommended Readings:

- Leonard C. Sebastian, and Iis Gindarsah, “Assessing Military Reform in Indonesia” *Defence & Security Analysis*, Vol. 29, Issue 4 (2013), pp. 293-307.
- Emirza Adi Syailendra, “Inside Papua: The Police Force as Counterinsurgents in Post-*Reformasi* Indonesia” *Indonesia* 102 (October 2016), pp. 57-83.
- Julie Chernoc Hwang, *Why Terrorists Quit: The Disengagement of Indonesian Jihadists* (Cornell University Press, 2018, pp. 1-47. [E-book accessible from NTU Library]

## **Week 13 (April 14) Individual Consultation of Final Papers**