

## Research Article

# Hidden Facts and The Representation of Indonesia within Mamiya Mosuke's "Kichi no Seikatsu"

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## Abstract

Despite witnessing modernization in Indonesia, *nanpōchōyōsakka* (South-dispatched writers) depicted Indonesians as people who remain undeveloped because of Dutch colonialism. This article argues that there must be “hidden facts” behind the representation of Indonesia within the writers’ works due to a mission of disseminating the idea of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. Using Mamiya Mosuke’s military essay “Kichi no Seikatsu” as the object of study, this article seeks to explain what kind of “Indonesia” Mamiya represents and what is the impact of such representation on “Indonesia” as a spatial concept by illuminating “hidden facts” behind his expressions. This article employs two conceptual frameworks: (1) *contact zone* (Mary Louise Pratt) to view Indonesia as a social space already shaped by Dutch colonialism, and (2) intentional approach of representation to consider the depiction of Indonesia within the object of study is loaded with intended meaning for propaganda purpose. This article also uses *sakuhinron* method to analyse Mamiya’s expressions in representing Indonesia. The findings of this article are that (1) Mamiya portrays Indonesians as reliant people and blames such conditions on the Dutch colonial policy while leaving local intellectuals and nationalist movements out of his narrative, and (2) the impact of such portrayal on Indonesia as a spatial concept is that Indonesia is an undeveloped and powerless nation. This article concludes that Mamiya justifies the notion of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere by denying Indonesian agency, giving the impression that Indonesians need Japanese guidance to stand on their own.

**Keywords:** *Contact zone*; Kichi no Seikatsu; Mamiya Mosuke; Nanpōchōyōsakka; Representation

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## 1. Introduction

After declaring war on the United States and the British Empire on December 8, 1941 (Japan time), Japan sent cultural workers—including authors—with the Imperial Army and Navy as members of their press troops to the “South” (*nanpō*). Here, “South” refers to regions located in the south of Japan, now known as Southeast Asia. These authors, then identified as *nanpōchōyōsakka* (South-dispatched writers), were given a mission to report on the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere formation in the occupied territories to

Japanese audience back home as well as to promote this ideal within the territories (Miyashita, 1991). Therefore, their existence is self-evident of cooperation between literature and national policy.

Research on these writers began with Kamiya Tadataka’s article “Nanpōchōyōsakka” in 1984. His article has become the foundation of research on the relationship between modern Japanese literature and national policy during World War II. However, until recently research on the activities of *nanpōchōyōsakka* in Indonesia is still limited to biographical

ones whose attempts are mostly to clarify the meaning of overseas experience or war involvement on individual authors. This type of research rarely problematizes how these authors perceive Indonesia, how they represent Indonesia under the mission of propagating the idea of Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, and how that representation affects the spatial concept of “Indonesia” itself.

It is important to note that the “Indonesia” these authors see is a space in which indigenous culture is intervened by western culture through colonialism yet coexisted with each other, in other words, a *contact zone*. Mary Louise Pratt defines *contact zone* as a “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived in many parts of the world today” (1991, p.34). Indonesia as a *contact zone* is reflected through one distinguishing characteristic of Dutch colonial policy: non-assimilation. To maintain Europeans’ authority over natives, the Dutch colonial government constructed a race-based social stratification that put Europeans on the top and exercised indirect rule towards natives through traditional indigenous rulers. As Adrian Vickers explains, “The colonial rulers needed to be able to keep social groups apart, keep them from conceiving of a common interest....” (2005, p.25). This policy was cost-effective and successfully preserved the structure of native society and cultures. Nevertheless, even nationalist movements among indigenous intellectuals—a by-product of modern education developed by the colonial government—could be born in such a divided society.

*Nanpōchōyōsakka* must witness Indonesian intellectuals and nationalist movements as the reality of the occupied territory. Nonetheless, when it comes to portraying the colony to the Japanese audience, they tend to represent

Indonesians as people who remain undeveloped due to Dutch colonialism. It is noteworthy to mention that Dutch colonialism was also the cause of modernization in Indonesia. Hence, this kind of representation leads to why this modern face of Indonesia is absent in the narratives. This article assumes that there must be “hidden facts” behind expressions generally used in the “representation of the South.” This article aims to clarify such “hidden facts” and explain their impact on the representation of Indonesia by using Mamiya Mosuke’s military essay “Kichi no Seikatsu” as the object of study.

Mamiya Mosuke (1899–1975) participated in the proletarian literary movement in the early Shōwa period and soon engaged in political and underground activities. He was imprisoned in 1933 but released two years later after performing *tenkō* (ideological reversal) (Takemori, 1977). Afterward, he joined Peasant Literature Association (Nōmin Bungaku Danwakai) and took part in “national policy literature” (*kokusaku bungaku*) activities by joining the inspection tour to Manchuria and mainland China. In February 1942, he was sent to eastern Indonesia as a Japanese Imperial Navy press troops member and stayed there until December of the same year. During the tour of duty, he often moved from one place to another, enabling him to see the different pace of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere establishment in Java and eastern Indonesia. After the war, he became a member of New Japanese Literature (Shin Nihon Bungaku) and advocated the democratic literary movement (Takemori, 1977). Until now, only three publications can confirm Mamiya’s participation in *nanpōchōyōsakka*; essay compilation *Sango no Hana* (“Coral Flower”) and *Sekidō Shūhen* (“Around the Equator”), and a feature-length novel based on his essays in the former book, *Kasen no Fu* (“Fire Arrow’s Score”), all published in 1943.

This article uses Mamiya Mosuke’s

essay as the object of study because studies on Navy press troops or even Mamiya works himself are still very few. Kamiya Tadataka (2001) provides basic information about the Navy press troops, including the name of authors assigned, publications, and the general characteristic of the works. Recent articles by Yin Xiaojuan on writers Umino Jūsan and Hisao Jūran (2018) have contributed to the still uncovered area in the topic of Navy press troops, but these too focus on the meaning of war for each author. On the other hand, Mamiya Mosuke's works are also relatively untouched. Regarding his works in the pre-ideological conversion period, Yamaguchi Morikuni merely describes them as “a picture of how the common people were crushed by power and capital” and “excellent works of proletarian literature that realistically depicts the people who are living at the bottom” (2013, p.199). Even after conversion, Mamiya's participation in the national policy literary activities such as inspection tour to Manchuria and mainland China or southern dispatch is rarely examined. Using Mamiya's work as the object of study, this article fills the wide gap in previous research on Navy press troops and the author himself. This article also contributes to the research of the involvement of an ex-proletarian writer within national policy literary activities that hitherto still focused on more celebrated authors such as Takami Jun, Takeda Rintarō, and Asano Akira.

This article clarifies what kind of “Indonesia” Mamiya represents to his Japanese audience by illuminating “hidden facts” behind expressions he used in “Kichi no Seikatsu” to represent Indonesians and explains the impact of such representation; on a social space called “Indonesia.” In this essay, Mamiya portrays Indonesians as *hito ni teyoru* (reliant) people and blames such conditions on the Dutch colonial policy. Mamiya's portrayal of Indonesians is a typical depiction of colonized people. However, it is worth mentioning that even

before the Japanese landed, nationalist movements had already been taking place under the guidance of local intellectuals, not to mention that they are a group of people shaped by the Western education system provided by the Dutch. Thus, by portraying Indonesians as “reliant people,” it can be assumed that Mamiya intentionally leaves Indonesian intellectuals and their contribution to pro-independence movements out of his narrative. This article concludes that this omission is Mamiya's way of justifying the notion of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, and this kind of representation gives the impression that Indonesians need Japanese guidance to stand on their own.

## 2. Methods

This article employs two conceptual frameworks in examining the object of study: *contact zone* (Mary Louise Pratt) and intentional approach of representation. The concept of *contact zone* is used to view Indonesia—in the early time of Japanese occupation—as a social space already shaped by Dutch colonialism for hundreds of years. Indeed, “Indonesia” witnessed by *nanpōchōyōsakka* was an area where European culture and local culture intersect and coexist in a radically unequal relation. Likewise, modern culture as a product of European culture is also present in the lives of local people, especially aristocrats and intellectuals. This point of view is fruitful to examine the accounts of *nanpōchōyōsakka*, which tend to condemn European colonialism while emphasizing “the savage,” “backward,” or “primitive” face of Indonesia. When used in this article, the concept of *contact zone* refers to Indonesia during the national awakening period to the early Japanese occupation in 1942.

On the other hand, intentional approach of representation is used to consider the depiction of Indonesia within the object of study is loaded with intended meaning for propaganda purpose. Stuart Hall (1997) states that intentional approach

of representation believes that the author is the owner of meaning. Hall also says that intentional approach in defining representation is flawed because language as a medium used by the author to represent something is not solely owned by the author but is a shared social system (1997, p.25). Indeed, reader's interpretation over text might differ from author's intention. However, this approach is considered suitable because of the nature of the object of study as a propaganda work. In the case of *nanpōchōyōsakka* whose duty was to report on the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere formation in the colonies to Japanese audience, the depiction of the colonies has already been determined; it must not deviate from the notion of Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere itself. Here, Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere refers to the idea to establish a bloc of Asian nations that would be free from western rule and be led by Japanese Empire. In writings, this idea was often translated into slogans such as "The West is Evil Asia is Victim." It is safe to say that there were standardized images of the colonies that need to be conveyed to Japanese audience. After all, representation is a matter of selection. Thus, one must not only ask "how something is represented" but also "why is it represented that way?" and "what is the impact of such representation on the thing it represents?" In other words, in examining representation within propaganda work, one must explore what is written as well as what is hidden.

Nowadays, research in literary studies has expanded to include non-fiction works—namely personal essays, travelogues, or memoirs—for authors from either genre will use specific narrative techniques to convey their beliefs, feelings, or thoughts to their audience. Therefore, researchers must examine why authors use specific expressions to deliver their ideas and how these expressions and even what is unwritten can contribute to the text's meaning. Hence, this article uses the *sakuhinron* method—equals to textual

analysis in Western literary criticism—to analyse the object of study. Indeed, *sakuhinron* method focuses on expressions used by the author—through narrator as his medium—in describing his thoughts. Although this method has been considered a traditional method, it is helpful to reveal the authors' intended meaning or even ambivalence without disregarding the contexts behind written expressions, since its purpose is to unravel "the narrator's 'lie,' 'emphasis,' or 'contradiction'" (Satō, 2016, p. 28).

Analysis of the object of study will be done in two steps: (1) explain Mamiya's expressions to portray Indonesians and criticize the Dutch colonial policy while treating those expressions as intended representation, and (2) analyse the expressions by connecting them with Indonesian historical context in the first half of the 20th century to reveal unwritten facts behind them and analyse the impact of such "hidden facts" on "Indonesia as a spatial concept.

### 3. Result and Discussion

Overall, this section discusses how Mamiya's expressions in portraying Indonesians and criticizing Dutch colonial policy have covered some facts about Indonesian agency against Dutch colonialism. As shown through analysis, the "hidden facts" are the existence of local intellectuals and, consequently, the nationalist movements.

#### 3.1. Indonesians are "reliant" people and the Dutch are to be blamed: Mamiya's representation of Indonesia

"Kichi no Seikatsu" is one of Mamiya's essays written during his service in Indonesia as a Japanese Imperial Navy press troop member. This essay is included in his military essay compilation *Sango no Hana*, published by Mita Bungaku in September 1943. The book itself seems to represent Indonesians as "savages." Its front cover illustrates dark-skinned local

people in a meadow—one adult is sitting while another adult is holding a child. The adults are topless while the child is naked. The back cover illustrates a naked child standing in a meadow while showing his back to the audience. There are black and white pictures of indigenous people (Papuan and Timorese) who are topless or wearing traditional costumes. In “Afterword,” Mamiya says that *Sango no Hana* is a *kakioroshi*—written to be published directly as a book. He explains, “this book is a record of ten months of military service. Therefore, you can see that the contents of this book have become like a memoir; an impression, a travelogue, and an observation” (1943a, p.303).

**Table 1** Titles and settings of essays within *Sango no Hana*

No	Title	Setting
1	Dōto (The Way)	Tokyo
2	Manira no Mikka kan (Three Days in Manila)	Manila
3	Sekidō Tsūka (Passing the Equator)	Manila, Langoan (Sulawesi), Ambon
4	Taiki (Standing by)	Ambon
5	Ranryō Nyūginia Sakusen Jūgun (Service on Operation Dutch New Guinea)	Papua
6	Naisei no Hibi (Days of Introspection)	Ambon
7	Banda Sakusen Zengo (Before and After Operation Banda)	Ambon
8	Jakaruta Made (To Jakarta)	Makassar, Surabaya, Madiun, Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Bandung, Jakarta
9	Nidome no Surabaya (Surabaya, The Second Time)	Surabaya, Malang
10	Kichi no Seikatsu (Life in the Military Base)	Ambon
11	Jūnigatsu Yōka Zengo (Before and After December Eight)	Ambon
12	Atogaki (Afterwards)	

As shown from Table 1, there are 11 essays and an afterword in the book. All essays are arranged chronologically to

document the Navy’s journey from Japan to Indonesia. And as can be seen from Table 1, Mamiya spent most of his service in Ambon.

In fact, Mamiya published other essays set in the city such as “Ambontō Seiryaku” (Ambon Political Maneuver), “Ambon Sobyō” (Ambon Rough Sketch), and “Ran’in no Hakubutsu Gakusha” (Naturalist of the Dutch East Indies) that are all included in another military essay compilation *Sekidō Shūhen*. The two former essays are set in Ambon in the early months of 1942, not long after the Navy landed. Thus, the portrayal of contact with local people is superficial. Meanwhile, the latter shows Mamiya’s admiration at the 17th century German botanist Georg Eberhard Rumphius, whose monumental works—a catalogue of thousands of floras in Ambon Islands—, could be produced despite severe tragedies: the death of wife and daughter in a great earthquake, going blind and losing manuscripts in a fire.

“Kichi no Seikatsu” is a personal essay about Mamiya’s everyday life in Ambon after returning from 40 days of the tour to Java (reported in essays “Jakaruta Made” and “Nidome no Surabaya”). The time setting was late August to mid-September 1942, eight months after the Navy landed on Ambon. In this essay, Mamiya describes that Ambon had become slightly peaceful despite being the front line of military activities. Nevertheless, the ongoing war can be confirmed by how Mamiya mentioned *kūshū* (air raids) four times. Besides telling about mundane details such as eating local fruits or chatting with colleagues, Mamiya also shares his impressions of indigenous people contacting him or working in the Navy press dormitory. The account of this contact and his opinion on local people makes this essay worth further examination compared to other essays set in the same place.

In this essay, Mamiya portrayed Indonesians as “*hito ni teyoru*” or “*tanin ni teyoru*” (reliant) people. He depicts them

“as nation who has a master for centuries, they have developed a habit of relying on others first rather than making decisions based on own judgment” (1943a, p. 252). Mamiya gives examples of this “reliant” character by saying: “there are many Indonesians who come [to this dormitory] with my permission” (1943a, p.264); “three sisters who bring me flowers every morning” (1943a, p.264) “not only bring home money but also constantly asking me, ‘please give our father a job’ or ‘please help our brother who is going fifteen this year to find a work’” (1943a, p.266); between “Sonya brothers” (1943a, p.264), “the older one must come with one or two goods and ask me to buy them” (1943a, p.266); and “an unfamiliar old woman” (1943a, p.266) come and “intend to work here” (1943a, p.269). While Mamiya acknowledges the fact that “people are during a great war, especially because Ambon is a battlefield” (1943a, p.254), he mentions that begging for money and work are examples of native’s “reliant” character. He also argues that the long period of Dutch colonization is a crucial factor that fosters this character.

It is worth bearing in mind that Ambon was the administrative centre and the front line of the Navy’s activity; it was subjected to Allied bombings from time to time, and food supply was scarce. Although the intense war in eastern Indonesia was the direct cause of local people’s impoverishment, the Japanese still criticized the abundant nature that drove people to be lazy, and hundreds of years of European exploitation made them rely on somebody else’s guidance (Chauvel, 1985). This attitude is reflected in how Mamiya blames the Dutch colonization by saying, “Surely they hate the Dutch who has deceived this nation of millions of people and left them to today’s shape. But do they know from the bottom of their heart that the enemy who knocked them down to the present state is the Dutch? Do they know as deep as we, Japanese, know?” (1943a, p.256).

Specifically, Mamiya refers to two Dutch colonial policies as the direct cause that “fostered” (*sodate ageta*) Indonesian “reliant” character: race-based discriminatory education system and divide-and-rule policy. Regarding discriminatory education, Mamiya says that “The people of the three islands; Ambon, Celebes, and Java are, so to speak, the intellectual class in the East Indies. Within limited fields allowed by the Dutch, they are more advanced and better educated than people from the other islands” (1943a, p.255). However, Mamiya also says that “they are no more than the Dutch’s auxiliaries” (1943a, p.256). He argues that even though Indonesian “doctors, teachers, police officers, soldiers, drivers, assistant secretaries of offices” are “having the highest social status,” “it is a big mistake to think that they have an equal qualification, equal education, or equal social status with those in Japan. For example, it is said that only a few Indonesian doctors can perform cecal surgery” (1943a, p.257).

In criticizing the divide-and-rule policy, Mamiya states as follows:

Regarding East Indies, it consists of many islands, which is also one of the causes that make them today. These islands are separated by the sea; each of them is a single world independent from one another. Life condition depends on which island, religion, customs, and habits that follow are different. The people are one nation, but they have a different way of thinking; thus, they are alienated and isolated. Therefore, they make all of them ignorant. The cunning Netherlands cleverly uses this gap to squeeze the nation by increasing their spirit of expulsion. This is why there are still terms such as *Orang Jawa* (Javanese), *Orang Celebes* (Celebes people). Even though they live in the same Ambon city, Javanese sticks with Javanese, Bandanese sticks with Bandanese, creating their village while looking down on one another (1943, p. 257).

It is worth bearing in mind that *nanpōchōyōsakka* were assigned to report on mobilization and cultural work activities and publish them in the occupied territories and Japan. Also, they were responsible for promoting the idea of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. In writings, this idea was often translated into slogans such as “The West is Evil Asia is Victim,” and the motifs usually used in these works are Indonesians remain undeveloped because of Dutch colonialism. For example, Takami Jun, who traveled to the Dutch East Indies from February to May 1941, wrote in his travelogue about how he witnesses Indonesian people’s habit of bathing in a dirty river and criticizes that “the Dutch ‘respects’ the natives’ habit and takes a policy of leaving them be” (1941, p.317). Then, Kitahara Takeo, who was sent to Java as a member of the Army press, writes that “most Indonesians are uneducated and cannot even simply read nor write” (1943, p.137) because the Dutch did not give them educational opportunities. Even Mamiya writes about Timor, that “I could imagine how Timor was left undeveloped, and I could not help thinking about the egoism lurking at the bottom of the Dutch policy” (1943b, p.182). Therefore, blaming the West while not mentioning Japanese contribution in creating poverty in the colonial territory—as shown in “Kichi no Seikatsu”—is a typical depiction in *nanpōchōyōsakka*’s works.

However, the problem that should not be neglected is “what kind of Indonesia” Mamiya chooses to show to his audience. It should be noted that Mamiya seems deliberately directing his eyes to the poor people, namely the ‘savage face’ rather than the modern face of Indonesia. Initially, Mamiya focuses on Indonesian intellectuals who are “having the highest social status” in society as “doctors, teachers, police officers, soldiers, drivers, and assistant secretaries of the office.” However, he then changes his focus towards ordinary people

by saying that they are “living a life without hope,” having no “desire for higher education,” and spending days “for the sake of alcohol, women, tobacco, and music.” This typical depiction of the ordinary people, namely “lazy and lethargic,” are often be found in the works of *nanpōchōyōsakka*. For example, Kitahara Takeo depicts Indonesian as “In many ways, they are primitive and low” (1943, p.148), and they “seem like the owner of ‘slumber one’s life away’ character” (1943, p.137). Such portrayal shows how Dutch colonialism afflicted Indonesians while also indicating Japanese racial views towards Indonesians. Pay attention to how Mamiya says that “it is a big mistake to think that” Indonesian intellectuals “have an equal qualification, equal education, or equal social status with those in Japan.” As will be explained further below, it can be argued that such depiction intentionally eliminates Indonesian intellectuals who promote nationalism and independence to justify his opinion that Indonesians are “reliant people.”

### 3.2. The omitted local intellectuals

Entering the twentieth century, the Netherlands changed its colonial policy, “from exploitation to ethical.” In 1901, Queen Wilhelmina took “Ethical policy” to improve the welfare of the natives in the colony (Vickers, 2005). By this policy, Indonesians began to have opportunities of taking Western education. The colonial government created two school types; the native school system whose language of instruction is Malay or local, and the European school system whose language of instruction is Dutch. The former was intended for indigenous peoples, while the latter was for any other race. In the native school system, after completing primary and secondary schools, there was a career path of vocational school in agriculture, industry, or teacher education. On the other hand, students could continue their education to colleges in the European

school system such as medical, law, technical, or economic schools. Also, because graduates of the European school system acquired Dutch proficiency, they had an opportunity to study in the Netherlands and acquire a degree (MD, 1989).

These two school systems were undeniably based on language discrimination. However, due to the predominance of the Dutch language, Indonesians who acquire it will be considered “civilized,” just like Europeans. Furthermore, the advisor of indigenous affairs Snouck Hurgronje emphasized that Indonesians who acquired Western education should be guaranteed a position in the civil service (Kahin, 1959). This ‘promise’ had provided indigenous intellectuals—the rising new elite class—with a high economic and social status.

However, Western education, literally, was not without a cost, for native people who could afford Western education were limited to aristocrats or wealthy families. In 1940, there were only 7,790 graduates among 88,223 who studied in Western primary schools; 1,130 graduates out of 8,235 who studied in secondary school; 240 graduates out of 1,786 who studied in high school; and 37 graduates among 137 who studied in colleges and vocational schools (Kahin, 1959). The number of Indonesians given Western education was minor compared to more than 60 million indigenous people at that time (Vandenbosch, 1943).

Western education did not only provide students with vocational or academic skills but also Dutch proficiency. Therefore, if one wanted a job that is in line with his educational background, he needed to apply for a job that, at least, would enable him to use the Dutch language. Such jobs are very limited to civil servants, employees of Dutch companies, and teachers. According to the 1928–1929 census, more than 83% of Western-educated Indonesians worked for wages; approximately 60% of them worked

as civil servants, and the rest found employment where the use of Dutch language was required, such as private school teachers (Kahin, 1959). Moreover, both civil service and Dutch companies applied race-based promotion and wage systems. In short, they preferred Dutch people or Indo-Europeans. If a Western-educated Indonesian aims for a higher position, he must compete with Dutch employees educated in the Netherlands or with Dutch and Indo-Europeans who have completed a vocational school in the East Indies (Kahin, 1959).

According to the October 1940 survey, out of 14,212 lower ranks civil servants, 8,830 were Indonesians; out of 13,172 upper-middle ranks, 5,023 were Indonesians; and out of 3,039 higher ranks, only 221 were Indonesians. The fact is, there were no jobs available for Indonesians to use their Dutch language skills other than civil service and private school educators (Kahin, 1959). Regarding the wage system, European clerks earned 60 guilders while native clerks earned only 25 guilders. In the case of the East Indies Army (Koninklijke Nederlands(ch)-Indische Leger, or KNIL), Dutch or Eurasian soldiers might earn 60 guilders while local non-Christian soldiers earned 15 guilders. On the other hand, local Christian soldiers—mainly supplied from eastern Indonesia such as Ambon, Menado, or Timor—could earn 10 guilders higher than non-Christian ones. (Kahin, 1959). Europeans were assumed to have a higher lifestyle than natives, so them having higher wages was acceptable.

Discriminatory employment, promotion, and wage systems based on racial differences were the reality the new indigenous elites faced, and these systems must have caused great dissatisfaction. Western education indeed created new and modern jobs for Indonesians such as, as Mamiya mentions, “doctors, teachers, police officers, soldiers, drivers, assistant secretaries of offices,” but these new jobs “were no more than a calming medicine to



curb dissatisfaction” (1943a, p.256). Because having western education background did not mean receiving equal treatment with the Europeans. It is safe to say that Mamiya had a keen observation of the consequence of the Western education system on Indonesians.

Nevertheless, Mamiya accuses that many Indonesians whose “path to high schools have been blocked” by discriminatory education were “living a life without hope,” having no “desire for higher education,” and spending days “for the sake of alcohol, women, tobacco, and music” (1943a, p.256). He further states that because of that, it is “natural” (1943a, p.256) for Indonesians to be “lazy and lethargic” (1943, p.256). Mamiya emphasizes Indonesians’ “lazy and lethargic” nature by arguing that he has seen “the real example of how a certain nation is slowly losing their whole spiritual power as well as their source of liveliness” (1943, p.256). He further wonders, “do they realize from the bottom of their heart that the enemy who knocked them down to the present state is the Dutch?” (1943a, p.256).

Mamiya's conclusion that discriminatory education is one factor that nourished Indonesians’ “reliant character” significantly simplifies Indonesians' condition at that time. He might have sympathetically portrayed Indonesians as victims of Dutch colonial policy. However, by deliberately choose to omit the existence of local intellectuals in his portrayal of Indonesians, it is safe to say that Mamiya hide the modern face of Indonesia in his narrative.

Vandenbosch explains how “the Dutch policy did not permit the development of native leaders in large numbers” (1943, pp.501–502). It certainly caused dissatisfaction among the emerging new elites. Nevertheless, it was this dissatisfaction that led them to start the nationalist movements. Initially, they were dissatisfied with the highly limited number of Indonesians who had Western education

opportunities under the discriminatory education system. These intellectuals are generally idealistic and unwilling to work for colonial governments. They then set up free schools with Malay or local languages as the language of instruction and offer these schools for Indonesians who cannot fulfill requirements to enroll in schools approved by the Dutch colonial government (Van Niel, 1984). These schools taught mainly about local cultures.

From the 1910s to 1920s, Indonesian students founded organizations based on ethnic origin and engaged in cultural activities of their ethnic groups. These youth groups are, for example, Jong Sumatranen Bond (Sumatran Youth Association, founded in 1917), Jong Minahasa (Young Minahasa, founded in 1918), Jong Java (Young Java, founded in 1918) or Jong Ambon (Young Ambon, 1920). These youth organizations did not yet raise the idea of nationalism but rather regionalism. Later, acknowledging that each ethnic group in Indonesia had a similar experience of being colonized by the Dutch, these groups turned their interest into nationalism and fostered the idea of unification and independence. Perhimpoean Indonesia (Indonesia Association), a group of Indonesian students studying in the Netherlands, encouraged this turn. Then, from the latter half of the 1920s, Indonesian students and youth associations in the Netherlands and the East Indies began to engage in political activities, focusing on anti-colonial ideas. These activities culminated in the founding of the Partai Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Party) by Sukarno, the first president of Indonesia, with other members of the Algemeene Studie Club. Judging by this, it means that not all Indonesians are living the “life without hope,” as Mamiya says. On the contrary, “it was this group which was to emerge as the chief force behind the Indonesian nationalists movement” (Kahin, 1959, p.49).

Now, whether the Japanese military administration did not know the existence of Indonesian intellectuals is very unlikely. Because to obtain war cooperation from Indonesian peoples, the Japanese military administration involved local intellectuals in people mobilization and the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere propaganda activities. For example, Indonesian journalist Sanusi Pane was appointed as the head editor of the cultural department for *Asia Raja* (April 29, 1942-September 7, 1945), an Indonesian newspaper published by the Propaganda Division of the 16th Army. Principally, the Navy employed the same tactic as the Army. The Navy, which controls Eastern Indonesia, appointed most of Sarekat Ambon (Ambon Alliance) organization members to work at the Minseibu (Department of Civil Administration) and the Navy-sponsored local newspaper, *Sinar Matahari* (Chauvel, 1985, p.175). As Kahin explains, “Thereby, the Japanese initially either won the support or neutralized the antipathy of a very large portion of educated Indonesians” (1959, p.103).

Meanwhile, Mamiya only mentions the existence of local intellectuals superficially in his works. For example, in “Kichi no Seikatsu,” Mamiya mentions the Minseibu office located on the other side of the Navi press dormitory. Many educated local people work at the Minseibu office, but Mamiya only says that “sometimes I made eye contact with the secretariat, the secretariat superintendent, chief secretary, and the typist girls” (1943a, p.250). There is no explanation whether the people he made eye contact with are Japanese or Indonesians. There is also no explanation whether he contacted local staff at the Minseibu at all. Also, in his essay “Banda Sakuzengo”—also included in *Sango no Hana*—Mamiya visits the house of a local intellectual named Sonda “who served as the county mayor during the Dutch era” (1943a, p.104). He describes Sonda only as someone who “understood the greatness of

Japan,” has sent his son “to study abroad in Japan,” and “now works for the Japanese army” (1943a, p.104).

Indonesian intellectuals were indeed cooperating with the Japanese military administration but rarely mentioned in the works of many *nanpōchōyōsakka*. In fact, Asano Akira, who was sent to Indonesia as a member of the Army press troops, was the only writer who enthusiastically writes about Indonesian intellectuals in his works. For example, Asano shows his appreciation to Indonesian poet Soetan Perang Boestami and the Pane brothers who worked as writers and editors for *Asia Raja*. He also mentions the contribution of Balai Pustaka in “prevented [Indonesians] from forgetting the language and traditions of the people and eventually protected the desperate path that should lead them to their awareness and uprising as Asians” (1996, p.20).

By only focusing on the poor people whose life he describes as “life without hope,” Mamiya has omitted the existence of local intellectuals, an elite group born out of the Dutch colonial policy of discriminatory education and cooperated with the Japanese military administration. It can be assumed that to portray Indonesians as dependent victims of Dutch colonialism, Mamiya emphasizes how the Dutch colonial policy afflicts Indonesians while at the same time erasing the fact that this policy nurtured the emergence of Indonesian intellectuals.

### 3.3. Disregarded nationalist movements

The consequence of the omission of local intellectuals in Mamiya’s representation of Indonesia is, of course, the absent of nationalist movements. After all, these intellectuals raised the idea of unification and contributed to the emergence of nationalist movements.

It is worth bearing in mind that the Netherlands never tried to westernize Indonesians (Vandenbosch, 1943, p.499). On the contrary, the Dutch colonial government adopted a divide-and-rule policy to preserve each ethnic group’s

culture and social system. The Netherlands might have colonized Indonesia for hundreds of years, but it requisitioned the archipelago gradually. Even though the Netherlands stayed in the archipelago since the 17th century or the East Indies, Java remained the centre of administrative control. On the other hand, eastern Indonesia became the subject of Dutch control only in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Vandenbosch, 1943, p.498).

Regarding this, Adrian Vickers explains, "This indirect rule would not disturb the traditional life of the peasantry, and besides, it was cheap, since the Dutch did not have to recreate a state from the bottom up (2005, pp.14–15). The divide-and-rule policy created a gap between urban and rural areas. Taking Western education as an example, elementary schools were in villages and towns, junior high and high schools were in the cities, while vocational schools and universities were only in Batavia and Bandung (Anderson, 2006 (3rd edition), p.121). Both major cities are located on Java Island. Therefore, high school graduates from outside Java had to go to Java to go to college or vocational school.

The colonial government did not want sympathy as same colonized people born among the locals. Therefore, for example, they paid local Christian soldiers higher than Muslim ones to create jealousy. When Mamiya says that the effect of the divide-and-rule policy is that Indonesians as "people of one nation" but "are alienated and isolated" from each other, his observation is undoubtedly sharp. This policy has made each ethnic group prefer to develop connections only with peers from the same group due to the same culture.

However, precisely because of this divide-and-rule policy, the concept of unification emerged. Malay, the lingua franca of the Dutch East Indies, is one crucial integration factor among ethnic groups. Even before the Dutch era, Malay

was the official language for multi-language Indonesians because indigenous peoples generally speak at least two languages; their ethnic language and Malay. At the same time, Europeans, Indians, Arabs, and Chinese used Malay as a trade language between indigenous people. Whether Islam or Christian, foreign missionaries also used Malay to convey religious teachings to indigenous peoples.

During the Dutch era, Malay became the second official language of the colony. The Dutch also used Malay to indigenous leaders in terms of managing the colony. In this kind of language politics, the Dutch used Malay to the indigenous peoples, but the indigenous peoples were not allowed to use Dutch. In other words, the Dutch language had the upper hand over Malay. As Kahin points out, "...Dutch prestige and the Indonesian's feeling of inferiority could be best maintained by refusing to allow him to use Dutch in addressing a Netherlander" (1952, p.39).

Nevertheless, precisely because of the restriction of using Dutch, Malay plays a vital role in forming national character among indigenous peoples. Moreover, as already mentioned, Java is the centre of colonial administration as well as modern culture. High school graduates from outside Java needed to go to Batavia or Bandung to continue their education to vocational schools or universities. This kind of urbanization allowed local intellectuals from different ethnicities to meet and eventually learned that they have the same history of being "colonized by the Dutch." They communicated to one another and expanded the concept of unification through youth organizations or local newspapers in Malay. At the second Indonesian Youth Conference (Kongres Pemuda) on October 28, 1928, young nationalists declared Youth Oath which reads: acknowledge one motherland, Indonesia; "acknowledge one nation, the nation of Indonesia; and "uphold the language of unity, Bahasa Indonesia.

One thing that should not be overlooked is that the Japanese military administration utilized Indonesian as the language of unity to deliver the idea of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. In truth, to realize the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, it is necessary to use Japanese as a common language; hence the Japanese military administration has taken a policy of popularizing Japanese through schools. However, in Indonesia, Japanese language dissemination was hard to achieve because, unlike China, Korea, or even Vietnam, Indonesia is not part of the Sinosphere (*Kanji Bunkaen*). In a round-table discussion with Nakajima Kenzō, Kitahara Takeo discussed the difficulty of teaching Japanese to Indonesians. He says, “of course, a Japanese textbook for teaching various ethnic groups in the South must be fundamentally different from the one for teaching Japanese children in Japan, but [teaching Japanese] is not just a matter of teaching words” (1996, p.165). It can be assumed that Kitahara realizes that fundamentally different cultures between Indonesia and Japan become a major obstacle to teach Japanese to Indonesians. Indeed, Seki Shūichi and Sen Shōta (2020), who researched Japanese language education in Indonesia during the Japanese occupation, explain that Japanese writing lessons did not produce effective results in disseminating the Japanese language, so it became a voluntary subject at schools. They further explain that the Japanese military administration adopted a different method by employing “learning from songs” in gymnastic class to make Indonesian students remember Japanese words despite not understanding the meanings.

Mamiya indeed argues that the divide-and-rule policy has “squeezed “the nation by increasing its spirit of expulsion.” However, he fails to mention that this policy has helped to foster the emergence of nationalist movement through making the Indonesian language the “language of unity.” The Japanese military

administration then utilized the language as a medium to disseminate the notion of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in the occupied territory. By focusing on the negative effects of the Dutch colonial policy while at the same time deliberately disregarding the existence of nationalist movements, Mamiya portrays Indonesians as “lethargic” and “dependent.” It can be assumed that this method of portraying the colony justifies the idea of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere; that is, Indonesians need Japanese guidance to stand on their own.

#### 4. Conclusion

The purpose of Japan's southern invasion was to win the war against the Allied Forces by acquiring natural resources and realizing the notion of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. To that end, Japan must seek cooperation with Indonesians while acting as a ‘saviour’ to free them from Dutch colonialism. To justify the southern invasion, *nanpōchōyōsakka*—whose primary duty is to promote the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere—intentionally describes Indonesians as people who remain undeveloped because of Dutch colonialism for their Japanese audience. As a result, local intellectuals who raised the concept of unification and the emergence of nationalist movements must be hidden from the representation of Indonesia. As discussed in this article, by depicting Indonesian as “reliant people” and arguing that the cause that fostered such character is the Dutch colonial policy, Mamiya intentionally does not mention the existence of nationalist movements while emphasizing Indonesians’ “lethargy” and “dependent” character. In other words, he denies Indonesians’ agency.

It goes without saying that Mamiya's portrayal of Indonesians is a typical representation of the South. Still, his observation of Dutch colonial policy—racial-based discriminatory education and

divide-and-rule policy—is sharp and should be appreciated. Because the works of many *nanpōchōyōsakka* simply describe Indonesians as victims of Dutch colonialism for hundreds of years or lazy because their nature is abundant. It can also be assumed that Mamiya's observation of impoverished local people in the colony is still consistent with the pre-ideological conversion period; the vulnerable workers and peasants, or as Yamaguchi Morikuni points out, "people who are living at the bottom" (2013, p.199). Nevertheless, his focus on impoverished ordinary people has negated Indonesian's agency only to be in line with the idea of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere; that is, all Asian nations will reach mutual prosperity under the Japanese empire. As a result, local intellectuals and nationalist movements in Indonesia have become "the hidden facts" within Mamiya's essay.

Now, after revealing the "hidden facts" in "Kichi no Seikatsu," the ultimate question that should be addressed is, why is it important for *nanpōchōyōsakka* to covert some facts regarding modernization in Indonesia? This article proposes an answer that possibly because the writers—who bear the burden of promoting the idea of Greater East Asia Co-Proprosperity Sphere—must make Japan appeal as a 'saviour' and 'liberators of Asia' while also writing about anti-Western colonialism. Consequently, they had no choice but to depict Indonesians as a powerless nation. Therefore, mentioning that the idea of unification and independence as an effect of Dutch colonialism is indeed not preferable. Especially because the existence of local intellectuals and nationalist movements give the impression that Indonesians are not powerless but able to stand up by themselves. The impact of the absence of these modern traits from Mamiya's narratives creates an image that Indonesians remain undeveloped because they have been colonized for many years

and need Japanese guidance to stand on their own.

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