

# **Buitenkampers: the outlawed Eurasians?**

The position of binnen-and buitenkampers compared from 1942 to 1949

Suzanne van Vuure

s1449184

suzannevanvuure@hotmail.com

MA Thesis Asian Studies: History, Arts and Culture of Asia

Prof. dr. D.E.F. Henley

8 December 2014

## Table of Contents

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Introduction.....   | 4  |
| <i>Research question</i> .....  | 4  |
| <i>Relevance</i> .....  | 5  |
| <i>Methodology</i> .....  | 5  |
| <i>Chapter outline</i> .....  | 5  |
| 1. Background information on the topic and existing literature.....                           | 7  |
| <i>Introduction</i> .....   | 7  |
| <i>The Japanese occupation</i> .....  | 7  |
| <i>The Eurasians and the Dutch in the Dutch Indies</i> .....                                  | 8  |
| <i>Diaries of binnenkampers</i> .....   | 9  |
| <i>Diaries of buitenkampers</i> .....   | 9  |
| 2. The Japanese Occupation (1942-1945).....   | 11 |
| <i>Introduction</i> .....   | 11 |
| <i>Totok, Indo or Indonesian?</i> .....   | 11 |
| <i>Binnenkampers</i> .....  | 12 |
| <i>The incarceration experience</i> .....   | 13 |
| <i>Buitenkampers</i> .....  | 15 |
| <i>The outlawed experience</i> .....  | 18 |
| 3. The Indonesian struggle for Independence (1945-1949).....                                  | 21 |
| <i>Introduction</i> .....   | 21 |
| <i>The Bersiap period</i> .....   | 21 |
| <i>Politioenele acties</i> .....  | 23 |
| <i>The end of an era</i> .....  | 23 |
| 4. Binnen- and buitenkampers compared.....  | 25 |
| <i>Introduction</i> .....   | 25 |
| <i>Binnen- and buitenkampers during the Japanese occupation</i> .....                         | 25 |
| <i>Former binnen- and buitenkampers during the Indonesian struggle for Independence</i> ..... | 26 |
| <i>'Buitenkampers. Boekan main – boekan main'</i> .....                                       | 28 |
| Conclusion.....   | 32 |
| Bibliography.....   | 34 |
| <i>Books</i> .....  | 34 |
| <i>Online sources</i> .....   | 34 |

|                             |    |
|-----------------------------|----|
| <i>Documentairies</i> ..... | 34 |
| Translations.....           | 35 |
| <i>Page 12</i> .....        | 35 |
| <i>Page 13</i> .....        | 35 |
| <i>Page 14</i> .....        | 36 |
| <i>Page 17</i> .....        | 36 |
| <i>Page 18</i> .....        | 37 |
| <i>Page 19</i> .....        | 38 |
| <i>Page 28</i> .....        | 38 |
| <i>Page 29</i> .....        | 39 |
| <i>Page 30</i> .....        | 40 |
| <i>Page 31</i> .....        | 41 |

## Introduction

The Dutch hegemony in the archipelago, ended in an abrupt way when the Japanese occupied the Dutch Indies in 1942.<sup>1</sup> During this occupation a total of 142,000 (Indisch) Dutch men, women and children were held in Japanese internment camps in Indonesia: 100,000 civilians and 42,000 prisoners of war. These prisoners of war were European military of the Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger (the Royal Dutch-East Indie Army, short: KNIL) and the Dutch Royal Navy. The Japanese interned European civilians because they wanted to avert all Western influence.

About 120,000 to 200,000 Eurasians managed to stay out of these camps. These *buitenkampers* stayed out of the camps because the Japanese considered this group to be Asian and they thought they could persuade them to come to their side. Life outside the camps was hard for the *buitenkampers*: beside the general wartime conditions, they suffered a growing hostility of Indonesian Republican sentiment in this period. After the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence on 17 August 1945, direct attacks on *buitenkampers* by Indonesian *pemoeda* made it even harder.<sup>2</sup>

### Research question

Joost Cote wrote about *Indisch* Dutch that moved to Australia. Among these migrants were *binnen-* and *buitenkampers*. Cote argues that the incarceration experience consolidated the sense of 'European-ness' amongst the Dutch and the Eurasian internees. *Buitenkampers* that have been 'incarcerated subsequently by Indonesian republican forces are likely to have been left with a stronger anti-Indonesian republican feelings than those imprisoned by Japanese.' This difference in war experience shows a fracture within the *Indisch* community: the *Indisch* Dutch versus 'the Hollanders'.<sup>3</sup>

I would like to test Cote's hypothesis: to what extent was the fracture between the 'Indo' Dutch and the European Dutch present in the *Indisch* community? And to what extent did it originate in the wartime experience? I want to investigate the period of the Japanese occupation until the formally acknowledged date of the Indonesian Independence by the United Nations: 27 December 1949.

---

1 G. Jones, *Tussen Onderdanen, Rijksgenoten en Nederlanders* (Amsterdam 2007) 73.

2 Joost Cote, 'The *Indisch* Dutch in Post-War Australia', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 7 (2010) 107.

3 Cote, 'The *Indisch* Dutch', 108.

### *Relevance*

The *buitenkampers* are a larger group than the *binnenkampers*, but the *buitenkampers* have been underexposed. There has hardly been and there is currently only little postcolonial debate on this matter. There are still *buitenkampers* in the Netherlands and their history is hardly acknowledged.

### *Methodology*

This thesis will mainly be based on literature. I will have to read a lot about the *binnen-* and *buitenkampers* to find out to what extent there was a fracture between these groups. Academic literature will be the foundation of this thesis but I would also like to incorporate more personal stories. The number of sources is limited but I intend on making full use of the sources that are available.

Another source I want to use besides literature is the documentary *Buitenkampers. Boekan main-Boekan main* that was directed by Hetty Naaijken-Retel Helmrich. It is an oral history project. In this documentary a group of *Indisch* Dutch looks back on the hardship they endured during and after the Second World War.

At first I had the intention to interview former *binnen-* and *buitenkampers*, but after a while I realized that this would be a difficult process. The Japanese occupation started in 1942. *Indisch* men and women that are 80 nowadays were only 8 years old when the Japanese occupation started. Memories of children and memories of so many years ago have probably changed tremendously over the years, it will probably only provide a partial and somewhat skewed picture. Therefore I choose to use diaries instead of interviews. The number of available diaries is limited, especially of the period after the Japanese occupation.

### *Chapter outline*

The first chapter will introduce the topic and survey the existing literature. In the second chapter the period of the Japanese occupation will be discussed. Why were the *binnenkampers* incarcerated and why could the *buitenkampers* stay out of the Japanese internment camps? This chapter will focus on what life was like inside the Japanese internment camps and what was life like for the *buitenkampers*. The third chapter will focus on the period after the Japanese occupation until the formal acknowledged date of the Indonesian Independence. On 17 August 1945 the Proclamation of the Indonesian Independence took place. This marked the start of the Indonesian National Revolution and changed the position of the former *binnen-* and *buitenkampers*. The final

chapter will compare the position and experiences of the *binnen-* and *buitenkampers* during the period of the Japanese occupation until 1949.

# 1. Background information on the topic and existing literature

The first chapter will introduce the topic, by displaying the bigger picture. This chapter will give background information on the Second World War, the Japanese occupation and the position of the Eurasians and the Dutch in the Dutch Indies. It will survey existing literature and primary material like diaries.

## *Introduction*

The Second World War was fought between two alliances: the Axis Powers (Germany, Italy and Japan) and the Allied Forces (Great Britain, France and the United States). The Japanese wanted to unify and lead East Asia in a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Germany and Italy acknowledged the leadership of Japan in Asia. The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere concerned Indo-China (Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam), Siam (Thailand), Burma (Myanmar), Malakka (Malaysia), Dutch Indies (Indonesia), New Guinea (Irian Jaya/West Papua) and New Caledonia. The negotiations between Japan and the United States failed, so Japan attacked Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941. The Netherlands declared war to Japan on 8 December 1941.<sup>4</sup>

The Dutch propaganda in the Indisch press depicted the Japanese army as weak and not capable of conquering the Dutch Indies. The Europeans and Eurasians in the Dutch Indies believed this and were disillusioned by the quick capitulation of the KNIL.<sup>5</sup> Indonesia was economically interesting for Japan, since there was oil in Kalimantan<sup>6</sup>. The Japanese attacked Kalimantan and Sulawesi first and these islands were under Japanese control by the end of February 1942. Ambon, Bali and Timor were occupied in January, in March the Japanese took control on Java and in May all islands were conquered.<sup>7</sup>

## *The Japanese occupation*

At the time the Japanese occupied the Dutch Indies, there were about 400.000 Indisch Dutch. Two third of this Indisch Dutch population were Eurasians. The Japanese virtually interned all men of Dutch or Indisch Dutch descent in working camps, but in Java and Sumatra men had more chance to stay out of the camps.<sup>8</sup> The daily life changed tremendously, because the Dutch authority was taken over by the Japanese army. Most

---

4 Esther Captain, *Achter het kawat was Nederland* (Baarn 2002) 51.

5 Captain, *Kawat*, 75.

6 The Indonesian side of the island Borneo.

7 Captain, *Kawat*, 52.

8 Dane Wilson Beerling, *Tweehonderduizend Indo's buiten de Japanse Kampen* (Haarlem 1995), 5.

Eurasian women and children stayed out of the camps, because they had a *pendaftaran*<sup>9</sup>. These women struggled to survive without their man and income. Encouraged by the Japanese, nationalism came up in this period and the native population started to boycott everyone who was not Indonesian. The Japanese expected that the Eurasians wanted the Indonesian nationality, but they were loyal to the Dutch. This caused a lot of tension between the natives and de Eurasians.<sup>10</sup>

Officially the Second World War ended in the Dutch Indies after the Japanese capitulated on 15 August 1945. Nevertheless, the war continued for the Dutch and the Eurasians, because on 17 August 1945 Soekarno declared Indonesia to be an independent state. The *Bersiap* period started and the Dutch were repatriated to the Netherlands. At this time, the Eurasians stayed in Indonesia. On 27 December 1949 Amsterdam had to hand the sovereignty over to Jakarta.<sup>11</sup>

#### *The Eurasians and the Dutch in the Dutch Indies*

European civilians in Asia were aware of the Japanese ambitions to end the European influence in Asia. Most of the European women and children left Japan, China, the British colonies and the Philippines. Most Dutch did not leave the Dutch Indies, for several reasons. Returning to the Netherlands was impossible because the German army occupied the country. Many Dutch had lived in the Dutch Indies for a long time, so they felt strongly connected. Many officials even had the obligation to remain at their posts in the Dutch Indies. Due to these circumstances many women and children were interned.<sup>12</sup>

After the Japanese occupied the Dutch Indies, most Europeans and Eurasians were mainly concerned whether they could hang on to their pre-war position. In the course of the war it seemed that they should completely renounce their pre-war privileges. The women had to perform tasks that were previously performed by servants and men had to do heavy labour in the interment camps. The Eurasians and the Dutch felt humiliated by this situation. The relation of power between the Europeans, Eurasians, Indonesians and Japanese changed tremendously during the war.<sup>13</sup>

---

9 Prove that Indisch Dutch had Asian ancestors, in: Rita Young and Zwaan de Vries, *Oorlog en overleven buiten Japanse kampen: drie generaties vertellen* (Nijmegen 2008), 15.

10 Young, *Oorlog en overleven*, 15.

11 Idem.

12 Captain, *Kawat*, 52.

13 Idem, 75-76.



### *Diaries of binnenkampers*

The Japanese forbade writing a diary in an internment camp, therefore only about one per cent of all internees wrote a diary. Regular diaries are considered to be a form of writing that is very personal and private. The diaries written during the incarceration differ from regular diaries, since others helped to keep the diaries safe. A diary could continue to exist because the other internees knew of the diary and helped to keep it away from the Japanese. Since the other internees knew of the diary, they asked the owner of the diary to write down certain events. This takes away the private nature of the diary. Some internees wrote in cryptography, since some Japanese could understand Dutch. The diaries of *binnenkampers* have a dual nature: on the one hand the content is personal but on the other hand these diaries testify a public influence and intervention. All camp diaries contain certain recurring topics. The diaries are a direct reflection of the life in the camps. Men and women wrote about the concerns and desires they had about their loved ones, about *kongsi's*<sup>14</sup>, sickness, death, hunger, boredom and rumours.<sup>15</sup>

The Second World War had isolated the Dutch from their family in the Netherlands. Writing letters to the family that lived overseas, like they did before the war broke out, was impossible. The Japanese internment did not only isolate them from their Dutch family, but also it also created a divide between married couples and families because men and women could not stay in the same camps.<sup>16</sup>

### *Diaries of buitenkampers*

Outside the camps writing a diary was also forbidden, but it was easier to hide the diary. Jeroen Kemperman focussed in *De Japanse bezetting in dagboeken. Buiten de kampen* on three diary writers. In the paragraphs below these diary writers will be introduced and in the next chapter their actual diaries will be discussed.

The first writer is Hertha Anna Hampel. She was born in 1915 and married Van H. in 1937. He was a mechanic on a ship of the Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij. When the Second World War broke out, the couple lived in Batavia<sup>17</sup>. She started writing her diary on 5 March 1942, three days after she heard her husband arrived in Colombo on Ceylon and the day the first Japanese soldiers invaded the undefended Batavia. She was an Eurasian woman but she looked rather European.<sup>18</sup>

---

14 A group of internees living together, while contributing to a joint household and supporting each other. *Kongsi's* existed in male and female camps. Children were part of *kongsi's* as well, in: Captain, *Kawat*, 72.

15 Captain, *Kawat*, 69-71.

16 *Idem*, 71-72.

17 Batavia was the name of the capital of the Dutch Indies. Nowadays Batavia is called Jakarta.

18 Kemperman, *Dagboeken*, 30.

The second writer is Irma Marie Pool. She was born in 1927 and started writing her diary on 9 December 1941; one day after the war against Japan was announced on the radio. Her father was interned in camp Adek on 25 June 1942. On 30 October 1942 he could go home again because he had to repair radios for the Japanese but he was interned again in January 1943. Her mother found an Ambonese ancestor so she and her children were not interned. Her mother became a nurse at the Groene Kruis and her brother repaired bicycles and radios. The diary of Irma contained many pictures, notes, messages, regulations and drawings. Her brother was locked up and later on Irma and her mother were put in jail. After the Japanese capitulation the father, mother and brother of Irma were all freed and they left the Dutch Indies.<sup>19</sup>

Johanna Janette Huussen is the third writer. She was born in 1899 in the Netherlands and went to the Dutch Indies in 1933. She was a teacher in Semarang when the war in the Pacific broke out. She started writing her diary one day after the schools closed in Semarang, on 28 February 1942. During the occupation she was an active member of the Medical Service of the Luchtbeschermingsdienst (Air Protection Service, in short: LBD). Virtually all leaders of the LBD, the entire administration, police and city guard fled Semarang. The situation in the city got very chaotic so the fled officials, police and city guards returned. The Japanese wanted to intern Huussen, but she managed to stay out of Japanese hands the entire occupation.<sup>20</sup>

---

19 Idem, 35-37.

20 Idem, 37-38.

## 2. The Japanese Occupation (1942-1945)

This chapter will discuss how the Japanese decide whether someone was *totok*<sup>21</sup>, *Indo*<sup>22</sup> or Indonesian, why *binnenkampers* were interned and how they experienced the incarceration, why *buitenkampers* stayed out of the camps and how the Eurasians that stayed out of the camps experienced this period.

### *Introduction*

On Java most totoks and Eurasians were not interned: 120.000 to 200.000 stayed out of the camps. These *buitenkampers* mainly lived in the major cities.<sup>23</sup> Why were they not interned? On the one hand there is the idealistic motive: the Japanese considered the Eurasians to be Asian. On the other hand there is the practical motive: the educated Eurasians could not yet be missed. Another reason is that most Indisch Dutch lived on Java; there were simply not enough camps to incarcerate them all.<sup>24</sup>

In April 1942 all Dutch older than 17 years had to be registered. The *pendaftaran* said whether the Indisch Dutch was a totok or an *Indo*. An *asal oessoel*<sup>25</sup> could prove whether a person had Asian ancestors. Before the Japanese occupation, Indisch Dutch tried to hide their Indonesian blood, but from 1942 being partly Indonesian could be an advantage.<sup>26</sup>

### *Totok, Indo or Indonesian?*

It was hard to decide whether someone was totok or Indo. The selection was arbitrary and mainly based on whether someone looked European (fair skin, blond hair, blue eyes). In the course of the occupation more European looking Indisch Dutch were interned. Especially men were put in the camps because they were considered to be a bigger risk than women. Some Eurasians were interned out of free will: some wanted to be interned out of solidarity with the other Europeans, others simply did not have enough money to survive outside the camps. The Japanese were aware that not all Indisch Dutch had been interned and tried to register these *buitenkampers*. Many *buitenkampers* lied about their ancestors to stay out of the camps.<sup>27</sup>

---

21 A person of Dutch decent.

22 A person of mixed decent. In the rest of the thesis this group will be referred to as Eurasian.

23 Batavia, Bandoeng, Semarang, Djokja, Solo, Soerabaja and Malang, in: Jeroen Kemperman, *De Japanse bezetting in dagboeken. Buiten de kampen* (Amsterdam 2002) 11.

24 Beerling, *Japanse kampen*, 10.

25 A pedigree chart.

26 Kemperman, *Dagboeken*, 11-12.

27 Kemperman, *Dagboeken*, 12.

In Bandoeng and the surrounding area the registration of the not interned Indo-Europeans took place in June 1943. The inhabitants in Bandoeng were divided into eight groups: 1. totok father and Indo mother, 2. totok mother and Indo father, 3. Indo father and Indo mother, 4. Totok father and Indonesian mother, 5. totok father and totok mother, 6. Indonesian father and totok mother, 7. Indonesian father and Indo mother, 8. Indonesian father and a mother of another Asian nationality. Group 1, 2 and 5 were considered too European by the Japanese criteria and they were interned. Japanese officials decided to what group someone belonged. When the official was in doubt, the colour of the eyes and hair were decisive. The whole process was rather arbitrary.<sup>28</sup>

### *Binnenkampers*

Men, women and children were interned for several reasons. The first reason was military: all soldiers had to be interned. In practice, almost all European citizens were interned. This was mainly caused by the strong anti-Japanese attitude of the European in the Dutch Indies. The second reason was that Japan wanted to end the European influence in Asia. This is why not only men but also women and children were interned. The Japanese wanted to isolate the European citizens from the Asian population. The third reason was caused by an event before the Second World War: The Netherlands, Great Britain and the United States forbid immigration from Japanese to their countries. By interning their citizens, the Japanese could get back to these countries. The last reason was caused by the wish of revanche: the Dutch Indies government interned Japanese citizens that were in the Dutch Indies.<sup>29</sup>

The European citizens on Java were interned later than the Europeans in the rest of the archipelago. Java was densely populated and the economic life had to recover as quickly as possible, so immediately interning all Europeans was impossible. As the internment progressed, the Japanese measures got stricter. Mid June 1942 all European men on Java between 17 and 60 years old were interned, in September 1942 women and children were called to report for internment and mid 1943 the internment process on Java was completed.<sup>30</sup> Most Eurasians stayed out of the camps in Java.<sup>31</sup>

The internees were housed in buildings like prisons, barracks, orphanages, hotels and monasteries. For many of these buildings the internees had to pay a monthly rent. Men had a harder time while interned, because they were mostly housed in prisons, sometimes amidst prisoners. There were general rules for the internment camps, but the

---

<sup>28</sup> Idem, 12-13.

<sup>29</sup> Captain, *Kawat*, 52-53.

<sup>30</sup> Idem, 54-55.

<sup>31</sup> Idem, 80.

implementation of these rules could differ enormously. The internees had to cook their own food and the amount of food the internees received was set by Indonesian standards. The camps should be self-regulating, therefore the internees were allowed to grow their own vegetables and keep animals.<sup>32</sup>

### *The incarceration experience*

E. Captein analysed twelve diaries in *Achter het Kawat was Nederland*. The diaries were mainly characterized by the thoughts and doubts of the totoks about the solidarity of the Indo-European group.<sup>33</sup> Eurasians decent cannot be told by looking at the first- or surname and none of the authors has indicated him- or herself as such, so Captein is only sure that one of the authors is Eurasians, her name is Mary Brückel-Beiten.<sup>34</sup> Most diaries showed an ambivalent attitude towards the Eurasians. Totoks saw the Eurasians as part of their own group, but did view them as fundamentally different from themselves. The next fragments show this ambivalence.

In the camps, the Japanese considered totoks and Eurasians one group. Scholte mentioned in his diary that the totoks could understand each other better, were more unanimous and were more tolerant towards each other, than they were towards the Eurasians. When the totoks and Eurasians were separated, Scholte made it seem like the colonial group was harmonious: 'Waarvoor ineens dat onderscheid tussen ras en halfbloeden; tenzij zij daarmee tweedracht en onenigheid denken te zaaien tusschen ons.' He did admit that the separation also had positive consequences: 'Onze sectie onderging daardoor een flinke verandering – niet ongunstig vond ik – en werd ineens een stuk zindelijker met een beter slag (gehalte) mensen.'<sup>35</sup>

Some totoks thought there were two kinds of Eurasians: the ones that were willing to collaborate with the Japanese and the ones that saw this as treason.<sup>36</sup> The Japanese sometimes offered the possibility to Eurasians to leave the camp. G.Z. De Mol-Kok wrote the following in June 1942: 'Nieuwe consternatie. De getinten mogen eruit. (...) Er zijn niet veel Indo-Europeanen die er uit willen, wat wij mooi vinden. Vroeger in de vreedstijd werd er geen onderscheid gemaakt, dus laten we nu ook in moeilijke tijden één blijven.'<sup>37</sup> The last sentence is a remarkable one, since the Eurasians only formally belonged to the Europeans; they did not have the same status as the totoks

---

32 Captain, *Kawat*, 55-56.

33 Since all diaries are written in Dutch, a translation of all fragments can be found in the appendix.

34 Captain, *Kawat*, 78.

35 Idem, 80.

36 Idem.

37 Captain, *Kawat*, 79.

in the Dutch Indies. When the days past, some Eurasian woman decided to leave the camp. Considering the following reaction, she probably saw this as betrayal: 'Hoe zij leven moeten is ons een raadsel. Deze menschen hebben zich nu aan de kant van de inheemschen geschaard, en moeten dat ook nu maar verder voor elkaar krijgen. De dochters komen in dienst van de Japs. Dit is de voorwaarde geweest. Nee, laat ons hier maar rustig zitten. Zij zijn genoeg gewaarschuw'd. Medelijden is nu niet meer op z'n plaats.'<sup>38</sup>

After analysing all twelve diaries, Captein is only sure that Mary Brückel-Beiten is Eurasian. In her diary, she wrote about the possibility for Eurasians to leave the camps: 'Bezoek van 2 Jap. Alle Indische dames gevraagd of *wij* vrij wilden zijn. Alle dames prefereerden in het Kamp te blijven. *Wij* moesten opgeven – ouders, man, enz.' Brückel-Beiten only implicitly refers to herself as an Indisch woman, by saying 'we' when referring to the Eurasian group.<sup>39</sup>

Brückel-Beiten did not only position herself as a Eurasian woman, but also as a Dutch woman. Once she had a discussion with Japanese leader of the camp. He said that the obedience of *njonja*<sup>40</sup> *Nippon* should be an example for the lazy and unwilling *njonja blanda*: 'Enfin er was niets goeds aan de *njonja blanda*. De *njonja Nippon* kon koken, wassen en tuinarbeid doen. Met vuur verdedigde ik de *njonja blanda*, niet gewend om te werken en toch zulk arbeid presteren als *wij* hier deden.' She hereby confirmed the colonial thought that Dutch women were not supposed to work. The way she positions herself in her diary reflects her double racial origin.<sup>41</sup>

At first, the internees were allowed to have contacts with their servants and have them do all kinds of tasks, women could still have baboes and their Indonesian wives and *njai* could visit interned men<sup>42</sup>. After a while all these privileges were taken away. By taking the servants away, the roles reversed: the internees were under surveillance of the Japanese and Indonesians. Formally the Japanese were in charge, but in practice the Japanese left their task to the Indonesians.<sup>43</sup> Meijer wrote that he felt double humiliated, because he was from the West and he was incarcerated in a camp that was supervised by

---

38 Idem.

39 Idem, 82.

40 *Njonja* means a married lady. The word *njonja* also has a specific colonial connotation: *njonja rumah* means lady of the house and by *njonja besar* a prominent lady is indicated, in: Captain, *Kawat*, 83.

41 Captain, *Kawat*, 83.

42 In the Dutch Indies there were more European men than women. The *njai* were the women that kept the men company, they were the concubine. The Dutch word for *njai* is *troostmeisje*, literally translated it means girl to comfort, in: Esther Smit, 'De *Njai*: de slavinnen van Indië', <[www.historien.nl](http://www.historien.nl)>, accessed on November 3, 2014).

43 Captain, *Kawat*, 92-93.

an Eastern. He noticed that the gap that used to exist between Europeans and Asian was reduced by the incarceration experience. Before the war Europeans would not eat food that was not prepared under non-European conditions. The food shortage and hunger made this restraint disappear<sup>44</sup>: 'We hebben nu wel voorgoed afgeleerd 'vies' te zijn van iets dat in de warongs verkocht wordt; de vrees die we vroeger hadden at we daarbij zeker de hemel weet welke besmettelijke ziekte zouden oploopen, blijkt altijd wel wat dwaas geweest te zijn!'<sup>45</sup>

Most authors wrote positively about the attitude of the Dutch right after the capitulation, but as time progressed the judgment got more critical. Izaak Brugman was an economic historian and a professor at the Faculty of Literature. He wrote in the start of 1943 that the spirit of the Dutch cannot be killed but later on he denounces the egoism of the Dutch and the craving for spiritual comfort. The same development is visible in the writings of inspector of the *Politieke Inlichtingen Dienst* Jack Scholte. In December 1942 he praised the Dutch mentality but in March 1944 he wrote the following<sup>46</sup>: 'Angst... dat is de Hollander – een groote smoel máár een lafbek en... een vuile egoïst... Ik heb ze nu leeren kennen in ruim 1<sup>1/2</sup> jaar en heb me lelijk vergist in mijn eerste overpeinzingen in 't begin van dit dagboek.'<sup>47</sup>

### *Buitenkampers*

The Indisch Dutch that were not interned were isolated from the outside world and also from their direct environment. European schools were closed, radio's were sealed or had to be handed in, Dutch newspapers were no longer distributed and the Indisch Dutch could not travel freely anymore.<sup>48</sup> Speaking Dutch was forbidden, so many Eurasian children learned to speak Malay fluently but they forgot how to speak Dutch. Since language is an important aspect of identity and culture, not speaking Dutch made them less Dutch.<sup>49</sup>

Indisch Dutch outside the camps lived in constant insecurity and fear. They could be reported by the Indonesian police, the *Politieke Inlichtingendienst* (English: the Dutch Intelligence and Security Service) or the feared kempeitai (the Japanese military police). Especially the group of Europeans that was forced to continue their work under the Japanese occupier feared for their life. They got punished whenever something went

---

44 Idem, 76.

45 Idem.

46 Idem.

47 Idem, 77.

48 Kemperman, *Dagboeken*, 13-15.

49 Beerling, *Japanse kampen*, 20.

wrong. These punishments were severe and when the Japanese thought you were a saboteur the punishment could be the death penalty. The Indisch Dutch were insecure because they were often forced to move, because the Japanese took their house.<sup>50</sup> Life inside the camps was probably better the first year than life outside the camps.

The Japanese conducted a policy of impoverishment regarding the Indisch Dutch. Money was taken away or frozen, pensions were not being paid anymore and the salary was reduced. The Indisch Dutch had to pay more tax and the *pendaftarans* were expensive. Many breadwinners lost their job, the black market offered possibilities for some, but for the vast majority daily life was a constant struggle.<sup>51</sup> The decay to pauperism led to a growing isolation of the Eurasian group.<sup>52</sup>

Outside the camps, women and children had to work for the Japanese. They had to manufacture textile and they had to work as *njai* for Japanese soldiers. These *njai* were actually prostitutes for the army and had to work in brothels. The economic climate was extremely deteriorated; in such a situation prostitution can be the only resource to gain food.<sup>53</sup> The cost of living grew tremendously: in June 1942 the price rose with 39 per cent compared to 1938 and in November 1944 the prices were 1275 per cent higher. This rise was not only problematic for the unemployed, even for people with a job it was hard to survive.<sup>54</sup>

The Japanese considered the Eurasians to be Asian and they wanted them to assimilate with the native population. Most Indisch Dutch did not feel Asian at all and were unwilling to collaborate with the Japanese or assimilate.<sup>55</sup> The Japanese warned the Indisch Dutch to change their attitude or otherwise hard measures would follow. On the other hand the Japanese did realize that the Indisch Dutch should be given the same position as the other inhabitants of Java. Theoretical some discriminatory measures were abolished. Children of Indisch decent could go to Indonesian primary education, Indisch Dutch could get some money from the bank and the Japanese said they would consider the release of interned Indisch men. In practice, these measures did not have the desired effect. Most Indisch Dutch did not want their children to go to an Indonesian school, because they were afraid their children would be mocked and they simply did not want to be equated with the Indonesians. Only a small amount of money was given to the Indisch Dutch, because the Japanese feared inflation and wanted to withhold enough

---

50 Kemperman, *Dagboeken*, 13-15.

51 Idem, 15-18.

52 Beerling, *Japanse kampen*, 27.

53 Idem, 25-26.

54 Kemperman, *Dagboeken*, 15-18.

55 Beerling, *Japanse kampen*, 17.



money to pay debts. Some men were released from the internment camps, but life outside the camps changed tremendously. The release was for some men a sobering experience.<sup>56</sup>

Most Eurasians did not want to be equated with Asians. Racist prejudices and feelings of superiority made it impossible to integrate in the Indonesian society. Most Indisch Dutch viewed the equated as degradation. They were not really equated, since the Japanese policy was not consistent. On the one hand they were equated, but on the other hand the native population got their jobs. The Indisch Dutch were systematically treated as second-class citizens.<sup>57</sup>

In the end of 1943 and early 1944 the Japanese authorities establish the so-called Indo committees in some cities on Java. In theory, these committees were established to represent the interest of the Indisch Dutch. In practice; these committees were used to persuade the Indisch Dutch to collaborate with the Japanese and to assimilate with the Indonesians.<sup>58</sup>

The *tonarigumi*-system was introduced to make sure the directives of the military board would reach all levels of society. This scheme divided the entire population into small townships. This system forced the Eurasians to integrate, since the Indonesians provided the head of the *tonarigumi*.<sup>59</sup> The head of a *tonarigumi* was called the *kumicho*. A group of townships was called an *aza* and the leader of an *aza* was called the *azacho*. Because of this system Indonesians and Indisch Dutch could be summoned to work on civil and military objects. In mixed *tonarigumies* Indisch Dutch resisted to do the same heavy manual labour as the Indonesians. In *tonarigumies* where only Indisch Dutch lived, the obligations of the system yielded fewer problems.<sup>60</sup>

Many Indisch boys could not go to school, had no job, therefore no money and often their dad was often interned or a prisoner of war. A growing number of these adolescents committed petty crime and became beggars.<sup>61</sup> They fought a lot with other Indisch and Indonesian boys, so the Japanese decided that these boys had to leave the big cities and work in agricultural colonies. When the Eurasian boys did not want to work for the Japanese or when they sabotaged the work, they were imprisoned and tortured in prison.<sup>62</sup>

---

56 Kemperman, *Dagboeken*, 20-23.

57 Idem, 23.

58 Idem, 24.

59 Beerling, *Japane kampen*, 17.

60 Kemperman, *Dagboeken*, 25.

61 Beerling, *Japane kampen*, 21.

62 Kemperman, *Dagboeken*, 25-26

The Japanese emphasized that all they wanted from the Indisch Dutch was social-economic collaboration. For many Indisch Dutch, the idea of a society where the Indonesian element would play a predominant role was highly unappealing. They could hardly imagine an independent Indonesia. Since the collaboration between the Indisch Dutch society and the occupier was not going according to plan, the Japanese military administration ordered that all Indisch Dutch that could be a danger to society should be arrested. Razzias were being held and Indisch boys were the main targets. Unemployed Indisch boys and impoverished Indo families had to work in camps and agricultural colonies. Mainly Indisch men and boys were employed. In this way most Indisch Dutch men and boys were removed from society. This was the sad result of the Japanese attempt to collaborate with the Indo-Europeans.<sup>63</sup>

#### *The outlawed experience*

Hampel thought the Japanese were weird, childish people that smelled bad. She was not interested in Japanese propaganda but the Japanese board could count on her consent regarding the restriction of the political activities of the Indonesian nationalists. She wrote the following on 18 May 1942: 'Hoera! (...) Men zegt, dat ze de leden van de (nationalistische partij) Parindra gevangen hebben genomen en alle Indonesische clubs moeten ontbonden worden. De Jappen zijn haast mensen naar mijn hart.'<sup>64</sup> She noticed that some Indonesians were pro-Dutch but that most Indonesians had a hostile attitude towards the Dutch. As Eurasian she was put under pressure by the Japanese and the Indonesians. She would rather be in the Netherlands, because there were only Dutch. She wrote on 18 April 1945 that in the Dutch Indies it was 'één en al verraad tussen de rassen en daar zitten wij als *peranakans* (Indo-Europeanen) in. De oosterling die ons niet mag, omdat we westers bloed hebben. En de westerling die de pest aan ons heeft, omdat we oosters bloed in ons hebben. Wat kan mij dat schelen. Ik ga om met de mensen die ik aardig vind, westerling of oosterling.'<sup>65</sup>

In her diary Hampel seemed strong, but sometimes she was fed up with the situation: 'Je kan soms opeens van alles schoon genoeg krijgen en (ik) verlang dan een hele dag niets dan te huilen. Maar tja, je moet sterk zijn en dragen wat je opgelegd wordt en dus gaan we weer verder. Maar als alles afgelopen is en jij bent thuis, dan ga ik voor mijn plezier een hele dag huilen en gillen hoor, en als het gaat de boek kort en klein slaan. Dus je weet het.' She was imprisoned twice. The first time because she hit a

---

63 Idem, 27-28.

64 Idem, 30.

65 Kemperman, *Dagboeken*, 31.

Japanese back, the second time because the police found an unsealed radio in their house. De Kempeitai took Hampel and her father, they thought they were involved in acts of resistance. They were severely mistreated and tortured, but the Japanese seemed to like Hampel: 'Wat de Kempei aan me zag, weet ik niet, maar ze lachten allemaal tegen me. Na zes weken kreeg ik een allerliefst verhoor. (...) Of ik nog 'prawan' (maagd) was. Jan de Mepper (een Japanse bewaker) had het steeds over mijn 'badan koewat' (sterk lichaam).'<sup>66</sup>

Pool wrote the following on 8 December 1942: 'In 't kamp Tjideng, waar een stuk of wat jongens aan 't rolschaatsten waren, passeerden een stuk of wat 'sissen' (Indonesische meisjes) met lange vlechten. Een van de jongens sikatte (plaagde) haar, een sis, zo'n beetje. Woedend was ze. "Zeg" zei ze, "weet je wel dat dit land nu van ons is?" "Niet waar," gilte de jongen, "niet van ons, maar ook niet van jullie lekker, lekker, maar van Nippon." En de hele zoi jongens, op rolschaatsen, luid gillend "van Nippon, van Nippon" erachteraan!!!' This fragment clearly shows the changing relations between the Europeans, Japanese and Indonesians.

Huussen was determined to stay out of the camp, even when the Japanese called her: 'Volgens de Jap(anse) officieren moet miss Huussen zich melden op 't Grote Huis, daar ze 't kamp in moet! Ik ben niet van plan dit te doen. Laten ze me maar halen. Maar weet nog niet hoe, want ik wil gaan zwerven en geen vast adres meer opgeven.' She lived with some families. In her diary she often writes about money, about how to earn the money, to spend it and to save it. She earned money by clandestine teaching to Dutch and Chinese children, selling homemade clothes and selling these to others that could go outside.<sup>67</sup>

In August 1945 many internees could leave the camps. The internees thought the life of the *buitenkampers* had not been as bad the life inside the camps. Hampel was indignant about the attitude of the *binnenkampers*. The Dutch bought food for the ex-internees, but the ex-internees did not appreciate the gesture enough: 'Al het eten wat ze nu in het kamp krijgen, daar denken ze van dat het van het Amerikaanse Rode Kruis is, en het is van de Bataviase burgerij. In de kampen zeggen ze: "Ja, jullie (de geïnterneerden) krijgen zo weinig te eten omdat de buitenlui alles opkopen!" Gevolg: haat tegen ons. En wij kopen n.b. alles op voor de kampmensen.' The Allies helped the ex-internees, but the *buitenkampers* were hardly supported.<sup>68</sup>

---

66 Idem, 31-33.

67 Idem, 37-39.

68 Kemperman, *Dagboeken*, 33-34.



### 3. The Indonesian struggle for Independence (1945-1949)

This third chapter will discuss the period after the declaration of independence in 1945. It will discuss the Bersiap period, the *politioele acties* and what was life like for the Indisch Dutch in the Indonesian society.

#### *Introduction*

The Second World War officially ended in the Dutch Indies after the Japanese capitulated on 15 August 1945. The rather sudden collapse of Japan surprised ally and enemy. Unofficially the war continued for the Dutch and Eurasians. On 17 August Soekarno declared Indonesia to be an independent state. For the Indonesians, this meant the end of the Dutch Indies. After the declaration of independence the *Bersiap* period started.<sup>69</sup> Bersiap is named after the battle cry 'be ready'. It was a violent up rise of the Indonesian people in 1945-1946 and this violence was mainly aimed at the Europeans and Eurasians that were still in Indonesia. How many people died in this uprising is still subject of discussion.<sup>70</sup>

#### *The Bersiap period*

After the Japanese capitulation, the Indisch Dutch and the Asian population wanted to rebuild the country. The Indisch Dutch wanted to rebuild the colony, while the Indonesian population strove for an independent state. The incompatibility of these aspirations was expressed in October, November and December of 1945 and the first three months of 1946.<sup>71</sup> There was a power vacuum and the *pemoedas*<sup>72</sup> started plundering, kidnapping and killing Dutch and Eurasians.<sup>73</sup> The Bersiap period is characterized by chaos and anarchy.<sup>74</sup>

On 18 August 1945 the British organization Recovery of Allied Prisoners of War and Internees (RAPWI) was established to evacuate all internees that were kept in Japanese camps. The British forces had to disarm and repatriate the Japanese, and only arrived in the Dutch Indies in the end of October 1945. The British needed the help of the conquered Japanese. The Japanese had to protect the ex-internees that wished to

---

69 Young, *Oorlog en overleven*, 15-16.

70 Bert Immerzeel, 'Bersiap: de werkelijke cijfers' (7 Februari 2014), <[www.javapost.nl](http://www.javapost.nl)>, accessed on 5 November 2014.

71 Captain, *Kawat*, 123.

72 Young nationalists trained by the Japanese, in: Young, *Oorlog en overleven*, 16.

73 Young, *Oorlog en overleven*, 16.

74 Kemperman, *Dagboeken*, 28.

stay in Indonesia and the Japanese were responsible for the evacuation of ex-internees to an Allied area. The Indonesian army had to intern thousands of Indisch Dutch for their own safety.<sup>75</sup> It were mainly the former *binnenkampers* that were kept 'safe' in these new camps. The British These camps were not safe, since *pemoedas* could go inside the camps and later it became clear that the protected prisoners were used as political barter by the Indonesian political leaders.<sup>76</sup> The former *buitenkampers* once again stayed out of the camps and due to the racial evacuation policy the British only evacuated totoks. Eurasians had a tougher time in the Bersiap period than the Dutch; they found themselves in an extremely vulnerable position.<sup>77</sup>

The Bersiap period is known as one of the period that traumatized most Indisch Dutch the most. The end of the colonial era demanded thousands of victims, but it is hard to say how many Europeans and Indisch Dutch actually died because it has never been thoroughly investigated. For decades the official numbers of the *Opsporingsdienst Overleden* (Investigation service Deceased, in short: ODO) were used. The archive of the ODO is only maintained fragmentary. Dr. L. de Jong wrote in *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog* that at least 3.400 Indisch Dutch died during the Bersiap period, but that there could be more victims.<sup>78</sup>

On 18 November 2013 the Dutch newspaper *Trouw* posted 'Een vergeten golf van etnisch geweld', in this article the American historian William H. Frederick speaks of genocide. He uses an article of himself<sup>79</sup> in which he states that 25.000-30.000 Indisch Dutch died in the period of 1945-1949. Frederick is not the only one that claims these kind of numbers: dr. Herman Bussemaker talks about 20.000 civilians in *Bersiap! Opstand in het paradijs*<sup>80</sup> and the Australian historian Robert Cribb spoke about 20.000 deaths as well in 2008.<sup>81</sup> The historic image of the Bersiap period changed over the years without an appropriate justification. Without a thorough study of sources the number of Indisch Dutch victims rose to 20.000-30.000.<sup>82</sup>

Bert Immerzeel is an independent researcher and he argues that the assumptions made above are not accurate. In an ODO report 11.000 deaths are known,

---

75 Captain, *Kawat*, 123.

76 Young, *Oorlog en overleven*, 16.

77 Jones, *Onderdanen*, 76-77.

78 Immerzeel, *Bersiap*.

79 William. H. Frederick, "The killing of Dutch and Eurasians in Indonesia's national revolution (1945-49): a "brief genocide" reconsidered, *Journal of Genocide Research* (14-2012), 369.

80 Herman T. Bussemaker, *Bersiap! Opstand in het paradijs* (Zutphen 2005) 342.

81 R. Cribb, The brief genocide of the Eurasians in Indonesia, 1945/1946, in A. Dirk Moses. (ed.), *Empire, Colony, Genocide. Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History* (New York/Oxford 2008) 424-439.

82 Immerzeel, *Bersiap*.

but deaths are from the time of the Bersiap as well as from the Japanese time. Moreover are these deaths not only Dutch and Eurasians citizens, but also Chinese and Indonesians, as well as soldiers. A realistic number of Dutch victims is about 5.500: 3.500 'documented death' plus 2.000 missing people. The number of victims can be higher, but there is no prove that the number of victims could be as high as 10.000.<sup>83</sup>

### *Politionele acties*

Restoration of the Dutch colonial rule was impossible and decolonization inevitable. There was a change in the Dutch policy; this led to the agreements of Linggadjati (1946) and Renville (1948) that worked towards a form of Indonesian independence. The Dutch disagreed with the Indonesians about political interpretation of these agreements; this was a reason for the Dutch to attack Indonesia. These attacks are called Politionele Acties (July 1947 and December 1948).<sup>84</sup>

The Dutch government qualified the war as *politionele acties*, while the Indonesian government called it *agresi militer belanda* (Dutch military aggression). These wars for independence worsened the Dutch-Indonesian relationship.<sup>85</sup> The Dutch tried to prevent their colony to become an independent nation. The word 'war' is carefully avoided, the message was that the Dutch only had to restore the order and security. The Dutch successfully regained the economically important areas on Java and Sumatra, but the pemoedas strike back. The Dutch soldiers behaved excessively in the chaos: villages were burned to the ground and civilians were executed. These *politionele acties* cost the lives of 5000 Dutch soldiers and 150.000 Indonesians.<sup>86</sup>

### *The end of an era*

The process of decolonization in Indonesia was a traumatic process; the relations between the Netherlands and Indonesia were seriously disrupted from 1945 onwards.

In the period 1946-1949 there was no longer an Indisch Dutch population in Indonesia, since one part of the group left for the Netherlands and the other part stayed in the former Dutch Indies. Most Dutch were repatriated to their fatherland and most Eurasians largely stayed in Indonesia, since that was their fatherland. Many Indisch Dutch tried to continue to live like they did before the war, but their return in the

---

83 Jeroen Kemperman, 'De slachtoffers van de Bersiap' (16 May 2014), <[www.niodbibliotheek.blogspot.nl](http://www.niodbibliotheek.blogspot.nl)>, accessed on 5 November 2014.

84 Captain, *Kawat*, 124.

85 Jones, *Onderdanen*, 140.

86 Mirjam Janssen, 'De oorlog die niet zo mocht heten' (March 2014), <[www.historischnieuwsblad.nl](http://www.historischnieuwsblad.nl)>, accessed on 6 November 2014).

Indonesian society was characterized by loss: pre-war infrastructure, self-evidences, personal belongings, loved ones.<sup>87</sup>

Many Indisch Dutch left for the Netherlands. Between 1946-1949 106.976 Dutch and Eurasians came to the Netherlands. About 80.000 of these evacuees settled permanently in the Netherlands. Initially this group was called 'recuperanten' and they were supposed to help rebuilding the Dutch Indies after the recovery. According to the evacuation directive only totoks should be evacuated to the Netherlands, but the Dutch government was surprised when they found out there were 25.000 people of mixed decent among the group of recuperanten. This was against the racial directive. The relationship between Indonesia and the Netherlands did not improve, so the recuperanten could not go back to rebuild the former colony.<sup>88</sup>

The loss of the former colony was deeply mourned by many Dutch politicians. The decolonization made the position of the Indisch Dutch in the Indonesian situation untenable.<sup>89</sup> In the spring of 1949 the Dutch had to acknowledge that the politics towards Indonesia had failed and that there was no other alternative that negotiating with Soekarno. These negotiations resulted in the Van Roijen-Roem agreement, the Ronde Tafel Conferentie in The Hague and the transfer of sovereignty on 27 December 1949.<sup>90</sup>

---

87 Captain, *Kawat*, 124-125.

88 Jones, *Onderdanen*, 85-86.

89 Idem, 85-86.

90 Captain, *Kawat*, 124



## 4. Binnen- and buitenkampers compared

This final chapter will compare the position and experiences of the *binnen-* and *buitenkampers*. It will first discuss these two groups at the time of the Japanese occupation and in the chaotic period after the Indonesian declaration of independence. This chapter will also discuss the documentary *Buitenkampers*.

### *Introduction*

During the Japanese occupation, most Indisch Dutch tried to stay out of the Japanese camps. A *pendaftaran* helped many *buitenkampers*, but because they stayed out of the camps it was hard to have contact with other Eurasians that were not incarcerated. There was no feeling of solidarity among the *buitenkampers*, they felt like they were excluded once again. After the repatriation, *buitenkampers* were viewed by some as not loyal and suspicious. The question arose whether the *buitenkampers* stayed out of the camps because the Japanese wanted these Eurasians to participate. Some Eurasians did already doubt their own identity before the war started, but the outlawed experience reinforced this doubt even more. The Eurasians did already choose the Dutch nationality before the capitulation of the Dutch Indies, but during the internment period a lasting separation between the Dutch and the Eurasians became visible. Some even experienced this doubt so severely that they felt like they were in a social isolation.<sup>91</sup>

### *Binnen- and buitenkampers during the Japanese occupation*

Many women managed to stay out of the camps because of the *pendaftaran*. The incarceration experience made the Eurasians painfully conscious of their origin: if a Eurasian wanted to obtain a *pendaftaran*, he or she had to display their Indonesian roots. In the colonial time these Indonesian roots were often carefully hidden.

The Japanese considered all *binnenkampers* as one group, even though this group consisted of totoks and Eurasians. The *binnenkampers* did not necessarily see themselves as one group. The totoks were critical at the Eurasians<sup>92</sup> and they were scared that many Eurasians would eventually choose the side of the Japanese. Eurasians were hybrids: they positioned themselves as Eurasians when this fitted the situation but when behaving Dutch fitted the situation more, they behaved Dutch. This hybrid identity was caused by the double racial origin of the Eurasian group.

---

<sup>91</sup> Beerling, *Japanse kampen*, 22-26.

<sup>92</sup> On page 12 and 13 examples of this critical attitude can be found.

The *buitenkampers* lived in constant fear and insecurity, the policy of impoverishment made the life outside the camps even harder. Since many men were interned, women that were not used to work were breadwinner from now on. Since the cost of living grew tremendously, women had to find new ways to earn money. The reversal in hierarchy that was visible in the camps, did also take place outside the camps but the *buitenkampers* could show more resistance. The Japanese warned the Indisch Dutch to change their attitude, but most Indisch Dutch simply did not want to be equated with the Indonesians, they were rather treated as second-class citizens by the Japanese than live in a society where the Indonesian element played a predominant role.

The life of the *binnenkampers* was not as isolated in the beginning as it was at the end of the Japanese occupation. After taking servants and other privileges away they were completely isolated from their former colonial lives. They were no longer the upper layer of the society, the Japanese and Indonesians now stood far above the Indisch Dutch in the hierarchy. This reversal in the hierarchy did reduce the gap that existed between the Indonesians and the Indisch Dutch.<sup>93</sup>

The *buitenkampers* were isolated from the beginning of Japanese occupation. Not only from the outside world but also from their direct environment. The colonial society disappeared when the Japanese army took over authority from the Dutch and the *buitenkampers* were not able to participate in daily life anymore. Staying out of the camps made the *buitenkampers* less Dutch. When the Japanese realized the collaboration with the Indisch Dutch society was not going to work, razzias were being held. These razzias removed most Indisch Dutch men and boys from society.

The *buitenkampers* experience more hostilities from the Japanese and Indonesians than the *binnenkampers* and they also experienced a growing gap with the Europeans.<sup>94</sup> Especially after the release of the *binnenkampers* the fracture within the Indisch Dutch group was tangible, since the *binnenkampers* thought life outside the camps had not been that hard.

#### *Former binnen- and buitenkampers during the Indonesian struggle for Independence*

When the Japanese capitulated in 15 August 1945, many internees could leave the camps shortly after this capitulation. When Soekarno declared Indonesia to be an independent state on 17 August 1945, many realized that the pre-colonial era would not return. Most *binnenkampers* only knew Soekarno proclaimed Indonesia to be an independent state a week or more after it happened. For many Indisch Dutch 'the Indonesian Revolution

---

93 On page 14 an example of this reduction can be found.

94 On page 17 and 18 an example of this hostile attitude can be found.

came as a rude shock.<sup>95</sup> Many Indisch Dutch expected the Allies and the Dutch to re-establish the old colonial order. Especially the *buitenkampers* should have been aware of the 'shift in the Indonesian attitude towards the return of the Dutch colonial administration.'<sup>96</sup> The Bersiap, that took place between October 1945 and March 1946, was a period of chaos and anarchy. The Indisch Dutch had to be protected from the Indonesians that were incited by nationalism. The Bersiap period can be seen as the a crucial period of the formation of the Indisch Dutch identity.<sup>97</sup>

Once again, it were the former *binnenkampers* that were interned, but this time for their own safety. Many former *buitenkampers* stayed out of the camps, in a society where they were seen as outlaws. The process of decolonization in Indonesia, especially the period of the Bersiap and the *politioenele acties*, was traumatic.

After the Japanese capitulation, many Dutch – probably former *binnenkampers*<sup>98</sup> – were evacuated tot the Netherlands. The Indisch Dutch started to fight the Indonesians after the Japanese capitulation. The *pemoedas* fought against everyone that had anything to do with Dutch colonialism. Most Indisch Dutch defined their identity as Dutch. This choice was partly 'thrust upon them by the Indonesian fury, but partly the Ducth identity proved to be ingrained.' For Indisch Dutch it was harder to be evacuated to the Netherlands, since they were often not born in the Netherlands and there was a racial directive for evacuating Indisch Dutch to the Netherlands. In 1950 only twenty percent choose the Indonesian nationality, the rest of this group went to the Netherlands.<sup>99</sup>

The introduction mentioned that the number of reliable sources, especially sources on the Bersiap period, are limited. Herman Bussemaker confirms this in his article 'Voices of the Bersiap'. Most of the sources that are left tend to be of diplomatic, military of political nature but there has been an oral history project by *Stichting Mondelinge Geschiedenis van Indonesië*. In this project about 1200 interviews were conducted with 750 people about the period of the prewar colonial society until the Bersiap period. Bussemaker says that these interviews are a rich source, but they were held more than fifty years after the events so the interviewees mixed up a lot of information.<sup>100</sup> Nonetheless these oral sources do offer a significant amount of information. Bussemaker uses the interviews to provide his article with relevant examples.

---

95 Herman Bussemaker, 'Voices of the Bersiap' (Leiden 2007) 1.

96 Bussemaker, 'Voices', 1.

97 Idem.

98 In principle, all totoks were interned. Nevertheless some managed to stay out of the camps.

99 Bussemaker, 'Voices', 1.

100 Idem, 1-2.

Another author that has written about the Bersiap period is Rob Bouwman. He used the diaries of his two mothers: his biological mother Doortje that passed away on 8 May 1945 in a Japanese internment camp and the sister of this mother that became his mother after her death. Bouwman used a number of books to contextualize his own memories, since he was very young at the time of the Japanese occupation and the Bersiap. Bouwman and his mothers were *binnenkampers*. They expected the situation to improve after the Japanese capitulation, but it got worse: 'Al snel verergert de sfeer in Soerabaia want de bevolking wordt onder aansporing van de *bersiap* opgedragen, de *orang belanda*, de Nederlander, op geen enkele wijze nog van dienst te zijn.'<sup>101</sup> The Indisch Dutch had to be protected against the Indonesians by the Japanese. The Allied take good care of the more than 20.000 internees, such good care that the local Indonesian population feels like they are second-class citizens: 'De overgang is voor ons zó genereus geregeld, dat de plaatselijke Indonesische bevolking, die er zelf slecht aan toe is, het gevoel krijgt van de ene op de andere dag te zijn gedegradeerd tot tweerangs burgers in eigen land. Hiermee wakkert men de sluimerende gevoelens van ongenoegen bij de Indonesiërs jegens ons aan. De Nederlander wordt nu, méér dan ooit tevoren, gezien als "de kolonisator", voor wie uiteindelijk het best gezorgd gaat worden. De Indonesiërs zijn zeker ook zwaar getroffen door de oorlog. De Japanners hebben, ondanks hun mooie beloften, een waar schrikbewind gevoerd dat geleid heeft tot ernstige verarming van het land. De grote eenzijdige aandacht van de Geallieerden voor het welzijn van de geïnterneerden valt daardoor in slechte aard. Mede hierdoor ontwikkelen anti-Nederlandse gevoelens explosief gedurende de maanden september, oktober en november van het jaar 1945.'<sup>102</sup>

*'Buitenkampers. Boekan main – boekan main'*

Hetty Naaijkens-Retel Helmrich directed the documentary *Buitenkampers. Boekan main – boekan main*.<sup>103</sup> In the documentary, Naaijkens-Retel Helmrich interviews former buitenkampers interspersed with archive material and images of present-day Indonesia. Different Indisch Dutch men and women that were between four and thirteen years old at the time the Japanese attacked the Dutch Indies are interviewed in the documentary. By only viewing these interviewees, it becomes clear that the period of the Japanese occupation and the period of Indonesia gaining its independence was quite traumatic, especially for the *buitenkampers*.

---

101 Rob Bouwman, *Twee Moeders. Japanse kampen en Bersiap* (Leiden 2013) 121.

102 Bouwman, *Twee Moeders*, 123.

103 Hetty Naaijkens-Retel Helmrich, *Buitenkampers. Boekan main – boekan main!*, <<http://www.npo.nl>>, accessed on 7 November 2014.

The Indonesians enthusiastically received the Japanese, for the Indisch Dutch this was an unpleasant surprise, since they expected the Indonesians to be loyal to the Netherlands. The Japanese wanted to avert all European influence by interning European civilians and so the streetscape became more Asian. Mostly totok men were interned in these Japanese camps and therefore there was no longer a breadwinner. The money at the bank was directly confiscated, so women and children had to take care of themselves. The women had to sell belongings to feed their family. One of the interviewees told: 'Mijn moeder moest maar zien aan geld te komen. Dus wat zij vaak deed, wat ze begon te doen, is allerlei dingen te verkopen aan de *tukan botol*. Een *tukan botol* is iemand die van alles opkoopt. Hij is eigenlijk begonnen met flessen op te kopen, maar later gingen ze ook kleren en schoenen en wat je maar wilde verkopen, dat kochten ze dan.' Another way to earn some money, was by cooking food and selling this on the street. The mother of one of the interviewees made a cake and she had to sell it on the street: 'Ze maakte van die casavevellen een taart waar onderaan de kleur blauw was, tweede was wit, bovenaan rood en dat sloot ze af met een witte rand. Dus als je er mee rondging, dan zag de Japanner die rode vlag van hun, de rijzende zon.'

Indisch Dutch could stay out of the camps when they had a *pendaftaran*, but this registration certificate gave ambivalent feelings. One of the interviewees spoke about his mother, and how contradictory getting a *pendaftaran* felt for her. His mother put a lot of emphasis on the emancipation of the Indisch society on a Dutch level. She believed the Indisch Dutch had to elevate themselves to the level of the Dutch. Her children were not aloud to speak Malay or have Indonesian friends and she married a totok. All her life she had been consistent in her believes, but when the Japanese occupied the country she did not want to be interned and therefore had to acknowledge her Indonesian ancestors.

The Indisch Dutch felt Dutch, sometimes even more than the thoroughbred Dutch in the Netherlands: 'Ik denk dat over het algemeen de Indische Nederlander veel meer patriotisch was, veel meer koningsgezind was, veel meer Nederlands-minded was. Veel meer dan dat ik hier waarneem. De vlag uitsteken, de vlag werd met veel protecol behandeld en die bleef nooit na zonsondergang, mocht de grond niet raken, werd precies opgevouwen zoals het moest. Er was eerbied voor de koningin. (...) Er was heel veel koningsgezindheid onder de Indische Nederlanders.' One of the internees made a beautiful quote that probably described the ambivalent feelings that a lot of Indisch Dutch had about their double racial origin: 'Ik heb een bruin vel maar een hart van Oranje.'

Many interviewees spoke about their identity. They felt like they did not belong to a group. Winny Lemette said the following: 'Wij zijn buiten de kampen gebleven, want

we hoorden nergens bij: niet bij de Hollanders en niet bij de Javanen. Als we langs de kampen liepen van de Europeanen riepen ze: “Vuile verrader!” Maar wat konden wij eraan doen? Niks natuurlijk.’ This next fragment shows that she also felt very excluded: ‘We hebben Nederlands bloed in ons en we hebben Indonesisch bloed in ons. Zo wij weten ook niet... We behoren niet bij Indonesie en we behoren niet bij Nederlanders. Wie zijn wij eigenlijk? Indo? En soms raakt het je. Wat zijn wij eigenlijk?’

Indisch Dutch were not only excluded in such an abstract way, at the time of the Japanese occupation the European schools were closed so the Indisch Dutch kids were literally excluded from education. Ron Mertens said: ‘In de Hollandse tijd gingen alle Europese kinderen naar school, je zag ze niet op straat slenteren, wel Inlandse kinderen. En toen wij dus in de Japanse tijd kwamen was het net andersom! Je zag kinderen al met liedjes marcheren en wij stonden eigenlijk naar die kinderen te kijken.’ This is a very concrete example of the reversal of authority: European children could go to school when the Dutch were in charge in the Dutch Indies, but when the Japanese took over this privileged position was given to the Indonesians. The Japanese period made the Indonesians more self-conscious than they were before. The Japanese trained the young Indonesians, the *pemoedas*, but a interviewee called it indoctrinating.

All former *buitenkampers* in the documentary spoke about hunger. Food was scarce during the Japanese occupation and most families had many mouths to feed since they had little children: ‘Maar dan begint toch langzamerhand die honger op te komen. Die honger, die begint te knagen. Al die kleine kinderen, ik was toen een jaar of elf. Dan voel je het wel, maar al die kleine kinderen die we in huis hadden, allemaal honger! Wat had je nog?’ Joseph ten Berge argued that the situation and hunger outside the camp was perhaps even worse than inside the camps: ‘Tijdens de bezetting waren wij buiten het kamp, wij waren niet in het kamp. Buiten was het ook slecht. Waarschijnlijk was het slechter dan in het kamp. Eten was erg schaars, we hadden misschien maar een hand vol rijst voor en die moeten wij delen met zeven kinderen en dan mijn moeder en nog een grootmoeder.’

Another topic many interviewees spoke about was the *kempeitai*: ‘De kempeitai was berucht, alleen het woord al deed schrik opwekken bij diverse gemeenschappen. De kempeitai kunt u het beste vergelijken met de Duitse Gestapo. De kempeitai had dus overall spionnen, die hun op de hoogte hielden van eventuele verzetsactiviteiten. Wat ze ook deden waren razia’s, waarbij ze met een Japanse patrouille en een aantal vrachtauto’s een wijk binnenreden waar veel Indische Nederlanders zaten en dan werden de Indische jongens gewoon van straat geplukt en bijvoorbeeld in werkkampen aan het werk gesteld. Degenen die geen loyaliteitsverklaring tekenden, en dat waren de

meesten, die konden zelfs in gevangenissen terecht komen en daar terecht gesteld worden.' The Japanese were afraid of resistance of the Indisch Dutch community. One of the interviewees was taken by the kempeitai, because the Japanese said he was guilty of sabotage. He denied and was hit by the kempeitai, who are notorious for their violent and severe punishments. He was told to admit; otherwise they would beat him to death. The kempeitai arrested people also for minor offenses, like listening to Dutch radio: 'Mijn oom Gerard werd gepakt door de kempeitai vanwege radio of weet ik veel wat luisteren. En de volgende dag kreeg mijn tante al die trouwring terug. Hij was er niet meer.(...) En toen werd ik gepakt door de kempeitai. Er zijn dingen gebeurd waar ik eigenlijk niet graag over praat.' The Japanese did not only behave violently but also conducted very humiliating punishments.

During the Japanese occupation, there were no white people in the streetscape anymore. Most were interned and the ones that managed to stay out of the camps hardly went outside. When the *binnenkampers* were aloud to leave the camps in 1945, white women and children were seen again after a long time. Some thought and hoped that the Dutch time would return; now the Dutch were free again. The proclamation of Independence made this hope disappear. The Japanese no longer occupied the Dutch Indies, after the proclamation the Indonesians were the enemy of the Indisch Dutch. The Japanese had to protect the former *binnenkampers* against the Indonesians; they were placed in camps again. The former *buitenkampers* were hardly interned and therefore less protected as the *binnenkampers*. Many Indisch Dutch experienced this enmity as much worse: 'Veel mensen weten niet dat we eerst de Jappen tegen ons hebben tijdens de oorlog en daarna kregen wij de Indonesiers tegen ons, wat veel erger was. Het is eigenlijk dubbel erg, want zij hebben zo'n haat tegen een ieder die maar een klein beetje Nederlands bloed in zich heeft.'

## Conclusion

When the Japanese occupied the Dutch Indies in 1942, the Dutch time ended abruptly. The Dutch authority ended and so did the colonial era of the Dutch Indies. The Japanese intended on removing all European influence as quick as possible and therefore tried to intern all Indisch Dutch. Most totoks were interned but many Indisch Dutch managed to stay out of these camps. While the incarceration process may sound harsh, *buitenkampers* did not only suffer from the general wartime conditions but they also suffered from a growing hostility from the Indonesians, especially after the Indonesian Independence. But to what extent was the fracture between the 'Indo' Dutch and the European Dutch present in the *Indisch* community during the Japanese occupation until the formally acknowledged date of the Indonesian Independence by the United Nations? And to what extent did it originate in the wartime experience?

*Binnen-* and *buitenkampers* both had to renounce their pre-war privileges and most women had to survive without men, since the Japanese interned most men. Many Indisch Dutch felt humiliated by changing relation of power between the Europeans and the Asians. Another humiliating aspect of life under the Japanese occupier was that Indisch Dutch who wanted to stay out of the camps had to hide their Dutch identity. This must have felt ambivalent, since this Dutch identity used to be an asset. Another reason why it must have felt ambivalent is that most Indisch Dutch felt Dutch and did not want to be part of the Indonesian community.

The *binnenkampers* formed a small Indisch Dutch society within the camps; the incarceration experience did indeed consolidate the sense of European-ness amongst the Dutch and Eurasian internees. The *buitenkampers* were isolated and felt left out. They had no longer an Indisch Dutch community they could be part of. Nevertheless they still felt like they did not, and would never belong to, the Indonesian community. Most *buitenkampers* did not want to be equated with the Asian and did not want to integrate in the Indonesian society. Especially in the documentary *Buitenkampers*, it became very clear that the *buitenkampers* felt the distinction that Coté spoke about: the 'Europeans' were in the camp and the Indisch Dutch managed to stay out of these camps. Because the Indonesian republican forces subsequently incarcerated the *buitenkampers*, they have been left with a stronger anti-Indonesian feeling than most *binnenkampers*.

*Binnenkampers* viewed the former *buitenkampers* as not loyal and suspicious. They wondered whether these *buitenkampers* stayed out of the camps because they wanted to collaborate with the Japanese. The former *buitenkampers* had their doubts about their identity before the occupation, but staying outside the camps reinforces this



doubt even more. The *buitenkampers* had the Dutch nationality but still felt like they would never belong to the real Dutch group.

All the literature, diaries and the documentary point in the direction that there was indeed a fracture within the Indisch community. Most authors speak of this fracture; many diary writers do indeed confirm this dichotomy and the interviewees speak about the different groups as well. But, is this so-called fracture caused by the wartime experience or did it already exist before the Second World War broke out? The difference in wartime experience, of the *binnen-* and *buitenkampers*, might have worked as a catalyst but the fracture within the Indisch community did arise long before the Japanese occupation. The answer to the research question should therefore be, that there was a fracture between the Indisch Dutch and the European Dutch present in the *Indisch* community during the Japanese occupation until the formally acknowledged date of the Indonesian Independence by the United Nations but this fracture did not entirely originate in the wartime experience. I hereby disprove Cote's hypothesis.

The totoks, the thoroughbred Dutch, have always been the higher in hierarchy than the Indisch Dutch. Nevertheless there was an Indisch Dutch group in the Dutch Indies to which the totoks and the Indisch Dutch belonged. After the Japanese occupation, when Soekarno declared Indonesia to be an independent state, the Indisch Dutch group seemed to disappear: the totoks were evacuated to the Netherlands while most Indisch Dutch stayed in their fatherland. When the situation seemed to be irreversible, the Indisch Dutch were aloud to 'repatriate' to the Netherlands as well.

All communities are imagined. With the disappearance of the Dutch Indies the colonial Indisch Dutch community disappeared for good. The Indisch Dutch that did eventually come to the Netherlands formed their own group that was still called the same: Indisch Dutch. This group of Indisch Dutch was not composited like it used to in the Dutch Indies. To this new group of Indisch Dutch only people of mixed descent belonged. The former totoks belonged to their own group again: the Dutch.

## Bibliography

### *Books*

- Beerling, Dane Wilson, *Tweehonderduizend Indo's buiten de Japanse Kampen* (Haarlem 1995).
- Bouwman, Rob, *Twee Moeders. Japanse kampen en Bersiap* (Leiden 2013).
- Bussemaker, Herman T., *Bersiap! Opstand in het paradijs* (Zutphen 2005).
- Bussemaker, Herman T., 'Voices of the Bersiap' (Leiden 2007).
- Captain, Esther, *Achter het kawat was Nederland* (Baarn 2002).
- Cote, Joost, 'The Indisch Dutch in Post-War Australia', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 7 (2010).
- Cribb, R., The brief genocide of the Eurasians in Indonesia, 1945/1946, in A. Dirk Moses. (ed.), *Empire, Colony, Genocide. Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History* (New York/Oxford 2008).
- Frederick, William. H, 'The killing of Dutch and Eurasians in Indonesia's national revolution (1945-49): a "brief genocide" reconsidered', *Journal of Genocide Research* (14-2012), 259-380.
- Jones, G., *Tussen Onderdanen, Rijksgenoten en Nederlanders* (Amsterdam 2007).
- Kemperman, Jeroen, *De Japanse bezetting in dagboeken. Buiten de kampen* (Amsterdam 2002).
- Young, Rita en Zwaan de Vries, *Oorlog en overleven buiten Japanse kampen: drie generaties vertellen* (Nijmegen 2008).

### *Online sources*

- Immerzeel, Bert, 'Bersiap: de werkelijke cijfers' (7 Februari 2014), <[www.javapost.nl](http://www.javapost.nl)>.
- Janssen, Mirjam, 'De oorlog die niet zo mocht heten' (March 2014), <[www.historischnieuwsblad.nl](http://www.historischnieuwsblad.nl)>
- Kemperman, Jeroen, 'De slachtoffers van de Bersiap' (16 May 2014), <[www.niodbibliotheek.blogspot.nl](http://www.niodbibliotheek.blogspot.nl)>
- Smit, Esther, 'De Njai: de slavinnen van Indië' (27 June 2013), <[www.historien.nl](http://www.historien.nl)>

### *Documentaries*

- Hetty Naaijkens-Retel Helmrich, *Buitenkampers. Boekan main – boekan main*, <<http://www.npo.nl>>.

## Translations

This thesis contains many Dutch fragments of diaries and of the documentary *Buitenkampers*. Below a translation of each fragment can be found. Since my native language is Dutch, some translations might be a bit crooked.

### *Page 12*

‘Waarvoor ineens dat onderscheid tussen ras en halfbloeden; tenzij zij daarmee tweedracht en onenigheid denken te zaaien tusschen ons.’

*Why is there all of the sudden a distinction between race and half-breed; unless they want to create discord and disagreement between us.*

‘Onze sectie onderging daardoor een flinke verandering – niet ongunstig vond ik – en werd ineens een stuk zindelijker met een beter slag (gehalte) mensen.’

*Therefore our section underwent a major change – not unfavourable I thought – and suddenly was cleaner with a better sort of people.*

‘Nieuwe consternatie. De getinten mogen eruit. (...) Er zijn niet veel Indo-Europeanen die er uit willen, wat wij mooi vinden. Vroeger in de vreedstijd werd er geen onderscheid gemaakt, dus laten we nu ook in moeilijke tijden één blijven.’

*New consternation. The tinted may leave (...) There are not many Indo-Europeans that want to get out, we like that. Back in the days of peace there was no distinction, so let's remain one in this difficult time.*

### *Page 13*

‘Hoe zij leven moeten is ons een raadsel. Deze mensen hebben zich nu aan de kant van de inheemschen geschaard, en moeten dat ook nu maar verder voor elkaar krijgen. De dochters komen in dienst van de Japs. Dit is de voorwaarde geweest. Nee, laat ons hier maar rustig zitten. Zij zijn genoeg gewaarschuwd. Medelijden is nu niet meer op z'n plaats.’

*We don't know how they are supposed to live. These people ranged themselves at the side of the natives; they have to take care of themselves from now on. The daughters have to serve the Japanese. That was a condition. No, leave us here. They have been warned enough. Compassion is no longer in place.*

‘Bezoek van 2 Jap. Alle Indische dames gevraagd of wij vrij wilden zijn. Alle dames prefereerden in het Kamp te blijven. Wij moesten opgeven – ouders, man, enz.’

*Visited by two Japanese. All Indisch ladies were asked if we wanted to be free. All ladies preferred to stay in the camp. We had to give up – parents, husband, etc.*

‘Enfin er was niets goeds aan de njonja blanda. De njonja Nippon kon koken, wassen en tuinarbeid doen. Met vuur verdedigde ik de njonja blanda, niet gewend om te werken en toch zulk arbeid presteren als wij hier deden.’

*Enfin there was nothing right about the njonja blanda. The njonj Nippon could cook, wash and work in the garden. I defended njonja blanda passionately, she was not used to work and yet she did such a good job as we did here.*

*Page 14*

‘We hebben nu wel voorgoed afgeleerd ‘vies’ te zijn van iets dat in de warongs verkocht wordt; de vrees die we vroeger hadden dat we daarbij zeker de hemel weet welke besmettelijke ziekte zouden oploopen, blijkt altijd wel wat dwaas geweest te zijn!’

*For good we unlearned to think the products sold at warongs were dirty: the fear we used to have that we would become sick, seemed to be foolish!*

‘Angst... dat is de Hollander – een groote smoel máár een lafbek en... een vuile egoïst... Ik heb ze nu leeren kennen in ruim 1<sup>1/2</sup> jaar en heb me lelijk vergist in mijn eerste overpeinzingen in ‘t begin van dit dagboek.’

*Fear... that is the Hollander – a big mouth but so frightened and... a dirty egoist. I have gotten to know them in 1<sup>1/2</sup> and I was mistaken in the first musings of this diary.*

*Page 17*

‘Hoera! (...) Men zegt, dat ze de leden van de (nationalistische partij) Parindra gevangen hebben genomen en alle Indonesische clubs moeten ontbonden worden. De Jappen zijn haast mensen naar mijn hart.’

*Hurray! (...) It is said that the members of the (nationalist party) Parindra are caught and that al the Indonesian clubs should be dissolved. The Japs are almost people that I like.*

‘één en al verraad tussen de rassen en daar zitten wij als *peranakans* (Indo-Europeanen) in. De oosterling die ons niet mag, omdat we westers bloed hebben. En de westerling die de pest aan ons heeft, omdat we oosters bloed in ons hebben. Wat kan mij dat schelen. Ik ga om met de mensen die ik aardig vind, westerling of oosterling.’

*Nothing but betrayal between races and we are here as peranakans (Indo-Europeans). The Easterner does not like us, because we have western blood. And the Westerner detests us, because we have eastern blood. I don't care. I socialize with people I like, westerner or easterner.*

*Page 18*

'Je kan soms opeens van alles schoon genoeg krijgen en (ik) verlang dan een hele dag niets dan te huilen. Maar tja, je moet sterk zijn en dragen wat je opgelegd wordt en dus gaan we weer verder. Maar als alles afgelopen is en jij bent thuis, dan ga ik voor mijn plezier een hele dag huilen en gillen hoor, en als het gaat de boel kort en klein slaan. Dus je weet het.'

*All of the sudden you can be fed up and what I desire is to do nothing but cry the entire day. But I have to be strong and carry what I have to and go on. But when everything has ended and you are home, then I am going to cry and scream all day for fun, and demolish everything, just so you know.*

'Wat de Kempeitai aan me zag, weet ik niet, maar ze lachten allemaal tegen me. Na zes weken kreeg ik een allerliefst verhoor. (...) Of ik nog 'prawan' (maagd) was. Jan de Mepper (een Japanse bewaker) had het steeds over mijn 'badan koewat' (sterk lichaam).'  
*I don't know what the kempeitai saw when they looked at me, but they all laughed. After six weeks, I got the sweetest interrogation. (...) If I was 'prawan' (virgin). Jan the Beater (a Japanese guard) was constantly talking about my 'badan koewat' (strong body).*

'In 't kamp Tjideng, waar een stuk of wat jongens aan 't rolschaatsten waren, passeerden een stuk of wat 'sissen' (Indonesische meisjes) met lange vlechten. Een van de jongens sikatte (plaagde) haar, een sis, zo'n beetje. Woedend was ze. "Zeg" zei ze, "weet je wel dat dit land nu van ons is?" "Niet waar," gilte de jongen, "niet van ons, maar ook niet van jullie lekker, lekker, maar van Nippon." En de hele zooi jongens, op rolschaatsen, luid gillend "van Nippon, van Nippon" erachteraan!!!'

*In camp Tjideng, where some boys were rollerskating, some 'sissen' (Indonesian girls) passed by with long braids. One of the boys sikatte (teased) her. She was furious. "Well" she said, "do you know this land belongs to us now?" "That is not true," the boy screamed, "not from us, not from you, but it belongs to Nippon." And all the boys, on rollerskated, screamed "of Nippon, of Nippon!!!"*

‘Volgens de Jap(anse) officieren moet miss Huussen zich melden op ‘t Grote Huis, daar ze ‘t kamp in moet! Ik ben niet van plan dit te doen. Laten ze me maar halen. Maar weet nog niet hoe, want ik wil gaan zwerven en geen vast adres meer opgeven.’

*According to Japanese officials miss Huussen had to report at ‘t Grote Huis, she has to go into the camp! I am not planning on doing this. They can come and get me. I don not know how, I wan wander and not tell my adress.*

*Page 19*

‘Al het eten wat ze nu in het kamp krijgen, daar denken ze van dat het van het Amerikaanse Rode Kruis is, en het is van de Bataviase burgerij. In de kampen zeggen ze: “Ja, jullie (de geïnterneerden) krijgen zo weinig te eten omdat de buitenlui alles opkopen!” Gevolg: haat tegen ons. En wij kopen n.b. alles op voor de kampmensen.’

*All the food they get in the camps, they think it belongs to the American Red Cross, but is it from the bourgeoisie of Batavia. In the camps they say: “Yes, you (the internees) get so little to eat because the buitenkampers buy everything!” Consequence: they hate us. And we buy everything for the binnenkampers.*

*Page 28*

‘Al snel verergert de sfeer in Soerabaia want de bevolking wordt onder aansporing van de *bersiap* opgedragen, de *orang belanda*, de Nederlander, op geen enkele wijze nog van dienst te zijn.’

*Soon the atmosphere in Surabaya worsens because the population is instructed under the instigation of the bersiap, orang belanda, Dutchman, not to be of any service.*

‘De overgang is voor ons zó genereus geregeld, dat de plaatselijke Indonesische bevolking, die er zelf slecht aan toe is, het gevoel krijgt van de ene op de andere dag te zijn gedegradeerd tot tweerangs burgers in eigen land. Hiermee wakkert men de sluimerende gevoelens van ongenoegen bij de Indonesiërs jegens ons aan. De Nederlander wordt nu, méér dan ooit tevoren, gezien als “de kolonisator”, voor wie uiteindelijk het best gezorgd gaat worden. De Indonesiërs zijn zeker ook zwaar getroffen door de oorlog. De Japanners hebben, ondanks hun mooie beloften, een waar schrikbewind gevoerd dat geleid heeft tot ernstige verarming van het land. De grote eenzijdige aandacht van de Geallieerden voor het welzijn van de geïnterneerden valt daardoor in slechte aard. Mede hierdoor ontwikkelen anti-Nederlandse gevoelens explosief gedurende de maanden september, oktober en november van het jaar 1945.’

*The transition is so generously arranged for us, that the local Indonesian population, that is suffering, gets that they are suddenly degraded to second-class citizens in their own country. It kindles the dormant feelings of dissatisfaction among Indonesians towards us. The Dutch are now, more than ever before, seen as "the colonizer", who is ultimately best taken care of. The Indonesians are also severely affected by the war. The Japanese, despite their beautiful promises, conducted a reign of terror, which led to serious impoverishment of the country. The one-sided focus of the Allies for the welfare of the internees is thus seen as unfair. Anti-Dutch feelings develop explosively during September, October and November of the year 1945.*

*Page 29*

*'Mijn moeder moest maar zien aan geld te komen. Dus wat zij vaak deed, wat ze begon te doen, is allerlei dingen te verkopen aan de *tukan botol*. Een *tukan botol* is iemand die van alles opkoopt. Hij is eigenlijk begonnen met flessen op te kopen, maar later gingen ze ook kleren en schoenen en wat je maar wilde verkopen, dat kochten ze dan.'*

*My mom has to find a way to earn money. So she often sold belongings to the *tukan botol*. A *tukan botol* is someone who buys everything. He started buying bottles, but later on they started buying clothes and shoes and whatever you wanted to sell, they bought it.*

*'Ze maakte van die casavevellen een taart waar onderaan de kleur blauw was, tweede was wit, bovenaan rood en dat sloot ze af met een witte rand. Dus als je er mee rondging, dan zag de Japanner die rode vlag van hun, de rijzende zon.'*

*She made a pie out of sheets of cassava, the bottom was blue, the second one was white and on top it was red and she closed it with a white edge. So when you walked around, the Japanese saw there red flag, the rising sun.*

*'Ik denk dat over het algemeen de Indische Nederlander veel meer patriotisch was, veel meer koningsgezind was, veel meer Nederlands-minded was. Veel meer dan dat ik hier waarneem. De vlag uitsteken, de vlag werd met veel protocol behandeld en die bleef nooit na zonsondergang, mocht de grond niet raken, werd precies opgevouwen zoals het moest. Er was eerbied voor de koningin. (...) Er was heel veel koningsgezindheid onder de Indische Nederlanders.'*

*I think the Indisch Dutch was more patriotic, more royalist, more Dutch-minded. More than what I see here. The flag was protruded with more protocol, was never up by sundown, could not touch the ground, was folded like it should. There was respect for the queen (...) There was a lot of royalism among the Indisch Dutch.*

'Ik heb een bruin vel maar een hart van Oranje.'

*My skin is brown but my heart is Orange.*

Page 30

'Wij zijn buiten de kampen gebleven, want we hoorden nergens bij: niet bij de Hollanders en niet bij de Javanen. Als we langs de kampen liepen van de Europeanen riepen ze: "Vuile verrader!" Maar wat konden wij eraan doen? Niks natuurlijk.'

*We were left outside the camps, we did not belong to any group: not to the Dutch and not to the people of Java. When we walked by the camps, the Europeans shouted: "Dirty traitor!" But what could we do about it? Nothing of course.*

'We hebben Nederlands bloed in ons en we hebben Indonesisch bloed in ons. Zo wij weten ook niet... We behoren niet bij Indonesie en we behoren niet bij Nederlanders. Wat zijn wij eigenlijk? Indo? En soms raakt het je. Wat zijn wij eigenlijk?'

*We have Dutch blood and we have Indonesian blood. We don not know... We do not belong to Indonesia and we do not belong to the Dutch. Who are we? Indo? Sometimes it hits you. What are we?*

'In de Hollandse tijd gingen alle Europese kinderen naar school, je zag ze niet op straat slenteren, wel Inlandse kinderen. En toen wij dus in de Japanse tijd kwamen was het net andersom! Je zag kinderen al met liedjes marcheren en wij stonden eigenlijk naar die kinderen te kijken.'

*In the Dutch time all European kids went to school, you did not see them saunter at the streets, the native kids did. In the Japanese time it was vice versa! You saw kids marching with songs and we were watching those kids.*

'Maar dan begint toch langzamerhand die honger op te komen. Die honger, die begint te knagen. Al die kleine kinderen, ik was toen een jaar of elf. Dan voel je het wel, maar al die kleine kinderen die we in huis hadden, allemaal honger! Wat had je nog?'

*But then you feel the hunger. The hunger, it starts to gnaw. All those small children, I was about eleven years old. You feel it, but all those children, all hungry. What did you have?*

'Tijdens de bezetting waren wij buiten het kamp, wij waren niet in het kamp. Buiten was het ook slecht. Waarschijnlijk was het slechter dan in het kamp. Eten was erg schaars, we hadden misschien maar een hand vol rijst voor en die moeten wij delen met zeven kinderen en dan mijn moeder en nog een grootmoeder.'



*We were outside the camps during the occupation, not in the camp. Outside it was bad too. Probably worse than in the camp. Food was scarce, we only had about a hand of rice and we had to share it with seven kids and my mother and a grandmother.*

‘De kempeitai was berucht, alleen het woord al deed schrik opwekken bij diverse gemeenschappen. De kempeitai kunt u het beste vergelijken met de Duitse Gestapo. De kempeitai had dus overal spionnen, die hun op de hoogte hielden van eventuele verzetsactiviteiten. Wat ze ook deden waren razia’s, waarbij ze met een Japanse patrouille en een aantal vrachtauto’s een wijk binnenreden waar veel Indische Nederlanders zaten en dan werden de Indische jongens gewoon van straat geplukt en bijvoorbeeld in werkkampen aan het werk gesteld. Degenen die geen loyaliteitsverklaring tekenden, en dat waren de meesten, die konden zelfs in gevangenissen terecht komen en daar terecht gesteld worden.’

*The kempeitai was notorious, only the word scared many communities. The kempeitai can be compared to the German Gestapo. The kempeitai had spies everywhere, they kept them updated about activities of resistance. They performed razias, they invaded a neighborhood with trucks and took Indisch boys to put them in workcamps. The ones that did not sign a statement of loyalty, most did not do that, had to go to jail to work there.*

*Page 31*

‘Mijn oom Gerard werd gepakt door de kempeitai vanwege radio of weet ik veel wat luisteren. En de volgende dag kreeg mijn tante al die trouwring terug. Hij was er niet meer.(...) En toen werd ik gepakt door de kempeitai. Er zijn dingen gebeurd waar ik eigenlijk niet graag over praat.’

*My uncle Gerard was taken away by the kempeitai because of listening to the radio. The next day my aunt received the weddingring. He was no longer among us.(...) And then the kempeitai took me away. Things happened that I do not like to talk about.*

‘Veel mensen weten niet dat we eerst de Jappen tegen ons hebben tijdens de oorlog en daarna kregen wij de Indonesiers tegen ons, wat veel erger was. Het is eigenlijk dubbel erg, want zij hebben zo’n haat tegen een ieder die maar een klein beetje Nederlands bloed in zich heeft.’

*Many people don’t know that the Japanese were our enemy during the war and that the Indonesians were our enemy later on. This was a lot worse. Actually it was dubble bad, since they hated everyone that only had a little bit of Dutch blood.*

