

THE RISING SUN IN A JAVANESE RICE GRANARY

"...Throughout the 60 years, there have been many academic works done on Japanese occupation in Indonesia, but this book by Nawiyanto is very specific in choosing it's area and topic. By focusing on one particular area, he criticizes the most of the existing study because of its over-generalization...the scope of his study is well detailed. Being a historian, Nawiyanto applies historical methodology of textual critique and tries to consult as much as possible on written documents...and ...was successful in collecting written documents such as Japanese-sponsored local newspapers. Therefore, the validity of Nawiyanto's content was quite accurate ... I believe that research at the macro and micro level is equally important.... Nawiyanto's study can surely contribute as the basis of compiling history in broader perspective and larger space."

Aiko Kurasawa

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Shigeru Sato
University of Newcastle



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S. NAWIYANTO

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Change and the Impact of Japanese Occupation on the Agricultural
Economy of Besuki Residency, 1942-1945

S. NAWIYANTO

Preface by

Aiko Kurasawa & Shigeru Sato



THE RISING SUN IN A JAVANESE RICE GRANARY

Change and the Impact of Japanese Occupation on the Agricultural Economy of Besuki Residency, 1942-1945, S. Nawiyanto

Cover design by Amir Hendarsah
Lay-out by Mas A-Henk

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Published in Indonesia by Galangpress (Member of IKAPI)
Jln. Anggrek 3/34 Baciro Baru Yogyakarta Indonesia 55225
Phone: +62 - 274 554985, 554986; Fax. +62 - 274 554985
E-mail: glgpress@indosat.net.id
Website://www.galangpress.com

National Library of the Republic of Indonesia: Cataloguing in Publication Data
Nawiyanto, S.

The Rising Sun in a Javanese Rice Granary: Change and the Impact of Japanese Occupation on the Agricultural Economy of Besuki Residency, 1942-1945; Galangpress, Yogyakarta; 1st edition, July 2005; 150 x 210 mm; iv + 190 pp.

ISBN: 979-3627-76-X

1. Agriculture, History

2. Nawiyanto, S.

Printed and bound in Indonesia by Percetakan Galangpress
Jln. Anggrek 3/34 Baciro Baru Yogyakarta Indonesia 55225
Phone: +62 - 274 554985, 554986; Fax. +62 - 274 554985

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book developed from a research report submitted to the Sumitomo Foundation, Tokyo, Japan. The Sumitomo Foundation financially supported the research under the scheme of the Japan-related Research Project Program. I would like to thank The Sumitomo Foundation for its generous financial support.

In completing the research for this book, I have been indebted to a number of people. My special thanks are due to Dr. Pierre van der Eng, providing himself as a very resourceful and helpful adviser. In the collection of source materials, I was helped by staff of several libraries: The Library of the Research Centre for Estate Crops at Kaliwining, Jember; Research Centre for Rural and Regional Development, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta; The Library of the Yogyakarta Special Region; National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia; National Library of the Republic of Indonesia; and Hicks Collection of the Indonesian National Institute of Science (LIPI), in Jakarta. I also thank Mr. Kamboya, who helped me obtaining a number of valuable sources.

I am also especially grateful to my colleagues, Sunarlan, M.Si, Dison Mulyadi, M.Si., and also a number of students of the History Department, Faculty of Letters, The University of Jember, working for me as field workers.. They were Ali Yasin, Erwin Sujalmiko, Fauziah Yusrini, and Agus Muhaji Wijaya. This book is also an expression of thanks to my senior colleagues, Drs. M.H. Sundoro, Drs. Sudiro, S.U. and retired Prof. Drs. Soetarto. Last but not least, my special thanks goes to all historical witnesses who shared their stories for this book. I also express thanks to Prof. Ben White of the Institute of Social Studies, The Netherlands and Dr. Irwan Abdullah of the Gadjah Mada University for giving me an opportunity to participate in the Yogyakarta International Workshop on Coping with the Crises and for providing generous financial support for my accommodation and travel from and back to Canberra. I extend thanks to Drs. Joseph Supardjana, M.S. who helped improving the language of this book. Also my thanks to Brett Baker for improving the title of this book and for sharing his understanding of what God's love means in our daily lives.

This book is dedicated to my beloved wife, Weny Pudyastuti, S.S. and my pearl, Andrea Nina Mutiara Calvaryni for their companionship, care and love. May our Lord always teach us how to grow in faith, love and hope.

Lyons, ACT
2005
SN

Preface

By Shigeru Sato

(University of Newcastle)

Indonesia experienced a sharp drop in the general standard of living during the Japanese occupation. The cause of the drop, and related social and political changes, is still inadequately understood. The existing literature usually attributes it to ruthless exploitation by the Japanese. The motivation behind the Japanese invasion was indeed exploitation of resources. Exploitation as an analytical concept, however, needs to be applied with care. The resources that they aimed to exploit were, first and foremost, strategically important items such as oil, rubber, and tin. The amount of these resources they needed, and planned to secure, was a small fraction of what Indonesia used to export. They exploited other items as well, for instance by commandeering motor vehicles and ships, confiscating enemy properties, and through forced donations of money, jewellery, and scrap iron. These forms of exploitation were certainly damaging but direct exploitation alone would not adequately explain the general slump in the standard of living.

The Japanese lacked shipping capacity and other means for a large-scale material exploitation. Before the war about seventy per cent of all the ships that operated between Indonesia's ports and foreign ports belonged to the Great Britain and the Netherlands, and Japan's share was no more than eight per cent in tonnage. Most of the ships that belonged to the Allied countries had left the area prior to the Japanese attack. The Japanese shipping capacity was small from the outset, and plummeted in the second half of the occupation period when the economic conditions in Indonesia slumped supposedly due to escalating exploitation.

This interpretative conundrum can be broken if we differentiate exploitation from exploitative intension. The latter was much more harmful than direct exploitation. Japan launched into the war with an intention to exploit resources. They failed to accomplish this intention but their action altered the overall regional and global economic structures. This structural change had

an impact on all aspects of Indonesian economy. It affected Indonesian people's daily lives indirectly, in extremely complex ways.

From the people with few resources, the Japanese exploited labour and rice. The existing accounts do not question for what purposes the Japanese exploited so much labour and rice, apparently assuming that their needs and the capacity to exploit were unlimited. If we were to obtain a more informed understanding, we will need to expand our research into two directions. One is to examine the broad historical and geographical context in which the exploitative actions took place. The other is to conduct a detailed case study, either of a particular issue or a location.

By way of illustration, let me cite the case of exploitation of coal and labour in Tegalombo, kabupaten Pacitan, East Java. Before the Japanese occupation, Java had no active coalmines and imported coal from Sumatra and Kalimantan. After the invasion the Japanese were incapable of shifting sufficient amounts of coal to Java from its adjacent islands. They spent about forty per cent of the inter-island shipping space for shifting coal but the amount Java could receive was but a small fraction of the pre-war import. This would paralyse Java's railway system and its economy. The Japanese therefore started coalmining at six places within Java. The Japanese company, Ishihara Sangyo, was ordered to mine in Tegalombo from April 1944. The distance between the open-cut mines in the jungles to the nearest road on which carts could operate was forty kilometres. The company mobilized hundreds of local people to carry dugout coal on their backs. Their turn trip along a narrow mountain pass took them a few days. The amount of coal obtained in Java was so small that the shortage of coal became more and more acute but the Japanese decided to discontinue the mines in Tegalombo in early 1945 because the labour's production efficiency was considered too low even in this emergency situation.

The literature usually attributes the labour mobilization to the Japanese military needs, but some primary sources indicate that civil projects demanded much more labour. That was because, as illustrated above, the production efficiency of labour dropped when the Java became economically isolated

from the rest of the world. In other words, economic value of labour dropped due to comparative disadvantage of a closed economy. This forced people of Indonesia to work harder to obtain fewer resources. That was the fundamental reason behind the extensive mobilization of labourers euphemistically called 'economic-soldiers'.

The problem of daily essentials such as food and clothing is also related to the same problem. Nawiyanto points out that food production in Besuki dropped due in part to extensive cultivation of cotton. Food and clothing were everyone's daily essentials, and their productions were closely related to each other, as well as to the extensive mobilization of labour. Cotton cultivation affected the local agriculture not only in Besuki but also in the other parts of the Indonesian archipelago and beyond. Before the war Southeast Asia as a whole relied almost completely on importation for a supply of clothing, and Japan was the main supplier. This trading pattern stopped because the supply of cotton as the raw material for Japan's textile industry stopped. Japan implemented a five-year cotton cultivation plan throughout the occupied territories. This undermined food production. To compensate the loss of farmland to non-edible crops, the Japanese opened the agricultural estates to the local people for growing food crops, and also started agricultural reforms.

As examples of negative and positive legacies of the Japanese occupation, Nawiyanto points out the causal link between the opening up of the estates for food cultivation during the occupation and the conflicts in the 1950s between the farmers and the erstwhile owners of the estates, and the relationship between the agricultural reforms by the Japanese and the green revolution in Indonesia in the 1980s. If we examine these issues in a historical context of the structural change, we will realize that the Dutch colonial authorities started these reforms before the Japanese invasion. When the war broke out in Europe in September 1939, the Dutch anticipated the coming of war to the Netherlands Indies and started to make preparations to establish economic self-sufficiency. For instance, they opened the tobacco and other agricultural estates in the East Coast of Sumatra for the local people to grow food crops, and also issued the *teeltdwangordinantie* (forced cultivation

ordinance) and started agricultural reforms in the Outer Islands by introducing more labour-intensive methods of rice farming that was practiced in Japan. It was the Dutch who started the "Japanization" of rice farming in Indonesia before the Japanese did.

Contextualization and accumulation of local studies will result in thorough rewriting of the history of the Japanese occupation, including issues such as causality, continuity and change, and legacy. In this book, Nawiyanto presents a fine local study, thus making a definite step toward a more precise understanding of economic issues in Indonesia during the Japanese occupation.

PREFACE

By Aiko Kurasawa

It has already been 60 years since the Japanese were defeated in the war along with the end of their occupation in Indonesia. It is significant that this book by Nawiyanto is published on the 60th anniversary. The witnesses of the history have grown old by now and many of them have passed away. Therefore, there is a necessity for immediate collections of the oral records from this period.

Throughout the 60 years, there have been many academic works done on Japanese occupation in Indonesia, but this book by Nawiyanto is very specific in choosing its area and topic. He focuses on one residency in Java, residency of Besuki located at east tip of Java Island, a land famous for its richness in agriculture. By focusing on one particular area, he criticizes the most of the existing study because of its over-generalization. He claims that even within one administrative area such as Java, impact of Japanese occupation was not even.

Not only being specific in the choice of area, Nawiyanto also took specific choices in terms of his topic. He concentrates on agricultural change in this residency of Besuki. He further analyzes the topic of production by focusing less on the aspect of circulation of those agricultural commodities. He questions the impact of the Japanese rule on the Besuki's agriculture and the factors that help to understand the performance of agriculture in Besuki during the Japanese occupation. Thus, the scope of his study is well detailed.

Being a historian, Nawiyanto applies historical methodology of textual critique and tries to consult as much as possible on written documents including Dutch archives, even if it requires oral research (namely interviews with local historical witness). Although the number of informants with accurate information about the past were limited, Nawiyanto managed to find a few good resources. He was also successful in collecting written documents such as Japanese-sponsored local newspapers and research documents

written by Dutch in immediate postwar period. Therefore, the validity of Nawiyantio's content was quite accurate.

The problem of agriculture, especially that of rice (during Japanese occupation in Southeast Asia) is one of the topics that have been most intensively and thoroughly studied by various scholars from the world. Many books and articles have been published on this topic. This topic reflects the fact that quite a few historians consider the rice problem to be crucial in order to understand the social-economic aspect of Japanese occupation. Contrary to the general understanding that Southeast Asia was important for the Japanese because of oil, Nawiyanto mentions that the rice problem actually caused more damage imposed on local people everywhere in Southeast Asia.

Southeast Asia has three big rice-producing areas, Burma, Thailand and Indochina. Total of six millions milled rice used to be exported from these three areas in prewar days, but after the breakout of the war those rice markets diminished. The Japanese military authority thought it would not be harmful to requisite most of this surplus for the benefit of Japan and Japanese-occupied areas. But, this turned out to be quite a harmful damage for both cultivators and consumers.

To maximize the collection of rice, Japan forced peasants to deliver their product for very low prices, and also imposed the rationing of rice to urban dwellers. Contrary to the original calculations, the rice did not necessarily reach the requested destinations, instead much were lost on the way for several reasons. As a result there was a prevailed shortage of rice, and thousands of people were starving, and in northern part of Vietnam two millions of people died of hunger. In Java, too, many cases of starvation were found and there was an increase in the death rate.

Because of such drastic effect, quite a few scholars paid attention on the rice problem during the Japanese occupation. Apart from immediate post war survey done by Dutch scholars and officials, the first scholarly work on rice problem during the Japanese occupation was an article by Benedict Anderson, titled "Problem of Rice" in 1966¹. After introducing the records of Sanyo Kaigi

in Java, which he found in the Dutch archives, he brought the problem of rice shortage into attention.

Then after many years' interval, in 1980 and 1981, Kurasawa wrote two articles in Japanese journals on controlled rice economy and rice requisition respectively.² Then in 1986 she wrote in Indonesian about a peasants uprising in protest of rice requisition in Indramayu. Then in 1986 she spared two chapters in her Ph. D dissertation to Cornell for agricultural production and rice circulation. (This book was later translated into Indonesian and published in 1994 in Jakarta and Nawiyanto cites from this version.)³ All her works were based on Dutch archives and interviews from Japan and Indonesia

In 1994 Sato Shigeru also referred to rice problem in Java in his book, *War Nationalism and Peasants: Java under the Japanese Occupation 1942-1945*. In the same year, Pierre van der Eng wrote *Food Supply I Java during War and Decolonization*, Then Ricardo Hose wrote his Ph.D dissertation on rice problem in the Philippines, for Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, and the essence was published in a book on the Japanese Occupation in the Philippines in 1996.⁴

In 1998 Paul Kratoska edited a book titled *Food Supplies and the Japanese Occupation in South-East Asia*, and all of the above-mentioned scholars (Sato, van der Eng, Hose and Kurasawa) contribute an article in this book. Besides them Kratoska wrote an article covering the whole Southeast Asia and two more scholars on Vietnam (Furuta Motoo and Nguyen The Anh) and one scholar on Sarawak (Robert Cramb) also added their contributions. In this book Kurasawa analyzed rice problem not only in Java but also in Burma and Malaya.

As for rice problem in Thailand, Yoshikawa Toshiharu wrote in 1999 and Kakizaki Ichiro wrote in 2004 in relation to the railway transportation.⁵ Thus the rice problem in almost all main areas of Southeast Asia has already been thoroughly studied and there are already enough information on this topic.

Even with such enrichment of information about the rice problem, Nawiyanto dared to claim that even in Java the situation is different depending on area and he found it necessary to illustrate its difference by specializing in

one particular area. He considers that describing history at macro level often lacks quantitative data. Nawiyanto is successful in overcoming this problem by collecting statistical and quantitative evidences at regional levels. He always tries to confirm the information from interviews by written documents and vice versa.

Based on those detail information, Nawiyanto came to a conclusion that there was less decrease in rice production and lower death rate in Besuki than in any other residencies in Java and as a result, Besuki, as a whole, suffered less severely than others. He further stresses that local difference could be seen even inside one residency and hardship caused by Japanese occupation was not equally distributed among four regencies in Besuki Residency. He also finds out that in spite of relatively high production, a part of Besuki's population felt difficulties in obtaining rice, and he connects this with disruption of rice market inflicted by Japanese forced delivery and controlled rice market.

Non-rice cereals experienced decline because planted area was reduced due to introduction of new plants such as cotton and castor oil plant and Nawiyanto blames the Japanese for their lack of coordination in their agricultural policy.

All those findings can be acquired only through detailed research at micro level, and Nawiyanto was very successful in that.

I believe that research at the macro and micro level is equally important in order to formulate an accurate result. Nawiyanto's study can surely contribute as the basis of compiling history in broader perspective and larger space

In memory of the 60th anniversary of the end of the war, a project of compiling and publishing new-style wartime history is now going on in Japan. The final product will come out as eight volumes of books on Asian Pacific War, consisting of more than 100 articles written mainly by Japanese but partly by non-Japanese historians.⁶ In this series, the common theme is to reinterpret various aspects of history related to the war with broader time span and space.

Until the recent years there was very little interaction between specialists on various areas; Specialists dedicated most of their time to their field of study and ignored other specialists from other fields. Now we try to get rid of it and put together all the findings that each specialist has so far brought to the general public. The problem of rice is also taken up on this publishing project and will be analyzed from broader perspective that covers the whole Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere. It is not conventional macro-oriented history of more general character. Instead, it tries to build up new interpretation based on very detailed facts-finding from each area. This new type of general history should, in turn, pay full attention on local diversity.

Lastly let me express one regret. As I always claim everywhere, it is indispensable for non-Japanese historian to make use of Japanese archives. I know how difficult it is but the use of Japanese literature surely makes their study more complete and richer. Maybe it is duty of us Japanese to translate more documents into English so that foreign scholars can have easier access to them. For the moment more exchange of information and data should be promoted beyond the boundary of nations.

Note

1. This article is published in *Indonesia*, No.2 (Oct. 1966)
2. Kurasawa Aiko, "Nihon Gunseika no Jawa ni okeru Beikoku Ryutsu Seisaku no Ichi Kosatu [Study on Rice Marketing in Java during Japanese Occupation]", *Ajia Keizai*, Vol. 21 No. 11 (1980) and Kurasawa Aiko "Jawa no Sonraku ni okeru Shakai Henyo no Ichi Kosatsu [Social Changes in Javanese Villages 1942-45: The Forced Delivery System and its Impact]", *Tonan Ajia Kenkyu*, Vo. 19 No.1 (1981)
3. Kurasawa Aiko, "Mobilization and Control: A Study on Social Change in Rural Java 1942-1945" Ph.D Dissertation to Cornell University, and *Mobilisasi dan Kontrol: Studi tentang perubahan Sosial di Pedesaan Jawa 1942-1945*, Jakarta: Grasindo 1994
4. Ricardo Hose, "Nihon Senryoka ni okeru Shokuryo Kanri Tosei Seido [Food Administration in the Philippines During the Japanese Occupation:

Focusing on the Rice Shortage and Countermeasures" in Ikehata Setsuho edit., *Nihon Senryoka no Firipin*, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 1996

5. Yoshikawa Toshiharu, "Tai Chuton Nihongun ni yoru Kome no Chotatsu [Rice Collection by Japanese Army stationed in Thailand], *The Journal of Sophia Asian Studies* No.17 (1999) and Kakizaki Ichiro, "Tai no Tetsudo to Kome Yuso 1941-1958 [Railways and Rice Transport in Thailand, 1941-1957]" *Tonan Ajia Kenkyu*, Vol. 42 No.2 (2004)

6. These books will be published by Iwanami Soten (Tokyo) under the title, *Kouza : Ajia Taiheiyo Senso*, in 2005.

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Research Questions

Japanese occupation in Indonesia was a crucial period in the course of Indonesian history. This can be understood in light of the paramount importance of the period as a prelude to the Indonesian revolution. Observers emphasised that during the Japanese occupation period Indonesia experienced a remarkable social change, which transformed Indonesian society and created conditions required for a background to the making of Indonesian revolution.¹ The often quoted illustrations for this change are rural level mass mobilisation at a very large scale for economic, social and military purposes, a fundamental shift in traditional relations between elites and ordinary people and in colonial politics. In this regards, it is also reasonable that Frederick and Sato regarded the Japanese occupation as a transitional period from the Dutch colonial rule to the independent state of Indonesia.² Similarly, Kanahale and Nasution called the Japanese occupation as a prelude to Indonesian independence.³ In

¹A. Kurasawa-Shiraisi, "Pendudukan Jepang dan Perubahan Sosial: Penyerahan Padi Secara Paksa dan Pemberontakan Petani di Inderamayu", in A. Nagazumi (ed.), *Pemberontakan Indonesia Pada Masa Pendudukan Jepang* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1988), 83; Goto Ken'ichi, "Modern Japan and Indonesia: The Dynamics and Legacy of Wartime Rule", in P. Post and E. Touwen-Bouwisma (eds.), *Japan, Indonesia, and the War: Myths and Realities* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1997), p. 15.

²W.H. Frederick, *Pandangan dan Gejolak: Masyarakat Kota dan Labirnya Revolusi Indonesia 1926-1946* (Jakarta: Gramedia dan Yayasan Karti Sarana, 1989), p. xii; S. Sato, *War Nationalism and Peasants: Java under the Japanese Occupation 1942-1945* (Sydney: ASAA in association with Allen & Unwin, 1994), p. x.

³This is explicitly reflected by Kanahale's study using it as subtitle, see G.S. Kanahale, "The Japanese Occupation of Indonesia: Prelude to Independence", Ph.D. Thesis, Cornell University, 1967; A.B. Nasution, *The Aspiration for Constitutional Government in Indonesia: A Socio-legal Study of the Indonesian Konstituante* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1992), p. 6.

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