

# The Depression and the Sugar Industry in Surabaya<sup>\*)</sup>

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## Introduction

It is a well known fact that the sugar industry in Java, which cultivated sugar cane on fields leased from the peasants and processed sugar for the world market, was one of the largest industries in late colonial Java. The export of sugar had constituted about 30 % of the total value of the exports of the Netherlands Indie since the end of 19th century . But it was hit hard by the Depression in the 1930s. In contrast, it is little known how the sugar estates and the peasants coped with the difficulties in this period, of which we consider in this paper the case in the southern part of residency Surabaya, one of the largest sugar regions in Java at the time. In the first chapter we refer to the deteriorating circumstances surrounding the Java sugar industry since the latter half of the 1920s and the measures it took against them. In the next chapter the characteristics of the sugar estates in Surabaya and in chapter 3 their measures against the depression, among others restriction of the cultivation are analyzed. And in the final chapter we describe the peasants' objection to this restriction.

## I, Sugar Industry in Java during the Depression

At the beginning of the 20th century, most sugar was made from sugar-cane, planted mainly in the tropical regions such as Java and Cuba, as well as from sugar beet in Europe, North America, etc. Both kinds of the sugar-production developed well after that date, but the latter temporarily experienced a decrease as shown in table 1, due to the damage the First World War caused to the European beet-sugar industries. In the 1920s, however, it recovered and increased the production again, with the result that, as table 2 shows, the world production in 1923/24 exceeded the consumption by 145 thousand tons and afterwards the overstock increased rapidly. At the end of 1931 the so-called "visible supply" amounted to as much as 3.5 million tons, which led to the slump of sugar exports from Java, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary, Belgium, etc., and the sugar price in the free world market declined sharply to the half its 1927 level at the beginning of 1931 [Koningsberger 1948:395].

In order to break the deadlock the delegates of the sugar industries in Cuba, Java, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Belgium gathered at Brussels on 9 May 1931, and entered into the international agreement of the Chadbourne-plan which would be in force until

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table 1 The World Production of Sugar(1,000 tons)

year	total	cane sugar	beet sugar
1913/14	19,897	10,884	9,013
1914/15	19,349	11,081	8,268
1915/16	17,757	11,639	6,118
1916/17	18,232	12,392	5,840
1917/18	18,430	13,324	5,106
1918/19	17,162	12,808	4,354
1919/20	16,609	13,283	3,326
1920/21	18,119	13,216	4,902
1921/22	19,164	14,069	5,095
1922/23	19,413	14,084	5,328
1923/24	21,390	15,330	6,060
1924/25	24,883	16,567	8,316
1925/26	26,021	17,461	8,560
1926/27	24,701	16,824	7,877
1927/28	26,676	17,527	9,149
1928/29	28,437	18,858	9,579

Source: A.S. 1931 I: 296

table 2 The World Production and Consumption of Sugar(1,000 tons)

year	production	consumption	surplus
1923/24	21,390	21,245	145
1924/25	24,883	23,058	1,825
1925/26	26,021	24,542	1,479
1926/27	24,701	24,553	148
1927/28	26,676	25,742	934
1928/29	28,880	27,479	1,401
1929/30	28,460	26,988	1,472

Source: A.S.1931 I, 297 (1923/24~1927/28),  
*Verslag Handel* 1930, 196 (1928/29~1929/30)

1935. This plan, aiming at the recovery of the world sugar price, was intended to restrict the export by means of the yearly quota assigned to each signatory and to reduce the stocks by fixing their amount at the expiry of its term and, if necessary, also by cutting the production<sup>1)</sup>.

The sugar industries in Java coped with the above-mentioned difficulties at first by increasing the production despite the overstock(see table 3), but gradually the export of Java-sugar become difficult due to its high dependence on the free world market. As table 4 shows, Java-sugar was mainly exported to British India, China and Japan in the latter half of the 1920s. But these markets shrank rapidly between the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s as a result of the protective trade policy these countries introduced for the development of their own sugar industries. Among other countries, in British India the production increased markedly in 1931/32 due to the subsidies for the peasants' sugar cultivation and also the high duties imposed on the imported sugar for 15 years at the Congress of the Duties of India in 1931. All of these factors led to the sharp decline in the export of Java sugar in the 1930s[*ibid.*:395~397; *Nihon Boueki Kensyusyo* 1944:186~193].

The result was that the sugar industries in Java decided, after various controversies, to accept the Chadbourne-plan, and so in 1931 the Sugar Export-Ordinance (*Staatsblad van*

table 3 Production etc. of the Sugar Estates in Java

year	number of estates	harvested area (1,000 ha)	sugar production (100 ton)	stock in 1 April (1,000 ton)
1926	199	179.7	19,416	22
1927	200	185.7	23,512	24
1928	198	195.4	29,236	7
1929	199	196.8	28,710	10
1930	195	198.0	29,159	147
1931	194	200.8	27,724	586
1932	180	166.1	25,602	1,632
1933	122	84.3	13,726	2,533
1934	70	34.2	6,361	2,491
1935	46	27.6	5,097	1,611
1936	47	35.6	5,747	958
1937	98	84.5	13,799	245
1938	97	84.8	13,755	314
1939	102	94.7	15,625	210

Source : Statistisch Zakboekje 1940: table 62 and 63

tons in 1 April 1931, 1,634 thousand tons in 1 April 1932 and 2,947 thousand tons at the end of 1932, as well as in the slump of the price from f 6.75/quintal in January 1932 to f 5.90/quintal in December of the same year[I. V. 1933 I :158~159].

Under these circumstances there occurred criticism of the selling policy of the VISP(United Java Sugar Producers) among its members. The VISP had formerly fixed the amount of sale

Nederlandsch-Indie 1931 no.114) was enacted by the colonial government with its enforcement regulation, the Sugar Export-Regulation 1931(Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indie 1931 no.175), which introduced the license system of sugar export for at least five years from 1 April 1931 and assigned to each sugar industry an export quota, equal to "the production in 1931 x 22 million quintals ÷total sugar production in Java", and the industries with the stock were granted some additional quota. In spite of this, the export in 1931 and 1932 was not improved and amounted to only 1,543 thousand tons from April 1931 to March 1932, resulting in the rapid increase of the stock from about 150 thousand tons in 1 April 1930 to 713 thousand

table 4 Export of Java-Sugar(tons)

destination	1927/28	1928/29	1929/30	1930/31	1931/32	1932/33
Brit. India	846,905	1,096,972	1,073,910	1,003,291	515,614	425,727
China	404,601	602,516	629,233	584,285	533,990	295,122
Japan	450,871	254,042	248,154	284,059	126,496	81,952
Singapore	84,257	88,762	82,001	70,402	63,923	58,933
Europe	136,600	154,477	114,222	5,682	99,360	296,636
Portside	60,260	282,819	174,672	1,575	36,078	37,007
Others	150,427	183,205	110,576	152,025	167,193	136,141
total	2,133,877	2,662,793	2,432,698	2,101,499	1,543,154	1,331,473

Source:Koningsberger 1948:396

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and assigned it to each member based upon the expected production as well as the date of delivery of which each member informed it, and in this way had been able to sell almost all the sugar. Since the end of the 1920s, however, the sale became more and more difficult, which finally led to the dissolution of the VISP and the establishment of the new organization for monopolistic sale, NIVAS(Netherlands-Indies Union for the Sale of Sugar) at the beginning of 1932. The main task of the NIVAS was to sweep away the enormous stocks at as high a price as possible[Boeke 1947:41], and it succeeded in selling 1.01 million tons in the first half and 0.5 million tons in the latter half of 1933, with the result that the stocks decreased to a million tons at the end of the year[I.V.1934 I:150]<sup>2)</sup>. But this export was far below that which the Chadbourne plan assigned and the price continued to decline(see table 5).

The sugar industries in Java coped with this by rationalizing the management and restricting the cultivation. Table 6 shows how these changes were made. It was the payment for the "deliveries" that decreased first, almost constantly from the latter half of the 1920s. In contrast, the decline of the "wages" began in 1929 and of the "rent" in 1932, the first year of the restriction, and the rent per hectare dropped for the first time in 1936<sup>3)</sup>. This suggests that the sugar industries in Java, having coped with the declining world sugar price in the latter half of the 1920s by increasing the production, rationalized the management by saving the cost for materials at first and next by cutting the wages and by layoffs, and at last, when these measures appeared to be ineffective, started to restrict the cultivation on a large scale.

table 5 The Price of the Java-Sugar, 1920 ~ 1939  
(guilder per 100 kg)

year	London	Surabaya	year	London	Surabaya
1920	78.35	76.18	1930	10.29	9.60
1921	25.36	26.76	1931	8.71	8.06
1922	17.74	22.91	1932	6.50	6.28
1923	29.23	28.37	1933	5.85	4.88
1924	27.58	26.94	1934	4.54	3.67
1925	19.26	18.62	1935	4.42	3.88
1926	19.75	19.00	1936	4.89	4.04
1927	19.62	17.40	1937	7.03	5.99
1928	16.10	14.61	1938	6.15	5.84
1929	13.40	13.66	1939	7.44	7.91

Note: Price in Surabaya concerns with the First Quality Sugar(SHS)

Source: C.E.I., vol.15:table 2A

table 6 The Payment of the Sugar Estates to the People

year	in 1,000 guilder				planting area (ha)	per hectare in guilder		
	wages	deliveries	rent	total		wages	deliveries	rent
1925	93,434	5,640	19,795	118,869				
1926	94,560	5,376	21,064	121,000				
1927	98,494	4,852	21,834	125,180				
1928	106,268	5,008	22,868	134,144	194,937	545.14	25.69	120.97
1929	101,827	3,918	23,915	129,660	196,675	517.74	19.02	122.61
1930	97,866	2,986	25,044	125,896	198,642	492.18	15.03	127.66
1931	83,978	2,207	25,026	111,211	201,159	417.17	10.97	123.10
1932	53,077	911	21,703	75,691	171,603	309.30	5.31	124.30
1933	21,866	384	11,854	34,104	88,635	246.70	4.33	124.03
1934	9,712	189	6,526	16,427	38,811	250.25	4.86	148.15
1935	7,270	233	3,898	11,401	29,453	246.84	7.90	120.98
1936	7,517	244	3,813	11,574	35,880	209.50	6.81	94.65

Source: Verslag Syndicaat 1936:24~25

According to Ph.Lever, many sugar industries already curtailed the expenditure before 1930 by limiting the repair or the renewal of factories' equipment to the minimum, with the result of decreased purchase of materials for construction etc. from the people and the layoff of the part-time factory coolies. Also the various works such as digging the furrows for planting, weeding, making fences, tillage after planting, maintenance of irrigation channels and roads in the fields were simplified[Lever 1934:277~281, Vreede 1931:268].

This led to the reduction of laborers, the number of which peaked in 1929 and afterward declined especially in the cultivation section<sup>4)</sup>. According to the estimate of Lever, they, including the day laborers for planting and harvesting, decreased from 1,247,356 in 1931 to 853,575 in 1932, the first year of the large scale restriction, 317,212 in 1932 and 87,445 in 1933; thus those who lost their jobs amounted to as many as one million[Lever 1934:279]. There was almost no change, however, in the wage the individual laborer received until 1930 and it fell slightly in 1931 for the seasonal laborer. It was after 1932 that it showed a marked decrease(see table 7). This suggests that the decrease in the total amount of the wages shown in table 6 was due to the curtailment of the number of laborers until 1931.

Thus we can say that among the various measures adopted by the sugar industries it was the restriction of cultivation that most influenced the peasants' economy and it was also the starting point of the full-scale layoff and wage cut. A 17% reduction in cultivation was introduced in 1931 by 17% as is shown in table 8, and the cultivation decreased more in 1932 and 1933 and

table 7 Average Wages of the Native Personnel and Labourers in the Sugar Industry in Java (in cents)

	1925	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
[Regular laborer]								
Workmen	114	113	113	104	100	95	86	78
Field foremen	68	68	71	65	62	57	48	47
Helpers	60	57	57	53	51	45	39	35
[Season laborer]								
Factory foremen	61	62	61	57	54	49	47	39
Factory-coolies(m)	46	46	45	37	31	27	25	23
Factory-coolies(f)	36	37	36	30	25	22	21	21
Asst.canefield-foremen	41	41	39	34	31	31	22	22
Fieldguards	35	35	35	32	27	24	21	19
Railway coolies	41	41	40	34	28	24	22	20

Source : I.V.1940 II :tabel 161

table 8 Harvested Area of the Estate Sugar in Each Residency in the 1930s (in ha).

year	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
Cheribon	12,151	12,142	9,608	6,354	1,549	1,027	699	5,816	6,165	7,880	7,221
Pekalongan	18,195	18,167	15,884	9,115	2,671	3,694	6,253	11,353	12,847	12,752	11,847
Semarang	3,495	3,567	3,093	600	839	850	612	2,146	2,199	2,247	2,227
Japara/Rembang	7,575	7,386	6,423	2,437	600	1,927	323	1,749	1,770	1,810	1,806
Banyumas	7,327	7,856	6,514	0	0	0	0	0	972	1,366	1,366
Kedu	4,689	4,655	2,749	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jogyakarta	17,537	17,782	13,713	6,704	1,403	2,444	1,110	7,922	6,285	7,763	6,921
Surakarta	19,837	20,677	17,301	11,059	6,893	4,088	4,745	9,331	8,997	9,489	9,196
Surabaya	29,039	29,158	26,229	15,859	4,266	3,349	5,107	10,786	10,826	12,885	12,671
Madiun	9,645	9,657	8,910	5,771	4,159	1,857	5,259	7,807	7,614	8,061	8,086
Kediri	26,042	27,069	20,855	14,005	4,259	2,268	2,558	11,658	11,801	14,342	13,460
Malang	12,211	12,100	8,977	8,355	4,596	2,941	5,021	9,809	9,217	9,889	9,375
Probolinggo	15,084	15,260	12,192	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Besuki	15,180	15,355	13,690	4,084	2,976	3,141	3,885	6,117	6,136	6,463	6,599
Total	198,007	200,831 (100%)	166,138 (83%)	84,343 (42%)	34,211 (17%)	27,581 (14%)	35,572 (18%)	84,494 (42%)	84,829 (42%)	94,947 (47%)	90,765 (45%)

Note : figures of Malang after 1933 include that of Probolinggo which was absorbed into the former residency  
Source : I.V.1931 II :tabel 199 ; 1932 II ~ 1935 II :tabel 201 ; 1936 II ~ 1941 II :tabel 197

at the middle of the 1930s it became less than one fifth of what it had been in the heyday. Though it gradually recovered in the latter half of the 1930s, it was still less than half the former level even at the end of the 1930s.

So how was the restriction carried out? It was done by modifying the land lease contracts which the estate concluded with the peasants, which were roughly divided into the short term of 18 months and the long term of 21 and a half years at the maximum regulated by the land lease ordinance of 1918(*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indie* no.88).

[short term contract]

Sugar estates, deeming at the beginning that the difficulties were only of a temporary nature,

asked the colonial government for permission to postpone the cultivation to the next year. Though the Director of Internal Administration at first disapproved of it, eventually he permitted the postponement of the 1932/33 cultivation to the next year, which the estate could do without newly paying the rent for the 1933/34 cultivation because this would be offset by that for 1932/33 which was already paid. The government, however, neither approved of its re-postponement nor of postponing the 1933/34 cultivation despite the request of the estates. Instead the government suggested that if they abandoned the rent already paid they could rescind the existing contracts to conclude new ones at a lower rent, which they accepted after the discussion at the standing committee of the General Syndicate of Sugar-manufacturers in Netherlands-India (Algemeene Syndicaat van Suikerfabrikanten in Nederlandsch-Indie) [Verslag Syndicaat 1931/32:15].

[long term contract]

As for the long term contract the estates requested the government's permission for their unilateral suspension of land use by adding to the contract the clause which would enable it. The Director of Internal Administration, after discussing it with the estates, approved of this on the condition that there should be ample time before this, and if there were not, enough compensation would be paid to the peasants. In 1935 the Department of Interior Administration decided that this would be valid until the 1941/42 cultivation [ibid. 1931/32:15; 1933/35:21].

Another important problem was how to reduce the rent. Until then the minimum rent estates should pay had, according to article 8 of the land lease ordinance of 1918, to be revised at least every five years based on the current rice price<sup>5)</sup>. But its real level rose at the time due to the slump in the rice price, which made it disadvantageous for the estates to pay according to this minimum price. Consequently the Syndicate asked the Director of Interior Administration for permission to add the clause in the contracts which would enable its reduction. After several discussions it was approved and notified to the governors of the provinces of West-, Central- and East-Java in the circular letter of 24 December 1932 [ibid. 1931/32:16]. Thus after the latter half of 1933, many long term contracts contained such a clause<sup>6)</sup>.

## **II, Characteristics of the Sugar Estates in Surabaya**

### **1, The Spatial Distribution**

In the residency Surabaya, sugar estates were concentrated in the three southern divisions of Sidoarjo, Mojokerto and Jombang<sup>7)</sup>. Table 9 shows the name and the area of cultivation of each estate.

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table 9 Planting Area of the Sugar Cane of Each Estate in Surabaya(baus)

division	estate	1920/21	1925/26	1926/27	1927/28	1928/29	1929/30	1930/31	1931/32	1932/33	1933/34	1934/35	1935/36	1936/37	1937/38	
Sidoarjo	Porong	841	803	802	824	876	785	800	711	510			587		197	
	Tanggulangin	1,600	1,634	1,748	1,787	1,777	1,738	1,804	1,653	1,628						
	Tulangan	712	722	715	727	718	693	721	634	673	738	549	731	963	631	
	Kremboong	955	942	956	952	976	956	956	861	894	921	659	931	601	842	
	Sruni	933	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	997	968							
	Waru	1,040	1,058	1,013	1,144	1,138	1,156	1,148	952							
	Ketegan	1,414	1,748	1,795	1,896	1,900	1,923	1,875	1,385						1,296	1,139
	Krian	937	983	957	962	952	959	975	945	484					690	713
	Balombang	1,169	1,202	1,155	1,161	1,183	1,165	1,158	908	644					786	786
	Watutulis	997	1,005	993	1,025	1,006	992	1,007	859		580	365	1,020	573	1,235	
	Poppoh	997	993	1,082	997	993	990	954	846		583	366	1,065	596		
	Candi	723	785	758	710	703	685	686	662	717		732	742	715	749	
	Buduran	916	948	955	955	949	949	949	927	893						
	sub-total		13,443	13,823	13,929	14,140	14,171	13,991	14,030	12,311	6,443	2,822	2,671	5,076	6,220	6,292
Mojokerto	Purworejo	949	964	963	945	949	972	969	1,004	887						
	Gempolkrep	2,493	2,497	2,498	2,493	2,479	2,480	2,490	2,124	1,193	648	485		1,745	1,687	
	Bangsals	1,173	1,221	1,190	1,206	1,246	1,176	1,223	1,132	599	127		837	732		
	Sedatie	712	720	730	817	841	939	951	830				325			
	Kon.WillemII	1,252	1,460	1,457	1,455	1,456	1,456	1,431	1,141							
	Ketanen	1,080	1,083	1,072	1,073	1,091	1,068	1,083	904	535			55	77	38	
	Pohjejer	786	814	786	773	863	831	806	438							
	Dinojo	734	741	732	741	870	873	886	724	531						
	Sumengko	632	629													
	Tangunan	1,101	1,078	1,095	1,101	1,089	1,206	1,239	925	606	121		328	228	241	
	Brangkal	1,172	1,518	1,504	1,508	1,565	1,507	1,573	1,425	838	25					
	Sentanenor	1,084	935	949	963	1,055	1,049	1,072	990	624	704		468	365	414	
	sub-total		13,168	13,660	12,976	13,075	13,504	13,557	13,723	11,637	5,813	1,625	485	2,013	3,147	2,380
	Jombang	Somobito	975	1,289	1,282	1,286	1,276	1,290	1,280	1,007	625	396	499	1,065	942	830
Peterongan		911	1,119	1,115	1,115	1,114	1,110	1,115	1,073	1,113				1,003	2,387	
Sukodono		1,085	1,075	1,087	1,076	1,237	1,225	1,275	1,079					1,142		
Selorejo		1,487	1,609	1,681	1,630	1,630	1,632	1,630	1,531	1,021						
Blimbing		986	1,000	1,594	1,610	1,630	1,658	1,656	1,563	1,235						
Cukir		1,153	1,142	1,147	1,148	1,149	1,149	1,149	1,021	914			950	800	770	
Ceweng		750	750	745	749	749	749	751	666	748				772	775	
Gudo		1,205	1,205	1,205	1,204	1,204	1,204	1,204	1,208	1,204						
Jombang		925	985	983	985	985	985	985	959	961	924					
Plosso		949	1,062	1,109	1,056	1,103	1,101	1,103	1,042	992						
Ngelom		1,150	1,260	1,260	1,261	1,259	1,259	1,259	1,169	1,259						
sub-total			11,576	12,496	13,208	13,120	13,336	13,362	13,407	12,318	10,072	1,320	499	2,015	4,659	4,762
total			38,088	39,979	40,113	40,335	41,011	40,910	41,160	36,266	22,328	5,767	4,155	9,104	14,026	13,434

Source: K.V.1922:Bij.Z(1920/21), K.V.1927:Bij.T(1925/26), K.V.1928:Bij.U(1926/27), K.V.1929:Bij.T(1927/28), K.V.1930:Bij.T(1928/29), A.S.1931:189(1929/30, 1930/31), huidige toestand 1931(1931/32), A.S.1933:349(1931/32), Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1933-1937(1933/34-1937/38)

As some of them carried on cultivation also in other divisions than those in which they were located<sup>8)</sup>, we can not know the exact area of cultivation in each division. To know their importance in the regional economy it does not, however, lead to a serious mistake to calculate the percentages of the sugar cane planting area to that of rice fields on the assumption that



table 10 Percentage of the Area of Sugar Cane to the Area of Rice Field and the Arable Land in 1930/31

	Residency	Regency	<sup>(1)</sup> Total area (km <sup>2</sup> )	<sup>(2)</sup> Rice field (km <sup>2</sup> )	<sup>(3)</sup> Arable land (km <sup>2</sup> )	<sup>(4)</sup> Number of estates	<sup>(5)</sup> Sugar Cane cultivation in 1930/31 (ha)	% to rice field	% to arable land
West Java	Cheribon	Cheribon	1,074.53	640.57	852.30	8	8,671	13.5	10.2
		Majalengka	1,092.22	406.66	825.25	3	3,478	8.6	4.2
Central Java	Pekalongan	Pekalongan	932.33	297.25	554.52	2	3,052	10.3	5.5
		Batang	859.93	216.87	502.50	1	1,025	4.7	2.0
		Pemalang	1,116.20	382.59	690.87	4	4,447	11.6	6.4
		Tegal	1,017.57	441.77	684.21	7	5,676	12.8	8.3
		Brebes	1,709.95	648.49	998.02	3	3,974	6.1	4.0
	Semarang	Kendal	1,112.06	299.39	682.42	3	3,558	11.9	5.2
	Japara/ Rembang	Pati	1,447.90	557.45	1,081.87	3	2,680	4.8	2.5
		Kudus	595.64	259.78	500.24	3	3,227	12.4	6.5
	Kedu	Japara	1,027.36	252.48	716.10	2	1,731	6.9	2.4
		Perworejo	513.13	118.48	470.01	1	2,523	21.3	5.4
	Banyumas	Kubumen	553.64	220.24	465.76	1	2,133	9.7	4.6
		Banyumas	669.55	211.41	542.15	3	4,707	22.3	8.7
		Purbolinggo	804.28	231.99	598.72	1	1,848	8.0	3.1
	East Java	Madiun	Perwokerto	947.10	227.40	632.55	1	1,267	5.6
Madiun			1,147.03	348.70	612.90	3	4,891	14.0	8.0
Magetan			702.19	271.76	574.51	2	3,031	11.2	5.3
Kediri		Ngawi	1,395.51	478.10	816.53	1	1,695	3.5	2.1
		Kediri	1,618.32	464.07	1,045.53	11	14,778	31.8	14.1
		Nganjuk	1,282.82	428.06	712.61	6	5,174	12.1	7.3
		Tulungagung	1,146.44	200.92	648.94	2	3,702	18.4	5.7
Surabaya		Blitar	1,748.89	293.02	1,048.07	2	2,863	9.8	2.7
		Sidoarjo	676.12	325.76	462.98	13	9,961	30.6	21.5
		Mojokerto	998.87	410.94	666.75	11	9,743	23.7	14.6
Malang		Jombang	1,089.61	502.77	743.89	11	9,519	18.9	12.8
		Kraksaan	1,016.50	255.75	595.50	6	5,012	19.6	8.4
		Lumajang	1,790.94	233.67	854.05	2	7,486	32.0	8.8
		Probolinggo	736.39	117.38	497.95	4	2,623	22.3	5.3
		Pasuruan	881.29	179.26	595.77	5	3,880	21.6	6.5
		Bangil	682.07	255.70	482.92	6	4,073	15.9	8.4
Besuki		Malang	3,731.78	488.73	1,854.79	4	4,038	8.3	2.2
		Panarukan	1,657.61	226.41	674.89	6	5,763	25.5	8.5
		Bondowoso	1,560.10	246.39	758.02	2	2,467	10.0	3.3
	Jember	3,358.17	687.59	1,439.62	3	6,248	9.1	4.3	
	Banyuwangi	3,561.07	369.40	994.32	1	817	2.2	0.8	

source : (1)-(3) Volkstelling 1930 I :tabel 8; II :tabel 9; III :tabel 8, (4)(5) A.S. 1931:189

table 11 The Total Amount of the Wages paid by various private industries in 1913, 1920 and 1924 (guilders)

	1913		1920		1924	
	total amount	%	total amount	%	total amount	%
Railway & Tram	87,114	0.8	281,520	1.3	303,481	1.7
Steam-Navigation	626,502	5.4	824,783	3.9	395,000	2.2
Sugar Industry	10,412,666	89.7	18,334,051	86.5	15,510,392	84.8
Petroleum	177,290	1.5	539,675	2.5	642,110	3.5
Electricity	85,698	0.7	187,499	0.9	252,251	1.4
Banking	90,616	0.8	213,983	1.0	257,469	1.4
Port Installations	-	-	376,631	1.8	158,923	0.9
Others	129,304	1.1	443,134	2.1	777,231	4.2
Total	11,609,190	100.0	21,201,276	100.0	18,296,857	100.0

source : Verslag Economischen Toestand 1924, dl.1:202

every estate planted solely in the division of its location. The result is 30.6 % in Sidoarjo, 23.7% in Mojokerto and 18.9% in Jombang; thus they belonged to the high percentage group as is shown in table 10. Also the percentage to arable land in these three divisions is higher than any other divisions of Java except for Kediri. We can thus say that the sugar industries here had much more importance for the regional economy than in any other regions of Java before the full blow of the Depression.

And they were by far the most important source of money income for the peasants here before the depression as shown in table 11. According to Mandere[1928:121] the sum paid by them in 1926 amounted to 473 guilders per bau in total, of which 79.1% was wages, 3.7% deliveries and 17.2% rent.

**2, The Method of Cultivation**

The estates here cultivated sugar cane on the rice fields leased from the peasants by means of a three years crop rotation system as was common in most of the sugar regions in Java, in which the land was divided into three parts and the crop was rotated as is shown in figure 1. The process of cultivation was, if we take the example of the Krian estate, as follows.

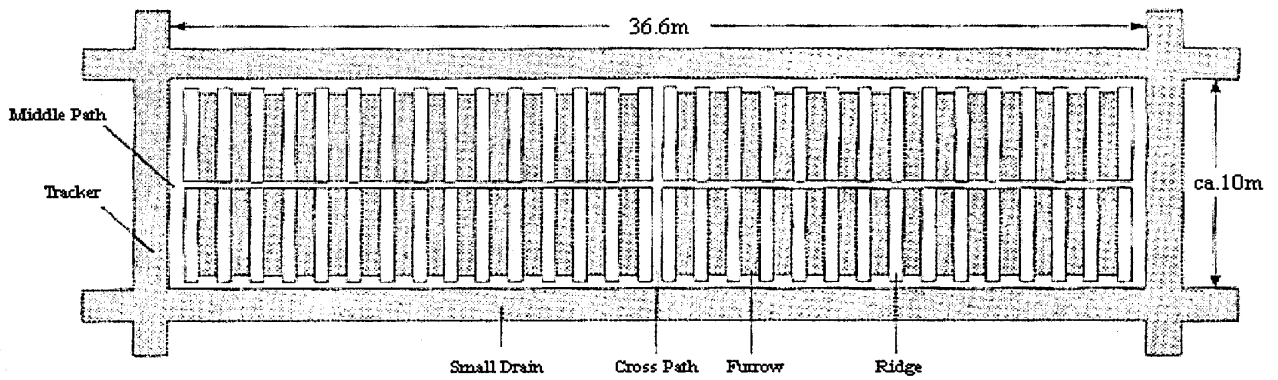
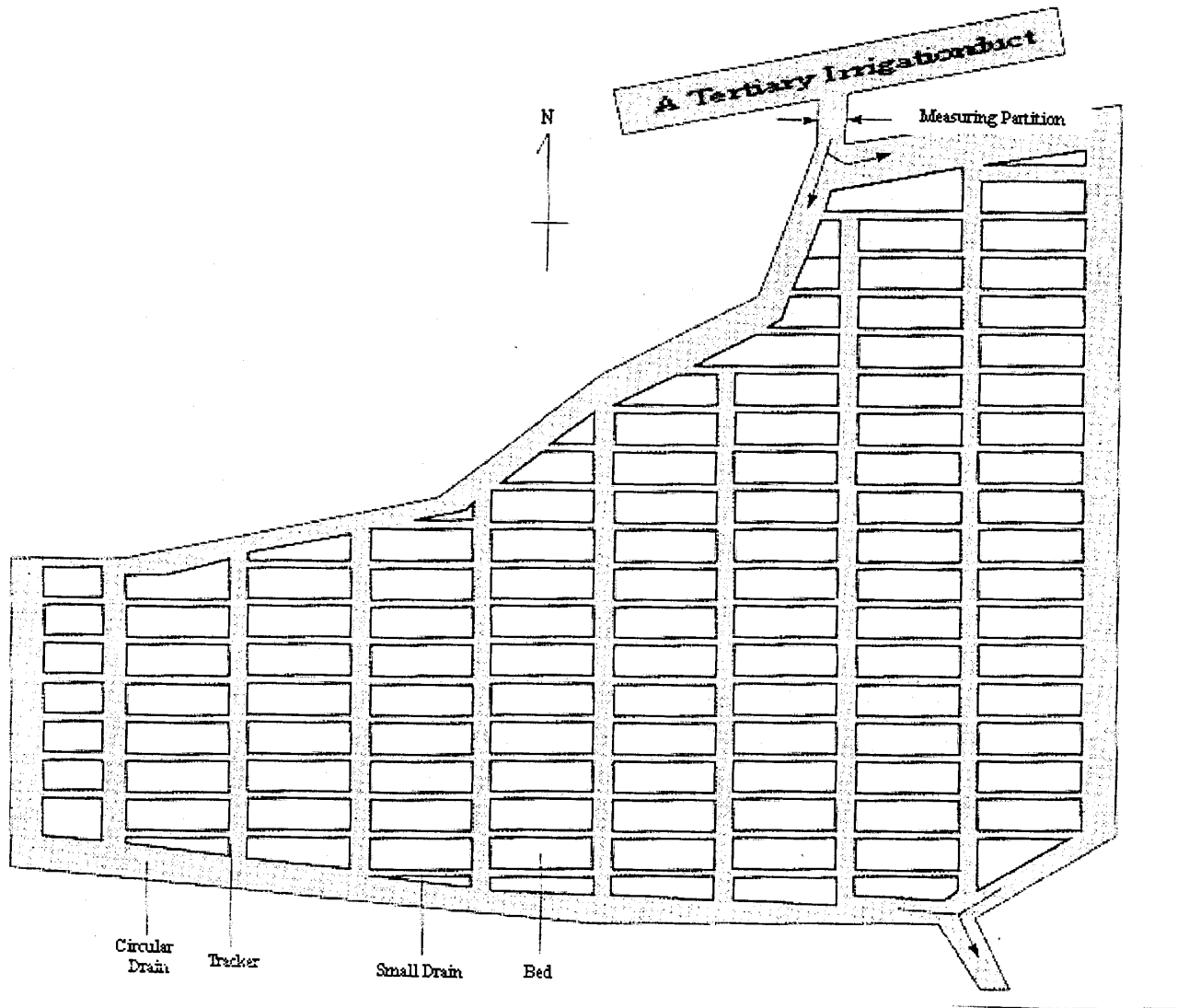
figure 1 The Model of the Three Years Crop Rotation System

	The first cultivation year												The second cultivation year												The third cultivation year											
month	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3
season	East Monsoon (dry season)						West Monsoon (wet season)						East Monsoon (dry season)						West Monsoon (wet season)						East Monsoon (dry season)						West Monsoon (wet season)					
crop rotation	preparation	planting and growing of sugar cane											harvest of sugar cane	paddy											secondary crops						paddy					
		secondary crops						paddy	preparation	planting and growing of sugar cane											harvest of sugar cane	paddy														
		harvest of sugar cane						paddy	secondary crops						paddy	preparation	planting and growing of sugar cane																			

Source: Quintas 1923:Part 2 etc.

At the beginning of April, as soon as the rice was cut, rice fields were remade into fields for sugar cane as shown in figure 2. At the same time all the remnants of straw, stubble and weeds on the field were burned off and a small quantity of ammonium sulfate was applied as the preliminary fertilizer. It took about two months for this work to be completed. Then planting of the seedlings began in the part where the above work was finished, 16,000 to 24,000 pieces per bau, by means of the Reynoso system, that is, planting in the furrow<sup>9)</sup>. In these works the ordinary farming tools of the peasants were used and as many as five or six laborers per bau were mobilized every day. Then followed the supplementary planting, twice or three times additional manuring, additional tillage and weeding, watering and five times earthing up in accordance with the growth of the plant, etc. The cane was harvested between June and November of the next year, of which the peak was from June to September, and transported to

figure 2 The Ground Plant of the Canal System in the Sugar Plantation



the factory on the same day by means of bullock carts or cars on light rails to be squeezed, for which vast number of laborers were mobilized[Quintus 1923:87~142].

Thus the peak employment came between April and September in the cultivation section. Almost all of these laborers were day laborers and usually recruited from the village where the factory was located, but sometimes they also came from the nearby villages[ibid:139]<sup>10)</sup>.

The estate usually leased all of the village rice fields for cane by the collective village lease, corresponding to the land ownership here, the communal possession with yearly distribution. In this case it is the village chief or the Kamitoewa(hamlet chief)that actually decided the lending, and the gogols(i.e. land holding peasants) only gave their sanction to this transaction formally, which made the lease of communal land easy and also made the rent lower than that for the ambtsvelden(official land for village chief or the other officials) or the land possessed individually[MvO Surabaya 1935; MvO Mojokerto 1931]. Only in the southern part of Jombang a substantial amount of land was possessed individually or in the form of communal possession with fixed shares, and was leased by contracts with the individual holders<sup>11)</sup>.

In this collective lease, which had been common for a long period in this region[Uemura 1986], each shareholder was allotted every year one third of his share in the glangangan(i.e. the field to be lent to the sugar factory after cutting the rainy season paddy), another third in the dongkelan(that where sugar cane cultivation was finished) and the remaining third in the sawah patebonan or tegal tebon(that which was for sugar cane) separately[MvO Surabaya 1935]. This measure enabled each shareholder to lend rice fields of the same area to the estate every year and the latter could secure the undivided unit of field to plant sugar cane by the crop rotation of three years[Soekasno 1938:298]<sup>12)</sup>. In Sidoarjo the ambtsvelden were also divided into three parts in the same manner[MvO Surabaya 1935].

In this case the rent was not paid to each lessor but usually, as appeared from the following example in Sidoarjo, to the village chief collectively.

"He(=village chief )receives each year from the factory the rent for the last part(i.e. the land for cane planting). The factory deducts the land rent for 3/3 of it from the rent and hands over the rest, the "kelebihan padjeg(surplus of the land rent)" in full to the chief of each village, who divides the money equally among the peasants who have a right to land shares in specification lists. In these lists all sorts of contributions are still deducted, such as pancen(service) for the village chief, contribution for the village school, contribution for the village on behalf of guardhouses, bridge, village ceremonial meal, contribution for fighting against the plague of squirrels, exchange cost of the factory money paid with big

banknotes, land rent of the yards, and sometimes even the inhabited house duty and income tax of those whose property has been confiscated in the village which is then prorated among all the villagers.

If in addition considering the abuse of the lurah(village chief) who contracts a small loan with his land-holding villagers and prorates this too, which is naturally not mentioned in the specification lists, men can imagine how small a sum falls to the gogol from the kelebihan padjeg." [MvO Surabaya 1935]

In this way the sugar factory at first deducted the amount equal to the land rent for the whole village rice field and handed over the remainder to the village chief as the rent, and the latter distributed it among the gogols after deducting in his turn various costs imposed in the village. Thus the peasants in this region usually did not need to pay land rent individually before the restriction<sup>13)</sup>.

As the village chief played quite an important role in the land lease as mentioned above, the estates had long given him a premium to ensure his collaboration for the stable acquisition of the land and labor[Uemura 1986], which was carried out at the beginning of the 1930s as follows.

"From of old there were various premium systems (in Mojokerto and Jombang). The delivery premium for the village- or hamlet-chief amounting to f 5 per bau, assures their co-operation in the land lease. A tillage premium, also allocated to the village- or hamlet-chief, is intended to promote the attendance of laborers to dig gullies. Both premiums were recently combined into one.

The fire- or daduk-premium to the villagers is awarded in case the cane burning<sup>14)</sup> has not occurred. This premium began a good 20 years before under the government influence and has put an end to the evil of cane burning.

In the form of witness's money the village chief further receives premiums of f 1 or more for each person from his village who concludes a cart contract with the estate or allies himself as a lorry contracting party." [MvO Mojokerto 1931]

The sugar estates tried to ensure the co-operation of the village chiefs in this way by giving them a considerable sum<sup>15)</sup>.

In Sidoarjo about 90% of the contracts concluded in this way were long-term contracts lasting 21 and a half years, and the rest were mainly 18-months contracts for the official lands[Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1933]. On the other hand a great many of them in Mojokerto and Jombang were of three and a half years duration, but transition to the long-term

one was also found[MvO Mojokerto 1931].

Another characteristic of the system was that the sugar estates here encouraged peasants to plant early-ripening paddy on the rice fields immediately before lending out to ensure the early delivery of them. For the sugar estates in Java it was desirable to finish planting by the middle of June and as it took about a month to prepare the fields for cane and further about six weeks to oxidize the ground before planting, the land should be delivered by the beginning of April. Thus they took various measures to prevent the possible delay of the paddy harvest[Uemura 1989], including the above mentioned early-ripening paddy which had been adopted from old in this region[Uemura 1986].

Also in 1930 it was encouraged in Mojokerto and Jombang, for example, by giving the premium, making a condition in the contracts or supplying the seed from the estates[ibid.]. In Sidoarjo especially the estates Watutulis, Popoh, Kremboong and Tulangaan gave a premium for this purpose and also supplied the seed which amounted to several thousand piculs[MvO Surabaya 1935]<sup>16)</sup>.

The result was that, as this kind of paddy could be harvested one month earlier than the ordinary kind, there were some estates here which could get the land as early as in 1 March (sometimes even in February) and some contracts in Sidoarjo prescribed 1 March as the beginning date of the land use instead of 1 April[ibid.].

### **III, Measures of the Sugar Estates against the Depression in Surabaya**

Faced with the Depression the sugar estates in Surabaya also tried to curtail various expenditures at first as was generally done in Java, and reduced the 1931/32 cultivation by a small amount. And as it appeared that this was not enough to tide them over the difficult period, they started on the large scale restriction from the 1932/33 cultivation, and the reduction of rent was also introduced. Below we explore first how they curtailed expenditures.

#### **1, The Curtailment of Various Expenditures**

Here we take the estate Kremboong as an example. According to table 12 this estate did not reduce the cultivation so much, and coped with the difficulties mainly by means of expenditure cuts from the 1929/30 cultivation, of which the total cost was 7% less than that in the previous year. The curtailment got into full swing after the 1931/32 cultivation, and the total cost of this cultivation was 22% less than that in 1928/29. The largest reduction appears in the "planting", decreased by f109.57 or 43.0%, followed by the "fertilizer"(f38.87, 30.7%), the "salary of personnel"(f20.4, 20.5%) and the "irrigation"(f16.9, 44.1%) etc. In contrast, items like "rent"

table 12 Various Costs per Hectare in the Estate Kremboong (guilder)

year of cultivation	1927 /28	1928 /29	1929 /30	1931 /32	1932 /33	1933 /34	1934 /35	1935 /36	1936 /37	1937 /38	1938 /39	1939 /40
harvested hectare: cane for processing : seedling	673.36	693.41	679.28 3.61	611.00 3.07	639.00 3.58	640.69 2.19	461.26	765.03 6.13	654.15	661.08 3.00	722.17 20.00	712.78
salary of the personnel	101.97	99.53	90.83	79.10	52.89	43.36	51.24	39.41	46.85	42.34	32.68	37.71
rent	168.13	163.06	164.20	187.38	170.44	192.16	135.03	107.06	104.26	84.18	86.57	87.12
planting	257.40	254.57	219.88	145.00	98.03	77.76	58.75	68.04	72.21	61.45	66.23	55.27
fertilizer	116.17	126.51	123.47	87.64	86.61	47.80	46.10	43.08	41.12	40.97	47.07	55.37
seedling	36.01	46.88	47.28	43.38	22.02	21.30	15.81	12.23	19.03	14.21	11.47	8.48
irrigation	31.29	38.18	34.98	21.33	20.70	13.10	10.04	12.55	6.65	7.66	8.99	8.48
tools	2.24	1.92	1.84	0.70	0.54	0.26	0.31	0.44	0.70	0.60	0.30	0.34
compensation for wasted cattle	2.28	0.35	0.19	0.11	0.01	-	0.04	1.23	0.29	-	-	0.40
measurement	2.43	7.09	0.41	1.67	0.86	0.64	0.27	0.24	0.35	0.44	0.62	0.46
soil improvement	1.54	1.91	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
premium for cultivating early ripening paddy	0.71	23.27	29.34	29.71	17.18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
experimental fields	2.26	0.87	0.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
investigation for ripening	1.90	2.56	2.67	1.05	0.57	0.89	0.72	0.60	0.64	0.80	0.84	0.91
printing	0.84	0.97	0.52	0.36	0.22	0.09	0.56	0.12	0.02	0.14	0.49	0.28
field police	9.71	9.31	9.69	7.55	5.45	4.48	5.26	4.60	4.61	4.63	3.79	3.93
total	734.88	776.95	725.78	604.98	475.52	401.84	324.13	289.60	296.73	257.42	259.05	258.75

Source : Verslag Kremboong, 1928~1940

and "premium for cultivating early ripening paddy" show increases, the reason for which will be mentioned below. According to the director of this estate the curtailment was carried out "mainly by lowering the intensity of the works for getting the cheaper sugar"[Directie Kremboong 1933]. In short various works were simplified mainly in the cultivation section.

This simplification seems to have gone further, which we can tell from the markedly reduced "planting" until 1934/35 and also from the reduced "fertilizer" in 1933/34. Also the cost for "seedling" much decreased in 1932/33. After the 1935/36 cultivation, however, the decrease slowed down and there was even cultivation in which the "planting" increased, perhaps because the simplification had reached its limit. On the other hand the "rent"(perhaps including the compensation for land nonuse)dropped rapidly from the 1934/35 cultivation due to the revision of the minimum rent and the contracts mentioned below. In any case the cultivation cost as a whole markedly decreased during the first half of the 1930s, and it was relatively stable afterwards.

The contents of the "simplification of cultivation", which did not appear in this example, can be found in the report of the assistant resident of Surabaya on the 1930/31 cultivation of the Tulangaan estate(721 baus) managed by the same concern. Though the cultivation was somewhat larger than that in the preceding year(693 baus), this estate tried to reduce costs in various ways. The planting cost was cut from f 220 to f 170 per hectare by stopping or simplifying the various works. For example, the weeding cost was reduced from f 16 to f 7 by decreasing the amount of weeding, and the cost of irrigation decreased from f 24 to f 15 by changing over from the former method of dipping up water from the channels to the direct watering to the furrow. The earthing-up decreased from four to three times resulted in the reduction of the cost from f 20 to f 15. Also the manuring, though the total quantity of the

fertilizer used was not changed, was done only twice instead of the former 3 times and its cost was reduced from f 11 to f 8.

In this estate, though the layoff or the wage cut of the full-time staff was introduced in neither cultivation nor process section at this stage and the daily allowance of the part-time coolies was also maintained, the weekly wage of the technical staff in the factory was reduced from the payment for 6 days work to that for 4.5 days by introducing the half day work three times a week. The payment for the harvest and the transport of sugar cane was also reduced from 5.5 to 4.5 cents per picul. Further the premium for the peasants planting the early ripening paddy was reduced from the former f 40 plus 1 picul seedling (equal to f 8) to only f 40. In this way this estate could save f 25,000 on the cultivation cost, f 5,000 on the wages of technical staff, and f 13,000 on the harvest and transport cost, thus f 46,000 in total [Ass. Resident Sidoarjo 1931].

Such was also the case in the estates in Mojokerto, where, according to the regent, weeding, earthing-up and watering was reduced from three times to less than twice, resulting in many fewer laborers and so less expenditure for wages [Regent Mojokerto 1930]. Also the resident reported that the decreased labor days of many native regular technical staff led to lower wage-costs, and the works previously involving much overtime were converted to piecework which led to lower wages than the standard fixed by the Java Sugar Employers Union. Also the bonus for the native regular staff was abolished and the layoff began with those who were pensionable [Resident Mojokerto 1930]<sup>17)</sup>.

The payment for the contract labor was also dropped in this period. In Sidoarjo, for example, those who dug furrows received only 1~1.5 cents a piece in the middle of the 1930s instead of 4~6 cents before the depression [Soekasno 1938:316]<sup>18)</sup>.

These measures for reducing the costs mainly applied before the restriction further intensified after 1932 as is known from the example of the Kremboong estate shown in table 12.

## **2, Reduction of the Rent**

As for the the minimum rent in the long-term lease it was revised in Sidoarjo in 1935 by the resolution of the resident no.2130/7a in 23 March 1935, the result of which is shown in table 13. Though we can not know the previous rent, it might have been much higher because it was fixed when the influence of the Depression did not reduce the rice price so much. Accordingly the estates here had to pay fairly high rent until 1935. In Mojokerto, after the temporary price was fixed by the resolution of the resident no.1322/16 in 30 July 1931 [MvO



table 13 Standard of the Minimum Rent per bau in Sidoarjo  
(revised in 1935 : guilder)

class of land	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
minimum price for one west monsoon	61	53	41	31	22	17	11	8
minimum price for one east monsoon	15	15	15	15	15	10	10	5
cost for recovery of rice fields	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Minimum rent	93	85	73	63	54	39	33	20

Source: Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1935

table 14 Standard of the Minimum Rent per bau in Mojokerto (revised in 1932 : guilder)

district	class of land	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Mojokerto	minimum price for one west monsoon	68	57	43	34	21	17	17		
	minimum price for one east monsoon	15	15	15	15	10	5	5		
	cost for recovery of rice fields	4	4	4	4	4	4	4		
	Minimum rent	102	91	77	68	45	31	31		
Mojosari	class of land	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	minimum price for one west monsoon	60	54	40	34	34	30	23	20	20
	minimum price for one east monsoon	20	20	15	15	10	10	10	5	5
	cost for recovery of rice fields	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
	Minimum rent	104	98	74	68	58	54	47	34	34
Jabung	class of land	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	minimum price for one west monsoon	46	35	30	24	21	17	17		
	minimum price for one east monsoon	15	15	15	10	10	5	5		
	cost for the recovery of rice fields	4	4	4	4	4	4	4		
	Minimum rent	80	69	64	48	45	31	31		
Mojokasri	class of land	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	minimum price for one west monsoon	55	49	35	31	28	24	23	23	23
	minimum price for one east monsoon	15	15	15	10	10	10	5	5	5
	cost for recovery of rice fields	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
	Minimum rent	89	83	69	55	52	48	37	37	37

Source: A.S.1932:461

table 15 Standard of the Minimum Rent per Bau in Jombang (revised in 1931 : guilder)

district	class of land	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Jombang	minimum price for one west monsoon	57	54	40	34	28	26	26	26	
	minimum price for one east monsoon	15	15	10	10	10	5	5	5	
	cost for recovery of rice fields	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	
	Minimum rent	90	87	63	57	51	39	39	39	
	Minimum rent in 1925	104	87	70	54	47	41	34	26	
Mojoagung	class of land	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	minimum price for one west monsoon	64	52	38	28	24	24			
	minimum price for one east monsoon	15	10	10	10	5	5			
	cost for recovery of rice fields	4	4	4	4	4	4			
	Minimum rent	98	76	62	52	38	38			
	Minimum rent in 1925	98	76	58	48	40	29			
Ngoro	class of land	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	minimum price for one west monsoon	45	46	35	33	23	23			
	minimum price for one east monsoon	15	10	10	5	5	5			
	cost for recovery of rice fields	4	4	4	4	4	4			
	Minimum rent	79	70	59	47	37	37			
	Minimum rent in 1925	79	70	57	54	48	36	29		
Ploso	class of land	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	minimum price for one west monsoon	57	57	43	35	30	30	30	30	
	minimum price for one east monsoon	10	10	10	5	5	5	5	5	
	cost for recovery of rice fields	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	
	Minimum rent	81	81	67	49	44	44	44	44	
	Minimum rent in 1925	88	75	59	51	47	44	37	32	27

Source: A.S.1925:856, 1931:227-228

Mojokerto 1931], the standard valid from 1932 to 1936 was determined by the resolution of the resident no.1277/16 in 25 April 1932(see table 14). These prices were also considered too high at the time[Verslag grondhuur- contracten 1933].

Also in Jombang the prices valid from 5 February 1931 to 4 February 1936 were fixed by the resolution of the resident no.1322/16 in 5 February 1931, though these were not so much lower than those of 1925(see table 15). Consequently the estates were not satisfied with them, which a report at the time expressed by saying that "an intermediate revision (for 1934) shall be important to prevent the complete breaking of long term contracts (by the estates)"[ibid.]. The estates, especially those operating in the regions where land ownership was predominantly individual or communal with fixed shares(so called atok), however, did not actually break them, fearing that they would not be able to lease enough land in future, and the intermediate revision was not realized because these estates stopped planting in this year[ibid.].

So, how much did the estates actually pay to the peasants under these circumstances? In Sidoarjo the resident said in 1935 that the new minimum price was "on average f 40 less than the former rent, which was fixed at a uniform price of f 100 or f 117 per bau for all classes of rice fields"[MvO Surabaya 1935], and Soekasno said in his report published in 1938 that "according to the data collected this rent ranges at present, depending on the nature of the soil, from f 50 to f 75 per bau per planting year(18 months), as against the former average rent of  $\pm$ f 110"[Soekasno 1938:315]. Further in the negotiation with the estates mentioned below the village Kemangsen in sub-district Balongbendo claimed the whole rent of f 100 in 1932[Verslag onderhandelingen] and Nitiredjo, the leading actor in the "Nitiredjo affair", also mentioned below, pointed out in his letter that the estate Popoh had paid f 100 per bau as the rent before[Nitiredjo 1932]. And many estates in Sidoarjo were reported to have concluded the so-called conversion contract of 18 months at f 75 per bau in the period of transition from the old to the new long term contract[Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1935].

All of these factors show that the rent, which amounted to about f 100 to f 120 per bau before the Depression, went down first to about f 75 and then to f 50. In the case of short term contracts, however, some estates reduced the rent more because it was not regulated by the minimum price. For example, many estates in Sidoarjo rescinded the existing long term contracts and newly concluded 18-month ones for the cultivation of 1935/36 at quite a low price, that of Watutulis was f 23,408.73 for the cultivation of 1,020 baus, f 23 per bau, Popoh f 23,973.07 for 1,065 baus, f 23 per bau and Porong f 14,796.08 for 588 baus, f 25 per bau[ibid.].

In Mojokerto the minimum rent seems to have been less important than in Sidoarjo because

many of the contracts were short term ones, with the result that many estates tried to reduce the rent already in 1930, and according to the letter of the resident of Mojokerto in October 1930 the estate Sentanenlor had succeeded in this and Tangunan was negotiating with the village chiefs through the farm staff with resort to the suspension of leases in the case of refusal[Resident Mojokerto 1930b]. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the rent in this division was lower than that in Sidoarjo in the depression period. The estate Koning Willem II, for example, concluded, before restricting the cultivation, the short term contracts at f 40 per bau in 1932/33, f 38 in 1933/34 and f 37 in 1934/35, quite low rent if compared with that of f 92 in its long term contract in this period[Verslag onderhandelingen]. Further the estate Mojoagung newly concluded the 18-month contract for the 1935/36 cultivation at f 30 or f 36 per bau[Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1934], and the rent in the short term contract for 1937/38 was f 35~f 40 in Kremboong, f 25 ~f 30 in Sentanenlor, Bangsal, Brankal, Tangunan, Ketanen, which were all managed by the Eschauzier concern[ibid. 1937].

Also in Jombang many contracts were short term and the rent was likewise low. In 1934/35 Somobito concluded 18-month contracts at f 50 per bau[ibid. 1934], and for the cultivation in 1935/36 the rent was f 25 in Somobito, f 30~f 35 in Cukir[Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1935], for that in 1936/37 f25 in Ceweng, f 30 in Cukir, f 20~f 25 in Gempolkrep, f 35 in Mojoagung and f 25 in Peterongan[ibid. 1936].

As is clear from the above, the rent was generally higher in the long-term contracts than in the short-term ones. So it was an urgent problem for the estates how to dispose of the relatively disadvantageous long term contracts, which they sought to do in the negotiations for the reduction of the cultivation.

### **3, Reduction of the Cultivation**

#### **(1) That of the 1931/32 Cultivation**

The reduction of the 1931/32 cultivation in various estates, which we can see from table 16, was on a relatively small scale with a few exceptions like that in Pohjejer. This reduction aimed at the higher efficiency of cultivation by the suspension of planting on the inferior parcels, as is evident from the description of the resident of Mojokerto who said that "the reduction has been naturally brought about on the least advantageous lands"[MvO Modjkerto 1931] and also from the fact that in Sidoarjo the negotiation in the latter half of 1930 was for cancelling the planting on the inferior lands[Resident Surabaya 1933]. The result was that the sugar factories could lease only the good lands and so the average rent per hectare naturally rose as in the above-mentioned case of the Kremboong estate.

table 16 The Reduction of the 1931/32 Cultivation in the Various Estates in Surabaya (hectare)

regency	estate	1930/31 cultivation	reduction 1931/31	% of reduction
Sidoarjo	Porong	568	32	5.2
	Tanggulangin	1,281	113	8.8
	Candie	487	11	2.2
	Buduran	674	26	3.8
	Sruni	708	16	2.3
	Waru	815	160	19.6
	Ketegan	1,331	52	4.0
	Krian	692	11	1.6
	Balongsendo	822	+ 18	+ 2.2
	Watutulis	715	115	15.8
	Poppoh	617	77	11.4
	Tulangan	512	62	12.0
	Kremboong	683	97	14.0
	total	9,965	754	7.6
Mojokerto	Sedatie	675	85	13.0
	Koning-Willem II	1,016	224	22.1
	Ketanen	769	120	15.6
	Pohjejer	572	267	46.7
	Dinoyo	629	111	17.6
	Tanganan	792	135	17.0
	Brangkal	1,117	97	8.7
	Bangsar	868	68	7.9
	Sentanenlor	761	71	9.2
	Perning	697	0	0.0
	Gempolkrep	1,768	260	14.7
	total	9,691	1,438	14.8
Jombang	Somobito	909	194	21.0
	Peterongan	792	27	3.4
	Mojoagung	905	127	14.2
	Seloredjo	1,157	70	6.0
	Cukir	816	91	11.2
	Blimbing	1,176	55	4.8
	Ceweng	533	60	11.1
	Gudo	856	0	0.0
	Jombang	699	18	2.6
	Ponen	783	38	4.9
	Ngelom	894	64	7.2
	total	9,520	744	7.8

Source : afdeeling Landbouw 1931

But the slump in the world sugar price made these measures ineffective, and each estate had to step into the full scale restriction from the 1932/33 cultivation.

## (2) Full-Scale Restriction after the 1932/33 Cultivation

How each estate reduced the cultivation after 1932/33 was mentioned in table 17a,b,c. Below we further describe some characteristics in each division.

### [Sidoarjo]

In Sidoarjo measures taken by the estate can be divided into three types. The first is that of the estates Buduran, Sruni and Perning. They rescinded the long term contracts in 1932 without replacing them with new leases, and all closed the factories in 1937. The second is that of the estates Porong, Tanggulangin, Candie and Waru, which stopped the planting until the 1933/34 cultivation by the nonuse agreement with the peasants and rescinded in 1934 all the long term contracts for the 1934/35 cultivation without further concluding new ones. The third is the

table 17a Cancelling of the lease contracts and concluding the new ones in each sugar estate in Sidoarjo

estate	from 1932 to 1933 (or the beginning of 1934)	in and after 1934
Porong	in Bonorowo district : stopped the use of land in 1932/33, cancelled the long term contracts from 1933/34(compensation : f20/bau + premium) in Porong district:stopped the use of land in 1933/34(compensation: f25/bau + premium), ☆ Village Djemirahan claimed the whole rent, finally agreed on land nonuse.	in 1934 cancelled every long term contract(compensation:f25/bau), and concluded the 18 months contracts for 1935/36, after 1936/37 no new lease was made and in 1937 closed the factory.
Tanggulangin	in 1933/34 stopped the use of land leased with long term contract(negotiations began in January 1933, compensation : f25/bau + premium) postponed the use of land leased with 18 months contracts.	in 1934 cancelled every long term contract, and afterwards did not lease in long term (compensation:f30/bau, premium to the village chiefs conti-nued), and in 1937 closed the factory.
Candie	in December 1932 negotiated for stopping the use of land for 1933/34 in long term contracts(compensation : f25/bau) and for postponing the use of land leased by the 18 months contracts(compensation:f10/bau + premium) ☆ many villages in the district Sidoarjo refused to agree, finally solved except for the village Larangan(23 baus, claimed the whole rent, the villagers did not cultivate their rice fields preparing for the lease).	in 1934 cancelled every long term contract, and afterwards did not lease in long term (compensation : f25/bau),and concluded the short term contracts for 1934/35, 1935/36 and 1936/37.
Buduran	in October and December 1932 cancelled every long term contract for and after the 1933/34 cultivation(compensation : f25/bau + premium) ☆ Only the village Sidokerto rejected by the village resolution by the influence of the political forces, but after a while accepted by a new resolution.	no lease, in 1937 closed the factory
Sruni	stopped the cultivation in 1932/33, in August 1932 negotiated for cancelling the contracts after 1933/34(compensation : f25/bau) ☆ Some villages claimed the whole rent by the village resolution under the influence of the R. T., afterwards accepted by the new resolution	no lease, in 1937 closed the factory
Waru	stopped the cultivation in 1932/33(compensation : f30/bau + premium) ☆ in the negotiations for stopping the use of land for 1933/34(compensation: f30/bau + premium), many villages rejected this and claimed the whole rent by the village resolution, influenced by the establishment of the R. T., and village officials supported the movements. Finally cancelled every long term contract except for that of the hamlet Kedungrejo.	in 1933 and 1934 cancelled the long term contracts (compensation:f32.7), afterwards did not lease with the long term contracts. in September 1934 agreed with the hamlet Kedoengrejo. in 1936 stopped the operation.
Ketegan	in 1932/33 and 1933/34 did not use the lands leased with the long term contracts(compensation : f35/bau + premium). disclaimed 18 months contracts.	in 1934 cancelled the long term contracts after 1934/35 (compensation : f35 +premium), concluded the conversion contracts(18 months) for 1934/35 and 1935/36 and the new long term contracts(with the compensation for nonuse equal to 20% of the rent) after 1936/37, a part of which was cancelled by the compensation equal to the land rent.
Krian	cut the 1932/33 cultivation by 450 baus. ☆ troubles appeared in 68 baus, of which 48 baus belonged to the 2 villages in the sub-district Balongbendo, and inone cancelled the contracts (29 baus), in the other the agreement was arrived at. at the end of 1932 negotiated for stopping the use of land for 1933/34 leased by the long term contracts (compensation : f35/bau + premium)	in 1934 cancelled the long term contracts after 1934/35, concluded the conversion contracts(18 months) for 1934/35 and 1935/36, stopped the use of land in 1934/35(compensation:f35/bau + premium) and concluded the new long term contracts(with the compensation for nonuse equal to 20% of the rent) after 1936/37. The use of land leased with the 18 months contracts was postponed.
Balongbendo	cut the 1932/33 cultivation by 346 baus. ☆ troubles appeared in 180 baus in the sub-district Balongbendo, which decreased to113 baus by the ass. regent's intervention. In September 1932 negotiated for stopping the use of land in 1933/34 leased by the long term contract(compensation:f35/bau +premium), and postponed the use of the official lands leased by the 18 months contracts without stopping to pay the rent to the village chiefs.	in 1934 cancelled the long term contracts after 1934/35, concluded the conversion contracts(18 months) for 1934/35 and 1935/36, stopped the use of land in 1934/35 (compensation:f35/bau +premium) and concluded the new long term contracts(with the nonuse compensation equal to 20% of the rent) after 1936/37.
Watutulis	stopped the cultivation in 1932/33(1040 baus). ☆ trouble appeared in 81 baus in the sub-district Balongbendo ☆ the troubles which appeared in the negotiation for stopping the use of land in the hamlet Seketie & Watessari(sub-district Balongbendo) in the latter half of 1932 were solved and the negotiations afterwards went on smoothly by proposing the compensation of f 35/bau. The cultivation was eventually carried out on a smaller scale and the rent was paid reduced by the compensation.	in 1934 cancelled the long term contracts after 1934/35, concluded the conversion contracts(18 months) for 1934/35 and 1935/36, partly stopped the use of land in 1934/35(compensation:f35/bau+premium) and concluded the new long term contracts(with the compensation for nonuse equal to 20% of the rent) after 1936/37.
Popoh	☆ troubles which appeared in the negotiations in 1932 for stopping the use of land in the village Wonokasian, Grabagan and Jedongtrangking(compensation : f35/bau+premium) were solved in 1933, then negotiated for stopping the use of land in 1933/34(compensation:f35/bau + premium), the cultivation was carried out on a smaller scale and the rent was paid reduced by the compensation.	in 1934 cancelled the long term contracts after 1934/35, concluded the conversion contracts(18 months) for 1934/35 and 1935/36, partly stopped the use of land for 1934/35(compensation:f35/bau +premium) and concluded the new long term contracts(with the nonuse compensation equal to 20% of the rent) after 1936/37.
Tulangaan	agreed with the every village for stopping the use of land for 1933/34 (compensation : f30/bau + premium), but the whole cultivation was finally carried out with the rent reduced by the compensation.	in 1934 cancelled the long term contracts after 1934/35, concluded the conversion contracts(18 months) for 1934/35 and 1935/36, partly stopped the use of land for 1934/35(compensation:f35/bau +premium) and concluded the new long term contracts (with the nonuse compensation equal to 20% of the rent) after 1936/37.
Kremboong	in January 1933 negotiated for stopping the use of land in 1933/34(compensation : f30/bau + premium), ☆ unagreed with the village Keret, Kates, Lemoedjoed, Macekan, Ngingas and Simpang, the whole cultivation was finally carried out with the rent reduced by the compensation.	in 1934 cancelled the long term contracts after 1934/35, concluded the conversion contracts(18 months) for 1934/35 and 1935/36, partly stopped the use of land for 1934/35(compensation:f35/bau +premium) and concluded the new long term contracts(with the nonuse compensation equal to 20% of the rent) after 1936/37.
Perning	in 1932 cancelled all of the contracts(compensation : f 25/bau +premium f 5) ☆ the actions of the P.B.I. and the R.T. in the sub-district Tarik and Balongbendo failed by the quick agreement with the villages.	no lease, in 1937 closed the factory

Source: Verslag Onderhandeligen 1932; Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1933; Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1934; Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1935; Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1936; Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1937

table 17b Cancelling of the lease contracts and concluding the new ones in each sugar estate in Mojokerto

estate	from 1932 to 1933(or the beginning of 1934)	in and after 1934
Sentanen-lor	Every contract was short term. On 50% of the unused lands cultivation was postponed with the compensation of f 15/ha, 2.5% of them was re-lent to the peasants with the rent of f 12/ha, 47.5% was fallowed in the dry season of 1933 due to no hirer.	the leased lands were partly used for the cultivation of seedling, re-lent to the peasants(in 1935, with the rent of f 7.05/ha),sharecropped or fallowed and the cultivation partly postponed(compensation in 1934: f 7.15/ha)
Brangkal	Every contract was short term. On 80% of the unused lands cultivation was postponed with the compensation of f 9/ha, 9% of them was re-lent to the peasants with the rent of f 14/ha, 9% was fallowed in the dry season of 1933 due to no hirer.	cultivation was partly postponed (in 1934, compensation f3.57/ha), and the contracts were cancelled (in 1934, compensation f10/ha), the leased lands were partly sharecropped or returned to the peasants without compensation. After 1937/38 no contract.
Dinoyo	Every contract was short term. On 13% of the unused lands cultivation was postponed with the compensation of f10/ha, 87% of them returned to the peasants without compensation on the condition of cancelling the contract for 1934/35 and 1935/36 with the compensation of f 15/ha. The payment of the rent for 1934/34 was postponed on the agreement with the peasants, which after all was not paid.	cancelled the contracts (1935, compensation f10/ha), re-lent to the peasants(1935, with the rent of f12.03/ha in 3 installments), and returned to the peasants without any compensations, and did not conclude contracts after 1937/38
Bangsai	Every contract was short term. On 80% of the unused lands cultivation was postponed with the compensation of f12/ha, 1.5% of them was re-lent to the peasants with the rent of f 12/ha, 18% was fallowed in the dry season of 1933 due to no hirer.	the leased lands were partly used for the cultivation of seedling, cancelled the contracts(1934, compensation f10/ha), postponed the cultivation(1936, compensation f4.02/ha), sharecropped, re-lent to the peasants, fallowed or returned to the peasants without compensation.
Tangunan	Every contract was short term. On 63% of the unused lands cultivation was postponed with the compensation of f10.90/ha, 1/6 % of them was re-lent to the peasants with the rent of f14.15/ha, ca.1% was fallowed in the dry season of 1933 due to no hirer, 14% was returned to the peasants without compensation on the condition of cancelling the contract for 1934/35 with the compensation of f15/ha. The payment of the rent for 1934/35 was postponed, which after all was not paid.	the leased lands were partly used for the cultivation of seedling, postponed the cultivation(compensation f7.15/ha in 1934), sharecropped, re-lent to the peasants, fallowed, returned to the peasants without compensation.
Ketanen	Every contract was short term. On 6.5% of the unused lands cultivation was postponed with the compensation of f7/ha, contracts for 1% of them was cancelled with the compensation of f10/ha. 24% of them was re-lent to the peasants with the rent of f15/ha, 1% of them was fallowed due to no hire. 65% of them was returned to the peasants by cancelling the contracts for the 1934/35 cultivation with the compensation of f17/ha and without paying the rent.	the leased lands were partly used for the cultivation of seedling, postponed the cultivation(compensation f5.70/ha in 1934), sharecropped, re-lent to the peasants, fallowed, returned to the peasants without compensation.
Pohjejer	Every contract was short term. Every contract was cancelled already in 1932. The factory was closed.	no contract.
Gempolkrep	Every contract was short term. The cultivation on the unused land was postponed with the compensation of f 14/ha.	the leased lands were partly used for the cultivation of seedling, postponed the cultivation(compensation f5.70/ha in 1934, f3.57/ha in 1935, f3.82/ha in 1936), re-lent to the peasants, returned to the peasants without compensation.
Perning	Every contract was long term which was cancelled at the beginning of 1933 with the compensation of f35-56/ha. ☆ The village Canggul demanded continuation of the contracts with the whole rent at the instigation of a part of the village officials influenced by the R.T., which was solved after their dismissal.	no contract.
Koning Willem II	The contracts were both long and short term. For the former agreed that in the case of nonuse the land would be returned with the compensation equal to the land rent (valid until 1936). ☆ The village Ngimbangan and the hamlet Ngagrokof the village Leminggir rejected and obtained the whole rent for the 1932/33 cultivation, in March 1933 cancelled the contracts(compensation: the amount of the land rent for one year for the whole land). The latter was cancelled(compensation: double amount of the land rent for 1933/34, payment of the arrears of the land rent of 1931, etc.).	in 1934 cancelled every long term contract (compensation: f17.85-21.40/ha). in 1936 the factory was partly dismantled.
Sedati	Every contract was long term, which was cancelled in 1932 with the compensation equal to the double of the land rent.	The estate was in 1934 sold to the N.V. Kremboong & Toelangaan which carried out the 1935/36 cultivation with the 18 months contract, partly planted seedling.
Kremboong *	Every contract was short term (12.5 years) for the dry land. No special means was adopted in 1933.	A part of the land was returned to the peasants in 1934. In 1935 it was partly used for the cultivation of seedling and returned to the peasants with the compensation of f14.10/ha. In 1936 partly used for the cultivation of seedling and partly fallowed. In 1937 partly used for the cultivation of seedling.
Mojoagung **	The contracts were both long and short term. For the former agreed in 1932 that in the case of nonuse the compensation would be given by f14-21/ha. The cultivation of the latter was postponed with the compensation equal to the land rent.	A part of the land was used for seedling and in 1934 the long term contract was cancelled with the compensation of f14.30-21.43/ha to convert the 18 months contract from 1935. In 1935 postponed the 1935/36 cultivation with the compensation of f5 and f7/ha and partly fallowed.
Somobito **	Every contract was short term. The 1933/34 cultivation was postponed with the compensation of f 14.10/ ha.	The land was leased with the 18 months contract, all of which was cultivated.

Source : Verslag Onderhandeligen 1932; Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1933; Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1934; Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1935; Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1936; Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1937

Note : \* factory was located in Sidoarjo, \*\*factory was located in Jombang.

table 17c Cancelling of the lease contracts and concluding the new ones in each sugar estate in Jombang

estate	from 1932 to 1933(or the beginning of 1934)	in and after 1934
Jombang	Every contract was short term. The 1932/33 cultivation was carried out normally. The contract for 1934/35 was cancelled to change that for 1935/36 with the new rent of f 30/bau of which f 10 was advanced. In the case of stopping the cultivation it would be announced by 1 January 1935 and the land would be returned with the compensation of this advanced f 10. ☆ Some lenders demanded the whole rent in the negotiation.	The contract for 1935/36 was cancelled to change that for 1936/37 (compensation: f10). The land for 1936/37 cultivation was mostly lent to the people by f5/bau.
Ceweng	Every contract was short term. The contract for 1934/35 was cancelled to change that for 1935/36(compensation: f10/bau). ☆ Some lenders demanded the whole rent and objected to the contract break-ing in the negotiation by the influence of the R.T. which was solved by the government intervention.	In 1934 a part of the 1934/35 cultivation was postponed and the land of 343 baus was sharecropped. In 1935 the land of 170 baus was sharecropped. After the 1936/37 the cultivation was on a full scale.
Cukir	The short term contract for 1933/34 was cancelled to change the new one for 1934/35 with the stipulation of unilateral breaking (term of announcement: 1 February 1934)with the compensation of f10/bau. The long term contract was cancelled to change the new one valid from 1935 to 1957 with the stipulation of unilateral breaking and land nonuse. For the 1934/35 cultivation 18 months contract was concluded. ☆ 7 holders of the joso-land demanded the whole rent.	In 1934 the short term contract for 1935/36 was changed to the new one. ☆ One village in the district Ngoro (in total 17 baus) rejected this change. In 1935 the short term contract for 1935/36 was partly postponed again (compensation: f10). In 1937 the non-use stipulation was applied to a part of the long term lease for the 1937/38 cultivation(compensation: f10).
Blimbing	cancelled every long term contract(compensation: f12.50/bau) and negotiated for the more advantageous contract but later stopped to conclude it. ☆ The yoso-land holder Atmorejo bring a lawsuit to the Jombang local court by the influence of the P.B.I. and got the whole rent for 1933/34. Also some other yoso-land holders(27 ha in total) rejected to the agreement.	in 1934 cancelled every contract except for that with Atmorejo to whom paid the whole rent. in 1935 cancelled a contract for 30 baus with the compensation of f 150, after that there was no contract until 1936 and in 1937 leased 23 baus for the cultivation of seedling.
Gudo	cancelled the short term contract for 1934/35 to change that for the 1935/36 cultivation with the compensation of f5/bau, and cancelled the long term one in 1932 with the compensation of f16/bau in average. ☆ In the sub-district Pakis the peasants rejected breaking of the long term contract for 16 baus and demanded the whole rent, to whom the whole rent for 1933/34 was paid and the negotiation was carried out for the 1933/34 cultivation.	in 1934 cancelled every long term contract and paid to those who did not agree the compensation of f30/bau and did not postpone again the 1935/36 cultivation on the land leased in short term, which was re-lent to the people with the rent of f 5/bau. In 1935 the factory was closed.
Ponen	cultivated in 1933/34 on the land leased in short term for processing at the estate Jombang. The long term contract already included the stipulation which enabled nonuse without compensation if announced 4 months before. The suspension of cultivation was announced in February 1933 and the compensation equal to the land rent was paid by the agreement with the people. ☆ Many people in Pojok Kulon demanded f 50/bau by the instigation of haji Supi(large landholder).	no short term contract. In 1934 the long term contract for 1935/36 was mostly cancelled(compensation: 1/3 of the land rent, for the land to which the nonuse stipulation was not applied f20-23/bau). ☆ The agreement was not arrived at for 75 baus of which the term of announcement was 1 December, of which the contract was cancelled in 1935(compensation: 80% of the land rent) and so the whole contract was cancelled.
Ngelom	Every contract was short term. The contract for 1933/34 was cancelled to change that for the 1934/35 cultivation (compensation: f10 or f12.5/bau).	in 1934 cancelled contract for the 1934/35 cultivation to change to that for 1935/36(compensation: f7.5/bau). In 1935 cancelled contract for the 1935/36 cultivation to change to that for 1936/37(compensation: f5/bau). In 1936 the land contracted was re-lent to the people, sharecropped or re-turned without compensation. In 1937 no contract.
Gempol-krep*	Every contract was short term(18 months, collective). The land for the 1933/34 cultivation of which the implementation was decided in February, was got by the payment of f10 in advance and the additional f2.50. A part of the contracts for the 1934/35 cultivation was cancelled and changed to the new one(compensation: f5-6/bau).	in 1934 most of the contracts for 1934/35 and a part of that for 1936/37 were cancelled to change to the new one for the 1936/37 cultivation(compensation: f2.50). In 1935 the land for the 1936/37 cultivation was additionally leased by f20-25/bau with the new 3 and a half years contract with the nonuse stipulation. In 1936 neither nonuse nor postponement.
Pete-rongan	cancelled the short term contract for 1934/35 to change to that for the 1935/36 cultivation(compensation: f10/bau). The 1934/35 cultivation on the land leased in long term was stopped (compensation: f20/bau). ☆ Troubled with the estate and the P.S.I.I. over the suspension of the 1933/34 cultivation.	in 1934 the 1934/35 and 1935/36 cultivation with the short term collective contract was each postponed by a year(compensation: f10) and closed the factory. In 1935 long term contract was cancelled(compensation: f10) to change to the 3 and a half year collective one and the 1935/36 cultivation with the 18 months contract was postponed(compensation: f5). The harvest was processed in the factory Mojoagung.
Mojo-agung	The 1934/35 cultivation on the land leased in long term was stopped(compensation: f15/bau). Negotiation was carried out to cancel every long term contract to change to the short term one (compensation: f10-15/bau), with the result of cancelling the most of them. In 1934 350 baus was leased with the short term contract(f35/bau).	in 1934 postponed the 1934/35 cultivation in short term (compensation: f10). In 1935 postponed the 1935/36 cultivation(compensation: f5). ☆ A large land holder rejected cancelling of the long term contract for 1936/37(17baus), who got the compensation for nonuse in 1935/36(f25×6 baus). In 1936 the land was partly lent again by f5/bau.
Somobito	Every contract was for 18 months. In 1932 that for the 1933/34 cultivation was partly cancelled (the rent was already advanced)(compensation: f10/bau) and that for the 1934/35 cultivation was cancelled(compensation: f10/bau), and newly leased 609baus by f50/bau, of which a half would be re-lent to the peasants for sharecropping(by the rent of the 1/3 or 1/4 of the harvest). ☆ In the village Segunung, Gedangan, Jombok the people objected to the re-lending.	Every lease was short term. In 1934 the unused land for the 1934/35 cultivation was lent to the people for sharecropping. The cultivation was normal from 1935/36 without land nonuse or postponement.
Brangkal	leased the land mainly with the 3 and a half years collective contract, cancelled the contract for 1933/34(the rent of which was advanced in October 1931) to change to the new one for the 1935/35 cultivation(compensation: f7.50/bau, in case planting additional payment of f3.5). The contract for the 1935/36 cultivation was cancelled and in October 1934 the agreement was arrived at privately arrived at for the new lease for the 1936/37 cultivation by f3.50/bau.	in 1934 the land for the 1934/35 cultivation was partly re-lent for sharecropping and partly the cultivation was postponed with the compensation of f2.5/bau. At the end of the year the contract for 35bau was cancelled without compensation, thus every contract was cancelled.
Selorejo	leased the land with the long term and 18 months contract, in 1932 cancelled the latter and decided to re-lent the land for the 1934/35 cultivation. To the former the stipulation of the unilateral breaking and the land nonuse was added in 1932 with the premium to the lender and the village chief. The use of land in 1934/35 was stopped (compensation: f10/bau). ☆ Conflicts occurred over the interpretation of the nonuse agreement. Many lenders considered it valid only for the 1934/35 cultivation. The people in the Christian village Mojotengah and Mojoeduwur demanded the whole rent for the 1934/35 cultivation.	in 1934 the land leased with the 18 months contract(340 baus) was sharecropped or re-lent and the long term one was partly cancelled(compensation: f15/bau) and partly converted to the new 21 and a half years one(premium: f6.5/bau). ☆ A part of the lenders demanded the much increased premium, so the estate concluded the nonuse agreement for 1935/36(compensation: f10-25/bau) and after 1935 disposed of the problem by the nonuse(compensation: f10)or cancelling the contract(f15, partly f30).

examples of the estates Ketegan, Krian, Balongbendo, Watutulis, Popoh, Tulangaan and Kremboong. They also agreed with the peasants nonuse of the land until the 1933/34 cultivation and rescinded in 1934 the long term contracts for the following cultivation, but leased the lands for the 1934/ 35 and 1935/36 cultivation one by one by concluding the so-called conversion contracts and newly concluded the long term contracts for the 1936/37 cultivation and after, which included the stipulations favorable for the estates such as the lower rent based on the reduced minimum price fixed in March 1935 and that for unilateral breaking of contracts by the estates. The conversion contracts can be thus considered as the temporary means until the revision of the minimum rent.

In this way these three groups all tried to avoid the high rent of the current long term contracts, and they returned the lands to the peasants by paying such sums of compensation as are shown in the table 17 when the land use was stopped or the contracts were broken. In this case, the commission to the village chiefs previously allowed was continued under the pretext of the premium for their assistance in the reduction. The rescinding or the new concluding of the contracts was resolved in the village meeting because it was based on the collective village lease.

Then how did the negotiation actually proceed? That for the 1932/33 cultivation began in the latter half of 1931 and almost all finished in the first half of 1932. In this period the estates in this division proposed the unified compensation of f 35 per bau [Verslag onderhandelingen], by which means the negotiation went on, according to the assistant resident of Sidoarjo, undisturbedly except in the estates Krian, Balongbendo, Watutulis and Popoh (see table 17a). Each estate then entered into negotiation for the cultivation in and after 1933/34, which became, however, gradually difficult because the branches of Rukun Tani (Farmer's Cooperative, hereafter R.T.) were established by the Persatuan Bangsa Indonesia (Union of Indonesian Race, hereafter P.B.I.) in July, August and September mainly in the villages where the agreement between the estates and the peasants had not been reached [Ass. Resident Sidoardjo 1933]<sup>19)</sup>.

Specifically, the objection of the peasants under the influence of this organization led to difficulties in negotiation from the latter half of 1932 to the first half of 1933 in various estates like Porong, Candie, Buduran, Sruni, Waru, Watutulis, Kremboong and Pening. And further the movement expanded beyond these villages, with the result that the peasants tried to call off the agreement once it had been arrived at<sup>20)</sup>. It was reported that especially in May 1933 there appeared the most serious threat to the restriction since R.T. asked for the collaboration of the



sub-district chief for a civil suit against the sugar estates after the stumping campaign of the P.B.I. leaders. These oppositions, however, were almost ended by the stronger suppression by the government at the time [Resident Surabaya 1933], and the R.T. lost much of its influence and this organization and the P.B.I were forced to change their approach<sup>21)</sup>.

[Mojokerto]

Many estates here concluded the short term contract of three and a half years except for the estate Pening and Sedati which leased all the land on long term contracts and Koning Willem II which leased land on both kinds of contracts<sup>22)</sup>.

In the former case the cultivation was usually reduced by postponing the planting to the next year, except in the estates which later stopped the cultivation permanently. The compensation was much lower than that for the long term contract in Sidoarjo. It is also remarkable that many estates here re-lent a part of the unused fields to the peasants or made them sharecropped, which was already proposed by the estate Sentanenlor and Ketanen in the negotiations until the beginning of 1934 with a half and a quarter of the unused fields respectively, and also adopted by the estate Brankal, Bangsal and Tangunan, and after 1934 by all the estates with short-term leases<sup>23)</sup>.

On the other hand, long term contracts were usually cancelled since the minimum rent then in force was relatively high if compared with the current prices. The estate Koning Willem II and Mojoagung, however, initially relied on the nonuse agreement of the land and cancelled the contract for the first time in 1934. Afterwards the former did not conclude any contracts but the latter changed them to those of 18 months. The compensation was also lower than in Sidoarjo. It is also remarkable that the premium to the village chief, which was common in Sidoarjo, was not referred to in any report concerning the restriction in this division.

The course of negotiations was as follows. Also in this division various estates experienced difficulties from the year 1932 to the beginning of 1934 which needed the government intervention, but afterwards the proposal of the estates was accepted smoothly. Below we examine two examples. One is the negotiation for cancelling the short term contracts (most of them were three-and-a-half-year collective ones) in the estates Sentanenlor, Brankal, Bangsal, Tangunan and Ketanen, all managed by the Eschauzier concern which tried to re-lend the unused fields to the peasants from the beginning, and the other is that of the Koning Willem II estate which tried to cancel the long term contract.

The former five estates decided to cut the 1932/33 cultivation by 50 % (about 3,100 baus, cf. table 9) and proposed to the lessors as follows. "The lands which are not to be planted in this

year are transferred into the planting year 1933/34 by means of breaking the current contracts, while the surplus of the leased lands that shall arise for 1933/34 because of this is all slid into the planting year 1934/1935 with the settlement of the rent. To the lessors a compensation is awarded equal to the land rent of the land, which is not planted for 1932/1933."

In the negotiation on these terms Sentanenlor and Brankal could arrive at an agreement for all of the lands at the beginning of August, and Tangunan and Ketanen also could agree with the villages except for respectively one(21 baus) and five(52 baus) where the people claimed the whole rent. Consequently these 4 estates could arrive at an agreement on 2,735 baus in total up to this time. Only in Bangsal the negotiation was hard going and the agreement could be arrived at only for 75 baus, 13 % of the area to be reduced. This estate, faced with the demand of the lessors for the whole rent or the land rent for three cultivation years, temporally stopped the bargaining until the end of July, and then opened the negotiation again proposing compensation equal to the land rent for three plant years. It was reported, however, that some villages with which an agreement had previously been arrived at tried to break it [Verslag onderhandeligen]. We cannot tell the course of events here exactly, but this estate seems also to have come to an agreement with the villages on some condition, since it actually reduced the 1932/33 cultivation by 50 % as was planned (see table 9), and there was no intervention of the P.B.I. and R.T. as far as reported.

These estates tried to reduce the 1933/34 cultivation more, also mainly by means of postponing the land use with the low compensation equal to the land rent, but in addition they newly proposed to re-lend the parcels of about 493 baus in total to the peasants where they would not plant in and after 1933/34 at the rent of f 8.5~f 10.5 per bau. But many peasants refused to pay this sum and so these parcels lay fallow in the dry season of 1933. Afterwards the estates once more proposed this for the following rainy season on the condition that the peasants would pay the rent of f 5 or f 10 per bau in advance, but the peasants firmly demanded the unconditional return of them. Eventually by the government's intervention the peasants sharecropped them in 1934 by paying to the estate 2/5 of the harvested paddy as the rent [Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1933]<sup>24</sup>).

On the other hand, the estate Koning Willem II, which leased 672 baus on long term and 373 baus on short term contracts for the 1932/33 cultivation, proposed to return the former land with the compensation of f 8,263 in total (13.4% of the total rent of f 61,652) or f 12.3 per bau in average. Faced with the refusal of the lessors the estate doubled the sum but in vain, so it further made the following proposal. "For this year a compensation is given to the sum of the

land rent of the total leased land in each village (three occupations). If no cane planting is brought on the land in the following years, the lessors shall receive an indemnification of land rent of the land, which had to be occupied by the factory according to the contract in these years."

Most of the villages, however, did not withdraw their refusal. Consequently the estate asked for government intervention and the district and sub-district chief came to persuade them. Though some villages were persuaded by this and accepted the proposal, the majority of them still demanded the higher compensation or that equal to the whole rent for the first year and equal to the land rent of one or more occupations for the following years. This conflict was eventually solved for the most part with some concessions on both sides by the second persuasion of the government which feared that the people continued to let the land lie fallow. But the village Ngimbangan and the hamlet Ngagrok of the village Lemingir still continued to demand the implementation of the contract, and the former asked Suwono, a P.B.I member, for help and the latter resolved to bring a civil lawsuit against the estate in the village meeting. The result was that the estate complied with their demand and they got the whole rent for the 1932/33 cultivation. Afterwards the contracts were cancelled in March 1933 by the agreement of both sides[Verslag onderhandelingen; Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1933]<sup>25)</sup>.

In this way only the villages which got the help of the P.B.I. could obtain good result of getting the whole rent, while the demands of other villages were eventually suppressed by the intervention of the government.

As is clear from the above, the negotiations in this division went on more unfavorably for the peasants than in Sidoarjo. What was the reason for this?

One of the reasons for the lower compensation perhaps can be found in the lower rent in the short-term contracts prevailing there, which can not, however, explain the reason why the compensation was less also in the long-term contracts, why unused parcels were so frequently re-lent to the peasants and why the premium was not allowed to the village chief. We should thus search for the reason in the people's opposition itself. It is true that opposition occurred in some estates here, but it does not seem to have prevailed so widely as in Sidoarjo when we see table 17, which was mainly attributed to the weaker activities of the P.B.I. and R.T. Though the villages with the help of these organizations could get the result expected as in the case of the estate Koning Willem II, such villages were not numerous. This was the reason for the smoothness of the negotiations for the estate in 1932, and led to the disposal of unused parcels by re-lending to the peasants, which they, after some resistance, were forced to accept, though

it was more disadvantageous for them, by the intervention of the government.

[Jombang]

It was remarkable that the reduction of the cultivation in this division was on a smaller scale in 1932/33 than in the other two divisions but it was carried out radically between 1933/34 and 1935/36. Among the 13 estates located in this division, only Modjoagung stopped the 1932/33 cultivation. In contrast there were only 2 estates which carried out planting in 1933/34, 1 in 1934/35 and 2 in 1935/36.

The estates here, which leased lands mainly by short-term contracts as in Mojokerto, usually paid the compensation for cancelling them and concluding the new ones with favorable stipulations including the lower rent. The estate Cukir, for example, converted the contracts for the 1933/34 cultivation to those for 1934/35 at the compensation of f 10 per bau, and this f 10 was described in the new contract as the "new rent", meaning that it would be appropriated to the rent if the estate had carried out the cultivation. It was also agreed that the estate could cancel the contracts unilaterally if notice was given before 1 February 1934 and that in this case the land would be returned to the peasants who then would receive the above mentioned f 10 as the compensation for the nonuse of land [Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1933]. This estate actually did not cultivate in 1934/35 and the lands were returned to the peasants. The unused land leased by the short term contract was usually re-lent to or sharecropped by the peasants as in Mojokerto.

On the other hand long-term contracts were usually cancelled, and the estate Gudo and Ponen did not conclude new ones but Cukir, Blimbing, Mojoagung and Selorejo tried to conclude more advantageous ones. The estate Seloredjo, for example, came to the additional agreement in 1932 for a part of the land leased long-term which enabled the estate to rescind the current contract unilaterally and admitted the nonuse of lands by compensating with respectively f 15~f 20 and f 10 or f 15 per bau, and therewith the estate gave f 4 per bau to the lessors and f 1 to the village chiefs as the premium. In 1934 it converted a part of the current contracts, without any compensation, to the new 21 years ones, which stipulated the right for unilateral breaking and land nonuse by the estate and further included the article enabling the estate to reduce the rent by paying the additional premium of f 2.50 per bau in case the minimum rent would be dropped [ibid. 1934]. The estate intended by this revision to maintain a part of the long term contracts for the future resumption of the ordinary cultivation<sup>26)</sup>.

By means of these stipulations this estate stopped the 1936/37 cultivation of 629 baus on the lands leased long-term, which was announced in September 1935 with the compensation of f

10 per bau[*ibid.* 1935], and in the next September cancelled the planting in 1937/38, 1940/41 and 1943/44, each 610 baus, with f 15 per bau[*ibid.* 1936]. Also the cultivation in 1938/39 and 1941/42, 628 baus, was cancelled with the same sum paid from 16 to 20 November[*ibid.* 1937]. But this estate eventually could not resume the normal operation.

The negotiations here also met with the opposition of the peasants in the first stage as in Sidoarjo and needed frequent government intervention until the beginning of 1934[*ibid.* 1933]. It is remarkable that, in contrast with that in Sidoarjo, many of the objections were posed individually by the holders of the jasa-lands (individually owned lands) prevailing in the southern part of the division, who contracted with the estates individually. The examples of these in the estate Blimbing and Gudo were as follows.

The estate Blimbing, of which every contract was long-term, decided to stop the cultivation from 1933/34 and started bargaining in January 1933 and by March cancelled 23 % of the contracts with the compensation of f 12.5 per bau. In March, after most of the remaining contracts were cancelled, it began the negotiation to convert to the new ones with the lower rent and also with the clauses of unilateral breaking and land nonuse, but at last determined to cancel all the contracts at 12.5 per bau. In this process, however, a certain Atmorejo, an owner of the jasa-land in the village Banjurang and who reportedly had a connection with the P.B.I., rejected the nonuse of land for the 1933/34 cultivation and brought a suit to the local court of Jombang. The estate eventually paid the whole rent to him 2 days before the court began to try the case. Some other owners of the jasa-land also rejected the proposal and the estate had to settle the problems with them in this year[*ibid.* 1934.]. The disagreement with Atmorejo continued even in the next year and the estate once more paid the whole rent. It was in 1935 that the problem was solved, when the estate first succeeded in breaking the contract with him by paying the high compensation of f 50 per bau for each cultivation, and Atmorejo, who lent 10 baus for three cultivation years, obtained f 1,500 from the estate[*ibid.* 1935].

On the other hand, the estate Gudo succeeded in 1933 in converting the short-term contracts to the new ones at the low compensation of f 5 per bau, and also could cancel the long-term ones in 1932 at f 16 per bau on average, except for 16 baus owned by some lessors in the sub-district of Perak(district Jombang). They demanded the whole rent, and though both sides agreed to utilize 1 bau for the seedlings the estate eventually paid the whole rent for the cultivation of 1933/34 complying with their demand. Also in the negotiations for the 1934/35 cultivation they did not reduce their stubbornness, with the result that the estate could only solve the problem in 1934 by raising the compensation to f 30 per bau[*ibid.* 1933, 1934]. Also

in this case the negotiation was carried on between the estate and the individual lessors, so the contract seems to have been not collectively but individually concluded with the owners of the jasa-land.

The above two examples tell us that the core of the opposition was the holders of the jasa-land and what was more, fairly large land holders in the case of Blimbing. And their opposition continued in the above two examples and also in the estates Cukir, Ponèn, Mojoagung and Selorejo even after the latter half of 1933, when that in Sidoarjo completely disappeared(see table 17c). The structure of the lessors' opposition here was thus different from that in Sidoarjo.

As appeared from the above<sup>27)</sup>, the reduction was generally on a small scale and applied mainly to the inferior lands until 1931/32 and it was after the 1932/33 cultivation that it was applied on a full scale. Though it was carried out in various ways, the result was in general less favorable for the peasants in Mojokerto and Jombang than in Sidoarjo as was expressed in the lower compensation or the wider adoption of the practice of re-lending the unused land to the peasants or of sharecropping in the former two divisions.

The opposition of the lessor became more intense as the restriction reached its maximum. The conflicts, however, almost disappeared in Sidoarjo after 1934 and in Mojokerto the proposal of the estate was accepted fairly well by the peasants. On the other hand the holders of the jasa-land in Jombang continued to resist also after 1934, resembling the case in the residency Besuki which we will explore in the next essay. In the next chapter we take the case in Sidoarjo as a typical example of the resistance in the case of the collective village lease and examine the nature of it<sup>28)</sup>.

#### **IV, The Opposition of the Peasants to the Reduction of Cultivation in Sidoarjo**

##### **1, The Movement in the First Stage**

(1)The Negotiation for the Reduction of the 1932/33 Cultivation in the Sub-District Balongbendo in the First Half of 1932<sup>29)</sup>

In the sub-district Balongbendo(district Krian) three estates, Balongbendo, Watutulis and Krian, which leased rice fields of 703 baus(499 hectares) in total, decided to reduce the 1932/33 cultivation by 334 baus(237 hectares) by means of the land nonuse agreement, which they proposed at the beginning of 1932 with the compensation of about f 35 per bau, but this was rejected by all the villages except one. The persuasion of the district and sub-district chief in 26 February and afterward was in vain, and at the beginning of May most of the villages

resolved in the village meeting that they "will cancel the long term contracts because the rent has not been paid on time". The estates, though approving this, reportedly still hoped to maintain amicable relations with the peasants by arriving at the agreement. Thus at the beginning of June the assistant regent of Sidoarjo summoned the chiefs of the 8 villages still rejecting the proposal to persuade them to ask the villagers to withdraw the former resolution. The result was that these villages soon withdrew this and fixed the demanded sum of compensation<sup>30)</sup>.

Among these villages Jabaran agreed with the estate Balongbendo by adding f 5 per bau to the previous sum, and the hamlet Seketie and Sonosari of the village Seketie, claiming at first f 70 per bau, reached agreement with the estate Watutulis at f 40 later. Only the village Watessari still claimed f 70 per bau from Balongbendo and notified the estate that it would cancel the contract if this sum had not been paid. It is worth noticing that the lessors in this village left the rice fields fallow until this period. But the contracts were eventually cancelled. Then the intervention of the P.B.I. began, that is, in the middle of July Suwono, an attorney and one of the cadres of this organization, demanded the payment of the whole rent to this village from Balongbendo but the estate refused. On the other hand the village Kemangsen claimed the whole rent (f 100 per bau) and among the other 4 villages (Seduri, Bankalanwringin pitu, Suwaluh and Jeruklegi) 3 claimed the compensation of f 80 per bau and 1 the whole rent.

The estates Watutulis and Krian disposed of these unsettled lands by breaking the contracts. On the other hand Balongbendo carried on the cultivation on the unsettled 113 baus, of which the peasants claimed the whole rent under the support of the P.B.I., according to the direction of the head office. The peasants thus got the whole rent in accordance with their demand.

It is strange that many villages resolved to cancel the contracts in their meeting in May, the reason for which the government searched for in various ways but in vain. The resident eventually attributed it to peasants' distrust of the estates caused by the latter's insufficient explanation of the need for restriction due to its being decided on too late, and also to the lack of positiveness in the government's stance, but this does not seem to explain the reason sufficiently.

Anyway the demand of the peasants did not appear clearly at the beginning, and after June they first claimed the higher compensation and the whole rent. And considering that the lessors, as in the case of Watessari, left the rice fields fallow, in other words, left them available to lend to the estate, their ultimate aim possibly lay in the realization of the lease by the estates and the above mentioned resolution in the village meeting was the tactic which they adopted without

enough understanding of its result<sup>31)</sup>.

(2) Nitiredjo Affair<sup>32)</sup>

This incident occurred in 1932 in the hamlet Wonokasian, one of the three hamlets of the village Wonokasian in the sub-district Suko. This estate, leasing the lands on the contract of 21-and-a-half years since 1921, proposed to the peasants suspend the 1932/33 cultivation with the compensation of f 35 per bau. In the negotiation all the other villages accepted this but in this hamlet a part of the lessors rejected it and claimed the whole rent<sup>33)</sup>.

Nitiredjo was the peasant who played the leading role in this movement. First he sent a letter to the estate and next petitioned the governor general in his letter dated 20 April 1932 to order the estate to pay the whole rent. He pointed out as the grounds for the claim that the lease contract should not be cancelled easily, and further said as follows. If the rice fields had been returned to the peasants with the compensation, water would be in short supply there because the current regulation of irrigation prohibited the supply of water to the sugar cane in the rainy season, which led to a conflict over water among the villagers, and the cultivation of paddy itself would not be so profitable since the rice price, formerly f 4 per picul, dropped to at best f 1.5. He also referred to the difficulty of the individual payment of the land rent by each peasant.

In this hamlet all of the 120 holders of the rice fields lent 45 baus in total, of whom 50 approved the proposal of the estate but the remaining 70 rejected it. And the village meeting, held on 12 July 1932 according to article 6 of the Native Municipality Ordinance and attended by the every lessor of this hamlet, resolved to bring a civil suit against the estate for the whole rent at the expense of the village fund by a vote of 94. This resolution was submitted to the upper authority and written down in the village resolution register according to the custom, but with the comment that "there is no problem in the civil suit, but as the village fund is the common possession of several hamlets it is not admitted to appropriate any part of it for the cost of a civil suit brought only by one hamlet."

After that Nitiredjo asked Suwono for help in the law suit, but he demanded the advance payment of f 250, about 5 % of the total sum claimed from the estate, as the fee for the suit. But Nitiredjo could not collect this sum from the lessors, so 93 lessors eventually hoped to accept the proposal of the estate and get the compensation of f 35. Thus on 17 October the village meeting was held again attended by these 93 persons and the previous resolution was withdrawn. The remaining 27 lessors, whose compensation was temporally deposited in the village fund, also began to cultivate their fields, as the rainy season began at the end of the



year, with the hope of receiving f 35. Thus the conflict was finally resolved.

### (3) Characteristics of the Above Two Incidents

The above two incidents have the following characteristics. The first is that both villages claimed, though in the different ways, the whole rent or a raised compensation and their demands were consequently only directed at the estates. The second is their "legitimacy" based on the regular resolution of the village meeting. In the case of the Nitiredjo affair, we can find the signature of the village chief (lurah), H. Abdulrachman, as well as that of the hamlet chief (pettingi), P. Dajah in the registered resolution although the demand was submitted by the hamlet. On the other hand we can not get the document of the resolutions in Balongbendo, but those villages are naturally thought to have submitted the resolutions with the signature of the village chief. Thus we cannot imagine that these village officials positively suppressed the peasants' claim at least from the beginning by standing for the estates. But on the other hand it did not appear from the reports on these incidents that they tried to realize it positively. The third is that the P.B.I. intervened only at the later stage of the movement in both cases. The fourth is that we can scarcely find mutual relations among the movements although they occurred at almost the same time, for the courses of action were various. That is, Nitiredjo had recourse to the civil suit but in Balongbendo the peasants concentrated their action upon the negotiation with the estates and moreover the demands differed in each village. It is these characteristics that made the government consider the negotiations in this period as relatively calm.

## **2, P.B.I.'s Intervention and the Intenser Movements: from the Second Half of 1932 to the First Half of 1933**

### (1) The Public Meeting of the P.B.I.

In contrast, the movements after the second half of 1932 changed to intenser and better organized ones having the clearer demands by the full intervention of the P.B.I. and the R.T.<sup>34)</sup> In various villages in Sidoarjo meetings were held in which the peasants were persuaded to take part in the movement and the branches of the R.T. were established one by one. First we quote from a report on the public meeting of the P.B.I. held in the sub-district Balongbendo in 19 July 1932.

"In 19 July a public meeting was held by the P.B.I. in the sub-district Balongbendo, regency Sidoarjo, in a house right in front of the sugar factory, which was attended by quite a large number of people . . . ."

Few people could follow Ruslan Wongsokusumo with his explanation of the ideas of "Unity(Persatuan)" and "Rukun Tani". This should be largely ascribed to the fact that he did not have enough command of the Javanese language. Sunjoto, secretary of the central board and projector of the "R. T." organization, had more success. In the first place he appealed to the sentiment by impressing on the meeting that the low Javanese was not a low language but had become such by the social conditions<sup>35</sup>). It was also unjust to name the village people "wong cilik(small people)". Men should consider that the native officials, for example, were salaried with the tax money paid by the village people. . . . The tax system was also subjected to a critique. A peasant should, according to Mr. Sunjoto, pay about 25 % of his income for land rent, whereas someone who was assessed for income tax paid no more than 5 %. That the peasants had not objected to this injustice had to be ascribed to the lack of information. This information men could now only obtain when men would unite themselves and the P.B.I. was always prepared to provide any desirable information. Each village had to have its "R.T." . . . . Men should not, however, think that the village administration would deteriorate with an administration of the R.T. This village administration had its own task set by the Government.

Also Kusmadi, general secretary of the central board, pointed out the great usefulness of the peasants' union, though men should not expect the direct results of the "R.T." As an example of what the union could do, the success was mentioned in which the sugar estate was obliged to pay the whole rent by the people's refusal to agree on the leased lands. Also this speaker promised that the P.B.I. should help them with information." [Politiek verslag Juli 1932]

As appeared from the above, this meeting was attended by the central cadres of the P.B.I. such as Ruslan Wongsokusumo(secretary of the central committee, chief of the Surabaya branch), Sunjoto(secretary of the central committee, representative of the R.T.) and Kusmadi(general secretary of the central committee), and they all spoke of the need for unity, that is, the need for the establishment of the R.T. branch which according to them was very helpful to the people in obtaining the whole rent in the negotiations with the estates. It is also remarkable that they did not consider the village administration as an object to be dissolved and they attached much importance to the problem of the land rent.

## (2)Demand to the Sugar Estates

In such a meeting a uniform course of action was generally brought forward which intended to "demand the whole rent and reject the proposal of the sugar estates in principle which was

already known and carried out elsewhere" [Ass. Resident Sidoardjo 1933]. And the villagers were encouraged to struggle against the estate as follows.

"Before the estates existed, the government cultivated sugar cane, which finally was handed over to the companies who have gained much profit by the direct lease of lands for 21 years with the 3-and-a-half year contracts. As soon as the sugar factories felt uneasy, you were urged to be uneasy. But as for the profit your profit cannot be like their profit. The contract is like the law and so P.B.I. has at present already prepared an advocate from the Netherlands for it. In the village Luwung in the sub-district Gedangan the people did not want to cancel the contract and so the whole sum was paid in accordance with the contract by the sugar factory. So remember the worth of stamping your thumb, and if the rent would not be paid soon and you do not want to wait, a lawsuit must be started in Surabaya." [Resident Surabaja 1933]

What is emphasized here is the importance of making the estates observe the contract and if not, resorting to a lawsuit, which was in the following manner.

"One subject always appeared in all the meetings. In the well-known manner these leaders made the audience say that men hoped to oppose the offer made by the factory and wanted full rent. A "claque" took care of approval. In this manner it was decided with a unanimous voice to record this in a "village resolution" in the same meeting. . . . After filling in the figures as well as the date and names needed for the purpose, this so-called village resolution was left, after signing, to be submitted in the customary hierarchical way with the instruction to deliver this in the official register of the village resolutions, which was done in order to obtain the authorization necessary for the civil action from the Collage of Delegates. Consequently all of these "village resolutions", intended to pass on to Civil action, had the same text; Gedangan, Punggul, Srunie, Bangah, Manjar, Kedung, Cemandi, Sidokerto, Sedati etc. Thereby men did not neglect, by asserting the correct date, to lay down evidence of the fact, that men "unanimously" had come to this resolution, in the night meeting dated."

..... the so-called village resolutions in question were even signed by village chiefs, who had not attended the meeting for fear, but had proceeded to the places of their signing, after the fact was emphatically shown to them that the list of misdeeds known to them was sufficiently large for them to see that, if they refused, they should have to pay for such things with a " lawsuit" on the accusation of all of their village people, under guarantee of discharge.

Men did not herewith neglect to recommend the planting of the earliest-ripening paddy variety. It was admitted therewith that the planting of this paddy variety indeed should procure a "loss" and it was sure in the places where men had already passed on to bedding-out from seed-plots. Then these seed-plots of late-ripening paddy had to make room for the earliest-ripening one mentioned just now, since the land had to be free in order to be "delivered" to the tenant unconditionally on the contractual commencing date of the occupation period. In contradiction to these losses the full rent then should sufficiently repay the difficulty, and change the previous losses to profits.

Therewith it was not neglected to show the audience how great the sum was which was due for the still remaining occupations with full rent, and men must seize this from the sugar industry." [Ass. Resident Sidoardjo 1933]

In this way the law suit was decided by the village resolution, and as far as this the movement wore legality. But this meeting was in fact that of the R. T., not the proper village meeting. In spite of this it adopted a resolution capable of being laid in the village resolution register. This means that the most of the villagers entitled attended the meeting, showing the prevalence of the movement. The movement was carried out in this way depending on the legal unit of the village, in other words, by mobilizing the villagers collectively.

### (3) The Issue of the Land Rent

The land rent was another important issue for the peasants and dealt with as the following report of the assistant resident described<sup>36</sup>.

"The interest of the P.B.I. also extended to the fiscal obligations of the gogol (land-holding peasants) and the land rent for 1932 was a particularly rewarding topic of discussion. This tax was much too heavy, wasn't it? In covert terms the advice was given not to pay. The P.B.I. should draw up and submit a request to obtain a few years' postponement of payment..... and to increase the R.T.'s popularity..... In this way similar stamped requests came in from all the villages or hamlets where a Peasants Union was established, from which especially the name lists of all gogols with their thumb-top prints were not absent as appendices. .... Being led in this by the village officials, it might excite no wonder that all these gogols turned out to have not paid the land rent completely by the end of the calendar year of 1932.

So far as appeared from the interviews, these requests were typed by Sunjoto, or at least in the Advice Bureau in Surabaya, while the village administration or the administration of the R.T. through the medium of the village administration has produced the appendices of

thumb-top prints..... In these appendices the name of the village officials were not absent, and even that of the village chief could be found.

Called on to answer for this matter this village chief did not hesitate to explain to the examiner soon that he had stamped his thumb-top not as the village chief but as one of those who were entitled to a share."[Ass.Resident Sidoarjo 1933]

In this way the P.B.I., by advising peasants not to pay the land rent as well as making the letter of petition for grace, acted on the unified line and tried to mobilize the village collectively by obtaining the signatures of all the gogols as in the case of the action towards the estates.

#### (4)Collaboration of the Village Officials and the Chief

For the movement in this fashion collaboration of the village officials, especially that of the village chief was indispensable and the R.T. consciously tried to ensure it, with the result that the R.T. "often got the village chiefs over to its side"[Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1933]. Thus many village officials and chiefs supported the movements as mentioned above, but further some of them even led the movement by offering the place for meeting or calling it of their own accord and entering into the cadre of the R. T., which the report of the assistant resident of Sidoarjo on the establishment meeting of the R.T. branch described as follows. "For almost all the night meetings the village chief or another village official lent his house, and in convoking these meetings the village administration offered assistance, by providing the names and addresses or by himself taking the summons in hand and announcing the day, time and place of the meeting in advance..... Hereupon followed the well-known recommendation of establishment of the "Peasants-Union", which men went on actually to establish by deciding on electing and appointing the local board members in this meeting. Hereby it may not stay unrecorded that some village officials always took places in the tier of these cadres"[Assistant Resident Sidoarjo 1933].

This shows that many of them, facing the postponed lease of the official lands under the worsened economy, had to comply with the approach of the R.T.<sup>37)</sup> It is of course true, as was reported, that "most of the village chiefs around Balongbendo collaborated completely to get the approval for the 1933/34 cultivation" [Politiek verslag Juli 1932], and that many village chiefs, standing by the estate due to the government's approach, opposed the movements by obstructing the establishment of the R.T. or by not supporting the "land rent petition" [Ass.Resident Sidoarjo 1933]. The reason can be found in the fact that they, acting as mediators between the estates and the peasants, had got the profit from the estates for many

years[Uemura 1986] and also in the fact that many estates continued to pay them the extra sum, which they had received as the premium for their assistance in concluding the contracts, even after they were canceled[Ass.Resident Sidoardjo 1933]. But the more important reason is that they feared the decline of authority in the village by the action of the R.T., since "the board of this union came to stand more or less as a power next to that of the village administration" and so "the village administration shall not be glad to see the intervention of the P.B.I. in village-affairs"[Politiek verslag Juli 1932]. Thus the P.B.I. tried to discourage the objection of such chiefs by threatening to charge them with their malfeasances like usurpation of the land rent prevailing at the time.

#### (5)The Movement and Local Order

This was a critical situation for the government, because the village chief or the officials did not fulfil the function of maintaining the local order indispensable for *rust en orde*(rest and order), that is, the stable colonial rule. And the situation worsened more when they disobeyed the supra-authorities as appears in the following reports. The first is that of the resident on the dismissal of the village officials who disobeyed the village and the sub-district chief.

"The discharged village-secretary(Mr. Atemo), calculator(Mr. Darip) and security official(Mr. Rasmani) of the village Cemandi, have already turned to me in order to protest against the discharge given to them, with a stamped request dated 14 January 1933, whereby they accused at the same time the lurah(village chief) of Cemandi, Wongsorejo.

I have not, however, been able to find any conditions to enter into these accusations because

(a)The ex-secretary Mr. Atemo, member of the R.T. in his village, has registered a resolution of the attending village people in the R.T. meeting dated 4 November 1932 with regard to the land lease problem with the sugar factory Waru in the official register of the village resolutions, though he could know that a village meeting as intended in art. 6 of Native Municipality Ordinance, is convoked and led in a different way from this R.T. meeting. Besides this Atemo has shown open animosity against the Lurah of Cemandi, which he showed among other factors by not appearing in the village meeting. His administration of the tax was equally not in order.

(b)Mr. Darip and Mr. Rasmani are both board members of the R.T. Cemandi. They apparently thought they would be able to take the liberty of an impudent and provocative attitude towards the Assistant-Wedana (sub-district chief). When the Assistant- Wedana of Sedati came here on 6 December 1932 at the request of the landholders to convoke a

meeting, Mr. Rasmani stood in the middle of the way to the house of the lurah and did not step aside for the Assistant-Wedana. During the meeting all the village people sat with their legs crossed except for Mr. Rasmani. After the meeting ended he was remonstrated with on his improper action by the Assistant-Wedana.

This scolding he apparently could not tolerate, for he, accompanied with Mr. Darip, went to Ismutiyar, central leader of the R.T. in Sidoarjo, in order to ask his advice. The next morning Mr. Rasmani and Mr. Darip came to the Assistant- Wedana to inquire why the former had got a scolding in a defiant tone.

It needs no minute argument that here in the interest of the rapid recovery of the tranquillity in the village Cemandi these villagers acting against the lurah should be dismissed from their posts." [Resident Surabaya 1934]<sup>38)</sup>

In this case the village officials took a defiant attitude towards the village and the sub-district chief due to the influence of the R.T. and it was pointed out as a serious issue that the R.T. meeting was held as if it was the regular village meeting. But as the village chief stood by the government it was not so serious for the government as the next two cases in which even this chief did not obey the orders of the upper authorities.

"(c)A village chief got a few days in advance an instruction from the Assistant Wedana to assemble his villagers in front of his house on a fixed day in order to be able to inform the latter of their complaints about the compensation paid by the factory. The answer to this was that there was no sense in this because the people simply did not want it. The instruction was however obeyed, and when the Assistant Wedana came as arranged he found the village chief in question absent, because, according to the villagers assembled, he had to pay in the "tax".[Ass.Resident Sidoardjo 1933]

(d)In another meeting with villagers witnessed by the acting Regent and the undersigned, the village chief admitted that in regard to the breaking of some land lease agreements, he had got the instruction from the acting Bupati(i.e. regent) in front of his own house to make the lands in question communally distributed once again since the factory was no longer entitled to them.

As the answer to the question why these lands lay fallow throughout this period and why he had not carried out this positive instruction, the answer was that the acting Bupati had said he should do so but he thought that a case could still be made regarding these lands.

It is not unreasonable in this context to see a copy of the receipt, which indicates that this Lurah had paid an advance of f 325 to Sunjoto for this so-called case, this money

being earmarked for Mr. Suwono, who should help the village chief in this case.

The text of this receipt included the phrase "for making case", while further investigation proved that this f 325 came from a loan previously concluded with the bank Nasional<sup>39)</sup> in Surabaya.

This village chief who had to put the stone house and yard belonging to him as security meanwhile lost his position. "[ibid.]

In the case (c) the village chief, though obeying the instruction of the sub-district chief for the time being, took a very defiant attitude. And in (d) the village chief apparently led the lawsuit and was dismissed because he gave priority to this over the instruction of the upper authority. Many village chiefs seem to have been dismissed for such reasons, against which, however, they also protested, as the assistant resident of Sidoarjo said that "a village chief, who was of opinion that his dismissal was completely unjust, went to Batavia by plane with Sundjoto and managed to gain access to the office of the Director of Internal Administration" [ibid.].

#### (6) Characteristics of the Movements in this Period

The movement in this period had, if compared with that in the former period, the following characteristics. As for the demand posed, that to the estate was solely concerned with the whole rent, and the land rent issue newly appeared as the concern. Secondly, the unified tactics: a lawsuit was brought and further the regular village meeting was replaced by the R.T. meeting, which passed the village resolution by the overall intervention and leadership of the P.B.I. and the R.T. from the beginning. The movement thus took a legitimate form but in substance it was an unlawful collective one of the village, in which the R.T. could get, at least in the region where the movement was active, the positive collaboration of the village chief which was indispensable to success. Thus this was no longer a mere conflict between the estate and the peasants, but began to threaten the *rust en orde* by denying the local order itself, which exceeded the tolerance of the government.

#### (7) The government's Suppression and the End of the Movement

Consequently the government strengthened the suppression of the movement. As the governor of East Java wrote to the governor general in 1937 that "in the regions with village lease, dismissal of a village chief, who ventured to ask fulfilment of contracts in the court in the name of the village, was naturally enough to bring an end to all the resistance, the more so as apart from that the lawfully written preceding admission of the College of Delegates for the institution of legal claims by the village was of course not granted"[Gouverneur Oost-Java



1937], it is clear that the government intended mainly to prevent the law suit but further tried to drive a wedge between the village officials or chiefs and the R.T. by prohibiting the collaboration of the former with the latter.

Suroso, a member of the *Volksraad* (People's Council), queried whether this prohibition was lawful or not by asking the government's view on a news item in *Soeara Oemoem* of 23 May 1933 which said that "the acting regent and the assistant resident in the regency Sidoarjo said at the district-conference that the village officials were strictly prohibited to become members of the R.T. by the resident of Surabaya.....Various village officials were already discharged due to their membership of the R.T., namely Atmo, Haji Salam and Pa Darip" [Voorzitter Volksraad 1933], to which the resident of Surabaya replied in his report of investigation as follows.

"A prohibition to the village chiefs and officials to become members of the R.T. as was meant by the *Volksraad* member R.P. Suroso has never been given by any of the officials in Sidoarjo. It has only been prohibited by me to all of these functionaries to make propaganda for this organization, or to take a seat on its board, to convene meetings, to collect contributions, or to lend the official part of their house for a meeting." [Resident Surabaya 1934]

Accordingly the government directed the chairman of the *Volksraad* to make the following answer to Suroso.

"A prohibition to the village chiefs and officials to become members of the R.T. organizations was never promulgated by any of the officials in Sidoarjo. It was prohibited by the Resident of Surabaya to the members of the village administration to make propaganda for these organizations, or to take a seat on the board of them, to call meetings of R.T. organizations, to collect contributions, or to lend the official part of their house for meetings.

The Government considers this prohibition reasonable. Also they cannot approve that the position which the village administration occupies in the native society is made use of in order to give the R.T. organizations a more or less official character. Though these organizations make it their object to promote the interests of the peasants, the way in which they consider this must be done in Sidoarjo was not beyond criticism.

Concerning the discharged village officials mentioned in the question, it can be said that none of these persons was discharged due to the membership of a R.T. organization; this discharge-granting was perhaps connected with the fact that these persons let themselves be persuaded to adopt an improper attitude towards the native administrative officials or to

conduct an action against their village chief, by which the rest and order in the village threatened to be disturbed." [Procureur- General 1934]

As far as this answer shows the membership of the R.T. itself was not prohibited, but the collaboration of the village chief and officials with the R.T. for the R.T. meeting was completely forbidden, which made the collective village movement virtually impossible.

Besides, there were shortcomings in the R.T. itself. The assistant resident of Sidoarjo said that it was the bribery of the estate to the leaders (Gedangan allegedly paid f 500 and Pungul f 800) that enabled the agreement in the center of opposition in May 1933, the period when the movement reached its peak [Ass. Resident Sidoarjo 1933]. Moreover, as the governor of East Java, looking back on the R.T. movement, pointed out that "the duration and the cost of a lawsuit were decisive in making resistance against the contract dissolution etc. impossible. The sugar factory just paid nothing, unless the people would dissolve the contract with comparatively low compensation; the peasant with all his obligations would not be able to wait for the result of the lawsuit, supposing that he could bear the costs. Moreover the confidence in the R.T. (P.B.I.) was undermined by the greed of Mr. Suwono, who demanded huge advance payment for carrying the lawsuit" [Gouverneur Oost-Java 1937]. It is clear that the unified line of the lawsuit itself as well as the stance of Suwono contained many faults under these circumstances.

The struggle against the sugar estates, enhanced in this period concerning the breaking of lease contracts, was thus defeated due to its enhancement, which the P.B.I., though being proud of the concessions obtained from the estates, had to admit by saying in the report to the congress held in Malang in 1934 that "the advice given concerning the land right had the result that men did not yield to the arbitrariness easily. So thousands of guilders were paid to the peasants from the other side. The people received the profits which were obtained by the organizations of R.T. Yet men are still far from the pursued goal in consequence of the financial situations" [Verslag L.A. 1934]. Thus the negotiations for the restriction of the cultivation began to go on smoothly for the estates after this period, as it was reported that "in contrast with the year 1933 the negotiations in the year under review had a calm course. Except for one case, the lessors did not let themselves be influenced by political unions" [Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1934].

### **3, The Structure and the Meaning of the Movements**

Finally we consider the meaning of the above mentioned movements to the local order in Sidoarjo. First we can say that their basic nature was that of the land holding peasants who tried

table 18 Branch of the R.T.

branch or circle of the P.B.I.	number of R.T. branches		branch or circle of the P.B.I.	number of R.T. branches	
	1933	1934		1933	1934
Besuki	10	5	Sepanjang	3	3
Bondowoso	7	n.a.	Balongbendo	12	12*
Jember	3	3	Ngoro	13	14
Banjuwangi	2	2	Blitar	3	3
Lumajang	10	4	Kediri	6	6
Probolinggo	2	2	Paree	4	5
Bangil	13	15	Tulungagung	6	6
Sukorejo	1	2	Kudus	2	n.a.
Jombang	5	2	Kencong	n.a.	7
Mojokerto	14	2			
Sidoarjo	9	4	total	125	97

Note and Source :

"number of R.T.branches 1933" is based on the report submitted to the congress held in Malang at the end of March 1934, which is cited in Verslag "Landbouw Afdeeling" 1934,

"number of R.T.branches 1934" is based on the report submitted to the year meeting in April 1935, which is cited in Verslag Roekoen Tani 1934

\*15 branches according to the statement of the P.B.I. circle Balongbendo in the fourth congress in 1935 cited in Jaarverslag Roekoen Tani 1934

to maintain their level of economic life as appeared in the letter of Nitiredjo to the governor general. So the demands were predicated on the land holding and submitted by way of the village resolution to which only the land-holding peasants were entitled.

Then why did they develop so much in Sidoarjo? The reason can be found in the fact that this division was one of the centers of the R.T. activity, where, as table 18 shows, more branches or circles were established than in other divisions, and this was perhaps due to the high dependence of the peasants upon the sugar estates. As already mentioned almost every rice field in Sidoarjo was leased to the estates. Though the same situation was found also in the divisions Lumajang and Kediri(see table 10), the rice fields occupied in these divisions respectively only 27.4 % and 44.4 % of the whole arable land, while in Sidoarjo they occupied as much as 70.4%; thus most of the arable land related to the estates. Besides, the peasants here could not plant the profitable commercial crops like tobacco which grew at the beginning of the rainy season, because, in contrast to the former two divisions, almost all of the rice fields were periodically distributed at this time[Vink 1928:23]. In short, the role of the sugar estates as the source of money income for the peasants was much larger than in other regions. The people had appropriated the rent received from the estates for the taxes like land rent and also for "getting out of the debts to banks etc. frequently"[Verslag onderhandelingen], so it was fatal for them to lose it. This is the basic reason why the peasants objected to the restriction of cultivation here more intensely than in any other regions.

Thirdly, why did the movements become so intense from the latter half of 1932 and why did

they fade so rapidly in the latter half of 1933. The former seems to have been due to the slump in the rice price in the latter half of 1932 without the usual seasonal increase, which hit hard the peasants who, due to the restriction of the estates, were obliged to raise money for the land rent etc. by selling their rice and paddy. Thus the R.T., by giving the overall support and leadership to them and skillfully organizing their economic demands and especially by taking up the issue of the land rent along with that of the restriction, could gain the support of those who at first had to pay the land rent individually. This is the reason for the rapid development of the movements in this period, and therefore the suppression of the R.T. naturally led to their rapid decline.

Seen in terms of the local order, their rapid development and decline has, however, another meaning. The key is the "collective village" fashion of the movement. The collaboration of the village elite, among others that of the village chief was, as already mentioned, indispensable in this case and the movement could develop only under their leadership. That is why the P.B.I. did not consider the village administration itself as the object to be overcome and tried to establish the R.T. branch in parallel with it in this period<sup>40)</sup>, which means that the movement developed without touching the relation between the villagers and the village chief, namely the obedience of the former to the latter[Uemura 1988]. The R.T. meeting succeeded only if convoked by the village chief and held at his house, and the movement developed only by his entering into the board. Consequently the sugar estates and the government on the one side and the R. T. on the other side scrambled for him and when the suppression made him stand by the former the villagers followed him, which easily brought an end to the movement.

Ultimately the movements, having once begun to reject the existing local order, did not deny its core, the village system itself. We think, as the examples of the opposition of the villagers to their chiefs, of the peasants' revolts which frequently broke out from the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century or the incidents during the so-called "social revolution" period after World War II. In the former case Islam or the traditional messianic thought given by the leaders, *Kiyai* etc, attracted the peasants who consequently denied the secular order<sup>41)</sup>, but the P.B.I. and the R.T. did not provide such an ideology. During the "social revolution" many village chiefs who had previously collaborated with the Dutch or the Japanese administration were discharged by the villagers themselves and the local order existing since the colonial period was temporarily broken, which however was only possible because the vacuum in the central power in this period could not maintain the local order<sup>42)</sup>. On the other hand the first half of the 1930s is the period in which the Dutch colonial rule was quite stable and the nationalist movements were

under the strict restrictions of the government which only permitted those on the cooperative principle. Under these circumstances it was quite difficult for the movements to deny the local order itself and replace it. That is why the movements in this division with the strong village bonds had to take the form of collective village movements, and this form led to their rapid development as well as decline.

### **Postscript**

The sugar industries in Surabaya, which had greatly developed since the introduction of the Cultivation System, were fatally hit by the Depression and despite the various measures taken the cultivation in the middle of the 1930s shrank to almost one tenth of what it had been in the peak years, and they could not recover the former prosperity despite some increase of the cultivation in the latter half of the decade.

This had a serious influence on the peasants' economy which depended greatly on the sugar industry. It resulted in the first place in a marked decrease in the people's income. According to the resident of Surabaya the rent, which amounted to f 1,500 thousands in a normal year, decreased to only f 369 thousands including the compensations in 1934, but it was more serious that the wages decreased by f 4,500 thousands in Sidoarjo and by f 1,300 thousands in the whole residency[MvO Surabaja 1935]. Also the department of economic affairs showed that the yearly income from the estates decreased during the full restriction period of 1933/36 on average by f 3,030 thousands in Sidoarjo(-71.7% of that in normal years), f 5,990 thousands in Mojokerto(-90.0%), f 5,931 thousands in Jombang(-91.8%), thus f 14,951 thousands in total(-86.2%)(see table 19). This resulted in such a serious shortage of money among the people that a report at the beginning of 1934 even pointed out the general tendency to move from the money economy to that of production as well as the difficulty of collecting the land rent[Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1933].

The peasants' economy was thus forced to change its structures. It is of course true that the income from the sugar estates still constituted an indispensable part of the people's economy even in the middle of the 1930s as Sukasno said in 1938 that in Sidoarjo "as the source of income(outside the native agriculture, but connected with the land) the sugar cane cultivation is, despite its considerable diminution, still of great importance"[Sukasno 1938:315], but its significance was not the same as in the period before the Depression. So the people here had to search for other sources of income to make up the deficit, which they tried in various ways but mainly through their own agriculture. This will be the subject of the next essay.

table 19 Payment etc. of the Sugar Estates in the Residency Surabaya

regency	cultivation of sugar cane (hectare)		payment to the people (fl.000)		assessment of the land rent (fl.000)		(b)/(a) x 100 (%)
	normal year	average 1933/34 ~ 35/36	normal year	average 1933~1936	in 1931 (a)	in 1935 (net) (b)	
Sidoarjo	5,828	2,067	4,224	1,194	904	543	60.0
Mojokerto	9,182	1,151	6,655	665	610	361	59.5
Jombang	8,912	914	6,459	528	789	474	60.5
total	23,922	4,132	17,338	2,387	2,303	1,378	60.0

Source : Economische Zaken 1936

## Note

\*) This essay is a translation of a part of the Chapter 1 and 2 of my book, Sekai Kyoko to Jawa Nouson Syakai (The Great Depression and the Rural Society in Java), Tokyo, 1997.

1) This agreement however could not achieve the expected result and it was only in Cuba that the amount of export reached the quota, which was attributed to the fact that this plan was agreed by the countries whose production in 1929/30 was in total 11,970,000 tons, only 44.7 % of the world production. The main sugar producing countries like British India and the United States of America, which both produced 10 % of it, and Japan (including Formosa), which produced 3.5%, did not participate in this plan and many of them firmly protected their own sugar industries to increase the production at the time. Thus the free market shrank more and the need for stronger international control arose to stabilize the export-oriented sugar industries, which was realized by the new agreement signed in London in May 1937 by the 21 sugar producing countries. This new agreement, concluded as the governmental one in contrast to the Chadbourne-plan, estimated the maximum capacity of the free market to be 3.6 million tons and assigned a yearly export quota to each signatory valid for 5 years in order to recover the balance of supply and demand, and Java was assigned 1.05 million tons. It was not, however, carried out due to the outbreak of World War II. See Nihon Boueki Kenkyusyo 1944:193~201, 227~237, Koningsberger 1948:392, 397~398, 400.

2) As for the details of the VISP and the NIVAS see E.W. (Extra Nummer, Dec. 1932/Jan. 1933: 45~50, 52).

3) The reason for the rising rent per hectare until 1934 is found in the fact that the restriction began in the parcels which produced less. See L.E.V. 2e kwrt. 1933 (Bijvoegsel E.W. 8 Sept. 1933): 9~10.

4) The reason for the comparatively low percentages of the reduction in the factory laborers, according to Levert, is that the excessive reduction led to a decline in the quality of sugar produced. Cool (1938:218) presented the following numbers of the regular laborers which are slightly different from those of Levert.

year	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
European	4,200*	4,200*	4,200*	4,117	3,738	2,180	1,437	1,025
Native	53,365	53,603	51,082	43,876	31,582	19,312	12,515	11,849
Total	57,600*	57,800*	53,300*	47,993	34,320	21,492	13,952	12,874

\* estimated number

5) The way of fixing the minimum price was different in the west monsoon season and the east monsoon season. In the former the minimum price for 1 bau rice field was fixed at the price of the paddy amount which was obtained by reducing first from the gross weight of dry paddy harvested one sixth of it as the harvesting wage (bawon) and by reducing once again from the remnant 11 piculs (in case the harvest amounted to more than 26 piculs) or its half (for the harvest below 26 piculs). In the latter the minimum price was fixed at f 5, f 10, f 15, f 20 or f 25 in conformity to the rent paid in the case of sharecropping and at f 2.5 for the rice field usually left fallow in this season. For the calculation of the amount of gross harvest the grouping of the rice fields according to the harvest was made use of which was carried out for the assessment of the land rent, and the minimum price of each season in the rice fields belonging to the same group was set at the same amount. The price of paddy was reckoned in accordance with its average

market price which was also utilized for collecting the land rent. The minimum price of both seasons thus fixed, the total amount of the minimum rent for one cultivation, 18 months, was calculated by "the price of west monsoon + that of east monsoon  $\times 2$  + cost for recovery of rice field." The reason for doubling the east monsoon payment was that one sugar cane cultivation occupied the rice field twice in the east monsoon season. The cost for recovery of rice field was added due to the fairly heavy labor needed to remove the root of sugar cane and to rebuild the footpath between rice fields. The minimum rent thus calculated was to be made public as the tentative one at the office of regional administration at least for one month and also announced in the official gazette (*Javasche Courant*) for the objection, and after that officially determined as the minimum rent valid for 5 years. This method was resolved by the government resolution no.68 in 15 February 1918 (*Bijblad* 9030) and revised in part by the government resolution no.23 in 28 September 1918 (*Bijblad* 9089). It was also determined that the new minimum rent should be fixed as soon as possible when the land rent assessment was revised in the midst of this five years.

- 6) This clause was published in the letter of the Director of Internal Affairs no. A.I.12/5/13 in 19 June 1933. See *MvO Midden Java* 1933:69.
- 7) The history of sugar production here originated from that under the cultivation system in the 1830s, when the estate Candi (Sidoarjo) in 1833, Waru, Ketagan (Sidoarjo), Sentanenlor (Mojokerto), Gudo (Jombang) and Ketabang (Surabaya) in 1835, Porong, Tanggulangin, Budulang (Sidoarjo) in 1836, Watutulis (Sidoarjo) and Jombang (Jombang) in 1838 and Balongbendo (Sidoarjo) in 1839 began to operate. Later, in the 1840s, the estate Sruni (1843), Krian (1847) and Kremboong (1848) in Sidoarjo and Koning Willen II (1842) and Gempolkrep (1846) in Mojokerto were established. Thus many of the estates here, especially that in Sidoarjo had their origin in the cultivation system and already in 1840 this residency was the center of the sugar production with the nearby residency Pasuruan and Probolinggo and these three produced about 65 % of the total sugar in Java [Fasseur 1975:18]. According to the report of the Umbgrove commission in the middle of the 1850s 18 of 96 sugar factories in Java belonged to Surabaya and the planting area in this residency, 8,030 baus, occupied 19.6% of that in the whole of Java and it produced 296,779 piculs sugar, 21.8% of the total production of Java [Miyamoto 1993:164].
- 8) According to *MvO Mojokerto* 1931 the estate Blimbing and Gudo, for example, cultivated respectively 700 and 290 baus in the residency Kediri, the estate Perring about 600 baus in Sidoarjo and the estate Kremboong a few baus in Mojokerto. Various other estates also carried out the cultivation on a small scale in other regions as appeared from the descriptions in *Verslag grondhuurcontracten* but it is impossible to know their exact area.
- 9) The Reynoso system was invented in Cuba by Alvaro Reynoso. It was quite a suitable method for the sugar estates in Java which could get many cheap laborers, since the harvest could be increased according to the amount of labor input. This method, first introduced in 1863 under the cultivation system, gradually came into vogue and was adopted in the 1920s in almost every sugar region except for Kediri and Malang where it was unsuitable due to the nature of the earth. See Kano 1981:80~81.
- 10) This was enabled by the highest population density here. According to *Volkstelling* 1930 it amounted to 634 per km<sup>2</sup> in Sidoarjo as against 316 on average in Java and Madura. In Mojokerto and Jombang, however, the laborers also flew from the adjacent divisions in fairly large numbers [*MvO Mojokerto* 1931].

As for the number of these laborers in Surabaya we cannot get the exact data. So we estimate it from their average number in Java. According to Tichelaar (1927:166~174) native laborers in the sugar estates were divided into three kinds, that is, factory laborers, transport and harvest laborers and cultivation laborers. The average number of the factory laborers per factory was 873 in 1924, of which regular laborers were 284 and seasonal laborers 589. On the other hand it is difficult to know the exact number of transport and harvest laborers due to their system of employment. When the sugar cane was transported by cart or lorry pulled by bulls, the estate concluded the contract with the transport laborers and the latter provided the harvest laborers. When it was transported by lorry pulled by locomotive, it was the factory foremen who provided the harvest laborers. In spite of this, he estimated their number at more than 250,000 in total from the fact that the 171 of 179 operating factories in 1924 used 28,416 carts and 68,473 lorries on the assumption that each of them needed 2 or 3 laborers. As for the cultivation laborers he gave

the total number of more than 1,290,000 in 179 factories and more than 7,200 per factory on average on the basis of the survey of their number in the 1925/26 cultivation.

From the above the number of laborers in Surabaya can be estimated at 360,000 in total, of whom 30,000 were factory laborers, 50,000 transport and harvest laborers and 260,000 cultivation laborers since 36 factories operated here at the time. As the total population of this residency amounted to about 1,900,000 in 1930, roughly one fifth of them or one person in each family worked in the sugar estate.

- 11) According to Vink(1927:711~714), in the latter half of the 1920s the percentages of the area of rice fields possessed individually and in the form of communal possession with fixed shares to that of the whole rice field were respectively 73.9%, 6.5% in the sub-district Bareng, 29.5%, 22.0% in the sub-district Mojowarno and 44.2%, 7.5% in the sub-district Ngoro of the district Ngoro and 23.6%, 5.8% in the sub-district Diwek of the district Jombang. And the sugar estates leased in 1926/27 respectively 580 baus(19% of these rice fields), 339 baus(11.6%), 384 baus(18.7%) and 303 baus(24.3%) in these sub districts. They leased, however, more communal rice fields with periodical distribution also in these sub-districts, respectively 223 baus(39.0% of them), 788 baus(32.1%), 582 baus(34.1%) and 699 baus(29.1%).
- 12) If the shareholder did not want to lend to the estate, his share was exchanged with another one when the rice fields were distributed[R.E.D.:441].
- 13) Though this report points out that the sum distributed to each gogol was very few, the estates had paid only the sum equal to the land rent by the so-called arends-contract before and it was after 1918 that the "kelebihan padjeg" began to be paid[MvO Surabaya 1935].
- 14) The cane burning, which mainly occurred by the incendiarism of the peasants and was considered as one of the ways to resist the sugar estates, first appeared in the period of the cultivation system and rapidly increased from the 1880s to the peak year of 1911 and then declined. It appeared mainly in East Java residencies such as Pasuruan, Besuki, Kediri and Surabaya, but prevailed also in Central and West Java at the beginning of the 20th century, and became a serious problem for the estates. The premium to the villagers was one of the preventive measures taken by the estates. See Elson 1979.
- 15) The government, considering such a premium system as a hotbed of abuse, tried to abolish it at the time, on which the resident of Surabaya commented as follows. "The changed situation in the sugar region is now utilized to put an end to the premium system for the village chiefs which led to abuses. Among others the premium lobang, that is, the premium which they receive in case gullies are dug in the field by the laborers of the factory by the fixed time and which amounts to f 5 per bau, and is the most striking remnant of Government cultivation where the laborers at present are still the (usually contracted) villagers whom the village chief can stimulate to works, must be considered to be fundamentally wrong in a land with modern labor relations. A prohibition should not, however, start from the regional officials, but a government measure ought to be enacted." [MvO Surabaya 1935]
- 16) Negotiations for planting the early ripening paddy also took place between the estate and the village chief. The premium was given to compensate for the fact that the income of the peasants who planted the early ripening paddy was lower than that which they obtained from planting the ordinary sort[Uemura 1986]. According to the memoir of the resident of Surabaya the harvest of the former sort was 5 piculs less and the price per picul was f 0.50 lower than that of the latter(padi gendjah). Further it cost f 10 ~f 12.50 per bau for the guard against the injurious birds. The resident estimated from the above that the income decrease would amount to about f 40 per bau, with the result that the premium of f 35~ f40 per bau was granted in Sidoarjo at the time[MvO Surabaya 1935].
- 17) The salary of the European staff was also reduced in this period. In the estate Porong in Sidoarjo, for example, it was cut by 15%, except for that of the administrator, from 1 January 1931 with the understanding that amount by which it was decreased would be paid back with interest of 9% if the sugar price returned to the level of 1929[Resident Surabaya 1931].
- 18) The rising price in the latter half of the 1930s led to the much decreased real income of the laborers, a situation which the colonial government could not overlook. Thus the government began to make an investigation into the wages in May 1936 and advised raising the lowest part of them in accordance with the rising cost of living in each region in September 1937[Economische Zaken 1938a].



- 19)The R.T. was the peasants' organization established by the P.B.I., the political party which arose in October 1930 from the Indonesian Study Club in Surabaya presided over by the nationalist Sutomo. On P.B.I. see Blumberger[1931:433~435], Encyclopaedie[dl.7:912~913], Pluvier[1953:97~100], Ingleson [1979], Poeze[1983 and 1988]. It was in the close congress held at Surabaya from 14 to 16 May 1932 attended by 27 of the 30 branches that the P.B.I. for the first time discussed the countermeasures against the restriction of the cultivation, in which the situation of the peasants in the sugar region was discussed and the establishment of the R.T. was determined in order to protect their interests on the cooperative principle. The R.T. was active in the problems like the breaking of contract by the sugar estates, the reduction of the land rent, the reforming of the village administration and the instituting of the paddy storehouse on the cooperative principle mainly in the sugar region in East Java under the leadership of the Advicebureau of R.T. in Surabaya. See Poeze[1988:164~165], "Soeara Oemoem 17,18 Mei 1932"(IPO 21 -5-1932, no.20:304), "ibid. 19 Mei 1932"(IPO 28-5-1932, no.21:319), Politieken Inlichtingendienst 1932.
- 20)In the case of the estate Watutulis, for example, the lessors of the village Watessari newly resolved to ask the help of Suwono, the cadre of P.B.I., in order to obtain the whole rent, despite the already registered previous resolution of breaking the long term contract with this estate, and Suwono demanded the whole rent to the estate and the villagers left their rice fields fallow[Politiek verslag Juli 1932].
- 21)The R.T. had the largest membership between 1932 and the first half of 1933 and it had 111 acknowledged and 47 applying branches with 20,000 members at the congress in July 1933["Darmokondo 11 Juli 1933"(IPO 15-7-33, no.28:443); Poeze 1988:296]. The establishment of branches continued afterwards, and according to the Verslag L.A. 1934 submitted to the P.B.I. congress held in Malang from 29 March to 2 April 1934 the established branches numbered 125 and about 50 were to be acknowledged, with total members of about 20,000, of whom 12,500 belonged to the former and 7,500 to the latter. The enhanced activity, however, caused the strong pressure from the government, by which the influence of many branches ebbed and 35% of the members seceded with the result that the regular members decreased to 8,125. It was in Sidoarjo that this organization was hit hardest, where the P.B.I circle Gedangan and Gempol lost almost all of its influence and among the 14 R.T. branches controlled by the former only 4 remained. The ebb continued, and according to Verslag R.T. 1934 submitted by Sunjoto to the 4th congress of the P.B.I. in April 1935 the R.T. branches amounted to 97 and the regular members 6,883. In connection with the decreased influence, P.B.I. afterward shifted the main activity in the rural area to the establishment of the paddy storehouse for the easier payment of the land rent. See Uemura 1996.
- 22)Here small cultivation was carried out also by the estate Kremboong(73.57hectares in 1935/36 on the dry field, leased by the twelve and a half years contract), Modjoagung(56.32 hectares in 1934/35, by both the long and the short term contract) and Somobito(44.63 hectares in 1934/35, by the short term contract), the factories of which were located in other divisions.
- 23)In the estate Dinoyo, for example, this was applied in 1935 as follows. This estate tried to re-lend the fields of 74.77 hectares, which were leased for the 1935/36 cultivation by the short term contract, to the peasants on the condition that the latter should pay to the former the rent of f 12.03 per hectare in three installments, namely before the beginning of land use, on 1 September 1935 and on 1 May 1936. The agreement was arrived at for 58.23 hectares, but not for the remaining 16.54 hectares. On the other hand the estate Ketanen, planting in 1935 on 38.68 hectares of the leased 81.5 hectares, made the peasants sharecrop the remaining 42.82 hectares and received as the rent 2/5 of the harvest, that is, a half of the amount after reducing the bawon(1/5 of the harvest)from the harvest[Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1935].
- 24)A part of these estates resumed cultivation from 1935/36 on the land leased with the short term contract at the much decreased rent, which amounted to only f 25~ f 30 per bau in 1937 [Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1937].
- 25)In 1934 this estate decided to cancel every long-term contract permanently and proposed the compensation of f 17.85~ f 21.40 per hectare for this. But the lessors claimed the continuation of the proposal of 1932, which promised to compensate the sum equal to the land rent every year. The estate, however, announced suspension of the payment which was due on 1 April 1934 and added that it would make a petition of bankruptcy if the lessors brought the case on this matter. So the latter, after consulting with the

administration, finally accepted the proposal, with the result that every long term contract was cancelled and the total withdrawal of the factory began already in this year[Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1934].

This estate also proposed to cancel the short term contract on the condition that the rent already advanced for the 1932/33 cultivation would be ceded to the landholders, and the lessors would receive the sum equal to the land rent for the 1933/34 cultivation and would not be compensated for the 1934/35 cultivation. Incidentally the average rent for the 1932/33 cultivation amounted to f 39.7 per bau and the land rent of the parcels where the cultivation was intended in 1933/34 was f 7.7 per bau on average. The people, however, did not agree to this, and after having a talk with the factory manager, a half of the villages accepted the new proposal which included increasing the compensation for 1933/34 to double the land rent. But the other half still rejected it and some demanded the payment of their land rent in arrears as the compensation for 1933/34, since these villages could not pay this tax because they had not accepted the rent for 1933/34 by October 1931, the period of payment, and also because that the arrears amounted to considerably more than the total amount of the rent for the parcels intended to be leased. The estate eventually accepted this and the agreement was arrived at with all the villages except three. Among these three one claimed the whole rent and the other two a half rent, and as the estate finally complied with these demands every short term contract was cancelled[Verslag onderhandelingen; Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1933]

- 26)The year report of this estate for the general meeting of stockholders explained this point as follows. "It is sure that at present more than half of the sugar industries in Java must wholly stop the production. We are convinced, however, that we shall be able to take part of the production as soon as the vast stock of sugar is sold out. So we determined to keep the core of our long term contract. If agreed with the lessors, we should pay only a small compensation in the period of land nonuse. If not, we will try to cancel the contracts by the higher compensation."[Verslag Seloredjo 1933:4]
- 27)Also in the division Surabaya the estate Balongbendo, Watutuls, Ketegan and Pening, all located in Sidoarjo, carried out little cultivation in this period, and they all tried to cancel the contract. See Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1933~1937.
- 28)As already referred to in note(9) in the residency Surabaya most of the ca. 360 thousands sugar estate laborers seem to have lost their jobs by the restriction. But there was no information on their resistance in any reports at the time as far as I could discover, which I consider as evidence of the actual absence of resistance. The reason is that most of the sugar estate laborers including the regular ones were unorganized at the time due to the inactive nationalist movement in general, so they could not come out on strike on a large scale as in and around 1920. Moreover, as the regular laborers were generally said to estrange themselves from the village and most of the part-time laborers consisted of the landless peasants who were not the regular members of the village community, they could not make moves based on the village bond.
- 29)The process of this negotiation was written in Verslag Onderhandelingen
- 30)The article "Sugar estates and the people" in the "Soeara Oemoem 11 June 1932"(IPO 18-6-32, no.24:372~373) told a different story about this persuasion as follows. The assistant regent of Sidoarjo attended the village meeting at the time and pressed the people by saying in an excited manner that "it is foolish enough not to receive the compensation of f 35 proposed by the estate, because if not, how can you pay the land rent?" Though he further said that he would move to seizure if the land rent would not be paid by October and he would discharge the village chief if the land rent in the village could not be collected, only one village accepted the proposal of the estate.
- 31)The estate Krian, for example, entered into negotiation to reduce the 1933/34 cultivation at the end of 1932 and arrived at the agreement with the compensation of f 35 per bau and the premium, which was ratified in the village meeting and these were paid. But it was said that the peasants later tried to offer the rice fields at a price lower than the minimum rent and were disappointed when they knew they could not do so[Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1933]. This example shows that the peasants could not understand what the breaking of the contract meant.
- 32)About this affair see Verslag onderhandelingen, Gouverneur Oost-Java 1933, Resident Surabaja 1933b, Ass.Resident Sidoardjo 1933b, Resident Surabaja 1932 and Nitiredjo 1932.

- 33) In 1921, when this contract was concluded, Wonokasian, Klitih and Kersan were all independent villages and lent the land by the collective village contract, and later each became a hamlet of the unified new village Wonokasian [Ass. Resident Sidoarjo 1933]. Consequently the unity of the new village was only nominal and each hamlet was still the place where the people united, which led to the movement based on each hamlet.
- 34) The P.B.I. took up the problem of the breaking of the contract by the sugar estate in its organ already in January 1932 ["Soeara Oemoem 26 Januari 1932" (IPO 13-2-32, no.6:92)], but it is in the conflict between the estate Lestari and the peasants in the district Kertosono (residency Kediri) which occurred after the establishment of the R.T. was determined that it actually intervened in the negotiation for the first time. In this conflict about 130 peasants, who seemed to be led by the P.B.I. leader, rejected the proposal of the estate to cancel the contract and to return the lands to peasants on the condition that the estate would pay the land rent, and asked the Kertosono branch for help. The central P.B.I. sent Suwono, Kusmadi and Ruslan Wongsokusumo there, and it was determined to enter a lawsuit against this estate with the gratis help of Suwono in a meeting held in the house of the village chief on 3 June. Faced with this, the estate eventually determined to pay the contracted sum to the lessors, who thus won completely. On this movement see Politie-rapport 13 Juni 1932, no.121/s, "Soeara Oemoem 27 Mei 1932" (IPO 11-6-32, no.23:356), "ibid. 10 Juni 1932" (IPO 25-6-32, no.25:382).
- 35) The Javanese language can be roughly divided into two speech levels, namely the ordinary form used among intimates or when speaking to certain people of lower status (ngoko) and the polite one used to and among upper-class people (kromo). The origin of these speech levels related to the social status system in Javanese history. In Java the people were usually divided into the priyai or the noblemen or the officials and the wong cilik (literally little men) or the common people, and the former naturally spoke to the latter with the ngoko but the latter had to speak to the former with the kromo. In the period from about 1917 to 1923, however, the so-called Jowo Dipo movement appeared which asserted the abolition of the kromo to unify the Javanese language with the ngoko. The movement aimed not only at the simplification of the Javanese language but also at the elimination of the kromo's social functions. This is the background of the speech of Sunjoto which referred to the ngoko and wong cilik. About the Jowo Dipo movement see Fukami 1980.
- 36) At the beginning of the 1930s it became difficult for the peasants in Java to pay the land rent due to the slump in the price of agricultural products and the arrearage increased rapidly, which was very serious in Surabaya. Consequently the P.B.I. took the issue of the land rent as one of the main subjects of activity in the meeting of the central executives held in Surabaya on 29 April 1931, where the general course of action was first discussed by the central executives with the representatives of the branches and the resolution was adopted to claim the reduction of the land rent in accordance with the low paddy price which was proposed by the Kertosono branch ["Soeloh Ra'jat Indonesia 6 Mei 1931" (IPO 1931 I:438~440); Poeze 1988:59~60]. The same issue was further discussed at the second congress in Solo in April 1933 [ibid.:274~275] and also at the congress of the R.T. in July 1933 [ibid.:295~286; Verslag R.T. Congres 1933].
- 37) According to Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1933 the large-scale arrears of the land rent in Sidoarjo were partly ascribed to the village chiefs, who could not pay it because the 18-month contracts for the official lands were most easily cancelled and in this case they could not manage them by themselves due to their extensiveness and also due to many tasks which they had to do. The same situation appeared also in other regions. See for example MvO Japara-Rembang 1932 and ibid. 1936.
- 38) The case (b) was also referred to, though with some difference, in Ass. Resident Sidoarjo 1933.
- 39) This Bank Nasional Indonesia was instituted in 1929 by the Indonesian Study Club led by Sutomo. It accumulated capital rapidly only by the deposit of the Indonesian people and furnished funds to the cooperatives under the influence of the P.B.I. See Pluvier 1953:99, Poeze 1983:xxiv,xxxviii.
- 40) In the R.T. Congress in July 1933, when the movement had a hard time, the speech "Right of the Village" by Subroto and "The Village Council" by Ismutiar both insisted, however, upon the reduction in the competence of the village chief as well as the strengthening of the right of the land holding peasants in order that the latter could behave more freely when they concluded or broke the land lease contract with the sugar estate, and also pointed out the need for the village council presided over by the village chief to

enable this. According to Ismutiyar the village chief actually behaved arbitrarily without considering the wishes of the villagers and was only the tool of the government although he should also be the "father" of the villagers as well as a government official. Consequently the village council had to be established for regulating the issues in the village with the authority to judge the advisability of executing the particular regulation for the village and of holding the village meeting, to introduce the new regulation and the tax and to approve the expenditure of the village fund and also to appoint or dismiss the village chief in consultation with the government. This means that the P.B.I. and the R.T. first changed the previous view on village administration in this period. On the detail of the idea of the village council see Poeze 1988:295~296, Verslag R.T. Congress 1933.

41) On the examples of the peasants' revolt see Sartono 1973, Akasaki 1995, etc.

42) On the "social revolution" see Kahin 1985, etc.

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