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TO OUR FRIENDS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IN THE UNITED STATES!

This periodical — of which hereby an English number — is one of the illegal papers published throughout the Netherlands, which aim at strengthening and guiding the spirit of resistance to German oppression and to the attempts at Nazification of our country and our people.

The idea leading to this endeavour is that resistance to totalitarian and pagan power, as embodied in the German Reich, should above all things be fundamentally spiritual in character.

Resistance to paganism only succeeds or has any real value if it originates from the demands of The Word of God. The resistance we advocate is not of an opportunist character, it is not so much aiming at tactical gains, as at evoking and strengthening the principles of Christianity which through the resistance of William of Orange to the tyrannical power of the Spanish State, gave birth to the Netherlands as a State and a Nation, and which upheld them afterwards in the struggle of William and Mary against the tyrannical power of King Louis XIV.

We know that the Christian struggle against idolatry of „state absolutism” closely unites us to the English and American nations.

In William III, whose activities in England led in a large measure to the Glorious Revolution, the Netherlands and Great Britain have in common a period of history in which we see our present circumstances more or less reflected.

We feel ourselves not less strongly allied to the principles which activated the founders of the United States. The spiritual congeniality of the origins of the Dutch Republic skirting the North Sea and those of the great Republic on the side of the Atlantic, is historically evident and makes itself felt to this day.

We must point out that this English number of our paper has not been published to enlighten public opinion in Great Britain and the United States concerning our resistance to the oppressor. Perhaps we will be in a position to do so at a later date. The principles urging us in our resistance, not only have a negative, but also a positive value. They make us realise the positive task we will have to fulfill after the war, especially with respect to the overseas territories of the Kingdom of the Nether-

lands. For this reason we have published this special number dealing with the Netherlands—East-Indies.

Our intention was not to contribute to the solution of the many difficult post-war problems concerning the overseas territories. Rather we aimed at increasing the interest of the population of the mother-country in the Netherlands-Indies and showing them that their concern is *our* concern.

Furthermore we have tried to outline the difficulties with which our task in the Netherlands-Indies is beset and to indicate the principles according to which, in our opinion, our nation will have to fulfill its task there.

More than 65,000 copies of this number — in its Dutch edition—were distributed in the Netherlands.

As the problem concerning relations between a mother-country and its overseas territories has a universal significance and as through the grip of the occupation an international exchange of views on this point is not possible at the moment, we have thought it expedient to let our Anglo-Saxon allies know, through the medium of this translated number of our paper in what way we overhere are explaining the various problems dealing with the Netherlands-Indies to our readers.

Naturally we cannot personally send this number to those in England and in the United States in whose hands we should like to see it. We can only try to get it across the North Sea by stealth. But we trust that, once it has crossed the Channel, our periodical, edited while continuously hunted by the Gestapo, will reach those papers and other organs, which in Great-Britain and the United States, help to form public opinion and to whom we should have liked to send it.

THE SPIRITUAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE NETHERLANDS TOWARDS THE NETHERLANDS-INDIES.

When in these times our thoughts turn to the coming re-union of the Netherlands and the Netherlands-Indies, they remain, as a rule, caught by the political and economic problems. We are aware of a multitude of problems, that will come rushing at us in the great moment when our colours again fly over Batavia and we realise that we shall have to tackle them one by one, with great fortitude and wisdom.

But what we are apt to forget is, that we shall then be entering upon a period, in which we shall be occupied more than ever with our spiritual responsibility towards the Netherlands-Indies. More than ever before, the question arising is not in the first place: What can we get out of the Netherlands-Indies, but: What can and must we be to them? We must not see our Dutch people in the first instance as the large shareholder of our overseas concerns, who wants the highest possible returns, but as the friend who, for centuries past, has been bound together with them and who now, even more than before this short interlude, realises that he has a mission which he earnestly wants to fulfill.

Moreover, there is sufficient cause for this in view of the present sore plight of the Dutch East Indies.

In the first place the Netherlands-Indies, i.e. the people of this country, under our guidance and through our intermediation, have been brought into contact with technical development, with the whole of Western Science, even with the whole of Western culture. We have built, not only railways, but cinema's, schools and universities as well. We have introduced our literature, our clothes and our way of living. In the long run all these different influences tended inevitably to supersede the native culture and native life, and so brought about a complete revolution in the whole domain of thinking and living. The Netherlands-Indies could not remain unaltered after they had been bound together with the mother-country for so long.

This fact, of course, had a far-reaching influence on religion as well. Religion, everywhere in the far East, is the source of culture, all forms of culture being in one way or another influenced by the religious conception of life on which society rests. As the forms of culture, the way of living, changed under pressure of the Western world, Religion could not stand untouched, it became included in the changing-process. Many young natives of the Netherlands-Indies spiritually got adrift, they did not know what to think anymore, to Whom to pray, in Whom to put their trust, they had lost their bearings. For all this, we together bear the responsibility, we have brought the tremendous problems of modern times to this Indian world.

Now this sole fact suffices to make us feel the whole weight of our spiritual mission towards the people we ourselves have brought to this difficult crisis. We cannot rest content, if we do not assist them in finding a new spiritual hold, we are not justified, if we do not give them real support in their present confusion. This it is, which should occupy us again and again: we have been called upon to lead the people of the Netherlands-Indies through the darkness of these times, and to be their guides. We are firmly convinced, that we can only do this by bringing them into contact with the Gospel. The Gospel is the base of our own history, our existence as a nation was born out of a religious war. In the critical days we have been living through, we have seen how, more than ever, against all the slogans of nazism with its glorification of the race and its primitive german paganism, only the Gospel of Jezus Christ was our refuges. In prison and in our deepest misery we have again learned to call His Name. When in the near future, we face the people of the Archipelago and again stand upon the threshold of unity, our only spiritual message to them is the Gospel. In this safety lies, but also strength. This is our responsibility towards them. And this the more so, because through our guidance and under influence the people of the Netherlands-Indies are passing through the horrors of the world war. On Java and on the other islands our soldiers have fought side by side with the native soldiers. Enemy bombers have flown over their quiet and peaceful country and have wrought havoc and destruction. The natives, through Japan and Japanese propaganda, are now being brought into contact with a fundamentally different world and completely different slogans. "Asia for the Asiatics", the "new order in East Asia", those are the words which are now being poured over the Netherlands-Indies. Japan, although itself far from stable, Japan with its deification of the emperor, with its ancestor worship, with all its primitive paganism, is now the guide, who leads the way for these people. When our ships again enter the harbour of Priok, we and the Netherlands-Indies will together start upon a new period in our history; we shall again commence a period of cooperation. At first, we shall have to come to a new understanding, for we have both changed. The Indies have changed, they are not the old Indies of former days, they have become more self-conscious, they have lived through an experience they will not easily forget. And they want us also to be different and to act differently. They do not want to see us as the large shareholder, but as the friend. The tie uniting both countries should deepen; there should be more self-denial, more willingness to help, and above all, more spiritual responsibility. For we have something to tell the Netherlands-Indies, something Japan cannot tell them, and which for their future is of the utmost importance. We have to tell them, that the future of the Indies depends on the question, whether their people will find peace in a conception of life strong enough to uphold them, in other words, whether they will find their peace in God. The natives also need the Gospel and we shall have to tell them so. That is our mission, for which even now, under pressure of the occupation, we are preparing ourselves. When we think of the coming re-union, we shall consider, not only the political and economical questions that must be settled, but also the spiritual mission which we have to fulfill. We shall think and act from the conviction that this new call awaits us.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NETHERLANDS-INDIES TO THE NETHERLANDS.

The importance of the Netherlands-Indies to the Netherlands is many-sided.

For more than three centuries, the East and West have played an important part in the life of our people; in the last half-century the Netherlands-Indies have, in many respects, come to mean even more to the Netherlands. People generally think in the first place of the financial gains the colonies have brought in the course of many years. These have, in fact, been very important to the prosperity of the Netherlands, not only in the remote past under the United East India Company, but also in the middle of the 19th century, when the Netherlands benefited by the credit balance of the Indian budget, and above all in the first part of the 20th century, thanks to the amazing development and prosperity of private enterprise in agriculture, industry and mining, of trade and transport in the Netherlands East Indies. Nearly a quarter of our national wealth, four milliard guilders, were invested in the Netherlands Indies.

One can hardly imagine how terrible a blow it would be to the prosperity of our country, pillaged and impoverished as it is by these years of war, to lose this part of our national wealth as well.

On the other hand we can well imagine what an influence the permanent loss of the Netherlands-Indies would have on the social and economical development, more particularly what concerns the chances of employment. The number of Dutchmen leaving yearly for the Netherlands-Indies may amount to a paltry few thousands a year, the total employment provided by the Indies to the Netherlands is many times larger. For, next to those who themselves go overseas, there are those employed in offices in the Netherlands belonging to the many companies, that have their business in the Netherlands-Indies. To these must be added the shipping- and aviation-companies dependent on the Netherlands-Indies, the engineering-works and dockyards, the textile factories and so many others, all working for those countries. The total employment provided in this way for the Netherlands has been estimated by experts at roughly 100.000 men. If, in addition, one bears in mind how the Netherlands' national economics benefit by Indian pensions and fortunes earned overseas, and by the enormous amount flowing into the Netherlands out of investments in the Netherlands-Indies, one can get an approximate idea of the importance of these countries to the employment problem and prosperity of the Netherlands.

But it is not only materially, that the Netherlands-Indies are important to the mother-country. That part, which cannot be expressed in terms of money, is at least as important. This was already a fact in the 17th and 18th century, when the might of and respect for the Dutch Republic depended in a large measure on our trade and shipping, on our settlements in the colonies; when the courage and enterprise, the energy and activity of our ancestors, which did not by any means confine itself to our own country, received their greatest stimulus from the voyages to East and West. And this was perhaps even more the case in the 19th century, when the Netherlands, reduced to poverty after the Napoleonic wars, had sunk to a state of spiritual decay out of which no new rise seemed possible. The renewal of the connection with the Netherlands-Indies, the resuming of the colonial task, has been one of the great incentives to raise the Netherlands from their decline, to enable us to hold an honoured place again amongst the nations of the world.

And in the last half-century the position of the Netherlands in the international world has not in the last place been due to the fact, not only that it has in the overseas territories a population of 70 million souls, but also that it is known throughout the international colonial world as the country which has, more than any other nation, understood its mission as a colonial power, i.e. to try and bring the people under its guidance by legislation and wise government into a higher plane materially and spiritually, socially and politically.

The Netherlands have been a godsend to the Netherlands-Indies since the conviction has become common property, that the mother-country not only has rights, but above all things duties towards these countries, since our colonial task was seen as a holy mission, as a moral responsibility for the well-being of their millions of inhabitants. And for the Netherlands themselves this view has been very fruitful many ways. One of the most beneficial effects due to our contact with the Indies, has been the flourishing of different branches of science. Oriental science, ethnology, the science of Indian customary law, botany, geology, tropical hygiene, agriculture, technics have, thanks to the Indies, activated many of the best intellects in the Netherlands and have provided the intellectual and scientific life of the Netherlands with exceptional possibilities of development. The international renown many Dutch names enjoy in these fields, is in a great measure due to the Netherlands-Indies.

The work of Protestant and Roman Catholic Missions may find its mainspring in obedience to the command of our Lord, it may find its purpose in the salvation of the peoples of the Netherlands-Indies, it must all the same be recognised, that the work of the missionaries has influenced and enriched religious life in the Netherlands as well. Large circles in the Netherlands, ranging from the highest to the lowest, have been brought into contact with it. The willingness to make sacrifices, to give time, money and oneself to this work, has had an uplifting and deepening influence on religious life in the Netherlands themselves. By it, thousands have been taught to live out of a deeper realisation of their responsibility towards the Netherlands-Indies, i.e. the realisation that they are bound to bring to the Indies, be it at the cost of

heavy sacrifices, the most valuable possession of the Netherlands, the Gospel of Christ. The Netherlands-Indies have taught the Netherlands to live for others also. No man and no people can attain its full moral development without this. The task of the Netherlands in the Netherlands-Indies is not yet finished. Both need each other still.

Very rightly our beloved Queen has pointed out, that our first task after the restoration of our independence will be the liberation of the Netherlands-Indies. It is due to this country that the Netherlands shall not deem any sacrifice too great to this end. In this, the futures of the Netherlands is at stake as well.

May the youth of the Netherlands, to whom the future belongs, recognise their mission and may they, when the moment has come, give and do all in their power for this great purpose, to the good of the Netherlands-Indies and the Netherlands.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NETHERLANDS TO THE NETHERLANDS-INDIES.

The reader will find elsewhere in this number an article dealing with the importance of the Netherlands-Indies to the Netherlands. We have explained therein how the Netherlands have benefited directly as well as indirectly from their work in the East. Holland has obtained considerable financial gains from overseas, it has invested an important part of its wealth there. It lives and works in the Netherlands-Indies. Thus the Netherlands-Indies have stimulated all the great resources of the Netherlands and brought them immense development in the province of economics as well as of government, in that of science as well as of religion.

If, on the other hand, we want to outline the importance of the Netherlands to the Netherlands-Indies, we might follow the course of that article. We might discuss the same points, but this time as seen from the point of view of the Netherlands-Indies. We should then arrive at a number of conclusions showing how important the Netherlands are to the Netherlands-Indies, and how imperative it is for the Indies to maintain the ties with the mother-country. This goes without saying. These relations are reciprocal, they yield their profits economically and politically, in science and religion, to both countries.

But we believe it would not satisfy many people if we should outline the importance of these relations to the Netherlands-Indies in this way.

One would feel, that we had not sufficiently gone into the subject. Many people indeed are apt to outline the importance of the Netherlands to the Indies, i.e. the place the Netherlands take in the Netherlands-Indies, as a contrast between the territory of the Netherlands here in Europe and the territory of the Netherlands-Indies far away in Asia. In this way the matter, especially in the political sphere, is reduced to the question: "Should not the Netherlands-Indies be independent and self-governing instead of being ruled by that small Holland skirting the North Sea?" Those who answer this question in the extreme sense, end by crying: "Indonesia free from the Netherlands!" In this way one would give up the cultural work which the Netherlands have undertaken in the Netherlands-Indies, in exchange for a supposed "independence".

Others are less radical in their answer. In 1937 the "Volksraad" (Indian Advisory Council) carried the so-called Soetardjo-petition. In this petition Her Majesty the Queen was requested: "to graciously further the calling together of a conference of representatives from the Netherlands and the Netherlands-Indies, which conference, on an equal footing, will have to draw up a scheme for granting to the Netherlands-Indies by way of gradual reforms within 10 years, or at any rate within such time limit as the Conference will deem possible for the carrying out of this idea, the status of independence within the limits of article 1 of the Constitution".

In an explanatory statement the signatories of this petition inter alia give as their opinion: "that the history of centuries has so interwoven the material and ideal interests of the Netherlands and the Netherlands-Indies, that a separation of both countries would not be without serious detrimental consequences".

We are not going to discuss the Soetardjo-petition here. We only point out that, seen detachedly, the impediment to the granting of the wish of this Petition lies

precisely in the truth of the above observation of the signatories to this explanatory statement.

We do not consider this problem solved in this way. But our opinion is, that one cannot in the first instance deal with this question solely as a problem of territorial proportions.

In doing so, some will say: "The Netherlands-Indies should remain under the government of the mother-country", and so the old colonial idea, which we shall have to give up completely, would live on. Others will say: "The Netherlands and the Netherlands-Indies are independent territories within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, each country settling its own internal affairs independent of the other". Whether this is called independence or dominion-status, it will ultimately entail the severing of the bond between the Netherlands-Indies and the Netherlands. We must not delude ourselves by thinking that an Imperial Council, consisting of representatives from the Netherlands-Indies and from the Netherlands, and invested with decisive power in matters concerning both countries, will be able to settle *this question as it has been put here*.

If one sees the relations of the Netherlands to the Netherlands-Indies as a problem of territorial proportions, either the one or the other will be the decisive party in the Imperial Council. The Imperial Council would again have to decide in the same badly put dilemma.

We must point out here, that we regret some reactions in this country to the speech of Her Majesty The Queen on December 7th 1942, in which mention was made of the future equality of rights and independence of the Netherlands-Indies. These reactions favoured independence of the territories and their coordination, though the bond of the Kingdom was to remain. Some spoke of equal legal status, others of dominion-status, others again of a federation. What would happen in this case to the ties of that Kingdom, does not seem very clear. That is why we are glad, that in the booklet by Boisot, of which we can safely assume that it was not written without collaboration with responsible circles in London, the dominion-status for the Netherlands-Indies was roundly dismissed as impossible.

We must not see the relations of the Netherlands to the Netherlands-Indies in the first place as a question of territorial proportions. We find the importance and the place of the Netherlands in the Indies in one territory only, i.e. in the Netherlands-Indies themselves. The importance and the place of the Netherlands in the Netherlands-Indies is given in their political economical and cultural structure. When we realise this fact and keep it in mind, the problem with which we are dealing changes its character completely. Then we need not worry about relations between the Hague and Buitenzorg — that is a question apart —, but the problem is: what will be the relations between the Netherlands in the Netherlands-Indies and the Indies in that country?

It is a simple error to see these relations as those of an enlightened ruler to his subjects.

A great many native people live in the Netherlands-Indies. They are ruled by the Netherlands Government. That is one side of the question. And a very difficult one at that. But these native people, even if considered as a composite mass as opposed to the Netherlands Government, do not represent the whole of the Netherlands-Indies. To this, one must add the complicated whole of political, economical and cultural factors, with which, through the activity of the Netherlands, the Netherlands-Indies have, in the course of centuries been impregnated and changed. The Indian people, Indian society have altered and are still growing away from their original character. In these tropical countries, the Indies cannot be separated from the Netherlands. The problem is not only, as expressed in the Soetardjo-petition, that the history of centuries has interwoven the material and ideal interests of both countries, but that in the Indian Archipelago the Netherlands and the Indies have been moulded into a new whole the Netherlands-Indies.

For what are the Netherlands-Indies? No doubt they are the country of the natives, or rather, they consist of the territories of a large conglomeration of people differing in language, culture and race. But they are more; they are a group of territories brought together and kept together by the Netherlands Government. They are a nation in statu nascendi, through the Netherlands Government. In the substratum of

that nation only a small portion of the native population as such, takes any part. In a large measure it consists of non-native factors: foreign capital, foreign energy, foreign culture. It was neither Indian capital in any great measure, nor native energy nor native culture that provided the impetus for the policy of making the Indies into a modern state and a modern society. And even now, the element consciously promoting this policy is chiefly foreign. The element of capital, energy and culture engaged in this task, must be qualified as Dutch. But it cannot exist without the native world. In the long run it cannot work without native capital, directing native energy and native culture. What the Netherlands-Indies lack to become a worthy and independent modern state, is that they have not yet harmoniously united the two substrata of the future Netherlands-Indian State: the Dutch and the native element.

But this can never be brought about by force. It must grow. As long as we have not reached this point, as long as the responsibility and therefore the spiritual guidance rests with the Netherlands in the Netherlands-Indies, there can be no question of independence or equality of territories and we must not look for our problems to be solved in that way.

The core of the matter has been exposed in the article with which this number opens: The decisive factor in the political development of the Netherlands-Indies leading towards the realisation of its independence and equality, a development which has not started now, but which has been growing for more than half a century, will be, whether the Netherlands are capable of discharging their spiritual responsibility as regards those countries. The Netherlands must not let themselves be diverted from this task, neither by self-interest or cupidity, nor by their old "colonial" aspirations nor by unripe formal abstractions on independence of territories.

In these times we often hear the name Indonesia. People use this name, because the word Netherlands-Indies might remind us of the old colonial idea of the Netherlands-Indies being a "possession" of the Netherlands. From the tendency of our article one can see that we absolutely reject this idea of possession, in all its aspects and not only in certain outward appearances.

Even so, we should regret the disappearance of the name "Netherlands-Indies", because with this name would disappear something, which in fact inherently belongs to the political and cultural being of the Netherlands-Indies and without which the independent Indies would be inconceivable, i.e.: the Dutch element in the Netherlands-Indies.

THE FRONTIERS OF OUR KINGDOM.

To the average Dutchman the most significant characteristic of his native country is its limited expanse, the relatively small length and breadth of our fields, as compared with those of the other European countries, such as France, Great-Britain or Germany. One glance at the map of our hemisphere shows us the very small part of the European continent taken up by the Dutch territory. In the course of centuries, the Dutchman has grown so accustomed to this notion, that many expressions in our literature have given it form and substance: many of our national songs have chosen as their theme the smallness of the Netherlands, of which they sing in different tunes and melodies. On the other hand, are ranged some specifically Dutch characteristics as: our courage, our dogged determination, our perseverance, our tenacity and energy, or our arts and sciences, in all of which the Dutch people are a match for the other European nations so that, as to quality, we can stand comparison with them. But the keynote is and remains the "smallness" of the Netherlands, be it that the Dutch nation has many qualities, in which a "small" nation can be great.

This notion has become common property in such a way during the last century, that the average Dutchman has accustomed himself completely to it and possesses a fixed belief in the smallness of the Kingdom. To this may be ascribed the conviction — grown to be an axiom to most Dutchmen — that, in the concert of nations, our Kingdom can but strike a very modest note, in accordance with the European frontiers of the country. This point of view places the Netherlands on a level with other small European countries, such as Denmark and Switzerland.

Many people do not see that this comparison does not hold good, because they keep staring at the small part of our Kingdom on the European continent, and are over-

looking the considerable, and in part very densely populated, territories situated in Asia, Australia and America, territories which occupy a place of the utmost importance in the economic world. I mean the Netherlands East- and West-Indies.

One will find nearly always quite another conception of the Kingdom, when meeting those Dutchmen who have spent a shorter or longer span of their lives in these "Netherlands outside Europe", a conception which has made them realise, that a Kingdom comprising in its entirety a population of upwards of 80 million souls and which occupies an area of about 3/5 of the United States of America, which moreover takes up a first-rate position among the countries all over the world that produce raw materials, should be considered anything but a small nation, whose duty it is to keep quietly in the background.

Modesty is a virtue, but too much modesty leads in the end to neglect and being overrun.

This is the opinion held by those who know the overseas Empire out of their own experience. It is high time, in view of the present circumstances and above all with regard to the future, that this realisation of the "Greater Netherlands" becomes the common property of every inhabitant of the Netherlands Kingdom, whether living in the European or in the non-European part thereof.

For if we do not deceive ourselves, presently, at the end of the war, during the munital discussions, the Kingdom of the Netherlands will be expected to take its part as one of the leading nations in the Pacific-area, in accordance with the **expanse** of its territories and its extreme importance in the economical sphere. The fact that our Ministers in Great-Britain and the United States have been raised to the rank of Ambassador, is very significant in this respect. When consequently, in the near future, our Kingdom will be on a much higher level than before the present World War, and the Netherlands will come nearer to being a great power than they have been in the last two centuries of their existence as a nation, the Dutchmen will have to adapt themselves to these changed conditions and will have to grow accustomed to think more in terms of "empire" — (not in terms of "imperialism", quite a different matter!) —

But this change has necessarily far-reaching consequences, threefold consequences, to wit: with regard to the Kingdom in its entirety, with regard to the Netherlands as forming one part, and with regard to the Overseas Territories, as forming the other parts of the Empire.

Many years before the war the Overseas Territories and the mother-country were already becoming more closely knit together and tending to a more compact unity. This process did not show directly and was not visible to everybody. But it became daily more apparent to many of the initiated, that both the East- and West-Indies should no longer be seen and treated as colonies, but as parts of the Empire. The widespread application of wireless, not only in Imperial — out also in business — communications, the ever faster and more frequent air-traffic between the Overseas Territories and the mother-country, caused this process to advance by leaps and bounds. As time and distance were shortened, the unity became greater day by day and was felt and seen as such.

But the greatest rapprochement was brought about — strange though it may seem — by the present world-conflict. Just at the moment when the separation of the mother-country and the Overseas Territories changed distances into grim realities, aye into unbridgeable gulfs again, when time grew into eternity, there was forged, by a river of blood and tears, the unbreakable and solid cement which moulded the different parts of the Empire into the strong unity, which presently will have to fulfill its great mission in the world. So much Indonesian blood in the Netherlands-Indies flowed for the cause of the Netherlands and so much Dutch blood flowed for the Indonesian cause, that the recollection of it should be seared into the memory of every inhabitant of the Kingdom of the Netherlands all over the world.

But this unity in the greatest world-struggle of all times has its consequences for the whole Kingdom, especially as in England, Australia and America Dutchmen and Indonesians are being trained together, presently to fight shoulder to shoulder for the liberation of the Netherlands and the Netherlands-Indies, while after the resurrection of the mother-country many young men from our as yet occupied territory will naturally prepare to liberate the Indian parts of the Kingdom.

It goes without saying that, after this unity of the Empire has been achieved by so

much blood and tears, our Overseas Territories are bound, in the future, to share responsibility in matters concerning the whole Empire. It is of course very difficult at this moment and without consultation with representatives of the different parts of the Empire, to try and give form and substance to the way in which this imperial idea should be realised.

To many people it seems probable that some institution like a High Council of the Empire will be necessary, in which every part of the Empire will have its representatives, by designation or selection, and which Council will have to occupy itself specifically with imperial affairs.

Other people, however, reject this idea on account of the insurmountable difficulties of limiting the task of an Imperial Council with respect to that of the States-General and the Netherlands Government.

Be this as it may, it is obvious and need not be stressed, that any notion of a continuance of colonial relations has been banned for good and all. Every Dutchman should realise this fundamental change. Those of us who are not strangers in Jerusalem know, that the Netherlands Government was since long engaged in removing the colonial stigma from our Overseas Territories. The present wording of article 1 of our Constitution — modification of the Constitution of 1922 — saying: "The Kingdom of the Netherlands comprises the territories of the Netherlands, the Netherlands-Indies, Suriname and Curaçao", intentionally does not contain any indication which might savour of the colonial idea. In the same way, the official names of the parts of the Netherlands-Indies lying outside Java and Madoera have intentionally been changed from "Outside possessions" into "Outside provinces".

But not only in words, in deeds also — we will presently return to this subject —, the Government has always shown its willingness to adapt itself to the fact that the Netherlands-Indies have outgrown the state of "colony"; and we think every Dutchman should conform to this and should consider the East- and West-Indies as parts of the Kingdom equivalent to the mother-country, be it that the latter, as the oldest, most cultured and best developed part, will for some time to come assume leadership in imperial matters. This conception entails that he will have to consider himself as much bound to the overseas parts of the Empire, as to the part which lies on the European continent. The frontiers of his native country have become the frontiers of the Kingdom and this theory will in future hold good for all loyal subjects of our Queen, in whichever part of the world they may be living, according to the rule: One for all, all for one.

With reference to the consequences of imperial thinking for the Overseas Territories themselves, we want to say this: the development of the Netherlands-Indies out of the colonial sphere is a process that has been going on for many decades. Our statesmanship in solving colonial problems is not only known all over the world, but justly renowned.

Recognised foreign authorities in the colonial sphere have vied with each other in praising our colonial administration. We have not tried to force on the natives our own European culture, but we have rather tried by our support to further the development of their own Asiatic possibilities.

With great suppleness we have more and more adapted our administration to the Indian character of the many races living in the Indies. For that reason ties have come into being between ourselves and the Indian people, whose strength, and indissolubility, in these grim times of fire and blood became apparent to all. Our colonial policy has, in every respect, especially in the last half century, aimed at the true interest of the population and it has not in the first place sought its own advantage. This interest was always the chief concern in problems of decentralisation, representation of the people in all parts of the administration, of care for their material prosperity, improvement of social conditions, strengthening of the economical foundations of public life, the setting up of jurisdiction and education, the furtherance of public health, etc. This policy gave to the Netherlands-Indies its extensive network of roads, amounting to more than 70,000 km., of which a large part has been metalled, and its 13,000 km. of railway, of which 10,000 km. on Java. There are 20,000 primary schools, with 2 million pupils, to which are attached 40,000 native and 5,000 European teachers. That many of these belong to the Protestant and Roman Catholic Missions is well known. We could also give interesting figures concerning the economical position of the Netherlands-Indies. Let us but point out, that the Netherlands-Indies

alone produce and export more tropical products and raw materials — of which the native cultivation of rubber, capoc, coffee, tea, copra and pepper forms a large part — than all the colonies of the European powers in Africa put together. This fact alone should suffice to convince us of the importance of the Netherlands-Indies in the economical sphere.

A country of such importance and such dimensions should, as much as possible, settle its own internal affairs. Already there exist: the Indian Advisory Council (Volksraad), the Provincial Councils, the Regency Councils, the Group-community Councils and the Municipal Councils. With the growing of the imperial conception, the Netherlands-East-Indies, and with them the other Overseas Territories of the Kingdom, will more and more have to look after their own internal affairs independently, without detracting in any way from the Kingdom's unity, which stands above everything.

May our Kingdom, with the Blessing of God and under His indispensable Guidance, grow presently into a mighty and powerful Empire in East and West! And this will certainly happen, if we live up to the unforgettable words of the great founder of our Indian Empire, Jan Pietersz. Coen:

„Do not despair..... do not spare thy foes, there is nothing on earth
„that can hinder or harm us, for the Lord is with us“.

THE NATIVE POPULATION AND THE GOVERNMENT.

In the article dealing with the importance of the Netherlands to the Netherlands-Indies we pointed out that the Dutch element is essential to the Netherlands-Indies as a nation in statu nascendi.

It is not less essential to the successful development of the growing-process, that the Indian people should render their indispensable assistance.

We may govern the Indies as well as possible, we may be held up to other nations as a model with regard to the high moral demands we make upon ourselves in our colonial government, but if it solely depended on the Netherlands, even the most radical policy of independence would never make the Netherlands-Indies into a complete nation, into an inwardly well-balanced state with an independent political life. For this it is necessary that the Indian world should mature so that it can bear the task of governing a modern state of 60 million souls. And it is extremely difficult at this moment to say anything definite concerning this process of maturation. For three years we have been shut off from the Indies. We have no idea how the occupation by Japan — likewise an Asiatic nation — has acted on the mentality of the population in this respect. Neither do we know what the war waged together with the natives, and the temporary defeat, which was seen by them perhaps more exclusively as a Dutch, than as a Netherlands-Indian defeat, will have brought about with regard to their political self-consciousness. We shall have to assume, that this self-consciousness has grown.

But the great question is, whether this political self-consciousness, which was already growing before the war, has a positive capacity proportionate to the assurance with which it will eventually manifest itself.

A child wanting to be grown-up by that fact alone does not possess the ability of an adult. In the same way it is possible for a population to have a political self-consciousness not proportionate to its political abilities.

Our task in the Netherlands-Indies in the political sphere will be, to create conditions favourable to the maturation of the political abilities of the native population. In the first place this will have to be done by further promoting the education of the population. Of course, not only and not even principally in the intellectual sense, but in the spiritual sense. All natives capable of government service should immediately be appointed as far as possible. The political ability of these natives should be used. For thereby this ability grows and develops. If this is not done, the chances are, that the useful but unused workers will come to feel a displeasure, a kind of political dullness and indifference, so that the willingness to participate in the government would be impeded, even if it would not deteriorate into passive resistance to the existing order.

We should therefore advocate, that after the war the natives should partake in a

great measure in the government. In this way we can show that we are in earnest, when we say that we do not champion the old colonial idea with regard to the Netherlands-Indies. This would entail that, as far as possible, those matters concerning the internal affairs of the Netherlands-Indies would be dealt with and decided upon in that country.

There are, in the Netherlands, people who consider this not enough, who consider that we should give the natives more rights in the political sphere. They think of giving to the Netherlands-Indies a government which would be responsible to the "Volksraad" (Indian Advisory Council). This, or something like it, seems to us inadvisable. It is always wrong to give a man a greater responsibility than he can bear. This applies also to the proportion of political responsibility to political ability of a population. One does not do justice to a people by burdening it with a responsibility beyond its abilities.

One should therefore keep in mind that the native population is a world full of contrasts, contrasts of peoples and races, contrasts within themselves, which are only kept in balance by the Netherlands Government. One should further take into account that the level of the Netherlands-Indies as a political organism does not correspond to the development of native culture of the present day, but that it runs ahead of it and will have to wait for the development of this culture.

In the third place one should realise, that the level on which the Netherlands-Indies live as a modernly equipped political unity, has as its economic base a chiefly foreign economical industry.

As long as native society has not reached a much further state of development in each of these spheres, a political responsibility, as that of which some people dream, cannot, in our opinion, be given.

The fact, that there exists a group of natives who, through education and national consciousness, individually can take an honourable place in the modern state, does not alter the fact that we cannot judge a whole community by them.

On the other hand, this shows clearly the delicate nature of the Dutch task in the Netherlands-Indies. This growing state has not sprung from impulses in the native world, it owes its origin to the influence of the Dutch element. The native element is still growing into this process. Therefore the appearance of this national consciousness is to be welcomed.

But it is quite conceivable that these people easily see the Dutch leadership as a domination, especially if Dutchmen do not act civilly and tactfully and with the necessary comprehension of the Netherlands' spiritual and moral mission in the Netherlands-Indies.

We must understand — and this group must understand it as well — that it is of great importance for the future of the country, that they give their services to the building up of the Netherlands-Indies as outlined above, and that they do not lose themselves in utopian democratic schemes of Western origin, nor get into the wake of communism.

This assistance is the condition sine qua non for the harmonical union of the twofold foundation of the future Netherlands-Indian state.

To the Netherlands falls the task of seeing that we do not stand in the way of this unity through materialism and lust for power. To the Netherlands the task of showing the right comprehension for its mission, so that its leadership may be sought for by the native world.

OUR STRUGGLE FOR THE NETHERLANDS-EAST-INDIES.

That it was an act of good statesmanship of our beloved Queen to leave for Great Britain in May 1940 was shown in the discussion which has taken place in the allied countries, principally in the United States of America, concerning the future of the Netherlands-Indies.

The Queen already pointed to this directly after Her arrival in Great Britain. The reason that She could not share the life of Her people in the occupied country was that during the war a task was awaiting Her, owing to the fact that the Netherlands have overseas territories, which She could not leave to their fate in wartime. This was in the interest of our people and our empire. The Kingdom of the Netherlands, scattered as it is over four continents, required a most competent personality to make

itself heard in the council of nations whenever matters were discussed concerning the future of the empire or any of its territories.

We know that in this world one has to fight for one's rights. Therefore we are very thankful to have the Queen as our champion.

In America people realise that important contributions towards the liberation of the Netherlands-East-Indies will have to be made by the United States. It is therefore that, ingenuously applying the slogan: "Who pays rules", they have embarked on a more or less outspoken discussion as to the future of the Netherlands-Indies.

We read in "Vrij Nederland" (London) February 6th, 1943: "People like Wendell Wilkie sponsor the idea of bringing the Netherlands-Indies under the supervision of the United Nations, of giving to the whole world free access to its immense reserves of oil, tin and rubber, and of using the total proceeds of the resources of those territories towards furthering their health and education and their development towards self-government."

The realization of Wilkie's project would, in fact, mean the severing of the tie between the Netherlands and the Netherlands-East-Indies which we have known for centuries, and the dissolution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands as defined in article 1 of our Constitution.

Our Queen has intervened in this discussion by an official declaration concerning the future structure of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, followed by Her first visit to America, Her address to Congress and many more speeches.

The sum and substance of these speeches, their aim was the declaration that: "there exists, scattered over four continents, *one indivisible Kingdom of the Netherlands*". Her Majesty has outlined the character and the development of this Kingdom, the coherence of its parts, in such a way as to meet with almost general agreement in the American press, in such a way that the ideas of Wilkie moved into the background.

We shall not discuss the juridical character of the relations between the Netherlands and the Netherlands-Indies. In our opinion the political development of that country and especially its political and sociological structure have not yet reached a point where it can be considered a partner within the empire, having rights equal to those of the Netherlands. For the time being we shall have to see this equality of rights as being in statu nascendi.

Of much more immediate importance is the main point: the preservation of the integrity of our Empire. The fact that it is possible in America to ask the question, — as was done there in a periodical —: "Should the Empire of Queen Wilhelmina be given back to her?", should make us realise, that more is needed than the political wisdom of our Queen, more than *the pleading* of our rights. We shall have to *fight* for them. If people in America ask: "Should the Netherlands-East-Indies be given back to the Netherlands?", we should not answer in the affirmative, but we should point out that there can be no question of any giving back of these territories by America or Great Britain: there can only be a *recapture* of the *Netherlands-Indies* from Japan.

That is the whole problem and therein lies its solution.

The matter should be considered thus: Owing to Japanese aggression, the Philippines, Malacca, the Netherlands-East-Indies and Birma have all been lost for a time. In defense of these territories, the on land, Netherlands have rendered important assistance on sea and in the air. At the very moment Great Britain and the United States were attacked, the Netherlands ranged themselves on their side. The Netherlands-Indian Air Force joined energetically in the defense of Malacca and Singapore. A large part of Netherlands navy was lost while defending the Netherlands-Indies and Australia. Presently the time will come when all the lost territories will have been recaptured from Japan and when Japan itself will be chastised. The struggle has already begun. The Netherlands are even now cooperating in this offensive and will render the utmost assistance after the liberation of its European territory has become a fact. Thus *the Netherlands-East-Indies will not be given back to the Netherlands, but these territories will be recaptured with the cooperation of that country*. Just is there was a combined defense on behalf of each threatened territory, so there will be a combined attack to recapture each of them.

In an article written by Dr. H. J. van Mook, our Colonial Secretary, in the "Wervel-

wind" of April 1943, the matter is seen in quite the same light. Dr. van Mook writes regarding our contribution towards the recapture of the overseas territories: "In Australia and the British Indies, both of them bulwarks against the territories occupied by Japan, our military and civil participation in the struggle and in the preparations for recapture is steadily growing. Our Navy is operating in these waters; ships of the Royal Packet Company are indispensable for transport in this archipelago; our Air-Force has for some months past been in action again; our pilots are flying transportplanes on vital routes.

Dr. van Mook continues: "Finally I want to point out that we shall not be able to achieve our necessary share of the struggle, the victory and the rebuilding of our Kingdom, neither in Europe, nor in the East, without the direct and energetic participation of the free people of the Netherlands.

The strong forces grown during the struggle against the oppressor will have to be directed to the battle overseas immediately after the liberation of the Netherlands"

We emphatically endorse Dr. van Mook's conclusion. Many of us who now devote our lives to the struggle against the Germans, ardently desire to leave for the East, as soon as the last German has left our country so as to be able to assist in recapturing the Netherlands-Indies at the earliest opportunity. The other day, a friend of ours who has been sentenced, for liberty's sake, to a very long term of imprisonment, wrote to me: 'This time next year I shall be fighting in the Indies'.

We understand, and the whole Dutch nation will have to realize that this war does not end with the liberation of the Netherlands, but that in a military sense it will then only begin for us. It does not appeal to us solely to supply an army of occupation for Germany to punish traitors and war-criminals after the English and the Americans have done all the hard fighting. We want to be on the spot, we must be there, when the Netherlands-Indies and other East-Asiatic territories are to be recaptured.

We know very well that we shall find great difficulties on our way; that it will be next to impossible to conjure up a modernly mechanised army at a moment's notice after the liberation of the mother-country. Our first care should be to create a select corps for joining battle in the Netherlands-Indies. Everything should be done so that the first parachutists landing in the overseas territories will be Dutchmen and that the first troops going ashore will comprise several Dutch units; that the first ships, submarines and aeroplanes reaching the Netherlands-East-Indies will be units of the mercantile marine and the air-force. We know that we are not capable of reaching our goal unaided by the English and Americans. We understand the difficulties of organising this. But it has to be done! Because our rights are at stake, the rights we have to fight for and that we do not wish to receive as a gift.

We see this war in its entirety. Therefore we are glad to hear that the Dutch navy cooperated in the invasion of Sicily. It compensates in a measure the bitter feeling, together with our gladness and thankfulness with which we shall presently see the English and Americans land in the Netherlands. But even then we expect our Air-Force, our Navy our Marines to lead the way. We should not greet the Dutch Brigade in England with enthusiasm, if they did no better than to cross the North Sea in the wake of the English and Americans. We do not require them for the punishment of traitors nor for filling the ranks of an army of occupation. But we expect them in the vanguard of the Allies, to defect the Germans.

And in the same spirit, in the same way and with the same goal in sight, we shall presently go to the Netherlands-Indies.

The Netherlands should not be set up again, they should rise again!

