

## NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES DUTCH: EXPERIENCES OF WAR, OCCUPATION, REVOLUTION AND EVACUATION, AND REHABILITATION IN AUSTRALIA 1942-1946

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### INTRODUCTION

This chapter offers snapshots about the impact of World War Two (WWII) and its aftermath on the Dutch in the Netherlands East Indies (NEI) and Western Australia (WA). It is based on archival documentation and oral history interviews with those Dutch who experienced the war in the NEI and were rehabilitated in WA, before being repatriated to the Netherlands (NL) or the NEI, and the Dutch who later settled in WA. The majority of Dutch in Australia during WWII and immediately afterwards came from two sizeable evacuations out of the NEI. The first, which began February 1942, ended a few weeks later on 3 March, just in front of the Dutch capitulation to the Japanese at *Kalidjati* Java on 9 March 1942 (see Jung's chapter).<sup>1</sup> The NEI had become a Japanese target, when in July 1941 they stopped the export of oil, tin and rubber to Japan in a bid to curtail Japan's advances into the region.<sup>2</sup> The second evacuation, commenced in November 1945, in the aftermath of Japan's surrender to South East Asia Command (SEAC) on 15 August 1945<sup>3</sup>, following the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This chapter is concerned with the impact on the lives of people reluctantly caught up in these events. In particular, the NEI Dutch the Japanese interned in civilian or POWs camps and the *Buitenkampers* (literally 'outside of camps' meaning not interned) who were mainly the Eurasian Dutch the Japanese left to fend for themselves without access to daily necessities.<sup>4</sup> Although the Eurasians retained their freedom throughout the Japanese Occupation, they had little else - including sufficient food to eat. The Japanese noting their generally stronger loyalty to their Dutch, rather than Indonesian heritage, had harassed them remorselessly, often brutally, even closing off bank accounts. *Buitenkampers* survived and generated money for foodstuffs by selling their furniture, clothes and jewellery.<sup>5</sup> However, some women were forced to enter into prostitution, simply to feed their families. The chapter also provides a brief contextual overview of Australia's involvement in the war as a member of the short-lived American, British, Dutch, Australian (ABDA) Alliance, as the host of the NEI government in exile and of the activities of the Australian Unions, which supported the Indonesian Revolution for Independence.<sup>6</sup> By 1943, NEI government evacuees in Australia also included around 500 'radical' Indonesian 'Nationalists',<sup>7</sup> and political prisoners which the NEI Government in exile brought across from the political prison camp for radical Nationalists at Tanah Merah, New Guinea (NG).<sup>8</sup> Released on Australian soil at the behest of unions, the Nationalists set about enlisting support for

Indonesian Independence from these said unions who, in turn enlisted the support of the Australian Communist Party (ACP).

The second evacuation in 1945 -1946, took place at the close of WWII in the Asia Pacific Region, and as a result of Australia becoming the rehabilitation setting for some 6000 NEI Dutch.<sup>9</sup> Most of these Dutch had experienced up to 36 months in Japanese internment camps - the majority in Java or Sumatra. In the immediate months following the Declaration of Independence - during September 1945 through to April 1946 – which included the most violent months of the Indonesian Revolution for Independence, these same Dutch had become the target of extremist youth freedom fighters (*Pemuda*). This time was known by these Dutch as the *Bersiap period*, and although the exact date range remains controversial, most would agree that it started in the weeks after Sukarno's Declaration of Independence on 17 August 1945, which was some six weeks before SEAC arrived to formally accept Japanese surrender and to effect caretaker governance. It was thus well before the arrival in mid 1946 of the large contingent of Dutch troops to the NEI. It should be mentioned here that in contrast to the limited research on the *Bersiap period* – neither at all in Australia and only recently in NL, a plethora has been written about the aggression of some Dutch soldiers during the 'Police Actions' of 1947 and 1948. However, I would stress here that these 'Police Actions' took place a considerable time after the Dutch - who are referred to in this chapter - had left the NEI for rehabilitation in Australia. The advancing Japanese incursion into SE Asia in 1942 also had an immediate and powerful impact on overseas boarders, who were travelling on the *Blue Funnel Line* ships to homes in Asia for the Christmas holidays. For when the attacks on Allied colonies took place in December 1941, their ships were directed to turn around immediately and head back to Fremantle. Although they did not know it at the time, most of these children would not see their parents for another four years, some tragically never again, as many parents would die in Japanese POW and civilian internment camps. Nor would they yet appreciate that this, their last trip, was amidst 'the dying embers of European Empires' in the NEI, Malaya or Singapore.

## THE FIRST EVACUATION INTO AUSTRALIA - FEBRUARY AND MARCH 1942

The first evacuation therefore also included Dutch children, who were boarders at private WA schools. WA has had a tradition of educating overseas children since the 1920s. The most popular schools in this scenario were St Hilda's, Wesley College, Scotch College, Penrhos College, Methodist Ladies College, Presbyterian Ladies College, Aquinas and Guildford Grammar. These children were transported from plush, colonial lifestyle homes in the Colonies to Fremantle and back home - on either the *MS Centaur*,<sup>10</sup> *MS Charon*, or *MS Gorgon*.

In *Schoolship Kids of the Blue Funnel Line*, Juliet Ludbrook records these children's pranks – their seasickness, fun, romance and games, as well as





Figure 1  
Netherlands East Indies Administration  
Logo. Courtesy: Peters Collection.



Figure 2  
Emblem of the 18th Squadron. Courtesy:  
Peters Collection.

the ‘not so nice name-calling’ that also took place, which included the benign ‘Dutchie’ and the racially laden Javanese ‘Boong’. The latter was possibly directed at children of mixed-race who were considered Dutch in the NEI, but not in Australia where the White Australia Policy reigned supreme from 1901 to 1973.<sup>11</sup> The lives of these Dutch boarders and their families in the NEI changed dramatically when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941. However it was the unimagined ‘Fall of Singapore’ on 15 February 1942, and following that, the inevitable Japanese occupation of the NEI from 9 March 1942 to 15 August 1945, which prompted the first evacuation into Australia that would change the lives of these children and their families forever.

The attack on Pearl Harbour was also the event that secured the entry of the United States into the war arena and generated the ABDA Alliance. Established to defend the Asia Pacific Region, it proved powerless against the aggressive manoeuvres of the far more powerful and rapidly advancing Japanese Army and Navy.<sup>12</sup> As planned, only those government and military personnel with relevant skills, (such as knowledge of warfare and the equipment to sustain it) and who could help continue the fight from Australia, had been given permission to leave the NEI.<sup>13</sup> In addition, where possible, bachelors in uniform (Royal Netherlands East Indies Army *Koninklijk Nederlands Indisch Leger* - KNIL) of Dutch -‘Indo (Eurasian) or Indonesian origin’ had to leave, in preference to married men who were to stay on with their families in the Occupied Zones. The evacuation, that began two days after the ‘Fall of Singapore’, came to an end with the Japanese attack on Broome on 3 March 1942 (see Jung’s chapter).<sup>14</sup>

The most prominent members of the first evacuation into WA - in front of the Japanese invasion in March 1942 - were therefore Navy and Air Force personnel, bureaucrats and civilians of European, Eurasian and Indonesian origins who were employees of the NEI Dutch Government in exile, and a few Dutch families. They entered Australia from Java by air and sea. They joined evacuees already here, that included many ethnic Indonesian merchant seamen, whose ships were stranded in Australian harbours when war broke out, and the personnel on the Dutch submarines and war ships that would operate missions out of Fremantle throughout the war years (see May’s chapter).

Although numbers remain contentious, what can be said with certainty is that on arrival in Australia, the NEI government in exile appointed an Ambassador for Canberra and administrative personnel to supplement those of the existing Consul General in Melbourne. By April 1942, they had also formally created the NEI Commission for Australia (NICA) and NZ to also look after NEI commercial interests in Australia. The Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service (NEFIS) and the Netherlands Indies Government Information Service (NIGIS) were organised, once the Administration-in-exile had settled in Melbourne. Following this organisation, they assembled the airmen and established special squadrons - the first being Squadron

18 (NEI), which was formed in Canberra on 4 April 1942. Made up mainly of Dutch nationals, the RAAF supplied many co-pilots, air gunners, bombardiers, photographers and ground staff to the missions. The US provided supplies and equipment (see Eaton's chapter).<sup>15</sup> Many of these men were sent to the airbase established at Batchelor, NT, for the sole purpose of flying missions into Japanese occupied NEI and Timor.<sup>16</sup>

Although a relatively large-scale evacuation out of the NEI had been an important part of the planning, a general evacuation was never a consideration.<sup>17</sup> This was largely because too many of the population - 280,000 in fact - (80,000 Dutch and 200,000 Indo-Europeans) were of Dutch origin - and thus far too many to evacuate. It was also due to the fact that the Dutch thought Japanese Occupation would be similar to what happened in Europe under the Nazis, where the majority of the Dutch population remained living in their own homes, but under the victor's thrall. An additional consideration in the NEI case, was that Dutch authorities considered it to be the duty of military personnel to fight to the end.

Given this context, it was natural that the Governor General of the NEI *Starkenborgh Stachouwer* would give orders that, wherever possible, Dutch civil and military officials should remain behind to share a common fate with the Indonesians.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, from a Constitutional perspective - the NEI being part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands - an official evacuation would be deemed as abandonment of home territory. Besides, few NEI-born Dutch would actually wish to abandon their homeland.<sup>19</sup>

Once settled in Australia, the NEI Administration also called on young Dutch-Australian women to assist the war effort by joining the NEI Women's 'Army Corp'.<sup>20</sup> WA girls who responded to the call, were sent overland by train to the NEI Administration Headquarters in Melbourne until 1944, when they began operating from Camp Columbia - an army base at Wacol, Queensland - which the NEI Administration had acquired from the American Military.<sup>21</sup>



**Figure 3**  
Batchelor airbase, NT, established for the sole purpose of flying missions into Japanese occupied NEI and Timor. Courtesy: R. Williamson.



**Figure 4**  
Troops of the Netherlands East Indies Army, Swanston Street during the United Nations Flag Day march through Melbourne 14 June 1943. Courtesy: AWM Collection 139054.



**Figure 5**  
Women's dining room Netherlands East Indies Administration (NICA) at Camp Columbia Wacol, Queensland. Courtesy: David van Embden.



**Figure 6**  
Joan Butler and colleague at Camp Columbia  
Wacol, Queensland. Courtesy: Ena Butler.

## AUSTRALIANS AND NEI DUTCH REMEMBER THE WAR

Ella Bone, a 16-year-old Western Australian girl who had recently graduated from Presbyterian Ladies College, Perth and who had - at her father's behest - volunteered to help the Red Cross, found herself "right in the thick of it". She recalls:

As soon as war was declared in the Pacific, hundreds of naval and air force service men in military transport ships or aircraft: Dutch, British and American Military - started to make their way to WA. All were welcomed by the Australians with open arms, including the ethnic Indonesians among the NEI forces.<sup>22</sup>

The Red Cross women sent Ella to Princess May - Fremantle Girls' High School (now the Film & Television Institute WA), to help prepare sustenance for the refugee servicemen. Ella recalls the women cooking what must have been "miles of sausages" for the men, who were arriving there in dribs and drabs at all hours of the day and night. The women were constantly calling out for Ella to "make some more tea, or do this or do that...". The lasting impression Ella retains of those times was of "Chaos and confusion, that nothing was organised as nobody had really anticipated the Japanese entering the war to this extent." Also her memories are of trying to establish a system to assist evacuees and of coming to terms with her best school friend joining the Dutch women's military corp.<sup>23</sup>

When Japanese Occupation Forces took control of the NEI, from around 9 March 1942 to 15 August 1945, the vast majority of those Dutch with strictly European origins, which included Dutch residents and military personnel, were interned in vast civilian and Prisoner-of-War (POW) internment camps. These camps were created by encircling with barbed wire fences surrounded by bamboo cladding, the whole of some residential districts of Batavia and of other cities throughout Java and Sumatra. Death rates were high as disease became endemic in these over crowded compounds. The Japanese had set out to specifically humiliate the 'white man' – in full view of the indigenous peoples of the region – in order to make it very clear that the days of European domination were over.

Vera Rado recalls the day the Japanese entered the area of Java where her family lived:

It was 8 March 1942...The oil tanks on the south western edge of the city were blown up by the Dutch to prevent the precious fuel from falling into the hands of the enemy. From early morning there was a huge pall of black smoke hanging over the city, and against this ominous backdrop we watched the occupying army's progress through our streets. First the tanks with their red/white flags flying, then armoured carrier trucks and masses of soldiers on foot and on bicycles....we were trembling with apprehension peeking through the Louvres of our front windows ...What would happen to us? We were

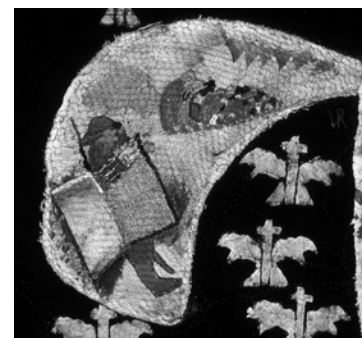
totally at their mercy – no laws no constitution, no army or police to protect us.<sup>24</sup>

Some weeks later the Rado family were ordered to pack and be ready to be interned. Luckily Vera's mother had the presence of mind to upend a drawer of patent medicines - including quinine and sulphur tablets - which helped to save lives. The family spent the night in the local overcrowded lock-up, where a hole in one corner had to be used as a squat-down toilet, and mats on the stone floor served as beds. At 6pm the doors were banged shut and they heard the click of the padlocks. As Vera notes in her diary, "We were left in no doubt as to our status. We were prisoners of war of the Japanese. But for how long?" Vera continues:

A while later we were moved to Darmo - [a women's camp set up in one of the suburbs of Surabaya and formerly a Dutch army barracks]. It held about 6000 women and children whose husbands had been interned in POW camps. Here we lived for a year on hard work and diminishing food rations. The daily menu consisted of one ladleful of glutinous sago porridge for breakfast plus a five centimetre wide piece of unleavened bread made from cornflour. Half of this piece was meant for our evening meal. At midday we received one cup of boiled rice and a scoop of watery vegetables. Occasionally, with luck, we found one or two small cubes of meat floating in our tin plates, but mostly we had to be content with the taste of that meat. If we complained, the Japanese became incensed, claiming that food was in short supply and telling us we should be grateful for what we got.<sup>25</sup>

Conditions were worse in camps with brutal commanders. Tomas Verwer recalls how the "lunatic", Captain Kenichi Sonei, terrorised the inmates of Tjideng - a camp near Jakarta West Java - by beating and hitting women when the moon was full:

As a six-year-old I saw with my own eyes how he destroyed a soup kitchen by kicking over the big pots, hurling the huge lids at the women, throwing water on the kitchen fires and finally shaving the women. There were roll calls at the most ridiculous times. These lasted a long time and we had to bow endlessly to the Japanese flag. Sometimes we were woken in the middle of the night and had to walk around the camp. Once he had a truckload of bread tipped into the sand and we were forced to watch without being allowed to eat it. Standing for hours in the hot sun, the constant lack of food, the ordeals never seemed to end. We suffered real hunger. My mother sent me to catch snails and frogs. I got whooping cough and bronchitis and without medicine barely survived the attacks. Because of the lack of food, I did not grow. I was seven years old at the end of war, but no bigger than a four-year-old....<sup>26</sup>



**Figure 7**  
Captivity, Bowing to the Japanese, internment camp Java 1942-45. Courtesy: Vera Rado and Frances Larder, Odyssey Quilts.



The camp where Vera Rado was interned also came under Sonei, as she notes:

Every three months or so we had to line up on the *tenko* field, where we had roll call every morning, while Sonei and his interpreter would enter and he would climb up on a dais to elevate himself above us, miserable captives. At a command, we bowed deeply to acknowledge his supremacy over us, and then he would start ranting, raving and shouting at us for about an hour. His diatribe was always the same: We owed deep gratitude to his Divine Emperor for his bounty in providing us with food and shelter. Any complaints and any breaches of rules would be severely punished. The moment we all came to dread was when he stopped when the moon was full, then he would sweep us with a malevolent glare, pick out someone at random from our ranks, gesture for her to come forward and begin beating and hitting her. Some women died afterwards from their injuries.<sup>27</sup>

Lieutenant Nicolai Read-Collins, the Allied Officer in charge of food supplies for the Internment camps after the Japanese capitulated, noted in his report about his first visit to Tjideng:

My first impression was of [being] someone who had landed on another planet and who had to talk to people already dead. I got the feeling these were not normal human beings and their reactions did not fit with what one could expect of normal adults.<sup>28</sup>

Vera Rado recalled that after the war, Sonei was tried by a Dutch court in Java and executed by a firing squad as a war criminal. The *West Australian Newspaper* confirms this in the article ‘Camp: Dutch to try Japanese Commander’:



**Figure 8**  
Henk, Eduard, George, Nora and Ella Bone, small boy unknown evacuees from NEI rehabilitating at Fairbridge Farm School 1945. Clothing was in short supply and US army togs distributed. Courtesy: Eduard Lumpken.

The Netherlands Indies Government Information service reports that the Japanese Captain Sonei, who was commanding officer of the Tjideng internment camp for women in Batavia (present day Jakarta), will be tried by a Dutch military court. This is one of the results of the recent discussion at Singapore between juridical staff members of the Supreme Allied Command in South-East Asia, and the Dutch authorities....<sup>29</sup>

Eduard Lumkeman recalls another poignant camp memory:

...is the time of great commotion when girls were selected to be prostitutes for the Japanese. My sister had time to make herself as ugly as possible and luckily was bypassed. I believe a sort of compromise was reached with two women who slept near us, who after some deliberation decided to volunteer for the job. After the war we heard these girls were totally worn out.<sup>30</sup>

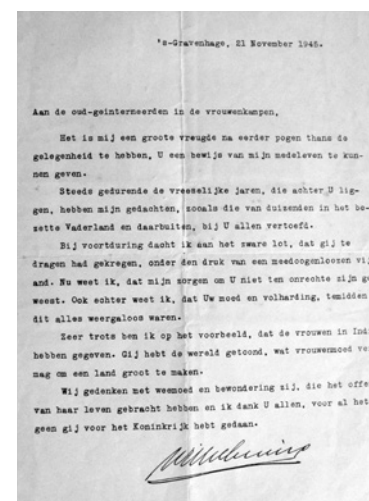
However, Eduard remembers most the particularly fearful times when boys were separated from their mothers:

They (boys) were first of all placed in a sort of *pondok* (cottage) in the inner courtyard of the camp, where the two Bos boys' mother would come to at night to read to them. We boys were later all moved to Bangkong, a boys' camp, within the city of Semarang. We were later transported in a blinded train to the Gedangang camp at Semarang. Here we had to sleep on the floor. This was the case at all internment camps, not only along the walls but also in rows in the middle of the rooms. Ultimately each arranged a personal space that was I think about 67cm (24 inches) wide. During the day at the camp they had to work as forced labour much like the men in men's camps did.<sup>31</sup>

Donald Schotel was one of them:

On 12 September 1944, a few weeks after my 12th birthday [Donald was small for his age], I was marched from the Halmahera camp, where I had been interned for the past twelve months with my mother, grandmother and older sister Amy, to Bangkong - an old convent - which up till then was used by Japanese as a women's concentration camp. Of course I was not marching alone, all the other boys older than ten years marched with me...Already a few weeks before...we were separated from our families, although we were still living in Halmahera [perhaps to accustom us to the forthcoming separation]. On the day of our departure we were herded into a small square near the main-entrance gate inside the camp waiting to go to our new destination. No contact with our families was allowed. The women were standing some twenty or thirty yards back...I saw one boy standing with his

Figure 9  
Queen Wilhelmina's letter of gratitude to Dutch women who had been interned in the NEI. Courtesy: Henriette Kuneman (deceased 2016).



little teddy bear still in one hand and his small suitcase in the other. I knew him by face, but did not know his name. I don't think he was older than ten. The mothers in the distance were yelling and crying and trying to get through, to kiss them and say good-bye. However, the *Heihos* (soldiers) would not allow this, they had their orders no doubt. It was all so sad and so confusing! I promised myself not to cry. I had to keep saying this to myself, but I kept my promise.<sup>32</sup>

Elizabeth van Kampen, who was interned at Malang and Banjoebiroe, recalls how two poor mothers at her camp lost their minds when their little boys of ten were taken away to the men's camp.<sup>33</sup> When Japan capitulated, many young boys including Donald Schotel left their camps to find their mothers, despite the grave danger now posed by extremist youth freedom fighters - called *Pemuda* – renowned for grisly killing of their main targets Dutch ex-internees, Eurasian *Buitenkampers* and wealthy Chinese.<sup>34</sup> Australian researcher Robert Cribb, points out that these *Pemuda*, as they were commonly called, also included sizeable numbers of opportunist gangland criminals who had been trained in combat by the Japanese army.<sup>35</sup>

The Japanese Occupation of the NEI had also changed the lives of the Indonesians in the archipelago. As the Dutch disappeared into interment camps, Japanese and Indonesians took over their positions in public life. From its onset, intense 'Japanisation' of the population came into force. Lesser Indonesian bureaucrats suddenly found themselves promoted immediately to positions three or four ranks higher than had formerly been reserved for the Dutch.

'Japanisation' was especially strong in schools, where Indigenous Indonesian pupils were duty-bound to be loyal to Japanese symbols and ideology. Currency and the annual calendar years also changed to Japanese. In addition, the Japanese, dissolved all overtly political organizations and immediately released the most prominent pre-war nationalist leaders from captivity, to incorporate them into their administrative structure with promises of Independence. In these positions they were directed to carry out various Japanese projects. For example, 'radical nationalists', such as Sukarno, were used as propaganda tools to spread the gospel of the Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and Greater East Asia slogans of 'Asia for the Asians'. He was also directed to organise the compulsory requisitioning of rice and the recruitment of (labourers) *Romusha* for forced labour.<sup>36</sup> The U.S. Library of Congress estimates that in Java between four and 10 million indigenous Indonesians (*Romusha*) were forced to work by the Japanese military. About 270,000 of these Javanese labourers were sent to other Japanese-held areas in South East Asia. Only 52,000 were repatriated to Java, meaning that there was a death rate of 80 per cent. In 1943 the Japanese Emperor awarded Sukarno a medal for these activities. After the war, these same activities attracted the label 'collaborator' - similar to the behaviour of those Dutch in the Netherlands, who had established relationships with Nazis. As



a consequence they were unwilling to negotiate with Sukarno around issues pertaining to Indonesian Independence.

Growing poverty and repression of the archipelago characterised the Japanese Occupation of the NEI. The declining economic and social situation that followed after three and a half years of Japanese administration, had become visible well before the end of WWII. The most conspicuous problem was the failure of the food supply - a consequence of Japanese hoarding and their obstruction of the canal system, which was extensively used by Javanese to ferry crops to market. The widespread famine, malnutrition and starvation that ensued, took the lives of an estimated 2.4 million Javanese. Medicines, footwear and clothing were also unobtainable at this time and many people were found clad only in 'gunnysacks', burlap or thin sheets of rubber.<sup>37</sup>

**Figure 10**  
*Pemuda wearing bandanas – Youth Freedom Fighters. Courtesy: J. Rikkers.*



## WAR'S END IN NEI – THE INDONESIAN REVOLUTION FOR INDEPENDENCE BEGINS

The Japanese capitulated on 15 August 1945 and two days later Sukarno declared Indonesian Independence. Combined, these events signified the end of the proposed choices associated with the modernisation and gradual democratisation of Indonesia, as was projected by Queen Wilhelmina in a radio address from her London exile base on 7 December 1942.<sup>38</sup> Worse still, was the deadly fear instilled in them before they could even leave internment by the ferocious Indonesian extremist youth - male and female - Freedom Fighters.

In his *History of Modern Indonesia*, historian Adrian Vickers records that by late September 1945, a series of incidents initiated by pro-Dutch Eurasians, provoked *Pemuda* to undertake atrocities against Dutch internees, and initiated by these actions, the spirit of revolution arose in all its passionate ugliness. The liberated Indonesians were drunk with victory. Indonesian writer Idrus' recall of *Pemuda*, was of "cowboys...[standing] in the middle of the road with revolvers on their hips and knives in their belts." His description of the emergence of the 'revolutionary hero' was of a young man with long hair, dressed in 'coolie' trousers made of sacking, a bandana on his head and some with a samurai sword at the waist. Most were aged between 15-25 years and both males and females were coerced into joining the rapidly growing movement.<sup>39</sup> All were on gruesome killing rampages, targeting mainly the *Buitenkampers*, *Indisch* Dutch, Eurasian persons of Dutch-Indonesian or Dutch-Chinese descent, interned Dutch and any economically well-to-do Chinese and Indonesians displaying pro-Dutch behaviour.<sup>40</sup>

The Dutch who experienced the increasing intensity of fighting and violence that raged from later in August 1945 to the end of 1946 – label it the *Bersiap* – ('stand or be prepared') period. For these Dutch, the word evokes both the memory of the procedure about to take place and the mortal fear that it instilled in them, which many describe as an experience more sinister even than life as captives of the Japanese. "*Bersiap*" ["stand prepared"] was the notifying cry young 'nationalist extremist' *Pemuda* would shout to summon their members to prepare for a killing spree. They would invariably follow this with their ferocious war-cry "*Merdeka*" [freedom]. Derived from the Sanskrit *maharddhika* - meaning rich, prosperous and powerful – *Merdeka* was both their nationalist salute and the warning that their fighters were entering a street. Their shouting was accompanied by the noisy beating of iron stakes against fences and light poles with their Japanese weapons or local improvisations - machete and *bambu runcing* [bamboo spears] - that they were wielding. *Pemuda* would then descend upon and surround the home of a selected victim or a whole family, whom they would then torture and murder in the most brutal and grisly manner.<sup>41</sup> Archival documentation and newspapers articles in Australia, the Netherlands and Dutch-Antilles note that thousands of civilians were murdered by 'extremist youth' during the *Bersiap* period.

However, Dutch and Indos [Eurasian] were not the only targets of *Pemuda* wrath. These radical nationalist youth reserved a special contempt for any Indonesian who had been willing to take the risk to sell goods secretly to the Dutch during their internment. These were mainly the former employees of Dutch families. Lurid hand-drawn posters surviving from the period display a barely credulous indignation that any Indonesian should stoop to do so. “Dogs of the NICA” they would ask in fury, “Why have you abandoned your own people?”<sup>42</sup> *Pemuda* were a formidable combat force on murderous rampages – against anything perceived of as European or having worked for the benefit of Europeans - including other Indonesians and consequently also provoking fear and demanding compliance from within their own populations.<sup>43</sup>

The revolutionary chaos that typified the NEI at the end of the war, was largely due to the British Caretaker Forces being unable to take on their task of ‘caretaker’ governance to restore law and order for another six weeks after war’s end. Nelson Mandela notes how violence frequently takes root in the absence of democracy, respect for human rights and good governance.<sup>44</sup> The history in this chapter certainly provides an example of his vision!

It was in addition extremely disconcerting for the Dutch, that under the ‘Terms of Surrender’, the Japanese Forces - the erstwhile oppressors of the Dutch - whom they had interned since 1942, were compelled to be their ‘caretakers’. As for the Japanese – some complied with the terms of surrender but others handed their weapons to *Pemuda* or joined them in the fight for independence. The Dutch internees whom I interviewed, all mentioned how bizarre it felt to have the Japanese, who had previously brutalised them, now having to care for them. However, some also mentioned how impressed they were with the great fights some Japanese put up, in order to save internees lives from *Pemuda* violence.<sup>45</sup>

Given the volatility of the situation, Gurkha Command felt it was better for ex-POWs and ex-internees to return to or remain in internment camps, since it would be more convenient for food distribution and would make it easier to defend them from these lawless bands of Indonesian killers. As a consequence, the still interned Dutch found themselves joined over the months that followed by tens of thousands of *Indisch* Dutch who had to date been *Buitenkampers*, and who were now willing to be interned in a bid to also secure their protection from *Pemuda* attacks. However, this was not always guaranteed.<sup>46</sup>

Mrs *W Krijveld*, who compiled a compendium of events at *Ambarawa* Camp from the diaries<sup>47</sup> of seven women and the notebooks of another five records, noted that on 21 November 1945:

Heavy artillery fire from Freedom Fighters flattened half the hospital and was especially heavy near barrack ten. People from this barrack subsequently sought shelter in the already overly crowded barrack nine where they slept on the floor for two nights. The following night Indonesian freedom fighters

**Figure 11**  
Merdeka (Freedom) *Pemuda* with Bamboo fashioned weapons. Courtesy: Peters Collection.



again entered the unprotected Camp Nine and this time herded the inmates onto a grass field when they proceeded to throw live hand grenades into the crowd. Fortunately the Gurkhas arrived just in time to offer some protection. Even so and despite a number of children and adults having thrown some grenades back at the extremists before they exploded, 13 Dutch died and 125 were injured. A number of the injured also died later. On other nights the *Permuda* threw hand grenades into crowded barracks killing more inmates.<sup>48</sup>

One explanation for the gruesome massacres of Dutch and Eurasians by *Pemuda* is the foothold that the extremists were able to secure during the power gap, between Japanese capitulation on 15 August 1945 and the arrival six weeks later – on 29 September 1945 – of South East Asia Command (SEAC). These were the troops sent to operate in a caretaker governance role in overall charge of Allied operations in the South-East Asian Theatre, until a governance powerbase could be re-established. They were accompanied by a small detachment of Dutch military personnel employed by them as officers assigned to the recently established Recovery of Allied Prisoners of War and Internees (RAPWI). RAPWI was established by SEAC to repatriate civilians and POWs from Japanese concentration camps throughout the Asian region. They operated under the direction of British commandos. Their brief was to effect a steady evacuation flow out of the internment camps, so as to maintain the morale of internees. It was a task made especially difficult by the lack of information about both the location and the numbers of Dutch interned in the estimated 300 internment and POW camps, believed to be located throughout the NEI, though mainly in Java and Sumatra. The revolutionary fervour of the ‘extremist’ *Pemuda* freedom fighters that the British troops encountered, changed their views about the role they should play in re-establishing governance in the post-war NEI.

As these troops struggled to restore order, the situation with *Pemuda* became ever more dangerous. For example, when the 3/3rd Gurkha rifles arrived at Buitenzorg (Bogor), they discovered that Indonesian extremists had abducted 1050 Christian Eurasians north of Dapok, on the Batavia-Buitenzorg Road, where they had killed and mutilated many women and children. They sent the casualties back to Batavia and the survivors to Buitenzorg. In November the Gurkhas took another 1,000 internees to Buitenzorg from Soekaboemi and evacuated 2,250 internees to Batavia. Reports by RAPWI and other British observers at that time, described the situation in Java and Sumatra as extreme. In some areas it would last until Dutch troops arrived from NL in mid-1946.

Sutan Sjahrir, who Sukarno nominated first Premier of Indonesia, provides an interesting perspective on this period. In a flyer dated 5 November 1945, sent to the Dutch Consul General in Sydney by the Indonesian Republican Information Service, he notes how Indonesia’s isolation from abroad during the Occupation, had enabled Japanese propaganda to gain a strong

foothold on Indonesian youth.<sup>49</sup> He also notes how the extensive Japanese combat training given to their youth, via secret Japanese societies such as - *Black Dragon*, *Black Fan* and others originating from the Japanese 5<sup>th</sup> column, including the *Kempai Tai* and *Kaigun* – had prepared them for Japan's defence. However, it had also encouraged them to resolve to 'fight to the death' (a Japanese trait). Sjahrir likewise remarked how the Japanese robustly activated *Pemuda* Nationalism in order to avert the social dangers that threatened them later, when hatred of the Indonesian people for the Japanese became universal. Sjahrir notes further how this Nationalism had taught *Pemuda* to abhor not only Netherlanders, but also Indo-Europeans, and 'our people' the Amboinese, the people of Minahassa and the Chinese.<sup>50</sup>

Sjahrir's description of the Japanese influence on Indonesian youth bears a noteworthy resemblance to the 'Stockholm syndrome'. Conceptualised in the late 1970s, it describes a paradoxical psychological phenomenon, wherein 'some' hostages express positive feelings towards their captors, despite the danger they had endured.<sup>51</sup> Sjahrir notes how, "*Pemuda* were unconsciously influenced by Japanese propaganda, to the point where their attitudes and even their thoughts were often similar to those of the Japanese" which provides a good example of this syndrome. Sutan Sjahrir's portrayal of *Pemuda* behaviour, likewise brings to mind Hume and Gibbon's model of revolutionaries, whose fanatical zeal [referred to by these authors as monomaniac passion] is nevertheless a moving force in history. Their behaviours also reflect aspects of Ben Wilson's 'hotheads' - because like their 'hotheads', *Pemuda* only pull down and destroy - they do not reconstruct. That they leave to other people.<sup>52</sup>

Some *Pemuda* behaviours also bear striking similarities to that of the Hitler *Jugend* (HJ). Both *Pemuda* and HJ were indoctrinated into racial hatred. For HJ it was anti-Semitism and *Antiziganism*, for *Pemuda* it was Dutch, Eurasians and anyone pro-Dutch. *Pemuda* were also instilled with the motivation and given the combat training to enable them as soldiers - to fight faithfully for Dai Nippon - for HJ it was for the Third Reich. HJ education encompassed physical and military training rather than academic study - so too for *Pemuda* - it was combat skills rather than academic pursuits. In Europe, HJ as young as twelve, fought on the Russian front more ferociously than did their military counterparts.<sup>53</sup>

The chaos in the NEI during the *Bersiap* period, has rendered it almost impossible to ascertain the actual numbers of Dutch who died. The evidence available suggests that between 3,500 and 30,000 Europeans and Eurasians were murdered by *Pemuda*.<sup>54</sup> Dutch war historian L. De Jong claims 3,500 Dutch as officially identified deaths by *Pemuda* hands, but however that another 16,000 went missing, having presumably met with the same fate.<sup>55</sup> William Frederick calls the killing of the Dutch and Eurasians in Indonesia's Revolution [1945-1949] a 'brief genocide'.<sup>56</sup> Around 1,000 Japanese died defending Dutch internees and other Japanese from *Pemuda*, as did 660 British soldiers. There are no clear figures, but it is estimated that between



**Figure 12**  
Sinterklaas celebrations at the Cloisters  
Dutch Club St Georges Terrace, Perth, WA,  
December 1945. Courtesy: Arnold Drok.



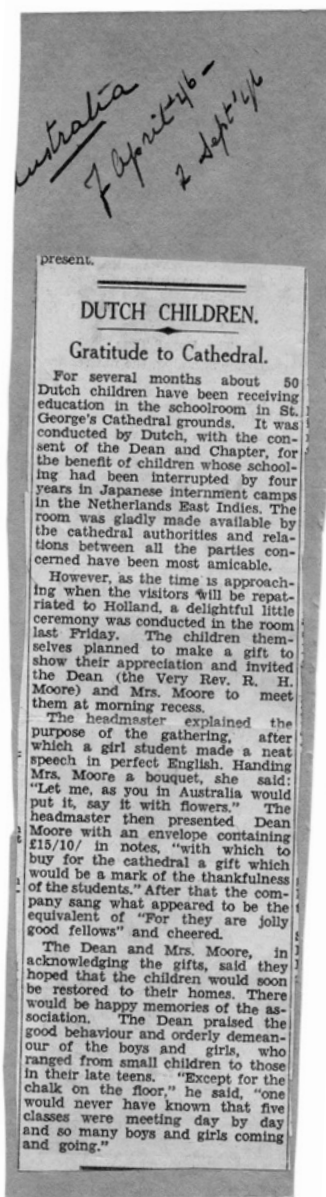


Figure 13  
Children leave Burt Hall, Newspapers article 1946. Courtesy: WA Newspapers.

40,000 and 100,000 Indonesian youth died during the revolution, many killed by their own side.<sup>57</sup> It was *Pemuda* violence that made it necessary for SEAC to protect the seriously compromised Dutch internees and *buitenkampers* that lead to the second evacuation to Australia.

## THE SECOND EVACUATION INTO AUSTRALIA 1945-1946

Indian Gurkha regiments of the British army eventually assisted the most physically and mentally depleted internees, POWs and *Buitenkampers* onto ships or airflights bound for rehabilitation in other countries, including Australia, NZ and NL. Restoring law and order to this chaotic situation and finding a safe haven for those Europeans still alive - but in grave danger of being killed - was the central focus at the end of September 1945, when the Gurkhas finally arrived in the NEI. SEAC immediately began looking for ways to protect the Dutch, Chinese and Eurasians. A preferred way was evacuation out of the NEI. Australia decided to take 6000 evacuees for rehabilitation, despite McMahon Ball's plea for them to take at least 50 thousand.<sup>58</sup> Australia's limited response was complicated even further by the Australian Unions, who supported Indonesian Independence by locking-in a boycott of Dutch ships preparing to take NEI (NICA)<sup>59</sup> personnel and food supplies back to those starving in the NEI, and evacuating internees to safety.<sup>60</sup> The hospital ship *MS Orange* was used to help the most depleted internees into Australia.

Western Australia received some 600 evacuees. Following registration with the Netherlands Indies Welfare Organisation for Evacuees (NIWOF), they were placed in various modes of accommodation around WA, which could include being billeted with local families: (see Summers' chapter).



Figure 14  
Temporary Dutch High School for evacuees from the NEI, Burt Hall, St Georges Cathedral, St Georges Terrace, Perth WA, 1946. Courtesy: Donald Schotel.

The older children's education was brought up to speed with the Dutch curriculum at the temporary High School (NIWOE) established in Burt Hall at St Georges Cathedral, St Georges Terrace, Perth. The Dutch Consul organized rehabilitation for the younger children at Fairbridge Farm School - an orphanage for British migrant children - located 100 kilometres south of Perth in Pinjarra. It was made possible because they had not received new UK arrivals since the outbreak of WWII.

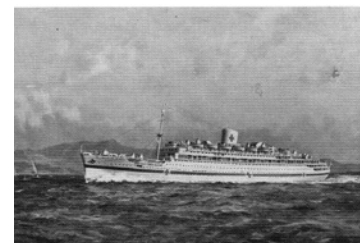
The Dutch children rehabilitated in WA, all mentioned their lives in Japanese internment camps and how dangerous life continued to be in post-war NEI. Gurkhas had transported mothers and children from internment camps to the harbour, in the back of army trucks under tarpaulin and under the cover of darkness, in a bid to avoid the road-blocks, which had been set by extremist *Pemuda* specifically to massacre fleeing Dutch.<sup>61</sup> After a number of aborted trips due to perilous *Pemuda* activity, one of the first transports going to WA for rehabilitation finally made it on board the *MS Oranje*. However, children being children, their first focus was on the amount of food laid out on the tables on board. Starved for so long, Winnie recalls the horror of seeing half a slice of bread floating in the ocean, "I just wanted to jump in after it".<sup>62</sup>

The hospital ship *MS Oranje* then transported them to Fremantle. Some of the children, like Eduard's teenage sister Nora, were in the hospital section. She was very ill at the time from eating poisonous *Djarak* seeds to diminish her excruciating hunger. She had nearly died and was just 'skin and bone' when she arrived in Perth. She relates sitting with a friend in the grounds of the Westminster Hospital in Adelaide Terrace, Perth, which the Dutch Netherlands Indies Welfare Organisation Evacuees (NIWOE) had taken over. They were both pinching themselves, hardly daring to believe that they were now safe.<sup>63</sup>

For others - like the Plink family - the sadness would be ongoing. Willem Plink, a boy of around eight years old at the time, recalls:

Not everyone went directly from an internment camp to the Netherlands. I was among the lucky ones who were sent from the infamous *Tjideng* Japanese internment camp to Australia. However, this was due to the grips of sadness my family was in. In September 1945, in four days, my mother was informed that the Nazis had executed her father, her husband - my father had died while slave labour on the *Pakan Baru* Burma Railway line and her brother had been killed by the Japanese on *Kalidjati*. She was regarded thus as having crashed physically and psychologically and needing to be evacuated for immediate care. Thus we went to Western Australia.<sup>64</sup>

On arrival in WA, the children gave vent to their new found freedom. They were rowdy and wild and counted riding the escalators in *Boans, Foy & Gibson, Aherns* or *Moore's* [shops in Perth at the time] as being among their favourite pastimes. They were therefore not at all popular with the locals, who in any case had no understanding of what they had been through. The children



**Figure 15**  
Hospital ship *MS Oranje* used to evacuate NEI Dutch to Fremantle 1945-1946. Courtesy: Peters Collection.





**Figure 16**  
Dutch children and families evacuated to WA for rehabilitation from three and half years in Japanese internment camps in Java at Fairbridge Farm School c1946.  
Courtesy: Willem Plink.

blamed the years spent in Japanese camps for their lack of awareness of the social norms, values and the customs of everyday life. Ernst, who referred to himself and friends as a “pretty rebellious wild bunch”, insisted that “[until then] their whole focus had been - survival – fight for yourself otherwise you will die; and so we ‘organised’ everything that we could. Food and whatever we could get.”<sup>65</sup> We children believed that “whatever we saw we picked up and took for ourselves, it was a habit. . . No, it was not stealing, we say ‘organised’ [laughter], not stealing, because you need food!”

To stay alive in an internment camp environment you had to develop survival strategies. For example, most of the children had at one time or another during their internment, bartered snails for food and even for education. However, they had never had to deal with a money economy.<sup>66</sup>

When Perth city business people complained, the Dutch Consul went looking for a solution that could accommodate between 80 and 100 of these ‘feral’ children and they discovered Fairbridge Farm School in Pinjarra. After gaining permission from Dutch parents, the children were enrolled there as boarders and the first group arrived in November 1945. Their rehabilitation now included a team of Dutch and English teachers, and a program was developed which focussed on many levels, with the first priority always being to restore the children’s physical health. The second priority was bringing the children’s education up to the Dutch curriculum standard appropriate for their age, and the last was introducing them to the mores, values and manners of their culture.

Their Dutch teachers found that the children needed discipline. They had lived in such appalling conditions in the prison camps that the teaching of manners had almost been impossible. Thus all the important mores and elements of growing up had been denied them as internees of the Japanese. However, having to learn all these things from scratch and so much later in life than one normally does, was not an easy transition for children who had never sat behind a school desk, nor eaten with a knife and fork whilst sitting at a dinner table. Yet only a year after repatriation, the younger ones had picked up most of the things they needed to know in order to settle readily into a Dutch school on arrival in NL. Many Australians including Ella Bone, [introduced earlier in this chapter], later went to work as volunteers at Fairbridge Farm School, to assist with the children’s rehabilitation.

However, sadly many of these same children have in later life also suffered from Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). The United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) reports that children are the main victims of war, with many suffering mental stress that will last a lifetime. Children worldwide are subjected to multiple forms of abuse on a daily basis, but the U.N. Children’s Fund claim that these forms of physical and psychological violence pale in comparison to what children are forced to endure in situations of conflict.<sup>67</sup>

The Dutch children loved their time at Fairbridge Farm and viewed it as restorative - physically, psychologically and behaviourally. It is the ‘good’ Fairbridge story. For the first time in over three and a half years, they had

an abundance of food and were free. Moreover, those aged from seven to ten began attending school for the first time in their lives - the Japanese having disallowed education of any kind. They loved the English lessons, the swimming, horse riding and bush walks but most of all sucking their fingers, dipped in the jars of peanut paste and tubes of thick sweetened milk, which each child was given to help them to put on weight. The children described the Australian people as marvellous. "They invited us, welcomed us, they helped us - that is, apart from the...harbour workers." (referring to the Union boycott of Dutch ships).<sup>68</sup>

At the end of a short year in WA, the majority of the children were shipped to resettle in the Netherlands, where most had never been before. As for the Dutch children on the *Blue Funnel Lines* who were marooned in WA throughout the entire war period, some also suffered for the rest of their lives. Local teachers and other children's parents came to their aid during school holidays – however, no matter how hard they tried, they were unable to bridge the gap left by their interned parents. The experience of Mary M. from Batavia [Jakarta], whose parents sent her to a Perth boarding school in December 1941 at the age of four in order to secure her safety, is representative of such children:

I remember vividly the day I was called into the Principal's office, four years later in 1945 and introduced to two very thin people I did not recognize, who turned out to be my parents. The huge break in our relationships had a permanent irretrievable impact for it had fractured forever the bond between us.<sup>69</sup>

Mary comments that her parents were always much closer to the child they had after the war, than to the two who were sent to Australia for the duration



**Figure 17 and 18**  
Els Duyser, one of the Dutch children evacuated to Fairbridge, expresses her feelings of gratitude in her album 'Netherlands Youth Blooms Again at Fairbridge'. Courtesy: Els Duyser.



**Figure 19**  
The Dutch at Fairbridge Farm School c1946. Courtesy: Ernst Kolmann.



**Figure 20**  
 Union Boycott of Dutch shipping 1945-1947 had Dutch volunteers loading ships bound for Indonesia with much needed food supplies. Courtesy: *Sunday Telegraph* and *Age Newspapers* and the Zindler Family.

of the war. Children are invariably the innocent victims of war. In the carnage that was World War II, more children were killed or orphaned than at any other time in history. The Second World War was a watershed when civilian victims were as numerous as combatants.<sup>70</sup> Moreover these figures do not account for the many people who survived but were severely traumatised by their wartime experiences.

As it stands, the historical facts show, on balance, that all stakeholders in the Indonesian Independence equation – Dutch, Indonesians, Japanese, British and Australians (by tacit acceptance) – were at times perpetrators and at other times victims of violence and brutality from one or other or all of the others. Consequently, and contrary to myth, there is not much for any side to be proud of. Across the NEI, there were many gruesome, grisly, atrocious and unnecessary incidents of violence against Europeans, Dutch and their sympathizers, as well as unnecessary violence against supporters of the Republic. I would emphasise that we should avoid rationalising on the grounds that there were crimes on all sides and that we should consider the facts, so that each side acknowledges its own violence. WWII on Australian soil fits positively into the picture, mainly via its role in the ABDA Alliance and its acceptance of NEI evacuees and the NEI Administration-in-Exile. However, despite their gratitude to Australia, the NEI Dutch would give a negative evaluation to the role of unions and the Chifley Government during the Indonesian Revolution for Independence.

## AUSTRALIAN UNIONS

The stance of the Australian unions involved in the boycott of Dutch ships [noted earlier] was motivated by members of the 500 Indonesian nationalists - prisoners from Boven Digul, Tanah Merah and New Guinea - all brought to Australia by their Dutch captors to stop them collaborating with the Japanese. On arrival in Australia, as noted earlier, the Netherlands East Indies administration had been forced to free them at the behest of the unions.

Delving into Australian digitized newspapers, as is now possible via the National Library of Australia's TROVE, shows the Australian media's reporting on the Indonesian Independence Movement in Indonesia to have been very comprehensive: (see <http://trove.nla.gov.au/>). Australian unions could therefore never plead ignorance of the state of affairs that was unfolding. Throughout this period, journalists reported on the bleakness of the situation for former Dutch ex-civilian internees, as well as the indigenous Indonesians in the NEI. They also noted the lack of law and order and how the volatility of the situation was intensified by the desperate food situation in Java, which the Japanese had orchestrated. The most critical shortages being within the Allied perimeter near Surabaya, where some 400,000 civilians resided, including peaceful Indonesians, Chinese and Arabs.



**Figure 21**  
*Western Mail* Charity Ball November 1945.

Mary Briggs-Koning (2004), another of the POWs who now lives in Australia writes:

While people around the world celebrated the end of the war, we ... who had survived [Japanese concentration camps] were now at risk of being killed as we were thrust into a civil war - The Indonesian Nationalist Revolution. Consequently the banning of Dutch ships in Australian ports by the Australian wharf labourers, greatly diminished assistance to provide us with much needed supplies of food, medicines and a means of leaving the country.<sup>71</sup>

The Australian media also highlighted the impact that the boycotting of Dutch ships was having in the NEI. Not only for the critical supplies, which the stoppage was having on the wellbeing of starving indigenous Indonesians, but also because these ships could have been a potential means for the Dutch to employ in order to escape from their perilous situation.<sup>102</sup>

The Australian Labor Government supported the Indonesian Republic, at least at the United Nations level. The personal ambitions of Chifley and Evatt played a key role in the events that developed, because they were keen to be seen supporting the rights of newly emerging nations. Bill Guy, in his biography of Clyde Cameron, claims that Evatt set about promoting Indonesian Independence at the United Nations level, where he had an influential voice as a result of his contribution to the creation of this international organisation.<sup>72</sup>

The Australian Government adopted a passive strategy of support for the boycott campaign – doing little to encourage it, but nothing to discourage it either. Bill Guy claims their actions greatly accelerated Indonesian Independence and brought Evatt a great deal of prestige internationally.<sup>73</sup> Guy also claims some of the boycotts infringed the ‘emergency and security laws’ that Evatt as Attorney General administered, so he could have intervened to order a lifting of the bans. Chifley, as Prime Minister, could have invoked emergency powers to the same end. However, and despite the considerable pressure they were under from Menzies, other Opposition front benchers and the mainstream, pressed to take action to prevent the unions dictating foreign policy – they opted not to interfere.

It is, in addition, astounding to appreciate that at war’s close, Indonesians and dark skinned Eurasians stranded in Australia during the war, including the ones who had stirred up Australian unions’ support for the Indonesian Independence, were forced back to Indonesia within six months. These included Indonesians married to Australian women. These women lost their Australian citizenship on marriage, and should such a woman die in Indonesia leaving children behind, then Australia also refused to accept her offspring. As for the Unions, what is most surprising is their focus on Indonesia at a time when issues at home needed support. For example, when the boycott was invoked in 1945, Indigenous Australians could not vote in elections for another 22 years; and it would take another 28 years before Australia abandoned the White Australia Policy.

Dutch migration to Australia was a by-product of the political situation in the NL and the NEI. In the years that followed the war, lingering socio-economic stress and the tension of the Cold War contributed to a sense of instability and insecurity in Holland. As for the NEI, after December 1949, it was lost to the Netherlands forever. To make matters worse for those being repatriated, many NEI Dutch noted in interviews, how the Dutch in the Netherlands were not very welcoming either. Consequently as seen in Section III of this book, the opportunities promoted by immigration countries like Australia in the post-war period, proved irresistible to many Dutch and were especially compelling to those from the NEI, as it would take them closer to their country of birth – albeit now Indonesia - and allow them to forge a new life for themselves and their children.

## ENDNOTES

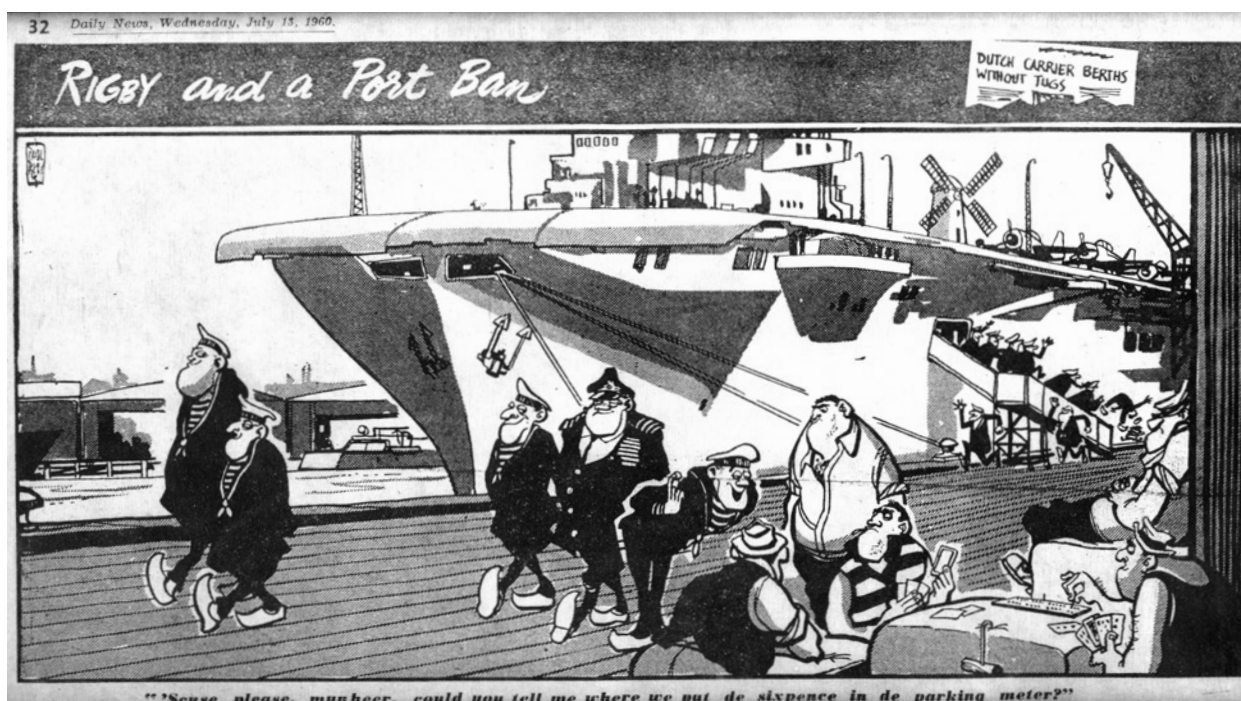
- 1 [http://ww2db.com/battle\\_spec.php?battle\\_id=23](http://ww2db.com/battle_spec.php?battle_id=23); 8 March 1942 Dutch troops at Bandoeng, Java, Dutch East Indies surrendered at the Isola Hotel in Lembang at 10.00 hours between Dutch General Jacob J. Pesman and Japanese Colonel Toshishige Shoji. In the afternoon, Dutch Governor Tjarda Van Starkenborgh Stachouwer, General Hein Ter Poorten, and Major General Jacob Pesman surrendered all Dutch forces on Java to Japanese General Hitoshi Imamura. Website visited 21 June, 2015.
- 2 Cribb, R., and Kahin, A., *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, Second Addition, The Scarecrow Press Inc. Oxford, 2004.
- 3 The surrender of Japan was announced by Imperial Japan on August 15 and was formally signed on September 2, 1945, bringing the hostilities of World War II to a close.
- 4 These most often comprised mixtures of Dutch with individuals of Indonesian or Chinese origin.
- 5 Femme Gastra, [http://www.tanap.net/content/voc/organization/organization\\_end.html](http://www.tanap.net/content/voc/organization/organization_end.html) viewed 28, May 2015.
- 6 <http://www.en.afscheidvanindie.nl/archieven-onderwerpen-nica.aspx>
- 7 Radical from the NEI administration's perspective.
- 8 Lingard, Jan, *Refugees and Rebels: Indonesian Exiles in Wartime Australia*, Australian Scholarly Publishing 2008.
- 9 Peters, N., *From Tyranny to Freedom: Dutch children from the Netherlands East Indies to Fairbridge Farm School 1945-1946*, Black Swan Press: Perth 2009.
- 10 Bone, Ella, pers.com. 2008; She notes the Centaur was bombed and sunk by the Japanese off the coast of Queensland, despite being clearly marked as an Australian naval hospital ship – with the loss of many lives, mainly of Australian Army Nurses and ship's personnel.
- 11 Ludrooke, J., *Schoolship Kids of the Blue Funnel Line*, Black Swan Press, 1999, 188.
- 12 Prime, M., *Broome's one day war: the story of the Japanese raid on Broome on 3rd March 1942*, 6th (ed), Broome Historical Society, Broome, 2004; Hurst, D., *The Fourth Ally: The Dutch Forces in Australia in WWII*, self published, 2001, 49, 171; Cote, Joost and Westerbeek, Loes (eds), *Recalling the Indies: colonial culture and postcolonial identities*, pp. 9-27. Aksant, Amsterdam, The Netherlands; Edith van Loo's in-depth interviews with Dutch Australian veterans of WWII are located in the National Library of Australia (NLA).
- 13 *ibid* 41.
- 14 Peters, 2009.
- 15 <https://www.awm.gov.au/unit/U59381/>: Dutch airmen who escaped to Australia after the Japanese invasion of the Netherlands East Indies (NEI) were brought together to form Dutch squadrons under RAAF command. First among these special squadrons was 18 (NEI) Squadron, formed at Canberra on 4 April 1942. Although nominally made up of Dutch nationals, the RAAF supplied many co-pilots, air gunners, bombardiers, photographers, and ground staff. The US provided supplies and equipment.
- 16 <https://www.awm.gov.au/exhibitions/alliesinadversity/australia/nefis/>
- 17 van Dulin, J., Krijveld, W.J., Legemaate, H.G., Liesker H.A.M. and Weijers, G., *Geillustreerde Atlas van de Japanse Kampen in Nederlands Indië, Asia Minor, Ziedrikzee*, 2002, 22.
- 18 *ibid* 21.



- 19 NAA Series A 1608/1, Item T39/1/3, Evacuation, NEI, Burns Philip letter to the External Affairs 26 February 1942; Jack, Allies in a Bind: Australian and the Netherlands East Indies in the Second World War, Published by Australian Netherlands Ex-Servicemen and Women's Association, Loganholme, Queensland, 1996, 26; <http://www.ww2places.qld.gov.au/places/?id=1787> website visited 21 June 2015.
- 20 Interview – Joan van Embden, 2008.
- 21 Established at the former US Army Camp Columbia at Wacol in July 1944, the Netherlands East Indies (NEI) Government-in-Exile is the only foreign government to be established on Australian soil. Other agencies - the Netherlands East-Indies Forces Intelligence Service (NEFIS), the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration (NICA) and the Netherlands Indies Government Information Service (NIGIS) moved from Melbourne to support their administration. An NEI transport unit maintained and flew Dakota aircraft at Archerfield.
- 22 Lockwood, Rupert, *Black Armada: Australia and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence 1942-1949*, Marrickville NSW, Hale and Iremonger, 1982; Lingard, 2008; Bennett, Frank, *The Return of the Exiles: Australia's Repatriation of the Indonesians, 1945-47*. Clayton, Vic., Monash Asia Institute; McMillan, Richard, *The British Occupation of Indonesia: 1945-1946: The Netherlands and the Indonesian Revolution*, London Routledge, 2005; The U.S. Library of Congress estimates that between four and 10 million indigenous Indonesians (Romusha) were forced to work by the Japanese military. About 270,000 of these Javanese labourers were sent to other Japanese-held areas in South East Asia. Only 52,000 were repatriated to Java after the war, indicating that there was a death rate of 80 per cent.
- 23 Interview with Ella Bone by Sue Summers, 2006.
- 24 Vera Rado cited in Peters 2008.
- 25 Vera Rado, extracts from *In Japanese Captivity: The Story of a Teenager in Wartime Java*, memoir, 2006, pp. 1-11.
- 26 Van Wagtenonk, Jan, *Testimonies of the Japanese Occupation of the Dutch East Indies*, Foundation for Japanese Honorary Debts, 2007.
- 27 Vera Rado 2009.
- 28 Van Wagtenonk, 28.
- 29 *West Australian*, 26 December 1945, 6.
- 30 Interview Eduard Lumkeman, 2006.
- 31 *ibid.*
- 32 *ibid.*
- 33 Peters, 2008.
- 34 Robert Cribb, *Gangsters and Revolutionaries: The Jakarta People's Militia and the Indonesian Revolution 1945-1949*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 1991.
- 35 *ibid.*
- 36 Penders, C.L.M, *The West New Guinea Debaacle: Dutch Decolonisation and Indonesia 1945-1962*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2002, 9-10.
- 37 Gunny sack and Burlap forms of coarse sacking.
- 38 Penders, 2002, 9-10.
- 39 Vickers, Adrian, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, Cambridge UK, Cambridge University Press, editions in 2005, 2013.
- 40 Peters, 2008.
- 41 *West Australian Newspapers*, 26 December 1945.
- 42 Robert Cribb, 1991, 63, notes: "hundreds of Dutch old colonial hands tell of the warm greeting they received from their old *babu* (nursemaid), *jonggos* (manservant) and *tukang kebun* (gardener) when they finally came home from the internment camps until they became the focus of Pemuda wrath."
- 43 Peters, 2008, notes the many oral histories, life stories, newspaper articles and academic treatise that describe the brutality of *Pemuda* behaviour during the Indonesian Revolution for Independence.
- 44 World report on violence and health 2002, Foreword by Nelson Mandela. [http://www.who.int/violence\\_injury\\_prevention/violence/world\\_report/en/index.html](http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/world_report/en/index.html)
- 45 Peters, 2008.
- 46 *Advocate* (Burnie, Tasmania), Wednesday 26 June 1946,1: The article notes the many deaths of Dutch held prisoners in the Indonesian Republican army camps and that many were still in the camps a year after the Japanese Occupation ended; *Buitenkampers: The Concealed History of the Netherlands East Indies 1942-1949*, a documentary film by Betty Naaijkens-Retel Helmrich 2014.
- 47 The facts and individual experiences described in this section are drawn from the following documents: 'Chronology of events in Ambarawa: Camp Six compiled by W Krijgsveld (Postbus 165, 9750 A.D. Haren); the diaries of: Miep v/d Kroogt, Mrs. Krijgsveld, Mrs. Oujejan, Mrs. Tjakkes, Atie te

- Velde, Ike te Velde, and Mrs. Wijna; notebooks from Mrs Burgerhoudt and Mrs. van Voorenveld, reports from Dr. E.Krijgsveld and from the later (1948) notes by Mrs. Wielenga (Fuku-kaitjo) and the books: *A Valley in Ambarawa*, and *Patience and Bluff* by Mrs. Petra Groen.
- 48 ibid.
- 49 Inv.nr 85; Algemeen RijksArchief, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken, Inventaris van het Archief van het Consulaat generaal te Sydney (Australië), 1927, 1930-1954. Translation of the pamphlet 'Our Struggle', by Sutan Sjahrir written about +/- 5 November 1945, 1-4.
- 50 ibid.
- 51 <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-22447726>.
- 52 Wilson, Ben, *What Price Liberty*, London: Faber and Faber, 2010, 35; Wilson quotes Hume and Gibbon.
- 53 <http://www.historyplace.com/worldwar2/hitleryouth/hj-boy-soldiers.htm> website visited 21 June 2015.
- 54 Frederick, W.H., *Visions and Heat: The Making of the Indonesian Revolution*, Athens, Ohio – Ohio University Press, 1989.
- 55 De Jong, Dr L., *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereld oorlog 1939-1945, Deel IIA eerste helft, Nederlands-Indië I*, S'Gravenhage Staatsuitgeverij 1984, 524.
- 56 Frederick, William, The killing of Dutch and Eurasians in Indonesia's Revolution (1945-1949): A 'brief genocide' reconsidered, in *Journal of Genocide Research* 14 (3-4), September-November, 2012, 359-380, (362).
- 57 Peters, 2009.
- 58 Macmahon Ball, William, *The Japan and Batavia Diaries of W. Macmahon Ball*, edited by A. Rix (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1988).
- 59 <http://www.en.afscheidvanindie.nl/archieven-onderwerpen-nica.aspx>: On 3 April 1944 the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration (NICA) was founded in Australia. The organisation was responsible for civil administration and judicial affairs in the parts of the Netherlands East Indies liberated from the Japanese. The NICA was intended to restore Dutch authority in those areas prior to their transfer to Dutch government control, and acted as the liaison between the government of the Netherlands East Indies and the Allied Supreme Commander of the South West Pacific Area (SWPA). NICA personnel were military or under military authority, and wore uniforms.
- 60 On 24 September 1945, despite a plethora of Australian newspaper articles detailing the killing rampages of *Pemuda* and the plight of the depleted Dutch and the millions of Indonesians dying from starvation, Australian Unions kept the boycott in place for three years.
- 61 See the slaughter of the *Goebeng* transport history by Hollander-Lake, Inez, *Silenced Voices: Uncovering a Family's Colonial History in Indonesia*, Ohio University press, 2008.  
<http://www.archivesportaleurope.net/ead-display/-/ead/pl/aicode/NL-AsdNIOD/type/fa/id/819/unitid/819++148>
- 62 Interview Winnie de Vries, 2007.
- 63 Nora L, per. Com. 2007
- 64 Interview Willem Plink, 2007.
- 65 Ernst Kollman, interview with Nonja Peters 2007.
- 66 ibid.
- 67 <http://www.unicef.org/sowc96/1cinwar.htm>; <http://www.voanews.com/content/unicef-says-children-main-victims-of-war/2459908.html>
- 68 ibid.
- 69 Pers.com. M.M, 2002.
- 70 <http://www.warchildholland.org/effects-war-children>: Now, in almost all current conflicts, civilians are the majority of casualties, with children suffering disproportionately. According to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 2 million children have been killed by conflict over the last decade; 6 million children have been made homeless; 12 million have been injured or disabled; and there are at least 300,000 child soldiers operating in 30 different conflicts across the globe.
- 71 It was not until 1950, following the return to government of the Liberal Prime Minister Menzies, that the Waterside Worker's Federation and Seaman's Union were forbidden from placing 'black bans' on foreign vessels. However, unions continued to intervene in various other ways in foreign policy under Liberal-Country Party rule (Lockwood 1982:231); ([www.neswa.org.au/Library/Books/Footsteps\\_1.htm](http://www.neswa.org.au/Library/Books/Footsteps_1.htm)).
- 72 Guy, Bill, *A life on the left: A biography of Clyde Cameron*, ARTSA, 1999, 115.





**Rigby Cartoon.**  
From the *Daily News* Wednesday 13 July 1960.  
Courtesy: Peter Rigby.

The 1945-1947 boycott of Dutch ships by Australian Unions was not wholly effective. Dutch maritime prowess and the labour of military personnel in Australia were used to break the blockade. This enabled some goods to reach Indonesia after innovative ways had been devised to refuel the ships at sea. Even so, Macintyre claims despite these issues, that the campaign was effective enough to be a major factor in the survival of the Indonesian republic.

The boycott story did not end there – it was reinstated in 1960 when the Dutch Government embarked on a final stand to defend its bases, this time in West Irian. The aircraft carrier *Karl Doorman* and two destroyer escorts were sent out from the Netherlands to the Indian Ocean and Menzies offered them hospitality at Fremantle. Fremantle Dockies and seamen led by Patrick Laurence “Paddy” Troy – an Australian trade unionist and communist activist – re-imposed their ban on the warships, which, they said, could only endanger peace in Southeast Asia. So the carrier had to be brought in without tugs or pilot on a windswept day. However the Dutch Captain was a man of resource. He lashed four of his aircraft to the carrier deck and used the backdraft from their screw propellers to bring the carrier alongside the wharf, pennants flying, a feat of seamanship that won Paddy’s admiration.<sup>1</sup> Paddy was standing behind a group of men on the wharf to watch the ship’s progress. One said to another:

“You were in the navy during the war, George?”

“Yes.” “You were in the Signals, weren’t you?” “Yes”.

“Well, what do those flags read?”

“It reads, “Fuck Paddy Troy.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Macintyre, Stuart; *Militant, The Life and Times of Paddy Troy*, Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1984.