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Shifting Communication: Language learning during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia

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In September 1934, Hiroshi Nagashima departed from Japan on the *Johore Maru* to teach at the Ksatrian Institute in Bandung (West Java). An instructor at the private Teikoku Women's Pharmaceutical College in Osaka (帝国女子薬学専門学校), Nagashima's imminent arrival to teach Japanese to Indonesians contributed to the storm of attacks on the Ksatrian Institute founder, E. F. E. Douwes Dekker by the Dutch press (Horton n.d.; Veur 2006:493-515; *De Sumatra Post* 10-9-1934; *Telegraph* 5-10-1934). The controversy was made even worse when Nagashima was quoted as saying that Douwes Dekker was a great friend of Japan—normally the ideal thing for foreigners to say about their new employer. Regardless of how conservative Dutch felt about Douwes Dekker, Japanese classes at the Bandung commercial college presented one of the few opportunities for Indonesians to study Japanese without going to Japan, and the textbook coauthored by Nagashima and M. Sabirin once again became important after the victorious Japanese armed forces swept away the largely ineffectual Allied resistance in early 1942 and was quickly translated from Dutch to Indonesian by M. Natsir, the future Prime Minister of Indonesia.²

The Japanese Occupation of Indonesia (February/March 1942-August 1945) presents interesting communicative contexts, as there were initially few Japanese speakers in the Indonesian population, and few Indonesian speakers among the Japanese. Notwithstanding the ideological and practical motivations for encouraging Indonesians to learn and utilize Japanese, minimally as an Asian *lingua franca*, the most likely choice for effective communication between Japanese and Indonesians initially was English, the language of Japan's most powerful enemies. On the other hand, in 1942, Indonesian, the national language developing out of the local *lingua franca*, Malay, did not have sufficient technical vocabulary without depending on Dutch, nor was it spoken fluently by most Indonesians, much less Japanese! The materials, institutions, and opportunities used for practical

education for both Japanese and Indonesian, as well as the further development of Indonesian, are critical for a general understanding of this pivotal period, and even more for any research on communication.

Fundamental changes took place during this period, making this period particularly rewarding to study, if difficult. By way of example, consider orthography. In 1945, the Japanese cabinet ordered implementation of an official Romanization for Japanese (*Naikaku kunrei shiki*) which was very understandable for native Japanese speakers, but did not make much sense for speakers of other languages. This was a major change for most residents of Java, since the 16th Army Military Administration had formalized a system based on Dutch and Malay orthography in 1943. The basic kana Romanization changes involved 4 kana, **shi**→**si**, **fu**→**hu**, **tji**→**ti**, and **tsu**→**tu**, but voiced and compound kana syllables changed even more (*Djawa Baroe* 2605-4-1).³ There were more differences between regions.

Rather than a systematic and thorough examination, or a single story, this article is a survey, a first attempt to grapple with materials related to language learning collected in the course of research on Indonesia during the Japanese occupation.

Indonesian language prior to occupation

During the decades before World War II, Indonesian nationalism developed rapidly, paralleling expansion of education and literacy. While high level education was almost universally in Dutch, elementary education for the masses was most commonly in regional languages like Javanese or Sundanese. Malay—or its new, modern, national form—Indonesian, was increasingly the dominant language of the native press, as well as Indonesian nationalist organizations. Use of Indonesian was both a symbolic commitment and often intensely practical.

This gap between a political commitment to Indonesian on the one hand, and local languages and Dutch functioning as the most important languages of

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² By the start of the war, Nagashima was in Tokyo as *Goeroe Besar* [Professor] of Japanese language and letters (Nagashima and Sabirin 1942). Moh. Natsir (1908-1993) was the 5th Prime Minister (5 Sept. 1950-26 April 1951).

³ This Romanization system seems to have been a product of the Konoe cabinet in 1937 (昭和12年内閣訓令第3号). Thanks to Kaoru Kochi for bringing this to my attention. Simultaneously, other changes like the use of a macron for long vowels (e.g. *ō*, *ū*) and dashes after final nasals (ゝ) were implemented.

education on the other, as well as a growing but insufficient number of Indonesian language speakers, were still salient problems in 1942, and resulted in Indonesian being widely regarded as insufficient as a modern, professional language.

On the other side of the ocean, a small number of Japanese universities like Takushoku University and the Tokyo Foreign Language School and specialized schools like the Kōnan Gakuin Nanpo-go Gakkō [Institute for Southern Development, School of Southern Area Languages], and Kōa Senmon Gakkō [Asian Development Professional School] did provide Indonesian language instruction with a combination of Japanese linguists and Indonesian instructors like Sudjono or the lexicographer W. J. S. Poerwadarminta. Immediately before the war, the exiled Ichiki Tatsuo also began teaching Indonesian to some of the Japanese expected to be sent to Indonesia in 1942 (Goto 1977). Several Malay dictionaries and language books were also published before the war or in early 1942.

In March 1942, the Japanese military completed its invasion of Indonesia and gradually began the long process of creating stable administrations while rectifying problems and improving communication.

Language commission Medan and Jakarta

The first language commission was established by the military authorities on Java on 20 October 2602. Tasked with improving vocabulary, spelling and grammar of the Indonesian language, this committee included both Japanese and Indonesian members, but the main work seems to have been done by Soetan Takdir Alisjabana of Balai Poestaka, and section heads Sanoesi Pane (grammar), S. Mangoensarkoro (testing words), and Armijn Pane (vocabulary). (*Pembangoen*, 12 Desember 2602). The head of the Commission was Mr. Mori (Head of the Education Department), however, he did not speak Indonesian and his speech at the initial meeting was translated by Mr. Minami.



Illustrations 1-2: Initial meeting of the Jakarta commission, *Pandji Poestaka* 2602, no. 29.



The commission produced vocabulary lists, generally published in sets of related words, which were disseminated through newspapers and the magazine *Pandji Poestaka*, but also passed on to the Department of Education staff. The Department of Education staff was housed in the same offices, and used the new vocabulary and language improvements for revisions of the textbooks which it was tasked with producing.

Following a January 16th Indonesian Language Congress, a different language commission (Lembaga Bahasa Indonesia) was established in Medan, East Sumatra (12 April 1943). The Bahagian Pembentoeck Kata-kata [Word-making Division] led by Dr. Pirngadi produced lists of formally approved vocabulary. Some list sections seem to be somewhat random lists of vocabulary replacing Dutch words, while others seem somewhat more coherent. *Pembangoen*, a Djakarta daily tasked with local affairs, published these word lists during the course of 1943, making them available to residents of Java.



Illustration 3: *Pembangoen* 16 October 2603

Special training courses

With the beginning of the occupation, many new training courses were created. Most of these courses included language learning. For example, in December 1942, the Japanese administration in the East Coast of Sumatra, following orders from Singapore, selected 60 officials for a 3-month training course which explicitly

included Japanese, in addition to subjects appropriate for participants' regular jobs (*Pembangoen* 15-12-2602).

Surprisingly, it was only in 1944 that the Japanese administration in Java created a special program for 30 Japanese officials to learn more Indonesian language and culture and foster mutual understanding by living with Indonesian families for 6 months while studying Indonesian (*Sinar Baroe* 20-12-2604). Newspaper reports indicate the importance of the program, and it does seem to have worked well. Sadly, as this was past the mid-point of the occupation and involved limited numbers, the impact was probably limited as well.

Teachers

The Japanese government and the military administration on Java did try to provide Japanese language teachers. While the bulk of the teachers were rapidly retrained Indonesians, thus with limited language abilities, these Indonesian instructors were supplemented by live Japanese when possible.

A small number of Japanese teachers were sent out to teach Japanese and other subjects, including some women. Additionally, government officials and other Japanese living in Indonesia were encouraged to cooperate in provision of Japanese lessons for employees and other organizations, often on an irregular basis. Newspapers and magazines often carry stories about such classes, often including photographs and names of those teaching. While part of this was for public relations (propaganda) purposes, the effort to provide Japanese language education was real.

One of the dedicated Japanese teachers sent to



Illustration 4: Mrs. K. Miyahira teaching Japanese. *Djawa Baroe* (1 March 2603).

Jawa, Mrs. K. Miyahira, was based in the Department of Education in Djakarta from 1942 (*Pembangoen* 15 Des. 2602), and taught in a number of schools, particularly schools for girls. Further east, a Japanese language school in Surabaya with 2 hour courses in either the morning or evening in late 1942 had a total of 7 Japanese teachers (*Pembangoen* 18 November 2602).

Translators

Translators were in high demand, but initially there were few available. The few Indonesians who had lived in Japan, like Soedjono, were given relatively important positions, and Japanese who had lived in Indonesia before the war, including Taiwanese, often served as translators. Photographs and news items do sometimes mention the translators, who were most often Japanese, like the aforementioned Y. Minami.

Later in the war, special courses for translators were held. In late December 1943, 4 employees of the Malang City administration were sent to Jakarta for a translator course (*Pembangoen* 11-12-2603).

Despite increasing communicative ability, translations of books like Sakae Shioya's *Sandiwara Chushingura* were translated by Indonesians from English versions, while Japanese materials were likely to be translated by Japanese, whether news stories, articles and short stories for *Djawa Baroe*, or military manuals for the Java self-defence force PETA, many of which were translated by Ichiki Tatsuo.

Language exams

Japanese language exams were periodically given. Even more significantly, both scheduled examinations and the results of such examinations were often published in newspapers.

Early in the occupation, teacher examinations were critical, as teachers were responsible for teaching children. On 24-25 December 1942 an examination for teachers "who are studying that language" was conducted in Bandung. On 25 December, ceremonies were held in Jakarta for the 3 Japanese Language Sections which had completed their programs. A Japanese representative from the Education Department (Y. Minami), a professor, and other dignitaries were present for the ceremony and awarding of special letters for the best students (*Pembangoen* 26-12-2602). December 28th, a letter to the students of "Dai Ni Nippon Go Gakko" [Japanese School II] from the secretary of Prime Minister Tojo was published in Indonesian in *Pembangoen*.

Examinations were given in a coordinated manner throughout Java. For example, Level-III exams were scheduled for 14 January 1945. In Semarang-shū, examinations were to be held in the main "ken" [district] and "shi" [city] towns, except for Semarang-ken, which was to be held in Ambarawa. All residents of Java were allowed to take the exam, except for those in school.

Japanese language school students were allowed to take the exams, while *Heiho* and PETA soldiers were given the exams in their camps. Applications were written with katakana on one side, and roman letters on the other, with a 50 c revenue stamp affixed. Examinations included a 60-minute written examination, and an oral examination (*Sinar Baroe* 11, 12-12-2604).

Prior to the 1945 exams, the system would have been largely the same. *Asia Raya* (17 February 2604) issued a special issue with names of most of the 4,278 successful examinees from West Java for Level-IV and Level-V exams held on 15 December 1943. Names were listed by *shu, ken and shi*. While 4,278 successful examinees is a large number, this represented a 22.4% success rate. Later the same year, results of the Level-V examinations in Semarang were announced in the local newspaper *Sinar Djawa* on 18-12-2604 and subsequent days, suggesting that it was common for results to be announced in local newspapers.

Competitions

Japanese language speech contests were held periodically on Java, and probably in other areas as well. Some contests were for native Indonesian teachers, others for students.

Other contests seem to have been more designed to inspire enjoyment of Japanese. The “2nd Japanese Language Competition” in Semarang scheduled for 17 December 1944 involved different competitions. One competition was the writing contest *Tsutsurikata*, but there was more as a piano was provided for the group singing. A total of 34 teams from local offices signed up to participate, and 20 of those teams signed up for all the competitions (*Sinar Baroe* 14-12-2604).

There were also writing contests, generally including promotion of official policies related to the war. An 18 November 1943 contest involved people from throughout Java, and was witnessed by the commander of the 16th Army. The competition involved speaking, singing and writing, and was won by a 3rd year Jakarta Girls Junior High School student, Miss Soedartinah (*Djawa Baroe* 2603-12-1, p. 3).

The Jawa Shinbunkai (Java Newspaper Association) sponsored a contest with the themes of “Betapa



Illustration 5: 1943 contest winner and essay

Semangat Nippon itoe” [How Great is that Japanese Spirit] or “Jawa Sentootai (Benteng Perdjoengan Djawa)” [Sentōtai Jawa (The Fortress of Struggle, Java)] in 1944. Essays of 2000 words in Japanese or Indonesian were accepted. Winners received a cash prize and their essays would be sent to Tokyo for an all Asia organization (*Sinar Baroe* 5-7-2604).

Communication books

When the 25th Army began to take control in Sumatra, the 16th Army swept through Java, and troops under the command of the Navy 2nd Fleet landed in various locales in eastern Indonesia, the ability to communicate basic ideas was critical. Central control over the press was a secondary consideration, and the printing and publication of books which might aid communication was not only tolerated, it was actively encouraged.

Table 1: Language publications during the first 6 months of the Japanese Occupation of Indonesia (incomplete)

Date	Place	Pages	Author	Title
	Sukabumi	16		<i>Boekoe “Moestika Matahari” dalem Bahasa Dai Nippon – Indonesia</i> [日馬會話]
	[Bandung]	±20x5	T. Satō	<i>Nichi-djō Nippongo Radjio Kōza</i> (vols. 1-5)
1942	Medan	70	Seidō Miyatake	<i>Peladjaran Bahasa Nippon dengan sistem tjepat</i>
1942	Bandoeng	80	H. Nagashima & M. Sabirin	<i>Leerboek van de Japanse Taal, 2e deeltje: Oefenboek I</i>
1942	Bandoeng	106	H. Nagashima & M. Sabirin	<i>Leerboek van de Japanse Taal. 1e deeltje: Spraakkunst. 3e Druk.</i>
1942.4	Chirebon	72		<i>Bahasa Nippon</i>
1942.4	Magelang	66	Djojopranoto	<i>Bahasa Nippon, tentang kata-kata pekerdjaan</i>
1942.4.3	Jogja	28	Harmiel Sonda	<i>Nihon-go ga dekimasu ka?</i>

1942.4.15	Jakarta	305	T. Uji & W. J. S. Poerwadarminta	<i>Poentja Bahasa Nippon</i> , tjet. yang ke 2.
1942.4.20	Magelang	70	Lim Ban Goei & Tomodatji	<i>Arigatoh-logat. Nippon-Indonesia</i>
1942.5	[Jakarta]	44	J. Huysen	<i>1000 Worden Nippon</i>
1942.6	Semarang	32	Emdédé	<i>Arti kata Bahasa Nippon</i>
1942.6	Bandoeng	96	H. Nagashima & M. Sabirin (M. Natsir, trans.)	<i>Kitab Peladjaran Bahasa Nippon, Djilid ke 1: Ilmoe Saraf</i>
1942.6.5	Jakarta	73	Tomodji Abe	<i>Pemimpin Bahasa Nippon</i>
1942.6.25		7	Barisan Propaganda	<i>Katakana Nippon, Huruf Nippon</i>
1942.7.1	Jakarta	62	W. J. S. Poerwadarminta	<i>Latihan Pertjakapan Nippon</i>
[1942.8]	Bandoeng	76	H. Nagashima & M. Sabirin (M. Natsir, trans.)	<i>Kitab Peladjaran Bahasa Nippon, Djilid ke 2: Pelantjas ke 1</i>
1942.9.5	Jogja	117	K. Tanaka	<i>Peladjaran Bahasa Nippon Indonesia</i>
1942.9.9	Jakarta	255		インドネシヤ初等日本語會話讀本・Boekoe Peladjaran Permoelaan Bahasa Nippon
1942	Tasikmalaya		Tengku Ma'moen	<i>Bahasa Nippon: Mempeladjar "Bahasa Nippon" dalam waktoe jang singkat</i>

The majority of the publications from this period now available are from Java, which may be related to the distribution of printing presses, the higher population density on Java, differences in policy, or coincidences of preservation and collection. The pattern of small publications appearing in medium size towns and republication of older works in the first months of the occupation is clear, as Table 1 illustrates.

Language Textbooks and dictionaries

Before the war, a limited number of Japanese books for learning Malay, books for Indonesians to learn Japanese, and Malay-Japanese dictionaries were published, mostly in Japan. Some were more oriented to the Malay Peninsula, especially as the Wilkinson dictionary was one of the critical sources for some of the dictionaries, like Miyatake's dictionaries (Collins, Karim and Ueda 2019).

Some of the books for learning Japanese were republished in Indonesia, after translation (if needed). Seidō [Masamichi] Miyatake's book on Japanese was a translation of a work in Esperanto, and had been awaiting publication in Medan, but the anti-Japanese sentiment during the final years of Dutch rule made that impossible. Nagashima's textbooks were republished, translated and then republished again, providing the Ksatrian Institute and Douwes Dekker's wife with a revenue source during the occupation. Another book, Kurono Masaichi's 日本語 *Moedah dan Gampang oentoek dapat berbahasa Nippon (penerbitan murah)* [Japanese Easy and Easy to be able to speak Japanese (cheap edition)] was published in March 1942 in Tokyo, then republished by Asia Raya in Jakarta in January 1943.

The more substantial books tended to be from Indonesians who had taught in Japan prior to the war, or by Japanese scholars. The slightly less substantial books were often written by Japanese officials in the propaganda service.

Pocket dictionaries sold well in Japan, reportedly not merely due to the useful knowledge, but also because the paper in subsidized dictionaries made excellent cigarette paper.

Newspapers—lessons, language, and vocabulary development

During the first months of the occupation in Indonesia, many newspapers disappeared. Some newspapers on Java, like *Pemandangan* (later *Pembangoen*), were encouraged to continue publication. Most of these were Indonesian language newspapers, however, there was at least one Dutch language newspaper (*Soerabaijasch Handelsblad*) which remained in print for several months. Within 4-5 months, and then again in 1943, newspapers were further consolidated into a small number of Indonesian newspapers. *Kung Yung Pao* in Jakarta continued to publish a Malay edition alongside its Chinese edition.

The consolidation of Indonesian language newspapers allowed more government control, but also greater care in the production of the newspapers, and thus the possibility of improved language. The greater circulations also made these newspapers important means of spreading Indonesian language knowledge, and even limited Japanese language knowledge through familiarization with key terms, as well as through special Japanese lessons in some newspapers.

Two special newspaper-type periodicals aimed at aiding Japanese language learning appeared during the Japanese occupation. The *Kodomo shinbun* [Children's newspaper] was published in Makassar by the Serebesu Shinbunsha beginning on 27 May 1943. Written with relatively simple Japanese in *katakana*, this small, 4-page, weekly newspaper provided articles to guide children. It also included stories like Momotaro, as well as vocabulary like ヒコウキ [airplane] with drawings to explain it, more conventional lists of vocabulary, and short practice sentences:

コレハホンデス。
kore wa hon desoe (Ini kitab.)

ソレワツクエ デス。
sore wa tsoekoe-e desoe (Itoe medja.)

From January 1944, *Jawa shinbun* began to publish a 4-page *katakana* newspaper as well, with the stated plan to gradually introduce *kanji*. With a much smaller font size, the *Kana Jawa shinbun* was not merely aimed at young children; rather it was intended for children and Japanese language learners. The Japanese cartoonist, Ono Saseo, who devoted the wartime years to drawing in Java and training Indonesians for the Japanese military, provided a 4-section cartoon for each issue entitled *Papaiya pa-chiyan*. The stories are slightly more sophisticated, like *Haha no kokoro* [Mother's heart] in the 20 January 1945 edition. Similarly, the vocabulary lessons provide less childlike vocabulary:

フダンカラ Moelai hari sebagai biasa [starting the day as usual]

ケイバジヨウ Gelanggang patjoean koeda [Horse racing arena]

ミノル Berboeah [giving fruit]

Interestingly, both publications listed publication dates in Japanese style, with Showa years. Showa years were *almost never* used in Indonesian language publications, rather most publications used Japanese Koki years. This might indicate that once reading Japanese materials, Indonesian readers were treated like other imperial subjects.



Illustration 6: “Katjidoki no Uta,” *Djawa Baroe*

Music and song books

Throughout the occupation, music was an almost constant presence. Newspapers and magazines printed songs, films showed schoolchildren singing and performing together with catchy songs, like *Tōa no Yoi Kodomo* (東亞のよい子供). Precisely due to the popularity and potential for propaganda, songbooks were published by newspaper companies, and other institutions.

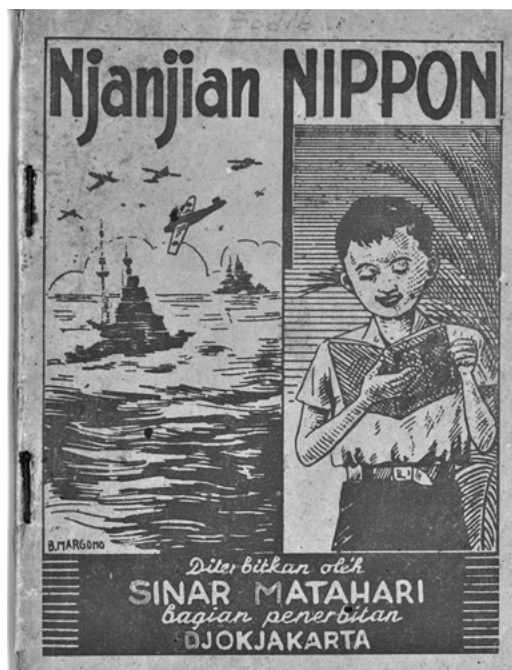


Illustration 7: Japanese song book Foe Indonesian children (1942)

Djawa Baroe

The most important illustrated magazine of the occupation of Java was *Djawa Baroe* (New Java), which appeared from January 1943 until the Japanese surrender. This magazine presented Indonesian and usually Japanese articles and stories, and often captions or short explanations in *katakana*. The magazine thus provided opportunities for readers to use their Indonesian and Japanese language abilities at any level. Additionally, Japanese language instruction by Prof. K. Uyehara, “Peladjaran Bahasa Nippon ニッポンゴコーザ” appeared near the end of the magazine. These lessons included vocabulary lists to be memorized, as well as a limited set of points, generally illustrated with several sentences in Roman letters. Lesson 18 (I), published on 15 December 1943 included around 70 words to memorize. Additionally, there were discussions of things like “nakereba + ike-nai” or “nara-nai.” Each lesson stretched out over more than one issue.

Djawa Baroe was one of the critical places where the Military Administration of Java (Djawa Goenseikanboe) explained its goals—and the goals of the central government in southern lands—in promoting

Japanese at the time *Kana Jawa Shinbun* was launched. In the Indonesian article “Garis-garis Besar tentang Penyebaran Bahasa Nippon dan Pendidikannya” [Outline about the Dissemination and Teaching of Japanese] and the accompanying Japanese article 「日本語普及教育要綱」 (*Djawa Baroe* 2604-1-1), the complexity of the Japanese writing system was explained, as well as the fact that since many Indonesians now could converse in Japanese, the correct usage of *katakana* should be taught to allow an understanding of the Japanese spirit and culture. The usage of *kana* would now be brought into conformance with proper usage, even in *Djawa Baroe*.

The importance of this magazine should not be underestimated, as it provided a friendly format in which Japanese was available in limited quantities, and without pressure to immediately do something. The supplementary lessons were probably helpful to people who did not attend any schools, but still found it would be better to know more Japanese.

The other major magazine on Java was *Pandji Poestaka*, a pre-war periodical with less emphasis on photographs, and thus a larger amount of information. *Pandji Poestaka* also included information useful for learning Japanese, but also presented high quality Indonesian language reading material for the general public.

Reflections of Film & Radio

The Japanese military administrations, and particularly the Propaganda Sections, eagerly sought ways to reach larger sections of the Indonesian population. The use of mobile film units to show films in remote villages is one well-known example. While the films made in Java, or those brought in from outside Indonesia and screened in various places, were not specifically designed to teach Indonesian or Japanese, they could reinforce learning.

Radio was also important during the war, and the daily radio programs included numerous programs in Indonesian, as well as Japanese language programs. The Jakarta area had several radio stations during the occupation. In mid-December 1942, Station 1 included Japanese language lessons for 30 minutes, beginning at 20:00. Much of the other programming was music or a relay of Station 2. Station 2 included a few Sundanese or Javanese programs, but the vast majority was in Indonesian, including news and commentary. On 22 December, there were no language lessons, and a 3rd transmitter was employed for relay of programming from Tokyo from 18:00-22:00 (*Pembangoen* 21, 15-12-2602). In general, however, Japanese language lessons were broadcast every few days.

A textbook by Mrs. T. Sato to accompany the radio course on Japanese was published in 1942, and remained in print throughout the occupation. The 1942 edition included some Dutch, even on the title page, but Dutch quickly disappeared. There were 5 volumes, and

were sometimes published as a combined edition, like the 1942 combined volume 1-2 (42 pp.) edition published by the Barisan Propaganda.

A major barrier to reaching the public through radio was the fact that most Indonesians could not afford to purchase radios, and many may not have had electricity. A new innovation, the “public radio” was created. A radio receiver was connected to speakers on a pole located in the center of the village. *Pembangoen*, for example, reported on 23 December 1942 that the one public radio installed in Tjilatjap, a port town on the south coast of Java, was insufficient, and that 4 new public radios would be installed in the city, and another 3 installed in small towns in the surrounding areas.

By late 1943, the radio programming was more hybrid, with programs for Japanese soldiers, 5 minute discussions of Japanese language points, “broadcast from Bandung” (probably the normal Japanese language lesson), news from Japan, and even Japanese songs, mixed in with the Indonesian, Sundanese and Javanese programming.

In Semarang in late 1944, only one transmitter was listed in newspaper announcements, but programs included Javanese plays (*ketoprak*) on relays from Jogja, as well as 5 minute summaries of Japanese news.

From November 1944, Radio Tokyo began to provide more Indonesian language broadcasts, including Tuesday night (12:30-1:00) talks about Japanese culture by Indonesian residents in Japan. The first was a talk by R. Soewanto, who had been invited to Japan to study culture. He spoke about Japanese engagement with culture, including with western dance and other world cultures before the war. Following this broadcast, a slot on Sunday nights at 21:00 was provided for Indonesians studying in Japan to send news to their families via radio (*Sinar Baroe* 18-12-2604).

Other Textbooks

Textbooks during the Japanese occupation, almost without exception, were written in Indonesian. The elimination of Dutch meant that improvement of the Indonesian language textbooks was critical—where Javanese and Sundanese were used, it was largely for agriculture or similar practical subjects of interest to villagers with limited educational backgrounds. The colonial era Malay language textbooks for use in schools were often reprinted and in most cases revised. New vocabulary and other improvements to Indonesian recommended by the Jakarta language commission were passed on to the textbook writers, and so should have affected textbooks issued later in the war. There were also textbooks for studying Indonesian in schools. All of these works would have helped strengthen student abilities in Indonesian.

Language use in medical publications and examinations

With the Japanese arrival, continued publication of Dutch language academic journals in medicine like *Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* or *Mededeelingen van den Dienst der Volksgezondheid in Nederlandsch-Indië* was suspended. After some delay, a new journal, *Berita-Ketabiban* [Medical News] appeared as a replacement for the defunct Semarang-based *Medische Berichten*. Edited by Dr. Sardjito with the assistance of a number of prominent Indonesian physicians and with approval from the Semarang Shūchokan, this new journal included some medical research, but more importantly provided a means of sharing information related to medicine. The base language was Indonesian, but German was an acceptable alternative, as the language of an Axis country.

Examinations for pharmacists as well as other medical specialists were generally conducted in Japanese or Indonesian. Pharmacological theory examinations were conducted the 13-15 December 1943, with 29 of the 50+ examinees passing and getting licenses as Pharmacists. A large number of those passing were Chinese, suggesting that knowledge of kanji was helpful, and that they may have taken the exam in Japanese. On 26-31 January 1944, examinations for assistant pharmacists were scheduled for Jakarta. Examiners included the head of the government Health Service, Dr. Sato Masa, the head of the Health Service Pharmacology Section Kamei Hikaru, former head of the state medicine factory, the German J. R. Behnke, Ika Daigaku lecturer B. Z. Rasad, and the head of the medical association pharmacology section, Liem Mo Djan.

A full “Medicine Expert Exam” (Pharmacy) was planned for July (theory) and August (practical) 1945 to license Indonesians who had not been allowed to become pharmacists during the colonial period. While the practical exam was probably never held due to the end of the war, the examinations were to use exclusively Indonesian language, except for words which didn’t exist in Indonesian, for which any language, *including Dutch*, was acceptable. There were 6 “theory” sections, including subjects like chemistry, chemistry and health, pharmacopeia, but also Japanese language (*Sinar Baroe* 16-12-2604).

During the last years of the war, alternative medicines became critical for treating patients, as proven western medicines were not readily available. A committee of Indonesian doctors at Djakarta Ika Daigaku produced a book in Indonesian about medicines made with local ingredients, which was ultimately published in the days following the Japanese surrender. This was one of a number of books designed to train a new generation of medical practitioners in Indonesia, some of which were produced in limited

numbers exclusively for students at the Ika Daigaku. These books were not merely important for the medical knowledge, but also for development of Indonesian language knowledge.

Libraries

While schools of all kinds were enlisted in language teaching, many had libraries attached, either their own library or former Volksbibliotheek sponsored by Balai Poestaka. Several Indonesian publications mention libraries being destroyed during the occupation without concrete details, quite possibly during the first 2 weeks of war and relative chaos with violence focused against the Chinese of in particular. However, not only did many libraries continue to function in the interest of spreading knowledge and language ability, new libraries were established. One of these was the Taman Poestaka “Beladjar Bahasa” [Language Learning Library] run by T. Samsi in Jogja.

Libraries also existed outside of Java, though even less is known about them. The Taman Batjaan Asjik in Bandjarmasin was small but important private lending library in Bandjarmasin which also functioned before and after the war.

Conclusion

During the course of the occupation, a range of materials and opportunities were available for Indonesians seeking to learn Japanese or improve their Indonesian. This seems to have continually reshaped communication during these 3.5 years. Some of the Japanese textbooks for Indonesians were published in Japan and exported; other were printed or published locally. Curiously, it seems there were more Indonesian dictionaries and textbooks for Japanese published in Japan than in Indonesia. Similarly, I have seen little evidence of Indonesian language courses offered for Japanese. The 6-month program with a home-stay in 1944 seems to have been an exceptional government program in that regard. Thus the drive for Japanese to learn Indonesian or Malay may have been greatest at the outset of the war, or before arrival in Indonesia.

Like Nagashima and Ichiki experienced in the 1930s, the Dutch ensured that Japanese returned to Japan after 1945. Only a few Japanese remained to fight for Indonesian independence, but for them the experiences of the preceding 3.5 years were certainly important. In what ways language learning was significant to Indonesians, or to the Japanese who returned home, remains to be examined, but the large number of negotiating trips to Japan in the 1950s and the long-lasting knowledge of Japanese songs among the Indonesian public suggests there was something.

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