

The Policies of Balai Pustaka as the Dutch Colonial Government's Publishing Agency in 1917-1942

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Abstract

The Ethical Policy (1901) generated many intellectuals who were able to express their ideas and opinion of nationalism and opposition through written media. The colonial government felt restless and needed a sensor agency for the intellectual's works. In 1908 the colonial government started to establish the Commission for People's Reading which in 1917 changed to Balai Pustaka. This was the Dutch Colonial Government's first publishing agency with privileged rights in the monopoly on the publishing and printing industries. Balai Pustaka also created a policy supporting a sensor function. This study aims at analyzing the implementation of Balai Pustaka's function as the sensor agency for literary works in ensuring the colonial government's social-political stability in Dutch East Indies. The critical historical method of political approach was employed in this research, especially in the scope of colonialism and political policy. The policy issued by Balai Pustaka consists of three forms, namely: preproduction, production and postproduction policies. The preproduction policy was in the form of *Nota Rinkes* containing rules of the content of script to be issued, corporate management policy, and recruitment. Production policy covers editing (modification and hyphenation) and control over scripts received by Balai Pustaka. Meanwhile, postproduction policy was in the form of distribution of script by establishing more Taman Pustaka, expanding sales agents, and performing mobile library program. Other than these, Balai Pustaka also actively sued publication which were not published by it and by idea and notion opposing the colonial government.

Keywords: Balai Pustaka; Policy; Colonial Stability; Sensor Agency.

Introduction

This article discusses the policies issued by Balai Pustaka as the official agency of the Dutch Colonial Government. The policies issued by Balai Pustaka emerged in response to the implementation of Ethical Policy in Dutch East Indies, which produced educated generation who distributed their critical ideas through their publication to the colonial government. The educational aspect development as the result of the Ethical Policy implementation created new educated elites or group with mastery of basic skills of reading, writing and math. At that time, the Ethical Policy was not only aimed at educating native Indonesians, but also meeting the need for cheap and educated labors, especially for private companies (Supardan, 2008). In addition, the colonial government also expected that the Ethical Policy application would make the people

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sympathetic and grateful to the Dutch Colonial Government.

In line with the development of education in the Dutch East Indies, the demand for reading also increased. On the other hand, the expansion of foreign investment program after the Ethical Policy application made large foreign capital enter the Dutch East Indies, including the investment in printing and publishing, such as Chinese publisher (*Soekaboemische Snelpersdrukkerij and Firma Sie Dhian Ho*) and Indo-European and Dutch publishers (*Albrecht, Bruining, van Drop, Carsseboom, Grivel*). Meanwhile, the Native Indonesians also had some publishers which were established by the movement group such as *Medan Prijaji* by Tirta Adhi Soerjo and H. Samanhoedi and *Sinar Djawa* belonging to the Sarekat Islam (SI) organization, and others (Farid, 1991).

Kahin (2013) states that in 1928-1929 in urban area there were less than two percent of Native Indonesians with independent Western education and more than 83 percent were hired by local elites. The number showed no significant change to the economy for the education's indirect impact on the prosperity and competitiveness of the Native Indonesians. This issue incited the Native Indonesians' opposition through movement organizations such as Budi Utomo. Initially, Budi Utomo aimed at developing the traditional and Western educations, promoting agriculture, industry, and trade among Javanese and Madurese people. In addition, this organization also ensured them of living in dignity. Budi Utomo's aspiration later developed politically (Kahin, 2013, p. 92.). Besides Budi Utomo, there were other movement organizations such as Sarekat Islam (SI) which at the time of its opening in 1912 had 360,000 members. SI's programs were militant in realizing a sovereign freedom (Kahin, 2013, p. 93).

Some of the organizations and educated elites had publishers, such as *Medan Prijaji*, *Doenia Bergerak*, and *Sinar Djawa* which accommodated Native Indonesian intellectuals' publication regarding criticism of the government. In addition, the intellectuals with journalist and author professions produced many literary works, such as *Max Havelaar* by Douwes Dekker, *Syair Sama Rata Sama Rasa* by Mas Marco Kartodikromo and *Hikayat Kadiroen* by Semaoen. These publications were about the social reality and worried the Dutch Colonial Government, that it then applied regulations on press criminal act (Kurniawan, 2016).

In such a condition, the Dutch Colonial Government established an agency to investigate the scripts distributed all over the Dutch East Indies Land. The agency was *Commissie voor de Volkslectuur* (Commission for People's Reading), established in 1908, which was changed to Balai Pustaka in 1917. In line with the change, Balai Pustaka kept developing politically since Balai Pustaka's objective was to preserve the colonial government's power. In realizing this objective, some policies had many Wild Reading authors sued for press criminal act.

Based on the background above, the problem in this study is originated from the implementation of folk education development policy in Dutch East Indies as one of the Ethical Policy programs. As the result of the policy, more and more native intellectuals had the ability to write and publish their publication which contained nationalism and criticism of the Dutch Colonial Government. The publications were

often called wild readings. The development of wild readings deemed worrying, as proven with the *persdelic* case. Therefore, the Dutch Colonial Government through Balai Pustaka made efforts to restrain the narration of those wild readings. On this base, three important problems are presented: formation of publishing agency Balai Pustaka, formation and development process and policies issued to control the Colonial Government's image.

Many studies have been conducted on the policies of publisher Balai Pustaka by researchers such as Teeuw (1972), Jedamski (1992), Fitzpatrick (2000), and Yuliati (2018). Teeuw (1972) reveals the importance of Balai Pustaka for the development of Indonesian modern literature. Teeuw also states that the birth of Indonesian modern literature was initiated by Balai Pustaka. Furthermore, Jedamski (1992) emphasizes the function of Balai Pustaka of not only as a publishing agency, but also as the agency of the government power hegemony. Fitzpatrick (2000) also attempts to show that Balai Pustaka, under disguise of developing literature in the Dutch East Indies, manipulated and disrupted the development of local literature for the government's sake by promoting Western values and maintaining the Dutch power. Meanwhile, in the context of press policy, Yuliati (2018) also discusses the Dutch Colonial Government's press regulations which were used as reference to formulate the publishing and control policies. Based on the existing study, the literary publishing and control policies during the colonial era and its application have not been discussed much specifically with regard to its institutional profile and social-political control function.

Before further discussion on Balai Pustaka's policies in the Dutch East Indies, it is necessary to understand the concepts of colonialism and policy. Loomba (2016, p. 3) defines colonialism as a conquest of a territory belonging to other nation. Colonial conquests of its colony develop further in some aspects to obtain full control. Colonialism is not only intended only to be territorial control, but also control over its territory along with anything therein. According to Gramsci, every social group coming to an area influences the economic system, and at the same time emerges a class of intellectuals giving knowledge. The knowledge given is not only regarding economy, but also politics, social and culture (Wahid, 2011, p. 170). Based on this explanation, colonialism is complete territorial control over the aspects therein, including economic, political and social-cultural aspects. During the Dutch colonial era, The Commission for People's Reading was formed from the restlessness of the development of wild reading and movements in the Dutch East Indies, especially after the emergence of the Ethical Policy. Therefore, the Commission for People's Reading, which was later changed into Balai Pustaka, had certain policies to participate in maintaining the colonial stability.

Besides preserving the colonialism, policies were also made. Aminullah in Anggara (2018, p. 37) states that policy is an effort or act to influence the system of achieving the desired objective. Therefore, the policies applied by Balai Pustaka were used to achieve the objective of preserving the colonial practice in the Dutch East Indies. Policy is made based on the sequence of script publishing process, namely preproduction, production, and postproduction policies.

Method

This research employed historical methods, from heuristic process, source criticism, and interpretation to historiography. This research on Balai Pustaka's policies used sources of digital and non-digital forms in the form of law (*staatsblad*) stored in the National Archives of Republic of Indonesia (ANRI), National Library of Republic of Indonesia, and digital platform. Furthermore, the researcher also used sources of newspapers and magazines containing publication on Balai Pustaka, including *Doenia Bergerak*, *Mingguan Pelita*, *Het Nieuws van Den Dag*, *De Preanger-Bode*, and *Panji Poestaka* magazine obtained from *Delpher Krantern* (<https://www.delpher.nl>), Literature Documentation Center H.B. Jassin, National Library, and Archive of PT Balai Pustaka as well as publications by Balai Pustaka. This research also used information from formulators of Balai Pustaka's policies contained in related literatures. Some of the resources were then criticized internally, interpreted and analyzed using political and cultural approaches. The results of interpretation and analysis were then arranged into a historiographical work using prevailing principles.

Colonialism in the Dutch East Indies

Colonialism in the Dutch East Indies did not only influence strategic sectors such as economy and politics, but also cultural and intellectual sectors. Literature, which is part of culture and intellectual, also draw the government's attention, since literature greatly influenced awareness of colonialism, especially for those educated. Some of the literatures included *Max Havelaar*, *Nyai Dasima*, *Het Leven in Nederlands-Indie*, continues story in press media, *Medan Prijaji* and others. This development could not be separated from the print culture in the Dutch East Indies.

Printing press first emerged in 1668. Meanwhile, newspaper emerged first in the Dutch East Indies one or two centuries later, namely *Batavia Nouvelles* (Habib F, 2017). Afterwards, many newspapers and publishers emerged in the Dutch East Indies. The Dutch Colonial Government's publisher emerging in the 19th century was *Landsdrukkerij*. In addition, there were also printing company belonging to missionary, printing company belonging to Indo-European private sectors, and printing company belonging to native Indonesians. In fact, however, the print culture had not completely reached every line of the native Indonesians since few people were literate. Later, entering the 20th century, especially after the Ethical Policy, many native Indonesian and private publishers developed in the Dutch East Indies, since the native Indonesian intellectuals kept appearing during the Ethical Policy period (Moriyama, 2015, p. 113). The Ethical Policy indirectly made the native Indonesian modern group more active in reading and writing cultures.

The Ethical Policy was officially constituted in September 1901 in Queen Wilhelmina's speech on the 17th date in the Netherlands on the attempts to deal with the declining prosperity of the native Indonesians. In addition, the Ethical Policy also encouraged education, producing professionals, including journalists who increasingly distributed the anticolonial spirit (van Niel, 1984, pp.11-12). Observing The Policies of Balai Pustaka as the Dutch Colonial Government's Publishing Agency in 1917-1942

the phenomena, the Dutch Colonial Government worried that the occurrence in India would also occur in the Dutch East Indies Land. As commonly known, the United Kingdom was overwhelmed by the freedom fighters' demand in India whose nationalism was awoken after receiving Western education given by the British government (Rosidi, 2013, p.24). Habib F. (2017) explained that in the early 20th century printing agencies started to massively emerge, such as *Bintang Hindia*, established from 1903-1907, and *Medan Prijaji*, established from 1907-1912. With the press development in the Dutch East Indies, the Dutch Colonial Government created press related regulations. The regulations were expected to reduce the development of readings which opposed or may endanger the colonial stability in the Dutch East Indies. Furthermore, the regulations caused cases of press criminal act to be sued against some of the native Indonesians who wrote the people's social conditions or protests, such as Tirto Adhi Soerjo and Mas Marco Kartodikromo. In general, they were also influenced by the publication style of Western and Eastern socialists and liberalists.

In line with press development, emerged rules on press in the Dutch East Indies for the first time in 1856 through *Staatsblad* No. 74, containing articles aiming at restricting press freedom ("Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indie 1856, No. 74"). In response to the protests through newspapers by Dutch socialists and liberalists against the rules, new rule was stipulated in 1906 in the form of *Staatsblad* No.270. Furthermore, it was known that the articles in *Staatsblad* No.270 still restrained press freedom ("Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indie 1906, No. 270"). Yuliati (2018) explains that later the Dutch Colonial Government made new more repressive rules in the form of *Staatsblad* No. 206 with serious threat, referred to as *Hanzai Artikelen* (Articles on Instilling Seeds of Hatred). Meanwhile, with *Hanzai Artikelen* still effective until 1918, the government even added new rules, *Strafwetboek*, containing rules on fine and imprisonment for press violation. Besides rules on press to suppress distribution of readings which might worry the colonial government, the Dutch Colonial Government further formed a commission serving to review readings distributed in the Dutch East Indies, referred to as *Commissie Voor de Volkslectuur*.

Formation and Development of the Publishing Agency Balai Pustaka

The Commission for People's Reading was the origin of Balai Pustaka, established in 1908. The commission was under the command of *Adviseur voor Inlandsche Zaken* (Bureau of Advisor for Native Indonesian Affairs), part of *Departemen van Onderwijs en Eredients* (Department of Teaching and Worship) (Swantoro, 2002). The members enlisted in the commissions were G.A.J. Hazeu (Advisor of Native Indonesian Affairs) as the leader, G.J.F. Biegman (Inspector of Education), D.van Hinloopen Labbertn (Lecturer of Javanese Language, Batavia), Ph. S. van Ronkel (Lecturer of Malay Language), and H.C.H Bie (Vice Inspector of Agriculture) (Jedamski, 1992). Jedamski (1997) explains that this agency served to investigate scripts distributing in the Dutch East Indies. In the first two years of establishment, the Commission for People's Reading only served to collect scripts deemed inappropriate for publishing. Later in 1910 after assignment of Rinkes as secretary, the commission advanced rapidly. The

commission started to recruit a number of experts of Javanese and Sundanese Languages to translate many foreign works into the two local languages (Jedamski, 1997, p.10). In 1911 Rinkes was assigned as *Taalambtenaar Adjunct-Adviseur* (Vice Official Language Advisor) in native Indonesian case, which at that time was led by Dr. Hazeu as *Directeur Onderwijs en Eredienst*. Then, Rinkes replaced Hazeu as *Adviseur voor Inlandesche Zaken* (1912) (“Balai Poestaka”, 1927, p. 343).

In 1917, the Commission for People’s Reading was renamed Balai Pustaka. Balai Pustaka kept spreading its wings by expanding the distribution and making new business lines such as *Panji Poestaka*, *Sri Poestaka*, and *Volksmanak* magazines. In addition, Balai Pustaka also implemented new, sensor function over readings received by publisher of Balai Pustaka or publishers other than Balai Pustaka. This can be observed from the new policies stipulated by Balai Pustaka.

At this time, Balai Pustaka was also more political, as proven with the sensor function it performed over the scripts of reading it produced.

Hasil pengadjaran itoe boleh djoega mendatangkan bahaja, kalaoe orang jang telah tahoe membatja itu mendapat kitab2 batjaan jang berbahaja dari saoeadagar kita jang koerang soetji dan dari orang2 jang bermaksoed hendak mengatjaoe. Oleh sebab itu ber-sama2 dengan pengajaran itoe maka haroeslah diadakan kitab2 batjaan jang memenoehi kegemaran orang kepada pematja tertib doenia sekarang. Dalam oesahanja itu haroes didjaoehkan segala jang dapat merosakkan kekoesaan pemerintah dan ketentruman negeri (Harahab, 1997, p. 19). [Education may lead to harm, if the literate people obtain harmful reading book from publisher that is unholy and has the purpose of disrupt the situation. Therefore, along with education, books that are fulfilling current readers’ interest must be made. In this effort, reading must be kept away from anything which may damage the government’s power and the national peace].

The statement was written by D.A. Rinkes in the commemoration of 25 years of Queen Wilhelmina reigning in 1923. The statement was the basic principle that D.A. Rinkes base on in performance of his tasks in Balai Pustaka. From the statement, it is obvious that Rinkes had political mission in operating Balai Pustaka. Rinkes’s perspective could not be separated from his background.

Based on his background, D.A. Rinkes (as pictured in Figure 1) had a tropical agriculturalist education, and continued his study on language and literature. He was an Islamologist, that besides having Islamic knowledge, he also knew the character of Javanese Muslim people. With his education and knowledge, he successfully advanced Balai Pustaka, that in 1930 he was called the “Father of Balai Pusaka”. During Rinkes leadership, Balai Pustaka had a rapid and repressive advancement against the development of literatures beyond Balai Pustaka.

During Rinkes leadership, the main mission successfully developed by Balai Pustaka was the development of the national language and culture of the Dutch East Indies as desired by the Dutch Colonial Government. Therefore, under Rinkes leadership, Balai Pustaka developed strategic sectors such as organization management, business, and politics. He created some programs to promote Balai Pustaka advancement. The programs made by Rinkes focused on reading distribution.

The programs were establishment of libraries, sales agents, and advertisement agents. In addition, there were programs used for control function. In 1926 Rinke decided to retire and his position was taken over by Lekkerkerker in March 1927. Lekkerkerker had no concentration on cultural sector like Rinke. However, he adopted Rinke's idea in operating Balai Pustaka. He divided Balai Pustaka into two, namely linguistics and administration.



Figure 1 DA Rinke.

(Book *80 Tahun Balai Pustaka Menjelajah Nusantara* [80 Years of Balai Pustaka Exploring the Archipelago], p. 17)

On 23 December 1929 Lekkerkerker suddenly died and his position was taken over by Drewes. Drewes had good academic career and was a doctor of orientalism. In the last few years under the Colonial Government, Drewes took the position of the chairman of Balai Pustaka for five years and was finally assigned as a professor at the Faculty of Law in 1935. During his leadership, Drewes encourage marginalization of scripts published by other than Balai Pustaka, as proven with an article published in *De Gids* magazine in 1932 on the contemporary development of literature.

It will be difficult to underestimate the government's important role in controlling the development of good taste of literature in this transitional period. There is clear danger for those who seek for something that they expect very much, but end up with bad reading with doubtful quality. Less accurate publishers successfully make use of this tendency of realism (because of desiring better term) and with the cheap products produced by *Volkslectuur* are able to give beneficial influence. That has successfully pushed back expensive literature (trash literature) sold by Chinese publishers (Maier, 1991, p. 79).

In the article, it is obvious that Drewes started to show that Balai Pustaka' authority in dominating the literature in the Dutch East Indies was relatively successful. He also

started to discredit Chinese people's role in the development of literature in the Dutch East Indies in general. Drewes indirectly stated that Chinese literature had immoral, sensual, and harmful content according to the Dutch standards. The reason is that the scripts old by Chinese literature show their identity more in the Dutch East Indies. A year after Drewes issued unreasonable disqualification of Chinese Malay Literature, Pujangga Baru emerged. Majority of the founders of Pujangga Baru had Dutch education and were employees of Balai Pustaka. Therefore, Pujangga Baru also adopted the language used by Balai Pustaka more and also discredited Chinese Malay Language. After 1935 Drewes resigned and was replaced by JF Vos.

J.F. Vos had serious illness and thus retired later. The next leadership was handed over to K.A.H. Hidding. He had the same principle as Rinke of strengthening the knowledge of colonial power structure (Jedamski, 1992, pp. 31-32). The said knowledge was not only traditional culture, but also modern culture. Hidding once said:

Stimulating the cultural development of the native Indonesians and advancing their education do not only involve new findings, but is also also made by maintaining anything bearing meaning to their culture and when giving new breath therein. Culture is not something isolated; every cultural case is bound to the past and future. In this context, the institution Balai Pustaka works to collect and reprint old literatures, which are the cultural heritage and will remain real for certain environment. Only by keeping relationship with the past can we expect something in the future (Farid, 1991).

This statement is the evidence that Balai Pustaka has cultural politics by publishing good scriptures which are not detrimental to the government. Later, in the period 1933-1942 Balai Pustaka showed a significant change, especially from the perspective of the native Indonesians' interest. Employees of Balai Pustaka also formed saving and loan cooperative, bank of Balai Poestaka, and other activities which might strengthen relationship between employees ("Bank Balai Poestaka", 1937). In addition, they also opened new lines in the form of *Sri Poestaka* and *Panji Poestaka* magazines.

Balai Pustaka's Policies

Balai Pustaka as a government agency aimed at maintaining colonial stability. Therefore, policies arose to support that function. By publishing process, Balai Pustaka's policies are divided into three, namely preproduction, production, and post production policies that will be discussed further below.

Preproduction Policy

The preproduction policy defined by Balai Pustaka started from employee selection to scrip selection process. Balai Pustaka employees (Figure 2) were initially dominated by European people, and the number of native Indonesians increased later. The reason was that native Indonesian employees were paid cheap. Native Indonesian employees were specially deployed in translation and press divisions. Balai Pustaka had strict rules regarding language mastery for its employees. The said language mastery was

not only Dutch Language, but also Malay Language, English, and local languages thoroughly. The rules of becoming employee of Balai Pustaka specifically for editor of Balai Pustaka included: proficient in Malay, Dutch and English languages; graduate of *Hogere Burgerschool* (HBS) of five year or *Algemene Middelbare School* (AMS), able to work independently, and having working experience; and having journalistic knowledge (*Panji Poestaka*, 7 Juli 1929). These rules imply that language mastery is important in order to understand various texts inspected and published by Balai Pustaka. In addition, only graduates of Dutch schools were accepted. This was also related to the language politics that would be applied in Balai Pustaka's publications. The said language politics means the use of High Malay Language as the main language of publishing. The reason was that High Malay Language might reduce the use of rude, lewd, vulgar, and straightforward words, which might be triggered the spirit of opposition and nationalism which were many found in wild reading scripts in Low Malay Language. The examples may be found in Chinese descent literature or native Indonesian literature.



Figure 2. Employees of Balai Pustaka in Batavia in 1925.
(Collection of KITLV No. 116893)

In addition to employee acceptance policy, Balai Pustaka also created script acceptance policy. The policy was formulated by Rinkes in the form of *Nota Rinkes*. *Nota Rinkes* was the policy made by Rinkes to regulate script acceptance by Balai Pustaka. *Nota Rinkes* consisted of three points of script acceptance, namely: (1) publication cannot contain political element; (2) it must shape character and lead to intelligence; (3) it must be religiously neutral (Mahayana 2010).

Nota Rinkes was used to restrict author's ideas and notions so as not to create narrations which might worry the Dutch Colonial Government. Authors with high idealism preferred publishing their works with private publishers. However, certain

authors preferred publishing their works with Balai Pustaka. They had certain price of having their scripts published by Balai Pustaka. The reason was that Balai Pustaka had distribution network and market, thus there was an assumption that when their works were published by Balai Pustaka, they would have more readers. In addition, Balai Pustaka offered relatively high royalty to authors compared to private publishers. The royalty offered was about 250 gulden. The value was tempting even if after entering the publisher, the script would likely to be edited by Balai Pustaka (*Balai Pustaka*, 1992, p. 22). This rule was also used to select script entering into Balai Pustaka. Because of such policy, some scripts were rejected by Balai Pustaka since they did not conform to the standard policy.

Rejection of script by Balai Pustaka was once experienced by Soewarsih Djojopoespito with a work entitled *Manusia Bebas*. Many assumed that this novel was not accepted by Balai Pustaka since it used Sundanese Language. Observed further, however, this novel contained nationalism with desire to escape colonial confinement. Finally, this novel was published in the Netherlands with assistance of Du Peron who both opposed colonialism with title in Dutch language, *Buiten het Gaeel* (Djojopoespito, 1946). Besides giving support, Du Peron also wrote a preface on this publication (Sadim, 2018). This showed that the script selection process by Balai Pustaka was adjusted to Balai Pustaka's objective of preserving the Dutch Colonial Government's power, while scripts which did not conform to the policy would not be accepted.

Rinkes did not only designate *Nota Rinkes* to restrict the movement of the native Indonesians, he was getting more famous after searching for and suing some of SI members. This was because SI's movements were deemed overly frontally attacking the government through press media or their publisher. Therefore, some SI members were convicted *persdelict*, just like what was experienced by Mas Marco Kartodikromo and others.

Production Policy

The policy of production stage created by Balai Pustaka was script editing. Its intention was that the scripts published conformed to the moral standard and did not contain any opposing elements and degrade the image of the Dutch Colonial Government and Dutch and Indo people. The realization of the rule can be observed from the statement of an author who sent his/her script to Balai Pustaka as follows.

Meskipun bahasanja (kalimat and kata-kata) boekoe itu ada bagoes tetapi berapa %kah dari kebagoesan itoe hak pengarang, berapa % poela hak pegawai Balai Poestaka dari pangkat jang rendah sampai jang tinggi jang memperbaikinya? Diseboet demikian karena memang ada boekoe B.P. jang 90% dari isinja ialah boeah tangan si pemperbaiki. Nah orang jang membatja timbangan ini tentoe akan menjaga bahasa boekoe. Kalau ta' oentoeng paling koerang 89% boekan hak pengarangnya. ("Kaoem Iboe Dalam Mengarang", 1937). [Although some of the book's language (sentences and words) of are good, but how many % of correction is the author's right, and how many % is the right of Balai Pustaka employees, from low to high positions who corrected it? it is so since there are indeed books of Balai Pustaka whose 90% of

the content is the result of editing. Well, those reading this consideration will certainly maintain a book's language. In case of out of luck, at least 89% is not the author's right.]

From the statement, we may observe that Balai Pustaka did not only edit language, but also content. Besides the author, this matter was also stated by Nur St. Iskandar who was an editor of Balai Pustaka.

Djangan kata mengubah djalan Bahasa itu, agak mirip kepada bahasa Djawa and Sunda umpamanja, hal itu lebih sulit lagi. Kepada direktur jang sengadja agak menjeleweng boleh dikenakan tjap: ongeschik! [sic!] Tidak tjakap! Ja, akan memakai kata bias sadja, yang berarti dapat dan kata bikin jang bermakna perbuat, bukanlah perkara jang mudah. Apalagi kata-kata jang dipandang Belanda berbau politik, seperti kata Indonesia, adalah tabu (pantangan) bagi mereka (Farid, 2018). [Not to mention changing the way of Language, just slightly similar to Javanese or Sundanese language, for example, it will be more difficult. To director who intentionally deviates will be marked: *ongeschik! [sic!]* Incompetent! Yes, will use bias words instead, which means it is okay and words, make them having meaning of what is done, is not something easy. Moreover, words which the Dutch people deem political related, such as the word Indonesia, is taboo (prohibition) for them.]

She revealed that editing was important not only regarding language, but also the content of the script. Balai Pustaka's publications must use language of high morality of Balai Pustaka version and could not contain any nationalist language. This shows that script editing policy is a political strategy conducted by Balai Pustaka. An example of script editing by Balai Pustaka can be observed in the novel *Salah Asoehan* by Abdoel Moeis (Moeis, 2009). Not only the script's language, its content was also changed by Balai Pustaka. In the original script, a Dutch female character, Corrie, was described to be extravagant. Besides becoming Hanafi's wife, she also cheated with other man. Then, Hanafi felt he could not stand it, leading to their divorce. Corrie fell into obscenity and sold herself to pay her debt to an Arab and had a regular of ship captain and became common prostitute (Mahayana, 1994). However, the script edited and published by Balai Pustaka told a good image of Corrie, in which she was a good woman, and died because of cholera in her service in Semarang. In the publication by Balai Pustaka, the story of "Batavia Doctor" was also removed (Moeis, 2009).

The strict control applied by Balai Pustaka caused emergence of some private publishers. Balai Pustaka called the result of production of the private publishers as Wild Readings. Most of Wild Readings had content contradictory to Balai Pustaka's political view and language principle and other rules applied by Balai Pustaka. The government opposing readings were mostly socialist realism, such as the verse *Sama Rata dan Sama Rasa* and *Hikayat Kadiroen* by Semaoen.

Most of narrations built by the literary works published by Balai Pustaka contained customs. Generally, the main characters in the works were Dutch people or government officials who were familiar with Dutch Education. In the narrations, Dutch people were the protagonists with good character, were forgiving and so on. Meanwhile, in the narrations built by Wild Readings, Dutch people were commonly

depicted as those who love to get drunk, gambling, polygamy, and others, thus Balai Pustaka's sensor function were focused more on the effort to show that Western people were the representation of colonial culture with good image and high morality, by making counter discourse against the wild reading narrations.

Postproduction Policy

After production process is done, the next policy conducted by Balai Pustaka in the postproduction stage was expanding the distribution of the books by establishing libraries, using sales agents, and using advertisement agents. When it was still the Commission for People's Reading, as the means of book distribution, Rinkes asked the government to open libraries. The government granted the request with decision to establish Taman Pustaka on 13 October 1910. Based on the decision, some Taman Pustaka were built in Java, Sunda, and Malay. The libraries were specifically for the native Indonesians (Harahab et al., 1977). Besides libraries for the native Indonesians, the government also built libraries for Dutch people at 170 locations.

On 1912 there were 700 locations of Taman Pustaka, which were distributed only in Java and Sunda. After the commission changed to Balai Pustaka in 1917, 75 Taman Pustaka were opened in Madura, and in 1918, 371 Taman Pustaka were established in Sumatera (Harahab et al., 1977, p.11). Taman Pustaka were located in villages and schools. Taman Pustaka were made available by Balai Pustaka. From 1916 and henceforward, in *Holandsch Inlandsche Scholen* Taman Pustaka was provided with readings in Dutch language issued by Balai Pustaka. In addition, there were also readings in Malay, Javanese and Sudnanese languages. Jedamski (1992, p.27) also explained that the development and arrangement of Taman Pustaka were conducted by schools.

The books produced by Balai Pustaka were also distributed using sales agents. Balai Pustaka had 10 sales agents in 1917 and 58 agents in in 1925 including five European and four Chinese people. In that year, cars were operating to sell books in Sumatra, Sulawesi, and Kalimantan (Balai Pustaka, 1948). The book distribution could not be separated from the low price offered by Balai Pustaka, thanks to the subsidy from the government and Balai Pustaka having its own printing press and paper bought in a large number ("Balai Poestaka", 1927, p. 342). In 1930 Balai Pustaka expanded its distribution overseas. This was realized since as the government's organ, Balai Pustaka was not subject to tax and other regulations.

In addition, Balai Pustaka also sued some authors who opposed the government, like what Rinkes did to Marco Kartodikromo. Sarotomo's newspaper on 10 November No.142 contained Mas Marco's publications which was deemed wrong and as an opposition against the colonial government, thus Haji Samanhoedi as SI leader received a letter from D.A. Rinkes which was released in *Doenia Bergerak* newspaper entitled "Marco Pro of Contra Dr. Rinkes!?" The letter written by Rinkes showed the mistake written by Marco Kartodikromo regarding *Welvaart Commissie* (W.C.), that those made W.C. were people of Dutch nationality with no proficient knowledge of Java land. Rinkes also mentioned that Marco Kartodikromo blamed the Native

Indonesians trusted by *Gouvernement*, and the Native Indonesians were deemed as blood sucker (Kartodikromo, 1914, pp. 2-8). The publications of socialist realism which promoted justice and equality were deemed harmful to the European capitalists.

Conclusions

Based on the result of discussion above, we may conclude that the Dutch Colonial Government needed Balai Pustaka with its function to maintain the stability of intellectuals' politics in the Dutch East Indies. Therefore, Balai Pustaka as a publishing agency also had policies to operate that function. The policies made by Balai Pustaka and its implementation were 1) preproduction policy, script acceptance rules as contained in *Nota Rinkes* and the policy of employee selection with Balai Pustaka's standard, the policy implementation can be observed from the script selection process and rejection of some scripts sent to Balai Pustaka, 2) production policy, that is the editing policy. The editing made by Balai Pustaka did not only cover Language editing, but also content editing. This can be observed in the Novel *Salah Asoehan* in which the character Corrie was changed to one with high morality as Western representation, 3) postproduction policy, in the form of distribution policy. To widen Western moral values, Balai Pustaka extend the book distribution network, both using agent and schools.

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