

The Experience of the European Community in the Malang Internment Camps from the Japanese Occupation Transition to the Bersiap Period, 1942–1946

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Abstract: This study highlights the plight experienced by the European community in the city of Malang during the Japanese military occupation, a topic that rarely received attention in the historiography of the Japanese occupation period, especially regarding the internment camps used to hold prisoners of war as well as European civilians. This article focuses on three main topics: (1) the condition of the internment camp in Malang City, (2) the daily life of the European community in the camp, and (3) the end of the internment camp. This research uses a variety of primary and secondary sources, including newspapers, illustrations, interviews, and memoirs from the victims. The results of this study show that at the beginning of the establishment of internment camps in Malang City, the health and comfort of European civilians were relatively good. However, the situation deteriorated significantly from the beginning of 1943 to 1945 caused by a lack of stock of groceries for the prisoners. The situation is also exacerbated by poor sanitation, limited space to rest and the prohibition of the use of electricity and lighting.

Keywords: internment camps; Japanese occupation; Malang

Abstrak: Studi ini menyoroti penderitaan yang dialami oleh komunitas Eropa di Kota Malang selama masa pendudukan militer Jepang, sebuah topik yang jarang mendapat perhatian dalam historiografi masa pendudukan Jepang, khususnya terkait kamp interniran yang digunakan untuk menahan tawanan perang maupun warga sipil Eropa. Artikel ini berfokus pada tiga topik utama: (1) kondisi kamp interniran di Kota Malang, (2) kehidupan sehari-hari komunitas Eropa di dalam kamp, dan (3) akhir keberadaan kamp interniran tersebut. Penelitian ini menggunakan berbagai sumber primer dan sekunder, termasuk surat kabar, ilustrasi, wawancara, dan memoar dari para korban. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pada awal pendirian kamp interniran di Kota Malang, kondisi kesehatan dan kenyamanan warga sipil Eropa relatif baik. Namun, situasi memburuk secara signifikan antara awal tahun 1943 hingga 1945 akibat kurangnya pasokan bahan makanan bagi para tahanan. Situasi tersebut juga diperparah oleh sanitasi yang buruk, keterbatasan ruang untuk beristirahat, serta larangan penggunaan listrik dan penerangan.

Kata Kunci: kamp interniran; Malang; pendudukan Jepang



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Introduction

The Japanese occupation period (1942–1945) also influenced the development of historiography in Indonesia, shifting the focus from a Eurocentric perspective (colonial historiography) to an Indonesiacentric one (national historiography). This is because during the Japanese occupation, academics including Dutch historians were arrested and interned in

concentration camps (Margana et al., 2017). In addition, the Japanese empire also removed Dutch and European history from subjects in schools and replaced it with Asian history, especially Japan and Indonesia (Utami et al., 2024). Some of these policies also contributed to the collapse of the dominance of historical writing which was previously dominated by Dutch academics and historians. These changes are one of the factors that affect the emergence of historical writing that makes the Indonesian nation the main subject in building a sense of nationalism and the spirit of resistance.¹

Apart from the Japanese occupation, discussions related to the Bersiap period are still generally dominated by the narrative of the national struggle that places guerrilla soldiers, struggle soldiers, and sympathizers as the main subjects in writing post-independence historiography. Historiographical narrative *military-centric* during the bersiap period and the Indonesian Revolution can be found in several historians' writings such as the results of research from Anthony Reid (1974), Oostindie et al. (2016), Sapto (2019) and Poeze & Nordholt (2023) which lacks micro-histories such as the experiences of individuals as well as certain civilian groups such as the conditions of European interstate prisoners after Japan's defeat in World War II. Therefore, there is a need for a study of the experiences of community groups as part of the history of the Indonesian Revolution, without reducing the significance of the narrative of the national struggle.

Based on personal communication with Professor Nordholt (2026), former head of research at KITLV and Professor Emeritus of Indonesian History at KITLV, Leiden University, historiographic narratives in the Netherlands during the Japanese occupation period tend to place European society as the main subject in its own history, and ignore the suffering of the Indonesian people due to hunger and forced labor. Meanwhile, historiography in Indonesia emphasizes more on the condition of Indonesian community during the Japanese occupation, and rarely highlights the lives of Europeans while detained in concentration camps. This difference in emphasis shows the need for a new perspective that is more balanced, especially through a microhistorical study of the experience of European interdependence in the period of Japanese occupation until the beginning of the Indonesian Revolution.

In 2016, three Dutch research institutes consisting of KITLV (Netherlands Working Institute for Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies), NIMH (Netherlands Institute for Military History), and NIOD (Netherlands Institute for the Study of War, Holocaust, and Genocide) conducted a study focusing on Dutch military violence in Indonesia in 1945-1950. The combination of the three institutions is named the ODGOI Team (*Onafhankelijkheid, Dekolonisatie, Geweld en Oorlog in Indië*) or Independence, Decolonization, Violence and War in Indonesia 1945-1950. The research has resulted in 12 book publications published by Amsterdam University Press since 2022, in the collection of books explaining various in-depth aspects such as political-historical studies, military studies, revolutionary dynamics, and diplomacy from the Indonesian and Dutch sides. One of the books from this entire project is titled "*Over de grens: Nederlands extreem geweld in de Indonesische onafhankelijkheidsoorlog, 1945-1949*" (Oostindie et al., 2022).² However, in the study, it does not explain the description of the experience of the internment group who were still in the Japanese concentration camp, the historical narrative highlights more about the horizontal conflict between the guerrillas and the Indonesian struggle troops who faced the allied forces.

¹ The beginning of Indonesian history writing was marked by the holding of the National History Seminar (SSN I) which was held in Yogyakarta on December 14-18, 1957. Read (Kartodirdjo, 1982)

² The book has also been published by the Indonesian Torch Library Foundation in an Indonesian translation entitled 'Passing the Limit: Dutch Extreme Violence in the Indonesian War of Independence, 1945-1949' (ODGOI Writing Team, 2023)

So far, there has not been much research related to the history of internment camps in Indonesia. Some research on internment camps that has been carried out, for example, research Nunus Supardi (2024) which collaborates with the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Indonesia. The study mentioned all internment camps in Indonesia, including several internment camps in Malang, but the study did not explain in detail what the daily life of the interns in the camp was. In addition, Gebhart (2025) examined the lives of European internees in a thesis titled "The Japanese internment camps in the Dutch-Indies, a question of racism?" In that study, Gebhart outlined the general conditions faced by internees in concentration camps across Indonesia; however, the research did not address the specific situation of European internees in the city of Malang. Further research was written by Candrajati (2025) which discusses the structural violence of European society in Malang City in 1942-1945. In the study, it explains a little about the violence experienced by European people when they were held captive in internment camps during the Japanese occupation. However, the study does not explain how the end of the internment camp in Malang was, including the evacuation process during the preparation period.

This research focuses on three problem formulations which include; how the conditions of the internment camp at the beginning of the Japanese occupation period in Malang City, what were the daily living conditions of the interns while in the concentration camp, and how the end of the internment camp in Malang in the post-independence period. This research seeks to fill the gap in Indonesian historiography because the history of internment camps in Malang has not been studied in depth. In addition, this study traces the fate of Europeans, especially the Dutch, and the Indo after the surrender of Japan, which is still rarely discussed. The results of the research are expected to enrich historiography as well as contribute to Indonesian history education by presenting narratives that have not been found in many history textbooks.

Research Methods

The limited primary sources of contemporaneous during the Japanese occupation is one of the obstacles experienced by the researcher in compiling this study, this is due to the strict control carried out by the *Sendenbu* (propaganda department), which is in charge of supervising, controlling and determining information circulated in the public (Kurasawa, 2015). The Japanese government also banned the distribution of Dutch-language newspapers altogether, many printing presses were confiscated and journalists lost their jobs (Permadi, 2015). The only newspaper ever published in Malang is *Malang Shuu*, a newspaper located in Surabaya and has a branch office on Kawi street (Hudiyanto, 2007). Meanwhile, in the Netherlands itself the situation of the press and newspapers was no better than that which occurred in their colonies. During the German occupation of the Netherlands (May 1940-1945), Germany had full control over the distribution of newspapers and information media owned by the Dutch government. Freedom of the press was abolished, and taken over by the DNB (*Deutsche Nachrichten Buro*) and the German military high command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*) (National Library, 2026). However, this does not prevent researchers from collecting primary and secondary historical sources in the midst of the limitations they face.

The sources used in this study were dominated by the memoirs of the victims, interviews with historical witnesses as well as news from international media such as newspapers from the UK and Australia. The use of sources in the form of notebooks, biographies and illustrated sketches published by the Catholic Church after World War II was very helpful in compiling a narrative about the daily life of the prisoners while in the camp. In addition, the researcher also uses secondary sources such as a thesis from Leiden University written by Gebhardt (2025), a book about internment camps during the Japanese occupation written by Supardi (2024) in

collaboration with the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Indonesia, and a thesis from Rafienza (2024) Gadjah Mada University. The next step is the verification stage of historical sources, verification is divided into two types; external and internal. Internal verification focuses on historical information and data contained in historical sources. The researcher seeks to use and compare various historical sources from several perspectives, both from the Japanese, European and Indonesian sides. Meanwhile, external verification focuses on the authenticity and credibility of the historical sources used. The researcher ensures that the sources used are tested and can be accounted for their validity.

After the historical source has gone through the verification stage, the next stage is the interpretation stage. In this stage, the researcher combines several historical facts that have gone through the process of criticizing historical sources. The researcher also tries to write the historical narrative as objectively as possible by combining various points of view from each historical source. The last stage in historical writing is the historiography or the arrangement of the entire historical narrative systematically, chronologically, and taking into account the causes and effects (causality) of one event with another. The researcher divided the results of the study into several sub-chapters of discussion; the conditions of European community in internment camps; the daily life of the prisoners; as well as the end of the internment camp in Malang.

Research Result

Japan assesses Malang *Shi*³ is one of the cities in East Java that has a lot of potential, especially in military infrastructure. This is because Malang has a strategic airfield in the Singosari area (currently in the administrative area) which can be used by the Japanese military for air monitoring activities in the East Java region well. In addition, Malang City also has a large military headquarters in Rampal and can be used by the 8th Division troops of the 16th Army as a military base (Schaik, 1996). Thus, after the official handover of the Malang Residency by Resident G. Schwencke to Major General Abe Koichi on March 9, 1942 (Hudiyanto, 2011). Japan immediately mobilized workers to build a 2,000-meter runway at the Singosari airfield.

In addition to being known as one of the central military cities in East Java, Malang is also known as an area that has a diverse population composition from both indigenous, European, Chinese and Foreign Eastern populations. One of the causes of the increase in the number of European populations in Malang is the increase in the birth rate and the decrease in the number of deaths (see table 1).

Table 1. Composition of the population based on class categories in Malang City in 1920-1938

Year	Total Population by Group Category			
	Indigenous	Europe	Chinese	Far East
1920	43.800	3.500	-	-
1925	64.000	5.400	-	-
1930	87.000	7.400	11.100	950
1935	94.000	10.700	-	-
1938	96.500	11.550	-	-

³ Before using the term *Shi* during the Japanese occupation, Malang was known as one of the Municipalities (*Gementee*) in East Java which was established on April 1, 1914, as stated in the *The Act on Decentralization of Administration in the Dutch East Indies* on July 23, 1903 and Staatsblaad No. 297 of 1914 concerning the decentralization of cities in the Dutch East Indies. Read (Hudiyanto, 2002) (Basundoro & Budiman, 2009), (Hudiyanto, 2020) and (Handinoto & Soehargo, 1996)

Source: Processed from 25 years of decentralization in the Dutch East Indies, 1930 & Boerstra, 1939

With a relatively large European population, Japan wanted to eliminate all European influence while separating the lives of Asian peoples from European nations (Supardi, 2024). The Japanese military government implemented several strict policies related to population in Malang, one of which was the separation between European residents and Bumiputra residents. This is marked by the construction of several internment places that function to monitor activities and limit the influence of Europeans (except from Germany) in Malang, some of the places that are used as internment places are the camp on Guntur street, the Marine Camp, Lowokwaru Prison and the former children's social institution in the square (Hudiyanto, 2009).



Figure 1. Distribution of Internment Camps in Malang City
Source: NEFIS/NIOD, Dutch East Indies Collection (1945)

However, citizens of Indo-European blood were allowed to live outside the internment camps on the condition that if they could prove that they had evidence of blood mixture with Indonesians, they would be categorized as half-pure blood (Schaik, 1996). To prove that these people are not classified as pure Dutch or half-pure Dutch and at least still have a mixture of blood with Indonesians, they use all means to survive. Some make photo portraits from tombstones in their ancestral graves which prove that they are not *toktok* (pure dutch blood) people, there are also some families who see family portraits that show that they still have Indonesian blood (Kwee et al., 2010, p. 162). Initially, European settlers were allowed to bring helpers (*Baboe* and *Jongos*) into the camp. In addition, civilian prisoners were also allowed to leave the camp to pick up valuables from their homes through several gates at the corner of Bromo Street, Guntur Street and Oro-oro Dowo. However, they were required to pick up a small board with the registration number from the guard room and were obliged to return it when they returned to the camp (see figure 2).



Figure 2. The camp number is made of cardboard and lined with white cotton with a pin at the top. The number 17311 is stamped on it with Japanese characters. The number belongs to Mrs. Henriette Dutry van Haften-Key.

Source: museon-omniversum.nl (1942-1945)

This is inseparable from the role of the Japanese Military Commander-in-Chief, Hitoshi Imamura, who prioritizes humanism, the spirit of Bushido and Zen Buddhism. However, in November 1942 Hitoshi Imamura⁴ was replaced by Kumakichi Harada, a hardline soldier (Van Reybrouck, 2024). Under the leadership of Kumakichi Harada, the camp turned into a nightmare, with the Japanese government implementing several strict policies against the prisoners inside the camp. This policy caused many prisoners to die due to various factors, such as illness, fatigue due to forced labor, and executions (Budiarto et al., 2021).

There are no official figures on the total number of prisoners of war and civilian prisoners put in internment camps. According to Ricklefs & Hardjowidjono (1998) The total number of prisoners was about 170,000, 65,000 of whom were Dutch soldiers, 25,000 were other Allied soldiers, and 80,000 were civilians (including 60,000 women and children). Conditions in the prisoner camps were very bad. Approximately 20% of Dutch military prisoners, 13% of female civilians, and 10% of children died. The highest number of deaths were in male civilian camps, with 40% dying. According to van Imhoff & Beets (2004) from the *Nederlands Interdisciplinair Demografisch Instituut* (NIDI) the number of Europeans detained was 294,000. That includes 42,000 prisoners of war, 80,000 civilian internees and 172,000 held in outdoor barracks. Meanwhile, according to Poeze & Nordholt (2023), the number of Dutch and allied prisoners of war was around 85,000 prisoners and 100,000 civilians.⁵

On March 9, 1942, the entire people of Malang witnessed the arrival of a line of Japanese soldiers who looked thin and dirty with military trucks passing through Lowokwaru, Celaket and Kayutangan with the main destination being the city hall (Denteneer., 1947). The arrival of the Japanese was received with a lively and enthusiastic welcome by the Indigenous people,

⁴ Although General Imamura had given orders not to kill and ill-treat civilians and prisoners of war, there were frequent cases of rape, murder and torture carried out by Japanese soldiers. Many prisoners of war were beheaded, killed with bayonet knives and even the most horrific of them, pounded with machine guns (de Jong, 1970)

⁵ Of the hundreds of thousands of Europeans who were detained, thousands of European civilians and soldiers were sent to be employed in the construction of a railway in Thailand that killed 15,000 people, and 2,500 died in the construction of a railway in Sumatra. In addition, about 13% of civilian prisoners and 20% of prisoners of war died of starvation and disease while in concentration camps. Read (Poeze & Nordholt, 2023).

they were allowed to raise the red and white flag and echo the song Indonesia Raya (Kahin et al., 2013).

In November 1942, the Japanese government began ordering European residents to leave their homes and move into internment camps. One of the largest and most famous camps is Wijkkamp⁶ which was used to house about 7,000 civilian prisoners. Due to the large number of Europeans, the Japanese government eventually expanded the camp south to Welirang street and north to Ringgit street (Supardi, 2024).

Internment camps are divided into 2 types, namely internment camps for civilian prisoners and internment camps for prisoners of war, in Malang City itself there are 8 civilian prison camps and 8 prisoner of war camps (Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, n.d.).

Table 2. Internment Camp in Malang City

No	Camp Name	Camp Types	Number of Prisoners	Location
1	10 th Battalion Depot	Prisoner of War Camp	4.300	Station Street, Northeast of the City (Now a rampal area)
2	13 th Battalion Depot	Prisoner of War Camp	2.000	Station Street, Northeast of the City (Now a rampal area)
3	8 th Battalion Depot	Prisoner of War Camp	6.300 (in 2 periods)	Station Street, Northeast of the City (Now a rampal area)
4	Neutrale Lagere School	Prisoner of War Camp	200	Emma Street (Now Dr. Sutomo Street)
5	Gouv. Muloschool	Prisoner of War Camp	200	Wilhelmina Street (Now it is Dr. Cipto Street)
6	Oude Gevangenis	Civilian Detention Camp	700	East of Malang City Square (Now Merdeka Mall)
7	Zendinghospitaal Soekoen	Prisoner of War Camp	500	Sukun (Now a Waluyo Orphanage)
8	Schools Keloetstraat	Prisoner of War Camp	1.500	Kelut Street (Now Kartini School)
9	Lowokwaroe Gevangenis	Civilian Detention Camp	623	Lowokwaru Street (Now Lowokwaru Prison)
10	Military Hospitaal	Prisoner of War Camp	100	Celaket (Now Saiful Anwar Hospital)
11	Naval Barracks	Civilian Detention Camp	1.000	Northwest of the city (Now LANAL)
12	Wijkkamp	Civilian Detention Camp	7.000	Bergenbuurt District (Mountain roads near Idjen road)
13	Juliana Stichting	Civilian Detention Camp	?	Sukun
14	Scholen Zuster Ursulinen	Civilian Detention Camp	?	Celaket (Now Cor Jesu School)
15	Sanatorium Batoe	Civilian Detention Camp	250	South of Batu City
16	Gemeenteelijke Indlandse Lagere School	Civilian Detention Camp	?	?

⁶ This area is known as the *Bergenbuurt* (mountain road), an elite residential area specifically aimed at European residents and employees of the municipality of Malang. Read (Ningtyas, 2010)

Source: Processed from (Supardi, 2024), (Kurniawan, 2002) and (Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, n.d.)

For food issues, Japan does not provide definite rules, for example; inside *Neighborhood camp*, the internees were allowed to raise animals for a source of animal protein, and on several occasions the prisoners also received several sacks of rice and packages from the international Red Cross containing cans of milk, coffee grounds, cheese and some clothes (Rahmadani, 2025). Meanwhile, the children who work in the Dampit and rubber plantation areas in Sumbergesing get a cup of coffee and boiled corn in the morning, a cup of rice mixed with corn and vegetables made from young jackfruit during the day and night (Schaik, 1996). Meanwhile, prisoners in the navy military barracks camp received food rations in the form of 100 grams of rice and 200 grams of corn from the central kitchen (Supardi, 2024). In the final phase of World War II (January-August 1945) the amount of food provided decreased significantly, which led to an increase in the number of deaths due to starvation. If the war had not ended in August 1945, it was estimated that all prisoners aged 50 and over would have starved to death, and for those aged 50 and under, half of them would also have starved to death (Harting, 2013).



Figure 3. Illustration sketch of the condition of the internees in the prison near Malang Square

Source: G.H. Prins' paintings, NIOD collection (1942)

Despite the shortage of food supplies and health services, Japan continued to employ prisoners of war very hard. Initially, prisoners were employed for general cleaning and repairs in and around the camp. However, at the end of 1942 (after the change of Japanese military commander), prisoners were ordered to work in more massive military construction fields such as mining and industrial areas. Male civilian prisoners were also required to work, albeit with lighter loads, while for women they were forced to become *Ianfu*⁷ (Gebhardt, 2025).

⁷ Female workers who were enslaved by Japanese forces and were obliged to serve the sexual needs of Japanese troops. Ianfu women are not only from Indigenous people, but also Chinese and Europeans. The issue of the sexual acts of Japanese soldiers was not only carried out during the Pacific war, after the Russo-Japanese war (1918-1922) almost a third of Japanese troops contracted syphilis and gonorrhea. Read (Yanti, 2022) and (Ars, 2000)

Conditions of Internment Camps in Malang

Japan imposed several strict regulations on prisoners in the camp, one of which was that they were required to *Seikerei* every time he met the Japanese soldiers, he was obliged to perform a morning ceremony facing east, and it was forbidden to turn on the lights at night. For perpetrators who violate these regulations, the Japanese army will give severe punishments according to the violations committed. A famous place of torture is a building on Semeru street (*Semeroestraat*), it was a place where prisoners were tortured by beatings, electrocutions, cigarette butts, hanging with their hands tied behind their backs, and most horrifyingly, executions (Schaik, 1996).

In addition, Japan also banned all learning activities that took place in the camp, but Europeans continued to carry out learning activities by going from one house to another secretly, they did learning without textbooks by using only bicycles (Stutterheim, 2013). The nuns also played a very important role in these difficult times, among the thousands of women and children there were sick housewives who were in dire need of help, as Javanese servants were not allowed to enter the district. Lots of young children running around who need to be kept busy; There are old men who are barely able to take care of themselves anymore; and in many families there is a severe shortage of clothing that must be filled. Therefore, the Ten Sisters of Our Lady were assigned to District Nursing. Every morning after Holy Mass, they set out with bags or baskets filled with work apron and wooden clogs, and visited families in need. After arriving at the indicated address, the apron is immediately put on and the shoes are replaced with clogs, and then the fun begins. Dirty clothes are taken and soaked. Meanwhile, the room that was already crowded was tidied up a little (Borromeo, 1948).

A different experience was felt by the prisoners inside the Navy military barracks camp. Based on church memoirs written by Marius (1947), inside the Navy military barracks had several important rooms such as a kitchen, bunk beds with tables and chairs, and a large hall used for Mass services (see figure 4). Although the prisoners felt that the place was not too bad, the treatment carried out by the prisoners, especially by Kempetai, became one of the toughest trials faced by the internees. One of the victims was Father Ten Kroode who did not do *Seikerei* because he did not hear when a Japanese soldier entered the camp, he had to receive punishment in the form of blows and kicks that resulted in Father Ten Kroode having to rest in bed for three days.

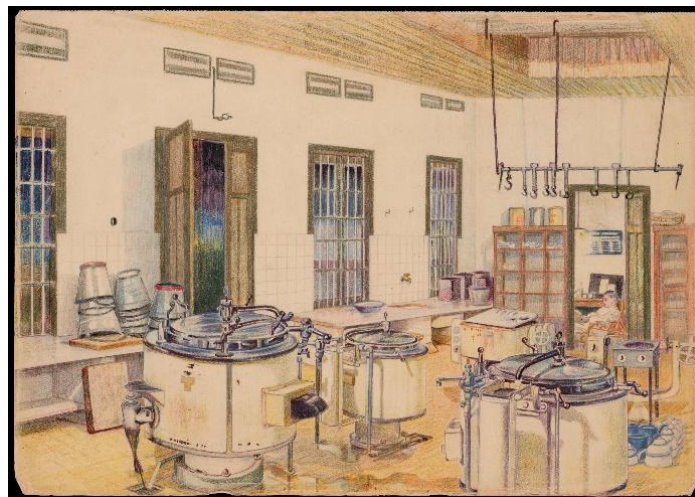


Figure 4. Sketch of the kitchen condition of the Marine camp in Malang City
Source: G.H. Prins paintings, NIOD collection (1943)

The daily life of Europeans in the camps

The historical sources related to the daily life of Europeans come from memoirs written after the end of World War II, as well as historical testimonies from the victims during their time in concentration camps. In a memoir written by Schmit (1947), before the missionaries were put into concentration camps, often several Japanese troops appeared in front of the church to spy on the worship process. Some Japanese troops could understand Dutch very well, this was because they had previously attended European schools, even in H.B.S., the troops saw, peeked and listened to every activity carried out in the church, so the Holy Mass activities had to be carried out without any prayer for the Queen (*Domine, salvam fac Reginam Nostram*).

During the Japanese occupation of Malang, the Japanese government ordered all monks/nuns from the Netherlands, Britain, France and other European countries (except Germany) to occupy concentration camps in their respective cities (Anggraini, 2025). Japan also ordered the closure of all existing European schools, as a result of which European schools such as HBS-AMS, MULO and *Sister school* closed from 18 March 1942 until waiting for orders from Japan⁸ (Ayu, 2021). Then on September 30, 1943 all the sisters from *Sister school* in Celaket had to separate and occupy Wijkkamp (Anggraini, 2025). In the camp, there are many sisters from various Orders in the East Java region, such as; Order of Santa Maria Magdalene Postel, the Congregation of the Sisters of the Child of Jesus and the Order of the Holy Cross. However, due to the increasing number of prisoners, each house in the camp could accommodate more than 15 people at a time, so the inmates had to sleep together on sacks on the floor of the house (Borromeo, 1948) (See figure 5).



Figure 5. A woman who was a prisoner of war lives in a house with 20 women and children during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia

Source: ANRI/*Netherlands Indie Government Information Service (NIGIS)* (1945)

According to one of the historical witnesses, namely Rusche (2013), in April 1942 the Japanese government implemented a new policy related to the collection of data on the population of European citizens. The policy requires every European citizen to pay for the registration of an identity card, while for the registration fee adjusted according to gender, for

⁸ Malang is famous as one of the student cities in the Dutch East Indies because it has many schools such as; Ursuline Sisters' School, Montessori School, Neutral School, Special School for the Chinese community, MULO SCHOOL, HBS-AMS (Anonymous, 1927)

women it is required to pay f. 80 and for men f. 150. The nominal was so large that some Europeans objected and proposed to negotiate the payment by submitting a letter of request to the Japanese government (See figure 6).

外国人居住登録料一時猶豫證

登録番號 (Nomor) 916479 國籍 (Bangsa) Belanda-Lotak

氏名年令 (Nama dan Oemmer) DUTRY VAN HAEFTEN, Louise, Frederique

現住所 (Alamat Sekarang) Djalan Soentoro No. 29, Malang.

職業 (Pekerjaan) Tidak bekerja.

一時猶豫理由 Raja tidak dapat membayar because pendanaan oleh karena raja tidak mempunyai penghasilan sendiri.

一時猶豫期限 Raja mohon mengundurkan tanggal 10 bulan 6 - 1944.

保證人 (Orang Sekai)

(1) 住所氏名年令 1. C.W. Voorbraak (42 th.) 9.10.11, Dj. Komo No. 2, Hlg.

(2) 住所氏名年令 2. J. Koster (48 th.) 1.10.02, "

昭和 18 年 5 月 21 日

大日本軍ニ對スル誠意ノ宣揚ヲナシ外國人居住登録ヲ
ナシタルコトヲ證明ス

Figure 6. One example of a payment waiver application letter belonging to Louise Frederique Dutry van Haeften

Source: museon-omniversum.nl (1944)

While inside the camp, Rusche witnessed his mother secretly exchanging goods with the natives. His mother, Nancy Burgemeester, exchanged jewelry, five gold coins and ten guilders for food and some clothes, which was often encountered during the Japanese occupation because the amount of food rations given was decreasing.⁹ Rusche also still remembers that the imperial soldiers often captured European women to be taken to brothels and used as Ianfu.

Just like what Rusche experienced, unpleasant experiences were also experienced by Stenger (2009). During the Japanese occupation, Stenger was one of the volunteers working at the Red Cross, but Stenger still remembers the time when he had to spend his life from March to July in Lowokwaru prison. Every day he listened to the torture, screams and screams that kept him depressed throughout the day. The prison cell was very cramped and uncomfortable, only 1.5 meters X 2 meters and he had to sleep on wooden bales piled with straw. With the makeshift bed, he could climb up the bale-bale to see and chat with fellow prisoners next to his British cell (see figure 7). According to the diary of Kwee Thiam Tjing (2010), he said that when he visited the prison in Lowokwaru, he had seen the body wrapped in a mat and was about to be buried in a European cemetery in the Sukun area. The funeral took place simply, without any sprinkling of flowers, teardrops or death ceremonies. After the funeral was completed, the mats were reused to wrap the other bodies.

⁹ One of the economic impacts of the arrest of Europeans in internment camps is a decrease in the number of consumers and a decrease in the number of sales (Hudiyanto, 2014), so many indigenous and Chinese people secretly smuggled goods with Europeans.

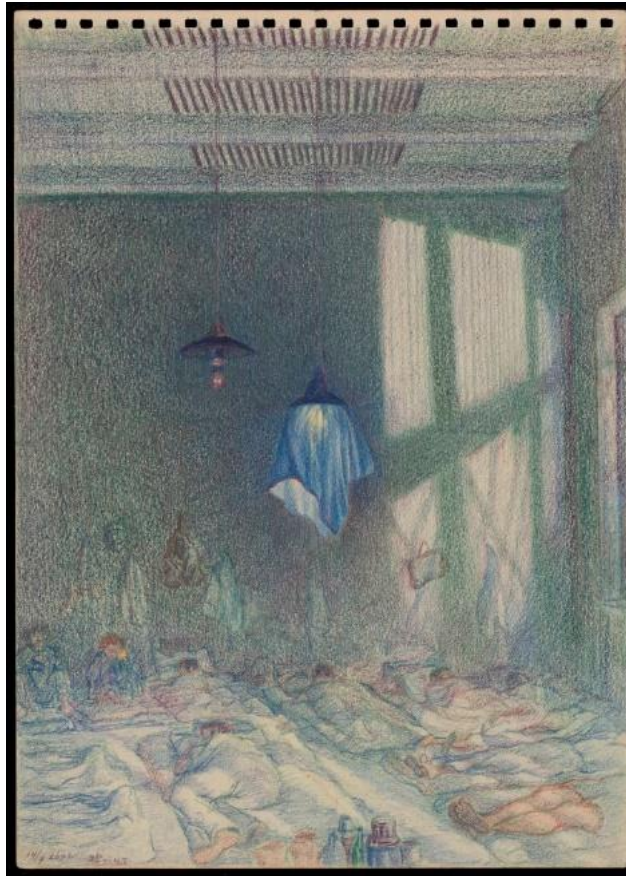


Figure 7. Sketch of the condition of prisoners in prison in Lowokwaru, Malang City
Source: Paintings of G.H, Prins, Collection of NIOD (1942)

Lambers (2009), a child from a family who works in coffee and sugar plantation research in East Java also shared a quite interesting experience. He shared a story about his childhood in the internment camp in Wijkkamp, Lambers still remembers his entire family having to sleep in a living room of the Pavilium owned by a family. The room was filled by 6 people, even though according to Lambers the room should only be enough to be filled by 2 people. Lambers also still remembers his helpers who often visited the Lambers family at the beginning of the camp. They were lucky to have very loyal maids, because at the time they were transferred to the internment camp in Semarang, their maidservants had come and brought a lot of food and ensured the health condition of the Lambers family.

It is different from what is experienced by Kampen (2009), Kampen had a very different view, he had the view that "not all Japanese are evil and cruel". In May 1942, Kampen's mother received a Japanese officer accompanied by an Indigenous driver. The officer gave a friendly greeting and smile to the little family of Kampen, whose arrival was meant to listen to the piano playing of Kampen's mother who was famous for being beautiful. After listening to the beautiful music of Kampen's mother, the Japanese officer thanked her very warmly, before leaving the officer gave a large city containing various kinds of medicines to Kampen's mother. He also advised Kampen's family to immediately check their health at Lavalette Hospital, the officer diagnosed Kampen's younger brother (Hennie) with Rickets, so he needed about two weeks of treatment.

The last testimony comes from Prajitno (2026), the grandson of Dr. R. Slamet, an Indigenous veterinarian who works as the head of the slaughterhouse and owns a house on Anjasmoro street.¹⁰ According to Prajitno, his grandparents once told him that when the Japanese came to Malang, his family had to leave their home and would be exchanged for a house owned by Europeans on Tanggamus street. The statement is also strengthened by the writings of Schaik (1996) which stated, that people who owned houses in the Bergenbuurt area were allowed to exchange houses on their own initiative or from the Japanese government. The agreement must be reported to the District Allocation office at the R.K. Clubgebouw, on the corner of Idjenboulevard and Goentoerweg, where the location and size of the new accommodation are determined.

The end of the internment camp

In early September 1945, the RAPWI troops (*Recovery of Allied Prisoners of War and Internees*) consisting of British and allied troops arriving in Batavia and staying at the Hotel Des Indies (see figure 8), the main objective of the Army was to disarm the Japanese, save the lives of prisoners of war and civilian prisoners, and maintain order until the arrival of the Dutch troops. However, the British and allied forces underestimated the great task, General van Oyen, the Dutch commander-in-chief in Java, estimated that no more than 40,000 Indonesians would resist. Thus, the process of evacuating prisoners is long and often experiences delays that can threaten the safety of prisoners (The Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate, 1945). In fact, RAPWI suggested immediately carrying out the evacuation process for prisoners who are still in the concentration camp before entering the rainy season which can make prisoners vulnerable to dysentery disease (The West Australian, 1945).



Figure 8. Sign from RAPWI (Recovery of Allied Prisoners of War and Internees) in front of the Hotel Des Indies in Batavia

Source: *Netherlands Indie Government Information Service (NIGIS)* (1946)

One of the reasons why the evacuation process of the internees was slow was the insufficient number of ships due to the Black Fleet incident that occurred in Australia. On December 1, 1945, there was a shooting carried out by Indonesian nationalists at the internees

¹⁰ The area will later function as Wijkkamp, one of the internment camps in Malang City

camp in Ambarawa, Central Java, according to reports of the attack killing 8 Dutch citizens and injuring 15 others (The Herald Melbourne, 1945). As a result of the tragedy, the Prime Minister of Indonesia, Sutan Sjahrir held discussions with Lieutenant General Christison and committed that TKR would ensure the safe travel of Allied prisoners and help disarm Japanese troops to areas designated by the Allied authorities (The Sydney Morning, 1945). In Malang itself there are about 2500 Dutch prisoners guarded by TKR, the prisoners say that the locals treat them well in fact, some locals give boxes full of medicines to the prisoners (The Civil & Military Gazette, 1945; West Australian, 1945).

On January 22, 1946, a group of 156 internees under the supervision of the T.K.R. (People's Security Army) was successfully evacuated to Jakarta after a long journey of 52 hours from the internment camp in Malang (Evening Telegraph and Post, 1946). The incident was one of the first proofs of success in the complex negotiations that had been going on for some time between British officers and the T.K.R. The prisoners who were under Indonesian escort, were treated and well fed during the journey (The Kalgoorlie Miner, 1946). This received appreciation by the international media, considering that in January there were still many incidents of attacks on internees such as what happened in Surabaya which killed 1 family in Surabaya (The Newcastle Sun, 1946). In addition, on December 22, there was also an attack by extremist groups on a Red Cross hospital in the Kramat Jati area which caused the death of two nurses (The Sydney Morning, 1945).



Figure 9. The Dutch internees were transferred from the interior of Java Island, apparently assisted by members of the Red Cross upon arrival in Jakarta

Source: ANRI/*Netherlands Indie Government Information Service (NIGIS)* (1946)

In an article written by The Tweed Daily (1946) on January 24, 1946 contained a statement from Sutan Sjahrir, that the British should be confident in the Indonesian administrative capabilities that would allow the British to leave Java immediately after the completion of the assignment of Allied troops. As time went by, the evacuation process of the internees in Malang went smoothly when compared to other areas that continued to experience many attacks from nationalists such as Surabaya, Semarang and Bandung. The motives for the attack on the internees themselves were varied, some still had a grudge against Europeans

during their rule in the Dutch East Indies, and some used the prisoners as hostages during negotiations with the Dutch (Delden, 2007).

By February (five months after the first Allied landings in Java), the Allied command had successfully freed prisoners of war and civilians and evacuated 60,000 Japanese troops. Nevertheless, there were still 30,000 Japanese prisoners and troops under the Indonesian revolutionary forces. So the British diplomat, Lord Archibald Clark Kerr visited the city of Surabaya with the aim of meeting with the British soldier who was a member of the Indian Fifth Division based there (The Telegraph, 1946).

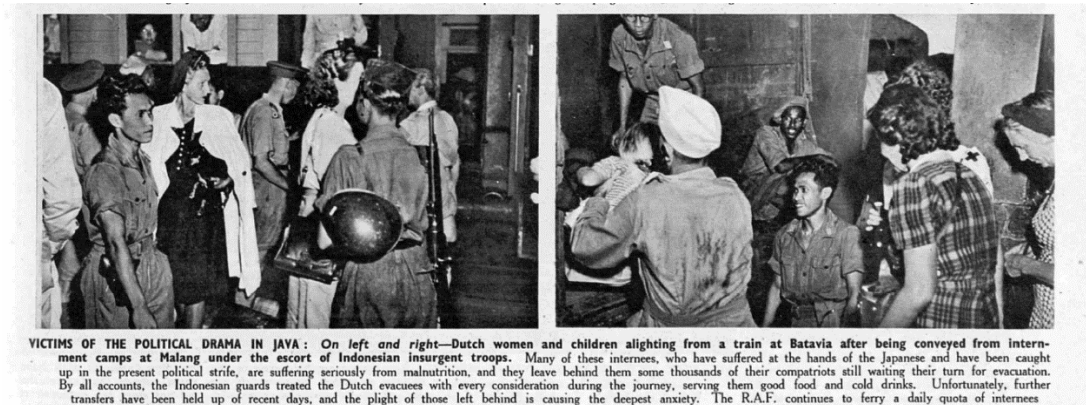


Figure 10. News in The Sphere Newspaper, about the evacuation process of internees from Malang City in Batavia on March 2, 1946

Source: Koran The Sphere (1946)

Conclusion

The history of the internment camp in Malang was not only used as a propaganda tool for Japan to subdue the dominance of European influence in the Dutch East Indies, but also shows the dynamics of life and the conditions of the prisoners that continued to change along with the development of the World War II situation until the Bersiap period. Over time, the internment camp in Malang changed its function from a detention room during the Japanese occupation to a temporary shelter for Europeans amid security instability at the beginning of the Indonesian Revolution period. Compared to other cities in Indonesia, the health and safety conditions of European prisoners in Malang are relatively good. This research provides a new horizon by presenting a microhistory study that puts the experience of civilians as the main focus. Indonesian historiography, which is dominated by narratives related to politics and the military, results in the experience of internment groups, especially at the local level such as in Malang, often overlooked. It is hoped that this research can be a foothold for the development of studies related to the history of internment camps, humanitarian history and local history of Indonesia, as well as encourage research related to the history of internment camps in other regions that still do not receive much attention in Indonesian historiography.

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