

**NATIONALISM FROM THE OOSTHOEK
THE CONTRIBUTION OF GEMEENTERAAD MALANG ON THE EMPOWERING
OF INDONESIA LOCAL POLITICIAN (1920-1941)**

Reza Hudyanto

Department of History,. Faculty of Social Sciences, State University of Malang
r.reza.fis@um.ac.id

Abstract

The implementation of indirect local election has blossomed political sphere in the regions such as regency and municipal. The unexpected results of this 10 years old implemented democracy are returning new order politician, mushrooming money politics and rebirth of local dynastic. In fact, the role of local legislative member in empowering civil society comes to blurred. Corruption that involved many politician have made distrust among people lately. In fact, in second decade of 20th century, Indonesian politician in local parliament had represented honor and dignity of the nation. They fought for progression among indigenous people. How did this local council shaped their mind and skill? This article emphasized on the role of local parliament in the empowering of national consciousness among Indonesian politician in Dutch Colonial periods. According to notice if local parliament, there were names of Indonesian local council members the very local in the parliament court such as Soekardjo Wirjopranoto, R P Pandji Soeroso and many others. As a minority fraction in the council, their attitude toward the pressure of the colonial discrimination showed that they used their position as a member of local council to empower their critical stand against local colonial policy. The methods used in this research is historical methods. By collecting, appreciating and interpreting local parliament documents (notulen) and newspapers from 1925 to 1940, we knew the situation, context and discussion in parliament room. From this documentary research, it can be concluded that local parliament (gemeenteraad) Malang has played important role on empowering the political skill among the Indonesian city council members at that time. By doing their function as a member of local city council, they know how to manage and to solve the city problem. It is become clear that in the post independence period, many of their names were enlist in the member of Republic Indonesia Cabinet.

Keywords: stadsgemeenteraad, empowerment, local politicians Indonesia, Malang

**NASIONALISME DARI UJUNG TIMUR: KONTRIBUSI DARI DEWAN KOTA MALANG
DALAM PEMBERDAYAAN POLITISI LOKAL INDONESIA (1920-1941)**

Penerapan sistem pemilihan anggota legislatif secara tidak langsung telah mengembangkan iklim politik di daerah tingkat dua seperti kabupaten dan kota. Hasil yang tidak terduga dari 10 tahun pelaksanaan demokrasi adalah kembalinya politisi-politisi orde baru, menjamurnya politik uang dan kebangkitan kembali dinasti lokal. Dalam kenyataan, peran anggota dewan di daerah dalam pemberdayaan masyarakat masih belum jelas. Korupsi yang melibatkan politisi di daerah telah menciptakan kekecewaan di kalangan publik akhir-akhir ini. Sejak kapan penyalahgunaan kekuatan oleh anggota Parlemen ini terjadi? Artikel singkat ini mencoba memberikan penekanan pada peran lembaga dewan kota dalam pemberdayaan kesadaran nasionalisme di kalangan politisi lokal bangsa Indonesia pada periode Kolonial Belanda. Menurut catatan dari parlemen lokal atau dalam teks asli disebut Stadsgemeente Raad, terdapat beberapa nama anggota parlemen daerah seperti Soekardjo Wirjopranoto, Pandji Soeroso dan beberapa anggota lain. Sebagai faksi yang minoritas di dewan, sikap mereka terhadap tekanan diskriminasi koloial membuktikan bahwa mereka telah menggunakan kesempatan itu untuk pemberdayaan sikap kritis terhadap kebijakan pemerintah kolonial. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metode sejarah. Melalui pengumpulan, kritik, dan interpretasi dokumen dewan kota, dan surat kabar yang berasal dari tahun 1925 hingga 1940, diperoleh gambaran tentang situasi, konteks dan diskusi yang dikembangkan dalam ruang sidang parlemen. Dari kajian dokumen ini dapat disimpulkan bahwa dewan kota (gemeenteraad) Malang telah memainkan peran penting dalam pemberdayaan politisi Indonesia, terutama ketrampilan dalam berargumentasi, pemahaman sistem hukum dan birokrasi, pemecahan permasalahan kota pada saat itu. Sebagai dampak positif adalah munculnya tokoh-tokoh kompeten yang menjalankan fungsi pemerintahan sesudah kolonialisme berakhir pada tahun 1945

Kata Kunci: stadsgemeenteraad, pemberdayaan, politisi lokal Indonesia, Malang

Naskah Masuk : 2-10-2016	Revisi 1 : 10-10-2016	Revisi 2 : 17-10-2016	Revisi Akhir : 25-10-2016
--------------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	---------------------------

I. INTRODUCTION

Maar hoe heerlijk is dan ook het doel dat wij nastreven. Het is : de vorming daarginds in het verre oosten van beschaving verschuldigd is aan Nederland en dit dankbaar erkent. (C Th Van Deventer : Insulinde's Toekomst in De Graaf, 1949:454).

But how great big is the goal we pursue. That is the formation of those people of the Far East from which we've owed for its prosperity and its higher culture that (we) should admitted gratefully. (De Graaf, *Geschiedenis van Indonesie*:1949)

Along with the disrupted of social riots following the death of 4 students of Universitas Trisakti, the political changes was began. It started by the Soeharto resign and followed by the withdrawal to ABRI from parliament. It brought the end of military dominance in social political power. Political parties were mushroomed from merely 3 to 24 parties in 1999. Many Indonesian hoped for fundamental changed which lead to more transparency and justice. According to Noordholt (Noordhol.tg, 2003:6) this hope was in vain since three years after the political reformation, there were a mounting cynicism about the continuity of corruption, political abuse, nepotism and the revival of "old regime". After the collapse of Soeharto reign in 1998, the parliament history of Indonesia has proved the continuity of nepotism and political dynasty. There was indication that political dynasties were practiced by former political leader, including former reformers. Is this the tradition of Indonesian politician recruitment?

This political experience also took place in local area since the regent, and head of local parliament prepared his wife, son and relatives to succeed him after the end of their term. Is this tradition has roots in the past? This paper tried to track the political tradition, particularly the role of Indonesian local parliament members in the Colonial Periods. Is that true that local parliament has been such a "training camp" for local politician? How far this local council has contributed to the making of modern Indonesian politician and changed urban life according to modern concept of the city? As one of many prominent colonial cities in Java, Malang is an important example for this study since the city was design by a fully modern concept.

The method used in this research is historical methods. By collecting, appreciating and interpreting local parliament documents (transcript of assembly) and newspapers from 1925 to 1940, we knew the situation, context and discussion in parliament room. *Notulen van de Vergadering van der Stadsgemeenteraad* Malang contained a lot of important information in order to describe how they discussed issues relating to city's problems. Many documents consist of complains, proposal, report from urban peoples, mostly Chinese and indigenouse people as well. This document also informed us the process of drafting local regulation. Many document showed the dispute, argumentation and debate between parliament members. This information came not only from archives and municipal reports but also from news paper. *De Malanger*, and *Tjahaja Timoer* were two of local news paper that gaves information about daily situation in Malang, including local regulation, protests from city residence to municipal policies and many others occurrences. The composition of local parliamentary seat and many local government decrees completely find in *Kroniek Der Stadsgemeente Malang 1914-1939*. The document was investigated by checking its texture, smell, writing style and font to make sure that this document is genuine and credible. These findings were composed according chronological and also thematic order. Some important books were used as model, bibliographical review and analytical tools.

II. THE MAKING OF LOCAL COUNCIL

The root of parliament history was begun since the forming of *Raad van Indie* (Council of Indies) in Batavia on seventeenth century. Council of India is part of High Government beside *Gouverneur Generaal* and Director of General Trade. At that time, this council was functioned to control authoritarian power of Governor General. All members of this council were European. (Furnivall; 1944, 35). After almost 200 years, the centralized power of Batavia was dispersed. The central government has overloaded by so many local matters. It urged central government to transfer a lot of works to local government. The Hague followed this request by promulgating Decentralization Law of 1903. This law has opened a new era in colonial parliament history because it would pave the way for each local government held their representatives council.

According to the Decentralization Law 1903, there are two criteria of local government, namely *Gewestelijkraad*, *Regentschapsraad* and *gemeenteraad*. *Gewestelijkraad* was a council that has power over one residency, a territory equal with 4 or 3 Regency. Meanwhile *Regentschapsraad* has its own areal but restricted to Regency. *gemeenteraad* has its authority over one city. These institutions have power of budgeting local expenditure and drafting local regulation. The member of each institution came from political parties, but in some case represented by local leaders and aristocrat. The political decentralization has affected to intellectual life, particularly among indigenous people in Java. The political consciousness grows faster than elsewhere in Java. Even though Java was a smallest island among four other main Islands in Archipelago, but it is the central government of Netherlands India. The cosmopolitan life was molded by the coming of Western ideas, lifestyles, and also the introduction of new modern technology. It changes the social life of Javanese. On the other hand, Dutch colonial society in Colonial Indonesia, although perhaps relatively tolerant toward Eurasian and occasional individual who crossed the color line, was highly stratified in a legal sense. As a matter of fact, racial classification which has been upheld colonial administration for two centuries also could founded in Malang. Nowadays, classification on local parliament not based on color line but on economic status.

As widely known by most colonial observer, since the middle of 19 centuries, Malang has been described as highly-populated village (*dorpshoofd*). Perhaps most colonial observers at the time were strongly affected by their western concept of the city. At the same time in Europe, the physical appearance of city was very different to the village. Structure of “city” centralized on regency square, traditional market and mosque, as usually seen on the other cities in Java. (Arthur van Schaik, 1996:20). The street lay out was rectangular with important building sited spread along its axis. The style of architecture housed has been predominantly *Indisch-empire* that represented the acculturation between Western and Javanese character. Twenty years after the turn of century, the morphology of the city has changed. Influx of capital and migrant along with their new social behavior and cultural orientation has started changing process of manner, custom and the way of life among urban society. Most newcomers from motherland (*trekkers*) have different style of life with their predecessor. While most of pioneers – who has come to Java since seventeenth century, adopted the Eastern way of life, the latter has more oriented to western style.

III. THE FORMATION OF POLITICAL PARTY

One and the foremost sign of modern democracy is political party. Political Party constituted the membership of local representative council or in Dutch termed named *gemeenteraad*. As a body of politic, party plays important role in struggling the ideologies, value which is believed as the ultimate goal to reach welfare, and justice society. How did the political parties emerge and widespread in Java, particularly Malang? According to colonial document, there are several parties that have so many followers. In a broad line, there are two kinds of parties according to race namely Dutch - mix European blood party and Indonesian Party. These ideology-based party can be elaborated as follows:

1. *Christelijk Ethische Partij (CEP)*

Founded in 25 September 1917, CEP promoted that Christian values should be a way of life of every aspect of human being. This party spreads their ideas by news paper "*Het Algemeen Christelijk Weekblad*". Each policy of CEP was published in this paper. The term Ethische indicate that this party adopted part of Queen Wilhelmina 1903 speech that suggested The Netherlands to repaid "Their Debt" to colonies and ended the policy of exploitation. P Bergmeijer, D Crommelin, D Huinink, F Lach, Ds W F Breijer, JA Soselisa, dan M C Bos holding a special position as high official of CEP. In 1935, CEP has 600 member entire Jawa. The vision of this party are implementation of social autonomy, keeping peace and order, fight for democracy, keeping the corporation between Dutch and indigenous people, and increasing the proficiency and welfare among the labor. Rarely, did all of their ideas realized in *Volksraad (Koloniaal Verslag 1925)*. Implementation of real democracy will destruct the social based of colonial society.

2. *De Indische Katholieke Partij (IKP)*

This party was found in 7 November 1918 as unified political movements of Catholics in Batavia. Soon after was established, this party has many branches –organization elsewhere. This party struggle for the recognition of Catholic political right. But In many cases, IKP often work together with CEP, but they never reach an agreement. The position of IKP in People Councils (*Volksraad*) is very dominant. IKP was lead by JAM Bruinsman, JJH Truyen, and AAEC Voestan. IKP has many programs such as demanding more autonomy; separation or Nederland Indies from their mother Country; full authority in making their own constitution and regulation, apart from mother country in The Hague (*Koloniaal Verslag 1925*)

3. *De Nederlansch Indische Vrijzinnige Bond (NIVB)*

NIVB was set up in 1916 as a non-religious identity party. They have media as propaganda named *Vrijzinnige Weekblad*. NIVB supported the implementation of self government of Netherlands India. The similarity among IKP, CEP and NIVB is demanding more autonomy, but the difference is the way and how long this phase must carried on. (*Koloniaal Verslag 1925*)

4. *PEB (Politiek Economische Bond)*

Established in 25 Januari 1919, the principal mission of this party is intensified collaboration between different segment of colonial society. They tried to build the trustworthy in order to increase popular welfare. PEB grows to be a big party with 7 branch in Jawa and 6 in Sumatra. The main slogan of this party is a concept of *Nieuw Indie*. On October 1922, they held their first convention on Malang. In this occasion, they declared that

”It should be mention that the political situation at this moment is serious, because it was proved that the leader of radical concentration has fought against Government policy. This is regrettable that the government has not made any action to end this (radical) activity yet”. (*Koloniaal Verslag 1924*)

It has been clear that PEB was a pro-government party and stand againts *Radical Concentratie*. Their mission is to ensure the economic and social growth among all citizens of Indies, to build trustworthy and collaboration, to spread foundation of democracy and to maintain relation with mother country.

5. *Het Indo-Europeesche Verbond (IEV)*

Indo Europeesche Verbond is an political organization that supported social, moral, intellectual adn economic progress. Most of its member mixture Indonesia-European blood. IEV promoted cooperation with other party and opposed againts every violence action adressed to Colonial government. IEV was founded in 13 Juli 1919 and growt fastly. They have 10.000 member in 1923, made this party is one of the most well organized and popular party at that time. They published their idea in *Onze Stem*, propaganda news paper IEV. (*Koloniaal Verslag 1926*)

6. *Indische Sociaal Democratische Partij*

ISDV was set up as fraction of *Sarekat Islam*. Founded in 1917 ISDV has growth to be the most popular party in India. They gathered so many labour organization and concentrate them in one missio. That is the reasen this party was called Radical Contentratie. J W Stokvis is one of important person in ISDV. They fought againts draft Bill of Statecraft and invited many Nationalis Organization such as *Budi Utomo* and *Sarikat Islam* to join wtih them. *SI, Budi Utomo*. In Party convention in Weltevreden on November 1922, that was attended by repercentatives from *SI, PKI Sarikat Ambon dan VSTP* they decided to held action againts all rules that obstructed the fredom of organization and the economical progress of the local peoples. In their conggres in 14 Januari 1923 they declared manifest *Radical concentratie*. *Comitte Radical concentratie* consisted of repercentatives from *Boedi Oetomo, NIP (Sarikat Hindia), Sarikat Islam, Sarikat Ambon, Sarikat Minahasa, Pasoendan, Partai Komunis India, vakcentrale, Persatuan Vakbonden Hindia sepertai VSTP (Kereta Api dan Tremm) PPPB, PGB, Politie Bond, OIBA Kweekschoolbond, VIPBOW, Kleermakersbond, Typografenbond, and Havenarbeidbond*. (*Koloniaal Verslag 1925*)

7. *De Nationaal-Indische Partij (NIP)*

Formed in 1923, member of Nationaal Indische Party came from the former defiance of Indo Europeesch Verbond. The main purpose of NIP was the freedom of Indie. The most important person of NIP is E FE Douwes Decker. The propaganda media of this party is “De Indier”. The government confinned that NIP has provoked labour and certain group of people to strike. They also accused for took a non cooperation act and anti-government stands. Eventhough nationalisme was a soul of this Organization, government take firm decision to ban this Party on May 1923 based on (Besluit) *Government Decree* of 10 April 1923 (*Kolonial Verslag 1926-26-30*).

The organization of local parliament took placed in the same time with municipal government. At the first time in 1914, the municipal government was lead by asistant resident. Since 1919, municipal government was govern their own mayor. At that time, there was no clear distinction between executive and legislative power. Along with ad hoc committe, mayor hold important key in making decision. Composition of *gemeenteraad* impressed the domination of Europeans over Indonesian and Chinese. There are 8 seat for Dutch, 4 seats for Indonesan and only 1 for chinese. First two Indonesian member

in *gemeenteraad* are R.A. A. Soerijo Adiningrat dan R Soemodiprodjo. According to stadsblad 1917 no 587, the number of parliamentary seats were added from 11 to 15. The new composition seats still gave majority to Europeans at least 9 to 4. But in 1929, numbers of seats for Indonesian were added from 4 to 6 (*Staatsblad 1929* no 98). According to the Wet, every member only have 4 years in office. Each member either European or Indonesian were chosen by election. Since 1938, nominee for member of Gemeentraad were recruit from Political Party. The aftermart 1938 local election showed the dominaton of IKP, IEV from European front and Parindra, Boedi Oetomo in Indonesian front. (Van Liempt, 1938:120).

Tabel 1 List of Local Parliament Members of Malang 1938

Name or Member	Political Party	Name of member (Indonesian)	Political Party
J A van Helsdingen	IEV	B Adam	Parindra 649 suara
WAA van Gessel	IKP	Mr J Latuharhary	Parindra 544
AE Kampschur	IEV	M F Oentoeng Rahardjo	Persatoean Politiek Katholiek Indonesia 489 suara
WR March	IKP	R Poeger	Parindra 524 Suara
W Thierry	IKP	R Sardjono Wirjohardjono	Parindra 524 suara
LPS Vroom	IKP	R Soedomo Prawirodirdjo	Parindra 524 suara
E van Vollenhoven	Vaderlandsch Club		
A van Weenen	Independen		
J Eftens	IEV		
Kho Sien Tjo	Chung Hwa Hui		
Tjan Eng Yong	Chung Hwa Hui		

sumber: Van Liempt, *Koniek der Stadsgemoente Malang 1914-1938*,123

IV. YOUNG JAVANESE AND LOCAL POLITIC

One of the most important result of political reformation in 1920s is more Indonesian intellectual get into the circle of power. By the institution of Local Representative Body (*gemeenteraad*), indigenous people – mostly from noble and upper layer society, getting involved in the making of political decision. *gemeenteraad* has the power to issued the Local Council Decree (*gemeentebblad*), to formulate local budget and to give permit to people requirement. According to Decentralization Law 1903, 4 of 13 members of Local Representative Council must be Indonesian so that it give a chance to Young politicians learn how to manage the urban problem and to run the government.

There were several names of Indonesian Parliament member that should be notes as follow. First is Raden Kartodipoera. The assignment of Kartodipoera as member of *gemeenteraad* has invited controversy among the priyayi. Some priyayi argued that he is not qualified to that position because he has no diploma from School of Law Weltevreden or MULO. Kartodipoera just hold certification from Native School no 2. One important reason for his assignment was because his position as Panitera Pengadilan Malang and his ability in Dutch language. With this capability, Kartodipoera made a breakthrough by uplifted his social status from middle-lower office to the member of city council (*Tjahaja Timoer* ,17 November 1920). Second member is R. Soemitro. He was installed as representative of Indonesian in gemeente Malang. Soemitro is a graduated School of Law who work in Court of Justice (*landgerecht*). He won the competition by defeated his two European rivals that

nominated by mayor. Dutch Newspaper considered that this assignment is unfair because it too rely on the racial consideration than the competency. Soemitro also being juga condemned based on nepotism. He is a son of R Soenarto, head of District Turen who has discharged because of disagreement. It made the credibility of Soemitra was questioned. In Dutch Newspaper *De Oosthoekbode*, a conservative Dutch named Van Dijk “ In the Edge of Liquidation” told in such way. It could be said that a son is not responsible or bear a sin from what has his father done or in the opposite terms. This moment showed that brown colour person has more opportunity than that a white man has. Nowadays, we are living in the periods when Indonesian became more and more favorite than our countrymen. Process of Liquidation of Nederland India has began. We don’t have to be worried about this. (*De Oosthoekbode*, 28 Maret 1931).

At that time, public was very sure that Soemitro has been chosen to be member of *gemeenteraad* because he had been backed by Governor. Van dijk said that struggle of white man was more difficult. Most of *Oosthoek Bode* reader expressed their resentment to what has been done by Indonesian lately. The Indonesian even dares to state their “rebel conduct”. On one day, the pupil of *Landopvoeding Gesticht* (house of orphans) sang the Indonesia Raya in their fluit instrument. Most of Dutch readers ask the director of that institution to punish their pupils for their inconvenient behave. They had received food, cloth and facilities from government, watched the football freely but they did not respect those gift. (*De Malanger*, 31 Maret 1931) A writer - with B initial, ask Head of Resident Malang to punish them as the Sawah Lunto local government did in the same case. There were students from MULO marching in front of Assiten Residen of Sawah Lunto house. When they march in front of the building, they play orchestra of Indonesia Raya. Some of them were dispelled for singing Indonesia Raya in public area. At that time, singing Indonesia Raya was forbidden (*De Malanger* 29 September 1933).

Third famous person from Local Parliament member is Soekardjo Wirjopranoto. He is a prominent person both for Dutch and Indonesian. He was born in Cilacap on June 5th 1903. He began his political carrier as member of *Budi Utomo*. After the integration of *Budi Utomo* to Parindra in 1935, he join to that Organization. He started his professional carrier as civil servant at bureau of justice, a lawyer of Supreme Court (*Raad van Justitie*) Surabaya since from 1929 to 1931. He was the first Indonesian who held position on ad hoc comitte at *gemeenteraad* Malang. (*Koleksi Arsip daftar nama orang-orang terkenal di Jawa. ANRI*). He was first Indonesian who has been asked by *gemeente* to deliver speech in the 25th anniversary of *gemeente* Malang. While all speakers gave credit and honor to *gemeente*, he gave a critical stand on his speech:

“a mayor is not a king, actually even though in relation with people, there was one similarity between them. Both of Mayor and King were responsible to keep their subject (save and welfare). Your honorable chairman of this Council, you are not failed to understand me. I will stand on my position to watch and critic you policy. I just accept the basic political principles that have been wrote in your Anniversary Book that I have received” (van Liempt, 1939: 125).

In different time, he recommend municipal to appoint inspector to supervise night market. The next prominent persons are Mas Sardjono, Soenarko and Pandjie Soeroso. The fourth prominent member of city council is Sarjono. As a member of *gemeenteraad*, Sardjono has been known as a critical Indonesian spokesman, particularly on struggling for his fellow Javanese people. With his fellow members in *gemeenteraad*, Rahadjo he urged the Mayor to pay more attention to Kampong quarter. For example, he asked *gemeente* for giving more share on the local budget to improve the

Kampung facilities such as sanitation and lighting such as in Kampung Kasin, Sawahan and Sukun. His highest position on professional carrier was as Mayor of Malang in periods of Revolution (1945-1949).

The other prominent political leader is Mr Soenarko. Soenarko was the first Indonesian who held a position as Head of Resident Malang. Another political person was R.P Pandjie Soeroso. He was a Chief Organization "Poetera" in Japanese Occupation. He has had member of *gemeenteraad* Majakerta, before were install as member of *gemeenteraad* Malang. Mas Sardjono, Soekardjo and Pandji Soeroso were professional nobles (*priyayi*) that constructing their political terms and ideas as their involvement as member of *gemeenteraad*. For example they formulated the *gemeente* Decree (*gemeentebblad*), planed the development program, and discussed about the problem of the city. It made them experience in holding the Government in post colonial era. As the Dutch Colonial Government came to an end, they ready to fulfill their former master position. When the Japan came to dispel Dutch Colonial Government in 1942, they got a very high position in bureaucracy. Most of them have ability to speak Dutch, so they can share their ideas; getting information either inside or outside country, and communicate their ideas in network widely. According to Nisbet, the changing outside the society will inflict to the society if they were agent of change, The agent of change play important role to change internal perception of one society (Nisbet, 1969: 276 dan 282).

V. INDONESIAN PARLIAMENT MEMBER AND THEIR ROLE AND STAND

Prawirodirjo came up with an idea not govong permission to everyone who want to open the kios unless they paid some money. He also support everyone – mostly Indonesian who want selling food and drink obtaining place for their *Kedai* (Stand or small shop where someone selling hot coffe and foods). Formerly, chairman of council proposed regulation draft to forbid any one to set up a stand infront of the shop for danger of fire. At that time, if *Kedai* owner want to make glass of hot coffe, he usually made fire from woods. Therefore, Prawirodirjo recommend to make requirement that anyone who want to held *Kedai* must equipped with a stove (*Notulen Stadsgemeente Malang* 1934). Prawirodirjo also *gemeente* to allow them making stand infront the shops. In other session of Parliament, Soerodjo a Indonesian board member ask for *gemeente* not giving permission to anyone using car of *Eerste Behulp Ongelukt* (First Aid for Accident) other than for medical consideration. He responds *Raadshoven*, chairman of the local cuncle that propose to use car not for medical reson. But he will agree to chairman if these car not carrying a patient with infectious diseases. (*Notulen van Stadsgemeente Malang* 1932).

The most issues that sparks debat is tax collection. Local tax is very important to made all the activity in Local Government running well. In one session on *gemeenteraad* session, Danoesastro reject the ide to take tax for put the car, bicycle and chart in government land. This kind of tax collection include for using *gemeente wasching en badplaatsen* (public bathing and washing place). But if *Raadshoven* insist to aplied this regulation, there must be low tariff said Danoesastro. But the odd fact revealed when Prawirodirjo agreed to the regulation that required eveyone pay some money for using public tiolet and parking they car, bicycle and cart in *gemeente Standplaats*. In different time, Soerio Adikoesoemo ask *gemeente* to appoint an inspector to reveal dan prevent the widespread of

pemotongan gelap (illegal slaughterhouses). If the *gemeente* let this practice continued, *gemeente* will lose a lot of money. (*Notulen van Stadsgemeenteraad Malang 1934*).

Economic problem were the most issued discussed in Local Parliament. Making profit for each square of land in the city such as for pasar, parking land, renthouses, shop, restaurant, and many other are more important than social matter. Soerio Adi koesoema, one of many Council member said that the *gemeente* must intensified their inspection, particularly in many slaughter houses nearby the City. As mentioned in local regulation, *gemeente* charged f. 0,25-0,5 for one slaughtered animal. Soekardjo Wirjopranato confirmed Adikoesoema's opinion that *gemeente* need more inspector to maintained prevent illegal slaughter. If *gemeente* not improved this condition, they will losed potential local income (*Notulen van Stadsgemeenteraad Malang 1931*). Wirjopranato requeste *gemeente* to pay more attention to market regulation. He said that traditional pasar has been a centre of economic activity because so many petty trader and vendor put their commocitis, merchandises and goods in this place since day break. This pasar spreads throughout the outskirts of Malang, for example Bunul, Dinoyo, and Kedung Kandang. Most of this pasar were out of Municipal controll. But Wirjopranato proposed was not accepted by Chairman for some reasons. For making good control, we (*gemeente*) need money for payed officer, inspector and supplied electricity for lighting. Income earned from pasar tax is not comparable with the expenditure for *gemeente*-controlling since type of commodities and products offered in those pasar is not expensive (*Notulen van Stadsgemeenteraad Malang 1932*).

Eventhough many of Indonesian local parliament supporting governments idea to make city as profit makers, some gaves critical stand againts city planning. It occured in 1922 when Prawiroadinoto – one of 4 Indonesian Local Parliament member, protested the design of Semeroe – Kayutangan Straat roads. According to the plan, *gemeente* must piled up the land for the roads 2,5 meter higher than initial position of land surface. In the end, the position of roads higher than the surrounding kampung so it would split kampung this in two different parts. If it the road finish, the people from this kampung must crossed this road by climbing up the stairs just to visit their neighbour. Pawitroadinoto suggest *gemeente* to change this plan by making overpass so the shape of Kampung remain intact. But the mayor respond fiercely.

” Mr Pawitro, did you believe in what 've you have seen? Man cannot say seomething when the work have not finished yet. I think that is subjective objection mr Pawitro. You said when man walk climbing stairs (to cross the roads), he will crash by cars. For me it is different, lay out of kampong roads that end in a high way, as we've seen in *Onderling Belang* Kayutangan streets is more dangerous that what you have said. Therefore, like other requests that i have receive today, it is better if you wait the decision tomorrow (*Tjahaja Timoer* 30 Januari 1922)”.

Danoesastro supported Pawitro argue, that if the roads constructed not by overpass, it would make dangerous for children and people in this Kampung. From this paper, it can be concluded that Boestra, mayor of Malang has a different perspectif with Pawitro and Danoesastra in treating people of Kampung. But in briefline, all of them have learning much from the Local Council.

VI. CONCLUSION

A. Concluding Remark

Judging and concluding the effect of Dutch Colonialism over Indonesian, particularly in terms of politic and social environment is very difficult question. This largely due to the changing mindset, perception, openness among the colonizer following Queen Wilhelmina Speech in 1903 in one side and progression, participation among colonized society in the other side. The making of *gemeenteraad* (city council) has affected to the process nationalism, and modernization. Nationalism was growing strong since the distribution of seat reflected discrimination and inequality. From many debate in city council, the Indonesian politician learn to plead for Indigenous citizen right in the city. Even they are minority, they have courage stand to came up different idea. The inconsistency in practice of modern democracy has been start point of Nation consciousness.

Secondly, *gemeenteraad* play important role not only in nurturing nationalism, but also in made the Indoensian politician capable of running local administration according to modern tax system and bureaucracy. They learn how formulate regulation, determine tax value, and design city plan. Despite their stand to support colonial regime for example promoting commercialization in every sector of life, most of them were key role in making post colonial society. Many of them continued to be became the senior advisor of DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Kotapradja*) after the end of Dutch colonial periods such as Kho Sin Tjo, Soekardjo Wirjopranoto and Sardjono. Their competency also unquestionable because they able speak Dutch and experienced in bureaucracy, and financial matter. Moreover most of PERDA (*Peraturan daerah*= Local Ordinance) were based on colonial periods product of law. Therefore, their role as first example of political person is very important to evade Indonesia became confusing country shortly after the fall of Japanese Empire in Indonesia.

B. Recommendation

Among historian, discussion of social dynamic in local scope was still beyond of reach. Some historian engaged to national political issues, particularly after the implementation of decentralization. It must be note that the city council was formed under the colonial power. Nevertheless, if this institution was not existed, there would have no democracy and national awakening in this country. Rarely did fresh graduate doctor or master pay more attention to the political event in local area. One thing it does not encourage is an overly romantic view, often taken by political ecologist, of the innocence of the local. Social inequality, political despotism, ecological rapaciousness and a quick resort to ignorance are not the preserve of the central state. They occur also on area far from the centre, where the writ of the formal state does not extend very far and especially in those frontier areas where the formal state is most seriously compromised by the practice of discrimination and exploitation. Secondly, the scarcity of historical source and absence of Local Newspaper probably were many the reasons for this uncover persons and events. This many brave and smart persons that played important role on the national awakening, but their merits unrecorded otherwise historian write story in local scope. In the future, the study of person who involved in the process of independence should be intensified. It is useful in order to remind us the struggle of Indonesian Politician for the equality and welfare of local people.

REFERENCE

- De Graaf, H.J (1949). *Geschiedenis van Indonesie*. The Hague: Martimus Nijhoff
- De Malangers*, 29 September 1933
- De Malangers*, 31 Maret 1931
- De Oosthoekbode*, 28 Maret 1931
- Furnivaal, 1944, *Netherland India: A Study of Plural Economi*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ Press
- Koleksi Arsip daftar nama orang-orang terkenal di Jawa. ANRI
- Koloniaal Verslag* 1925
- Koloniaal Verslag* 1924
- Nisbet, A, (1969.) *Social Change and History. Aspect of The Western Theory of Development*. New York: Oxford University Press,
- Nordholt, H.S and Gusti, (ed) (2003). *Indonesian in Transition. Work Progress*. Yogyakarta; Pustaka Pelajar,
- Notulen der vergadering der Stadsgemeenteraad* 1931
- Notulen der vergadering der Stadsgemeenteraad* 1932
- Notulen der vergadering der Stadsgemeenteraad* 1934
- Staatsblad* 1929, No. 28
- Tjahaja Timoer* ,17 November 1920.
- Tjahaja Timoer* 30 Januari 1922
- Van Liempt, F.J.M, (1939). *Kroniek Der Stadgemeente Malang*. Soerabia: Uitkolff,
- Van Schaik, A (1996) *Malang, Beeld van Een Stad*. Purmerend : Asia Maior

