

# The Relationship Between the Native Indonesians and the Dutch Colonizers as Described in the Sipatahoenan Newspaper

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**Abstract:** Indonesia experienced a colonial history under the Dutch. As commonly occurred in many colonies, there established a certain relationship between the inlanders and their colonizers. This relationship can be seen in the texts written during the colonization period, ones which were written narratives published by mass media like newspapers. In historical studies, a newspaper can be a primary source that can provide information about the situation at the time the newspaper was published. In this research, the writers attempted to study the relationship between the native Indonesians and their Dutch colonizers. To this end, the writers analyzed Sundanese narratives in the Sipatahoenan Newspaper published in 1929 by Paguyuban Pasundan, a national movement organization in West Java, Indonesia. The text was analyzed using a critical discourse analysis. A critical discourse analysis treats a text as being constructed upon a certain ideology. The ideology in question, in the context of this study, refers to how the newspaper construed the relationship between the native Indonesians and the Dutch colonizers. The researchers analyzed stories in the Sipatahoenan Newspaper to study the aforementioned relationship.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Historical events can be discovered through historical sources, one of which is a newspaper published at the time the events took place. Newspapers usually publish news stories or reviews, which are essentially a product of interpretation. What is written in a newspaper is based on the newspaper editor's interpretation on what he saw (Hout & Jacobs, 2008). And it is in his very authority to make such interpretation.

During Dutch colonization of Indonesia, there were many newspapers published by the native Indonesians. These newspapers were commonly published by national movement organizations to spread out their patriotic ideas. The emergence of these organizations is basically a resistance against the Dutch, particularly by those of native Indonesians who enjoyed education provided by the colonial government (Min Shu, 2016). There must have been an ideology behind this resistance movement. Hence, the published newspaper story manifested such ideology. The language used to convey a news story must represents an ideology (Ghanam, 2011).

One of national movement organizations to emerge in West Java, Indonesia, was Paguyuban

Pasundan. This organization strove for ethnic group-centered missions, Sundanese nationalism and nationalism (Ekadjati, 2003). Sipatahoenan was managed and published by Paguyuban Pasundan Chapter Tasikmalaya. The fact that Sipatahoenan was owned by the native Indonesians would describe the relationship between the native Indonesians and the Dutch colonizers.

## 2 METHODOLOGY

The texts analyzed in this study were those of news and reviews in the Sipatahoenan Newspaper that manifested the social relationship between native Indonesians and the Dutch colonizers. The contents were analyzed using a critical discourse analysis. It is an analytical study that construes a text as being produced in a sociopolitical context that represents social power and domination. This social power refers to that of a group or an institution (Teun A. van Dijk, <http://www.discourse.org/OldArticle/Critical1%20discourse%20analysis.pdf>). In the Sipatahoenan

Newspaper, what is meant by the institution is the prominent people in Paguyuban Pasundan.

Paguyuban Pasundan certainly voiced the native Indonesians' interests in regard to their relationship with the colonizers. Their relationship was patriarchal (Spencer, 2016). It means that the colonizers were superior to the colonized society. There are inequalities between them in gender, social, economic, cultural and political aspects (Radcliffe, 2015) (Sullivan, 2017) (Reilly, 2016) (Hallenbeck, 2016). The texts in the Sipatahoenan Newspaper were analyzed by looking into certain events that represented the relationship between the native Indonesians and the colonizers.

### 3 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

#### 3.1 The Autonomy of the Native Indonesians

In this part, Sipatahoenan as the Sundanese newspaper described the native Indonesians who did not receive any assistance from the Dutch colonial government in their publications. In 1929, this newspaper was already six years old. The description is as follows:

*Sipatahoenan parantos kagenep taoen, teu goemelarna di alam doenja, ngawitan mah bibilintik, itih koerih, hiroep leutik, nanging kabeh-dieuakeun koe pangdeudeuhna sadaja para mitra..... tjoemarita, tjapetang bisa tandang di pakalangan. Oentoeng anoe pohara pisan, pikeun Sipatahoenan mah, estoening bibit boetjit oerang priboemina, serat kabar wedalan oge, henteu katjampoeran koe modal soemawonten ari Goevernement..... katjampoeran make modal tangtos sorana oge kahalangan koe euweuh... doeit. .... mawi ditaatan kitoe, soepados..... bok bilih aja keneh..... keun, mana serat kabar noe pitoein wedalan somah, mana serat kabar noe dimodalan koe pihak itoe(Sipatahoenan, Rebo 2 Januari 1929, No.1 Lambaran ka I)*

In this part, the newspaper editor described a good relationship among fellow native Indonesians who had been loyal customers to the Sipatahoenan Newspaper and had directly financed their publications, making it possible for the newspaper to survive until the age of six.

#### 3.2 Publication Permit from the Colonial Government

Although the Dutch colonial government was less favored by movement activists due to their frequent strict control, but in some cases they could provide support for the native Indonesians such as giving permission to publish newspapers. This indicated a good relationship between them and the native Indonesians. In this case, the Sipatahoenan Newspaper gave praise to the colonial government as follows:

*Pamarentah oge, parantos maparin kalonggaran, ka sadaja eusi ning nagara, pikeun ngadadarkaeun angen-angenna, timbanganana sareng pamendakna dina serat-serat kabar dapon heunteu pabentar sareng angger-anggeran hoekoem (Sipatahoenan, Rebo 2 Januari 1929, No.1 Lambaran ka I).*

Such good relations could possibly take place provided that the movement activists did not violate the laws. The publication permit was granted by the colonial government as long as no law was violated.

#### 3.3 Criticism against Prominent Native Indonesians

There were mistrusts towards the prominent native Indonesians, especially those with direct links to the colonial government. It was evident in the sharp criticism towards the members of Regional Parliament (*Raad Kabupaten*) and City Parliament (*Haminten*) as follows:

*Tjoerat-tjaret Kaelidan djeung kapangkatan Maksoed koering lain kaelidan jadi lid Societii at klub maen bal, tapi kaelidan noe djadi lid badan wawakil rahayat (vertegenwoordigende liehamen), saparti lied haminten atawa Raad Kaboepaten.*

*Roepa-roepana pikeun bangsa oerang mah, oerang priboemi, kaelidan djueng kapangkatan teh weleh teu daekeun loejoe bae beda deui djueng di bangsa koelon. Geura bae dangoekeun kongkorongokna si Djobag, djago ISDB atawa djago noe ti Basoeki, anoe koe oea Nazy nepi ka dihormat koe ka-anoman.Eta djago doeanana ponggawa nagara, toer pangkat galede, tapi dina prak prakanana njarita roepana geus te inget, kana pangkatna, tapi dagala roepa didjoedjoeroeng koe kaelidanana. Oepama tjeuk kawadjiban elid, nadjan matak teu ngenah*

*kadengena koe pamarentah, tara datang ka dikemoe.*

*Tjindekna estoe buleud, gailig, toer.... noenda kapangkatanana. Oge pamarentah, tjara-tjara hoei kamajoeng, te kaop katjogek toeloej boeroek, sabab tjitjing dina tempatna, hartina nganggapna ka lid noe ngritik, henteu saperti ka poenggawa nagara, tapi ka hiji elid. Tjetjekelan noe wadjib ditoeroetan koe ponggawa-ponggawa Nagara noe laloehoer.*

*Kitoe kaaajaan lid bangsa koelon.*

*Koemaha ari oerang?*

*Sakanjaho koering, lid bangsa oerang noe djadi poenggawa, ngaloearkeun timbanganana tara laloeasa, lain teu bisa tapi teu daek, sanadjan teu aja hidji atoeran atawa palanggeran anoe tjarek. Malah.....broek brak, mana nepi ka dipaparin onachenbaarheid hartina tina sagala hal roepa noe ditjaritakeun dina pasamoan badan wakil rahayat teu elid bisa didakwa. Parander e kitoe roepana keur lolobana lid ponggawa nagara – sabab aja ari noe mahiwal bener mah – ieu atoeran tjan tjoekeop keneh bae.*

*Soepaja oelah dianggap ngobos teu poegoeh, ajeuna koering*

*(Sipatahoenan, Rebo 2 Januari 1929, No.1 Lambaran ka I).*

The above description means that the prominent native Indonesians, especially the members of Regional and City Parliament should have taken a firm and brave stance to defend the native peoples. They should have been critical and courageous like the European origin members of Regional Parliament who would always act in the interest of their fellow group members. While the natives were afraid of losing their ranks and positions.

### 3.4 Suspicion on Europeans

As the oppressed, the native Indonesians would always cast suspicion on the Europeans due to an unharmonious relationship between them. The Sipatahoenan Newspaper published a review of the Europeans' desire to unite the organization of national movements with European organizations. This caused the native Indonesians to throw suspicion on them as follows:

**Ngagaraleuh “Asocatie” naon!!**

*“Euj, noe dagang! Ka deu ngilikan! Danganan saha ieu teh?”*

*“Kaloeran Fabrek Nederlandsch-Indidsche Libersie Partj”*

*“Saha noe kagoenganana?”*

*“Ari noe kagoengan mah djrg. Eugelenberg ti Batawi”*

*“Geuning brt N.I.L.P. ajeuna mah? Kapan bareto mah P.E.B ?”*

*“Hih atuh ajeuna mah parantos salin roepa .... oge teu acan lami, nembe 3 sash manawi”*

*“Emh saroea keneh djeung P.E.B eta teh?”*

*“Hih, benten ieu mah, sanes deui”*

*“Koemaha bedana teh? “*

*“Doepi ieu mah maksoedna rek associatesren (ngahidjkeun) antawis Sanah sareung Sinih, koelon sareng Wetan, Priboemi sareng Walanda. Sina galo jadi hidji, sina repeh sina rapih; oelah sili harengan silih arah.”*

*“His atoeh, nja tjara noe bareto bae ari kitoe mah. Kapan bareto oge nja kitoe toedjoenana teh teu mitjeun sasieur.*

*Tapi ari boekti na mah. Kapan karasa koe oerang oge, te koedoe deadjah deui nja kitoe bae, ngan semet biwir da ari d djero hatena mah siapa tahoe. Oerang mah koedoe goeroe boekoer, teu koedoe nginget-ninget kana omonganana. Sanadjan omongan kareueut oge ari woedjoed na matak te ngenah, teu koedoe digoegoe.*

*Poegoeh bae, ari dina statute mah matak oeroej, tapi .... kapan sarerea oge terang sadjarah di Djawa-Wetan tea waktue hajang ngoeroedan B.B, babakoena noe djadi pamangoelna. Dalem-dalem, soepaja djadi tangan-tangan P.E.B. keur pilihan ajeuna provnciale-raad. Hadena bae kaboeroe kabetahkeun . \_ Sanadjan kitoe tapi ari tapakna mah te boeroeng naroenggoel, ngadjentoel.*

The above text describes an effort from the Europeans to unite their organizations with the national movement organizations. It caused the movement activists to cast suspicion on them. They believed it was impossible for the prominent Europeans to go hand in hand with the natives. They had a suspicion that this was only to weaken the resistance by gaining the control of the native peoples' movements. It was just to maintain the public order.

### 3.5 The European superiority

The Sipatahoenan Newspaper also described the superiority of European people to the native Indonesians. This was evident in several moments. Europeans felt that they were better than others. It was described by the Sipatahoenan Newspaper in a story about a football match as follows:

### **Marhaen atawa Sato?**

*Sawatara poe katoekang di aloen-aloen Bekasi aja maen bal antara veldpolitie Tjililitan djeung Bekasi.*

*Dina ngawitan maen noe djadi toekang fluitna, oeraang Indonesia kalawan dipaksa koe hidji Walanda, atoe da noerot te meunang emboeng.*

*Ngawitan kira poekoel 5 sore, sanggeus fluit disada, toeloej spelers spelers paboroboro mareboetkeun koelit boeled, waktoe harita mah katjida reuseupna, eta pamenan teh, nepi noe sakabeh noe laladjo bener bener ngabaandoenganana.*

*Tapi koemaha djadina?*

*Sanggeus 10 menit lilana maen, eta koelit buleud maksa menta liwat ka lawang goelna Tjililitan, nepi ka noe djaga lawang teu bisa nolak kana pamenta koelit buleud.*

*NAH! tidinja mah pamaenan djadi robah lantaran 2 spelers Walanda Tjililitan ngawitan bendoe, malah sapedah noe laladjo soerak, eta doea Walanda ngaloeurkeun omongan noe teu soeroep aja di oetjapan (omongan) Walanda, noe ngakoe jen bangsa Walanda leuwih sopan tibatan Inlander.*

*Atoeh nu laladjo teh pada kaget pokna; .... lantaran toekang fluitna ganti koe Walanda bawana ti Tjililitan, bet aneh saemoer doemeh njoenjoehoen hoeloe kakara manggih maen bal make toekang fluit doean, atoe eta tjenah teu pertjaja ka inlander, naha teu ti mimitina bae atoe koe Walanda?*

*Ieu mah gara-gara*

*Ana prak teh, euleuh-euleuh, teu salah tina sangkaan, ana belesat teh eta sapatoe diajoen mani ting boerinjaj, kawas kilat njamber mangsana; atoe da poegoeh spelers Bekasi mah kabeh oge talandjang kaki boeboehan Inlander ieu sok bororaah make sapatoe dina maen bal, sakalieun dina dienst patrouille masih aya noe ingkoed-ingkoedan dan tatjan pati...*

*Be ! Ti dinja mah djadi morongkod kawas budak nendjo banguarongan, njepak oge ngan tamba hente bae, atoe gampangen naker, nepi ka eta koelit boeled teh, 2 kala ngagandeuang ngaliwat bari reunja renju ka hareupeun toekang djaga lawang goel Bekasi.*

*Noe laladjo sorak bakating keuhel ka spelers Bekasi: "Na bet maen teh djadi leles?"*

*Amboe-amboe ari sengor teh eta Walanda noe 2 mani matak oeringkak boeloe poendoek, bari njanggerengan nembongkeun siehoengna pokna." Si! Babi! lee aloe Bekasi!? Baik nanti kaloe habis*

*main akoe poekoel, akoe boekan toekang roempoet, ASOE!"*

*Koemaha kadjadian sanggeusna maen?*

*Poegoeh bae doeka saha ngaranna ti tengah-tengah aloon-aloon loempat ka sisi, serepet gampleng! gampleng! peureupna kana beungeut inlander, sihareng noe djadi korban peureup teh, sahidji veldpolitie Bekasi ngaran Samoed asal Madoera, manehna hookeun sabab teu roemasa boga dosa.*

*Diantarana aja hidji indonesier mere inget ka eta Walanda poka: "Toean! itu orang djangan dipoekoel sebab belon tentoe salahnja dan kaloe salah boleh ditoentoet di pengadilan sebab ta' ada wet poekoel".*

*Djawabna: "Biar! Segala matjam toekang roempoet ini, loe taoe goea orang apa? Toeh dienda f.100,- atawa f.200 djuga goe mampoe bajar. Good Verdboom!!!".*

*Tah eta, omongan Walanda teh ana dipikir dibolak balik di rarasakeun koe hate noe waras, manehna teh ngabedakeun yen aing mah Walanda, koenaon sia inlander koemawani soerak di hareupeun aing? Tah geuning njata yen manehna teh kamagoengan sapedah Walanda, sapedah pangkat, padahal ari ceuk pikiran sim koering mah, dina lebah dinja teu aja pangkat, te aja toekang roempoet ; aja soteh spelers voetbal minangka tongtonan djeung noe laladjona.*

The above text is quite interesting. It was a harsh sarcasm entitled "Marhaen atawa Sato?" which literally translates "Marhaen or Animal?" Marhaen is a term used by Sukarno to attribute the poor farmers who did not own lands. They tilled lands of the masters on which their lives were heavily dependent. However, being poor does not mean they did not have any dignity. Sukarno even deemed that they were revolutionary agents. Marhaenism is a variant of Marxism. In Sukarno's perspective, the poor Indonesian farmers at that time were analogous to the proletarians in a capitalist society. "Sato" is a derogatory term attributive to the human misbehavior analogous to that of animals.

"Marhaen or Animal" was to question the Dutch misbehaviors in a football match. The story was about a football match at the *alun-alun* of Bekasi between the Bekasi police patrol football team and the Cililitan police patrol football team. The Bekasi team symbolized the native Indonesians, and the Cililitan team the Europeans. The Bekasi team did not wear football shoes as they could not afford them, and the Cililitan team did because they were Dutch.

However, the Bekasi team managed to score a goal just after five minutes of the game. This led to the anger the Dutch Cililitan team. They felt ashamed of being defeated by the native Indonesians. They then substituted the referee who was a native Indonesian with a Dutch referee. As the result, the Dutch Cililitan dominated the rest of the game, and they used their football shoes to intimidate the Bekasi team.

Seeing what happened on the pitch, the spectators who were mostly the native Indonesians started booing loudly. The reaction from the Dutch was that they harshly shouted back at them, and that one of them hit a spectator who happened to be an Indonesian police patrol in the face. He was told by other spectators that he had just done a fatal wrongdoing by punching an innocent man. However, the Dutchman refused to apologize and arrogantly said that he would be free of legal punishment by paying the penalty.

The Sipatahoenan Newspaper described this misbehavior as analogous to that of an animal because it was in contradiction with their own claim that they were better and more civilized than the inlanders. The marhaens were much more honorable than the Dutch.

#### 4 CONCLUSION

As described in the Sipatahoenan Newspaper, the relationship between the native Indonesians and the Dutch colonizers was patriarchal in a sense that the Dutch were superior to the native Indonesians. The description is a manifestation of the ideology embraced by the newspaper editor. The fact that the Sipatahoenan Newspaper was owned by the national movement organization Paguyuban Pasundan makes this ideology crystal clear. They detested the Dutch colonizers. Their superiority complex led the antipathy of the inlanders. The Dutch fell under constant suspicion even when they did the inlanders good. The same suspicion was cast on the prominent people of the inlanders like the parliament members who had direct links with the colonial government.

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