

Minahasa Raad (Minahasa Board) In the Dutch Colonial Period

Max L. Tamon
History Education Department
Faculty of Social Science
Universitas Negeri Manado
Manado, North Sulawesi
maxtamon@unima.ac.id

Aksilas Dasfordate
History Department
Faculty of Social Science
Universitas Negeri Manado
Tondano, Indonesia
aksilas.unima@gmail.com

Yohanes Burdam
History Department
Faculty of Social Science
Universitas Negeri Manado
Manado, Indonesia
yohanesburdam@unima.ac.id

ABSTRAK- *At the end of the 19th century, the Dutch Government realized that optimistic expectations from the early emergence of the liberal period had not yet been fulfilled. This was especially seen in the Javanese population who experienced a decline in welfare (*mindere welvaart*), which was acknowledged by Ratu Wilhelmina, by announcing an investigation into welfare in Java, while officially endorsing Ethical Politics. The presence of political parties and the participation of several people from Minahasa from the first youth congress in 1926 to the second youth congress along with several other national figures from Minahasa, who were involved in the youth oath pledge on October 28, 1928, increasingly showed awareness as a nation between Minahasa people with other tribes. The nationalist movement that grew up in the Minahasa in the 1930s, was certainly closely related to nationalist movements, especially since the establishment of the Indonesian National Party (PNI) and the introduction of the PNI in Manado in 1928, as a result of the growth of political parties - political parties which had already been born in Java and other regions in the Dutch East Indies. Still in the same era, the Celebes Institute was established in Surabaya, as an advisory body for Minahasa people and for socio-political alliances throughout Sulawesi, which incidentally was influenced by the views of figures such as Sam Ratulangi and Pantouw. The Minahasa Raad was the first representative body established in the whole of the Dutch East Indies, with the formation of this council, the government had begun as a good start giving up the right to self-determination to the people of Minahasa.*

Keywords: *Minahasa Raad, the Dutch Colonial Period*

I. INTRODUCTION

There are many various changes that have occurred in Indonesia since the beginning of the 20th century, and it is inseparable from the emergence of a new elite, namely intellectuals. The meeting of the West and East world is recognized to have brought changes in the life and mindset of

Indonesian people. They are in terms of historians called "Neo priyayi," has colored the history of Indonesian nationality [1].

With the start of the 20th century, a new era in colonial politics also began, namely, the ethical era or known as the Ethical Policy with the motto at that time was "progress." [1]

The coming into force of the Ethical Policy of 1901 was the forerunner of these changes in the early 20th century. This emerging ethical policy has received a reception among the liberal industrialists in the Netherlands, who expect an expansion of their markets as a result of the increasing welfare of socialists and conservatives in the Netherlands, who view liberal ideology with critical distrust [2].

At the end of the 19th century, the Dutch Government realized that optimistic expectations from the early emergence of the liberal period had not yet been fulfilled. This was especially seen in the Javanese population who experienced a decline in welfare (*mindere welvaart*), which was acknowledged by Ratu Wilhelmina, by announcing an investigation into welfare in Java, while officially endorsing Ethical Politics. Since then, the government has endeavored to make a positive contribution to the achievement of the welfare of the indigenous population in various ways [3].

The words that signify "progress," such as *voortgang*, *opheffing*, *ontwikkeling*, and *opvoeding*, all of which are meaningful as an embodiment of a change in the direction of progress and education for the welfare (*vanvoering van walvaart*), have become the everyday language for educated groups at the time [3].

The drive to achieve prosperity is manifested through three main issues that are applied in the implementation of Ethical Politics, namely education, irrigation, transmigration, and encouragement for people's credit facilities and counseling in agriculture [4].

One of the three issues mentioned above is education (education), which can directly be said to have changed the structure that existed at that time. Those belonging to the upper-level social and economic status, or those with the authority of the Dutch East Indies.

The expansion of Western-style education is the official tent of the Ethical Politics, which not only produces the kind of labor needed by the state and Dutch private business activities but also becomes the primary tool to "uplift" the sons of the earth and guide them towards modernity and the unity of East and West.

In the 1920s after the First World War ended, a new generation of Indonesian students came to the Netherlands with more than the number of Indonesian students who had already been there. The exact number of total Indonesian students in the Netherlands is not very clear, but the Dutch government advisor for student affairs estimated that the number of Indonesian students in the Netherlands at the end of 1924 was 673.

Under the auspices of the Ethical Policy, the Government of the Dutch East Indies slowly began to expand the opportunities for Indonesian children from the upper classes to enter elementary and secondary schools in the Dutch language. The Heavy Education (the Netherlands) began to show results, in connection with the implementation of the new policy, although not much supported by adequate facilities.

If the 20th century is regarded as the Asian century, with Japan holding the "torch" (as a symbol of its victory over Russia in 1905), then the failure of the Dutch to improve their living standards is in line with the expectations arising from the Ethical Policy, causing young people Indonesia came to the conclusion, that Asians cannot expect any meaningful help from Westerners to achieve their independence.

Disappointment due to the failure to obtain a small change from the constitutional reforms of 1922 and the rejection of articles in the law which allowed Indonesians to become majority in the Volksraad (People's Council) by the *State Generaal* (General Representative Council) in 1925, further increased their distrust of the Dutch. The Feber Amendment states that the Volksraad must consist of 30 European seats, 25 Indonesian seats and 3 to 5 seats for other racial groups,

In their eyes, the Volksraad was just a fake parliament, to fool the fact that the Dutch government always oversaw every aspect of Indonesian life. Since the establishment of the Volksraad in 1918 it was only intended to be a means of control of the Government, without even a small amount of authority granted to the people in the Dutch East Indies, to create or enact laws.

The failure of radical concentration and the increasing violence of Governor General Fock in 1922 in cracking down on political activities, reinforced their belief that there was no point in working with the Dutch in the colonial system. The system must be radically changed, and this can only be achieved if they refuse to cooperate with the colonial government apparatus.

In taking the non-cooperative attitude and action strategy of the period, they learned a lot from the experience of the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland and the Indian National Congress, especially from the Gandhi-style people's disobedience campaign in 1922. For the new political elite,

dependence on underlying forces from "the people" to an idea that could be justified, made them believe in support of the masses against the conservative *priyayi* and agreed on the modern western view of equal rights and government by the people [5].

The Indonesian Association argues that in colonial society, there is no question of morality or who is "right" as long as the right is always on the side of power, in the case that all power is held by the colonial authorities. They argue that, because Indonesia is a source of the Dutch economy that is so vital, then the Netherlands will not just give independence to Indonesia. The intellectuals who were educated by the West felt that it was natural that they were upset about the consequences caused by the Netherlands for their country (Indonesia), economic drainage, the destruction of their social system and cultural stunt [5].

The intellectuals, who are very competent but do not have the opportunity to find jobs that are considered suitable by them, it is very possible to reach a high level of political awareness, so as to be able to give a form of "ideology" to the various aspirations that are often new to the masses and provide leadership. Politics of resistance movements against colonial rule.

Harry Benda, who further developed the analysis by distinguishing between intellectual positions in developed societies and developing societies.

It is said, in Western society intellectuals do not form their social class. They live as a complement to other classes and will be determined in terms of insight, lifestyle and self-perception not in terms of economic position or social position or shared interests. Conversely, in developing societies, intellectuals gain position and influence solely because they are intellectuals. Its members form a class of its own and hence the intelligence there independently appends political power as intelligence, not as a spokesman for rooted social forces.

In 1918, the Volksraad was formed and in it sat Minahasa representatives such as A.L. Waworuntu, then in succession, major E. Gerungan, P. Mandagi and Major Mogot, and Dr. Sam Ratulangi after no longer served as secretary of the Minahasa Raad. The sitting of the Minahasa representative in the Volksraad, was not hinted by Governor General van Limburg Stirum in his letter to the Minister of colonial affairs, at the end of June 1917. Stirum doubted indigenous membership if the seat was a Regent and Wedana, like Soewardi Soerjaningrat, because Limburg Stirum had suspected that regions outside of Java would not get a share in the representation. Limburg Stirum argues that areas such as the East and West Coasts of Sumatra, Batak, Minahasa, Ambon, and Aceh, have the right to sit as members of the Volksraad.

Van Limburg Stirum, who was liberal in mind, wanted the Volksraad to truly reflect the three points of his mind for all elements of life in the Indies. First, there is no need for high *prijajis* to be given too many representatives, because they already have a powerful influence in colonial society; secondly, Java should not be widely represented, thus

sacrificing other regions; third, hoping that the "young Javanese" and "advanced elements" will get the best possible place. However, the formation of the Volksraad in which there were at least two people who came from Minahasa, also encouraged the formation of the first "Regional Parliament" formally in the Dutch East Indies, namely the Minahasa Raad (Minahasa Council) in 1919.

In Minahasa there has been a long-standing tradition that can bind kinship, togetherness, and interests for the community. Before the Minahasa Raad was formed, aka a Minahasa traditional institution had long existed and used as a means to channel the aspirations of the people at that time. The institution was called "Council of *Guardians Pakasaan* "or Raad der Doopshoofden. *Guardian Pakasaan* is formed by the Minahasa community through agreements between the people and their leaders, namely Walak Heads based on the Minahasas' customs. The tradition was then institutionalized and there was a change of name so that it was finally known as *Mina-esa*.

Viewed from a particular aspect, the Board of Trustees and Minahasa Raad is not yet part of national history. However, from the perspective of post-reform national history, institutions that were formed both traditionally and formally during the Dutch East Indies in various regions or regions such as Minahasa should be considered for becoming national history. In national history textbooks, the issue of the Minahasa Raad is very rarely found as one of the topics, so it is also constrained to the knowledge of the people of the Minahasa Raad. About national history especially at the beginning of the 20th century, the Volksraad is very much discussed. In other words, adat institutions such as the Board of Trustees and the formation of the Minahasa Raad are events that have not been recorded in macrohistory. To be able to understand more significant events, then macro events that are said to be small parts must be understood first. In this connection, AB Lapien explains that the further importance of the study of local history is to make corrections to the generalizations that are often made in the writing of national history and broadening views on the world of Indonesia (national). I Gede Widja expressed the same view, saying that often things at the national level can only be adequately understood if developments at the local level are well understood. Because the situation is more concrete and detailed can be known through a picture of local history.

Based on the description in the background of the problem above, the research problem is formulated as follows: (1). Why was the Minahasaraad (Minahasa Council) formed? (2). What was the attitude of the Dutch East Indies government towards the formation of the Minahasa Council (Minahasaraad)? (3). What is the purpose of forming the Minahasa Council? (4). To what extent has the Minahasa Council succeeded in fighting for the interests of the Minahasa community?

II. RESEARCH METHOD

This research is historical, the research method used is the historical method (historical research) as a scientific work order so that the results can be accounted for. In this study the historical method used according to Marc Bloch. There are four stages in this method, namely: (1) making historical observations, at this stage the authors conduct studies in the framework of collecting historical sources; (2) carrying out historical criticism or testing the data that has been collected, by comparing information obtained from both primary and secondary sources through extreme and internal criticism; (3) generalizing data according to the problem, it is intended to maintain the consistency of the flow of thought so that it remains in accordance with what is used; (4) searching for the causal relationship of the problem written by analyzing, interpreting and writing (historiography) of the problem examined by using historical facts found to form a historical story.

The application of this method is in the form of literary research, with stages of activities: first, conducting studies and gathering historical sources and in the second stage, comparing information obtained from primary and secondary sources, which is carried out with external criticism and external criticism. The third stage, generalization and categorization activities that are intended to maintain the consistency of the flow of thought to fit the approach and theory used; and the fourth stage, conducting analysis, interpretation, and writing (historiography) of the problem under study by assembling historical facts that are found to form historical stories.

In line with the historical research methods used, the data analysis techniques of the results of this study apply historical criticism, generalization and categorization of data/facts, then conduct analysis, interpretation, and writing (historiography) of historical facts accordingly. To obtain accurate and valid data, two steps are commonly used, namely criticism of authenticity (external criticism) and credibility (internal criticism). External criticism, is tasked with answering three questions about a source, i.e. 01) whether the source is a source that desired; (2) whether the source is original or derived; (3) whether the source is intact or has been changed. Internal criticism, work through two ways, namely (1) intrinsic assessment of the source; (2) comparing testimonies from various sources. Intrinsic assessment begins by determining the nature of the source. Confidential reports differ from public reports, whereas official reports issued by the government are often different from the testimonies of the perpetrators of events/history.

Next, an assessment of the ability and willingness of the historical source writer is held. An assessment is made of the ability based on his presence at the time and place of the incident, which also depends on its authenticity. The second process of internal criticism is to compare testimonies by linking sources that are not related to others. This activity is

carried out by the author in several places such as the National Library and National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (ANRI), to find and establish the credibility of the sources found. Data interpretation is carried out by conducting analysis and synthesis using a theoretical approach to the social sciences, while the final stage, namely writing, is carried out in a logical and systematic description of the sources used.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Community Structure

In the past in Minahasa, if someone had the knowledge and were respected in the community, they would be asked as elders of the community known as *tonaas* who functioned as leaders. This situation is still reflected in people's lives until now because the presence of *tonaas* is needed from generation to generation to lead each tribal child. A social structure like this at the same time shows that there is no known kingdom or aristocracy in Minahasa [6].

If in the literature found the title 'king of Manado' then what is meant is the king of Bolaang) from outside Minahasa), who once inhabited the island of Babontehu (Old Manado). Those who deal with matters relating to religion known as *Tonaas* and *Walian*, because of their courage and intelligence and charisma, the community chooses it, or on its initiative, it can lead and be respected, even respected amid society [7].

The authority of each *Tonaas* and *Walian* makes the community obey orders, reconcile conflicts between families or between regions. In practice, the *Tonaas* try to get the same powerful influence and tend to take over the duties of a *walian*. In the life of the Minahasa community, there are also terms such as *paendon tu'a* or *pamantu'an*. People like this always become role models in various aspects of life. In other words, the function is dual, because it is not limited to his position as a guardian (supporting old law or village head), but the scope is comprehensive including being able to declare war if necessary [6].

The functions and structure of society, have never been seen as a hint that in Minahasa from the beginning, there were nobles who were privileged as respected families as mentioned above. If there are indications that show "nobility" in Minahasa society, it is caused by less influence the meeting between the Minahasa people with migrants from the West (Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch). This is seen in those who receive or buy rank from (especially) the Dutch colonial government, feel they have a higher status than others.

Those who get the opportunity to get a better education up to the level of higher education and get essential positions in the colonial government, always feel privileged, so that

they have indirectly raised their status and degrees. These are what are known as *noe-priyayi* and *ambtenaar*.

The tradition of deliberation is strongly influenced by the thoughts of the oldest and respected people. This is a deciding factor in decision making, both in a limited family environment and in the broader scope, namely in the village environment. In every deliberation, it is always sought so that all present as far as possible might be able to express their views or opinions.

For the Minahasa people, there are three main things that are almost inseparable from one another, namely the view of life, culture and beliefs. In society, people identify the outlook on life with something that is depicted in culture, whereas trust is often seen as the level of human civilization.

The view of life referred to here is a guideline held by Minahasa people as a role model in their lives. The view of the life of the Minahasa people appears in various formulations that are perpetuated continuously and from time to time, and everywhere. In the form of statements, formulations about this concept read like,

Maleo'leosan (makeup with each other)

Mawere-werenan (mutual respect)

Ma'esa-esaan (united), including the meaning of the word Minahasa, which is 'land united' and many other formulations in the Minahasa community's concept of fiction.

In the life of the Minahasa people, culture is inseparable from religion. Some writings show a truth by including points about beliefs in discussions on customs and culture in Minahasa.

Richard Niebuhr, shared with Jacob Burkhardt who put forward the definition of culture as "a whole that arises spontaneously for the development of physical life and as an expression of spiritual, moral, and all social relations, technology, art, literature, and science. This concept sees culture as spiritual aspects in a person, moral life and all social relationships. For Minahasa people, belief [un is often associated with the spiritual aspect, that is, the supernatural experience of a person.

3.2. Formation of the Minahasa Raad (Minahasa Council)

In 1903, the Dutch East Indies government passed the Decentralization Act (Decentralization). The law was proposed by local council regulations (Local Raden Ordonantie) together with the implementing regulations, which resulted in the region. The purpose of the change is efficiency as a priority scale, which then shifted to participatory efficiency in the period of government change (*berstuurhervorming* 1922), with the aim that participation is realized in the formation of the Regency (Regentschap) as an autonomous region for indigenous groups.

The decentralization bent since the 1920s began on the island of Java by reducing the role of the Resident and Binnenlands Bestuur, and giving a more dominant role to the Regency/regent and Inuans Bestuur. The Regency pattern

was gradually adopted throughout the Indies. The Netherlands followed the local kingdoms bound by a temporary agreement (*Korte Verklaring*).

In regions which do not have royal traditions, such as Minahasa and Ambon, the process of forming the Regency was realized by the formation of the Minahasa Raad and Ambon Raad, which in its development, sought to regain the Regencies from the Resident's grip and eventually become an autonomous region.

The emergence of various policies of the Dutch East Indies government, such as decentralization and the issuance of legislation in 1913 and 1915, had created local (regional) councils consisting mostly of European members, both elected and appointed. With the change in the government of Tatapraja, in 1915 the city councils were formed for the representatives of Padang Panjang (West Sumatra), Ogan Ilir, Komering Ilir and Lamatang Ilir (Palembang), even though the councils could not yet be said to be a representative body of representatives of Padang Panjang (West Sumatra), Ogan Ilir, Komering Ilir and Lamatang Ilir (Paalembang).

In 1918, the Volksraad was formed in which there were people representing Minahasa to sit in the institution, such as A.L. Waworuntu, E. A Gerungan, Petrus Mandagi, and Major Mogot and Sam Ratulangi.

It is possible for the Minahasa to form a deliberative body, not because of an inner and moral bond between the Minahasa people because of the intimate and moral bonds between the Minahasa people and the Dutch East Indies government, but rather because of the difference in the traditional government system in the Dutch East Indies. Because almost all regions outside the Minahasa, especially Java, adopted a royal system which did not allow the people to play a broad role, as in Minahasa before the renewal of the Resident Wenzel.

A year after the formation of the Volksraad, then in 1919, a language was formed with a body called the Minahasa Raad (Minahasa Council) as a representative body of the Minahasa people, located in Manado. Minahasa Raad was part of a decentralization program started by the government in 1903 so that the reputation of the Minahasa people since the founding of the Minahasa Association in 1930 influenced the decision to form the Minahasa Raad ten years later.

The city of Manado itself, from the results of the struggle of Minahasa representatives in the Volksraad, then on July 1, 1919, the Manado Gemeente was formed, which was equipped with the City Council (*Gemeente Raad*)

The Minahasa Raad was the first representative body established in the whole of the Dutch East Indies, with the formation of this council, the government had begun as a good start giving up the right to self-determination to the people of Minahasa [8].

IV. CONCLUSION

The formation of the Minahasa Raad as the representative body of the Minahasa community was initially proposed by the Minahasa Association in 1917. The Minahasa Association finally broke out due to internal conflict into two organizations with different visions and missions, which were triggered by the involvement of J.H. Pangemanan in the Indonesian Communist Party in his position as secretary of the organization.

Before the formation of the Minahasa Raad by the Dutch East Indies Government, in Minahasa had grown a tradition that was an embodiment of democracy formed by government leaders and traditional leaders in Minahasa. They were the Ukung and Walak Heads as well as those who were respected. The organization functioned as a "parliament" which is called the Board of Trustees (*Raad der Doopshoofden*) to accommodate the aspirations that develop in society.

Various proposals and criticisms have been submitted by the agency to the government. One of them, the Minahasa Raad allowed the process of control over public education in the Minahasa and continued to give responsibility to the central government as a form of the process of dominating government power, even though the 1903 law on decentralization had become the basis for the formation of the Minahasa Raad. Nevertheless, this body still ethically and wisely launched a campaign so that the government continues to provide a larger budget for the education sector, which is the right of the Minahasa community.

As a result of the decentralized form of democracy shown by the Minahasa Raad, gradually the transfer of administrative responsibilities began to be left to the Minahasa community. As proof, in 1926 two members of the Dutch controller in Minahasa were withdrawn by the government as part of the Dutch abolition program. They were replaced by Minahasa people with a new leadership style.

Data on education in the Minahasa according to the 1930 census showed that Minahasa was not a backward region in the Dutch East Indies. The success of the community in the field of education was exploited politically, so that in dealing with the Netherlands it was not done in a confrontational manner as did the people of Java and Sumatra in fighting for their nationalism, but slowly but surely, politely and ethically and decisively, although limited in trying to understand what had to be done and how act in order to benefit the land and the Minahasa nation, so that the results of the struggle can effectively be achieved by the formation of the Minahasa Raad.

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