

The Participation of Local Politic in West Sumatra: A Context of Indonesian Democracy Dynamic

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ABSTRACT: *This article is concerned with the politic participation of West Sumatra people in the dynamic of Indonesian democracy. At the beginning of independence, there have seven political parties which were established in West Sumatra namely PERTI, MTKAAM, PKI Lokal Islami, MASYUMI, PNI and PSI. The establishment of the political parties is the reaction of local society to Government's Advice on 3 November 1945 about the making of party to struggle for independence. Politic participation through political parties is very influential on the political development in West Sumatra. The activist of political parties to reform the leadership of "nagari" (village) government, so that the role of "penghulu" (adat leaders) is liquidated in government affair because the people doubt of their nationalism. Their position replaced by the activist of the party in each "nagari". The liberty in the term of Liberal Democracy to result in a bad relationship between West Sumatra and central government, develop to become the movement of PRRI (1958-1961). Under the Guided Democracy of Soekarno (1959-1965) and the New Order of Soeharto (1966-1998), the politic participation is very limited in social life, include on the people of West Sumatra.*

KEY WORDS: *politic participation, West Sumatera, local-central government relationship in Indonesia.*

INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Indonesia was born in vacuum of power situation. At the time when Japan has announced its surrender in the Second World War (1939-1945) on 14 August 1945, Alliance (England, USA and others) as the winners have arrived in Indonesia on September 1945. The arrival of Alliance troops, in which Dutch was included in it, encouraged Indonesian leaders, especially in KNIP (*Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat* or Indonesia National Committee), to carry out political change.

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KNIP was established through the last meeting of PPKI (*Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* or Committee for Preparing Indonesian Independence) on 22 August 1945, at the same time also established the PNI (*Partai Nasional Indonesia* or Indonesia National Party). For earlier, the duty of KNIP is only as consultative body, its members are 150 persons and making the petition to President Soekarno in order this institution is able to be given the task for legislative (Notosusanto *et al.*, 1985:36-37). The petition then agreed by the government on 16 October 1945. For running the task everyday of legislative, it is imperative to make BP (*Badan Pekerja* or Task Force) of KNIP. Accordingly, Sutan Sjahrir and Amir Syarifuddin, whose were anti-fascist of Japan, had been elected as Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the body (Kahin, 1995:91-92).

Sutan Sjahrir and his friends, however, want to save RI (Republic of Indonesia) with the way to clean the Japan's dirty from RI's government, to strengthen the position of RI in the meeting to face Alliance and Dutch. BP-KNIP to suggest so that the system of one party (only PNI) changed with the multi-party system, and they make the government of parliamentary style (Nasution, 1995:21-22). The recommendation of BP-KNIP become as supporters which the changed of politic was significant when RI has existed for three months. The beginning of November 1945, political parties appeared and then the new parliamentary government with a leader Prime Minister until the position of President is limited in government affairs.

The change makes influence of the politic development in Indonesia, after Dutch confess the independence of Indonesia at the end of 1949. From 1950 until 1959 agreed Liberal Democracy in RI's government, to be seen the strong of political party and parliament. The situation was different when appeared Guided Democracy (1959-1965) and New Order Democracy in the time of Soeharto government (1966-1998), to be seen the weakness of political party and parliament system.

This article is talking about the local participation of politic in West Sumatra in Indonesian democracy dynamic. The local participation of society in the beginning of independence until the Liberal Democracy is talking only one part, while the liberal spirit encourages taking hold of Republic Indonesia. The next part talked about local participation in Guided Democracy and New Order while sank of freedom in Indonesia democracy. This article ended by epilogue, so that to visible in general local political participation in West Sumatra in reformation time.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN WEST SUMATRA UNTIL 1950S DECADE

According to the suggestion of BP KNIP, the government announced *Maklumat* No. X/1945 on 3 November 1945, suggested to all Indonesian society to establish political party as regular channel for society's aspiration. Government's advice is warmly accepted by West Sumatra people. Since government declarations until the middle of 1946 there have seven political parties exist West Sumatra. Among the parties there are three parties centered in West Sumatra namely PERTI (*Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah*) which was established in Bukittinggi on 26 November 1945, the party of MTKAAM (*Majelis Tinggi Kerapatan Adat Alam Minangkabau*) which was established in Padangpanjang on 21 December 1945, and *Partai Komunis Indonesia Lokal Islami* which was established on the middle of 1946. Four other parties are the branches from central party which was centered in Java namely PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*) which was established in Bukittinggi on 12 November 1945, on 18 November 1945 PSII (*Partai Serikat Islam Indonesia*) was also established in Bukittinggi, in the same city there were the branch of MASYUMI (*Majlis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia*) party on February 1946, and PSI (*Partai Sosialisme Indonesia*) on 12 February 1946 (Kempen RI, 1953:459-464).

The existence of political parties at the beginning of independence in West Sumatra, as a channel of society's aspiration in the struggle for independence, get successful to prevent the social disturbance or social action in processing substitution of local leadership. At the beginning of independence happened social disturbance for example happened in Aceh, Banten and Pekalongan in Central Java. Local people did violence in changing of government official for example three *Bupatis* in Pekalongan Residency, *Uleebalang* in Aceh, the head of residency and *Camat* in Banten (Mores, 1990:29-58; Willaims, 1990:60-87; and Lucas, 1990:89-116). The government official there forced back by people because the people doubt the spirit of their RI, is remember them was supporters to colonial Dutch and Japan government were cruel to the people of Indonesia.

The government of RI in West Sumatra at the beginning of independence uses major government before the proclamation at the same position. *Demang* position, *demang* assistant and *walinagari* still work in the same position at Japan occupation (1942-1945), and even some of them have ever been take the work in administration of colonial Dutch before 1942. The coming of political parties which can help democratization to be held in government at *nagari* (village) level is government unit that have relationship with the society environment. The *nagari* government must

led by nationalist persons, so that conducive to the struggle for Indonesian independence.

Nagari government should be run by politician parties around the area, which their nationalism spirit against the Dutch colonialism undoubtful. In general political parties figure support MASYUMI party that the most influential in West Sumatra. They were activist in national movement before over the social-religious organization of *Muhammadiyah, Sumatera Thawalib*, and the Party of PERMI or *Persatuan Muslimin Indonesia* (Daya, 1990:265-270 and 275-276).

The leaders of political parties in KNID (*Komite Nasional Indonesia Daerah*) urge Dr. Mohammad Djamil as Resident of West Sumatra Residency, so that to disperse KNID at *nagari* level, and to establish DPN or *Dewan Perwakilan Nagari* (Kempen RI, 1953:113-115). The existence of KNID on *nagari* level was seen no representative for political development, and the committee is not democratic because its members consist of *penghulu* (*ninik-mamak*), KNID *Nagari* is also transformation from *Son Hookokai* which was established by Japan occupation, which its member distracted from KN (*Kerapatan Nagari*) which was established by Dutch Government base on *Nagari* Ordinances of 1914. KN membership depend on ordinance is limited by custom leader (*penghulu*) that permitted by Dutch government (Oki, 1977:82-83).

KNID at *nagari* (village) level was finally liquidated and to establish DPN of which the membership was recruited from the political party activist at each *nagari*. The establishment of DPN at certain *nagari*s was both through direct election mechanism by *nagari* people from the candidates proposed by political parties and through the process of bargaining among party leaders in the *nagari*. DPN established on May-July 1946 was dominated by MASYUMI party activist and these most influential party cadets in West Sumatera region were given responsibility by the society to fill in position of *walinagari* (head of village), about 90% of 540 *nagari*s (Kahin, 1997:164-166). The change of leadership had made *nagari* as the Republic of Indonesia strong defence for the struggle of independence in West Sumatera.

At the end of 1948, Sumatra province was developed to become three provinces namely North Sumatra, Central Sumatra and South Sumatra province. The development was just able to be realized after the Dutch recognition of Indonesian Independence. At the beginning of 1950, the residency of West Sumatra, Riau and Jambi were united to become Central Sumatra Province (*Provinsi Sumatera Tengah*) and the status of residency of the three regions was liquidated, and at the same time DPRST (*Dewan*

Perwakilan Rakyat Sumatera Tengah) was established. The member of DPRST consisted of 29 persons, all of them were ex-DPS (*Dewan Perwakilan Sumatera*) representing the three regions (Asnan, 2006:ix-x).

DPRST, has started function since 1 January 1950, had an office at Bukittinggi town, the capital city of Central Sumatra Province. The members of DPRST criticized themselves in that legislative committee, which were not elected by democratic process. They became legislative member – at first DPS and then became DPRST – were through internal consensus mechanism from their own party. Their party, especially from MASYUMI and PNI, submitted resolution on April 1950 that they didn't acknowledge the DPRST as people's council that represented people's voice, the members of council must be ended and chosen new members through common election before 1 March 1951 (Asnan, 2006:xii-xiii).

The next critic, still on April 1950, DPRST looked for the leadership of governor of Central Sumatra Province, Mr. Nasroen. In the session that was did on 2-11 April 1950, DPRST refused governor's responsible speech, which was marked weak and fail in confirm law and rehabilitated social economic life of community (Asnan, 2008:162). That refusing was followed by submitted a vote of no confidence DPRST which pushed Mr. Nasroen let free from his position and change with one of the candidate which were submitted by committee: Ilyas Yakub, Sutan Mohammad Rasyid, Mohammad Djamil and A. Rahim Usman (Asnan, 2008:162).

The state government has solved a problem in spite of a new more complex problem appeared. Mr. Nasroen was fired from his job, but the substitute was sent from Java, it is not put from a number of candidates who were proposed DPRST which are the son of *Minangkabau*. Since Indonesia back to unity state of RI on 17 August 1950, Audrey R. Kahin and George McTurnan Kahin said that during the revolution, the local authority had forwarded to the state government, it caused the civil functionary in district was adopted by state (inclined Javanese) not based on public choices (Kahin & Kahin, 1997:67-68). So that, the state government sent a bureaucrat from Java, Ruslan Muljohardjo, to be the Central Sumatra's Governor. DPRST refused it, in spite of the state government fixed to force its demand, that caused DPRST was suspended by Government in 1951.

LOCAL PARTICIPATION IN WEST SUMATRA: FROM THE TIME OF GUIDED DEMOCRACY UNTIL NEW ORDER

Liberal Democracy in 1950s at national level is marked by the power of political parties and parliament role in Indonesian politics map. In spite of West Sumatra, there is a contradictive phenomena. The suspense of

DPRST based on *Peraturan Pemerintah* (PP) No. 1/1951, Gusti Asnan said that it was the first one of district legislative institution suspension that ever done by Indonesian Government (Asnan, 2008:163). The struggle of political parties leaders in Central Sumatra to ask state government to rise the DPRST up was failed.

The first election in Indonesia was conducted in 1955. The election of 1955 in Central Sumatera was followed by 44 contestants (including 20 non-party contestant), from 1,624,316 legal votes so that about 480,521 votes have got by MASYUMI party as the winner of the election at local level (Zed *et al.*, 1995:126). The result of the election is not influence the policy of state government, so that DPRST is still dysfunction. It's phenomena caused of the bad relationship between Java and out of Java in Central Sumatra, that news embellish local newspapers such as *Haluan* since 1951 when Ruslan Muljohardjo as Governor of Central Sumatra Province. According to Gusti Asnan, the relationship of Java and Central Sumatra more heat when state government place Mr. Muhadi (from Java's ethnic) as leader of *Jawatan Penerangan* in Central Sumatera Province (Asnan, 2006:xvii-xviii).

The issue of Javanization in civil bureaucracy and the reducing of *Banteng* Division became as bridge so many soldiers who were merit in independence war must be fired, and there was not a serious effort from the government for improving the degree of the life of economic society which accumulated with another factors raised into a region movement. The reunion of *Banteng* Division ex-member in Padang which held on 21-24 November 1956 was unanimous the force of a council which was named *Dewan Banteng* which was lead by Lieutenant Colonel Ahmad Husein (Leirissa, 1991:33-44). *Dewan Banteng* prosecuted the full fill of autonomy and building up the region economic, failed to be bridged by Ruslan Muljohardjo, remembering that the state government avoided the goal of the proclamation. In this relationship, finally the Governor Ruslan Muljohardjo from speech at RRI (*Radio Republik Indonesia*) Bukittinggi at 20 December 1956 gave his position to the chairman of *Dewan Banteng*, Lieutenant Colonel Ahmad Husein (Leirissa, 1991:53-56).

Lieutenant Colonel Ahmad Husein become as *Ketua Daerah* (Head of Region) in West Sumatra, and to Riau and Jambi area was given status its province. All of the national discussion which forerunner by state government in 1957 (Leirissa, 1991:139-176), fail to finish the relationship of the state government and Central Sumatra Province. The regional movement supported by all of the people in West Sumatra, except PKI and PNI, which develop become PRRI (*Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia*) announcement in February 1958.

The state government (the Prime Minister Ir. Djuanda) decide to use way violence to finish the problem of regional movement. The troops of APRI (*Angkatan Perang Republik Indonesia*) under command *Operasi 17 Agustus* start to hit Padang in 17 April 1958 and move to other city in West Sumatra which success authority in 20 May 1958 (Kahin & Kahin, 1997:211-212 and 257). The leader of PRRI, staff and employee of the government, teachers and all of the people which participated to support PRRI guerilla in inland.

The criminality that have done by military, and terror that ran by PKI (political party that be opposed to PRRI) to society caused psychological pressed made the prestige of Minangkabau people struck (Zed *et al.*, 1995:152-153 and 158). Youth of PKI that associated into OPR (*Organisasi Pemuda Rakyat*) are ordered by APRI to catch and report people who are estimated include in PRRI, also raised up amount of PKI cadre become *walinagari* of the territory that have powered by state government (Kahin & Kahin, 1997:260-262). Fear and pressure that develop rapidly in West Sumatra make *Minangkabau* people feel as if they are colonized again and, according to Mochtar Naim, this situation become the trigger of height migration movement of *Minangkabau* people to another places in Indonesia and neighborhood country (Naim, 1979:91-94).

In the flaming situation state government built a civil government in areas, West Sumatra region is turned into a province. Kaharuddin Datuk Rangkayo Basa appointed as a Head of the West Sumatra Region on 10 May 1958. Since 31 May until 17 September 1958, the Governor Kaharuddin Datuk Rangkayo Basa has been successful in electing the heads of second level region comprised of 2 *walikotas* or mayors and 4 *bupatis* or regents (Asnan, 2008:179). The governmental structuring happened again in 1960, when Indonesia had entered a Guided Democracy condition since Presidential Declaration on 5 July 1959 under President Soekarno leadership.

The deficit of democracy became more serious on Guided Democracy period (1959-1965), political parties and parliament as the fortress of democracy became weaker in their position, both of them have been experienced puppet under the government and military controls. Otherwise, the government and military control (army forced) became stronger in political and governmental life. In the same time, Javanization in region bureaucracy become more increased.

In that democracy deficit atmosphere on 1 January 1960 mayor and regent reconstruction was done. State government began to let military figure and police officer joining civil government, and placing Javanese as

the mayor and regent in West Sumatra (Asnan, 2008:180-181). The absence of legislative council in West Sumatra, since DPRST was frozen in 1951, was filled in 1960 but in more different way. Government created DPRD-GR (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Gotong Royong*) at the end of 1960. DPRD-GR West Sumatra had 28 members consist of 14 party members and 14 *golongan karya* (functional group) members, all of them asked by government and military figure recommendation. Consequently, DPRD-GR is not the real legislative council, moreover it also directly chaired by the mayor and regent (Asnan, 2008:205-209). Then DPRD-GR became the doll mask or governor stamp for doing daily government activity.

DPN which have ever created democratically in every *nagari* in 1946 were closed by government. It change into *Kerapatan Nagari* (KN), which member were mainly from *ninik-mamak pemangku adat* did not getting involved in the movement of PRRI, they commonly close with PKI. Politic participation in Guided Democracy regime experienced stagnation, which happening was politic mobilization.

Democracy deficit blocked politic participation when Guided Democracy, continue to *Orde Baru* era (1966-1998). *Ninik-mamak* (*pemuka adat*), *ulama*, civil servant and their family, veteran and so on were mobilized for vote GOLKAR (*Golongan Karya* or Functional Group), for wined in the every elections of *Orde Baru*. Beside that, the legislative candidates of other parties namely *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia* (PDI) and *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* (PPP) were selected strictly by governor, and military/police officer through *Panitia Pemilihan Daerah* (PPD) level I and II which chaired by governor at each regency. The candidates who were hesitated their faith for government would eliminate from the candidate list. Consequently, DPRD from the election, both members that were asked and elected can not be hoped as the council which protects the people.

Kerapatan Nagari committee that non-politic keep defense during the first decade the power of *Orde Baru* or New Order. The Constitution No. 5/1979 about uniformity the village government in the all of Indonesian region is applied by the government, as result *nagari* as a local government that has been applied in West Sumatra for centuries is closed by *Orde Baru*, *orong* (part of *nagari*) became as the unit of village government (Naim, 1990:52-53). The duty of head village that has formal characteristics until more of the government importance, its became also LKMD (*Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa*) that assemble for the formal leader for succeed of building (Naim, 1990:55-56).

EPILOGUE: REFORMATION PERIOD IN WEST SUMATRA

Since the *Orde Baru* broke down in the middle of 1998, the reformation government gave a chance to the people to be participated in politics through political party, parliament and demonstration. The people became braver in facing the power's institute as it seen in the arrested of Hasan Basri Durin, a cabinet minister of Habibie time (he ever be the Governor of West Sumatra Province in 1987-1997) which was done by students of IKIP (*Institut Keguruan Ilmu Pendidikan*) Padang for three hours in August 1998 (Kahin, 2005:432). DPRD 1999-2004 as a result of general election 1999 also showed a responsive attitude about West Sumatra's people aspiration as seen in the case of Semen Padang Company. DPRD succeeded in supporting the struggle for West Sumatra people in defended Semen Padang Company as local asset, dropped out from Semen Gresik Company at the end of 2001 (Asnan, 2008:247).

The province government is also responsive with the aspiration of the society to make *nagari* government has functions again through PERDA (*Peraturan Daerah*) No.13/2000. *Nagari* for Minangkabau people is a local institution which arranges the social and cultural behavior of society and economic basic like rice-field and forest, and also as a unit of the tribe which the people spread around *nagari* (Kahin, 2005:409-411).

The politic participation of people in West Sumatra were organized the general election of governor and 12 regent/mayor whole 2005 was successful (Nurlan, 2005:62-114). That elections don't furious as if the other regions. One of component of democracy is engage of rational attitude in facing the failed and success. People should be learn from the others candidates, until can be accept the failed with sincere. The expectation of rationalist of democracy can survive in West Sumatra in all politic participation.

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