

POWER SHIFT AND SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGES ON BANJARMASIN IN 19TH-20TH CENTURY

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Abstrak: Kedatangan Belanda di Banjarmasin merupakan pilar historis yang menandai perubahan kehidupan masyarakat dalam berbagai aspek. Dalam aspek ekonomi, ia memperkenalkan ekonomi uang. Dalam aspek politik, ia menciptakan administrasi yang terpusat dan sistem manajemen pemerintahan. Sistem ini ditolak oleh para bangsawan karena tidak sesuai dengan sistem lokal yang sudah lama diterapkan dan diturunkan dari generasi ke generasi. Terlepas dari penolakan ini, pemerintah kolonial tetap menerapkan sistem manajemen administrasi untuk mencapai tujuannya. Setelah penaklukan Banjarmasin pada 1860, kekuatan pemerintah kolonial semakin besar, akibatnya pemerintah menerapkan berbagai kebijakan dan konsolidasi untuk mengatur pemerintahan. Pemerintah kolonial Belanda tetap menerapkan idenya tentang manajemen administrasi untuk memastikan pengawasan dan sentralisasi pemerintahan yang memiliki dampak yang besar pada cara berpikir dan cara pandang masyarakat tentang pentingnya administrasi. Implementasi dari sistem administrasi ini pada pemerintahan kota berakibat pada berbagai perubahan yang sangat berbeda dengan kebudayaan sebelumnya. Status seseorang tidak lagi ditentukan oleh latar belakang keluarganya, tapi posisinya di pemerintahan.

Kata-kata kunci: perubahan hidup, masyarakat, administrasi pemerintahan.

Abstract: The arrival of Dutch at Banjarmasin has become the historical pillar which signifies the changes in the life of people in many aspects. In an economic aspect, it introduced money economy. From a political aspect, it created centered administration and managed government system. This system management was refuted by the nobles because it did not suit local people system which had been long established and passed down from generation to generation. Despite this objection, the colonial government insisted on performing the management of government system in order to achieve its political goal. After the conquest of Banjarmasin in 1860, the power of colonial government got stronger. As a result, the government performed the implementation of policies and consolidation in the effort to manage administration. The Dutch Colonial government kept insisting on the idea of the administration management to ensure monitoring and centralized governance. The government's policy had greatly influenced the mind set and perspective of the society about the importance of administration. The implementation of this administration system on the city government has resulted in changes which are greatly contrast with the prevailing culture. The status of people was no longer determined by its family background, but their position in government..

Key Words: life changes, society, government administration.

INTRODUCTION

The record of Meijer dated in 1887 about Banjarmasin people who lived in riverbanks or in villages located on the banks of the river along both sides of Martapura was a proof that Banjarmasin society highly depend on the river water (Bock, 1887:50). The reality is undeniable because many large and small rivers flow along Banjarmasin. Those rivers are Barito and its smaller rivers such as Martapura river, Mei river and Kelayan river. The long-existing scenery in Banjarmasin was the settlements built along the river banks. This condition persisted until the arrival of the Dutch Colonial government which changed the city landscape. The settlements of the citizens in Banjarmasin along the right and left sides of the river banks were altered. The location was moved to mainland facing the road.

The arrival of the Dutch in Kalimantan was originally simply a form of trade economic contact. In its further development, the relationship between the people in Kalimantan with the Netherlands grew into political relations that led to colonialism, economic exploitation, and the application of Dutch bureaucratic in Kalimantan. The Dutch government used various methods to conquer particular areas. In Kalimantan, Banjarmasin in particular, the Dutch government established an agreement in which the king recognized the Dutch rule over the area. At the same time, there were many resistances against the Dutch government. The confrontation against the colonial government occurred in almost all regions, including South Kalimantan by the outbreak of Banjar War. The prolonged resistance in 1859-1906 which oc-

curred in South Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan was the longest fight against the Dutch government in the History of Indonesia (Sjamsuddin, 2001: 472).

On the aftermath the Banjar War (1859-1906), the power of the colonial government even got stronger. Thus, the Dutch government set the implementation of policies and consolidation in the development plan of Banjarmasin. The planning design and city development which the Dutch government intended to establish resulted in greatly different orientation from the previous one. Therefore, what was the standpoint of local elite group during the intervention and establishment of the Dutch bureaucracy in Banjarmasin?. What was the impact from the enforcement of bureaucracy in Banjarmasin when the Dutch government shifted the position of local rulers in political aspect?. This condition was so obvious from the relationship between the sultanate aristocracy and the people of Banjarmasin and the Dutch government.

THE POWER TRANSITION

De Kroniek van Bandjarmasin, a book written by A.A. Cense (1928:141-146), described the history of Banjarmasin sultanate. 1526 M dated the beginning of the Banjar Sultanate. The establishment of this sultanate was marked by the end of war between Prince Samudera and his uncle, Prince Tumenggung, the last king of Daha Kingdom from the dynasty of Raden Sekar Sungsang. Prince Samudera escaped to Banjar kampung located in the estuary of the Barito river. Banjar Kampung was the dwelling place of Malay merchants led by Patih Masih. Patih Masih was the official appointed by Daha

Kingdom to lead the area of the Barito river's estuary. With the help of Patih Masih and the Demak Sultanate, Prince Samudera succeeded at defeating his uncle and established the Banjar Sultanate (Ras, 1968:428-430). This Sultanate growth rapidly.

The rapid development of this Sultanate was marked by rapid economic growth through the spice trade. Besides, the development was spurred by the global influence of Islam since the 16th century. In addition, the palace which was located at the estuary of the Barito river emphasized the importance of trade for livelihood (Ahyat, 2012; Saleh, 1982; Sjamsuddin: 2001). Pepper was the most important commodity for the Sultanate (Goh, 1969; Sulanjari, 1991). The Banjarmasin sultanate emerged as the important force part in the part of the archipelago in the 16th century until the 19th century.

The agreement between the Banjar Sultanate and the Netherlands in 1826 brought a change in the Sultanate and society. The Dutch government could easily interfere the internal affairs of the Sultanate, such as the leadership rules of the Sultanate and the right to organize of government and foreign policy. Sultan had very limited activities which must suit the Dutch government (Soeroto, 1973:12).

Prince Hidayatullah as the rightful heir to the Sultanate throne after the death of Sultan Adam (1857) moved to Amuntai because the Dutch colonial government did not approve him to be the next Sultan. Thus, his brother, Sultan Tamjidillah, rose to the throne, and he ruled from 1857-1859. It seems these two brothers did not have harmonious relationship since their childhood. The people of the Banjarmasin Sultanate did not

support Sultan Tamjidillah because his behaviors deviated from the teachings of Islam. The aristocrats and high leaders of the Sultanate did not agree if Tamjidillah became a sultan. Finally, the loyal followers of Hidayatullah, i.e. Pangeran Antasari, Demang Lehman, Aminullah and Jalil, set the uprising (Sjamsuddin, 2001:175). Sultan was not able to cope with this situation, so Colonel AJ Andersen took over his power, and Sultan was exiled to Bogor (Usman, 1994:150).

The Dutch colonial government replaced Colonel AJ Andersen with F.N. Nieuwenhuyzen. The immediate decision taken by Nieuwenhuyzen was to ask Prince Hidayatullah to return back to Banjarmasin. However, Prince Hidayatullah declined this request, so the Dutch government was enraged. Following to this rejection, the Dutch government took over the power and dissolved the Banjarmasin Sultanate. On June 11, 1860 on behalf of the Dutch government, F.N. Nieuwenhuyzen officially dissolved the Banjarmasin Sultanate (Kielstra, 1892:93-94).

After the Dutch colonial government dissolved the Banjar Sultanate in 1860, the security in South Kalimantan gradually began to be under control. Banjarmasin as the capital of South and East Kalimantan residencies in the Dutch colonial era served as a center of government and port of export-import activities which aimed at exploiting natural resources. The Dutch government and the private sector funded from the company exploited and explored Kalimantan. Thus, its natural resources were used for the government and private companies owned by Europeans. Those researchers were Ir. P. Van Dijk who studied mining at the Residency of East

and Southern Borneo (Residentie Zuider-en Oosterafdeling van Borneo) in 1883. Both; dr. G. Fischer examined the Barito River in the district of Hamlet afdeeling Dusunlanden, since 1896 at the expense of the mining department of the Dutch colonial government in Batavia. Researchers and the expedition team reported to the Dutch colonial government in Batavia that Kalimantan had abundant natural resources, especially mining petroleum, coal and diamonds. In addition, the researchers also reported that Kalimantan also had natural wealth in the form of forest products (*Koloniaal Verslag over het jaar 1900*, p. 213). Forest in Kalimantan contains some types of wood which were very good potential for the development of physical infrastructure as well as economic value as an export commodity.

These two reports were the underlying factor for the colonial policy makers in Batavia to establish a policy for the region of South and East Kalimantan residencies in the late 19th century. The main aim of this policy was the administrative arrangement in South Kalimantan. The Dutch government began to implement a modern administrative system.

ADMINISTRATION MANAGEMENT

Since the Dutch Colonial government had full control over Kalimantan in 1860, the administrative division of the region had been started under the authority of Kolonel E.C.P Happel as the resident (Bondan, 1953; Saleh:1977:65). The Dutch Colonial government established former Banjar Sultanate as the “*Residentie Zuider en Oosterafdeling van Borneo*” (*Koloniaal Verslag over het jaar 1858*, p. 13).

The system of region’s administration division which the Dutch government had established until 1877 resulted in changing interpretation. Resident Boers in Banjarmasin assumed that the previous distribution system was no longer relevant to the pacification process (*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch Indie 1877*, No. 327). In the renewal of government system in 1877, it was stated that the number of Dutch government officials were limited in a strategic position, that was, as the head of the region. It occurred because Kalimantan covered vast area, and the security had not been guaranteed. Moreover, the number of administration personnel who filled several positions in the civil government was still limited. The Dutch were appointed as civil and military authorities. They served as civil government authorities who were responsible for establishing the civilian government. They also served as commander of the military forces whose responsibility was securing the area of Kalimantan.

Government reorganization that took place in Kalimantan was characterized by a lot of local officials who formerly worked in the Banjar Sultanate. They filled the same position as when appointed by Sultan Banjar. However, they had a status of becoming the Dutch government’s officials. They got monthly salary, but they did not have facility as they received when having a status of sultanate nobles. They no longer had the right of owning lands previously owned by the sultanate and of demanding compulsory labor from the society. They must carry out orders from the Dutch government officials who have higher position in the government structure (*Besluit van Gouverneur Generaal*, 2

February 1877, no. 5, bundel Algemenn Secretarie, ANRI).

This reorganization abolished the position of local regents appointed by the sultanate. The number of bureaucrats like Ronggo was also reduced. Regulation in 1886 aimed at providing direction for the Dutch government's policy on South and East Kalimantan residencies. One of policies was to eliminate the remaining influence of the Banjar Sultanate in cities and in the remote areas in Kalimantan. Second, the Dutch government began to appoint the indigenous tribal leaders, in this case the Dayak people in positions of bureaucracy (Gouda, 1992: 56-59). This situation enabled the Dutch Colonial government to control and rule local people more easily. The appointment of government officials was not so simple because they had to undergo the selection process and take an oath to be loyal to the Dutch Colonial government.

In running the government in Banjarmasin, the Dutch government divided the area into several districts or *onderafdeling*. Each *onderafdeling* was led by *controleur*, while the district or *onderafdeling* in urban areas was led the local people with the title of *kiai*. The head of a village was led by a *pembakal* while the head of the remote was called *pambakal*. They were still allowed to use the knighthood such as '*Tumenggung*'. Their status became a part of the Dutch government bureaucracy. They also received a monthly salary..

At the end of the 19th century, South and East Kalimantan residencies experienced constantly changing administrative reorganization. Its goal was the adjustment of the distribution of the settlement between the local

population with colonial settlement. This was necessary in the implementation of the reorganization of public administration because the settlement of local people had a very important function. The function referred to the implementation plan of the head tax payments made collectively for each settlement (*Missive van Gouvernement Secretaries 27 Juli 1891 no. 3713/10*, ANRI).

At the beginning of the 19th century, the governance structure of the residencies of South and East Kalimantan had changed. The Dutch government divided this area into two residencies. Residency of South Kalimantan with the capital of Banjarmasin was divided into two, namely *Afdeling* Banjarmasin and *Afdeling* Hulu Sungai (*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch Indie 1913*, no. 199 and 279). The top position of the structure was held by the Dutch government as Resident, Assistant Resident and partly controller. Meanwhile while *Hoofkiai*, *kiai*, and the *kiai's* assistant were held by the Bumiputera (local people) (Saleh, 1982:66).

The appointment of local people as the municipal staffs in the governance structure of the Dutch East Indies government stemmed from the language barrier and the different cultures of the Netherlands. Direct relationship with the Bumiputera (local) population was at risk for the safety of employees of the Netherlands. Therefore, a *kiai* was placed in every *onderafdeling* whose the main task was an intermediary and implementing instruction Dutch colonial rulers.

In 1919, the reorganization at the South and East Borneo residencies brought the fresh air to the local people because they could obtain political and economic equality. This reorganization enhanced efficiency and

increased autonomy. Autonomy given included delegation of authority from central government to the Dutch government, and from the Dutch officials to local officials (Poesponegoro & Notosusanto, 1993:47).

In Batavia, there was Volksraad or the People's Council. In South and East Kalimantan residency for the first time in 1919, *Gemeenteraad* for Banjarmasin was formed (*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch Indie 1919*, no. 252). This *Gemeenteraad* had 13 members (7 Netherlands, 4 Bumiputera (local people) and 2 foreign east). In 1930, members of *gemeenteraad* were selected with the same arrangement by only replacing people. In the body of the new advisory body of the capital and the city council, Dutch citizens had always been the majority. The Council was led by a resident assistant for Banjarmasin. This provision was very bad and did not give benefit for the people because the board members were elected by the resident. In 1930, the city council Banjarmasin proposed an annual budget of 400,000 guilders. It increased from the previous budget which was only 250,000 guilders (Linblad, 1988:132).

An extensive administrative control of South Kalimantan with limited European employees was impossible for the Dutch government to impose. It was hard for the Dutch government to enforce a liberal attitude for its indigenous officials. Each district officer was assisted by a local district chief called as kiai, who receives a salary from the Dutch government (Lulofs, 1913:74). In 1918, the system was expanded by recruiting Kiai assistant, who was an intermediary between kiai with pambakal (village's head). A developing network among some kiais was

replaced by a large number of kiai's assistants. The goal of decentralization was associated with the formation of councils in Banjarmasin. There was disappointment with decentralization in the 1930s. A number of kiai's assistant were reduced without receiving full allowance equal to newly appointed kiai (Linblad, 1988:131).

The establishment of Borneo Gewest in 1938 resulted in the renewal in the city council without reducing the number of members. *Gemeenteraad* status was increased to *Stadsgemeenteraad*. For the first time, South Kalimantan had a governor, named Dr. B.J. Haga, who ruled from June 28 1937 to 1942 (*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch Indie 1938*, no. 264 and 352). *Zuider en Oosterafdeling van Borneo in particular was divided into 5 afdeling*, those are, Bandjarmasin, Hulu Sungai, Kapuas Barito, Samarinda dan Bulungan and Berau.

With the People's council, did the welfare of the residents increase? Of course not. It was because the autonomy granted to these institutions was only addressed to the Dutch people as the ruler. However, the fact showed the representation of indigenous people in *Gemeenteraad* / *stadsgemeenteraad*. It only showed the ingenuity of the Dutch government in maintaining turmoil majority indigenous community groups in *Gemeente* government. It was an application of the "system" that was perfectly executed to restructure the planned and directed bureaucracy, so that the southern part of Kalimantan, particularly Banjarmasin, continued to experience dynamic change.

CONCLUSION

The power transition from sultanate to colonial brought significant change for the people of Banjarmasin. The change was so obvious from the local rulers. The colonial government only posted the aristocrats of the empire who ruled the Sultanate as a regular employee, and they were paid monthly. These people no longer served as policy makers in a bureaucratic environment. Their position was the same as with the common people having western model education. Changes in governmental structures made by the Dutch government were to ensure to run the government from top to bottom.

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