The Church and Politics of Early 20th Centuries in Minahasa

Yohanes Burdam^{1*}, Aksilas Dasfordate², Darmawan Edi Winoto³, Sendy Lely Merly⁴

1,2,3, History Education Program, Faculty of Social Science and Law, Universitas Negeri Manado,
 4Fisheries and marine Program, Universitas Negeri Merauke

Abstract. This study aims to explain the presence of the Indische Kerk (church) of the Dutch colonial government in Minahasa, identify the problems faced by the Indische Kerk and efforts to address them in Minahasa, and analyze politics and political education in Minahasa, as well as the impact of colonial politics on the process of church ministry in Minahasa. This study employs both the structural method of Lloyd (1978) and the explanation of the fact theory of Tilly (1978). Research and discussion revealed that the presence of the Indische Kerk in Minahasa is connected to the rule of the Dutch colonial administration following the bankruptcy of the VOC trade partnership on December 31, 1799. Consequently, NZG cannot refinance its work in Minahasa. The Dutch colonial administration utilized the church door, the Indische Kerk, to exert control over the Minahasa people. However, some Minahasa-educated individuals who comprehended the politics of the Dutch colonial administration and who collaborated with the Indische Kerk to control the Minahasa people opposed the colonial church's engagement in establishing an autonomous church in Minahasa.

Keywords. Church, Politics, XIX Century, Early XX Century, Minahasa

1 Introduction

First, the church is not an organization but a "driving force," a spiritual force and movement [1]. Therefore, an organizational structure, management, administration must socialize and channel this power In the organization, management, administration, the church (anointed man) as a "servant" performs three ministry tasks, namely [3]: first, Apostolate, which is preaching the Gospel everywhere; second, Pastorate, which is everything related to education, teaching in developing the human character of the united church; and third, Diaconate, which is service, by giving a testimony about God's love and grace in daily life [4].

The duties and responsibilities of the church as outlined in this study are intended to serve as a foundation for comprehending the issue of "church and politics in the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries in Minahasa," which led to conflicts in the struggle to establish an autonomous church in Minahasa. In the sense of humans with the status of "servants," whether or not they can carry out the tasks of the church, or vice versa, operate as superiors or leaders of the people or congregation. This discussion begins with the presence of the Indische Kerk as a church and the problems encountered in Minahasa, as well as the influence of Dutch colonial politics on the work of the Indische Kerk in dealing with the politics of Minahasa intellectuals in

the struggle to establish an autonomous church in Minahasa.

2 Research Methods

2.1 Research Approach

The approach to conducting the research is the "structural me" approach of Lloyd (1993) [5], which combines the event approach, i.e., the unique aspects of historical events, with the universal aspects of the structural approach [6], employing the theory of the explanation of historical facts derived from the problem. Moreover, this study is based on Tilly's (1978) "Collective Action" thesis [7]. So that what is highlighted in this method is the proportion and action of the perpetrators of events that lead to cooperative action to attain objectives.

2.2 Data Collection Methods and Techniques

This study employs the historical method as described by Marc Bloch (1989), which consists of four stages: first, problem formulation and historical observation; second, conducting historical criticism or data testing; third, generalizing and or categorizing data according to the problem; and fourth, conducting a causal search (analysis) of the issues written [8], which are related to the Minahasa social environment as a location where the

^{*} Corresponding author: yohanesburdam@unima.ac.id

Indische Kerk is located. The technique employed for data collection is the examination of relevant archives and libraries

2.3 Data Analysis Techniques

Historical critique, generalization, and categorization of data/facts were used to examine the acquired data. After analyzing and interpreting the data [9], this part applies an internal criticism technique or content criticism to any data extracted from the sources.

3 Results and Discussion

3.1 Political Education in Minahasa

In the early half of the 20th century, the general situation of the Indonesian national movement is marked by a rise in church autonomy conflicts due to the introduction of political elements into church life. The political understanding of the conflict's Indonesian national leader reveals this relationship. They oppose the church's authority, which Olch dominates on the Indische Kerk side. As a result of this understanding, the topic of group interest in the church order in Minahasa is becoming increasingly contentious and challenging to settle via an ecclesiastical strategy; therefore, political practice is required. Due to the Dutch colonial government's ability to sustain its dominance in Indonesia, it was impossible to accomplish this last goal at the time. In the setting of the Dutch East Indies, the process of political education in Minahasa colored the perspective of "regional social groups" as they fought for a broader perspective, namely the "Indonesian perspective." The establishment development of political parties in Minahasa, which mirrors the movement in Java, is a concrete representation of the process of political education for the community, particularly for Minahasa intellectuals [10]. However, the perspective of political parties colors the intellectual activity in Minahasa, which is the subject of the following description and discussion.

3.1.1 Politics and Political Education

In general, "politics" refers to a method or approach (policy) for achieving specific objectives, such as education politics. Consequently, politics encompasses policies/actions intended to participate in state/government affairs, such as setting the benthic tasks and extent of state affairs. Various methods, regulations, and laws, such as democratic, liberal, authoritarian, dictatorial, Machiavellian, and ethical, are utilized to implement this policy/action [11].

The policies and political activities of an organization or a nation's government are always geared at achieving specific objectives; nevertheless, their implementation varies considerably. This also resulted in the development of diverse political perspectives. Based on this distinction [12] asserted that, in general, the concept of "Politics (politics) is a collection of

actions in a political system (or state) involving the process of deciding the system's objectives and implement those objectives. Nevertheless, determining the political system's aims is contingent upon selecting among numerous possibilities and the priority ranking of the chosen objectives [13].

It is evident from the selection procedure that general policies (public policies) are founded on objectives, particularly those about regulation and distribution or allocation of existing resources. To implement political policies, power and authority are required, which will be used to create cooperation and resolve any problems that may develop. Persuasion (convincing) or, if necessary, compulsion (coercion) can be used to accomplish the goal [14].

Power and authority are important in political activities since politics always involves the goals of the entire society (shared goals) and never an individual's interests (personal goals). Moreover, politics involves the acts of many groups and individuals, including political parties [15]. Concerning the purpose of this political activity, the group's objective is to actualize the intellectuals' demands for acknowledgment of status and rights in the Indische Kerk in Minahasa. To make this a reality, however, we need a shared understanding of the struggle under the times, which requires political education. Political parties provide, among other venues, political education. However, it must be acknowledged that other political groups or "sarekat" had emerged during the period. In the early 20th century, colonial governments lacked the political authority to decide or influence their political structure. Dutch. However, this does not imply that the passage of time is entirely meaningless. Nonetheless, it must be acknowledged that the political role of parties or Sarekat in influencing policy in the Dutch East Indies was never achieved at the time [16].

The Indonesian Association, led by Hatta and Sjahrir, modified its fight strategy due to its awareness of the political climate at the time [17]. They contended vehemently that the Indonesian Association fought for a kind of politics distinct from the Dutch East Indies colonial state's political order. The national vision of the Indonesian Association is "Indonesian Merdeka," which is also the title and substance of the magazine for Indonesian students in the Netherlands [18]. However, the understanding the struggle for an independent Indonesia is neither a pipe dream nor an imminent political condition that must be achieved.

Aware of the nature of the Dutch East Indies' colonial authority, the movement's leaders believed that the Indonesian people themselves had to pursue radical political changes to establish an "Independent Indonesia." Therefore, the movement's mission is to educate people about the options they provide [19]. In line with the Kamma's purpose, a "social education" movement was required, which Hatta envisioned in the early 1930s "People's education in political, economic, and social affairs so that they are fully aware of their rights and dignity [20]. This is the political education that Hatta-Sjahrir desired to reinstate as part of Indonesian National Education. Since the 1920s,

numerous other organizations have also implemented this concept.

With a different political language, Sukarno expressed his ardor. In essence, Hatta and Sukarno desired the support of the people in the national cause via self-awareness as a colonized nation that had to battle to liberate itself from its colonial oppressors. This perspective on political education was designed to educate the people of Indonesia through political parties at the time [21].

The standard definition of a political party is "an organized group" whose members share the same orientation, beliefs, and ideals. To implement their ideas, the group seeks to acquire political power and assume governmental positions, typically through constitutional means [22]. In political education, political parties' function is to actively identify and invite talented individuals to participate as party members in political activity. Nonetheless, political parties function as a mechanism for managing conflict when it arises. For instance, when there is a conflict of interest, differences of opinion in the community on the information the party communicates produce anxiety and lead to societal divisions [23].

Despite the influence of the Indische Kerk and the colonial government, the continuous attitude of the group that declared the foundation of the KGPM as a church demonstrates the success of political parties in political education for the people, particularly intellectuals. However, this approach also contributed to the KGPM's unfavorable opinion of GMIM as a colonial church (the legacy of the Dutch colonialists) [24].

3.1.2 Political Parties and Their Impact on Intellectuals

As previously noted, organizations affiliated with the Indonesian national movement entered the Minahasa region in the 1920s [25]. These groups include Sarekat Islam, the Indonesian National Party, the Indonesian Movement, the Indonesian Party, and the Greater Indonesia Party. Therefore, only the political perspective of the organization that has colored the intellectual struggle movement, namely the Indonesian National Party, is discussed from these organizations. Despite this, it is acknowledged that the presence of these political parties in Minahasa is a standard for the process of political education for the Minahasa community, particularly to unite national perspectives broadly, specifically the Indonesian perspective.

The emergence of mass and political organizations that began to create branches in the regions appeared to push the Dutch colonial authority to develop reality-based government areas. In 1918, AL Waworuntu (head of the Minahasa Union) and Ph. Laoh were elected representatives of the Minahasa people by founding the Volksraad in Batavia. AL Waworuntu fought for the interests of KNIL members from Minahasa in this council. The Dutch colonial authority established Minahasaraad (Minahasa Council) in the Minahasa region and Gemeenteraad (City Council) in Manado.

Both of these councils, the Minahasaraad, are composed primarily of natives, whereas the Gemeenteraad is composed primarily of foreigners. The people can communicate their shortcomings in their regions through these two councils. Nonetheless, these two councils have failed to fulfill their responsibility as representatives of the entire population [26].

The two councils, especially the Minahasaraad, have not played a sufficient role because this council initially had only the jurisdiction to determine taxes. Then, its jurisdiction was broadened to include social and welfare issues [27]. As a result of the populace's free election of Volksraad members, the council was deemed to represent the views of the entire populace, which led to the founding of the Volksraad in Indonesia (Batavia) [28].

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Sarekat Islam and then the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which had many members in Manado, were responsible for setting up branches of a political group based in Java in Manado [29]. However, after the PKI's defeat in the 1926 insurrection, its adherents were banished to Boven Digul, West Orian) [30]. In Minahasa, Mr. Iskak Tjokrohadisurio was one of the nodes in a network that spread nationalist and separatist ideals. His presence in Tonsea in the early 1920s resulted from his appointment as a legal expert (North Minahasa) [31]. He gathered some young people in Tonsea to propagate the national idea quickly. Iain and GE. Dauhan, Max Tumbel, Max Lindu, Many Lengkong, and Hein Lengkong were the founding members of a group that was founded at the Girian-Tonsea home of the Wensen Tengker family. This group was not political in the strictest sense. Still, it more resembled the "study clubs" created in Java and Sumatra at the time [32].

Based on the memoir of WJ Kereh (1996), RZ Leirissa (1997) asserts that studio clubs of a similar nature were also founded in other locations in Minahasa. As a result of the region's colonial political realities, however, coordination between them was never realized. In the meantime, Algemeen Studieclub Bandung changed its name to the Indonesian National Party (PNI). Hence the majority of its former members joined the PNI. However, the Minahasa movement joined the PNI faction led by GH Dauhan and Max Tumbel [33].

The state of youth activities in Minahasa is constantly under the government's watchful eye. Similarly, newspapers and periodicals in Minahasa are not permitted to report on the movement. Nonetheless, there is a chance for them to meet while under close monitoring. This possibility arose on October 28, 1932. At that time, some youths launched a commemorative ceremony for the Youth Pledge at the Manado City Hall (Gemeente). In that instance, Sofie Kornelia Pandean read the Youth Pledge [34].

The Dutch government acted in response to the radical youth movement. In December 1932, the authorities seized and imprisoned in Amurang the youth leaders of the Max Linu group in Sonder. Alfius Rumondor, Wim Kaeng, and Aris Joseph were among the radical adolescents in Tondano. The latter was detained in the same month. In addition to Mr. Iskak

Tjokrohadisurio and BW Lapian, GH Dauhan, O H. Pantouw, Many Lengkong, Max Linu, and Max Tumbel were also present at the occasion. Frits Kumontoy, Yakin Permata, Hein Lumenta, Nalanda, Bram Wenas, Oskar Wensen and Adolf Rumondor [35].

They are accused of conspiring against the lawful government. However, despite government pressure, these groups were never deterred because some continued their fight. On December 22, 1932, some adolescents in the village of Leilem raised the Red and White flag, demonstrating this point. The flag was lowered instantly under the Great Law of Kawangkoan [36].

In the framework of the Indonesian national movement, the Dutch government could thwart the radical movement by detaining and prosecuting PNI figures, such as Sukarno, and obtaining guilty verdicts. As leaders of the New Indonesia National Education (PNI Baru), Hatta and Sjahrir were subsequently found guilty and sentenced to prison. The Bandung court tried Sukarno. Gatot Mangkupradja, Maskun, Supriadinata from August 18 to September 29, 1930. The judgment was issued on December 22, 1930. However, while being convicted through the special privileges of the Governor-General, they were subject to a unique sentence, namely being "exiled" from Java. Ir. Sukarno traveled from Flores to Bengkulu [37]. Hatta and Sjahrir, who had initially traveled to Digul, then relocated to Banda Neira [38].

4 Conclusion

In Java, political parties amalgamated to form the Indonesian Political Association (GAPI) in anticipation of a possible battle, creating the Indonesian nation, which opposed colonialism in its entirety.

Thus, GAPI arose in Minahasa as a forum for all regional political organizations, including the Minahasa Unity, which also joined. This party surprised Minahasa on November 23, 1937, when they conducted a gathering preceded by Indonesia Raya singing. Simultaneously, the Red and White Flag was flown by the development of the movement organization in Minahasa in response to each political organization shift in Java. The standpoint of the Indonesian national movement signifies that every modification to the political structure of the conflict is also implemented in Manado and Minahasa. The extension of the Minahasa people's national perspective was initiated by the Minahasa Association, mainly through the ideas of Sam Ratulangi. On this premise, RZ Leirissa (1997) asserts that Sam Ratulangi was instrumental in offering the Minahasa community new directions. Its principal function is to facilitate the transition of the Minahasa people from their tribal perspective to a broader Indonesian national vision.

The effectiveness of political education from various political organizations increased the Minahasa community's understanding of Indonesian nationalism, specifically the expansion of perspectives that resisted colonialism. Colonialism, the Minahasa people thoughts and the nature of their organizational fight were also

influenced by an understanding from the Indonesian Association. This reality begins with studio clubs in Tonsea, Sonder, and Tondano, as well as other localities in Minahasa. As heirs of the PNI-Sukarno, groups such as Parindra and Gerindo were created following the conflict. Rapidly, Minahasa youngsters became involved in the Manado and Minahasa branches.

During the Japanese occupation, all mobility was forbidden. Japan has used some radical teenagers to train youth leadership cadres and teach at a new semi-military school in Tondano, whether they know it or not. Wangko F. Sumanti and KE are those iu. The school's principal and non-Japanese teachers are Dr. Senduk, CM Pantouw, GK Dauhan, ED Johannes, and Mr. Hidayat, according to Leirissa (1997).

The youth organization, which already understands Indonesian nationalism, is at odds with the Indische Kerk over the Protestant church's autonomy. These individuals, who are also leaders in the "People's Power Committee," include, among others, GE. Dauhan, a former PNI, Gerindo figure, and most of its members were proponents of the movement, such as BW. Lapian, Frits Kumontoy, CP Hermanses, Max Tumbel, Jo Jokom, Ir. WJ Ratulangi, enduk, JI Permata, and Kusnodaupojo. Therefore, the viewpoint of Minahasa intellectuals, who are also members of the movement, is that of nationalists. The sincerity of nationalists in the struggle to establish an independent church in Minahasa is unquestionable. Even after their integration with zending instructors and church officials, the dispute escalated, as the 1933 creation of the KGPM showed.

Acknowledgment

Thank you to the Dean of Faculty of Social Science Universitas Negeri Manado for supporting this research.

References

- [1] Christopher Lloyd, The Structures of History. London: Basil Blackwell, 1978.
- [2] Charles Tilly, From Mobililization to Revolution. Reading Mass: AddisonWesley Publishing Company, 1978.
- [3] Marc Bloch, Pleidooi voor de Geschiedenis of Geschiedenis Als Ambacht, SUN Nijemegen: Nederlandse vertaling, 1988.
- [4] Sutan M. Hutagalung, Identitas Kepemimpinan Pelayan Gereja Dalam Konteks Kemandirian Theologia, Daya dan Dana, cet., ke-4. Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1997.
- [5] Christopher Lloyd, Explanation in Social History. London: Basil Blackwell.
- [6] F.S. Watuseke, Sedjarah Minahasa. Manado: Pertjetakan Manado, 1968.
- [7] J.L.Ch. Abineno, Sejarah Apostolat II/1. Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1978.
- [8] Boyke Arthur Suak, Kerapatan Gereja Protestan Minahasa, Suatu Uraian Sejarah Tentang

- Berdirinya dan Perkembangannya, Tesis. Jakarta: SEAGST 1992.
- [9] Th. van den End, Ragi Carita 1, Sejarah Gereja di Indonesia 1500-1860. Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1999.
- [10] F. Ukur dan E.C. Cooley, Jerih dan Juang. Jakarta: LPS- DGI,1979.
- [11] Th. Müller-Krüger, Sedjarah Geredja di Indonesia. Jakarta: Badan Penerbit Kristen, 1966.
- [12] Zakaria J. Ngelow, Kekristenan dan Nasionalisme Perjumpaan Umat Kristen Protestan dengan Pergerakan Nasional Indonesia 1900-1950, Disertasi. Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1996.
- [13] S.C. Graaf van, Randwijck, Oegstgeest. Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia,1989.
- [14] Th.van den End dan J. Weitjens, Ragi Carita 2, Sejarah Gereja di Indonesia 1860-anSekarang. Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia,1999.
- [15] Yohanes Burdam, Konflik Otonomi Gereja di Minahasa 1915-1979, Tesis. Depok: PS Ilmu Sejarah, Fakultas Sastra, Pascasarjana Universitas Indonesia, 2001.
- [16] Philip Quarles van Ufford, (ed.), Kepemimpinan Lokal dan Implementasi Program, (diindonesiakan Shriley). Jakarta: Gramedia, 1988.
- [17] J.A.T. Schwarz, Tontemboansch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek met NederlanschTontemboansch register, (ed. By Adriani). Leiden: Brill, 1908.
- [18] Mieke Schouten, Minahasan Metamorphoses: Leadership and social mobility in a Southeast Asian society, C.1680-1983, dissertation. Covilhá: Serviqo Gráficos da Universidade da Beira Interrior, 1993.
- [19] M. Schouten, dalam Philip Quarles van Ulford (ed.), "Legitimasi Sementara: Pemerintahan Desa di Minahasa", dalam Philip Quarles van Ufford, (ed.), Kepemimpinan Lokal dan Implementasi Program, (diindonesiakan Shriley). Jakarta: PT Gramedia, 1988.
- [20] Max Weber, dalam G.D. Mitchel (ed.), A Dictionary of Sociology. London: Routledge & Regan Paul, 1997.
- [21] H.M.Taulu, Sedjarah Minahasa. Tomohon: Badan Penerbit dan Penjiar Boekoe "Membangoen",1951.
- [22] Surat Kabar Pangkal Setia, No. 13; no. 24 Th. V,
 7 Januari 1926; No. 29, Thn. V, 11 Pebruari 1928, hlm. l; no. 42, Thn. 23 Maret 1929; No. 30 & 31 Thn. VIII, Tanggal 31 Desember 1930
- [23] J.D. Kessek, "Sejarah KGPM", Kumpulan Bahan-bahan Untuk Penulisan Sejarah KGPM. Manado: (t.t.).
- [24] Walter Lempp, Benih Yang Tumbuh XII, Gereja-Gereja di Surnatera Utara. Jakarta: LPS GDI,1976.

- [25] R.S. Bujung, "Sumbangan Bahan-bahan Penyusunan Sejarah KGPM", Draft Naskah Sejarah KGPM. Manado: (t.t.).
- [26] Pangkal Setia, no. 47, Thn. VII, 23 April 1930; no. l, Thn. VIII, 4 Juni 1930; no. 8, Thn. VIII, 23 Juli 1930.
- [27] Depdikbud., Sejarah Revolusi Kemerdekaan Daerah Salawesi Utara. Jakarta: Depdikbud. R.I., 1982.
- [28] R.Z. Leirissa, dalam Dance I.Palit,dkk.,(ed.), "Nasionalisme dan Posisi Daerah: Kasus Minahasa", dalam Dance I. Palit (ed.), Dinamika Nasionalisme Indonesia. Salatiga: Yayasan Bina Darma, 1999.
- [29] T.B. Simatupang, dkk., dalam W.B. Sidajabat, "Partisipasi Kristen Dalam Revolusi di Bidang Politik", dalam W.B. Sidjabat (penyusun), Partisipasi Kristen Dalam Nation Building. Djakarta: Badan Penerbit Kristen, 1968.
- [30] A.K. Pringgodigdo, Sejarah Pergerakan Rakuat Indonesia. Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1978.
- [31] Leirissa, Terwujudnua Suatu Gagasan Sejarah Masyarakat Indonesia 1900-1950. Jakarta: CV Akademika Pressindo, 1985.
- [32] Sartono Kartodirdjo, Pengantar Sejarah Indonesia Baru: Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional dati Kolonialisme Sampai Nasionalisme, Jilid 2. Jakarta: Gramedia, 1990.
- [33] John Ingleson, Jalan Ke Pengasingan Pergerakan Nasionalis Indonesia Tahun 1927-1934, terjemahan Zanakhayari. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1988.
- [34] Bernard Dahm, Sukarno dan Perjuangan Kemerdekaan di Indonesia, penerjemah, Hasan Basari. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1987.
- [35] Lambert Giebel, Soekarno Biografi 1901-1950. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Widiasarana, 2001.
- [36] Rudolf Mrázek, Sjahrir: Politik dan Pengasingan di Indonesia, penerjemah, Mochtar Pabottingi, Matheoz, Nalle S. Maimoen. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1996.
- [37] J. Lisangan, Perjuangan Pemuda Indonesia Minahasa. Manado: Yayasan Wongkar Werun,
- [38] Arsip PGI Jakarta, Notulen Kerkbestuur, Notoelen Rapat 4 Januari 1928, tanpa nomor butir keputusan.