

ETHNICITY AND NATIONALISM: *SIPATAHOENAN* NEWSPAPER'S VIEWS ON THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the texts in *Sipatahoenan* newspaper published by the national movement organization of Paguyuban Pasundan of Tasikmalaya Branch. The focus of the research is how the narrations in *Sipatahoenan* newspaper show the attitudes towards national issues. The attitudes are worth studying because Paguyuban Pasundan is a national movement organization based on regionalism or ethnicity. The research adopted the historical methodology because it uses historical sources in the form of a newspaper published in the past. The analysis employed critical discourse analysis, postulating that a text is constructed by the elements of ideologies. The ideology here refers to how *Sipatahoenan* as the newspaper of a national movement organization shows ethnic and nationalist ideologies in addressing some events related to nationalist movements.

Keywords: Ethnicity, Nationalism, *Sipatahoenan* Newspaper, Nationalist Movement

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini mengkaji teks koran *Sipatahoenan* yang diterbitkan oleh organisasi pergerakan kebangsaan Paguyuban Pasundan Cabang Tasikmalaya. Hal yang akan dikaji adalah bagaimana narasi dalam koran *Sipatahoenan* mengandung sikap terhadap isu-isu kebangsaan. Sikap ini menarik dikaji karena Paguyuban Pasundan merupakan organisasi pergerakan kebangsaan yang memiliki dasar kedaerahan atau etnisitas. Metodologi yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metodologi sejarah karena menggunakan sumber sejarah berupa koran yang terbit di masa lalu. Analisis yang digunakan adalah analisis wacana kritis yang menjelaskan bahwa suatu teks dikonstruksi oleh unsur ideologi yang membuat teks tersebut. Ideologi yang dimaksud dalam penelitian ini adalah bagaimana koran *Sipatahoenan* sebagai koran organisasi pergerakan kebangsaan memiliki unsur ideologi etnik dan nasionalis dalam mensikapi beberapa peristiwa yang berkenaan dengan pergerakan kebangsaan.

Kata kunci: Etnisitas, Nasionalisme, *Sipatahoenan*, Pergerakan Kebangsaan,

INTRODUCTION

Ethnicity and nationalism are terms suggesting the identity of a group of people who are usually the elite, formed as a result of political or even social struggles (Calhoun, 1993: 211). Terminologically, ethnicity is understood as a form of individual affiliation or identification with a certain ethnic group. Ethnicity can also be seen as an individual's mindset and sentiments with a certain ethnic group constructed by power and social relations (Yang, 2001: 40). In the relations, there is certainly emotional solidarity that distinguishes the group from the other groups (Wan & Vanderwerf, 2009: 2). The solidarity will build a community that shares unique identities, both physical and non-physical ones; in fact, some of the identities are already established or inherent, hence creating a sense of primordialism (Isawij, 1993: 2).

Meanwhile, nationalism is a political ideology that becomes the basis of the formation of a state (Jaffrelot, 2003: 2). The birth of nationalism can also be attributed to social-ethnic conflicts, which may be caused by a certain ethnic group having a sense of national autonomy and being more popular than other ethnic groups (Calhoun, 1993: 211). Hence, there is a strong relationship between a sense of ethnicity and the formation of nationalism, for nationalism that is a modern and political phenomenon (Jensen, 2017: 11-12). In the perspective of history, modernization was formed as an impact of education that gave birth to a group of elite who were aware that their nation was colonized and thus they felt the need for a struggle against the colonizers in the form of national movement organizations such as those found in Indonesia (van Niel, 1984: 1). The awareness of nationalism can also emerge in a certain ethnic, as is the case with the establishment of Paguyuban Pasundan in West Java, as a national movement organization that is based on the regional identity of Sundanese ethnic (Suharto, 1996: 3). Hence, nationalism and ethnicity are strongly linked in the establishment of Paguyuban Pasundan.

How is the sense of ethnicity and nationalism reflected in the medium used to disseminate the ideas of the organization's struggles? One of the media owned by Paguyuban Pasundan is *Sipatahoenan* newspaper published by the Tasikmalaya branch. The sense of ethnicity will be immediately felt from the display and language used by the newspaper, which is Sundanese. The research would like to analyze the content of *Sipatahoenan* newspaper in relation to the ideas of ethnicity and nationalism. It is expected that a construction of the ideas on ethnicity and nationalism of Paguyuban Pasundan in *Sipatahoenan* newspaper will be discovered.

RESEARCH METHOD

The research adopted the historical methodology because the data were obtained from the past, in the form of *Sipatahoenan* newspaper published in 1929. The data were then critically analyzed to see the past events, which become the marking point of historical research (Kerlinger, 1972: 673). The events referred to here are those related to the activities of nationalist movements in the Dutch East Indies as reported in *Sipatahoenan* newspaper. The data source is in a written form, namely the narration contained in the texts of *Sipatahoenan* newspaper. As is the case with historical research, data are interpreted with a systematic-descriptive explanation of the historical subjects (McCullagh, 1998: 11). The historical subjects referred to in this research are ethnicity and nationalism.

Paguyuban Pasundan is a national movement organization that certainly has its own ideologies as the foundation of the organization. There are two ideologies which become the basis of Paguyuban Pasundan, namely ethnicity or regionalism as Sundanese ethnic and nationalism as an ideology related to national struggles. The ideologies will be reflected in the narrations of *Sipatahoenan* newspaper because the language used in a newspaper is a product of the interpretation of the newspaper's management or editorial board of the reality captured by the news-

paper which is then written into pieces of news (Hour & Jacobs, 2008). To analyze the ideologies represented in the narrations of *Sipatahoenan* newspaper, the researchers used the critical discourse analysis method, as a newspaper is a discourse or a text produced in social and political contexts that contains social power and domination. The social power referred to here is the social power of a group or an institution (Van Dijk, 2015). The institution meant in *Sipatahoenan* newspaper is the ruling elite of Paguyuban Pasundan. Additionally, the ideologies represented by a newspaper can also be seen from the language used, since language reflects the activities of human beings who have social relations and social groups (Gee, 2005: 1). The linguistic aspect that is cultural in nature as the ethnic characteristic of *Sipatahoenan* newspaper is Sundanese language.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Sipatahoenan is a newspaper published in Sundanese. The newspaper was first published in 1924. The publication of this newspaper was a form of effort undertaken by Paguyuban Pasundan as a national movement organization to convey its ideas of nationalism, as was the case with many similar organizations at that time which published newspapers as a means of struggle. The editorial board of this newspaper comprised the activists of Paguyuban Pasundan, namely Soetisna Sendjaja and Bakrie Soeraatmadja as the chief editors and Soeriadiradja as the editorial representative of Betawi (Jakarta). The editorial office was located on Jalan Djadjawajweg (Jajaway) No. 11, Tasikmalaya. The contents of the newspaper were dominated with the political news from both areas of West Java and other areas in the Dutch East Indies. Not only news, the newspapers also published the editorial board members' analysis and responses to the political events and policies of the Dutch East Indies Government. To support its financial sustainability, *Sipatahoenan* newspaper also displayed advertisements from various companies such

as hotels, shops, publishing company, printing company, and so on.

An Identity of Ethnic and National Progress

Newspaper publishing is a mark of the progress of a society and a nation. *Sipatahoenan* newspaper is a Sundanese language newspaper that reflects the progress of the Sundanese people and at the same time the progress of the nation. What the community hopes for can be delivered in the newspaper it publishes. In this case, the progress desired by the Sundanese as presented in *Sipatahoenan* newspaper is as follow:

MITEMBEJAN

Pikeun tjiri anoe boekti, antjer-antjer anoe bener, ngokeor majengna bakangsaan teh tangtoe, pisan kedah dina soerat kabarna. Margi, nja di dinja pisan tempat ngadadarkeun angen-angen kabangsaan. Hidji bangsa anoe hajang madjoe, goemelar anoe ilahar, njarengan madjoena djaman, tangtos sami achtiar, ngaloerkaeun serat kabar, angen-angen sangkan njebar (Sipatahoenan, Rebo 2 Januari 1929, No.1 Lambaran ka I).

FOREWORD

The true evidence that becomes the characteristic and the measure of the progress of nationalism is the publication of a newspaper because the newspaper is used to convey ideas about nationalism. If a nation wants to advance, it has to follow the development of the times and to continue to strive publishing a newspaper to disseminate ideas. (*Sipatahoenan*, Rebo 2 Januari 1929, No.1 Lambaran ka I/Wednesday, January 2, 1929, No. 1 Page I).

In the above excerpt entitled "*Mitembejan*" which means the editorial introduction, it is conveyed that the newspaper publishing is a measure of the progress of a nation or an ethnicity. The progress here means the ability to keep with the development of the times. The result of analysis shows the attitude of nationalism of the Sundanese by publishing *Sipatahoenan* newspaper. It is interesting to note that this newspaper

was published in Sundanese as the ethnic identity of the Sundanese in West Java. In addition, *Sipatahoenan* was published by Paguyuban Pasundan of the Tasikmalaya Branch, a regency in West Java at the time, instead of being published by the Central Board of the Paguyuban. In the spatial perspective, the localization becomes an identity of Paguyuban Pasundan as a national movement organization. As Yang (2000: 42) stated ethnicity has an identity within its group that differentiates it from other groups. The identity can be cultural, which in this case is Sundanese language as the identity of the Sundanese people that distinguishes the ethnicity from other ethnicities in the Dutch East Indies.

The birth of nationalism was a result of modernization (Conversi, 2012: 14). Modernization occurs primarily in countries undergoing a process of colonization by the West. During colonization, westernization takes place, which is usually done through education for the natives. Such a historical phenomenon also occurred in the Dutch East Indies. The Dutch East Indies government educated the natives, and this education later gave birth to the educated elite. These intellectuals later became important figures in generating ideas about nationalism (Shu, 2016: 7). Some of the learned elite were active in Paguyuban Pasundan and their ideas of nationalism were disseminated in *Sipatahoenan*.

The Support from Sundanese Society

One characteristic of ethnicity is solidarity in the group. Solidarity is formed because of the social relationships among members who are then mobilized for the interests of the group. One of these interests is political interest. Mobility occurs among the members of the group (Isajiw, 1993: 3). This phenomenon is reflected in *Sipatahoenan* newspaper as described in the following excerpt:

Sipatahoenan parantos kagenep taoen, teu goemelarna di alam doenja, ngawitan mah

bibilintik, itih koerih, hiroep leutik, nanging kabeh-dieunakeun koe pangdeudeuhna sadaja para mitra..... tjoemarita, tjapetang bisa tandang di pakalangan. Oentoeng anoe pohara pisan, pikeun Sipatahoenan mah, estoening bibit boetjit oerang pribuemina, serat kabar wedalan oge, henteu katjampoeran koe modal soemawonten ari Goevernement..... katjampoeran make modal tangtos sorana oge kahalangan koe euweuh... doeit. mawi ditaatan kitoe, soepados..... bok bilih aja keneh.... keun, mana serat kabar noe pitoein wedalan somah, mana serat kabar noe dimodalan koe pihak itoe.

Ageung pisan kapertjantenan, ka sadaja para mitra, anoe jaktos palaj ngamajengkeun serat kabar basa Soenda, anoe pitoein wedalan somah tea, tanmgtos sami kersa roemodjong, soepados djagdjang waringkas, tjapetang tandangna di pakalangan. Doepe roepina pangrodjong tea, heunteu toekoe koe hidji djalan, naon bae anoe sakinten matak madjeng ka Sipatahoenan.

Koe anoe ngamoedina, diadjang adjeng pisan kintoenan karangan, atanapi roepi roepi wartos anoe sakinten ageung paedahna ka anoe maraos.

Sanget panoehoen ka anoe ngintoenan karangan, moegi oelah alit galih, rempan roemegag manah, dapon satarabasna, nilas saplasna, ngadek satjekna, njapoen saniskanten rereged, anoe aja dilebet, atanapi saloareun hiroep koemboeh oerang.

Anoe kagoengan karangan tos, moal kasabet kasabit-sabit, katoel karoewal-rawel dina aja pantja bajana, ditanggal koe anoe ngamoedi bae. Kadjabi oepami dipoendoet koe anoe kagoengan karangan tea.

Monnggahing di 'alam doenja mah, sok tara soewoeng-soewoeng, karinah sareng pitanah, anoe ngahalang halang, kana kamadjengnana somah anoe toegenah.

Saneskanten kadjantenan anoe saroepi kitoe, perloe pisan disebar diaoear-aear, soepados batoer djenoek bala rea pada njaksian. (Sipatahoenan, Rebo 2 Januari 1929, No.1 Lambaran ka I).

Sipatahoenan is entering its sixth year of publication. It started small, but there

was a lot of struggle; we started as a small-scale newspaper . . . but we got the necessary support from the customers . . . we can tell a lot about the struggle for independence in the field. The greatest advantage of *Sipatahoenan* is that this newspaper is published and financed by indigenous people and does not receive the slightest help from the government . . . if we received government funding aid, we would certainly hesitate in voicing our aspirations . . . instead, we would follow the government's wishes . . . this act of voicing aspirations will show people which newspaper is truly funded by common people and which one is funded by the government.

Customer's great trust in the newspaper of course show their desire to promote Sundanese newspapers, newspapers published by the people, and also evince their willingness to cooperate, so that the editorial team are encouraged to speak as a form of our struggle. There is no single form of support; support in any way can help advance *Sipatahoenan*.

The editor-in-chief is looking forward to receive articles or the news items that benefit readers.

We are very grateful to those who sent their writing, who are not discouraged and have not lost the spirit but continued to head towards the future; the spirit will be imprinted forever, on target, not rigid, and serve to keep togetherness.

For those who have some articles to publish, your articles will not be edited or even slightly changed if they are already good, and the editor-in-chief will guarantee this, unless the articles need some improvement as the author wishes.

Living in the world makes problems become inextricable. There is happiness and there is sadness; there are also obstacles to the progress of common people. Such obstacles should be disseminated to the public so that we can solve them. . (*Sipatahoenan*, Rebo 2 Januari

1929, No.1 Lambaran ka I/Wednesday, January 2, 1929, No. 1 Page I).

The above excerpt explains that *Sipatahoenan*, which was published on January 2, 1929, had entered its sixth year. Six years is very long for a newspaper to be continuously published in an area in West Java. The achievement of reaching the sixth anniversary cannot be separated from the great struggles of the people behind the newspaper. It is interesting to note that the newspaper was able to survive for six years by only financially relying on its own, without getting any help from the government. One of the most important keys that keeps the newspaper surviving through its sixth year is the trust and support of readers who were, of course, mostly Sundanese. Moreover, this progress could be achieved because of the sense of togetherness among fellow Sundanese, especially the indigenous Sundanese, in maintaining *Sipatahoenan* newspaper. *Sipatahoenan* newspaper's editorial board greatly expected the contribution from its readers in the forms of writings so that this newspaper could survive and continue to be published.

In terms of ethnic solidarity, the continuity of *Sipatahoenan* newspaper demonstrates a high sense of ethnicity from the Sundanese people. The sense of ethnicity will arise because of the special relationships within the group (Vanderwerf, 2009: 2). In the organization of Paguyuban Pasundan, a special relationship was formed among fellow ethnic Sundanese. *Sipatahoenan* newspaper as a Sundanese newspaper could easily get accepted by the Sundanese because it could build an emotional relationship. This relationship could be mobilized for the political ideals of the nationalist movements because *Sipatahoenan* also contains a great amount of news with strong political nuances. The news and language presentation of *Sipatahoenan* were able to build ethnic solidarity as proved by the continuity of the newspaper publication for a long period of time.

A medium for dissemination of ideals

In the review column of *Sipatahoenan* newspaper, there is a description of the function of the newspaper as the disseminator of ideals. The ideals in question are of course the ideals of the national movement organization of Paguyuban Pasundan. These ideals are described below:

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

The Government has also granted leeway to all citizens, to convey their wishes, considerations and opinions through newspapers as long as they do not violate the rules and regulations (*Sipatahoenan*, Rebo 2 Januari 1929, No.1 Lambaran ka I [Wednesday, January 2, 1929, No. 1, p. I])

The above excerpt explains to all citizens that if they want to convey their goals or wishes, they must publish a newspaper. The excerpt also explains that the content of the newspaper should not contradict the laws of the government, in this case the Dutch Colonial Government. If the content of the newspaper is not in conflict with the government, then the newspaper will get the permit from the government easily.

The ideals referred to here are the nationalism as formulated by Paguyuban Pasundan as an organization based on ethnicity and nationalism. The nationalism of Paguyuban Pasundan originated from ethnic sentiments against the Javanese people in Budi Utomo. It was these ethnic sentiments that underlay the birth of Paguyuban Pasundan (Ekadjati, 2003: 21); therefore, the newspaper was published in Sundanese.

NATIONALISM

Sipatahonon newspaper contains news about activities related to the nationalist movements. Bandung City as a big city in West Java is described as a city that dis-

plays a high spirit of nationalism compared to other cities. The activities related to nationalism in Bandung were greeted with enthusiasm by its people, as described below:

..... P.P.K.I Bandoeng

Dina poe Minggoe tanggal 16 December 1928, sectie P.P.K.I Bandoeng, geus ngajakeun Openbare Vergadering, tempat di Gedong Passar-Baroe Bioskop deukeut Passar-Baroe Bandoeng.

Anu daratang kana eta vergadering katjida pisan reana, gedong bioscop noe henteu bisa diseboet leutik, nepi ka dedet padet pisan, sarta katjida reana djalma anoe hente bisa asoep, sawareh mah nepi kapaksa koedoe baralik deui bae. Anoe daratang teh, lain ngan oerang dajeh bae, tapi ti pasisian oge nepi ka ngaleut awewe lalaki. Tetela pisan jen di Bandoeng mah hawana pergerakan teh geus katjida loeheorna, lamoen dibandingkeun djeung di dajeh sedjen anoe katjida tiiseumana keneh tina bab pergerakan. Sakitoe teh ma'loem di Bandoeng hente koerang-koerang tongtonan, boh worstelen atawa bioscoop anoe dimaenkeun ti beurang. Nya kitoe deui rea koempoelan leutikna anoe ngwoengkoel keur....

(Sipatahoenan, Rebo 2 Januari 1929, No.1 Lambaran ka I/Wednesday, January 2, 1929, No. 1 Page I).

... PPKI Bandung

On Sunday, December 16, 1929, PPKI (*Pemufakatan Perhimpunan Kebangsaan Indonesia* or Association of Political Organizations of the Indonesian People) of Bandung branch held a public meeting in the Cinema Building of Pasar Baru, near the new market.

The meeting was attended by a great number of participants, and the building can be said to be so small that it was so crowded with the attendants, and many could not get in, while many others were forced to return home. The participants did not only come from the city center, but there were many from the suburbs, both male and female. This shows how Bandung has a strong spirit of (the nationalist) movement compared to other areas. It also shows how Bandung does not lack (visual) entertainment, where cinemas play films both during the day and night.

(Sipatahoenan, Rebo 2 Januari 1929,

No.1 Lambaran ka I [Wednesday, January 2, 1929, No. 1, p. I])

The above excerpt tells about the activities of PPKI meeting in Bandung. PPKI stands for *Pemufakatan Perhimpunan Kebangsaan Indonesia* or Association of Political Organizations of the Indonesian People. Paguyuban Pasundan is one of the members of PPKI. The news quoted above reports the spirit of national movements in the city of Bandung as was marked by the large number of participants who came from various regions and some even came from areas very far from Bandung City. The large number of participants who attended the event was compared to the audiences of Bandung cinemas, which were often crowded. In fact, the attendants of PPKI meeting outnumbered those of the cinemas

The enthusiasm of the people of Bandung and its surrounding areas shows ethnic solidarity that can be mobilized into national solidarity. National solidarity is directed more towards political mobility embodied by national movement organizations as political organizations. This indicates that there is a very close relationship between ethnicity and nationalism. Ethnicity is a regional space, whereas nationalism is a broader space, namely at the national level. Ethnicity can form the basis of nationalism because nationalism is formed through a historical process caused by a common consciousness due to similarities derived from myths, memories, traditions, values, rituals, and symbols. Thus, nationalism is the center of the symbolic elements (Leoussi & Grosby, 2007: 5).

The courage to fight for the people

One of the attitudes of individuals who have a sense of nationalism is defending the people. The people here refer to indigenous people who were defended by activists of nationalist movements. *Sipatahoenan* newspaper criticized indigenous leaders who did not fight for the people, although they had a position in the colonial bureaucracy and acquired the position

because of the people's choice. The criticism can be seen in the excerpt below:

Tjoerat-tjaret Kaelidan djeung kapangkalan

Maksoed koering lain kaelidan jadi lid Societit at klub maen bal, tapi kaelidan noe djadi lid badan wawakil rahayat (vertegenwoordigende liehamen), saperti lied haminten atawa Raad Kaboepaten.

Roepa-roepana pikeun bangsa oerang mah, oerang priboemi, kaelidan djueng kapangkalan teh weleh teu daekeun loeje bae beda deui djueng di bangsa koelon. Geura bae dangoekeun kongkorongokna si Djobag, djago ISDB atawa djago noe ti Basoekei, anoe koe oea Nazy nepi ka dihormat koe ka-anoman. Eta djago doeanana ponggawa nagara, toer pangkat galedede, tapi dina prakakanana njarita roepana geus te inget, kana pangkatna, tapi sagala roepa didjoedjoeroeng koe kaelidanana. Oepama tjeuk kawadjiban elid, nadjan matak teu nguenah kadengena koe pamarentah, tara datang ka dikemoe.

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

Kitoe kaajaan lid bangsa koelon.

Koemaha ari oerang?

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

Soepaja oelah dianggap ngobos teu poegoeh, ajeuna koering

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

Notes on leadership and rank

I do not mean leadership as in football club, but the leadership of the people's representatives, such as that of the

Township Council. It seems to us, the native people, leadership and rank do not coexist, unlike the view of the Western people. Try listening to the talks of Djobag, a figure of ISDB, or a figure of Basuki who is highly respected by the Nazi. Both figures are state officials and have high ranks; however, when they speak up, they ignore what has been instructed to them and the fact that they are strongly tied to their positions. They will speak the truth no matter what, although it would not please the government; they never keep it in their heart. They firmly and unanimously defend their position. The government is also likened to an unripe yam, which immediately gets rotten when pricked, as it remains in its position, meaning they give different treatments to the leaders who criticize them and the state officials. The good principle held by the aforementioned leaders must also be held by the state officials in our nation. That is the state of leadership in the West, how about us? To my knowledge, our leaders who have become state officials do not have the freedom to voice their opinions. It is not that they cannot do so, but they do not want to, although there are no rules or regulations that prohibit them from doing so. The opportunities to voice their opinions are open; in fact, they are wide open that as leaders they cannot get indicted for whatever they deliver in the meeting of the representative body of the people. This is something that is commonly done by state officials, although of course there are exceptions, and for the "good leaders" then the rules are not really accommodating. So do not be wrong, I am telling the truth. (Sipatahoenan, Rebo 2 Januari 1929, No.1 Lambaran ka I [Wednesday, January 2, 1929, No. 1, p. I])

The excerpt from the newspaper above compares European *gemente* members to the Regency Councilors who were indigenous peoples. *Gemente* is an administrative area that only takes care of Europeans, and Bandung was once simultaneously a *gemente* and regency. *Gemente* is usually led by Europeans, while regencies are led by regents (Indonesian, *bupati*). Both *ge-*

mente and regency have councils representing the people, equivalent to DPRD (Regional People's Representative Assembly) today. *Sipatahoenan* newspaper criticized the Regency Council members of the indigenous people who were more afraid of the Dutch colonial government and did not really defend the people. Conversely, *gemente* members were more courageous in defending the interests of Europeans. The fear of the indigenous leaders was more driven by their desire to maintain their positions as members of the Regency Council.

Sipatahoenan newspaper's criticism of the Regency Council members indicates that Regency Council members lacked the spirit of nationalism. For the spirit of nationalism is a political ideology (Conversion, 2012: 15-17). Political ideology is the driving force of a national movement organization. In addition, nationalism is a form of resistance against colonialism. The courage of the leaders or members of the Regency Council could be a form of resistance against the invaders.

Suspicion against the Colonizers

Individuals with the spirit of nationalism as the ideology of political movements always have a suspicious attitude and may conflict with the colonialists. The suspicion could arise because of the government's desire to gain sympathy from the nationalists, whose real purpose was to control the movement. Such a phenomenon is as described in the excerpt below:

Ngagaraleuh "Asocatie" naon !!

"Euj, noe dagang! Ka deu ngilikan! Daganan saha ieu teh?"

"Kaloeran Fabrek Nederlandsch-Indische Libersie Partj"

"Saha noe kagoenganana?"

"Ari noe kagoengan mah djrg. Eugelenberg ti Batawi"

"Geuning brt N.I.L.P. ajeuna mah? kapan bareto mah P.E.B?"

"Hih atuh ajeuna mah parantos salin roepa oge teu acan lami, nembe 3 sasih manawi"

"Emh saroea keneh djeung P.E.B eta teh?"

"Hih, benten ieu mah, sanes deui"

"Koemaha bedana teh?"

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

"His atoeh, nja tjara noe bareto bae ari kitoe mah. Kapan bareto oge nja kitoe toedjoena na teh teu mitjeun sasieur."

Tapi ari boekti na mah. Kapan karasa koe oerang oge, te koedoe deadjah deui nja kitoe bae, ngan semet biwir da ari di djero hatena mah siapa tahoe. Oerang mah koedoe goeroe boekoer, teu koedoe nginget-ninget kana omonganana. Sanadjan omongan kareueut oge ari woedjoed na matak te ngenah, teu koedoe digoegoe. (Sipatahoenan, No. 2 Lambaran Ka I Saptoe 5 Januari 1929 Taoen ka 6)

What Associations Are You Buying?

"Hey, merchant! What are you selling?"

"Products made of Fabrek Nederlandsch-Indidsche Libertie Partj"

"Who is the owner of that factory?"

"The owner is Mr. Eugelenberg from Betawi"

"Why is it now named N.I.L.P.? Did not it used to be P.E.B?"

"Yes, it has changed its face now . . . not so long ago, just three months ago."

"Um . . . it's the same as P.E.B"

"No . . . it's different."

"What is the difference?"

"The difference lies in the intention to unite the people over there and the people over here, the Western and the Eastern people, the Natives and the Dutch. For them to be united, to remain peaceful and in harmony, and do not fight against each other."

"Then, it's still the same as how it used to be. Hasn't the goal remained the same, that is to remove little by little."

"But in reality, and we can also feel it, there is no need to spell it out, they are only sweet words, not necessarily come from the heart. We have to see the proof, no need to remember the promises. Even though the promises sound good, they will not necessarily become true; we do not have to follow them."

(Sipatahoenan, No. 2 Lambaran Ka I Saptoe 5 Januari 1929 Taoen ka 6 [Saturday, January 5, 1929, the Sixth

Year])

The title of a column on *Sipatahoenen* newspaper quoted above is "Ngagaraleuh "Asocatie" naon!!", which means what association are you buying. The title suggests the wishes of Dutch organizations to unite with indigenous organizations. The union was intended to eliminate commotions and to strife between the Dutch and the natives. However, *Sipatahoenan* newspaper criticized the invitation, because it was only the Dutchmen's sweet words that would not necessarily be proved in actions.

The suspicion against the Dutch invitation is a part of the attitude of nationalism, because nationalism is a political ideology of the resistance against colonialism. In a colonized society, the natives are inferior or under the patriarchal system. There is an unequal relationship between the indigenous and colonizers in various aspects of life (Radcliffe, 2015; Reilly, 2016; Hallenbeck, 2016). To demand that equality, the indigenous people resisted as a form of their sense of nationalism.

CONCLUSIONS

Sipatahoenan newspaper as a discourse or a text constructed by its editors who were activists of Paguyuban Pasundan demonstrates the ideologies of ethnicity and nationalism. Ethnicity in this regard relates to regionalism or Sundanese ethnicity, whereas nationalism is more of the shared attitudes of national movement organizations in the Dutch East Indies in the face of the actions of the Dutch colonial government and the Dutch themselves. The attitudes of ethnicity and nationalism appear in some reviews or news relating to the activities of nationalist movements or other events related to the attitudes of the Dutch and the Dutch Colonial Government. Ethnicity and nationalism are characterized by always keeping the distance from and the boundaries with the Dutch or the Dutch Indies government.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to express our gratitude to Sukapura for the kindness to provide us with the copies of *Sipatahoenan* newspaper, which have made it easier for us to do the research and allowed us to save the research cost.

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