

# **The Process of Democratization in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, 1951–1956: A Historical Perspective**

**Tri Yuniyanto**

**ABSTRACT:** *Democracy is government by people, or in any case, people are involved in decision making concerning the problems management of government. Government of democracy can run passing two ways that is democracy directly and indirectly. In modern state, government of democracy in general executed indirectly, that is through the existence representative institutes represent people. Since Indonesia gained its independence, there were basic changes to build the political order democratically. Hence, it is important to note here for knowing the process of democratization in Yogyakarta. Like other self governing area, in Yogyakarta also claimed to be able to execute order of government of democracy. Social and political structure in Yogyakarta gave a great change to executive institution to be more dominant in determining policy of regional government. DPRD (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah), for example, as tool to run people's sovereignty in determining regional government policy, was real not only as "rubber stamp" of policy which was determined by DPD (Dewan Pemerintahan Daerah), but also were able to give control and correction against deviation which happened.*

**KEY WORDS:** *Process of democratization, General Election, regional government, regional representative council, and social and political control.*

## **INTRODUCTION**

Democracy means exactly governance by people, or at least people are involved in decision making about governance holding problems (Feith, 1962; and Budiardjo, 1994). Democracy governance can run in two ways. They are direct democracy and indirect democracy. In modern country, democracy governance is generally performed indirectly, that is through representative institution which exist for people's representation (Iver, 1982:176).

---

**Tri Yuniyanto, M.Hum** is a Lecturer at the Department of History Education, Faculty of Education and Teacher Training UNS (State University of Solo), Jalan Ir. Sutami No.36-A, Kentingan, Surakarta, Central Java, Indonesia. He can be reached at: [triyuniyanto@gmail.com](mailto:triyuniyanto@gmail.com)

The independency of Indonesia has caused change basically in against political order and governance in Indonesia. The country which is recently established, state obviously that sovereignty lies in people`s hand which is spelled in the Constitution of 1945. Democratization is proclaimed for holding both central government and regional government.

In changing towards democracy order of government, sometimes happens stress, hardness, and rebellion, particularly in the region which remain to use government system based on traditional order which is feudalist. Therefore, the struggle to uphold the independence country is *anti kolonialisme* or anti colonialism; and *anti feodalisme* or anti feudalism (Djoko, 1974; Kartodirdjo, 1974; and Reid, 1987).

Yogyakarta, in the time of Dutch colonial governance, was a self-governing state or *swapraja (zelfbestuur)*, which held self government based on political contract between the Sultan and the Dutch colonial. Like other self-government region, the order of governance was also required to hold democracy order, both the *Kasultanan Yogyakarta* and *Kadipaten Pakualaman*. Two of these states, Yogyakarta and Pakualaman, whose rules had aligned themselves with the Republic of Indonesia`s struggle for independence, were together constituted as a Special Region or *Daerah Istimewa* with the status of a province. The Sultan of Yogyakarta (Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX) was appointed as *Kepala Daerah* (Governor) and the ruler of Pakualaman (Pakualam VIII) became *Wakil Kepala Daerah* (Deputy Governor). In fact, Yogyakarta was in many respects the reverse of conservative. Even during the struggle for independence, it had become the centre of pilot experiments in the introduction of democratic procedures at the village level (Legge, 1961).

For the Special Region of Yogyakarta, the giving authority to the people or democratization is extremely basic change if it is viewed from the concept of authority in Javanese culture. Along to the history, people have not ever been involved in holding authority to set governance at really, both in *Kasultanan* and *Pakualaman*. People`s right in government is extremely restricted by the authority of the king which is huge (Moedjanto, 1990).

Based on such real, it is very interesting and important to be known how the process of democracy in Yogyakarta is. It is also based on the reality that figure who becomes the chief and the vice chief of regional government in Yogyakarta are two charismatic king figure.

The substantial problems raised, in this context, are: (1) can the people`s involvement in governance, by representative council, be last for, and how is the process of democratization?; (2) is the members of the representative council reluctant in determining government policy

which relate directly to executive institution which is chaired by both king, or happened communication each other among them?; and (3) is the people's involvement restricted due to institution which only give seal against policy determined by regional government or executive council, or can give correction?

### **THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION**

The people's involvement in Yogyakarta in determining policy of the government is realized through representative system. The establishment of National Committee of Yogyakarta or KNID (*Komite Nasional Indonesia Daerah*) in September 1945, then changed to Regional Representative Council or DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*) since May 18<sup>th</sup> 1946, constitutes realization of initial effort of democracy process in Yogyakarta.<sup>1</sup>

Regional Representative Council, together with the *Kepala Daerah* (Governor) and *Wakil Kepala Daerah* (Deputy Governor) hold authority in determining direction of the regional governance in Yogyakarta.<sup>2</sup> From and by the members of DPRD, to be elected Regional Government Council or *Dewan Pemerintah Daerah*, usually abbreviated DPD. The executive council, the DPD, whose members were collectively and individually responsible to the DPRD, was entrusted with the day-to-day conduct of government, except Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX as *Kepala Daerah* and chairman of DPD, as well as Paku Alam VIII.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, the authority in a time of Japanese occupation which was held by *Pepatih Dalem* or Prime Minister, and *Paniradyapati*,<sup>4</sup> together with *Koti Zimu Kyoku Tyokan* or *Pembesar Kantor Urusan Kesultanan*, the chief of the Sultan regarding office, it is run by both kings (Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX and Paku Alam VIII) together with peoples which is represented by DPD, whose entrusted with day-to-day conduct of government in Yogyakarta.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Exchange from KNID to DPRD as anticipation in forming of representative institute, available to expressing many group in public. See, for example, daily newspaper of *Kedaulatan Rakyat* (Yogyakarta: 7-8 September 1946).

<sup>2</sup>See "Maklumat No.18/1946 Daerah Istimewa Negara Republik Indonesia, Jogjakarta (Kesultanan dan Pakualaman), Tgl. 18 Mei 1946" in *Archives of DPRD Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

<sup>3</sup>See "Maklumat No.18/1946, Section IV Article 1" and "Basic Law 22/1948, Article 34" in *Archives of DPRD Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

<sup>4</sup>Prime Minister K.P.H.H. Danuredjo VIII was pensioned in August 1, 1945. Meanwhile, *Paniradyapati* formed by Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX for minimizing power of *Pepatih Dalem* having double loyalty. See Sudarisman Poerwokoesoemo (1952).

<sup>5</sup>See "Maklumat No.11/1946 dari Negeri Kasultanan Jogjakarta dan Pradja Pakualam" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

The Sultan plays a double role, that of a political leader and administration; and that of the head of royal house. As the latter, in the palace, he maintains all the apparatus of state: the forms and ceremonies, the attention to precedence laid down by tradition. But in the outside of the palace, his role is as *Kepala Daerah* or Provincial Governor.<sup>6</sup>

Coincidentally, the effort to involve people in governance, it is also established democracy institution in staff level, in municipal and regency, and even up to sub district (village) by establishing *DPRD Kabupaten/Kotapraja* and *DPR Kalurahan* (Representative Council for Village).<sup>7</sup> The members of legislative council together with executive council, and the *Kepala Daerah* have authority to determine the technical aspect of daily administration.<sup>8</sup> This process of democracy shows fundamental change.

The completing step against an effort to involve peoples in government in Yogyakarta towards more improving phase, as one of component of democracy government system was fulfilled, that was with holding General Election for selecting the members of DPRD of Yogyakarta in 1951.<sup>9</sup> The General Election was implemented gradually. It meant that people did not direct select the member of regional representative council, but previously people selected *wali pemilih* (elector guardians), then the elector guardians selected the members of DPRD.<sup>10</sup> This General Election was the first in Indonesia after Indonesia's independence, because Yogyakarta the only region to hold elections under the earlier electoral law, Law 7 of 1950.<sup>11</sup> Yogyakarta's maturity in democratization was demonstrated in 1951.

---

<sup>6</sup>*Kepala Daerah* was intended to exercise a dual function. As chairman of the DPD, he was head of the local government with responsibility to the DPRD. He was entrusted with the supervisory power over his council. And as head of the region, *Kepala Daerah* was to be representative of the central government in area. See *Basic Law 22/1948*, especially Article 36.

<sup>7</sup>See "Maklumat No.7/1945 tentang Pembentukan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Kalurahan, 6 Desember 1945" in *Archives of DPRD Sekretariat in Yogyakarta*.

<sup>8</sup>Since *Makumat No.5/1946* and the furthermore regional regulation in Yogyakarta was signed by Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX, Paku Alam VIII, and Chief of DPRD.

<sup>9</sup>Activity of General Election for selecting the members of DPRD Yogyakarta begin on 16 July up to 9 November 1951. See *Kementrian Penerangan Republik Indonesia (1953:119)*.

<sup>10</sup>General Election for selecting the elector guardians on August 27, 1951 and the election for selecting members by elector guardians on October 7, 1951. See daily newspaper of *Kedaulatan Rakyat* (Yogyakarta: 28 August 1951); and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* (Yogyakarta: 3 October 1951).

<sup>11</sup>This General Election was participated by political parties, social organizations, and individuals.

The result of General Election by elector guardians were: MASYUMI (*Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia*) got 2,753 votes; PPDI (*Persatuan Pamong Desa Indonesia*) got 1,115 votes; PKABT (*Panitya Kesatuan Aksi Buruh Tani*) got 878 votes; PNI (*Partai Nasional Indonesia*) got 659 votes; PIR (*Persatuan Indonesia Raya*) got 313 votes; PUAM (*Perkumpulan Umat Adam Ma`rifat*) got 75 votes; SSPP (*Sarekat Sekerja Pamong Praja*) got 314 Votes; PPDI (*Persatuan Pamong Desa Indonesia*) got 20 votes; Party of Katholik got 354 Votes, AMDGK (*Aksi Memajukan Daerah Gunung Kidul*) got 85 votes; PARKINDO (*Partai Kristen Protestan Indonesia*) got 60 votes; GTB (*Gerombolan Tidak Berpartai* or No Party Group) got 37 votes; ORK (*Organisasi Rukun Kampung*) got 21 Votes; and from 10 individual candidates got only 125 votes.

Based on the sum of the votes and the sum of the members DPRD who are needed is 40 seats, so in determining the arrange of was use balance system of representative. The result were: MASYUMI got 18 seats,<sup>12</sup> PPDI got 7 seats,<sup>13</sup> PKABT got 5 seats,<sup>14</sup> PNI got 4 seats,<sup>15</sup> while the member of DPRD from Catholic Party, PIR and SSPP each got 2 seats.<sup>16</sup> The members of DPRD of Yogyakarta was legalized by Minister of Home Affairs on December 24, 1951.<sup>17</sup> From the members of Representative Council was then selected 5 persons as the members of Regional Executive Council (DPD) who has duties to carry out government in daily together with the chief and vice chief of *Kepala Daerah*.<sup>18</sup> Because this job was important, the election of the members of DPD severe struggle and debate among fractions in Regional Representative Council.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup>The members of MASYUMI were: Achid Masduki; H. Dawam Rozie; Mr. H. Kasmat; Sastrowardojo; H. Abdullah Affandi; Noor Ali Tjahjopuspito; A.R. Fachrudin; Hammam Hasjim; K.R.T. Brataningrat; Sonhadji; H. Wazir Nurie; Ny. Siti Zaenap Damiri; Muh Mawardi; Prodjokastowo; Wiwoho Purbohardidjojo; M. Junus Anies; and Saebani

<sup>13</sup>The members of PPDI were: Ruslan; Hartoatmojo; Sugijoprano; S. Brotoharsojo; Sosroatmodjo; Tjokrodiharjo; and Notosudarmo.

<sup>14</sup>The members of PKBAT were: Istiadjid; Rawan Hagnjodidjojo; S. Purwosudirjo; Sosrosukarto; and Susanto.

<sup>15</sup>The members of PNI were: K.P.H. Mr. S. Poewokoesoemo; Karkono; dr. Sahir Niti-hardjo; and Sudarsono.

<sup>16</sup>The members from Catholic Party were: M.J. Sukatjo and H.J. Sumarto; from PIR were: B.P.H. Poeroebojo and R.W. Kusumobroto; while from SSPP were: K.R.T. Labaningrat and R.P. Sujoto Prodjosuroto.

<sup>17</sup>See "Notulen Pelantikan DPR Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, Tanggal 24 Desember 1951" in *Archives of DPRD Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

<sup>18</sup>Five members DPD were: Mr. Kasmat of MASYUMI; Muh. Mawardi of MASYUMI; dr. Sahir Niti-hardjo of PNI; Susanto of PKABT; and Sugijoprano of PPDI.

<sup>19</sup>Effort to form of DPD take place until 12 conference times rill in Local Parliament.

Interesting phenomena from the General Election is that besides the general masses want to be members of DPRD, aristocrats (*priyayi*) desired also to be member of it. The position of someone as aristocrat can be seen from the title which is used (Kartodirjo *et al.*, 1987). From 209 candidates for fixed members I the candidate list of DPRD, there were 84 persons who had aristocrat title.<sup>20</sup> One of the political parties which succeeded to influence aristocrats to join party was PIR (*Persatuan Indonesia Raya* or Unity of the Great Indonesia). This party was chaired by B.P.H. Poerbojo, he is brother of Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX.<sup>21</sup>

The candidate to become members of DPRD could be understood as an effort to return prestige in determining government policy and for anticipating the change which was happening.<sup>22</sup> Besides of that, there was female member in the composition of DPRD, i.e. Mrs. Siti Jaenab Damiri from MASYUMI. It shown that participation of the peoples in decision making were actually acknowledged, because they were selected not based on social status in society, but also based on General Election which was opened for all people.

The position of Yogyakarta as Special Province gave difference, particularly in appointing the chief of the region. The chief of the region in Yogyakarta was appointed by President based on inherit custom of regional authority.<sup>23</sup> Although had typical against position of the head of the region, where who became the *Kepala Daerah* and *Wakil Kepala Daerah* were Kings, but in Sultan's and Paku Alam's perspective that DPRD was representative institution which was used as one of tools for implementing democratic regional government, and as work partner which also controlled Regional

---

About the Local Parliament Chief Oration in Strata Quantifying of Member DPD, see "Notulen Rapat DPR Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta ke-14 Sidang ke-1, tanggal 19-3-1952" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

<sup>20</sup>The detail is one titled B.P.H. (*Bandoro Pangeran Haryo*), 23 titled K.R.T. (*Kanjeng Raden Tumenggung*), and 60 titled R. (*Raden*). See *Warta Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta*, Th.I, No.3A-4 (Yogyakarta: Secretariat of DPD, 1951).

<sup>21</sup>Out of 24 candidates member fixed Local Parliament, 12 persons were titled K.R.T.; 7 persons titled *Raden*; and one person titled B.P.H. See *Warta Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*, No.3, Th.1 (Yogyakarta: Secretariat of DPD, 1951).

<sup>22</sup>B.P.H. Poerbojo (Chief Household of *Kraton*); K.R.T. Labaningrat (Regent of Gunung Kidul area); R.W. Kusumo Broto (Head of Museum Sonobudoyo); K.R.T. Barataningrat (Regent of Bantul); K.R.T. Mr. Sudarisman Poerwokoesoemo (Major of Yogyakarta); R.P. Sujoto Prodjosujoto (Chief of Sub-Regency Depok); and R. Prodjokastowo (Chief of Sub-Regency Bantul).

<sup>23</sup>See "Basic Law 22/1948, Article 18"; and also "Moh. Syafei Prae-Advis pada Kongres Desentralisasi, Tanggal 10 s/d 13 Maret 1955 di Bandung" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

Government Council (DPD).<sup>24</sup>

As one of the tool for implementing regional democratic government, DPRD has rights which are recognized by the law to determine regional government policy which is based on people`s necessity. This institution has budget rights, initiative right, amendment right, questionnaire right, investigation right, and vote of no confidence right. Based on inherent rights, it is enough wide for this institution to show its function as component of regional government. The question is that the function can be implemented optimally in Yogyakarta?

The ability of DPRD in producing the regulations which is used as ground for implementing regional government related its authority as realization from the using rights which are possessed, because regional regulation is made and decided as guidance for DPD in running governance daily. The using of initiative right to propose regional regulation plan can show effort of DPRD in understanding the developing issues in community. It also shows that they are proactive and not to be passive member of the DPRD.

Data which was managed from the results of people`s representative council of Yogyakarta special province in 1952 up to 1956 showed that the use of initiative rights by DPRD.

**Table 1:**  
Table of Initiative Right Using

Year	Regional Regulation	Coming	
		Regional People`s Representative Council	Regional Government Council
1952	6	-	6
1953	10	1	9
1954	24	1	23
1955	12	6	6
1956	34	19	15
	86	27	59

From the above data, it is showed that from regional regulation which was produce in 5 years is about 31,3% came from regulation plan proposed by DPRD, while the remain is 58,7% came from DPD.

---

<sup>24</sup>See "Sambutan Kepala Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta pada Ulang Tahun ke-1 DPR Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, Tanggal 24 Desember 1952"; and also "Sambutan Wakil Kepala Daerah Istimewa dalam Notulen Upacara Pelantikan DPR Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, Tanggal 24 Desember 1951" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

The optimally using of existing rights in regional people's representative council is a realization of democracy process. Besides that the using of the right maximally, it will also increase the role of people's in holding regional government, particularly if it is seen from as people's representative which can control the run of government. The effort of DPRD of Yogyakarta for using questionnaire rights in 1953, and vote of no confidence right to regional government council in 1955, which constitutes integral part of people's involvement in controlling the run of government.

The using of questionnaire right (*hak angket*), that is right to hold investigation, it shows "courage" in running function and duty as people's representative, because the investigation relates to people's necessity issues in general. The using of questionnaire right is based on speech in the plenary meeting of DPRD on 1, 14, 16, and 21 April 1953 which decide that DPRD feel sorry against the policy of Military Governor of Paku Alam VIII in using Reserve Funds (*Dana Cadangan*).<sup>25</sup> Therefore, DPRD then established questionnaire committee on April 23, 1953 due to hold investigation against Reserve Funds management.<sup>26</sup>

Investigation against Reserve Funds was performed because it happened a lot of deviation in using money.<sup>27</sup> According to the investigation of questionnaire committee, since Japan occupy (1942-1945) up to Netherlands military actions (1947-1948) did not have problem regarding the using of Reverse Funds, because money was issued based on written decision. While in the time of Netherlands military actions, it could be orally. So that, as administration staff, K.R.T. Kertonegoro (the chief of financial section of regional government), sometimes struggled something which was not according to instruction and raised suspect that he run the Reverse Funds for himself. Function of Reverse Funds is to continue what Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX stressed which is principally for coping people's passion, but based on the evidence which became questionnaire theme in practice sometimes as creditur, it is not only for people's necessity with reason for people's necessity, but also the main goal is for commercial. It

---

<sup>25</sup>See "Surat Keputusan No.6/K/DPR/1953 tentang *Reserve Fonds* Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

<sup>26</sup>The committee consist of five persons, that are Istiadjit of FBT (*Fraksi Buruh Tani* or Faction Labour and Peasant); Hamman Hasjim and Haji Hasjim of MASYUMI; H.J. Sumarto of Catholic Party; and Soedarisman Poerwokoesoemo of PNI. See "Surat Keputusan No.6/K/DPR/1953 tentang *Reserve Fonds* Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta" in *Archives of DPRD Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

<sup>27</sup>See "Pendjelasan Panitia Angket tentang *Reserve Fonds* dalam Notulen ke-3 Rapat Pleno ke-50 DPR Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, Tanggal 21 Oktober 1953" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

can be seen, particularly in buying and selling *basesgoederen*,<sup>28</sup> car,<sup>29</sup> and buying and selling bicycle.<sup>30</sup>

The respond of Regional People`s Representative for the Reserve Funds, as it was investigated by questionnaire committee, was the raising of vote of no confidence proposal for refunctioning Reserve Funds according to initial purpose, and took clear action against officials of regional government which was proved doing deviation against of the use of Reserve Funds.<sup>31</sup> The using of questionnaire right showed that comitment of DPRD in correcting issues which happened and it was viewed that the deviation had happened. It showed courage to act, which could increase democracy awareness.<sup>32</sup>

The courage of DPRD in correcting the implementation of regional government was then strengthened by the effort to carry out Basic Law 22/1948, article 34 that DPD is responsible to DPRD, because they are selected from and by the members DPRD. This means that the existing of DPD was depend on the trust or not trust of DPRD. Work periode of the member of Regional Government Council is the same as members of DPRD, that is 5 year, but if the members of DPD did not run the stated direction, so DPRD can purpose the vote of no confidence (*mosi tidak percaya*).

The proposal of vote of no confidence which was proposed by the members of DPRD: Noor Ali Tjahjopuspito, Hammam Hasjim, and Sastrowardoyo in Regional Representative Council`s plenary meeting on Desember 30, 1954 was an anticipation against deviation which was happened in JAKTI (*Jajasan Kredit Tani* or Foundation for Farmer`s Credit) management in Yogyakarta, done by the member of DPRD, Susanto (*Kedaulatan Rakyat*, 31/12/1954).

The reason of establishing the Famer`s Credit Foundation (JAKTI),<sup>33</sup> was very close to the effort of regional government in guilding regional

---

<sup>28</sup>See "Laporan Panitia Angket dalam Notulen Sidang ke-3, Tanggal 21 Oktober 1953" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

<sup>29</sup>See "Djawaban Atas Uraian/Pertanyaan Mengenai Laporan Panitia Angket DPR Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, Tanggal 24 Oktober 1953" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

<sup>30</sup>See "Kesimpulan Laporan Panitia Angket, Tanggal 21 Oktober 1953" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

<sup>31</sup>See "Notulen Sidang ke-3 Rapat Pleno ke-83 Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, Tanggal 20 April 1954" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

<sup>32</sup>See "Pidato Ketua Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, R. Wiwoho Purbohadidjojo, pada Hari Ulang Tahun ke-2 DPR Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, Tanggal 24 Desember 1953" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

<sup>33</sup>JAKTI (*Jajasan Kredit Tani* or Foundation Credit for farmer) in Yogyakarta is formed on 17 March 1954, the purpose is to increase buying capacity for farmer. Efforts of JAKTI are also to give capital credit and guide plantation for farmer. See "Akte Pendirian Jajasan Kredit Tani, Tanggal 17 Maret 1954" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

finance, and an effort to made better people's life with replanting tobacco of Virginia and *Vorstenlanden* in Yogyakarta. The leader and the run of this foundation was on the hand of management which was appointed and disposed by DPD.<sup>34</sup> Thus, the problem of JAKTI was important issue, because it related to people's economic, and as initial step from regional government for improving people's economic in Yogyakarta. Therefore, the implementation of JAKTI for serious concern from the members of DPRD and from mass organization.

Because of the importance of JAKTI issue, so DPD gave report on September 30, 1954 to DPRD and general review against report which was held in plenary meeting on October 27, 1954.<sup>35</sup> Almost all fractions gave their review, except PIR, with delivering sharp critic to JAKTI implementation, such as about ground budget, financial and administration, technical problem, credit, and VOTP (Primary Organization of Farmer). In general review, there were about 130 question, responds, and suggestions which related to JAKTI in detail.<sup>36</sup> The answers to general review that was delivered by member of Regional Government Council, Susanto, on December 7 and 8, 1954. The members of Regional People's Representative Council responded unsatisfied against the answer of the member of DPD, Susanto.

This unsatisfied respond of the members of DPRD for the answers and explanation of DPD in general review of first and second section, had enabled to be proposed the vote of no confidence (*mosi tidak percaya*) in Desember 1954.<sup>37</sup> After experiencing hard discussion in meeting DPRD for a month of January 1955 (*Kedaulatan Rakyat*, 29/1/1955), so that proposal of the vote of no confidence was admitted and stated as a motion number 1/ DPRD/1955 which did not give legitimacy to the implemantation of JAKTI, and Susanto was disposed from his job as the member of DPD.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup>See "Laporan Dewan Pemerintah Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta Mengenai Usaha Jajasan Kredit Tani dalam Kalangan Tembakau, Tanggal 30 September 1954" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

<sup>35</sup>See "Notulen Sidang ke-3 Rapat Pleno ke-70 Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, Tanggal 27 Oktober 1954" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

<sup>36</sup>Whose speech on the meeting, from faction of PNI: Karkono and Pudjoprakoso; from MASYUMI: Noor Ali, Tjahjopuspito, Achid Masduki, A.R. Fachruddin, Prodjokastowo, and H. Ransjur. From other factions: Istiadjid of Farmer Worker (*Buruh Tani*); Sujoto Prodjosuroto of SSPP; M.J. Sukotjo of Catholic Party; and Notosudarso of PPDI. See "Notulen Sidang ke-3 Rapat Pleno ke-70 Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, Tanggal 27 Oktober 1954" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

<sup>37</sup>See "Notulen Sidang ke-3 Rapat Pleno ke-88 Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, Tanggal 8 Desember 1954" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

<sup>38</sup>See "Mosi Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, No.1/1955 tentang

## **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

The involvement of people in the government in Yogyakarta had exceeded political authority which had not been lasted before, because of the existing of DPRD was not removing group of previous authority and gave priority to the aristocrats, but it was a result of General Election, and opened for all people.

Social and political stucture in Yogyakarta gave a great change to excecutive institution to be more dominant in determining policy of regional goverment. DPRD, as tool to run people's sovereignty in determining regional governmnet policy, was real not only as "rubber stamp" of policy which was determined by DPD. Regional Representative Council were able to give control and correction against deviation which happened. It could happend, because two ways communication between members of DPRD and DPD, which supported by democratic openness attitude from the chairman and vice chairman of DPD. Transparancy of attitude had enable the use of the existing rights in regional people's representative council optimally. The use optimally of against the existing rights in the institution of people's representative council could reflect the real people's involvement in political and government life.

The donation which can be acquired from this study about democracy prosses in Yogyakarta against democracy development in Indonesia in present time, and in the future is that for being able to realize implementation of democracy order in political and government, so it is necessary to be optimal the implementation of the rights which is possesed by people's representative council, and it is necessary to open „faucet of openness“. It used to avoid executive power which is too strong in implementing government, so that there is dynamic balance which finally the ideal democracy government order can be procured maximally.

## **References**

- Archives on "Akte Pendirian Jajasan Kredit Tani, Tanggal 17 Maret 1954" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.
- Archives on "Basic Law 22/1948, Article 18 and 34" in *Archives of DPRD Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

---

Memberhentikan Sdr. Susanto sebagai Anggota Dewan Pemerintah Daerah" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

TRI YUNIYANTO,  
*The Process of Democratization in Yogyakarta, Indonesia*

- Archives on "Djawaban Atas Uraian/Pertanyaan Mengenai Laporan Panitia Angket DPR Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, Tanggal 24 Oktober 1953" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.
- Archives on "Kesimpulan Laporan Panitia Angket, Tanggal 21 Oktober 1953" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.
- Archives on "Laporan Dewan Pemerintah Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta Mengenai Usaha Jajasan Kredit Tani dalam Kalangan Tembakau, Tanggal 30 September 1954" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.
- Archives on "Laporan Panitia Angket dalam Notulen Sidang ke-3, Tanggal 21 Oktober 1953" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.
- Archives on "Maklumat No.7/1945 tentang Pembentukan Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Kalurahan, Tanggal 6 December 1945" in *Archives of DPRD Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.
- Archives on "Maklumat No.11/1946 dari Negeri Kasultanan Jogjakarta dan Pradja Pakualam" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.
- Archives on "Maklumat No.18/1946 Daerah Istimewa Negara Republik Indonesia, Jogjakarta (Kesultanan dan Pakualaman), Tanggal 18 Mei 1946" in *Archives of DPRD Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.
- Archives on "Maklumat No.18/1946, Section IV Article 1" in *Archives of DPRD Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.
- Archives on "Moh. Syafei Prae-Advis pada Konggres Desentralisasi, Tanggal 10 s/d 13 Maret 1955 di Bandung" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.
- Archives on "Mosi Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, No.1/1955 tentang Memberhentikan Sdr. Susanto sebagai Anggota Dewan Pemerintah Daerah" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.
- Archives on "Notulen Pelantikan DPR Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, Tanggal 24 Desember 1951" in *Archives of DPRD Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.
- Archives on "Notulen Rapat DPR Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta ke-14 Sidang ke-1, Tanggal 19 Maret 1952" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.
- Archives on "Notulen Sidang ke-3 Rapat Pleno ke-70 Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, Tanggal 27 Oktober 1954" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.
- Archives on "Notulen Sidang ke-3 Rapat Pleno ke-83 Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, Tanggal 20 April 1954" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.
- Archives on "Notulen Sidang ke-3 Rapat Pleno ke-88 Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, Tanggal 8 Desember 1954" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.
- Archives on "Pendjelasan Panitia Angket tentang Reserve Fonds dalam Notulen ke-3 Rapat Pleno ke-50 DPR Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, Tanggal 21 Oktober 1953" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.
- Archives on "Pidato Ketua Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, R. Wiwoho Purbohadidjojo, pada Hari Ulang Tahun ke-2 DPR Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, Tanggal 24 Desember 1953" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.
- Archives on "Sambutan Kepala Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta pada Ulang Tahun ke-1 DPR Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, Tanggal 24 Desember 1952" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.
- Archives on "Sambutan Wakil Kepala Daerah Istimewa dalam Notulen Upacara Pelantikan DPR Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta, Tanggal 24 Desember 1952" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.

- Archives on "Surat Keputusan No.6/K/DPR/1953 tentang Reserve Fonds Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta" in *Archives of Local Parliament Secretariat in Yogyakarta*.
- Budiardjo, Miriam. (1994). *Demokrasi di Indonesia: Demokrasi Parlemen dan Demokrasi Pancasila*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia.
- Daily newspaper of *Kedaulatan Rakyat*. Yogyakarta: 7-8 September 1946.
- Daily newspaper of *Kedaulatan Rakyat*. Yogyakarta: 28 August 1951.
- Daily newspaper of *Kedaulatan Rakyat*. Yogyakarta: 3 October 1951.
- Daily newspaper of *Kedaulatan Rakyat*. Yogyakarta: 31 December 1954.
- Daily newspaper of *Kedaulatan Rakyat*. Yogyakarta: and 29 January 1955.
- Djoko. (1974). "Some Notes on Tiga Daerah Affair" in *Masyarakat Indonesia*, I(17). Jakarta: LIPI [Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia].
- Feith, Herbert. (1962). *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Iver, Mac. (1982). *Negara Modern*. Jakarta: Akasara Baru, Translation.
- Kartodirdjo, Suyatno. (1974). "Revolution and Social Tension in Surakarta, 1945-1950" in *Journal Indonesia*, 17. Ithaca, New York: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project.
- Kartodirdjo, Sartono *et al.* (1987). *Peradaban Priyayi*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Kementrian Penerangan Republik Indonesia. (1953). *Pemilihan Umum di Jogjakarta*. Jogjakarta: Kementrian Penerangan Republik Indonesia.
- Legge, J.D. (1961). *Central Authority and Regional Autonomy in Indonesia: A Study in Local Administration, 1950-1960*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Magazine of *Warta Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta*, No.3, Th.1; and No.3A-4, Th.1 (1951). Jogjakarta: Secretariat of DPD.
- Moedjanto. (1990). *The Concept of Power in Javanese Culture*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Poerwokoesoemo, Sudarisman. (1952). *Proses Demokratisering Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta*. Jogjakarta: Archival of DPRD Secretariat.
- Reid, Anthony. (1987). *Perjuangan Rakyat: Revolusi dan Hancurnya Kerajaan di Sumatra Timur*. Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, Translation.

TRI YUNYANTO,  
*The Process of Democratization in Yogyakarta, Indonesia*



Social and political structure in Yogyakarta gave a great change to executive institution to be more dominant in determining policy of regional government. DPRD, as tool to run people's sovereignty in determining regional government policy, was real not only as "rubber stamp" of policy which was determined by DPD. Regional Representative Council were able to give control and correction against deviation which happened.