

***POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND EVOLUTION  
OF THE JAVANESE IN SURINAME***

**Abstract.**

**The Dutch had brought the Javanese in Suriname in 1890 as indentured workers. Their promises had not been fulfilled, so they were disappointed. They had chosen Suriname as their homeland and had fought to become fulfilled citizens. They had struggled to survive and had been a silent power for a long time, but had fought to emancipate in every sector. In politics, due the restricted electoral system they had no rights in the beginning, but they did not give up. The political awareness of the Javanese had been stimulated by the “Merdeka-movements” in Indonesia and the foundations of electoral and cultural organizations. Since the foundations of the first Javanese political parties, theKTPI and PBIS, the political participation was growing. Iding Soemita and Salikin hardjo were the pioneers. They had fought for identity, leadership, image building and political power. The role of the non-political parties was very important. New Javanese split political parties were founded: the Kerngroup, SRI, Pendawalima, Pertama Luhur, NPLO and D-21. Willy Soemita and Somohardjo had fought for leadership and political power. Efforts of Javanese parties to form a unity had failed. The Javanese took a balance position and had not only participated in Parliament, but also in government. In 1980 Military overthrew government .In the period 1949-2000 the Javanese became aware in politics. Up till now 68 Javanese parliamentarians had been elected and 30 Javanese Ministers had been appointed. The emancipation and integration process was successful.**

## Introduction

The Javanese had been brought by the Dutch in Suriname in 1890 as indentured workers as a complementary to the British Indian labor force on the estates to work on the sugar cane - coffee - and cocoa plantations. From 1890-1939 there were 34000 Javanese in Suriname [1]. The Colonial Government could not repatriate the Javanese to their homeland, Java. In Suriname they have to survive. They lived isolated in the rural areas without the most primary sanitary supplies. The Dutch language was for the Javanese children also a big handicap. Owing to their lack of a good social and educational background the Javanese could not occupied high-ranking positions in the Surinamese society. They obtained jobs on the fields, markets, householders, gardeners and others. These were the reasons why they did not want to stay in Suriname. They did not “krasan” [2]. They were longing to go to their homeland Java. This syndrome [3] was known as the " Mulih Njadawa-syndrome ". On the other hand the Javanese have also many cultural manners and customs, which take an important role in the integration process of the Surinamese society.

The Javanese have too many kinds of cultural heritages. Their culture is a mixture of pre-Hindu , Bhuddist and pre-Islamic cultural elements[4]. So the Javanese have a complex history, a complex of religious and cultural history. The Javanese language, consists of **basa** [the language used when talking with older, influential people] and **ngoko** [the language with equal or lower people fading out. They had not only struggled to survive but also for emancipation and to integration in the Surinamese society. The emancipation and political participation process had passed very slowly.

- What have been the obstacles and relation between these processes?
- How the development of the Javanese political parties has been passed?
- Why the political unity has failed up till now.
- What had been the causes and consequences of the rivalry between Javanese political leaders?
- What has been the role of the younger generation in general?
- Why the Javanese do not implementate religion in poitics.
- What has been the role and place of the women?

## **The political awakening.**

Although the Javanese had chosen their new homeland, Suriname, since 1900, they had to endure lots of juridical factors such as the census -and capacity suffrage during the Colonial government. The Javanese had participated in all kinds of political activities and organizations[5] but they had no rights. In 1938 the Colonial Government of Suriname had appointed Mr. Hendrik Miskin [6], as the first Javanese in Colonial Parliament, but he was only a figure. During the period of 1938-1948 there had been appointed three Javanese members of Colonial Parliament : Mr. Hendrik Miskin [1938], Mr. Ming Doelman [1946] and Mr. Johannes Karijodimedjo [1948]#.[# see review V]

The “Merdeka- [7] movements” [independence-movements], in Indonesia and the foundations of electoral and cultural organisations stimulated the political awareness of the Javanese.

The first Javanese organisation was the Tjintoko Moeljo [Raising in Evil] in 1918. Since the political awakening, after the famous radio-speech of the Queen of the Netherlands in 1942, political parties had been founded on cultural, ethnical and religious basis. In the Creole bloc there were representatives of the Roman Catholics and Protestants who founded the National Party of Suriname [N.P.S.] in 1946 led by Mr. van der Schroeff and the Progressive Surinaamse Volksparty [P.S.V.] the Surinam Progressive People Party, founded by pastor Weidmann, in 1946.

The Asian bloc consisted of the Muslim Party [MP], the Hinder Party [HP], founded in 1946 and the Javanese-Javanese Political Party [HJPP], founded in 1947. [More details see review III] Due to different problems the Javanese group left the HJPP and founded their own Javanese parties. In 1946, Mr. Saluki Hardjo had been the first, who had founded the **Pergerakan Bangsa Indonesia Suriname [PBIS]**, which means the organization of the Indonesian People in Suriname. In 1948 Mr. Iding Soemita [8] had founded **the Kaum Tani Persatuan Indonesia [KTPI]**, which means The Indonesian Peasant Party. In 1949, Mr. J. Lachmon[9] founded the Verenigde Hindostaanse Party [ V.H.P.] the United Hindustani Party. The Javanese had fully participated in any political activities and striven for emancipation for equality and justice.

## **The first General elections in Suriname 1949**

In spite of the resistance of the ruling elite the general suffrage had been held in 1949. Mr. Van der Schroeff, leader of the National Party of Suriname [ NPS ] had protested against the introduction of the general suffrage. In the

first elections of 1949 the PBIS and the KTPI had participated with great enthusiasm. The KTPI defeated the PBIS of Mr.S. Hardjo. The leader of the KTPI, Mr. Iding Soemita won the elections and obtained the name “Merdeka figure” [independence]. He was the first Javanese elected in Parliament of Suriname. Among the Javanese a fight had arisen not only for political leadership but also the political power. They wanted also to participate in government, but due to their political position they could not participate in government. The electoral system in that time was not favorable for the KTPI, who only had two seats[see review II] in Parliament to participated in government.\*\* Otherwise the Javanese had not a potential leader. Iding Soemita took a “balance-position” in politics.[\*\* see review IV]

### **The role of the youth and intellectuals.**

In the beginning the political leader, Iding Soemita did not want to accommodate the intellectuals in the board of his party. He was afraid for his position,so the youth and the intellectuals did not participate fully in politics.Due the political culture,the youth and intellectuals were aware in politics since the sixties.Mr. Batin Amatkoesmin had founded a split party of the KTPI,the Kerngroup, in 1963. He got the fully support of the NPS.Since the Opendoor politics which were introduced by Willy Soemita in 1972, young educated and academics had participated slowly in politics.In 1987 intellectuals and academics had joint the KTPI. They had participated in Parliament and government. An Institute for the youth[ Jongereninstituut] was founded,also an Advisory Council .Nowadays there are many well-educated and academics in the different parties. The PPRS also their Advisory Council and the Pertama Luhur their Institute for Political Affairs, named by the late Ing. Amat Saleh. Workshops and seminars had been held to stimulate and mobilize the younger generation.The participation of high school students is also increased in the different political activities.

### **The role and place of women.**

The Javanese women had played an important role in the different activities,since the beginning of the polical awakening. In the first place they were very active in the elections meetings and fellow-workers. But the political leaders had not accomodated them in their boards,due their adat and status. So they could not participated for a long time in the fight for a seat in Parliament not even in government. Politics is men. Although women have

got the same rights in politics, they had taken only a second place in the field of electoral activities for gaining a seat in Parliament. The NPS was the first party to candidate a Javanese woman [Mrs. Annemarie Soeperman-Resopawiro [10] for Parliament in 1963. Since 1987, due the new electoral system, many Javanese women had claimed to participate in regional and national levels. The political awareness is growing. Mrs. Roekaya Kertokalio-Moertabat is the first elected Javanese woman in Parliament in May 2000. In May 2000 the different political parties had candadated many women in regional and national level [ National Asmblee]. On national level: Mrs .Soelijem Emid, Dra. Heidi Wirjosentono [11], Miss. Ann Sadi, Mrs Erla Asmanom. On regional level: Mrs. Peggy Amatmoekrin, Miss. Soraya Kartokromo, Mrs. Marlene Saimo, Mrs. A. Moeljosoewit-Ronoreso, Miss. Irien Kromodirjo and Mrs. Kemi Arsawikarta. They also participated in the different boards and committees of government. Nowadays you can find them in any possible sectors, also in government. Mrs. A. Kartosemito is the first Javanese women in Cabinet of Venetiaan as Junior Minister of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing.

### **The role of the religion in politics.**

Due to the different religious factions in the Javanese camp, the Reformists and the Traditionalists, there is always a big problem for the leader to bring these two group to gether in politics. Mr. Iding Soemita, the leader of the Traditionalist, had always taken a political strategy to accomdte the two groups in politics. But to form an unity was and is between these two groups gave the relious leaders always problems. Since the sixties the Reformists were lead by Mr. Sirinagar and later on by Mr. Amat Ramin. In the zeventies When Amat Ramin was elected as a member of Parliament of the KTPI , the role of politics was clear. The foundation of different federations was a refections of the participation of the fellowers. Due the influence of the missionaries the Christian-Javanese had always taken a reserved attitude. They had participated in politics, but very subtle. Although Mr. Armand Salimin, the first Christian - Javanese intellectual and candidate of the NPS in the Commewijne district, the stronghold of the Javanese, Iding Soemita had beaten him. Since the zeventies Christain -Javanese intellectuals had to participate slowly in politics. In Parliament and government you can find them in the different Cabinets in the last twinty years. Nowadays the Agama Jawa has also taken an important role in politics. In 1999 they have formed a federation. Many of their leaders have taken an important place in political boards. The interest in the Agama Jawa is growing. The Kedjawen [12] is the

latest small group who is introduced in the different by an anthropologist from the Netherlands. There is a discussion between the Agama Djawa and this new ideology.

Till now the role of the religion has taken an important place in politics. Politicians did not use, due to their adat, religious slogans, but supported their needs. Many of the leaders of the religious groups had made this as a political strategy to get more assistance from the different parties. After the elections of May 1996 there is a changing in the political culture. Politics is politics, religion is religion, is the slogan. Everyone is free in their political engagements.

### **The role of the non-Javanese parties.**

Since the political awakening in 1942 there had already been a great attention for the Javanese, due to their political awareness and social status. The political parties, the NPS and the VHP, had always tried to split the Javanese. In 1967 they founded the NPS/Djowo and VHP/Djowo [13]. In the beginning many educated Javanese had supported and stimulated to found new Javanese political parties. They had influenced to found new parties: the Kerngroup in 1963, the PRS in 1968, the Pendawalima in 1977, and the PPRS in 1978.

In the period of 1975-2000 many Javanese have participated in the non-Javanese political parties such as: the National Democratic Party [ NDP ], the Democratic Alternatief [ DA '91 ], the Surinam Labour Party [ SPA ], the Progressive Labours and Farmers Union [ Palu ], the Naya Kadam [ New Choice ], the Democratic National Platform 2000 [ DNP-2000 ], the Basic party for Democration [ BVD]. In the elections of 25 th of May 2000 many Javanese were on the candidatelist of the non-Javanese political parties. Yet they have played an important role in the emancipation, political participation and integration process. The political-ethnic thinking of the Javanese has taken a very important role.

### **The fight for political power.**

The fight to get political power in every political party has been a big battle. In the political history of Suriname the rivalry between the political leaders of the different parties is not based on ideological backgrounds, but more on political power. The more political power the merrier you can consolidate. Politics means power. In the political camp of the Javanese the rivalry has been manifest since the foundation of the political parties. The fight between

the first generation of political leaders in the beginning of the fifties between Salikin Hardjo and Iding Soemita was clear. Both of these leaders had fought for **identity, leadership, image building and political power**. The Adat of the Javanese has also influenced the political participation. The rivalry of the second-generation of political leaders is: in the first place an acceptance problem and in the second place the political leadership and political power. Willy Soemita [14] and Salam Somohardjo [15] are the two very important political leaders, who are still fighting leadership. The problem of the third generation of political leaders in the beginning of 2000 is a very difficult one. Soewarto Moestadja [16], Oesman Wangsabesarie and Raymond Sapoen are the new rising younger academics which want fight the old political leaders. All of them fight constantly for leadership and political power. The result of this fight is the reason why there are so many different political parties, which caused the animosity between the members of the political parties. Till now there is no peace and harmony in politics.

### **Three generation political leaders.**

The appointment of the first members of the Colonial Parliament had to make Javanese actually political aware, but that was only the intention. The members were only marionettes of the Dutch. Most of the Javanese interpreters in public office did not treat the Javanese like human beings but like animals. That's why the Javanese hated interpreters. The first political leaders Salikin Hardjo and Iding Soemita in the first place had the intention to look for facilities to repatriate the Javanese to Java. In that time it was a good occasion to stimulate the Javanese to participate in politics. Especially Iding Soemita who was very engaged in politics. His approach to the Javanese was remarkable. He introduced in the different districts younger militia and supporting groups. Labours ,religious,women and farmers organisations were founded to support his political activities.Although Iding Soemita's poor school education he was one of the political leaders whose leadership lasted till 1970.He was a wellspoken Javanese leader. Besides he was a religious man, he is a fanatic Moslim. Another fanatic leader was Mr. Sadikin Djojoprajitno.He was Iding Soemita's opponent. He had fought for the rights of the Javanese to become fledged citizens for equality and righteousness. Mr.F.R.Karsowidjojo, leader of the SRI, had fully striven for the younger generation to become more aware in politics. They were the first generation Javanese political leaders. In the beginning of the seventies, the second generation leaders came up for the Javanese not only for their emancipation but more to get political power in government.

Willy Soemita, Salam Somohardjo, Amat Ramin , Rene Kaiman, Marsha Jamin and Mohamed Kasto have fought to participate and to consolidate the political power, in order to help the Javanese reach their rights. Although they were fighting for leadership, their intention was to bring prosperity and wellbeing for the Javanese by means of politics. In April 2000 the third generation leaders, Mr ,R.Sapoen, Drs. SMOestadja and Drs. O.Wangsabesarie had profile as the new type of leaders with new ideas. The traditional political leaders had to look for another way to guide their followers. Politics will be played not by ethnical and religious background but more by ideology.

### **The Javanese political parties.**

After World War II The Javanese have founded political parties. In 1946 Mr. Salikin Hardjo, who was a member of the National Party of Suriname [ NPS ], stimulated by the Creole group, founded the first Javanese party; the **Pergerakan Bangsa Indonesia Suriname [PBIS ]**, which means the Organization of the Indonesian people of Suriname. They strive to get more control in government and to improve the position of the Javanese. They wanted to participate actively in politics. The PBIS had also fought to gain the General Suffrage in Suriname in 1948. In the first elections of 1949 the PBIS lost the election, but their members were active in politics and were supporting other Javanese political parties.

In 1947, Mr Iding Soemita and others found an organization which was named “Naggih Djandjie” [asking promises ],which had changed into Persatuan Indonesia [ P.I ]United Indonesia, the forerunner of the political party, the **Kaum Tani Persatuan Indonesia, KTPI** . In 1948 Iding Soemita proclaimed the KTPI as a legal political party with statutes. In 1949 he won the elections and became a great political leader till 1972. He had led the party with great authority. He had a great human approach to his political followers. He had many opponents in politics, but he was a fighter and a great political strategist. Iding Soemita was a fanatic follower of the Islam. In his political career he had also founded the religious organization of the **Ahmadiyah Movement**.

Mr.Batin Amatkoesmin founded the Kerngroup, a political of young educated in 1963. They wanted to stimulate the intellectuals and the youth in politics. Although their participation was not succesful, the awareness of the youth was growing in politics.

In 1966, Mr. F.R. Karsowidjojo, stimulated by the VHP, founded a new Javanese party, the **Sarikat Rayat Indonesia, SRI** ,[ the United Indonesian

People ]. The aim of the SRI was to unite the Javanese people striving to get more power in politics. After the elections of 1969 the SRI defeated KTPI again in the stronghold of the KTPI namely in the district Commewijne Mr. Atmin Adna, founded the Pergarakan Rakyat Suriname [PRS], which means The Surinamese People movement in 1968. The PRS was only a puppet show. **Salam Somohardjo** founded a new Javanese political party, the Pendawalima, which means [ the five fighters ] in 1977. He got fully the support of the VHP. In 1978, **Mr. Amat Ramin**, member of the Parliament of the KTPI founded the Partij Pembangunan Rakyat Suriname, which means Party to built Suriname, [**PPRS**].

Within the KTPI and the Pendawalima there were a political disharmony in the board, in March 2000. The preparation of the elections On May 25 of 2000 there were within the board of the oldest political party KTPI, many problems about the cooperation with the National Democratic Party [NDP], led by Desi Bouterse, the late chief-commander of the Army of Suriname. The Minister of Social Affairs and Housing, Labours and Health, Drs. Soewarto Moestadja, a potential member of the KTPI, founded a new political party, **the D-21, [Democrats of the 21 th century]**, on March 12 and Mr. Oesman Wangsabesari, member of the Youth Section of the KTPI, founded also a new political party the **National Party for Leadership and Development [NPLO]**, on March 11, 2000. Mr. Raymond Sapoen board member of the Pendawalima was elected as the new leader of the **Pendawalima**. Now at the moment there are five potential Javanese political parties: **the KTPI, Pendawalima, D-21, NPLO and the Pertjajah Luhur** ( see review III.), which have participated in the elections on the 25 th of May 2000. The other three parties have not gained seats in Parliament. The role of the Javanese in politics will be very important in the future, due their balance-position.

### **The balance-position of the Javanese.**

In the past 50 years the Javanese had shown the other political parties that the position of the Javanese had still been stable, in spite of the efforts of the NPS and the VHP to try destabilize their position since in the period 1954-1969. In this period they did not accommodate the Javanese in the foundation of the " Brede basisregering en Verbroederingspolitiek". Although the SRI had also taken a balance - position in 1969-1973, because of their political status [dependent position in the coalition] they had no power. In the period 1973-2000 the KTPI had played a very important role in

various political moments: the preparation of the Independence of the Republic of Suriname, the completion of the Referendum in 1986, the Restoration of the Democracy in 1987 and the adoption of the Constitution of 1986. In the political history of the Javanese, the KTPI had been dominated in Parliament and government till 2000. The balance-position of the KTPI was clearly shown in the rebellious days of May-June 1999 in Paramaribo, when the whole opposition [labourers organizations, Parliament, women -and students organizations and other political parties] forced the government to resign. Due the political situation had no choice to assist the government till the President decided to resign ultimo 2000. In May 2000 he called new elections. After the elections of May 2000, the opposition party, the *Pertaya Luhur* led by Mr. Salam Somohardjo, gained 6 seats in Parliament and took place in government. Salam Somohardjo defeated Willy Soemita, leader of the KTPI. Salam Somohardjo became Minister and his party gains five seats in government three ministers and two junior Ministers]. The Javanese will take again a balance-position.

### **Political combinations/ blocs.**

In the elections of 1969, due to the new electoral system, the political parties were forced to form political blocs namely the PNP-bloc and the VHP-bloc. The KTPI joined the PNP-bloc and the SRI, the VHP-bloc. For the second time the SRI defeated the KTPI. The leader of the SRI, Mr.

F.R. Karsowidjojo became Minister of Home Affairs.

He has come up for the needs of the Javanese, but his party fellows did not agree with his approach in the political field, due to his attitude. In the Cabinet Sedney there were too many problems with the laborers unions. The Javanese people were also stroked in this road and actively participated in the labors demonstration. The fight for the first generation Javanese leadership came to an end. In 1972 Mr. Willy Soemita became the KTPI's new leader. He continued the fight of his political opponent, the SRI, to get more political power. He organized younger groups in the different district and appointed districts board to support him. Members of social and sport organizations had joined the KTPI. In the elections of 1973 the KTPI joined the *Nationale Partij Kombinatie* [NPK], the National Party Combination and got two seats in Parliament and the SRI, one seat. In the VHP- and in NPS -group there were also two Javanese in Parliament. The role of the non-Javanese political parties was clear now because they also stimulated the Javanese to participate actively in politics. Since 1973 the Javanese had been participated in government, and occupied several public

positions. In the public sector Javanese also took an important role as directors and managers. They also participated in the different political parties and occupied key positions in public-offices. The intellectuals and younger generation have been become aware now and fully participated in politics. In the elections of May 2000 the KTPI has formed a coalition with the Millennium Combination, the Pertama Luhur with the New Front and the D-21 with the Democratic National Platform-2000.

### **Thinking of forming political unity.**

Since the political awakening the political leaders had always to strive to form an unity to get more political power. But the were to many obstacles. One of them was the role of the non-Javanese political parties. They always strived to split the Javanese in politics. In 1948 Iding Soemita and Salikin Hardjo had tried to form an unity. At the meeting in theater Bellevue they could not come to a compromise. The efforts to joint in politics had failed. In 1968 the leader of the SRI, Mr. F.R. Karsowidjojo, Mr. S. Djojoprajitno of the PBIS and Willy Soemita of the KTPI, had proclaimed the Satrya, which means sasama tri karya [ three in one, in Theatre Bellevue. Due to sabotage, undermining and political vision this ideal endeavour had failed. After the elections of 1987 the KTPI, Pendawalima and PPRS had to joint in politics also failed. In 1995 the PPRS and KTPI had signed a protocol of cooperation. The intention was only to work together in the elections of 1996. After the elections parties had split. Till now there is no unity within the Javanese parties.

### **Periods/phases**

The political history of the Javanese in Suriname, due to the cultural, social, religious and political factors and facets is divided in three periods or phases. The period from 1890-1945 is the **survival period or the emancipation phase**. The Javanese had to struggle for surviving in this period. They had not only to struggle to survive, but also to emancipate, in the social- economical, financial and political sectors. This process was going on very slowly, due to the different obstacles. The obstacles formed also a big barrier in the process for integration. The Javanese were slowly accepted as a full fledged citizens.

The period from 1945-1973 the Javanese people had fully participated in politics. They did not only fight for the recognition for their rights, but also to participate in the political power center of government. In this recognition

period they were accepted, due to their political participation and power. As mentioned the PBIS and KTPI had participated in the first general elections of 1949, which was won by the KTPI. Since then the KTPI had taken a leading role in politics. The fight for the first generation Javanese leadership was clear. The SRI led by Mr. F.R.Karsowidjojo defeated Mr. Iding Soemita in the elections of 1967. Willy Soemita, the new political leader fights to consolidate his political power. This consolidation period lasted from 1973-2000.

Since 1973 the Javanese got a very important role in politics. They participated in government. In the period of 1973-1977 the KTPI had not only participated in government but also took a balance-position in the preparation of the Independence of the Republic of Suriname, in 1975. In the elections of 1977 the Javanese political party KTPI had taken a balance-position and participated in government again. The position of the Javanese was very clear, they wanted to consolidate their political power and help the Javanese who wanted make up arrears. What the other political parties did not like. Politics is hard. Politics means power. Those who has the political power, decides. The others political parties tried to split the Javanese. In fact it was the leader of the KTPI who formed a political obstacle and not the Javanese. He became a political power factor. The VHP did not agree with the Independence in 1975. The NPS, under the leadership of Mr. Henck Arron, supported **Mr. Amin Ramin** of the KTPI to found also a new political party, the Pergerakan Pembangunan Rakyat Suriname [PPRS], which means the Rehabilitation of the people of Suriname. The fight of the leadership of the second generation for the Javanese political leader had been manifest. In 1978 the KTPI left the government. The new Javanese political party, PPRS, took over in government. Mr. Amat Ramin was the new political leader. He had also help the Javanese to occupied key positions in the public offices and also stimulated the religious groups. In 1980 a military-coupe led by major Desi Bouterse<sup>[17]</sup> overthrew the government. The Military period lasted from 1980-1987. In this period the political parties were not allowed to perform and carry on political activities. In the elections of 1987, 12 Javanese were elected as members of the National Assemble. This political improvement had given the Javanese more stabilization and goodwill in their strive to consolidated their political position. The KTPI gained 7 seats in New-Front Combination and the Pendawalima 2 seats in the National Assemble. The Javanese took a balance-position in government and got 3 seats in the Cabinet of President Venetiaan. In politics the Javanese had made good progress in the way of mobilization, motivation and participation. Their political leaders had done

their utmost to motivate their followers. Owing to the improved new electoral system the Javanese could have delegates in the areas in the different political structures. The women also got a very important role. Their activities were shown in the elections of 1996. In the different district there were many women who had participated in several regional boards. Except the 10 members elected in the elections of 1996 for the National Assemble there also were 15 women elected in the regional boards. In the Cabinet of President Wijdenbosch there were in total 7 seats dedicated to the Javanese political parties, the KTPI [5] and the Pendawalima[2]. In the National Assemble there were two participating political parties; the Pendawalima with 4 seats, the KTPI with 5 seats. In the NDP 1 seat was a Javanese. In the elections of 25 Th of May 2000 there were elected 8 Javanese Parliamentarians[ 6 seats from Pertjajah Luhur and 2 seats from the KTPI. In the future Pertjajah Luhur will take a balance-position in Parliament and government. A global review of the participation of the Javanese since 1949 –2000 is shown in review I.

### **The Javanese in the Military period.**

During the Military period the Javanese had taken a very important role in politics. The Javanese had to organize their meetings in the form of birthday festivities. They had obeyed their political leaders. Every activity of the Military they had supported fully. The political party KTPI participated also in different oragnizations to help restore the democracy. Willy Soemita had also participate in the “ Topberaad” [Consideration Commity] to restore the democrazy and organise the referendum in 1985. The KTPI had sent two political member to take place in the cabinet of the Military in 1986. So the Javanese could inform their fellows in the different districts. Thats why the KTPI had won the elections of November 1987.

### **Conclusion.**

The political participation of the Javanese is marked in three periods/phases. In these periods the Javanese have fought for political leadership and power. They have played a very important role in politics, due their balance-position. The KTPI has participated in 13 elections and has dominated more than 20 years in Parliament and government. Their role has been important for their followers. Many Javanese became aware in politics. The fight for leadership is still going and all efforts to unite had failed. The role of the religion, intellectuals, the younger generation and the non-political parties

have influenced the integration process. The fight of the younger political generation and the Javanese women give an other dimension in the political participation process. New political parties have been founded and new academically political leaders have arisen. The first Javanese woman has been elected in Parliament and appointed in government. Although the Javanese are split, they still wanted to continue their balance-position in Parliament and government. Now the *Pertjajah Luhur* has taken a leading role in Parliament and government. The Javanese have consolidated their position in politics.

*Notes.*

1. This is mentioned in W.I.Gids : 1984: 347.
2. “Krasan” is a Javanese word what means the way of living[ see Kartokromo. K. 1998:22]
3. See Anton de Kom: 1984:128 in “Wij slaven van Suriname”.
4. Bernhard Dahm 1964:21 mentioned this complex of cultural and religious elements in his book “Soekarno en de strijd om Indonesische onafhankelijkheid. J.A. Boom en Zoon.
5. Tjintoko Moeljo[ Raisig in Evil] was the first Javanese organisation, founded in the sugar-cane plantantion Marienburg ,in the district Commewijne.
6. Hendrik Miskin was appointed as the first Javanese Parliamentarian in the Colonial period in 1938. In 1985 (3) three Parliamentarians were appointed by the military and 68 has been elected in the period 1949 – 2000.
7. Merdeka is derived from the Sanskrit word “mahardikkha”, what means “empire”. [see Bernhard Dahm 1964.]
8. Iding Soemita was the pioneer in politics of the Javanese. Became a Parliamentarian in 1948 – 1967 and political leader till 1972. He was a charismatic political leader and played a very important role in Parliament (balance-position).

9. Jagernath Lachmon born in 1916. Became political leader of the VHP, since 1947. Spoke at the National Assembly. The nestor in politics. See Azimullah E: 1986: 57 in "Jagernath Lachmon" een politiek biografie – Par'bo. Sur.
10. The first well-educated Javanese woman. Joined politics in 1969 as a member of the NPS. She very active in women and religious organisations.
11. The first Javanese young woman with an university degree in politics. In May 2000 candidate of the national Assembly of the D-21 in Wanica.
12. Introduced by RM. Dr. Ir. Basuki in Suriname. [ see Kedjawen, Amsterdam Hodo Pon 1-10-6424]
13. See Kartokromo. K. 1998: De politieke participatie en ontwikkeling van de Javanen in Suriname [ term paper].
14. Willy Soemita has been leading the KTPI from 1972 – 2000. Became Minister of Agriculture and Social Affairs. Introduced the Opendoor – politics. Was elected in Parliament in 1973, 1998, 1991 and 2000. Now he is a member of the opposition.
15. Salam Somohardjo is the leader of the Javanese opposition. Founder of the political party, the Pendawa Lima and Pertjajah Luhur. Became Parliamentarian in 1973 – 1977. Now his party has 6 seats in Parliament, 3 Ministers and 2 Junior Ministers in government. He is also elected May 2000 in Parliament and becomes Minister of Social Affairs and Housing.
16. Soewarto Moestadja, a potential member of the KTPI since 1995, became Minister of Social Affairs in 1996 and in 1999 he became Minister of Labors and Health. Founder and chairman of a new political party D-21 in May 2000.
17. Desi Bouterse overthrew the government in 1980. Was the leader during the Military period from 1980 – 1987. Founder of the political party NDP and since 1996 chairman. He has been elected in Parliament in May 2000.

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*Reviews.*

**Review I. The history and the evolution of the Javanese parties**

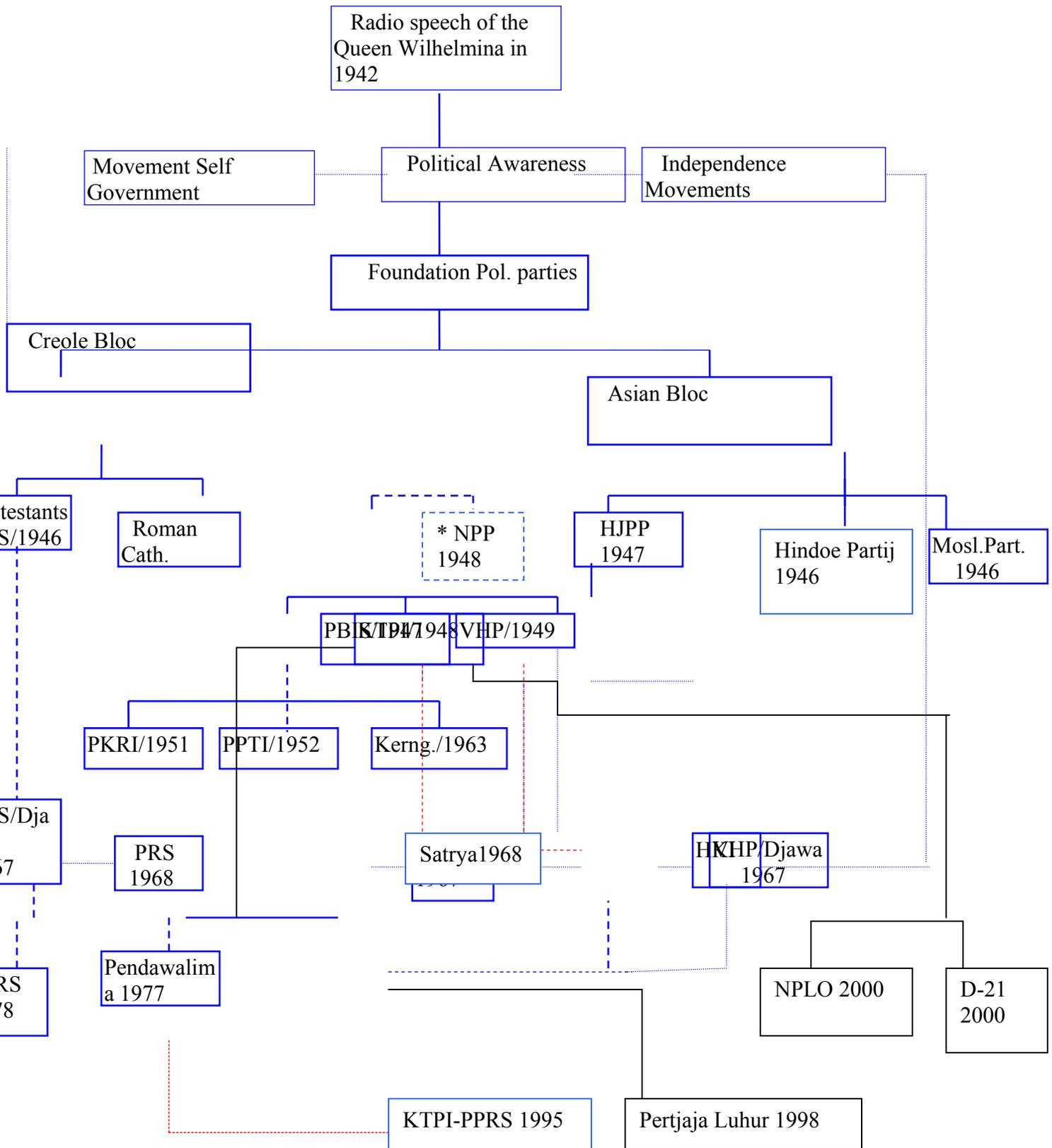
HKI = High Commissioner of Indonesia

..... = Stimulated by

———— = Foundation

----- = Jointed

- NPP 1948 = Nigger Pol. Party



Review II. Number of Javanese Parliamentairans from 1949 till 2000.

Political parties.	'49	'51	'55	'59	'63	'67	'69	'73	'77	'87	'91	'96	2000	Tot
NPS	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	3
VHP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
KTPI	1	1	1	2	5	-	1	2	3	11	7	5	2	41
SRI	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	5
PENDAWA LIMA PALU	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	2	4	-	10
										1				1
PERTJAJAH LUHUR NDP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6
												1		1
TOTAAL	1	1	1	2	5	3	3	5	8	12	9	10	8	68

Review III. Participation Javanese political parties from 1949 - 2000

Aant.	Verk. jr.	political parties									
		Javanese				Non Javanese					
1.	1949	KTPI	PBIS	-----	NPS	VHP	PSV	NPP	SLO	CV	CSP
2.	1951	KTPI	-----	-----	NPS	VHP	PSV	CP	BMB	CP	PMB
3.	1955	KTPI	-----	-----	NPS	VHP	PSV	EF	NEP	SDP	CP
4.	1958	KTPI	-----	-----	NPS	VHP	PSV	NOP	SVP	SDP	PS

5.	1963	KTPI	KG	-----	NPS	VHP	PSV	VIP	PNR	SDP	OPC
6.	1967	KTPI	SRI	-----	NPS	VHP	PSV/ PNP	AG	PNR	SDP	NOP
7.	1969	KTPI	SRI	-----	NPS	VHP	PSV/ PNP	PNR	PBP	SDP	HPS
8.	1973	KTPI	SRI	-----	NPS	VHP	PSV	AG	DVF	BEP	HPP
9.	1977	KTPI	PL		NPS	VHP	PSV	PAL	PNR	BEP	VP
10.	1987	KTPI	PL	PPRS	NPS	VHP	PSV	PAL	NDP	SPA	-----
11.	1991	KTPI	PL	PPRS	NPS	VHP	PSV	PAL	NDP	SPA	DA' 91
12.	1996	KTPI	PL	-----	NPS	VHP	PSV	ABO P	ALL.	SPA	DA' 91
13.	2000	KTPI	PL	D- 21	NF	DNP 2000	M.C.	DA 91	ABO P	HPP	
	2000	NPL	Pert.1 O								
			uhur								

### Explanation

KTPI = 1.KaumTani Persatuan IndonesiaKerukunan Tulodo Pranatan Inggil

2. HPP = Hindostaanse Progressieve Partij

PBP = Progressieve Bosneger Partij

PBIS = Pergarakan Bangsa Indonesia Suriname

PALU = Progressieve Arbeiders en Landbouwers Unie

KG = Kerngroep

OPC = Onafhankelijke Partij Coronie

SRI = Sarikat Rakjat Indonesia

NPS = Nationale Partij Suriname

PPRS = Partij Pembangunan Rakyat Suriname

BEP = Bosneger Eenheid Partij

PL = Pendawa Lima

CSP = Christelijke Sociale Partij

Pert.luh =Pertjajah Luhur.

CP = Congres Partij

D-21 = Democraten van de 21 ste eeuw.

PSV = Progressieve Surinaamse Volks Partij

NPLO=Nationale Party voor Leiderschap en Ontwikkeling

DA'91 = Democratisch Alternatief '91

NOP = Nickerie Onafhankelijke Partij  
PNR = Partij Nationale Republiek  
AG = Aktie Groep  
SVP = Surinaamse Volks Partij  
HPS = Hindoe Partij Suriname  
EF = Eenheids Front  
VP = Volks Partij  
ABOP = Alg. Bevrijd. Org. Plattelandsbew  
BMB = Billiton Mijnwerkers Bond  
NEP = Nickerie Eenheids Partij  
SPA = Surinaamse Partij van de Arbeid  
SDP = Surinaamse Democratische Partij  
CV = Commewijne Vooruit.

#### Political Parties in Combination

1963 A.F. = Actie Front (SDP, AG, NOP, SVP)  
1996 Nieuw Front = (KTPI, VHP, NPS, SPA)  
Alliantie = (DP, PSV, HPP, PVF)  
DA '91 = (AF, OPDA, BEP)  
1987 Front = (KTPI, VHP, NPS)  
2000 Nieuw Front = ( NPS, VHP, PL, SPA )  
1991 Nieuw Front = (KTPI, VHP, NPS, SPA)  
Millennium Combinatie = ( NDP, DA, KTPI )  
DNP-2000+D-21.  
2000 DA '91= AF +BEP.  
VDP = (VHP, VVP, NDP, SPS, PL)  
Derde Blok Combinatie = (DVF, VIP, PLP  
1969 PNP-Blok = (PNP, PSV, PBP, KTP  
1973 NPK = (NPS, PNR, KTPI, PSV)  
1977 NPK = (NPS, KTPI, PSV, HPP)  
Wie Eigie Bosnegre Partij = (BEP, PBP)  
DA '91 = (HPP, AF, PL, BEP)

#### **Review IV. Javanese Ministers/Junior Ministers in the period 1949-2000.**

1	Mr. H.R. Soemodihardjo	1963-1964	(KTPI)
2	Mr. A. Riboet	1964 [only 8 days	(KTPI)
3	Mr. G.S. Rakim	1965-1969	(KTPI) (NPS)
4	Mr. F.R. Karsowidjojo	1969-1973	(SRI)
5	Mr. S.A. Soeperman	1964-1965 1973-1977	(KTPI) (KTPI)
6	Mr. W. Soemita	1973, 1988, 1991	(KTPI)
7	Mr. C.S. Ardjosemito	1977, 1986+	(KTPI)
8	Mr. S. Pawiro- oelomo	1977*	(KTPI)
9	Mr. J.S. Sisal	1977, 1992	(KTPI)
10	Ing. J.T. Kasantaroeno	1979	(PPRS)
11	Mr. van Ling	1979	(PPRS)
12	Hr. F.K. Martodihardjo	1979*	(PPRS)
13	Drs. R.T. Wongsodikromo	1980	(Mil. Period.)
14	Hr. J.S. Hardjoprajitno	1982	(Mil. Period.)
15	Hr. J.K. Sariman	1983	(Mil. Period.)
16	Hr. R.T. Setrowidjojo	1986+	(KTPI.)
17	Ir. Saimin, Redjosentono	1988-1990, 1996-2000	(KTPI)
18	Ing. P. Todirjo	1988*	(KTPI)
19	Mr. S. Setroredjo	1988*, 1991, 1993	(KTPI)
20	Mr. R.A. Kaiman	1991+	(PPRS.)
21	Ing. A.D. Kartoredjo	1991	(KTPI)
22	Mr. S. Sabiran	1993	(KTPI)
23	Mr. Sonny, Kertoidjojo	1996	(KTPI)
24	Drs. S. Moestadja	1996	(KTPI)

25	Mr. R.A. Dwarka-Panday	1996	(KTPI)
26	Mr. R.K. Dragman	1996	(KTPI)
27	Mr.W.Nain	1998	Pendawalima
28.	Mr.R.Sapoen	1998*	Pendawalima
29	Mr.W.Sandriman	2000	Pertjaya Luhur
30.	Mrs.A.Karto- semito.	2000*	Pertjaya Luhur.
31.	Mr.Salam Somohardjo.	2000	Perttjaya Luhur

• = Junior-Minister

## **Review V. Javanese Parliamentarians in the period 1938 – 2000.**

### **A. Appointed by the Governor:**

- 1.Mr. H. Miskin (1938)
- 2.Mr. Ming Doelman (1946 )
- 3.Mr. J. Karijodimedjo [1948 ]
- 4.Mr. H. Sanrochman [1985 ]@

- 5.Mr. A. Sowikromo [1985 ]@  
 6.Mr. S. Djaspan [1985]@

@ Appointed by the Military.

## **B. Elected members.**

- 1.Mr. Iding Soemita (1949, 1951, 1955, 1958, 1963 [KTPI] )
2. Mr. S. Soedardjo (1958, 1963 [KTPI] )
- 3.Mr. W. Kramaredja (1963 [KTPI])
- 4.Mr. H.R. Soemodihardjo (1963 [KTPI]
- 5.Mr. Th. N. Saridjo (1963, 1967, 1969\* [KTPI])
- 6.Mr. F.R. Karsowidjojo (1963, 1969 [SRI] )
- 7.Mr. A. H. Pawiroredjo (1967 [SRI])
- 8.Mr. G. Rakim (1967 [NPS])
- 9.Mr. J. Sariman (1969 [SRI]
- 10.Mr. S.Setroredjo (1969\* [SRI])
- 11.Mr. S.P.Somohardjo (1973, 1977, 2000 [NPS-PL,Pertjaja Luhur]
- 12.Mr. S. Rasam (1973, 1977 [SRI-PL])
- 13.Mr. W. Soemita (1973, 1987, 1991, 1996,2000 KTPI)**
- 14.Mr. R. Amat (1973, 1977 [KTPI])**
- 15.Mr. R. Dasiman (1973
- 16.Mr. S.L. Kartopawiro (1977\* [NPS]
- 17.Mr. J.W. Mohamed Moesman (1977 PL]
- 18.Mr. A.W. Rasiman (1977 PL]
- 19.Mr. S. A. Soeperman (1977 [KTPI] )
- 20.Mr. R. T. Setrowidjojo (1977\*, 1987 [KTPI] )
- 21.Mr. H.A. Asmowiredjo (1978\*, 1987, 1991, 1996, 2000 KTPI)

22.Mr. H. Karijowidjojo	(1987 [PALU])
23.Mr. A.S. Marlan	(1987 KTPI)
24.Mr. Kadi. Kartokromo	(1987 KTPI)
25.Mr. R. Wasimin	(1987 KTPI)
26.Mr. A. Moehadis	(1987, 1991 KTPI)
27.Mr. H. Sait	(1987 KTPI)
28.Mr. S. Djasmo	(1987 KTPI)
29.Mr. T. Atmowirono	(1987 KTPI)
30.Mr. S. Sabiran	(1987 KTPI)
31.Mr. C. Ardjosemito	(1991, 1996 KTPI)
32.Mr. H. Karijomengolo	(1991 KTPI)
33.Mr. J. Djojokasiran	(1991, 1996 KTPI)
34.Mr. L. Singosemito	[1991 KTPI]
35.Mr. M. Jamin	(1991 PL)
36.Mr. S. Kromosetiko	(1991 PL)
37.Mr. W. Kartoredjo	(1996 KTPI)
38.Mr. H. Djoeharie	(1996,2000 PL,Pertjaja Luhur)
39.Mr. R. Tamsiran	(1996,2000 PL, Pertjaja Luhur)
40.Mr. L. Ronosemadi	(1996 PL)
41.Mr. M. Kasto	(1996 PL)
42.Mr. R. Tarnadie	(1996 NDP)
43.Mr. F.K.Martodihardjo	( 1975 *KTPI)
44.Mrs.R.Kertokalio-Moertabat.	[ 2000] Pertjaja Luhur.
45.Mr. Sait	[2000] Pertjaja Luhur.
46.Mr. R.Ronosemito	[2000] Pertjaja Luhur.

- subcandidate.

## Curriculum Vitea

Kadi Kartokromo, born on June 7th 1941, married, studied Public Administration at the Anton de Kom University of Suriname and graduated in 1998. Member of the Sport, Social and Cultural Organisation, Indra Maju, since 1979 and boardmember in 1986-1994. President of the Lionsclub Commewijne 1976-1979. He is a staff member of the KTPI, the oldest Javanese political party, and represented this party in Parliament in the period 1987-1990. He had attended several meetings of the Parlatino and the Amazonico in 1988, 1988, 1989 and 1990. He conducted a research on

political participation of Javanese in Suriname, based on literature and oral sources. He is founder and president of the foundation “ Institute for Research ,Study and Development[IRSD] since 1997-.He conducted a research in the field of the Javanese women,since 1998.Provided for a radioprogram IRSD-info, concerning his research,since november 2000.In 1994-2000 Board of directors of the Moravian,the Duta Watjana and Boardmember of the Theological Seminarie of the Moravian,since 1994.Since 1992 President of the Foundation of Daycare Centres in Suriname[ SBEC] and Past second Treasurer of the Caribbean Early Childhood Education Care and Development[CECECD],2001.He had attended conferences in Jamaica, Barbados, Sint maarten,Anquilla, St.Eustatius in 1999 and 2000. In August 2000, he had participated at a seminar and meeting in Celos [University of Suriname] and the West Indies ,Trinidad.Since 1989 he has been political advisor of the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Husbandry, and Director of the Administration Department,since 1995.

*Political participation and Evolution  
Of the Javanese  
In Suriname*

**By**

**Drs. Kadi Kartokromo.**  
**Institute for Research, Study and Development**  
**[IRSD]**  
**Paramaribo, Suriname**

**Symposium on**  
**At the University of Andalas, Sumatra, Indonesia.**  
**July 18<sup>th</sup> –21<sup>st</sup> 2001.**

**Presented at the panel:**  
**Equality among Citizens and Communities**  
**In a Democratic Multicultural Society.**

