

In the 8th International Indonesia Forum Conference

DISCOURSES EXPLORING THE SPACE
BETWEEN TRADITION AND MODERNITY IN INDONESIA

Editorial Board:

Hermanu Joebagio, Frank Dhont, Christopher A. Woodrich



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Theme:

Discourses Exploring the Space between Tradition and Modernity in Indonesia:

A Preliminary

There are three cultural layer in modern culture face in Indonesia, indigenous Indonesian, Hindu-Budha, Islamic, and coumpoun together in various forms. The first layer is an indigenous Indonesian culture, which still survives in a number of areas in a state which can be described as still very close to its origin. The second layer is the Indian, usually termed – Hindu-Budha. But over the greater part of Indonesia, in the islands of Java, Sumatra, and Borneo, the two earlier layers of Indigenous Indonesian and Indian cultures were overlaid by a third layer – Islamic culture, which penetrated Indonesian in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

Problem of contemporary Indonesian culture is the product of the confrontation of Indonesian and modern culture. The manifestation of modern culture were indicated man's freedom of thought and inquiry, technical progress, economic evelopment, and belief in human right. Over the 32 years of development modern culture under Suharto, which were a significant shift from the various efforts at nation-building in Indonesia's early years. This is not totally dissimilar to the way Dutch colonial development in Indonesia was once heralded as harbinger of modernity in a feudal archipelago rich with tradition, culture and religion. Indonesia has long been, and continues to be, the site of negotiations between tradition and modernity.

The discourses of tradition and modernity are perhaps best recognized at the national level and can be discerned in debates over such varied subjects as the morality of the youth, the value of the national curriculum in facing the challenges of the future, and the fate of traditional culture in the face of a global media, regional autonomy and development, religion and society. However, discourses of modernity and tradition are also carried out every day on a more minor scale: within groups, organizations, families, and even individuals. These discourses may not be recognized or framed in terms of tradition and modernity, but nevertheless cannot exist separately from this wider discourse and fill the space between tradition and modernity in everyday life in Indonesia. Taking various forms, and adopting a variety of positions, in the end these discourses all aim towards striking a balance between the continuity of tradition and the change of modernity in a growing and developing Indonesia.

Frank Dhont, M.A., M.Hum., Ph.D
Prof. Dr. Hermanu Joebagio, M.Pd

Rector's Keynote Speaker

8th INTERNATIONAL INDONESIA FORUM CONFERENCE

Honourable the Chairman Board of International Indonesia Forum, Frank Dhont.
Honourable Heads of Sebelas Maret University
Distinguished Keynote Speakers and all other speakers
Distinguished guests
Ladies and Gentleman

Assalaamu 'Alaikum Warahmatullaahi Wabarakaatuh
May peace and God's blessings be upon you all
A Very Good Morning

The economic, politic, technological, telecommunication, transportation, and tourism development in Indonesia has accelerated and put Indonesia's economic growth as the 5th (fifth) of the world, based on the report of World Bank. On the other hand, the European countries currently face the economic crisis because of the Greek's economic decline.

The economic growth, indicated by free movement of goods and services in regional and international area, is the result of independent economic programs by the government of Republic of Indonesia. Meanwhile, the development of the local economy including arts, culture and tradition also give some contributions on the economic growth of Indonesia.

The local culture cannot be neglected in the modernization process as the local culture is important to respond that process by using strategies of cultural resistance and integrated mutualism. Those strategies are believed to be able to develop the new *elan vital*, which inserts spirituality, morality, social enthusiasm, and economy tourism commodity. The new notion of *elan vital* is the representation of local wisdom which can create the tolerance, harmony, and solidarity among Indonesian society.

Therefore, I strongly believe that the 8th (eighth) International Indonesia Forum Conference can engage participants in an informed and insightful discussion to solve the problems faced by Indonesia. The last but not least, on behalf of Sebelas Maret University, let me first of all extend you all my warmest welcome to the 8th IIF Conference held at Sebelas Maret University, the green campus. Have a great and beneficial conference. Having said all of the above, I hereby declare that the 8th (eight) International Indonesia Forum Conference is officially opened.

Wassalamu'alaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh.

Surakarta, July 29, 2015
Sebelas Maret University Rector

Prof. Dr. Ravik Karsidi, MS

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**FROM PLANTATION TO MILITARY STATE:
THE CHANGING OF URBAN SYMBOL OF MALANG FROM 1923 TO 2000**

By Reza Hudyanto¹¹⁷

Abstract

In the Historiography of Urban in Indonesia, studies on architecture development, relief and inscription take on pivotal position. Nearly eighty years of research, most scholars were more interested in those topics. While, the last trending topic focused on the theme about local wisdom, local value and people's interpretation meaning were attached more on symbols. As unit of space, city has been an area of contest where each social group competes to place their identity on it. This indication was very clear since Dutch Indies colonial Government constructed the cities in early twentieth century. The following city-ruler shows the same pattern. They image made the city as means to show their power by creating statues, street name, and other forms.

This article is an output from the field, oral-testimonies and archives research using historical methods. All finding sources were collected, interpreted and presented in written form. Symbolic approach was used to interpret meaning of this symbol. Many monuments contain messages and values which directly made by the former military major

In this research, the city-ruler builds a monument in the urban civic centre, particularly intersection road, crossroad and the middle of the square. Most of those monuments take shape of soldiers with military uniforms. The second thesis from this research is the changing of street names represents the circulation of power. The dominant-group always presents themselves in a very strategic point of the city. In the following days, it needs to make city monuments as representation of local culture, not political domination.

Introduction

(Harimau Mati Meninggalkan Belang, Gajah mati meninggalkan belang, manusia mati meninggalkan nama)¹¹⁸

According to Cassirer the differences between man and animal is the ability to create a symbol. So he defined that man is *animal symbolicum*. Symbolism way of think and act were the main character of human being. (Cassirer: 1987, 41). "Man could die once in a time, but his name was lasting forever" henceforth he expresses this by making physical symbol. In order to make his existence remembered, man tried to erect monument that commemorate his merits and services to the country. That's why most monuments were created from a stone because this material was not perished through the time. In some cases, this scenario was not made when a revolt occurred. For example in 2003, mobs in Baghdad destroyed the statue of Saddam Hussein that was made from rock.

¹¹⁷ Holding Doctor in History, Lecturer at Department of History, School of Social Sciences. State University of Malang.

¹¹⁸ "Dead Tiger left stripes, elephant died leaving the tusks, man died leaving the name"

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What does the monuments mean? According to American Heritage Dictionary, monument is something venerated for its enduring historic significance or association with a notable past person or thing: the architectural monuments of ancient Rome; traditions that are monuments to an earlier era.¹¹⁹ The most vivid example of monument of World War II is "The Raising Flag in Iwo Jima". That monument has inspired the monuments in Java, particularly related to the Indonesian Dutch War from 1945 to 1949. There must be components of soldier in uniform, flag and weapon. Statues and other physical forms are not the only shape of monument. Monument could take shape in non-physical such as an identity or label. This kind of non-physical monuments correlated with person or places that are associated with historical moment. In this case, prominent person or outstanding figure from the time of revolution was placed in the most strategic point in the city. Military domination to the city symbol becomes clear since the end of 1960th when the New Order came to power. This short article tries to show that political domination play important role in the process of image built by the making of symbols.

*Problematika
Jawa*

Monument: Created and Perished

According to some archeologists human has the sense to visualize the spiritual power. They believe that spirit and power of natures are brought to realty by making picture and statue as media for ritual. They also created spells, songs and offering to cult their spiritual masters. That was the beginning of culture. It is no wonder that the complex culture is identical with great monument. In Java, one of the most spectacular monument which become sign of complex society is Buddhism-Siwaism temple (Candi Buddha dan Siwa). Since the eight centuries, Javanese society has the ability to absorb culture that came from outside – particularly India, and were combined with local culture to make a area of temples, state and letters. In the following years, Ruler builds a *candi* to commemorate himself as eternal ruler of the world. The King also used Candi as a tool to conquer the heart of his people. (Ishii; 1993, 188-9)

In following periods from fifteenth to seventeenth century, Islamic State in Java has been using the combination of Hindu-Javanese and Islamic Culture as based of governance and bureaucratic order. From the monument, it looks like the Islamic State inherited the former tradition such as chronogram (*Candrasengkala*) in Mosque of Demak¹²⁰ and the Front Gate of Yogya Royal Palace, Javanese arts of writing in *Babad Tanah Jawi*; and the system of social stratification, architecture and many other cultural achievement.

¹¹⁹ The American Heritage® Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition copyright ©2000 by Houghton Mifflin Company. Updated in 2009. Published by Houghton Mifflin Company. All rights reserved.

¹²⁰ E.P Weiringa, "A Monument Making the Dawn of The Muslim Era in Java: Chronicles and Chronograms on the Grand Mosque." Gunter Blamberger and Dietrich Boschung. *Figuration of Time in Asia*. Munchen: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2002: 169-170

Dutch East Indies Colonial and Post Colonial Monument

Perhaps the very early of colonization was began in Batavia. As the centre of colonial power, old city of Batavia is a groundbreaking of Colonial State. So many monuments were founded in that complex. It was the first part of city that imitated the old city of Amsterdam. But in the end the *Oud Stad* was abandoned. In the beginning of eighteenth century, the new part of the city was founded, namely Weltevreden. As the new space for living and administering, Dutch colonial government made a square like Waterlooplein and Koningsplein. (Abeyasakere: 1987, 54-7) They put a statue on the edge, such statue of The Founder of Batavia, Jan Pieterzoon Coen; Lion in front of Cathedral in *Koningsplein* (king square) and also put monument and burst of J B Van Heutz in Gondangdia. They also built General Governor Palace in the east side of Waterlooplein and North side of Koningsplein. Most building were *indisch empire style* with a roomy space, pillars and large size. In 1890, the growing of the cities in most part of Java came faster. There were so many Architects and Construction bureaus helping the Residential Office in constructing many Government Offices, Housing and Public Infrastructures.

As the decentralization in 1930 was implemented, the role of the architects and construction bureau became more important because this new policy demanded more units of technical works to do improvement of public facility such as modernized traditional market, constructing drink water installation, building abattoir, making "kampong" improvement, residential area and street repairs. What happened to this urban space after the independence? So often in post-colonial cities, all have been going on to this day, architectural styles and housing standards are still colonial, the by-laws are obsolete, the subsidy structure favors the upper income groups, there are almost unbelievable disparities between the standard of the rich and the poor. As the European dispatched from Malang in 1949, former European quarters in *Bergenuurt* and *Orangebuurt* were occupied by military and high echelon civilian personal. Many of them could not pay high price of tax so they sold their houses to Chinese. However, the army expressed their domination over this elite-residential area by erecting monument TGP (Tentara Genie Pelajar), Colonel Hamid Rusdi¹²¹, Surapati and Brawijaya Army Museum. They placed bust of General Soedirman, statue, tank, artillery, aircraft gun in front yard of museum and some cuboids with relief of war in each side. This was the tradition to Indonesian Municipalities to make their power milestone.

Monuments as Symbol of Political Domination

According to Tennekes (In Peter Nas 1993), symbol deals with the attachment of meaning, an emblem, a non explicit connection of ideas. A Bust or a portrait of the unknown person, for example, is an image and not a symbol, because it is not linked to values derived from outside the picture concerned. Statues are always symbol because they have shown pure depiction. Statues always imply the association of idea, statues, painting, and label, identity and such like which can be considered

¹²¹ He was known as Chief Command of Surapati Division. Soedianto and Abdoelkahar, TKR Divisi VII Untung Suropati Malang-Besuki 1945-1948. Malang: UM Press, 2000. him 156

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carriers of symbols. Nas has developed symbol to nine concepts namely type of symbol carriers, symbolic elements, symbolic domain, symbolic value or power, symbolic ecology, level of symbol, formal and informal meaning, dynamics symbol, function of symbols. From this concept, Nas wrote a numbers of years ago which contained analysis of a series of old myths about Indonesian Town, looking at such things as their founding and origin of their names. Nas paid particular attention to the myth of Banyuwangi and Majapahit.(Nas: 1993, 14-16) I can mention many other names that originated form old myth such as Salatiga (*Salah-tiga*), Semarang (*asem-arang*), Boyolali (*Bojotali*), Malang and Blitar (*baline tartar*). More than twenty statues and monuments large and small in Jakarta origins form old myth and histories of Java such as Hanuman, Gadjah Mada, Garuda, Diponegara, Kartini, Arjuna, Krisna and many other small statues. It proves that old myth, folktale also inspired many local leaders to identify place.

In his book, Abidin Kusno (2000; 23) also used symbol as analytical tools. He started from theory that city was full of symbol where the ruling power showed their political expression. Architecture and urban planning play important role in shaping social, culture and politic of people. They also represented government interest to build national esteem. Kusno's thesis was not too different from Peter Hall. Hall's theory assumed that State political system gave effect to number, size and character of the monument. North Korea, Vietnam and Iraq are countries that build statue of their leader with big size and strong character. Many years before, Beneditto Moussolini expressed his ambition to rediscover the glories of Rome by this speech:

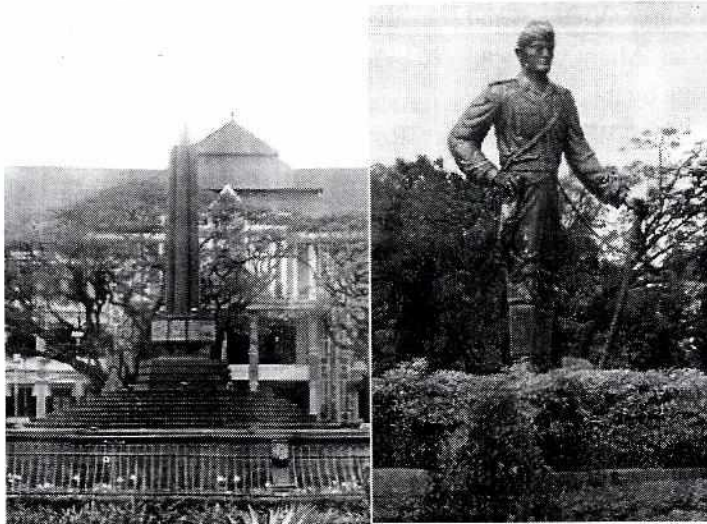
My ideas are clear. My orders are precise. Within five years, Rome must appear marvelous to all people of the world – vast, orderly, and powerful, as in the time of empire of Augustusyou shall create vast spaces around theater of Marcellus, the capitoline Hill and the Pantheon. All that grown around them I centuries of decadence must disappear.(Hall, 2002: 197)

The Indonesian Leader produced two kind of monument. Old Order monuments brought about the message of Decolonization. Soekarno – the pioneers of reinvented national symbol, tried to uproot colonial heritage, to crush Western expansion and to revive National Culture. The new Order monument gave the message to emphasize glorious of Indonesian past – which mostly from Javanese ancestors, to crush communism and to depict army superiority over civilian. Its figures could be found in the Monumen Crocodile Pit in Jakarta, Serangan Umum, General Soedirman and Monument Slamet Rijadi in Surakarta. The difference is General Soeharto never expressed his will explicitly in constructing the image of Jakarta through statues and monuments even he never made statue of him self. Even today we can not find Jalan Soeharto.

Using of urban space as means of expression was subject of Colombijn works. He said that symbol has two meaning, formal and informal. Formal is the meaning attached by the symbol makers meanwhile, informal meaning is the meaning that came from outside the symbol.(Colombijn: 1994, 303) As the second largest city in East Java Provinces, since the 19th century, Malang was home of people from different ethnic, religion and social class. Each group competes for a place to show their identity. If Batavia was full with statue, in the same period, no statue was found in the city. The only

statue was found bust of Mother Mary in front of Santa Ursula Catholic School. The beginning of decorated city was in 1946.

Most monuments were correlated to Dutch-Indonesia war from 1945-1949. It also emphasized the role of army in the struggle for defending this country from foreign invaders. We can differentiate monuments into three categories. First category is monument as symbolic of memorial historical moment such as Tugu. The monument Tugu sited in the middle of Circle Square (Alun-Alun Bunder). Its shape resembled of six bamboo spears (*bambu runcing*), symbol of Revolution War in 1945 to 1949. The relief downside depicted five main islands in Indonesia, and figure of Soekarno and Mohammad Hatta. This monument was actually built in 1946 as commemoration of August 17th Indonesian Proclaimacy. When the Dutch Military captured the City in end of July 1947, this monument was demolished. Dutch put a miniature of Queen Crown in the top of the monument instead. In 1951, Kotapradja Malang rebuilt the monument with financial support as much 25.000 gulden from Dutch as a charge for destruction they made to this monument. Finally in May 1953, the monument was finished. Presiden Soekarno made an official speech in the opening ceremony that this monument is a symbol of eternal struggle. Soekarno said that our revolution was not over yet, because Papua was still under Dutch Colonization. (Java Pos, 16 Mei 1953)



Monument Tugu (1953)

Monument Col Hamid Rusdi (1992)

Many c
Officia
Monum
Hamid

Monum
UKS
Monum
Pahlaw
TRIP

Monum
Tentar
Genie
Peladja
Monum
KNIP

Monum
Kadet
Suropa

Monum
Adipur
Monum
Chairil
Anwar
Monum
Tugu M

Monum
Juang 4
Monum
ABRI
Manung
Monum
Jendral
Soedirn

Table 1 will describe the meaning of monuments in Malang according to some informants. Many of them are from outside Malang.

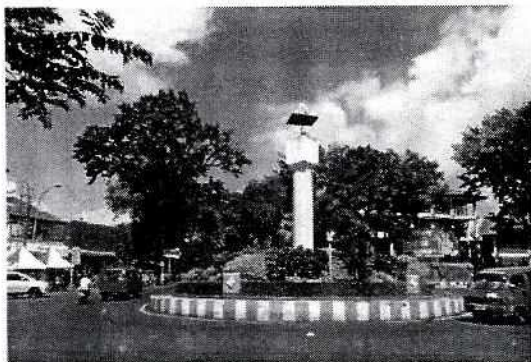
Official Name	Meaning from Informan	Other meaning
Monumen Hamid Rusi	Honor to the serve of Major Hamid Rusdi to the country as Commandant in Indonesian-Dutch War	Hero Traffic sign Icon of struggle in Independence war
Monumen UKS	Education based on Healthy life	Traffic sign Malang is healthy city
Monumen Pahlawan TRIP	To honor and remembered serve of Indonesia Student Troop in defending the city at first Dutch military aggression	Malang the city of Soldier To honor and remembered serve of Indonesia Student Troop in defending the city at first military aggression
Monumen Tentara Genie Peladjar	To honor and remembered the struggle of Indonesia Student Troop in defending the city at first Dutch military aggression	Traffic sign
Monumen KNIP	Diplomatic Struggle to defend Nation Independence National Commite of Centre Indonesian assembly and soldiers with weapons	City decorated
Monumen Kadet Suropati	Coat of Arms kota malang City of Flowers	Green city City of education Beautiful urban design
Monumen Adipura	Malang, clean city	Appreciation Traffic controller
Monumen Chairil Anwar	Tribute to Chairil Anwar as his merit	Street furniture
Monumen Tugu Malang	Bamboo spears as weapon symbol in confronting Dutch Coat of arms	Centre of Local Government Traffic controller City decoration Axis of the City
Monumen Juang 45	Struggle of people against Dutch	Decorated the cities Symbol of people courage
Monumen ABRI Manunggal	United of Armed Forces and People	Military head quarter Cooperation and Unity
Monumen Jendral Soedirman	Pay respect to general Soedirman and his merits of National struggle to defend Independence of Indonesia.	Traffic control

(It was the feedback from list of questions that being distribute to 50 informants in August 2014)

The second monument located in Ijen-Semeru streets. Those monuments stand in the middle of the boulevard so that everyone can see. It consists of statue with of man wearing military uniform, with weapon in his shoulder, and offended performance. There is an inscription at the bottom of statue, containing list of 61 persons who died in the combat between TRIP and Dutch Marines from November 1945 to 1949. But as modernization going through in every corner of the city, only tiny parts of people gave attention when the pass those monuments. Rarely did people use this place to commemorate their merits since they made ceremony in their own school or Office. The same context is also found in monument Juang 45, Kadet Suropati, Tentera Genie Peladjar and Jendral Soedirman,



Monument KNIP



Monument UKS

The second type is the monument that functions as sign of historical moment occurred in that place. Monumen Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat was built to commemorate the Plenary Session of KNIP in March 1947. Societeit Concordia. In July 1947, as the Dutch troops were approached the city, TNI made scorched earth strategy that cost very expensive. Most of the buildings and homes in the city were burned to the ground, including *Societeit Concordia*. This memorial building was not rebuilt until the Shopping Centre “Sarinah” stood right on the former place of *Societeit Concordia*. In

order to remember that KNIP plenary session once took place in that location, government built Monumen KNIP.

The third type is monument correlated with image building. In this type, the meaning of monument not associated with political domination or historical moment but decoration. Monument UKS (*Unit Kesehatan Sekolah*= health unit of School), gives the message to public that Malang is the good place for Education. In more details, health is the foundation for making better generation. Monument as city decoration can also be found in the northern part of the city, that is “Welcome Monument “ or Tri Bina Cita and MIG 21. The Welcome monument was built in 1983 and has messages to the public that Malang is an industrial city, education city and tourist city. Meanwhile the MIG 21 Monument represents of Air Force although Abdurahman Saleh Air Force base located 8 km east of the monument. It seems that distribution space of monuments proved the superior of Army among so many social groups in the city. Recently one of those monuments have been favorite places for “selfie” and hang out. For example monument Hamid Rusdi is the best place for motor bikers and car-club. There has been changing from place for ceremonies to the place for expressing identity



Monument Pahlawan TRIP (2006)



Monument Lion of AREMA (2014)

The end of military domination was began on periods of Muhammad Anton in 2014. He was elected as mayor in the third Local Election since reformation 1998. In the second year of his rule, along with private company under the program of Corporate Social Responsibility, he built monument taking shape of Lion in front of Malang Train way Station. It is symbol of "AREMA", a Football Club home based in Malang. That is the first monument representing symbol of people, not the elite rules. In fact this icon was inspired by Malang's coat of arm in the Dutch Colonial periods. Despite of its civilian political background and other motives to get people sympathy, this monument changed the tradition of using monument as media to expressed their identity. Before the reform era, army was believed as the only centrifuge power of the people in Malang. Nowadays, since the civilian government take power, local symbols flourish, symbolized by statue of three lion in this strategic point of the city. Singo Arema is believed as the symbol of Young people in Malang, and has reduced the potent of conflict among them.

Renaming the Streets: Political Construction by Identity

Since the Dutch Indies Colonial periods, city is place for symbol of competition. One of many city symbols is street names. According to Kees Grijns, street names did not only function as identity but also reflected local value and characteristics of neighboring people. (Grijns 2007: 230) These names had existed since the colonial periods but vanished in 1969. The city was transformed from plantation, plural city to military state. Teoh state that the changing of street names not simply linguistic matter but it was a competition over symbolic reproduction in creating urban environment. (Yeoh: 1996, 221) In the Dutch East Indies periods, *Gemeente Malang* labeling the streets in European quarter with names of Governor General, member of Dutch Royal Family and mount in the archipelago. But after the coming of Japans that brought the colonial to the end, all street names correlating with Dutch were changed to Indonesian persons. This is the example of streets named that were changed by Japanese Municipal (Si Tyo)

Idenburgstraat	Suropati	Wilhelminastraat	dr. Cipto
Van Heutzstraat	Pajajaran	Willemstraat	Diponegoro
Van den Boschstraat	Sultan Agung	Julianastraat	Kartini
Van der cappelenstraat	Ronggowarsito	Emmastraat	Dr. Sutomo
Speelman Straat	Majapahit	Sophiastraat	Trunojoyo

There were many others changing name, but just in linguistic terms such as *meubelmakerstraat*¹²² to Jalan Pertukangan, *Pandhuisstraat* to Jalan Pegadaian and *Jagalanstraat* to Jalan Jagalan. Apparently anti-Dutch sentiment was main cause in the changing of streets names. Let me quote Suharjo speech in front of City Hall in 5 January 1952. "Bahasa Belanda (Hollands) just produces *overheersing geestelijk* (spirit of superiority) that in the end will put down Indonesian

¹²² *Craftman* =Dutch

(Bahasa Indonesia). Furthermore, he ask government to ban using Dutch language, and refused the Bahasa Belanda in all subject learning." (*Djava Pos*, 8 January 1952) Even though so many streets name were changed, it did not make people confused. Newcomers' guest in Malang, could imagine of situation of surrounding place looks like in the past yet. For example, men could guess that in the past, that places must be the center of craftsman from the streets name Jalan Petukangan. It also takes place in other quarter such as Jalan Gelanggang, Jalan Bingkil and Jalan Perusahaan. These names comemorated history of the city because its name depicted the character of environment. Street name also represented plurality of the citizens such as, Jalan Pecinan, Jalan Klenteng, Jalan Tan Bo Liang, Jalan Embong Arab, and Jalan Pecinan Kecil.

Those characters disappeared in moment when Orde Baru Government made dramatic changed. They renamed almost all streets with names of military person particularly from army. This policy was based on City Council Decree No 12, May 28th 1969. The changing of Street names can be illustrated in the list below.

Streetsname before 1969	Streetsname after 1969	Streetsname before 1969	Streetsname after 1969
Betek	May Jend Pandjaitan	Lowokwaru	LetJend Sutojo
Celaket	Jak Agung Suprpto	Oro-oro Dowo	BrigJend Slamet Riyadi
Dinoyo	May Jend MT Haryono	Petukangan-Tumenggungan Kulon	Jend Gatot Subroto
Glitung	Let Jend Suparman	Rampal	Panglima Sudirman
Jagalan	Kapt Pierre Tendean	Sawahan	Julius Usman
Kasin Kulon	Brigjend Katamso	Sukun Klayatan	S Suprijadi
Kulon Pasar	Sersan Harun	Wetan pasar	Kopral Usman
Klenteng-Kotalama	Laks RE Martadinata	Blakang Loji-Tongan	Ade Irma Surjani (anak dari Jend AH Nasution)
Kayu Tangan	Brigjend Basuki Rahmat	Kasin Kidul	Arif Margono (anggota laskar 66)
Kutobedah	Kol Muharto	Klojen Kidul	Aris Munandar

Sumber : Tjamboek Berdoeri, *Indonesia Dalem Api dan Bara*. (Jakarta: ELKASA, 2004) hlm 343

Since 1931, Malang has been known as city of School, Sport and Soldier. There were many schools from elementary to high level of education; there were a huge military headquarters in Eastern part and base camp and so many sport facilities in Western part of the city. By this renaming, the image of Malang as *Garnizoen Stad* (City of Soldier) became strong. The anti-communist message being attached on this new street names since names of seventh *Pahlawan Revolusi* were labeled in the main axis road of the city. It cannot be questioned that the army has done big deal here. Since 1968, mayors of Malang were come from military middle rank person for example Kolonel

Indra Soedarmadji (1968-1973), and Kolonel Soegiono or known as *Ebes* (1973-1983). The city council was also dominated by military.

Eventhough this decision was contra-productive because the renaming has put the interest of army and erased character and collective memories of the city, nobody even dared to protest against this decision because the consequences were very hard to bear. The circumstances under new order did not permit anyone to speak freely. If someone had spoken something too harsh against government policy, he could have been arrested or accused as communist. This consequence did not only fall to himself but also his descendant. But from the DPRGR (Local Parliament) side, the new names were given to respect and honor to National Heroes. But the fact the character of name absolutely disconnected with surrounding environment. Then, the renaming of streets has banished local identity. There were no longer kampong identities since Dinoyo streets renamed as Let Jend M T Haryono street. People being scared to the power of Army, never proposed to postpone the execution Local Parliament Decree because of being afraid being accuse as Indonesian Communism Party (PKI) descent. The result is all main roads representing the army and no Chinese name is enlisted in the street names in Malang. The deteriorated political relation between People Republic of China in one side and the rehabilitation of Diplomatic Relation with Western country in the other sides, made bad situation to the fate of Chinese Culture in Indonesia. This was the end of symbol of plural society and the beginning of uniform city.

Concluding Remarks

In the course of time, the ruler always hesitated to make their names lasting forever. City, as the node of man, capital, goods and ideas flow, is an important place for the rulers to place their identity. Different kinds of rulers produced so many kinds of monuments with their own characters. Dutch colonial monuments were made characterized by discrimination, superiority of white man over color people. Urban symbol carried to European, occupied the best location in the city. It comprises not only in physical symbol such as monument, statue and building but also in non-physical symbol such as street names. Apparently, this tradition has been continued by Indonesian Municipality. The former position of European symbol was placed by Indonesian, not long after the decolonization. In term of location preference, municipality did not make a breakthrough by placing its symbol of identity in the same place as their former rulers.

The distinction between the Dutch made monuments and Indonesian made monuments is on the shape. The first one tends to show their identity as conqueror and royal palace while the second one tends to show superiority of military over civilians. The domination does not only appear on uniform, weapon, symbol, relief or image, but names of places and streets. Military symbols always placed in main axis streets and the most strategic point in the cities. It ended in 2014 when the monument of a symbol of famous Malang football club "Singo Edan" was built in the centre point of the city nearby Circle Square (*Alun-alun Bunder*) and Malang Train way Station. So the changing of urban symbols represents the dynamic of political *zeitgeist* (spirit of time).

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