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REVOLUTION POLITICAL CHANGES IN YOGYAKARTA 1945-1951

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ABSTRACT

Indonesian independence has caused change basically in political order and governance, also in Yogyakarta. This study aimed to Understand the concept of power changes in Yogyakarta from feudalism to democracy in local government.

This study used the historical method, collecting data through a review of relevant archives, documents and previous research as well as related book references; analyzing to find the authenticity and credibility of sources; carry out interpretations with a political and sociological approach, to find historical, and produce a historiography of fundamental changes in politics and government in Yogyakarta.

The results showed that there was a fundamental changed in the government structure. Yogyakarta, in time of the Dutch colonial governance was a self-governing state or swapraja, Sultan as King. People's involvement in determining policy of the government is realized through representative system. That is KNID (National Committee of Yogyakarta and DPRD (Regional Representative Council), and then holding General Election for selecting members of DPRD 1951, that is first general election in Indonesia. Transition from feudalism to democracy, caused Yogyakarta as special Regions, Sultan as governor.

KEYWORDS: independence revolution, king's sovereignty, democratic transition, regional gernerment.

INTRODUCTION

Indonesian independence which was proclaimed on August 17, 1945 resulted in changes to the political system and government in Indonesia. An important issue related to independence was the process of decolonization, the sudden termination of anything related to colonialism (Smit, 1986: 7). Simultaneously with the proclamation of independence, a revolution arose to defend independence. In addition to showing indicators of a decolonization process, the Indonesian independence revolution also showed a process of democratization of the government of the newly formed state, because the 1945 Constitution states that state sovereignty lies in the people's hands through representation. [1]

The democratization process means that the people hold supreme sovereignty in the state administration which was formerly controlled by the colonial government and its vassals, taken over and adapted to the principle of sovereignty. Therefore, the Indonesian revolution is anti-colonialism and anti-feudalism.[2] There was a process of democratization in the central and regional governance arrangements. During the colonial era, Yogyakarta also served as a self-governing area, which administered self-government (zelfbestuur) based on a political contract. Like other self-governing regions, at the beginning of the revolution they also underwent a process of government democratization. Interestingly, the transition to democracy in Yogyakarta did not cause the loss of Yogyakarta's position as a special region, Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX and Paku Alam VIII remained as regional rulers/heads. [3] Yogyakarta was spared from the social revolution. In the change towards a democratic government system, tensions and violence sometimes occur, which lead to forms of rebellion and social revolution, especially in areas that still want to maintain a government system based on a traditional, feudalistic order.[4] The traditional governance system that was centered on the king, the king's sovereignty was replaced by a modern democratic governance system, the people held the highest sovereignty, the people's sovereignty.

Based on the reasons above, studying the changes in Yogyakarta's government structure during the independence revolution is a very important and interesting problem. During the independence revolution, there was a fundamental change in the system and structure of government in Yogyakarta from a feudalistic to democracy.

The problems that will be studied include (1) Understanding the concept of feudal power of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta (2) Understanding the concept of power changes from feudalism to democracy in local government. The specific purpose of this research is to obtain scientific data regarding the occurrence of fundamental changes in the Yogyakarta's governance structure during the early periods of Indonesian independence.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social and political changes in society are caused by internal and external factors, or both combinations. The wide changes in political regimes were influenced by the office holders (dynasties). The change can be in the form of evolution or revolution, which is a rapid and fundamental change. These changes can occur due to discrepancies such as conflicts, protest movements, contradictions, and rebellions. The revolution was correlated between the protest movements and the power elite. [5]

Rapid and fundamental changes in the political and governmental arrangements in Indonesia occurred when Indonesia's independence was proclaimed on August 17, 1945. The proclamation gave birth to a new sovereign state, free from colonialism. Efforts to uphold sovereignty were carried out, resulting in a revolution to defend independence. [6] The new state was in the form of a republic, and people's sovereignty (democracy). Political and governmental arrangements at the central and

regional levels have become a characteristic of the Indonesian revolution. Indonesian revolution demonstrates anti-colonialism and anti-feudalism. So, in swapraja regions, include Yogyakarta were transition feudalism to democracy. [7]

RESEARCH METHODS

This research was conducted in Yogyakarta, by searching the data from various places, that are the Indonesian National Archives, Yogyakarta Archives, National Library, Sonobudoyo Library, Taman Siswa Library, Yogyakarta Legislative Library. Data was also collected by tracing from archives and informant sources.

This research belongs to historical research, because it is oriented to past events, especially in the early period of Indonesian independence, to see the fundamental changes that occurred in the political and government system in Yogyakarta. (Yogyakarta Sultanate and Pakualaman), and the changes that occurred during the Indonesian independence revolution which showed anti-colonialism and anti-feudalism. The data is obtained from documents, archives and informants as well as books and relevant research results. Thus, the appropriate data collection techniques are archive and document analysis, library research and interviews.

In historical research, the validity of was carried out using internal criticism and external criticism. Internal criticism seeks credibility or truth by checking and comparing the contents of one source with the contents of another source and relating it to the theory, while external criticism seeks the authenticity of a source. Authenticity of written sources by looking at the year of the archives and documents were made, the language and spelling used from the sources. Informants, people who know and if they can experience what happened. Analysis techniques use political, economic, anthropological approaches. The analysis has started from selecting sources (heuristics) to interpretation.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Yogyakarta's Government Before Independence

The agreement to stop the lighting due to the prolong political conflict on Thursday, 29 Rabiulakir 1680 or 13 February 1755 in the Gianti, one of the small villages in the Salatiga area, has divided the Mataram kingdom into two parts, half ruled by Sunan Pakubuwono III who reigned in Surakarta Hadiningrat with the capital in Surakarta, while the other half was ruled by Prince Hangkubumi who later held the title Sultan Hamengkubuwono I and founded the kingdom of Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat with the capital in Yogyakarta. In its development, the Surakarta Hadiningrat kingdom was known as the Surakarta Sunanate, while the kingdom area controlled by Sultan Hamengkubuwono was better known as the Yogyakarta Sultanate.

Expansion of political interference by the Dutch East Indies government towards traditional power in Java, led to political divisions, so that in the Surakarta Sunanate in 1757 a new kingdom emerged,

namely the Mangkunegaran which ruled by Mangkunegoro I, and in the Yogyakarta Sultanate in 1813 a new autonomous of Pakualaman emerged. ruled by Paku Alam I. The four autonomous regions were regulated based on a political contract made by the king. The Special Region of Yogyakarta, which was formed after the proclamation of Indonesian independence, is a combination of two autonomous regions, the Sultanate of Yogyakarta and Pakualaman.

Based on the political developments above, it shows that Yogyakarta is categorized as royal government system. In the royal government, full power is held by a king. The Javanese concept consider the king as someone who has absolute political, military, and religious power. The king holds authority and occupies at the top of hierarchy stratification, both in the social structure and power. This can be explained based on the prevailing power structure. The power structure is closely related to the social arrangement that surrounds it. The cosmic-magical perspective in the society gives rise to "super natural" power, because the involvement of nature (the cosmos) is part of controlling power.

In the Javanese perspective, the king has a sacred position. He is the only one who connects the human world, the microcosm, with the world of gods, the macrocosm. [8] (Moertono, 1985: 32). Therefore, the Sultan is the only source of all power and strength. Based on this view, the Sultan (king) does not run the daily administration directly. Therefore, who holds the daily government is the Patih, rijksbestuurder. Meanwhile, during the Dutch East Indies colonial period, the patih was proposed by the Sultan with the approval of Dutch East Indies government represented by the Governor. [9]

The royal government in Yogyakarta was divided into two, inside the palace which was called by parentah jero and outside the palace, called parentah jaba. [10] There was a significant difference between them. Parentah jero managed palace ceremonies and rites, served the the sultan and his family and acted as a liaison between the sultan and the outside government. Parentah jero was headed by the princes of the king's relatives. While the parentah jaba, organized the government activities in general, under the authority of the patih.

Thus the patih was the executor of government activities, that mean the implementation of the royal government became the patih's responsibility. The bureaucratic structure under the patih consists of eight Nayaka Regents, along with bureaucratic officials under them as executor of local government. They were responsible for the implementation of their government to the governor. The bureaucratic structure, although officially hierarchical, but actually consists of servant-master relations (kawulogusti). Each official assembled a group of people who depended on him, following the king's model. The fate of the kawulawas related to the success or failure of their gusti.[11]

Such a paternalistic bureaucracy required unconditional loyalty and obedience from the people (kawula) to the ruler (gusti). A relationship between the government and those who are governed was not accepted because of compulsion. Those relationship should be based on life destiny in this world.

Thus, the patih and regent had a decisive position in political activities and government in the kingdom. This position was used as a compelling reason for the Dutch East Indies government to interfere in political and royal government through this bureaucratic system. Since 1743, when the Ponorogo agreement was signed between the king of Mataram Paku Buwono II and the VOC, it was stated that the patih and regents of the were to be appointed by the Sultan with the approval of the VOC. [12]

The inauguration of the patih places him in a dual function. Apart from being an employee of Sultanate, he was also an employee of the governor. The Patih had to take an oath, both to the Sultan and to the Governor of the Dutch East Indies. In addition, if one day there was a conflict of interests between the Sultanate and the Dutch East Indies government, the patih had to side with the Dutch East Indies government.

The ambivalence and dual loyalty of the patih position could lead to conflict between the patih and the princes, or with the sultan. For the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, this was seen when Prince Notokusumo (who later had the title KGPA A Paku Alam I), was exiled by the Dutch Governor. Ambivalent of patih's position triggered Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX to correct the policy. It was corrected in tough political contract negotiations between the Sultan and Governor Lucien Adam in 1940, when the sultan was about to ascend the throne. Even though the political contract was then signed as formulated by Governor Lucien Adam, this showed that the political power of the Dutch colonial government was still very strong against royal power. Chapter 13 of the political contract still places the position of patih who had dual functions.[13]

Declining the Power of the Patih

The Patih position as stated in the 1940 political contract was retroactive until 1942. Due to its defeat by the Japanese army in World War II, the Dutch colonial government had to leave Indonesia, including its power in its vassal areas. Thus, the Dutch East Indies government left its colony in Yogyakarta and was replaced by the Japanese military government. As a result, there was a government transformation. This changing political condition influenced Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX in determining government policies in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta.

The urgent problem related to this policy was to place the patih's position in his actual function, so that the patih's loyalty can be closely monitored. The Patih was only required for his loyalty to the political interests and government. Meanwhile, during the Japanese colonialism, Yogyakarta had a position as a special area (kochi), its position was regulated by the Japanese government. In Dai Nippon's instruction dated August 1, 1942, the army chief (Gun Sireikan) stated that Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX became the king (Ko) in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta. All rights previously held by the sultan were permitted as before.

To supervise and lead the Kochi government, the Office of Imperial Affairs (Kotizimukyoku) was formed as the representative of Japanese military government in the Sultanate. The Sultanate's office was headed by Kotizimukyoku-Tyokan, who was appointed and responsible to Gun Sireikan to regulate the government of the Sultanate, based on regulations issued by the Japanese military authorities (Gunseikan). However, Sultan Hamengkubuwono was allowed to make "Angger-Agger" as long as it did not conflict with the Law by the Japanese government. The "angger" issued must first be approved by the Kotizimukyoku-Tyokan, so that these regulations could be applied in the Sultanate. This provision was contained in the Gunseikan Guidelines Based on the command of the Dai Nippon Army.

Based on the provision and command from the Japanese military government, the position of the patih in the government bureaucracy was not explicitly regulated. Based on this provision, there was shifting of patih's position in the bureaucracy, because he was no longer entitled to release "anggar-anggar", whereas in the previous period, during the Dutch East Indies colonial administration, the regulations were stated in the Rijktsblad, issued by the Patih with the approval of the Dutch East Indies Governor. This could happen, because the Japanese military government did not know and understand the bureaucratic system in government in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta.

The changes that occurred during the Japanese colonialism had convinced the Sultan to reduce the role and power of the Patih in the government. This was possible, because the Japanese military government did not fulfil the administrative structure of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, especially those that regulated the function of the Patih, which was only used as a prolongation of Dutch East Indies colonial government.

To minimize the role and power of the patih, Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX then divided the government into departments, called Paniradya (pani = hand, radya = government / state). The officers in Japanese called Kyoku, each headed by a department head, called Paniradyapati (Kokutyo). The division of the paniradya were:

1. Paniradya Sonopanitro (Secretariat),
2. Paniradya Wiyotoprojo (Education)
3. Paniradya Racana Pancawara (Information)
4. Paniradya Ayahan General (Soldier)
5. Paniradya Paniarto (Finance)
6. Paniradya General Foundation (Public Works)

7. Paniradya Economy (Economy)

With the division of offices in royal government structure, the government power which was originally centered on the patih turned to 7 Paniradyapati. So, although formally the Patih still exists, in real terms he no longer holds the power of the Sultanate government in Yogyakarta.[14] In daily administration, the Paniradyapatis were led directly by Sultan Hamengkubowono IX, so they were practically not responsible to the Patih. Their position were completely new and did not have a dual function. Thus, it will be difficult for the Japanese military government to use Paniradyapati as an extension of its bureaucracy.[15]

The power division into Paniradyapati was an indicator of the autocratic government shifting. Even though the Sultan still occupied central power, the implementation of government activities was no longer centered on one person, the Patih. Government that was not centered on one person would simplify the social control.

The governmental power shifting was realized on August 1, 1945. It happened when Patih Danurejo VIII was dismissed due to old age. Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX firmly decided not to appoint a new Patih. This example was also followed by Pakualam VIII, because when his Patih submitted his resignation due to old age he also did not appoint a new Patih. Since that time, the Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX and Pakualam VIII took over and led the government directly.

People in government activities

The changes in the government structure triggered the process of collegial government during the Japanese colonialism in Yogyakarta. It was getting better when Indonesia's independence was proclaimed in August 1945. News of the proclamation soon reached Yogyakarta. The logical consequence of the proclamation was the independence revolution. The values brought into the revolution were anti-colonialism, upholding people's sovereignty as stated in the 1945 Constitution, and anti-feudalism. [16]

Facing the current revolution, the people urged Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX and Paku Alam VIII to act firmly. Then, it was realized in the Mandate of Sultan Hamengku Bowono IX and Paku Alam VIII on September 5, 1945, where the Sultanate and Pakualaman supported the Republic of Indonesia. This was responded by the Central government of the Republic of Indonesia, which was then outlined in the Presidential charter dated September 6, 1945, which established Sultan Hamengku Bowono IX and Paku Alam VIII as regional rulers in Yogyakarta. They were entrusted for the safety of the Yogyakarta area as part of the Republic of Indonesia.

Based on the mandate and charter, explicitly both the Sultanate and Paku Alaman sided with the Republic of Indonesia. In the government structure, Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX and Paku Alam VIII are directly related to and only responsible to the President of the Republic of Indonesia. This means that they both do not want to be ruled by anyone, except by the President.[17]

The decisions taken then increased people's trust in Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX and Paku Alam VIII as local authorities towards democratic governance. The support of Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX and Paku Alam VIII was also seen in his wire letter to Prime Minister Sjahrir, about his assassination attempt by the allied troops (Kedaulatan Rakyat, 29 September 1945). Due to security reasons in Jakarta, and with the support of Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX and Paku Alam VIII, it was an appropriate decision for the central government to move the Republic of Indonesia's capital into Yogyakarta on January 4, 1946.[18]

In order to create a democratic government as desired by the Independence Revolution, the people must be involved to reach people's sovereignty. The 1945 Constitution stated that the government in Indonesia is based on the principle of people's sovereignty. Therefore, on August 22, 1945, the Indonesian National Committee was formed to achieve of the goals and ideals in people-sovereign government. The Indonesian National Committee was a representative which had capability to enact laws.

The right step from the Yogyakarta's regional authorities was to immediately form the Yogyakarta Regional National Committee (KNID) in early September 1945 (Sekretariat, 1977: 19). KNID was formed by central government at the entire Indonesia in the end of September, as stated in the "Constitution of Reformation of the Central National Committee".[19]

The revolution situation and conditions did not allow the formation of the KNID for general elections, so the members of the committee were formed through the appointment of representatives from political parties (Sekretariat, 1977: 20). The number of KNID members in early September 1945 was 84 people. The number was then added by representatives from the district so that the total became 105. The advisory consists of BPH Poeroebojo, Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, and dr. Sukiman. While the chairman of the KNID was Muhammad Saleh assisted by the vice chairman of KRT Hardjodiningrat, Tandiono Manoe, Djojodiningrat.

The Yogyakarta KNID together with the Sultan and Pakualam (as regional heads and representatives) managed daily regional administration. Thus, in a formal juridical perception, democratization occurs. It happened because all daily government affairs which during the Dutch East Indies colonial period were held by the patih, and during the occupation period were carried out by the Paniradypati, then were changed into Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX and Paku Alam VIII together with the KNID (Tri Yuniyanto, 2010, 18). The people participated in determining the government policies through representatives, because the KNID functions as a legislative body. Based on declaration No. 18 of 1946 the KNID was abolished and replaced with the name of the Representative Council for the Special Region of Yogyakarta and also in the Regency and Municipality. At the village level, a village council and a village assembly would be formed.[20]

The Regional Legislative Council together with the Regional Leader created the regulations in their area, called by legislative power. A Regional Government Council was also formed, which together with and chaired by the Regional Leader carried out daily administration, which functions as the Executive Board. The government council was responsible to the Regional Representative Council, except for Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX and Paku Alam VIII, who in the declaration were expressly free from the Legislative Assembly responsibility. Thus, the power during the Japanese colonialism was held by Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX assisted by the Patih and Paniradyapati together with Koti Zimu Kyoku Tyokan (The Official of the Sultanate) was then carried out by Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX and Paku Alam VIII together with the people represented in the Regional Government.[21]

The democratization in Yogyakarta became better when a general election was held to elect Regional Representative Council members in the Special Region of Yogyakarta based on Law No. 3 of 1950. The general election was held from 16 July to 9 November 1951 (Ministry of Information RI, 1952: 119). The people did not directly elect The Regional Representative Council members, but the general voters first chose their guardians as voters. This was mainly due to the high level of illiteracy in Yogyakarta society.[22]

The general election was followed by several social and political organizations as well as from individuals. The political parties that participated were the PNI (Partai Nasional Indonesia), Masyumi, PIR (Partai Persatuan Indonesia Raya), the Catholic Party, and Parkindo. Participants from social associations or organizations are: PPDI (Persatuan Pamong Desa Indonesia), SSPP (Sarikat Pekerja Pamong Praja), AMDG (Aksi Memajukan Daerah Gunung Kidul), PKABT (Panitia Kesatuan Aksi Buruh Tani), PUAM (Perkumpulan Umat Adam Ma'rifat), PAMA (Panitia Aksi Manunggal), the Partyless Group and the Hardjowarsito Group. While the individual participants were Atmosoediro (from Imogiri), Dasuki (Kalasan), R.M. Djojoseprapto (Imogiri), Sudjak (Prambanan), R.C. Susilonarto (Pakem), KRT Soedjodiningrat (Regent of Kulon Progo), Moch. Ridwan (Ngaglik), and S. Hardjodisastro (Wonosari) (DPD Secretariat 1951). The result of general election were, MASYUMI got 2.753 votes, PPDI 1.115 votes, PKABT 878 votes, PNI 659 votes, PIR 313 votes PUAM 75 votes, SSPP 314 votes PPDI 20 votes, Katolik Party 354 votes, AMDGK 85 votes, PARKINDO (Partai Kristen Protestan Indonesia) 60 votes. The result members of DPRD were: MASYUMI got 18 seats, PPDI got 7 seats, PKABT got 5 seats, PNI 5 seats, Katolik Party, PIR and SSPP EACH got 2 seats.[23]

CONCLUSION

Political and governmental changes, and the formation of an independent state in 1945, led to significant change in the regions. The change was the democracy implementation in the pre-independence autonomous regions. The principle of democracy means the highest sovereignty is in the hands of the people. The power of people in Yogyakarta's local government was a fundamental change, because there was a transition from kingdom to democracy.

The realization towards a democratic system could not be separated from the role of Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX and Paku Alam VIII, the kings of the Yogyakarta Sultanate and the Pakualaman. They declared to form a representative people, namely the KNID (Komite Nasional Indonesia Daerah) and later became the DPRD (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah, Regional Representative Council), functioning as a legislature in local government. The democratic process became even more evident when Yogyakarta was used as a trial general election to form the Regional Representative Council on 27 August 1951, which was the first election in Indonesia. Optimizing the function of the DPRD as a legislative in local government was caused the transition to democracy in Yogyakarta. Changes occurred from the sovereignty of the king to the sovereignty of the people.

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