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Building Bandung: Colonialism, Ethnic Identities and Architectural Practices in Indonesia

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Building Bandung: Colonialism, Ethnic Identities and Architectural Practices in Indonesia

By

Rina Priyani

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Committee in charge:

Professor C. Greig Crysler, Chair
Professor Greg Castillo
Professor Nancy L. Peluso

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Abstract

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The city of Bandung in West Java, Indonesia became a symbol of the Non-Aligned Movement when it hosted the first Asian-African conference in 1955, known as the Bandung Conference. This study traces the efforts of Indonesian intellectuals and visionaries of the postcolonial world who have been reinventing the city of Bandung, rupturing it from its colonial origin. This research foregrounds class, ethnicity, and race in Bandung's postcolonial trajectory through urban transformation beginning in 1870 when Dutch colonial sovereignty was declared, and ending before the 1965 anti-communist massacres in early post-Independence Indonesia. I explore three key periods of colonial and post-Independence rules: late Dutch colonialism (1870–1942), Japanese occupation (1942–1945), and the early, post-Independence Indonesia period (1945–1965). This study focuses on three themes as follows: first, the establishment of a colonial city expressive of the elite society initiated by the Netherlands East Indies government, Dutch private planters, and local aristocrats of West Java in the nineteenth century; second, the role of ethnic Chinese Indonesian builders and their family enterprises in shaping the local urban landscape of the early twentieth century; and third, the construction of the social club and theater and subsequent appropriation of the theater, renamed the Independence Building, as a conference venue in 1955, to announce the emergence of Afro-Asian solidarity and expunge elitist colonial legacies from the city center. Through family memoirs, individual and institutional archives and oral history, I argue that social practices of architectural preservation and city planning legitimized a new regime of non-aligned power through built construction and the calculated erasure of unwanted memories embedded in palimpsests of Bandung's city fabric.

For my parents, Supriyatna Sutardjo and Glorida Pohan;
my sister, Sinta Priarti, brother-in-law, Asbiantoro, niece, Kyra Torrita;
and my husband, Lyle Deepe

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Background of the Research

"But what harm is in diversity, when there is unity in desire?" asked Sukarno, the first president of Indonesia, in front of representatives from twenty-nine newly independent nations and observers to open the first Asian-African conference in Bandung on April 18, 1955.[1] The diversity refers to newly independent nations of Asia and Africa as well as observers from Africa and the Middle East, and the unity is the solidarity to fight colonialism, racism, and social justice: to have equal rights with other established nations. This conference, also known as the Bandung conference, marks a pivotal moment for postcolonial nations of the Global South in breaking from their colonial past and positioning their solidarity for the "Third way." The notion of the "Third way" meant neutral, neither with the Eastern nor with the Western bloc in the Cold War, later coined as the "Third World'' and "First World," respectively. This conference and its movement led to formation of the "Non-Aligned Movement" consisting of countries in Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, Middle East, and South America.[2] The non-aligned politics had produced various kinds of expressions in arts and literature; however, it has been overlooked in the field of architecture until recently, due to anti-America and anti-communist propagandas in the 1950s–60s Southeast Asia.[3]

In the opening remarks, Sukarno also remarked that "this is the first intercontinental conference of colored people in the history of mankind." It was the first large-scale colored states' meeting attended by twenty-nine nation-states, initiated by five newly independent nations: Burma (Myanmar), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India, Indonesia, and Pakistan. The conference was attended by national leaders from Africa and Asia, among others were Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Kwame Nkrumah of Gold Coast (Ghana), U Nu of Burma (Myanmar), Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia, and Chou En Lai of China as the "intellectuals and activists of color who had been subjected to forms of colonialism, racism, and class oppression" (Lee 2010). The U.S. Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr. and African American writer Richard Wright attended as unofficial delegates representing African Americans (Tsing 2005). Wright mentioned that most leaders at this

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[1] "Let a New Asia and a New Africa be Born!" Opening Speech of Bandung Conference by President Sukarno in Roeslan Abdulgani, *The Bandung Connection* (Jakarta: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, 2015), reprinted, 177-189. The conference initiated by five sponsoring countries, i.e. Burma (Myanmar), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India, Indonesia, and Pakistan, later known as the "Colombo Powers."

[2] Janet Abu Lughod argues the duality of the First and the Third World and non-alignment position.

[3] Tony Day and Maya H. T. Liem, eds., *Culture at War: The Cold War and Cultural Expression in Southeast Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2010), and Tony Day, "Honoured Guests: Indonesian-American Cultural Traffic, 1953–1957" in Jennifer Lindsey and Maya H. T. Liem, eds. *Heirs to World Culture: Being Indonesian 1950-1965* (Leiden: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal, Land, en Volkunde [KITLV] Press, 2012).

conference were former political prisoners who really wanted to break with their past and shared their dreams and visions (Wright 1956).

Acharya and Tan (2008) suggest the main legacy of Bandung is not "institutional or organizational" but "educational and normative." The normative legacy was in establishing the principles of anticolonialism, antiracism, global peace, and human dignity as tools for collaboration among nations of the Third World; however, the educational concern is known as "developmental pedagogy" which, as Lee (2010) suggests, lies within the leadership of statesmen of the Third World which is based on their ambitions and coupled with utopian dreams to "catch-up" with Western modernity.

The second Afro-Asian conference, which was planned to be held in Algiers ten years later in 1965, became a non-event. The assassination of the first Algerian president, Ahmad Ben Bella, in June 1965 and the coup of Sukarno in October 1965 followed by the mass killing and anti-communist propaganda in Indonesia,[4] ended the effort of a serial Afro-Asian conference project. However, as Richard Wright (1956), emphasized, the Bandung conference represented strong "emotional nationalism" meaning an emotion that was shared among the participants as the former subjects of colonialism and imperialism.

Scholars have associated "Bandung" with the movement and projects of anticolonialism, antiracism, and Third World solidarity, which are expressed in the following phrases: Bandung connection, Bandung echo, Bandung legacy, Bandung moment, Bandung principles, and Bandung spirit, among others (Abdulgani 1980; Amrith 2005; Mackie 2005; Chakrabarty 2010; Lee 2010). While ideas of Bandung as an embodiment of Third World politics have received much attention in international relations and global and postcolonial studies, its connection to the space and place of Bandung that originated as a colonial city is rarely discussed. Prior to the 2021 Society of Architectural Historian (SAH) Virtual Conference, Vladimir Kulic and Amit Srivastava issued a Call for Papers for a panel entitled "Building Non-Alignment and Neutralism, 1950–80s."[5] They suggested including narratives of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in global architectural historiography as they argue that it is "the most ambitious post- and anticolonial project of the Cold War era." However, the NAM was rarely explored as an approach to examine architectural production in the Cold War, specifically, they argue, regarding its architecture's global circulations such as expertise, materials, and construction processes. The possible topics includes the education of architects in the non-alignment networks, transfer of technology, and NAM conferences to build hospitality infrastructure and cooperation among the members of the non-alignment countries.

This dissertation traces the efforts of Indonesian intellectuals and visionaries of the postcolonial world to reinvent the city, rupturing it from its colonial origin. This research foregrounds class, ethnicity, and race in Bandung's postcolonial trajectory through urban transformation beginning in 1870 when Dutch colonial sovereignty was declared (after 250 years of other forms of colonial rule and extractions) and ending before the 1965 anti-communist massacres in early post-Independence Indonesia.

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[4] Geoffrey Robinson, *The Killing Season: A History of the Indonesian Massacres, 1965-66*, (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018).

[5] See https://www.sah.org/docs/default-source/conference/sah-2021-montreal-call-for-papers.pdf?sfvrsn=1787249b_4 [accessed on April 30, 2024].

I explore three key periods of colonial and postcolonial rule: late Dutch colonialism (1870–1942), Japanese occupation (1942–1945), and the early, post-independence Indonesia period (1945–1965). This research traces this lineage to the important moment in global history when the city hosted the Bandung Conference in 1955 and became the symbol of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The research question that animates my dissertation is: How did Indonesia, as a new nation, reconcile its formative narrative of freedom with the cultural and material remnants of a colony? On the one hand, the colonized people of Indonesia had endured a long struggle in seeking freedom from colonial rule and establishing national sovereignty. On the other hand, the emerging nation inherited the cultural categories, practices, and material accoutrements of rule from its colonizers, which manifested in architecture, art, education, language, law, public institutions, and urban planning, among others. This research also looks at how these contrasts were resolved in architectural production and practices during the nation-state's formative years by focusing on the city of Bandung. Bandung is an appropriate site to explore this theme because of its two contrasts: its origin as a colonial city which was built in the height of Dutch ethical policy in the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries and during its early Independence, as the symbol of the Non-Aligned Movement during the mid-twentieth century.

Most scholars of the urban history of colonial and post-Independence Indonesia choose Jakarta as their research site due to its role as the capital city of Indonesia, the complexity of its urban transformation, as well as one of the headquarters of the Netherlands East Indies Company beginning in the seventeenth century. The Jakarta scholarship is extensive in comparison to other Indonesian cities. It includes the following: urban transformation and symbolism from the colonial to the post-Independence periods (Heuken 1983, 2002; Nas 1995, 2006, 2011), informality and urban-rural hybridity (McGee 1991, 1997; Leaf 1992, 1994; Cowherd 2002; Cairns 2019), class, gender and social organization (Taylor 1983, 2000), land development (Leaf 1992, Cowherd 2002, Firman 2000), nationalism, memory, and the city (Kusno 2000, 2010, 2023; Mrazek 2001, 2010), planning practice and politics (Silver 2008; Cowherd 2003), metropolitan governance and the urban fringes (Firman 2004, 2009; Winarso, Hudalah & Firman, 2015), livelihood and speculations (Santoso 2011; Simone 2014; Leitner and Sheppard 2018), as well as environmental governance, water crisis, and insurgency (Silver 2021).

What does Bandung bring to the urban history research area that Jakarta does not? Unlike Jakarta and other port cities in Java, Bandung originated as a hill station for planters and the colonial government beginning in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Its early development as a city was closely linked with the plantation enterprises that surrounded it in the north, east, south, and west of the city. This research focuses on the city of Bandung as an example of an Indonesian city that was built in the late Dutch colonial era as the "prototype of a colonial city" (Ekadjati 1985). Thus, as mentioned earlier, Bandung is an appropriate place to examine the contradiction between its colonial origin, which started in the late nineteenth century and its urban transformation during the formative years of post-independence Indonesia.

Overview of the City as Research Site and Similar Research

In the early twentieth century, Bandung emerged as a hill station in West Java's highland. The city was located ninety-four miles to the southeast of the capital city of Jakarta (formerly Batavia), at an elevation of 2,520 feet above sea level. Bandung as the name of the place originated from several words, includes the Indonesian word *bendung* meaning a formation of a causeway or dike, known as the *bendungan*. It was believed that the origin of the place is related to the geological formation of an ancient lake in the prehistoric era, which was formed due to a volcanic eruption of Tangkuban Parahu mountain in the northern area of the modern city. The eruption led to the formation of a causeway (*bendungan*) of the Citarum river and eventually formed the ancient Lake of Bandung. The other word of *ngabandeng* from Sundanese, the indigenous west Java language, also contributes to the origin of this name. It means the vastness of a body of water, referring to the waterscape of the Lake of Bandung that later formed the modern Bandung basin. The city of Bandung was part of the Bandung basin which was inundated by water during the ancient times. This is also demonstrated by the name of old Bandung's neighborhood, which includes *bojong* and *bobojong*, meaning the cape or the headland, referring to geography of the ancient Lake of Bandung.

The scale of this research encompasses the city of Bandung's pathways of development from its colonial origin to post-Independence Indonesia. In the late nineteenth century, the city was physically divided by the Post Road and a railway that ran parallel in an east-west direction. The railway connects Bandung to Jakarta (to the northwest) as well as Bandung to Surabaya (to the east). In the 1906 plan of Bandung as the new municipality, the north side of the city was planned for Europeans and the local elites, while the south, which was not clearly shown in the plan, was where the natives and other non-European migrants lived. In the early twentieth century, Bandung solidified its role as a new city for the private planters and as a cure for tropical diseases, specifically malaria. It flourished as a new resort town of coffee and tea plantations and emerged as a tourist destination. The more ambitious vision was presented through government projects during the 1920s–1930s. The headquarters of Public Works, Post, Telegraph, and Telephone, along with the Geology Laboratory and the Pension Fund Building, exemplified the ambition of the Bandung municipality and the private planters to make the city modern.

Similar research which focuses on the nation, memory and the city, includes works by Haryoto Kunto, Ajip Rosidi, Rudolf Mrazek, Abidin Kusno, and Naoko Shimazu as the following.

Haryoto Kunto (1940–1999) was a Bandung citizen and writer of the most well-known and significant book on Bandung's urban history, *The Face of Bandung's Recent Past (Wajah Bandoeng Tempo Doeloe)*. The book is written in Indonesian and intended for public readers. It was first published in the 1980s during the height of the authoritarian regime of President Suharto, the second president, which marked the urban transformation of the capital city of Jakarta and its satellite cities in west Java. It was also when public intellectuals were fearful of the loss of local identities and history due to rapid development and the authoritarian regime. Kunto's work highlights the colonial good old days or "tempo doeloe," and the ways in which he utilizes the concept as a critic to the

Indonesian local governments during the 1970s–1980s. He argues that urban planning and management during Indonesia's early Independence period was not better than the Dutch colonial era, specifically during the 1920s. Trained as a city planner, Kunto was popular as the gatekeeper of stories and colonial nostalgia of the Bandung city. During the 1980–1990s, he opened his home office for students and journalists to learn the history of the city, and was invaluable to the local preservation movement, the Bandung Heritage Society for Conservation (in Indonesian: Paguyuban Pelestarian Budaya Bandung), as well as the establishment of the Institute of Indonesia's Architectural History (in Indonesian: Lembaga Sejarah Arsitektur Indonesia) in Bandung, in the late 1980s.

Ajip Rosidi (1938–2020) was a self-taught poet, writer, and relentless advocate for the preservation of Sundanese arts and culture of the indigenous people of west Java. Bandung is the capital of west Java province; thus it represents the center of Sundanese arts and culture. Ajip Rosidi's writings are widely published in Indonesian and Sundanese languages. In the context of postcolonial Indonesia, the ethnic Sundanese language was often overlooked and marginalized as the subset of the ethnic Javanese. Sundanese is a majority ethnic group in west Java that has a distinctive language, different from Javanese in central and east Java. This marginalization originated from the tragic battle between the Sunda kingdom of west Java and Majapahit kingdom of central Java in the mid-fourteenth century, ending with the victory of the Javanese kingdom and the killing of members of the Sundanese royal family. It resulted in the long aftermath—centuries of hostility between the two largest ethnic groups of Indonesia—which is still happening now. The Dutch colonial state utilized this hostility, in a way favoring ethnic Javanese over Sundanese, specifically in plantations and urban governance. Note that all Indonesian elected presidents are of ethnic Javanese. Rosidi's activism and scholarships led to the discussions and publications of the major collaborative work of the *Ensiklopedi Sunda: Alam, Manusia dan Budaya* (*Encyclopedia of Sundanese Arts and Culture*) written in Indonesian in 2000.

Rudolf Mrázek, a historian of colonial and postcolonial Indonesia at the University of Michigan, writes the history of colonial Jakarta from the oral histories of Indonesian intellectuals (2010). Some of the intellectuals were engineers and politicians from Bandung, in a way that architecture and space inform their remembrance. His research also examines the uses of language from the longer Dutch colonial era (1870–1942) to the shorter Japanese occupation (1942–1945), which was expressed by switching languages from Dutch to Indonesian when people recalled the place in the process of giving their narrative. The archival work and oral history that Mrázek did for over three decades (from 1990s until now) inspired the methods of this research. The difference is, rather than looking at the capital city of Jakarta, it focuses on the making of the Bandung's urban space.

Abidin Kusno, an architectural and urban historian of Indonesia and a professor at York University, looks at the relationship between the nation and the city, particularly the city of Jakarta (Kusno 2000, 2010, 2023). He also writes about the visual cultures of the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia and aims to relocate the visibility of this group and their roles in nation-building by critically presenting the memory of state violence targeting the ethnic Chinese in the past and present.[6] The Dutch colonial state put the ethnic Chinese "in the

[6] Abidin Kusno. *Visual Cultures of the Ethnic Chinese in Indonesia* (London & New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016).

middle" of "Europeans" and "Natives," to stabilize the relations between these two groups. In this book, Kusno writes two chapters focusing on the "who's who" list of developers and architects with ethnic Chinese backgrounds in post-Independence Indonesia. He writes, "the most challenging task for the chapter on architects is that (unlike developers) architects are not always publicly promoting their works and not all of them embrace "ethnic Chinese" as a category for identification."[7] In this case the invisibility or "concealing" identity was done by changing the Chinese name or Chinese family name to an Indonesian name, which is a common practice during the post-Independence era. Kusno's political project on Jakarta and the ethnic Chinese Indonesian scholarship inspired this research. Rather than looking at Jakarta, this research focuses on Bandung city and the legacy of the Bandung conference.

Naoko Shimazu, a historian at the University of Tokyo argues that the Bandung conference can be read as a theatrical performance of non-aligned diplomacy and nationalism (2014). Building from Clifford Geertz's idea of the theatrical state in which the power of the state is exercised through ceremonial and ritual spectacle, Shimazu coined the term "diplomacy as theater." Based on the three components of a performance, the actor, the stage, and the audience, she describes the ceremonial and symbolic aspects of Bandung as similar to those performed by the leaders of the new nation states. The actors here are the national leaders and representatives of the new and prospective nations of Asia and Africa who performed the "ritual" of diplomacy. The stage is the city of Bandung, and Bandung and Indonesian people are the audience. She argues that the performance of the "diplomatic theater" started as early as when the invited participants to the Asia Africa conference landed in Jakarta airport and were welcomed by the committee as the airport itself was decorated by the flags of the Asian-African countries. *Diplomacy as theater* is a reading of the Bandung conference and the making of Third World nationalism from the perspective of the locals, in the way it looks closely at the space of diplomacy such as the meeting hall and urban space of the event.[8] Shimazu scholarship helps to frame the narrative of the conference venue by looking closely at the local sources, specifically those in the Indonesian archives, and the ways in which the event of the Bandung conference helped to legitimize the alliance of new nations of the Third World and at the same time transform Indonesians' experience of the urban space.

Notes on the Archives and Languages

The archival research was conducted in Indonesia, the Netherlands, and the United States covering three periods: late Dutch colonialism (1870–1930s), Japanese occupation (1942–1945) and the early Indonesian Independence (late 1940s–1965). This research uses the public archives and personal collections, as well as libraries. The University of California Berkeley Libraries and the interlibrary loan services allowed me to access the

[7] See Kusno. *Visual Cultures of the Ethnic Chinese in Indonesia*, pp.159–180.

[8] See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* 2006, p.163. Anderson suggests that the establishment of a nation is not based on the "homogenous" or similarity of human traits; rather it is exercised from the imaginary resistance and hopes that are communally shared. Further, he argues that colonial census, museums, and maps are used to legitimize the "colonized worlds of Asia and Africa."

primary sources of the Bandung Conference documents and the Indonesian government reports of the 1950s.

This research uses the Dutch East Indies (Colonial Indonesia) Public Works archive, which is housed by the National Archive of the Republic of Indonesia in Jakarta (in Indonesian: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia abbreviated as ANRI) and the archives of the Royal Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (in Dutch: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal, Land, en Volkunde abbreviated as KITLV) in Leiden. While most of the KITLV archives have been digitally catalogued, that was not the case in the ANRI archives. The uses of the various languages in the ANRI archives show the remnants of the Empire. For example, the call numbers of the Colonial Indonesia's Public Works archives are in combination in Dutch and Indonesian. Starting in 1942, during the Japanese occupation, the archives were written in two formats, the first in Indonesian/Malay and the second in Japanese. The year changed to the Japanese year system following the reign of the Japanese Emperor. For example, the end of Japanese occupation and the Indonesia's Proclamation of Independence was written during the two-year system: the year of 1945 and of '20, meaning the twentieth year of the reign of the Emperor Hirohito.

The oral history interviews with families of architects, builders, and engineers in West Java (Bandung and Jakarta) as well as with family of Bandung-based builders in Leuven, Belgium, have allowed me to uncover their stories and integrate them with documentary material I found in other archives and primary sources from Indonesia, the Netherlands, and the United States. The Indonesian and English languages as well as Dutch expressions are present in this interview.

This research uses Indonesian and Dutch for archival work, and Indonesian and Sundanese for oral history and site observation. Indonesian language, known as Bahasa Indonesia, is a formal and national language for books, official documents, newspapers, radio and television, internet, and news broadcasts, as well as everyday language for daily conversation in urban areas. Sundanese language is used as the local language in Bandung and west Java regions in colloquial and informal ways. All translations in the archival work and oral histories are mine.

Organization of the Dissertation

The dissertation is organized into five chapters as follows:

Chapter 1. Introduction

Chapter 2. Colonial Visions: Planning a City in the High Plateau

Chapter 2 discusses the colonial origin of Bandung city as a representation of the elite society of the Netherland East Indies during the late Dutch colonial period of the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. This chapter explores the roles of three groups; these include the Dutch/European private planters, the Dutch colonial government, and the local aristocrats envisioning the colonial state's plans for and how these aspirations were realized or thwarted in the 1920s and 1930s.

Chapter 3. Builders of Bandung: Ethnicity, Race, and Modern Architectural Practices

Chapter 3 describes the practices of vernacular builders who worked as intermediaries between Dutch/European and Indonesian architects. This chapter focuses on identities of

the ethnic Chinese Indonesians and the ways in which the place became the site of collaboration and contradiction during the important moments of Bandung's urban transformation. These relations led to the construction of public and private buildings, including the transfer of the capital of the Preanger regency to Bandung in the 1890s, the building of a hill station and expansion of the North Bandung Plan in the 1920s and in the early, post-Independence era, marked by the venue for the Asian-African Conference in 1955 (further explained in Chapter 4).

Chapter 4: Bandung and the Life of the Merdeka Building

Chapter 4 examines the "Bandung spirit" through the meaning of a place by focusing on the architecture of the Merdeka Building for the conference venue and its hospitality infrastructure, including the conference hotels and the spectacle of the "Historic Walk," which is the performative, solidarity walk that the delegations performed from the conference hotel to the venue while greeted by the enthusiastic crowd. This chapter consists of three sections: first, the notion of the "Bandung spirit" and making of the Third World, which is the idea of Third World solidarity as well as self-determination that binds the participants and hosts of the conference; second, the life of the Merdeka Building that emerged from the Dutch planters' club in the late nineteenth century, followed by construction of the theater building in the early twentieth century and its renaming as a cultural center during the Japanese occupation (1942–1945), becoming a meeting hall for the local elites during the early Indonesian national revolution (1945–1950s), and appropriation of the buildings for the conference venue (1955); third, the spectacle of the historic Bandung Walk, which is supported by the hospitality infrastructure of the city.

Chapter 5. Conclusion and Reflections

CHAPTER 2

Colonial Visions: Planning a City in the High Plateau

Hello, hello Bandung!
The capital city of Priangan
Hello, hello Bandung!
The city of memories
It's been a long time I haven't seen you
Now you have become a Sea of Fire
Let's take it over, Comrade!

— Ismail Marzuki, *Hello-hello Bandung*, 1946[1]

Introduction

In the early nineteenth century, the Governor-General of the Netherlands East Indies, Herman Willem Daendels, led an infrastructure project of the "Great Post Road," the first highway through Java Island, which spans about 612 miles (1,000 kilometers).[2] This mega project aimed for military defense, in response to the rising power of the British Empire in Southeast Asia and the urgency of better communication and connection of the cities in the north coast of Java. The planning of this road was based on the horse-drawn carriages in a way the interval of the road marks, which is about 9.2 to 18.4 miles (15 to 30 km), was designed according to horse speed, thus related to the locations of horse stables and the villages of caretakers.[3] Later in the early twentieth century the road construction was redesigned for motorway uses. This highway connected the port city of Anyer of West Java to Panarukan of East Java, including the port cities of Java's north coast from the west to the east: ports of Banten, Batavia (later named as Jakarta), Cirebon, Semarang, and Surabaya. However, several places were established to realign with the road, including the

[1] "Hello-hello Bandung'' was written in Indonesian as a folk song to describe the struggles of Indonesian people in south Bandung and their resistance to the military allied forces after the defeat of Japan in the Pacific War, which marked the end of Japanese occupation in Southeast Asia. During 1945–1946, the city of Bandung was divided into two territories: the north, which was the territory of pro allied forces and Dutch authority, and the south, which was the territory of the anticolonial and supporters of the Indonesian Independence and revolution. See Djen Amar, *Bandung Lautan Api* [Bandung Sea of Fire] (Jakarta:1955).

[2] The Great Post Road is also known as "De Grote Postweg" (Dutch), "La Grande Route" (French), "Jalan Raya Pos" (Indonesian). The Dutch Governor-General H. W. Daendels was in service in 1808–1811 during the British-French interregnum. See Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Jalan Raya Pos, Jalan Raya Daendels* [The Great Post Road, The Great Road of Daendels] (Jakarta: Lentera Dipantara, 2006).

[3] The villages housing caretakers of horses and carriages in each stop, locally known as "Banceuy village'' in West Java. Part of the Post Road across the former Banceuy in the city center of Bandung, was later renamed the "Asia-Afrika" Road, for the preparation of the Asian-African Conference in 1955.

colonial city of Bandung. In 1810, Daendels sent a letter to the local aristocrats of West Java to suggest transferring the traditional seat of the local aristocrat of "Bupati'' from Krapyak, later known as the Dayeuhkolot area to 11 miles north, so that the newly proposed city center would be accessible from the highway (Kunto, 1996).[4] In indigenous Sundanese language, *dayeuh* means town, and *kolot* means old, so Dayeuhkolot means old town. The *Bupati* agreed and transferred the city center of the old town to the north by keeping the plan of the Javanese city which consisted of the city park, known as *alun-alun*, the mosque, the seat of local government, the court and the local market.[5] Later, the planning of modern Bandung was also shaped by the building of the military garrison of Cimahi in the late nineteenth century and the emergence of the private plantation enterprises in the early twentieth century.

Chapter 2 lays out the colonial origins of the establishment of Bandung city as an expression of the elite society, initiated by the Netherlands East Indies (NEI) government, Dutch private planters, and local aristocrats of the region of West Java. This chapter highlights the city of Bandung's pathways of development from the nineteenth to the early twentieth century, and consists of three sections: the first section describes the colonial power and the making of the Preanger landscape in the nineteenth century. This landscape was comprised of: first, the indigenous Sundanese of West Java highland, and second, the extractive landscape of Dutch plantations of coffee, tea, and quinine. The quinine, locally known as "kina," a medicinal plant used to cure malaria, became a profitable commodity in World War I.[6] The second section explains the "imperial heights" in building the colonial hill stations in Southeast Asia and a prototype city in the Netherlands East Indies situated at the height of what is known as the Ethical Policy period during the late nineteenth century.[7] The policy aimed to center on education of the indigenous populations, as well as health, hygiene, and the improvement of the *kampung*, the working-class settlement in the south side of the city. The third section explains the expansion of North Bandung, specifically the ambitious plan of the future capital of the Netherlands East Indies and the transfer of government seats from Batavia (later to become Jakarta) to Bandung from the early twentieth century until the Great Depression in the late 1930s. This section explains the aspiration of the colonial state, represented by the built and unbuilt design of the government complex as well as the transfer of the government's headquarters, which was not fully implemented due to the long arguments between the Ministry of Colony and the

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[4] Haryoto Kunto, *Balai Agung di Kota Bandung* [The Great Hall of the Bandung City] (Bandung: Granesia. 1996). The politics of aristocracy and feudalism in late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century which affected Bandung's urban transformation is explained by Bagoes Wiryomartono in *Traditions and Transformations of Habitations in Indonesia* (Singapore: Springer Nature, 2021).

[5] Wiryomartono, *Traditions and Transformations of Habitations in Indonesia* (Singapore: Springer Nature, 2021).

[6] The genealogy of the name of Preanger (Dutch) and Priangan (Indonesian) can be traced from the *Carita Parahyangan* (*The Parahyangan Chronicle*) which is a pre-colonial history of the Sundanese kingdom in the sixteenth century. Both the terms Parahyangan and Priangan are used interchangeably. See *Sejarah Kota-Kota Lama di Jawa Barat* (History of the Old Cities of West Java) ed. by Nina Herlina Lubis (Bandung: Alqaprint Jatinangor, 2000).

[7] Parahyangan or Priangan in Indonesian language and Preanger in Dutch language are interchangeably used to name a territory of the highland West Java which became the sites of coffee, quinine, and tea plantations in the nineteenth century.

local municipalities during the Great Depression (1929–1940), the rising of Japanese imperial power and its occupation (1942–1945), then followed by the anticolonialist Indonesian revolution (1945–1949).

Colonial Power and the Making of the Preanger Landscape

> Perhaps you know that I am obsessed with the vision of a European colony and a great city laid out on the Bandung plain. There are those who disagree with my view, calling it an illusion and a fantasy, far too idealistic. But I know that these ideals will someday materialize.
>
> — Wolter van Hoëvell, *Journal of the Dutch East Indies*, 1852[8]

In the early twentieth century, a group of visionaries, including Dutch engineers, entrepreneurs, planters, politicians, and local elites, developed ideas, and competed for contracts to build a city on a plateau in the interior of the West Java highland. The utopian idea of "Beautiful Bandung," also known as "Mooi Bandoeng," was developed in response to the unhygienic conditions in the capital city of Batavia (later to become Jakarta), which was considered too crowded and prone to disease. The Port of Batavia was built on a low and flat plain, about 26 feet (8 meters) above sea level. Some areas were below the sea level and some were protected with dykes, so the idea of a city at an elevation of 2,400 feet (730 meters) above sea level seemed to offer a promising future of freedom from flooding, cooler temperatures, and open space to its planners. The other practical reason for selecting the plateau location was the need for military defense stations.[9] In the late nineteenth century, the Netherlands East Indies' Department of War moved its headquarters from Batavia to Bandung, which is in the hinterland, 100 miles southeast of Batavia. The relocation of the Department of War was preceded by the building of a garrison of Cimahi in 1895, west of Bandung, about 88 miles southeast of Batavia. It was also supported by the shift of the artillery factory from Surabaya in East Java to Bandung in the same year.[10]

This utopian plan was triggered by the opening of the region due to the abolition of the "Preanger system," or "Preangerstelsel," a Dutch revenue system introduced by the "VOC," the Dutch East India Company,[11] and was established in the eighteenth century to

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[8] Wolter Robert van Hoëvell, *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (*Journal of the Dutch East Indies*) Vol. 14, Batavia, 1852, cited in Haryoto Kunto, *Wajah Bandoeng Tempo Doeloe* (*The Face of Bandung in Recent Past*). Bandung: Granesia, 1984, p. 16, and Joshua D. Barker, "The Tattoo and the Fingerprint: Crime and Security in an Indonesian City." *Ph.D. Dissertation*, Cornell University, 1999, p. 79.

[9] For a comparative case of a colonial city in a high plateau and its relation to hygiene and military power in late nineteenth to early twentieth century Southeast Asia, see Eric T. Jennings, *Imperial Heights: Dalat and the Making and Undoing of French Indochina* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011).

[10] Prior plans included two military garrisons: Bandung in the highlands of West Java and Cilacap in the south coast of Central Java, both functioning as military defenses.

[11] The Vereeniging Oost Indisch Company (VOC) was established in 1602 and dissolved due to bankruptcy in the 1800s.

extract coffee from the Preanger highlands, a region in West Java.[12] Coffee is not a native plant of Java. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Company introduced the Arabica seeds to Batavia. After numerous attempts, the cultivation of coffee in Batavia did not work due to the floods and the climate, so the VOC cultivated it in the inner regions near Batavia. One of the coffee plantation regions was the highland of West Java. The experiment seemed to work and subsequently changed the landscape and the life of people. In this system, the Governor General, through his Resident, instructed the Regents who were the local aristocrats of the region, to harvest agreed amounts of coffee while levying no other taxes. The Regents were free to obtain the "tribute" from the indigenous farmers in forms of rice and labor services.[13] Through this monopoly system, the Company received huge profits, and the Regents gained wealth, but the people suffered from extractions both from the local Regents and Dutch Residents.[14]

The Office of the Governor General was the highest authority of the Dutch colonial government over the time spanning from the Company period (c. 1602–1799) to French-British Interregnum (1800–1816). In the early period of the Dutch Monarchy (1816–1915), the Crown appointed the Governor General as the chief executive and the chief commander of the army, but later in the early twentieth century (1915–1942), a new entity of the Ministry of Colonies, based in the Hague, was also responsible to govern the colony together with the Governor General. The Governor General led the local administrators, and each territory included the Resident, the Assistant Resident, and the Controller. The Resident led several Regents who were local aristocrats or traditional rulers whose territory got displaced by the Dutch. The Dutch government hired the defeated aristocrats to be their public servants. In this case, the aristocrats had lost their power over their land, but would be able to accumulate and maintain their wealth by assisting the Dutch. From the lens of the metropole, it was a relatively cheap colonial administration, a kind of "subcontract" with huge profits. In the late nineteenth century, the number of Dutch public servants was less than 400 persons while the indigenous public servants were twice that number.[15]

In 1860, Multatuli, a pen name of Eduard Douwes Dekker, formerly a Dutch officer in colonial Indonesia, wrote a satirical novel entitled *Max Havelaar: Or the Coffee Auctions of Dutch Trader Company* to critique the practice of colonialism, specifically the cultivation system, by highlighting the abusive and corrupt Dutch high-ranked officers with the

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[12] More details on the mechanics of cultivation and the colonial governance, see Jan Breman, *Keuntungan Kolonial dari Kerja Paksa: Sistem Priangan dari Tanam Paksa Kopi di Jawa, 1720–1870* [The Colonial Profit from Forced Labor: Preanger system of the Coffee Cultivation in Java, 1720–1870] (Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2014), an Indonesian translation of *Koloniaal Profijt van Onvrije Arbeid: het Preanger stelsel van Gedwongen Koffieteelt op Java, 1720–1870* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010).

[13] For a description of physical geography, law, and policy of coffee cultivation and socio-economic change during pre-colonial and pre-Preanger systems see Mason C. Hoadley, *Towards a Feudal Mode of Production: West Java, 1680–1800* (Copenhagen & Singapore: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS) and Institute of Southeast Asia Studies (ISEAS): Social Issues in Southeast Asia, 1994).

[14] See Multatuli, *Max Havelaar: Or the Coffee Auctions of Dutch Trader Company* (Oxford: Penguin Classics, 1995).

[15] See Jan Breman, *Keuntungan Kolonial dari Kerja Paksa: Sistem Priangan dari Tanam Paksa Kopi di Jawa, 1720–1870* [The Colonial Profit from Forced Labor: Preanger system of the Coffee Cultivation in Java, 1720–1870] (Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2014)

assistance of local aristocrats. In this novel, the story centers on a figure named Max Havelaar, who is a Dutch low-ranked officer in a plantation in West Java and Sumatra, where Dekker used to work. The author's pseudonym, "Multa-tuli'' means "I have suffered much" in Latin. The term denotes the conditions of poverty affected by the oppressive colonial regime. The author's pen name became synonymous with a genre of anti-colonial literature, which became influential in the Netherlands. Multatuli literature opened the discussion of corruption and violence in the colony and helped to shape the more liberal policies of the twentieth century, specifically the moral ideals and social welfare policies directed towards indigenous people in the colony as it led to the "Ethical Policy."[16]

The Preanger system ended in 1870, thus the abolition of this system allowed private enterprises to open their businesses in the colony. In the case of west Java, private planters, later known as the Preanger planters cultivated the land in the north and south parts of Bandung. The Bosscha, Holle, and Kerkhoven families owned the major plantations, cultivating not only coffee, but also tea and quinine.[17] These families had strong networks with the colonial government as well as family connections to the prior Company. They endowed their wealth to the development of the city and were benefactors to major architectural design projects, including buildings and plans for the new government complex of the Netherlands East Indies, the first Technical College, formerly known as Technische Hoogeschool (TH) in 1920, as well as the social club and theater for the Preanger planters also during 1920s–1930s.

The end of this cultivation system was followed by a new era, defined by the Dutch Ethical Policy, known as the "Ethische Politiek," announced by Queen Wilhelmina in 1901, in which she stated that " . . . the Netherlands has a moral calling to fulfill the people of these regions [colonies]." It is based on the moral ideals of the metropole to provide for the social welfare of the colony. There are two sides of this policy. First is the colonial surplus that ought to be distributed to the colony, in this case, specifically, the indigenous people; second is a responsibility of the colonizer to "pay back" the colonized people, which is called "a debt of honor." This policy was largely supported by Dutch liberal thinkers and politicians, including Conrad Theodore van Deventer, a jurist who wrote in 1899 about proposing three major programs of the Ethical Policy: irrigation for rice-paddy cultivation; migration from Java to the outer islands; and education. These three programs later became known as the "Trias van Deventer." The Ethical Policy was a modernization and development project. In the words of anthropologist Tania Li, it represents "the will to improve," in terms of cultivating the land and educating the indigenous population while systematically transferring modern technology from the metropole to the colony.[18] In the

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[16] Max Havelaar is a well-known work of literature both in the Netherlands and Indonesia. Multatuli, as an author and figure, is celebrated and remembered in postcolonial monuments and museums. The Multatuli statue is a bronze art piece placed in Single canal, Amsterdam, completed in 1987. Currently there are two Multatuli Museums, the first is in Amsterdam, a place where the author was born; the second is located in Lebak, West Java, a place where he used to work as a plantation controller during the Preanger system.

[17] Quinine is the medicinal plant from the bark of "kina" (native plants of South America, introduced by the Dutch planters in west Java) for curing malaria during World War I. The production of quinine led the planters and later the Quinine Bureau to build the first pharmaceutical industry in the colony, the Bandung Quinine Factory (Bandoengsche Kinine Fabriek also known as BKF) near the new city center.

[18] See "Introduction: The Will to Improve" in Tania M. Li, *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), pp. 1–30.

case of the education program, the colonial government's main objective was to change the "Javanese people" into an industrious workforce through Western knowledge and technology.[19] However, the plans for building the schools and training the school teachers were inadequate because they miscalculated the budget and the lack of census of the indigenous population and later, the Great Depressions and the Japanese occupation in Southeast Asia ended the Dutch Ethical projects.

As mentioned in the beginning, the bankruptcy of the Dutch East Indies Company followed by the abolishment of the Preanger system, led to the privatization of the plantation enterprises in late nineteenth-century West Java. The opening of the private plantation transformed the landscape of West Java both in rural and urban areas. The planters opened the land, built their houses and storage in the rural area, and at the same time persuaded the city administrators to cater to their needs in the new urban areas. It was through their Society of Concordia that the entrepreneurs worked together with city administrators to make the new city of Bandung "modern." During the implementation of the Ethical Policy (1901–1942) and the decentralization of colonial administrations, major cities in Java had expanded rapidly, doubling, and even tripling in size. In the early twentieth century, between 1900 to 1925, the population of Batavia expanded by 130 percent; Surabaya in the east of Java, by 80 percent; Semarang in the north coast of Central Java by 100 percent, and Bandung by 325 percent.[20] The expansion of population in Bandung city was related to a shift in the opening of the private plantation at the end of the nineteenth century as well as the shift of the capital of the Preanger regency from Cianjur to Bandung due to the volcanic eruption of Mount Gede. As previously mentioned, the Ethical Policy as a welfare project was endorsed by the Dutch liberal politicians to "improve" the education of the native population in the colony, but at the same time it expanded their power in the colony. This shift alongside the welfare project had transformed Bandung from a "small village" to a modern city in the beginning of the twentieth century.[21] In this case, the abolishment of the Preanger system, followed by the Ethical Policy, led to the making of the Preanger landscape, which included the extraction of coffee, tea, and quinine, and the making of the hill station for the planters and colonial government.

Building a Hill Station: Colonial Comfort and Segregation

> I seem to be getting accustomed to the cold here, at least I have felt warm the last few days: although it is not like in Batavia; all in all, it is much pleasanter to work here, what is particularly pleasant is that the mosquitos are not such a nuisance. In Batavia, they are always buzzing around your ears.

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[19] Suzanne Moon, *Technology and Ethical Idealism: A History of Development in the Netherlands East Indies* (Leiden: CNWS, 2007).

[20] Rudolf Mrazek, *Engineers of Happy Land: Technology and Nationalism in a Colony* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002).

[21] See Joost Cote and Freek Colombijn in *Cars, Conduits and Kampong: The Modernization of the Indonesian City 1920–1960* (Leiden: KITLV-Brill, 2015).

— Frans Johan Louwrens Ghijsels, *Personal letter to his wife Elisabeth*, Bandung, 1917[22]

Frans Johan Louwrens Ghijsels, a Dutch architect who was based in Batavia, sent a letter to his wife, Elisabeth, when he stayed and worked in Bandung during the month of August 1917. Ghijsels and his Batavia-based firm, the *Algemeen Ingeniurs-en Architectenbureau*, known as the "AIA,'' received a commission to design the expansion of north Bandung, in particular the site of the future capital of the Netherlands East Indies as well as housing for the future government workers. Comparing the microclimate of Bandung and Batavia, he described how comfortable and pleasant the environment was by mentioning that mosquitos in Bandung were causing fewer troubles as they were in Batavia. The comfort and the pleasant feeling of the highland in comparison to the port cities, was also reported in Dalat, a French-built hill station in southern Vietnam in the late nineteenth century. Dalat was built as an oasis to fulfill the colonizers' need to get away from the heat and to recover from diseases—particularly malaria—that infected humans and were transmitted by certain kinds of mosquitos. In Ghijsel's story, mosquitos were the subject of fear, as the carrier of the serious and fatal disease of malaria. Such health concerns, as well concerns about hygiene in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, had opened up opportunities for experts, including architects, entrepreneurs, engineers, medical doctors, scientists, and politicians to take part in planning and building the hill station both as a cure space and a military station.

Historian Eric Jennings (2011) argues that altitude and climate were the main considerations in the planning of Dalat as an oasis and a new city in the late nineteenth century. The higher the plateau, the cooler and the healthier the environment would be, specifically in the perspective of French colonizers who were adapting themselves to the tropical climate. This idea was supported by a French scientist in the late nineteenth century who suggested that human body adaptation—in this case, the European body—is like a plant adapting to a different environment. That logic was based on cases of subtropical plants that did not survive in the tropical climate. Parallel to the plant, the human body who migrated from Europe to the tropical climate needed more care to be able to work productively in the tropics. In this idea, the highland would be more adaptable for Europeans, as it had cooler temperatures and presumably fewer diseases. This argument was not new; it arose during the British Raj period during the building of hill stations and resorts in tea plantations, both for colonial extraction and to care for the colonizers.

Further, Jennings elaborates the history and the paradox of Dalat as a hill station, which was primarily intended as a resort town for French colonial administrators as well as military personnel to recover and rejuvenate from the heat and diseases. Questions of comfort had always been aligned with the needs of the colonizers, never with the colonized people. However, in the case of Dalat, Eurasians as well as local elites played an important role in making their own space in the new resort town. The idea of rejuvenation in the countryside was not new, as shown by the building of sanatoriums in the hill stations of colonial India and later in the colonial Philippines, specifically the city of Baguio, which had also been established in the mountains. The choice of the site for the sanatorium was based on the microclimate and healthy air. It was a space of isolation for the sick persons, but at the same time, it was also a place that reminded colonizers of their homeland. In the case of

[22] See the life and works of *Ir. F.J.L. Ghijsels*, *Architect in Indonesia 1910-1929* (Utrecht: Seram Press, 1991).

Dalat, dubbed as the Alps of the tropics, the highland's landscape and its microclimate provided an environment of that felt like home. Jennings then argues the paradox of Dalat: "reminding colonials of home, or at least Europe, legitimized Dalat's role as a cure: a cure for homesickness, for anemia, malaria—in short, for Indochina itself."[23]

This is also the case for Bandung, which had a nostalgic role of reminding Dutch colonists of their home, even though the geomorphology of highland west Java is the opposite to the flatness of the Netherlands. Bandung in the early twentieth century solidified its role as a new city and a cure, both for homesickness and tropical diseases, specifically malaria. It flourished as a new resort town of coffee and tea plantations, and emerged as a tourist destination. As portrayed in one of the early twentieth century guidebooks, "the capital of Mid-Preanger, is a new city . . . that . . . possesses a delightfully cool, healthy, malaria-free climate and splendid environ[s].[24] Further, it observed that the Dutch or European "get along much better" in the highlands rather than in lowlands, in terms of health conditions and work productivity, comparing it to highland Bandung at 2300 feet above the sea to the lowlands of Batavia (Jakarta) and Surabaya in East Java.[25] The role of Bandung as a cure for malaria was supported by the first pharmaceutical factory for quinine in the colony, which was built by the government in the 1890s and subsequently was taken over by cinchona-quinine enterprises in the 1930s. The Malabar plantation in the south of the city was the significant producer of cinchona bark, used in the production of quinine. A number of government institutions supported this project, such as the new building of the Pasteur Institute which transferred from Batavia to Bandung in 1915, the building of a hospital next to the Pasteur Institute, European middle and high schools and later the Bandung Technical College; all were built during the height of the Ethical Policy period.

The building of Bandung as a hill station emerged to become a more ambitious project: a "prototype" of Dutch colonial cities in the early twentieth century (Ekadjati, 1985; Kunto, 1995). In this context, a prototype means a model of a future city, particularly as it concerns issues of health, such as hygiene, alleviating malaria as well as flooding. Bandung's microclimate, its higher plain, and open space for planning were the main considerations in making the city healthy. In the 1920s, Bandung had been described as the "future city" in the Netherlands East Indies. Prominent Dutch architect, Hendrik Petrus Berlage visited the city as part of his trip to the Netherlands East Indies archipelago in 1923. He wrote, "Bandung is a city of Schoemaker architects," acknowledging new art deco buildings designed by Richard and Wolff Schoemaker on the northern side of the city. Further, Berlage documented the built environment and landscapes through his sketches and writings. He observed that the newly built Public Work headquarters, also on the north side of the city, marked the beginning of the plan for the capital city of the Netherlands East Indies. For him, the city would be the "future" in its hybrid approach of incorporating Western and Eastern building practice. He wrote that urban development would follow the trajectory of an "American city" rather than a "European city." In describing his short

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[23] See Eric Jennings, *Imperial Heights: Dalat and the Making and Undoing of French Indochina* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011), p. 73.

[24] See the travel book of *Bandoeng: The Mountain City of the Netherlands India*, compiled by S.A. Reitsma (Batavia: C. Kolff & Co., 1926).

[25] *Bandoeng*, (Batavia, 1926), p. 7-8.

journey, Berlage did not compare and contrast what he called the "white city" in the northside and the natives who lived in the southside of the city. The narrative of the native was often erased not only in the travel writing, but also in the plans and drawings of future city.

Ethnic segregation

In the mid-nineteenth century, Bandung emerged as the capital of Preanger regency, which consisted of three divisions: first was Bandung, second was Cianjur and Sukabumi (both located in west of Bandung), and third was Sumedang, Sukapura and Limbangan; the latter were three areas located in the east of Bandung. The regency administered mainly the tea and quinine estates in the mountainous area which was supported by the newly built railways and road infrastructure. The former capital of Preanger regency, the city of Cianjur, transferred to Bandung during the 1870-1890s due to the volcanic eruptions of Mount Gede and the emergence of road, railway, and communication infrastructure near Bandung in the late nineteenth century. During the transfer, the government built two government buildings, including the office and mansion for the Dutch-European government officers, and the office, housing complex, and graveyard for local aristocrats. The buildings for the Dutch government were located in the north, while the local aristocrats' compound was located in the current downtown, which was accessible to the Great Post Road. The duality of power of the Dutch colonists and local aristocrats established in the built environment and the urban space thus divided the city into the European side and the "native" side. The European side is where the prototype city was made visible and well planned, following the "garden city" model, while the native side was beside the housing complex for the local aristocrats in the city center. The *kampung*, a working-class settlement in the southern part of the city, was kept as it was. This phenomenon, as argued by Timothy Mitchell, presents the premise of duality in colonial cities, where one side was the exhibition or display and the other side was the museum, a side that was preserved. These two sides were integral to the colonial power, as was the case of colonial Bandung.

By the end of the nineteenth century, after the transfer of the capital of the Preanger regency from Cianjur to Bandung, the city was physically divided by the Post Road and a railway that ran parallel in the east-west direction in two parts: the north and the south side. Later in the early twentieth century, following the 1906 plan of Bandung as the new municipality, the north side was planned for Europeans and the local elites, while the south, which was not clearly shown on the plan, was where the natives and other non-European migrants lived. The expansion plan included housing and public facilities such as churches, hospitals, schools, and recreation parks which were supporting the idea of a healthy city and a prototype city of the Netherlands East Indies. This plan and new public space demonstrated that the city would accommodate European families, specifically European women and children. It was a make-believe project, in which the design was presented to imagine that things were better than they really were, thus attracting European and Eurasian families to live, work, and retire in the city.

How did society interact with one another in the new urban space? The social groups in early twentieth century colonial Bandung, consisted not only of the Dutch-European colonizers and the colonized people as the "natives," but also those of Chinese

descent who had lived in the west side of the city. Most Chinese, later known as Chinese-Indonesians, migrated to Java from southern China before the arrival of Western colonial powers (Kunto 1986; Kusno, 2010). These three ethnic societies, grouping Dutch/European, Chinese/Foreign Oriental, and Native Indonesian, as the British colonial officer John Furnivall described the society, existed "in the strictest sense of a medley, they mix but [do] not combine."[26] In his comparative work of British colonial Burma and Dutch colonial Java, Furnivall argued that the difference between these two was that the Dutch kept the duality of European law and traditional rule of the ethnic leaders while in colonial Burma, the British had tried to change it completely. In this case, he favored Dutch indirect over British direct rules, because of his premise that the arrival of the Western colonial powers changed the pre-capitalist to the capitalist society. The social class of colonial Indonesia, including the city of Bandung in the beginning of the twentieth century consisted of three categories: first was the European, second was the "Foreign Oriental," and third was the native. The second category of "Foreign Oriental" included people of Arab, Chinese, and South Asian descents, most of whom migrated to Java and Indonesian archipelago long before the arrival of the Western colonial power. Furnivall argued that in order to keep the "plural society," the Dutch colonial government trusted them as the middlemen in their enterprises and put in more efforts to separate the Chinese from the native in the urban space.

Architectural historian Lawrence Chua (2020) argues the roles of "comprador" networks as agents in the production of the built environment in nineteenth and twentieth century Asia.[27] In his analysis, the comprador network of Chinese merchants as intermediaries collaborating with the Europeans negotiated architectural forms as well as labor, materials, and construction techniques in port cities in East and Southeast Asia, including Batavia (Jakarta), Hong Kong, Penang, Shanghai, and Singapore. In relation to the comprador network and the production of the built environment, in the colonial era and early Indonesian Independence, the informal profession of *aannemers* and the family enterprises, meaning the builders and contractors of the built environment, had important roles in shaping urban Bandung and the connection of rural to urban West Java.[28] The third category of the social groups is the "native" which, similar to the first and second category, is not a homogenous group. The category of native in the early twentieth century urban plan meant the native population who lived in *kampung*, the working-class settlement mostly in the south part of the city. Widjaja (2013) argues the complexity of the emergence of *kampung* in Bandung in the early to mid-twentieth century, which was not only the settlement of the "native" people who lived before the arrival of European colonizers, but rather the migrant workers from other places in the Indonesian archipelago who later settled in the city.[29] Specifically, as he pointed out in several cases, they were the construction workers of the important architectural projects in the city, such as the Dutch

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[26] John Sydendam Furnivall. *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India.* (New York: New York University Press, 1956 (1948)).

[27] See Lawrence Chua, "Imperial Negotiations: Introducing Comprador Networks and Comparative Modernities" in *Architectural Histories,* 8, no. 1 (November 2020), p.17.

[28] The roles of the Chinese-Indonesian builders or contractors in shaping the architectural forms and construction practices during the Dutch colonial period, Japanese occupation, and Indonesian independence is explained in Chapter 3.

[29] Pele Widjaja, *Kampung Kota Bandung* [*Urban Kampung of Bandung*], (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2013).

seat of government of the Preanger regency (later known as the Pakuan building), the Java Bank building, and the headquarters for the Public Work, State Railway and Government Enterprise (the "Gouvernementsbedrijven," the GB building, later in post-Independence, known as the Satay building because of the antennae of the roof that resembles the satay), had lived near the site since the government complex was constructed. Further, it was one of the first buildings for the plan of Bandung as the Netherlands East Indies' capital city. As mentioned earlier, the category of the local aristocrats, known as *menak*, lived in the city center and in the southern part of the city. These local aristocrats, as the legacy of the Preanger system, were kept as collaborators by the Dutch and the Japanese. The life of the Sundanese elites or the local aristocrats, according to historian Nina Herlina Lubis, shaped the collaboration and resistance during the Dutch colonial period, Japanese Occupation, and Indonesian Revolution, specifically in the era of post-Independence where most of the Dutch properties were also claimed by these local aristocrats.[30]

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the planning and envisioning of the city began at the height of the Ethical Policy, when the government abolished the Preanger system, thus publishing the new agrarian policy to allow the private sectors to open the plantations. The transfer of the Preanger regency's capital from the city of Cianjur to Bandung in 1890s, followed by the creation of the municipality in 1906, strengthened the power of the planters and their collaborators, the local aristocrats, to expand the city as a resort and hill station for European, and later local, elites. In the previous section, I compare the making of the hill stations of Bandung and Dalat, the ways in which these two colonial projects put an emphasis on comfort, health, and hygiene as well as designing an oasis for Europeans to stay away from the tropical heat and at the same time from the natives. In this case, the planning and visioning of the future city has always been aligned with the colonizer's comfort, never with the colonized. Perhaps one of the stark differences between the hill stations of Bandung and Dalat was the ambitious plan of the North Bandung master plan. This included the transfer of the Netherlands East Indies' seat of government from Batavia to Bandung and housing for the government employees. This project was not fully constructed due to the Great Depression in the 1930s, followed by the Japanese occupation in the 1940s and Indonesian revolution. However, the buildings for the Public Works headquarters, Geology Laboratory (later renamed as Geology Museum), and the Pension Fund building as well as housing for the government employees, were built during 1916–1920s. The following section explains the planning and transferring of the capital of the Netherlands East Indies.

Planning the Capital of the Netherlands East Indies 1918–1939

This section explains the vision of Bandung as a government seat of the Netherlands East Indies (NEI) in the early to mid-twentieth century. The reasons, among others, behind the vision, as mentioned in the previous section, included Batavia's unhygienic condition, Bandung's cooler temperature and abundance of open space, followed by the idea of a prototype Dutch colonial city. The new colonial apparatus of the House of Representatives

[30] Nina Herlina Lubis. *Kehidupan Kaum Menak Priangan, 1800-1942* [*The Life of the Priangan's Aristocrats, 1800-1942*] (Bandung: Pusat Informasi Kebudayaan Sunda, 1998).

during the height of Ethical Policy supported the vision of a new capital city. NEI's Governor-General Johan Paul van Limburg-Stirum launched the plan of Bandung as the new seat of central government in 1918, about two years into the beginning of his service (1916–1921). Around the same time, in May 1918, he formed and legalized the House of Representatives, known as the People's Council ("Volksraad''), for the first time in the colony. The members of the Council were appointed by the Governor General, consisting of thirty persons of Dutch descent, twenty-five persons of native Indonesian descent, and five persons of other races, in this case, the category of Foreign Orientals of Chinese and Arab descents.[31] Limburg-Stirum appointed the retired Colonel V. L. Slors, who was previously stationed at the Department of War in Bandung, to lead the planning team of the capital city.[32] Slors worked together with Batavia's representatives, including architect J. Gerber who came from Delft as well as Bandung's representatives: de Roo and Hendriks, both engineers at the Public Works' Bandung municipality. While from the private sector, Architect F. J. L. Ghijsels from the Batavia-based Algemeen Ingenieurs-en Architectenbureau (AIA) drafted the master plan of North Bandung Expansion including the government buildings, housing for government workers, and a villa for the Governor-General.

This section discusses the planning of a new capital city, which in this project was known as the North Bandung Expansion Plan, halted during the Great Depression in 1929–1930s, followed by Japanese occupation in 1942 and the Indonesian revolution in 1945–1949. The master plan, produced by Frans Ghijsels and his consultant General Engineers and Architects Office (Algemeen Ingenieurs en Architectenbureau, AIA in Batavia), became the basis for understanding the politics and colonial power represented in architecture and planning. Further uses of the post-Independence city and the possibility of rebuilding the remainder of the plan will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

The tasks of the planning team, under the leadership of Slors, included four objectives: first, to transfer the central government departments and agencies from Batavia to Bandung; second, to choose the right location for the central government agency; third, to build approximately 1,500 houses for government employees who moved from Batavia, and fourth, to coordinate and cooperate with government agencies and related agencies in making the transfer and building success. At the same time, tensions between Batavia as a center of the colonial administration and Bandung as a new "capitol" started in 1918 and continued until the late 1930s. In December 1929, the House Representative divided into two groups, one was the pro-Bandung group, who supported the plan of the new capital city and the construction of the new government buildings, and the other was the pro-Batavia group, who preferred to keep Batavia as the capital city.

The pro-Bandung group argued their reasons for transferring the capital as follows. First, Bandung is centrally located and has a pleasant climate. The climate situation is as comfortable as the "Mediterranean climate in South France," specifically the mild and dry in the Fall-Winter season and it is suitable for Europeans. Second, Bandung has a low

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[31] The representative of the People's Council demonstrated the racial hierarchy in Dutch East Indies: Dutch/European, Chinese, indigenous, and others (including the category of "Foreign Oriental").

[32] Slors was involved in the planning of Cimahi garrison town in west Bandung. See Haryoto Kunto, Balai Agung di Kota Bandung, 1996. In this planning project, the Governor General received support not only from the military but also from the private sector, in this case the Preanger planters.

mortality rate compared to Batavia. Third, Bandung has a leading university, which is the new Technical College, opened in 1920, and has started to become a center for NEI's intellectuals. Fourth, Bandung has good terrain, so it is possible to develop beautiful and comfortable landscape design and it has a vast land to develop the government complex.

The pro-Batavia group argued the following to keep the capital in Batavia: first, Bandung is indeed central to West Java but not central to the NEI archipelago. Second, in Batavia has a good climate in comparison to the other tropical cities. Third, South Batavia has a healthier environment which could be developed by the central government, so in this case the hygiene and public health can still be improved. Fourth, Batavia has a leading university and intellectual center, older than Bandung.

North Bandung Expansion Plan

The Expansion of North Bandung in 1919 included the proposed sites of the NEI's central government complex, housing for public officers, and public parks. The Bandung municipality allocated 6.7 acres (27,000 m^2) of land on the north side of the "Archipelwijk" (or the Archipelago neighborhood) for the government complex which consisted of twenty main buildings. After the transfer of the NEI's Department of War from Batavia to Bandung in the 1900s, the Military built the offices, housing, and schools in a district that was named the Archipelago neighborhood. The "Archipelago" here represents the name of islands and places for the streets, not only related to places in Java, but also the whole colonial territory of NEI in the early twentieth century. Further on this chapter, I explain the choice of designing and connecting the Archipelago neighborhood with the proposed government buildings as the future expansion to the north side. The drawings of the plans and architectural sketches of the proposed buildings, as mentioned earlier, were produced by the "AIA" (Algemeen Ingenieurs en Architectenbureau) and the Municipality of Bandung during 1919–1930s. These drawings were collected by Bandung's archivist, enthusiast, and historian, Haryoto Kunto, in the 1980s–1990s, and published as attachments in his books.[33] I also trace the archives of the NEI's Public Works, specifically the notes of the House of Representatives regarding the transfer of government seat from Batavia to Bandung which is currently placed in the National Archive of the Republic of Indonesia (*Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia,* abbreviated as *ANRI*) in Jakarta under the collections of the Public Works' Large Bundle.[34] These expansion projects advanced on and off during twenty years of its planning, due to tensions between Bandung's Municipality and Batavia's Central Public Works as well as the House of Representatives and the Ministry of Colony in the Hague, followed by the Great Depression (1929–1939) and Japanese occupation (1942–1945). This project involved several institutions: not only the Ministry of Colony, Central

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[33] Haryoto Kunto, *Balai Agung di Kota Bandung: Riwayat Gedong Sate dan Gedong Pakuan* [*Great Halls in Bandung City: The Life of Satay Building and Pakuan Building*] (Bandung: PT Granesia, 1996). Haryoto Kunto (1940–1999) was a Bandung resident, trained as a city planner, and popular as the *kuncen*, the gatekeeper of stories of Bandung's "recent past" (*tempo doeloe*). During the 1980–1990s, he opened his home office for students and journalists to learn the history of the city, and was invaluable to the local preservation movement, the Bandung Heritage Society for Conservation (*Paguyuban Pelestarian Budaya Bandung*).

[34] The NEI Public Works Large Bundle Archives consists of the archive of the Department of Public Works of *Burgerlijke Openbare Werken* (BOW) in the 1850s, later renamed the Department of *Verkeer en Waterstaat* (V & W), meaning Transportation and Water Management in 1939–1942. Both collections are kept in Jakarta's National Archive.

Public Works, and the Municipality of Bandung, but also the military and the private Preanger planters, the benefactors of the modern city of Bandung. The following is a critical reading of the plan and the drawings, highlighting the choice and aesthetics of architectural forms, as well as ethical concerns in designing the future government seat in a colony. I note the number of the building on the drawing (Building 1–20) and mention its name or purposes, as well as identify whether it was built or not during the years of 1919–1930s.

Existing buildings: Archipelago neighborhood and kampungs

The site plan of the government seat of "North Bandung'' overlapped with the Archipelago district, which is the existing neighborhood developed by the Dutch military in the 1910s, after the transfer of the Department of War from Batavia to Bandung. As mentioned earlier, the name "Archipelago" was important because it represented the intentions of the Dutch political and territorial power in the beginning of twentieth century.[35] The streets were named after the islands of the Indonesian archipelago as well as areas in the West Java landscape. For example, the streets in this European neighborhood were named after islands including Bali, Belitung, Java, Lombok, Maluku, Riau, Sabang, Sumatra, Sumbawa, and Sunda; the smaller streets were named after rivers, including Cihapit, Cilaki, Cimanuk, Citarum, and Cisangkuy.[36] The naming of the streets after islands and rivers represents a "miniature" of the Netherlands East Indies archipelago, thus weaving the political intention into the urban fabric.[37]

The first three buildings, which are Buildings 1, 2, and 3, were designed for the Headquarters of the Public Works (the BOW), the Post, Telephone, and Telegraph (the PTT), and the Railway State (the SS). These three buildings were in the southside of "Rembrandt Street,"[38] which connected the existing neighborhood to the future government buildings. The site plan shows that Rembrandt Street became the starting point of this plan; however, the existing kampungs, the working-class settlements which were located on the site, were not included on the plan. In this case, the architects and planners decided to make the archipelago section more visible than the other areas. The kampungs were rendered invisible, though they already existed. The act to make the informal settlements "disappear" in this practice was by simply not acknowledging nor drawing the *kampungs* in the plan. The invisibility of the *kampungs* on the maps and site plans was then used as the basis for future planning and construction.

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[35] On the locus of political power in capitol design see Lawrence J. Vale, 2008 (1992) *Architecture, Power, and National Identity* (London & New York: Routledge, 2nd ed.).

[36] The prefix Ci- means water or flowing water in the Sundanese language, native to West Java.

[37] The islands of Indonesia were imagined by Dutch imperial power as "the emerald of the equator" as well as the belt or string of the emerald of the equator.

[38] Rembrandt street was renamed "Diponegoro Street" in Indonesia's early post-Independence period (1950s). Diponegoro was the Javanese prince who rebelled against the Dutch. The Diponegoro war, also known as Java's war, occurred during 1825–1830. He was captured in 1830, ending with Dutch victory. However, the prince's anticolonial acts inspired Indonesian intellectuals and anticolonial movements in twentieth century Indonesia.

North Bandung Site Plan: Three Zones, Public and Private Access

The configuration of the government buildings created a distant, long, and narrow vista following an axis to the north, toward the Tangkuban Parahu volcano.[39] These buildings framed the volcano, a sacred mountain for the native Sundanese, as the significant viewpoint, thus appropriating it as a hybrid identity for the design. It was a modern building appropriating the locals' sacred view. Lawrence Vale further argues that the design of government buildings represents "the locus of political power" and it can be viewed as acts of urban design in which spatial configuration represents dominance and subordination through the scale of the buildings as well as public access to the buildings.[40] Following this concept, the building configurations of this site plan can be viewed in Figure 2.1 as three areas or zones as follows:

- Zone 1 consists of a group of buildings in the south of Rembrandt Street, including Buildings 1 and 2 for the headquarters of Public Works and the Post, Telephone and Telegraph. These two buildings were built during 1920-1923, while Building 3 for the headquarters of the State Railway and the expansion of Public Works was never built. However, a House of Representatives of West Java was constructed on the same plot later in the post-Independence Era in 1977.
- Zone 2 shows a group of buildings in the north of Rembrandt Street, including Buildings 4–15 and 17-20 and the large plaza in between. Most buildings and the plaza were not built, except Building 19 for the Geology Laboratory and Building 20 for the Pension Fund Headquarters which were built during 1928–1933. The Pension Fund building was renamed as "Dwiwarna" (refers to the two colors of Indonesian flag) in 1955 for the purpose of the Bandung Conference committee meeting, while the Geology Laboratory renamed as the Bandung's Geology Museum.
- Zone 3 shows the site for the Palace of the Governor-General (Building 16), which was the most dominant in terms of location, the plan was located on the hill, facing the volcano, was unbuilt.

[39] Tangkuban Parahu in Sundanese language means the upside-down boat, which represents the mythical figure of "Sangkuriang." In the oral history, Sangkuriang was said to be the one who built the canal along the river as well as the boat, but he was not able to complete it. He was upset and kicked the boat upside down, which is believed to be the Mount of Tangkuban Parahu. Sundanese believe the genealogy (*pancakaki*) of their ancestors, who once lived in the uphill region of the Tangkuban Parahu volcano, thus the mountain is sacred.

[40] Lawrence J. Vale, 2008 (1992) *Architecture, Power, and National Identity* (London & New York: Routledge, 2nd ed.),

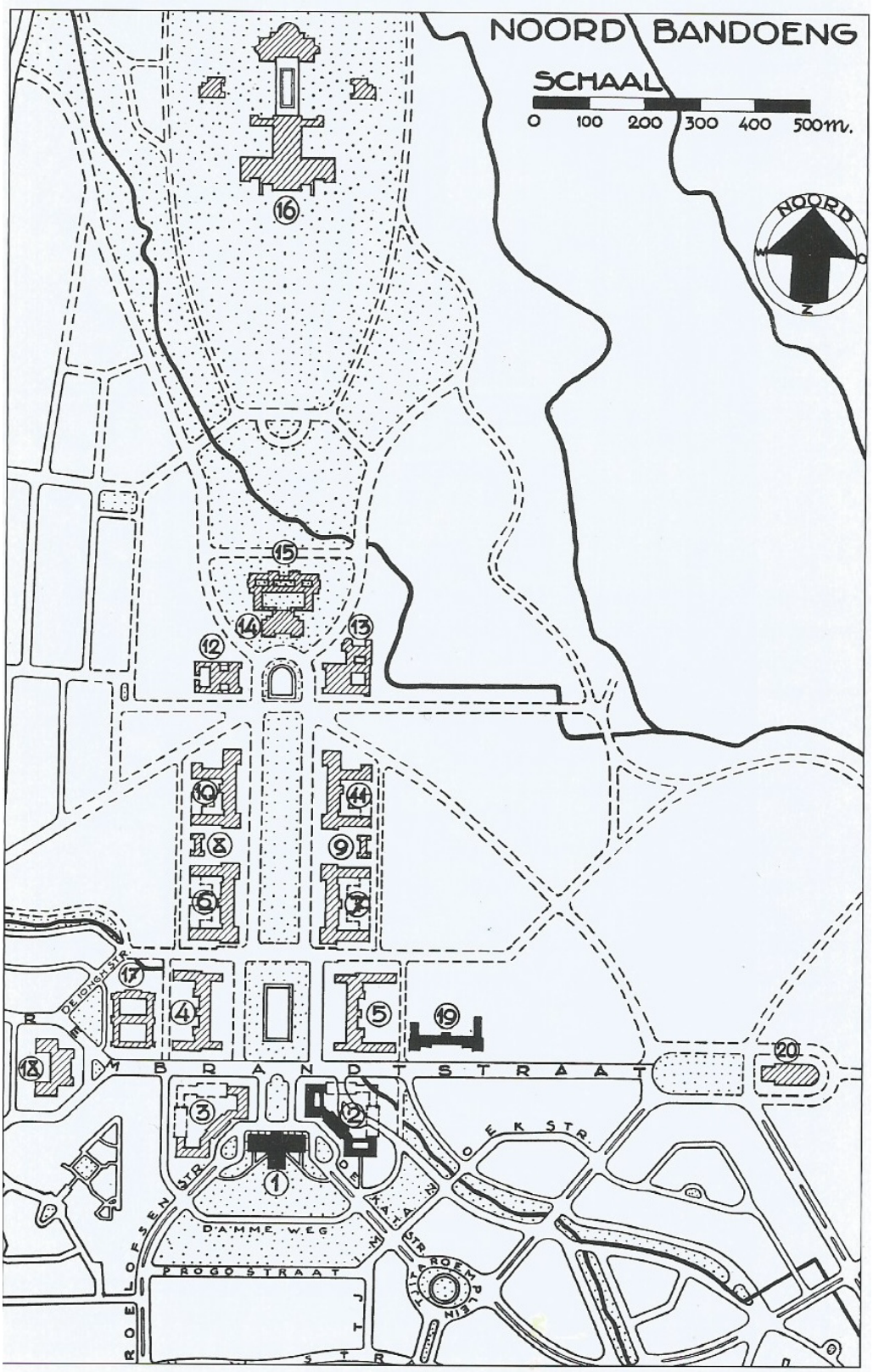

Figure 2.1. North Bandung Master Plan (Source: Haryoto Kunto, 1996)

Reading through the scale and arrangement of the buildings, one can see that the most important building is the Palace of the Governor-General. Zone 1 is the first site to be built because the planners' choice was to embed the three main buildings or plots into the existing neighborhood, thus making the site a continuation of the neighborhood rather than the "exclusive" government seating. However, in Zone 2, which is the largest built space in this plan, the symmetrical and mirrored buildings side by side and the larger built space and plaza (rather than Zone 1) made this a formal plan. The urban design aspect of the government, as Vale argues, is also represented in spatial design and its configuration for ceremony or pageantry. In this way, one can follow and read the starting point, the route, and the end point. In reading the proposed "ceremonial route" of Zone 2, which was allocated for the departmental government buildings, the House of Representatives, and the Supreme Court, one can walk toward the plaza between the buildings from the south to the north and see the buildings to the left and right side which could be differentiated into three sections as follows (each section is separated by the proposed street):

- Zone 2- Section 1. The two buildings, Building 4 for the Department of Justice (on the left side) and Building 5 for the Department of Education and Pedagogy (on the right side), are placed in the center of the site, which are mirrored and symmetrical structures oriented toward a plaza in the middle. This section includes Buildings 17 and 18 for the multi-purpose halls, which are located on the left side of Building 4, as well as Building 19 for the Geology Laboratory (next to Building 5) and Building 20 also for the multi-purpose hall on the right side of Building 19.
- Zone 2 - Section 2. The six buildings, Buildings 6–11, are also mirrored forms with a longer plaza in the middle continuing from Section 1. The three structures of Buildings 6, 8, and 10, all housed the Department of Finance (on the left side), are mirrored and symmetrical to the three buildings, Building 7 for the Department of the Interior, Buildings 9 and 11 for the Department of Economic Affairs (on the right side).
- Zone 2 - Section 3. The long plaza reaches its end in this section. The four buildings, Building 12 for the Supreme Court, Building 13 for the House of Representatives, Buildings 14 and 15 for the Central Government and Secretariat, function as an enclosure of this zone, thus creating a boundary between the public access to the more private area, which is Building 16, the Palace for the Governor General, surrounded by the proposed green and open space.

As mentioned earlier, the first two buildings (Buildings 1 and 2) were allocated for the Government's enterprise known as the "Government bedrijven" or the "GB," which consists of the headquarters of the Public Works and the Department of the Post, Telephone, and Telegraph (the PTT). These GB buildings were built between 1920–1923. The construction of these buildings was a massive undertaking. The complex required the widespread destruction of a local *kampung* that stood in the way of its implementation. It was the largest project in the Dutch colony of its time and represented the ambition of the Dutch central government and the Bandung municipality. According to Haryoto Kunto, approximately 2,000 workers were employed in the center's construction, including artisans from Batavia who migrated to the city to work on the project. The building represented neoclassical architecture incorporating local ornaments such as ancient

temples in Java and wooden construction details. The plans and the conditions they produced during construction motivated indigenous political voices, in this case the construction laborers and contractors in shaping the future construction practices in the city and later in modern Indonesia.[41]

The planning of the government seat of the NEI started in 1919 and began with the construction of the first two buildings for the Public Works and the PTT headquarters during 1920–1923. According to the Preliminary Report of the House of Representatives (1918), "several members were unable to agree with the proposal to transfer the Government to Bandung" because of budget, the condition of "rural Bandung," and the anxiety of transferring the whole department, which had to do it gradually, rather than all at "one time" from Batavia to Bandung. The budget in this case was not only the budget for designing the new buildings, but also the value of the buildings in Batavia when the public servants moved out of the buildings. The other aspect was Batavia's "cosmopolitan" and trading port in comparison to "rural" Bandung, which had just started to be a municipality in 1906. Arguments between the central government in Batavia and the new municipality in Bandung continued in choosing the site for the central government and managing the transfer.

Scholars argue that the downfall of this plan was the Great Depression followed by the threat from Japan; however, according to the Public Works archive, it was unclear from the beginning whether the central government or House of Representatives agreed with the transfer. Moreover, who funded these construction projects? There was a statement that the Municipality of Bandung would be "prepared to be in charge of construction [of the buildings]," but it was unclear whether Batavia's Public Works or the Municipality of Bandung budgeted the construction of the GB building complex.[42] About six years after the GB building complex was built, the land acquisition was acknowledged by the House of Representatives in 1929 and a polemic between the pro-Bandung versus pro-Batavia was published for the public as mentioned earlier in this chapter.[43] The project halted in 1929–1930 due to the Great Depression. However, in the mid-1930s, the construction plans and drawings of architectural plans of the Department of Justice and Department of Education, which are Buildings 4 and 5, were being discussed again. For these reasons, the House of Representatives did a field survey to Canberra and Delhi in order to "study" the future capital of the NEI.[44] In 1939, a few years before Japanese occupation, the House of Representatives wrote that they halted this transfer because of budget concerns.

Conclusion

This chapter explains the visions of the colonial state in planning a city on a high plateau and the ways in which their ambitions were entangled with the private planters

[41] The roles of local builders and contractors in shaping the urban space of Bandung and West Java is explained in Chapter 3.

[42] The Municipality of Bandung budgeted the planning of the North Bandung Expansion.

[43] The polemic of Bandung v. Batavia was published in the *Preangerbode-AID* (*Algemeen Indische Dagblag*) newspaper, 11 December 1929, No. 342.

[44] BOW Grote Bundel, 1937–1939. National Archive of the Republic of Indonesia.

and local people of West Java during mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century. It is also a story about progress and imagining the future city of Bandung in the early twentieth century, specifically through the plan of its government buildings. The ambition and vision of this city was accumulated and enhanced by prior progress. For example, the expansion of planters in highland western Java was later named Preanger, when the planters created an opportunity for entrepreneurs to live and work in the city. Further, the transfer of the Preanger regency from Cianjur to Bandung in the 1890s led to the formation of Bandung as a municipality in 1906. The decentralization of the Netherlands East Indies port cities during the 1920s–1930s pushed the city to have its own planning agency, including the city of Bandung. Bandung's visionaries involved at least three groups: the private planters, the colonial government, and the local aristocrats. The planters lobbied the colonial government for a future city that would benefit their businesses, while the local aristocrats in this case supported the private planters and the colonial government, rather than giving voice to the indigenous community.

The more ambitious vision and symbolic architecture was presented through the project of the government buildings. The headquarters of Public Works, Post, Telegraph, and Telephone, along with the Geology Laboratory and the Pension Fund Building, exemplified the ambition of the Bandung municipality and the private planters to make the city modern. Even though this project never received the full support from the central government, the municipality with its own capital (perhaps funded by the Preanger planters) decided to construct the buildings and prove that this government seat would be better than Batavia. The idea here was to build and prove their ambitions first, and in doing so the other plan would follow. According to the Public Works "Archive of the Archive" (the notes from 1918 to 1939, about twenty-one years of planning, back and forth), the Bandung municipality was "ready" and the plans proved that they could do it. However, Batavia, through the House of Representatives and the Ministry of Colony, was not sure about transferring all the departments to the new location, moreover to the new city, at that time. The project halted in the 1930s due to the economic recession, but the concern here is that there was never an agreement in the first place to shift the capital city of Batavia to Bandung.

Lawrence Vale (2008) argues that the design of "[g]overnment buildings would appear to serve several symbolic purposes simultaneously. Some of these meanings may be traceable to a designer's—or a politician's—intentions. Other meanings are not introduced by an individual's formative act but arise as unintended consequences and unacknowledged products of a widely shared acculturation." Thus, the government buildings site plan became one of the foundations of Indonesia's Post-Independence Era both in the President Sukarno's years (1945–1965) as well as President Suharto's long years (1967–1998). This structure, vista, and landscape of North Bandung was completed and established by the Indonesian government in the late 1970–1980s. The site plan also worked as a blueprint for post-Independence future projects that made the kampung invisible; working-class settlements were evicted from the site for the construction of the plaza and the monument of West Java, ironically following the Dutch colonial vision.

CHAPTER 3

Builders of Bandung: Ethnicity, Race, and Modern Architectural Practices

Introduction

Architectural historiography of colonial Indonesia centers on the biography, life and work of Dutch architects and engineers who were based in Java, including Thomas Karsten (1884–1945), Henri Maclaine Pont (1884–1971), and Charles Prosper Wolff Schoemaker (1882–1949).[1] This historiography continues to focus on the life and work of Indonesian architects, engineers, and politicians in early, post-Independence Indonesia, including Soesilo (1899–1994), Sukarno (1901–1970), and Rooseno (1908–1996).[2] The Dutch and Indonesian architects and intellectuals aforementioned had worked in Bandung, involved with the design and planning of the urban space, and had affiliation with the Technische Hoogeschool te Bandoeng, currently the Institute of Technology in Bandung, the first technical college which systemized architectural pedagogy and construction practices in colonial Indonesia. The informal and vernacular builders who had worked before the arrival of the Dutch architects, bridging the knowledge between architects and construction workers, and working as intermediaries between Dutch/European and Indonesian generations of architects also deserve our attention. This chapter aims to describe the practice of vernacular builders, known as *anémer* in Sundanese, the native language of west Java, which was a translation of *aannemer* in Dutch, meaning builder and contractor, specifically the Bandung-based family entrepreneurs of ethnic Chinese Indonesians who worked with Dutch architects in the late Dutch colonial era and with Indonesian engineers in early, post-Independence Indonesia. This chapter will show how their works helped to shape the urban landscape including the transfer of the capital of the Preanger regency from Cianjur to Bandung in the 1890s, the building of a hill station and

[1] Publications on the life and works of Karsten, Pont, and Schoemaker in English and Dutch, include: Joost Cote, Hugh O' Neill, Pauline K.M. van Roosmalen, and Helen Ibbitson Jessup, *The Life and Work of Thomas Karsten* (Amsterdam: Architecture & Natura, 2017); Gerrit de Vries and Dorothee C. Segaar-Howeler, *Henri Maclaine Pont, 1884–1971: Architect, Constructeur, Archeoloog [Henri Maclaine Pont, 1884-1971: Architect, Builder, Archaeologist*](Rotterdam: Stichting BONAS, 2009); C.J. van Dullemen, *Tropical Modernity: Life and Work of C.P. Wolff Schoemaker* (Amsterdam: SUN, 2010).

[2] Publications on the autobiographies and biographies of Sukarno, Soesilo, and Rooseno in Indonesian and English include: Yuke Ardhiati, *Bung Karno, Sang Arsitek: Kajian Artistik Karya Arsitektur* [*Brother Karno, The Architect: Artistic and Creative Process of Sukarno's Architectural Works*] (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2005); Cindy Adams, *Sukarno: An Autobiography as Told to Cindy Adams* (Hong Kong: Gunung Agung, 1965); Soesilo, *Perjalanan Hidup Haji Mohammad Soesilo: Architect & Town Planner* [*Life Journey of Hajj Mohammad Soesilo: Architect & Town Planner*](Jakarta: self-published, 1986); Eka Budianta, *Cakrawala Rooseno* [*The Worldview of Rooseno*](Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2008); Solichin Salam, *Rooseno, Manusia Beton* [*Rooseno, The Concrete Human*](Jakarta: Kuning Mas, 1987).

expansion of the North Bandung Plan in the 1920s, and in the early, post-Independence era, marked by the venue for the Asian-African Conference in 1955 (in Chapter 4).

This chapter is organized in three sections as follows: The first section is to provide a context of the genealogy of *anémers* as intermediary experts from local sources, such as autobiography, family memoir, and poems in local languages such as Malay, Javanese, and Sundanese. Malay is a lingua franca in the islands of Southeast Asia, which include the modern-day countries of Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Timor Leste. Sundanese is a majority ethnic group in west Java that has a distinctive language, different from Javanese in central and east Java. The second section concerns oral histories from the Bandung-based *anémers* of Boen Joek Sioe and sons as well as Thio Tjoan Tek. This section is not intended as the "life and work" of *anémers*, rather it portrays the marginalized stories of architectural and construction practices in colonial and postcolonial Indonesia. I highlight their migration journey and hybrid identities, specifically the ways in which they accumulated their knowledge during the journey and landed significant projects in Bandung. This section includes the interpretation of two photographs of the Bandung-based *anémers*' family of Thio Tjoan Tek. The first photograph, taken in 1940 to commemorate the twenty years of the bureau's practices (1920–1940), represents the bureau, expertise, and hierarchy of the workers, while the second one—also taken in the early 1940s, a few years before the Japanese occupied Southeast Asia—is a picture of an extended family; it speaks to the roles of family, women, and identities during the late Dutch colonial regime, Japanese occupation, and Indonesian post-Independence era. The third section is my reflection on conducting fieldwork in Bandung and Jakarta in Indonesia, with the archival work in Leiden, the Netherlands, as well as with interpretation of family albums from one of the sons of the Bandung-based builders who lives in Leuven, Belgium.

Narratives of *Anémers* as Intermediaries

The previous chapter explains the colonial origins of planning a city in a high plateau while this chapter concerns the colonial subject, specifically the local builders and their roles in building a modern city from the nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. This section provides the contexts for local sources including autobiography, family memoir, and poems narrating the story of the builders and its roles in shaping the urban fabric. It also provides the context for identities and citizenship of Chinese Indonesians in relation to the larger "foreign" networks of merchants in port cities of East and Southeast Asia.

The builders and contractors are locally known as *anémers*, a translation from the Dutch word *aannemers*. In Dutch, *aannemers* means builders and contractors of construction projects. In Malay language, *anémar* was a middleman, a merchant who mediated the trades between European, Chinese and the natives. In an autobiography and family memoir entitled "The Life Journey and My Sufferings," Moehammad Saleh, a self-made Sumatran merchant, writes about his journey from humble beginnings until he became an important merchant and owned his enterprise on the west coast of Sumatra in the 1900s. His journey started when he was a food vendor following the merchant ships

from Sibolga, a port city in the west coast of North Sumatra to Pariaman, also a port city in the west coast of West Sumatra (about 311 miles or 500 km south of Sibolga), in the mid- to late-nineteenth century. In his memoir, he pointed out that the work of *anémar* had to be paired with the sea captain, known as the *nakhoda*. Often located in the trading posts of Java and Sumatra, the former handled brokerage on land, while the latter was on sea vessels. As a traveling "coastal merchant," Saleh began trading natural resources such as rubber and salt, and building materials such as bamboo and sago palm (*rumbia*) for the thatch roof.[3] Anthropologist and sociologist Tsuyoshi Kato writes about the emerging class of coastal merchants and the ways in which migration and trade shaped the port cities of Sumatra's west coast in the nineteenth century. Regarding Saleh as part of the prominent indigenous merchant class, Kato argues that Saleh, as portrayed in his autobiography, was "far from the helpless native," nor was he "at the mercy of the Dutch governing power and Chinese merchants." Rather, his story was an example on how the native merchant adapted in the changing political contexts and economy of the late nineteenth century in the coastal towns of Sumatra. According to Kato, Saleh's life journey represents the transition "from the *nakhoda* era to the *anémar* era" in the late nineteenth century.[4]

In Javanese language, *anémer* means a person who is knowledgeable and trustworthy in the construction of a modern house. In *Peddlers and Princes*, Clifford Geertz writes about the economic change of towns in central Java situated in a booming mid twentieth-century modern city in newly independent Indonesia. Geertz writes "[O]ne craftsman, usually a somewhat better-off and well-known carpenter or bricklayer, will receive the contract from the client in jobbing form: for a certain, well-haggled sum he undertakes to build the house, store, office, or whatever." The *anémer*, as Geertz observed, managed and oversaw projects from afar rather than through "hands-on" work on the construction site following the norm of "Javanese notions of the behavior proper to a leader." The *anémer*, as he explains, "will perform none of the actual construction work himself, even though he is a worker."[5] The changing landscape of cities in Java has, as Geertz explains, also shaped new materials and new specializations in building construction.

In the Sundanese language of west Java, *anémer* means a person or a group of people who build, not only buildings or houses, but also modern infrastructure such as asphalt roads and railways. The railways that connected Bandung in the interior of highland west Java to Batavia (later to become Jakarta) were completed in 1884, and in ten years, another railway line connected Bandung to Surabaya, the city in the eastern part of Java, in 1894. Historian Agus Mulyana writes about the history of the railway and the roles

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[3] See Moehammad Saleh Datuk Orang Kaja Besar, *Riwajat Hidup dan Peraisan Saja*, [*The Life Journey and My Sufferings*] (Bandung: Dana Boekoe Moehammad Saleh self pub., [1914] 1965). This autobiography/family memoir was written in 1914, and reproduced and self-published by one of Moehammad Saleh's grandsons in Bandung, 1965.

[4] See Tsuyoshi Kato, "Rantau Pariaman: The World of Minangkabau Coastal Merchants in the Nineteenth Century," *The Journal of Asian Studies,* 39:4, (August 1980), pp. 729–752.

[5] Clifford Geertz, *Peddlers and Princes*: *Social Development and Economic Change in Two Indonesian Towns* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), pp. 60–63.

of construction laborers in relation to the emergence of Preanger plantation estates from 1878 to 1924.[6] In his thesis, Mulyana explains ways in which the construction is being built and organized, and the role of *anémer* and their identity as people of Chinese descent to manage the infrastructure that connected the highlands of Bandung to Cianjur (which is the former capital of the Preanger regency, located in the west of Bandung), and Sukabumi, also a city surrounded by tea plantation estates, located in the west of Cianjur. In his description, railway construction in the late nineteenth century was the largest infrastructure project, thus, it was considered the most complex in terms of technical advancement and labor organization during the shifting of the capital of the Preanger regency from Cianjur to Bandung in the 1870–1890s.[7]

The construction of the railways at the end of nineteenth century in west Java was portrayed in the "Poem of the Railways Construction," written by an entrepreneur and shop owner in south Batavia, Tan Teng Kie, in 1890. The poem in the form of *pantun* or pantoum, explains the intricate works of the railway construction that connects southern Batavia (Bekasi) to Karawang, and to Bandung.[8] One can read it as a diary of the construction of infrastructure that changed the landscape of the rural to the new urban, as he writes, "lots of trees were being cut, with the commission from the railway company." The railway project had displaced people as their houses were "given to" and bought by the railway company or the state. The poem started with a scene describing how the site changed from the forest into something else, as he writes, "[the road] looks clean, so we can see the evil clearly." The author describes the injustice and violence, as the migrant laborers came to the site and temporarily settled, as well as laborers who got into accidents and were buried in the construction site. He mentioned various jobs and the character of the people, such as the *anémer* (contractor), the company, the engineer, the overseer, and the unskilled laborers. This poem offers a satiric expression of racial segregation and hierarchy in workers ranging from those of Dutch or European engineers and officers to the local Chinese *anémers* and Malay-Javanese unskilled laborers. It also shows how intricate the work of infrastructure was, as it involved corruption, malevolent owners, hierarchies, and injustice.

The hierarchy of the contractor's bureau in early twentieth-century Bandung was also reported by Soesilo in the family memoir entitled, "The Life Journey: Hajj Mohammad

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[6] Agus Mulyana, "Kuli dan Anemer: Keterlibatan Orang Tionghoa dalam Pembangunan Jalan Kereta Api di Priangan (1878–1924)" ["Unskilled Laborer and Anemer: The Roles of the Chinese Indonesians in the Construction of Railways in Priangan (1878–1924)"] (Paper presented on the Indonesian National History Conference, Jakarta, November, 14–17, 2006).

[7] Also see Agus Mulyana, "Melintasi Pegunungan, Pedataran, hingga Rawa-Rawa: Pembangunan Kereta Api di Priangan 1878–1924." ["Crossing the Mountains, Plains, and Swamps: The Building of the Railways in Priangan (Preanger) 1878–1924"] (Unpublished dissertation. Faculty of Humanities, University of Indonesia, Depok: 2005).

[8] See Tan Teng Kie, *Sya'ir Jalanan Kréta Api* [Poem of the Railways Construction], Batavia, 1890. Railway line from Jakarta to Bandung in 1884 was named the "Preanger" line following the emergence of the Preanger landscape of plantations. After Indonesian Independence, the Preanger line was renamed "Parahyangan." This poem is published in the *Kesastraan Melayu Tionghoa dan Kebangsaan Indonesia*. [*The Literature of the Sino-Malay and Indonesian Nationalism]* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2007).

Soesilo, Architect and Town Planner." Soesilo (1899–1994), an Indonesian self-taught architect and planner, worked closely with his mentor, the prominent Dutch architect and city planner, Thomas Karsten (1884–1945). Soesilo started his practice as a draftsman for Karsten's architecture and planning bureau in Semarang (a city on the north coast of central Java) for a few years. He moved to Bandung following Karsten's bureau when it shifted from Semarang to Bandung in the early 1930s.[9] Due to the financial crisis that caused a lack of construction projects, he got laid off and later was hired at the Brinkman and Voorhoeve's contractors' bureau.[10] After a couple of years, he resigned from these contractors and Karsten hired him back and promoted him, first as controller of a Karsten's construction project, then as his bookkeeper and typist. Soesilo's experience as Karsten's typist allowed him to learn not only about architectural construction, but also about the ethics of the profession and the emerging city planning profession through Karsten's lecture notes, letters, and publications. He writes, "Every morning, I listened and took notes on Karsten's thoughts regarding city planning for long hours." One of his turning points was when he worked as a public servant in the central Public Works office during the early Japanese occupation. Dutch civilians including high-rank officers in the Public Works office were interned by the Japanese and in this case, Soesilo was appointed to be the new head of the department of city planning. Soesilo's masterpiece was a plan for a satellite city in south Jakarta, named "Kebayoran Baru" ("The New Kebayoran''). The plan was completed in 1949 and construction of the buildings was completed in 1955. Soesilo writes highly about his mentor, Thomas Karsten, as a role model who was prominent, not only in the field of architecture and planning, but also in his work ethics and sense of justice. Karsten was interned during the Japanese occupation; he died in Cimahi camp, a garrison city west of Bandung, in 1945.

Ethnicity, Race, and "Chinese-ness" in Colonial Indonesia

As mentioned in the previous chapter on segregation in the new urban space, the ethnicity and racial categories in colonial Indonesia can be identified at least in three groups of hierarchy. The first group was the "Europeans." This group most likely consisted

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[9] See Soesilo, *Perjalanan Hidup Haji Mohammad Soesilo: Architect & Town Planner* [*The Life Journey of Hajj Mohammad Soesilo: Architect & Town Planner*] (Jakarta self-published, 1986). p. 124. He was a Javanese who at that time could not speak the local language of Sundanese. Besides the language, he observed the stark difference between the "white city" and where the "natives" lived. He lived with his Javanese friend in the southern part of Bandung and worked for the architectural and builders' offices in the northern part, where the Europeans lived. The observation of "two cities," was also felt by Sukarno when he had just moved from east to west Java to start his study at Bandung Technical College. See the chapter on "Bandung, Passport to a White World" in Cindy Adams, *Sukarno: An Autobiography as Told to Cindy Adams* (Hong Kong: Gunung Agung, 1965).

[10] Soesilo writes that one of his life milestones was when he moved from Semarang to Bandung. In Brinkman and Voorhoeve contractor's bureau, he points out the "arrogance" and how they "look down to the people whose skins are not white." He compared it with his experience in Karsten's office where he did not feel any insults, but rather Karsten became his mentor and role model. He highlighted the roles of Karsten in establishing the association of Dutch architects in the Indies and later the association of contractors, specifically in handling bidding and rules for construction projects in the 1920s–1930s.

of Europeans or Dutch nationals as well as legitimate children from Dutch or European fathers as well as illegitimate children who were recognized by the Dutch or European fathers as their children.[11] The second group, known as "foreign orientals," were the Arab, Chinese, and people of South Asian descent who migrated to the Indonesian archipelago. This category was also known as "foreigners from the East," most of whom had already settled and become "local" before the Europeans, for example, by marrying the local women. This category also applied to others of Asian or Middle Eastern origins, except the Japanese, who are considered to have the same rights as the Europeans.[12] The third group was the indigenous population, which had the least access to education, housing, and professional jobs. In the case of the elite ethnic Chinese and the local aristocrats, they could be acknowledged by the Dutch government to become "Higher Asian" if they passed the Dutch language tests, enabling them to access Western education, be educated in Dutch schools, and to get better jobs, including as higher ranking public servants of the Dutch East Indies government.[13] Anthropologist William Skinner coined the term "creolized Chinese society"[14] to describe the complex lineage of the ethnic Chinese who migrated to Southeast Asia, while Historian Anthony Reid compares Southeast Asia's Chinese with Europe's Jew as "essential outsider"; both are minorities, but have dominant and important roles in the national and urban economy. The first generation of Chinese who migrated to the Indonesian archipelago were known as the *totoks* ("the pure Chinese"). They had a strong affiliation with China, and most of them migrated as laborers. The "creolized Chinese," known as the *peranakan* ("the rooted child"), intermarried with the local women; in that way, they "assimilated" with the local culture and spoke the native language. Sociologist Mely Tan describes the tensions of these two groups: "*Peranakans* feel superior to *totoks*, as the latter are considered to be of a lower socioeconomic status. On the other hand, *totoks* look down on *peranakans* because the latter are of mixed blood and do not speak Chinese."[15]

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[11] For discussions on the legitimate and illegitimate children of European/Dutch fatherhood in the colony, see Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2010 [2002]). The cover of the 2002 edition is a photograph of a native Sundanese woman who worked as a live-in nanny and domestic worker sitting side by side with two Dutch children on her left and right side, and a dog behind them, in one of Preanger planters' homes, in the north of Bandung.

[12] Japan through the vision of the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" started to conquer Southeast Asia in 1941–1942. During this occupation, one form of propaganda was the "Japanese as the older [Asian] brother" of emerging nations of Southeast Asia. In the case of Indonesia, the Dutch colonial ethnic classifications put Japanese in a first group category that allowed the Japanese nationals to be "equal" to Europeans.

[13] The acknowledgment or equalization of higher class was called as "gelijkgesteld" in Dutch.

[14] See William G. Skinner. "Creolized Chinese Societies in Southeast Asia" in Anthony Reid (ed). *Sojourners and Settlers: Histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese* (pp. 51-94), St. Leonards, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1996.

[15] See Mely G. Tan, *Etnis Tionghoa di Indonesia–Kumpulan Tulisan* [*Ethnic Chinese in Indonesia–An Anthology*] (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2006).

Abidin Kusno (2016) writes about the visual cultures of the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia and aims to "relocate" the visibility of this group and their roles in nation-building by critically presenting the memory of state violence targeting the ethnic Chinese in the past and present.[16] The Dutch colonial state put the ethnic Chinese "in the middle" of "Europeans" and "Natives," to stabilize the relations between these two groups. As he argued, they "could also be used "often as [a] scapegoat" to solve issues confronting the stability of the colony." In this book, Kusno writes two chapters of the "who's who" list of developers and architects with ethnic Chinese backgrounds in post-Independence Indonesia. He writes, "the most challenging task for the chapter on architects is that (unlike developers) architects are not always publicly promoting their works and not all of them embrace "ethnic Chinese" as a category for identification."[17] In this case the invisibility or "concealing" identity was done by changing the Chinese name or Chinese family name to an Indonesian name, which is a common practice during the post-Independence era.

Lawrence Chua (2020) argues for the roles of "comprador" networks as agents in the production of the built environment in nineteenth and twentieth century Asia.[18] In his analysis, the comprador network of Chinese merchants as intermediaries collaborating with the Europeans negotiated architectural forms as well as labor, materials, and construction techniques in port cities in East and Southeast Asia, including Batavia (Jakarta), Macau, Medan, Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Singapore. In relation to the emergence of the informal and vernacular builders and contractors in Java and Sumatra in the nineteenth and twentieth century, how did the builders help to shape the knowledge of modern built constructions in colonial and postcolonial Indonesia while at the same time negotiating their identities as an "intermediary society"?

The Builders: Migration Journey and Construction Practices

The decades of 1920s–1930s were the peak of urban development and construction work in the early twentieth-century Bandung. In the 1920s, "the population of 'Europeans' in the area" tripled from ten years before, as the expansion plan and architectural design of the city attracted Dutch families to work and live, and retire in Bandung.[19] It was a time when Bandung visionaries negotiated the architectural forms for "a prototype of a Dutch colonial city," including infrastructure projects such as asphalt roads, modern electricity,

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[16] Abidin Kusno. *Visual Cultures of the Ethnic Chinese in Indonesia* (London & New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016).

[17] See Kusno. *Visual Cultures of the Ethnic Chinese in Indonesia*, pp.159–180.

[18] See Lawrence Chua, 2020, "Imperial Negotiations: Introducing Comprador Networks and Comparative Modernities" in *Architectural Histories,* 8(1) (November 2020), p. 17.

[19] See Rudolph Mrázek, *Engineers of Happy Land: Technology and Nationalism in a Colony* (Princeton University Press, 2002). The migration of Dutch families to the city was preceded by the Dutch Preanger planters in late nineteenth century.

and water management which were established only in the northern part of the city.[20] The buildings that were built during this period range from residential (such as private houses or villas for Europeans and the new urban elites); commercial; industrial (specifically buildings for plantations and quinine production); and institutional (including education, government, and health facilities).[21]

The following is the oral history of two Bandung-based builders and contractors' families. The first is the Boen family, which includes four generations of builders: Boen Soeij Tjoe alias Boen A Tjit, Boen Joek Sioe, Boen Kwet Kong, and Max Boentari.[22] For the purpose of this chapter, I will focus on the "Boen Joek Sioe and Son (Boen Kwet Kong) Aannemers & Bouwwerken'' from 1917–1956, by acknowledging the journey of Boen Joek Sioe's father, Boen A Tjit, an artisan and trader, who migrated to Bandung during the transfer of Preanger's regency capital from Cianjur to Bandung in the 1890s. This transfer is significant to the city's development as the building of the new government seat—the Dutch and the local aristocrat seat—and the first Bandung-Jakarta train, which was completed in 1884. The second story is Thio Tjoan Tek, who established the Aannemers-Bureau: Thio Tjoan Tek, specifically their work during the early 1930s–1967. In presenting the story, I relate their architectural construction practices with the chronology of governance, from the late Dutch colonial era (1920–1940s), to the Japanese occupation (1942–1945), and to the early post-Independence era (1945–1960s). In the case of Bandung, the venue of the Asian-African conference in 1955 shifted the experience of urban space from the Dutch colonial city to the Third World solidarity and non-aligned politics in the 1960s until the fall of Sukarno in 1966, the mass killings, and the beginning of Suharto's regime in 1967.

Notes on Oral History and Languages

The oral history of Boen Joek Sioe and his son (Boen Kwet Kong) was presented by one of Boen Kwet Kong's sons, Max Boentari. I met Mr. Boentari, who is a builder and contractor in Bandung, through a colleague of mine, Sonny Soeng, a restaurateur, who is

[20] Edi Ekadjati, *Sejarah Kota Bandung* [The History of the City of Bandung], Jakarta, 1995 and Haryoto Kunto, *Wajah Bandung Tempo Doeloe* [The Face of Bandung in Recent Past], Bandung, 1986.

[21] See Harastoeti, *100 Bangunan Cagar Budaya di Bandung* [100 Heritage Buildings in Bandung] (Bandung: Bandung Society for Heritage Conservation & Amsterdam: Kingdom of the Netherlands, 2011).

[22] Note the name change from a Chinese name (in particular the family name) to an Indonesian-sounding name. In this case the family name of Boen to Boentari or Boentaran. After the closing of the Asian-African Conference in 1955, Indonesian President Sukarno and Chinese Prime Minister Chou En Lai signed an agreement regarding the citizenship of people of Chinese descent in Indonesia, in a way that allowed them to choose whether they wanted to be Chinese citizens or Indonesian citizens. As Indonesian citizens, ethnic Chinese was proposed to be acknowledged as one of the ethnicities (known as *suku*) in Indonesia, as equal as ethnic Javanese, Minangkabau, Sundanese, etc. This idea was never fully implemented, since Suharto—the successor of Sukarno—published anti-communist and anti-Chinese policies during his regime thus keeping this group—and whether they were insiders or outsiders to the Indonesian nation—ambiguous, a Dutch colonial tactic.

the owner of a family business, "Toko You," in north Bandung.[23] It is a semi open-air restaurant that is located in the verandah of a Dutch-Indonesian villa and its front yard, and was established in the late 1940s by Sonny's father. The place is locally known for its noodles as well as rice and side dishes. During my fieldwork, this restaurant was my go-to-place to meet friends or to have dinner by myself. One evening, I was waiting for my order, and while waiting, Sonny said hello and we had a chat about the furniture in the restaurant. I was curious about the teak furniture (including cupboards, chairs, and tables) and the artisans who made it. It became a long conversation, not only about the artisans, but rather about the story of Sonny's parents and grandparents during the colonial time and. Indonesian revolution. He shared the memories of his childhood in the context of city development. At the end of the conversation, Sonny called one of his childhood friends, "Max Boen." He said that I should meet Max and listen to his stories, and mentioned "the hidden legend of the Boen family, the contractors in Bandung." I followed his suggestion and thanked him for the introduction. A few weeks later, I met Mr. Boentari in his house in northwest Bandung, where the houses were built during the 1970–1980s. I asked my questions in Indonesian, but when it touched the memory of the violence of the Japanese occupation (1942–1945) and the early Indonesia's revolution in the city, known as the "Bandung Sea of Fire" (1946), he shared his story in Sundanese, the native language of west Java.[24] The Indonesian and Sundanese languages were present, and interchangeably used in this interview.

The oral history of Thio Tjoan Tek was presented by his youngest son, Rafael F. T. Yudhira, known as "Tomie" Yudhira. He is an emeritus professor at Catholic University in Leuven (KU Leuven) and trained as a dentist in Indonesia and Belgium. I met Mr. Yudhira in Leuven, during my one-month archival work in Leiden, the Netherlands. My colleague and mentor, Frances Affandy, an American-Indonesian hotelier and one of the founders of the Bandung Society for Heritage Conservation (known as "Bandung Heritage"). He introduced me to Yudhira because, a couple of months before, Yudhira had visited Bandung and contacted the "Bandung Heritage" to relocate his father's house, which is also the home of the Thio Tjoan Tek anémer bureau. Knowing that my research was about "Bandung," Frances shared the story and introduced me to him. I took the early train from Amsterdam to Leuven and the last train back on the same day. Yudhira picked me up from the train station, and we walked to the KU Leuven campus before going to his house. He and his wife invited me to their house and showed me Thio Tjoan Tek's family digital photo album. Yudhira speaks Indonesian, whereas his wife is more familiar with speaking in Dutch and English. I asked my questions in Indonesian. We realized that our Indonesian accents are different. His Indonesian is the language of the Sukarno years (1945–1966), while my Indonesian is more colloquial, as used in the late Suharto (1980s–1998) and post-Suharto period (1998–2000s). On the way back to the train station, we passed the city hall. As the

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[23] *Toko* in Indonesian and Malay means retail shop. Presumably the word was borrowed from Hokkien which originally means "private storehouse." For example, *toko buku* means bookstore, *toko mas* means jewelry retail and gold shop, and *toko roti* means bakery. "Toko" was also used in Dutch in the Netherlands and carries the same meaning but shifted to name the Asian (or non-Western) related shops or retail.

[24] Personal communication with Max B., Bandung, Indonesia, February 4, 2016.

building brought back his memories, he told me how similar the civic centers of Leuven and old Bandung were to him. He shared his memory of the violence that took place during the fall of Sukarno (1965–1966), followed by the scapegoating of many Chinese Indonesians, including his father, Thio Tjoan Tek, who was once arrested and sent to the city jail without trial. For this part, he spoke in English and used some Dutch expressions.[25] The Indonesian and English languages as well as Dutch expressions are present in this interview.

Historian Rudolph Mrázek writes about the history of colonial Jakarta from the memories of Indonesian intellectuals in a way that highlights their remembrance of space and time. For example, the transition from the longer Dutch colonial era to the shorter Japanese occupation, was expressed by switching languages.[26] This was also the case in Boentari's account that interpreted the end of Japanese occupation to the early Indonesian revolution by switching from Indonesian to the Sundanese language, as well as in Yudhira's account on remembrance of his father in post-Independence Indonesia, which occurred from the end of the Sukarno period through the beginning of Suharto's regime, by switching Indonesian to English. The change of language in this oral history might work to smooth the memories of violence that happened at the end of an era. Therefore, switching the language flattened space and time, thus allowing the speakers to reveal their memories of difficult times and move forward.

Migration Journey and Architectural Constructions

Following chronological order, the story starts from the Boen builders to the Thio Tjoan Tek builders. Both Boen Joek Sioe and Thio Tjoan Tek were ethnic Chinese *peranakans* or "the rooted child." Boen was of the second generation, while Thio was probably a third-generation ethnic Chinese Indonesian. Boen Joek Sioe was married to a Sundanese woman, while Thio Tjoan Tek was married to a Chinese *peranakan* woman. This marriage shaped labor recruitments, as the contractor preferred to have a group of construction workers from his wife's family or hometown in the rural west Java region. Boen's bureau and house in the 1930s was in the west side of the city, in Chinatown, and close to the railway station, while Thio's bureau and house were part of the North Bandung expansion plan, close to the military complex and the new government buildings, as part of the future plan for the Dutch East Indies capital's government seat from 1918 through the 1930s.

Boen Joek Sioe's father, Boen Soeij Tjoe alias Boen A Tjit, migrated to the Indonesian archipelago from mainland China around the mid-nineteenth century. According to the story that passed from generation to generation, Boen A Tjit and his brothers escaped a chaotic situation in China, presumably the Taiping rebellion (1850–1864).[27] The story of their escape from the violence became the main reason for him and his brothers to migrate from China. The crisis pushed people from the mainland to move to the northern and

[25] Personal communication with Tomie Y., Leuven, April 29, 2016.

[26] Rudolph Mrázek, *A Certain Age: Colonial Jakarta through the Memories of Its Intellectuals* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2010).

[27] Personal communication with Max B., Bandung, February 4, 2016.

southern parts of China. Boen A Tjit and his brothers traveled to the south. They arrived in Cambodia, then continued their journey to Bangka Island on the east coast of south Sumatra. The migration of ethnic Chinese to Bangka Island in Sumatra in the nineteenth century were expected to be the labor force of tin mining[28] while the migration of ethnic Chinese to Java in the late nineteenth century, as Mely Tan argues, was related to the rising of European governing powers in the archipelago, as it opened more opportunities not only for artisan work, but also for trades.[29] It was not clear how Boen A Tjit came to west Java from Bangka Island. Perhaps he was involved in tin mining labor before moving to Bandung. Boen Kwet Kong (Boen A Tjit's grandson) was trying to reconnect with the ethnic Chinese group of entrepreneurs on Bangka Island to revisit familial relationship before he died.

Boen A Tjit started in humble beginnings as a street vendor, then as a trader of building materials and furniture. He traded furniture specifically for the new government seat of the Preanger regency, which at that time was transferred from Cianjur to Bandung. The furniture project led to a larger project, as he was involved in the construction of a modern villa for the director of the quinine factory and plantation which was built during 1895–1900.[30] The building is located north of the Bandoeng Kinine Fabriek (Bandung Quinine Factory), and designed to have a portico with lion-head sculptures at the entrance. It has verandahs with openings, large windows, and cross ventilation to adapt to the tropical climate.[31]

Boen A Tjit trained his son, Boen Joek Sioe, as an artisan then later as *aannemer van bouwwerken*, meaning "contractor of building construction." He died in 1918, and the family business was handed down to his son, Boen Joek Sioe.[32] Boen Joek Sioe advertised the business of the building constructor bureau as well as the trade of materials such as brick and roof tiles. The bureau was in Pasar Andir, near the Klenteng (the Chinese temple) in Bandung Chinatown during 1917–1919.[33] In an early 1920s advertisement, he added "design" (*ontwerpen*) beside "construction work," as well as the guarantee of "a skill [that is

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[28] See Mely Tan, *Ethnic Chinese in Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2006)., and Mary F. Somers-Heidhues. *Bangka Tin and Mentok Pepper: Chinese Settlement on an Indonesian Island* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1992).

[29] The early Dutch sources show the migration of the Chinese Muslims to north Java in the 15th–16th century. "Most probably, the Chinese Muslims became completely absorbed into the majority Moslem population." See Mely Tan, *Ethnic Chinese in Indonesia*, 2006.

[30] Quinine was an anti-malaria medicine during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Its production reached its peak at the end of World War I. It was extracted from the bark of Cinchona trees, which were planted in Malabar plantations, an area south of Bandung.

[31] The Bandung Society for Heritage Conservation documented and categorized this building as an example of the "Indies Empire style" that arose in the mid to late nineteenth century. See Harastoeti, *100 Bangunan Cagar Budaya di Bandung* [100 Heritage Buildings in Bandung] (Bandung: Bandung Society for Heritage Conservation & Amsterdam: Kingdom of the Netherlands, 2011).

[32] In Bandung on March 1, 1918, *De Preangerbode* newspaper published the family's announcement on the death of Boen Soeij Tjoe alias Boen A Tjit. It was mentioned that the funeral took place on March 13, 1918.

[33] *De Preangerbode* newspaper (Bandung, July 17, 1917; July 24, 1917).

similar to] of European technician."[34] Following his father's tradition, Boen Joek Sioe also trained his son, Boen Kwet Kong in performing construction work. Both Boen Joek Sioe and Boen Kwet Kong did not obtain their training in technical schools, as the first technical school, as well as the Technical College in Bandung, had just opened in 1920.

In the early 1930s, Boen Joek Sio added his son, Boen Kwet Keng, to the advertisement, as follows: "Boen Joek Sioe and Son." The first and most famous for building constructions. Good price and responsible." Written as an advertisement in a municipality prospectus of Bandung in the year 1931, builders Boen Joek Sioe and his son Boen Kwet Kong also posted a picture of an art deco building, one of the military offices in the North expansion plan of Bandung, side by side with a letter of recommendation from architect Richard Leonard Arnold Schoemaker, dated in September 1920. Richard and Wolff Schoemaker brothers were architects and engineers who were born and based in Java and had built about fifty buildings during the 1920s–1939.[35] During his visit to the Indonesian archipelago, prominent Dutch architect H. P. Berlage mentioned that "Bandung is a city of Schoemaker [brothers]," as he observed the current buildings in Bandung during 1923. R. L. A. Schoemaker worked as an engineer in the Dutch East Indies military office in Batavia and Bandung; his brother, C. P. W. Schoemaker worked as a professor at the Bandung Technical College while also working as an architect and sculptor commissioning projects from the Dutch Preanger planters, the benefactors of modern Bandung. Richard Schoemakers' recommendation letter states Boen Joek Sioe and Son were one of the best "non-European builders" in the city. The phrase "non-European" in this statement relates to the ethnic and racial divisions mentioned earlier. In this way, the profession of architects and engineers were Dutch/European, while the builders or contractors were either Dutch/Eurasian or ethnic Chinese, and the unskilled laborers were the natives.[36]

Boen Joek Sioe's project on the working-class housing settlement demonstrated that his clients were not only the Dutch or the Chinese, but also of native population even though in this case, it related to the hygiene and health projects of the municipality of Bandung and the local aristocrats.[37] This is a different view of the roles of the Chinese

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[34] See the *aannemer*'s announcement in *De Preangerbode* newspaper, Bandung, August 20, 1921.

[35] C. J. van Dullemen, *Tropical Modernity: Life and Work of Charles Prosper Wolff Schoemaker* (Amsterdam: Sun 2010). Richard Schoemaker designed mostly military offices, housing, and military related projects, while Wolff Schoemaker designed buildings for private and public use, mainly commissioned by the Dutch Preanger planters.

[36] The municipality of Bandung published a city prospectus for European or Dutch nationals in 1931 to promote the city as a new place to live and as a call to "come and live in beautiful Bandung." The prospectus included reviews and recommendations from Dutch East Indies prominent politicians regarding the hygiene of the emerging hill station. The map of the city, the plot of the land to rent from the municipality, and the list of contractors (including Boen Joek Sioe & Son, Thio Tjoan Tek and other bureaus) as well as the list of building materials, and the construction costs were included. This prospectus can be read as the public and private partnership document to rent the land from the municipality and build "your own house."

[37] The Dutch reports on the plague from rats and the analysis of the bamboo construction of the "native house" as well as "native beds" (*bale-bale*) can be read as the fear of kampung as a place that contained the plague. The reports in English were prepared for the International Conference on "Rural Hygiene in the Tropics'', in Bandung, 1937, which was organized and sponsored by the League of Nations.

merchants as Pauline van Roosmalen (2020) portrayed in the figure of Tjong A Fie, who was the first generation of ethnic Chinese descent, who was known as one of the richest merchants in the early twentieth century in city of Medan in north Sumatra.[38] According to Roosmalen, as this research is part of the collection of introduction of the "Comprador Networks" (Chua, 2020), Tjong A Fie collaborated with the Dutch and helped to shape the city's development, including by building his mansions and significant buildings in the Medan's business district and Chinatown. As the first generation, he did not have close relationships with mainland China, nor with the native people in north Sumatra. In this paper, Roosmalen compares the Chinese merchants in north Sumatra and central Java, as she lamented the roles of emerging merchants' class as "only catered to the [rich] Chinese clients." While it is problematic to compare the first and second generation of ethnic Chinese Indonesia, the second generation and beyond demonstrated their roles and contribution in nation building of post-Independence Indonesia (Kusno, 2006). As Sociologist Mely Tan argues, the second generation might have adopted local practices and speak the local language, in comparison to the first generation. In her study on Chinese of Sukabumi in West Java, Tan highlights the intermarriage between the Chinese man and the local Sundanese woman. Contrary to the Chinese tradition that the lineage is based on the father line, the couple adopted the local practice, which was to stay closer to the wife's family and usually to move to the wife's parents' house. In this way, the lineage was equally carried through the mother line, rather than the strict Chinese patriarchal family.[39] This framework helps to understand the significance of the women's extended family in a way they negotiated the labor for the builder's enterprise.[40] In case of Boen Joek Sioe, his grandson Max explained:

> "My grandfather [Boen Joek Sioe] was married to a Sundanese woman [Roendasih Durrahman], so in a way he got support from many workers. Yes… because the wife could bring a team [from her hometown] … a lot of laborers could work on constructions. My grandfather trained them."

The role of the women or the wife in the *anemér* family is not only to negotiate construction workers by bringing people from their hometown to the city, rather the women were also responsible in educating and nurturing the future *anemér*, which in this

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[38] See Pauline K.M. van Roosmalen, "Sugar and the City: The Contribution of Three Chinese-Indonesians to Architecture and Planning in the Dutch East Indies (1900–1942)" in *Architectural Histories,* 8(1) (November 2020), p. 19. This paper is part of the collection of "Introducing the Comprador Networks," a call for paper for the European Architectural History Network (EAHN) Conference in Tallinn, Estonia, 2018, edited by Lawrence Chua.

[39] The shift from patriarchal to the matriarchal family as the local practices was not new, as it was also the case with European and Eurasian families. See Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasians*, which highlights the roles of local women in establishing the social and religious networks in Batavia (Jakarta) after the fall of the VOC, the Dutch East India company.

[40] See Abidin Kusno (2016) on the list of architects and developers of the *peranakan* (second generation and beyond) of ethnic Chinese Indonesia.

case, their sons or grandsons.[41] Roendasih Durrahman, the wife of Boen Joek Sioe brought her extended family from the rural West Java to Bandung, as they worked as carpenters, roofers, and other laborers. Women in the family are the interlocutors between the builders and construction workers whose labor linked the rural West Java to the new urban Bandung in the early twentieth century. In some cases, the women handled the trade of the building materials, for example by owning a shophouse in Chinatown that fed into the construction businesses.[42]

How did the *anemérs* educate their sons and train them as apprentices? In this story, Boen Joek Sioe chose his son, Boen Kwet Kong as his successor, and Boen Kwet Kong chose his son, Max. Boen Joek Sioe and Boen Kwet Kong did not go to technical school. However, they learned from their experiences in the fields. The father chose the sons, first as their assistants, so they learned by observing their father, the project manager, and construction workers in the field. One of the significant messages from Boen Kwet Kong was "An architect is the king of the drawings, but we, the *anemérs,* are the one who build it."[43] In other words, the *anemérs* were responsible for materializing the idea. The 'modern' construction in the beginning of the twentieth century colonial Indonesia, focusing on building the foundation, the brick wall, and the roof tiles. It was the shift from bamboo to the timber construction, from the sago palm to the roof tiles, as well as from the ground to the *ubin* floor tiles.[44]

In his training, there were two subjects of expertise: first is the technical part and second is the spirit and emotion. For the first part, he was trained by his father and from observations on site, while the second one, he was trained by his grandmother and his mother. In order to be ready and safe in the field, he had to perform fasting for seven days in a row, specifically for the first construction project and any significant projects. This fasting from around 4:30 am to 6 pm for seven days was conducted by the builder's candidate and overseen by the mother and sometimes, the grandmother. The fasting was

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[41] Tomie Yudhira, a youngest son of builder Thio Tjoan Tek, also shared the stories of the laborers who came from his grandmother's hometown in the east of Bandung.

[42] For example, one of Max's aunts owned the building material shops in one of the shophouses near Bandung's train station that first sold the 'P.C.' the Portland Cement, the floor tiles known as the *ubin*. *Ubin* is the Hokkien word, meaning painting the surface, which is used in the making of the floor tiles. Max's extended relatives were also the traders of bricks, roof tiles, and timber which were located on the outskirts of Bandung in 1920s-1950s.

[43] Personal communication with Max Boen.

[44] Gmelig Meijling. *Membangun di Indonesia* [*How to Build in Indonesia*] (Jakarta, self-published, 1969) is a guidebook on building construction written by Gmelig Meijling, a Dutch lecturer at the Bandung Technical College. This manual was published by N.V. De Technische Uitgeverij in Haarlem, Antwerpen, and Jakarta. The first edition of the book was published in Dutch in 1954 and the second edition is a translation in Indonesian, by Sunarto, a local builder which was published fifteen years later in 1969. Some materials were previously published in the technical magazines titled "Wij Bouwen" ("We Build") in the 1930s. Meijling mentioned that the reason to write this book was the demand from his colleagues at Technical College in Delft, the Netherlands.

also related to reciting the mantra.[45] This practice is related to the architectural pedagogy that Professor Vincent van Romondt, the first chair of the new department of Architecture at the Bandung Technical College, suggested as he spoke in front of the student council of Architecture in the 1950s. He mentioned that the roles of architects are not only to design the building but also to be responsible for the new spatial geography of Indonesia for Indonesians. In this case he mentioned three personal qualities that an architect should master: the first is soulful energy (*jiwa*), the second is thought and the third is *perasaan* means emotion and feeling. In other words, he said "an architect is a human who thinks technically, socially, and esthetically." The personal qualities that van Romondt suggested was related to the training of the builders, in a way it was not only a technical aspect, as the most important thing was to level the ground, and to have a flat and even surface, rather than the spiritual one. [46]

The spiritual training continued to be useful, as he shared specifically in the difficult times and transition period after Japanese occupation and the early Indonesian revolution. After the defeat of Japan in the Pacific War in 1945, which marked the end of Japanese occupation in Southeast Asia, the city of Bandung was divided into two territories: the north, which was the territory of pro allied forces and Dutch authority, and the south, which was the territory of the anticolonial and supporters of the Indonesian Independence and revolution. In this case, the Chinese as the intermediary society became the target of the mobs, whereas the looting happened in the Chinatown, the west side of the city and was used as a scapegoat. Due to the looting, some of the Chinese of Bandung moved to the north, where the European and Eurasian used to live. The shift of Chinese families to the north can be read by the people in south Bandung as they were not the supporters of Indonesian independence.[47] In the case of the Boen family, Max mentioned that it was his grandmother, who was the native Sundanese of West Java, who insisted on staying in Chinatown when the violence happened, rather than move.

During the preparation for the Asian-African Conference in April 1955, the local citizens of Bandung, specifically entrepreneurs, played significant roles in providing hospitality infrastructure such as the car rentals (specifically from Jakarta to Bandung), food, photography, as well as the hotel for the journalists.[48] The Bandung's local committee focused on preparation for the invited guests, specifically for the Indonesian leaders and representatives of twenty-nine independent nations and observers. However, there were journalists, scholars, and writers around the world, who came to cover this event. One of

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[45] Max shared a prayer in Arabic, in which he does not really know the source and the meaning, but he believes it as a mantra to protect him, his crew, and the newly built construction. Personal communication with Max B, Bandung, 2016.

[46] Personal communication with Max B, Bandung, 2016. He mentioned the "leveling the ground" many times, as he said, this is to differentiate the architects and the power of builders.

[47] See Djen Amar, *Bandung Lautan Api* [Bandung Sea of Fire] (Jakarta: 1955).

[48] See Chapter 4: Bandung and the Life of Merdeka Building. The preparation of this conference consisted of two, first is the the Jakarta-based Joint Secretariat, includes representatives of the five countries who co-sponsored the meeting: Burma (Myanmar), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India, Indonesia, and Pakistan, and second is the Bandung-based local committee under the leadership of the Governor of West Java, Sanusi Hardjadinata.

the apartments for journalists was the building of "Swarha," an abbreviation of Said Wiratmana Abdurachman Hassan. The building was owned by an Arab Indonesian merchant family and was constructed by Boen Kwet Kong. It was not clear whether Swarha built this mainly for the event, or he took the opportunity to host the journalists and writers as the visitors to the important event. The building was used by journalists due to its proximity to the main post office and the Conference Hall. This building 'a replica' of the art deco Grand Homann Hotel, which was located across the Merdeka building. The Swarha first was used as a shopping center then renovated for the purpose of an apartment for journalists who came to the city to report the Asian-African conference.[49]

Thio Tjoan Tek's Family Album

Thio Tjoan Tek started working as a driver then owned a taxi company, before working as a contractor. During the Dutch colonial Era in the 1920s-1930s, he was one of the advisors of Bandung municipality in the 1930s and the benefactor to Bandung's Zoo. He worked with Dutch architect Wolff Schoemaker in building one of the extensions of Dutch planters' social club, the Concordia, as well as the shopping street. During the preparation for the Asian-African Conference in 1955, he was involved in the local committee and perhaps in charge of the renovation of the Concordia building (the building was renamed as Merdeka building, see Chapter 4). Thio Tjoan Tek were also close with Sukarno in the period of nation building in 1950-1960s, as depicted in his family album, where he was in picture with Sukarno, Ho Chi Minh, and several non-aligned leaders and Indonesian intellectuals who visited Bandung in the 1960s. The following is the interpretation of two photographs that speak to the expertise of builders, gender dimensions, and identities.

"Solid, fair price, and accommodating!" are the slogan of the Builder Thio Tjoan Tek in the advertisement in 1931. There were two pictures that characterized his works: one was a building in the government complex located in the northern side of the city, and the second was a shopping center next to the Dutch planters' social club in the city center. The following is the interpretation of two photographs of the family enterprise of Thio Tjoan Tek. The first photograph, taken in 1940 to commemorate the twenty years of the bureau's practices (1920–1940), represents the bureau, expertise, and hierarchy of the worker, and the second one—also taken in the early 1940s—is a picture of an extended family; it speaks to the roles of family, women, and identities during the late Dutch colonial regime, Japanese occupation, and Indonesian post-Independence era. Taken on November 14th, 1940, two years before Japanese occupation, the bureau of Thio Tjoan Tek posed for a group photo for the twenty years anniversary in front of their studio, as well as Thio's home in north Bandung. They posed in front of the facade of the building and the signage of their enterprise, written "Aannemers-Bureau Thio Tjoan Tek, East Indies 19, Telephone 15 Bd (the area code of Bandung), modern design, neat finished, and solid-construction." All

[49] African American journalist Richard Wright and Indonesian journalist Rosihan Anwar wrote about the Swarha as the center of the Asian-African Conference journalists. See *Indonesian Notebook: A Sourcebook on Richard Wright and the Bandung Conference* by Brian Russell Roberts and Keith Foulchers (eds.) (Durham & London: 2016).

people in the photograph were wearing the western suits and some of them wore caps. There are two types of caps, one was the black velvet *kopeah* and the other one was a Javanese headgear made of batik cloth.[50] There are three groups of people in relation to the positions that they posed: first is those who were sitting in the middle row, second is those who were standing at the back row, and third is those who were squatting in the front. Thio Tjoan Tek, the founder and owner, was sitting in the middle row, the third from the right side of the picture. His son was also sitting at the far right of the picture. There were six persons who were sitting in the middle, presumably family-related, the cousins or in-laws of Thio Tjoan Tek. In the front row, workmen were squatting. They were head of workers, who oversaw the work of laborers. In this case, the *mandors* are either Javanese or Sundanese, the indigenous population. In the 1940s, his business had 6,000 personnel under six field managers (known as *mandor*).[51]

Figure 3.1. Thio Tjoan Tek Builders in Bandung, 1940.

[50] *Kopeah* is known as *peci* or *songkok* in Southeast Asia which was traditionally used by Muslim men (in Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, South Philippines and Thailand). However, in the case of early twentieth century Indonesia, a black velvet *kopeah* was a symbol of a secular, anti-colonialist movement. It was popularized by Sukarno, in a way that anyone regardless of their religions can wear the *kopeah*.

[51] Personal communication with Tomie Yudhira, the son of Thio Tjoan Tek, in Leuven, April 2016. Tomie shared a memory of a *mandor*, who was loyal not only with the bureau, but also with the family, and lasted for more than forty years.

The background is a facade of the "Indies house" as one of the examples of th built by the team of *anémers*. The concept of Indies which combine in both design and construction expertise and the expression of built form. One of the significant debates between Pont versus Schoemaker was about creating the modern, whether through reinventing the traditional construction or creating new forms for a new 'hybrid' society.[52]

The second photograph—also taken in the early 1940s, a few years before the Japanese occupied Southeast Asia—is a picture of an extended family; it speaks to the roles of family, women, and identities during the late Dutch colonial regime, Japanese occupation, and Indonesian post-Independence era. In comparison to the first photograph, there were also three rows: in the front were a group of children who sit on the mat, in the middle were a group of women who sat on the chair, and at the back were a group of men—they were the men who sat in the first photograph as the owner of the enterprise—and two young women. There were four couples in this photograph. The group of women who sat were the wives of the owners. The husband was the man who stood next to each woman who sat. Thio Tjoan Tek sat next to his wife, while his elder son was standing next to him, on the far right of the photograph. Tomie Yudhira, the youngest son, with the other children were sitting on the mat. The hierarchy in the family shows through the sitting and standing on this photograph. The background was also the house of the builders, which presumably also used as the showcase for their business.

[52] Abidin Kusno. 2000. *Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space and Political Cultures in Indonesia*. Also see Abidin Kusno, 2010. "Di Bawah Bayang-bayang Bung Karno: Sejarah Modern Kita dan Arsitektur" ("Under the Shadows of Brother Karno: Our Modern History and Architecture") in Pusat Dokumentasi Arsitektur. 2010. *Tegang Bentang: 100 Tahun Perspektif Arsitektur Indonesia* (*A Tight Span: 100 Years of the Indonesian Architectural Perspective*). This debate was reflected on their own designs, including the Technical College in Bandung, which was designed by Henri Maclaine Pont and the Social Club's Theater, then it was appropriated as the venue for the Bandung Conference which was designed by Wolff Schoemaker


Figure 3.2. Thio Tjoan Tek and Extended Family in Bandung, c. 1940.

Historian Rudolph Mràzek argues for mobility of space and materials in the homes of Europeans in the Indies. The house that they built far away from their homeland resembled their place in Europe, for them to feel at home. The living room was pictured as if the built space was transferred from Europe to Southeast Asia. The mobility does not necessarily adapt with the local, rather the tactic to change the local norms to have European comfort. This Indies house, as a builders' showcase can be interpreted as a mimicry of those European houses, with perhaps some Chinese touch. The house was owned by the Thio family and built in the 1930s and used as their bureau and home until the 1960s. The walls are made of the bricks with a combination of concrete and wooden columns and beams, and the roof made of wood (the local teak and rasamala wood) structure. The differences of the Indies design with a house in the Netherlands, for example, were the attentions into openings for ventilation the plafond the floor, the long-wide windows, overhang, and wide verandah. Roof was designed with overhangs, about one meter length after the walls. The extension of the element was added to prevent the tropical rain. In sum, the house itself embodied two approaches, western knowledge as well as the adopted local culture. Tomie Yudhira, Thio Tjoan Tek's youngest son shared the memories of the house through this photo album, while reminiscing about the changing of

time during post-Independence Indonesia, from Sukarno's era to the Suharto's era. It was also about his migration journey, from Indonesia to Belgium in the 1970s.

Conclusion and Reflections

This chapter aims to explain the marginalized story of the practice of vernacular builders who had worked before the arrival of the Dutch architects and working as intermediaries between Dutch or European and Indonesian generations of architects. More importantly, this study focuses on the identities of Chinese Indonesian family entrepreneurs who worked with Dutch governing power in the late Dutch colonial era and with Indonesian engineers and politicians in early, post-Independence Indonesia. Through a focus on the Bandung-based family businesses of Chinese-Indonesian Boen Joek Sioe and Son (Boen Kwet Kong) and Thio Tjoan Tek, the shaping of the local landscape including the transfer of the capital of the Preanger regency from Cianjur to Bandung in the 1890s, the building of a hill station and expansion of the North Bandung Plan in the 1920s, and the remaking of the venue for the Asian-African Conference in 1955 were told from the perspective of locales, thus it also revealed the violence and the way they remembered it. Max Boen remembered the looting of his family business at the end of Japanese occupation and the early Indonesian revolution in 1946. For him, it was the end of his grandfather's career, Boen Joek Sioe, and the emergence of the solo career of his father, Boen Kwet Kong in the newly independent Indonesia, 1950s-1960s. Tomi Yudhira on the other hand, revealed the end of Sukarno's era, which was in 1965-1966. Even though it was an era of mass killings and the scapegoat of the Communist party, including a number of the Chinese Indonesian community, Yudhira did not mention any of details. The fall of Sukarno was indeed the end of Thio Tjoan Tek's career, as well as Yudhira's migration to Leuven from Bandung.

Modern architectural practice in colonial Bandung was an accumulation of not only government force, but also of the private practice of Dutch planters. The opening of the landscape of Priangan, later named as Preanger, helped to shape the city development of Bandung, as well as the surrounding area of West Java's interior highlands. The builders became Dutch collaborators both the government and the private, but their enterprises were also the site of contradiction, especially as they intermarriage the local women, and most of the construction workers were the native people who migrated from the rural to the new urban. The involvement of the builders and construction workers during the Asian-African conference followed by the non-aligned projects, revealed high hopes for the new Independent Indonesia. However, the fall of Sukarno and the scapegoat of the Chinese Indonesian shook the enterprise. The Boen family's business endured and moved to Jakarta, while the Thio family's business ended among others due to the riots and state violence in late 1960s.

CHAPTER 4

Bandung and the Life of Merdeka Building

A city is not only about streets, trees or buildings
Each turning point has been written with stories, the alley of memories
It opens to all directions
The moon, you frame it with your windows
The stars, you compose them in your songs

—Saini K.M., *Bandung*, 2009

Introduction

The Asian-African conference in 1955, (known as the Bandung Conference), imagined a movement of the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa as former colonies of the European empire, throwing off the yoke of colonialism and joining mutual solidarity to support the development and cultural as well as political independence. Instead of aligning with the two great powers of the Cold War, the new nations decided to determine their own movement and national trajectories. When the Joint Secretariat[1] of the prospective conference chose Bandung, they chose a city and buildings that were an icon of the society of the Dutch colonial plantation. Indonesian president Sukarno and the local conference committee appropriated and redressed the architecture of the buildings and the streets, inverted the meaning of the place, and imbued his opening speech, entitled "Let a new Asia and a new Africa be born," with an optimistic and revolutionary idea that the former colonies would rise together from their shared histories of colonialism and racism. "Bandung" became a symbol for the anticolonial movement and from the mutual solidarity of this project, a metonym was constructed through the architecture of the "Gedung Merdeka" or the Merdeka building and the urban space, to reverse the course of history for the new independent Indonesia and for all nations of Asia and Africa.

Chapter 4 examines the "Bandung spirit" through the meaning of a place by focusing on the architecture of the Merdeka Building for the conference venue and its hospitality infrastructure, including the conference hotels and the spectacle of the "Historic Walk,"

[1] The Joint Secretariat of the Bandung Conference includes representatives of the five countries who co-sponsored the meeting: Burma (Myanmar), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India, Indonesia, and Pakistan, which is also known as the "Colombo Powers." The Jakarta-based Joint Secretariat, which was chaired by Abdulgani, worked together with the Bandung-based local committee under the leadership of the Governor of West Java, Sanusi Hardjadinata. See Ali Sastroamidjojo, *Tonggak-tonggak Perjalananku* [Milestones of My Journey 1953–1957] (Jakarta: 1971), reprinted by the Museum of Asian-African Conference and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia for the sixty years commemoration of the conference, Jakarta, 2015; and Sulhan Syafi'i, *Behind the Scenes: Story of the Bandung Conference Committee* (Bandung: 2015).

which is the performative and solidarity walk that the delegations performed from the conference hotel to the venue while greeted by the enthusiastic crowd. This chapter consists of three sections: first, the notion of the "Bandung spirit" and making of the Third World, which is the idea of Third World solidarity as well as the self-determination that binds the participants and hosts of the conference; second, the life of the Merdeka Building that emerged from the Dutch planters' club in the late nineteenth century, followed by the construction of the theater building in the early twentieth century, its renaming as a cultural center during the Japanese occupation (1942–1945), becoming a meeting hall for the local elites during the early Indonesian national revolution (1945–1950s), and appropriation of the buildings for the conference venue (1955); third, the spectacle of the historic Bandung Walk, which is supported by the hospitality infrastructure of the city.

Bandung Spirit and the Making of the Third World

In January 1955, Eppo Doeve, a Dutch-Indo cartoonist and painter, drew a caricature entitled "Naar A en A" ("Towards the A and A") for *Elseviers* magazine in Amsterdam. The A and A in the title stood for Asia and Africa, referring to the first Asian-African conference, which would be held three months later in Bandung, a former Dutch colonial town. The caricature portrays a streetscape with two buildings on either side of the road. On the right side of the road, there is art deco architecture with vertical signage of "Asia and Africa" and a welcome banner in the entrance, while on the left is a curtain wall building with the signage "UNO," presumably the United Nations Organization. There are two groups of people situated in this urban setting. In the first group are people of color representing the nations of Asia and Africa; they include attendees and the hosts of the conference. They wear their traditional attire showing their cultural diversity and walk together towards the building. In the front row are the five nations which are also the organizers of the conference: Indonesia, India, Burma (Myanmar), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), and Pakistan. A figure representing "Red China" also bends her body slightly towards the front row, while at the back row are the participants in alphabetical order: Afghanistan, Egypt, Gold Coast (Ghana), Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Turkey. The other group on the left side of the caricature are white people who wear their western suits. They watch the movement of people of color from the windows of the UNO building, expressing their emotions of anger and curiosity.

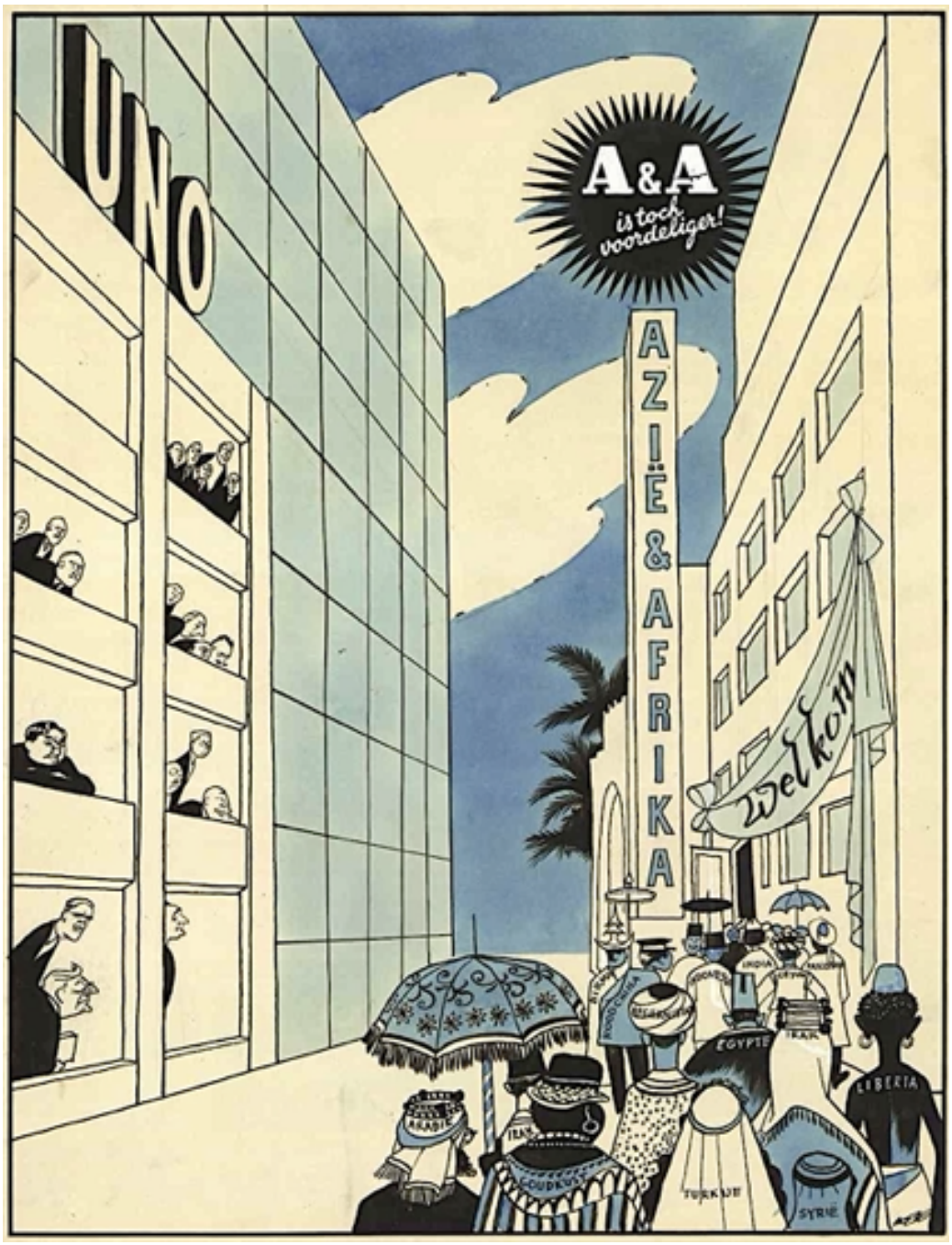

Figure 4.1. Towards the A and A by Eppo Doeve, 1955 (Source: International Institute of Social History and The Museum of the Asian-African Conference)

This drawing was a response to the results of preparatory meetings held in Bogor, West Java, by the five-nation committee at the end of December 1954 to finalize the conference venue, date of the conference, and the list of invited participants.[2] Prior to the Bogor conference, the five prime ministers met in Colombo and Kandy, Sri Lanka in April 1954 to discuss their problems as newly independent nations. The five-nation sponsored committee, later known as the "Colombo Powers," had a different political view in relation to the two great powers as well as to China. Putting aside their differences, the Colombo Powers decided to hold a meeting in Indonesia between April 18–24, 1955.[3] The choice of the starting and ending date was practical. The starting date was chosen because it was a couple of days after the Buddhist festivals in Burma (Myanmar), while the ending date was the beginning of Ramadan, a fasting month for Muslims. However, in the Opening Speech, Sukarno made a connection between the date of April 18, 1955, to 180 years before, which was the American Revolutionary War battles of Lexington and Concord, which also occurred on that same day in 1775. This was done to recognize a successful example of an anticolonial battle, by quoting the poem of "Paul Revere's Ride," written by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow:

> A cry of defiance and not of fear,
> A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door,
> And a word that shall echo forevermore![4]

The Joint Secretariat invited twenty-five participants as well as observers mostly from countries in Africa, which at that time were still colonized.[5] The event was not only attended by national representatives, but also attracted journalists, scholars, writers around the world who later produced the reports of this historic meeting. An African American writer, Richard Wright, who came to Bandung from Paris, described the meeting as "[t]he despised, the insulted, the hurt, the dispossessed—in short, the underdogs of the human race. This is the human race speaking" (Wright 1956, 12).[6] He emphasized the

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[2] The predecessors of the Bandung Conference, among others, are the League Against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression which was established at the Brussels Conference, 1927; The Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi, 1947; and the two preparatory Colombo and Bogor meetings (attended and organized by the co-sponsoring five countries) both in 1954. See Sukarno, "Opening Speech of the Bandung Conference" in *Bulletin of the Asia-Africa Conference* (Jakarta: 1955) and Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* (New York & London: The New Press 2007).

[3] Ali Sastroamidjojo, *Tonggak-tonggak Perjalananku* [The Milestones of My Journey], 1971 and Roeslan Abdulgani, *The Bandung Connection*, 1980.

[4] See Sukarno, "Opening Speech of the Bandung Conference" in *Bulletin of the Asia-Africa Conference* (Jakarta: 1955). Further, Sukarno elaborated in his speech that the "word that shall echo forevermore" is an echo of anticolonial struggles by the emerging nations of Asia and Africa.

[5] The Central African Federation (modern day Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe) is the only invited participant that did not send their delegations to the conference. *The Asian-African Conference Bulletin* (Republic of Indonesia, 1955).

[6] The books that were produced by politicians, scholars, and writers who came to the event include *The Color Curtain: A Report on the Bandung Conference*, published in 1956 by an African American writer Richard Wright; *The Asian-African Conference*, also published in 1956 by American scholar George McTurnan Kahin, the founder of the Southeast Asia Program at Cornell University; and *The Bandung Connection: The Asian-*

solidarity and shared emotions of colored people as "[t]he agenda and subject matter had been written for centuries in the blood and bones of the participants." Wright's personal experience of being Black in the United States had motivated him to attend the meeting. He wanted to go because, as he wrote, "I felt I could understand it, although I did not represent any government."[7]

The committee chose the city of Bandung, a hill station in west Java, as it is relatively cooler and more comfortable than the capital city of Jakarta.[8] The city was planned to be the new capital of Dutch East Indies during 1918–1930s, in particular the northern part of the city where the experiments of modern electricity, road infrastructure, telephone and telegraph, and water management took place. Bandung was also a city familiar to President Sukarno who had studied architecture and civil engineering at the Bandung Technical College in the 1920s. One of his mentors, the Dutch architect and educator Wolff Schoemaker, was involved in commissioning the building design for Dutch plantation society including the Concordia Theater in 1921 and the Preanger Hotel in 1929–1930, which later became one of the conference hotels. The theater was owned by the Concordia Social Club with the capacity of 1,200 seats. The Concordia Theater, as the largest theater building in the city at that time, was designed exclusively for the European planters and the new urban elites, whereas the natives were prohibited from entering the building.

During the arrangement and preparation for the Conference, the Local Committee[9] decided to redress two buildings for the venue: the Concordia building complex for plenary sessions and Pension Fund building for committee meetings. The Concordia is in the city center, while the Pension Fund building is in the new government complex, next to the Public Works Headquarters and the Bandung Geological Museum. A few weeks before the conference, Sukarno changed the name of the Concordia to "Merdeka," meaning "freedom"

African Conference in Bandung, written by an Indonesian politician and the Indonesian representative of the Joint Secretariat, Roeslan Abdulgani, published later in Jakarta in 1980.

[7] *The Color Curtain* is the reflection of Richard Wright's experience and his first trip to Indonesia from his exile in France. He traveled from France to Spain, then to Indonesia (Jakarta) followed by a road trip from Jakarta to Bandung. After the conference, he made a visit and conversed with Indonesian poets and writers. In lieu of the 60 years of the conference, encounters of Wright and Indonesian writers were published in the *Indonesian Notebook: A Sourcebook on Richard Wright and the Bandung Conference* by Brian Russell Roberts and Keith Foulchers (eds.) (Durham & London: 2016).

[8] "This is Bandung," a 15-minute documentary film produced in 1955 by the local conference committee (in English), demonstrates the hospitality infrastructure of the city as well as the landscape of rural west Java. The film started with a picture of the rice paddy field and the farmers working on the field, then shifted to a busy city which was chosen to host the meeting for representatives of 55% of the population of the world. The narrative includes the beauty of the landscape, the grandeur of the art deco architecture and modern infrastructure as well as art and cultural performances, and the promise of a great conference. National Archive of the Republic of Indonesia (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia/ANRI): Asian-African Conference Archives for the UNESCO "Memory of the World," 2015.

[9] The organizing committee of the conference consists of two sections. The first section is the Joint Secretariat, based in Jakarta, and the second section is the local conference committee based in Bandung. The Joint Secretariat includes the representatives of the Colombo Powers who co-sponsored the conference; most of them were ambassadors to Indonesia. The Local Conference Committee, led by the West Java Governor, Sanusi Hardjadinata, had tasks regarding accommodation, communication, logistics, transport, and security of the conference.

or "independence" in addition to renaming the Pension Fund building "Dwiwarna" which refers to the two colors of the Indonesian flag. He also replaced the name of the East Great Post Road to the "Asia-Afrika" Road. President Sukarno opened the first Asian-African conference in front of representatives from twenty-nine newly independent nations with the speech entitled "Let a new Asia and a new Africa be born."[10] The conference resulted in "The Ten Principles" which is later also known as the "Bandung Spirit" as follows:

1) To respect the basic human rights and objectives and principles contained in the United Nations Charter.
2) To respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
3) To recognize the equality between all races and all nations, both large and small.
4) To abstain from interfering in the internal affairs of another country.
5) To respect the right of all nations to defend themselves singly or collectively in conformity with the United Nations Charter.
6) Not to use the arrangements of collective defense to act in the special interests of one of the great powers nor to use force against another country.
7) Not to threaten or to molest the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country.
8) To settle all international disputes by negotiations, agreement, arbitration, or any other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the United Nations Charter.
9) To establish common interests and provide mutual cooperation.
10) To respect international law and obligations.

Third World Solidarity Project and the Non-Alignment Visions

The Bandung conference demonstrated the collective action and solidarity of the new independent nations to achieve a common goal, which resulted in the Ten Principles or the Bandung Communique.[11] In the opening speech, Sukarno emphasized "unity in desire," in a way that acknowledged the diversity of culture, religions, traditions, and political viewpoints of the participants, as the following:

> But what harm is in diversity when there is unity in desire? This Conference is not to oppose each other, it is a conference of brotherhood. It is not an Islam Conference, nor a Christian Conference, nor a Buddhist Conference. It is not a meeting of Malayans, nor one of Arabs, nor one of Indo-Aryan stock. It is not an exclusive club either, not a bloc which seeks to oppose any other bloc. Rather it is a body of enlightened, tolerant opinion which seeks to impress on the world that all men and all countries have their place under the sun– to impress on the world that it is possible to live together, meet together, speak to each other,

[10] The objectives of the Bandung Conference were as follows: 1) to promote good will and cooperation among nations of Asia and Africa, to explore and advance their common interests, and to establish friendly relations; 2) to discuss social, economic, and cultural problems; 3) to consider problems of special interest to the peoples of Asia and Africa, such as matters affecting their national sovereignty and of racism and colonialism; 4) to review the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the present-day world, and to consider the contribution they can make to furthering the world peace and cooperation.

[11] See Darwis Khudori, ed., *Bandung at 60: New Insights and Emerging Forces* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2015).

> without losing one's individual identity; and yet to contribute to the general understanding of matters of common concern, and to develop a true consciousness of the interdependence of men and nations for their well-being and survival on earth.
> —Sukarno, Opening Speech of the Bandung Conference, 1955

In this speech, Sukarno proposed "the unity" to achieve common goals for anticolonial politics and world peace. Further, he elaborated that the diversity of Indonesia as one nation is like "a small scale of Asia and Africa." In doing so, he proposed a vision which is similar to the national motto of Indonesia, "unity in diversity" meaning it is different but yet it is one.[12] It is a desire and diplomatic approach to build mutual respect despite the differences in cultural, political, and religious views. Furthermore, in his political committee speech, Nehru suggested the idea of being "stand alone," meaning non-alignment to the two Great Powers in the Cold War. He acknowledged and praised the greatness of power of both sides, the United States, and the Soviet Union, emphasizing the power of knowledge that the new nations lack. However, he insisted that "stand alone" meant self-determination, self-reliance, and not participating in the Cold War. Further, Sir John Kotelawala in his speech added that the new Asian and African nations did not only condemn the "Western colonization" but also the "Eastern colonization" in this case the colony of the Soviet Union.

The results of the Bandung conference were not "concrete." However, it was a "moment" and turning point in which, the former colonized people took charge in determining their own faith; Lee called it the "Bandung moment" (2010). Scholars of international relations and global history have produced scholarly research to commemorate the spirit of Bandung. Most of the research has appeared as compilations in anthologies. [13] In the spirit of collaboration, the authors shared the emotion, or "affective touchstone" in the making of global citizens of the Third World (Pham and Shilliam, 2016). Acharya and Tan (2008) suggest the main legacy of Bandung is not "institutional or organizational" but "educational and normative." The normative legacy was in establishing the principles of anticolonialism, antiracism, global peace, and human dignity as tools for collaboration among nations of the Third World; however, the educational concern is known as "developmental pedagogy" which, as Lee (2010) suggests, lies within the leadership of statesmen of the Third World. For example, leaders such as Nehru, Nyerere and Sukarno would act as teachers, and the audience ("the people") would follow his instructions as students. The developmental pedagogy is based on their ambitions and coupled with utopian dreams to "catch-up" with Western modernity. As Julius Nyerere, a Tanzanian anti-colonial activist and political theorist writes, "We Must Run When They

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[12] The vision of unity of the Indonesian state can be traced from the pre-colonial national symbol of the *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* meaning that it is different, yet united.

[13] The publications of Bandung conference scholarships which were written in lieu of the commemoration and reflections of the venue include *Bandung 1955: little histories,* ed. Derek McDougall and Antonia Finnane, Caulfield (Monash University Press, 2010); *Bandung Revisited: The Legacy of the 1955 of the Asian-African Conference for International Order*, ed. Amitav Acharya and See Seng Tan, Singapore (National University of Singapore Press, 2008); *Making a World After Empire: The Bandung Moment and Its Political Afterlives,* ed. Christopher J. Lee (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010); *Meanings of Bandung: Postcolonial Orders and Decolonial Visions*, ed. Quynh N. Pham and Robbie Shilliam (Rowman & Littlefield, 2016).

Walk." [14] The "catch-up" meant that the newly independent countries, which were later known as the "developing countries," had to hurry up to produce more engineers who can build the modern infrastructure as the Western nations did. This pedagogy resonates with Richard Wright's report that "These Asian leaders are more 'west' than the Westerner, in a way they wanted to break free from the past.'"[15]

Bandung helped to shape the future network and cooperation and marked a pivotal moment for postcolonial nations in breaking from their colonial past and positioning their solidarity for the "third way." The notion of the third way meant neither with the Eastern nor with the Western bloc engaged in the Cold War, later also coined as the "Third World'' and that led to formation of the "Non-Aligned Movement" consists of countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, Middle East, and South America. As Janet Abu-Lughod argues "[T]here is no agreement on the exact origin of the Third World," however she suggests that the meeting of the leaders in Bandung led to the meaning of the "Third World."[16] Bandung's Ten Principles became the basis of the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961. About a year after the Bandung conference, in the Summer of 1956, the leaders of Egypt and India were invited by Yugoslav president, Josip Broz Tito, to Brioni Islands. The network and connection continued between Indonesia and former Yugoslavia, with Sukarno's visits to Yugoslavia as well as Tito's visits to Indonesia.[17] The Indonesia-Yugoslavia cooperation includes the discussion of the vision of economic and regional planning and the comparative studies of the two nations which have diverse cultures, regions, and religions.[18] The non-aligned politics had produced various kinds of expressions in arts and literature, but it has been overlooked until recently, as the influence of modern architecture and planning due to anti-America and anti-communist propaganda situated in Southeast Asia.

The second Asian-African conference, which was planned to be held in Algiers in 1965, became a non-event. The assassination of the first Algerian president, Ahmad Ben Bella, in June 1965 and the coup of Sukarno in October 1965 followed by the mass killing and anti-communist propaganda in Indonesia,[19] ended Bandung as a venue for a serial Afro-Asian project. However, as Richard Wright emphasized, Bandung represents strong "emotional nationalism" meaning emotion that was shared among the participants as the former subject of colonialism and imperialism.

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[14] Sukarno, Nehru, and Nkrumah used similar pedagogical tactics in their speeches. The meeting at Bandung demonstrated Third World leadership, which is based on "developmental pedagogy." Julius Nyerere's phrase "We must run while they walk," means to "catch up" with the Western modernity. See Lee, *Making a World After Empire*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010).

[15] Richard Wright, *The Color Curtain*, 1956.

[16] Janet Abu-Lughod. "Disappearing Dichotomies: First World-Third World; Traditional-Modern" in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Reviews* 3:2, Spring 1992. pp. 7-13.

[17] National Archive of the Republic of Indonesia (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia/ANRI) Konstituante Collections, 1956-1959.

[18] Sukarno got the honorary doctorate in Law from the University of Belgrade in 1956 and Tito got his honorary doctorate, also in Law, from Padjadjaran University, Bandung in 1958. ANRI: Palar Collections, 1950-1965.

[19] Geoffrey Robinson, *The Killing Season: A History of the Indonesian Massacres, 1965-66*, Princeton Press, 2018.

Nation-building and Diplomacy as a Theater

Indonesia proclaimed its independence in 1945, and after the national revolutionary war and diplomacy, The Netherlands acknowledged the sovereignty of Indonesia in 1949. The ability to host the Asian-African conference despite the limitation of resources gave legitimacy to the new nations of Asia and Africa and to the world, as well as to Indonesian people. Inside Indonesia, the conference proved the government and the parliamentary system succeeded in building international diplomacy and the future of networks, not only among the Pan-Asia or Pan Africa network, but also, among the larger non-alignment networks. In relation to the performance of the Bandung conference, Shimazu coined the term "diplomacy as theater" or "theatrical diplomacy" in making the Third World (Shimazu, 2014). By referring to Clifford Geertz's idea on the theatrical state in which power of the state is exercised through ceremonial and ritual spectacle, she argues that the Bandung conference can be read as a theatrical performance of non-aligned diplomacy and nationalism. Based on the three components of a performance, which is the actor, the stage, and the audience, she describes the ceremonial and symbolic act of Bandung as performed by the leaders of the new nation states, among others are Sukarno, Nehru, Kotelawala, U Nu, Nasser, and Zhou En Lai. The actors here are the national leaders and representatives of the new and prospective nations of Asia and Africa who performed the "ritual" of diplomacy. The stage is the city of Bandung, and the audience is the Bandung and Indonesian people themselves. She argues that the performance of the "diplomatic theater" started as early as when the invited participants landed in Jakarta airport and were welcomed by the committee as the airport itself was decorated by the flags of the Asian-African countries. *Diplomacy as a theater* is a reading of the Bandung conference and the making of Third World nationalism from the perspective of the "locales," in the way it looks closely at the space of diplomacy such as the meeting hall and urban space of the event.[20] This scholarship helps to frame the narrative of the conference venue by looking closely at the local sources, specifically the Indonesian archives and the ways in which the event of Bandung helped to legitimize the establishment of new nations of the Third World and at the same time transform the experience of the urban space.

The Life of the Merdeka Building

In Indonesian, "merdeka" means freedom or independence. The word merdeka is closely related to Malay word *mardika* and Tagalog word *maharlika*; both mean freedom in the context of the freed people or freed slaves. The words originated from the Sanskrit word *maharddhika* which means wealth and power. "Merdeka" symbolizes the power of the anticolonial movement and the struggle for sovereignty, meaning the undoing of colonialism and imperialism. The following section describes the life of the Merdeka building and its urban space in four sections: first, the emergence of private planters in

[20] See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* 2006, p.163. Anderson suggests that the establishment of a nation is not based on the "homogenous" or similarity of the human traits rather it is exercised from the imaginary resistance and hopes that are communally shared. Further, he argues that colonial census, museums, and maps are used to legitimize the "colonized worlds of Asia and Africa."

West Java followed by the establishment of a social club in the late nineteenth century; second, the visioning of the modern city of Bandung including the construction of a theater and shopping street, the first of its kind in the city; third, the transition from Dutch colonialism to the Japanese occupation period and later the Indonesian revolution. This period marked the beginning of military and government uses of the building, displacing the private uses with more government and local control; fourth, the preparation and spatial arrangement for the Bandung conference in 1955, which marked the building as a symbol of anticolonial and post-Independence Indonesia.

The Social Club and the Preanger Plantation

There was yet another space in the Indies [colonial Indonesia] that expressed the late-colonial culture of habitation very deep in its essence. *Soos* is an acronym for *societeit*, "society," or "club," in Dutch. *Soos*, by the late nineteenth century, was being established in every large city, and in many small towns of the colony as well.
—Rudolf Mrazek, *Engineers of Happy Land*, 2001

The opening of private plantations, followed by the construction of railways and roads, helped to shape the development of cities in Java Island in the mid-nineteenth century. Social clubs, inns, and hotels were built along the main roads. The social club of Concordia emerged from the establishment of coffee, tea, and quinine plantations in west Java highland, which was later named the "Preanger landscape."[21] The plantation sites were in the rural area surrounding the new city. Based on a road map in the early 1920s, there were about twenty plantation enterprises surrounding the city: the northern, eastern, western, and southern sides.[22] The plantation enterprises used the city infrastructure such as the main post road in the 1810s and the railways in the 1880s. The Bandung-Jakarta railway started to operate in 1884 and was followed by the Bandung-Surabaya (a city in the north coast of east Java) ten years later in 1894. Planters visited the city to get supplies and stayed at the inn which was located along the post road. The city became their meeting place and location of leisure activities on weekends, thus later helping to shape colonial Bandung as "the city of Preanger planters." Groups of planters and their families usually met at the inns, which later became the hotels. They also rented a dedicated space for their club, which is located around the hotels along post road and the new city center. They established the exclusive club which helped them to build networks among the planters and government, as well as the local elites. Even though it was a private club, the involvement of the Dutch colonial government such as Dutch politician Stijhoff and local aristocrat Martanegara played a significant role not only in expanding the plantation enterprises, but also in envisioning the future city of modern Bandung.

The establishment of the social club started from temporary weekend activities to creating the more permanent space, the building of the dance and meeting hall, the theater, and shopping street in the 1920s. As historian Rudolph Mrazek pointed out, the *soos* or

[21] In 1870, the Dutch government published the Agrarian Law, which allowed Europeans to use the land by renting it from the local aristocrats for 75 years. This law allowed the private businesses to open plantations specifically in Java and Sumatra.
[22] KITLV (Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbeans Studies) Archive "Preanger map"

social club represented the "late-colonial culture of habitation" which is "very deep in its essence." The essence here means the European identity in the colony, which was legitimized through maintaining the class and racial hierarchy. In the early twentieth century, Dutch families of Bosscha, Hucht, Holle, and Kerkhoven were considered the pioneers of the coffee, tea, and quinine plantations in west Java (Suganda, 2002).[23] Through marriages among these families as well as their prior connections to the Dutch East Indies' high ranking government officers in Batavia (Jakarta), these families, later known as the "Preanger planters" emerged as a powerful force in maintaining the club and "art circle," the plantation's labor recruitment, as well as appropriating the indigenous language, oral traditions, and performances.[24]

Parallel to Mrazek, Bandung historian Haryoto Kunto writes about the memories of Dutch plantation owners who spent their weekends in the city as they were longing for home. Historian Svetlana Boym writes "[n]ostalgia, from nostos—return home, and algia—longing, is a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed. Nostalgia is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one's own fantasy."[25] She then argues: "[N]ostalgia is paradoxical in the sense that longing can make us more empathetic toward fellow humans, yet the moment we try to repair longing with belonging, the apprehension of loss with a rediscovery of identity, we often part ways and put an end to mutual understanding. *Algia*—longing—is what we share, yet nostos—the return home—is what divides us. It is the promise to rebuild the ideal home that lies at the core of many powerful ideologies of today, tempting us to relinquish critical thinking for emotional bonding."[26]

In their nostalgic fantasy and supported by the wealth from the extractive plantation, the planters' families expanded the club through social gatherings, including the meetings with high-ranking government employees and local aristocrats. The club did not only function as the symbol for European society in the colony but also allowed the meeting and collaboration among three groups: the planters, the colonial government, and local aristocrats. Dutch politician Stijhoff kept the club and its members as important allies in supporting his ambition to modernize the city.[27] During 1887–1890, the club shared the space with agriculture and farming organizations and the Protestant church. Beginning in 1890, the theater, dance, and performance group "Braga" shared the space with the club and used the space for their performances. In accommodating the popularity of the Braga theater group, the club decided to build the theater building later in the 1920s. Besides the performances, one event that was significant for the club was the meeting, which they hosted, of coffee-tea planters and sugar planters of central and east Java. During the meeting, the club demonstrated their tourism hospitality, such as the accommodation and modern hotel nearby, food and beverage services, as well as transportation and

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[23] The quinine which was processed from the bark of cinchona trees was used as a medicine to treat malaria and became a commodity during World War I.

[24] See Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: Europeans and Eurasians in Colonial Indonesia*, 1983. Taylor looks at the roles of women and interracial marriages as well as the roles of religious and social organizations that helped to shape colonial Jakarta (Batavia) during the fall of Dutch East India company.

[25] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, p. xiii

[26] Ibid, pp. xv-xvi.

[27] Her Suganda, *Kisah Para Preanger Planters* [The Stories of the Preanger Planters], Jakarta: Gramedia, 2014.

communication facilities for the guests. In doing so, in the early twentieth century, the Concordia social club was known as the most modern and hospitable for other planters' society in colonial Java.[28]

Concordia Theater and the Modern City

On April 1st, 1931, "Preangerbode," a local magazine for the planters, published a special edition to commemorate the fifteenth anniversary of the municipality of Bandung, which was formally established in 1906. On the first page, there was a panoramic sketch of the city, picturing the mountainous landscape as the background and the architecture of the modern buildings as the foreground. It also featured new, modern buildings, such as the airport, the pharmaceutical factory for quinine, which is a common treatment for malaria, the headquarters for Public Works in the new government complex, the Technical College, and the Preanger hotel. The Concordia club was not included in the sketch; however the advertisement for dance and performance events and activities in the social club was captured in the magazine. The panoramic view represents the "new Bandung," the northside of the city which was a well-designed neighborhood for Europeans and the local aristocrats. The southside, which was where the natives lived, did not appear in this publication. The ambitions of Bandung as a modern colonial city, relate to Timothy Mitchell's notion of colonial power and space, in which he argues that the creation of colonial projects always have two sides: one side is the exhibition, which can be represented by the modern city in the north and the other side is the museum, which, is in this case, was the native settlement in the south. The colonizer is fully aware of designing the "exhibition side" while at the same time preserving the "museum side" as it is. In this logic, the complementarity of both sides are important to the colonial power.[29]

In 1921, the club commissioned Schoemaker and van Gallen architects to design a theater next to the club.[30] The new building, later known as *Schouwburg*, meaning the theater building, was designed to accommodate 1,200 seats, which at that time was the largest modern performance space. Concordia club, with the additional theater, was considered as the most modern and prestigious meeting place in Java. The aim of the design was to accommodate the performance space as well as to separate the function between the club and the performances. In this case, the theater was planned to be used by the wider audience, while the meeting and dining hall would be kept only for the club members. The theater building was collaboratively designed by architects Schoemaker van Galen (the latter was also the engineer). According to Dullemen, the design of the Concordia theater is "rigid symmetry and rectilinear form" rather than following the Amsterdam school which bears "its organic forms and flowing lines."[31] The initial design of

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[28] Haryoto Kunto, *Wajah Bandung Tempo Doeloe* [The Faces of Bandung in the Recent Past] Bandung: Granesia 1985.

[29] Timothy Mitchel, *Colonising Egypt*.

[30] Before the addition of the theater, the club was known as the "iron box," referring to the form of the building which is "a box" with iron ornament. The entrance to this building was engraved with the year of its establishment, 1895.

[31] See C.J. van Dullemen, *Tropical Modernity*.

this building was inspired from Otto Wagner's postal savings bank in Vienna.[32] The construction of the theater building was completed in 1921 which was a year after the opening of the Technical College (See Chapter 3). The theater marked the modernization of architecture as well as the city. The city then became the new landmark related to the rise of the Dutch middle class as well as the Indonesian elites.[33] The building of the theater, at the same time Bandung, produced--not only a resort city for the planters, but also as a modern metropolis. In the years to follow, several European dancers and singers, including The Batavian Ladies' Quartet and the Anna Pavlova company,[34] performed in this space. which demonstrated Concordia's ambition as the most "modern" and sophisticated performance space in colonial Java.[35]

Transition Period: Japanese Occupation and Indonesian Revolution

In the early 1940s, A. F. Aalbers, the architect of the streamline moderne style of the Homann hotel,[36] got a commission to renovate the east wing of the Concordia building, which is still located at the corner of the Post Road and Braga Street. The east wing building was then used as a meeting hall and restaurant. The renovation aimed to respond to the corner of street as well as the curvilinear hotel in front of the hall. Previously the building was known as the box or "iron box," while in the 1940s, it became the curve. Later during the Bandung conference, the twenty-nine flag poles were added by following the curve of this building. During the Japanese occupation (1942–1945), several significant buildings were occupied by the military, including the Concordia Club. In the case of this building, it was the starting point of the government, and the military owned the space. The building was known as a leisure place for Japanese military personnel, as well as a military post due to the central location of the place. During the transition period of the 1940s to 1950s, the Concordia social club was renamed three times. First, during Japanese occupation (1942–1954), the Japanese renamed the building as "Dai toa kaikan" or the large hall; second, during the Indonesian national revolution (1946–1949) the British Allied military and the Netherland Indies Civil Administration renamed the building the "Oranje club," referring to the orange color of the Dutch empire; and third, in the early Indonesian independence period, people called the building by its "old name" which was the "Concordia" building or the "Schouwburg" which means the theater building.

Spatial Arrangements of the Venue

When Indonesia hosted the venue in 1955, it was only ten years after its Proclamation of Independence in 1945 and six years after the recognition and transfer of

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[32] Schoemaker refers to Wagner in his inaugural speech at the Technical College. See *Tropical Modernity*.

[33] See Achile Mbembe *On the Postcolony*..

[34] *Tropical Modernity*, p. 18..

[35] See *200 Years of the Performance Arts in Bandung* and, Braga, The Heart of Paris of Java

[36] The Homann hotel was renovated between 1937-1939. See Haryoto Kunto, *Seabad Grand Hotel Preanger 1897-1997* (*A Hundred Years of the Grand Hotel Preanger 1897-1997*).

sovereignty from the Netherlands in 1949.[37] At that moment, the state did not have resources and time to build new conference buildings and the infrastructure for the event. The decision of appropriating and redressing the Concordia Club and urban infrastructure engaged postcolonial questions: How to maintain the meaning of history of a new imagined nation with the material and cultural remnants of the colony? Also, how would the spatial strategy of the venues represent the idea of sovereignty and Asian-African solidarity?

The following is the story of the spatial arrangement for the venue in which I analyze the contrast between the idyllic landscape, represented in a short documentary film and stories of the architectural preparation, including security and tensions among the five sponsoring countries from archives and oral history. There are three fragments of stories that include first, the tensions between Indonesia and India on language, lavatories, and the tents, second, between Sukarno and Sastroamidjojo on the interior of the main hall, and third, between Bandung aristocrats and the local committee about the building swap.

This is Bandung, a fifteen-minute documentary film made by the Joint Secretariat, captures the final preparation for the venue as well as a profile of the city, specifically the northern part of Bandung.[38] The film starts with showing the idyllic landscape such as a paddy field, farmers plowing the fields with buffaloes, mountains and volcanic craters, and tea plantations that surround the city. The narrator notes that "the beauty of the land will attract people's attention from all over the world." Further the narrator emphasizes the aim of the meeting, which was to discuss the problems of fifty-five percent of the world population, the former colonized countries who became independent from the European empire. The film continues, showing the local context for the venue by focusing on the city center, activities such as the cleaning and maintenance works of the main road, the conference venue, the technology of telecommunication (telephone and telegraph) and the hotels. It also captures the cleaning and erasing of the logo of Dutch "Concordia'' from the main hall of the conference building. Besides the two main buildings for the plenary and committee sessions, the film portrays leisure places, such as the lake, as favorite places for recreation, including the zoo, as well as city views with the background of the volcanoes on the north and east side. Besides the beauty of the landscape, the grandeur of the art deco architecture and modern infrastructure, the film also provides a glimpse of traditional and modern cultural performances ending with the promise of a great conference. In the end, the narrative of a cosmopolitan city is also presented with various religious buildings, such as the Great Mosque, the Catholic Cathedral, and the Protestant Church, providing evidence of the diversity of religions that correspond to the aim of the Bandung Conference.

We can contrast the representation of the idyllic landscape of Bandung, which in colonial times was dubbed the "Paris of Java," with what happened on the site, specifically the security which was at stake for the emerging nations of Asia and Africa in the Cold War. In case of Indonesia, the potential threats came from inside as well as outside the country.

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[37] John R. W. Smail, *Bandung in the Early Revolution 1945-1949*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, 1964 and Djen Amar, *Bandung Lautan Api* (*Bandung's Sea of Fire*), Jakarta: Dhiwantara, 1963.

[38] Asian-African Conference Archives at ANRI (National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia), Jakarta, Number 48 DVD-RK/2010 (Reproduction of the Cassette No. 48). The distribution of the film was initially for the members of the Joint Secretariat and later the invited participants to demonstrate that the city was ready to host the conference.

One of the possible inside threats close to the venue came from the Islamic State, The Islamic Armed Forces, a group of militias led by Kartosuwiryo, based in the rural area of Garut, about 85 miles southeast of Bandung. From 1948 through the 1960s,[39] Kartosuwiryo had led insurgencies to overthrow the secular Indonesian government with the aim to transform it into an Islamic State. To prevent potential threats, the military police patrolled the city and the surrounding area and established a curfew as well as checkpoints. One of the members of the street security, Rachmat Hidayat, who reminisced about his duty for the conference sixty years ago, mentioned that the sweeping started about one week before the opening ceremony. His job was "to secure the outside of the buildings which were used for the venue, as well as the conference hotels."[40] He further explained that he and his team were responsible for patrolling the street specifically on the first day when the crowd came to greet the leaders from all over the world. "I'm only afraid of an ambush," he said, referring to the threat from the Islamic State militia based in Garut.[41]

The Islamic State militia did not sabotage the conference; however, an incident happened seven days before the conference: Air India's Kashmir Princess, a flight from Hong Kong to Jakarta, exploded in the Natuna Islands, an Indonesian territory of the South China Sea. Chinese Prime Minister Chou En Lai supposedly took that plane on his way to Bandung, however he secretly changed his plan and flew a couple days later through Bangkok instead of Hong Kong. The sabotage of the Kashmir Princess (later the remains of a bomb was found), killed most of the people in the airplane, including journalists from China and Eastern Europe who planned to attend the conference. Chou En Lai and the Chinese delegations took another route to Jakarta, landed safely, and continued his trip from Jakarta to Bandung on a Garuda Indonesia airplane.[42]

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the two preparation meetings in Colombo and Bogor predated the Bandung conference. One of the important results of the Bogor meeting was the list of the invited participants. When the Indonesian Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo, on behalf of the five co-sponsored countries, sent letters of invitation to the heads of the Asian and African countries. Follow-up questions and statements came from the media and respective governments, such as: Why had North Korea and South Korea not been invited while North Vietnam and South Vietnam had been? Israel had not been invited, but Palestine had been included as one of the observers, and so forth.[43] However, one of the strongest criticisms came from Australia, specifically the representative of the Australian Labor Party, who asked why Australia had not been

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[39] House of Islam/Islamic Armed Forces of Indonesia is known as the *Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia* militia abbreviated as DI/TII led by Kartosuwiryo.

[40] Sulhan Syafii, *Behind the Scenes*, Bandung, 2015, p. 64. The second half of this book is dedicated to the oral history of the Indonesian people who were affiliated with and volunteered for the local conference committee. The book is written in Indonesian by Sulhan Syafii and translated to English by Frances B. Affandy in commemoration of the 60 years of the Bandung Conference, 2015-2016. Personal conversation with Frances Affandy, Bandung, 2019.

[41] Hidayat remembered well about the pickpocket incidents during the historic walk. Ibid, p. 65.

[42] Ibid, p. 36. On their way to Indonesia, the Asian-African leaders chose the routes for their own diplomatic and safety reasons, for example Nehru and Nasser made a stop in Burma (Myanmar), then they continued the trip together with Burmese leader U Nu to Bandung.

[43] Republic of Indonesia, "The Asia-Africa Bulletin," Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jakarta, 1955.

invited… ("how rude the committee was") since, in their vision, Australia was part of the Asian region. Further, the Australian Labor Party criticized the committee of the prospective conference as exclusively for colored people who opposed white people. Sastroamidjo responded on behalf of the five co-sponsor countries that the conference did not aim to oppose the white people, and in regards of Australia, the five co-sponsoring countries did not think of Australia as part of this movement who shared similar struggles regarding the effects of colonialism, imperialism, and racism. In fact, Australia as a nation is a product of Western imperialism.[44]

The local journalists raised a question about the hotel arrangement regarding political positions of each country in the Cold War. How would the host arrange the accommodation for the participants; would the countries that lean to the Eastern or "Communist" bloc stay in one hotel? On the other hand, would the countries that lean to the Western or the "Capitalist" bloc stay in different hotels? Would the capacity of hotels in the city be able to cater to all delegates and guests since at that time there were less than six colonial hotels?[45] The aim of the meeting was to build the non-alignment of the two powers; however, the polarization and identity of each country at that time was heavily aligned toward the two Great Powers in the Cold War. The local committee responded that the hotel arrangement would be based on the number of delegates. If the delegates have a larger number of people—such as the delegations of China, India, and Indonesia—they would stay in a former Dutch colonial villa or a large bungalow located in the north, while the delegations with fewer people would stay in conference hotels located in the city center and specific location of accommodations would be based on a raffle.[46] The concern about the political alignment and seating arrangement was done in alphabetical order.[47] On the first day of the conference, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North) and State of Vietnam (South) refused to sit next to each other. They preferred to withdraw from the meeting if they had to do it side by side. It created a bit of chaos in the beginning of the meeting. However, the Turkey delegation stepped up and offered to sit in between North and South Vietnam delegations.[48]

Language, Lavatories, and Tents: Tensions between Indonesia and India

As explained in the beginning of this chapter, the five countries of the Colombo Powers who co-sponsored the conference, came from different cultural and political backgrounds. The four out of five, which are Burma (Myanmar), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India, and Pakistan are former British colonies, while Indonesia is a former Dutch colony. Roeslan Abdulgani, the Indonesian representative of the Joint Secretariat, was awed by the confidence of Indian delegations in conversing and debating in English. Abdulgani talked about his insecurity to Sastroamidjojo, the Prime Minister, pointing out how Indian leaders

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[44] Sastroamidjojo, *Milestones of My Journey*, p. 46. The critical writing of the Bandung Conference, for example, represented in "Bandung: Journal of the Global South" was initiated largely by Australian scholars and academic publishing based at Monash University, Melbourne.

[45] *Behind the Scenes*, 2015.

[46] Republic of Indonesia, "The Asia-Africa Bulletin," Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jakarta, 1955.

[47] *Behind the Scenes*, 2015.

[48] Abdulgani, *The Bandung Connection*, 1980.

communicated their ideas and presented their arguments, which for Abdulgani sounded "arrogant."[49] Sastroamidjojo, who was educated in the Netherlands, tried to comfort him by joking that learning Dutch (or German) was not as "valuable" as English these days, in the era of post-Independence, specifically for the purpose of international diplomacy.[50] After the recognition of Indonesian sovereignty in 1949, Sastroamidjojo served as the first Ambassador of Indonesia to the United States (1950—1953), then the first Ambassador of Indonesia to Canada (1953—1954) prior to being back to Jakarta and holding the preparations of this conference.[51] In doing so, he understood well the value of English and English translations in representing Indonesia as an emerging nation in the mid-twentieth century. This conversation resonates with the report of the Bandung Conference by Richard Wright as he analyzed the future of English speakers and modernity in the way almost everyone in the conference spoke English, in confidence and in various accents, as he wrote, "[t]hese Asian leaders are more Western than the West," as showed by their persistence in breaking with their past.[52]

Besides mastering the language, the tensions between Indonesian and Indian delegates were related to the architectural space and the idea of comfort, specifically the anxiety of providing accommodation for the invited participants and observers, as well as the necessity of modern lavatories in the buildings. According to Sastroamidjojo, since the Bogor meeting,[53] Nehru had always been in doubt that Indonesia could host the international conference. Nehru sent Mohammad Yunus, a former Indian Ambassador to Indonesia to meet Sastroamidjojo and Abdulgani in Jakarta, to convince them that the "tent" would solve the problem of accommodation for the invited guests. Based on the experience of the Indian Congress Party, who held meetings attended by thousands of people, Yunus suggested the committee set the tent up, perhaps "a very large tent camp in one of the open areas in Bandung."[54] Sastroamidjojo and Abdulgani rejected this idea based on the inequality of accommodations between the five co-sponsor countries, whose delegates would be staying in hotels or villas, and the invited participants and observers, who would be staying in tents, as suggested by the Indian delegation. Later the local committee rejected this idea based on the "substandard accommodation for the rank of prime minister or foreign ministers;" besides that, the city had many Dutch bungalows that the committee could rent for the invited participants.[55] Yunus returned to New Delhi

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[49] The "arrogance" of Indian delegations was also felt by Ceylonese (Sri Lankan) as well as Pakistani delegations. Two stories of incidents include Sir John Kotelawala (Ceylon/Sri Lanka) who was clearly pointing out the threat of colonialism in the communist and socialist side in his speech, which upset Nehru, and Mohammad Ali (Pakistan) who protested to Indian delegations who initiated the pre-meeting, without the presence of Pakistan delegates as one of the five members of the co-sponsored committee. See Abdulgani, *The Bandung Connection. 1980* and Lee, *Making A World After Empire 2015*.

[50] Abdulgani, *The Bandung Connection* and Sastroamidjojo, *The Milestones of My Journeys.*

[51] Ten years after the conference, in late 1965, Sastroamidjojo was arrested without trial following the fall of Sukarno and the beginning of Suharto's authoritarian regime.

[52] Richard Wright, *The Color Curtain*, 1956. See the chapter on "The Western World at Bandung", pp. 199-221.

[53] *Ali Sastroamidjojo, The Milestones on My Journeys*, pp. 47-49.

[54] Ibid, p. 49.

[55] Ibid, p. 48.

knowing the local committee rejected the idea. Thus, the personal relationship between Yunus and Abdulgani had "deteriorated" because of this tension.[56]

Furthermore, contrary to the tent suggestion, about two months before the conference, on February 20, 1955, Nehru wrote a letter to the Indian Ambassador to Indonesia, B. F. H. B. Tyabji, who was also the representative of India in the Joint Secretariat in Jakarta: "I am rather anxious about this Asian-African Conference and, more specifically, about the arrangements: You have been pointing out that the Indonesians are sensitive. We should respect their sensitiveness. But cannot afford to have anything messed up because they are sensitive."[57] Nehru's concern here was about the "lavatory,'' the Western toilet design, as he was worried that the committee would cram many people in a room, in this case the conference venue and bungalow that was provided for Indian delegates.[58] He could tolerate the lack of the drawing rooms, but not the lavatories.

On April 7, 1955, eleven days before the conference, Sukarno and the Joint Secretariat visited Bandung to observe the arrangement and the physical works of the venue, specifically the Concordia building.[59] One of the photographs from the visit shows Sukarno, Abdulgani, and a custodian posed in the male lavatories.[60] The photographer took the photo from the back of these three persons, thus showing the modern *urinoirs* and toilets that can be accessed from the main hall. Lee (2015) suggests that Nehru's lavatory issues relate not necessarily to hygiene, but rather the state of cleanliness, which is imperative to members of the Brahmin caste, the highest caste in India. From the Indonesian elites' point of view, the choice of the former Dutch social club and the city of Bandung demonstrated the legacy of urban Bandung as the "prototype of the colonial city,'' in which modern buildings and infrastructure were built to tackle the issues of health, hygiene, and water management.[61] However, the design and plan of lavatories as part of hygienic efforts in the colonial city, had always been rooted in class and racial segregation. Historian Rudolph Mrázek writes that, in the late 1920s, there were at least three separate toilets in colonial Indonesia: some for "Europeans," some for "ordinary Asians," and some for "higher Asians'' which means "modern natives who made it closer to the European sphere."[62] Being "modern" here means "Western" in the eyes of the Dutch colonial state, which was argued by the *Soeloeh Indonesia*, a local Malay-Indonesian newspaper in 1927: "[T]hose of us who wear a native scarf, or a Muslim skullcap, have to relieve themselves in ordinary latrines." One year before the Japanese occupation in 1941, another local newspaper, criticized the hierarchy of lavatory spaces in a bank building, which had four types of toilets—for the bosses, for the mid-level managers, for the workers, and for

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[56] Ibid, p. 49.

[57] Lee, *Making a World After Empire.*

[58] See Syafii, *Behind the Scenes*.

[59] ANRI, Asian-African Conference Collections.

[60] Ibid.

[61] See Chapter 1 of the dissertation.

[62] Rudolph Mrázek. *Engineers of Happy Land: Technology and Nationalism in a Colony*, Princeton & Oxford:Princeton University Press, 2002. p. 59.

"others.'' The journalist wrote, "Good Heavens, friends! even in such situation, discrimination?"[63]

The Main Hall: Tensions between Sukarno and Sastroamidjojo

On April 7, 1955, which was eleven days before the conference, President Sukarno and the Indonesian representative of the Joint Secretariat from Jakarta visited Bandung to observe the final preparation of the venue, in particular a site visit to the former Concordia building for the plenary sessions and former Pension Fund building for the committee meetings.[64] Included in this visit were the site observation of the two main conference hotels: Homann hotel, which was located across from the Concordia building and Preanger hotel, which is located about one block from the Homann.[65] Besides the cleaning and repainting of the conference halls and hotels, Bandung's Great Mosque, located within a five minute walk from the venue, was also renovated. The mosque was prepared to host the Friday prayers for the Muslim leaders of Asia and Africa and the conference guests. The starkest difference between the old mosque and the new building was the changing of the roof structure from the three tiers of Javanese roofs to the dome structure, which represents the "modern" Islamic building.[66] During this visit, President Sukarno and the West Java Governor Sanusi Hardjadinata renamed the important sites of colonial buildings and the streets, including the Concordia building renamed the "Merdeka building" and the Pension Fund building renamed the "Dwiwarna building."[67] The Eastern Great Post Road was renamed "Asia-Africa Road," and the street in front of the mosque was named "Great Mosque Street." As mentioned earlier, the practice of naming and renaming the places can be read as anticolonial acts, but it is also about "staging" the conference to legitimize the power of Indonesia as an emerging nation state, thus positioning the new state on the map of Asia and Africa and the world.[68]

The tensions between Sukarno and Sastroamidjojo, the Prime Minister of Indonesia, were about the interior design of the main hall of the Merdeka building and the vision of a restaurant design adjacent to the main hall. The restaurant was planned as the "Asia-Africa restaurant," and the design was prepared by Friedrich Silaban, who is known as Sukarno's

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[63] Ibid, p. 59.

[64] The venue for plenary sessions took place in the Merdeka building (formerly known as the Concordia building) in the downtown area, while the committee meetings took place in the Dwiwarna building (formerly the Pension Fund building) in the location of the former Dutch government building complex in north Bandung.

[65] These two hotels, the Homann and the Preanger are the legacy of the Dutch Plantation society, built in the beginning of the twentieth century with art deco architecture. For the detailed story of the preparations see Sultan Syafii, *Behind the Scenes: Story of the Bandung Conference Committee* (Bandung: Tatali, 2015).

[66] For a discussion of Indonesian national mosque and nation building, see the design and construction of the Istiqlal Mosque (The Freedom Mosque) in Setiadi Sopandi, *Friedrich Silaban* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2017).

[67] "Dwiwarna" in Indonesian means "two colors," representing the two colors of the Indonesian flag. Note that the Dutch flag is symbolized as the *driekleur*, which means three colors of the flag. In this case, the renaming of the building also legitimized the new state and its new flag.

[68] For expressions of political power in Java, see Benedict R, O'G Anderson, *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* (Jakarta & Kuala Lumpur: Equinox, 2006).

most favorite architect in the era of nation building.[69] Nation building in this context was a project of monumental architecture and urban design which was directed by Sukarno in the late 1950s through the mid 1960s, which was right after the Bandung conference, specifically to rebuild the capital city of Jakarta as the "beacon of the new emerging nations of Asia and Africa." Architectural historian Abidin Kusno argues that in this vision, even though Sukarno was adopting the modern language of architecture, his concern was not whether the origin of the conception was from the "East" or the "West"; rather, it is about staging "Jakarta on the map of world cities."[70] In this strategy, the main hall of the Merdeka building and the urban context of the Bandung conference fit well to stage the emerging nation of Asia and Africa in resisting the duality of Cold War.

In the case of the main hall, there was a shift of the interior from the open plan of a performance stage to the conference hall, which was full of furniture and had seating that did not match the architecture of the hall. Sukarno agreed with Silaban's suggestion to alter all the furniture in the plenary hall. As Silaban suggested, "the arrangement [of furniture] did not fit in with the architecture of the hall."[71] Sastroamidjojo refused this idea because the time was short. He said there would be no changes in "the style, furnishing, and equipment of the main hall." Sukarno was upset but he agreed with Sastroamidjojo. However, he went on with the restaurant design which was prepared by Silaban. Again, Sastroamidjojo had to refuse this plan because he knew that there was no time, budget, and manpower for completing additional tasks. While this negotiation was common between architects and their clients in altering the design, budget, and timeframe, on this occasion both Sukarno and Sastroamidjojo were not in an architect-client relationship, rather they were the actors and producers who were holding the Bandung conference. The ambition of both resonates with Shimazu's idea of "diplomacy as theater," in a way that power of the state relies on the performance of a ceremonial practice.[72] In the case of Indonesia's nation building, rather than looking up to the modern West, the practice is based on the pre-colonial nineteenth century 'Theater State," meaning the state formation which is built by rituals and symbols rather than force.[73] The following section describes the ways in which the Indonesian government took over the Concordia Club building and its hospitality infrastructure and tried to dismantle the social club from the city center to the more rural landscape of the city.

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[69] See Setiadi Sopandi, *Friedrich Silaban* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2017). Friedrich Silaban is an Indonesian self-taught architect (1912–1984) whose career spanned three periods: late Dutch colonial period (1930s–1945), early Indonesian Independence (1945–1965) and the New Order Regime (1965–1980s). He was working closely under the direction of President Soekarno, specifically in the era of nation-building during the Guided Democracy (1959–1965). Dubbed the "right hand" of Soekarno, he designed and planned important nation-building projects, including the plan of the National Monument, the Asian Games in 1962, and the Istiqlal Mosque, the first national mosque in Jakarta.

[70] See Abidin Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space and Political Cultures in Indonesia*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2000), 49-52.

[71] See Sastroamidjojo, *Milestones on My Journey 1953-1957* (Bandung & Jakarta, Museum of the Asian-African Conference, Directorate General of Information and Public Diplomacy of Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Indonesia, 2014), 49.

[72] Shimazu, *Diplomacy as Theater*, 2014.

[73] Clifford Geertz, *Negara, the Theater State in the Nineteenth century Bali* (Princeton University Press: 1980).

Building Swap and Dismantling the Social Club: Tensions between the Local Aristocrats and the Indonesian Government

When the Joint Secretariat sent an invitation to the prospective participants, the local conference committee, under auspices of the Governor of West Java, Sanusi Harjadinata, and the Head of West Java Public Works, Engineer Srigati Santoso, started to make a detailed preparation of the buildings for the plenary and committee sessions as well as the bungalows, hotels, and transportation in three months. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the choice of the former Concordia building and Pension building was based on the capacity to accommodate the delegates.[74] The Concordia club, which is in the city center is surrounded with at least three hotels within walking distance and was ideal for the plenary sessions, while the Pension Fund building which is in the government complex would fit for the committee sessions. A problem arose in acquiring the space, specifically the Concordia club building. The local committee had to negotiate the acquisition with the Bandung aristocrats who were still affiliated with the Dutch firm that owned the club.[75] Reflecting on the uses of the building during the Japanese occupation, it was used for military purpose. Japanese started conquered Southeast Asia in 1941-1942, and during the Japanese occupation the civilians who were "Westerners," including Eurasians were interned. North Bandung, where most of the Europeans and Eurasians had lived, became empty. Then, after the Japanese left (between 1946-1950), the local aristocrats were back using the space for social gatherings and parties.[76] During the national independence revolution, the space was also used for meetings by the aristocrat in the establishment of the Pasundan state of West Java during the period of the formation of the United States of Indonesia.[77]

The following section outlines the ways in which the conference committee acquired the building and the negotiations that took place between the committee and the group of Bandung aristocrats who were representatives of the Concordia club. The committee negotiated with the aristocrats to acquire the whole building complex for the venue. First, they rejected the proposal. As Sastroamidjojo wrote, "[I]nitially the Dutch firm that owned the Concordia rejected the committee's request to sell it to the government and only after they were faced with the possibility of its being taken over in national interest [did] they agree."[78] In this case, the committee had to convince them to exchange the Concordia club space with the land and architectural design for the "new club" in a different site, which the Indonesian government agreed to provide.[79] This practice of exchanging the land and building for the greater public interest originated from the Dutch colonial legal term

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[74] Geertz, 47.

[75] Geertz, 47-48.

[76] During the national independence revolution, the Allied Forces including the Netherlands were back to occupy the territory after the defeat of Japan. At that time, the Concordia was also used for the establishment of the Pasundan state of West Java between 1946–1950s.

[77] There was a time that the Pasundan state (which includes the former aristocrats of the colonial regime) was once a collaborator with the Dutch, but then it dissolved and ended up supporting Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta.

[78] Sastroamidjojo, *Milestones on My Journeys*, 47.

[79] Sastroamidjojo, 48.

"ruilslag," meaning to exchange private land and property for the public interest. Often used in dispossessing indigenous land in the colonial period, this practice is still used in post-independence Indonesia, and in the case of the Concordia building.

The Bandung conference did not eliminate the Concordia society; rather, it helped to shift the material legacy of the colonial past from the city center to the rural area, as the conference committee agreed to swap the building in the city with the land and new building in the northern part of the city, which at that time was still considered a "rural" area. The club was rebuilt in 1956, about one year after the conference and the club decided to rename it "Bumi Sangkuriang" as it refers to the pre-colonial myths of the landscape of west Java.[80] The changing the name of the club from "Concordia" to "Bumi Sangkuriang" represented the new architecture in post-Independence Indonesia. Bumi Sangkuriang means the homeland of "Sangkuriang," the myth behind the geological formation of the landscape of West Java, including the current city of Bandung. In this oral story, Sangkuriang was said to be the one who built the canal along the river as well as the boat, but he was not able to complete it. He was upset and kicked the boat upside down, which is believed to be the volcano, the Mount of Tangkuban Parahu ("Tangkuban parahu" in local Sundanese means the upside-down boat) in the north of Bandung city. Unlike the grandeur of the Concordia theater, Bumi Sangkuriang was built in the style of mid-century architecture; thus it has a relatively smaller space in comparison to the previous social club and has more openings to the landscape. The site has the character of a mountainous and rural area, rather than an urban center. The meeting and dance hall as well as the new swimming pool were built by the Bandung-based builders' family who built the Concordia theater back in 1920s.

Bandung Walk, Commemoration, and Hospitality Infrastructure

In April 2015, "Tempo," an Indonesian magazine, published a special edition of the sixtieth anniversary of the Asian-African Conference. The cover of this edition is a black and white photograph of the crowd who were enthusiastically welcoming Sukarno, then the president of the Republic of Indonesia, and Zhou En Lai, then the foreign minister of the People's Republic of China during the post-conference tour. In this picture they were spotted touring Chinatown. The crowd were eager to see two leaders in a convertible car. As seen in the picture, the crowd came closer to the car. At that moment, the space of the people and their leaders became intimate. In the upper-left corner, a young woman was standing in a narrow balcony of the shophouses, carrying a baby while waving her hand to the leaders. In front of the shophouses, some men, presumably the owner of the shops, did Chinese salutes with two hands, showing a warm welcome to the leaders. The crowd looks excited and hopeful. This moment marks the end of the dark era: Dutch and European colonization, the Japanese occupation, and the beginning of a new era: the independence of Indonesia and its role in hosting the first Asian-African conference. In the lower-right

[80] Bumi Sangkuriang means the home and land of "Sangkuriang," the mythical figure in the epic, long poem of the legend of the Sundanese, the indigenous of West Java. In this story, Sangkuriang is the mythical figure who is situated in the geological creation of the Bandung basin, specifically his act to build the dam of Citarum river, and the formation of the volcano of Tangkuban Parahu, tangkuban meaning upside down, parahu meaning boat, so the upside-down boat represents the formation of the landscape.

corner, a label, "Bandung 1955," was added to the photograph. It represents a moment, space, and time in which the crowd is occupied. It also projects the vision of the conference which is to "build the world of Asia and of Africa anew."

On the first day of the conference, the local conference committee launched the program which consisted of performances following the opening ceremony.[81] At 8:00 a.m., Bandung choral music was standing in front of Merdeka Building. At 8:30 a.m., guests and journalists arrived and took their seats in the conference hall. At 8:45 a.m., the heads of delegations gathered in the lobby of the Homann hotel and began to stroll to the venue, the Merdeka Building. At 9:00 a.m., the Indonesian president and vice president arrived, and finally at 9:05 a.m., the opening ceremony began. The enthusiastic crowd welcomed the stroll of the delegations, which later became known as the "Bandung Walk" as well as waiting for the parade that included the Indonesian president and vice president arriving at the venue. We can read this walk as the embodiment of solidarity among the emerging nations of Asia and Africa; thus, it also helped to stage the conference (Shimazu, 2014). Two routes were staged simultaneously: the first was the walk from the Homann hotel to Merdeka Building, which was across the street and the second was the drive and parade from the Governor's residence to the venue which brought Indonesian President Sukarno and Vice President Muhammad Hatta to the venue. Unlike the route of the Bandung walk, Sukarno and Hatta took a different route; they stayed at the Governor's Palace of West Java, which is located north of the Merdeka building. The car took them from the Governor's Palace to the urban square, the Great Mosque, then to the venue. The performance of the Indonesian anthem welcomed the president and the vice president when they entered the Merdeka building. The crowd enthusiastically welcomed the delegations as well as the president and vice president as was also shown in the case of the post-conference tour of Zhou En Lai and Sukarno in Chinatown.

The walk and the parade can be read as an urban performance in the way it carefully connected the urban sites, spaces, and events. In this case, colonial architecture became the backstage to the new space, which is the non-alignment movement and Asian-African solidarity. The walk did not only connect the colonial hotel to the Merdeka building, but it also created the new narrative of the emerging leaders—in the way it dismantled the memory of Dutch authority and planters who established the hospitality infrastructure for their enterprises. The parade of the president and vice president situated the international event in relation to local sites such as the Governor's Palace, the City's Mosque, and the urban square. While the conference itself put Indonesia on the map, it is also important to place the event in terms of the local authority and power of Bandung as an Indonesian city. This walk can also be read as the "stage" in Shimazu's idea of "diplomacy as the theater."[82] The actors in the walk were the leaders of Asia and Africa, including the Indonesian political leaders while the audience was the journalists, the guests, and the people of Bandung. Shimazu argues that the Bandung and Indonesian people themselves acted both as the audience and the actors in the performance. As mentioned in the previous section, even though the walk and the parade celebrated the new independent nations, the

[81] Syafii, *Behind the Scenes* (Bandung: Tatali, 2015), 120-122. Syafii describes the historical Bandung walk as "a symbol of solidarity" which created "a warm atmosphere of friendship and intimacy."
[82] *Shimazu, Diplomacy as Theater,* 2014.

infrastructure of hospitality, such as communications, hotels, and restaurants, were still centered in the legacy of Dutch planters who established the city for their business enterprises.

Conclusion

In the beginning of this chapter, I explain the caricature of "Towards the A and A" by Eppo Doeve, in the way it portrays the architecture, streetscape, and two groups of people in the divided Cold War, and the ways in which the Bandung conference challenged this division. The buildings in Doeve's caricature represent the roles of space, power, and social movement in the mid-twentieth century. There are two important questions in relation to the Merdeka Building and "Bandung" as an event and as a city: first, how did the Bandung conference as an anticolonial movement and post-Independence project shift the narrative of the Dutch colonial planters and the local elite from the city center to the rural landscape of West Java? And second, building from the first question regarding colonial materiality, how does one deal with a colonial legacy during the post-Independence era?

First, the Bandung Conference appropriated and redressed the two main buildings—the Concordia and the Pension Fund—for the venue, and renamed the buildings and the streets. This appropriation is important in the history of the city because it obstructs the colonial memory and instead turned it towards post-Independence and Asian-African solidarity. This chapter shows the transformation of the architectural and urban site through different regimes, from the social club of private planters during the late Dutch colonial period, to the military post in Japanese occupation, followed by the changes instituted by the Indonesian government in early, post-Independence Indonesia. As mentioned earlier, even when it started as a private club, the involvement of government, be it the Dutch colonial politicians or the local aristocrats, were powerful not only in expanding the plantation enterprises, but also in envisioning the future city of Bandung. The internment of European and Eurasian civilians during Japanese occupation (1942-1945), allowed the power of the state in using the Concordia building as its "cultural center" and military post. After the surrender of Japan followed by the Independence of Indonesia in 1945, Bandung's local aristocrat took over the space. The Bandung Conference allowed the Jakarta's central government appropriated and used the space for the venue and later use as a museum.

Second, the Bandung conference and its hospitality infrastructure helped to restructure the space of the Dutch elite society from the city center to the rural Bandung; however, it failed to dismantle the colonial governance of West Java. The Bandung-based conference committee under auspices of the Governor of West Java, Sanusi Harjadinata, and the Head of West Java Public Works, Engineer Srigati Santoso negotiated with the club owners which were a group of local elites to swap the Concordia building—along with a new design for the club—with land in the northern part of the city. The club was built one year after the conference. Renamed, using a local name, had the effect of "concealing" the old Concordia, diminishing its history. Building the new club represents postcolonial mimicry, in the same way that the Indonesian new middle class mimics the former colonizer, specifically the "art circle" today, when using that space.

The Merdeka Building represented the palimpsest: the context and contradiction of change, from a private space in the Dutch colonial period to the cultural and military post in Japanese occupation, followed by the post-independence public government space. It brings us to the central problem of the decolonized nation: the capacity to appropriate the symbolic space of colonial Dutch building and to adapt it to a vision of ambition and movement for the Third World, leaving us with the question: How does one maintain the meaning and history of a new imagined nation with the material and cultural remnants of the colony?

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

This research examines the efforts of Indonesian intellectuals and the visionaries of the postcolonial world who reinvent the city of Bandung, rupturing it from its colonial origins. I trace this lineage to the important moment in global history when the City hosted the anticolonial Bandung Conference in 1955. The research question that animates this work is: How did Indonesia, as a nation, reconcile its formative narrative of freedom with the cultural and material remnants of a colony? On one hand, the colonized people of Indonesia had endured a long struggle in seeking freedom from colonial rule and establishing national sovereignty. On the other hand, the emerging nation inherited the cultural categories, practices, and material apparatus of rule from its colonizers, which manifested in architecture, art, education, language, law, public institutions, and urban planning, among others. This research also looks at how these contrasts were resolved in architectural practices and production, during the nation-state's formative years, by focusing on the urban Bandung.

Bandung was long a site of struggle for Indonesian independence and diplomacy, even before the Bandung conference. This research examines the contexts and contradictions of this struggle, from the early formation of Bandung as a hill station for the Dutch planters in the late nineteenth century to the planning of the capital city of the Netherlands Indies in the early twentieth century, and the ways in which the ambitions and visions were realized and thwarted during the late Dutch colonial period and the Japanese occupation era. My study foregrounds the roles of local builders and family enterprises, in a way that contests the national subjects' ethnic identities in which represented in their architectural and spatial practices. Further, when the city hosted the Bandung conference in 1955, the Indonesian government appropriated and redressed the Dutch colonial buildings and streets, which symbolized the power of the plantation society, whose members were the beneficiaries of the modern city. This architectural appropriation is important in the history of the City because it obstructed colonial memory, instead turning it towards post-Independence Indonesia, which became the symbol of the Non-Aligned Movement. The underlying themes in this study include the materiality of Bandung's city infrastructure in relation to power and identities as well as the notion of national subjects in architectural and spatial practices.

Bandung's urban fabric is a palimpsest of change and an overlay of regimes, from the Dutch colonial period to Japanese occupation, followed by early, post-Independence Indonesia. Each regime was not only represented by its buildings, monuments, and symbols, but also juxtaposed by the local and national subjects. In the Dutch era, at least three groups were intertwined in the expansion of plantation enterprises as well as urban development: Dutch private planters, the Dutch colonial government, and Bandung's aristocrats. These three groups promoted the new municipality of Bandung as the "prototype of the colonial city," which had materialized in the North Bandung expansion

plan in the early twentieth century. The internment of European and Eurasian civilians during Japanese occupation and The Pacific War (1942–1945), weakened Dutch colonial power, thus allowing the power of the Japanese Empire and Bandung's aristocrats to take over the colonial assets and buildings. This research highlights the appropriation of the symbol of the Dutch planters' society, the Concordia Society building, which was later used as the venue for the Bandung Conference in 1955. Even though the North Bandung plan was thwarted due to the Great Depression, followed by Japanese Occupation and World War II, Indonesian intellectuals successfully obstructed the plan and adapted it to a vision of national independence and the global, Non-Aligned Movement.

The question of colonial and national subjects was discussed in Chapter 3, specifically the roles of builders who were of ethnic Chinese Indonesian in shaping the local urban landscape, and in Chapter 4 regarding the Indonesian intellectuals and their political performance or "theatrical diplomacy" in shaping anticolonial and Asian-African solidarity as well as their roles in reinventing the City. In the case of the Boen and Thio family enterprises, their architectural and construction practices inform the palimpsests of the urban infrastructure. Thus, the questions of colonial and national subjects contradict from one generation of builders to the next generation. For example, the builders who built the clubhouse and theater for Dutch plantation society positioned themselves as supporters or sympathizers of the Dutch colonizers, while the next generation—in this case, their sons and grandsons—were the ones who proudly helped Sukarno and Indonesian intellectuals to prepare the venue of the Bandung Conference and later the nation-building projects; so, in this case they claimed themselves as Indonesian nationalists.

In Chapter 4, the notion of national subjects was represented through the diplomacy and performance of Indonesian and Asian intellectuals and leaders, specifically the ways in which they positioned themselves in local, national, and global arena. There were at least three groupings which intertwined in the preparation of the conference venue. First is the group of five nations who co-sponsored the Bandung Conference: Burma (Myanmar), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India, Indonesia, and Pakistan. Second is the Indonesian government, which includes the Jakarta's central government and the Bandung's West Java province. Third is the Bandung people which in this case represented by the aristocrats and the common people. The third group showed the legacy of Dutch colonial administration and the private plantations. During the preparation and during the Conference, the tensions among these groups as well as tensions inside each group informed the contestations and power in building new identity both for the Independent Indonesia and the solidarity of the Afro-Asian nations in the mid-twentieth century.

Limitations and Reflections

This research foregrounds class, ethnicity, and race in Bandung's postcolonial trajectory through urban transformation beginning in 1870 when Dutch colonial sovereignty was declared and ending before the 1965 anti-communist massacres in early post-Independence Indonesia. The scale of this research encompasses the city of Bandung's pathways of development from its colonial origin to post-Independence Indonesia. The limitations of this study among others are the time frame and scale of the research. The time frame in future research will be expanded to the aftermath of the anti-communist massacres followed by the authoritarian regime of the second president, Suharto's era (1967-1998). While in case of the scale, the future research will include the architectural

and planning practices in plantation sites in rural area which surround the City starting in the mid nineteenth century, as well as the social housing and urban planning projects which both exhibited and institutionalized in Bandung during Suharto's era in the 1970s.

The main portion of this dissertation is written during the COVID-19 pandemic and post-pandemic in the United States where the racial discrimination and violence against African American, Asian American, as well as African and Asian diaspora occurred in 2020–2021. How does the Bandung spirit relate to the current "Black Lives Matter" and "Stop Asian Hate" movements in the United States? Bandung as the groundbreaking event of the decolonization of the Global South and the collective actions of sovereignty for the emerging Afro-Asian nations in the mid-twentieth century resonate well with the of solidarity of African American and African Diaspora, Asian American and Asian Diaspora, or in other words, the Black, Indigenous and People of Colors (BIPOC) in achieving social justice and global peace in the twenty-first century's North America and the world. The pedagogy of Bandung can be reflected and re-read in different context and timeline; thus it has become an important legacy for future humanities and social science research at large.

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