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## THE DYNAMICS of THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT to INDONESIAN INDEPENDENCE in THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

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### **Abstract**

The 20th century was given the nickname as the century of nationalism for Indonesia with national political awareness. Ethical political policies provide opportunities for Indonesian youth to fight for independence. Education was imposed by the Dutch as a significant factor for the development of the Indonesian nation because education could influence and experience the development of thought as the foundation for the birth of the idea of nationalism among Indonesian youth. The purpose of this study is to explain the description of the national movement at the beginning of the 20th century and explain the end of the struggle of the national movement at the beginning of the 20th century. The research method of this study is a historical research method with library research and tracing information sources for this study through the internet. The flow or procedural of the historical research method, which includes four stages, namely heuristics, in the form of collecting materials/sources; source criticism in the form of internal-external criticism; interpretation in the form of classifying data and looking for causal law; and explanation in the form of historiography. The results of the research in this study are first, the national movement in Indonesia is a movement of change to elevate the dignity of the Indonesian nation to become a strong and independent country without any intervention from other nations. The establishment of organizations or associations based on anti-imperialist politics and the struggle for independence from the colonialists. The breakthrough of the spirit of nationalism but became the main ideology to get Indonesia's independence. Second, the end of western imperialism against Asian nations, especially parts of Southeast Asia including Indonesia, was defeated by Japan in the mid-20th century, after the Dutch colonialists handed over their power to Japan unconditionally. However, after Japan suffered defeat in World War II, Indonesia's position was the status quo, so the declaration of independence

took place without any interference, coercion and pressure from other nations on August 17, 1945.

**Keywords:** *National Movement, Political System, Indonesian Independence*

### **Abstrak**

Abad ke-20 diberi julukan sebagai abad nasionalisme bagi Indonesia dengan kesadaran politik berbangsa. Kebijakan politik etis memberikan kesempatan terhadap pemuda Indonesia untuk memperjuangkan kemerdekaan. Pendidikan diberlakukan oleh Belanda sebagai faktor signifikan bagi perkembangan bangsa Indonesia karena pendidikan itu bisa mempengaruhi dan mengalami perkembangan pemikiran sebagai pondasi kelahiran ide tentang nasionalisme dari kalangan pemuda Indonesia. Tujuan kajian ini adalah untuk menjelaskan deskripsi pergerakan nasional pada awal abad ke-20 dan menjelaskan akhir dari perjuangan pergerakan nasional pada awal abad ke-20 tersebut. Metode penelitian kajian ini adalah metode penelitian sejarah dengan kajian pustaka (library research) dan menelusuri sumber informasi kajian ini melalui internet. Alur atau prosedural dari metode penelitian sejarah, yakni meliputi empat tahapan, yaitu heuristik, berupa pengumpulan bahan/sumber; kritik sumber berupa kritik intern-ekstern; interpretasi berupa pengklasifikasian data-data dan mencari hukum kausalnya; dan eksplanasi dalam bentuk historiografi. Hasil penelitian dalam kajian ini yaitu pertama, pergerakan nasional di Indonesia merupakan gerakan perubahan untuk mengangkat martabat bangsa Indonesia menjadi negara kokoh dan mandiri tanpa ada intervensi dari bangsa lainnya. Pendirian organisasi-organisasi atau perkumpulan-perkumpulan berlandaskan politik anti-imperialis dan perjuangan meraih kemerdekaan dari penjajah. Gebrakan semangat nasionalisme tetapi menjadi ideologi utama untuk mendapatkan kemerdekaan Indonesia itu. Kedua, Akhir imperialis barat terhadap bangsa Asia terutama bagian Asia Tenggara termasuk Indonesia dikalahkan oleh Jepang pada pertengahan abad ke-20, setelah Kolonial Belanda menyerahkan kekuasaannya kepada Jepang tanpa syarat. Namun, setelah Jepang mengalami kekalahan pada Perang Dunia II, posisi Indonesia adalah status quo, sehingga deklarasi kemerdekaan terjadi tanpa ada gangguan, paksaan dan tekanan dari bangsa lainnya pada 17 Agustus 1945.

**Kata Kunci:** *Pergerakan Nasional, Sistem Politik, Kemerdekaan Indonesia*

### **INTRODUCTION**

The arrival of the Dutch to Indonesia began when the Dutch sent troops led by Cornelius De Houtman and Pieter Keyzer in 1595. The main goal was to buy spices to sell to the European market with big profits. They traveled to the archipelago

via the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa. After they sailed for 14 months, finally on June 22, 1596 the Dutch fleet landed in Banten.<sup>1</sup> Since the 17-18 centuries, the Dutch controlled Indonesia economically in the archipelago through their trading company called VOC (*Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie*). Political Dutch colonialization occurred in the archipelago in the early 19th century to the mid-20th century. The manager of the archipelago was appointed by the Queen of the Netherlands as the highest government leader with the rank of governor general. The Governor-General carried out his functions assisted by the Council of the Indies whose duty was to provide advice on his government<sup>2</sup> in the archipelago which was politically geographically called the Dutch East Indies.

The 20th century was dubbed the century of nationalism or the century of the emergence of national consciousness for third world countries, one of which was for Indonesia. The meaning is the growth of national awareness and the nationalist movement of several countries to fight for the independence of their respective nations. The movement of nationalism and Islamic spirit can be seen from the rise of nationalism and Islam in Indonesia at the beginning of the 20th century. The revival of the movement in Indonesia was marked by a change in the nation's political awareness. The early era of the rise of modern struggles and movements in Indonesia witnessed the growth of passionate political thought of the fighters in the dynamics of the national movement.<sup>3</sup>

The term 'movement' has a unique meaning, different from the term struggle. According to Susanto Tirtoprojo, the national movement is a struggle to achieve independence and end colonialism in the form of an organized organization. The struggle has a broad meaning as the regional heroes at that time carried out the struggle such as Prince Diponegoro, Imam Bonjol, Hasanauddin and so on. These struggles are modern<sup>4</sup> non-organized local resistances, and have not directly created the conditions for Indonesian unity.<sup>5</sup>

The Indonesian national movement began when Budi Utomo was founded on May 20, 1908 and was celebrated as the day of national awakening, and ended with the achievement of independence for Indonesia on August 17, 1945. The aim of the national movement was to abolish every form of colonial power and achieve

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<sup>1</sup> Siti Nadroh, dkk., *Indonesia Selayang Pandang* (Jakarta: Medina Indonesia, 2003), 36.

<sup>2</sup> Rushdi Hoesein, *Sukarno: Terobosan dalam Perjuangan Linggarjati* (Jakarta: Kompas Media Nusantara, 2010), 07.

<sup>3</sup> Nor Huda, *Sejarah Sosial Intelektual Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2015), 68.

<sup>4</sup> Meaning of structural members, aim/goal and program planning

<sup>5</sup> Azizah Attamimi, "Al-Irsyad di Tengah Pergerakan Nasional Indonesia (1914-1945)", *Skripsi*, Jurusan Ilmu Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Islam, Fakultas Adab dan Kebudayaan Islam, IAIN Sunan Ampel, Surabaya, 1988, 9.

conditions that provided a place for the independent development of the Indonesian nation.<sup>6</sup>

The background of the national movement was caused by the forced cultivation system or *cultuurstelsel* as a colonial exploitation system. The system was abolished by the Dutch Colonial in 1870 then followed by a liberalization political system from 1870-1900 and Indonesia was made open to private investors from the Netherlands and other European countries had opened various plantation lands, such as coffee, tea, sugar which was quite large. in Java and East Sumatra.<sup>7</sup>

The liberal political system was a victory for the Dutch liberals, to invest their capital in large plantations in Indonesia. Liberal politics or open-door politics became more profitable than the politics of forced cultivation of Dutch Colonial income. This system looks good, but the economic condition of the indigenous population remains poor because this system continues to be exploited. Then at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the politics of exploitation was replaced by the Dutch Colonial into ethical politics. Ethical politics was carried out on the basis of humanity and reaction to colonial liberal politics, because the Indonesian people had saved the Dutch from economic difficulties.<sup>8</sup>

Based on the information from the paragraphs above, it can be seen that the awareness of the struggle for Indonesia's independence from the fighters was mainly due to the imperialist factor from the Netherlands as the destroyer of the Indonesian nation's life structure with the implementation of the *cultuurstelsel* system (forced cultivation system). Various war resistance efforts were not able to erase the Dutch colonial 'evil' system that occurred in several areas, such as Minangkabau, North Sumatra, Banten, Central Java, Maluku and others. However, the political-heroic struggle was not able to solve the problems of the colonial system, so that a political-diplomacy step of transparency emerged to the Dutch as the beginning of the struggle in the national movement towards Indonesian independence through education given by the Dutch to Indonesian youths in the early 20th century at that time.

Ethical political policies provide better opportunities for Indonesian youth to fight for an easier step towards independence through Dutch education. Education was imposed by the Dutch as a significant factor for the development of the Indonesian nation because education could influence and experience the development of thought as the foundation for the birth of the idea of nationalism among the Indonesian youth at that time. The idea of nationalism is the main idea of making the Indonesian people obtain absolute independence. This colonial

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-10.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

education gave rise to a group of influential young intellectuals in the journey of forming Indonesia into an independent state. They are the pioneers of enlightenment towards all Indonesian people with a feeling of unity and nationalism.<sup>9</sup>

The struggle in political movements was also carried out by intellectuals with the center of the movement being on the island of Java. To explain more deeply in the discussion in this study, the formulation of the problem is: how was the national movement in the early 20th century? and how did the struggle of the national movement at the beginning of the 20th century end?

## RESEARCH METHOD

The study in this article uses historical research methods. According to Gilbert J. Garaghan, that the historical research method is a systematic set of rules and principles for collecting historical sources effectively, critically evaluating, and proposing a synthesis of the results in writing. Louis Gottschalk also explained the historical method as a process of testing and analyzing historical testimonies to find authentic and credible data, as well as efforts to synthesize these data into historical stories.<sup>10</sup> The method of science is to describe and formulate general laws by means of comparative studies between facts.<sup>11</sup> The research method used in this study is a historical research method by conducting library research and tracing information sources for this study through the internet. The flow or procedural of the historical research method, which includes four stages, namely heuristics, in the form of collecting materials/sources; source criticism in the form of internal-external criticism; interpretation in the form of classifying data and looking for causal law; and an explanation in the form of historiography<sup>12</sup>, which is clearly explained below.

Heuristics, is a method of finding sources in the form of sources in the form of oral, written and moving images. There are two classifications: primary and secondary. Primary sources are concrete sources based on direct events, while secondary sources are a supporting part of primary sources and complement scientific editorials on facts related to events.

Source criticism, which is the stage of determining the authenticity (authenticity) and integrity (wholeness) of historical sources is called external criticism, then criticism of the truth or validity of the source is called internal

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<sup>9</sup> Adi Sudirman, *Sejarah Lengkap Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Diva Press, 2014), 275.

<sup>10</sup> Dudung Abdurahman, *Metodologi Penelitian Sejarah Islam* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2011), 103.

<sup>11</sup> Sidi Gazalba, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah Sebagai Ilmu* (Jakarta: Bhratara Karya Aksara, 1981), 39.

<sup>12</sup> Johan Septian Putra, *Brunei Darussalam dan Falsafah Melayu Islam Beraja (Sejarah, Konseptual Dan Implementasi)* (Jakarta: Guepedia, 2021), 27–28.

criticism. After that, the sources are known in terms of hard facts (the truth has been tested) or soft facts (still need to be tested for truth). Because, not everything is directly included in the writing of history, so that the study obtained valid facts and can be scientifically justified.<sup>13</sup>

Historical interpretation or interpretation is also known as historical analysis. Analysis means to describe and in terminology different from synthesis means to unite. However, analysis and synthesis are seen as the main methods of historical interpretation. Historical analysis itself aims to synthesize a number of facts obtained from historical sources with theories arranged by those facts in an interrelated interpretation of one another.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, historiography is the stage of writing, presenting or reporting the results of historical research. The writing of the results of historical research provides a clear picture of the research process from the planning phase to drawing conclusions. Based on the historical writing, it can be judged that the research took place in accordance with the right or wrong procedures; the source or data supports the conclusion that it has adequate validity and reliability or not; etc.<sup>15</sup> Historical writing in this study still uses descriptive-narrative and slightly descriptive-analytical writing.

## RESULTS and DISCUSSION

### A. The Meaning and Groups of The National Movement

The word "National Movement" is a struggle carried out by modern organizations towards improving the standard of living of the Indonesian people due to dissatisfaction with the suffering of the lower class people. Their movement is carried out to raise the status of the nation and various fields such as education, culture, religion, women and youth. Then the word 'movement' continues with the word 'national' meaning that these movements have national goals, namely the desire to achieve independence for their people from colonialism for any reason.

The Dutch colonized the Indonesian people with a forced cultivation system (*cultuurstelsel*). The system was detrimental to the Indonesian people because they felt the misery of having struggled to support the colonials by working hard without getting what they deserved. The Netherlands applies liberal (conservative) politics as a form of overcoming the problems above, in accordance with Coljin's view, namely:<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Abd. Rahman Hamid dan M. Shaleh Madjid, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2011).

<sup>14</sup> Abdurahman, *Metodologi Penelitian Sejarah Islam*, 114.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 116-117.

<sup>16</sup> Nugroho Notosusanto dan Marwati Djoened Poesponegoro, *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia V* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1993), 66.

1. The Eastern world has major differences with the Western world.
2. Changes caused by colonial politics itself include modern teaching, health services, modern technology, and so on.
3. There is no term nation for Indonesia as a unitary people's organization, but only ethnic groups.

The two political systems (*cultuurstelsel* and liberal politics) did not advance the Indonesian nation because the Dutch Colonial directly intervened in this matter. After that, the Dutch Colonial enacted the decision to change the *Cultuurstelsel* and liberal political system into ethical politics. The Dutch colonials called the new policy a "debt of gratitude" to the Indonesian people, especially the Javanese who lived in poverty due to the forced cultivation system (*cultuurstelsel*). The statement of Wilhelmina (Queen of the Netherlands) was delivered in the Dutch state address in September 1901 and served as the basis for the implementation of the new policy.<sup>17</sup>

Since the inauguration of ethical politics imposed by the Dutch court, the Indonesian people have more freedom to achieve their independence so that organizations are formed prioritizing the welfare and prosperity of the people from oppression and discrimination from the Dutch Colonial side. These organizations are based on rationality with a clear goal orientation, then the principle of impersonality applies to the relationship between its members and democracy and equality have been implicitly<sup>18</sup> accepted as the basis of their movement.

Ethical political policies assume that Indonesia is no longer a 'wingewest' (a profitable area), but the region needs development. The implementation of ethical politics is only an idea, because its implementation does not recognize ethical norms, only as a symbol to peacefully gain a stronger position and get cheap workers from the Indonesian people.<sup>19</sup>

The factors that influenced this national movement were divided into two factors, namely external factors, the first was the victory of Japan against Russia after the second battle took place in 1905. This was proof that Russia was also able to be defeated by the East, namely Japan. The victory brought back confidence in the strength of the Asian nation and denied the indoctrination instilled by the Dutch that only western nations dominate in the world. The second was the Young Turks movement to achieve the betterment of the fate of its country through the anti-conservative revolutionary movement in 1908.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Danil M. Chaniago, "Akar Kebangkitan Kesadaran Kebangsaan Indonesia", *Jurnal Tabuah*, Vol. 14, No. 03, 2010, 11.

<sup>18</sup> Sartono Kartodirjo, *Pemikiran dan Perkembangan Historiografi Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2017), 104.

<sup>19</sup> Attamimi, "Al-Irsyad di Tengah Pergerakan Nasional Indonesia (1914-1945)", 12.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 13-14.

Furthermore, internal factors, the first is the action of the Indo-Dutch descendants in 1898 establishing the 'Indische Bond' in Jakarta and in 1907 holding the 'insulinde' in Bandung, both communities were established for the benefit of the peranakan group. Second, the sufferings of the Indonesian people could no longer be tolerated, due to the pressures of the Dutch East Indies government and the exploitation of the landowners who were increasingly greedy.<sup>21</sup>

The pioneers of the national movement fought for the golden opportunity for Indonesian independence by the bumiputera from the elite by sacrificing their energy, wealth and ideas for this nation by establishing their organizations with various foundations or reasons for their respective movements. The following are some organizations that directly contributed to the movement, including:

#### **a. Budi Utomo**

Budi Utomo is one of the organizations considered to be the initial mover of the national awakening of the Indonesian nation. This youth association was founded on May 20, 1908.<sup>22</sup> Its founders came from the indigenous medical school in Weltevreden (known as STOVIA), the initial idea of establishing the organization was a special association for Javanese and Madurese descent. This organization is more local and limited to certain classes of Javanese society, namely the priyayi.<sup>23</sup>

The first congress was held on October 5, 1908 in Yogyakarta and it was determined that the aim of this organization was for the harmonious progress of the Java-Madura homeland and nation. Furthermore, A.K Pringordigdo added that the purpose of Budi Utomo's establishment was to advance in education, agriculture, animal husbandry, trade, engineering and industry, science and arts and culture. The initial period of Budi Utomo's membership was only limited to Javanese and Madurese, but extended to Bali and did not yet have the ideals of Indonesian unity. However, in 1931, Budi Utomo's membership covered the whole of Indonesia.<sup>24</sup>

The hidden side of Budi Utomo's goal above is to raise the honor and status of the nation by realizing the same independence as other nations. Budi Utomo was not born as a political organization, because the situation in the 1900s was not right for establishing a political organization because there is article 111 of the RR (*Regerings Reglement*) which contains the prohibition of people's organizations to serve the Dutch Colonial for intellectuals. Budi Utomo entered politics in 1915 with active

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>22</sup> Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo, *Ki Hajar Dewantara dan Taman Siswa dalam Sejarah Indonesia Modern* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan), 43.

<sup>23</sup> Irhash A. Shamad, "Menakar Nasionalisme Boedi Oetomo dan Serikat Dagang Islam", *Jurnal Tabuah*, Vol. 14, No. 03, 2010, 18.

<sup>24</sup> Attamimi, "Al-Irsyad di Tengah Pergerakan Nasional Indonesia (1914-1945)", 16-17.



participation in the issue of the 'inlandsche militie' (militia for indigenous people) and Budi Utomo with other organizations joined the 'radicale concentratie', namely the union of sects recognized by the *Volksraad* (people's representative council).<sup>25</sup>

The Budi Utomo movement refers to the improvement movement in the fields of education and culture with the aspiration to raise the status of the nation. The founders, namely: dr. Wahidin, dr. Sutomo, dr. Mangunkusumo and others, they held their first congress on October 5, 1908. This congress decided: a) the basis of association is culture; b) the purpose of the association is the progress of the nation in all these fields; c) the leadership of this association is handed over to the Bumiputra. This national movement was welcomed by the people with joy. Budi Utomo established schools with the aim of reviving a sense of nationality (especially for Java), love for culture, maintaining their own language, teaching their own arts, and studying their own literature.<sup>26</sup>

Budi Utomo became part of a cooperative organization (cooperation politics) with the Netherlands, with the optimism that the Dutch East Indies government would slowly grant independence to Indonesia after the Dutch considered that Indonesia had been able to organize and manage its own government.<sup>27</sup>

The politics of cooperation is a consequence of the ethical political policy implemented by the Dutch Colonial for Budi Utomo, namely the *Volksraad*. The *Volksraad* is a government institution established to manage the government with a membership consisting of Dutch and Indonesian people. The establishment of this institution provided an opportunity for Budi Utomo members to get a place in the Dutch East Indies government and to cooperate with the Dutch in the construction of schools in accordance with the principles of Javanese customs.

The ethical political policy given by the Dutch Colonial was not to carry out a political movement to expel the Dutch. This became a 'boomerang' for Budi Utomo as an organization supporting the colonial government, they were prohibited from criticizing and radicalizing the movement of his organization against the Dutch Colonial, so that they could participate in the movement towards Indonesian independence. Due to the absence of a political movement, they prioritized their own education and culture so that the public (especially the elite) did not support Budi Utomo. The majority of its members have decided to leave and create a new party in the political movement.

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-18.

<sup>26</sup> Leo Agung dan T. Suparman, *Sejarah Pendidikan* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2012), 27.

<sup>27</sup> Danil M. Chaniago, "Strategi Kaum Pergerakan Nasional dalam Menghadapi Kolonialis Belanda: Tinjauan terhadap Gerakan Kooperasi dan Non Kooperasi", *Jurnal Tabuah*, 21 Agustus 2004, 75-76.

However, the formation of Budi Utomo has stimulated the formation of other movement organizations, causing significant changes in Indonesia's socio-political currents since the second decade of the 20th century. Budi Utomo was a cooperative organization with the Dutch East Indies government, they took this method to adjust the current situation so that it was natural for them to be culturally oriented. Western education is considered important and is used as a way to take a higher social level. Budi Utomo does have an important meaning even though it has very few members compared to the Sarekat Islam. However, the presence of Budi Utomo was a 'lighter' for changes in the political flow of the movement until national integration occurred.<sup>28</sup>

### **b. Sarekat Islam**

Early Sarekat Islam was formed in 1911 named Sarekat Dagang Islam founded by H. Samanhudi, with the aim of promoting trade, fighting the monopoly of the Chinese and advancing the religion of Islam. Then at the suggestion of HOS Cokroaminoto, the nature of the movement was expanded and not limited to traders only, so that in its statute the word 'trade' was removed and changed to 'Sarekat Islam'. The purpose of the Sarekat Islam was stated in the notarial deed of September 10, 1912, namely promoting trade, providing assistance to members who are experiencing difficulties (a kind of cooperative effort), advancing the spiritual and physical interests of the indigenous population and advancing the religion of Islam.<sup>29</sup>

Sarekat Islam is open to all levels of society and to the entire native Indonesian nation and is focused on the establishment of an independent state. Then several large branches were established in Jakarta with a membership of approximately 12,000 people. The significant growth in the number of members worried the Dutch Colonial, so that the application for permission to manage the Sarekat Islam as a *rechtspersoon* (legal entity) was rejected by the Dutch East Indies government on June 30, 1913. This governor general's decision affirmed that the Sarekat Islam association as a whole was rejected, but the Sarekat Islam association was independent as a branch. accepted as a legal entity.<sup>30</sup>

Sarekat Islam held a congress in Surabaya in 1913 AD, HOS Cokroaminoto became a charismatic leader with a courageous temperament to launch harsh criticisms through his speeches to defend against the oppression of the small people

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<sup>28</sup> Ayi Budi Santosa dan Encep Supriatna, "Buku Ajar Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional (Dari Budi Utomo 1908 Hingga Proklamasi Kemerdekaan 1945)", *Laporan Penelitian*, Jurusan Pendidikan Sejarah, Fakultas Pendidikan Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, Bandung, 2008, 15.

<sup>29</sup> Attamimi, "Al-Irsyad di Tengah Pergerakan Nasional Indonesia (1914-1945)", 18-19.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-20.

by the Dutch Colonial. He did so because the oppression of Muslim farmers in Priangan land in the name of forced coffee cultivation continued from 1830-1919 AD.<sup>31</sup>

The congress also decided that the reform of the Sarekat Islam organization had a Centraal Sjarikat Islam (CSI) and was no longer a local Surakarta organization and its working area covered all of Indonesia. Therefore, the Sarekat Islam made the areas of Surabaya, Yogyakarta and Bandung as centers of national awareness generation and as supervisors of the Sarekat Islam in other areas with a large board consisting of HOS Cokroaminoto, assisted by Haji Agus Salim, Abdul Muis, W. Wondoamiseno, Sosrokardono, Suryopranoto.<sup>32</sup>

HOS Cokroaminoto gave the term national with the meaning of an effort to improve someone at the nation (nation) level. National is also interpreted as an effort to fight for the demands to form or regulate their own government or at least so that the Indonesian people are given the right to express their voice in political matters. One proof of the nationalism of the Sarekat Islam is that its leaders come from ethnic and regional religions, such as Abdul Muis, Haji Agus Salim from Minangkabau, then HOS Cokroaminoto, Suryopranoto and Wondoamiseno from Java, and Wignjadisastra from Sunda.<sup>33</sup>

The Sarekat Islam Sentral held its first congress in June 1916 with the decision that this Sarekat aspired to a 'nation' for indigenous Indonesians. This congress was attended by eighty local Islamic Sarekat from all corners of Indonesia with the presence of 360,000 members.<sup>34</sup> This political character of the organization was formulated in a declaration of principles and action program, both approved by its second National Congress in 1917. The declaration of principles expressed the party's belief in Islam as the 'preacher of democratic ideas' as well as the 'religion par excellence for the spiritual education of the people'. The party regarded the intellectual as well as the moral development of the individual essential for the proper functioning of civil rights. The state or government should not interfere in religious matters and should treat all religious on an equal basis. The party demanded increasing participation of the people in politics in order to achieve 'self-government'. It rejected racial domination and demanded from the government equal protection of the rights and freedoms of all citizens 'with powerful assistance for the weak and the needy...' The central Sarekat Islam 'fight sinful capitalism which is the origin of

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<sup>31</sup> Ahmad Mansur Suryanegara, *Api Sejarah 1 (Mahakarya Perjuangan Ulama dan Santri dalam Menegakkan Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia)* (Bandung: Suryadinasti, 2015), 381-383.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 383-384.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 401.

<sup>34</sup> Attamimi, "Al-Irsyad di Tengah Pergerakan Nasional Indonesia (1914-1945)", 20.

the present deteriorating economic condition of the origin of the largest part of the Indonesian population'. Finally, the declaration expressed the party's willingness to cooperate with all organizations and persons who agreed with its principles.<sup>35</sup>

The pioneering Sarekat Islam as a link to unite national unity and strive to achieve that independence. However, at the end of the 1920s, Sarekat Islam experienced internal divisions within their organization. The split was due to the polarization of the Islamic faction and the Marxist faction experiencing the peak of conflict with the expulsion of the Marxist faction from the Sarekat Islam at the congress in Surabaya in 1921. Sarekat Islam experienced a decline from its function as a mass movement organization and was not attractive to young intellectuals with western education.

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### **c. Indonesian Association**

The Indonesian Association (PI) was founded in 1908 by Indonesians in the Netherlands, they were Sutan Kasayangan, R.N. Noto Suroto, originally under the name *Indische Vereeniging*. The purpose of the establishment of the Indonesian Association is to promote the common interests of people of Indonesian origin (indigenous people and non-native non-Europeans) in the Netherlands and relations with Indonesia. New developments within the organization also led to a change of name to *Indiche Vereeniging* in 1922. In 1925 the use of the name in Dutch was still used, but they also named the organization as *Perhimpunan Indonesia* until it was commonly referred to by the abbreviation PI. PI moved to struggle in the political

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<sup>35</sup> Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942*, (Selangor: Oxford University Press, 1973), 113.

<sup>36</sup> Sukron Kamil, *Islam dan Politik di Indonesia Terkini: Islam dan Negara, Dakwah dan Politik, HMI, Antikorupsi, Demokrasi, NII, MMI, dan Perda Syari'ah* (Jakarta: PSIA, 2013), 04-05.

field, this change was also driven by the rise of all colonized nations in Asia and Africa to demand independence.<sup>37</sup>

The Indonesian Association did not openly cooperate with the Dutch. Their radical breakthrough against the Netherlands was clearly seen when the organization of the VI congress of the International Democratic League for Peace in August 1926 in Paris through Moh. Hatta expressed the demand for Indonesian independence. Furthermore, at the first congress in February 1927 in Berlin, which was attended by, among others, representatives of the movement from the colonized countries. The Indonesian Association acting on behalf of the PPPKI in Indonesia also sent their representative, namely Moh. Hatta, Nazir Pamontjak, Gatot and A. Subardjo. The Congress took the decision, namely to express its utmost sympathy for the Indonesian independence movement and support this effort with all its might and strongly demand the Dutch East Indies government for freedom of work for the Indonesian people's movement.<sup>38</sup>

The radical action taken by the Indonesian Association against the Dutch Colonials was to arrest Moh. Hatta, Nazir, Abdulmadjid and Ali Sastro. They were accused of provoking the people to revolt against the Dutch colonials until in the end they were also released because the accusation was not proven.

#### **d. Indonesian Political Association**

On May 21, 1939 the meeting was attended by the Parindra Party, PSII, Gerindo, PII, Pasundan, Minahasa Association and the Catholic Party to discuss the future of Indonesia. The meeting approved the establishment of an organization called GAPI (Indonesian Political Association) led by Muhammad Husni Thamrin, in its articles of association stating: a) The right to self-determination, b) National unity of the entire Indonesian nation based on democracy in political, economic and social understanding, c) the unity of action of all Indonesian movements. The movement carried out by GAPI demanded the formation of an Indonesian parliament which aspired to gain a place in the Netherlands on the basis of democratic interests. Then GAPI formed the Indonesian People's Congress (KRI) which was inaugurated on December 25, 1939 in Jakarta with the aim of Greater Indonesia, with the theme for the welfare of the Indonesian people and opportunities.<sup>39</sup>

GAPI gave a resolution so that the system was changed to a state administration when the Netherlands was occupied by Germany in August 1940.

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<sup>37</sup> Notosusanto dan Poesponegoro, *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia V*, 194-195.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 197-198.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 231-232.

GAPI formed a committee to formulate the form and state administration of Indonesia. The results of the committee's decision were conveyed in a meeting between GAPI representatives and the Visman commission on February 14, 1941 in Jakarta. However, the meeting did not produce anything new and the meeting was considered by the movement circles to be no longer radical. Then the hope was placed on the ministers Welter and Van Kleffens visited to see the state of Indonesia in April 1941. However, the visit added to the disappointment of the movement because Welter did not provide new steps towards constitutional changes. That hope became even more dashed with Queen Wilhelmina's speech in London and the Governor-General's speech in the Volksraad about Indonesia's future.<sup>40</sup>

Then the Indonesian People's Congress was held by GAPI in Jakarta on 23-25 December 1939 attended by non-political associations, such as economic, social, and cultural as well as the urgency of the talk of "Indonesian Parliament".<sup>41</sup>

GAPI held a conference in December 1939 and took the decision to explain to the public about GAPI's ideals regarding "Indonesian Parliament" to be propagated by all committees. The draft of the explanation was charged to the GAPI secretariat, namely Abikusno Cokrosuyoso from the Indonesian Islamic Sarekat Party (PSII) as the general author, Dr. A.K. Gani from the Indonesian People's Movement (Gerindo) as second author, Sukardjo Wiryopranoto from the Greater Indonesia Party (Parindra) as treasurer, Mr. Sartono from Gerindo and M.H. Thamrin from Parindra. M.H. Thamrin. M. H. Thamrin had a fairly mature history of politicians and could not be separated from the situation at that time and emerged as a figure in the national movement. He has a motion with the proposal to replace Dutch terms with Indonesian terms, especially in government documents.<sup>42</sup>

## **B. The End of Dutch Colonialism, The Presence of Japan to The Declaration of Independence**

Japanese troops carried out a surprise attack on the American Naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii on December 7, 1941. Five hours after the attack, the Dutch East Indies government declared war on Japan.<sup>43</sup> The Japanese army colonized Indonesia for the first time in control of Tarakan on January 11, 1942, Palembang

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<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 233-234.

<sup>41</sup> Maretha Yolanda dan Umi Hartati, "Perkembangan Gabungan Politik Indonesia pada Masa Pergerakan Nasional Indonesia 1939-1942", *Jurnal Swarnadwipa* Vol. 5, No. 1, 2021, p. 10-16, 14.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Sudirman, *Sejarah Lengkap Indonesia*, 275.

on January 14, Manado on January 17, Balikpapan on January 22, Pontianak on February 22 and Bali on February 26, 1942.<sup>44</sup>

On March 8, 1942, located in Kalijati, Subang, negotiations were held between the Dutch East Indies government represented by the Governor General Jhr. Mr. A.W.L. Tjarda van Starckenborg Stachower and General Ter Poorten with the Japanese 16th Army were represented by Lieutenant General Hitoshi Imamura and Colonel Shoji. Imamura urged the Dutch East Indies government to surrender unconditionally and transfer its power to Japan. Finally, as the day approached, Lieutenant General Ter Poorten signed the unconditional surrender (capitulation) of the Dutch East Indies to Japan.

Before Japan launched an attack on Indonesia, Japan had carried out propaganda to attract the sympathy of the Indonesian people, as follows: First, Japan was an "older brother" to Asian nations and promised to free Asia from the oppression of the West. Second, Japan introduced the motto "Three A Movement" namely Japan the Leader of Asia, Japan Protector of Asia, and Japan the Light of Asia. Third, Japan promises convenience for the Indonesian people, such as the implementation of the pilgrimage, selling goods at low prices. Fourth, Japan allows the raising of the red and white flag along with the Japanese Hinomaru flag. Fifth, the Indonesian people may sing the anthem "Indonesia Raya" along with the Japanese national anthem "Kimigayo".<sup>45</sup> From 1942 to mid-1945, the existence of Japan did not make the people prosperous and prosperous. However, Japan carried out oppression, discrimination, torture, and intimidation for approximately 3.5 years. The Japanese occupation left extraordinary pain compared to the Dutch colonial period. The Japanese system of working against the Indonesian people is forced labor called *Romusa*.

During the second world war there was a pacific war between Japan and the allies. Japan began to experience defeat after defeat from the allies, especially the United States. The defeat began on September 7, 1944, the Japanese government in Tokyo announced the promise of independence by saying: "The Japanese Empire (hereby) announce the future Independence of all Indonesian people". This promise made by Japanese Prime Minister Kuniaki Koiso was announced in front of a special reception "The Imperial Diet".<sup>46</sup>

On August 6 and August 9 1945, Hiroshima and Nagasaki had been dropped atomic bombs by the allies (the United States). The two cities were completely razed

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<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 276-277.

<sup>45</sup> Sudirman, *Sejarah Lengkap Indonesia*, 284-285.

<sup>46</sup> Muhammad Ridhwan dan Sophiaan Marthabaya, *Peristiwa-peristiwa di sekitar Proklamasi 17-08-1945*, (Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 1998), 50-51.

to the ground, leaving only rubble scattered, few humans were able to survive because of the enormity of the atomic bomb. Most of the city's residents died from scorching and could not stand the heat and the "poison" caused by the chemical reaction of the Tri Nitro (TNT) atomic bomb. This fact left the Emperor of Japan with no other choice but to surrender to the allies unconditionally. The surrender was signed aboard the American carrier "Missouri" in the presence of General Mac Arthur and his staff on September 12, 1945.

Japan's defeat occurred right on August 15, 1945, Japan surrendered to the allies unconditionally (unconditional surrender). This was announced by Tenno Heika over the radio. This incident clearly resulted in the Japanese government not being able to continue its promise or efforts regarding Indonesian independence.<sup>47</sup>

Before Japan's defeat occurred in World War II, Japan had promised independence for Indonesia with the aim of helping Japan to face the allies. They formed a body tasked with preparing everything related to independence called BPUPKI until its development into PPKI.<sup>48</sup>

Hearing the news of Japan's defeat, aroused the desire of the young group namely Wikana, Syahrir, Sukarni and Chaerul Saleh from the "Menteng 31" association, they kidnapped Soekarno and Moh. Hatta called the Rengasdengklok Incident. The youths forced Soekarno and Hatta to proclaim Indonesia's independence as soon as possible, before the Dutch attacked back into Indonesia. Their demands were rejected by Soekarno and Hatta because they were considered too rash in the proclamation of independence.

Furthermore, Soekarno and Hatta discussed preparations for the proclamation on August 16, 1945 after they returned from Rengasdengklok to Jakarta. Soekarno and Hatta went to Admiral Maeda's house accompanied by Myoshi to hold a meeting and prepare the text of the proclamation. The preparation of the text of the proclamation was carried out by Soekarno, Hatta, Achmad Subardjo and witnessed by Sukarni, BM Diah, Sudiro, and Sajuti Melik. After the draft of the proclamation was agreed upon, Sajuti copied and typed the text. Initially, the reading of the proclamation will be carried out in the IKADA field. However, due to security reasons, it was moved to Soekarno's residence, Jalan Pengangsaan Timur, no. 2 (now Jalan Proklamasi, no. 1).<sup>49</sup>

On Friday, August 17, 1945, at 10.00 WIB at Pengangsaan Timur No. 56, Jakarta, the text of the proclamation of Indonesian independence was read by Ir. Soekarno, accompanied by Drs. Moh. Hatta and continued with the raising of the

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<sup>47</sup> Sudirman, *Sejaran Lengkap Indonesia*, 297-298.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 297.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 300-301.



red and white flag by S. Suhud and Cudanco Latif Hendradiningrat, and accompanied by the singing of the anthem Indonesia Raya. On August 18, 1945 at Jalan Pejambon, Jakarta, the PPKI Plenary Session took place to ratify the state constitution and the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and to elect and appoint the President and Vice President, namely Ir. Soekarno and Drs. Moh. Hatta.<sup>50</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The national movement in Indonesia is a movement of change to elevate the dignity of the Indonesian nation to become a strong and independent country without any interference from other nations. The pioneers of the national movement towards Indonesian independence came from the majority of youth and students from various regions including the most from Sumatra, Java. The reason for the national movement was due to the spirit of independence from other colonized Asian regions to be independent and free from western imperialism, because imperialism has never brought benefits and brought misery to the people. This background led to the establishment of organizations or associations based on anti-imperialist politics and the struggle for independence from the colonialists. The breakthrough of the spirit of nationalism but became the main ideology to get Indonesia's independence.

The end of western imperialism against Asian nations, especially parts of Southeast Asia including Indonesia, was defeated by Japan in the mid-20th century, after the Dutch Colonial handed over its power to Japan without conditions. However, Japan also continued to colonize the Indonesian people in a sadistic manner and full of suffering for the people. The fighters in the national movement remained silent about the problem, they tried to find a solution in order to keep Indonesia's independence, so they formed a body to pursue that independence even though it was still under Japanese pressure. However, after Japan suffered defeat in World War II, Indonesia's position was the status quo, so the declaration of independence took place without any interference, coercion and pressure from other nations on August 17, 1945.

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<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 304.

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