

HISTORY OF INDONESIA

A RESOURCE BOOK



HISTORY OF INDONESIA

A RESOURCE BOOK



Directorate of History
Directorate General of Culture
Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia

HISTORY OF INDONESIA A RESOURCE BOOK

STEERING:

Hilmar Farid
Director General of Culture

PERSON IN CHARGE:

Triana Wulandari
Director of History

PRODUCTION DIRECTOR:

Agus Widiatmoko

COMPILATION OF WRITING PROGRAMS:

Tirmizi
Fider Tendiardi
Budi Harjo Sayoga
Bimo Adriawan
Nina Wonsela
Annisa Mardiani
Bariyo
Dwi Artiningsih
Esti Warastika
Oti Murdiyati Lestari
Krida Amalia Husna

AUTHORS:

Said Hamid Hassan
Sri Margana
Bondan Kanumoyoso
Kresno Brahmantyo

EDITORS:

Hilmar Farid
Agus Suwignyo
Multamia RMT Lauder

ENGLISH TRANSLATION:

Allan F. Lauder

GRAPHIC DESIGN:

Wakhid Hezbollah

PHOTO OF BOOK COVER:

Feri Latief

PUBLISHER:

Directorate of History
Directorate General of Culture
Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia
Kemdikbud Complex, Building E, IX Floor
Jalan Jenderal Sudirman, Senayan, Jakarta 10270



ISBN: 978-623-7092-58-2

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	
Director of History -----	iv
PREFACE	
Director General Of Culture -----	v
Introduction -----	vii
CHAPTER 1 Politics, Religions, Languages and Literacy -----	1
CHAPTER 2 Global Interaction and Colonialism -----	29
CHAPTER 3 Modernization and The Nationalist Movement -----	55
CHAPTER 4 The Birth of a Nation-State and the Quest for Democracy -----	73
Epilog -----	105
Index -----	111
Author and Editor Profiles -----	115

PREFACE DIRECTOR OF HISTORY



Assalamu'alaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh,

Indonesia is not widely known by the world community and this is also so in the United States. In general, citizens of the United States don't have adequate information about Indonesia. The knowledge of local people about Indonesia is generally obtained from media coverage which is sometimes fragmentary and not comprehensive, and often characterized by a lot of negative perspectives about Indonesia. Of course this challenge needs to be answered to reshape the image of Indonesia in the United States community and also the global community.

In an effort to achieve a positive image of Indonesian diplomacy, the Ministry of Education and Culture in collaboration with the Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia Chicago in the United States took the initiative to introduce Indonesian history in schools in the United States. Welcoming the initiative, the Directorate of History of the Ministry of Education and Culture compiled the book *History of Indonesia: A Resource Book*. The preparation of this book is aimed at enriching the educational curriculum in the United States about Indonesia through the Advanced Placement (AP) World History at the High School (SMA) level.

Our gratitude goes to all parties involved in the preparation of this book. To the team of writers and editors who have worked hard with all their energy and thoughts, and also to all the teams who have produced this book. The presence of this book is expected to encourage further study of Indonesia, its culture and society, while at the same time paving the way for better cooperative relations between Indonesia and the United States in the future.

Finally, happy reading. Hopefully this book will help friendly relations between the people of Indonesia and the United States.

Director of History

Triana Wulandari

PREFACE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF CULTURE

Assalamu'alaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh,

Today the world's awareness of a nation is determined by the extent to which the nation is able to exert cultural influence with the public around the world. This cultural influence can come from anywhere, ranging from cultural commodities such as film and music as well as from intellectual insights about the unique history and culture of the nation concerned.

One effective effort to introduce and shape the image of a nation is through the school curriculum. By presenting material about the history of Indonesia in overseas education curricula, we expose the world to the rich culture of Indonesia. By presenting a book on the unique history of Indonesia in the world education curriculum, Indonesia will get a place in the cultural imagination of world citizens.

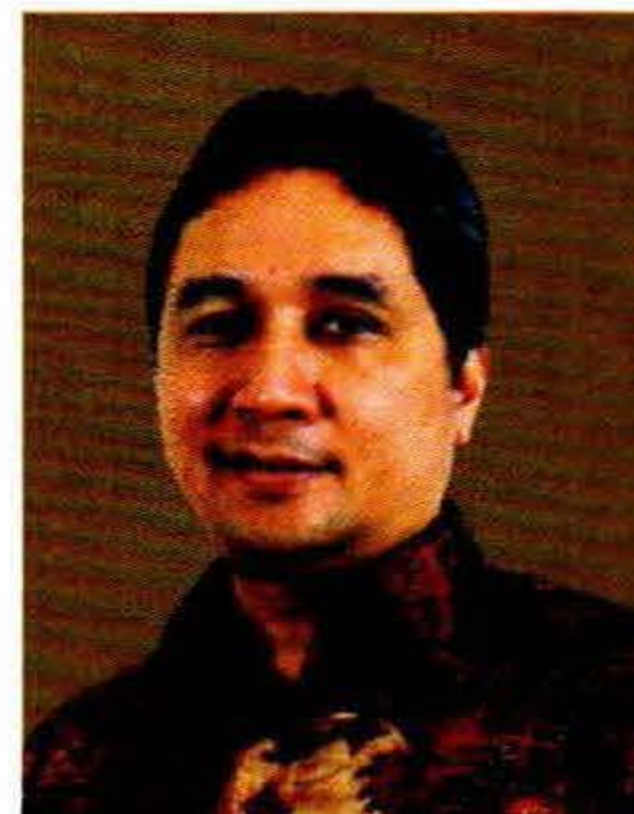
The Ministry of Education and Culture has initiated the enrichment of Indonesian history material in the history curriculum in high schools in the United States. The subject being targeted is Advanced Placement (AP) World History. The Advanced Placement (AP) class is a class preparation course taught at the high school level where the grades obtained in the class can be used as credit points when the student goes on to higher education. Given the regular World History classes in each state with different curriculum, the AP World History class can reach students widely at the national level of the United States.

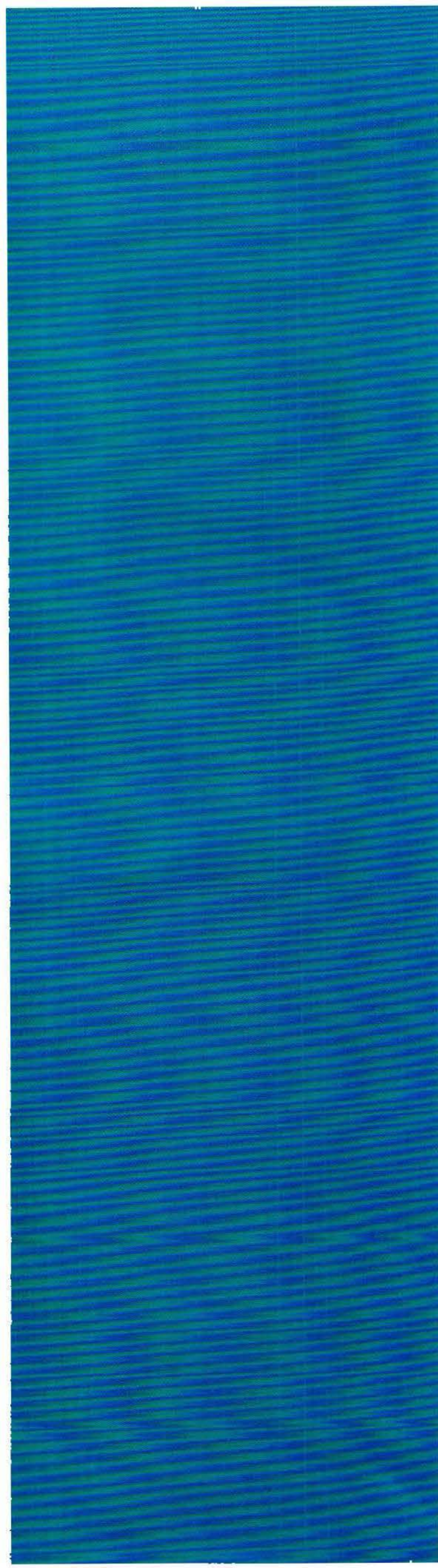
We welcome the initiative of the Directorate of History to compile the book *History of Indonesia: A Resource Book* as an effort to include material about Indonesia in the Advanced Placement (AP) World History.

Finally, we hope that this book can strengthen our commitment to introduce Indonesia comprehensively and strengthen Indonesia in the world diplomatic community.

Director General of Culture

Hilmar Farid





INTRODUCTION

A MELTING POT CALLED “INDONESIA”

Do you know the country “Indonesia”, where it is located, and how the nation-state was formed? This book is an outline of Indonesian history. The chapters in this book provide historical information about the stages of the formation of a nation and state which is now called “Indonesia”. This formation is a long process and continues to this day. Inhabitants in what is now called “Indonesia” existed in most of these regions long before there was a collective consciousness that united them as “Indonesia”. Indonesia is a melting pot where the culture, trade activities and political structures of various models meet and merge to form a new model, which is an “Indonesian model”. This book outlines the historical process by emphasizing social, political, cultural and economic aspects. But before exploring in detail the historical process we first provide some general information about Indonesia. If you are asked to identify “Indonesia” with three keywords, what would those keywords be?

THREE KEYWORDS SEARCHING FOR “INDONESIA”

If you type the keyword “Indonesia” in the Google search engine, you will find there are millions of entries, with various types of information. Information about what is “Indonesia” and where it is, can be directly provided by popular encyclopedia pages, for example www.wikipedia.org and www.britannica.com. Other pages are provided by several embassies of the Republic of Indonesia, for example <http://www.indonesia.cz> which is the official website

of the Indonesian Embassy in the Czech Republic. These pages, both popular and “official” from the Indonesian government, present various kinds of information related to Indonesia. They range from maps and geographical conditions, islands, population and its distribution, coast and sea, mountains and forests, history, cultural variations, religion, language, political and governmental systems, economic power, to contemporary environmental issues. The information is in the form of pictures and photos, narratives, and figures that show statistics in a field. Therefore, to find Indonesia, we simply type the keyword “Indonesia” into a virtual search engine, and we get basic - general but comprehensive information about this country.

However, we can also use other keywords, which might immediately provide information about Indonesia according to its specific characteristics. If we type in two keywords: “archipelagic country”, we find that the pages at the top say “Indonesia”. But the web pages differ. The page www.worldatlas.com places Indonesia in fifth place among archipelagic countries according to the number of islands (17,505 islands; number 1 is Sweden with 221,800 islands). The same page also ranks Indonesia as the fifth largest archipelago (according to the page the largest archipelago is Norway).

We still need to try other keywords. When we type the keyword “Islamic population”, we find millions of pages about the Muslim population and most of the pages refer to “Indonesia” as the country with the largest Muslim population in the world today (2019). The www.worldpopulationreview.com page, for example, includes a table of countries with Muslim populations and places Indonesia first. According to the website, the total Muslim population in Indonesia in 2019 will be 229 million or 87.2% of the total population. The composition of Indonesian Muslims is 12.7% of the world’s total Muslim population of around 1.9 billion people in 2019. Although in 2019 Indonesia is a country with the largest Muslim population, in the next four decades India will shift Indonesia’s position as the country with the largest Muslim population. Indonesia will also be displaced by Pakistan. Nevertheless, to this day (2019) Indonesia is still the country with the largest Muslim population. We can “search for Indonesia” by using the keywords “Islamic population” or “Muslim population”.

We can try one more keyword . This time it's "Spice Islands". The search engine will offer many pages about "spice islands" which are specifically linked to the word "Indonesia". The pages point to the Maluku Islands "in Indonesian territory" as the main identification of "spice islands". A site belonging to the Wall Street Journal, for example, outlines the existence of spice islands in the context of inter-island trade (<https://www.wsj.com/articles/a-tropical-holiday-with-serious-travel-cred-indonesias-spice-islands-1503603182>). Other sites, among others owned by Channel News Asia, provide a beautiful picture of the clove, pepper, and nutmeg producing islands. (<https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/asia/on-indonesia-s-spice-islands-farmers-fight-to-keep-legacy-alive-10752628>). These pages provide enough general information to provide an initial understanding of Indonesia as synonymous with spice islands. Nonetheless, the pages are probably just the way in to a search for Indonesia and its spices. Those of you who are interested in studying history will soon get many references about the position of spices from the Indonesian archipelago in the early days of European exploration to the East, namely the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Spices from the Indonesian archipelago have dragged European and Asian nations into global interactions that have had a wide-ranging impact up to the present. Although the era is now past, "searching for Indonesia" by using the keyword "spice islands" will attract us to trace the global interactions of this country four or five centuries ago.

MIGRATORY DILEMMA

Standard historiography about Indonesia and the Southeast Asian archipelago (often called maritime Southeast Asia, as contrasted with peninsular or mainland Southeast Asia) describes patterns of population migration from the north and west to the islands in this insular area. These different populations migrated from China to the north, India to the west, from the Middle East and from Europe, to the islands of what is now Southeast Asia, especially the Indonesian archipelago and the Philippine archipelago, and continued on to the east and south into the Pacific. But new theories (for example by Tom Hogervorst 2013) show that migration also occurred from east to west. People

from the islands in the waters of the Pacific and Oceania traveled in long sea journeys to reach the islands of Indonesia and the Philippines, to continue sailing through the coast of South Asia to India, Madagascar, and East Africa. Javanese migration, for example, reached the Malay peninsula, the east coast of India, the island of Sri Lanka, Madagascar and South Africa. By interaction with Europeans in the centuries, Javanese migration also led to the Pacific, among others, to New Caledonia.

The strategic position of these waters as a crossing area is very prominent in our understanding of sea sovereignty and, more recently, about maritime culture that must be developed. An understanding of the crossing position has led to an understanding of the collective identity of the Indonesian people. Collective identity is a hybrid mixing character, that Indonesian culture always has a liquid, pluralistic and inclusive element (Elmhirst 2000: 488). The geopolitical position as a crossing area of various cultures and global economic networks has raised the “selling value” of Indonesian territorial waters in the arena of international relations, and shaped the concept of defense and our maritime unity.

Nonetheless, the strong understanding that the Indonesian maritime area is a global crossing lane, also raises the view that this archipelagic region is merely an attachment or a stopover place. That is, there is a view that downgrades the importance of the Indonesian archipelago and the population (and all matters related to the population) in it. Tansen Sen (2014) in the article “Maritime Southeast Asia between South Asia and China to the Sixteenth Century”, for example, states that the Southeast Asian maritime region has three important meanings, but the three “important meanings” are important because of other regions. According to Tansen Sen, the Southeast Asian archipelago is important because it serves as a connecting point for political government centers along the Bay of Bengal in India with the South China Sea region and mainland China. In other words, the maritime region of Southeast Asia is understood to exist only based on the interests of other regions, not because of its own existence.

Therefore the perspective on the maritime region of Southeast Asia, which is largely the maritime territory of Indonesia, as a crossing point or intersection,

must be balanced with other understandings and perspectives. As Jennifer L. Gaynor (2014) said, viewing the maritime region of Southeast Asia as a crossroads or crossing point should not ignore the fact that the region is its own cultural entity, with its own characteristics, dynamics and scope of development.

INDONESIA FROM A MARITIME PERSPECTIVE

Maybe without our awareness and knowledge, a number of labels that have been attached to the character of the Indonesian people actually reflect the character of the maritime culture. The much used term the “Spice Islands” in the sixteenth century clearly reflects the existence of spice commodity producing islands. Other names include “plural society” (Furnivall), “dual economy” (Boeke), “Unity in Diversity” (Soetasoma, later nationalists), and “Multicultural Society” (postmodernists). The various designations refer to the flowing and compound character, which reflects the dynamic of intercultural relations through maritime crossings.

Because of this the unification of Indonesia’s maritime territory within the framework of the country’s unity also led to statements of disbelief and “warning” from a number of scientists. John Legge, for example, states that the existence of Indonesia as a state in maritime unity has created a shocking contradiction with the fluid character of maritime culture. Legge states:

“Of all nations emerging from colonial status after the end of the World War II Indonesia has appeared to observers to be especially a tour de force, if not an artifact of colonial rule. Its geographical spread, archipelagic character, ethnic complexity, and economic diversity hardly made it a natural candidate for independent nationhood; and indeed this seems to be a part of its own self-perception” (J.D. Legge 1990: 127)

On the other hand, researchers also try to see the factors that bind Indonesian maritime unity by exploring local perspectives. According to Adrian Vickers and Lynn Fisher, one of the binding factors is the value system. Although life in a maritime frame has a liquid and flexible nature to new elements that can

differ greatly from one region to another, there is a value system that binds it together. As a result, the unification of Indonesia's maritime territory into the frame of a single state is not impossible. According to Vickers and Lynn, Indonesia is a very good example of the process of unifying the maritime nation (Adrian Vickers with Lynn Fisher 1999: 383).

Nevertheless, efforts to strengthen maritime culture must still be done through efforts to raise awareness about space. The main space here is space in non-physical / non-geographical dimensions, which is how to see various everyday problems. Among other things the problem of social and economic inequality, communication gap between citizens and the ability to place the problem in a broad context.

THE STRUCTURE OF THIS BOOK

Chapter 1 describes the initial forms of government administration in the Indonesian archipelago. These forms of administration are kingdom and empire. Through the influence of the civilizations of the world's major religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam the early forms of government in the archipelago developed in a mixed dynamics between politics, economic competition, and the sophistication of sea-based military strategies. These models can be found before meetings with Europeans, which carry other forms of political governance.

Chapter 2 discusses the intertwining of global trade in Indonesian territory. The influence of the migration of traders on the dynamics in Indonesian waters from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries has led to complex interactions of civilizations in the region. Specifically this chapter highlights the global interactions that occur between local residents and European explorers. The meeting with the Europeans - initially for the spice trade - has given rise to new forms in political and socio-cultural institutions both on the part of the European nation and for the local elites. This form of interaction was what became known as colonialism. The local response to this is nationalism. But

the interaction between Europeans and indigenous peoples in the archipelago has also created a very complex fabric outside the affairs of colonialism and nationalism.

In the context of interactions between Europeans and indigenous peoples, Chapter 3 describes the process of modernization that took place in the early twentieth century. Modernization was triggered, among others, by the expansion of formal education for indigenous people and the expansion of print media. As a result of the emergence of new elites with a new understanding of social status, human philosophy and individual rights in the thinking of Enlightenment Humanism, a collective awareness of status as a colonized nation then emerges and develops. Awareness develops like a fungus in the rainy season, small at first then enlarges and expands, and fosters a joint movement to manifest in strong political and cultural independence. Major events have triggered the transformation of political consciousness that had developed in the early twentieth century into a concrete political movement, namely independence. These events were mainly the economic depression of the 1930s, the Japanese occupation and the Second World War, and the war for independence.

Chapter 4 discusses a new form of socio-political institution - namely the state - that was born from a long process of collective consciousness and different political movements since the beginning of the twentieth century. The establishment of the Indonesian nation-state has driven change in many ways that affect the lives of the people - the people and citizens of Indonesia. Nevertheless, the formation of the Indonesian nation-state is a long process and one with many twists and turns. This chapter outlines the stages of the development and dynamics of the Indonesian nation-state. This chapter begins with the period of the 1950s to the 1960s which is very dynamic with its experiments with democracy. This chapter then explains the birth and magnitude of an authoritarian model of government that is both hated and missed by different segments of society. This regime ruled the longest in the political history of the Indonesian nation-state and its influence is still felt today.

FURTHER READING

- Adeney-Risakota, B.(ed.). (2014). *Dealing with Diversity: Religion, Globalization, Violence, Gender and Disaster in Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Indonesian Consortium for Religious Studies
- Gaynor, J.L. (2014) "Maritime Southeast Asia: Not Just a Crossroad", *Education about Asia* 19 (2).
- Graham, E. (2015). "Maritime Asia: A Southeast Asian Perspective", in G. Till (ed.) *The Changing Maritime Scene in Asia: Rising Tensions and Future Strategic Stability*. London: Palgrave Pivot. doi: https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137506320_6
- Hogevorst, T. (2013). *Southeast Asia in the Ancient Indian Ocean World: Combining Historical Linguistic and Archaeological Approaches*. Oxford: Archeopress.
- Sen, T. (2014). "Maritime Southeast Asia between South Asia and China to the Sixteenth Century". *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia* 2, Special Issue 1. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1017/trn.2013.15>
- Lev, D.S. (1985). "Colonial Law and the Genesis of the Indonesian State", *Indonesia* 40.
- Pedersen, L. (2016). "Religious Pluralism in Indonesia", *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 17 (5).

CHAPTER I

POLITICS, RELIGIONS, LANGUAGES AND LITERACY

INTRODUCTION

The Indonesian Government recognizes five major world religions as official religions within the jurisdiction of the Indonesian Republic. These religions are Buddhism, Catholicism, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, and Islam. These religions came from different parts of the world and brought with them the civilizations of the societies from where they originated. The religions spread and became rooted in the society of the Indonesian archipelago through the establishment of political institutions. The ideology of the Indonesian state, namely Pancasila or the Five Principles, reflects more or less the diversity of these religious systems. These five official religions make Indonesia a country with a notable religious orientation. These five world religions have existed until today along with the historical dynamics of Indonesian society.

Amongst those five religions Islam has the majority of followers, in the process making Indonesia the country with the largest number of Muslims in the world. However, despite its status today, Islam was not the foundational source of civilization in the archipelago. Long before Islam was known to the region, Hindu and Buddhist civilizations of India had spread and became established in the institutional politics and everyday social life of the people. These civilizations saw the imported religions mixed up with local traditions creating a syncretic form, a 'new civilization'.

Based on statistics in 2010, the size of the Indonesian population was 237,641,132, of which 87.18% was Muslim, 6.96% Christian, 2.9% Catholic, 1.69% Hindu, 0.72% Buddhist, 0.5% Confucian, 0.13% others, and 0.38% not known. They live in the regions, provinces or districts in Indonesia. Bali has the most followers of Hinduism although the island also hosts the followers of other religions. Confucianism is mostly followed by Chinese Indonesians. In every part of Indonesia there are followers of those five religions with different compositions.

This official recognition has impacts on government policies on places of worship for each follower of those religions, and on public holidays and formal education. Holidays of each of those religions are public holidays. In public schools the government provides a teaching curriculum and teachers for each religion so the right of a student to learn her/his religion is protected. Special Colleges for preparing teachers of those religion are also provided by the government or private sector.

Hinduism and Buddhism came to Indonesia earlier than the other religions. Records from Chinese people who had travelled to Indonesia mentioned Buddhist, Hindu and Islamic Kingdoms in Indonesia . Islam came to Indonesia around about the 7th century and there were already communities of Muslims in some parts of Indonesia. Catholicism and (Presbyterian) Christianity came to Indonesia with the coming of the European (Portugal, Dutch, British, German). Confucianism came to Indonesia along with the arrival of Chinese invited by Dutch Colonial Government to work in tin mining, trading, and tax collecting. The Chinese community was exclusive and they did not share Confucianism with the indigenous population. What is interesting is that Hinduism and Confucianism are religions without conversion ceremony but Hinduism spread vastly and was not exclusive to children from Hindu families in India but it was changed in Indonesia as indicated by many Indonesian Hindu kingdoms and Hindu followers at that time.

Through Hinduism and Buddhism, Indonesia accepted the foundation for the belief, writing systems, and other languages. Indonesia used the script for writing many manuscripts and other kinds of literature, and developed the

script into scripts for indigenous regional languages in some parts of Indonesia. Hinduism and Buddhism are also the belief of some Indonesia although in the form of syncretism due to native beliefs and traditions. Some important native beliefs, especially a belief in one God syncretized the Hinduism and Buddhism to Indonesian Hinduism and Buddhism, and Indonesian Hindu-Buddhism.

A. HINDU AND BUDDHIST KINGDOMS IN INDONESIA

Hinduism came to Indonesia before Buddhism as indicated by the existence of earlier Indonesian-Hindu kingdoms. Another fact is the kingdoms of Indonesian-Hindu and Indonesian-Buddhism were mostly found in most parts of the western region especially in the islands of Sumatra, Java, and Bali. There is evidence for the existence of Hinduism and Buddhism on other islands of Indonesia. There is hardly any evidence of their existence in eastern Indonesia up to the present time. The existence of most trade routes at those times in western and mid Indonesian regions stimulated the trade activities between India and Indonesia. Trade was predominantly between these parts of Indonesia with India. Kingdoms in west and mid Indonesia collected spices from east Indonesia as their merchandise for sale to India.

Those facts affect the influences of India culture (religions, traditions, languages, scripts) developed in western part of Indonesia differs from eastern part of Indonesia. In the island of Java, the influences of Hinduism, Buddhism and Indian culture are more pronounced compared to other islands except in the island of Bali where Hinduism is the religion of the majority of Balinese and has become a major feature of Balinese way of life today. However, Hinduism in Bali is more Indonesian than Indian as the result of Balinese local genius. Balinese has created Balinese Hinduism, a syncretism between Shivaism and Buddhism with the local belief in One God (Sang Hyang Widi = The Only God). It has some basic differences from Hinduism in India in terms of its theological system, temples for worship and ceremonies (<https://www.bali.com/balinese/hinduism>).

There are many artefacts from the Indonesian-Hindu kingdoms in Indonesia.

Mostly they existed from the fifth to fourteenth centuries except on Bali island where some of the kingdoms still exist at present. Among those, there are two earlier kingdoms to indicate the existences of Hinduism in Indonesia. They were the kingdoms of Kutai and Tarumanagara. The existence of the two kingdoms are evidenced by their artefacts, especially in the forms of announcements carved on stones. These two earlier kingdoms announcements were written in Pallava script and the Sanskrit language. The Pallava is a script used in south India and then later on developed as different local scripts in Indonesia such as in Sundanese, Javanese, Balinese, and Makassarese.

The Kingdom of Kutai

The first kingdom was Kutai in East Kalimantan. The founder of the kingdom was Kundunga. He was native by name and religion, and then converted to Hinduism. Mulawarman was the third king and he was the one who published inscriptions carved on Yupa (stone pillar). A Yupa was actually a pole for slaughtering animals for ceremonies. It was cows that were mostly selected for sacrifices in many ceremonies. Interestingly, in Hinduism cows are considered to be sacred animals and this territory, east Kalimantan, is not a cow producing region.

Mulavarman published seven Yupas. In one of Yupas, the inscriptions say that Mulavarman donated 20,000 cows and some gold to brahmins (Hindu priests) who were indigenous Indonesians, and converted Asvavarman and Mulawarman to Hinduism. The script used on those Yupas was Pallava, which originated in the southern part of India. Varman at the end of those names is also a name from the southern part of India. Interestingly, the language used for the inscription was Sanskrit, a sacred language used for worship in Hinduism (Sans = to worship, kerta = language) while in the southern part of India people use the Pallava script.

Nevertheless, the existence of the Kutai kingdom indicates a change in social and political systems. The kingdom subsequently replaced the *primus inter pares* (Latin: first among equals) model of power. A king was hereditary. However,

the former form of *primus inter pares* did help the spread of Hinduism to the subjects of the kingdom. As a first among equals, a leader was a good example to the subject and what he/she did was seen as good conduct to follow. This idea of *primus inter pares* help the spread of other religions later on in many kingdoms in Indonesia. Brahmins of Kutai were native and learned Hinduism in India. As they succeeded in converting Asvavarman to Hinduism, they were followed by the people of the kingdom. Mulavarman gave those cows as a sign of his appreciation of the success. Mulavarman himself was a Hindu by birth and had a legal right to succeed his father, crowned by the brahmins.

The kingdom of Kutai lasted up to the 17th century. Then the kingdom changed its name to Kesultanan Kutai Kartanegara when it became an Islamic Indonesian kingdom.

The Kingdom of Taruma (Tarumanagara) (358 – 669)

The second Hindu Kingdom was Tarumanagara (*Tarum* is a name of a plant; *nagara* is state, kingdom). The kingdom was located in modern Bekasi city. The founder of the kingdom was Jayadirajaguru Singavarman. According to Wangsakerta poem, Jaya Singavarman was a king from Sri Lanka. The third king, Purnavarman, was the famous king of Tarumanagara as he published seven stone inscription (*prasasti*) recording his performances. His irrigation system was famous. As mentioned in Tugu *prasasti* (stone inscription), the irrigation was 12 km long. The remains and artefacts of the irrigation system can still be found nowadays. Some parts of it are still used as parts of the existing modern irrigation system in this area. Other products of Purnavarman were rules and regulations on how to govern and war strategy. He also published his family tree.

Purnavarman had seven *prasasti* (stone inscriptions). They are *prasasti* Ciaruteun, Kebon Kopi, Muara Cianten, Pasir Awi, Cidanghiyang, Tugu, and Pasir Jambu around Bogor areas. Those seven stone inscriptions were written in the name of the king, written in Pallava script and the language was Sanskrit. As an official announcement, a *prasasti* always praises the kindness and glory

of the king. In many prasastis, Purnavarman was identified as the avatar (an manifestation in bodily form of the deity) of Vishnu. Vishnu is the preserver god of Hindu.

There were no manuscripts written during this period. The language and script used in this period can only be known by those used in those prasasti (stone inscriptions). The use of Sanskrit in those prasasti is interesting as the language was only learned by brahmins. This means that common people could not read the prasasti and they did not know what information was written there. This is understood as the prasasti were not a media of communication for the people. Other prasasti from other kingdoms are different especially when the content of the prasasti were meant to be understood by the common people.

The last king of Tarumanegara, Tarusbawa faced an invasion by the kingdom of Çriwijaya of Sumatera and the challenge from its 48 vassal states. In this situation he did not have many options and could barely continue the existence of Tarumanegara any longer but eventually continued in another name with a much smaller territory. These two kingdoms later on were united by Senjaya of the kingdom of Sunda but the name of Taruma was not restored.

The Kingdom of Galuh (669 – 1482)

The kingdom of Galuh was located in Ciamis Regency, West Java. It lasted for about 9 centuries (7th – 15th century). From an old Sundanese manuscript, Carita Parahyangan, written at the end of the kingdom, the first king of Galuh was Rahiyangta Medangjati, and then replaced by Wretikandayun, his son. The population of this kingdoms were Hindu and Buddha followers although the kings were Hindus. The kingdom issued coins of gold and silver. There are four prasasti to prove the existence of the kingdom. They are prasasti Mandiwunga (old Javanese language and old Javanese script), Cikajang (old Sundanese language and old Sundanese script), Rumatak (old Sundanese language and old Sundanese script), and Galuh (old Sundanese language and script).

The kingdom of Galuh territory covered a part of present day central Java and west Java. Later on, the capital city of Galuh moved to in Kawali close to modern Ciamis city. Some prasasti during this period are prasasti Astana Gede or Prasasti Kawali. They tell about King Prabu Raja Wastu who built a palace called Kedaton Surawisesa. The prasasti also tells us about the welfare of the people and states that security is a fundamental victory for a person's life.

The kingdom already used coin currency for trade. The coins were made from gold and silver. This means that trading was already using a modern money system for trading, not a barter model where things are exchanged with other goods. Another indication of the use of the coin that they had already been familiar with technology for producing and working with metal.

The Kingdom of Sunda (669 – 1579)

The kingdom of Sunda, a name mentioned in one of the inscriptions, was founded by Tarusbawa or Tahaan of Sunda. He was actually the last king of Taruma and the invasion of Sriwijaya weakened the kingdom. The territory of the kingdom covered the present province of Banten, Jakarta, in the eastern part of West Java and western part of Central Java. The capital city was Kawali. Later on, Sanjaya, one of the kings of Sunda, moved to Central Java where he founded another Hindu kingdom, Ancient Mataram and founded Sanjayavamça (Sanjaya dynasty; vamça = dyansty).

In the period of King Sri Jayabupati, we have the stone inscriptions of Kebon Kopi II in Bogor and of Sanghyang Tapak in Cibadak, Sukabumi. The former was written in Old Javanese script and the Old Malay language while the latter was written in Old Javanese script and the Old Javanese language (also known as Kawi). A record from China mentioned the kingdom except from the Carita Parahyangan and Wangsakerta manuscripts.

Agriculture and trading were the leading sectors of the kingdom's economy. This kingdom's pepper was rated of the best quality in Chinese sources. Other

produce was vegetables as this area was very fertile. People lived in wooden houses on stilts which are still being used in some parts of West Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi, Kalimantan. The stilt house is very common to many parts of Indonesia.

The Kingdom of Pajajaran (1030 – 1579)

The kingdom of Pajajaran was the biggest Hindu kingdom in West Java. It was another name for the kingdom of Sunda when the capital city was moved to Pakuan in the Bogor area. The kingdom was related to the previous kingdom of Sunda. From the Citatah inscription it is known that the first king of Pajajaran was Tarusbawa. Therefore, the kingdom of Pajajaran is also called the kingdom of Sunda but when the capital city was moved to Pakuan the name “Pakuan Pajajaran” was also used. The name can be found in the Batutulis inscription, Kabantenan copperplate inscription, and manuscripts of Bujangga Manik. Tomé Pires (1465?–1524 or 1540) was a Portuguese apothecary who visited the capital city in the 16th century, and recorded his own story about the kingdom in his book *Summa Oriental*.

The golden age of Pajajaran was under the king Sri Baduga Maharaja or Prabu Siliwangi. The kingdom traded with Malacca (was under Portuguese in 1511), India, and China. Pepper from Banten was the main merchandise. The first Dutch expedition under Pieter Scipio van Oostende (<https://en.m.wikipedia.org>) visited the ruins of the kingdom in 1687. This trade led to the kingdom of Pajajaran being known to many European countries such as Portugal and the Netherlands, the two countries which benefited from spice trading from Indonesia.

The Ancient Mataram Kingdom (717 – 883)

Ancient Mataram was a Hindu-Buddhist kingdom. It was founded by Sanjaya from the Galuh kingdom. He was Hindu and the dynasty (Sanjayavamça) was also Hindu. Later on, there was the dynasty of Shailendra, also known as

Çailendra (Çailendravamça ruled the kingdom). Medang (Medang rih Poh Pitu) was its capital city. There were nine kings of the Sanjaya dynasty and among whom Balitung was the greatest king of ancient Mataram.

His kingdom extended to east Java and Bali island. In his time, Balitung exempted some villages from paying taxes. These villages were mentioned in the Mantyasih inscription as they were considered to have contributed a lot to the kingdom. For example, Papanuhuan village was free from tax because the people as the village took care of the Bengawan Solo river and did not charge people who wanted to cross the river.

They used the Old Javanese and Sanskrit languages. Old Javanese was for daily conversation while Sanskrit was only for religious purposes. The Old Javanese language was used for writing manuscript as it was used daily and people could read the script and understand the language. The Old Javanese language or Kawi was used in central Java until the middle of the 19th century when it was replaced by the modern Javanese language.

Their currency was the tael. It is a unit of a piece of gold and bronze. The use of coins suggested that trade was already developed and based on a certain values represented by a monetary value in coins. It suggested that the metal was produced using the amalgamation technique and it was already commonly in use.

During the Sanjayawamça, in the late 8th century and the mid-9th century the dynasty built many Hindu *candis* (a candi is a Hindu or Buddhist temple). After the rule of Çailendravamça, the dynasty built Buddhist *candis*. The most notable Hindu cadis are Sewu and Prambanan, and the well-known Buddhist candis are Prambanan and Borobudur. Borobudur is the biggest Buddhist candi in the world and is still being used for Buddhist ceremonies as well as being a world heritage tourism site. All those candis are in Central Java between Yogyakarta and Semarang.

Candi Prambanan is the largest Hindu candi in Indonesia. The Candi Prambanan complex demonstrates a syncretism between Indian and Indonesian philosophies. Indian philosophy is based on their view of our

place in the cosmos and considers the center of a complex to be the most sacred place while native Indonesian philosophy is earth oriented and considers the highest place like a mountain was the most sacred place. In the central part of the complex of candi Prambanan there are Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva candis. The central position is the indication of Indian cosmic philosophy. But, the central part is the highest level of the complex, a manifestation of an ancient Indonesian philosophy.

The biggest Buddhist candi of this time is Borobudur Candi. It is now a world heritage site. The architect was Guna Dharma. It has 10 tiers with a variation of the shapes and consisting three architectural shapes. The lowest part is pyramidal shape with five terraces called Kamadatu (kama = love) and pictures the normal life of people on earth with their biological and physical needs, anger, love, murder, and others. The second part is three open terraces called rupadatu (about the story of Siddharta Gautama, the teaching of Buddha, and other aspects of life); the highest are two circular spaces called arupa datu, where there is no other concern in life but to reach the highest level of spiritual awareness. These two highest levels are easily identified by its round shape signifying that there is no beginning and no end, an eternity.

The Kingdom of Kahuripan

Airlangga was the only king of Kahuripan, which was located in east Java. He made peace agreement with Sriwijaya but he managed to expand his kingdom to Bali, Central Java, and the north coast of east Java. Today's Surabaya and Tuban became his important ports for trade. Airlangga was a follower of Hinduism but his wife was a Buddhist. Although the kingdom did not last very long, Airlangga was famous as a patron of the arts. During his time some notable Javanese literature were written. Mpu Kanwa a court poet wrote Kakawin Arjunawiwaha, an adaptation of the Mahabharata. After Airlangga's death, Kahuripan was divided into two kingdoms, Kediri and Jenggala.

The Singasari Kingdom (1222 – 1292)

Singasari or Singhasari, was another big kingdom with a vision to rule all over Indonesia today territory. The kingdom was founded by Ken Arok after he killed Tunggul Ametung, a regent (akuwu) of Kediri kingdom. The capital of Singasari was Tumapel or the modern Malang city, close to Kediri. *Pararaton* (the story of the kings), is a book about all the kings of Singosari. It was written in Kawi (Old Javanese) by an unknown author. Although *Pararaton* consists of both myth and reality, the existence of this kingdom and the kings is evidenced by the many prasasti from this kingdom.

The Kingdom of Sriwijaya (650 -1377)

The Sriwijaya kingdom was located in south Sumatra and had its capital city in Palembang. It was one of the biggest maritime kingdoms in Southeast Asia, comparable to Majapahit in eastern Java in terms of power and territory. Sriwijaya kingdom was an Indonesian Buddhist kingdom but this religion also had Hindu followers and others in it. Its existence was evidenced by some prasastis in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand. Chinese travelers also visited and recorded the existence of the kingdom and especially as one of the most important learning centers of Buddhism outside India. The Buddhist Mahayana priests came to study Buddhism in the center before they went to Nalanda in India.

The kingdom flourished from the 7th century up to the 13th century. It spread across nearly all parts of present day Indonesia, the west part of Malaysia, southern part of Thailand, and also the Phillipines. The kingdom controlled the Malacca Straits effectively for the benefit of the maritime trade which the kingdom had with India. Sriwijaya also had trade with China. The trade had benefited economically and made Sriwijaya people prosperous but also gave them an international perspective about many countries' cultures in Asia especially China, India, and other southeast Asia nations. Produce from Sriwijaya included nutmeg, pepper, ivory, tin, sandalwood, and camphor. With

these they bought silk and porcelain from China. From India, the kingdom bought perfumes and other spices.

Prasasti of Sriwijaya were written used the old Malay language. The use of this language for daily activities saw it became a lingua franca for trading to all parts of the present day Indonesia. Later on, old Malay was spoken by nearly all parts of Indonesia's traders and in the 20th century adopted as the basis of the national language, Indonesian.

The kingdom's first king was Dapunta Hyang Sri Jayanasa. In all there were 28 kings and the last king was Srimat Sri Udayadityavarma. The kings of Sriwijaya always thought of themselves as true believers of the Buddha. However, you could also find followers of Hinduism and animism living in the kingdom.

The Kingdom of Majapahit

Majapahit is another Hindu Kingdom in Indonesia. The kingdom was founded by Raden Wijaya. The Majapahit kingdom was located in east Java and its capital was Wilwatikta located near the modern city of Trowulan. This kingdom lasted for three centuries, from the 13th century to the 16th century and is considered to be one of the biggest Hindu kingdoms in Indonesia. Raden Wijaya, a son in law of Kertanegara, defeated a Chinese army which was sent to conquer Kertanegara but facing Jayakatwang who killed Kertanegara. Jayakatwang was defeated by the Chinese army, and the family of Kertanegara escaped to a village north of Singosari.

The territory of the Majapahit almost covered the whole territory of modern Indonesia. Its authority was challenged by the Pajajaran kingdom in West Java and West Sumatra (Minangkabau) although these challenges were thwarted. While celebrating the triumph over Jayakatwang, Raden Wijaya attacked the Chinese army and pushed them back to China.

The most famous king of Majapahit was Hayam Wuruk with his prime minister Gajah Mada. The prime minister was famous of his oath called Sumpah Palapa. He vowed that he would only break his fast when all Nusantara (Indonesian

archipelago) was under the control of Majapahit. This vow is very famous and used for national satellite to cover communication all over Indonesia. The idea of Sumpah Palapa is transformed in modern communication to unite Indonesia.

Subjects of Majapahit were followers of many religions. They were Hindus, Buddhists, and also followers of indigenous religions. The kingdom recognized all religions equally although the official religion of the kingdom was Hindu. Although Hinduism was the official religion, the kingdom built both Hindu and Buddhist candi.

Bricks were used to build most of the candi except for candi Minak Jinggo. This candi, as many candi in Central Java was built by andesitic (natural big stones normally found in rivers). The use of bricks indicates that in this period there must have been brick factories, The grinding area was one of the places in a brick factory at that time and there is a site that has lasted up to the present. The bricks were good in quality and the candi walls are still in good shape.

King Hayam Wuruk (1350-1389) was the fourth king of Majapahit. He succeeded Tribhuwana Wijayatunggadewi. His mother and his father were Sri Kertawardhana and Cakrawardhara. He used the title of Maharaja Rajasanagara. He was powerful, tolerant charismatic, bright, and full of wisdom. He was respected by many kings in Java and outside Java. His Patih Amangkubhumi = Mahapatih (Prime minister) Gajah Mada was also powerful in extending the kingdom's territory. This period was the golden age of Majapahit in terms of many respects such as territory, welfare, buildings, candis, tolerance, and literature. Majapahit extended its territory to nearly all present Indonesia all the way up to the south of the Philippines.

While Hayam Wuruk was a Hindu, Gajah Mada was a Buddhist. It was indication of where religions could join hand in hand to govern the state. The building of Hindu and Buddhist temples by the king was also another indication that the king appreciated and honored different religions other than his own. His prime minister, Gajah Mada was very brave, honest, disciplined and loyal to his king. He was once a chief of the security (bhayangkara) under

Jayanegara, the second king of Majapahit, before he was appointed as the Mahapatih of Hayam Wuruk. He assisted his king in making every efforts to expand the power of the kingdom. He defended the king successfully from rebellions from inside and outside the kingdom. He also led the troops to expand the kingdom' territory and to welfare the citizen.

Under the reign of Hayam Wuruk, a poet Mpu Tantular wrote a poem called Kakawin Sutasoma. This was about the 14th century. The kakawin or poem was written in metre and was about the difference between Buddhism and Hinduism and suggested that above the differences, the two religions were actually one. This was about tolerance should be developed between the two followers. Within the poem there was a line of a stanza which says bhineka tunggal ika (they are different but actually they are one; out of many is one). It continues with tan hana dharma manggrawa (no belief is different). The Bhinneka Tunggal Ika is now a national maxim for the Indonesian nation.

Another poem is Nagarakrtagama. It was written by Mpu Pranpanca in the same period of Mpu Tantular. It describes the government of Majapahit. A king was assisted by a prime minister (mahapatih) and ministers.

Similar to many Indonesian kingdoms, Majapahit developed as a maritime kingdom. Majapahit was the second biggest maritime kingdom in the western part of Indonesia, after Sriwijaya. For trading, they used coin, made from a mix of silver, tin, lead, and bronze. They exported salt, fabric, pepper, and cockatoos.

B. ISLAMIC KINGDOMS IN INDONESIA

The coming of Islam was attributed to the maritime trade between Indonesia and India and Arabia. The Indonesian traders came to Arabia to learn about Islam and the Arab traders came to Indonesia to teach Islam. Arab traders stayed in Indonesia for a long period of time due to the seasonal change in direction of the wind (moonson). While waiting for the change of wind direction, Indonesian traders learned about Islam from Moslems in India and

Arabia. Marriage between Arab traders and Indonesian women were common and as a result the Islamic community in Indonesia grew. Later on, when there were many Indonesian Islamic ulamas (teachers), they spread the message of Islam.

In Jawa, the spread of Islam was guided by the Wali Songo (Wali = guardian; songo = nine). In every province of Java there were wali who spread Islam in the region. All of them resided in the northern part of Java indicating the role of trading route for spreading Islam and some of them might have originated from outside Indonesia. For example, Maulana Malik Ibrahim was from Samarkand. Outside Java, Islam was spread by other local ulamas or pious traders. They used local arts performances such as wayang (shadow puppets) to spread their message. Other stories also made the change of Hindu and Buddha traditions to Islamic traditions. However, today, social and cultural practices of Hinduism and Buddhism still influence the new social and cultural traditions of the Islam in Indonesia especially in cultural and social practices.

Among the many Indonesian Islamic kingdoms, the key kingdoms included Aceh/Samudra Pasai, Jambi, Riau, Palembang, and Lampung (in Sumatra), Banten, Cirebon, Demak, Mataram (in Java), Kutai Kartanagara, Pontianak, Banjar (in Kalimantan), Gowa, Makassar (in Sulawesi), Ternate and Tidore (in north Maluku). These kingdoms are still present within the Republic of Indonesia today but the king does not have any power in politics. Many of those Indonesia Islamic kingdoms are only known from their artefacts like palaces, mosques and other buildings, customs and traditions. Kesultanan (Arabic: kingdom) Aceh, Melayu Medan, Jambi, Palembang, Kutai Kartanagara, Banten, Demak, Gowa, Makassar, Tidore and Ternate.

The Sultanate of Peureulak (843 – 1263)

The sultanate of Peureulak is the first Islamic kingdom in Indonesia. It was located on the east coast of Aceh facing the Malacca Strait. Marco Polo visited the kingdom in 1293 CE. Once it was a Buddhist kingdom and later on after Arabic traders came and spread Islam, the king and many people of Peureulak

converted to Islam. Peureulak kingdom was the first Islamic kingdom in Indonesia although it had no significant impact on the spread of Islam or other cultural products in Indonesia.

There were two dynasties that ruled the sultanate. One was the Saiyid dynasty and another was the Makdum dynasty. Marriage between Arab traders and a native women was a common practice at that time and also happened between Portuguese and native women and other traders. Their descendants are the people of Aceh nowadays, most of them have a mixed gene pool incorporating Malay and Arab, Portuguese, Indian, and Chinese. The trade had contributed to the marriage and they converted to Islam.

People lived in harmony by trading. However, internal conflicts among the people contributed to a decrease of the quality of their life and caused the decline of Saiyid dynasty. The conflict was especially between the followers of Shyah and Suni, two schools of thought in Islam. The last sultan of the Saiyid dynasty was Sultan Alaidin Saiyid Maulana Ali Mughayat Shah who could not control the conflict and it affected the existence of the Saiyid dynasty. The dynasty broke up and was succeeded by the Makhdum dynasty.

The first sultan of the Makhdum dynasty was Sultan Makhdum Alaidin Malik Abdul Kadir Shah Johan Berdaulat. The dynasty existed for about 30 years. The sultans of the dynasty were also unsuccessful in attempts to control the conflict. The eastern part was ruled by Syiah Sultan and the hinterland was ruled by a Sunni sultan. Due to the division, the sultanate was no longer powerful and its existence were challenged by the kingdom of Samudera Pasai.

The Sultanate of Samudera Pasai (1267 – 1521)

As the kingdom of Peureulak, the kingdom of Pasai was located in Aceh province, the north tip of Sumatera island. Marco Polo wrote about this kingdom referring to it as Samara. Marco Polo spent six month in the kingdom. A Moroccan traveler Ibn Batuta spent 15 days on his travel to China.

The kingdom was founded by Merah Silu when converted into Islam his

name was Malikul Salih. As the name implies (salih = pious), he was a pious king. According to Ibn Batutah he was also a very gentle and kind person. He honored his visitors very well, serving all the need of the visitors for accommodation and food. For the case of Ibn Batutah the king provided him with a vessel for his trip to China.

Samudra Pasai was a wealthy commercial kingdom. Their trade with India, Malaysia, China and among the islands of Indonesia made the kingdom's economy grow and increased the prosperity of the people. Through trade the kingdom introduced the Malay language to the archipelago and later on it became a lingua franca for trade. People in Java island and the eastern part of Indonesia spoke the language for trading. In trading the kingdom imported rice from Java. In exchange they brought pepper, camphor, and gold. The kingdom used dirham gold as its currency. The kingdom also had trade with India, China and the Malay peninsula. Malacca, an important port in the Malay peninsula was under its protection, and it controlled the Malacca Strait for trading to India, and between China and India.

The kingdom encouraged scholarly activities and some important earlier Indonesian Islamic literature was written during this time. Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai (the Story of the Pasai Kings) was the most famous one. It was about sultans of Samudera Pasai from Malikulsaleh up to the 20th and last king, Sultan Zainal Abidin IV. There are about 50 hikayat (stories) altogether. Also there were two books of law in Malaka, the vassal state in the Malay peninsula.

The book about Malaka was known as Risalah Hukum Kanun or Legal Code of Malaka. It sets out Malay customs and Islamic principles in government, as well as various social and cultural behaviors. The book has six parts including the intisari (abstract), state law, maritime law, marriage, and the state of Johor. The book was adopted by Sultanate of Aceh, Sultanate of Johor, Perak and Patani in the Malay Peninsula, Brunei Darussalam, and Brunei Darussalam in North Kalimantan.

The kingdom was dissolved under the attack of Portuguese in 1521 ten years after Malacca was conquered by Portuguese and took control of the Malacca Strait. The kingdom had, however, a significant role in spreading Islam, with

texts in the Malay script or Javi, and written in the Malay language used throughout the archipelago. We see the existence of Portuguese descendants who converted to Islam and used Arabic names rather than Portuguese names.

The Portuguese came to Indonesia as rivals of the Dutch because their trading post in Constantinople had been under the control of Turk Ottoman power since 1453. The price of spices became higher and the benefit became lower. Also, the spirit of the crusade war between Christians and Muslim pushed up the price and for some European countries their benefit from the trade waned. The Europeans had become accustomed to use those spices in their food. The conquest of Constantinople drove up the price of the spices and there was a scarcity of supply. From earlier records of some European travelers they knew that Indonesia was the origin of spices like nutmeg, pepper and clove. The technology of ships they had developed made it possible for Europeans to go to the Indonesian archipelago.

Sunda Kalapa or Jakarta was already an international harbor where spices from many parts of Indonesia, nutmeg from Maluku islands and pepper from Sumatera, were collected by merchants and traded. However, Aceh was the first port of call and merchants from Aceh also traded those spices they brought from Sunda Kalapa. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to come to the western part of Indonesia, Aceh and Sunda Kalapa were at the end of the kingdom Pajajaran.

The Sultanate of Aceh Darussalam (1514 – 1678)

This was the biggest sultanate in Aceh. The territory covered most of the present North Sumatra province, the eastern part of Riau province and western part of West Sumatra province. It was the time when European countries like the Netherlands, Britain, Portugal, and Spain were in competition to find the best sea route to Indonesia. The Portuguese and Spanish arrived in Maluku island and there was a realization that the world was round in shape not flat as it had been conceived in the Thordesillas treaty, June 7, 1494 by Pope Alexander IV to avoid a conflict between the two countries in the east. In the treaty the

Pope divided the world into west and east parts so that the two countries would never meet. The Portuguese and the Spaniards met in Maluku island and also in the Philippines. The fact that the world is round led to the treaty of Zaragoza between Portuguese and Spanish in April 22, 1529 (<https://www.quora.com>). An imaginary line in the western Pacific ocean was created as the east border. In that way the two nations would not meet and the line is still used in the present.

The sultanate was founded by Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah and Kutaraja was its capital city. The sultanate had seven sultans and the famous one was Sultan Iskandar Muda. He reigned for almost thirty years and expanded his kingdom to the Malay peninsula. Johor, Pahang, and Kedah were under his power while in Indonesia Iskandar Muda invaded Indragiri in Sumatra. In his government he had an advisory body to the sultan. During the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda, people lived prosperously from trade with Java, Malaysia, China, India, Arabia, and Europe.

Social life and political power developed with the emergence of a system of feudalism. The political position in the government had created a new social group of aristocrats. They used the title of *tengku* to differentiate themselves from *teuku*, a title used by Islamic ulamas or leaders.

After his reign, the sultan faced internal conflict between aristocrats (*tengku*) and the religious leaders (*teuku*) especially during the reign of Putri Sri Alam Permaisuri, a daughter of Sultan Iskandar Muda. The conflict weakened the sultanate from within. In fact, the conflict between aristocrats and religious leaders continued when Dutch traveller and scholar of local culture and languages Snouck Hurgronje came to Aceh. Snouck Hurgronje's study of the cultural situation led him to conclude that the Dutch government should use the conflict between the aristocrats and the religious leaders as a powerful way to conquer Aceh.

Literature, science works, and historical accounts were written. They described the sultanate and sultan. One work, the *Mir'ah al Thullab*, a reflection of scholars, mentioned described scholars seeking scientific truth.

The Sultanates in Southern Sumatra

In other parts of the island of Sumatra there were other Islamic sultanates. These were, among others, the sultanates of Jambi, Siak Indragiri, Kampar, Minangkabau, Palembang, and Lampung. The Sultanate of Jambi in Jambi province was a place where there had once been the Melayu kingdom, a Hindu kingdom. The sultanate of Jambi was established by a trader from Arabia who married a native girl called Putri Salaro Pinang Masak, a princess from the kingdom of Pagaruyung, Minangkabau. The princess was a Muslim by birth as her father was a Muslim. From the marriage, they had a son named Orang Kayo Hitam, who became a famous king of Jambi.

The sultanate of Palembang was founded by Arya Damar or Arya Abdillah in 1659. The sultanate had no government system. The economy of the sultanate of Palembang was built on trading. In addition to spices and ivory, tin from Bangka island and lead from Belitung island were also other important commodities. Bangka island produced white pepper and tin and since the kingdom of Sriwijaya had been a vassal of Palembang. Belitung island is westward of Bangka and this island also produces black pepper. Black pepper was also collected from Lampung, and nutmeg and clove were collected from Batavia, which the Dutch referred to as Sunda Kelapa. As a tradition of mostly Indonesian kingdoms, maritime trading was the most important segment of the economy.

Competition between the Netherlands and Britain put Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II of Palembang in an uncomfortable position. Britain urged Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II to expel the Dutch from his kingdom and cancel all trade agreements.

The Sultanate of Cirebon

The Sultanate of Cirebon was founded in 1430 by Syarif Hidayatullah. The capital city was Cirebon situated nearby the the modern city of Cirebon

in north of West Java. He expanded his territory to Kuningan, Talaga and Galuh in West Java, and also to Banten. All four of these sultanates still exist up to today. The sultan also performs keraton (palace) ceremonies which are connected with Islam and the Islamic calendar.

Cheng Ho, a Muslim Chinese admiral visited the Sultanate of Cirebon. Cheng Ho stayed there for some time, built a watch tower for the harbor of Muara Jati on the top of a hill. He also built a mosque there and established a community of Chinese, a village for the Chinese who sailed with him to Cirebon. Ma Huan was responsible for the development of the village. Chinese captain, Tan Siangko built a sugar factory and sugar plantation in Cirebon.

The Chinese lived there in harmony with the natives until now. They spoke a number of Chinese dialects but at present most of them speak the local Cirebon language, a mix between Sundanese and Javanese. Chinese culture also influenced some customs of Cirebon especially in batik cloth.

The Kingdom of Demak (1500 -1587)

The kingdom of Demak is the oldest Indonesian Islamic kingdom on the island of Java. It was located in the area of Demak city, in the northern part of Central Java. The sultanate was established by Raden Patah in 1500. Demak was the capital city. Demak was another maritime kingdom of Indonesia. They traded with the islands in eastern Indonesia, Banten, Sumatra, and the Malay peninsula in particular Malakka. Their merchandise included spices they collected from Maluku, and also rice, candles, and honey.

The second sultan, Adipati Unus or Pangeran Sabrang Lor, sent his army to Malakka to expel the Portuguese from there. The expedition failed but it inspired many Indonesian Islamic kingdoms to fight against the Portuguese and other European nations.

The Sultanate of Banten (1526 – 1813)

The Sultanate of Banten was founded by Hasanuddin, a son-in-law of Syarif Hidayatullah of Cirebon. It was located in Banten Province and the capital city was Old Banten.

The harbor of Banten was the main harbor of the sultanate. As it can be reached from Selat Sunda, the harbor was a competitive alternative to Jayakarta (Jakarta). Many Muslim traders from Turkey, Arab, and India came to this harbor to avoid the Portuguese who controlled Malacca. The harbor of Banten was also well-known to European countries and this was the first harbor visited by traders from Netherlands. The Netherlands were enemies of the Portuguese at that time and they felt the Saragosa Treaty was unfair for them as they were Presbyterian Christians while the treaty was only for Spain and Portugal, both Catholic countries.

One famous sultan from the Banten sultanate was Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa (1640 – 1651). He was the sixth sultan. Under his government the Sultanate of Banten reached its apex. Trading flourished and the harbor was visited by many ships from many countries. He also attacked The Dutch in Batavia. However, he was defeated. The Dutch subsequently took control of the sultanate.

The Islamic Sultanate of Mataram (1586 – 1788)

The Sultanate of Mataram was one of the biggest Islamic sultanates in Indonesia. Its capital city was Kotagede, Yogyakarta and was related to the Sultanate of Demak. The founder of the sultanate, Sutawijaya was from the Sultanate of Demak. In 1586 he founded the Sultanate of Mataram. Today's Sultanate of Yogyakarta is descended from the Sultanate of Mataram.

The most famous king was the third, Raden Mas Rangsang (1613 – 1645) or Sultan Agung Senopati ing Alago Ngabdurrahman. By this time, Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie or VOC, the Dutch company was establishing its power in Batavia.

The company was expanding its control over many kingdoms in Indonesia including the sultanate of Mataram. Sultan Agung of Mataram felt the threat and prepared to save the kingdom's sovereignty. In 1628 and 1629 he attacked Batavia. Unfortunately, VOC spies succeeded in cutting the line of logistics. Sultan Agung lost the war and the VOC found they now had influence in the kraton (palace) of Mataram.

The influence of VOC on the keraton of Mataram was more profound under the sultan Amangkurat I. A revolt broke out led by Trunojoyo but it pushed Amangkurat I even more under the control of VOC as a token for helping the VOC squash the revolt. The next king, Amangkurat II resisted Dutch influence and he moved the palace to Kertasura (Solo). Amangkurat III tried to weaken Dutch influence but with the help of influential nobles of Mataram, the VOC overcame the threat. In 1707 Amangkurat III was captured and exiled to Ceylon (Sri Lanka).

The next sultan of Mataram, Pangeran Puger or Pakubuwono I was appointed by the VOC. However, the revolt continued, notably the one led by Pangeran Mangkubumi. The fight for freedom from the influence of Dutch did not cease. As the influence of western culture came to keraton of Yogyakarta, the more it served to empower the spirit of Islam. No longer after the signing of 1824 Treaty of London, a prince from the Yogyakarta sultanate, considered the impact of western culture in the keraton was beyond tolerance. The Prince was Pangeran Diponegoro.

The Java War or Diponegoro War broke out led by Pangeran Diponegoro, a pious Javanese prince. The war inflicted big losses on the Dutch Government and the Dutch Colonial Government in Indonesia. To end the war the Dutch colonial government offered an agreement. Pangeran Diponegoro agreed to meet the representatives of the Dutch to talk about the agreement. Unfortunately, the Dutch colonial power did not keep their promise and when Diponegoro came to the designated place unarmed and without his followers for discussing the agreement, he was arrested.

The Sultanate of Gowa

The sultanate was located in Gowa regency in South Sulawesi. It was the biggest sultanate in South Sulawesi. Its capital city was Sungguminasa, the present capital city of Gowa Regency. It was formerly a Hindu kingdom until the time of king Karaeng Matowaja Tumamenaga Ri Agamanna, the 14th king of Gowa. He met two ulamas from Minangkabau, West Sumatra, and converted to Islam. He changed his name to Alaudin and continued the kingdom as an Islamic sultanate. The place of the sultanate is still preserved by the government of Gowa regency and some ceremonies connected with the kingdom are still practiced.

The most famous king of Gowa sultanate was Hasanuddin. He was a contemporary with the king Arung Palakka, a sultan of Bone kingdom. He was in clash with Aung Palakka who was supported by the VOC authority using a strategy of divide and rule. The sultanate lost its sovereignty in 1911 when the Dutch Colonial Government in Makassar the Dutch East India Company (VOC) succeeded in conquering the sultanate.

The Sultanate of Ternate and Tidore

The Sultanates of Ternate and Tidore were on the island of Maluku. The sultanate of Ternate was founded by Baab Mashur Malamo in 1257. The sultanate reached its supremacy under sultan Baabullah Batu Shah (1570 – 1583). Its people lived from cultivating nutmeg and clove for trading while for everyday life needs they depended on the sea. The sea was used for trading and for fishing. They ate fish daily and also powdered sagu. Sagu powder was and is still used as the main dish for many eastern parts of Indonesia. Rice was an alternative to this traditional food.

The sultanate of Ternate was always in competition or at war with the sultanate of Tidore. To have more power, the sultanate of Ternate formed a coalition with small kingdoms in the area. The coalition, Uli Lima was built with the kingdoms of Obi, Bacan, Seram, and Ambon.

As an Island of spices, Ternate was attractive to European countries. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to come to this island. They were permitted to build a fort. In 1599, the Dutch VOC company came to Ternate and in 1605 they were the only European power in Ternate after the Portuguese were expelled. It was a period where three European nations came to this sultanate. The Spanish also came and they took the Portugal fort, and exiled the sultan to Manila, in the Philippines.

The Dutch eventually became the only European power in this sultanate and made Maluku the center for the VOC main office. The house of the VOC governor General was there. Under Sultan Hamzah (1627 – 1648), the VOC was granted more land as they helped the sultanate to put down the riots. In 1663, the Spanish left Maluku forever although they were permitted to govern the area according to the Saragosa treaty. Ultimately, they could not challenge the power of the Dutch.

The sultanate of Tidore was founded in 1409. The Tidore Sultanate ruled most parts of Halmahera island, Buru, and Ambon. To counter Ternate, the sultanate of Tidore created Uli Siwa (the gathering of nine) consisting of the nine smaller kingdoms. However, the two sultanates were not able to conquer each other until Tidore was under Sultan Nuku or Nuku Muhammad Amiruddin. He defeated the Dutch in Ternate and united the two sultanates.

CONCLUSION

The existence of Hinduism and Buddhism in Indonesia and the Indonesian kingdoms during this period are related to some foundations of contemporary Indonesian culture especially in the west of Indonesia, and particularly in Java and Bali. Some important ceremonies of Hinduism and Buddhism are found in use in the present Indonesian cultures.

The Devanagari and Pallava scripts are another contribution from the Hindu and Buddhist period to the present Indonesian culture. Together with the use of Devanagari and Pallava are also some poems and epics, some adapted from

Indian epics but some composed as original Indonesian literature. The idea of unity in diversity for modern Indonesia as a nation, was also developed during this period. *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* as written in *Sutasoma* by Mpu Kanwa has adapted taken it as a founding philosophy for the modern Indonesian nation.

Another influence of Hinduism and Buddhism is in architecture especially in the building of *candi* which are unique to Indonesian architecture, and not a replica of India architecture. The Indonesian local genius accommodated and at the same time moderated the influences of Hinduism and Buddhism. The original philosophy of Indonesia always appears in arts, literature, architecture, and theology. Hinduism in Bali is different from Hinduism in India in terms of its theology, rituals and ceremonies.

Meanwhile, the influence of Islam is dominant in the modern Indonesian nation. The influence is still going on to the present life in modern Indonesian society and government. The number of muslims as a majority population naturally affects daily life in modern Indonesia. The concept of tolerance as taught in Islam colors and continues the principle of unity and diversity as adopted for Indonesia as a modern nation state. The existence of other religions is recognized by the majority of Muslim society without any fundamental problems.

As a monotheistic religion, the theological concept in Islam in Indonesia does not change. But, some ceremonies which are not in conflict with the theology and compulsory practices such as worship and others, are being practiced although these are different from practices in Arabia or other some other Islamic countries.

Another influence of Islam on Indonesia are architecture especially mosques. Again, it also shows that local Indonesian genius adapts and moderates architecture, and some practices related to religious ceremonies. Literature on religion and policy, Arabic words especially terms related with Islam as religion have been used and words from Arabic borrowed in Bahasa Indonesia. Arabic words are used in some parts of Indonesia for the names of buildings, organizations, schools, and streets. The way many Indonesians dress and fashion is also influenced by Islamic teachings and models.

FURTHER READING

- Boechari (2018). *Melacak Sejarah Kuno Indonesia Lewat Prasasti*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.
- Bosch, F.D.K. (1974). *Masalah Penyebaran Kebudayaan Hindu di Kepulauan Indonesia*. Djakarta: Bhratara
- Coedés, G. (2015). *Asia Tenggara Masa Hindu-Buddha*. Penterjemah Winarsih Partaningrat Arifin. Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional
- Djoened, M. *et al.* (2015). *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*. Jilid 2. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka
- Djoened, M. (2005). *Sjarah Nasional Indonesia*, Jilid 3. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka
- Ekajati, E.S. (2005). *Kebudayaan Sunda Jaman Pajajaran*. Bandung: Pustaka Jaya
- Krom, N.J. (1954). *Djaman Hindu*. Djakarta: De Unie
- Mulyana, S. (1981). *Kuntala, riwayat dan Suwarnabhumi*. Jakarta: Yayasan Idayu
- Mulyana, S. (2003). *Runtuhnya Kerajaan Hindu Jawa dan Timbulnya Negara-negara di Nusantara*. Yogyakarta: PT LKIS Pelangi Aksara
- Pitono, H. (1965). *Pararaton*. Djakarta: Bhratara
- Poerbotjaroko (1951). *Riwayat Indonesia*. Djilid I. Djakarta: Yayasan Pembangunan
- Ricklefs, M.C. (1992). *Sejarah Indonesia Modern*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press
- Lubis, N. dkk. (2011). *Sejarah Proinsi Jawa Barat*, Jilid I. Bandung. Yayasan Masyarakat Sejarawan, Cabang Jawa Barat.
- Mahmuddunnasir, S. (1988). *Islam: Konsepsi dan Sejarahnya*. Bandung: Penerbit CV Rosda
- Saepul Musyadad dan Siti Maryam (2014). *Kerajaan Galuh*. Ciamis: Universitas Galuh. Unpublished paper
- Soekmono (1973). *Sedjarah Kebudayaan Indonesia*, Djilid I. Jakarta: Yayasan Kanisius
- Sutaarga, A. (1984). *Prabu Siliwangi*. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya
- Vlekke, B.H.M. (2000). *Nusantara: Sejarah Indonesia*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Utama
- Wolpert, S. (1989). *A New History of India*. Third ed. New York: Oxford University Press

On-line resources

<https://www.academia.edu>>chapter

<https://www.bali.com>>balinese>hinduism.

<https://en.m.wikipedia.org>.

<https://www.quora.com>.

<https://www.britanica.com>

<https://g.co/Rgs/5PEDBQ2>

<https://id.m.wikipedia.org>

<https://kesultanantidore>

<https://www.normadecade.org.kerajaan>

https://youtube.com/watch?v=P_847_Ya

CHAPTER 2

GLOBAL INTERACTION AND COLONIALISM

INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the long process of global interaction of the Nusantara community with Western nations, such as the Portuguese, Spanish, Turkish, Dutch and English from the 16th century to Dutch colonialism which reached its peak in Indonesia at the end of the 19th century. The perspective to be built from this historical process does not explain the motivation of the Western nations to colonize Indonesia but rather explains how the Indonesian people responded to the arrival of the Western nations. The intended response is not only a form of resistance that occurs but also attitudes and actions that provide loopholes and opportunities for the growth of Western power in the archipelago. Key questions such as why and how Western nations gained a political and economic footing in Indonesia are treated as important questions rather than simply answering questions about Western motivations to colonize Indonesia.

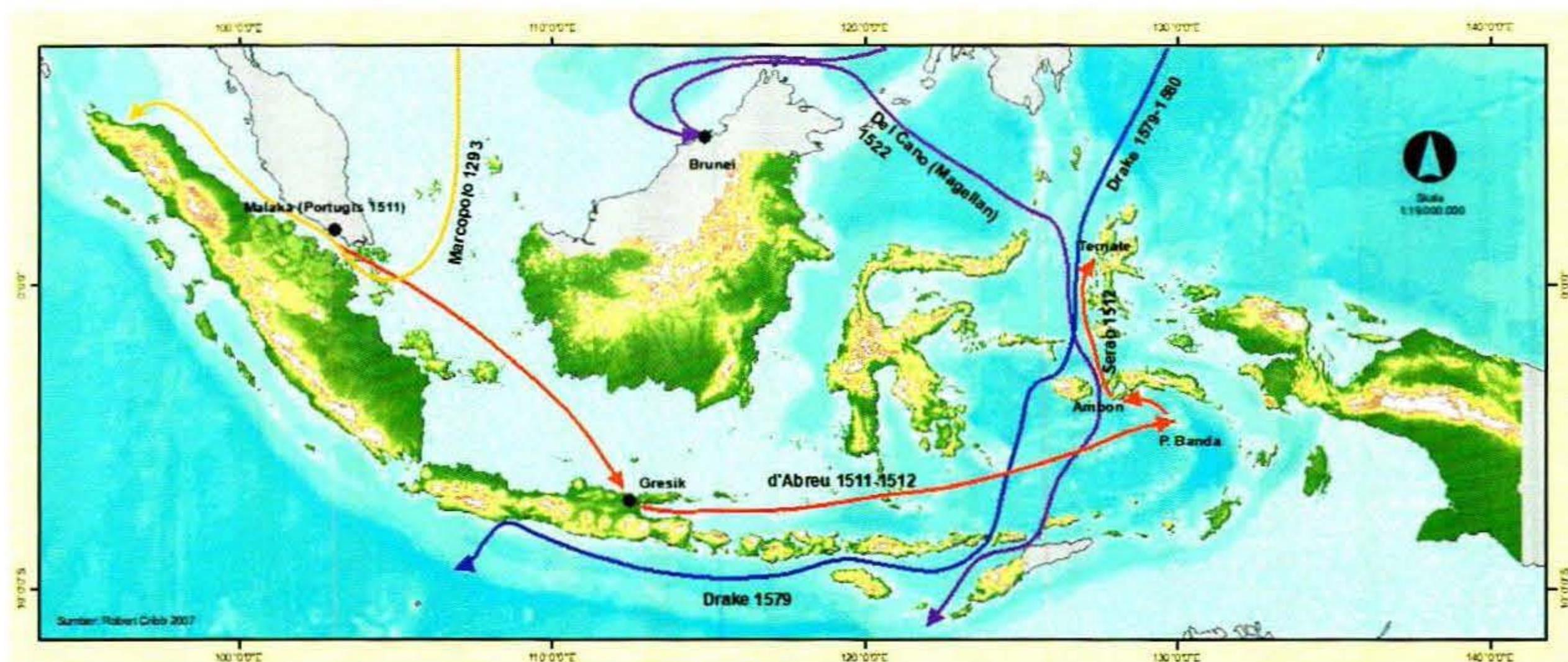
The ideology and practice of Western colonialism in Indonesia left a profound influence on the political and administrative culture in Indonesia in the post-independence period, so in explaining colonialism and colonial administration practices the focus is on colonial politics and colonial cultural strategies and the political, social and cultural consequences that followed. The attitude of resistance to colonialism is explained but at the same time the results of encounters and interactions between colonizing and colonized nations in a unique and multi-dimensional colonial atmosphere also need to be

highlighted. In other words, colonialism is not depicted from the perspective of economic exploitation and political domination of the colonizer against the colonized but also via socio-cultural phenomena and phenomena that emerge and are formed in the colonial atmosphere.

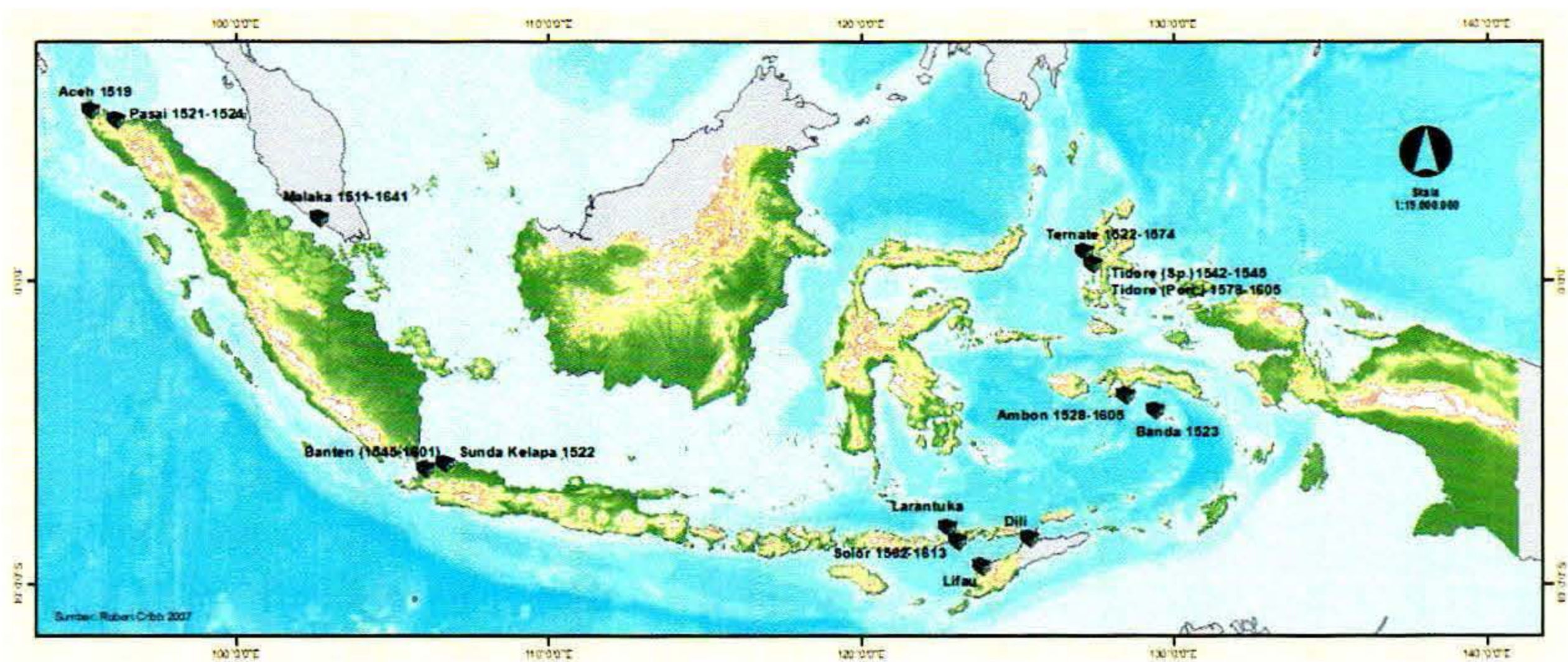
A. GLOBAL NETWORKS, ARCHIPELAGIC TRADE AND LOCAL RESPONSES

The end of the 16th century became an important period in the history of Indonesia because at this time people in the archipelago began to interact intensively with traders from Europe, such as Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English. During this period the geopolitics of the archipelago was divided into dozens of kingdoms which in general had developed a feudal system with a Muslim flavor. Only in a few areas in the eastern tip of Java and Bali will you still find Hinduism. These kings are the holders of political sovereignty in their respective territories and are the determinants of trade relations and interaction with European traders.

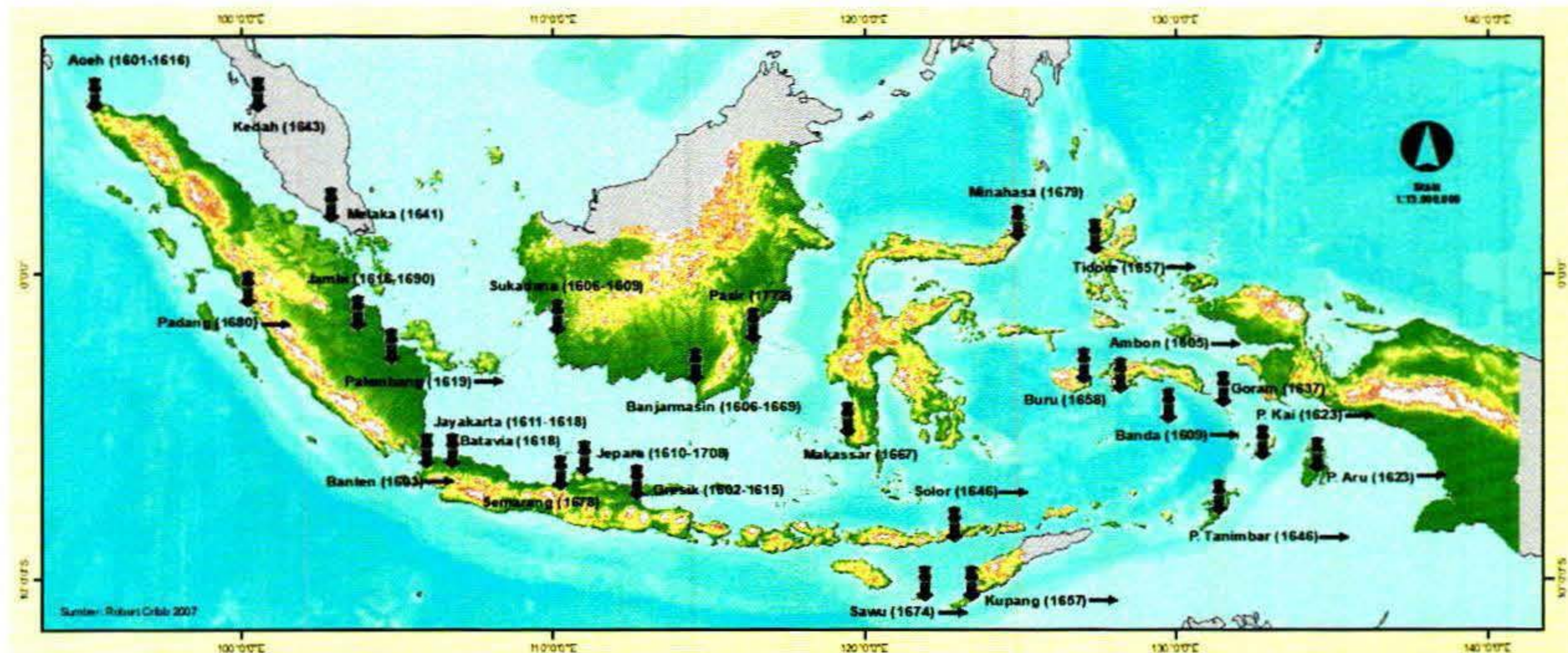
During the second half of the 16th century European maritime expeditions began to reach the archipelago. They came in Portuguese, Spanish and English ships. The following map shows the shipping routes taken in these maritime expeditions.



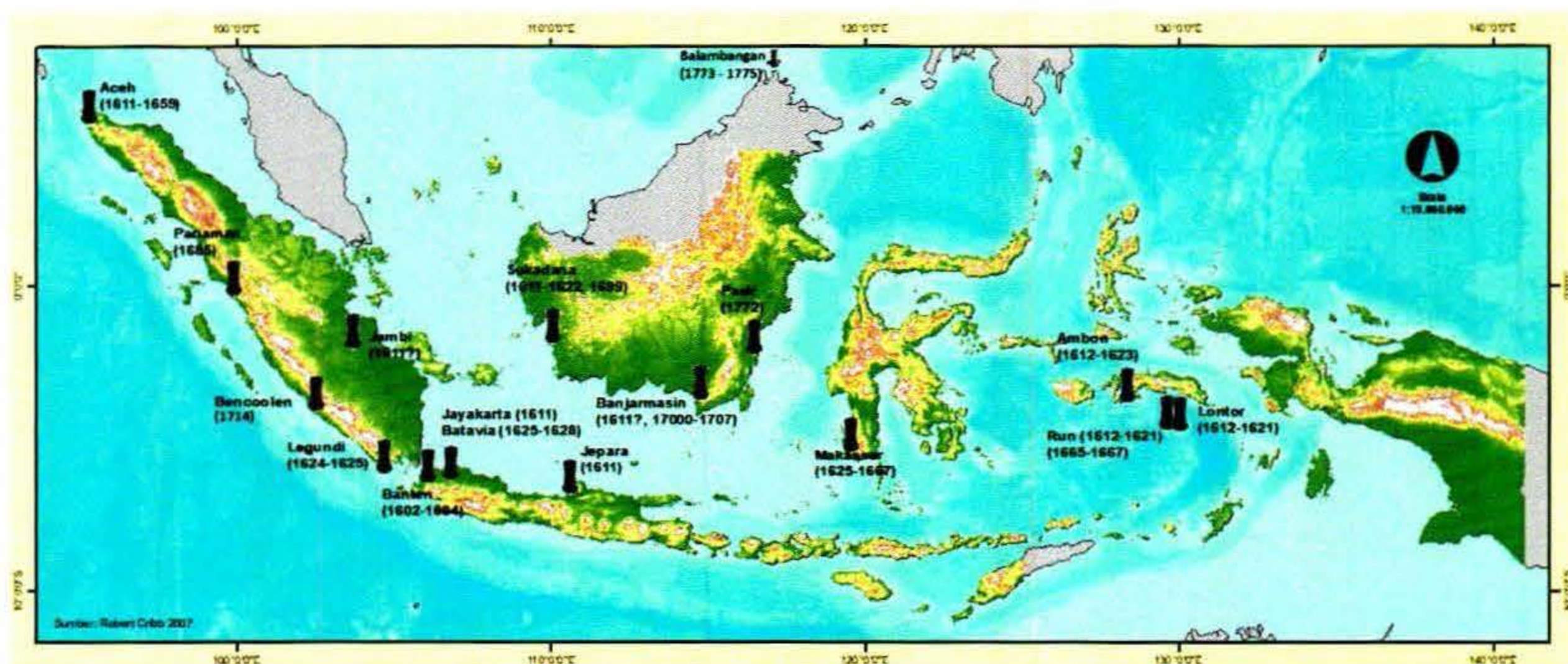
In the 16th and 17th centuries the Portuguese succeeded in establishing trade and political relations in several regions in the archipelago, such as in Aceh, Pasai, Sunda Kelapa, Banten, Larantuka, Solor, Lifau, Dili, Ambon, Banda, Ternate and Tidore.



In 1602 the Dutch trade association Vereenigde Oost Indie Compagnie (VOC) was formed and established a trading city in Batavia in 1618. For two centuries the VOC succeeded in controlling important trading areas in the archipelago. The following map depicts areas that was occupied by the VOC until the 17th century.



In the midst of VOC trade expansion in the archipelago the British East India Company (EIC) trading organization succeeded in occupying several important areas in the archipelago. The following map shows areas that were under the control of the EIC during the 17th and 18th centuries.



Trade in the Archipelago

Western interests such as the Portuguese, Dutch, Spanish and English to trade in the archipelago are due to the wealth of spices which were the most prominent trading commodity. Until the middle of the 17th century, trade centers were in the eastern part of Indonesia, namely the Maluku Islands and Banda. In this region, many commodities, nutmeg, clove and mace are produced. The commodities sold for a good price in Europe. In this region there was trade competition between the Portuguese, Dutch and British. They competed with each other to be able to occupy Banda and Maluku.

In other parts of the archipelago the places which became trading centers were Aceh, Malacca, West Sumatra and Banten. In these regions the main trading commodities that were the mainstay are pepper and rice. It was also in this region that the Portuguese and the Dutch competed with one another for trade concessions with the governments of the kingdoms which controlled these territories.

Establishment of the City of Batavia and Administrative Centralization

After the conquest of Malacca by the Dutch, the Portuguese role in the Nusantara trade declined, and could even be said to be over. Only in the Timor region were Portuguese traders' activities concentrated. Meanwhile the Dutch Trading Company, VOC, began to dominate trade in the archipelago, particularly in Java and Eastern Indonesia. The main competitor of the VOC after the Portuguese withdrawal was the British who began to gain an economic footing in Bengkulu, Sumatra.

To facilitate administration and trade operations in the archipelago, the VOC established the city of Batavia as well as the headquarters of the Dutch trade organization. The establishment of the city of Batavia had an important significance not only for the development of the city of Batavia itself but also for the unification of the VOC trade administration units in the archipelago. The islands outside Java were increasingly integrated economically and through its maritime connection with Java.

The city of Batavia was built by bringing slaves and laborers from various ethnic groups in the archipelago so that from the beginning the founding of the city in Batavia began to see the growth of multi-ethnic settlements which were segregated by the VOC government into villages according to their respective ethnicity (*wijken system*). Chinese, Arab and Indian migrations added to the social plurality of the city of Batavia. These groups became the backbone for building the city Batavia and its economic growth.

The more robust city of Batavia both economically and physically helped the VOC grow and made it easier for them to organize the trade and administration of the territory which had become part of its power. Along with the advancement of trade the VOC gained a broad territorial footing as a result of their involvement in political conflicts that occurred in the kingdoms of Nusantara. The next role of the VOC in trade in the archipelago, especially at the beginning of the 18th century, was their involvement and their conflicts and collaboration between hostile parties.

Conflict and Collaboration

From the western tip of Sumatra to West Papua there were kingdoms, each of which had territorial claims. The kingdoms were allied with and also hostile to one another. They conquered each other for various purposes. At the same time, the kingdoms the conflict of succession and power were endemic, so that rebellion, civil war and mutual killing among members of the royal family became a common phenomenon in the history of the archipelago for more than three centuries (16th-19th centuries).

It was in such a political situation that Western trade organizations, such as the Portuguese Armada, VOC and EIC gained access to the political affairs of the Indonesian archipelago and slowly gained political and terrestrial footing which would later be inherited as colonial states. Amangkurat II was the first Mataram king to collaborate with the VOC to overcome the Trunojoyo rebellion from Madura. From this collaboration part of the Mataram region on the North West coast began to be handed over to the VOC. Amangkurat

did this over and over again in subsequent succession conflicts in Mataram during the times of Pakubuwana I and Pakubuwana III. The alliance between Mataram and VOC in the Mataram succession conflict caused almost the entire north coast of Java from the West end of Java to the East Edge of Java to fall into the hands of the VOC. So that the Mataram region only remained in the Central Java region and a small part in the west of East Java. After dividing the kingdom of Mataram into three, in 1755 through the Giyanti Agreement and in 1757 through the Salatiga Agreement, the three successor kingdoms of Mataram, the Surakarta Sunanate, the Yogyakarta Sultanate, and the Mangkunegaran Duchy became the VOC's main allies in conquering other regions. For example when the conquest of the eastern tip of Java which was controlled by the Surapati family and the Blambangan Kingdom and also the conquest of other regions.

Similar patterns also occurred with VOC involvement in internal conflicts in the kingdom of Banten during the reign of Sultan Agung Tirtayasa, and conflicts between the Bone and Goa kingdoms in Makassar, Competition between the Sultan of Ternate and Prince Nuku of Tidore in Maluku occurred along with many other conflicts in other regions. Hundreds of political agreements or contracts containing trade agreements and political collaborations were signed between VOC officials in Batavia and the kings of the Nusantara kingdom. Some of the texts of the agreement have been published in the *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico Indicum*. The agreements were used as legal claims for the occupation of the VOC in various regions of the archipelago. Patterns of political diplomacy such as this became an important explanation why the VOC, a trade organization representative from a country that is so small in Western Europe, could gain control of the vast archipelago.

Monopolies in Trade and the Fate of Indigenous Shipping

The VOC trade with native rulers was generally based on contracts with native rulers. In each agreement, the obligations of each party to the bond are mentioned, such as the type of commodity that must be provided and sold to the VOC and the purchase price determined by the VOC. And in

every contract agreement it was always stated that they would only sell the commodity to the VOC. Sales to other European trade organizations were considered violations and threats. Therefore, each agreement is binding in nature and can be seen as a monopoly.

In some important areas in the Archipelago the VOC established branch offices that were equipped with warehouses and port developments, for example in Jepara, Surabaya, Makassar, Ambon and several other places. The presence of the VOC and their trading offices was also obtained from contracts with the local *bumiputra* rulers. In these contracts it is also usually stated that the territorial boundaries of the shipping authority around the trading office. The VOC established the harbourmasters who were responsible for collecting duties or excise for each ship entering its trading concession. All other local ships that pass through these shipping territories which dealt with the VOC had to obtain a pass or VOC flag. Other local vessels that did not have a pass from the VOC were seen as smugglers. But the VOC also provided protection for foreign ships and locals who traded with the VOC. VOC ships routinely patrolled to protect the ships and the territorial waters that were part of their monopoly. The enemies of the VOC merchant ships and their trading allies were pirates or pirates who came mostly from the zulu region of the Southern Philippines and robbers from several other ethnic groups. The other biggest enemy of the VOC were the Bugis merchant ships and their allies in Makassar which were against the Bongaya treaty in 1667. They were all considered smuggling traders.

VOC Peak Territorial Power and Bankruptcy

At the beginning of the 18th century the territorial territory controlled by the VOC through agreements with local authorities or as political concessions for VOC military intervention in conflicts in the Nusantara kingdoms became increasingly widespread. In the second half of the 18th century, the VOC had come to rule almost all of Java except the Surakarta and Yogyakarta regions in southern central Java and a small portion of western eastern Java. Maluku as a whole had fallen under VOC rule. In Kalimantan Banjarmasin and

Pontianak have also become VOC vassals. Meanwhile from southern Sumatra to Palembang the VOC had complete control except for Bengkulu. During this period the VOC became the largest political power respected by other foreign powers and the rulers of the locals.

But ironically at the peak of its political power and territorial control, the VOC went bankrupt. In Indonesian historiography the bankruptcy of the VOC was due to corruption that occurred within the VOC. But in fact the bankruptcy was caused by complex matters. The biggest cause was that VOC's expenditure as a trading airline was already greater than its revenue. The large expenditure was due to the costs of various military expeditions sent in various conflicts that occurred in the territories of the Nusantara kingdoms and other regions in other parts of the world where VOC trading houses were located, such as in India, Sri Lanka, and South Africa. Another thing that absorbed VOC finances was maritime security operations against pirates or bucaners which grew in the second half of the 18th century and also border conflicts with British rule in Sumatra and eastern and northern Kalimantan. VOC debts began to swell so that at the end of the 18th century the VOC was declared bankrupt and liquidated by the State. The entire burden of the debt was taken over by the state. All VOC assets in the form of goods, ships, buildings and commercial power territories located in all parts of the world were managed by the state and used to support the colony.

England in the archipelago

England, through the British Trade Company, East India Company (EIC) began to gain an economic footing in Bengkulu in 1685 and ten years later forged an agreement with the Dutch VOC Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Batavia over the pepper monopoly in this region. The expansion of pepper planting in this area was carried out by enforcing agreements with local authorities. The British established two strongholds and settlements in two places. First at Fort York which was located on the West Coast of Bengkulu and then Fort Marlborough on Tanjung Karang. Bengkulu is a fertile region and pepper was the most important commodity in demand in the world market.

Bengkulu was ruled by the Islamic Kingdom of Bengkulu with its sovereign as Sultan. At the beginning of the arrival of the British Trade Company it was well received by the local authorities and became a good trading partner of the king. But resistance by local people came under the rule of Sultan Mansyur and Sultan Sulaiman due to some burdensome trade agreements. This resistance made Britain soften the terms of the agreement. Since then British colonialism in Bengkulu (Sumatra west-coast) did not experience resistance from the local community which means that although minor incidents still occurred such as the killing of two EIC officials in Bengkulu Captain Hamilton in 1793 and Resident Thomas Parr in 1807.

B. ESTABLISHMENT OF A COLONIAL STATE

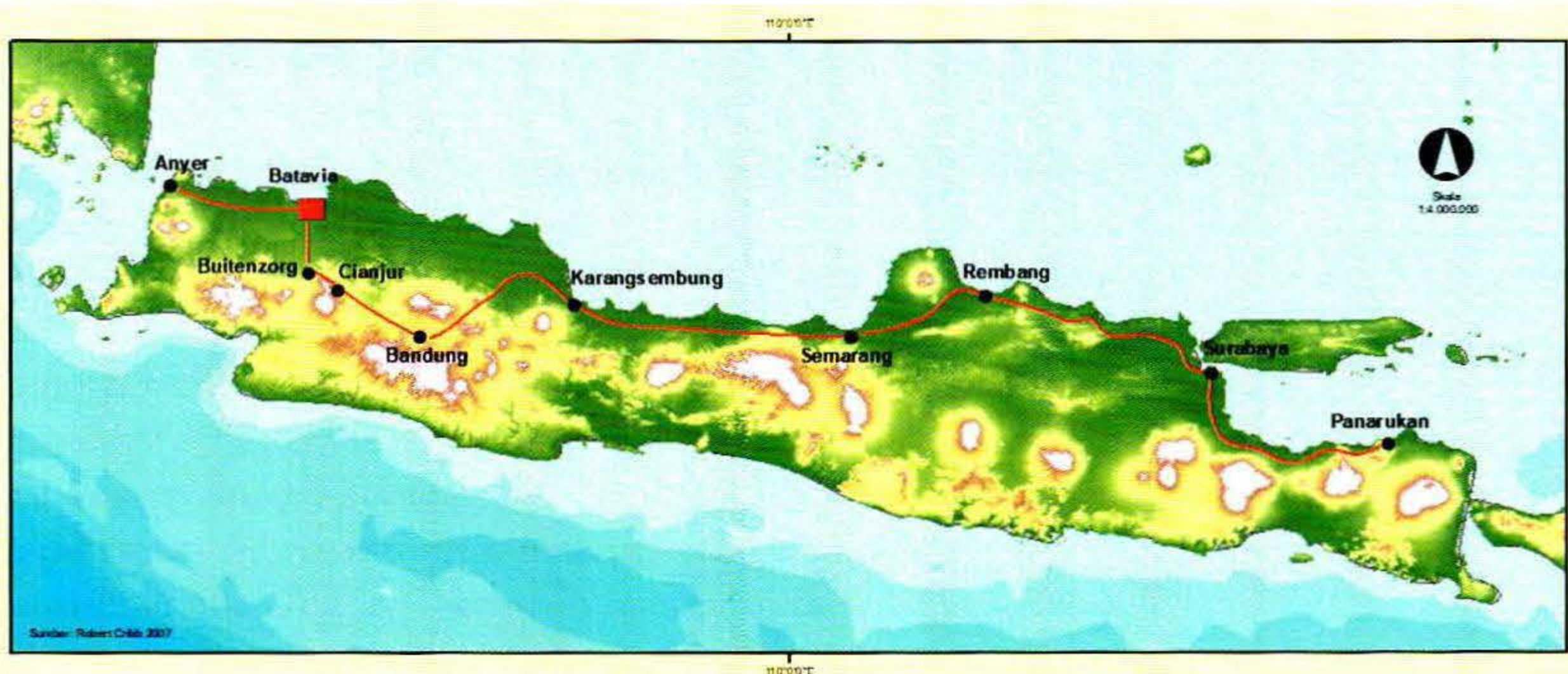
During the XIX Century the Indonesian nation underwent colonialism under Britain, France and the Netherlands. The British had occupied Bengkulu, Sumatra, since 1685 and occupied this area until the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824. Meanwhile the Dutch who had established a trade colony in Indonesia since the beginning of the XVII century established a Colonial State in the early nineteenth century with a central government in Batavia, Java. During the period 1808-1811, the French took Java from Dutch rule. In 1811 Java was taken over by the British. In 1816 the British returned power over Java to the Dutch. The change of colonial power in Indonesia was closely related to various political events that occurred in Europe during the 1800-1820s.

Colonial Administration and Policy

In 1800 the Dutch East Indies colonial state was established. The highest leadership position in the colonies was held by a Governor General based in Batavia. Its territories include Java, Madura, Sulawesi, Maluku, southern and southeast Kalimantan, and southern Sumatra. Colonial power came to a climax in the 1920s when the entire territory which is now the territory of the Republic of Indonesia was successfully occupied by the Dutch.

In the first twenty years since the establishment of the Colonial State there was a political transition marked by various conflicts and regime changes, both on the part of local and colonial authorities. In the first eight years, the colonial government was still busy with the transition of the administration and administration of the VOC to the colonial government. Colonial policies had not been effectively implemented, but the symptoms of political relations with local authorities began to escalate especially in Central Java. Before this transition went well, what happened in Europe disrupted the initial plans of colonial government and policy.

In 1808 the Dutch were occupied by France and Herman Willem Daendels was sent to Java to take over the power of the Dutch East Indies. During the approximately three years of occupying Java, Daendels made many major changes. He ran a hard and oppressive government. He built postal road projects, from Anyer on the West End of the island of Java to Panaroekan in the East End of Java. Through the indigenous rulers he mobilized forced labor known as *corvées* to redirect his large project. He also exploited the forest for various purposes of infrastructure and defense development. Its main task was to defend Java against the British which had made an alliance with the Dutch king to retake Java.



This map shows the route of Jalan Besar or Groot Postweg which was built by the Governor General H.W. Daendels

Daendels also imposed new protocol rules on indigenous rulers in terms of relations and position in the colonial government. These rules severely limited the power and feudal rights of indigenous rulers and were considered to position indigenous rulers in a low and disrespectful position so that this policy led to resistance, especially from Sultan Hamengku Buwana II (ruled in 1792) in Yogyakarta. This king was removed by Daendels in 1810 because of his defiance and was replaced by the crown prince who later became Sultan Hamengku Buwana III (1810-1811). Coinciding with these events in the inner palace of Yogyakarta many political intrigues occurred. There were several political factions in the palace who each wanted to fight for power, especially the sons of the king's wives and king's brothers. This weakened the position of king and kingdom.

In 1811 British troops began to occupy Java and in a short time were able to take over Daendels military power. This political development was exploited by Sultan Sepuh, the term for Sultan Hamengku Buwana II, who had been ousted by Daendels and allowed him to return to power. He took back the power of his son Hamengkubuwana III who had not even ruled for a year.

However, the second period of Sultan Hamengku Buwana II's reign (1811-1812) was not long, because the British colonial government under the leadership of Thomas Stamford Raffles also had the same attitude as Daendels. He was even more assertive towards Hamengku Buwana II. The Yogyakarta Palace would be attacked with military force if the sultan did not comply with colonial rule. The threat of Raffles was proven. In 1812, the Yogyakarta palace was attacked and all of the palace's assets were seized, including hundreds of manuscripts and palace heirlooms. Sultan Hamengku Buwana II was exiled on Penang Island (1813-1817) and then shifted to Ambon (1817-1826). The power of the Yogyakarta palace returned to the Sultan Hamengku Buwana III (1813-1814). The disobedience of Sultan Hamengku Buwana II was followed by one of his sons-in-law who became rulers in East Java, Raden Ronggo Prawirodirjo II. But the resistance would easily be ended.

Resistance to British colonialism also occurred in East Java, especially in the Besuki region. The resistance was led by Demang Muneng. It was triggered by the sale of government land to Chinese businessmen by Daendels. Local people experienced excessive oppression from the new Chinese rulers. Actually the target of this rebellion was the Chinese landlords, but a British officer was killed and this revolt while he was attending a party at the home of Han Tik Ko, the Besuki ruler.

In 1814 the Dutch and British held a convention in London to discuss the fate of their colonies in Asia. In this convention both parties agreed to hand back Java to the Dutch. But the results of this convention could only be realized two years later. In 1816, the British left Java, but their position in Bengkulu was maintained. Thus, since then the Dutch East Indies colonial government was reinforced on Java in other regions which had become its former dominion.

The map below shows local resistance to Dutch colonialism in Indonesia during the nineteenth century.



A Colonial Country and Capitalism

After the departure of the British, the Dutch East Indies Colonial State was re-established. The first steps undertaken by the Dutch East Indies Governor General were to create an effective system of colonial exploitation and an administrative system of colonial government that supported it. The Dutch East Indies territory was divided into two main administrations, namely the territories which were directly controlled by the colonial government or the so-called Gouvernement (government) territory and the territories under the authority of the bumiputra rulers who had semi-autonomous powers, namely the territories of the kings and aristocrats or *vorstenlanden*, especially in Central Java and parts of East Java. In the Gouvernement region, land taxes were introduced and saw the establishment and expansion of state plantations, particularly sugar cane, coffee, indigo, tobacco and tea plantations. In the Vorstenlanden region, plantations were also being introduced but were managed by private entrepreneurs. These plantations were developed on land rented from kings and aristocrats.

The ups and downs of the land leasing policy of the kings and nobles in the *vorstenlanden* regions caused various reactions from the people in these regions. This policy was also one of the triggers for the spread of the Java War (1825-1830) which lasted for five years. As a result of this war, the Dutch experienced serious financial difficulties so that after the end of the war in 1830, the colonial government began to apply a new colonial exploitation system called *cultuursetelsel* (cultural system), or which in Indonesian historiography was known as Tanam Paksa. The new exploitation system introduced by Governor General Van den Bosch obliged residents of the Dutch East Indies in the *gouvernement* area to plant certain crops determined by the colonial government. The harvest of these plants was handed over to the state plantation companies to be processed and exported. This policy triggered various food crises and famine in several regions of Java. This policy lasted for forty years and was only ended in 1870 after various criticisms emerged from the colonial politicians. Criticism was mainly directed at the state monopoly for the development of capitalism in the colonies.

In 1870, the Tanam Paksa System was terminated and replaced with a liberal economic system. In this system, the colonial state was no longer the sole actor in developing capitalism in the colonial lands. Since then the state invited capital investment from foreign private entrepreneurs to develop their businesses in the colony. Since then, hundreds of private companies emerged which had invested in plantations, especially in Java, and later in Sumatra. East Sumatra (now North Sumatra) became the first important area to develop foreign private plantation investment in the Dutch East Indies. In the vorstenlanden area foreign private investment in plantations had been developing since the 1820s, and this policy continued until the late Colonial period.

Agrarian Reform

This foreign investment policy in the plantation sector in Java has led to various demands for reform in the agrarian sector. Foreign plantation entrepreneurs had difficulties such as access to land to develop their businesses because indigenous agrarian management was seen as a barrier. Feudal ties and obligations imposed on European land tenants were considered burdensome. This applied both in the gouvernement areas and in the vorstenlanden regions. Therefore private entrepreneurs demanded that the colonial government put pressure on the indigenous government to reform agriculture if foreign investment policies were to be continued.

These demands were responded well by the colonial government so that agrarian reform policies began to be implemented in the 1870s in the gouvernement areas. This policy is known as defeudalization. To break the feudal ties, the regents or native rulers received a salary from the government. Thus there was no need for feudal ties and obligations from European businessmen with the ruling natives.

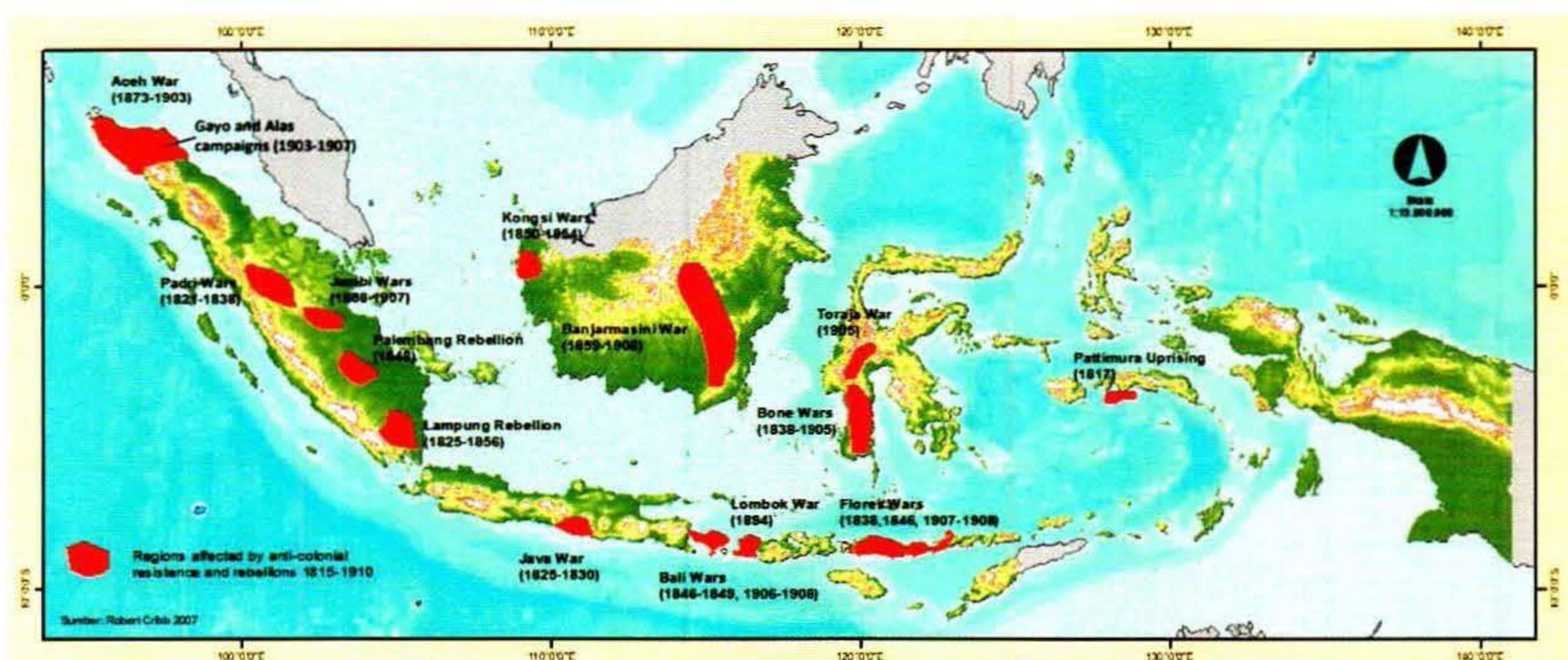
Meanwhile in the vorstenlanden area the reform of agraria was tough and slow, because in general the kings of the vorstenlanden region opposed the reform of agriculture. The feudal ties and obligations were important to

maintain because from this system the economy as well as the social-feudal prestige of the kings and nobles were sourced. Even so in the 1880s some of the demands for agrarian reform began to be carried out little by little, especially in terms of extending the period of land leases that could reach up to 30 years. It was only in 1918 that fundamental reforms in the region could be implemented.

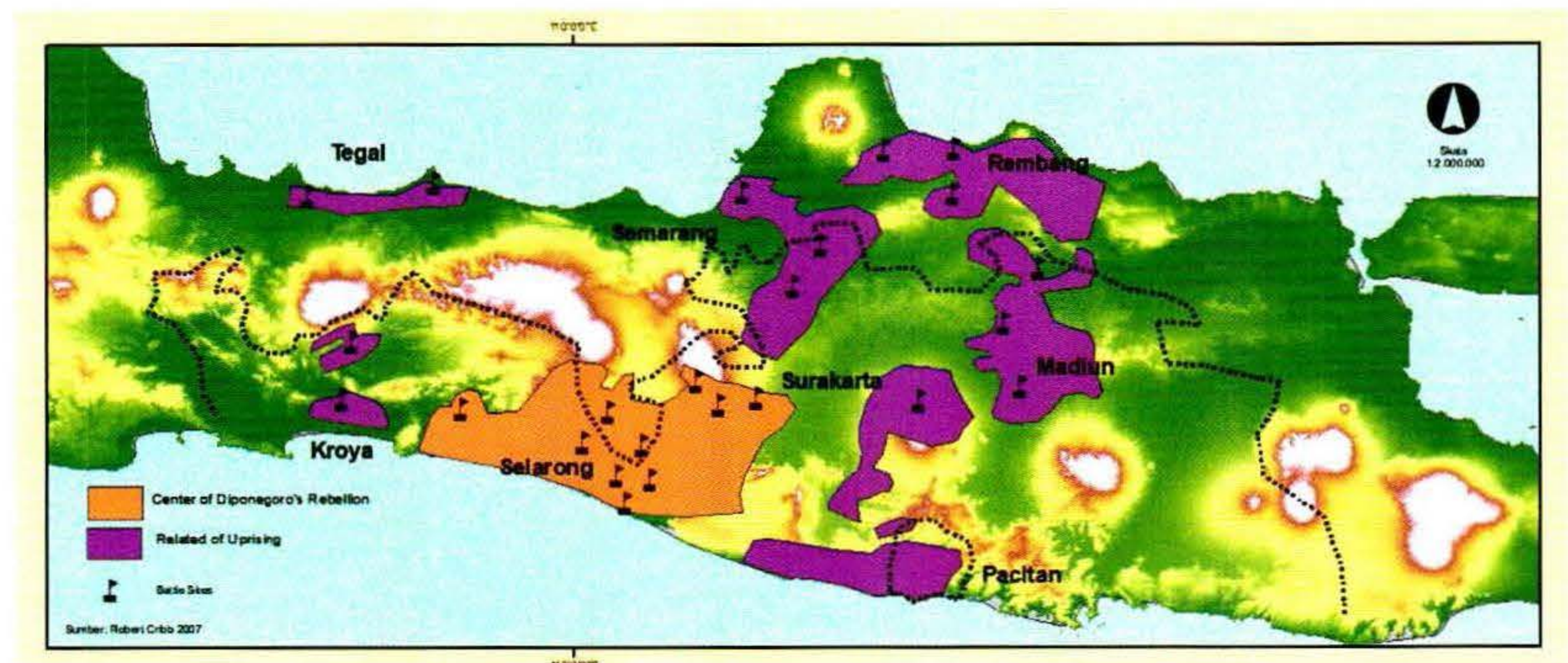
Social Unrest and Resistance to Colonialism

Agrarian reforms, defeudalization and various forms of colonial government interference with the affairs of native government in conjunction with the adverse effects of colonial exploitation became common causes of social unrest which then culminated in resistance to and rebellion against the colonial government. This resistance was led by the aristocratic and village elite and received broad support from the common people. The prominent ideology of this resistance was Ratu Adil (A Just Queen).

The map below shows various resistance to Western presence in the archipelago from the early nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries.



The greatest resistance to Dutch colonialism in Java was demonstrated in the five years of the Java War which lasted from 1825-1830. It was a war which cost a lot of money on the Dutch side and claimed hundreds of thousands of lives from both sides. Diponegoro was the eldest son of Sultan Hamengkubuwana III Yogyakarta and had been raised by his grandfather since childhood outside the palace. He studied Islam and was a follower of *kejawen*, a Javanese religious tradition, too. He used the ideology of Ratu Adil to oppose Dutch rule. His resistance to the Dutch colonial government was triggered by his extensive intervention in politics in the Javanese court and from complaints from the wider community against colonial exploitation. The resistance began in Yogyakarta and extended throughout Central Java and parts of East Java. He was only defeated by being trapped in a negotiation in Magelang in 1830 and then banished to Manado in North Sulawesi and Makassar in South Sulawesi. He spent the rest of his life in exile. The map below illustrates the points of war and resistance of Prince Diponegoro (1825-1830) in Central Java and East Java.



C. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE OF THE COMMUNITY

The Fate of the Archipelagic Kingdoms

In the colonial situation some parts of the archipelago that were once kingdoms had been abolished since the VOC period and then the VOC vassal regents were put in place or even completely eliminated. This happened in Java, for example, in Banten, West Java and in Banyuwangi in the Eastern tip of Java. The Sultanate of Banten was eliminated and then a regent was placed there. Likewise, Ujung Timur Jawa, the Kingdom of Blambangan was abolished and its territory divided in two, after which regents were placed there. The same was true for small kingdoms in Maluku. However, most of the other Nusantara kingdoms which had great political power and had a strategic function in strengthening colonial power were maintained as vassals. Some of these defended kingdoms were given semi-autonomous powers to manage the territory of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta and the Pakualaman Duchy of Yogyakarta, Surakarta and Mangkunegaran Surakarta. Cirebon Sultanate, Ternate Sultanate, Tidore, Palembang Sultanate and several other kingdoms.

In the semi-autonomous regions, the colonial government placed a colonial official such as a resident and assistant resident, who functioned as the liaison of the colonial government as well as the controller of their power. The political rights of native bumiputra were restricted; their behavior was controlled and all important decisions from administrative matters to royal succession had to be consulted with the colonial government. Palace military were restricted and even eliminated altogether. In the two kingdoms in Surakarta and Yogyakarta, for example, the position of the governor occupied two positions as the deputy king who carried out daily government and at the same time as the representative of the colonial government in internal affairs of the kingdom. Tense relations between indigenous leaders and colonial governments often occurred. Kings and their families who disobeyed and were seen as endangering colonial rule were replaced or worse, disposed of or exiled.

Cultural Development and Palace Literature

The narrow rights and the restrictions on the political activities of the king and the aristocrats had a great influence on cultural life, especially in the palace and in the houses of the nobility. The kings and the nation began to be directly involved in various cultural activities both as actors and as patrons. They wrote chronicles or stories, composed didactic poems about morality and good leadership, composed religious texts, and sponsored other cultural activities such as music, dance and court rituals. Palace poets were appointed and confirmed. Literary and historiographic production developed rapidly.

In Java, for example, kings and great poets emerged with their works, such as Pakubuwana IV with *Wulang Reh*, Mangkunegara IV with *Wedatama* and *Tripama*, Yasadipura I and II and Ranggawarsita with dozens of works. There was Pakubuwana V with *Centhini Fiber*. Even Diponegoro in exile also produced chronicles which have now received world heritage status from UNESCO. In the Malay world such as in Sumatra, especially in the kingdom of Riau many *Hikayat* were produced, as well as in Palembang and Aceh. In South Sulawesi, these was *I La Galigo* which was also designated as a world heritage by UNESCO. Another popular classic work in Java, Sumatra and even Southeast Asia is the *Panji Stories*. This work has also received the same status by the UNESCO .

In addition to new literary works created in this period classical works were also copied in the Hindu-Buddhist era as well as Islamic works from the Middle East. The *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* are classic works that were rewritten in Java. Meanwhile the translation or copying and adaptation of Islamic literary works such as the *Tale of Muhammad*, the *Book of Fiber Ambiya*, *Usulbiyah*, *Carita Yusuf* and so on are commonly found in court libraries. Also other world popular stories adapted and using a local script such as the *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnaen*, the *Napoleon Bonaparte Letters* and so on. This shows that literacy in the archipelago interacts closely with the development of world literature. In short the nineteenth century can be said to have seen the flourishing of culture or the age of literacy in the environment of the royal palaces.

Society for Local People and their Culture

The indigenous people occupied the lowest position in the colonial social structure. They were people from various ethnic groups who had grown up in the archipelago. They were divided into three main groups, namely the nobility, priyayi or royal officials, and ordinary people. This basic three part system was more diverse in each region.

The life of the nobility was very exclusive. They lived in the royal palaces, in the neighborhood around the palace, in large traditional houses surrounded by walls and archways. They had palace guards or palace military, had many servants or ladies in waiting. They dressed luxuriously in high-grade textiles and wore flashy gold ornaments. They had oversized umbrellas according to their rank and degree of nobility. Their livelihood was supported by the ownership of large tracts of land that were farmed by smallholders. In the coastal areas they also enjoyed the results of trade and customs charges.

They established marital relations with fellow nobles, even though they also had many concubines and mistresses from the majority groups. They often held large and grand cultural parties and performances. They became supporters of a rigid feudal culture, creating the language of the court and the nobility among them. Their life became the ideal or model for the life of the priyayi and the public with all its limitations. Meanwhile, the Priyayi or royal officials built a life that took as a model the life of the nobles, both in their palaces or houses, and in dressing, speaking and other aspects of daily life.

Most people in the Dutch East Indies in general worked as farmers or laborers. They lived in the countryside developing religious culture. Their lives depended on the generosity of the nobles and priyaji who were landowners. Their rights to property or ownership of land were also very weak. They used local languages and were unlikely to be literate.

European society

The Dutch East Indies Colonial Society was a pluralistic society. The Colonial Government made three important categories in the composition of colonial society, namely the Dutch and Europeans at the highest level, followed by Asians and Foreigners and lastly indigenous or native people. Europeans generally lived in urban areas. They had a variety of professions both as colonial officials and employees, businessmen, private workers, soldiers, teachers and other elite occupations. Ethnically they consisted of Dutch, European, Indonesian or Creole identities.

They lived in European settlements in strategic places close to army headquarters and urban centers. They formed places to get together or so-called *societeit* gathering places suitable for their social and cultural activities. These places were so special that people outside their ethnic groups are prohibited from entering. They developed European culture in the Dutch East Indies, both in terms of dressing, eating, drinking and various social aspects such as ethics, marriage and religious life. In general, they were Presbyterian Christian and Catholic. They built their own places of worship in the form of churches and cathedrals. Their houses were generally stone-walled houses in European and colonial architectural styles. In their houses with large front and back yards there were guards. They were very fond of classical European music played on piano and violin. They also attended classical music concerts in big cities.

Indo-European Society and Indies Culture

Indo European people, people from mixed marriages, Europeans with a local person, can be divided into two groups. These are those who are socially and culturally inclined to Europe and those who are inclined to local identity. Those who are inclined to Europe follow the cultural patterns of European society, while those who are inclined to local identity do not hesitate to wear men's clothes such as kebaya and sarong. Indo-Europeans in this second

category gave birth to a distinctive culture called Indies, in which we can find characteristics of European and local culture united. The combination is not only in terms of dress, but also in the culture of food, language and the features of the home where they live. Indies houses are mostly found on the outskirts of cities or in European plantation areas. In Indies family homes, many men and women are employed as clerks or domestic servants. They take care of keeping the house and garden clean and tidy, washing clothes, cooking and babysitting. Male helpers also take care of pets such as horses and dogs. They also become messengers to deliver goods and families at various destinations.

They have a tendency to think rationally but still believe in local customs and taboos, such as myths, soothsayers and masters of the supernatural, massage, herbal remedies and other traditional medical practices. The language of the Indies is a mixed language or what is known as the spoken vernacular language, in which some Dutch words are spoken in accent or native tongue pronunciation and grammar. They produce a unique literary work called the *Indische Letteren*. They are categorized as their own genre in the history of literary works because of the specificity of the themes raised in their works. Their works are generally written in Dutch but tell their complicated life situated between European culture and local.

Chinese Society, Peranakans and Culture

The second category of society in the colonial structure are Asians, namely the Chinese and other Eastern Orientals, such as Indians, Arabs, Japanese and so on. In the order of colonial society they were placed in a *wijken* system or system of neighborhoods or settlements based on their ethnic categories. They generally lived in urban areas. Therefore, in the cities in the Dutch East Indies many are known *Kampung Cina* or Chinatown, *Kampung Arab*, and *Kampung Keling* (India). In the villages the village heads were placed with the rank of Captain, Lieutenant or Major.

Among the Asian peoples of the Dutch East Indies, the Chinese had the largest population. They have been found in the archipelago for centuries. The

earliest records found show they have settled in the archipelago since the 4th century AD. The wave of Chinese migration in the archipelago has continued since then for various reasons, such as warfare and shipping war expeditions, trade missions, the search for a safe life because of the war situation at home, the search for new economic life, the demand for labor in the Dutch East Indies as well as other personal reasons. Chinese people generally work as traders or business people. During the colonial period they gained strategic positions from the colonial government as holders of monopolistic positions in various businesses and professions, such as the harbourmaster or customs officer, work in the sale and distribution of opium, salt and toll gates officials.

Chinese people generally lived in a Chinatown or Chinese Village led by a Lieutenant, or Captain. In certain places the Chinatown was led by a Major, such as in Bangka. They built distinctive houses, with distinctive Chinese-style furniture. Inside Chinese homes, space is always provided for worship and prayer and for paying respect to their ancestors. Their houses are also often at the same time a place for their business, especially shops and other services. The Chinese community is also divided into two groups, full-blooded (*totok*) and mixed blooded (*peranakan*). Culturally they were also divided, inclined to both Chinese culture and indigenous culture. Those who are inclined to Chinese culture embraced Confucianism or later Buddhism. They built temples for their worship. They limited their association with other ethnic groups, but not infrequently they also married to other ethnic groups. Their graveyards were separated from other ethnic groups.

Meanwhile those who have a tendency toward indigenous culture changed their names to Javanese. They also chose to follow or practice Islam, followed the circumcision tradition, cut their pigtails and got married to fellow indigenous members of the same religion. They also built their own mosques or mingled with locals. In their homes could be found musical instruments such as the Javanese gamelan, and at social occasions many Javanese cultural arts and performances were held. In the cities of Surakarta and Yogyakarta, many people of Chinese descent became actors and supporters of Javanese culture, such as puppet theater and traditional dance. In literature, a Chinese figure in Yogyakarta named Ko Ho Sing wrote his autobiography in Javanese

script and language in the form of a traditional Javanese poetry (*Macapat*).

In everyday communication, ethnic Chinese spoke to each other with one of the Chinese regional languages, such as Hakka or Teowchu. But not a few Chinese people who were born in the Dutch East Indies no longer knew how to use their mother tongue. They used Malay, a mixture of Malay-Dutch or Javanese or other local regional languages. They built their own schools but a small number also entered European schools. They also had their own literary works which are categorized as Chinese Literature or Chinese Peranakan. Generally their literary works are written in a dialect of Malay called Market Malay or Low Malay according to the colonial perspective. Their literary works are generally about romance, crime or real events that occurred in the Dutch East Indies and in China. In addition they also translated or adapted Chinese and Western literary works. They also had various media such as magazines and newspapers as part of business development, literacy and contemporary knowledge.

Arab Society and Culture

The Arab and Middle Eastern communities were part of the Asian minority group in the Dutch East Indies. Their presence in the archipelago goes back a very long way. From historical records in Sumatra they have built settlements since the 8th century, while in Java they began to appear from the 13th century. They generally lived in urban areas, but many of their children mingled with local communities and lived in rural areas. Their profession was generally in the fields of business and commerce and some became teachers of the Islamic religion. Some Arab elites and Arab descendants became religious advisers in royal palaces. The trading businesses that are occupied primarily by the Arabs are the trade and industry of textiles, gold and household furniture. Like the Chinese community they also lived in a separate district, for example Arab Town, led by a village chief with the rank of Captain or Lieutenant.

In everyday association they use Malay or regional languages such as Javanese. They had a tendency to mingle with the indigenous people. They generally

married native women while their female offspring tend to get married to Arab men. As Muslims they built their own places of worship in the form of mosques. In the territories of the kingdom they were concentrated in Islamic villages called Kauman. They got special positions from local kings in leading religious ceremonies and palace rituals, such as the Javanese ceremony (grebeg) and commemoration of Islamic holidays. They set up religious schools and gathered with orthodox Muslims (*santri*) from various circles.

Indian Society and Culture

Indian communities and Indian descendents in the Dutch East Indies also became a minority in the social structure of colonial society. They lived in Indian villages led by a village head. Their presence in the archipelago also goes back a long time. Their profession is generally as traders, especially in textiles and clothing. They maintained their own culture complete with Hindu and Buddhist beliefs. They had their own temples as their place of worship. They also limited their association with locals and built marital relations with other Indians. However, mixing with indigenous people also became increasingly common in the late 19th century. In their daily interactions with other people they used different languages according to their ethnic origin, but with other ethnic groups used Malay or some other regional language.

FURTHER READING

- Blusse, L. (1986). *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia*. Leiden: Forris Publication.
- Carrey, P.B.R. (2008). *The Power of Prophecy, Prince Dipanegara and the End of an Old Order in Central Java 1780-1855*. Leiden: VKI.
- Houben, V.J.H. (1994). *Kraton and Company, Surakarta and Yogyakarta 1830-1870*. Leiden, KITLV Press.
- Knaap, G. (1996). *Shallow Water Rising ideas, Shipping and Trade in Java around 1775*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

Nagtegaal, L. *Riding the Dutch Tiger: The Dutch East Indies Company and the Northeast Coast of Java 1680-1743*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

CHAPTER 3

MODERNIZATION AND THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

INTRODUCTION

The Archipelago in the era of imperialism and colonialism is a group of islands from Aceh in the West end to Papua in the East. Various ethnic groups live in strategic geographical boundaries of the archipelago from the traffic of world trade. This group of islands is inhabited by various ethnic groups who embrace different religions, and who speak different regional languages. The existing leadership is a traditional leadership headed by a king whose authority is continued for generations.

The archipelago was given the name *Dutch East Indies*. Since the arrival of the Dutch fleet in the 1600s there has been an exploitation of natural resources in the archipelago. Spices became the main commodity being traded at that time. After hundreds of years of living under colonial rule, the spirit of nationalism grew in an effort to escape from the shackles of colonialism.

The beginning of the struggle of the Indonesian people to escape from colonialism was the growth of a sense of nationalism. The spirit of nationalism grew almost throughout every part of the archipelago, culminating in the 1908 Youth Congress which gave birth to the Youth Pledge. The growth of nationalism is a result of the Colonial Government's Ethical Political policy which gave birth to knowledgeable Indonesian sons and daughters of nationalism and realized how bad the colonial system was that had been

running for hundreds of years on the archipelago.

A. MODERNIZATION AND COLLECTIVE AWARENESS

The originator of the growth of nationalism was the Ethical Policy imposed by the colonial government in the colonies. Ethical politics is rooted in humanitarian matters and has economic benefits. The criticism of the previous colonial government was also been raised by Edward Douwes Dekker or Multatuli in his work *Max Havelaar* (1860), and this opened a new horizon to the Dutch eyes on the colonies in the archipelago. This novel, whose original title was *Max Havelaar, of de koffij-veilingen der Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij* (“Max Havelaar, Auction of Dutch Trading Company Coffee”) tells the suffering of the Lebak, Banten residents of the forced planting policy of the Dutch East Indies colonial government. The ideas in this novel brought about a desire to reduce the suffering of the oppressed people in their own country.

The beginning was an article on the politics of reciprocation, “een eereschuld” by a Dutch legal expert, Conrad Theodor van Deventer in an article in *De Gids* in 1899, which put forward the view that the Kingdom of the Netherlands had benefited millions of guilders from the results of the Cultivation Policy in Indonesia, so that it was time to think about the politics of reciprocation for the Colonies. He considered that the Indies community had suffered enough. It was time for the Dutch government to pay attention to the progress of the people of their colonies. The Dutch government had to redeem its debt to the indigenous people by giving top priority to their welfare.

Journalist Peter Broshoft (Vickers, Adrian, 2005), wrote about the moral obligations of the Dutch government which should be given to the people of the Dutch East Indies. The population of the Dutch East Indies needed help not oppression as a colony. As editor of *De Locomotief*, Broshoft then sent out journalists across the archipelago to proclaim the local situation, about poverty, crop failure, hunger and disease that plagued the 1900s. The news about the conditions in the colonies, the Dutch East Indies, at that time

was very bright. Dutch people get realistic reports about the condition of the colony.

On September 17, 1901, Queen Wilhelmina at the time of ascending the throne gave a speech, that based on Christian values, the government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands had a moral obligation to develop the colony in the form of Ethical Policy (Ethische Politiek). This policy showed the good intentions of the colonial government to improve the socio-economic situation of the colonies by increasing attention to the fields of health, education, communication, irrigation and other infrastructure. Three policies were put in place, Irrigation, Transmigration and Education. As the historian M.C. Ricklefs said:

Supporters of ethical politics agreed to improve education for the people of Indonesia. There are two models of approach to education for the natives. The first is aimed at the elite and the second is for ordinary people. Is Snouck Hurgronje and J.H. Abendanon, the first director of "Ethical" education (1900-1905) supported an elite approach. The education which is aimed at the Indonesian elite is designed as European-style with the language of instruction being Dutch. They are expected to be able to take over the work handled by Dutch government employees. The aim is to create a group of elites who are grateful and willing to work together, reducing the government's budget. Meanwhile, Idenburg and Governor General van Heutsz (1904-09) supported education for the lower classes, with a more basic and practical pattern of education using regional languages as the language of instruction (Ricklefs, 2011, 229-330).

The elitist approach was expected to produce leadership for the new Dutch-Indonesian enlightenment era, while the populist approach was expected to contribute directly to the welfare of the indigenous people. In fact none of these policies produced what became the main goal of its supporters.

Adopting Western Education

Under Abendanon, an elitist approach was preferred. In 1900, there were three "head schools" (hoofdenscholen) in three cities, Bandung, Magelang and Probolinggo redesigned to become schools to produce government

employees who were named OSVIA (Opleidingscholen voor inlandsche ambtenaren) or Training schools for native officials. This education program lasted for five years (then down to three years in 1927), with Dutch as the language of instruction and was open to all Indonesians who had graduated from European lower schools. Prospective students then were no longer just from the elite.

Meanwhile in 1900-2, the “Doctor-Javanese” school in Weltevreden was changed to STOVIA (School tot opleiding van inlandsche arsten, “School for the training of indigenous doctors”). The main requirements for entering these two schools (OSVIA and STOVIA) was being graduates of lower schools which began in 1891. Thus this school is actually intended and open to all Indonesians, even though in reality only the rich have the ability to send their children to both prestigious schools. Abendanon then eliminated school fees for parents whose income was below 50 guilders per month (Rickelfs, 2011, 330).

Abendanon is also known as a figure who wanted to expand educational opportunities for Javanese women, despite facing challenges from various circles, including the conservative regents. This happened with Raden Ajeng Kartini (1879-1904), daughter of Raden Mas Adipati Arya Sasraningrat from Jepara, one of the few forward-thinking regents. Kartini is one of the few women who had the opportunity to sit in a European lower school. The school is famous for its aspirations to advance women in its classrooms. However, Kartini’s noble ideals which were considered liberal at that time never received the government’s main attention, especially also because of the influence of the conservative regents and colonial officials. National awareness was first raised by R.A. Kartini which she called national awareness. What Kartini was doing as a Javanese woman opened up the horizons of thinking of the young. Kartini realized the importance of education for the indigenous population, not least for women, and she later fought for it by establishing the Kartini School. Education was the key to the progress of a nation.

It was Abendanon who then spread Kartini’s ideals to women by publishing Kartini’s letters in 1911. The letters were the result of Kartini’s correspondence

with Abendanon's wife in the period 1899-1904. A collection of Kartini's letters then appeared with the title, *Door duisternis tot licht*, "After dark comes the light." The impact of the publication of Kartini's thoughts is quite extensive, especially with non-governmental organizations. In 1913 a private foundation was set up called Kartini Fonds, or "Yayasan Kartini," which administered Dutch language education for Javanese women who were then given subsidies by the colonial government. The foundation also opened Kartini Schools in several places for the advancement of women.

Until now the ideas of progress for women proposed by Kartini, are considered still relevant and are often the main trigger for women to make progress in the field of education. Kartini is remembered as the first female emancipation figure and national awakening figure who brought the idea of a national identity, and she would have an influence on the growth of nationalism on the history of the Indonesian nation.

This Western education, which was embraced by indigenous people, then brought a new horizon in the process of thinking in the life of the nation. The ideas of nationalism were born as a result of the introduction of Western education. The most significant improvement in the education system was the two-grade primary school system, which was still limited to a small part of Indonesian society around 1892-3. First Class schools were for the aristocratic elite and Second Class schools were for the common people. Dutch was the language of instruction and Indonesians got wider opportunities to get Dutch lessons. However, these First Class schools were a "native" education which made it impossible for an Indonesian to jump from this system to an equivalent European system, or to obtain further education. These First Class schools were later converted into *Holandsche-Inlandsche Schools* (HIS) or Dutch-Indigenous schools in 1914 (Ricklefs, 2011, 332-333). The colonial government also established a "Dutch-Chinese," school in 1908, with Dutch as the language of instruction in all schools.

In 1914 further education after HIS was opened, at the level of junior high school, the MULO schools (*Meer uitgebreid lager onderwijs*), constituted continued lower education. This school is intended for the upper class

Indonesians, Chinese people, and Europeans who had completed their first grade, HIS. The highest level of education that was formed in 1919 was at the high school level, AMS (Algemene middelbare scholen). This school was established to provide opportunities for Indonesians to be able to continue to tertiary education at the university level which only existed in the Netherlands. According to historical records, Indonesians who successfully entered tertiary institutions were those who successfully graduated in the European system to HBS (Hogere burgerschool) or upper school for the middle class. In 1905, there were only 36 Indonesians who had successfully entered the HBS. In 1913, Hosein Djajadningrat, one of the descendants of the regent of West Java, became the first Indonesian to get a doctorate degree at Leiden University, with a dissertation on Banten History (Ricklefs, 2011, 333).

Higher education in Indonesia, only opened up in 1920 and 1924. The Technical High School, Technische Hoogeschool was established in 1920 in Bandung. Later after independence it changed its name to the Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB). Four years later there was a “law school” in Batavia, Rechtshoogeshool, which was the forerunner of the Faculty of Law, University of Indonesia. In 1927 STOVIA was changed to Geneeskundige Hoogeschool, or “medical high school,” the forerunner of the Faculty of Medicine, University of Indonesia.

Education as an Ethical Political practice at that time did not touch the lower classes that were provided by Second Class schools. Large funds were needed to expand schools for the grassroots, as there was a lack of support from supporters of the idea of an Ethical Policy. One way out was then taken by Governor General van Heutsz in 1907, by opening village schools (desascholen or volkscholen) or public schools. Some of the funding was borne by the villagers with limited government assistance. The education period was three years and it taught basic skills such as reading, arithmetic, and practical skills with local languages as an introduction. In 1912 2500 village schools were established, increasing to 9,600 in 1930, with a composition of 40% of Indonesian children aged between 6 and years (Ricklefs, 2011, 334). The “Indigenous high school,” or Inlandsche Vervolgscholen, was established in 1915 to provide opportunities for students to pursue higher education.

In 1908, the Second Class school was changed to *Standaardscholen*, “a standard school”, which was intended for those who were engaged in trade and leaving life on a farm. The Chinese were able to get an education in this standard school which seems to be a ‘middle class’ school between the lower class village school and the upper class First Class school. These schools were deemed to deviate from the education system and were converted into village schools after the 1930 Depression.

Barriers occurred for rural children who wanted to continue from village schools to a further level that only existed in the European system. To overcome this then in 1921 *Schakelschool* was opened, a “connection school”, which had a five-year education period. This school is a continuation from the village school to the level of HIS. The graduates can continue to MULO. However, on the other hand, villagers were not interested in continuing to higher education and also were unable to pay the school fees. So in 1929, most connections schools were closed (Ricklefs, 2011, 335).

Major developments in the field of education took place as a result of the enactment of Ethical Politics, and continued to develop until 1930. The economic depression of the 1930s halted this progress. However, the increase in education among the people spread. Statistics show that in 1900, Indonesians who attended both private and government schools throughout Indonesia numbered 265,940 people. In the 1930s the number increased to more than 1.7 million people. It was still relatively small compared to the population that was quite large at that time at 2.8% of the total population. The number of Indonesians attending the European school system (HIS, MULO, AMS) is 84,609 people, was still a paltry 0.14% of the total population (Ricklefs, 2011, 334-335).

From the records of the colonial government, this growth in education cannot be ignored. During 1930, there were around 10,000 village schools with 1.6 million students, equivalent to 2.8% of the 60 million population at that time. Meanwhile, Dutch-medium schools were only attended by a small number of indigenous people, 85,000 people equivalent to 0.14% of the population (Frederick & Worden, 2011). The 1930 census also showed that the ratio of

adults in Indonesia who were literate was only 7.4%; in Sumatra 13.1%, in Java and Madura 6%, Bali and Lombok 4%. The highest literacy rate (50%) in the South Maluku region was due to the influence of active Christian missions in the field of education (Ricklefs, 2001, 327).

This school, which was established by the colonial government, is based in Java, but students who came to study came from almost every corner of the archipelago. This opened up new horizons for educated young people about the idea of nationalism, which became the forerunner of the national movement against Dutch colonialism.

The Printing Revolution: The Expansion of Medias and Literacy

The colonial press became a medium of communication that was effective enough to unite national ideas in order to knit the spirit of unity towards an independent nation. One positive impact of Ethical Politics was the increase in number of educated people in Indonesia, along with the emergence of print publications that enriched the public's knowledge. Newspapers, pamphlets and other print media during the colonial period were used by indigenous figures to convey their aspirations and thoughts to foster a spirit of nationalism. Initially the indigenous people's newspapers only contained critical ideas about the backward condition of colonies in various aspects of life.

The growth of newspapers in general in the Dutch East Indies began in the mid-19th century with the emergence of private newspapers, which were dominated by Europeans. The printing press was limited only to Europeans and there was strict supervision from the colonial government which did not allow the growth of similar activities among indigenous people. These early publications in the Dutch East Indies were not only intended for the benefit of Europeans, but were also used for the education and dissemination of Christianity and Western culture among the elite native population (Adam, 2003, 27-28).

The next newspaper publication was published by Chinese people in the Dutch

East Indies who had economic means needed for publishing. The Chinese people were regular newspaper customers who grew up in the mid-19th century. Newspapers had advertising, useful commercial and trade media for Chinese traders. The publication of the Chinese newspaper began with the purchase of the printing company Gebroeders Gimbels & Co. along with the rights to issue Bintang Timor by Baba Tjoa Tjoan Lok in 1886 (Adam, 2003, 101-109).

The development and publication of news outlets during the colonial era became more prevalent after the introduction of the Ethical Policy. Newspaper publishing is part of the education that has begun to be accepted by the natives.

It was Raden Mas Tirtoadisuryo (1880-1918), who was a pioneer of colonial press releases, a graduate of STOVIA, and he was also a journalist. As a journalist in 1903, he founded the first newspaper founded and funded and run by native Indonesians, namely the Malay-language weekly, Soenda News, printed in Cianjur, West Java. He then published Medan Prijaji (1907) a newspaper that was critical of colonial government bureaucracy. At the beginning of its publication, the newspaper for local people was very dependent on the active role of the figures who became its driving force, including RM Tirtoadisuryo, Dja Endar Moeda and Datuk Sutan Maharadja (Adam, 2003, 183-205). It was only in the second decade of the 20th century that the locals' newspaper began to put into print the thoughts and values of organizations that fought for the interests of the locals. Political organizations such as Budi Utomo and Sarekat Islam are examples of organizations that used newspapers as media to convey ideas of nationalism.

Another figure who was also engaged in the press was Abdul Rivai who in 1902 led the Indies newspaper along with Clockener Brousson, a Dutch supporter of Ethical Politics. Abdul Rivai's influence on newspapers funded by the colonial government under Governor General van Heutsz was critical enough to report on the condition of the natives in the colony. This of course affected the indigenous population who were reading this newspaper. Rivai and Brousson have the same view that newspapers must become a media that inspires the spirit of the natives to advance and compete with the Chinese,

Arabs and Europeans. The Indian Star's reputation did not last long because Abdul Rivai continued his studies to the Netherlands in 1906. A few years later the readership of the Indian Star dropped dramatically.

The development of newspapers in the Dutch East Indies became more prevalent in the second half of the 20th century, with the growth of political parties or organizations. The new social organizations known among the natives of Indonesia published their own version of the newspaper. Budi Utomo Surakarta branch, for example, in 1910 bought the Darmo Kondo newspaper, which was originally owned by the Chinese. The owner was Tan Tjoe Kwan with Tjhie Siang Ling, an expert in Javanese literature, as its editor in chief (Soerjomihardjo, 2002, 85). There were quite a lot of customers in the Javanese community, but they were unable to compete with Sarekat Islam's Oetoesan Indian newspaper, which was judged to be more sensitive to the conditions of the time. Oetoesan Hindia, published in 1913 in Surabaya, was judged to be more daring than Dormo Kondo, so often dealing with the authorities and dealing with the courts. In a period of three years, the Indian Oetoesan reflected the world of political, economic and labor movements. Other Sarekat Islam newspapers were Sinar Djawa in Semarang, Pantjaran Warta in Batavia and Saroetomo in Surakarta.

Another party which also had quite a lot of publications was Indische Partij (established on December 12, 1912). These papers were Tjaja Timoer in Malang, Doenia Bergerak, and also Kaoem Moeda in Bandung with their respective editors, Raden Djojosoediro, Mas Marco Dikromo, and Abdul Moeis. These newspapers voiced their interest in the radical Indische Partij with its nationalist ideas (Adam 2003, 275-280).

The Flourishing of Social, Cultural and Political Organizations

Ethical Politics provided opportunities for indigenous people to receive an education, and to foster new awareness of a national identity that could fight for independence. This is proven by the growth of political parties which were preceded by youth organizations in almost all regions of the archipelago.

Youth groups led by students emerged after 1915 such as Jong Java, Jong Sumatra and Jong Minahasa. These youth groups had almost the same form and orientation as each other, West-oriented, upper class, and targeting the younger generation. The ultimate goal was to obtain the same emancipation rights as the colonialist nation and fight for independence, for an independent nation.

In 1909, youth organizations throughout Indonesia emerged that were mostly educated, but still based on ethnic identity. The STOVIA students in Batavia gave birth to several new organizations such as Tri Koro Darmo (1915) which later became Jong Java (Javanese Youth) in 1918, Jong Sumatranen Bond (Sumatran Youth Association) in 1917, Studenenden Vereniging Minahasa (Minahasa Student Union) and Jong Ambon (Ambon Youth), both in 1918. Other youth organizations were Sarekat Ambon (1920), Pasundan (1914), Timorsch Verbond, which was founded by Roti and Savu youth in 1921, and which was an alliance of Timorese. The Betawi (1923) sought to advance the rights of native Betawi people; the Javanese Catholic Political Party, was a political union of Javanese Catholics (1925) to fight for the rights of minorities (Ricklefs, 2011, 350). The identity of these youth organizations was still regional and tribal, not yet showing a unity or awareness of an Indonesian nation. However, it should be noted that the formation of Indonesia as a nation state in a geographical unity from Sabang to Merauke, was to unite the diversity of ethnic groups (multi-ethnic) in one national polity with the same spirit of nationalism.

The word “Indonesia” was first used “internationally” according to records first used in 1917 in a public speech conducted by musicologists Raden Mas Sonder Suryaputra and Bagah Dahlan Abdullah in Leiden, the Netherlands (Frederick & Worden, 2011). In 1922 the Indonesian student organization in the Netherlands changed its name to the Indonesian Student Association (Indonesische Vereniging) (Dhont, 2005: 14). This name change also marked the emergence of national goals and ideals of struggle. Subsequently in 1925 under the leadership of Soekiman Wirjosadjojo Indonesische Vereniging changed its name to the Indonesian Association (Dhont, 2005: 34).

B. WAR AND THE SEEDING GROUND OF A NATION-STATE

The Pacific War marked Japan's expansion into Asia by dropping bombs on American territory in Pearl Harbor, on December 7, 1941. The international world was stunned by Japan's expansion and military power. Japan was worried about the threat of American and European powers that could overtake Japan. Japan faced choices regarding its future regarding the population explosion in the face of limited natural resources, especially its need for oil. Japan had become an expansionist country with its colonial ambitions with the stated aim of pursuing "Asia's Common Prosperity."

On February 14, 1942, Japan entered the Netherlands Indies territory in South Sumatra. Then on March 1 landed on Java and within eight days, Lieutenant General Ter Poorten, Commander of the Dutch East Indies Army (KNIL), surrendered on behalf of the entire Allied army in Java. This Dutch defeat occurred because the Indonesian people did not want to help the Dutch army, and saw the presence of Japan could be as a savior for the Indonesian people to escape from the shackles of Dutch colonialism that had lasted hundreds of years.

The spirit of nationalism and awareness of unity to achieve independence grew during the Japanese occupation. The Japanese military strength made the Indonesian people aware that Western (Dutch) power could be conquered. Asian nations could rise up to escape from the shackles of colonialism. Japan as a new Asian power declared as the "Light of Asia" which would free the oppressed from the shackles of Western colonialism. The Japanese occupation was initially greeted with enthusiasm from the Indonesian people and were considered as "older brothers". The arrival of Japan seemed to bring new hope for the future of Indonesian independence. The transfer of power occurred with the entry of Japanese troops and began to take prisoners of the Dutch people who still lived in Indonesia (Vickers, 2005: 86-87).

The arrival of Japan was generally accepted with joy because of the belief of the Indonesian people that the arrival of Japan would lead to Indonesian

independence. This belief was widespread and saw the permissibility of raising the red and white flag and the sound of the anthem Indonesia Raya.

Japanese troops were actually only trained for a military and defense role but were not equipped to manage a country. They faced obstacles in regulating the territory of Indonesia which consisted of various tribes spread over a wide area as an island nation. Japan needed a nationalist figure who was able to attract the attention of the Indonesian people for its mission's propaganda by forming the Greater East Asia Commonwealth with the Three-A-yak Doctrine, Japan's Asian Light, Japan's Asian Protector, and Japan's Asian Leaders. This movement was led by Mr. Sjamsuddin. The movement was ineffective because it did not get the full trust of the Indonesian people, and so it was dissolved in November 1942 (Vickers, 2005: 86-87).

Japanese efforts in utilizing the Indonesian political elite then turned to Sukarno, a nationalist figure who was highly admired. After a meeting between Sukarno and Colonel Fujiyama, the Commander of the Occupation Army in Bukit Tinggi reached an agreement between the two. In March 1943 a People's Power Center (Putera) was formed under the leadership of Sukarno, Ki Hajar Dewantara, and KH Mas Mansyur. This organization was intended so that the nationalist and intellectual camp would be willing to devote their minds to the interests of fighting the Allies. The leader was an Indonesian national figure with the hope that the Indonesian people would fully support this organization.

The main objective of the Jeoang government to establish Putera was to work for a "Greater East Asia Prosperity" under the leadership of Japan and mobilize people for the sake of Japan's victory in the Pacific war against the Allies. On the other hand Sukarno's intention to foster and spread the spirit of nationalism grew stronger when Tokyo radio announced Prime Minister Tojo's suggestion to involve the Indonesian people in government. Sukarno assumed that Putera was the bridge to an independent Indonesia in terms of military training with the formation of the PETA (Defender of the Motherland) which would later become the forerunner to the Army of the Republic of Indonesia. This organization is a voluntary army of the Indonesian people totaling 37,000

people on Java, 1600 in Bali and around 20,000 people in Sumatra (Ricklefs, 2011: 418).

However, conditions as a colony continued as they did during the Dutch occupation. The Japanese occupation period was widely felt to be more cruel than the Dutch colonial administration.

To gain support and in an effort to mobilize the Indonesian people in order to support the Japanese army against the Allies, the Japanese occupation government recruited nationalist organizations and their leaders, Sukarno, Ki Hajar Dewantara and Kiai Haji mas Masyur to mobilize the Indonesian people in a Putera (People's Power Center organization)), April 16, 1943. Putera then on March 1, 1944 was changed to Java Hokokai and some of the people who were mobilized found themselves made into forced labor known as romusha (Ricklefs, 2011: 418-420).

The Japanese military occupation government also prepared military training for young people and the PETA (Defenders of the Motherland) organization. This military training was originally intended to help the Japanese Empire, whose military strength was declining, but later became the forerunner to the formation of the People's Security Army during the revolution.

The End of Japanese Power

United States military power proved too much once ranged against the Japanese military expansion into the Southeast Asian region. General Mac Arthur led allied forces to liberate Java in 1944-1945. In September 1944, the US Navy began to take control of Southeast Asia by successfully seizing Pula Palau, which is located strategically between the Philippines and Truk Island, resulting in a break in the relationship between the Japanese naval base on Truk Island and a base on the island of Leyte, Philippines. Japanese forces in the Pacific began to fall apart after the Truck Island was bombarded by the United States Air Force. The inexorable collapse of Japanese military power in the Greater East Asia war led the Japanese occupation government to promise

independence for Indonesia.

In connection with the promise of independence by Japan, an organization was formed to prepare for Indonesian independence. The Investigation Agency for Preparation for Independence or BPUPKI (Dokoritsu Junbi Cosakai) was tasked with preparing for Indonesian independence. The establishment of BPUPKI aimed to invite the Indonesian people to defend the islands of Java and Madura together with the Japanese occupation army. BPUPKI was announced by General Kumakichi Harada on March 1, 1945, chaired by Dr. Radjiman Wedyodiningrat, with Ichibangase (Japan) as his representative and R.P. Soeroso as secretary. There were present 63 BPUPKI members who represent almost all of Indonesia. The Japanese occupation army hoped that in the future they could survive in Indonesia if their relations with their parent country were severed (Brown, 2003: 151-152).

Besides that, the Merdeka Indonesia Dormitory was also established, which according to Ahmad Subardjo was established with the aim of training Indonesian young people to obtain an adequate education in order to build solidarity among Asian nations.

In March 1945, America succeeded in capturing the island of Iwojima, following the massive landing of the American army a month earlier and making it an airbase whose function was to launch attacks on Japan. The fall of Iwojima made Japanese defense weaker in the effort to protect their country. Two weeks later American troops landed on the island of Okinawa, which was very strategic for the planned attack on mainland Japan. In the battle in Okinawa, the Americans suffered a lot of losses due to kamikaze pilot attacks that sent their warplanes into the American fleet. On June 21, 1945, Japan surrendered with the fall of Okinawa.

On July 26, 1945 the Allied leaders in Postdam demanded that Japan surrender unconditionally, but Japan refused. Japan tried to approach Russia to arrange a peace agreement that would benefit Japan. Japan, which had not previously been involved in the Great East Asia War, tended to side with the Allies, so that Japanese hopes vanished. So for Japan, in order to defend its colony, there was no other way but to win the hearts of the inhabitants of the colony to jointly

defend their territory. Japan was resigned to its defeat in the Pacific War but still hoped to maintain its power in Indonesia. Japan seeks to win the hearts of the Javanese population who were the most likely to favor the Japanese position. By freeing Java, Japan hoped to cooperate with its government to defend Java against the Allies (Brown, 2003: 154-155).

On August 6, 1945, the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. The Greater East Asia War was nearing its end. However, Japan sought to hide the news of its defeat from Indonesian nationalist figures. So, on August 14, 1945 the Japanese occupation government announced the formation of the Indonesian Independence Preparatory Committee (PPKI), which consisted of representatives of the nationalist class of people from Java, Sumatra and other regions. PPKI or Dokoritsu Junbi Iinkai, was a commission which was in charge of preparing the independence of Indonesia. On August 8, 1945, Russia declared war with Japan. The next day the second atomic bomb destroyed Nagasaki, and Russia invaded Manchuria. This situation was unknown to Indonesia, due to limited communication. In this precarious situation, Japan promised independence to the Indonesian people which was issued by Prime Minister Koiso at the end of July 1945 (Koiso Promise).

Sukarno and Hatta as Chair and Deputy Chairperson of the Indonesian Independence Preparatory Committee, along with Dr. Radjiman fulfilled the invitation of Terauchi, the Japanese commander in chief in Southeast Asia, to accept the promise of independence from the Japanese government in Dalat, Vietnam on August 12, 1945. On August 14, 1945, Sukarno and Hatta arrived at the Kemajoran airfield and were welcomed by the Japanese authorities and PPKI members who were waiting for Indonesian independence in a matter of days. The next day, August 15, 1945, Japan surrendered unconditionally to America and the Allies. This situation created a power vacuum and had to be used immediately before the Allied forces took control of Indonesia.

The process towards the proclamation was inseparable from the support of Admiral Tadashi Maeda who was willing to guarantee the safety of the PPKI members who put together the proclamation text at his residence. Preparation of the text of the proclamation was not interfered with by the

Japanese. Subardjo and Hatta suggested that the Japanese who were in Maeda's house did not participate in the formulation of the proclamation text. They withdrew without the nationalist figures being aware. The proclamation of Indonesian independence was then echoed by Soekarno-Hatta on August 17, 1945, marking a new era of the Indonesian people as an independent nation.

PROCLAMATION

WE THE PEOPLE OF INDONESIA HEREBY DECLARE THE INDEPENDENCE OF INDONESIA. MATTERS WHICH CONCERN THE TRANSFER OF POWER AND OTHER THINGS WILL BE EXECUTED BY CAREFUL MEANS AND IN THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME.

DJAKARTA, 17 AUGUST 1945

IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE OF INDONESIA

SOEKARNO/HATTA

George McT. Kahin. (2000). Sukarno's Proclamation of Indonesian Independence. *Indonesia*, (69), 1-3.
doi:10.2307/3351273
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3351273>

FURTHER READING

- Ahmat, A. (2003). *Sejarah Awal Kebangkitan Kesadaran Keindonesiaan, 1855--1913*. Jakarta: Pustaka Utan Kayu.
- Brown, C. (2003). *A Short History of Indonesia: the unlikely nation?* NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Dhont, F. (2005). *Nasionalisme Baru Intelektual Inndonesia tahun 1920-an*. Yogyakarta: UGM Press. 2005
- Frederick, W.H. and Soeroto, S. (1991). *Pemahaman Sejarah Indonesia Sebelum dan sesudah Revolusi*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Nagazumi, A. (1988). *Pemberontakan Indonesia Pada Masa Pendudukan Jepang*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor.
- Noer, D. (1996). *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia, 1900--1942*. Jakarta: LP3ES.

- Post, P. & E. Touwen-Boumsma. (1997). *Japan, Indonesia and The War*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Ricklefs, M.C. (2011). *Sejarah Indonesia Modern*. Terj. Dharmono Hardjowidjono. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Surjomihardjo, A. (1980). *Beberapa segi Perkembangan Sejarah Pers di Indonesia*. Jakarta: LIPI.
- Vickers, A. (2005). *A History of Modern Indonesia*. Cambridge University Press.
- Letters of a Javanese Princess by Raden Ajeng Kartini
<https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/34647>
https://researchmgt.monash.edu/ws/portalfiles/portal/28561520/28561018_oa.pdf
- Bayuni, E. M. "Commentary: How bad, how cruel ere Dutch to us?" *The Jakarta Post*, 23 August 2018
<https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2018/08/23/commentary-how-bad-how-cruel-were-dutch-to-us.html>

CHAPTER 4

THE BIRTH OF A NATION-STATE AND THE QUEST FOR DEMOCRACY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the socio-political development of Indonesia since the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945 up to around 2018. Broadly speaking, the period 1945 - around 2018 was divided into three political periods, namely the period of independence (1945 - around 1966), the New Order period (1966 - 1998), and the Reformation period (1998 - 2018). The emergence of a nation-state fosters a sense of Indonesian citizenship that continues to move from a traditional collective pattern to the recognition of the rights of citizens. However, the institutionalization of politics to support the development and strengthening of the State requires time and is a process that is more complex than many people imagine. The initial formation of the Indonesian state was the stage of exploration and experimentation of the political system and the search for ideologies that were compatible with the plurality of nationalist streams.

The initial stage ended with an extraordinary human tragedy, namely the coup attempt by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) group. This failed coup attempt was followed by the slaughter of all followers or anyone suspected of being PKI followers, as well as all those suspected of being communists / socialists. The whole series of political transition events is referred to as the 1965 Event.

The New Order regime was born from this bloody political transition. Holding power in the Republic of Indonesia for about three decades, the New Order regime had significant achievements but also left major problems. The achievements in the field of economic development show the success of the New Order government to a certain extent. Nonetheless, records of human rights violations throughout his reign - including allegations of the involvement of General Soeharto in the massacre of Communist followers and sympathizers in the 1965 Incident - continue to be part a dark past of the Indonesian people from the New Order period to the present. .

The fall of the 1998 New Order brought great hope about fundamental change. Reforming the political system towards democracy, respect for freedom of speech, economic independence and social welfare, and the realization of a government free of Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism (KKN), are all ideals of the Reformation Period. Some of these ideals were realized gradually over the 20 years from the fall of the New Order. For example, they were realized through the democratic system in elections and the recognition of the freedom of speech of citizens. Even so, the realm of democracy also fosters anomalies, that is, movements of groups with illiberal ideology who wish to enforce their ideological ideals on others. The Reformation Period, while encouraging the development of democracy, has been accompanied by the development of religious fundamentalism, the strengthening of identity politics, and the spread of threats to diversity and pluralism. This is a big challenge for the Indonesian people.

A. THE BIRTH OF THE NATION-STATE

Preparations for the proclamation of independence began when Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta went to Dalat to accept the invitation of the highest commander of the Japanese army in southeast Asia, General Hisaichi Terauchi. The two Indonesian leaders were invited by General Terauchi in their capacity as chair and deputy chairman of the Indonesian Independence Preparatory Committee (PPKI). Dalat is a city in Vietnam located about 300 kilometers north of Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City). Besides Sukarno and Hatta, was

invited Dr. Radjiman Wedyodiningrat who was the former chairman of the Independence Business Investigation Agency (BPUPK or in Japanese Dokuritsu Junbi Cosakai).

While in Dalat the Indonesian leaders had heard the news of Japan's defeat in the Pacific War. The decision of the Japanese government to grant independence to Indonesia was conveyed directly by General Terauchi on August 12, 1945. Based on the development of such a situation, Sukarno, when landing at Kemayoran Airport gave a short speech to the people who welcomed him: "If I had said that Indonesia would gain independence before the corn ripens, now I can say to you, that Indonesia will be free before corn blooms."

Sukarno's statement immediately boosted the spirit of the Indonesian people to realize independence at once. One of the most important groups in the struggle for Indonesian independence is the younger generation. They had been involved in the Indonesian National Movement since the beginning of the 20th century. The young people at the end of the Japanese Occupation also learned about the Japanese defeat. For them the independence that was to be obtained based on the decision of the Japanese government was not in accordance with what they had been fighting for. The youth were of the view that the statement of Indonesian independence had to be made by the Indonesian people themselves and not carried out through the PPKI as desired by Japan. According to the young activists, the PPKI was an institution established by Japan. If Indonesian independence was attained through PPKI, they were concerned that other nations would consider it a gift from Japan. The young activists wanted Indonesian independence to be achieved through the struggle of the Indonesian people themselves without the help of any foreign nation.

Differences of opinion between the youth and senior figures of the Indonesian National Movement, such as Sukarno and Hatta, led to the abduction of Sukarno and Hatta by the youth activists. On the morning of August 16, 1945, the two men were taken by the young people to Rengas Dengklok, a city subdistrict located east of Jakarta. During their stay in Rengas Dengklok, no significant event occurred in connection with Sukarno and Hatta. On the

same day in Jakarta there was a decisive development. There was an agreement between Ahmad Subardjo who represented Sukarno and Hatta, and Wikana who represented the youths. They agreed that the proclamation would be carried out immediately in Jakarta. In the afternoon Ahmad Subardjo picked up Sukarno and Hatta to be brought back to Jakarta.

In the evening between August 16 and 17 the process of formulating the proclamation text took place. Those involved in the meeting for formulating the text were: Sukarno, Mohammad Hatta, Ahmad Subardjo, Sukarni and Sayuti Melik. The complete contents of the text of the proclamation of Indonesian independence is:

PROCLAMATION

“We the Indonesian people hereby declare Indonesian independence. Matters concerning the transfer of power and so on should be carried out carefully and in the shortest possible timeframe.

Djakarta, day 17 month 8 year ‘05

On behalf of the Indonesian people

Soekarno / Hatta

At Sukarno’s suggestion, the implementation of Indonesia’s independence proclamation was held in his front yard in Jalan Pegangsaan Timur No. 56, Jakarta. The reading of the text of the proclamation was carried out by Sukarno and Hatta at 10am, followed by a flag-raising ceremony accompanied by the song Indonesia Raya. The Red and White Flag used in the ceremony was sewn by Sukarno’s wife, Fatmawati. The proclamation of Indonesian independence was attended by various community groups and took place solemnly.

Immediately after the proclamation, a PPKI hearing was held for the first time. The session was held on August 18, 1945 and resulted in several important decisions relating to the form of the constitution, state leadership and institutions representing the interests of the people. The complete results of the first PPKI session are:

1. Establish the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia
2. Electing Sukarno as President of the Republic of Indonesia and Mohammad Hatta as Vice President.
3. The work of the president is temporarily to be assisted by a National Committee.

With the success of important decisions in the PPKI session, the Indonesian people have definitively formed a nation state. However, the young Republic of Indonesia must face a number of major problems, namely: the Dutch effort to re-colonize Indonesia, the lack of resources that can be immediately used to run the government, and the initial lack of recognition from the international world. These great problems were taken on to be overcome by the leaders and people of Indonesia and took place in a period which in Indonesian history was known as the Revolutionary Independence period (1945-1949).

Independence and War

The central government of the Republic of Indonesia (RI) was immediately formed in Jakarta at the end of August 1945. In that government Sukarno was appointed as president (1945-1967) and Hatta served as vice president (1945-1956). Because general elections could not yet be held, the Central Indonesian National Committee (KNIP) was formed as a state institution authorized to assist the president. Similar national committees were also formed at the provincial and residency levels. On September 4, 1945 the Indonesian government established the first cabinet consisting of various ministries, such as the foreign, domestic, justice, education, information, financial, social, communication and public works, and health ministries.

The development of the security situation in Jakarta became increasingly unfavorable with the arrival of British troops under the command of Lieutenant General Sir Philip Christison in late September 1945. British forces represented the allies as winners of World War II with the main task of disarming Japanese troops and freeing European prisoners of war. Aside from Jakarta, throughout October allied forces also landed in Medan, Padang, Palembang, Semarang and Surabaya. The British forces who arrived in Indonesia were backed by the Dutch who were eager to reoccupy Indonesia and punish those who had collaborated with the Japanese.

Fighting between young Indonesians and Japanese and Dutch soldiers aided by former Dutch prisoners began to break out in the streets of Jakarta. By the end of 1945 the Dutch occupation in Jakarta had gone so far that it had begun to threaten the safety of the Indonesian leaders. This then encouraged the Indonesian government to move the capital from Jakarta to Yogyakarta in January 1946. Yogyakarta remained the capital of the Republic of Indonesia from then until the end of the independence revolution in 1949.

By looking at what happened between 1945 and 1949 it can be said that the period of the Revolution of Independence was a time full of challenges and opportunities for the Indonesian people. The definitive statement about the end of the colonial period was marked by the proclamation of independence on August 17, 1945. Thus, for the first time the Indonesian people had the opportunity to determine their own destiny. Without being asked to, various elements of the nation immediately gathered their strength so that Indonesian sovereignty could be fully achieved. Nevertheless, the independence revolution was also a time of upheaval. The release of the shackles of colonialism meant the loss of everything that had been put in place by foreign forces. The aspirations of groups and individuals do not always go hand in hand. They also compete and lead to conflict.

The contradictions were sometimes so severe that there were critical moments in the independence revolution during which the Indonesian people, in addition to facing external pressure in the form of colonial forces that wished to re-establish themselves, also had to deal with divisions that threatened

national integration. But in spite of it all, the independence revolution was the most brilliant period in Indonesian history. This is because in that period the Indonesian people succeeded in proving their right to independence through the willingness of various elements of society to make sacrifices in the name of the revolution.

Two broad lines of struggle taken during the revolution, namely the armed struggle and the struggle through diplomacy combined in such a way as to produce results in the form of recognition of Indonesian sovereignty at the Round Table Conference held in December 1949. Both of these lines of struggle gave the impression that the independence revolution was the fruit of the struggle of the politicians and soldiers. But revolution is not just about armed struggle and diplomacy. In the revolution there are many forms of struggle which helped realize the full achievement of Indonesia's sovereignty, such as struggles in the fields of economy, culture, agriculture, labor, education, journalism and social organization.

Liberal Democracy and its Failures in the 1950s & 1960s

Recognition of Indonesian sovereignty by the Netherlands through the KMB at the end of December 1949 was not the end of the fundamental problems that had to be faced by the government of the young Republic of Indonesia. One of the main problems in the political field was that the Dutch gave its recognition to the United Republic of Indonesia (RIS) and not the Republic of Indonesia (RI). RI, which became the prime mover of the independence revolution, is only one part of another sixteen states. The Netherlands tried to control RIS even further by making it part of the Indonesian-Dutch Union. This state of affairs was clearly not in accordance with the ideals of the Proclamation of Independence which aspired to a state for the entire Indonesian nation, the Republic of Indonesia.

The next political problem which is no less serious is that the Netherlands had postponed the surrender of West Irian to Indonesia. According to the KMB agreement, the West Irian issue was to be discussed later in a future

negotiation. In the view of Indonesian leaders in the colonial period, West Irian was an integral part of the Dutch East Indies. Therefore, after Indonesia gained independence in West Irian it naturally became an inseparable part of the independent Indonesian state. Especially during the period of the National Movement many leaders of the Indonesian movement were exiled to Boven Digul, located in West Irian. The postponement of the surrender of West Irian meant that the struggle to uphold political sovereignty could not be said to have been fully achieved. The West Irian problem would continue to be one of the central issues in the development of Indonesian politics throughout the 1950s going into the early 1960s.

Besides political problems, the condition of Indonesia in the early 1950s was also burdened with very serious economic problems. During the Japanese Occupation (1942-1945) and the Revolution of Independence (1945-1949) it can be said that the development of the Indonesian economy had stalled and even declined. The Japanese occupation government implemented a war economic policy, in the sense that all economic activities were aimed at helping Japan win the Asia Pacific war against the Allied countries. As a result, production activities were halted and all natural and human resources were mobilized solely for the benefit of the Japanese war. During the Independence Revolution the situation did not improve. This is because the young Republic of Indonesia had to face political pressure from outside and inside, so that various efforts to improve the economic situation were neglected. The challenge from outside was the Dutch effort to re-establish Indonesia as its colony, while the challenge from within was internal political upheaval that several times threatened the existence of a young Indonesian state, such as the 1948 PKI Madiun rebellion and the Darul Islam movement.

Meanwhile from an economic perspective, KMB also caused a number of fundamental problems. Based on the KMB, the Indonesian government had to continue to recognize and guarantee the existence of various foreign economic interests, especially those of the Netherlands, which were previously part of the colonial economic system. Until 1942 it can be said that almost all sectors of the modern Indonesian economy were managed by companies owned by the Dutch colonial government and private sector businesses. Thus,

based on the KMB, the interests of the Dutch economy were able to continue economic exploitation of natural resources and human resources in Indonesia. This meant that private Dutch companies handled 50% of Indonesia's imports until at least the mid-1950s. In that period the Indonesian banking system was controlled by Dutch private banks. Javasche Bank which is a Dutch private bank became the central bank, and shipping between Indonesian islands was in the hands of Koninklijk Paketvaart Maatschapij (KPM) another Dutch company. This condition clearly shows that economically, in the beginning and even throughout the 1950s Indonesia was not economically sovereign at all.

In the social sector, Indonesia also experienced problems that were every bit as serious. The developments that took place during the Japanese Occupation and the Independence Revolution had caused Indonesian social order to undergo fundamental changes. Traditional elites (kings, regents and other lower indigenous officials) lost their legitimacy because of the role they played in filling the local bureaucracy during colonial rule. Meanwhile the number of educated people among the population of Indonesia was still very small. As a result, in the early 1950s the bureaucracy in Indonesia could not run effectively because it was filled by people who contributed to the independence revolution but did not have adequate administrative expertise. Another impact of the independence revolution was the rapid increase in the number of people who needed jobs. During the revolution they were fighters who were members of the Indonesian National Army (TNI) and the army. After 1949 the government carried out a downsizing in the military which left many of the former soldiers and members of the army out of work. High unemployment caused social insecurity so that in the 1950s many regional conflicts took place. The various regional upheavals were caused by disappointed people who felt they had struggled during the war but did not get the benefits they expected.

Problems in the field of culture faced by Indonesia were also no less severe. The motto of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Different but still one; Unity in diversity) which is seen as a foundation for overcoming differences between ethnic groups in Indonesia for the first time had to be applied directly in the life of the nation and state. Suspicion and misunderstanding had a high potential to

occur. Javanese who form the majority in Indonesian society were considered to have the potential to dominate state life. Meanwhile various indigenous communities whose numbers were small felt themselves as minorities and saw their existence needed to be taken notice of. The beginning of the 1950s was a time when Indonesians could for the first time clearly declare their identity as a nation without being pressured by foreign powers.

This cultural challenge to Indonesian identity does not come from outside, but from within. Therefore the role of various aspects of culture in building an Indonesian identity that is still in the process of formation is very important. In this connection the Indonesian language plays a very crucial role. The use of Indonesian in government, education and press activities makes Indonesian identity stronger. Likewise with literary and fine arts in the early years and throughout the 1950s. The works of prominent Indonesian writers and artists have clearly left behind its regional indigenous character to embrace a more prominent one which is colored a “Indonesia”.

One thing that gave hope in the early 1950s was in the field of education. During the colonial era of the Dutch East Indies and the Japanese Occupation the number of Indonesians who were able to get an education was less than 10%. Before the proclamation of independence, Indonesians’ access to education was very limited. Education was only provided for *priyayi* nobility and other traditional elites. This is what makes up the social origins of the Indonesian founding fathers who almost all came from the *priyayi* or traditional elite. Moreover, the general public, especially those from the grassroots, would almost certainly have had difficulty in getting a western or modern education. During the pre-independence period, education that was open to Indonesians in general were through traditional education in the form of *pesantren*, other traditional religious institutions, and several private schools organized by the national movement. This state of affairs inevitably meant high rates of illiteracy in Indonesia in the pre-independence period.

According to records, in 1930 the number of Indonesians who could read and write was around 7.4%. This alarming situation began to change in the early 1950s. Since then the Indonesian government began opening public schools

from the elementary school level up to tertiary institutions which all levels of Indonesian society have access to. The positive impact of this development is immediately apparent. According to records, by 1961 the number of Indonesians who could read and write had reached 46.7%. Meanwhile the tertiary level of higher education has also begun to be open up to all Indonesians. In the early 1950s, the Indonesian government had two tertiary institutions, the University of Indonesia and Gadjah Mada University, both of which was open to all Indonesian youth including girls.

Besides education, another aspect that gave great hope to the Indonesian people in the 1950s was the holding of general elections. Elections are an embodiment of democracy, where the people voice their sovereignty by choosing political parties that are considered able to voice their aspirations. The first election in history in Indonesia was held in 1955. Elections must be held as a condition for becoming a democratic country. A democratic state is a country whose government and all its constituents are formed to fulfill the aspirations of the people. The ideals of the Indonesian people are to realize a just and prosperous society. Thus it becomes very important to make Indonesia a democratic country.

Since the beginning of the government of the Republic of Indonesia it has been planned to hold elections in order to form a government based on people's votes. On November 3, 1945, the government through Vice President Mohammad Hatta issued a notice number X which among other things stated that an election would be held in January 1946 to elect members of the House of Representatives (DPR). But the election could not be held because the Indonesian nation at that time was struggling to uphold its sovereignty. In the end, Indonesia gained recognition of sovereignty from the Netherlands through the Round Table Conference, which was signed on December 27, 1949. Over the next five years the General Election still could not be carried out, and it showed that the implementation of the General Election required a long and thorough preparation.

The first elections in Indonesia were held during the administration of the Buhanuddin Harahap Cabinet. This cabinet ruled only a short time, which

was around 8 months (August 1955 to March 1956). Burhanuddin Harahap came from the Masyumi Party (Indonesian Syuro Muslim Council) and he formed a cabinet based on support from Masyumi, PSI (Indonesian Socialist Party) and NU (Nahdlatul Ulama). Although it only governed in a very short time, the Burhanuddin Harahap cabinet was considered successful in holding elections.

The 1955 elections were held in two stages. The first election to elect members of the DPR was held on September 29, 1955, while the second election to elect members of the constituent assembly was held on December 15, 1955. The DPR is a legislative body whose job in the democratic governance system is to make laws or legislation. In the government of the Republic of Indonesia the DPR is an institution having the authority to draft and pass laws. The other two institutions in the democratic system of government are the executive (the agency that runs the government) and the judiciary (the court system responsible for the implementation of laws). Meanwhile a constitutional court is a high court that is specifically assigned to draw up a constitution and make judgements on its implementation. In the history of Indonesia an election to elect constitutional court members has only been held once, namely the 1955 election.

The first election in Indonesia was held with 28 participants consisting of party members and independent candidates. Some of these parties existed during the national movement, but most were only established after Indonesian independence was proclaimed on August 17, 1945. Among the parties participating in the 1955 Elections that existed before Indonesia's independence were: PNI (Indonesian National Party) and PKI (Indonesian Communist Party). Several other parties were community organizations that turned into parties after Indonesia's independence. These parties are the Masyumi Party and the NU Party.

Ideologically the political forces that participated in the 1955 Election could be divided into three groups, namely parties whose ideology was Nationalism, Islam, and Marxism/Socialism. The three ideological forces are the main political forces that have existed in Indonesian society since the time of the

national movement. These forces are a representation of the aspirations of the people that continued to emerge until the 1950s. Parties with various ideologies took part in the 1955 Election vigorously and in a free and democratic atmosphere.

Elections to selecting DPR members produce winners who represent the three ideologies mentioned earlier. There are 257 DPR seats up for grabs. There are four major parties that succeeded in the election by getting more than 10% of the votes. The four parties were in order: PNI 22.32% (57 seats), Masyumi 20.92% (57 seats), NU 18.41% (45 seats) and PKI 16.36% (39 seats). PNI is a party with a nationalist ideology, Masjumi and NU with an ideology of Islam, and the PKI is a party with an ideology of Marxism / Communism. Other participants in the 1955 Election received less than 3% of the votes. For example, the Indonesian Socialist Party which is considered as one of the major parties apparently only got 1.99% of votes (5 seats). The small vote they got led to this party no longer being considered as one of the main parties in Indonesia.

Election results for electing DPR members indicated that there was no dominant political force in Indonesia. Such results certainly disappointed existing political parties. These parties want to win with a large percentage of votes making it easier for them to form a government. The closeness of the voting among the main parties meant that any party wishing to dominate must get the support from one or more of the other main parties. This fairly balanced result is a sign that in elections to elect constituent members the results will not be too different.

What had been predicted turned out to be true. Election votes for electing constituent members differed only slightly from elections for electing members of the DPR. Overall elections for constituents were over 514 seats. The parties that came in the top four remained the same, namely PNI 23.87% (119 seats), Masyumi 20.59% (112 seats), NU 18.47% (91 seats), and PKI 16.47% (80 seats). Of the four parties, almost all experienced a slight increase in votes and only Masyumi's votes declined.

The main task of the members of the constitutiona court was to draw up a

constitution that would replace the Provisional Constitution of 1950. In the drafting of the constitution, the most important issue was the foundation philosophy of the Republic of Indonesia. Although Pancasila was established as the basis of the state on 18 August 1945, the constitutional court justices have the task of discussing the basis of the state which will be reflected in the constitution they will draft. The debate on the basis of the state became the loudest debate in the constituent assembly.

Why the strong debate? To answer this, it is necessary to see the power map of the groups in the Constituent Assembly. The election results to elect constituent members led to the emergence of two large groups, namely the group that supported Pancasila as the basis of the state (PNI, PKI and other parties) and those who supported Islam (Masyumi, NU and other Islamic parties). The strength of these two big groups was almost equal with the Pancasila support group being slightly superior. Once added to the support of other parties outside the four major parties, the Pancasila support group got 274 seats, while the Islamic support group had 230 seats. The remaining 10 constituent seats were obtained by three parties that supported socialism as the basis of the state.

During the 1950s in Indonesia there were various opposition movements ranged against the government. The opposition movement caused security disturbances in various regions. Security disturbances caused by opposition movements included the rebellion of the Ratu Adil Army (APRA), the Andi Azis movement, the Republic of South Maluku Rebellion and the DI / TII rebellion. All these movements were crushed by the Indonesian National Army with the help of the community. The longest-lasting movement was the DI / TII which took place in the East Priangan region between 1948 and 1965.

Various rebellions that occurred in the 1950s showed that the Indonesian government which was still young had to face various kinds of problems that threatened the integrity and sovereignty of the country. These various threats are further compounded by unstable political conditions and economic sovereignty that had not yet been realized. From September 1950 to August 1955 there were four cabinets that ruled with an average tenure of no more

than one year. With such a short period to work with, it can be expected that there will be no continuity of political policy from one government to the next.

The culmination of various problems that occurred in the 1950s was the protracted sessions conducted by the elected parliamentarians. In order to overcome all these problems, President Sukarno issued a decree on the date of July 5, 1959. In the opening section of the presidential decree it was stated that the recommendations of the president and the government to return to the 1945 Constitution delivered in Sukarno's speech on April 22, 1959 did not give a decision by the elected officials (RI Ministry of Information, 1959: 3). Meanwhile, due to the protracted trial process, some parliamentary members stated that they would no longer attend the hearing. With the situation of such an institution, the Indonesian government considered that the elected officials could no longer complete the tasks of the people that were mandated to them.

In the field of diplomacy, the 1950s recorded an important event with the holding of the Asian-African Conference (KAA) in 1955. KAA was held in Bandung, West Java, during the reign of Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo. This conference gained attention from the international community because it was attended by 29 Asian and African countries. The countries present in the 1950s were seen as a force outside the Western and Eastern Blocs involved in the Cold War. Sukarno as Indonesia's leader was one of the main advocates and supporters of the holding of the KAA. Among the Asian-African leaders who attended the KAA were: Jawaharal Nehru, Chou Enlai, Norodom Sihanouk, U Nu, Mohammad Ali, and Ghamal Abdul Nasser. With the successful KAA taking place, Indonesia began to be seen as one of the leaders of the Asia-Africa countries.

Another major achievement in the field of diplomacy was the issuance of the Djuanda Declaration. In the 1950s Indonesia's sovereignty faced various challenges from outside, as well as from within. In addition to various regional resistance movements, Indonesian sovereignty also faced serious challenges in the conflict over West Irian (Papua) which throughout the 1950s was claimed by the Dutch as its territory. Meanwhile, international sea law did not then

support the sovereignty of Indonesia as a maritime nation. As a result, foreign ships were free to roam in the waters that existed between islands scattered throughout the territory of Indonesia. To overcome this problem that threatened Indonesian sovereignty, on December 13, 1957, Prime Minister Djuanda Kartawidjaja issued a “Government Announcement of the Republic of Indonesia’s State Waters”. This announcement came to be known as the “Djuanda Declaration”.

In the declaration it stated that all waters around, between and connecting islands or parts of islands which are included in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, regardless of area or width, are part of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia and thus constitute a part of the national waters which are under the absolute sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. Peaceful shipping activities in the sea area for foreign vessels are guaranteed as long as they do not interfere with Indonesia’s sovereignty and safety. Through the Djuanda Declaration the Indonesian territorial sea boundary was widened from 3 miles to 12 miles measured from a line connecting the outermost points of the outer islands of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia during low tide.

With the issuance of the Djuanda declaration the area of Indonesia’s sea area increased significantly, to 3.1 million square km. The status of the Djuanda Declaration was legally stronger when the declaration was passed by the Indonesian government into Law Number 4 / PRP / 1960 concerning Indonesian waters. When issued, the Djuanda Declaration did not receive recognition from other countries. Even some countries thought that it disturbed their interests, among others: the United States, Britain, Australia, the Netherlands, and New Zealand, and actually protested the move .

Protests from various countries were faced by Indonesia by launching diplomacy in various international forums. The diplomacy process lasted for 25 years. The international world finally recognized the concept of the Archipelago Outlook which views the sea and land area of Indonesia as an inseparable whole. The recognition was given at the United Nations Convention on Sea Law on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) which was held on December 10, 1982 in Montego Bay, Jamaica. In UNCLOS, the concept of

Indonesia as an Archipelago is recognized internationally as The Archipelagic Nation State Concept.

The concept states that the territorial sea of an archipelago is 12 miles drawn from the outer base of the islands and the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) is 200 miles from the base line. International recognition of the Archipelagic Outlook is a great achievement. With that, Indonesia has a basis for maintaining the territorial integrity and sovereignty. Through UNCLOS Indonesia's sea area increased to 5.8 million square km which consists of 3.1 million inland sea, and 2.7 million EEZ sea.

Although in the field of diplomacy Indonesia recorded great achievements, the 1950s ended with a situation of domestic political crisis. Various regional upheavals, the development of conflict over West Irian with the Netherlands that could not find common ground, and the protracted Constituent assembly in formulating the basis for the state led to Sukarno as president taking the decision to issue a Presidential Decree on July 5, 1959. The contents of the Presidential Decree were: dissolution of the Constituent assembly, establish the 1945 Constitution as the state constitution, and the formation of the MPRS (Provisional People's Consultative Assembly). The re-enactment of the 1945 Constitution as the country's constitution marks a new era in Indonesian history. Since then Pancasila has been determined to be the basis of the Republic of Indonesia.

Since the late 1950s the Indonesian government system has re-adopted the presidential system. In this system, the president not only acts as head of state, but also as head of government. With this, Sukarno, who previously carried out more functions as head of state, began to play a role to lead directly the running of the government. By directing the head of government directly, Sukarno began to be able to carry out his ideas about Guided Democracy. According to Sukarno in Guided Democracy it is no longer possible for people to become instruments of democracy, but instead, democracy must become the tool of the people. The emphasis of Guided Democracy according to Sukarno was that each person was obliged to serve for the interests of the nation and state, and everyone was entitled to a decent living in society, nation and state.

The Tragic and Tumultuous 1960s

Sukarno's affirmation of the ideology of Guided Democracy was conveyed in a state address on August 17, 1959 entitled "Rediscovery of Our Revolution". The formulation of Sukarno's speech came to be known as Manipol (political manifesto). In the early 1960s the concept of manipol was added to the USDEK (1945 Constitution, Indonesian-style Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy, and Indonesian Personality). During the first half of the 1960s these two concepts were combined and became known as Manipol-USDEK. Various educational institutions, government and community organizations were introduced to Manipol-USDEK.

With the introduction of guided democracy, Sukarno for the first time had the opportunity to implement his ideas about Nasakom (Nationalism, Religion and Communism). These three ideologies are a continuation of Sukarno's thoughts in his youth which he wrote about in an article and published in *Suluh Indonesia Muda* in 1926 under the title Nationalism, Islamism, Marxism. According to Sukarno, the various forces that existed in the Indonesian national movement could be grouped into these three big ideologies. In the context of Guided Democracy, these forces are represented by PNI (Nationalism), NU (Religion), and PKI (Communism). These three powers became the main parties supporting the ongoing system of Guided Democracy.

Outside of Sukarno and the parties supporting Nasakom, the political force which began to show its influence in Indonesian politics was the Army. Unlike the other Indonesian armed forces, namely the Navy and Air Force, the Army has played a decisive role in the early history of the founding of the Indonesian state, namely during the Revolution of Independence (1945-1949). In the revolutionary period, the Army was the largest force within the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) and carried out armed struggle with the army of the people. Armed struggle and the struggle for diplomacy in Indonesian history are seen as two main forms of struggle in upholding Indonesia's sovereignty during the revolution of independence.

In the Parliamentary Democracy system (1950-1957), the AD was subject to

civil supremacy. A greater role was gained by the Army with the enactment of the State of War Emergency or the SOB (Staat van oorlog en Beleg) in 1956. Since then, army chief General Abdul Haris Nasution began to introduce the concept of the Dual Function, where the army carries out the function of guarding the country's security and also as a social political force. The Army which had become one of the political forces in Indonesia in the late 1950s supported the implementation of guided democracy. With the support of the Army and Nasakom parties, Sukarno received political support to realize his ideals in completing the Nation and Character Building.

In the early 1960s one of the issues that united all political forces in Indonesia was the West Irian problem. According to the results of the KMB in 1949 the West Irian problem was a separate problem which would be solved one year later. In reality, the Dutch never seriously wanted to restore West Irian. This problem caused the antipathy of the Indonesian people towards the Dutch throughout the 1950s. In an effort to return West Irian to the Indonesian fold, on 19 December 1961 Sukarno announced the formation of the Trikora (Tri / Three People's Command) to seize West Irian from Dutch hands. With the existence of the Trikora Indonesia, they began carrying out military attacks on the Dutch who were based in West Irian.

The existence of Trikora accelerated the process of solving the problem of West Irian. The United States through diplomat Elsworth Bunker took the initiative by bringing the West Irian issue to the United Nations (United Nations). With the submission, the United States put pressure on the Netherlands to immediately hold negotiations with Indonesia to resolve the West Irian problem. Negotiations between the Indonesian and the Dutch found a common ground with the signing of the New York Agreement on the 15th August 1962.

In the New York Agreement it was agreed that the Netherlands would hand over West Irian to UNTEA (United Nations Temporary Executive Authority) and then UNTEA would hand over West Irian to Indonesia. Furthermore it was agreed that before the end of 1969 Indonesia would implement the Act of Free Choice (PEPERA or Determination of People's Opinion). PEPERA was

held on July 14-August 2, 1969. The implementation of PEPERA was through representatives of the people of West Irian. As a result, the people of West Irian agreed to join the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

In the international political arena in the first half of the 1960s, Indonesia under Sukarno's leadership tried to get out of the Cold War framework between the Western and Eastern Blocs. The main concept that Sukarno introduced to the world to accommodate countries that were not involved in the Cold War was NEFOS (The New Emerging Forces). In the context of global politics in the early 1960s Sukarno had his own explanation of the existing international political order. According to him the world power that existed at that time could be divided into two, namely OLDEFOS (The Old Established Forces) which consisted of countries that had long been independent and carried out colonialism and imperialism and NEFOS which consisted of newly independent and developing countries. .

In order to mobilize NEFOS countries, Sukarno initiated the holding of GANEFO (Games of new Emerging Forces). Ganefo was prepared by Sukarno as a competition for sports which is equivalent to the Olympic Games or the Olympics. Unlike the Olympics which are dominated by OLDEFOS countries, GANEFO is prepared only for NEFOS countries. The first GANEFO was held in Jakarta on 10-24 November 1963. This international sporting party was a success with 42 countries participating in sending 2799 athletes and officials in total. In the view of the Indonesian people at that time the implementation of the ganefo was seen to be more successful than the implementation of the Asian Games IV in Jakarta a year earlier.

The period of Guided Democracy which dynamically ended unexpectedly with the events of 30 September 1965. On the evening of the morning of 30 September there was a kidnapping of 6 generals and one middle-class army officer suspected of being masterminded by the PKI. As a result of this event Sukarno's legitimacy as Indonesia's leader faced a great challenge. The emerging force to overcome the political upheaval that followed the events of 30 September was the army under the leadership of General Soeharto. With the loss of the legitimacy of Sukarno's leadership, since the beginning of 1966

Indonesia entered a new phase with the emergence of Suharto as Indonesia's new leader.

The transfer of power from Sukarno to Soeharto was marked by the issuance of an Order signed on March 11, 1966. The order contained the granting of authority from Sukarno to Suharto to take the necessary steps to save the condition of Indonesia which was experiencing political crisis after the events of 30 September 1965. The authorization was broadly interpreted by Soeharto, namely by dissolving the PKI and arresting PKI people who were considered to potentially endanger the survival of the Republic of Indonesia.

According to the official version of the Suharto government, the 30 September 1965 incident was a failed coup attempt by the PKI. The party was behind the abduction of six generals and one army officer in the incident. According to this version, the PKI carried out the kidnapping in order to pressure the army to go against a coup. In another version put forward by academics, the 30 September 1965 incident was the result of an internal conflict that occurred within the army. In the conflict several PKI leaders were involved, but as a political party the PKI did not participate in designing and being involved in the incident.

When viewed from a global perspective, the events of 30 September 1965 and the fall of Sukarno were inseparable from the Cold War situation when it reached its peak. Competition between the Western Bloc and the Eastern Bloc helped to heat up the political situation in Indonesia. Both the United States as the leader of the Western Bloc, and the Soviet Union which led the Eastern Bloc were trying to exert their influence in Indonesia. As early as the early 1960s Sukarno was seen by the United States as getting closer to the Eastern Bloc. This factor helped explain why the events of 30 September 1965 resulted in the fall of Sukarno and the emergence of General Soeharto as Indonesia's leader.

Based on the March Eleven Order General Soeharto not only disbanded the PKI, but also carried out a "purge". In the clean-up, arrests, arrests, and also killings of PKI members, people who were considered as PKI members, and organizations affiliated with PKI were carried out. The spearhead of the

clean-up operation was carried out by the Army with the assistance of several youth and women's organizations affiliated with the leading Islamic Mass Organization in Indonesia. There were thousands of people who were arrested and detained without trial. In addition there were estimated to be around 400,000 to 500,000 people who were victims of killings in the purge that took place from the issuance of the March Eleven Warrant to the beginning of 1967. The PKI purge event at the beginning of the Soeharto government was one of the darkest records of human rights violations in Indonesia's history.

In strengthening the political foundation for the government system that Soeharto built, it gave a large role to the Indonesian military to be involved in government activities. The way to go is to implement the Dwi Function of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia. Dwi Function that had been introduced by General A.H. Nasution in 1956 was carried out more comprehensively. With Dwi Function, the Indonesian military, especially the Army, not only carries out the task of securing the state, but also plays a direct role in the running of government. Various bureaucratic positions and heads of government institutions that were previously filled by civilians were subsequently filled by the military. The Dwi Function took place during the Soeharto era (1966-1998).

B. STABILITY AND AUTHORITARIANISM 1966-1998

General Soeharto was formally appointed by the MPRS (Provisional People's Consultative Assembly) as president of the Republic of Indonesia in March 1968. In an effort to differentiate his government from the previous government, Suharto called the government he led the New Order. As a regime, the New Order declared itself to be a government that prioritized economic development over political development. The Suharto government prioritized the improvement of people's welfare by opening up to foreign investment and applying for foreign loans as capital to carry out development. Under the New Order, Indonesia's orientation to obtain foreign loans was to banking institutions in the Western World such as the World Bank, the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and ADB (Asia Development Bank).

In structuring Indonesian politics, Suharto established the Golkar party as a political vehicle to gain popular support in the General Election. As a government that declares itself to run a democratic system, the New Order since 1971 regularly held elections every 5 years. After the first elections in 1971, there was a fusion or simplification of political parties. In addition to Golkar as a government party, the New Order united parties based on Islamic mythology into the PPP (United Development Party) and parties with Nationalist and Christian ideals into the PDI (Indonesian Democratic Party). With the fusion of these parties it was hoped that ideological conflicts in people's lives could be muted so that the government can run development programs smoothly.

The main focus of Suharto and the New Order regime was economic development. That is why an Economic Team was formed to carry out the task of gaining foreign support and assistance. One of the team's main tasks was to approach countries and aid agencies to reschedule loans that were past due. In addition the Economic Team was also tasked with getting new assistance and attracting foreign investment to Indonesia. The New Order Economic Team was led by Widjojo Nitisastro and assisted by other economists, namely: Emil Salim, Ali Wardhana, Subroto, J.B. Sumarlin and Saleh Afif. New Order economic policies as an effort to maintain stability and economic development were carried out in the Economic Team before being decided by Soeharto.

In the mid-1970s there was a political upheaval in East Timor which was a Portuguese colony. East Timor is bordered by the territory of Indonesia, namely the Province of East Nusa Tenggara. The political conflict in East Timor attracted Indonesian involvement after 29 November 1975 when the Balibo Declaration was issued by the UDT, Apodeti, KOTA and Tralabalista parties. They declared that East Timor was part of the Republic of Indonesia. The declaration was issued after the day before the Fretilin party proclaimed East Timor's independence. In an effort to reduce prolonged conflict, Indonesia then intervened in order to solve problems in the region.

In 1976 East Timor was integrated into the Republic of Indonesia. The authorization of the integration was carried out by making East Timor one

of the provinces in Indonesia. The integration of East Timor was a process of uniting Indonesian territory that is different from what happened in West Irian. In the PPKI session on 18 August 1945 it was stated that West Irian was part of the Republic of Indonesia. This statement was based on the decision of the PPKI members that the territory of the Republic of Indonesia was the entire territory of the former Dutch East Indies colony. Meanwhile East Timor was clearly a Portuguese colony outside the territory of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. As a Portuguese colony, the area was known as the *Provincia Ultramarina* (Overseas Province).

From 1976 to 1999 East Timor became part of the Republic of Indonesia. After the fall of Soeharto in 1998 and at the urging of the international community, in 1999 a referendum was held to determine the status of East Timor. The referendum contained a choice of whether East Timor would continue to be part of the Republic of Indonesia with special autonomy status, or would break away and become an independent state. The results of the referendum showed that the people of East Timor chose to break away from Indonesia. The Indonesian government respected the results of the referendum. All bureaucratic and military personnel in the region were pulled back to Indonesia. So since 1999 the country of Timor Leste has been established.

Since the New Order came to power various efforts have been made to control the rate of population growth. The demographic problem was seen by the New Order government as a key issue to ensure the success of economic development. The rate of economic growth would be meaningless if the population growth rate increased rapidly. Therefore, on June 29, 1970 the government established the implementation of the Family Planning Program together with the formation of the National Family Planning Coordinating Board (BKKBN). As a health program, family planning had been implemented since 1957. But since 1970 the family planning program was expanded to become a national program to overcome population problems. In addition to holding back population growth, KB was also intended to improve the health of mothers and children.

In 2013 the World Population Data Sheet released data stating that Indonesia

was the 5th most populous country in the world with an estimated population of 249 million. Among countries in Southeast Asia, Indonesia was the largest country with the largest population. The total population of Indonesia in 2013 was greater than the combined population of other Southeast Asian countries. With such a large population, demographic problems and their impact on political stability in Indonesia always receive great attention from countries that are neighbors of Indonesia. The Indonesian government is expected by neighboring countries to guarantee the welfare of its people and reduce poverty.

In an effort to improve people's welfare, the government carried out development in agriculture. At the beginning of the New Order came to power in Indonesia, food shortages occurred. In addressing food scarcity, through Repelita (Five-Year Development Plan) 1 the government strove to carry out development with a primary focus on food availability. Food security is a prerequisite for the success of the economic development program launched by the government. During the New Order era, the view emerged that Indonesia was an agrarian country. In reality, Indonesia is also a maritime country, because Indonesia's sea area is broader than its land area and Indonesian people in addition to their profession as farmers are also many who depend their lives from the sea.

As an agrarian country, the New Order government placed the agricultural sector as the primadonna of the development program. The development policies integrated in the implementation of Repelita 1 through 4 sought to acclimate the widespread Green Revolution movement in the world that began in the 1950s to the 1980s. In Indonesia the Green Revolution movement was carried out in a planned manner through government programs, which included: bimas (community guidance), insus (special intensification), and extensification all of which were united in a program called the Five Farming Businesses.

What is meant by Bimas is assistance to farmers through agricultural extension activities. Extension officers come to the centers of agricultural activities to provide a variety of knowledge that is expected to encourage agricultural productivity. Whereas Insus is a program to increase agricultural production

capacity by improving agricultural land governance. Insus is a program that is intensifying agricultural activities. With a fixed amount of land, farmers are expected to increase production by increasing agricultural technology better. Meanwhile, agricultural extensification is an agricultural program carried out by land expansion. Extensification programs are carried out in areas that have extensive agricultural land.

The Panca Usha Tani Program, which was carried out intensively throughout the 1970s until the early 1980s, was able to significantly increase Indonesia's food production. Rice production expanded from 2.5 tons in the early 1970s to 10 tons in the early 1980s, soybean production increased from 0.6 to 1.6, and corn increased from 1.6 to 6.8 tons per hectare each growing season. Increased food production reached its peak in 1984. In that year Indonesia could realize rice food self-sufficiency. Thanks to this achievement, President Soeharto received an award from the FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization) as a country that had succeeded in developing agriculture and had become a model for other countries.

After the achievement in 1984, Indonesia's food production decreased. This is because the agricultural sector began to be abandoned because residents in rural areas began to orient themselves to cities and urbanization. As a result, in 1984 Indonesia again became a rice importer. Not only rice, the production of other food crops such as soybeans and corn also declined. As a result, Indonesia also imports these commodities. Food imports have continued since 1986 until now. Food independence is still a problem that must be resolved by the Indonesian government at this time and in the future considering that the population of Indonesia has increased rapidly until in 2018 it is estimated to have reached more than 260 million people.

In the 1980s Soerharto could be said to have finished political consolidation. At that time all political forces in Indonesia were under the strict control or supervision of the New Order government. Through the dual functions of ABRI and the Golkar party, the New Order government dominated Indonesian political life. Public servants were required to hold monoloyalty which means that in every election they must elect the ruling government party, namely

Golkar. As a result, in every New Order election, Golkar always came out as the winner with a striking lead compared to the two other parties participating in the election, namely PPP and PDI.

As Suharto's growing control over political life in Indonesia grew, the character of the government he led also became increasingly authoritarian. Suharto became the center of all strategic and decisive decision making in national life. As power became more concentrated in his hands, the tendency to abuse power became greater. The New Order regime began to transform from a regime that prioritized economic development into a regime that prioritized the interests of the groups in power.

Since the 1970s various opposition actions against the New Order government began to emerge. The opposition took the form of demonstrations or physical resistance. Various kinds of opposition were carried out by student groups, Islamic groups, farming communities and those who were victims of the development carried out by the New Order. In every demonstration or action against the government, it was responded to by repression and crackdowns. As a result, various human rights violations occurred from the 1970s to 1990s, such as the Malari incident (January Fifteen Fifteen) in 1974, the Tanjung Priok incident in 1984, the Kedungombo 1989 case, the Santa Cruz Dili incident in 1991, and the 1996 Sambas riots.

These various human rights violations took place simultaneously with various other forms of fraud committed by the New Order regime. One form of fraud that is considered to have the most impact on Indonesian society is corruption. During the New Order government, corruption was rife at all levels. The government's policy to silence all criticism made against the government caused the perpetrators of corruption in the government to enjoy the freedom to carry out their actions without worrying about being sanctioned or punished. The biggest perpetrators of corruption were precisely President Soeharto himself along with his children, family, and people closest to him.

In the second half of the 1990s the New Order government became increasingly authoritarian. Students criticized the New Order government by

formulating three behaviors that characterized the Suharto government and were detrimental to Indonesian society. The three behaviors are Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism or what is popularly known as KKN. Critics of students and community groups who are critical of the government became more prominent when the monetary crisis occurred in 1997. The crisis began in Thailand and spread to countries in Asia with the most severe impacts occurring in Indonesia.

As a result of the monetary crisis, Indonesia's economy experienced a major crisis. The community lost trust in the government and monetary authorities after the New Order government closed private banks in 1997. The monetary crisis was soon followed by a shortage of food ingredients, especially in big cities in Indonesia such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Semarang and Medan. The people who had previously begun to feel the negative effects of the authoritarian behavior of the New Order government were increasingly antipathetic to the Suharto government.

The climax was the demonstration of Trisakti University students on May 12, 1998. Students who were disappointed with the government's KKN behavior and failure to overcome economic crisis demanded that Suharto resign. Student demands were responded to with repression. The government forcibly dispersed the demonstration and carried out the shooting which killed four student victims and dozens of others injured. Student shootings incurred public outrage. On May 13-14 riots broke out in Jakarta. Those who were victims of the riots were Chinese community groups and ordinary people.

May 1998 brought an attitude of opposition to Soeharto and the New Order regime more broadly. Previously, critical voices were primarily students and pro-democracy community groups, but since the outbreak of the May 1998 riots, demands for Suharto to resign from the presidency were voiced by all elements of society, even by groups that had been supporters of the government, the new order. Facing demands from all strata of society that were so strong, finally on May 20, 1998 Suharto declared his resignation from the presidency. As a substitute for Soeharto, was appointed B.J. Habibie, who previously served as vice president, and who became President of the Republic

of Indonesia. President Habibie's reign marked a new era in Indonesian history known as the "Reformation Era".

C. NEW IDEALS AND HOPES 1998 - 2018

After stepping down from the presidency, Suharto claimed to have little personal wealth and no savings abroad. Meanwhile in June 1995 four foundations he headed were reported to have a fortune of 2.5 trillion. In December 1998 seven foundations belonging to Suharto were reported to have a wealth of thousands of trillions of rupiah. Time magazine published in May 1999 reported that the Suharto family controlled a fortune of 15 million dollars. The Australian Newspaper In January 2000 estimated Suharto's wealth of 2 billion dollars, Liem Soe Liong 1.8 billion dollars, and Bob Hasan 1 billion dollars.

The word "reform" is used to refer to the name of the era after the New Order government, which was between 1998 and 2018, signifying the desire to make major changes in the life of the state in Indonesia. The legacy of the Suharto government which was permeated by KKN (Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism) was abandoned and replaced with a clean and democratic government. The power of the president which was too large was reduced by activating the role of the legislative and judicial bodies. Political parties were reorganized in a fairer format by eliminating Golkar's privileges. Meanwhile Dwi's ABRI function was ended, and the army again used the name TNI (Indonesian National Army). Central government power is reduced by imposing regional autonomy. In the 2004 general elections the presidential election system through the MPR (People's Consultative Assembly) and the regional head through the DPRD (Regional People's Representative Council) were replaced by Direct Elections.

The reform period was initiated under the administration of President Habibie (1998-1999). During 17 months of governing Habibie carried out reforms in an effort to create a more just, democratic and open society. But social violence, political crises, and doubts about the legitimacy of the Habibie government caused the reforms to fail. The culmination of the loss of public

trust in President Habibie's government was the separation of the province of East Timor from being part of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. In addition to the East Timor problem, there are two regions which in the early days of reform experienced turmoil that threatened the very existence of the nation. The two regions are Aceh at the western end of Indonesia, and Papua at the eastern end. Aceh is rich in natural resources in the form of oil and natural gas, has a long history of opposition to the forces of Dutch colonialism. Meanwhile, Papua is rich in copper, gold, petroleum and uranium. It is an area that was neglected in the implementation of development during the New Order government.

In 1999 Indonesia held its first general election in the Reformation era. The 1999 election took place only about one year after the last election in the New Order period. In contemporary Indonesian historical records, the 1999 Election is the second democratic election after the 1955 Election. In the first Election Reform era there were 48 parties participating. The large number of political parties in a 1999 Election event reminded us of the 1955 Election which was also run with dozens of political parties competing.

Of the 48 political parties participating in the 1999 election, 20 of them were believed to be parties formed by the Suharto family and its cronies. Broadly speaking, parties participating in the election can be characterized as parties based on political ideology and parties with a religious ideology. The top three winners of the 1999 elections in a row were PDIP (33.7%), Golkar (22.4%), and PPP (10.7%).

Although PDIP won the 1999 election, the presidential candidate from this party, namely Megawati Sukarno Putri, lost the presidential election. The presidential election system through representation in the MPR saw Megawati who was the PDIP general chairman be defeated by Abdurrahman Wahid (popularly known as Gus Dur) from the PKB. The victory was achieved thanks to the support of the Central Axis forces led by Islamic parties. Before becoming president Abdurrahman was a pro-democracy figure who opposed Suharto's authoritarian government. His appearance as president gave hope to the people of Indonesia. As president Abdurrahman encouraged pluralism,

openness and respect for minority groups.

During Abdurrahman Wahid's time there were drastic changes in the field of media openness. Abdurrahman closed the information ministry which had policed public communication, so that the mass media were free to carry out their activities. Abdurrahman is famous for his pluralistic ideology. It was during the Gus Dur era that the Chinese minority in the country gained greater recognition, such as in the administration of population documents and the establishment of the Chinese New Year as a national holiday. However, Gus Dur's system and government pattern did not work well. There was unnecessary political noise, so political stability was not maintained. Poor political stability also impacts economic stability.

Abdurrahman Wahid served as president for only a period of 21 months (1999-2001). His administration failed to complete the reform agenda, because Indonesia in the period of Gus Dur's presidency faced a political and legal crisis, increasingly severe corruption, and religious conflict. His successor president was Megawati Sukarnoputri who ruled between 2001-2004. As president, Megawati is different from her father. If Sukarno was more actively developing foreign policy, then Megawati was more focused on domestic matters. However, in her short term of office (2001-2004) Megawati managed to save the authority of the presidential institution.

The Megawati government succeeded in stabilizing the macroeconomic fundamentals, which included inflation, economic growth, the rupiah exchange rate against the dollar, and the poverty rate. Megawati did not allow her government to be co-opted by a conglomerate's conflict of interests, namely by not appointing problematic entrepreneurs as part of the government. She began to eradicate KKN and had the courage to detain and imprison Suharto's cronies (Tommy Soehato, Bob Hasan and Probosutedjo) and have troubled conglomerates arrested. One of the important achievements of the Megawati government was the establishment of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK).

Although reforms encouraged an ethos of transparency and anti-corruption in government institutions, corruption cases involving government officials

and officials became even more prevalent. In 2011, 40 regional heads were implicated in cases, in 2012 there were 41 regional heads, in 2013 dropping to 23 regional heads, and in 2014 there were 56 corruption cases committed by regional heads. According to data collected by the Ministry of Home Affairs up to December 2015, there were 361 mayors, regents and governors who had been entangled in corruption cases since regional autonomy.

Corruption was not only carried out by regional heads, but also by members of Parliament. The data held by the Corruption Eradication Commission in the period 2004-2015 stated that a total of 39 DPR members were caught in a corruption case. KPK data for 2017 shows that state losses due to private corruption touched IDR47.1 trillion, while convicted civil servants defrauded the state of around IDR21.3 trillion. The amount of losses incurred due to politicians is the smallest at around IDR 3 trillion rupiah. From the above data we can conclude that corruption during the reform era spread massively (multisector) and structured (from top to bottom). However, it cannot be denied that the eradication of corruption during the reform era cannot be separated from the legacy of the past.

FURTHER READING

Crouch, H. (2007). *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*. Singapore: Equinox Publishing.

Feith, H. (2006). *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*. Singapore: Equinox Publishing.

Legge, J. D. (1972). *Sukarno: A Political Biography*. London: Penguin.

Rickles, M.C. (2008). *A History of Modern Indonesia Since c. 1200*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Vickers, A. (2013). *A History of Modern Indonesia*. Second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

EPILOG

To understand Indonesia we need a historical perspective and this book by definition takes us on a journey in a more or less chronological fashion. In the process it also draws attention to themes such as political systems and power, trade and the economy, the archipelagic status and the natural resources within it, religion, and culture, expressed in many forms. However, the authors have focused on these when they were determinant in different periods. In the process, the authors provide focus points that can be used by readers to build their understanding. This chapter, drawing on some of the issues raised in chapters 1 to 4, is selective in taking another look at some of these matters, in particular when they interact with the issues of political power, over the different historical periods, right up to the significant events in the recent past and the present.

We start here with some aspects of **religion** and its impact on life and culture. Through the influence of the civilizations of the world's major religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam the early forms of government in the archipelago developed in a mixed dynamics between politics, economic competition, and the sophistication of sea-based military strategies. These models can be found before meetings with Europeans, which carry Christianity and other forms of political governance.

The existence of Hinduism and Buddhism in Indonesia and the Indonesian kingdoms during this period are related to some foundations of contemporary

Indonesian culture especially in the west of Indonesia, and particularly in Java and Bali. The Devanagari and Pallava scripts are another contribution from the Hindu and Buddhist period to the present Indonesian culture. The idea of unity in diversity for modern Indonesia as a nation, was also developed during this period. *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* as written in Sutasoma by Mpu Kanwa has adapted taken it as a founding philosophy for the modern Indonesian nation. Another influence of Hinduism and Buddhism is in architecture especially in the building of *candi* which are unique to Indonesian architecture, and not a replica of India architecture.

Meanwhile, the influence of Islam is dominant in the modern Indonesian nation. The influence is still going on to the present life in modern Indonesian society and government. The number of muslims as a majority population naturally affects daily life in modern Indonesia. The concept of tolerance as taught in Islam colors and continues the principle of unity and diversity as adopted for Indonesia as a modern nation state. The existence of other religions is recognized by the majority of Muslim society without any fundamental problems. As a monotheistic religion, the theological concept in Islam in Indonesia does not change. Another influence of Islam on Indonesia are architecture especially mosques.

The next thing is **global trade** in Indonesian territory. The influence of the migration of traders on the dynamics in Indonesian waters from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries has led to complex interactions of civilizations in the region. The end of the 16th century became an important period in the history of Indonesia because at this time people in the archipelago began to interact intensively with traders from Europe, such as Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English. During this period the geopolitics of the archipelago was divided into dozens of kingdoms which in general had developed a feudal system with a Muslim flavor. Only in a few areas in the eastern tip of Java and Bali will you still find Hinduism. These kings were the holders of political sovereignty in their respective territories and determinants of trade relations and interaction with European traders. The meeting with the Europeans - initially for the spice trade - has given rise to new forms in political and socio-cultural institutions both on the part of the European nation and for the local

elites. This form of interaction was what became known as colonialism. The local response to this is nationalism.

During the second half of the 16th century European maritime expeditions began to reach the archipelago. Dutch trade association *Vereenigde Oost Indie Compagnie* (VOC) established a trading city in Batavia in 1618. For two centuries the VOC succeeded in controlling important trading areas in the archipelago. In the midst of VOC trade expansion in the archipelago the British East India Company (EIC) trading organization succeeded in occupying several important areas in the archipelago. Later on, during the XIX Century the Indonesian nation underwent colonialism under Britain, France and the Netherlands. The change of colonial power in Indonesia was closely related to various political events that occurred in Europe during the 1800-1820s.

In the colonial period some parts of the archipelago that were once kingdoms had been abolished since the VOC period and then the VOC vassal regents were put in place or even completely eliminated. However, most of the other Nusantara kingdoms which had great political power and had a strategic function in strengthening colonial power were maintained as vassals. Some of these defended kingdoms were given semi-autonomous powers to manage their territory. In the semi-autonomous regions, the colonial government placed a colonial official such as a resident and assistant resident, who functioned as the liaison of the colonial government as well as the controller of their power. The political rights of native *bumiputera* were restricted; their behavior was controlled and all important decisions from administrative matters to royal succession had to be consulted with the colonial government. Tense relations between indigenous leaders and colonial governments often occurred. Kings and their families who disobeyed and were seen as endangering colonial rule were replaced or worse, disposed of or exiled.

Next we look at **modernization** in the context of interactions between Europeans and indigenous peoples that took place in the early twentieth century. Modernization was triggered, among others, by the expansion of formal education for indigenous people and the expansion of print media. As a result of the emergence of new elites with a new understanding of social status,

human philosophy and individual rights in the thinking of Enlightenment Humanism, a collective awareness of status as a colonized nation then emerges and develops. Major events have triggered the transformation of political consciousness that had developed in the early twentieth century into a concrete political movement, namely independence. These events were mainly the economic depression of the 1930s, the Japanese occupation and the Second World War, and the war for independence.

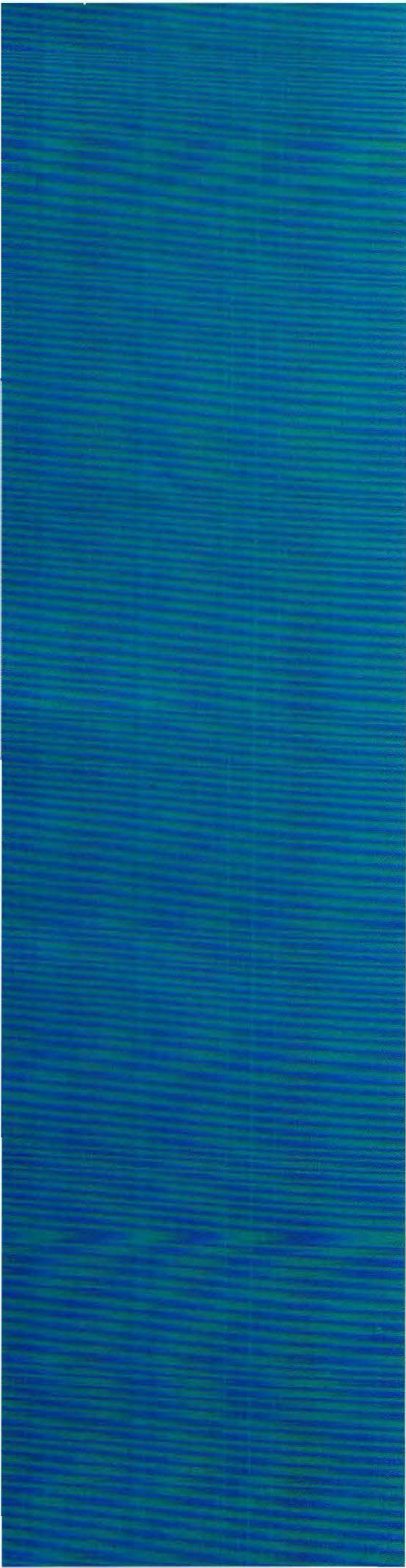
Next, we focus on **nationalism** and the fight for independence. After hundreds of years of living under colonial rule, the spirit of nationalism grew in an effort to escape from the shackles of colonialism. The beginning of the struggle of the Indonesian people to escape from colonialism was the growth of a sense of nationalism. The spirit of nationalism grew almost throughout every part of the archipelago, culminating in the 1908 Youth Congress which gave birth to the Youth Pledge. The growth of nationalism is a result of the Colonial Government's Ethical Political policy which gave birth to knowledgeable Indonesian sons and daughters of nationalism and realized how bad the colonial system was that had been running for hundreds of years across the archipelago.

Related to this, we now turn to the Indonesian **state**. A new form of socio-political institution - namely the state - that was born from a long process of collective consciousness and different political movements since the beginning of the twentieth century. The establishment of the Indonesian nation-state has driven change in many ways that affect the lives of the people - the people and citizens of Indonesia. Nevertheless, the formation of the Indonesian nation-state is a long process and one with many twists and turns. The period of the 1950s to the 1960s which was very dynamic with its experiments with democracy.

The socio-political period of the Republic of Indonesia runs from 1945 up to around 2018. The initial formation of the Indonesian state was the stage of exploration and experimentation of the political system and the search for ideologies that were compatible with the plurality of nationalist streams. The initial stage ended with an extraordinary human tragedy, namely the coup

attempt by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) group. The New Order regime was born from this bloody political transition. Holding power in the Republic of Indonesia for about three decades, the New Order regime had significant achievements but also left major problems. The fall of the 1998 New Order brought great hope about fundamental change. Reforming the political system towards democracy, respect for freedom of speech, economic independence and social welfare, and the realization of a government free of Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism (KKN), are all ideals of the Reformation Period. Some of these ideals were realized gradually over the 20 years from the fall of the New Order. The Reformation Period, while encouraging the development of democracy, has been accompanied by the development of religious fundamentalism, the strengthening of identity politics, and the spread of threats to diversity and pluralism. This is a big challenge for the Indonesian people to maintain democracy in this NKRI the unitary state of Indonesia.

In **conclusion**, we can see that the previous examples of themes can be used to provide a perspective on historical events. One of the problems of understanding Indonesia is the degree of variation and number of co-occurring features on the historical story. Indonesia's geographical size, its cultural and biological diversity, and the way it relates to the world, can be better understood if we are able to develop a clear picture of the different political, economic and cultural components. Understanding historical events is often able to provide a useful perspective on events that have occurred more recently. They also teach us about how we might estimate the likely trajectory of the nation in the near future. Political, economic, educational, technological, environmental, religious and other dimensions may be working going forward.



INDEX

A

Aceh 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 31, 33, 47, 55, 102
 Adipati Unus 21
 Agamanna 24
 Agrarian Reform 43
 Airlangga 10
 Ali Mughayat Shah 16, 19
 amalgamation technique 9
 Ambon 24, 25, 31, 36, 40, 65
 Ancient Mataram 7, 8
 Anglo-Dutch Treaty 38
 Arab 14, 15, 16, 22, 34, 50, 52, 53
 Arung Palakka 24
 Arya Damar 20

B

Balitung 9
 Banda 31, 33
 Bangka 20, 51
 Banjar 15
 Banten 7, 8, 15, 21, 22, 31, 33, 35, 46, 56,
 60
 Banyuwangi 46
 Belitung 20
 Bengkulu 33, 37, 38, 41

bhineka tunggal ika 14

Blambangan 35, 46

Bone 24, 35

Bone kingdom 24

Borobudur 9, 10

Bricks 13

Bugis 36

C

camphor 11, 17

Candi Prambanan 9

Carita Parahyangan 6, 7

Catholics 65

Central Java 7, 9, 10, 13, 21, 35, 39, 42,
 45, 53, 120

Cheng Ho 21

China xi, xii, xvi, 7, 8, 11, 12, 16, 17, 19,
 52

Chinatown 50, 51

Chinese 2, 7, 11, 12, 16, 21, 34, 41, 50, 51,
 52, 53, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 100, 103

Chinese army 12

Christianity 1, 2, 62, 105

Cirebon 15, 20, 21, 22, 46

clove xi, 18, 20, 24, 33

- Collaboration 34
 Colonialism iii, 29, 44
 Creole 49
- D**
 Daendels 39, 40, 41
 Dapunta Hyang Sri Jayanasa 12
 Demak 15, 21, 22
 Dili 31, 99
 Diponegoro 23, 45, 47
 dirham 17
- E**
 EIC 32, 34, 37, 38, 107
 English ii, 29, 30, 31, 33, 106, 117
- G**
 Gajah Mada 12, 13
 Giyanti Agreement 35
 gold 4, 6, 7, 9, 17, 48, 52, 102
 Gouvernement 42
 Gowa 15, 24
 Guna Dharma 10
- H**
 Hamengkubuwana 40, 45
 Hamilton 38
 Hasanuddin 22, 24
 Hayam Wuruk 12, 13, 14
 Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai 17
 Hinduism xiv, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 25, 26, 30, 105, 106
- I**
 Ibn Batuta 16
 I La Galigo 47
 Index 111
 India x, xi, xii, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 11, 12, 14, 17, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27, 32, 37, 50, 106, 107
- Indies 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 62, 63, 64, 66, 80, 82, 96
 Indo 49
 irrigation system 5
 Islam xiv, 1, 2, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 45, 51, 63, 64, 71, 80, 84, 85, 86, 105, 106
- J**
 Japan 66, 67, 69, 70, 72, 75, 80, 117
 Jenggala 10
- K**
 Kahuripan 10
 Kakawin Arjunawiwaha 10
 Kamadatu 10
 Karaeng Matowaja Tumamenaga Ri 24
 Kawali 7
 Kediri 10, 11
 Ken Arok 11
 Kertanegara 12
 Kesultanan 5, 15
 Kingdom of Demak 21
 Kingdom of Galuh 6
 Kingdom of Kahuripan 10
 Kingdom of Pajajaran 8
 Kingdom of Sunda 7
 Kutai 4, 5, 15
 Kutai Kartanegara 5
- L**
 Larantuka 31
 Lifau 31
 Low Malay 52
- M**
 Mahabharata 10, 47

- Mahayana 11
 Ma Huan 21
 Majapahit 11, 12, 13, 14
 Makassar 15, 24, 35, 36, 45
 Makdum dynasty 16
 Malay xii, 7, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 47, 52, 53, 63
 Malay language 7, 12, 17, 18
 Malikul Salih 17
 Maluku xi, 15, 18, 19, 24, 25, 33, 35, 36, 38, 46, 62, 86
 Manado 45
 Mangkunegaran 35, 46
 Mansyur 38, 67
 Marco Polo 15, 16
 Maulana Malik Ibrahim 15
 Medang rih Poh Pitu 9
 Mir'ah al Thullab 19
 moonson 14
 Mpu Pranpanca 14
 Mpu Tantular 14
 Muhammad 25, 47
 Muneng 41
- N**
- Nagarakrtagama 14
 Netherlands 8, 18, 20, 22, 38, 56, 57, 60, 64, 65, 66, 79, 80, 83, 88, 89, 91, 107, 120
 Nuku 25, 35
- O**
- old Malay language 12
 Orang Kayo Hitam 20
- P**
- Pakualaman 46
 Pakuan 8
 Pakubuwono I 23
 Palembang 11, 15, 20, 37, 46, 47, 78
 Pallava script 4, 5
 Pangeran Diponegoro 23
 Pangeran Mangkubumi 23
 Pararaton 11, 27
 Patih Amangkubhumi 13
 Penang 40
 pepper xi, 7, 11, 14, 17, 18, 20, 33, 37
 Philippines xii, 13, 19, 25, 36, 68
 Pieter Scipio van Oostende 8
 Portuguese 8, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 95, 96, 106
 Prabu Siliwangi 8, 27
 prasasti 5, 6, 7, 11
 primus inter pares 4, 5
 Priyayi 48
- R**
- Raden Patah 21
 Raden Wijaya 12
 Ramayana 47
 Ratu Adil 44, 45, 86
 Riau 15, 18, 47
 Risalah Hukum Kanun 17
- S**
- Saiyid dynasty 16
 Salatiga Agreement 35
 Samudera Pasai 16, 17
 Samudra Pasai 15, 17
 Sanjaya 7, 8, 9
 Sanjayavamça 7, 8
 Saragosa Treaty 22
 Security 68, 86
 Selat Sunda 22
 Semarang 9, 64, 78, 100
 Singasari Kingdom 11
 Snouck Hurgronje 19, 57
 Solor 31

- Spanish 18, 19, 25, 29, 30, 31, 33, 106
 spices xi, 3, 12, 18, 20, 21, 25, 33
 Sri Baduga Maharaja 8
 Sri Jayabupati 7
 Sulawesi 8, 15, 24, 38, 45, 47
 Sultan 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 35, 38, 40, 45
 Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa 22
 Sultan Agung Senopati ing Alogo Ngabdurrahman 22
 Sultan Alaidin Saiyid Maulana Ali Mughayat Shah 16
 Sultanate of Banten 22, 46
 Sultanate of Cirebon 20, 21
 Sultanate of Gowa 24
 Sultanate of Mataram 22
 Sultanate of Ternate 24
 Sultanate of Yogyakarta 22, 46
 sultan Baabullah Batu Shah 24
 Sultan Hamzah 25
 Sultan Iskandar Muda 19
 Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II 20
 Sultan Makhdum Alaidin Malik Abdul Kadir Shah Johan Berdaulat 16
 Sultan Nuku 25
 Sultan Sepuh 40
 Sumpah Palapa 12, 13
 Sunda Kalapa 18
 Sundanese script 6
 Sungguminasa 24
 Surakarta 35, 36, 46, 51, 53, 64
 Sutasoma 14, 26, 106
 Sutawijaya 22
 Syarif Hidayatullah 20, 22
- T**
 Tarumanagara 4, 5
 Tarusbawa 6, 7, 8
 Ternate 15, 24, 25, 31, 35, 46
 Thordesillas treaty 18
 Tidore 15, 24, 25, 31, 35, 46
 tolerance 13, 14, 23, 26, 106
 Tomé Pires 8
 Treaty of London 23
 Tripama 47
- U**
 Uli Siwa 25
 UNESCO 47
- V**
 Van den Bosch 42
 Vishnu 6, 10
 VOC 22, 23, 24, 25, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 46, 53, 107
 Vorstenlanden 42
- W**
 wayang 15
 Wedatama 47
 West Java 6, 7, 8, 12, 21, 46, 60, 63, 87
 Wilwatikta 12
 Wulang Reh 47
- Y**
 Yasadipura 47
 Yogyakarta xvi, 9, 22, 23, 27, 35, 36, 40, 45, 46, 51, 53, 71, 72, 78, 120
 Yupa 4

AUTHOR AND EDITOR PROFILES

DR. AGUS SUWIGNYO

Agus Suwignyo is a lecturer at the History Department, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Gadjah Mada University in Indonesia. He obtained his Bachelor Degree in English Language Education at Sanata Dharma University in 1997; a Master of Arts in Educational Sciences at the University of Amsterdam in 2001; and Doctor of History at Leiden University in 2012. He focuses on researching and writing topics on education, educational history, social history, and contemporary socio-cultural issues.

DR. ALLAN F. LAUDER

Allan Lauder got his Bachelor's degree in the Arts and Humanities at Auckland University (1980). He was the recipient **Post-Graduate Research Scholarship in Japanese Language**, at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (*Tokyo Gaigo Dai*), Japan, 1982 – 1984. He got his Masters degree in Linguistics at the National University of Singapore (1991) and his Doctorate in Corpus Linguistics at Atma Jaya University in Jakarta (2009). He has been a guest lecturer and researcher in the Department of Linguistics, Humanities Faculty at Universitas Indonesia for more than two decades.

DR. BONDAN KANUMOYOSO

Bondan Kanumoyoso works as a permanent lecturer and researcher in the History Department of the Faculty of the Humanities, Universitas Indonesia. His bachelors degree was in education (1996), and masters in history (2000) also at UI. He completed the Advanced Master Program (2002) at Leiden University and earned a doctorate at Leiden University (2011). Various research results have been presented at various national and international seminars. His main research interests are colonial history, city history, modern Indonesian economic history, and maritime history.

KRESNO BRAHMANTYO, M.S., S.S.

Kresno Brahmantyo, got his Doctorate degree at the Australian Center for Public History, University of Technology Sydney, Australia, focusing on Public History (2014). He is now a researcher at the Center for Social and Cultural Research, Faculty of the Humanities, Universitas Indonesia. He is currently Editor of two academic journals, the *Journal of the Century*, published by the Ministry of Education and Culture, Indonesia and *Wacana: Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia* at the Humanities Faculty, UI. He was previously an Editor at *Public History Review*, University of Technology, Sydney (UTS). He is an active member of the International Federation for Public History, one of whose missions is to develop Public History internationally.

PROF. DR. MULTAMIA RMT LAUDER

Multamia RMT Lauder is a professor at the Department of Linguistics, Faculty of the Humanities, Universitas Indonesia (UI). She obtained a bachelor of linguistics from UI (1979). She also got her first Masters degree (Mse.) in Phonetics from L'institut de Phonetique de Grenoble, France (1980) and her second Masters degree (D.E.A.) in Geolinguistics from Faculte des Lettres L'universite de Grenoble III, in France (1981). She got her doctoral specializing in Dialectology, from *Universitas Indonesia* (1990). Since 1980 until the present she has worked as a lecturer and researcher in the Department of Linguistics, Faculty of the Humanities, University of Indonesia.

PROF. DR. SAID HAMID HASAN

Said Hamid Hasan is a professor in the field of history. He completed his undergraduate education at the Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan (IKIP) Bandung's History Education Department in 1969. Then he pursued his postgraduate education at Macquarie University, Australia, which he completed in 1978 and his doctorate in 1985. He teaches at his alma mater, The University of Education (UPI), Bandung.

PROF. SRI MARGANA, PH.D.

Sri Margana was born in Klaten, Central Java, Indonesia. He obtained his Bachelor and Masters degrees in the Department of History, Faculty of the Humanities, Gadjah Mada University (UGM), Yogyakarta in 1995 and 2001 and his doctorate from Leiden University in the Netherlands in 2007. Since in 1998 he has worked as a lecturer in the Department of History at UGM. In 2001 he attended The Advanced Master Program of CNWS, Leiden University, the Netherlands within the framework of the TANAP (Towards a New Age of Partnership) project. As a professor of history he has an interest in the field of Javanese socio-political history in pre-colonial and colonial times.

HISTORY OF INDONESIA

A RESOURCE BOOK

Indonesia, a country flanked by two oceans and two continents, is famous for its natural beauty and cultural diversity. The fact is worldwide, but the facts surrounding Indonesian society, how the characteristics of diversity are formed and how diversity is tested by time, has not been captured much by its meaning by the global community as part of Indonesia's interaction with the nations of the world.

This book tries to give an overview of the history of Indonesia from a perspective that places the Indonesian community as an active community in the global dynamics at that time. The encounter of the community with major civilizations such as Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam, as well as the arrival of Europeans in the form of dialogue and adoption in a wise manner resulted in a distinctive culture that is Indonesia today. This historical journey also shaped the character of society for centuries until it proceeded to become a united nation through a network of collective memories. The next journey in becoming a nation in the course of history such as the Youth Pledge and culminated in the Proclamation of Independence of the Republic of Indonesia as a newly established country.

The perspective of Indonesian historical narratives contained in this book will explain information that has been vague and not yet is global about Indonesia. Through this book, the global community is invited to know Indonesia far deeper than its brothers and far wider than its islands.

ISBN 978-623-7092-58-2



9 786237 092582

Perpu
Jene