

The History Of Republic Indonesia: Defend And Reinforce To Be Up Against Insurgencies*

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Abstract. *The important thing from ‘Boedi Oetama’ is in his body seeds the spirit of nationalism that had emerged, so that they could be seen as the starting point of the national movement. The youth group then founded the Jong Java association, Jong Sumatran Bond, Jong Minahasa, Jong Ambon, Jong Celebes. Subsequently a new association called Jong Indonesia was formed, aimed at realizing the ideals of Indonesian unity on the basis of nationalism. Starting from the spirit of nationalism, the young people continued to struggle to break away from the colonialism of the Dutch East Indies and Japanese governments. The main objective is to realize the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia. The struggle was finally successful with the statement of independence read by Sukarno-Hatta on August 17, 1945. After the formation of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia did not mean that the struggle of the nationalists was over. The unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia must repeatedly face internal undermining carried out by several groups. Starting from the rebellion of the left in 1948; in the 1950s there was an APRA rebellion, an Andi Azis rebellion, an RMS rebellion, a DI / TII rebellion; and the PKI revolt in 1965. The problem that then arises is how can the Republic of Indonesia overcome various rebellions? In this paper we will review the characteristics of rebellion, is there a common thread between one rebellion and another rebellion? Besides that, it will also be discussed whether there are general patterns used to overcome rebellion. The ability to overcome various parties that undermine, would increasingly strengthen the Republic of Indonesia as a sovereign country.*

Keywords: *History, Republic Indonesia, Defend, Reinforce, Insurgencies*

INTRODUCTION:

At the early of the twentieth century, a new phenomenon emerged in the colonies of the Dutch colonial government in the movement against the colonialist. If previously the movement against the colonialists was regional in nature and tended to be in the interests of the elite, then at the early of the twentieth century, it turns to be as a national movement, meaning that at that time national consciousness began to emerge.¹ Indonesian nationalism is a form of resistance against colonialism, that the domination of

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¹ Dissatisfaction with the colonial government had long been carried out through armed resistance against the Dutch colonial government in sharing regions, including: resistance led by Pattimura, Teuku Umar, Imam Bonjol, Pangeran Diponegoro. But the resistance failed because there was still no sense of national unity. Failure after failure is what awakens the nation's leaders or in this case the national movement to change the tactics and strategy of the

the Dutch colonial government has aroused resistance through modernly regulated organizations, which is actually an impact of *Ethical Politics*. National awakening marked by the birth of Boedi Oetomo (BO) was an adaptation and innovation carried out by Indonesian people to adjust to colonial politics. To strengthen innovation, modern institutions are needed to accommodate aspirations of various ethnic groups, which are under pressure from the Dutch colonial government.

If before the 1920s, the seeds of nationalism in organizations were more social in nature, then go after they become a political nature. These organizations did not want to cooperate with the Dutch colonial government in realizing their ideals. They firmly stated that their goal was to achieve an independent Indonesia. The spirit of the youth movement to realize the unitary state of Indonesia was stated in the *Kongres Pemuda II* (Second Youth Congress) which was held on October 27-28, 1928. Various youth organizations emphasized the meaning of unity and succeeded in reaching an agreement which came to be known as the *Sumpah Pemuda* (Youth Pledge).

After *Sumpah Pemuda* agreement was declared, Indonesia's independence struggle still had to take a steep and winding road to face the Dutch colonial government. The diplomacy brought by the leaders of the struggle to achieve their goals meets such obstacles. Along with the development of international politics, in 1942, the territory of the Dutch colonial government fell into Japanese hands. During the Japanese rule, the struggle of the leaders of the movement continued. Finally when Japan was defeated by the allies, the time came for Indonesian people to declare their independence on August 17, 1945.

This statement of independence, however, does not directly free Indonesian people from all problems. This newly born nation must face the Dutch government that wants to regain the control of Indonesia. The success of Indonesian people expelled the colonialists was indirectly followed by the success in developing a unitary Republic of Indonesia. There were rebellions from various regions and groups, which felt left out and did not agree with the form of a nationalist state that was *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (Ricklefs, 2008: 424). However, this country in its history can still stand tall despite getting a lot of undermining both from outside and inside the country.

This paper will briefly describe the formation of the national state of the Republic of Indonesia and the various rebellions it faces, and how to overcome them, so that this unitary state can still stand firmly. The temporal restriction from 1908-1960 would merely provide an overview of the main problems faced by this nation. Presumably in the latter period, there was also a rebellion that was not much different from the problems described in this paper. What rebellion was directed to the government of the unitary state of Indonesian Republic? How does this country face those various rebellions? Are there common patterns or does each event have unique characteristics and each must be resolved in a separate way?

METHOD

This research is a library research using historical methods. The stages passed are heuristic stages (data collection). The data were taken from books and journals. After the heuristic process, the existing data is then verified or enters the critical stage. The next stage after verification and criticism from sources will obtain facts based on the results of interpretation and analysis or this stage is called the interpretation stage. The final stage in the historical method is the writing of history (historiography), which is the culmination of the historical method.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. The Period of National Movement to the Declaration of Independence

Indonesian nationalism is a form of resistance against Dutch colonialism. To arouse resistance, modern organizations are needed. BO, is the seed of the emergence of the spirit of nationalism in the Dutch colony. Although this organization was originally a movement, whose scope was limited to Java and Madura, but at the first congress on October 5, 1908 the idea of nationalism emerged. The minority group, led by Dr. Tjipto Mangunkusumo tried to fight for BO's change from a social organization to a political party. The aim is to elevate the people in general, not limited to the prijaji group and its activities in all over Indonesia, not only Java and Madura. But Dr. Tjipto Mangunkusumo failed to get support from members of

struggle against the invaders in realizing the ideals of achieving "Independent Indonesia" by establishing modern organizations.

the elder BO group, so in 1909 he resigned then joined with the more radical *Indische Partij* (Ricklefs, 2008: 345).

In Tirtodiprojo (1962), the emergence of BO was followed by the emergence of *Sarekat Dagang Islam* (SDI) in 1911, which ran the Islamic religion-based economics. In 1912, the organization led by H. Samanhudi changed its name into *Sarekat Islam* (SI).² Dozens of branches stood in various regions, but those branches stood alone without any coordination, so the central authority could not control. This is in line with to the policy of the Dutch colonial government in 1913, which gave permission for the establishment of an SI branch, but did not recognize it as a national organization controlled by the center or the *Central Sarekat Islam* (CSI). The aim is to avoid the danger of national action (Kartodirdjo, 2014: 124-125).

During the national movement, the movement organization became a political institutional device, where the integration of the elite and the educated groups was formed. Although there are differences in the points of political establishment, maxims, and ideology, but among the movement groups are quite communicative in dealing with the colonial rulers. Radicalism in facing the Dutch colonial system began to be institutionalized in the *Indische Partij*, which was founded by E.F.E. Dauwe Dekker in 1912. They demanded the Dutch colonial government to abolish the exploitation of the colony, and to grant independence. As a result of political activities that were assumed radical, the three leaders, Douwes Dekker, Tjipto Mangoenkoesoema, and Soewardi Soerjaningrat were excommunicated to the Netherlands in 1913, while their members joined with other organizations, then eventually *Indische Partij* was disbanded.

If around 1915 and 1916, BO and SI were still being lenient and loyal to the Dutch colonial government, then in the following years grew increasingly radical political attitudes. Even because of the influence of socialist-communist groups, the national struggle shifted towards anti-colonialism and anti-capitalism (De Volksbeweging”in *Overzicht van De inlandsche en Maleisch-Chineesche Pers*. 7 January 1939). Since then, in the area of the Dutch colonial government there have been three ideological groups, namely the nationalist, Islamic and socialist-communist groups. Therefore it was not easy to unite the three to oppose the Dutch colonial government. BO does not aim at the class struggle, while SI cannot possibly oppose capitalism because they are more engaged in trading.

However, the socialist-communist groups joining in ISD, continue to try to forge alliances with SI which has thousands of members. Finally in 1916, an agreement was reached between the two, members of ISDV becoming members of SI and vice versa. As a result, there was a split in SI into 2 groups: groups that are remained based on Islam, led by H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, and SI that is a pro-communist. Under the leadership of Alimin, PKI then mobilized ISDV members and pro-communist SI branches to prepare for a rebellion against the Dutch colonial government. On November 13, 1926, a rebellion erupted in Jakarta, followed by violence in West Java, Central Java and East Java, West Sumatra. Eventually the rebellion was failed, tens of thousands of people were arrested, imprisoned, and exiled to Digul (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Jilid V, 1984: 208).

The struggle for independence was also brought by Indonesian students in Netherlands, who were members of the Indonesian Association (*Perhimpunan Indonesia* or PI) (Stutje, 2016: 45-48). Since 1923, PI struggled to realize a national-democratic state, and abandoned the attitude of cooperation with the colonialists. In *Al-Jāmi'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*. Vol. 53, no. 2 (2015: 303-335) explained that PI also tried to raise the Indonesian's issues in order to get attention from the international world.³ PI activities at the international level turned out to have a strong reaction from the Dutch government. While the movement in Indonesia seems increasingly influenced by PI. Even groups that were inspired by the organization emerged, including the emergence of the Indonesian National Party (*Partai Nasional Indonesia* or PNI) in 1927, Jong Indonesia (Indonesian Youth or *Pemuda Indonesia*) in 1927, and the Indonesian's Students Association or *Perhimpunan Pelajar-Pelajar Indonesia* in 1926 (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Jilid 5, 1984: 196-198).

The influence of PNI to unite all Indonesian forces and Indonesian unity in political organizations and youth movements was seen at the Second Indonesian Youth Congress (*Kongres Pemuda Indonesia II*) in Jakarta on October 26-27, 1928. At the close of the congress on October 28, 1928 *Sumpah Pemuda* was

² When it was about to compile a statute (statutes), SDI asked for help from a student who worked at a trading company in Surabaya, named H.O.S Tjokroaminoto. At his suggestion, so that SDI members were not limited to traders, the name of the SDI was changed to *Sarekat Islam* (SI).

³ In the 1920-1930s, Indonesian students in Cairo were particularly active in nationalist and organization publish Malay-language journals on religious and political issues.

pronounced as a united statement of all the Indonesian people. PNI's progress in bringing people to independence had worried the Dutch colonial government (Vlekke 2010:419- 420). When rumors spread that PNI was going to carry out a rebellion in 1930, the Dutch government arrested its leaders both in Jakarta and in the regions and dissolved the party on April 25, 1931. PNI dissolution led to factions among its members, Mr. Sartono founded the Indonesian Party (*Partai Indonesia* or Partindo), while Moh.Hatta and Syahrir founded the New Indonesian National Party (*Partai Nasional Indonesia Baru* or PNI-Baru). Partindo prioritizes mass organizations and mass actions as weapons to achieve independence, while PNI-Baru prioritizes political and social education. However, these two organizations were not very successful in their efforts due to strong pressure from the Dutch colonial government even their leaders were arrested and exiled out of Java.

After the leaders of parties and organizations were arrested and excommunicated, the struggle continued in the People's Council or *Dewan Rakyat* (*Volksraad*), which received strict supervision from the Dutch colonial government. Representatives from various regions in Indonesia tried to realize national independence in the shortest possible time. The economic crisis of the 1930s and the reign of governor general de Jong, who was very revolutionary, brought about negative consequences for Indonesia both socially and politically (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan jilid V, 1984: 219). Non-cooperative politics became paralyzed, so that cooperatives emerged from the people's representatives both inside and outside the People's Council or *Dewan Rakyat*. In 1936, *Petisi Sutardjo* (Sutardjo Petition) which contained a proposal for Indonesia's independence emerged, but could not be separated from the cooperation with the Dutch government. The petition that horrified the movement was bringing pros and cons and finally failed because it was rejected by the Dutch colonial government.

The idea to foster cooperation between political parties in the form of federation reappeared in 1939 with the formation of the Indonesian Political Association (*Gabungan Politik Indonesia* or GAPI). GAPI members consist of the Indonesian Rakya Party (*Partai Rakya Indonesia* or Parindra), the Indonesian People's Movement (*Gerakan Rakyat Indonesia* or Gerindo), the Indonesian Islamic Party or *Partai Islam Indonesia*, the Indonesian Catholic Party Association (*Persatuan Partai Katolik Indonesia* or PPKI), the Indonesian Sarekat Islam Association (*Persatuan Sarekat Islam Indonesia* or PPSI), and the 2 regional parties of the Minahasa Union or *Persatuan Minahasa*, and the Pasundan Union or *Persatuan Pasundan* (Vlekke 2010:444). GAPI's motto "Indonesia berparlemen" (Indonesia is parliamentary), demanded the Dutch colonial government so that Indonesia has its own legislative council (parliament). At the congress on December 25, 1939, GAPI made an important decision in the form of setting a red and white flag and the song of *Indonesia Raya* as the flag and the national anthem, and increasing the use of Bahasa Indonesia among the people of Indonesia.

When in August 1940, the Netherlands was occupied by Germany and Indonesia was declared in a state of martial law, GAPI again issued a resolution demanding a change in Indonesian state administration. The Dutch colonial government responded by considering to make changes if the war situation had ended. As a result, there was disappointment among the movement groups, so that the gap between the two was even greater. When the Pearl Harbor bombing took place on December 7, 1941, the time for cooperation was over and the Dutch colonial government ended.

On March 8, 1942, the unconditional surrender, the commander of the Dutch army to Japan ended the Dutch colonial government in Indonesia. Indonesia entered a new period under Japanese royal rule. Until the third month of 1942, the entry of Japanese troops was welcomed by both the people and national figures. Even Sukarno and Moh.Hatta agreed to collaborate with the Japanese occupation government.

In a meeting with an official of *Tentara Keenambelas* (the Sixteenth Army) in Java, Moh. Hatta was willing to cooperate with Japanese because the Japanese government stated that the aim of the Japanese government was not to colonize Indonesia, but to free the Asian people from the domination of Western countries. In the midst of the people, Japan always said that Japan is Asian, which means the same boat with other Asians (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Jilid VI, 1984: 27). The equation attracted young people to join the organization formed by Japan. But in its development, the youth met with many disappointments, because when they returned to their hometowns they saw farmers being forced giving theirs to Japan, resulting in a famine.

Entering 1944, the Japanese occupied territories gradually fell into the hands of allies. One of the steps taken to maintain the influence in Indonesia is to issue a statement on the "Janji Kemerdekaan Indonesia" (promise of Indonesian independence) later on. On March 1, 1945 the Indonesian Independence Preparatory Efforts Agency (*Badan Penyelidik Usaha-usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* or

BPUPKI) was formed (Ricklefs, 2008: 422-423). Its aim is to study and to investigate various important issues concerning on the formation of an independent Indonesian state. On July 10, 1945, *Badan Penyelidik* formed *Panitya Kecil* or *Panitya Sembilan*, which succeeded in formulating *Piagam Jakarta* (the Jakarta Charter). On that occasion, the Basic Law plan was also discussed including its preamble.

At about the same time on May 16, *Konggres Pemuda* (a Youth Congress) was held all over Java, at the initiative of *Angkatan Moeda Indonesia* (the Indonesian Moeda Force). This organization was actually a Japanese organization, but later developed into an anti-Japanese youth movement. They wanted the Independence Proclamation to be carried out on their own, completely separated from Japan. On August 15, 1945, Japan declared surrender after the allies dropped bombs on Nagasaki and Hiroshima. The young group immediately urged that the Proclamation of Independence be carried out immediately. But then there were differences of opinion, the old group still stressed the need for a meeting of the Indonesian Independence Preparatory Committee (*Panitya Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* or PPKI), while the young group urged that on August 16, 1945 the proclamation of independence must be declared. This difference of opinion resulted in the “kidnapping” of Soekarno and Moh.Hatta by young group and being taken to Rengasdengklok, their goal was for alienating them from all Japanese influence (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Jilid VI, 1984: 81). In a conversation between Sukarno and Shodanco Singgih, an agreement was reached that Soekarno was willing to declare the proclamation of independence. On the morning of August 17, 1945, on Jalan Pegangsaan Timur, Ir Soekarno read the text of the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence.

2. The Rebellion of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia

After the proclamation of independence, clashes between Indonesian youths against the Japanese authorities took place, such as in Yogyakarta, Bandung, South Kalimantan, Makassar, Gorontalo, and in almost all areas of the former Dutch colonies (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Jilid VI, 1984: 101-106). while the leaders began to arrange the structure of its state’s life. The former youth members of *Peta*, *KNIL*, and *Heiho*, who have military experience, took a pragmatic attitude and immediately formed the People's Security Front (*Barisan Keamanan Rakyat* or BKR) in the area where they lived and used it as a forum for struggle. As a result of the provocative and aggressive actions of the Dutch forces assisted by the allies, on October 5, 1945 the government of Indonesian Republic issued a Government Notice announcing the establishment of a national army called the People’s Security Army (*Tentara Keamanan Rakyat* or TKR). In June 1947, TKR became the Indonesian National Army (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* or TNI), that the army was not merely an instrument of the state or government but a tool of the people, an instrument of “revolution” and an instrument of the Indonesian people (Nasution, 1968: 86-87). Besides that, the struggle was also carried out through diplomacy. Through a political announcement issued on November 1, 1945, the government of Indonesian Republic wanted recognition from the Allies and the Netherlands of their country and government. In the cooperation and diplomatic relations with other nations, the Indonesian government holds the principle of free and active politics (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Jilid VI, 1984: 135).

The first challenge experienced by the country which had only been established for several months came from the Dutch, which actually did not want to lose their colony. Aggression with military action was carried out by the Dutch on July 21, 1947. This action caused a reaction from all over the world and was included in the United Nations Security Council court on July 31, 1947. During the court on August 1, 1947, a call was issued to Indonesia and the Netherlands to immediately stop shooting. Both must settle the dissension peacefully and report it to the Security Council. As a result, on August 4, 1947 a ceasefire agreement was reached, then continued with negotiations. Negotiations conducted through three representatives were carried out on the *Renville* force transport vessel.⁴ On January 17, 1948, the text of the Renville Agreement, which contained a ceasefire agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands, was signed along with other provisions to reach a political settlement.

The decision of the Renville agreement was not obeyed by the Dutch, who then committed another second aggression on December 19, 1948. Based on the KTN report on violations committed by the Dutch, on January 28, 1949 the Security Council issued a resolution which urged that hostilities to be stopped,

⁴ The negotiations to settle the dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands were initiated by the Security Council by forming a Three Nations Commission (KTN). The members of the KTN consisted of three countries: Indonesia chose from Australia, the Netherlands chose from Belgium, and both chose from the United States.

Indonesian leaders who were arrested must be released immediately. The resolution seemed to be a decisive step in the “transfer” of sovereignty from Dutch hands to the Indonesian side. In line with the supervision of the KTN that Indonesian Republic was well carrying out peaceful politics and was willing to negotiate to resolve various problems, the struggle of the Indonesian people has gained international sympathy at the United Nations (UN) or *Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa* (PBB) forum.⁵

While negotiations at the international level, within the country, the Indonesian government was undermined by the political activities of the People’s Democratic Front (*Front Demokrasi Rakyat* or FDR). Simultaneously with the FDR action, Muso, a PKI figure, who since 1926 resided in Moscow, returned to Indonesia in August 1948. At that time the party which was a socialist-communist party fused with the PKI. In the political field, Muso criticized the policy of the Indonesian government, which carried out a defensive revolution would fail. Moreover, in the democratic struggle, all kinds of maxims were still used, but at one time they had to be ousted because only PKI people could complete the revolution. As a result of Muso’s statement, there was a conflict with Moh. Hatta as the cabinet leader. The conflict escalated when Moh. Hatta rationalized the Armed Forces, which was opposed by Muso (Susatyo, 2008: 23-24). However, Moh. Hatta’s cabinet position was not deterred because of the two major parties PNI and Masyumi, along with the youth groups joined in various organizations.

This political conflict then became an armed incident in Solo between PKI’s aspirants and political opponents including TNI. After the incident in Solo, on September 18, 1948, PKI leaders proclaimed the founding of the Soviet Republic of Indonesia or *Republik Sovyet Indonesia* in Madiun (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Jilid VI, 1984: 155). They would cleanse TNI from both reactionary and colonial groups and declared Soekarno and Moh. Hatta had run a capitulation politics towards Dutch and British, and wanted to sell the motherland to the capitalists. The Indonesian government immediately took action to crush this movement through the Military Operations Movement I (*Gerakan Operasi Militer I* or GOM I) conducted by the Armed Forces. Within 2 weeks, on September 30, 1948 Madiun was successfully recaptured, but the rebels had not yet been put on trial because Dutch had returned to a second military action on December 19, 1948.

At the time of the United Republic of Indonesia (*Republik Indonesia Serikat* or RIS), problems re-emerged when a group that received support and assistance from Dutch government staged a rebellion in Bandung. The Ratu Adil Armed Forces (*Angkatan Perang Ratu Adil* or APRA), led by Westerling, utilized people’s trust in the arrival of Ratu Adil to move the people. The aim of APRA and colonialists who supported it was to maintain a federal form in Indonesia. The APRA movement consisting of about 800 people, including 300 fully armed people attacked Bandung on the morning of January 23, 1950 (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Jilid VI, 1984: 253). The Indonesian government immediately sent an aid to Bandung and succeeded in repelling the rebels. Besides Bandung, APRA will attack several major cities in West Java (Dijk, 1993: 92). But their efforts were in vain, on February 22, 1950 Westerling left Indonesia for Malaya by a Dutch plane, so his followers dispersed.

The rebellion against the Indonesian government also appeared in Makassar, led by Andi Azis. The motive for the rebellion was the attitude of refusing the entry of United Republic of Indonesia Armed Forces (*Angkatan Perang Republik Indonesia Serikat* or APRIS) troops from TNI into South Sulawesi, while captain Andi Azis was a KNIL officer who entered APRIS. Therefore, this rebellion was actually an internal problem in South Sulawesi between those who were supported by Dutch, who still wanted to rule in their former colonies and those who maintained independence without support from other countries. In the end, Andi Azis was arrested and taken to Jakarta. At about the same time, the Indonesian government sent troops to restore security in Makassar (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Jilid VI, 1984: 258).

Rebellions against the RIS government also emerged in Maluku called the Republic of South Maluku (known as *Republik Maluku Selatan* or RMS) led by Soumokil, the former attorney general of the State of East Indonesia (NIT). Like the rebellion carried out by Westerling and Andi Azis, Soumakil wanted to keep the Round Table Commission (*Komisi Meja Bundar* or KMB) agreement, so that he did not want the process of returning to the unitary state. Soumokil’s active role in the process of forming the Republic of South Maluku (*Republik Maluku Selatan* or RMS) was seen when a secret meeting was held in Tuhelu, which did not invite government officials, but invited KNIL and Manusama leaders (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Jilid VI, 1984: 262). The practice of intimidating terror occurred since February 1950. The implementation of the terror movement directed at the pro-republic was carried out by special forces of the

⁵ At that time, KTN was renamed *The United Nation Commission for Indonesia* (UNCI)

KNIL and the police. The Indonesian government was trying to overcome the RMS rebellion peacefully by sending politicians, priests, doctors, and journalists. But when they arrived in Maluku, they were unable to meet Soumokil's followers. Because the persuasion effort was deadlocked, the government sent a military expedition incorporated in the Military Operations Movement (*Gerakan Operasi Militer* or GOM) III to eradicate the RMS movement.

The young Indonesian government must also face the Islamic state movement under the leadership of S.M. Kartosuwirjo. Actually the idea of establishing an "Islamic State of Indonesia" had been launched in Malangbong since 1942, but only on August 14, 1947 declared a holy war against the Dutch. The rejection of the *Renville* agreement was carried out in an attitude of refusal to vacate West Java from the Indonesian army. In February, at a conference in Cisayong, it was decided to change their movement from a party to a state and to freeze West Java's Masyumi (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Jilid VI, 1984: 266-267). Furthermore, a military force called the Indonesian Islamic Army (*Tentara Islam Indonesia* or TII) which is based in the mountains of West Java was formed. Gunfights have occurred in the triangular wars between the TNI-DI/TII-Dutch soldiers. The military power of DI/TII brought Kartosuwirjo on August 7, 1949 to formally declare the establishment of the Islamic State of Indonesia (*Negara Islam Indonesia* or NII). In September 1949, to overcome the Kartosuwirjo's movement, the Indonesian government formed a committee under Natsir to invite Kartosuwirjo to rejoin, but this invitation was rejected. Even the DI/TII movement was increasingly disturbing the people of West Java because to fulfill their daily needs was not reluctant to terrorize and to rob people who live in remote areas.

In Central Java, the movement of *Darul Islam* (DI) also emerged, which although the factors were different, the leadership had a relationship with Kartosuwirjo. This movement began due to the divisions between the TNI and the people's armies (Dijk, 1993: 61). During the Dutch military action II, Amir Fatah joined with the forces of Breber and Tegal together with the local TNI units. His job was to take care of the merging of the people's armies to enter TNI (Dijk, 1993: 130). However, after gaining many followers, on August 23, 1949, he proclaimed the founding of DI in Tegal. The aim of this movement is to establish the Islamic State of Indonesia (*Negara Islam Indonesia* or NII) and to join with Kartosuwirjo.

After the independence war was over, Kahar Muzakar led a guerrilla army in South Sulawesi, which was incorporated in the South Sulawesi Guerrilla Command (*Komando Gerilya Sulawesi Selatan* or KGSS). In response to the policy of the Indonesian government, members of the paramilitary groups who were fully satisfied would be members of TNI, but Kahar Muzakar wanted all KGSS members to be included in APRIS (Dijk, 1993: 156-157). In August 1951, after the government refused his will, Kahar Muzakar fled to the forest with weapons and equipment. Then the following year, he stated that the South Sulawesi region was part of the NII under Kartosuwirjo. Like DI/TII members in West Java, they also terrorized and robbed people to fulfill their daily needs.

The movements that wanted to establish NII under Kartosuwirjo could only be crushed by the Indonesian government in the 1960s. Besides their militant members, their operation areas are in remote places that are not easily reached. The end of this Kartosuwirjo's rebellion also relieved small people scattered in remote areas. Even now, their lunge has still caused a trauma among the people, both for those who have experienced it and those who only get stories from their predecessors.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Hence, among other things, not all of which are presented in this paper, the rebellions that have been carried out against the Indonesian government and have been recognized internationally. The rebels apparently felt dissatisfied and excluded from the political world in Indonesia after independence. In a state that is still chaotic, they try to fish in murky waters in the hope of leading this nation. However, even though the organization is already a modern organization, it tends to still be of a regional nature, yet it has not been able to reach the entire nation.

The first confrontation that must be faced by the Indonesian government came from the Dutch, who wanted to reign in Indonesia. As the international support continuously arose, the Netherlands was forced to release Indonesia through political diplomacy as well as convoluted violence, followed by rebellions by groups that were still supported by the Dutch. Apparently the Netherlands was still reluctant to lose its territory and to cover up its role, then using the Indonesian people as "puppets".

More rebellions were later carried out by groups which differed on a national basis with the Indonesian national state. PKI, a socialist-communist ideology, entered Indonesia in the 1920s and spread anti-capitalism and anti-imperialism ideas. Without good preparation, they immediately carried out a

rebellion against the Dutch colonial government, so that it was crushed and many of its figures fled to the communist countries. Their goal is about to seize and to control power in Indonesia had not been extinguished, as evidenced by a rebellion against the Indonesian government in 1948. When the government was facing PKI rebellion, the Dutch suddenly returned to a second military action at the end of 1948. At that time a rebellion of PKI did not continue because the people and the Indonesian government had to face Dutch military action, which was carried out in various regions.

The rebellion against the Indonesian government was also carried out by groups with Islamic ideology and wanted to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia, but failed. Their failure was because first, although most of the population in the territory of the unitary state of the Indonesian Republic embraced Islam, their presence was often shunned by the people; second, because of the lack of understanding of Islam, they are too pushy so that they are unable to unite people in Indonesian regions who embrace various religions; third, their rebellion is local, so that they cannot unite their forces.

The Government of Indonesia, from its inception has had to face various challenges both from outside and within the country. The success of the young Indonesian government lies on the basis of the state which provides a place for all tribes, religions or beliefs. Indonesian nationalism that emerged as a result of resistance to the colonialists was supported by all Indonesian people who did not want the pressure of life under the foreign rule. Therefore, if one group of people wants to force their will to follow it, they will surely get rejection from the people, whether done directly by the mass of the people or through government policies. As long as the supporters of strong nationalism will not be able to replace even one group to replace the ideology of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia.

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