

**Democracy as Historical Legacy
Localization and Contested Political Change in Indonesia, 1900 to 1960**

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Abstract

The central theme of this master thesis is how in Indonesia the relationship between the idea of democracy and the resulting political change that can be drawn from the 1900 to 1960. By means of a definition of constitutional democracy and the models of “constitutive localization” of Amitav Acharya (2009), this research has been carried out. This showed that with constitutive localization, the idea of democracy generates indigenous political change. It is necessary to take into account how particular local actors, or “idea entrepreneurs”, adopt foreign ideas to bring about political change. Their role is viewed as an effort to reconstruct foreign ideas to ensure the ideas fit with their cognitive priors and identities, which is identified as “congruence building”. Thus, a dynamic congruence building process, or “localization”, provides opportunity for foreign ideas, which may not initially cohere with local belief and practices, to be incorporated into the local norms. In Indonesian case, “Indonesian-Javanese paradigm” serves as the platform to appropriate and adapted the idea of democracy to local conditions. This analysis can serve as a diagnostic tool to help policy makers understand where and how consolidation of democratic forces could be harmonized in Indonesia. Through gaining a better understanding of the agency role of idea entrepreneur in spreading and defending democracy, this study will hopefully become an interesting case for study of political change in world politics.

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Chapter One: Introduction

“There must be democracy with leadership—demokrasi dan leiderschap—so that the interests of all might be served without disrupting peace and order.”

-Soewardi Surjaningrat/Ki Hadjar Dewantara, 1919

Before 1997, no one predicted Indonesia would emerge to be a democratic country anytime soon. But, the democratic transition in Indonesia has proven to be very successful. This presents a rather unusual success story of a democratic transition. In 2009 Masfield and Snyder observe (p.381), “an incomplete democratic transition increases the risk of international and civil war in countries that lack the institutional capacity to sustain democratic politics... whereas we argue that *nationalism* is a key causal mechanism linking incomplete democratization to both civil and international war”. Moreover, as Grayson Lloyd (2000) notes “the post-Soeharto transition towards democracy and civil society in Indonesia has illustrated the fragility underlining Indonesia’s national slogan of Unity in Diversity”.

The Asian financial crisis of the 1997 indicated the weak institutional capacity of Indonesia at that time. Not only the political and economic fabric had collapsed, but also the social fabric. People were in war against each other, targeting certain religions and ethnicities, and the devastating impact in Jakarta was nothing compared to the chaos after East Timorese independence referendum in 1999. Hence, many scholars of that time assumed Indonesia had all the reasons to turn into chaos or face a long arduous process of democratic transition. But by the time this thesis is being written, Indonesia emerges as the third largest democracy and an

emerging power. Indonesia's political consolidation poses three elements which are inter-related in a "virtuous cycle", namely "democracy, development and stability" (Acharya, 2015). This indicates there is a story that may be worth learning from. But, the sheer amount of time, a very short period indeed, of this success story about Indonesia's democratic transition remains a puzzle.

Some argue that removing military from politics, but remaining economically intact in retaining its business holdings, hold a clue to the compromises of elites in democratic transition. International NPOs/NGOs argue, with strong emphasis on their success nurturing civil society during New Order regime, that rich and vibrant civil societies, along with influential religious groups, play a role in ushering democratic transition (Bush, 2011). Further, scholars praised the institutionalization of electoral procedures, which is characterized as free, fair and competitive (Mietzner, 2014). While accepting that these forces and institutionalization are contributing to the democratic consolidation in Indonesia, these characteristics are primarily given by the West. In Myanmar's democratic transition, removing military from politics remains very difficult task to accomplish, despite the demands strongly stated by the 8888 nationwide popular pro-democracy protest. The comparison with Myanmar is important since both the 8888 uprising and the Jakarta uprising successfully made Ne Win and Soeharto step down, but the democratic transitions in both countries are strikingly different now. Hence, addressing the question of democratic transition based on fragile characteristics that disregard internal and historical dynamics within the country will only provide unsatisfying answer.

This master thesis offers a different explanation. I argue that the idea of democracy has existed in Indonesia even in the period of its struggle against colonialism and has been institutionalized in the 1960. In terms of the electoral dimension, the liberal democratic or parliamentary system or

constitutional democratic existed as the first political system in Indonesia from 1950-1959 (Anwar, 1996). But, it was a partial institutionalization, turned around by Soekarno's Guided Democracy and Soeharto's New Order. The first experimentation of democracy was doomed to fail due to the vestiges of decolonization that brought in poverty and illiteracy thus affecting the electoral process at that time (Teik, 1972). Missing here is any serious consideration of nationalist movement and the conception of democracy developed by Indonesian themselves. This is a major gap. Therefore, this master thesis tries to meaningfully engage with the concept of democracy as "a *shared* inheritance of global struggles and global exchanges" (Ethan Mark, personal communication, March 24, 2016), hence try to find the missing puzzle by arguing that institutionalization of democracy in Indonesia is to begin with Indonesia's nationalist movement.

Challenging the narrative that nationalism and diversity are rather unfit with democratization, which was mentioned in the previous paragraph, this thesis argues that nationalist movement and the diversity in Indonesia were crucial at the outset of institutionalization of democracy. This was started during colonial period. There was growing dissatisfaction towards repressive nature of the relationship between state and society at that time. The colonial government and the Javanese elites (*priyayi*) were prompted to coopt colonial Indonesia into Dutch monarchy. However, Soewardi, Hatta, and other nationalist intellectuals at that time expressed genuine appreciation for social democratic ideas, especially the notion of popular sovereignty. In 2001 Christie notes (p.172), "Indonesian nationalism's emphasis on social justice and internationalism was a commendable attempt to complete the unfulfilled promise of Western liberal democracy to provide genuine 'equality' and 'fraternity' as well as liberty".

This argument brings attention to the paradox of Indonesian nationalist who were anti-colonial but espousing Western idea. As Benedict Anderson (1966) observed,

the transformation of words like *demokrasi* and *sosialisme* ... of the Indonesian idea of *musjawarah* or the Javanese idea of *gotong royong* ... come to a much more serious conception of the whole trend to absorb and transform the Western concepts of modern politics within Indonesian-Javanese mental structures [which I will refer to as “Indonesian-Javanese paradigm” in this thesis]. In any such cross-cultural confrontation, the inevitable thrust is to ‘appropriate’ the foreign concept and try to anchor it safely to given or traditional ways of thinking and modes of behavior, depending on the conceptions of the elite and its determination (p. 113).

Here, Anderson emphasized the importance of “Indonesian-Javanese mental structures” as a platform to “appropriate” foreign ideas. This is the key to the missing puzzle. Curiously enough, the study of the idea of democracy, as a means to transform politics on the ground during colonial period, was already contested by nationalist intellectuals using the Indonesian-Javanese paradigm, but has rarely taken into consideration.

The selection of the time period, 1900-1960, begs justification. Firstly, 1901 was the start of Ethical Policy (*Ethische Politiek*) becoming the official policy of the colonial government. The implementation of the official policy through a variety of new education policies and setting up institutions, including schools, for the Javanese elites, led to the transfer of Western knowledge to the native Indies people (*rakyat*/the People). Indeed, the Ethical Policy was geared toward serving the colonial purpose of developing their colonies into a western model of a state. Secondly, as mentioned earlier, liberal democracy existed as the first political system in Indonesia from 1950-1959. Therefore, throughout 1900-1960 there was an indigenous process of institutionalization of democracy in Indonesia, in which the nationalist movement played a role.

Taking these into account, the research question will be:

“How do Indonesian intellectual nationalists try to foster democracy in Indonesia from the 1900 to 1960?”

The sub questions are formed to answer the research question:

Q1: Who are the Indonesian intellectual nationalists behind the democratization process in Indonesia?

Q2: How do Indonesian intellectual nationalists associate Western political ideas and translate these to the local context to instigate democracy?

As an attempt to answer these questions, process tracing approach will mainly be applied to studying the attempts made by Indonesian intellectual nationalists who espoused the idea of democracy, of which the idea that was espoused in the “rise of popular movement” (Shiraishi, 1990) and Indonesian nationalist movement in the early 20th century, became part of national identity building, and yielded the first democratic experiment. Process tracing is an analytic tool for drawing descriptive and causal inferences from diagnostic pieces of data which are often understood as segments of a temporal sequence of events or phenomena. It can contribute both to systematically describing novel political and social phenomena, to evaluating causal claims and earning insight into causal mechanism. George and Bennett have been regarded as the leader in developing this method as a fundamental form of within-case analysis. Through process tracing I wish to (a) tease out the political and social pattern of “localization” and orderly describe them; (b) assess the flow of ideas of democracy and assess new relationships that it is through localization that democracy influences political change and social reform. As a tool of causal inference, process tracing generally focuses on the unfolding of events or situations over a

particular time period. I focus on key Indonesian intellectual nationalists whom I will refer to as idea entrepreneurs in this thesis, who are not only the nationalist leaders and scholars themselves but they also keenly promote their ideas to influence the course of nationalist movement. By adequately describe an event or situation at this particular time, I will identify key steps in the development of their entrepreneurship—how they conceive democratic ideas in their political thoughts and how they advocate these ideas to broader nationalist leaders and political groups in the nationalist movement and independent Indonesian state. As Collier (2011) puts it, the descriptive component of process tracing “begins not with observing change or sequence, but rather with taking good snapshots at a series of specific moments” (p.824).

In this master thesis, the hypothesis of the idea of democracy being espoused by idea entrepreneurs through the Indonesian-Javanese paradigm will be validated and investigated. I will unpack the Indonesian-Javanese interpretations of what democratic ideals stand for and why and how Indonesia should pursue independence and social reforms. *En route* to find the missing puzzle is to study the constitutive localization mechanism that is developed by Amitav Acharya (2009). This technique is highly valuable to shed light on the idea entrepreneur, who adopted and appropriated the idea of democracy, and the cognitive prior, which is a historically constructed normative platform. This study follows the trajectory of four micro-processes in the localization process¹ namely contestation, local initiative, adaptation and institutionalization. This paints a rosy picture of political change in Indonesia as an evolutionary process and explains the success, limitations and prospects for democracy in a meaningful way. Further, localization theory accepts that ideas matter in world politics and provides a unique tool to explain and theorize local

1 Acharya, 2004, p. 251

responses by looking at the agency role of local actors. Moreover, the Leiden Library collection, <http://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl/>, will be the main source used to collect the materials.

In the scientific world, many theories about the study of diffusion of democracy can be found. However, as this study will be conducted through deploying constitutive localization mechanisms, as such the idea of democracy interacts with prior and historically legitimate normative framework in Indonesia; this thesis may be of influence on the theory about the diffusion of democracy.

Therefore, this thesis focuses on the agency role of norm takers, who are at the nexus of a “dynamic process of ‘constitutive localization’” (Acharya, 2009), a theory that will be outlined in detail in chapter 2. It also aims to identify local actors who act as idea entrepreneur and investigate how they institutionalized democracy in Indonesia. In this research, there will firstly be a theoretical foundation for this thesis. Following that, the research of how democracy moves through constitutive localization will take place. Then, the questions will be answered and a discussion will be held.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework

The study is built on the conceptualization of Global International Relations (IR) project by Amitav Acharya (2014). Acharya in his earlier work saw a shortfall on the existing studies about “intra-regional interactions and norms developed by Asian themselves” (Acharya, 2009, p. 3). The six main dimensions that Acharya (2014) has adopted in explaining Global IR project are as follows: it is founded upon pluralistic universalism—recognizing the diversity in world citizens, it is grounded in world history, it subsumes existing IR theories and methods, it integrates the study of regions, regionalism and area studies, it eschews exceptionalism—“the tendency to present the characteristics of one’s own group... as superior to those of others” (Acharya, 2001), and it recognizes multiple forms of agency beyond material power. It aims to transcend East and West divide in international relations.

In the following theoretical framework, core concepts of this master thesis will be formulated, and they will lay down the basis for the perspective taken here. Moreover, it will contain the definition of localization mechanism and the trajectory of four micro-processes in the localization process. Lastly, the explanation of how democracy moves through localization will be unfolded as well.

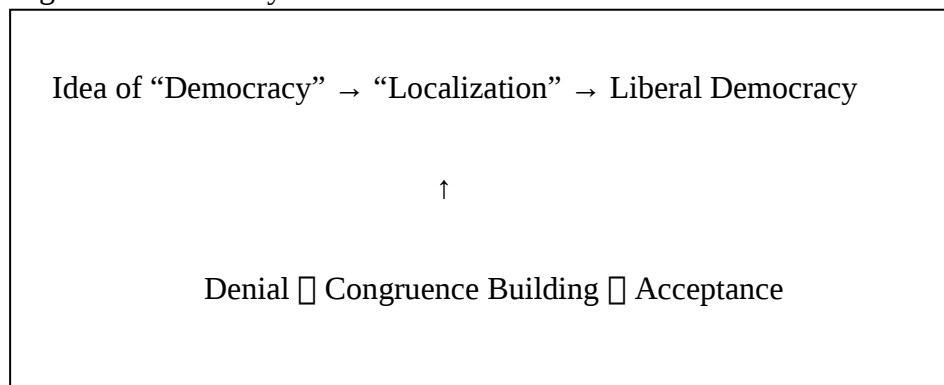
Localization mechanism

Localization is a term used to buttress a “single conceptual framework” that subsumes “framing, grafting and other adaptive process” to a phenomena of norm diffusion (Acharya, 2009, p.14). As Acharya explains, localization is “the active construction (through discourse, framing, grafting, and cultural selection) of foreign ideas by local actors, which results in the latter developing significant congruence with local beliefs and practices” (p.15). Central in this concept is the role of local agents, of which not passively accepting foreign ideas but are “active borrowers and localizers” (p.14). In the study of Southeast Asian historiography, Acharya observes that “localization describes a process of idea transmission in which Southeast Asians borrowed foreign ideas about authority and legitimacy and fitted them into indigenous traditions and practices” (p.15, note 25). Thus, this study is beneficial to understand how and which foreign ideas are potentially constructed to fit such indigenous traditions, especially when there are demands that pull the trigger for norm diffusion.

Furthermore, localization may transcend the limitation of the moral cosmopolitanism perspective which deems resistance to global/universal norms by regional/local norms as immoral (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999). In this approach, the agency role of local actors is downplayed as it implies “norm diffusion as *teaching* by transnational agents” (Acharya, 2009, p.10). In contrast, the “domestic fit” perspective offers a rather static lens on the study of norm diffusion (p.12). The domestic fit perspective prescribes “cultural match” or international norm convergence with domestic norms (Checkel, 1999) and “heuristic filter” of local actor *en route* to reception of foreign norms (Legro, 1997). However, it is obvious that the idea of democracy embedded in nationalist movement has both global and local aspects that are constitutive. As Clifford Geertz (1963) observed, newly decolonized populations reckon on “the desire to be recognized as

responsible agents whose wishes, acts, hopes, and opinions ‘matter’ and the desire to build an efficient, dynamic modern state” (p. 108). As Soekarno (1945) grappled with the idea of nationalism and nationhood, he underlined the concept of “humanity”, “kinship of nations”, “representativeness”, “prosperity” and “democracy” (p.97-100)². Here, Soekarno as the idea-recipient epitomized the use of universal values that are adapted by Indonesian thought in newly independent Indonesia. Through localization theory, the process of contestation is then captured and examined.

Figure. 1 Democracy Localization Mechanism

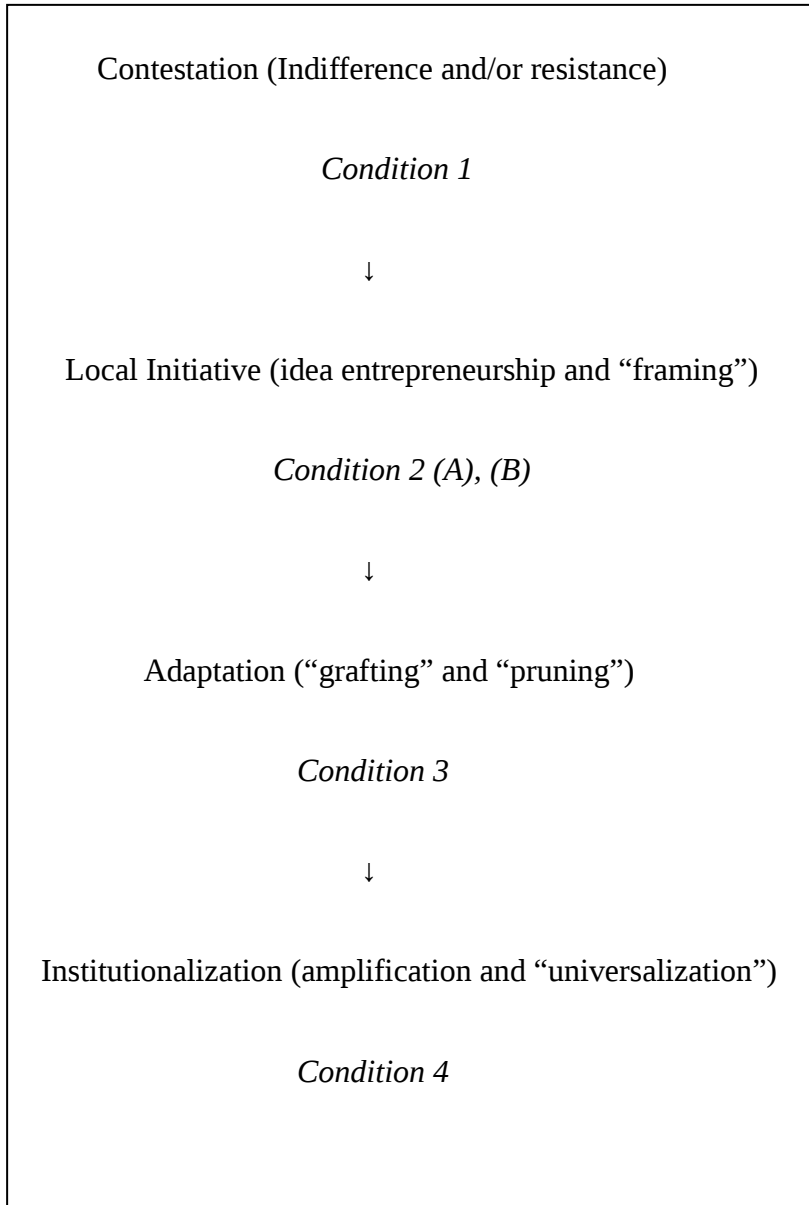


Constitutive localization theory or model is a good instrument that allows us to see the establishment of Indonesia’s constitutional democracy in 1950-59 which is influenced by foreign ideas and derived from “a complex process of reconstitution to make an external norm congruent with an existing local normative order” (Acharya, 2009, p.14). This process was essential to “enhance the authority and legitimacy of the local actors” (p.26), whereby localization constitutes the most critical component in the process. Therefore, constitutive localization framework illustrates a dynamic process of congruence building, wherein local actors espoused

² This statement is mentioned in Bahar, Saafroedin, et al. (“Risalah Sidang Badan Penyelidik Usaha-Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (BPUPKI),” 1998).

foreign ideas with their “cognitive priors” or existing beliefs and conduct, and shape future norm borrowing.

Figure 2. Trajectory of Localization³



³ Shanshan Mei. 2013. *Disciples of Democracy: Localization and Contested Political Change in China*. Dissertation. Washington DC: American University.

As shown in the figure above, to determine the progress of localization mechanism for Indonesian context of democracy, this study follows the trajectory of four micro-processes in the localization process (Acharya, 2004, p. 251), namely contestation, local initiative, adaptation and institutionalization.

Firstly, contestation refers to the existing condition of politics and social context in general in Indonesia. Rejection to foreign ideas on the part of local actors is still prevalent because of fears and uncertainty consequent to its alien nature and possibility to undermine existing belief system and practices. The new and unforeseen challenges made the established normative order/ideational structure look inadequate despite the observation that its strong legitimacy becomes a condition for progress of contestation.

Secondly, local initiative refers to a flourishing period of idea entrepreneurship. A group of local actors aware of the potential of an external idea, which serves legitimacy, and efficacy of existing institutions, then frame it to be desirable to local audiences by merging it with local norms and practices. This phase will be successful if local actors (idea entrepreneur), defined as “insider proponent”, are credible and not be regarded as “stooges” of the Dutch and Japanese, and the new local audience (new idea followers) has developed a new reputation as being unique.

Thirdly, adaptation is the cornerstone of localization. As local actors persuade their fellow countrymen to accept the external norm, adaptation may evolve in two processes. First, by pruning the unfit elements embedded in external norms and keep the matching ones. Second, by grafting the external idea onto local norms and show its congruence with local interests and identities. Furthermore, once the idea-recipients are convinced that the new norm is integrated into local values, it sets the condition for progress of adaptation.

Lastly, institutionalization refers to a process when local influences are prevalent in the development of new instruments and practices from the syncretic normative framework. This phase is viewed as successful if association with the foreign norm enhance the legitimacy of domestic and international account of local actors and existing norms.

Democracy

Despite defining the concept of democracy is a difficult task, to be of any use in guiding the analysis it needs to be discerned. To be as complete as possible the view of different authors, i.e. Pennock (1979), Hendriks (2006), Dahl (1971; 1998) and Burkens, Kummeling, Vermeulen, & Widdershoven (2006) on democracy will be given and combined. The word democracy derives from ancient Greek words; *demos*, or people and *kratos*, or rule. Therefore, the general accepted part of democracy is the idea that the people rule. In this political system, it gives opportunity to the people to form and control the government (Pennock, 1979). People manage the government as the idea of representation is conducted: they will choose the leader among them through the election process and these leaders will convey the people's voice in the house of representative (legislative). Indeed, people are the cornerstone of democracy in the public domain (Hendriks, 2006).

However, Dahl (1971; 1998) has another idea about democracy. In his (1971) concept of Polyarchy democracy must encompass critical, substantive, non-electoral dimensions, notably civil liberty and the rule of law along with the elements of competitive and representative politics. Dahl (1998) also contended that democracy is the combination from four sources, which is the ideology of Greek democratic, republic tradition, government representation and political

equality (p.34-5). Dahl argues that ideal democratic process poses characteristics, such as: effective participation (“equal and effective opportunities” for members), voting equality (every member should have an equal vote), control of the agenda (members should be able to decide the topics that are to be discussed) and the inclusion of adults (all adults should own these rights) (p.37-38).

Another important view on democracy is provided by Burkens, Kummeling, Vermeulen, & Widdershoven (2006) as they posit the basic requirements of democracy. They mentioned points as followed: active (voting), passive (eligibility) suffrage, the right to strive for political power, existence of political fundamental rights (such as freedom of speech, press and association), checks and balances, transparency of decision making procedures, majority rule and respecting rights of minorities (p.196).

Different views in democracy have been presented. Just as the formulation of these views is different, they mostly have points in common. To create a definition as complete as possible, a combination will be attempted from these different views. Firstly, what seems to be an important idea is the concept of civil liberty. Individual freedom and human rights should be interwoven in the whole concept of democracy. A second important point is the concept of popular sovereignty. Rule by the people sets the foundational principle in democratic political system. It refers to check and balances, where people have co-decision, influence and control to the government. A third point that is important for democracy is rule of law. Where there is a set of rules, or a constitution, everyone has to abide and comply with it, including the government and the president. The last point is free and fair elections, with representatives and multiple parties (with the ability to have an opposing view). It also emphasizes that the majority rules, as they decide through elections their representatives, and that minorities must be respected. Whereas coercion

should be used sparingly in order to foster civilians to play a dominant role in the political system. Lastly, most of political elites should be committed to the symbols of democracy as well.

In this thesis, these four points are used as the definition of constitutional democracy. In the result chapter, I will show how the Indonesian intellectual nationalists instigate democracy in Indonesia in regards to the four aspects of constitutional democracy, as they reconstruct the concept of constitutional democracy to suit their own ideological or political purposes.

“Idea Entrepreneurs” and “Insider Proponents”

In the Indonesian nationalist context, there are mainly three types of reformers who have pursued to instigate reform and establishment of a democratic country in over the course of the early half of 20th century. The first type of reformers, such as Douwes Dekker, had attracted attention within the Dutch community during colonial period but “was always regarded by the Javanese as an outsider in their society” (Scherer, 1975, p.72). As Eurasian, he made bold criticism of failings of the colonial government; outspoken and well-articulated in his support for democratic values in the Netherlands Indies. Douwes Dekker composed *Max Havelaar*, a widely read novel in the Netherlands, which inspired popular support for Ethical Policy in the Netherlands Indies. This type of reformer is referred as “outsider reformers” that will not be considered in this thesis.

The second type of reformer is the professional, non-*ningrat*⁴ *priyayi*⁵ who refused to fill up administrative positions in the Dutch colonial government—a move that is an antithesis of the popular mindset of the Javanese society at that era. As idea entrepreneurs, they were the main players in the country’s politics in the first quarter of the 20th century—the period of “native awakening” of the Indies⁶. Moreover, historian Savitri Scherer’s (1975) reflection after studying the nature and composition of the Javanese ruling elite from 1900 seems to best describe the emergence of a social force by non-ningrat, non-bureaucratic, and Dutch-educated and professionally trained Javanese as actors whose:

vision of modernizing Javanese society... [are] the earliest examples of... a Javanese or Indonesian intelligentsia... [that] reflected something meaningful to their society in terms of its past, its present predicament, and its still inchoate aspirations for its future (Scherer, p.46-7)

Therefore, in this thesis, the second type of reformer is defined as

a pioneer in his own right, who expanded his experiences in unprecedented ways or into unexplored areas as far as the Javanese framework or experiences was concerned... [and] by the creativity of their thought and their various innovations to reform their society they clearly put themselves in the forefront of their society (Scherer, p.65-6)

4 Javanese term *ningrat* refers to the privileged class of people of high birth entitled to rule under the colonial regulation as a regent or bupati--the highest hierarchy for salaried officials in Dutch colonial administration open to the Javanese (Scherer, 1975).

5 Javanese term *priyayi* refers to the aristocratic bureaucrats or the gentry class, as opposed to *ningrat*. They have administrative functions under the colonial government and received high level of education/training (Scherer, 1975).

6 Takashi Shiraishi (1990) indicated “an age in motion... in which ‘natives’ moved (*bergerak*) in their search for forms to express their new political consciousness, put in motion (*menggerakkan*) their thoughts and ideas, and confronted the realities of the Indies in the world and in an age they felt to be in motion” (p. xi).

One must not dismiss the influence of the founding of *Boedi Oetomo* (BO) in 1908 by the non-ningrat priyayi who studied medicine to generate fundamental changes in the Netherlands Indies⁷. The second type of reformer were interrelated with BO—the platform reflecting the emerging demand for progress in Indonesian-Javanese society, and lay behind the reform of the Javanese social structure. More important, the meaning of progress was contested by the members of BO. For the younger generation of priyayi, progress should be an adoption of Western social and political institutions, whereas the older generation—the defender of the division of society classes (ruling classes and servants), aimed at revitalization of the Javanese culture.

The last type of reformers is the nationalist acting as idea entrepreneur who impelled to and realized the establishment of a democratic Indonesian state—the main players in the country's politics in the second quarter of the 20th century. Unlike the second type of idea entrepreneur, the third type reformers working to change the system through revolution have received much less attention regarding the spread of democratic nationalist thought. They are often seen as stubborn individuals who incited hatred among masses to fight against the colonial government, but not as “scholars [who] drew on European... ideas to forge ‘anti-Western’ national identities and ideologies” (Bourchier, 2015, p. 8), and believed that embracing democratic concept will unite all Indies societies and strengthen the nationalist movement

The “idea entrepreneurs” in this master thesis generally refers to the second and third type of reformers.

⁷ STOVIA (*School tot Opleiding van Inlandsche Artsen/School for the Training of Native Doctors*) refers to a medicine school in Batavia opened in March 1902 that allowed the enlargement of the priyayi class—who able to work outside the Javanese administrative bureaucracy with relatively high income (Scherer, 1975).

Chapter Three: Result

The rise of popular movement and nationalist movement took place in the first half of the twentieth century. The reason why these movements are not emerging earlier is due to the fact that the implementation of Ethical Policy at the beginning of the twentieth century bore on Western association among the People that triggered these movements. Scholars, such as Takashi Shiraishi, argued what lay behind these movements is the conception of Western association—the People were urged to learn not only Western language, science and technology, but also motivated by Western political ideas and norms⁸. The rise of popular movement and nationalist movement was a long and frenetic period that begun with the native awakening and ended with the transfer of sovereignty by the Dutch and the establishment of newly independent Indonesian state. However, the indigenous struggle for the establishment of an independent Indonesian state is juxtaposed by the conception of “colonial *beamtenstaat*”⁹, a concept imposed by a foreign power—which lead scholars to give more credits for foreign power upon the establishment of Indonesia. In the past, and still in current textbook accounts of the birth of Indonesia, it is stated that “the exact product of the extraordinary extension of Batavia’s [modern day Jakarta] politico-military power between 1850 and 1920” (Anderson, 1990, p.97). More important, the concept of colonial *beamtenstaat* was heavily used as a reference to the “success” of Ethical

⁸Benedict Anderson (1998) noted that scholars viewed the emergence of nationalism in Indonesia along with other Southeast Asian states as a Western import through the formation of Western style organizations (p.80, note 12).

⁹ Dutch term *Beamtenstaat* refers to an administrative state or a state run by an autonomous bureaucracy—a centralized and streamlined (rationalized) political structure, absorbing various strata of native ruling classes in the Indies.

Policy in achieving “a huge extension of the state apparatus deep into native society and a proliferation of its function” because the policy “absorbed and encapsulated [the Javanese] into an ever more centralized and streamlined colonial *beamtenstaat*” (p.99). Further, scholars also argued that after the defeat of Japan in World War, and after Japanese forces’ removal in the Indies made by the returning colonial power in Indonesia, the latter was “able to resemble many segments of the old *beamtenstaat*” but “forced to concede defeat” by the “powerful American diplomatic and financial pressures” (p.100-1). This idea may lead to the suggestion that Indonesian independence was primarily given by the West and the adoption of democracy was to “win” international recognition. A more easy explanation that parliamentary democracy emerged as the first political system in Indonesia because “no other form of regime was possible” (p.102) and it was an imitation to the Dutch parliamentary system. Quite apart from that, this thesis argued that it is the Indonesians themselves who were largely responsible for building their nation, hence using fragile-foreign concepts, such as colonial *beamtenstaat*, should be avoided in the backdrop of argument about the establishment of Indonesian nation—unless pertaining to peculiar circumstances (description and nuance of that time). Nevertheless, the negative view of the adoption of parliamentary democracy overlooks the fact that the idea of democracy was indeed a turning point in the shaping of Indonesia’s modern nationhood and political culture, and historically speaking, it was also the ideology that binds Indonesian non-cooperation in the rise of popular movement and nationalist movement.

Contestation

In Javanese historical tradition, the culture of feudalism of Javanese kingdoms stressed on the control of order, which in practice involves repression and division of society classes, “*kawula lan gusti*” (ruling classes and servants). The result of foreign rule locked the People even deeper in a feudalistic regime which cast a long shadow over them. The ruling classes, *priyayi* and *ningrat* cooperated with the Dutch in maintaining the colonial-feudal culture based on authoritarian character (*het prentah-wezen*) and capitalist exploitation. Within the Indies society, there was a growing sense that “the nationalism of all the Indies and the improvement of the lot of ordinary people who had no title, rank or wealth (*kromo*) [impoverished]” (Shiraishi, 1981, p.95) became necessary. Some of them began to criticize the Ethical Policy concept of dualism that drives a wedge into indigenous society, against a burgeoning poverty and inequality. Although the Ethical Policy was adopted as the official policy by the colonial government based on colonial responsibility to nurture “progress to modernity” in the Indies, this led to an alarming increase of Western association within the native’s younger generation that brought confusion to their own identity. The most important representation of such intellectual trend about this concern could be found in scholar Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo’s writings. Tjipto held a medical doctor degree and studied in the STOVIA. In the rise of popular movement, he wrote a series of essays arguing that the Indies must “become conscious of our hidden strength and exert it” by learning Western science and technology¹⁰. Fundamentally, Tjipto believed that the improvement of welfare stood for the most important task at that time. Hence, as a member of *Volksraad*¹¹ (the

10 Mangoenkoesoemo, Tjipto. (1921). *De Wajang als Kultuuruiting van ons volk: Inleiding voor het XI Indiers Congres*. Semarang: n. p. (p.31)

11 In contrast, scholars on Indonesia argued that “the integration of Indonesian nationalism is... indebted to the existence of the Volksraad... [as] the top representative council for all Indonesia” (Kahin, 1970, p.39).

People's Council) in 1918-1921, he tried to induce social reform by pushing constitutional reforms. He argued that structural reform is necessary within the Javanese social structure with a tailor-made framework, such as one that rests on Islamic teachings. He saw that only through constitutional means the People might become an independent advanced community, even under colonial administration, mirroring to the relation between "two equal friends with mutual interests", instead of ruler to subject relationship (Scherer, 1975, p.132).

Tjipto presented his ideas at the *Volksraad* and worked with Soetatmo to define the theme of *pergerakan* (popular movement) at that time. The watchwords of *pergerakan* was changing from "kemajuan (progress or modernity) to democracy and *sama rata sama rasa* (equality and solidarity)" (Shiraishi, 1981, p.94). Although Tjipto, a Javanese scholar, was highly influenced by Javanese culture and history, he rejected Soetatmo Soeriokosomo's ideas of "*Javaansch Nationalisme*" (Javanese nationalism) which stood for the ruling class (aristocratic Javanese society) standpoint at that time. Tjipto's forceful voice of "*Indisch Nationalisme*" (Indonesian nationalism) challenged the Dutch colonial power and the priyayi order as he associated himself with *Pangeran Dipanegara*--Javanese prince who refused Dutch colonial rule and fought against moral decay in the Javanese society ¹² in 1825-30. Upholding egalitarian values and inclusiveness, Tjipto worked with the *Volksraad* where he regarded as the "symbol" of "representativeness" in colonial government, conveying his ideas of "the awakening and moral revival of the people" in order to sustain the creation of "politically independent subjects" that may potentially contribute to the legitimacy and efficacy of the regime without undermining it significantly (Shirashi, 1981, p.105). Ten years later, the view of "politically independent

12 The last Javanese court poet Rangyawarsita referred to this period as the time of darkness in his famous poem *Serat Kalatidha*.

subjects” was adopted by Sjahrir and Hatta, leaders of the nationalist movement and future prime ministers (Tsuchiya, 1987, p.44).

Soetatmo Soeriokosomo, along with the vast majority of Javanese conservatives, held Javanese aristocratic nationalism, instead believed that Javanese culture serves as the basis of a stable government in the Indies. He envisioned a future political community in the Netherlands Indies based on “the common culture, language and history of the Javanese” (Shiraishi, 1981, p.96). Soetatmo had his intellectual roots in theosophist, combined with deep understanding of Javanese thought. Although he was the prince of Paku Alam royal house in Yogyakarta, he read Western works and inspired by Western philosophers, such as Hegel and Bolland. In 1914, he formed the Committee for Javanese Nationalism and helped publish the journal *Wederopbouw* (reconstruction), which aims for restoration and revitalization of the Javanese ideals of social morals, structure, and dignity (Shiraishi, 1981, p.95; Tsuchiya, 1987, p.39). Hence *Wederopbouw* was seen as the platform by the young Javanese intellectuals whom under the influence of Theosophy placed the Javanese culture as “the vanguard of the age” (Tsuchiya, 1987, p.44). The journal enabled them to express Javanese culture in the Dutch language, which lead not only to Javanese concepts being expressed in a foreign language, but also foreign concepts such as democracy and development were associated and explained in Javanese as well (Tsuchiya, 1987, p.40). As an elitist, Soetatmo played a critical role in the creation of the *Paguyuban Selasa Kliwon*; a group of political and spiritual leaders who yearned to find recipes from spiritual training [*kesakten*] for the development of young generation and finding political goals (Tsuchiya, 1975; Fakhri, 2012). In an attempt of reconstructing old Javanese society, referring to the golden age of orderly and harmonious society under ancient Javanese kingdom, they called for *opvoeding* (upbringing/moral education) for the Javanese youth. In the years of native

awakening, the idea of spiritual education of the Javanese became wide-spread that gave philosophical reassurance to those worried about the “bad” Western values, such as materialism and individualism, which were associated by younger generation through Western education.

Soetatmo viewed the tide toward democratic capitalist state of that time will lead to a state of chaos and as a threat to tranquility and order of the existing regime. Grim was his response to Tjipto as the latter wrote a series of essays arguing that political organization must function in a democratic way and welcome all of the individuals in the Indies. Fundamentally, Tjipto believed that the humanistic and all-encompassing nature of “democracy” is the strategy to “pave the way” for unification of the People. In the late 1917, Tjipto wrote an essay, titled “*Het Indisch nationalisme en zijn rechtvaardiging*”,

Shortly, there are signs that the Javanese are occupied to mould themselves adapting to modern relationship with various nations. They are growing outside their real Javanese for no longer isolating themselves, but unified with other tribes who resides throughout the Indies archipelago [...] whereas tribes outside the island of Java must be not passive. They must also welcome this modernity, whereby they must let go some of their [restricting] customs. Shortly therefore, a lot of reasons to accept that in the end the Javanese, Malay and Ambon will meet at the crossroad and hold hand in hand to continue walking in the path of modernity (as cited in Balfas, 1952, p. 91)

Soetatmo argued that Tjipto’s ideas of democracy and *Indisch Nationalism* were erroneous—that government by the People is doomed to fail. Soetatmo further emphasized that “democracy without wisdom is a catastrophe for us all” (*demokratie zonder wijsheid is een ramp voor ons allen*) by implanting the concept of democracy into the Javanese concept “*manunggaling kawula gusti*” (the unity of servant and master) as a way to preserve aristocratic order, whereby the right to rule remained at the hands of the aristocrats. Challenging the new political thought by Tjipto, Soetatmo wrote,

A government by the people! That is a utopia that has never existed in this world. As it apparently did exist in failed Western civilization, then its appearance has soon enough revenged itself. In truth, there is no people's government in Europe; the government there depends on a group of persons who only in name represent the people¹³

At the end, Tjipto was removed from political scene by the ruling colonial power, forbidden to live in a Javanese speaking environment and from 1927 he was politically crippled in his exile in Banda, about 2,000 kilometers away from Java.

Moreover, the implementation of Ethical Policy left two main fearsome legacies: “a life of dependence on Western nations” (Tsuchiya, 1987, p.56) and, ironically, backward Indies society due to dualistic ideology. In the Ethical period, the government only allowed the children of priyayi and ningrat to study thus maintained the repressive structure of colonial bureaucracy despite the air of progress modernity was inhaled not only by the wider Javanese society, but also by Chinese and Arabs. During this gloomy period, some called to democratize education system to be open for wider young Javanese generation as the basis for revitalization of the Javanese culture. On the other hand, the non-Javanese natives were left feeling unsatisfied and awkward with the existing condition. Against the backdrop of a growing political consciousness among the natives, *Boedi Oetomo* was established in May 1908 as an organization based on a “*free and conscious* united effort by *individuals*” (Van Niel, Emergence, p.57), “a channel through which Javanese perceptions were diversified and crystallized into patterns which could be seen as radical as well as conservative in their cultural and class context” (Scherer, 1975, p.112). BO was the first modern political organization that advocated a synthesis between Western systems and

13 Original text in Dutch, “*Een volksregering! Dat is een utopie, het heeft nooit in de wereld bestaan. Als die in mislukte Westersche beschaving schijnbaar een bestaan heeft, dan heeft deze schijn zich al gauw genoeg gewroken. In waarheid betaat in Europa geen een volksregering, de regering drijft daar op een group personen, die allen in naam het volk vertegenwoordigen*” (Soeriokoesoemo, 1920, p.5)

Javanese culture where the educated elites found their nationalism's secular expression (Rich, 2013, p. 133). The "proto-national organization" was based on "the kind of solidarity generated by Western-style education, and its messages were sent through circulars and printed media as well as by personal contact" (Shiraishi, 1990, p.35). Fundamentally, Dr. Soetomo and Dr. Wahidin Soedirohusodo, were two nationalist medical doctors behind the establishment of BO, whose concern was on the core moral values of the Indonesian-Javanese society, believed that these should be sustained by the educated elites.

However, BO was short-lived. Membership in the organization fell in 1910 and the organization was dissolved in 1935. As the leadership was transferred from the students to politically cautious and established priyayi, the orientation of "progress" pursued by the organization was changed. The students aimed to pursue Western social and political institutions and viewed the importance of raising political consciousness for the People. But the established priyayi aimed to revitalize the Javanese culture and viewed BO as a catalyst to engage harmoniously and protect the interest of the bureaucratic priyayi society. In the end, the organization's leadership was won by the latter and its membership remained exclusively for the Javanese. Nevertheless, BO's presence attracted attention from local students of different schools—it set as inspiration for the mushrooming of similar modern political organizations in various regions in the Netherlands Indies.

Local Initiative

There was a growing radicalization due to Western education, whereby the ideas about democracy were gaining currency and shaped the popular movement and nationalist movement. During this period, democratic values appealed not only to the modern Javanese and non-Javanese societies, but also began to influence conservative Javanese societies. Soewardi Soeryaningrat and Hatta were probably the most widely known figures in pushing for democracy, but there were scores of others who have played influential roles behind the nationalist movement.

The Rise of Taman Siswa (“Garden of Pupils”) Institution

By 1930 the first notable shift in contemporary nationalist movement was evident with the launching of a nationwide expansion of Taman Siswa schools which epitomized BO’s move uniting itself with the People’s Movement in favor of overthrowing colonial rule and achieving national independence. In this regard, the spread of Taman Siswa schools constituted a successful attempt to frame democracy to fit the cause of nationalist movement and made democratic values, such as People’s sovereignty, embraced by wider Indies societies from various backgrounds. Taman Siswa was established by Soewardi Suryaningrat, or Ki Hadjar Dewantara, with Paguyuban Selasa Kliwon in 1922. Nevertheless, Soetatmo’s thinking influenced him as they established Taman Siswa together, whereby Soetatmo emerged as the chairman in 1923. Soewardi, a Javanese aristocrat belong to the Paku Alam family, studied at the medical college STOVIA from 1903 to 1909. Together with Tjipto and Dowwes Dekker, he established the Indisch Partij (Indies Party) in 1912, which was one of the very first political organizations in the Dutch East Indies that advocated independence. After writing “*als ik eens Nederlander was*” in

July 1913, Soewardi was arrested by the colonial government and went into exile in the Netherlands. He stayed in the Netherlands for 6 years, studied teaching qualification, joined the board of Montessori school and wrote thirty articles (Tsuchiya, 1987, p.31). In 1913, he founded *Indonesische Persbureau* (The Indonesian Press Bureau) in The Hague—a platform to disseminate information about Indonesian nationalist movement and the first institution that formally used the term “Indonesia” (Dewantara, 1952).

In 1916, Soewardi recognized the importance of cultural and educational sphere that shifted his political concern. He advised to employ Malay as the common language in native schools in Indonesia as an effective tool to integrate all communities in the archipelago in First Colonial Education Congress (*Eerste Koloniaal Onderwijscongres*) (Tsuchiya, 1987, p.34). His remark pertain directly to the interest of colonial government, since by 1920 the Dutch controlled the archipelago “from Sabang to Merauke” and their business activities expanded considerably (Shiraishi, 1990, p.27). Another focus of the modern development policy in the Ethical era was to advocate Western civilization to be the model for “progress” and develop the colony into a Western-model of a state. The Royal Netherlands Indies’ Army (KNIL) “successfully” implemented tranquility and order (*rust en orde*) and created a colonial *beamtensstaat* in the region entirely. Furnivall put it as the age of “expansion, efficiency, and welfare” (as cited in Shiraishi, 1990, p.27).

Nevertheless, the government was unable to halt modernist political and social ideas that entered the country. Increasingly, sons of the Javanese aristocrats, or the “backbone” of Dutch authority, refused to associate themselves with the old aristocracy. As they followed Western education, especially medical studies, they refused to fill up administrative positions of their fathers and caused the “decline in the effectiveness of the upper ranks of the aristocratic Indonesian

administrative element” (Kahin, 1970, p.57). There was a growing orientation in “the People”, “*demokratie*”, and “the Indies” as the watchwords of the nationalist movement (Tsuchiya, 1987, p.44). Related to that, Islamic movements in the Indies had the same origin which is based on strong desire to stand up against the West, especially Western capitalism and imperialism. In 1912, the Sarekat Islam (SI) was established as “the first powerful Indonesian nationalist movement” (Kahin, 1970, p.48). Further, religious-secular cleavage that shapes today’s political movement in Java was initiated by the founding of two biggest religious organizations at that time, Muhammadiyah in 1912 and Nahdlatul Ulama (the Awakening of Traditional Religious Scholars) in 1926. Pertaining to the rise of Islamic movements, the government tried “to control Mohammedan education, watching against all Pan Islamic¹⁴ propaganda, and be “completely intransigent” (Hurgonje, 1911, p.81) against the politics of Mohammedan doctrine and law. Indeed, one of the reason lay behind the Ethical Policy was to “turned [the Indonesian population] away from the path of Islam toward cultural association with the Dutch” (Hurgonje, p.81).

The founding and expansion of Taman Siswa between 1922 and 1930 played a key role in advancing nationalist movement with two fundamental principles: “democracy” and “leadership” (Tsuchiya, 1987). Soewardi interpreted the idea of “equality” [*sama rata sama rasa*] pertaining to Western democratic principles and the idea of “equal well-being” [*bahagiaaan sama*] to Eastern principle. In Soewardi’s view, both principles are united under the Javanese principle of *tut wuri handayani* (leading from behind). *Tut wuri handayani* is used as slogan in classroom to convey “pupils were free to choose their own path; but the teacher followed closely [from] behind”

¹⁴ Pan-Islam refers to “preached the doctrine of loyalty to the Ottoman caliph primarily as the head of the most powerful Muslim state, and therefore the authority most fitted to direct and to coordinate the political forces of the Muslim peoples” (Gibb, 1945, p.11)

(Tsuchiya, p.212). This slogan is also used within Taman Siswa movement to convey “a leader in whose ability to comprehend... [social] justice and point the way to its realization members could trust” (Tsuchiya, p.212). The ideology of Taman Siswa plays around the relationships between education, democracy and leadership, and tranquility and order—whereby within two decades Taman Siswa movement conceived and expounded the basic principles of Indonesia (the Pancasila /five moral principles). Within the nationalist movement, Taman Siswa successfully united all of its members to

willingly sacrificed themselves for the sake of building unity... [have] a common spirit of self-sacrifice for the overall good... [and bring] the revival of Manunggal Kawula lan Gusti in an age of nationalism and democracy (Tsuchiya, p.147-8).

Among its members, Soedyono Djojopraitno was an important thinker of Taman Siswa whose writings in the organs of Taman Siswa, Pusara, depicted Taman Siswa’s anticolonial character as a reflection of “the People’s will”, whereby allowing the People’s voice to be heard accepted as the root and legitimate causes of the nationalist movement. He initially served as the leader of Taman Siswa branch and school headmaster in Wonokromo (a village in East Java), whereas in the end played a central role in Taman Siswa leadership.

Rasuna Said, the leader of Persatoean Moeslimin Indonesia (Permi/Indonesian Moslem Union)¹⁵, was another important human rights advocate of the nationalist movement, demanded “independent Indonesia free from foreign rule”, and the significance of Rasuna as a reformer lay in the fact she disseminated the idea of gender equality and fostering education for raising political awareness to nurture political involvement in Sumatera. Pertaining to Taman Siswa

¹⁵ Political party Permi was founded in 1930 and within two years it had about 10,000 members and 160 branches in all over Sumatera, whereby their anti-Dutch struggle is a synthesis between Islam and nationalism.

movement, the colonial government adopted legal measures, the Wild Schools Ordinance¹⁶, to supervise “anti-Dutch education” given by the nonaccredited schools that brings “political danger”. Rasuna, a proponent of girl’s education and political participation, implicitly challenged the Wild Schools Ordinance. She strongly argued that young Minangkabau¹⁷ generation need to have politics taught as a separate subject. Being an overtly leftist on ideology, she was a strong defender of women’s right and pressed reform on her society. As a feminist, she insisted that women should play an important role in politics and have the right to contribute to the social, political and economic fields, other than managing the household (White, 2013, p.112). Whereby her party, Permi, encouraged women to play a leadership role at the time this was still virtually inexistent in any Islamic organization in Java. Interestingly, as a propagandist she successfully encouraged other women in Sumatera to join the nationalist movement, which was widely considered against the custom in such a conservative society. One Dutch official in 1933, who was awed by women involvement in politics in Sumatera, said the ladies “put the men to shame” (as cited in White, 2013).

Moh. Natsir, another important political thinker in the nationalist movement, was a proponent of democratic values who married its concept with Islamic teachings—a widely held religion among the People. As the leader of Masjumi, the biggest Moslem political party in the Indies, he fought for the inclusion of religion in the political field and advocated Islam as the basis for independence movement (*Pembela Islam*, 1931). He received Western education in Bandung and

16 The Ordinances of 1923-1932 were promulgated by the Dutch and Wild Schools Ordinance in 1932 came into force as they were concerned about the political danger of “anti-Dutch education” given by the nonaccredited schools—pertaining to the mushrooming of Taman Siswa schools (*wilde particuliere schooltjes*).

17 Minangkabau refers to the West Sumatra.

absorbed the ideas of human rights and democracy to which he was exposed. Natsir (1936) believed that within a democratic framework, Islam and its laws potentially bring order to the state and the individuals, by promoting tolerance with other religions and freedom to follow one's faith. Natsir (1940) accepted the democratic, progressive, and egalitarian nature of Islam, as he puts it, Islam is "democratic in the sense that it is anti-despotism, anti-absolutism, anti-arbitrary measures" (as cited in Kahin, 2012, p.23).

Soeryopranoto, or the "Prince of Strikes", was the brother of Soewardi who was an avid advocate of human rights, especially for the laboring class. He led the laboring class in Java to fight for their rights, involved in organizing many trade union strikes in the 1920s, and by joining Sarekat Islam, provoked their national consciousness. At that time, the urban workers in Batavia were daunted with rising prices and labor shortages due to the economic boom in 1920s in the Western world, which inevitably led the flowering of labor unions and movements. In fact, "most white-collar workers and the more politically conscious and better educated sectors of the rapidly growing skilled labor element" played an important part within the nationalist movement, especially in national identity building (Kahin, 1970, p.53).

The Push for Independence, Political-Economic Reform and Parliamentary Democracy

The Depression hit both the Netherlands and its colony economy severely in the 1930s. This triggered political instability and riots in the Netherlands, whereby in the colony the national movement was heavily pressured that created a strong desire within the natives for Indonesian independence and potential political reform. At that time, only Social Democratic Labor Party had a positive view towards Indonesian independence (Kahin, 1970, p.50.). Indische Sociaal

Democratische Vereeniging (ISDV) was formed in the 1914 by the Dutch officers in the Indies as they were influenced by the rise of socialism in their home country and brought this idea to the colony. Indeed, compared to their British counterpart in Myanmar, the Dutch officers had lower salary and were from “far humbler” social standing as they could openly criticize their government in the public (Furnivall, 1967, p.248).

Interestingly, among the young Indies who enjoyed Western education during the first four decades of the 20th century, “writings of Rousseau, Locke, Mazzini, Sorel, and the Utopian and Marxist Socialists” (Kahin, 1970, p.49) were widely read. More important, Indonesian students who lived in the Netherlands were radically influenced by political parties in the Netherlands. They “were strongly influenced by... the civil liberties and democratic government... [that] contrasted so sharply with conditions in Indonesia”, which fueled their “desires for dignity and assertion of equality against the numb feeling of inferiority that subjection to alien domination had developed in them” (p.50).

Sjahrir was a pro-proletariat nationalist who defended socialist ideals. As a law student from West Sumatera, he studied at the University of Amsterdam and Leiden University from 1929 to 1931. At that time, he was attached to radical ideas, especially Marxist, and freely expressed his thoughts through pamphlets and articles in the Netherlands. More important, his attachment to the traditional concepts of socialism was growing stronger—indeed the labor movement and socialist movement greatly shaped his thinking. Sjahrir dedication to Western-democratic principles was certainly undoubted. He saw the path to People’s sovereignty lies in democracy--the ideology that advocates the rights to manage one’s society and human dignity, also protect the rights and virtue of the People.

Sjahrir was in charge for the adoption of parliamentary democracy in Indonesia. His widely read publication, *Perdjoeangan Kita* (Our Struggle)¹⁸, argued that sovereignty should be in the hands of the People. In the era of Revolution, his idea gained acceptance as the most legitimate, whereby the ways and means by which the People's voice is heard through representatives in legislative body. Further, addressing the development of local political parties/proto-Indonesian organizations, he argued that political parties must be established by those who are educated, disciplined and modernized in order to usher the People in the direction of revolution. He demanded that peasants and workers should be strengthened as the basis of power for democratic revolution, whereby elections must be held in villages and the youths must support these two groups.

Hatta was a great nationalist thinker, who came to the Netherlands in 1922 and coined the term village democracy and economic democracy as the basis for genuine democracy to take root in Indonesia. Like Sjahrir, he was a Minangkabau student at Leiden University and commercial school in Rotterdam. In 1925, he became the treasurer in the *Perhimpunan Indonesia* (PI)—the organization of nationalist students in the Netherlands, and its chairman in 1926. This organization had a radical nationalist in character and aspired to a democratic and independent Indonesian state. In 1925, Hatta proposed the three principles—fostering national unity and solidarity, independence, and non-cooperation, as PI's strategy. His involvement in leftist activities flowered in 1927 by attending League against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression's congress—where Jawaharlal Nehru met him.

Hatta did his own research about the history both of his home land and other nations, in search for inspiration of shared legacies and wisdom to foster the spirit of unity within Indies societies.

18 The pamphlet *Perdjoeangan Kita* was published in November 1945.

His reinterpretation of history to inform the nationalist movement became a strong basis for non-cooperative stand point, whereby he depicted the colonial government as invalid. Hatta, was aware of the danger of Ethical Policy and cooperative politics, urged the need of a social pedagogic approach that fosters political awareness in society. “In politic don’t put attention to them [*kaum sana*/the Dutch] who gave sympathy to our movement, but see towards ourselves” (as cited in Abdullah, 1998, p.xxxvii). In Hatta’s (1931) words,

Now, if we want to heal the livelihood of the people, we must lift their spirit by revealing the truth,
it is the people who own sovereignty... to achieve independent Indonesia

Lastly, in Hatta’s eyes, the *Volksraad* was merely a mask by the government to maintain cooperative politic in the Indies through the establishment of *raad* (councils).

Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX, the king of Yogyakarta¹⁹, a very influential nationalist in Java, also studied at the Leiden University. He seemed to be a traditional feudal ruler at home, but adopted a more democratic and decentralized approach than his predecessors. His aristocratic status fit in nationalist movement, especially at the critical juncture of the revolution period. The revolution period was a diplomatic and armed struggle against the Dutch. From 1945 to 1949, the Dutch managed to return to its colony in Southeast Asia and attempted in reassembling the broken segments of *beamtenstaat* against the newly independent Republican state led by Soekarno. But, the strong localized popular resistances, mostly consisted of youths, were inherently nationalist, demanding a free nation from the Dutch. At the end of the revolution period, the Dutch attacked Yogyakarta—and made, as the US ambassador to the UN said, “the

19 Yogyakarta remains a special region in Indonesia, the only province that is led by a Sultan (king), as one of the descendants of Hamengku Buwono, who officially becomes the governor even with no election.

biggest mistake... in its entire history” (as cited in Monfries, 2008, p.271)—as they captured and exiled the entire Republican leadership, including Soekarno, Hatta and Sjahrir.

Nevertheless, the Sultan was firmly defending the Republic by launching 1 March General Offensive and gained control over Jogjakarta quickly. The Sultan’s success gained international recognition, including the United Nations, who later pressured the Dutch to retreat. The U.S. and international society became aware that the Republic was still intact and through this gesture the Sultan showed his true nature as a democrat. By the mid of March, the U.S. started to reconsider their aid for the Netherlands and concluded their interest for “the creation of a sovereign Indonesian state which will satisfy the fundamental demands of militant nationalism [...]” (McMahon, 1981, p.290).

Indeed, since the 1930s a wind of change blew in favor of the nationalist movement. The suppression of the Madiun revolt²⁰ had impelled the American diplomats to support the nationalist cause “to establish a pro-Western Republic on a strategically located archipelago in Asia” (Gouda, 2002, p.42) and wished in the future the nation would be a Western-oriented bulwark against a raising Asian communism. More painfully, the Dutch must learn their lesson that American positive view towards the Dutch has changed greatly, even the Dutch attack on the new Republic was portrayed in the U.S. media as unbelievable²¹.

20 The Madiun revolt in September 1948 was a Communist rebellion--a threat to the Republican government that reflects Moscow’s ideological pushes and pulls towards the Republic.

21 “The American people know how precious national freedom and human liberties are... We therefore view with the keenest sympathy [the dreams of millions of Indonesians striving for their own country’s sovereignty]... We simply can’t believe that the Dutch will condone the use of their forces and resources for depriving other people of their national independence and democratic rights” Woll, Andrew (1949, February). Crisis in Indonesia. *Free Trade Union News*, 4(2), 1

This was quite contrary to the outset of the 1920s when the American view was very positive towards the colonial management in the Indies. They had praised the Dutch “had so profitably managed the productivity of the natural resources of the archipelago” (Gouda, p.42). Both parties were deeply associated over strategic interest of American various enterprises in the Indies, from oil extraction and refineries to rubber and tobacco plantations. Inevitably, the Dutch’s international position grew weaker and was vulnerable, whereas the United States was increasingly asserting hegemonic position in the world. Indeed, the Sultan showed his staunch commitment for progressive and more democratic political and social reforms in Indonesia. He remained as a nationalist although he might choose to cooperate with the Dutch in creating a *negara* (state) of Central Java. As he said on the radio, after the Dutch troops left Jogjakarta in 1949, “the Republic guarantees democratic rights, and everyone has the right to speak freely against everything being done by the state with which they do not agree”²².

Localization

How did Soewardi and Hatta touch upon the idea of democracy in a local context? How could Soewardi become the instigator of democracy in nationalist movement? How could Hatta defend democracy when the concept of *Volkssouvereiniteit* [suspiciously regarded as a Western-import ideology] was contested by the People? Hatta’s words in 1932 seemed to provide key answers to these questions.

The questions about genuine Indonesian democracy certainly at our utmost appreciation, because we also want to build the housing [*perumahan*] of Independent Indonesia based on democracy

22 See report of broadcast in Aneta News Bulletin, Batavia, 2-7-1949 (as cited in Monfries, p.293, note 133)

which embedded within genuine Indonesian society interaction [*yang terdapat dalam pergaulan hidup yang asli di Indonesia*]

Indeed, Hatta presented his rather radical idea about political reform as a panacea of the old tradition of feudalism, which was exacerbated by colonialism, and it was only through the reinvention of democracy that Hatta and his associates were able to push the idea of establishing an independent Indonesia based on popular sovereignty.

Soewardi and Soedyono: Educational Reform

The Mataram Kingdom had been traditionally respected as a model of good governance in Indonesian politics, the period of golden age in the Javanese history, and the time when free national spirit and ideas were alive. In his earlier writings, Soewardi had drawn on his great Javanese classical learning to prove that the pure and sacred national culture need to be revived through the Javanese culture, otherwise the ideology of Ethical Policy only creates “obeisance to Western civilization [which] has locked this land in darkness” (as cited in Tsuchiya, 1987, p.61) and the danger of younger Indonesian generation not securing national independence. At the end, Soewardi not only depicted Western civilization as rapacious and corrupt culture, but also rejected Western individualism.

Soewardi believed that he found his ideas about establishing national educational system by combining the latest Western educational ideas with the traditional Javanese educational system, the system of the *pondok pesantren* (dormitory) and *pawijatan* (school), which aspired to create a new image of free and independent man who bring about “order and tranquility” in the society. In the Javanese concept, there was an important notion of the unity of all individuals (master and servant/*manunggaling kawula gusti*). He had used this concept to apply both moral education

[pengajaran] and intellectual training [pendidikan] by suggesting the teacher and the pupils to live together day and night under one roof in the place for education. Soewardi's proposal of "broaden the scope of education" through a "popular orientation" attracted many other nationalists in joining his cause, thus adopting its manifestation, which is Taman Siswa's *kerakyatan* ("people-orientedness"/democracy) (Tsuchiya, 1987, p.63).

Soewardi consolidated the seven "unalterable principles" of Taman Siswa, of which spirit is "the seeds of an independent lifestyle to be implanted within the people through a national education system... based on the people's own culture" (Tsuchiya, p.56-7). Contrasting the dualism of Ethical Policy that only the upper stratum of society received education, he proposed that education must begin with the lower classes. The flowering of Taman Siswa schools under the leadership of Soewardi allowed autonomy over the activities in its branches in each provinces, sets forth the two fundamental principles of "democracy" and "leadership" in its movement. The expansion of Taman Siswa from 1922 to 1930 (eight years of silence) were involving various layers of society and nationalist movement, capturing the Javanese element of *Boedi Oetomo* (whose members are part of Selasa Kliwon group, the forerunner of Taman Siswa), intellectual elites (including Soekarno, Ali Sastroamidjojo, Hatta and Sjahrir), and greater part of the People's Movement. Thus, Taman Siswa not only offered a revival of Javanese culture and the spirit of nationalism, but also functioned as a link between the social classes behind BO and the nationalist movement.

Soedjono Djojopraitno, one of the most thoughtful and influential Indonesian thinkers of Taman Siswa, considered education as a provision towards "external and internal conditions" of independent Indonesian state. His case for the education made most convincingly in his major essay "Didiklah kamu sendiri!" (Educate yourselves!), published serially in *Pusara* in 1931-1932.

Soedjono argued that Western science and technology would only provide the external condition (mind and body of the children), whereas internal condition (heart and character) is desirably attainable through Javanese concept of *kasekten* (spiritual exercise/internal divine guidance). He saw that colonial education was doomed to fail due to West's arrogance towards the East that stifles the national spirit, pride and worth of the Indonesian nation. In this sense, he urged "listening to the voice that comes from the bottom of one's heart". Indeed, this applies not only to "world's heroes" but to everyone. He located the concept of democracy within the Javanese culture, linked the proletariat and the *kromo* with *Sang Hyang Wenang* (the Divine Soul). This way, Soedyono grafted the concept of People's sovereignty in the Javanese context. As Tsuchiya (1987) put it,

The People were identified with Sang Hyang Wenang, the Divine Soul, whose attributes of indivisibility and universality corresponded exactly with the Javanese conception of the People: indivisible, because the People [rakyat] extended beyond the boundaries of Java. The understanding that Divine Will would be manifested through one who would restore true order and tranquility when "the gods ignored injustice" also found corresponding expression in the notion that the People's will was manifested in the dynamism of the People's Movement to bring about order and tranquility (rather than to support the colonial *orde en vrede*). The People's will, moreover, was presented as being as absolute as that of Sang Hyang Wenang. Nobody, even members of Taman Siswa, could conceal his true nature from the People. (p.139)

Hatta: Unity and "Economic Democracy"

While Soewardi and Soedyono reinterpreted Javanese philosophy and injected Western ideas in education as a powerful discourse to push the spirit for unity in nationalist movement, Hatta

endeavored to reinvent traditional village society to eliminate resistance from the People for a genuine democracy. Contrary to Soewardi who looked back to the past, Hatta's rationality and vision for the future sowed the seed of people orientedness in village livelihood as the basis for an Indonesian nation that is democratic, rest on People's sovereignty, and is anti-feudalism (everyone is at one level and each has the right to manage their shared society/livelihood). To Hatta, traditional village livelihood generally represented a mechanism for genuine democracy in Indonesia. In democratic village collectivism, Hatta believed that its three principal institutions have sound advantages. First, *musyawarah* (open discussion) institution where people gather to discuss common problem towards a consensus decision and solution. Second, *protes-massa* (mass-protest) institution which is the right to protest against decisions made by authority that violated traditional customary law. Third, *gotong royong* (sharing and working on common problem) and *tolong menolong* (helping each other).

Hatta's case for a genuine democracy was made convincingly in his major journal, *Daulat Ra'yat* (People's Sovereignty), published serially in 1931-1934. This work was an effort to "nurture 'genuine democracy' towards People's sovereignty, in order to establish the polity of the People's government [*peraturan pemerintah rakyat*] for the entire Indonesia" and this work fostered unity in Indonesian nation based on the acceptance of common principles and a common strategy. Hatta argued the necessity and desirability of unity, opposing the proponent of *cultuurnasionalism* (nationhood based on an ethnic/centric cultural vision derived from the legacy of the past) that preserves the spirit of *provincialisme*. Hatta argued that the spirit of unity for independence is an inevitable fate of every nation, a universal phenomenon, including "Indonesian nation" (a trans-ethnic ideology, '*un principe spirituel*' which stands for nationhood and political determination of the People). Hatta (1933) wrote clearly that

This psychological law is applied to each time and era! The most prominent one on France Revolution in 1789. That big movement broke down the house [*perumahan*] of feudalism, shattered *ancien regime* authority and bring freedom to people... using the watchword *Liberte*, *Egalite* and *Fraternite*. Hearts of people were full of content at that time. There is no more oppression, but freedom, no more differences between aristocrat and commoner, but unity. Therefore there is no more hatred, but brotherhood²³.

Different with Soekarno, Hatta did not take village-democracy for granted and aware that it still needs to be adjusted to the context of a modern nationhood. Whereas the differences between concepts, such as “society” (value) vis-à-vis “state” (authority), and “nation” (identity) vis-à-vis “citizen” (right and obligation) need to be clear. Hatta’s collectivism is an ideological paradigm, not out of socio-political creation, but a vision of social and political order based on common interest and brotherhood. In this sense, collectivism in a modern nationhood hinge on a well-managed decentralization system, wherein governance is divided and managed from top to bottom—but the establishment of political decision-making bodies is built through a bottom up approach, whereby regional autonomy is based on locally elected officials. Nonetheless, Hatta ultimate goal remained progressive and pragmatic in their own way. He demanded “*demokrasi ekonomi*” (economic-democracy) through which People’s sovereignty and collectivism could function beneficially and effectively through economic cooperation (*koperasi*). He envisioned the establishment of a *Rechtsstaat* (*negara hukum/legal state*) where every citizen and every society’s identity is protected and has right to form assembly and voice their opinion. Lastly, Hatta aimed at fostering unity and freedom to realize a just and civilized humanity, whereby wisdom for leadership derived from social justice, and built upon sovereignty and healthy democracy.

23 Hatta. (1933). *Daulat Ra’jat*, 65.

Institutionalization

The plural nature of colonial society in Indonesia demands a concrete model of a state that has a universal concept that could be shared together, whereas many efforts had made to blend democratic values and practices with traditional values, such as collectivism, and institution (such as village and *pondok pesantren*) by the idea entrepreneurs. In the direction of constructing a democratic country, a preparation towards the independence of Indonesia, *Badan Penyelidik Usaha-Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* (BPUPKI/Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence) and subsequently, *Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* (PPKI/Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence), were formed, consisting of the leading nationalists, intellectuals and regional representatives²⁴. Their task was to study and prepare political, economic, governance, and other aspects towards uniting all parts of the archipelago, as well as drafting the basis of a future Indonesian state. Their meetings between May, 28th and August, 22nd had set forth the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila (Five Moral Principles) as the comprehension of basic principles of Indonesia. The latter has the following points:

1. *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa* ([Belief in the one and only God](#)).
2. *Kemanusiaan Yang Adil dan Beradab* ([Just](#) and civilized humanity).
3. *Persatuan Indonesia* (The unity of Indonesia).
4. *Kerakyatan Yang Dipimpin oleh Hikmat Kebijaksanaan, Dalam Permusyawaratan Perwakilan* ([Democracy](#) guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives).
5. *Keadilan Sosial bagi seluruh Rakyat Indonesia* ([Social justice](#) for all of the People of Indonesia).

24 See Appendix (list of names of BPUPKI and PPKI members)

Both of 1945 Constitution and Pancasila stipulated that Indonesian citizens' democratic rights are protected by the state and their implementation encompassing human rights, humanitarian precepts and freedoms in Indonesia. And more notable interpretation of the state ideology is the nature of nationalism, internationalism or humanitarianism, democracy, social justice (just and civilized humanity) and belief in God, also by emphasizing indivisibility, non-selectivity, and interdependence in all applications on human rights (Nasution, 1992, p.10; Yamin, 1960, p. 71; Kahin, 1970, p.122-7).

More important, the rights of "freedom of forming association and assembly" and conveying "verbal and written expression" are respected, as these are mentioned in the article 28 of the 1945 Constitution. Hatta was the one who formulated these statements whereas the rest of the members tried to strictly adhere to the principle of collectivism. Another important contribution made by Hatta is the article 33 that derived from the conception of economic democracy, stating "the economy shall be organized as a common endeavor based upon the principles of the family system".

In 1949, after the transfer of sovereignty over the Netherlands Indies, the appointed President Soekarno and Prime Minister Hatta had the leadership of *Republik Indonesia Serikat* (RIS/United States of Indonesia). In 1950, RIS changed its name into Indonesia and conducted liberal democracy as the first political system in Indonesia. Herbert Faith (1962) indicated constitutional democracy based on six distinct features characteristic, as the reference that constitutional democracy existed in Indonesia during the mid-1950s. Firstly, he captured that civilians played a dominant role during this period. Secondly, he noticed that parties are of great importance to the existing political system. Thirdly, the "rules of the game" were respected by contenders for power. Fourthly, almost all of political elites own commitment to symbols connected with

constitutional democracy. Fifthly, civil liberties are rarely infringed upon. Finally, the sixth point is Indonesian governments impose coercion sparingly.

However, in October 1956, after six years of maintaining liberal democracy, Soekarno's leadership was in peril and demanded to "bury" political parties. In 1957, he addressed that "parliamentary democracy grew out of the philosophy of political liberalism" (as cited in Hui, 2012) which he believed as inappropriate for Indonesia. On the eve of Soekarno's *konsepsi* (conception) of Guided Democracy, some were strongly against Soekarno and struggled to defend democracy in Indonesia, such as Natsir (1957) whose argument reflected the view of many political leaders at that time, as follows,

Democracy in my view is a philosophy that is not limited to an administrative system, but democracy is a "way of life" that embraces spiritual and material fields. In this connection the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt formulated an understanding of democracy that I think can be accepted by every true democracy whether of the east or the west. A true democracy gives guarantees for:

1. Freedom of expression
2. Freedom of religion
3. Freedom from want
4. Freedom from fear.

Democracy can also be divided into political democracy that guarantees freedom of thought, speech, assembly and religion, and economic democracy that guarantees social justice for all members of society. (p. 31-2)

However, the institutionalization of genuine democracy abruptly ended due to the development of authoritarian political systems in Indonesia--Soekarno's Guided Democracy in 1956-65 and Suharto's New Order in 1965-98. As a result, there was a vacuum in the spread of democratic

values, whereby a long period of dictatorship constrained democratic values to take roots in Indonesian societies for four decades.

Chapter Four: Discussion and Conclusion

In this master thesis, four steps in the localization process have been carried out to identify how Indonesian intellectual nationalists try to foster democracy in Indonesia from the 1900 to 1960. During the contestation process, as an idea entrepreneur, Tjipto introduced the concept of democracy to the wider Indies society but received strong rejection from Javanese conservative elites, such as Soetatmo. Other idea entrepreneurs are Soetomo and Wahidin who introduced modern political culture through the establishment of BO. However, Western political ideas were seen as a threat to the existing political order and stability of that time. But, during local initiative process, the flowering of democratic ideas and social reform become more acceptable. As an idea entrepreneur, Soewardi led the establishment of Taman Siswa institution which uphold democratic ideals and were welcomed in many parts of Java and Sumatera. Soedyono was another idea entrepreneur whose writings spread awareness on People's sovereignty. Rasuna was an important idea entrepreneur who disseminated the idea of gender equality and fostering education for raising political awareness to nurture political involvement in Sumatera. Natsir was a proponent of democratic values who married its concept with Islamic teachings—a widely held religion among the People. Soeryopranoto was an avid advocate of human rights, especially for the laboring class in the Indies. Sjahrir was a pro-proletariat nationalist who defended socialist ideals and was in charge for the adoption of parliamentary democracy in Indonesia. Hatta coined the term village democracy and economic democracy and aimed for genuine democracy to take root in Indonesia. Lastly, Hamengkubuwono IX was an influential nationalist advocating the establishment of Indonesia as a democratic country. During the adaptation process, Soewardi pruned the aspect of individualism of liberal democracy, whereas Soedyono grafted the concept

of People's sovereignty in the Javanese context. Hatta grafted the aspect of People's sovereignty as a genuine reflection of village democracy—a universally accepted notion that promotes inclusiveness and serves as a model for a bottom-up approach. He also grafted economic democracy in Indonesian concept of economic cooperation that promotes prosperity and equality. Lastly, the institutionalization process marked the formulation and promulgation of the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila as the basis of a newly established Indonesian state and establishment of constitutional democratic as the first political system in Indonesia.

Table 1. Key findings

Trajectory of Localization	
Challenge/Crisis	<i>Legitimacy crisis of the Dutch and priyayi regime due to the uncertainties regarding the end period of colonial power, economic deterioration, and deep injustice imposed over Indies population</i>
Contestation/Pre-localization	<p>“Democracy”, “the Indisch” and “the People” were seen as alien concepts. Javanese priyayi believed that democratic thoughts, such as proposal for social reform, may undermine the tranquility and order of the society at that time.</p> <p><i>Condition: the Ethical Policy and colonial government remain legitimate and its dualistic ideology remains the ruling ideology. Proposal for social reform, upholding egalitarian values and inclusiveness, are despised. Democratic government is deemed as failure.</i></p>
Local Initiative	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.) “Democracy” framed within Taman Siswa movement and nationalist movement—made democratic values appeal to not only the conservative Javanese, but also modern Javanese and non-Javanese societies 2.) Local actors recognized the potential of democratic concepts, such as “sovereignty”, “independence” and “the People” to contribute to the legitimacy and efficacy of the People Movement without fundamentally altering cultural identity <p><i>Condition:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) “Insider proponents” include Soewardi, Soedyono, Rasuna, Natsir, Soeryopranoto, Sjahrir, Hatta and Hamengkubuwono IX 2) Indonesian identity is considered as unique
Adaptation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Reinterpret Western science and technology as external condition--deliberately used Western ideas for Taman Siswa 2) Point out genuine democracy within Indonesian tradition--the tradition of village democracy as a tool to justify the establishment of independent Indonesian state guided by a genuine democracy 3) Nationalists pruned the aspects of “individualism” and emphasize collectivism 4) Graft the idea of democracy onto Javanese teaching “tut wuri handayani” and the voice of “the People” as a representation of “Sang Hyang Wenang” <p><i>Condition: nationalist leaders as a group believe embracing democratic concept will unite all Indies societies and strengthen the nationalist movement</i></p>
Institutionalization	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Establishment of a democratic Indonesian state with constitutional (parliamentary) democratic as its political system, with free and fair elections. 2) Promulgation of the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila based on democratic principles (rule of law) 3) Association with democratic ideas to win the hearts not only of all societies outside Java, but also U.S. diplomats and Western countries, an opportunity for Indonesian government to gain international support for “the creation of a sovereign Indonesian state”. 4) In the end, both of Soekarno and Soeharto constrained genuine democracy taking root by maintaining authoritarian regime in Indonesia.

This thesis traced the pathway that the idea of democracy travelled from the outset of popular movement, nationalist movement until the revolution period and beyond, between 1900 and 1960—under Javanese and Indonesian paradigm, and resulting in the establishment of parliamentary democratic as the first political system in Indonesia. This thesis aimed to prove that the legacy of the idea of democracy during this period matters. Although the idea of democracy was contested during colonial period, this idea served as the cornerstone of Indonesian independence movement. During Sukarno’s Guided Democracy and Suharto’s New Order the idea of democracy entered a period of vacuum. But, although it was in vacuum, the legacy of the previous period contributed to today Indonesia’s achievement of democracy within a short period of time and continues to influence its politics today.

This thesis started with a flowering of Western association in the People through the implementation of Ethical Policy in the Indies in the 20th century. Nevertheless, Western association—and cooperative politics that it preserves, constituted the path to dependency that alarmingly retains backwardness and inequality among the People. During this period, colonial-feudalism culture was heavily coerced in every corner of Java accommodating the interest of the Dutch and Javanese priyayi. However, the concept of dualism of the Ethical Policy was contested since the progress to modernity was desired by many. Against this background, there was “[a] rise of social organizations that further pressured the colonial government through collective action” (Williams, 2015, p.70), including nationalist political and Islamic reform movements, such as Boedi Oetomo and Sarekat Dagang Islam. The wind of change blew as the discourse for embracing *Indisch nationalism*, reforming the structure of colonial society and integrating all parts of the archipelago has taken hold. Insider proponents such as Tjipto, Soetomo and Wahidin sought to modernize their society by meaningfully engage with the

culture, history and plural nature of Indonesia to enhance their identity as Javanese and Indonesian. Later, Javanese priyayi who exclusively aimed for the revitalization of the Javanese culture and preserving colonial-feudalism culture, became the odds in the eyes of its younger generation. The latter witnessed a rise of nationalism and rampant disenchantment of colonial-feudalism culture. Further, the spread of Taman Siswa branches in Java and Sumatera had brought various layers of society and nationalist movement closer to fight against Wild School Ordinance—reflecting a strong collective will to overthrow the colonial state and establish an independent democratic Indonesian state. To a large extent, the spirit of the People fighting for their independence were fueled with radical thoughts grown out of the uncertainties regarding the end period of colonial power, economic deterioration, and deep injustice imposed over its population. During this period, there are other highly influential radical nationalists who were not mentioned in this thesis, such as Soekarno and Tan Malaka, as they failed to uphold democratic ideals. President Soekarno initial commitment with democracy, “what is the purpose of independence if we don’t have democracy?” (as cited in Abdullah, 1998) was changed with his conception of “Guided Democracy”, which tossed out parliamentary democracy with dictatorship. Tan Malaka was an influential proponent of Socialism and Communism, an avid follower of Marxism, who played a vital role during the revolution period. Highly influential Islamic movement leaders who led the Muslim population—the majority of the People, such as Mas Mansoer (Muhammadiyah), H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto (Sarekat Islam), and Hasjim Ashari (Nadlatul Ulama) were rejecting secularism as the basis of newly independent Indonesia. Other idea entrepreneurs who held democratic ideals and not mentioned in this thesis, such as Sosrokartono, Abdul Rivai, M.H. Thamrin, Supomo, Sudjatmoko and some others are not part of

the localization process due to the limitation in cooperating their ideas into the wider Indonesian-Javanese paradigm.

Lastly, through the study of the legacy of the spread of democratic ideas during 1900-60 this study may be a useful reference for further research on the development of Indonesian politics. By acknowledging that village democracy serves as the model for bottom up engagement of democracy in Indonesia, this study will not only be useful to negate democracy as a Western import, but also to inform and inspire for bottom up engagement in the current political system in the country. Further, understanding that social cleavages in today's democracy already took its root during this historical period will help to understand, manage and preserve the plural nature of Indonesian societies. Further, by looking back at the nationalist movement during colonial period in a meaningful way this will help to overcome the narrow sense of nationalism that seems to prevalent in today's politics so that Indonesia may enjoy regional legitimacy in the future. Hopefully, this thesis will give a contribution to help policy makers understand where and how consolidation of democratic forces could be harmonized in Indonesia that is a hot item in today's changing democratic world.

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Appendix

Members of BPUPKI:

1. Kaffar, Abdoel
2. Moezakir, Abdoel Kahar
3. Dasaad, Agoes Moechsin
4. Baswedan, AR.
5. Poeroebojo, Bandoro Pangeran Hario
6. Soerjohamidjojo, Bendoro Kanjeng Pangeran Ario
7. Bintoro', Bendoro Pangeran Hario
8. Wedyodiningrat, Radjiman, Kanjeng Raden Tumenggung, Dr
9. Martoatmodjo, Boentaran, Raden, Dr
10. Koesoemaatmadja, Soleiman Effendi, Raden. Dr.
11. Sastrawidagda, Samsi, Dr
12. Wirjosandjojo, Soekiman, Dr.
13. Sosrodiningrat, Kanjeng Raden Mas Hario, Drs.
14. Hatta, Mohammad, Drs.
15. Sanoesi, A. A., Kiai Haji
16. Hasjim, Abdoel Wachid, Haji
17. Salim, Agoes, Haji.
18. Noor, Mohammad, Pangeran, Ir.
19. Moenandar, Ashar Soetedjo, Raden, Ir.
20. Tjokroadisoerjo, Soerachman, Raden Mas Panji, Ir.
21. Soerjohadikoesoemo, Rooseno, Raden, Ir.
22. Soekarno, Ir.
23. Halim, Abdul (Mohammad Sjatari), K.H
24. Woerjaningrat, Kanjeng Raden Mas Toemenggoeng Ario.

25. Hadikoesoemo, Bagoes, Ki
26. Dewantara, Hajar, Ki
27. Hasan, Abdul Fatah, Kiai Haji
28. Mansoer, Mas, Kiai Haji
29. Masjkoer, Kiai Haji.
30. Liem, Koen Hian.
31. Aris, Mas.
32. Kartohadikoesoemo, Soetardjo. Mas
33. Maramis, A. A., Mr.
34. Wongsonagoro, Kanjeng Raden Mas Toemenggoeng, Mr.
35. Martokoesoemo, Mas Besar, Mr
36. Tirtoprodjo, Soesanto, Mas, Mr
37. Yamin, Muhammad, Mr.
38. Soebardjo, Ahmad, Raden, Mr
39. Hindromartono, Raden, Mr.
40. Sartono, Raden Mas. Mr
41. Singgih, Raden Panji, Mr
42. Sjamsoedin, Raden, Mr.
43. Soewandi, Raden, Mr.
44. Sastromoeljono, Raden, Mr.
45. Latuharhary, Johanes. Mr.
46. Santoso, Maria Ulfah, Raden Ayu, Mr.
47. Mangoenpoespito, Siti Soekaptinah Soenarjo, Raden Nganten
48. Oey, Tiang Tjoei.
49. Oey, Tjong Hauw
50. Dahler, P.F.
51. Harahap, Parada

52. Soepomo, Raden, Prof. Mr. Dr.
53. Djajadiningrat, Husein, Pangeran Ario, Prof. Dr
54. Koesoema, Djenal Asikin Widjaja, Raden. Prof. Dr.
55. Kadir, Abdul, Raden
56. Pratalykrama, Abdoelrahim, Raden
57. Tjokrosoejoso, Abikoesno, Raden
58. Kolopaking, Poerbonegoro, Soemitro, Raden Adipati Ario.
59. Wiranatakoesoema, Raden Adipati
60. Natanegara, Asikin, Raden
61. Djojohadikoesoemo, Margono, Raden Mas
62. Soerjo, Raden Mas Toemenggoeng Ario
63. Iskandardinata, Oto, Raden
64. Soeroso, Raden Pandji
65. Wongsokoesoemo, Roeslan, Raden
66. Soedirman, Raden
67. Wirjopranoto, Soekardjo, Raden
68. Tan, Eng Hoa
69. Ichibangase Yosio

Members of PPKI:

1. Hamidhan, Anang Abdul.
2. Pettarani, Pangeran, Andi.
3. Poeroebojo, Bandoro Pangeran Hario
4. Soerjohamidjojo, Bendoro Kanjeng Pangeran Ario
5. Ratulangie, G.S.S.J., Dr
6. Wedyodiningrat, Radjiman, Kanjeng Raden Tumenggung, Dr

7. Amir, M, Dr
8. Hatta, Mohammad, Drs.
9. Yap, Tjwan Bing, Drs.
10. Hasjim, Abdoel Wachid, Haji
11. Hasan, Moehammad, Teuku, Hadji.
12. Soekarno, Ir.
13. Hadikoesoemo, Bagoes, Ki
14. Dewantara, Hajar, Ki.
15. Kartohadikoesoemo, Soetardjo. Mas
16. Abbas, Abdul, Mr.
17. Pudja, I Gusti Ketut, Mr
18. Soebardjo, Ahmad, Raden, Mr.
19. Soemantri, Iwa Koesoema, Raden, Mr.
20. Singodimedjo, Kasman, Raden, Mr
21. Latuharhary, Johannes. Mr.
22. Melik, Mohammad Ibnu Sayuti.
23. Soepomo, Raden, Prof. Mr. Dr.
24. Kadir, Abdul, Raden.
25. Wiranatakoesoema, Raden Adipati
26. Iskandardinata, Oto, Raden.
27. Soeroso, Raden Pandji

Source: Wikipedia.