

The Struggle for National Independence and Some Revolution Features for Strengthening Independence in Indonesia

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Abstract

The article examines the process of fighting for and consolidating national independence in Indonesia (1927 - 1965), on that basis draws out the characteristics of this process, points out a way, a way to independence. Indonesia's very own establishment. In it, the author focuses on researching from a historical - political perspective, while emphasizing that the process of fighting for and consolidating national independence in Indonesia is a special and unique process that cannot be found duplicate in any other country in the world.

Keywords

struggle for national independence, consolidation of independence, Indonesia.

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Introduction

The process of fighting for and consolidating national independence in Indonesia from 1927 to 1965 is an important content in the history of the national liberation movement in the world in general and the history of Indonesia in particular. Since Indonesia's declaration of independence (August 17, 1945), scholars and politicians interested in the country's history have produced many valuable research works. In it, issues related to the topic are also reflected to a certain extent such as: General studies on Indonesian history by Indonesian scholars such as: Lubis (1990) with *Indonesia - Land under the rainbow*, Oxford; Poesponegoro and Notosusanto (1984) with the 6-volume *Sejarah nasional Indonesia (National History of Indonesia)*, Balai Pustaka Publishing House, Jakarta, Indonesia; Al Anshori (2011) *Sejarah nasional Indonesia: Masa prasejarah sampai masa proklamasi kemerdekaan (Indonesian History: From Prehistory to Declaration of Independence)*, Mitra Aksara Panaitan, Jakarta, Indonesia). The authors do not delve into presenting events in chronological order, but only focus on introducing political organizations as well as activities of revolutionary leaders who played a prominent role in the struggle process of fight for national independence. The study of Indonesian history is of great interest to Western scholars from both a regional and national perspective, such as: *Indonesia*, authored by Legge (1964), (published by Prentice - Hall, New Jersey, 1964); *A history of modern Southeast Asia: Colonialism, Nationalism, and decolonization*, by Bastin (1968) (published by Prentice) - Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey); Both authors (Bastin, 1968) and (Legge, 1964) is less interested in the chronology of events, but only focuses on presenting expository themes about features of Indonesian history: unity in diversity, influence of Hindu culture Religion, Islam, the influence of Western colonialism on the movement to fight for and consolidate independence in Indonesia. Ricklefs (1981) and Ricklefs (2008) published a detailed and specific study on Indonesian history from the 14th century to the "new order" period of President Suharto. That is *A history of modern Indonesia, 1200 to the present (History of modern Indonesia: From 1200 to present)*, Indiana University Publishing House, Bloomington. In SarDesai (1983) published *Southeast Asia: past and present (Vikas Publishing, New Delhi)*, which provides a balanced and readable account of the region's history, in including Indonesia from prehistoric times to the 60s of the twentieth century. The research work that is likened to an encyclopedia of Southeast Asian history is the *History of Southeast Asia*, authored by Chalcraft (2005), (National Political Publishing House, Hanoi). At the beginning of the 21st century, when the trend of globalization became more and more prominent, the need to research and learn about countries prompted the birth of many research projects on Indonesia at both national and regional perspectives area, in which, the authors mentioned the process of fighting for and consolidating independence in Indonesia. Typical examples are: *The Modern History of Southeast Asia* by Christie (2000) (National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2000); *A Short History of Indonesia*, by Brown (2003) (published by Allen & Unwin, Australia); *The History of Southeast Asian Development*, by Heidhues (2007) (Cultural and Information Publishing House, Ho Chi Minh City, 2007); *The idea of Indonesia: A history*, by Elson (2008), Cambridge University Press, London. In recent years, the study of outstanding events in the process of fighting for and consolidating independence in Indonesia has been very interested and focused by Vietnamese scholars. Typical works can be mentioned such as: *The book Indonesia struggles for independence and freedom (1942 - 1950)*, by Hong (1991), (internal reference of the University, Hanoi, At 1991); *The road to save the country in the struggle for national liberation in some Asian countries*, by Binh (1999) (National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1999). The authors do not present Indonesian history but analyze the process of forming the path of national liberation of the Indonesian people in the years 1927 - 1945. It is the path led by the bourgeoisie. The way to unify forces in society is the unique path of Indonesian nationalism. The author also spends a part to explain why the proletarian-oriented path of national independence struggle in Indonesia failed, thereby putting Indonesia and Vietnam in a comparison to clarify the suitability of the country. of the path of the struggle for independence with the historical circumstances of each nation. Through the process of collecting and exploiting reference sources, we found that the process of fighting for and consolidating independence in Indonesia has been mentioned in both general studies on the history of Indonesia. Indonesia since its formation up to now in many different angles, clarifying the characteristics of culture, religion, ethnic group... The authors have initially conducted research on a number of typical events related to Indonesia. to the process of fighting for and consolidating national independence in Indonesia such as the process of Japanese invasion and occupation,

the Declaration of Independence on August 17, 1945, the struggle to protect independence in the years 1945 - 1950, measures and policies of the Indonesian government in the period of liberal democracy (1950 - 1956) and the period of directed democracy (1957 - 1965). However, we find that there has not been a specific systematic study on the characteristics of the process of fighting for and consolidating independence in Indonesia from 1927 to 1965. Therefore, the article is a work in progress. This is the first process to study the characteristics of this process from the perspective of a Vietnamese researcher.

Methodology

Authors mainly use combination of qualitative methods including synthesis, inductive and explanatory methods. This study also uses historical methods.

Main findings

The goal of national independence is associated with national harmony and unification

This is the most obvious feature of the process of fighting for and consolidating independence in Indonesia from 1927 to 1965. Division, separation and regrouping are the regular formulas of popular movements, nationalism during this time. That division poses an urgent requirement, which is to unify and unite all classes of people, regardless of class, party, ideology or religion for a common goal: independence, national establishment, freedom for the people. The history of the struggle for and consolidation of independence in Indonesia from 1927 to 1965 has proved: whenever solidarity and unification are at a high level, the movement achieves its goals and wins. If there is a victory, and conversely, there is division, the movement quickly fails. In 1927, when the PNI (Partai Nasional Indonesia: Indonesian National Party) was established, under the leadership of Sukarno, social forces were quickly drawn into the organization. An advocate of unity, Sukarno founded PPPKI (Permusyawaratan Perhimpunan Politik Kebangsaan Indonesia: Indonesian People's Political Association) with the desire to establish a coalition of political parties to realize a common goal. But the PPPKI is a loose alliance with a simple commitment to Indonesia's ultimate goal - independence, unity, and with a charismatic leader like Sukarno to keep it going. . The division in the coalition is evident in the different goals pursued by each political organization. So, soon after Sukarno's capture, the alliance quickly degraded and dissolved. The division in the nationalist movement in Indonesia is not only reflected in one organization, but in many organizations that share the same struggle and methods of struggle. For example, PNI, PPPKI, Parindra were established under the influence of Sukarno and PNI - newly established under the influence of Sjahrir, Hatta. Although they all use non-cooperative political struggle, if PNI, PPPKI, and Parindra consider the goal of national reunification to gain independence, then PNI - believes that "the only way to achieve freedom because it is necessary to organize the masses of the proletariat and to fight the class struggle against both foreign capitalism and the native aristocracy and bourgeoisie" (Huy, 2015). In the years before the outbreak of World War II, a movement to fight in cooperation with the colonial government for Indonesian independence took place, but the movement itself remained divided. The proof is that GAPI is a major political coalition, but PNI - recently refused to join. At the same time, Muslim organizations also formed a separate coalition (MIAI - Majelis Islam Ala Indonesia: Federation of Islamic Organizations), which did not join a coalition with secular parties (GAPI -Gaboengan Politik Indonesia: Federation of Indonesian National Parties). It was the inconsistency in the cooperative movement that made the movement without the strength of solidarity to force the colonial government to make concessions. There are many reasons leading to the division in the Indonesian independence movement in the 1920s and 1930s: First, due to the nature of Dutch colonial rule and the colonial government's attitude towards the nationalist movement. The colonial government was not decisive in its handling of nationalist movements, alternating between tolerance and repression. For example, during the operation of Budi Otomo, the government did not care too much, but when the SI was born, it carried out more radical repression. And despite the crackdown on SI branches, the colonial authorities did not suppress the SI's central headquarters. The colonial government's bloody suppression of the PKI uprisings of 1926-1927, combined with the large-scale arrests of its politicians, did not crush the movement. The non-cooperation movement of Sukarno, Hatta and Sjahrir also

demonstrated the colonial government's unwillingness to radically suppress nationalist movements. The intentions and actions of the colonial government allowed and even encouraged political organizations to compete and divide with each other. Second, due to the ideological differences between the revolutionary leaders and their ability to mobilize the masses in the process of building their path of struggle. Because of their disagreement with Sukarno, Hatta and Sjahrir publicly criticized his goals in Partindo's agenda. As Indonesian students in the Netherlands, they both promote Western-style democracy and plan to apply a Western-style social democracy to Indonesia. Hatta also argued that Sukarno's unified nationalism was vain because shortly after Sukarno's arrest, the PNI and PPPKI fell into turmoil. According to Hatta, "such political unity does not exist anywhere in the world, it is only a dream and if Indonesia does, it would be a rare exception indeed" (Hatta, 1958). Sjahrir, on the other hand, strongly opposes Sukarno's nationalism that still favors the ancient Javanese tradition, according to him, "traditional Indonesian civilization has little value in the twentieth century" (Sjahrir, Kis-Katos, & Schulze, 2014). On the other hand, Hatta and Sjahrir also consider the establishment of a broad political organization to attract political parties representing different classes of society to participate as having no practical value as train a methodical political organization to promote the ideal of national liberation among the people. However, with the ideology of Marhaenism - considering the peasantry as the driving force of the national liberation struggle, Sukarno attracted a larger number of people to participate in his line of struggle than Hatta and Sjahrir with the idea of fighting for the nation. The struggle for independence is associated with the class struggle. During the Japanese occupation period (1942 - 1945), the Japanese ruling policies had a strong impact on Indonesia's unification trend. On the one hand, the harshness and ruthlessness of Japanese-style rule made the revolutionary leaders tend to unite in action. Sukarno and Hatta joined forces to demand the Japanese return independence to Indonesia, in return, Indonesia would cooperate with the Japanese in the war. And Sjahrir continued underground anti-Japanese activities among the people to wait for the right opportunity. On the other hand, the divide between the Islamist movement and the secularist movement is deeper. The act of establishing MASYUMI (Partai Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia: Advisory Council of Indonesian Islam) and allowing it to have its own military force - Japan's Hizbullah created hope for Muslim leaders to advance to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia. This new situation, forcing the leaders of the secular forces in the national movement to change their strategy, according to which they made relative concessions to the Muslim forces, in order to bring the movement to fight for independence in Indonesia came to unification. During the drafting process of the Draft Constitution (July 1945), to show concessions to the Muslim leaders, in article 29, the new regulation stated that "Indonesians are guaranteed the freedom to obey adhere to a particular religion and carry out corresponding duties and responsibilities" (Minh, 2002). A second concession to Islam was the provision that "the President must be a Muslim" (Minh, 2002). Considering the meager rights enjoyed by Muslims in the Constitution, Japan's religious divide-and-rule policy was unsuccessful. For for the vast majority of orthodox Muslims, nationalism is strong enough to temporarily set aside their differences with secular nationalists, enough not to jeopardize the success of the process - struggle for independence. During the struggle to consolidate independence (1945 - 1965), Indonesia experienced many internal divisions and then reunification. It was the split between political parties (PKI-Partai Komunis Indonesia: Communist Party of Indonesia with the Madium uprising in 1948; the conflict between the traditional Muslim party Nahdutul Ulama and the modern Islamic party MASYUMI), divided The split between the autonomous states and the government of the Republic of Indonesia, the conflict between the President and the military force, the conflict between the PKI and the military force... But in the end, that division still had to come to a consensus in decisions to ensure the interests of the nation such as: fighting to protect national independence from the Dutch re-occupation, abolishing the Federal system without the colonial regime imposed to establish the Republic of Indonesia, fought for the recovery of western Irian, and fought to eliminate the influence of colonialism in socio-economic issues. As Ernest Renan once observed: "In the modern era, we are faced with a historical need, a need to have a unifying thread in the form of a desire and will to live together, to have the existence of a great sense of solidarity which is increasingly reinforced and brought about by a common historical destiny, a common historical suffering and a common historical victory, in short, happiness and suffering. each other" (Alfian, 1989). Thus, Indonesia's path to national independence is also the path to national harmony and unification. This path is different from many other countries in Asia, such as Vietnam, China, India... In Vietnam, the goal of national independence is associated with socialism and national salvation. associated with saving the people: "in order to save the country

and liberate the nation, there is no other way but the path of the proletarian revolution" (Brown, 2003). As for China, right from the 20s of the twentieth century, the Chinese revolution has had a transformation along the path of the proletariat revolution, with the highest platform of the Communist Party of China being "to build socialism". Communism in China" (Binh, 1999). Or as in India, the foundation for Gandhi to set out the path to national independence (national independence associated with non-cooperation, radical non-violence) are the two basic principles of religion. : Ahimsa (denying evil) and Satyagraha (persisting in the truth) (Agung, 1945). Due to the different circumstances of each ethnic group, the choice of the road to save the country is also different. With a country geographically dispersed, diverse in culture, language, and religion like Indonesia, national reunification must be a top priority to realize national independence. Of course, improving people's living conditions, as well as creating a prosperous society are also goals that Indonesia is aiming for, but national independence must be achieved first, as Sukarno affirmed: "an independent Indonesia as quickly as possible. This requires us to strive for independence to improve the difficult living conditions in our country" (Huy, Hanh, et al., 2021).

Islam plays a decisive role in choosing the path to save the country in Indonesia

Islam entered Indonesia very early, through traders from Persia and India. The special feature of this process is that no outside force has come to force Indonesians to convert to Hinduism to Islam, and the traditional Javanese culture is still alive, not completely eclipsed. by Islamic culture. Perhaps, it was in the course of natural contact with the merchants that the natives gradually converted peacefully and voluntarily. In the process of fighting for and consolidating national independence in Indonesia (1927 - 1965), Islam played an important and decisive role in the choice of the path of national salvation according to proletarian or proletarian tendencies - capitalism in this country. Firstly, Islam is one of the symbols of national unity, against colonialism throughout the centuries. Although this does not mean that Islam is the main basis of nationalism, when Indonesia did not have the concept of a nation, it was Islam that became the driving force behind the seeds of widespread nationalism. spread across the archipelago. SI-Sarekat Islam: The Muslim Union has become a symbol of unification between Indonesian Muslims and non-Muslims alike: "SI has successfully combined urban and rural populations, which is what No other political organization has done it before. Even more successful was the uniting of the abangan [Mainly Muslim farmers and artisans] with the santri[Those who seek to practice the teachings of Islam in the purest], the Western methods of absorbing Western influence with the hadji [Muslims who completed the pilgrimage to Mecca], the native merchants with the working class in the cities, even the priyayi also to join SI" (Dat et al., 2020). By using religion as a basis for unification in order to achieve significant progress among the masses of Indonesia, SI represented the masses against the colonial government and compensatory aristocracy. see, "SI reflects the grievances of the vulnerable and oppressed" (Dat et al., 2020). Second, the modern Islamic educational reform contributed to the struggle against the colonial rule of the Muslim intelligentsia in Indonesia. Islamic innovation began strongly when Dutch ethical policy was implemented in the early twentieth century. Reform efforts focused on the education sector to build and repair the modern Islamic education system, in order to counter the Western education system. This is also a way for Islam to combat the strong penetration of Christianity into the school and hospital system in Indonesia, mainly in Java and Sumatra. "In 1909, the first modern Islamic school was established in Padang (Minangkabau), in 1934, Minangkabau had 452 schools with 25,292 students. By 1942, Muslims in Indonesia had created an extensive network of Islamic schools from primary to university"(Minh, 2002). If the SI clearly expressed political goals, Muhammadiyah did not claim to pursue a political action. "The goal of Muhammadiyah as enshrined in its canon law is to spread true Islam among the people of Indonesia and improve the religious life of its members by holding public discussions about religion. ; the establishment of modern Islamic schools; publishing Islamic books and textbooks"(Minh, 2002). Of course, Muhammadiyah's approach to reforming Islamic teachings had a political consequence: the creation of an Islamic intellectual class, able to cope with the world's religious transitions. modern world with high national spirit. Third, Islam contributes to preserving the indigenous culture before the invasion of Western culture. With the vast majority of the population practicing Islam, Indonesia is considered the largest Muslim country in the world. The flow of Islamic culture has gently blended into traditional Javanese culture, creating a unique blend of charm that can't be found anywhere else, as Benda puts it: "Islam in Indonesia has filtered through religious experience. religion of India and thus acquired mystical elements to mount it while operating in the Indonesian environment (Hang et al., 2021).Therefore, the preservation of

Islam itself is also the preservation of the indigenous culture, preserving traditional Javanese values before the introduction of Western culture. When the Dutch government took a series of measures to eliminate Islam from the cultural life of the indigenous population, calling Islam "the Mohammedan superstition", Javanese people remained Muslim. "Pilgrims and pilgrims continue to spread a better understanding of the spirit and nature of Islam" (Minh, 2002). And although banned by the colonial government, in the eastern and southern regions of Java, Islamic customs such as: fasting, circumcising children, not eating pork, performing prayers during date... still exists. Because Islam is a symbol of Indonesia's unity and solidarity, in the process of fighting for and consolidating independence in Indonesia, those classes that use Islam as a tool to unite the nation, That class will become the ruling class. The reality of the Indonesian revolution from 1927 to 1965 shows that the PKI did not consider Islam to be an active force of the nationalist movement, and even proposed the slogan: "Communism is opposed to mega-Islamism" (Huy, 2015). Meanwhile, the PNI under Sukarno's leadership is trying to unite Islam with the nationalist movement, saying, "Religion in Indonesia is not like Western religion, which does not support capitalism, and Islam is not just the religion of the poor, oppressed. Therefore, it is not too difficult for the Marxists in Indonesia to come to Islam and cooperate in the common struggle against colonialism and imperialism" (Minh, 2002). Thanks to the knowledge of Islam, the path of national liberation struggle of the Indonesian bourgeoisie, represented by the bourgeois intellectuals, has widely attracted all classes of people, regardless of occupation. , religion. In the end, Indonesian history has chosen the path of revolution according to the bourgeoisie and not the revolutionary path of the proletariat. As a country in the "Islamic world", but Malaysia's choice of the way to save the country is not determined by Islam. The racial factor and the new colonial rule were decisive factors for Malaysia's path to national salvation. The immigrant community of Chinese and Indians in this country is too large, even more than the native population, making national unification under the banner of struggle of the Malaysian bourgeoisie difficult. Moreover, the smart ruling policies of the British colonialists, focusing on racial divisions, made the Malaysians never hate the British to the point of having to unite closely with each other. Therefore, the goal of Malaysia's struggle for independence is only to fight the Chinese community in this country and improve the socio-economic life of the local residents. Thus, Islam plays a decisive role in the choice of the path of national salvation in Indonesia, just as Mary Somers Heidhues observed: "The most powerful element of the anti-colonial movement in Southeast Asia is religion. Religion is also a means to build trust in the face of Westernization and to unite indigenous peoples against foreign invaders" (Kahin, 2003). With a large and scattered geographical entity, Indonesia needs religious beliefs to unite the nation, on the other hand, religion in Indonesia is also an indispensable spiritual food in the lives of residents. since the island nation was formed until now.

Moderate political struggle played a major role, but other forms of struggle also supported and contributed to the success of the Indonesian revolution.

Perhaps, there are few peoples where the desire for independence is as intense as in Indonesia, as evidenced by the fact that during the period from 1927 to 1945 movements for independence took place very vigorously in many forms. methods: armed struggle, political struggle, parliamentary struggle, armed struggle combined with diplomacy... In which, the peaceful form of political struggle always plays the main role, deciding the victory of the way. network, but other forms of struggle also play a supporting role in the political struggle, making a significant contribution to the success of the political struggle. The form of non-cooperative political struggle began to appear in Indonesia in 1927, when Sukarno founded the PNI party, taking the doctrine of Marhaenism as the foundation of the struggle ideology. The question of why to fight "noncooperation" is also very well explained by Sukarno: "because colonial rule is evil everywhere in the world and is the result of conflicts of national interests, even Even if the lightning strikes and the light dims, the PNI will still follow the principle of non-cooperation" (Hien, Huy, & Hoa, 2021). And also because the rule of the Dutch colonial government was implemented in all economic, political and social fields, the movement of non-cooperation also carried out in all fields, Sukarno also said: "We are not doing anything that the Dutch government is doing" (Hien et al., 2021). Besides the non-cooperative political struggle, there is also the peaceful cooperative struggle, with a series of new organizations and political alliances being established such as: Parindra [Partai Indonesia Raja: Party Great Indonesia] (1935), Gerindo [Gerakan Rakjat Indonesia: Indonesian People's Movement] (1937), MIAI (1937, GAPI (1939). Although the collaborators tried everything to ask the Netherlands to return it. independence, based on moderate concessions, but the Dutch

still refused to accept any of the demands. The refusal of the Dutch, redirected the movement to cooperation with the Japanese. The peaceful cooperative struggle movement with the Japanese militarists in the years 1942 - 1945 does not mean denying the previous non-cooperation movement, the representatives of the peaceful cooperative struggle movement such as Sukarno, Hatta still remained. Continuing the non-cooperative method of struggle with the Dutch, or in other words, cooperating with the enemy's enemy is also showing non-cooperation with the enemy. On the other hand, without peaceful cooperation with the Japanese, not only will the goal of national independence be achieved, but also the political struggle activities of the revolutionary leaders cannot become a reality. a legitimate movement. General Imamura, when releasing Sukarno from prison, also emphasized: "It all depends on the doctor, whether the doctor will cooperate with the Japanese or if the attitude of one is considering. But, doctors are not allowed to do anything against Japan" (Minh, 2002). And indeed, this form of struggle was very suitable for the Indonesian revolution, when Japan finally made certain political concessions to the Indonesians during the occupation. When Japan surrendered to the Allies, it was the leaders of the cooperation movement who read the Declaration of Independence, officially declaring independence from the world. A special feature is that the peaceful political struggle in Indonesia does not exist alone, but strongly coordinates with other forms of struggle to achieve the goal of national independence. Before 1927, the Indonesian people also waged a very strong armed struggle against the Dutch colonial government, however, the single existence of armed struggles, the strong repression of the government colonial rights, made this form of struggle ineffective. During the Japanese occupation period (1942 - 1945), armed struggles broke out again and had a certain significance in creating military pressure on the Japanese militarists, contributing to the political struggle. moderateness of the urban bourgeoisie closer to the goal of national independence. At the same time, other forms of struggle such as: propaganda struggle in the field of literature, parliamentary struggle to move towards the establishment of a new government (the government of the Indonesian people)... during this period also developed. role play. If the struggle in the field of literature contributes to awakening the masses, further enhancing the spirit of national solidarity, and strongly promoting the struggle in the political and armed fields, then the Parliamentary struggle contributed to the preparation for the establishment of a new government apparatus, further promoting the early return of independence from Japan to Indonesia. In the years 1945 - 1965, the Indonesian people continued the armed struggle against the re-invasion of the Dutch colonialists and the recovery of Western Irian. There are many reasons why the people of Indonesia rose up armed against the Netherlands. They fight armed because they do not want any colonial rule restored in their country. On the other hand, they also had weapons confiscated from the Japanese, and in some places, the Japanese even delivered a large number of weapons to the pemuda before leaving. In addition to the armed struggle, the Indonesian government also opened a struggle on the negotiating table - a diplomatic struggle to further promote the Dutch recognition of national independence. The effect of that combination has been drawn by General Nasution as follows: "The reason the Dutch were ready to withdraw from Indonesia was not because they were defeated by our army, but because they were weakened and punished by us, there was no hope for destruction. Republic. When they are frustrated, international pressure hastened the recognition of sovereignty" (Hang et al., 2021). By 1963, Western Irian was also returned to Indonesia, marking the victory of the struggle for and defending national independence in this country. Not only Indonesia, but each nation has its own form of struggle to come to independence, such as in India, in the struggle against British colonialism, the Indians only used the "non-violent" form of struggle. action", "non-cooperation" is the key, although at times, the armed struggle of the masses has grown stronger, even surpassing the political struggle movement. But because the Indian bourgeoisie has matured very early (with its own political party established in 1885, with a wide and solid socio-economic base in the commercial industries), the form of competition is Political struggle remains the most effective form of Indian independence. In China, after the treacherous acts of the bourgeoisie (KMT), the Chinese revolution from the beginning was a violent revolution, an "armed revolution against the rebel forces". armed revolution" (Dat et al., 2020). Under the leadership of the Chinese communists. In the case of Indonesia, right from the start of the struggle for independence, the requirement for national reunification has been placed on top, so the forms of struggle are both diverse and diverse, but also unified. in one form - peaceful political struggle, this characteristic is completely consistent with Javanese culture and Sukarno's Marhaenism thought.

The process of fighting for and consolidating independence in Indonesia from 1927 to 1965 is closely associated with Sukarno's leadership role

Sukarno (1901 - 1970) was born into an intelligentsia family in East Java, his father was a teacher, and his mother was Balinese. From an early age Sukarno was imbued with the views of Islam because his father was a Muslim and was a mystic. He was also taught by his grandfather the rules of behavior of Javanese nobility. Traditional Javanese spiritual upbringing has always left an indelible mark on his life and political career. That is also the reason why he always upholds the idea of unity in the process of leading the struggle to gain and consolidate independence in Indonesia. At the age of 11, Sukarno was educated in a Western-style elementary school, and was exposed to many European children, especially Dutch. Here, Sukarno clearly saw the discrimination between indigenous children and Dutch children: "Dutch children never play with local children. Simply because they don't want to. They are beautiful, pure, snow-white Westerners and they look down on me just because I am a native" (Pingping, 2021). After completing Primary School (1915), Sukarno went to Surabaya to attend Dutch High School (HBS). Here, he met many revolutionary predecessors such as: Tjokroaminoto, Semaun, Tan Malaka, Sneevliet, Baars, Douwes Dekker. He learned about the history of European - American bourgeois revolutions such as the French revolution, the American revolution, the Italian bourgeois revolution... at the same time, he also came into contact with Marx's socialist thought stream. Engel, Lenin. It is this period of contact that has formed a person who blends traditional Javanese, Islamic and Marxist concepts. He declared himself: "I am both a nationalist speaker, a Muslim speaker and a Communist speaker" (Hoa et al., 2021). In the struggle for national liberation, Sukarno was the leader who constantly fought for the ideal of independence - freedom of the nation. He once affirmed: "I will sacrifice to the last drop of blood for the independence of Indonesia" (Huy & Hien, 2010). The process of fighting for and consolidating independence in Indonesia from 1927 to 1965 bears the strong imprint of Sukarno: Firstly, Sukarno was the one who set out the right and right thought and strategic direction for the struggle for independence in Indonesia, contributing to bringing the struggle for independence in Indonesia to the edge of victory. As early as 1927, when the armed uprising of the PKI failed and was suppressed, Sukarno chose a separate path of struggle, different from the previous ways of fighting for independence. That is the path of political struggle, non-cooperation in all aspects with the colonial government, solidarity, self-reliance to gain independence - Marhaenism ideology. Although he was not the first to propose a "non-cooperation" line, he was the one to emphasize the power of national unity to implement it. During the years 1927 - 1937, when the national liberation struggle movement in Indonesia split into three opposing political lines: Islam, socialist thought and nationalism, it was Sukarno who was the one. tried to unite these lines of thought, mend the cracks in the movement. He argues that "it is possible to unite the three currents of political thought in Indonesia into a harmonious whole without suppressing any of them as long as they do not affect the general harmony" (Hang et al., 2021). And in order to carry out the line of non-cooperative struggle and the ideology of national unity, Sukarno has successively established large political organizations, attracting a large number of people to participate such as: PKI, PPPKI. In 1942, when Japanese militarists occupied Indonesia, Sukarno advocated "cooperation" with the Japanese to demand independence, while the policy of "non-cooperation" with the Netherlands was maintained. Sukarno also contributed to the birth of the first political organization that openly fought for Indonesian independence during the Japanese occupation, PUTERA [Pusat Tenaga Rakyat: Center of People's Strength] (March 1943). In Indonesian, "putera" also means "son", and "bhumi putera" means "native". With a play on words, Sukarno cleverly used the name PUTERA as the foundation to further strengthen the spirit of national unity. He wanted it to be a name that each time it was said, it reminded "the children of Indonesia that they are the children of Indonesia, responsible for the country as long as their blood is still flowing and their souls are still alive." at" (Dahm, 1966). In November 1944, Sukarno succeeded in promoting the Central Advisory Council to concretize Marhaenism's thought into five Pancasila principles [In his autobiography, Sukarno also explained why he chose his son. the number "5" is because he likes this symbol, human hands also have 5 fingers and humans also have 5 senses, the principles of Islam are also 5. But if someone doesn't like the 5 element symbol principle, could easily be reduced to 3 - "Trisila": national independence, social democracy and belief in a single God.], which later became the recipe for national unification. family. In his speech on June 1, 1945, Sukarno also used Pancasila to convince the country's leaders in the BPUKI [Badan Penyelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia: Indonesian Independent Commission of Inquiry] that they should forget personal, political, and class ideological

differences, to form a united national front in preparation for independence. From the first meeting to the last meeting between the Indonesians and the Japanese (August 8, 1945), Sukarno has always been a skillful representative, giving statements, expressing the independent aspirations of Indonesian people. Thanks to that, the process of Indonesia's independence struggle came to a final victory. That victory not only proves the efforts and efforts of the people of this country, but also proves that the path that Sukarno has chosen to liberate the nation is completely appropriate and correct. Second, Sukarno acts as a propagandist and speaker to attract the masses for his own cause. As early as the 1920s, when he first joined the intellectual class movement, Sukarno was very active in discussions, and at the same time he was the one who stood up to speak, calling for unity in the masses of the people. His famous speeches during this period such as: "The Search for National Unity" (1926) called for the unification of political organizations (Budi Otomo, PNI, PKI, SI...); "Towards the brown front" (1927) called on the Indonesian people to unite in a "brown front", to oppose the "white front" of the Dutch colonialists. In these speeches, Sukarno emphasized that the cause of Indonesia's defeat in the war against the West was a lack of solidarity. He also asserted that unity in the anti-Dutch anti-colonial movement would be difficult if "Indonesians were divided into too many organizations, all of which had their own ways and methods of struggle." (Minh, 2002). And at the end of his speeches, Sukarno often used powerful appeals to his listeners: "Let us forge the iron chains of the brown front, let us become one" (Hien et al., 2021). In late 1929, when Sukarno and several other leaders of the PNI were arrested, he forgot about the court's ruling, and used the trial to voice his political views and propagate his line of struggle to the masses of the people. Sukarno's words were later published in book form under the title "Indonesia Menggugat". Sukarno borrowed the trial to recapitulate the entire historical course of imperialism, quoting the words of classical philosophers such as Marx, Lenin, and Dutch critics of the policy towards foreign policy with East Indian colonies such as Van Kol, Kuyper, Van Gelderen to illustrate the injustice and cruelty of colonial policy. At the same time, he emphasized that the destruction of the Dutch colonial system was not only a reasonable answer to colonial policy, but also an event in accordance with the laws of world history:

"Indonesia will be free! We completely believe in this, and it does not depend on the will of the Dutch, because that is the general rule of world history. The reality of world history has shown that human struggles for self-liberation are successful" (Huy & Thuy, 2021). Finally, Sukarno asserts that he and his comrades "were chosen by fate to complete the predetermined course of history, so the court could not conclude that he and his comrades were I am guilty" (Minh, 2002). It was through his charismatic and persuasive eloquence, as well as his strong belief in what he was saying, that Sukarno became the most popular political leader in Indonesia, garnering the trust of the people, the masses, especially the youth from the very first years of operation. This was something that his predecessors and the politicians of his contemporaries could not do. During two arrests by the colonial government: the first time from December 1929 to December 1931 and the second time in 1934 and exile in Flores for eight years, Sukarno was almost isolated from the struggle movement. independence because of the colonial government's bans on contact. But after years in prison, Sukarno was not forgotten, but also became a real hero. In a letter to a friend of his in 1939, Amir Sjariffudin wrote of Sukarno: "Although his thoughts and actions do not agree with us, I still believe that he is one of the great leaders. our top leaders" (Minh, 2002). During more than 3 years of peaceful struggle under Japanese rule, Sukarno constantly propagated the unity of the whole nation and propagated the belief of the prophecy Djojobojo that Japan would return its independence. for Indonesia. He also participates in activities to protect Indonesian workers by volunteering to make romusha. The sight of Sukarno wearing casual clothes and participating in the heavy lifting of the romusha also made them feel somewhat comforted and understood. Sukarno's propaganda activities during the years of struggle for independence aroused the national spirit and solidarity among the Indonesian people, clearly orienting his direction and methods of nonviolent struggle. , while also easing ethnic conflicts, helping Indonesia avoid armed uprisings that inevitably lead to bloody repression. As a result, the struggle to gain and consolidate independence in Indonesia was on the right track, won with little bloodshed. Third, Sukarno was the one who contributed to the draft Constitution and drafted the Declaration of Independence for Indonesia. In July 1945, when Sukarno was appointed chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee, he incorporated his unifying thought into the contents of the Constitution. In it, emphasis is placed on two issues, which are the strong and great power of the President, and the principle of mufakat. After Japan announced its unconditional surrender

to the Allies, in the face of the boiling revolutionary spirit of the masses and pemuda classes, Sukarno and Hatta drafted the Declaration of Independence on the night of August 16, 1945. dawn on August 17, 1945. The text of the Declaration of Independence was drafted in the presence of representatives of pemuda such as: Sukarni, Subardjo, Chairul Saleh, Adam Malik, Djaloto ... and if not Sukarno - a person who was steadfast in the line of struggle. peaceful, then the content of the declaration of independence will be strongly offensive to the Japanese militarists, a bloody conflict with the Japanese is inevitable. After objecting to Subardjo's initial requests: "We, the Indonesians, declare our independence. All existing government officials must be arrested" (Hoa et al., 2021). Sukarno replaced it with more cautious and clear words: "issues relating to the transfer of power and other matters shall be carried out in an orderly manner and in the shortest possible time." (Hoa et al., 2021). Regarding the location of the Declaration of Independence, Sukarno also suggested changing from Ikada Square to the front door of his house at 56 East Pegangsaan. The reason for this change, he said, was that it was a place to avoid undue attention, avoiding major conflicts with the Japanese military. All preparations for the birth of a new, independent Indonesian state were carefully calculated by Sukarno step by step. That is why the Republic of Indonesia was born in August 1945, avoided the first armed storm and prevented the destruction of the Japanese, and at the same time, had more time to prepare forces for the invasion- fight against the Dutch re-occupation. Fourth, Sukarno led the country to maintain relative political stability. During his twenty years as President (1945 - 1965), with his ingenuity, Sukarno repeatedly dispersed political protests, trying to reconcile classes, classes, and political parties. , religion in Indonesia to serve the goal of strengthening national independence. To strengthen the central government and quell local rebellions, Sukarno also linked up with the military forces and allowed the military to intervene in politics. However, Sukarno also used the support of the PKI to curb the military's power, creating a balance of power in political life. As a result, during the period of Sukarno as President, Indonesia maintained relative political stability, almost no conflicts developed into civil war, affecting the unity of the country. Fifth, during the years of the presidency, power was mainly concentrated in the hands of Sukarno, policies were made in an arbitrary manner, deviating from democratic principles. Even in the 1945 Constitution, Sukarno made clear his desire to seize power into the hands of the President: the President is elected every five years, has full executive power including the power to appoint and dismiss members of the government. minister, has legislative power along with the National Assembly and can veto all laws (Hoa et al., 2021). However, in the years 1950 - 1957, Indonesia practiced liberal democracy, so power still existed in the government. By 1957, when the government was ineffective, the cabinet had to change constantly, Sukarno decided to switch to "directed democracy" politics, bringing the power of the President to the highest, instead The government was transformed into a People's Consultative Council, essentially turning into a personal dictatorship, whereby all decisions must be approved by the President. Along with the change in the political system, the economy has also shifted to a "directed economy" with the Eight-Year Plan clearly showing the impatience, wanting to accelerate the industrialization process to make Indonesia a country in the world. industrial development. That "too perfected but not feasible" strategy pushed Indonesia into a severe socio-economic crisis in the 1960s - 1965s. On the other hand, Sukarno's ambitious foreign policy with the No movement alliance, clearly showing the intention to lead this organization, causing hostility to the West and the US, and hostility to neighboring countries such as Malaysia during this time also had bad consequences, reducing the position of the country. Indonesia in the eyes of international friends. It is undeniable that leader Sukarno's great contributions to Indonesia in the process of fighting for and consolidating national independence in this country (1927 - 1965). From an ardent patriotic intellectual, Sukarno founded a political party with the role of uniting and unifying the Indonesian people with a broad line of union, he was also the one who led the Indonesian revolutionary boat to the destination. success. What Sukarno did on August 17, 1945 (Independence of Indonesia) like Thoma Jefferson (author of the American Declaration of Independence, President of the United States from 1743 to 1826) did for the United States on July 4, 1776. Perhaps even more superior in some ways, Sukarno is the only Asian leader in the modern era who has been able to unify and unite the different peoples of Indonesia's culture and religion without conflict. blood. However, in the last years of his term (1957 - 1965), Sukarno abused his power to apply dictatorial policies in economy - politics - foreign affairs, not only reduce his own prestige with the Indonesian people, but also deviated from the path of national independence associated with national harmony and reunification, resulting in him being excluded from the government apparatus (1967).

In the process of fighting for and consolidating national independence in Indonesia (1927 - 1965), the PKI gradually lost its leadership role, and the PNI became more and more dominant.

PKI is the first political organization of the Southeast Asian proletariat and also the earliest political organization, with the largest number of members in Indonesia, but the process of leading the Indonesian people to fight for independence The establishment of the PKI did not come to fruition. In 1927, the PKI was suppressed by the Dutch colonial government after an unsuccessful armed uprising. The policy of "white terror" and the high vigilance of the Political Intelligence Service (Politieke Inlichtingen Dients) completely prevented the actions of the PKI when the organization grew again. Therefore, the actions of the PKI are considered illegal and all activities of the Party are only "additional contributions" to the process of fighting for independence in Indonesia. In 1931, the PKI became active in a rural religious organization, led by Prince Pangeran Surjodiningrat. As an organization that protects the interests of farmers, PKI is seen as a microcosm of farmers in this religious organization. By August 1939, the number of members of this Islamic organization was comparable to that of Muhammadiyah. However, the Dutch colonial government quickly put pressure and mobilized police forces to harass the activities of this organization, as well as the underground activities of PKI in socio-economic issues. In the years before the second world war, the activities of the PKI revolved around the establishment of the anti-fascist people's front, but because the banner of revolutionary leadership had shifted to the PNI, the PKI only participated as a only one of Gerindo's political parties. During the Japanese occupation of Indonesia (1942 - 1945), if prominent leaders of the PNI such as Sukarno and Hatta gradually asserted their leadership role in the struggle for Japanese independence, as well as being allowed by the Japanese government. openly operating, the PKI remained isolated from the revolutionary movement of the masses and Party cadres, often imprisoned by the junta. Consequently, most of the armed uprisings in the countryside during the Japanese occupation were led by peasants or aristocrats and were spontaneous. Therefore, when Japan surrendered to the Allies (August 15, 1945), the PKI did not have enough strength and voice to mobilize the masses to seize power, and there was no representative to declare independence on behalf of Indonesia. . If Sukarno drafted and read the Declaration of Independence, then pemuda was the key force in the subsequent struggle for power, the PKI did not have any policy to change during this period. In October 1945, the PKI was restored, many Party members imprisoned since 1927 were released. However, the activities of the PKI in the years 1945 - 1965 could not go beyond the control of the military force and the growth of the PNI. The Madium event (1948) and the coup on the night of September 30 to October 1, 1965 officially ended the role of the PKI in the political system, giving way entirely to the leadership of the PNI. There are many reasons leading to PKI losing its leadership role in the process of fighting for and consolidating national independence in Indonesia (1927 - 1965). First, the PKI's strategic lines, strategies and methods of struggle do not match the historical situation of Indonesia. In the success of any revolutionary war, it is very important to map out the right and appropriate revolutionary strategy, tactics and methods. With a colonial, semi-feudal society like Indonesia, the revolutionary path must go from low to high, must perform both tasks simultaneously: anti-imperialist and anti-feudal to gain independence for the nation freedom for the people. The PKI did not creatively apply Marxism-Leninism to the situation of this country, but only applied it in a stereotyped, mechanical way in a formulaic way when placing more emphasis on the issue of class struggle than the issue of independence. nation. When learning from China's experience of armed struggle, PKI only applied it mechanically without paying attention to other forms of struggle. This mistake of the Party was not only in the pre-revolutionary period of August 1945, but also repeated in the period 1945 - 1965. In the resolution "New path of the Republic of Indonesia" (August 1948), the PKI still affirms: "Armed struggle must be put first because the Dutch imperialists are always trying to strengthen their military forces" (Aidich, 1958). Second, PKI has no experience in party building organization. In the summary report read at the 5th Indonesian Communist Party Congress (March 1954), the Party also pointed out that the reason the Party lost its revolutionary leadership in August 1945 was because: "Because the Party is still young, weak in political, ideological and organizational aspects, was not able to take the leadership in that favorable objective situation" (Aidich, 1958). The immaturity in party building work has made the PKI since its inception have not been consolidated and developed strongly, even though the Party has a large number of members.

As for the PNI, although it was born later, it has learned lessons from previous political organizations, has the right path of national liberation, in line with Javanese tradition and the majority of the people. workers (especially farmers). For a geographically dispersed, religiously and politically diverse country like Indonesia, upholding the goal of national independence is extremely important in the process of fighting for and consolidating national independence. . PNI always upholds that slogan in any circumstances, therefore, PNI has become the largest and most prestigious political organization in Indonesia and the leading force in the process of fighting for and consolidating national independence ethnicity in this country. Unlike Indonesia, the proletarian revolutionary trend has become dominant in Vietnam, and at the same time, the Communist Party of Vietnam is also the party leading the national liberation revolution in Vietnam. Although the Communist Party of Vietnam was only born in 1930, it was an event at the right time, in accordance with the development laws of the Vietnamese revolution. With a unique founding formula (which is a combination of workers' movements, patriotic movements and Marxism-Leninism), the Communist Party of Vietnam since its inception has become an organization attracting a large number of people. the people participate. Throughout the process of national liberation struggle, the Communist Party of Vietnam has always set forth the right policy and direction, in line with the reality of the Vietnamese revolution, so that the Party has become the only leading force to bring about the success of the Vietnamese revolution to victory. In summary, the existence of the PKI and the proletarian saving trend in the national liberation movement in Indonesia clearly demonstrated the country's timely response to the gunfire of the Russian October Revolution. But because the Party's revolutionary guidelines, lines and methods are not suitable for the situation of this country, so although the Party initially received the support of the people, but later on, the Party lost more and more time. its leadership role. At the same time, the immaturity in all aspects: ideology, politics and organization made the Party unable to lead the Indonesian people to stand up and fight for power in the August 1945 revolution as well as the struggle for power. consolidated independence in the years 1945 - 1965.

Indonesia enjoys great international support: capitalist, socialist and Asian, African, and Latin American countries.

During the struggle for and consolidation of national independence (1927 - 1965), Indonesia received great and diverse support from the international community, including countries with different political regimes. Meanwhile, the struggle for national independence of other countries, such as China and Vietnam, only received support from socialist and colonial countries, or India. only received support from Asian, African and Latin American countries. This is also the unique feature of Indonesia in the process of going to independence and going up to modern society. If the US government recognized Indonesia's independence on December 28, 1949, it would take until January 25, 1950, for the Soviet Union to recognize its independence. As early as 1950, the US government lent Indonesia a loan of 100 million USD from Eximbank to restore and develop the economy, Hatta also represented the Indonesian government to sign a contract to buy weapons and equipment for the Indonesian government. Indonesian police force in the amount of 5 million dollars (Christie, 2000). The explanation for this unfriendly Soviet attitude was most likely the result of the PKI's suppression of the Madiun rebellion in September 1948. It was not until 1954 that the Soviet government opened its first embassy in Jakarta, and Indonesia sent its first ambassador to Moscow. In 1956, the President of Indonesia made visits to the United States and the Soviet Union respectively at the official invitation of both governments. During this visit, for the first time, the Soviet Union made an economic aid of 100 million USD to Indonesia without any strings (Christie, 2000). The change in the attitude of the Soviet Union, as well as the neutral position of the US on the West Irian issue, caused Indonesia to turn towards the communist bloc in the years 1957-1965. Australia is one of the capitalist countries that strongly supported in material and spiritual terms the struggle for and consolidation of independence of Indonesia. Although Australia has always asserted its position as a "white" country, that does not mean that Australia is not interested in the political developments of its nearest neighbor, Indonesia. As soon as the Dutch announced their return to Indonesia (1945) the Indonesians in Australia fought vigorously with the support of the Australian maritime unions, most enthusiastically in Sydney, Melbourne, and Brisbane. Australian maritime unions have announced a ban on shipping goods and weapons for the Netherlands to Indonesia (Huy, Thach, et al., 2021). Australian coastal workers and sailors refused to unload Dutch cargo. These actions did not prevent the Dutch from carrying out two military campaigns, but they also contributed to hindering the Dutch recapture of the Indonesian islands quickly. In the

years 1946 - 1949, together with India, Australia was the country that brought Indonesia's issue to the United Nations General Assembly, and when the United Nations Security Council established the GOC [Good Offices Committee: Committee of Support], Australia plays an important role in this Commission. The act of nominating Australia as a representative of the GOC also demonstrates Indonesia's trust in this country. And indeed, Australia did not let the Indonesians down, acting as the mediator to Indonesia's formal independence negotiations. Australia's active support forced the Netherlands as well as world powers to soon recognize Indonesia's independence. The support of Asian, African and Latin American countries for the struggle to gain and consolidate independence in Indonesia has been really strong since Indonesia declared its independence on August 17, 1945. Sjahrir, as the first Foreign Minister of the Republic of Indonesia, sent bright young people to neighboring countries and different parts of the world to represent Indonesia's position and call for support. support of those countries with the revolutionary cause of the people of this country. For example, Dr. Sudarsono was sent to New Delhi, Dr. Usman Sastroamidjojo to Canberra, Idham to Karachi and Hadji Rashidi to Egypt. Although not directly recognized under international law, in reality, allowing the Republic of Indonesia to send its political representative to perform the country's duties is also an act of clear support of the parties. this country towards Indonesia's national liberation revolution. The implementation of a good foreign policy with Asia - Africa - Latin America countries also helps Indonesia's voice in the West Irian issue receive great support from this community. In December 1954, when the West Irian issue was discussed at the United Nations General Assembly, the Asia-Africa bloc clearly showed its support for Indonesia when voting with 100% consensus (Christie, 2000). Among Asian countries, India is the most active supporter of the struggle for and consolidation of independence in Indonesia. From the very beginning of the fledgling Republic of Indonesia, Prime Minister of India - Mr. Nehru sent political representatives to Jakarta and acted as a direct link between the government of India and the Republic of Indonesia, through which, both material and spiritual support was delivered to Indonesia the fastest. This help became extremely valuable after the Dutch launched military campaigns in Indonesia in the years 1947-1949 and imposed a naval blockade to force the Indonesian government to accept a return to the old times. colonial period. Indian planes have brought food, medicine, and clothes to the Indonesian people. India's political representative office in Jakarta has become a "post office", through which the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs can relay its messages to representatives abroad (Christie, 2000). Not only materially and spiritually supporting Indonesia's struggle, India also expressed its condemnation of the Dutch invasion to the international community. In July 1947, Prime Minister Nehru strongly condemned the Dutch military action in Indonesia: "The spirit of the New Asia will not tolerate such things. No European nation, whatever it may be, has any business to send its army into Asia against the people of Asia" (Hang et al., 2020). Through its representation at the United Nations, India also brought the issue of Indonesia to the UN Security Council. India is one of the countries actively bringing the struggle against Indonesian aggression into an international issue. When the United Nations Security Council failed to issue a resolution strongly condemning the Dutch aggression and demanding that they withdraw their troops from Indonesia, India convened the Conference of Asian Nations in New Delhi (December 12). 1948) to jointly condemn the Dutch action as "the most crude and crude invasion" (Christie, 2000) and barred Dutch ships and aircraft from docking at Asian ports and airports. It is these efforts of India and Asian countries that have contributed to forcing the United Nations to take more decisive actions towards the Netherlands, forcing the Netherlands to stop its military actions in Indonesia. and sat at the negotiating table in The Hague and signed the Agreement on December 30, 1949, recognizing independence and transferring power to Indonesia. In the years 1950 - 1963, when Indonesia struggled to force the Netherlands to return the western Irian territories, India also actively supported that struggle. At the 9th General Assembly of the United Nations (1954) and the 11th General Assembly, India, along with Asian and African countries, voted in favor of the West Irian claim of Indonesia. The call of India and the world community also contributed to pressure on the United Nations to find a way to resolve the West Irian dispute in the direction of negotiations. It can be said that India is the country that fights most strongly for the cause of Indonesia's struggle before the world councils and world diplomacy. It can be said that during the struggle for and consolidation of national independence, Indonesia has implemented a prudent and correct foreign policy. Persevering in the pursuit of the principles of "independence", "activity", "non-alignment", and using the voice of the United Nations and world opinion as a decisive tool for independence and unification and territorial integrity have brought Indonesia positive results, especially during the period of struggle to reclaim Western Irian.

At the same time, Indonesia's close relationship with colonial countries and newly independent countries also helps Indonesia receive great support from these countries.

Conclusion

During the struggle for and consolidation of independence in Indonesia from 1927 to 1965, the State and people have achieved remarkable achievements. The country was independent, the people were freed from the yoke of Dutch colonialists and Japanese militarists, ushering in an era of independence, freedom and national reunification. The policies to strengthen the independence of the government in the 1950s - 1960s brought about positive changes in the people's economic - political - cultural - social life. An independent and active foreign policy also helps Indonesia maintain its independence in the context of being sandwiched between the two power blocs of the Soviet Union and the US during the cold war. At the same time, as one of the founding countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, Indonesia's voice also has a strong impact on promoting the struggle for independence in countries in the region and around the world. Besides these achievements, the process of fighting for and consolidating independence in Indonesia from 1927 to 1965 also inevitably had certain limitations such as: frequent internal conflicts leading to rebellions. armed, affecting the unity and unity of the nation, causing disorder and political security; many socio-economic problems remain unresolved (unstable economic growth, imbalance, rising inflation, population explosion). It is these limitations that are one of the causes leading to the socio-economic - political - social crisis in Indonesia in the years 1960 - 1965, forcing President Sukarno to resign, and General Suharto came to power and established a new historical period: the period of the new order. The process of fighting for and consolidating independence in Indonesia from 1927 to 1965 has the following characteristics: 1. The goal of national independence is associated with national harmony and unification; 2. Islam plays a decisive role in choosing the path to save the country in Indonesia, 3. Moderate political struggle plays a major role, but other forms of struggle also contribute significantly to success. merits of the Indonesian revolution; 4. The process of fighting for and consolidating independence in Indonesia from 1927 to 1965 is closely associated with Sukarno's leadership role; 5. During the struggle for and consolidation of national independence in Indonesia (1927 - 1965), the PKI gradually lost its leadership role, the PNI increasingly prevailed; 6. Indonesia has received great international support: Capitalist, Socialist and Asian, African and Latin American countries. These characteristics clearly define the unique and distinctive features of the process of fighting for and consolidating independence in Indonesia (1927 - 1965) that do not overlap with any capitalist or socialist model. meaning in the world. Applications and implications: Dinh Tran Ngoc Huy, Nguyen Thi Thuy Hanh, Nguyen Thi Hang et al (2021) also mentioned updating knowledge for enhancing teachers capabilities in educational schools an environment.

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