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History of Indonesian Military Role in the Era of Independence Revolution, 1945-1950

ABSTRACT: *The history of Indonesian military formation is interesting to be examined. The Indonesian military was formed after the independence as a part of government structure under the President. The Indonesian military was established out of the various elements of military organization formed by Dutch colonial administration and Japanese occupation in Indonesia. As it was born in the era of independence revolution, it received support from various people paramilitary troops. Although it was autonomously established by itself, the government could oversee it under the supremacy of the civilian government. The research method used in this paper is heuristic, in which to get the primary and secondary data, the author conducted literature, documents, and archives review from several Universities and Research Institutions. The Indonesian military showed its role in maintaining the country's sovereignty during the Dutch military aggression, first (July 1947) and second (December 1948), carried out by the Dutch colonial government. When President Sukarno and Vice President Mohamad Hatta surrendered to the Dutch government and handed over the power to Mr. Syafruddin Prawiranegara, who then he formed PDRI (Pemerintahan Darurat Republik Indonesia or Emergency Government of the Republic of Indonesia), the military leadership gave full support to the PDRI. In the process of political dynamics, finally, the Indonesian military also to be loyal and supported the civil government led by President Sukarno and Vice President Mohamad Hatta.*

KEY WORDS: Indonesian Military; Time of Revolution; Independence; Diplomacy and Struggle; Social and Political Integration.

INTRODUCTION

The Indonesian military was formed after the independence by the armed force elements that had existed before the independence of Indonesia. Military history in Indonesia is interesting to be studied, because it had a large portion in the efforts to defend the independence of Indonesia. In the political turbulence of the revolution era, the Indonesian military continued to show loyalty

to the legitimate government in accordance with the 1945 Constitution (Lee, 1999; and Wiranatakusumah, 2000).

With limited weaponry, Indonesian military joined with the people paramilitary troops resisted the efforts of the Dutch military aggression. The strategy used by the Indonesian military in facing the Dutch military aggression is by using *Perang Rakyat Semesta* (Total People War), where all people

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power mobilized to fight the Dutch military aggression and its allies. Indonesian military forces were fighters who tried to organize itself into a professional military (Nasution, 1978; Crouch, 1988; and Kingsbury, 2003).

After the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence on 17 August 1945, there were two different thoughts about the military establishment in Indonesia (Kahin, 2013:170). The first thought came from the government, such as Sutan Sjahrir, Sukarno, and Mohamad Hatta. The first thought did not approve the military establishment in Indonesia by reason of the struggle for Indonesian independence more appropriately done by diplomacy. Therefore, if it was done by the military force, Indonesia would lose the diplomacy support of the Allies, which were Japanese's enemies during the World War II (1939-1945), considering that the Indonesian military was suspected by the Allies as formed by the Japanese (Anderson, 1980).

The Indonesian government considered that the diplomatic struggle was more appropriate than the armed struggle. When the Dutch wanted to re-colonize Indonesia, they use the power of international diplomacy, by doing propaganda stated that Indonesia was a country established by the Japanese (Reid, 1974; Anderson, 1980; and Cribb & Brown, 1995).

The second thought came from the youth former members of PETA (*Pembela Tanah Air* or Defenders of the Homeland) and KNIL (*Koninklijke Nederlandsch-Indische Leger* or Dutch Colonial Army) which required Indonesia as an independent state should have the armed forces, which would defend the sovereignty of the state from invaders. There were two different groups of the youth that supported the military establishment in Indonesia (Anderson, 1980; Crouch, 1988; and Cribb, 1991).

The first group was the youth who had been members of PETA. PETA was voluntary forces of natives made by Japan, which was established under the Japanese Army Act (*Osamu Seirei*), No.44, on 3 October 1943. The purpose of PETA establishment was to become voluntary reserve forces of the natives to help the Japanese army for war

against the Allied forces (Notosusanto, 1979; and Crouch, 1988). PETA members were Indonesian natives, and they had the same opportunity to be a Platoon Commander or *Shodanco* and Troops Commander or *Chudancho*. The position of Battalion Commander or *Daidanco* solely devoted to youth, who came from elite native families as Japan sought support among Indonesian elites (Sundhaussen, 1982:3).

The second group was also from the group of youth, who had been members of KNIL. KNIL was an army formed by the Dutch in the early 20th century. Members of KNIL soldiers consisted of army officers from the Netherlands, Germany, and England nations. KNIL soldiers generally derived from the natives. Not all tribes of Indonesian natives could be the member of KNIL. It only accepted the Ambonese, Arafurunese (natives of Halmahera island in North Maluku who had not embraced the religion), Manadonese, Javanese, Sundanese, Maduranese, Bugisnese, Timornese, Acehnese, and Malay (Crouch, 1988; and Vickers, 2005).

In 1929, KNIL accepted members from Bataknese in North Sumatra (Bachtiar, 1988:78). After the Round Table Conference in 1949, the Dutch colonial army soldiers from Maluku migrate to Netherlands. They are 60,000 people in Netherlands, which is the family of former members of the Dutch colonial army (Pramono, 2009:61).

Although most officers of KNIL were Dutch citizen or Indo (mixed Netherlands and Indonesian) and European, but majority of KNIL members were recruited from Eastern Indonesia Christian, such as Ambon in Maluku island, Minahasa in North Sulawesi, and Timorese in East Timor (Crouch, 1988; and Vickers, 2005). KNIL soldiers from Eastern Indonesia had higher salaries than soldiers of KNIL derived from the Javanese and Sundanese.

Many Dutch officer tried to influence members of the colonial army from Ambon, Minahasa, and East Timor island that Indonesia was dominated by Republicans, the majority of Javanese ethnicity, and religion of Islam, who will impose policies that harm, such as do not provide a pension to members

of the colonial army from the East Indonesia, provide low wages, and different treatment by the Dutch government who prioritized the Dutch colonial army members (Reid, 1974).

The issues, exhaled by the Dutch army officers, have caused many KNIL members were concerned about the fate of their uncertainty. Many KNIL members, who voted in favor of the Republic of Indonesia States and the Federal State, for fear that the concept of a unity state would be dominated by the central government who are mostly Javanese and Muslim (cited in Kahin, 2013:633-634).

Despite that strong urging from former members of PETA and KNIL to establish military in Indonesia, the government did not necessarily establish a military organization (Notosusanto, 1979; and Crouch, 1988). To maintain public security after the proclamation of independence, on 22 August 1945, KNIP (*Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat* or Central Indonesian National Committee), which was Indonesia's provisional Parliament, had initiated the establishment of the Indonesian security forces, known as BKR (*Badan Keamanan Rakyat* or People's Security Body).

President Soekarno also issued a notice to the members of PETA and KNIL to become members of BKR (Nasution, 1978; Sundhaussen, 1982; and Crouch, 1988). The purpose of BKR establishment – by Soekarno – was to maintain the security of the people, but it did not have military function (*cf* Raliby, 1953:17-22; and Adams, 2007). Sukarno's notice showed, as told to Cindy Adams (2007), that the government had an important role in the establishment of BKR, which was the embryo of TNI (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* or Indonesian National Military).

At the urging of powerful groups of youth from the former PETA and KNIL who were not satisfied with BKR for not carrying out the functions and duties of the military, on 5 October 1945, President Sukarno announced the establishment of the military in Indonesia named TKR (*Tentara Keamanan Rakyat* or People Security Army). TKR was in charge in maintaining public security and military functions (Nasution, 1978; Adams, 2007; and

interview with Mahfud M.D., 11/8/2016).

With the support of Allied forces, the Dutch again engaged an aggression to the territory of Indonesia. This aggression was based on the accusation that Indonesia was established by the Japanese military as well as the President and the Vice President as former agent of the Japanese military (*cf* Anderson, 1980; and Suwarta, 2000 and 2016).

RESEARCH METHOD

In this research, the writer used heuristic method, in which to get the primary and secondary data, the writer did literature, documents, and archives reviews from several Universities and Research Institutions (Kartodirdjo, 1992; and Sjamsuddin, 2007). The data came from Satria Mandala Museum, Center Study of Southeast Asian Library at the UKM (National University of Malaysia) in Bangi, UGM (Gadjah Mada University) in Yogyakarta, and CSIS (Center for Strategic & International Studies) in Jakarta.

The writer also had time to do interview with military observers of Indonesia, such as Salim Said and Indira Samego; and also with former Defense Minister of the Republic of Indonesia, Mahfud M.D. According to Kuntowijoyo (2013), there were several steps in heuristic research, they were: *first*, choosing the research topics; *second*, the use of heuristic resources; *third*, verification (historical, criticism, the validity of the source); *fourth*, sources interpretation and synthesis analysis; and *fifth*, writing and reporting (Kuntowijoyo, 2013:69-70).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The Appointment of Military Leader. To overcome the propaganda performed by the Dutch colonial administration that Indonesia established by the Japanese occupation, the Indonesian government changed the governmental system from the Presidential system into a Parliamentary system. Sutan Sjahrir was first sworn as Indonesian Prime Minister on 14 November 1945 (Anderson, 1980; and Frederick, 1989).

Sutan Sjahrir was rated as a movement leader who did not cooperate with the Japanese army. Sutan Sjahrir who had

education from Western Europe was able to think critically to understand and solve a variety of problems. Sutan Sjahrir's criticism against Sukarno, who developed cooperation with Japan to accomplish the independence of Indonesia, was greatly influenced by the ideas of anti-fascist Western Europe (Indro, 2009:3). With the inauguration of Sutan Sjahrir as a Prime Minister, the Indonesian government hoped to get support from Allied nations (Western Europe) in the international diplomacy (Reid, 1974; Agung, 1983; and Kahin, 2013).

Many Indonesian scholars figures politically collaborated with Japan, because the Japanese concept to amaze many intellectual consisting of the movement. Dutch colonial oppression on the one hand, and to the Japanese fascination for the achievement of economic, culture, and nationality understood, caused Sukarno, Sutomo (Bung Tomo), and Sam Ratulangie greatly admired Japan (Reid, 1974; Anderson, 1980; and Kahin, 2013).

Among them, the most admired Japan was Sam Ratulangie. In one of his writings, Sam Ratulangie mentioned Japan as a motor of development of Asia and *Indonesia Raya* (the Great Indonesia). *Indonesia Raya* became a political project of Japanese militarism (cf Hidayat & Widyanarko, 2008:70; and Damayanti, 2014).

On 12 November 1945, located in Kingdom Palace of Yogyakarta, the Indonesian government conducted a meeting to appoint the military leader. The decision of the meeting was made by counting. The result was to set Colonel Sudirman as TKR (*Tentara Keamanan Rakyat* or People Security Army)'s Commander-in-Chief, and Lieutenant General Urip Sumohardjo as Staff Leader of TKR, while Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX as Minister of Defense (Anderson, 1980; Sundhaussen, 1982; and Crouch, 1988).

The result of that meeting was not approved by President Sukarno. This was the starting point of conflict between the government and the military in Indonesia. As solution, re-election was done. Soedirman remain inaugurated as TKR Commander by President Sukarno on May 25, 1946.

Meanwhile, the position of Defense Minister was determined by the government. The government then canceled the inauguration of Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX as Minister of Defence and replaced him with Amir Sjarifudin (Sundhaussen, 1982:38).

Amir Sjarifudin inauguration was the request of Prime Minister Sutan Sjahrir to President Sukarno, as a compromise to resolve the conflict between the government and the military. Amir Sjarifudin proposed as Defense Minister by Sutan Sjahrir because he followed socialist ideology, the same with Sutan Sjahrir (cf Syahrir, 1990; Legge, 1993; and Mrazek, 1996). At that time, there was ideology conflict to influence the military; and the socialists group was trying to control the Indonesian military (Sundhaussen, 1982).

At the beginning of independence, there was competition between the leaders of political figures from Sumatra (the majority from West Sumatra) with political figures from Java (Legge, 1993; Mrazek, 1996; and Hidayat & Widyanarko, 2008). From both two islands were born many intelligent people in Indonesia. Mohamad Hatta, Sutan Sjahrir, and Amir Sjarifudin, for example, were political members from Sumatera (Loir & Ambary, 2011:109-111). Sukarno as the state leader gave fully support to Amir Sjarifudin as Defense Minister, because Sukarno was a secular nationalist and anti-feudal. He did not want the Indonesian military dominated by one tribe only, which was Java (Tsabit, 2016:48).

An interesting relationship between the former members of the KNIL (*Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indische Leger* or Dutch Colonial Army) and PETA (*Pembela Tanah Air* or Defenders of the Homeland) as Indonesian auxiliary troops in the Japanese occupation, when the military establishment in the Indonesian military (Notosusanto, 1979; Sundhaussen, 1982; and Crouch, 1988). The politicians of PSI (*Partai Sosialis Indonesia* or Indonesian Socialist Party) were always suspecting that there was a split between the former KNIL and PETA military officers (Legge, 1993; and Mrazek, 1996).

A.H. (Abdul Haris) Nasution, who is a graduate of the Dutch colonial army officer,

had rejected a scramble for position the Indonesian army leader between PETA and KNIL. A.H. Nasution explained that the Indonesian military commander, Sudirman, was elected, it gets extra noise from South Sumatra, voting done by voting (Nasution, 1978 and 1985). According to a former member of Indonesian army, the figure like Colonial A.H. Nasution was only as a tool in the military of Indonesia, which became the core in Indonesian military was PETA, due to PETA owned military spirit as a legacy of Japan's *bushido* (cf Notosusanto, 1979; Sundhaussen, 1982; Crouch, 1988; and Maarif, 2015:123).

Prime Minister Sutan Sjahrir and Defense Minister Amir Sjarifudin, who followed Socialist ideology, always tried to influence the Indonesian military. In this context, Sudirman, who had educational background from the Japanese army, tried to avoid the Indonesian army from Socialist influence. Sudirman also protected the paramilitary troops in order not be dissolved by the government, since the government wanted to form professional organizations of Indonesian military. Sudirman thought that the paramilitary troops must be expanded, because the struggle to defend the independence should involve all forces that exist in society (Nasution, 1978 and 1985; and interview with Indira Samego, 8/8/2016).

The Japanese occupation in Indonesia, from March 1942 until August 1945, was widely considered to have an impact on economic instability and disintegration, however, very influential on the political culture and structure of the military in Indonesia (Wie, 2013:133).

Reforming Military Organization. On 24 January 1946, TKR (*Tentara Keamanan Rakyat* or People Security Army) changed its name into TRI (*Tentara Republik Indonesia* or Indonesian Republic Army). The transformation from TKR to TRI was to strengthen the role of military in order to maintain the defense of the Indonesian Republic, while the public security handed over to the police (Ricklefs, 1992:17).

Beside TRI, there were also another

armed forces formed by two largest Indonesia Muslim organizations, namely: *Muhammadiyah* (followers of Prophet Muhammad) and *Nahdlatul Ulama* (Emerging of Islamic Scholars). There were also paramilitary troops formed and supported by political parties, such as PESINDO (*Pemuda Sosialis Indonesia* or Indonesian Socialist Youth) that came from PSI (*Partai Sosialis Indonesia* or Indonesian Socialist Party) and the *Hezbollah* (God's Army) from MASYUMI (*Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia* or Indonesian Muslim League) party. This paramilitary troop was also recognized as *laskar rakyat* or people militia (Anderson, 1980; Cribb, 1991; Kahin, 2013; Ricklefs, 2013; and Maarif, 2015).

The formation of paramilitary troops supported by the parties and religious organizations made the civilian government had difficulty in controlling the military forces in Indonesia. There were often wars between fellow troops and war with TRI in competing for social influence and economic resources (Anderson, 1980; and Cribb, 1991).

To be able to supervise TRI and *Laskar Rakyat*, on 5 May 1947, President Sukarno merged all *Laskar Rakyat*s and TRI into unit called TNI (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* – Indonesian National Military). Sudirman was later chosen as Commander-in-Chief of TNI (Sundhaussen, 1982; and Crouch, 1988).

Indonesia, as a multiethnic nation-state, is trying to become one country with various diversities (Wiroutomo *et al.*, 2013:75). Indonesian military was originally derived from variety of different elements of ideology, educational background, religion, ethnicity, and socio-cultural manners. As a result, conflicts often occur inside it. Those conflicts could always be solved by discussion between military leaders and the government (Kahin, 2013; Ricklefs, 2013; and Horton, 2016).

To unify the Indonesian military that ideologically differences and to build loyalty to the nation-state and government, then, in November 1945, Staff Leader of the Indonesian Army, Lieutenant General Urip Sumohardjo, gave a task to Colonel T.B. (Tahi Bonar) Simatupang to draft Soldier's Oath, which implied on emphasizing loyalty to

the government, nation-state, and the 1945 Constitution (Simatupang, 1980).

About PDRI in the Time of Indonesian Revolution. The PDRI (*Pemerintahan Darurat Republik Indonesia* or Emergency Government of the Republic of Indonesia) was a historical fact in the time of Indonesian revolution. When the second Dutch military aggression on Indonesian territory in Yogyakarta, on 19 December 1948, President Sukarno, Vice President Mohamad Hatta, and the Ministers took the decision to remain in the Presidential Palace. The main reason was, President Sukarno not to lead guerrilla war, firstly and foremostly, there was no sufficient troops to maintain President Sukarno and Vice President Mohamad Hatta security (*cf* Court, 1983:97; Zed, 1997; and Adams, 2007).

Other reason is that the government doubted the ability of the Indonesian military to fight and its intelligence. When the Dutch military aggression to Yogyakarta, the majority of Indonesian military forces were conducting military exercises in the outskirt of Yogyakarta. It caused the Dutch easily controlled the city of Yogyakarta. Indonesian military intelligence agents were not aware of any signs of the Dutch military aggression (Sundhaussen, 1982; and Crouch, 1988).

But what is critical point to President Sukarno that by being in Yogyakarta, he hoped to meet with the members of KTN (*Komisi Tiga Negara* or Commission of Three Countries), that consisted of the representative figures from USA (United States of America), Belgium, and Australia, for urging the Netherlands back to the negotiating table (Reid, 1974; Simatupang, 1980:147; and Ricklefs, 2013).

In order to avoid the government vacuum power in Indonesia, President Sukarno, before he surrendered to the Dutch, gave power to the Minister of Welfare Sjafruddin Prawiranegara to maintain the government in Sumatera. The power was also given to Mr. A.A. Maramis, to form a government in exile abroad if Sjafruddin Prawiranegara's attempt failed (Reid, 1974; Zed, 1997; Cheong, 2004; and Kahin, 2013).

Vice President Mohamad Hatta delivered a written message to the military to remain

struggle against the Dutch although the President, Vice President, and Ministers were captured by the Dutch (Hatta, 1979; Noer, 1990; and Rose, 1991). At first, the Dutch did not assume that Sukarno and Mohamad Hatta would provide the transition of power to their Ministers, who were beyond Java and abroad. The Dutch previously had issued notice that President Sukarno and Vice President Mohamad Hatta had surrendered to the Dutch military (Legge, 1990; and Noer, 1990).

Sjafruddin Prawiranegara, who at that time was visiting to West Sumatra, took over the government. The appointment of Sjafruddin Prawiranegara as the leader of PDRI resolved by the Sumatera region military commander, Colonel Hidayat (Nasution, 1978; and Zed, 1997). The role of PDRI was to control TNI in the revolutionary struggle and to obtain international diplomatic support for the recognition of the independence of Indonesia. West Sumatra as the struggle region of PDRI received many supports from the people and social and political elite of West Sumatra (Lucas, 1991; and Kahin ed., 1995).

The naming of PDRI leader, instead of the term of President PDRI, occurred because Sjafruddin Prawiranegara did not get the official letter about the handover of power from President Sukarno. Sjafruddin Prawiranegara only listened to it from the radio; therefore, there was indecision whether or not the President Sukarno and Vice President Mohamad Hatta surrendered to the Dutch military. Sjafruddin Prawiranegara still believed that President Sukarno would never give up, because he had promised to the people that he would lead the guerrilla war directly, when the Dutch military attacked Indonesia (Nasution, 1978; Sundhaussen, 1982; and Legge, 1990).

The existence of PDRI was backed by the military, General Sudirman, Colonel T.B. Simatupang (the second Deputy Staff Leader of the Indonesian Army), and Colonel A.H. Nasution (Deputy Staff Leader of the Indonesian Army). They always sent news about the development of the Indonesian military in committing guerrilla war in Java (Nasution, 1978; and Simatupang, 1980).

The military leadership also requested political considerations and strategies to the leader of PDRI Sjafruddin Prawiranegara. It showed that the Indonesian military admitted Sjafruddin Prawiranegara as the leader of PDRI, who had the power of the government (Nasution, 1978; Zed, 1997; and Kahin, 2013).

When the Dutch military requested Sukarno and Mohamad Hatta, who at that time were as prisoners in Bangka island (South Sumatra), to negotiate with the Dutch, the Great General Sudirman sent a telegram to the leader of PDRI, which stated as follows:

Firstly, diplomacy and military could not be separated, because the military supported diplomacy in a state of war. Therefore, the Great Commander General Sudirman had *beslissende stem* in determining political state status or other matters concerned with the war.

Secondly, the ceasefire could only be given by General Sudirman after discussing with PDRI leader.

Thirdly, on Java, the majority of military leaders declared that they resisted Sukarno and Mohamad Hatta orders, because they had surrendered as the Dutch prisoners. The military leaders only recognized Sjafruddin Prawiranegara as the head of government.

Fourthly, the leader of PDRI and the temporary parliament members, namely KNIP (*Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat* or Central Indonesian National Committee) must avoid a ceasefire with the Dutch military (cited in Nasution, 1978).

Related to General Sudirman's telegram, then, Sjafruddin Prawiranegara answered that he agreed if diplomacy and military indeed closely related. However, PDRI disapproved that General Sudirman had *beslissende stem* in determining political attitudes, because it was the authority of the government. But, General Sudirman's thoughts and opinions were used as guidelines to determine political attitudes of PDRI in others political issues (Rosidi, 1998:106).

It showed that while the country was in political crisis, the Indonesian military's loyalty was not only to the individual leader, but also to the government. General Sudirman assumed that the status of Sukarno and Mohamad Hatta were war prisoners, since they mandated the power to Sjafruddin Prawiranegara as PDRI leader (Nasution,

1978; Zed, 1997; and Kahin, 2013). That was the reason why General Sudirman only recognized and executed the orders from Sjafruddin Prawiranegara.

In the political crisis, Sjafrudin Prawiranegara could still oversee the Indonesian military leadership, in order not to give too much interfere in political affairs (Rosidi, 1998:117). In deciding a strategic political decision of the state, the civil government valued the opinions and thoughts of the Great General Sudirman (Nasution, 1978; and interview with Salim Said, 15/8/2016).

Sjafruddin Prawiranegara reinforce the position of Emergency Government of the Republic of Indonesia in a radio broadcast from the headquarters in Sumatra, on 14 June 1949. In the political statement, the Emergency Government of the Republic of Indonesia will support the Agreement Roem – Van Roijen, but with the following requirements:

First, the Republicans Indonesian Army should remain in its current position it occupies.

Second, the Dutch armed forces gradually retreat from a position of recognition.

Third, return Republican administration in Yogyakarta done without prerequisite.

Fourth, sovereignty Republicans on Java, Sumatra, Madura islands, and surrounding areas (near the beach) should be recognized by the Netherlands in accordance with the Agreement of Linggarjati (cited in Kahin, 2013:593).

Edict issued by Sjafruddin Prawiranegara was very influential impacting towards the victory of Indonesian government diplomacy. The Emergency Government of the Republic of Indonesia's Edict greatly affect the mental Dutch military and civilian officials in Indonesia. Edict issued by the Emergency Government of the Republic of Indonesia, then, causing the Indonesian military with guerrilla tactics, incentive to attack the base of the Dutch defense, so it gets the attention from the international community (Kahin, 2013:594).

The Emergency Government of the Republic of Indonesia can monitor the local government, so there was no conflict of interest, which was secreted by the

government announcement, run by the Sultan of Yogyakarta, Hamengku Buwono IX, on 18 June 1949. The Sultan of Yogyakarta, related to the orders of the Emergency Government of the Republic of Indonesia, ordered a ceasefire to entire Residency of Yogyakarta. On 30 June 1949, the Dutch military forces in the last leaving Residency Yogyakarta, and the local government of Yogyakarta Residency took over the security authority and military affairs from the Dutch (Kahin, 2013:594).

Many military literatures stated that the surrender of President Sukarno and Vice President Mohamad Hatta to the Dutch caused the government to lose its political power. Military had saved the country's sovereignty (Legge, 1990; Noer, 1990; Kammen & Chandra, 1999; and Chandra & Kammen, 2002). However, literatures which written the role of PDRI in the struggle for independence were very little revealed in the New Order government era (Zed, 1997). It could be understood that during the New Order era, the role of the military (army struggle) in defending the independence was often written down and rarely explained the role of the civil government or political and diplomatic struggle (Notosusanto, 1991; Zed, 1997; and Kahin & Kahin, 2003).

Meanwhile, the Indonesian military was defeated in battles during the Dutch military aggression, because of limited weapons and knowledge in modern war. To fight the Dutch military, Colonel A.H. Nasution introduced the concept of *Perang Rakyat Semesta* (People's Total War). The concept of *Perang Rakyat Semesta* was the right choice to resist the Dutch military, who had modern weaponry and more professional. The support from majority of Indonesian people against the aggression of the Dutch military became the main factor that determined the victory of the guerrilla war conducted by the Indonesian military and paramilitary troops (Nasution, 1965).

The Dutch military aggression made the government in Java stopped. Many Indonesian government officials were arrested and killed by the Dutch, as they considered as supporters of Indonesia independence (Nasution, 1978; and Heijboer, 1979). Three

days after the Dutch military aggression in Yogyakarta, Colonel A.H. Nasution, as the Indonesian Army Commander in Java Territory, declared the military emergency government for entire Java, and issued the Instruction No.1/MBKD/1948, by inaugurating military officers to hold governmental positions, such as Regents and Governors (Nasution, 1965:116-138). The military in Indonesia not only served as defense institution in facing the Dutch military aggression, but also as governmental system regulator (Nasution, 1965 and 1978; and Notosusanto, 1991:55).

Regional Sultan of Yogyakarta, Hamengku Buwono IX, a major supporter of the Republic of Indonesia, did not want to cooperate with the Dutch, who conducted the military aggression on December 19, 1948. The Indonesian military, army, and people put up resistance, when the Dutch did the aggression (Nasution, 1978; Notosusanto, 1991; Ricklefs, 1992; Loir & Ambary, 2011; and Kahin, 2013).

Department Information of the Republic of Indonesia, in 1953, published the data and informed that when the Dutch military aggression II on 19 December 1948 to 30 July 1950, an estimated 3,000 people residing in the territorial jurisdiction of Yogyakarta, which killed. Material losses estimated at IDR (Rupiah Indonesia) 252 million (cited in Purwanto, 2013:138).

Even though Sukarno and Mohamad Hatta had handed the governmental power to Sjafruddin Prawiranegara, they still tried negotiating peace with the Dutch government. This happened because the Dutch only recognized Sukarno and Mohamad Hatta as the real leaders of the Republic of Indonesia. After the negotiations, on 21 December 1949, Sukarno and Mohamad Hatta were released by the Dutch and returned to Yogyakarta (Legge, 1990; Noer, 1990; and Zed, 1997).

Sjafruddin Prawiranegara handed back the President mandate to Sukarno in *Kraton* (Palace) of Sultan Yogyakarta, on 13 July 1949. General Sudirman, who still led guerrilla war, did not want to acknowledge Sukarno and Mohamad Hatta as President and Vice President. This was because the

Indonesian military refused to recognize the peace treaty between Sukarno and the Dutch government (Nasution, 1978; Sundhaussen, 1982; and Legge, 1990). Sukarno and Mohamad Hatta, in General Sudirman's point of view, were just war prisoners. They were not as President and Vice President (Lee, 2000:129-184). The military leadership judged the agreement with the Dutch did a lot of harm to TNI (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* or Indonesia National Military).

President Sukarno claimed to Colonel A.H. Nasution that he would resign also as the President of the Republic of Indonesia if General Sudirman did not admit him as President. A.H. Nasution then persuaded General Sudirman to admit Sukarno and Mohamad Hatta as President and Vice President in order to maintain the security and integrity of the Indonesian from disunity caused by conflicts among fellow leaders (Nasution, 1978 and 1985). General Sudirman finally decided to recognize Sukarno and Mohamad Hatta as President and Vice President again.

CONCLUSION

Indonesian military established itself independently. However, the Indonesian government could still oversee and control it. The military in Indonesia came from various military organizations, such as PETA (*Pembela Tanah Air* or Defenders of the Homeland), KNIL (*Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indische Leger* or Dutch Colonial Army), and paramilitary troops. To unite the various elements into a one military organization was not an easy thing to do. For example, there was feeling suspicion between one to another. The military leaders from KNIL felt less trusted by the military leaders from PETA, etc.

Even though initially the Indonesian military was paramilitary troops, who were indoctrinated to be able to defend the homeland until the bitter end, the Indonesian military had transformed itself from the revolution armed force into the one that had contribution and role in governmental matters.

During the Dutch military aggressions, first (July 1947) and second (December

1948), the governmental of Indonesia was paralyzed. The Indonesian military, under the command of A.H. (Abdul Haris) Nasution, created a military government in order to avoid gaps in the local government by placing military leaders as the head of local government. Indonesian military showed its obedience to the 1945 Constitution. In the revolution era, 1945-1950, it had always positioned itself under the civilian supremacy.

The support and acknowledgement of the military leadership to PDRI (*Pemerintahan Darurat Republik Indonesia* or Emergency Government of the Republic of Indonesia) under Safruddin Prawiranegara showed that TNI (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* or Indonesia National Military) not only had loyalty to individuals or specific figures, but also the legitimate government according to the 1945 Constitution.¹

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¹**Statement:** I, hereby, certify that my article published in this journal is the true result of my research, not a plagiarism, and it has not been published in other journals. Thus, my statement can be accounted before the law.

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Indonesian Military in a Time of Revolution
(Source: <https://www.pinterest.com>, 27/12/2016)

The Indonesian military was formed after the independence by the armed force elements that had existed before the independence of Indonesia. Military history in Indonesia is interesting to study, because it had a large portion in the efforts to defend the independence of Indonesia. In the political turbulence of the revolution era, the Indonesian military continued to show loyalty to the legitimate government in accordance with the 1945 Constitution.