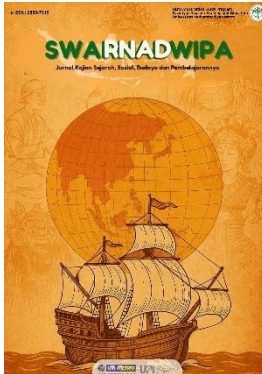


Soekarno-Hatta in the Conflict of Indonesian Political Policies 1945-1956

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Abstract

Soekarno-Hatta was a proclaimer figure who had an important role in the struggle for Indonesian independence. In national and state life, the two figures were involved in conflicting opinions. After the Vice Presidential Decree No. Differences in cultural background, education and environment when born are also factors in the emergence of conflict. The aim of this research is to understand Indonesian political policy from 1945-1956, the beginning of political policy conflict between Soekarno and Hatta, and the impact of conflicting political policy on the Indonesian government system. This research uses historical methods consisting of heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The results of this research show that after Indonesia's independence, Indonesia's political identity had not yet been formed, but after the PPKI session, Indonesia's political identity began to form, Indonesia's post-independence political policy was more directed towards diplomacy, followed by the emergence of political parties and a change in the system from presidential democracy to parliamentary democracy. Soekarno-Hatta began to engage in polemics in 1932-1933, then during the colonial period the two figures clashed regarding tactics and strategy of struggle.

Keywords: soekarno-hatta, political policy, conflict

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INTRODUCTION

The independence achieved by the Indonesian people certainly cannot be separated from the services of the nation's heroes in their struggle. Until now, in general, the people who are recognized as figures who have contributed greatly to the struggle to achieve Indonesian independence are Soekarno and Hatta, who were later known as the Founding Fathers. it played an important role in conveying the text of the proclamation of Indonesian independence. As well as becoming Indonesia's first president and vice president. These two figures have their own vision of an independent nation (Fadli & Afwan, 2024).

The government's efforts to focus more on the framework of eastern Indonesia Adequate port progress is now starting to be seen. The Ministry of Transportation has completed the construction of port offices in 91 ports throughout Indonesia. 80 port construction locations are flowing in eastern Indonesia & 11 port areas which revolves around western Indonesia (Rafli, Muhammad dan Isrina Siregar, 2021:67).

The journey of Soekarno and Hatta's thoughts and struggles was a long and complicated journey that can be traced from the origins and place of birth of both of them. Soekarno, on the one hand, emphasized the importance of national unity and greatness as a driving force for the nation's spirit. On the other hand, the thoughts of these two figures have directed Indonesia towards the gateway to independence. However, there are also differences when it comes to Indonesian independence. The differences between the two are also influenced by culture, education and the environment when these two figures were born. Hatta emphasized more on the concept of prosperity and democracy for all Indonesian people. Even though these two leaders have different focuses, they have the same goal (Alfian, 1992:71).

Political policies 1945-1956 by vice president Moh. One of Hatta's was the Vice Presidential Decree no. Soekarno-Hatta began to show signs of conflict, namely the issuance of Vice Presidential Decree no. X dated October 16, 1945 which aims to cut the president's power and to overcome the provisions submitted by the Pasa IV transitional rules (Maswardi, 2000:115).

Especially in coastal communities and inland. Coastal characteristics and inland communities have differences population development. Where The coast is a place for immigrants from both domestically and abroad. Because of that, development and social patterns Coastal populations tend to vary (Siregar, Isrina, et al, 2023:185).

Seeing the conflict between these two figures, as well. Indonesia's situation at that time became even more chaotic because it only prioritized party interests. The Indonesian people's desire for the government to act in accordance with the 1945 constitution falls far short of expectations. Differences in Soekarno and Hatta's views regarding the direction and goals of Indonesian politics. Sukarno had a more nationalist political view and wanted Indonesia to become a strong and sovereign country. Meanwhile, Hatta had a more liberal political view and wanted Indonesia to become a democratic and modern country. And the Soekarno-Hatta conflict was more directed towards principled matters, namely, especially in terms of struggle strategy, the form of the state and the structure of government.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses the historical research method, a scientific approach aimed at tracing, assessing, and reconstructing past events based on the traces left behind. The first stage in this method is heuristic, the process of tracing, locating, and collecting relevant sources that can support the reconstruction of historical events. These sources can include written documents, archives, official records, or other testimonies of historical value. Once the materials are collected, the next step is source verification or criticism, which involves assessing the authenticity, accuracy, and credibility of the source through two approaches: external criticism to assess the source's physical appearance and origin, and internal criticism to assess the content, context, and veracity of the information contained therein (Fadli, 2021).

Once a source has undergone the critical process and is deemed worthy, the researcher then moves on to the interpretation stage, the process of interpreting the meaning of events by connecting information from various sources critically and objectively. At this stage, the researcher strives to avoid personal bias so that the interpretation remains grounded in historical fact. The final stage is historiography, which involves compiling the research results into a coherent and logical historical narrative. In this section, the researcher organizes the information and facts obtained chronologically to clearly depict the development of historical events and make them understandable to the reader.

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RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Indonesian Political Policy 1945-1956

Policy is a series of decisions taken by individuals or political groups in an effort to determine goals and strategies to achieve these goals (Budiharjo, 1992:12). This policy is the result of wise and considered thinking, and is an effort to allocate resources and values for society or group members as a whole (Abidin, 2004:20).



Figure 1 *Political Situation during the Liberal Democracy Era*

The basic principles of this policy problem are a process of policy analysis, while policy making is political in nature. Political policy is a decision made to regulate and implement every form and distribution of power in society. With the election of the President and Vice President on the basis of the 1945 Constitution, the Republic of Indonesia was formally perfect. Then the third PPKI session was held on August 22 1945 with the results of the formation of a national committee, national party and national security agency (BKR). After a series of PPKI meetings, it continued with the formation of Indonesia's first cabinet on September 2 1945 in accordance with the government system based on the 1945 Constitution. Because this first cabinet was led directly by President Soekarno, it was called a presidential cabinet.

Diplomacy is a process of peace between countries with the aim of forming and managing the structure of relations in the international system to achieve national interests. This is an effective method when a country's interests are disturbed by another country, and also plays an important role in achieving national interests related to other countries or international organizations, through diplomacy a country can strengthen its image and reputation at the international level. Relations between countries in the world become very important if both parties protect each other and respect the interests of these countries.

Political policies in 1945 were mostly about agreements and resolving combat problems, because on September 15 1945, British troops who were members of AFNEI (Allied Forces Netherlands East Indies) as representatives of the allies arrived in Indonesia, they were tasked with disarming Japanese troops, freeing prisoners, and returned Japanese soldiers to their country. It turned out that their arrival was accompanied by NICA (Netherlands Indies Civil Administration) which intended to restore Indonesia as a Dutch East Indies colony. This was based on the Civil Affairs Agreement, which stated that the Allies as winners of World War II had the right to rule over Japan in various colonial territories, including Indonesia. NICA led by Dr. Hubertus J van Mook, carried the mission to open negotiations on the basis of Queen Wilhelmina's radio broadcast speech in 1942,

which stated that a commonwealth would be formed led by the Queen of the Netherlands with members including the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies.

The diplomatic efforts made by the Dutch always failed because these diplomatic efforts mostly benefited the Dutch, which was why the Republic of Indonesia was always fiercely opposed. The peak of the failure of these diplomatic efforts was when the Dutch and Indonesians made the Linggarjati agreement. Which was carried out in Linggarjati, West Java on November 11 1946, and resulted in "agreement" regarding the status of Indonesian independence. The results of the Linggarjati negotiations were signed at the State Palace on 15 November 1946 and ratified by both countries on 25 March 1947 (Rushdy, 2010:152).

On January 17 1948, sponsored by the Good Services Committee of the Indonesian Government and the Dutch Government, they succeeded in signing the Renville Agreement, which was carried out on the deck of the United States warship. The agreement was held to further strengthen the obligation to carry out a ceasefire between the two parties called "Renville" which was currently anchored at the port of Tanjung Priok. The contents of the Renville agreement consist of 10 articles of ceasefire agreement, 12 articles of political principles, and 6 articles of additional principles from the Three Nation Conference (KTN) (Setyohadi, 2003:71).

Prior to this agreement, the UN participated in resolving the conflict between Indonesia and the Netherlands with the UN Security Council Resolution on January 24 1949 with the content of the resolution namely ending hostilities, freeing the president and leaders of the Republic of Indonesia who were arrested on December 19 1948. The existence of the Republic of Indonesia could remain shown to be proven by negotiation efforts. The United States on April 14 1949, facilitated the Republic of Indonesia agreement with the Netherlands. The Indonesian delegation was represented by Moh. Roem while the Netherlands was represented by Van Royen.

The Roem-Royen Agreement provides an opportunity for the leaders of the BFO (Byeenkomst Voor Federal Overleg) or forum for Federal Deliberation, to be able to play a better role in the NIS, BFO, and try to help the Republic of Indonesia with the hope that there will be remuneration from the leaders of the Republic of Indonesia in the form of autonomy in the NIS. This is what was discussed at the Inter-Indonesian Conference. On 30 July-2 August 1949, the Inter-Indonesian Conference took place in Jakarta.

The Round Table Conference which was planned to be held on August 3 1949 was only able to be held on August 23 1949 in S'gravemhage, The Hague, Netherlands. The opening of the conference was carried out by Dutch Prime Minister Drees as chairman of the conference. At the conference the Republican Government sent a delegation consisting of: Moh. Hatta as head of delegation and Moh. Roem was the representative, while T. B. Simatupang, Supomo, J Leimena, Djuanda, Sukiman Wirjosandjojo, and Sumitro Djojohadikusumo were each members.

After the proclamation of independence on August 17 1945, various rebellions emerged against the legitimate Government of the Republic of Indonesia (Republic of Indonesia). At the end of 1949, when the federal state became part of the United Republic of Indonesia, the people wanted the formation of a unitary state. This incident resulted in a rebellion because the people demanded the dissolution of the merged state of the Republic of Indonesia and the states or also known as the United Republic of Indonesia. The ongoing rebellion also involved federalist groups who wanted to maintain the federal form of Indonesia, that the involvement of the federalist group in every rebellion that occurred was a strong reason that there was a desire to maintain the federal form in Indonesia.

Problems Between Soekarno-Hatta

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Soekardjo Wirjopranoto united Soekarno-Hatta with the term "Dwitunggal" which proposed Bung Karno to become president and Bung Hatta to become Vice President. In fact, Bung Hatta himself admitted that such a dual construction was unique in history, there are no examples in this world. The term dual unity is also a reflection of the results of their struggle to lead the Indonesian nation during the Indonesian movement.

On August 17, 1945, they jointly proclaimed Indonesian Independence. During the independence revolution, the Soekarno-Hatta Dwitunggal grew into a myth that was synonymous with the struggle for independence and Indonesian unity. However, this myth seemed to disappear after the PKI entered the political arena of government.



Figure 2 *Soekarno-Hatta Feud*

The difference in thinking between Bung Hatta and Bung Karno is like rational thinking which is an evolution of Bung Hatta, while Bung Karno focused more on big ideals such as how to achieve it as quickly as possible, but did not think about the needs of the Indonesian people.

The sharp difference between these two famous leaders is that when Bung Karno was considered a leader with a "Solidarity Maker" style, namely placing importance on raising the spirit and solidarity of the nation to achieve what he wanted, on the other hand, Bung Hatta was known as a leader with an "Administrator" style, which means he prioritized methods. -a rational way of building the nation and state.

The dispute between Soekarno-Hatta also continued and dragged on even though there were no acts of violence or mutual insults, the dispute between the two figures had become public knowledge, but there were several times when the two of them clashed in an emotional state, such as in the "Cililitan Incident" where this event was known to be very embarrassing because in the inauguration of Sujono as deputy KSAU. This was thwarted by disobedient members and led to an incident in the form of a beating by Sujono.

In 1956 Bung Karno still had aspirations for the PKI to gain influence, even though the PKI itself was Bung Hatta's enemy since he was still in the Indonesian association. So, Hatta considered that there were only two possible ways to overcome this, namely by leaving the government or holding a coup, where the latter option was very contrary to his soul. In the end, he had no choice but to resign as vice president.

In the period 1932-1933, the two figures began to have a polemic even though the seeds began to emerge in 1929, although not directly. when they discuss polemics about how to achieve national ideals, socialism, nationalism, participation in political organizations, and so on. However, the political differences and disagreements between Soekarno-Hatta did not lead to mutual anarchy. In fact, during the Japanese era and before independence they worked more hand in hand in preparing for Indonesian independence.

The nature and character of these two characters are also contradictory. Bung Karno was an extrovert, Bung Hatta was an introvert. Bung Karno was a person who was an accomplished orator, while Bung Hatta was a calm, quiet and educational person. Bung Karno was romantic, humorous and humanist, while Bung Hatta was a bit stiff, serious and thoughtful. Bung Karno himself admitted that his nature was the opposite, he could be gentle, but not easily satisfied, he could be hard as steel, but also had the soul of a poet, on the other hand, Bung Hatta was tough and firm in his convictions. Bung Karno was more about unity, Bung Hatta was more about popular sovereignty than unity.

Even though they are in conflict, the greatness of the souls of these two national figures is shown by the confirmation that the conflict is not always a personal matter, without insults, without cursing each other, without directing the masses, let alone anarchy. Their personal relationship is exemplary. The attitude of both of them is so amazing. how not only can they argue but also contradict each other, but they can both defend each other, help and remind each other. In other words, Bung Karno and Bung Hatta are like money with two different sides, "dual but dualistic."

The conflict between the two experienced an increasing phase when Soekarno was detained because he often fought against the government due to his speeches being too harsh against the Dutch colonial government. The speeches made by Soekarno had actually been warned by Hatta that the movement should not be carried out in a radical way but using cooperative methods. Soekarno, in his trial before the colonial judges, delivered his plea which is better known as "Indonesia Sues."

The differences in views between the two figures at this time are almost invisible, even though there are sharp stones that accompany them, especially in terms of preparing strategies to face Japanese colonialism. The first meeting between the two after being exiled by the colonial government occurred on July 9 1942 after ten years of separation. From that moment on, Soekarno wanted to end the conflict with Hatta and promised not to separate from Hatta until Indonesia became independent. This was welcomed by Hatta by shaking Soekarno's hand. Moments like this implied that the dual symbol had been formed.

At this time, Sukarno and Hatta faced many trials, including many who said that they were "Japanese lackeys" even though their struggle against Japanese colonialism could be said to be very persistent, especially after Japan's defeat against the Allies. Japan's defeat against the Allies made the Japanese leader quickly summon Soekarno-Hatta to hold important talks in Makasar. This discussion covered the existence of the Indonesian nation and then, the Japanese offered Sukarno and Hatta to form an Indonesian state in the form of a Monarchy and appoint Soekarno as King.

Bung Karno emphasized that democracy in Indonesia is based on the principle of deliberation which produces consensus. For him, the Indonesian spirit is in conflict with the spirit of fascism which reflects complete submission to individual will, a spirit that provides for collective interests, a spirit of oppression, and an authoritarian spirit. Bung Karno didn't like voting-based democracy because it could potentially be tyrannical towards minorities in the west. For him, Indonesian culture which follows the teachings of Panditho Ratu's words is a guided culture.

For Bung Karno, guided democracy must achieve the goal of a just and prosperous society. Therefore, guided democracy is not just about rhetoric but also about hard work. Guided democratic tools must respect freedom of thought and speech within the limits of state security, so that everyone can use their thoughts without external interference.

Democracy from Bung Hatta's point of view is not entirely based on Indonesian culture, which means that the concept of popular sovereignty that is upheld is not completely the same as the concept of Volksovereinitiet (individualist popular sovereignty) which originates from the west. Even though there are similarities in the names, Bung Hatta got his inspiration from the west. For him, it is important to always

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prioritize deliberation but reject consensus, because deliberation is a way to avoid an authoritarian self-serving attitude (Asmarina & Afwan, 2024).

People's democracy in Indonesia is only in village government, as in the era of the kings, what prevailed was autocracy and feudalism in Bung Hatta's view. In other words, the sovereignty of my lord needs to be replaced with the sovereignty of the people, so that the people will have power. In democracy, various forms must be recognized and heard because of the conditions and foundations of justice and truth in democratic politics. According to Bung Hatta, to implement the concept of popular sovereignty, a leader is needed who loves the truth, dares to admit mistakes, has strong integrity and strong determination.

Bung Karno interested that God created the world map with the main aim of being a symbol of "unity", where Indonesia as an archipelago is included in an inseparable unity globally. Bung Karno reminded that the concept of "National Staat" existed during the kingdom era so here it is important to prioritize complete nationality.

The concept of nationality explained by Bung Hatta involves various groups and layers of society such as the nobility, intellectuals and the people... where the people work hard to earn a living while thinking about politics and the safety of the country. Bung Hatta's most recent thinking is regarding the idea of the birth of a republic based on people's government through people's representatives or representative bodies.

Soekarno, in all his actions, was based on the belief that the Indonesian revolution to achieve justice and prosperity was still not finished, because as long as prosperity and justice had not been achieved, the revolution would continue and all existing structures would only be temporary. Soekarno was not against democracy, on the contrary, Soekarno argued that true democracy reflected the spirit of mutual cooperation revolution that existed in Indonesian society.

While the goal of the French Revolution was to implement the ideals of equality and equality, therefore, next to individual freedom, equality and fraternity were put forward, the democracy that was practiced only brought political equality. This is gradually happening in politics, a person's rights are the same as those of others, rich and poor, men and women both have the right to vote and be elected as members of the DPR, but more than that, there is no equality in the economy, but the basis is not the same. In fact, with the blazing spirit of individualism, capitalism increasingly flourishes and grows. In the end, there was increasing class conflict.

CONCLUSION

Soekarno and Hatta in the course of their government after the Proclamation of Independence. This may refer to the various political and strategic challenges they had to face in building a newly independent country. Overall, it illustrates the important role of Soekarno and Hatta in Indonesian history as well as the strong cooperation between the two in achieving independence and leading the country to a better future. regarding struggle strategy, state form and government structure.

After Indonesia's independence, Indonesia's political identity had not yet been formed because it did not yet have a president and vice president, so to form a constitution the figures drafted the life of the state. With the holding of a meeting of the Indonesian Independence Preparatory Committee (PPKI). After independence, British soldiers who were members of AFNEI (Allied Forces Netherlands East Indies) as representatives of the allies arrived in Indonesia, intending to restore Indonesia as a Dutch East Indies colony. Because the arrival of the allies caused several battles, diplomatic efforts were made to overcome the fighting, but in the process it did not bring much results. The final result of

diplomacy through the KMB agreement was the formation of the United Republic of Indonesia (RIS) and it was disbanded due to many upheavals taking place in various regions of Indonesia.

The beginning of the Soekarno-Hatta conflict began in 1932-1933, the two figures began to have a polemic even though the seeds began to emerge from 1929, although not directly. when they discuss polemics about how to achieve national ideals, socialism, nationalism, participation in political organizations, etc. The nature and character of these two figures are also contradictory. Bung Karno was an extrovert, Bung Hatta was an introvert. Bung Karno was a person who was an accomplished orator, while Bung Hatta was a calm, quiet and educational person. Controversy continued during the preparation of the 1945 Constitution, after the PPKI session, and during parliamentary democracy.

The result of Soekarno Hatta's opposition to the Indonesian government system was that the constitution in Indonesia experienced ups and downs where several changes occurred as a result of the conflict between the two political figures. Initially the 1945 Constitution was in effect, then it changed to the Constitution of the United Republic of Indonesia (1949 RIS Constitution). However, it did not last long, the 1949 RIS Constitution was replaced by the Provisional Constitution (UUDS 1950). Then in the development of the 1950 UUDS. And the peak of this conflict was Hatta's resignation as vice president in 1956. This article is still far from perfection, so I really contribute criticism and suggestions from readers so that this paper can be used as an introspection to become better. Thank you to all parties who have helped and contributed so that this can be realized.

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